Urban Poverty in Bihar, India: A Comprehensive Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This study's focus on urban poverty in Bihar is vital because urban areas, while often perceived as centers of economic activity, can still harbor significant pockets of deprivation. Understanding the specific characteristics and trends of urban poverty is distinct from rural poverty due to factors like higher living costs, different employment opportunities, and the nature of social support systems. Data collection involved both primary methods, such as questionnaires, and secondary sources, including literature reviews and journals. Convenience sampling was employed to gather relevant information. Historically, Bihar has grappled with high poverty levels. As per a study, the intensity of urban poverty in Bihar was reported at 49.00%, the highest among Indian states. However, initiatives like the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) have made

significant strides in addressing housing shortages among the urban poor. As of June 2024, PMAY-Urban had sanctioned over 1.18 crore houses nationwide, with substantial progress in construction and completion. In Bihar, challenges such as unclear land ownership records have posed obstacles, yet efforts continue to ensure housing for all. While urban poverty persists in Bihar, especially due to factors like unemployment and inadequate infrastructure, government schemes have contributed to improvements in housing conditions. Continued focus on comprehensive poverty alleviation strategies is essential to address the multifaceted nature of urban poverty in the state.

KEYWORDS: Slum, Poverty, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, Per capita income.

INTRODUCTION

Bihar, a state steeped in history and cultural richness, paradoxically grapples with the pervasive issue of poverty, particularly within its burgeoning urban centers. While often overshadowed by discussions on rural deprivation, urban poverty in Bihar presents a distinct set of challenges and necessitates focused scholarly attention. This research endeavors to provide a comprehensive analysis of urban poverty in Bihar, examining its multifaceted dimensions, historical evolution, underlying socio-economic determinants, and the efficacy of current intervention strategies. Understanding the intricacies of poverty within Bihar's towns and cities is not merely an academic exercise; it is crucial for formulating effective policies aimed at fostering inclusive growth and improving the quality of life for a significant segment of the state's population. The phenomenon of urban poverty in India is a complex interplay of rural-urban migration, limited employment opportunities in the formal sector, the rising cost of living, and inadequate access to essential services like housing, sanitation, healthcare, and education. In the context of Bihar, these challenges are often amplified by the state's unique socio-economic landscape, characterized by historical underdevelopment, persistent social inequalities, and the pressures of rapid urbanization. As people migrate from rural areas in search of better prospects, the urban infrastructure and job markets often fail to absorb this influx, leading to the proliferation of informal settlements, precarious livelihoods, and a struggle for basic survival for a considerable urban populace. This research recognizes that urban poverty is not a monolithic entity but rather a complex web of deprivations. It extends beyond mere income deficiency to encompass a lack of access to opportunities, social exclusion, vulnerability to shocks, and a diminished capacity to participate fully in the economic and social life of the city. Therefore, a comprehensive analysis requires a multi-dimensional approach, considering economic, social, and spatial aspects of poverty within Bihar's urban locales.

The historical trajectory of poverty in urban Bihar is a crucial backdrop for understanding its present state. While systematic data from the early 20th century is scarce, anecdotal evidence and broader socio-economic trends suggest that urban centers, even then, likely harbored significant levels of poverty, albeit with different characteristics compared to today. The post-independence era witnessed planned development efforts,



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including the initial focus on socio-economic justice in the first five-year plan. However, the impact of these overarching national strategies on urban poverty in specific states like Bihar requires granular examination. Over the decades, Bihar has experienced significant demographic shifts, with increasing urbanization placing immense pressure on urban resources and infrastructure. This rapid growth, coupled with a relatively slow pace of industrialization and formal job creation, has likely contributed to the persistence and even the changing nature of urban poverty.

