



Starvation in Palamu, Jharkhand

Investigative report on
Starvation Deaths in Lesliganj
(PUCL Jharkhand)

&

Report of the situation of
hunger, food and nutritional
schemes in Palamu District (Prof.
Ramesh Sharan et al)



STARVATION IN JHARKHAND

19 October 2003

Introduction

Amidst a good monsoon in good parts of the country, Palamu district in Jharkhand is suffering another spell of drought. With a dry spell in June and July, paddy cultivation has been badly affected in the district. Rice transplanting is a major source of employment for the landless labourers in the region. Employment opportunities have shrunk badly affecting the livelihood options of the landless labourers. Bhuyian and Parahiyas clans in particular have been badly affected. Field reports indicate that the situation of the widows, elderly and children is worrisome since they have little opportunity to migrate and have to depend fully on the local economy.

There have been reports of hunger deaths from several villages in the region. Two teams that travelled to the region have confirmed the situation. The PUCL team met several families where hunger deaths were reported. The team observed that the worst affected were women and children. In Sitadih for example, Kawal Patia Bhuiyan had died immediately after giving birth to a child. She had not had a full meal for several days, which too consisted of survival foods like Saag. Similarly in Patrahi village Laxmi died after giving birth to a still born child at the sixth month of pregnancy. The team observed that some very young children had also succumbed to hunger in the region.

It appears that the local administration too has documented the situation. Prof. Ramesh Sharan, the advisor to the Commissioners (in right to food litigation) was informed that the local administration has noted over 1800 families to be in the state of 'virtual destitution'. Prof. Sharan who visited with his team reports that the directions of the Supreme Court are being violated massively in the region. Mid-day meals is not being provided in any school in the region. Anganwadis visited by the team had not got any supply of grains since May. The anganwadi sevika told the team that medicines received by the centre were not distributed since they had already expired.

The Supreme Court has directed that the Chief Secretary of a state would be held responsible for any starvation death in a state. It appears to be seen if the state and its administration would pulled up for the situation as well as for the massive violations of the directions of the court in the right to food litigation.

Preliminary Investigative Report of Hunger Deaths in Lesliganj (PUCL)

PUCL Units of Ranchi and Daltonganj came to know of the situation of draught in Leslieganj from local news papers such as *Prabhat Khabar, Hindustan Times, Ranchi Express and National New Mail*. These news papers had also mentioned that there are some starvation deaths. So a PUCL Team left for Leslieganj on 19 September. The Team visited Patrahi, Sitadih, Koripatra, Bhakasi, Chandaigir and Dharudih villages in Leslieganj Block. The team looked into the aspects of hunger, hunger-deaths, migration, the status of welfare programmes, draught and health facilities in these villages. The investigation revealed that the situation in the whole block is frightening. People are dying of hunger and disease continuously. Welfare programmes are not to be seen in the villages. People are highly dissatisfied.

The Investigating Team was composed of Shashi Bhushan Pathak, Fr.Stan Swamy, Tridib Ghosh, Triveni Singh, Lal Hemendra Dehati, Arvind Kumar, Avinash, Shalini Sanvedna, Daroga Singh from the Ranchi Unit and Ram Raj, Jitendra and Rina Mehta from the Daltonganj unit.

The team found that in the above mentioned villages the victims of hunger are mostly women and children and that too of scheduled castes (Bhuiyan). The village people are mostly agricultural labourers, and a few of them are rickshaw pullers in Daltonganj town paying Rs.15 per day to the owner. Because of illness and draught they are able to earn very little from this and the hearth in their homes has not been lit for the days together. Because of draught the land owners are not cultivating their field and therefore are not able to give employment. Therefore a situation of starvation death has arisen.

Patrahi village – is about one kilometre from Leslieganj Block. Here Sunil Bhuiyan's wife Lalita died on August 24. There was a six-month old child in her womb. On the night of August 23, Lalita gave birth to a still-born baby and within 24 hours she herself died. Because of hunger and scarcity Lalita gave birth to a dead baby. Even after the delivery there was nothing in the house to eat. Bandhu Bhuiyan, her father-in-law, said that he was able to somehow give her one meal and some Sag (*Chakwar*). The team found that there was nothing in the house that can be called food-grains.

