

YOJANA

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A DEVELOPMENT MONTHLY

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Development Roadmap

First All Women Bank inaugurated

India's first all women bank, Bharatiya Mahila Bank was inaugurated recently. The bank, which will lend mainly to women and employ predominantly women, has already seven branches and employed more than 100 people. It is scheduled to have 25 branches by the end of 2013-14 and its expansion plans aims at 771 branches and Rs 60,000 crore business by 2020. The bank has branches in Mumbai, Bangalore, Chennai, Kolkata, Lucknow, Ahmedabad and Guwahati. These will be followed by branches in Delhi and Indore. The Bharatiya Mahila Bank will offer an interest rate of 4.5 per cent on savings bank balances upto Rs 1 lakh and 5 per cent on balances above Rs 1 lakh. The bank will offer various loans to women such as for education, housing, setting up food and catering business, day care centres and small and medium enterprises. It is going to undertake multifarious banking activities, including financial services such as insurance and mutual funds and commercial/investment banking.

The bank has an eight-member all women Board of Directors and has been set up with a capital base of Rs 1000 crore. It is the first bank started in the public sector by an Act of parliament (other public sector banks were nationalized in two phases in 1969 and 1980).

Eradication of Manual Scavenging

The prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013 was enacted recently. The Act prohibits construction or maintaining of insanitary latrines and employment or engagement of any person as manual scavenger. The penalty would range from imprisonment upto one year or fine of Rs fifty thousand or both for first contravention to imprisonment upto two years or fine upto Rs one lakh or both for subsequent contravention. The Act also prohibits engagement of persons for hazardous cleaning of a sewer or septic tank. The punishment for contravention of this clause of the act would be imprisonment of upto two years or fine of Rs 2 lakh or both for first contravention and imprisonment of upto five years or fine upto 5 lakhs or both for subsequent contraventions.

The Act provides for comprehensive rehabilitation of the manual scavengers in a time bound framework. They would be offered photo identity cards; initial cash assistance; scholarship for their children; allotment of residential plots with financial assistance for construction of a house or purchase of ready built house within the framework of the scheme; training in a livelihood skill; concessional loan with subsidy for taking up alternative occupation as also any assistance to handle legal issues.

A monitoring mechanism has also been provided for by the Act with the District Magistrate/ Sub-Divisional Magistrate chairing the vigilance committees at district/sub-district levels. The Chief Minister of the state would be Chairperson of the monitoring committee at the state level and the Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment at the central level.

The National Commission for Safai Karamcharis (NCSK) would also act as a monitoring mechanism for effective implementation of the act.

The Act envisages a national survey of manual scavengers in both urban and rural areas as also construction of adequate numbers of sanitary community latrines in urban areas within three years from the date of commencement of the act to eliminate the practice of open defacation.

Identification of endangered languages: New Central Scheme

The Central government has initiated a new scheme for ascertaining the exact number of endangered languages in the country. The Scheme for Protection and Promotion of Endangered languages or SPPEL, launched by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, will be implemented by the Central Institute of Indian languages (CIIL) in coordination with universities across the country. The scheme, to be taken up under the 12th Five year plan, will identify, document and take measures to protect the endangered languages.

As of now, CIIL has identified 520 languages. During 2014, over 20 universities in seven zones of the country will study around 70 languages. The remaining languages will be researched and documented over a decade. The need for this scheme arose since UNESCO could not accurately list the number of endangered languages in the country.



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Let noble thoughts come to us from all sides Rig Veda

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YOJANA

Lest We Forget the Other Panchsheel....

Te all know that Jawaharlal Nehru enunciated the five principles for the conduct of international relations which is known as *Panchsheel*. However, it is relatively unknown that Nehru also formulated another set of five fundamental principles to draw a framework for the development of the tribal people. This is contained in his preface to the book titled 'A *Philosophy for North Eastern Frontier Area (NEFA)*' written by the renowned anthropologist Verrier Elwin whom Nehru greatly admired and respected. The cornerstone of Nehruvian vision of tribal development is based on the need to respect the tribal rights in land and forests. It cautions against the imposition of the thinking and values of the outsiders on the tribals and argues that they should be allowed to 'develop along the lines of their own genius'. These principles lay a clear emphasis on retaining and respecting the autonomy of the tribal social and cultural institutions. These ideas are in consonance with the Article 244 of the constitution which mandates the preservation of the tradition and culture of the Scheduled Tribes and the autonomy of the scheduled areas.