In Bihar, the growing urban population due to migration has enhanced the problem of urban poverty as 2.56 lakh people (32.9%) live below the poverty line in the Patna Municipal Corporation area (2004). Bihar's performance is still below the National Average. The government of Bihar has initiated Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana in the urban areas of Bihar to provide the people's house so that they can come about the poverty line. It provided affordable housing for the public. Pradhanmantri Awas Yojana scheme, the selection of the people is being done based on SECC-2011. The causes of poverty may vary concerning the nation, region, and in comparison with other countries at the global level. 39.4 percent of the population is living below the poverty line in Urban Bihar(2009-10). Jharkhand has very high poverty which was once second only to Bihar's in 2005-06. Poverty (% of people below the poverty line) Bihar 33.74 and Jharkhand 36.96. This research will delve into the socio-economic factors that perpetuate urban poverty in Bihar. These factors may include, but are not limited to, the educational attainment and skill levels of the urban population, the nature of employment and the prevalence of the informal sector, access to credit and financial inclusion, the state of housing and basic services, healthcare access and nutritional status, and the influence of social structures and inequalities. By dissecting these underlying determinants, the study aims to identify the root causes of urban poverty in Bihar and inform targeted interventions. Furthermore, this analysis will critically evaluate the various government schemes and initiatives designed to alleviate urban poverty in Bihar. Programs such as the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (Urban), the Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana-National Urban Livelihoods Mission (DAY-NULM), and other state-specific initiatives will be examined for their reach, effectiveness, and impact on the lives of the urban poor. While schemes like PMAY have demonstrably addressed housing deficits for some, a broader assessment is needed to understand their contribution to overall poverty reduction and the challenges that remain in ensuring comprehensive coverage and addressing the multi-dimensional nature of urban poverty in Bihar. This research seeks to contribute to a more informed and effective approach to tackling this critical development challenge.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Debjani Sarkar Ghose (2015), has mentioned that poverty can be defined as a position in which a person does not have a minimum standard for living his life. She has stated that Bihar is one of the states which have the highest poverty in India. In Bihar, the poverty in Patna Urban Agglomeration in the urban area is more. The objective is to analyze and find out socio-economic deprivation, monthly per capita consumption



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expenditure, etc. The author concludes by saying that in Patna Urban Agglomeration the urban poor are in a very dangerous cycle of poverty and if they do not get a good education then they cannot get good jobs which will not bring them a better standard of living and they will be in poverty only. K. M. Singh, R.K.P. Singh, M S Meena Abhay Kumar (2013), they have mentioned that the removal of poverty in India has been one of the main objectives. In India, the discussion of this topic started in the year 1901. They tried to launch many

schemes and the first five years plan mainly focused on the economic and social justice of poverty. It has been mentioned that from that time Bihar is the only state in India that has the highest poverty. They have concluded by saying that after various poverty alleviation programs poverty in Bihar has continued and necessary steps must be taken by the government to eradicate poverty. **Durgesh Pathak, Srijit Mishra** (2013) Have mentioned that recently the poverty reports have come out and it's showing that many people are still below the poverty line. It is being mentioned that a person should get around 32 rupees per day then he may not come under the poverty line. So the main objective is to find out whether the new method and the poverty line provided by the planning commission is useful. **Dr. M. Sreedhar (2017)**, from the beginning of the year in India about 260 million people did not have enough money for their consumption. India is home to 22 percent of the world's poor. This was the reason poverty eradication has been one of the major objectives of the development planning process. Poverty is one of the situations in which a person is unable to fulfill its basic necessity. Major issues of poverty are lack of income, purchasing power attributable, lack of productive employment and considerable underemployment, the inadequacy of infrastructure, affecting the quality of life and employability, etc. The poverty alleviation program aims to increase the income of an individual. And try to bring people above the poverty line. Anto Rozarina. N. Junofy (2013), speaks that Poverty is a lack of adequate income. Poverty is spreaded all over the world about 3 billion people are living below the poverty line. Poverty in India is spreaded, and India is in the 3 position because of high poverty. The objective is to study the intensity of poverty and hunger in India . So, the government has to take necessary steps and changes in its policy structures and its implementation. Swastik Suman Satapathy, Krishna K Jaiswal (2018), it has been over 70 years after independence there have been lots of changes but one thing remains poverty. The fact is that it is a country where there is a huge population. The people do not get basic things for their survival. The aim is to find out the basic concept of poverty estimation and the current status of poverty in India and discussion about the measurements taken for poverty. They concluded by saying that the government is taking necessary steps and there has been a reduction but the country should be vouching for a better standard of living and an all-inclusive society for one and all. Kiran Sharma (2012) poverty can be of many types of house poor or food poor or health poor. From the start of the 20th century almost half of the world suffered from poverty. According to the World Bank estimation, India is the third country in which higher powers are residing. As per the World Bank report in India out of every 3 people, one person is 4. This study is done to explore urban poverty in the state of Jharkhand comparing it with the state of Bihar. The study is done to find out the issues about the urban areas. He concludes by stating that if urban poverty is still continued, urbanization would result in increases in urban poverty and inequality which might bring more www.ijsrem.com DOI: 10.55041/IJSREM48120 Page 4