In the same village, Laxmi Bhuiyan's daughter Manju (4 years) died of starvation on September 15. After hearing about the death the village administration distributed some rice in the village which was of low quality. After eating that, Laxmi Bhuiyan's wife Sunkunti Devi (30 years), his daughter Anita (12 years), his sons Papu (7 years) and Ashish (4 years) were struck by diarrhoea. When the team entered this village, one Prayag Bhuiyan was laid up on the side of the road and the team immediately took him in the jeep to the hospital. There were also other sick persons, namely Punam Devi (25 years) wife of Bigan Bhuiyan and Pulmatia Devi (30 years) wife of Bhukhu Bhuiyan, were also taken to the hospital.

Sitadih village – In this village Kawal Patia Bhuiyan (35 years) died of malnutrition and hunger. She had given birth to twins and she had never had a full meal except things like Sag. But for one dekshi, two thalis and one lota, there was nothing in the house that can be called food.

Koripatra village – In this village Phudia Devi (60 years) wife of Ram Virksh Bhuiyan died of hunger on September 14. The BDO gave to Ram Viriksh 24 kilos of grains and Rs. 250.

There is one well in the village and it is dry even in the rainy season. There is no handpump. People bring water from 1 kilometre away.

Bhakasi village – As the team approached this village they saw the funeral pyre of Kawal Patia (30 years) wife of Kirshna Bhuiyan, who died of starvation. The team went there and shared the grief of Krishna and the villagers. Then the village people told the team that there were other starvation deaths, namely, Miny Kuwar (45 years), Patho Devi (19 years), Bigny Kuwar (45 years), Chandravati Thakur (wife of Bilash Thakur) had also died of hunger.

Chandaigir village - Here a young man Ganori Bhuiyan told the team that Rajmatia Kuwar (60 years) and her daughter Kishwa Devi had also died of hunger.

Dharudih village – Here Sumati Devi (25 years) wife of Somar Ram died of hunger on September 2. The village people informed the team that one Sarmili Sumati was living on salt water for several days and she also became a victim. Her two children and Somar himself were surviving on maize corn provided by a neighbour. If such situation continues, both the children

may not survive for long.

The team studied the ration card and found that after March 2000 there are no entries at all. The villagers said that for the last two years no food grains have been supplied to the card-holders.

Practically in all the villages the Public Distribution System is non-functional. The dealer is a corrupt man and has no fear of any body, and when the villagers complain against him he can stifle them with his money.

There is no safe drinking water in these villages. The DC himself accepts this. Most of the hand-pumps are under repair and therefore are non-functional. Even DDT has not been sprayed in the villages. The Doctor of the Block Hospital in Leslieganj said that glucose water, S.B. set, anti-emetic injection, O.R.S. Powder and such other basic medicines are not available in the hospital. This was confirmed by the Civil Surgeon also through phone.

The team did not find any government programmes being carried out in any of the villages. Grain transplantation has been delayed because of delayed rain, that too only in 15% of the lands. Water conservation sources in the area such as Raja Bandh, Jhumra are practically dried. There is no hope of grain harvest. In the next two months drinking water for people and fodder for animals will become a critical problem.

Possible immediate assistance:

1. To activate Public Distribution System and reach foodgrains to the people immediately.
2. To start Food-For-Work.
3. To conduct medical camps in the villages to stop the spread of diarrhoea and malaria.
4. To set up Safe-Food-Storages at the Block and Panchayat offices.
5. To make available loan facilities to small and big farmers.
6. To declare Leslieganj and other such areas as draught affected and reach relief supplies.

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Report on the Situation of Hunger, Food and nutritional Schemes in Lesliganj of Palamau District

In the background of reports of hunger deaths in media and a report by PUCL, a team of Food Rights State Advisory Committee consisting of Dr. Ramesh Sharan (State Advisor to the Supreme Court's Commissioner Case no- 196/2001, Mr. Balram and Mr. Byomkesh Kumar Lall, (Members, Food Rights State Advisory Board) visited Lesliganj on 29th September, 2003. The purpose of the visit was to assess the situation arising out of drought conditions prevailing in the Block and to examine the status of employment, food and nutrition schemes covered by the Supreme Court order. The team visited Bhakasi, Sitadih and Pathrahi villages of Lesliganj. The team had discussions with DC, Palamau, C. O., District Agriculture Officer, B.D.O. and other Block officials. C. O. lesliganj joined the team in Bhakasi and accompanied the team to Sitadih and Patharahi villages. The team primarily visited some of those villages where hunger deaths had been reported. Alternative India Development and Action Aid India on the direction of Food Rights State Advisory Board had already conducted an initial survey on the nutritional status of children and the condition of household food security in the Block. The present report briefly outlines the major findings of the visit.