The history of the marginalisation of the tribal people goes long back. In the colonial period a number of constitutional provisions were enacted which effectively deprived the tribals of their traditional rights over land, forest and other natural resources. The Indian Forest Act of 1927 introduced the principle of 'res nullius' which implied that any property which does not have a documented legal owner can be appropriated by the government. Using this principle large tracts of land were handed over by the British to the Forest Department which was created to implement this rule. Similarly, the concept of 'Eminent Domain' that owes its origin to the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 gives the government the first right to acquire any land for public purpose. This has also been criticised for taking away the traditional rights of the tribal people over land and natural resources.

It is a fact that the tribals have faced displacement and deprivation to facilitate various developmental projects such as setting up of industries, mining operations, construction of big dams etc. According to some estimates close to 10 million tribals have been displaced and lost their livelihoods on account of such developmental activities undertaken in the country. The modern nation states indeed 'divide their territories into complex and overlapping political and economic zones, rearrange people and resources within these units, and create regulations delineating how and by whom these zones can be used' to achieve certain goals but safeguarding the rights of the indigenous people, protecting their culture and livelihood has been accepted as a fundamental duty of the state.

In India too, the provisions like the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the constitution provide a historic guarantee to the adivasis on the right over their land and have been hailed as 'constitution within constitution' so far as tribal rights are concerned. The Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA), gives substantive powers to the tribals with regard to natural resource management and self-governance. The Forest Rights Act also grants community rights over common resources apart from the individual rights to integrate the conservation and livelihood rights of some of the poorest of the poor people of the country. The recently promulgated Land Acquisition Act prohibits the acquisition of land in the Scheduled areas without the consent of the local institutions of self-governance and thus seeks to address some of these concerns about the right to land and livelihood of the marginalised people.

Marshall Sahlins has called the hunter-gatherers, aboriginal and indigenous people the 'Original affluent Society' who lived the 'Zen road to affluence' with finite and few but adequate material wants for a dignified life. In contrast the modern, western 'Galbraithean way' to affluence is based on the great wants of man to be satisfied with limited means. Let us not try to bridge this gap through the suffering of the tribal and the marginalised people since a tear long suppressed can turn our glitzy dreams into nightmares.

Constitutional Provisions, Laws and Tribes

Virginius Xaxa



It is ironical that despite a large number of well meaning constitutional provisions and laws aimed at protecting and safeguarding the welfare and interest of the tribal communities, the process of marginalization of the tribals has gone on unabated. Paradoxically, at the root of such marginalization are the laws themselves

RIBES IN India
have come to be
conceptualized
primarily in relation to
their geographical and
social isolation from

the larger Indian society and not in relation to the stage of their social formation. This is why a wide range of groups and communities at different levels of the social formation have all come to be categorized as tribes. By virtue of the fact that tribes lived in isolation from the larger Indian society, they enjoyed autonomy of governance over the territory they inhabited. They held control over the land, forest and other resources and governed themselves in terms of their own laws, traditions and customs. It was the advent of colonial rule that brought tribes and non-tribes into one single political and administrative structure by means of war, conquest and annexation. This was followed by introduction of new and uniform civil and criminal laws as well as setting up of administrative structures that were alien to tribal tradition and ethos.

All these developments led to largescale alienation of land from tribes to non-tribes through such processes and means as fraud, deceit, mortgage, etc. This being the case, the nationalist leadership showed special concern for tribes in the post-independent India. This is reflected in the provisions enshrined for them in the Constitution. Tribes as citizens of free India were extended civil, political and social rights in equal measure as others. Civil and political rights have been enshrined within the purview of the Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution while social rights have been envisaged in the Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution.