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issues in the city life. There is a need for a reduction in urban poverty because already rural poverty exists. And there is a lot of difference between into because in an urban area a person must spend more than and rural area so the government must try to extend the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme to urban areas, with modifications is certainly welcome policy intervention in addressing the problems of urban poor in providing wage employments and for income-generating activities that would prevent the urban poor to find the roots of exit from poverty. Srijit Mishra, Manoj panda (2005), has stated that after being one of the richest states in India Maharashtra still has the issue of poverty. Areas like Gadchiroli where the net district domestic product percentage of the state per capita is less. The urban poverty declined from 44 % to 27 percent from 1999 to 2000 as stated that after looking at this much use the poverty in Maharashtra is still the same from 1999. This paper attempts to examine the poverty points after viewing across the sector region and social-economic group. Despite these developments, poverty in the state remains. Kala Seetharam Sridhar and A.venugopala reddy (2014), it has been stated that throughout the world urban poverty is rising, in certain countries the urban poor are growing more rapidly than the rural poor. Urban poverty in India remains higher. This paper aims to find out evidence on the contribution of urban poor to their urban economics in reports. They have mentioned that the government is taking necessary steps and several policies are implemented as well as providing jobs so that a person can come out from the poverty line. Siddhartha Mitra (2016), the position in West Bengal of poverty is relatively good to other states in India. but it has been stated that urban poverty and rural poverty have a wider difference between them. The districts have exhibited low to moderate rural as well as urban poverty; those in the exhibit moderate to high poverty, while the poverty in all districts shows large variations from low to moderate to high. The main aim is to find out the reason for poverty. He is concluding by saying that they are focusing on the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA) to bring the public about the poverty line. Munich Personal, Repec Archive, Priyabrata Sahoo (2015), Odisha is the second-highest state in India which has poverty after Bihar. Recently as per the national survey from 2011 to 2012, it has been stated that around 33 % of the people are below the poverty line in Odisha. Poverty in Odisha remains the same for SC and ST. Hence the major proposition which the article raises is whether the farm growth resulted in a poverty reduction. Except for rising farm growth, factors that cause the reduction in poverty are increase in public spending and a rise in farm productivity since 2004-05. **Prabhavathi P.O, Naveena.** N (2014), poverty can be conceptualized as the socio-economic phenomenon where the resources are used by a few people and others do not even have the basic things to fulfill those. Poverty is generally denoted by the per capita income. Poverty is the situation of low expectancy of life, a low rate of literacy, a high infantile mortality rate. The poverty of many faces, poverty is different in different places. The objective of this study is to analyze poverty across the southern states. To analyze the trends in the incidence of poverty in Karnataka and all – India.He concluded by expressing that in Karnataka many poverty alleviation schemes have been introduced in both rural and urban areas. The state has even taken the necessary to provide food and has distributed food to the public. Husensab Nadaf, 2 RR Biradar (2017), since 1990 poverty and unemployment have been two important and priority