Situation in Lesliganj

1. The situation of drought and hunger is quite grim in the block. The report of the district administration and the AID confirmed the deteriorating situation. The rainfall has been quite scanty this year. There has been a long dry spell in June and July in the Block, even then there were widespread rains in August when the crop coverage improved in other blocks. The situation in Lesliganj has improved only marginally in terms of the crop coverage particularly paddy which is the major labour intensive crop in the area. The crop coverage of paddy, which constitutes almost 50% of the total cropped area in the Block, is reported to be only 25%. The coverage of paddy in Lesliganj Panchayat is only 4%, Korainpatra 8.5%, Rajhara 7.8%, Purnadih 7.3%, Juru 12.7%, Kundri 16.1%, Ramsagar 21.5% and Gopalganj 22.6% (Annexure 1)
2. Although the coverage of Maize has been reported satisfactorily but the output has been very low due to the dry spell and also due to premature harvesting in the time of distress where some of the households had no option but to eat whatever came in hands. The team observed in Bhokasi village that in the small plots of the almost landless Bhuians, the quantity of grains in the harvested maize cobs was very low. To meet the small cash needs the some of the households were making distress sale, it was reported to the team that the price of maize has plummeted to almost Rs.2.50 per Kg. So even with a satisfactory coverage in maize the outturn is hardly sufficient to mitigate the situation
3. Due to the prevailing drought conditions, the transplanting of rice has been badly affected as a result the employment opportunities in have shrunk abnormally which has posed very serious threat to the livelihood of the poorer families. Transplantation and harvesting which used to provide food security for almost 3 months for the families will not be available this year. The condition of Bhuiyan and Parahiyas in particular who are basically agricultural workers is very bad and is likely to worsen further after the meager maize crop is exhausted. The DA is aware of this situation as is revealed from their reports.
4. As per AID and AAI survey of selected villages, in Aukka village almost 23 families were reported to be taking one meal per day. In Gopaldih, the figure reported has been 22 families, in Chouria 15 families, in Bara 16 families, Ulgara 13 families, in Pokhraha 4 families, Mukta 14 families, and Jaspur 16 families. In Bhokasi, where the team visited, it was reported that at least 15 families were almost at the starvation level in the sense of getting irregular and inadequate food.. (Annexure 2)
5. The district Administration, after the reports of hunger deaths, has also estimated that around 1801 families in the Block were in the state of virtual destitution and required immediate gratuitous relief The CO in his report to the DC has also described the situation of starvation in the Block as grim. (annexure3)
6. There are clear indication of long-term malnutrition in the area indicated by the survey of age, height and weight and the estimation of Body mass Index (BMI) clearly indicates the state of severe malnutrition in the Block particularly amongst the children and women. It has been estimated that almost 44% of the children suffered from category IV and V malnutrition and approximately 23% were suffering from grade III malnutrition. (annexure 4)

Hunger deaths in the Block

Altogether eight deaths were reported in the media and by the civil society organisations. A PUCL team also investigated the reports of deaths. As stated earlier as the basic aim of this team was not to investigate into the hunger deaths, it met only

three families where deaths had been reported and had discussions with the people in the area visited some of our observations are given below