Besides the ones stated above. tribes were also extended certain special rights as being members of a distinct community. Such rights, among other things, include provisions for statutory recognition (article 342); proportionate representation in Parliament and state legislatures (articles 330 and 332); restriction on the right of the ordinary citizen to move freely or settle in particular areas or acquire property in them (article19(5)); conservation of one's language, dialects and culture, etc (article 29). The Constitution also has a clause that enables the State to make provision for reservation in general (article 14(4)) and in particular, in jobs and appointments in favour

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of tribal communities (article 16(4)). There is also the Directive Principle of the Constitution that requires that the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of society, including tribes, is especially promoted (Article 46). Besides these, there are provisions in the 5th or 6th schedule of the Constitution (Articles 244 and 244(a) that empower the state to bring the area inhabited by the tribes under special treatment of administration. The provisions in the Constitution range from creation of the scheduled and tribal areas, to providing representation in Parliament and State legislatures including special privileges in

Of all the provisions, protective discrimination has been seen as one of the most important rights given to tribal people.

The government evolved specific measures with a view to executing rights conferred on tribal people in the Constitution. It earmarked 7.5 per cent of the jobs in government, semigovernment and also educational institutions for people hailing from the scheduled tribe category.

the form of reservation of a certain per centage of posts in government services and seats in educational institutions. In short, the Constitution aimed at safeguarding, protecting and promoting the interest of tribal people.

Of all the provisions, protective discrimination has been seen as one of the most important rights given to tribal people. The government evolved specific measures with a view to executing rights conferred on tribal people in the Constitution. It earmarked 7.5 per cent of the jobs in government, semi-government and also educational institutions

for people hailing from the scheduled tribe category. Protective discrimination in favour of the group is also evident in relaxation granted to candidates from the scheduled tribe category.

Despite these provisions, the result is far from satisfactory, more so in the case of scheduled tribes than scheduled castes. Nevertheless, the inability of the State to fill up the quota is not considered as a violation of the rights enshrined in the Constitution. This is so, because in the first place, necessary measures have been taken in pursuit of the rights enshrined in the Constitution. Secondly, the extensions of reservation to candidates from the category are not automatic. Rather, it is contingent upon certain conditions stipulated in the Constitution itself. Article 335, for example, stipulates that the claims of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes can be taken into consideration, consistent with maintenance of efficiency of administration in making appointments to services and posts. Thirdly, though such rights have been given to tribes, they can avail of them only as members of the tribal community.

It is an individual's right to secure access to these provisions on equal terms with others. The right is also individual in the sense that the individual is required to take some action to ensure that he gets it. In view of issues such as these, there is an inbuilt difficulty in challenging the negligence or indifference of the state in the court of law. Only specific cases of discrimination or denials can be taken to court, but these could be defended by taking recourse to article 335 of the Constitution. In short, the provision of protective discrimination is not sufficient in itself. To become effective, the provision must be supplemented by what may be called substantive equality i.e. ability, resources and actual opportunity must be created to make the formal equality or in the case of tribes,

even protective discrimination, effective.

This means there was a need for making provisions for economic and social rights for the tribes not only through legislation or constitutional provision but also through effective legal, administrative, infrastructure and financial support. In respect of provisions for which, certain support systems were made available, for example, the provision of protective discrimination. Such arrangements did lead to some results, no matter how inadequate they might have been. However, where such measures were non-existent or largely ineffective, the provisions made in the Constitution have hardly led to any desirable results in favour of tribes.

It is not only that effective social and economic rights were not evolved and extended to tribes, but even rights that they enjoyed, such as rights over land and forest were taken away from them by the colonial state to begin with and later by the post- independent

It is not only that effective social and economic rights were not evolved and extended to tribes, but even rights that they enjoyed, such as rights over land and forest were taken away from them by the colonial state to begin with.

Indian state. It is a well-established fact that tribes live mainly off land and forest. Yet, the process of land alienation that began during British rule has gone on unabated in the post-independence period. This has already been referred to earlier. In order to deal with the problem of land alienation to non-tribals. laws have been enacted in almost all states where there are tribal populations. In some parts, such acts have been in existence since the British period like, Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 and The Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act 1940. The British initiated such measures not

so much out of concern for the tribes but for reasons of administrative and political expediency. These were more in the direction of protection from land alienation of the tribes and restriction of the movement of the non-tribal population into tribal areas.