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ones. In India since 1991 poverty has been the biggest issue. In the mid of 1970, a Sample Survey was carried

out which provided that in India half of the public were below the poverty line. This paper aims at providing estimates of multidimensional poverty at disaggregated levels; in the regions of Karnataka, and decomposing multidimensional poverty dynamics across dimensions and regions. It has been concluded by saying that there must be an increase in the per capita food production to reduce poverty in Karnataka. The government is spending on education to reduce poverty in Karnataka. Because of this many people will be educated and they will get jobs through which they can get their basic needs fulfilled and they can come up from the poverty line. Rinku Murgai, Suryanarayana MH, Salman Zaidi (2003), poverty in India have received considerable attention and discussion. The initiative was undertaken by the government of Karnataka to estimate poverty incidence at the district level .This paper attempts to find out the level of poverty in the districts. One important point is that the rural-urban poverty rates are not acceptable and warrant further attention. Dr. Niranjan & Shivakumar (2018), Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon and it is the greatest challenge to mankind. Poverty can be defined as an inability to acquire food and services for basic survival. It also includes low levels of attainment, education, and health, poor access to sanitation and clean water, insufficient physical security, and inadequate capacity. Poverty is one of the critical issues faced by society. There are two types of poverty: absolute and relative poverty. The main objective of this current study is to provide a profile of social group poverty and social disparity. The study concerning Karnataka since this gap by analyzing the status of district and division wise poverty across socio-religious groups. At last, it was concluded by saying that the Karnataka government is taking necessary steps to eradicate poverty. Yogesh Vansiya (2015), The major economic problems of India, which are interconnected with one another, are poverty, unemployment, and income inequality. Factors like sufficient food, lack of good health, low education, and low income are different forms of poverty, and to know the development it is necessary to study the social and economic condition of people along with human poverty. The aim is to know the level of poverty among different castes and factors affecting contribution to rural poverty. Pranab Bardhan and Dilip Mookherjee (2004), This paper aims to find out poverty alleviation efforts taken by West Bengal panchayats, comprising an implementation of land reforms and pro-poor targeting of credit, agricultural mini kits, employment programs, and fiscal grants. Poverty alleviation steps were taken by village ,improved when the land was distributed more equally, the poor became more literate, there were fewer low caste households and local elections were more contested. Bruce Weber, Leif Jensen (2004), Poverty rates are highest in the most urban and most rural areas of the United States and are higher in non-metropolitan than metropolitan areas, yet rural poverty remains relatively obscured from mainstream political and popular attention. This body of research confirms the higher prevalence of poverty in non metro areas and finds that while both compositional and contextual factors are at play, a complete explanation remains elusive. Sitakanta Panda, Balakrushna Padhi (2020) Odisha has been one of the states that are still under development in India which has a record of poverty. The main aim is to find out whether there have been changes in the rate of poverty or not. find that while Odisha has succeeded in substantially reducing both rural and urban poverty incidence,

© 2025, IJSREM www.ijsrem.com DOI: 10.55041/IJSREM48120 Page 6 this change has not met desirable subgroup-specific variations. The rate of poverty reduction for the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes has been dismal. Finally, the author concluded by stating that there has been a change in poverty in Odisha. **Vishwambhar Prasad Sati (2020)**, Mizoram is a state in which the public largely depends upon biomass-based agriculture systems, livestock farming, and the use of forest products for their livelihood. But the output coming out from this is not sufficient for them and they do not get enough food in a day. This has led to chronic poverty and malnutrition. This paper presents the analysis of all the livelihood assets/ capitals — natural, human, physical, financial, and social and institutional supports and further assesses the vulnerability in their context. The author has concluded by saying that High economic viability and rich oral and faunal diversity can lead to a sustainable livelihood.

OBJECTIVES

- To find out the impact of poverty in urban areas of Bihar.
- To find out the change in the rate of poverty in urban areas of Bihar from 1901 till today.