1. The report by the district administration based on its enquiry and the doctors has mentioned the immediate cause of death but has failed to analyse the situation of the family and the deceased in the preceding weeks before the death. Kanwalpatia Devi and Lalita Devi's death occurred during delivery. The Doctor's report has mentioned that the women suffered from anaemia and malnutrition. It has been reported that both the women were in almost semi starvation situation. It is a common knowledge that the risk to both mother and the child is very high in such states. The ICDS programme in the Block is in a very bad shape. The RCH programme was also highly inadequate. In Bhoksi, pregnant women told us that she had not received any immunisation. It was reported by the Anganwari sevika that after June there has not been distribution of nutritional food to pregnant, lactating women and children in the village in spite of the allocations received by the Block for the same the supplier has not given the supply to the Block. In the present hunger situation, this has been quite an irresponsible act. In the prevailing situation, some more similar deaths could occur if necessary steps are not taken immediately on emergency basis.
2. Some of the deaths reported have been of the elderly people, which have been characterized as normal deaths by the DA. The situation in the villages visited that some of the elderly people were taking very small amount of food because of the less availability of the same. Not all the eligible persons are covered by the Annapurna scheme because the quota was already over. The deaths clearly indicate the general failure of the food and nutritional schemes of the Govt.
3. In the report of the DA, some of the deaths have been reported to be from diarrhea and after intense pain in the stomach. Such incidences are quite common in the areas facing hunger situation where the normal food is not available on regular basis so people tend to take food that are not consumed in normal days. It was reported by the villagers that they were taking less food, have reduced the number of meals taken and some of them fell sick after taking the grains distributed. Some of the households reported that they had started eating even immature maize cobs. Such irregular foods taken during phases of hunger normally leads to stomach upsets and diarrhea so the deaths reported cannot be brushed aside as death not due to starvation as the basic cause in such a situation is lack of food with the family.
4. It is worth mentioning here that it is not that the food is not available for number of days together but there is one or two days without cereals, may be followed by irregular food, then cereals taken. The death from hunger is very slow and the situational evidence in all the cases reported prima facie looks to be caused by hunger getting accentuated due to the droughts. The landless communities like Bhuyians and the Parahaias, even in the normal years do face food shortages especially during April-May when they revert back to one time cereals and Genthil (a wild root) and Chakor (spinach) in these months. Nevertheless, during the normal years they get wages from transplanting and harvesting which supports them during the rainy days. The drought years like the present ones put them in a starvation situation.
5. There were also complaints of poor quality of grains being supplied and people falling sick after consuming the grains supplied.

District Administration's Response

The team was informed by the district administration that it has taken number of steps for ameliorating the situation in the block. This included dividing the Lesliganj block in two zones and making the BDO and CO responsible for each zone, having stock of food grains for distribution to the affected families and starting of wage employment programmes in the block. DA has kept a stock of food grains with the PDS dealers to be given to the families who were in distress so that there is no starvation death. It was also informed that a register has been kept at the Block office where the name of the families requiring immediate help could be recorded 24 hours daily. A detail report regarding the situation in the Block has been sent to the State Govt. The DC informed that in absence of drought declaration it is not possible to provide gratuitous relief to the worse affected families. The district administration has identified that 1801 families require such relief in the Block. There has been also health camps in the block. An agricultural rehabilitation package has also been worked out.

Situation in the villages visited

1. The situation in Bhakashi village looked quite grim. In the house of Pato Devi, whose death was reported, her mother was sick. Her father was also sick. It was reported that before her death, the family was not having regular food for almost five days. After her death was reported, the administration gave 10 kgs of grain. The family was in need of around three kgs per day but was barely able to manage 1-2 kgs per day. The night before the visit of the team, only half kgs of rice had been cooked. The family had only one child of age 11 who got some work for last two days only. The family has harvested a very small quantity of maize.
2. Similarly, Rambrij Bhuian and his wife were destitute but were not covered by any scheme. They had resorted to begging for survival.

3. In around 15 families, at least one member of the family was sick making the family more food insecure. As the families were not having enough cash to buy medicines, they were relying on the quacks in the villages.
4. The team met one old couple and an old woman of almost eighty years who had not taken any food for at least 24 hours. The CO ordered the PDS dealer to give them grains immediately.
5. The team also met a pregnant woman, who looked pale. She was not getting any support from ICDS.
6. In Bhokasi, the people said that they had been allotted land in 1980 but the measurement has not been done. They demanded that the same should be completed.
7. In Sitadih people demanded that the food for work should be started and not the ad hoc distribution of grains as was being done.

Situation of Relief Operation

Although the drought has not been declared, yet due to the pressures and the situation prevailing in the area the DA has started a number of relief programmes but a number of deficiencies in the programme was pointed out by the beneficiaries some of which are listed below