HYPOTHESIS

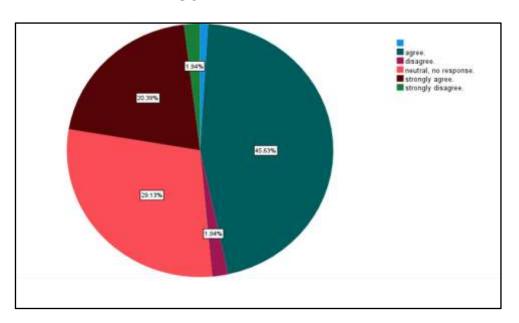
H0: There is no significant relationship between the educational attainment of respondents and their opinion on Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana.

H1: There is a significant relationship between the educational attainment of the respondents and their opinion on Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana.

METHODOLOGY

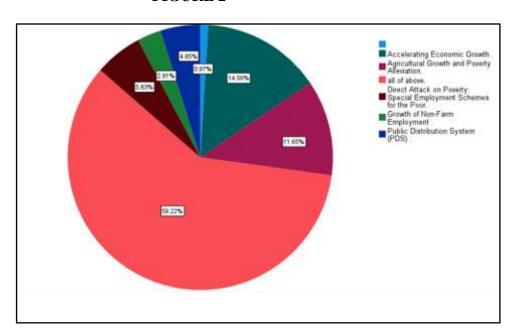
This study employs a mixed-methods approach, utilizing both primary and secondary data. Secondary data was gathered through a literature review of sources including newspapers, magazines, websites, blogs, case law, published books, reports from private, governmental, and other agencies, journals, articles, and working/discussion papers. Primary data was collected from 100 respondents in Bihar using a well-structured questionnaire and a convenience sampling method. The questionnaire assessed public opinion on urban poverty in Bihar, with name, age, gender, and education as independent variables. The study uses bar graphs for data analysis.

FIGURE 1



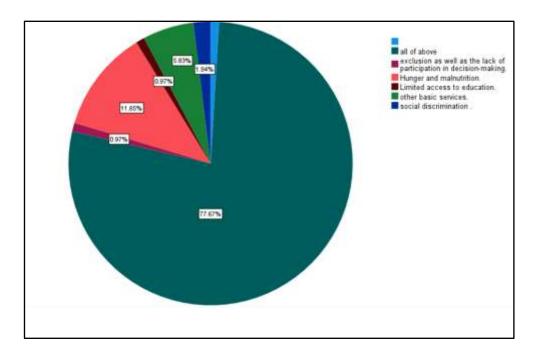
LEGEND: Figure 1, represents the overall performance of the sample population regarding their opinion on the Pradhanmantri Awas Yojana scheme.

FIGURE 2

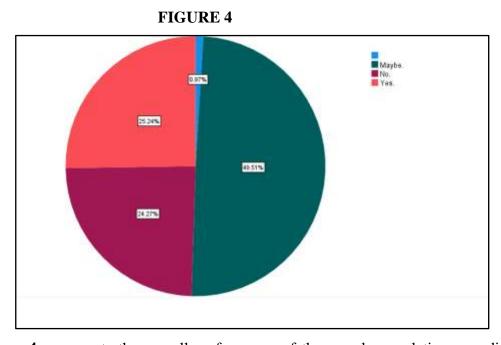


LEGEND: Figure 2, represents the overall performance of the sample population regarding their opinion on measures taken to eradicate poverty.

FIGURE 3

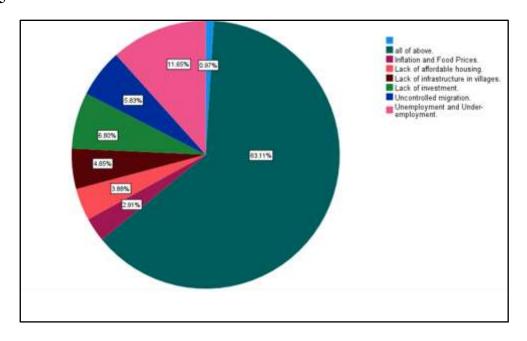


LEGEND: Figure 3, represents the overall performance of the sample population regarding their opinion on the problems of poor people.



LEGEND: Figure 4, represents the overall performance of the sample population regarding their opinion whether the government is taking necessary steps to eradicate poverty or not.

FIGURE 5



LEGEND: Figure 5, represents the overall performance of the sample population regarding their opinion on the main causes of poverty in urban areas of India.

RESULT

The survey results indicate a generally positive perception of the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana's effectiveness. A significant majority of respondents either strongly agreed (20.39%) or agreed (45.63%) with its positive impact. While a notable portion remained neutral (29.13%), only a small fraction disagreed or strongly disagreed (1.94%). This suggests a widespread belief in the scheme's contribution (Figure 1). Respondents overwhelmingly believe that a multi-pronged approach is necessary for poverty eradication. The most supported strategy (59.22%) encompasses accelerating economic and agricultural growth alongside direct poverty alleviation measures such as special employment schemes, non-farm employment growth, and a robust public distribution system. Individually, accelerating economic growth received 14.56% support, followed by agricultural growth and poverty alleviation at 11.65%, special employment schemes at 5.83%, and the public distribution system at 4.85% (Figure 2). The study reveals a strong consensus regarding the multifaceted challenges faced by the urban poor. An overwhelming majority (77.67%) identified hunger and malnutrition, limited access to education and basic services, social discrimination and exclusion, and lack of participation in decision-making as key problems. Among individual issues, hunger and malnutrition received 11.65% of responses, followed by limited access to other basic services at 5.83%, and social discrimination at 1.94% (Figure 3). Opinions regarding the government's efforts to eradicate poverty are divided. While a plurality of respondents (49.51%) indicated uncertainty ("maybe"), a significant portion believed the government is taking necessary steps (25.24%). Conversely, nearly a quarter of respondents (24.27%) did not believe the government is taking adequate action (Figure 4). The primary drivers of urban poverty in India,



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according to the survey, are perceived to be numerous and interconnected. The most frequently cited factor (63.11%) encompassed inflation and food prices, lack of affordable housing, inadequate village infrastructure, lack of investment, uncontrolled migration, and unemployment/underemployment. Individually, unemployment and underemployment were identified by 11.65% of respondents, followed by lack of investment (6.80%), uncontrolled migration (5.83%), lack of infrastructure in villages (4.85%), lack of affordable housing (3.88%), and inflation and food prices (2.09%) (**Figure 5**).

DISCUSSION

The strong positive perception of the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) suggests that this housing initiative is likely making a tangible difference in the lives of urban residents in Bihar. This could be due to the direct impact of providing housing, which addresses a fundamental need and can lead to improvements in other areas like health and security. However, the significant neutral response (29.13%) warrants further investigation. This neutrality could stem from factors such as limited awareness of the scheme, perceived issues with implementation or beneficiary selection, or a belief that housing alone is insufficient to overcome poverty. The very small percentage of negative responses (1.94%) indicates that while there might be localized issues or criticisms, the overall sentiment towards PMAY is favorable. This finding highlights the potential of targeted housing programs in urban poverty alleviation but also underscores the need to understand the nuances behind the neutral responses to optimize its effectiveness (Figure 1). The overwhelming support for a multi-pronged approach to poverty eradication aligns with established development theory, which emphasizes that poverty is a complex issue requiring integrated solutions. The high percentage for "all of the above" underscores the understanding among the respondents that economic growth, agricultural development, direct interventions, employment generation, and social safety nets are all crucial components of a comprehensive poverty reduction strategy. The individual support for accelerating economic growth and agricultural growth (though lower than the combined option) still indicates their perceived importance. The relatively lower percentages for specific direct interventions like employment schemes and the PDS might suggest that while acknowledged, they are seen as less impactful in isolation compared to broader economic drivers. This finding emphasizes the need for policymakers to adopt a holistic strategy that combines macro-economic policies with targeted social programs to effectively address urban poverty in Bihar (Figure 2). The strong consensus on the multifaceted nature of the problems faced by the urban poor in Bihar reinforces the understanding that poverty is not solely an economic issue. The dominance of "all of the above" highlights the interconnectedness of deprivations, where lack of income often translates to food insecurity, limited access to essential services, social exclusion, and disempowerment. The significant percentage for hunger and malnutrition as an individual problem underscores the critical issue of food security among the urban poor. The lower percentages for other individual problems do not diminish their importance but likely reflect the respondents' understanding that these issues often cluster together. This finding necessitates a multi-sectoral approach to poverty alleviation that addresses not only income but also health,