1. Last year GOJ had started a scheme of digging one pond each in the villages of Santalparagana and Palamau. An allotment of Rs 71.71 lakhs had been received by the Block but only Rs 23.36 lakhs could be utilized. This fund if utilized at a faster rate has the potential of creating additional work in the area. The Gramsabha meetings to constitute the village committees for implementing the scheme were hurriedly conducted on 28.2.2003. A quick perusal of the composition of the records prima facie indicates that the participation of the group of the agricultural labourers is very low.
2. The distribution of grains seems to be quite ad hoc in nature. The amount of grain distributed has at times been only 5 Kgs which gets exhausted in just two days. The distribution of the grain was ad hoc, irregular and insufficient. The distributions of the grains have been taken mainly after the visits of either high-up district officials and during the visit of the Minister. During the visit of the team, there was a complaint the promised grains were not supplied. The CO during the visit of the team gave a verbal order to the PDS dealer for supply of grains to the families who were at the verge of starvation. The whole process looked very ad hoc in nature.
3. The people were not aware of the Information Center at the Block office where the names of the families requiring immediate help could be recorded. The staffs posted at the Block office were ignorant of any such register.
4. In the identification of the worst affected families and in the distribution of relief the participation of the community has been very limited.

STATE OF FOOD SECURITY SCHEMES IN THE REGION

Antodya Anna Yojana

1. The supply of the grains under the scheme was highly irregular. This was primarily due to the non availability of grains at the FCI godown and the procedural delays with the SFC. The dealers complained that their money was locked for at least two months before the grains were released. The frequency of distribution was almost once in two months.
2. The dealers were reported to be charging more prices for the grains. The fair price for 15.624 kgs of wheat and 19.382 kgs of rice was Rs 89.41 but the dealers were charging Rs 101 to 110 for the same. In Sitadih, the dealer said that due to the drought in the area he has started charging Rs 90 for the grains. The dealers said that they had to incur a cost of Rs 50 per bag as a result they were charging Rs 0.50 per kg more than the fixed price.
3. Because of the lack of necessary cash available with the beneficiaries, they are unable to lift the quota of grains. In such a situation, the dealers are reported to be giving 10Kgs of grains free of cost to the beneficiaries and keeping the rest of the entitlements with them. Thus with an investment of Rs 120, the dealers have been able to get almost 25 Kgs of grains. This is a clear violation of the orders of the Hon'ble Supreme Court, which stipulates that such families should be given grains free of cost. Besides, this is highly irregular that the entitlements and the subsidy created for the well-off sections of the Society are taking the poorest of the poor.
4. A new survey has been conducted in the Block as per the decision of the State Govt. to include 10% more families under the scheme through Panchayat Sevaks. However, the villagers and the households whose names had been recommended were not aware of this. The team observed that only the Panchayat Sevaks and the dealers were having the knowledge of the same. Thus in the selection of the beneficiaries, there has hardly been any community participation or information sharing. This increases the probability of inclusion and exclusion failure.
5. The officials at the Block office were unaware of the May-2003 orders of the Supreme Court order which has directed inclusion of six specific groups (including widows without support, primitive tribes, non-able bodied persons, disabled,

pregnant and lactating mothers and elderly destitute) in the Antyodaya Anna Yojna. The distress in the villages could have been mitigated had the Govt taken the measure. It may be mentioned here that the 2 May, 2003 orders of the Supreme Court was communicated to the Chief Secretary, GOJ by the Food rights State Advisory Board.

6. There have been complaints of the poor quality of grains being supplied in the scheme. There was a general complaint that the good quality grain was sold in the black market. Some households complained that after consuming the grains they fell sick. Nevertheless, grains supplied had already been consumed the quality of the grains could not be verified by the team.
7. Information has come from some villages that the beneficiaries were borrowing Rs 100 from the Mahajans and were keeping the rice and giving wheat to the Mahajans as repayment of the loans taken. Thus the card holders are getting only 19 kgs of grains although in the official records the grains taken is 35 Kgs

Annapurna Yojana

1. The distribution of grains under this scheme has been very irregular. In August, the quota of 5 months was distributed. The grains under are given free to the old people having no support. Such irregular supply further aggravates the food insecurity of the most vulnerable section of the society.
2. the team could locate a number of old aged people who were eligible to be included in the list of the beneficiary but the administration has not been able to include them as the quota has been exhausted

National Old Age Pension Scheme

1. The pension under this scheme is distributed every 2 or 3 months which is a clear violation of the Supreme Court order which has directed that it should be paid before 7 of every month.
2. In the Lesliganj Block, the team was informed that altogether, 2421 applications under this scheme were pending but as the quota assigned to the Block under the State 1113 and under Central scheme 550 was complete there was no vacancy. The vacancies are created only after the death of a pensioner.
3. In Bhokasi the team came across a number of old people who had not take food for almost 24 hours. The old people were in total distress

National Family Benefit Scheme

A large number of applications were pending under in this scheme .In Lesliganj Block itself the number was 112. The payment had been made to only 5 families out of which 2 families were those where hunger deaths had been reported. It is quite important to note here that delays in such schemes aggravates the sufferings of the families who loose their sole bread earners and defeats the purpose of such schemes.

National Maternity Benefit Scheme

As per the Supreme Court orders, the payment to the eligible beneficiaries should be made 8-12 weeks before the expected date of delivery. In the Block out of 101 applications received the payment had been made to only 28. The others could not receive the same because the funds were not available.

ICDS

The team observed that the nutritional status of the mothers and children was very poor. At least two deaths reported had been just after the delivery and anemia was stated to be the cause .BDO was in charge of CDPO in the Block. It was reported that CARE has withdrawn its support to the programme. Since January after it was taken over by the State Govt. In the Center visited by the team it was reported that one bag Murhi, one bag of Sattu and one bag of Gur was supplied to the Center in May this year after which the Center had not received any supply. BDO informed the team that the, Block had received the funds but the supplier had not supplied the items. It has been very callous attitude of the administration not to supply the most needed nutritional supplementation at the current distress situation.

The Anganwari sevika was not having the list of pregnant and, lactating women .The center had the list of children but neither the name of the parents nor the weighs had been recorded. As the medicines received had not been distributed, they had expired. It was informed that when the medicines were received by the center they already were past their expiry date so it was not distributed.

Midday meal programme

This scheme is yet to start

Display of Supreme Court Order

The Supreme Court orders have not been properly disseminated .In Lesliganj Block the copy of the orders had been hurriedly pasted just before the arrival of the team. The glue used was still wet. DC informed the team that the paper posters get destroyed fast so these orders would be painted on the Boards for which the tenders had been floated.

SGRY

This is a very important wage employment programme. The fund allocated under this scheme has not been released fully to the Block. In the Block Rs. 30.35 lakhs has been allocated under SGRY Ist stream out of which around Rs 24.17 lakhs was received and Rs 16.69 lakhs could be spent by the Block Similarly around Rs 8.96 Lakhs was still unspent under SGRYII.

Complaints were received in the villages that the payment of the works done have not been made. As per the orders of the Supreme Court, the payments are to be made every week .The officials said that the payments could not be made because the measurement book could not be verified

In the prevailing conditions in the Block, it is important that the work is expedited and the wages in both Cash and Kind is paid every week.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. As the situation hunger and starvation in some Panchayats is very grim, Famine should be declared in all the Panchayats in which coverage of paddy is below 25% and immediate relief work should be started and the gratuitous payment be made within a month.
2. The Supreme Court orders has hardly is being followed .A number of reasons like non availability Irregular supply of grains from FCI, Non timely release of funds, lack of staff etc have given as reasons for the same. This is an emergent situation. The GOJ is also aware of the situation in other parts of the state so it is important that a very high power Committee should be directly made responsible for the implementation of all the schemes particularly in the distressed areas.
3. People's participation and information sharing have been lacking in the rudimentary relief work already started in the area. It was observed that some middlemen and brokers have also emerged who can simply corner the benefits to be given to the distressed people. It is important that the Committees of beneficiaries are formed and all the information is shared with them. As the people in distress are hardly in a position to deny anything, which comes under their way, it is important that all the information regarding the entitlements and the list of beneficiaries should be made public and it should be made available to the interested Civil Society Organizations and public.
4. The deaths reported have been of pregnant women, lactating woman, oldpeople, children as well as those of young women. All such families having pregnant women, lactating mothers, malnourished children and old people should be identified and grains sufficient for at least 90 days should be supplied to such families. The administration should guarantee regular medical check ups and if necessary special medical teams should be deputed for the same
5. Wage employment programmes should be started at a faster pace and wage advances of the grain components should be given at the commencement of work. Cash wage payment should be made every week.
6. Necessary funds should be made available for the payment of regular old age pension, NFBS and maternity benefits.

Acronyms Used

AID-Alternative India Development

AAI-Action Aid India

BDO-Block Development Officer

CO-Circle Officer

DA –District Administration

DC-Deputy Commissioner

GOJ-Government of Jharkhand

RCH-Reproductive and Child Health