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education, social inclusion, and empowerment (Figure 3). The divided opinions regarding the government's efforts to eradicate poverty are significant. The largest group selecting "maybe" suggests a degree of uncertainty or a lack of clear perception regarding the effectiveness and reach of government initiatives. This could be due to a lack of awareness about specific programs, skepticism about their implementation, or a feeling that the efforts are insufficient to address the scale of the problem. The substantial percentage of respondents who believe the government is taking necessary steps indicates some level of trust or positive perception of current policies. However, the almost equally large percentage who disagree highlights significant concerns about the adequacy or effectiveness of these efforts. This divergence in opinion underscores the need for better communication and transparency regarding poverty alleviation programs and a critical evaluation of their actual impact on the ground (Figure 4). The overwhelming agreement that a combination of factors drives urban poverty in India, including economic, infrastructural, and demographic issues, provides valuable insights for policy formulation. The high percentage for "all of the above" indicates an understanding of the complex interplay of these forces. The individual factors receiving notable support, such as unemployment and underemployment, highlight the critical need for job creation and skill development in urban areas. The concerns about the lack of investment and inadequate village infrastructure suggest that both urban and rural development strategies play a role in mitigating urban poverty by influencing migration patterns and economic opportunities. The relatively lower percentages for factors like lack of affordable housing and inflation, while still important, might be perceived as consequences or contributing factors within the broader context of these more fundamental drivers. This finding emphasizes the need for integrated policies that address economic growth, infrastructure development in both urban and rural areas, migration management, and employment generation to effectively tackle the root causes of urban poverty in Bihar (Figure 5).

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study on urban poverty in Bihar faces several limitations. The use of convenience sampling restricts the generalizability of findings to the entire urban poor population due to potential selection bias. Primary data collected through questionnaires may be subject to recall and social desirability biases, affecting response accuracy, and could also be influenced by language barriers and interviewer effects. Analyzing poverty trends from 1901 to the present is challenging due to the limited and potentially inconsistent availability of granular historical secondary data, coupled with varying definitions of poverty and urban areas over such a long period. Furthermore, the study's geographical focus might not be representative of the diverse urban landscape of Bihar, and capturing the full multidimensionality of poverty through a questionnaire alone presents inherent difficulties. Finally, time and resource constraints could have limited the sample size and overall depth of the investigation, while the significant socio-economic transformations since 1901 complicate direct comparisons of poverty across such a vast historical timeline.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study on urban poverty in Bihar reveals a complex and multifaceted challenge, shaped by a confluence of economic, social, and structural factors. The findings highlight a general positive perception of the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana's effectiveness, indicating the potential of targeted housing initiatives. However, the study also underscores the critical need for a multi-pronged approach to poverty eradication, encompassing economic growth, agricultural development, and direct interventions addressing employment and social safety nets. The urban poor in Bihar face a range of interconnected problems, including hunger and malnutrition, limited access to essential services, social discrimination, and exclusion, emphasizing that poverty extends beyond mere economic deprivation. While opinions on the government's efforts to combat poverty are divided, the research identifies key drivers of urban poverty, such as unemployment, underemployment, inadequate infrastructure, and uncontrolled migration. These factors necessitate integrated policy responses that promote inclusive economic growth, improve urban and rural infrastructure, and address the vulnerabilities of marginalized populations. Despite the limitations of the study, including those related to sampling methodology and data availability, the findings provide valuable insights into the complexities of urban poverty in Bihar. They underscore the need for continued research, policy dialogue, and multistakeholder collaboration to develop and implement effective strategies for poverty alleviation and sustainable urban development in the region.

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