In the post-independence period, all states with tribal population enacted legislation, not only for prevention of alienation of lands from tribes to nontribes, but also for its restoration. In some states, acts have even been amended with a view to protecting the interest of non-tribes. The Andhra Pradesh (Selected Areas) Land Transfer Regulation, 1959, was amended in 1970, in an attempt to accommodate the interest of non-tribes. The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Regulation of Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act, 1975

In some states, Acts have even been amended with a view to protecting the interest of non-tribes. The Andhra Pradesh (Selected Areas) Land Transfer Regulation, 1959, was amended in 1970, in an attempt to accommodate the interest of non-tribes. The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Regulation of Transfer of Land and Restoration of Alienated Land) Act, 1975 has even been repealed to give effect to concessions made to non-tribes.

has even been repealed to give effect to concessions made to non-tribes (Verma 1990; Rao 1996; Bijoy 1999). As a recent of such acts, tribal land continued to pass from tribes to non-tribes.

To reinforce the constitutional provisions for protection of the tribals, two important laws have been enacted in more recent years. One was the Provisions of the Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas), Act, 1996. The act empowers the scheduled tribes to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of the people, their cultural identity, community resources and customary mode of dispute resolution through the Gram Sabha. Interestingly, the provisions of the Panchayat Act hardly find its due place in letter and spirit, for example, in provisions on the pattern of the sixth schedule, in the acts enacted by the different states. Further, though no enactment has been made to extend part IX A (The Municipalities) to the scheduled areas, the same is steadily being pushed in all states having scheduled areas. The other act in the direction has been the 'The Scheduled Tribe and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers Act. 2006. The act is aimed at undoing the age old injustice done to tribals by restoring and recognizing their pre-existing rights. The recognition and restoration has been, however passing through rough weather in respect of its implementation.

Under the Constitutional provisions of Directive Principles, the State's major concern for tribes has been their welfare and development. This was to be pursued under a kind of constitutional provision, the letter and spirit of which was the most evident in the five principles (Panch shila), Nehru is credited to have enunciated in a foreword to a book entitled, 'A Philosophy of NEFA' by Verier Elwin. Since then, those principles have been taken as the ethos of tribal development in postindependence India. The principles entailed development along the lines of their own genius, respect of tribals' right in land and forest, training and building up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development, not over- administering the areas with a multiplicity of schemes, working through, and not in rivalry, to their social and cultural institutions.

Yet the approach adopted

towards tribes was quite to the contrary. This was mainly due to the imperatives of national development. The issue of tribal development could not be pursued outside of the issues of national development. In fact, measures undertaken for bringing about rapid national development were seen as a kind of important mechanism whereby integration of tribal society could be achieved. In fact, the national objective to build up

The issue of tribal development could not be pursued outside of the issues of national development. In fact, measures undertaken for bringing about rapid national development were seen as a kind of important mechanism whereby integration of tribal society could be achieved. In fact, the national objective to build up a productive structure for future growth and resource mobilization was far more important than issues concerning the welfare and interest of the tribes.

a productive structure for future growth and resource mobilization was far more important than issues concerning the welfare and interest of the tribes. So, tribal interest and welfare were invariably sacrificed in the name of national development.

Tribes have been unable to safeguard and promote their language, culture and religion; even though Article 19(5) of the Constitution states that a cultural or linguistic minority has the right to conserve its language and culture. This means that tribes as individuals and groups have right to use their own language, to practise their own religion, to study their own history, culture, tradition, heritage, etc. The state cannot, by law, enforce upon

them any other culture or language. While the state may not have enforced any language or culture on them, neither has it taken any positive steps worth the name towards meeting this provision of the Constitution. Rather, the steps taken are far from being in consonance with the provisions laid down in the Constitution. The posture they have adopted has invariably been in the direction of assimilation into the language and culture of the major community, rather than protection and promotion of the distinct language and culture of the tribes. Schooling extended to tribes, for example, has invariably been made in the language of the dominant regional community of the respective States. The result is that tribes are increasingly losing knowledge of their own language and culture. Indeed the promotion of language and culture has been left to tribals themselves. Yet, because of lack of control over human, organizational and financial resources, the tribes have not been able to take effective measures in this direction. Only where such support has been made available in some form or the other have tribes been able to protect and safeguard their culture. This explains why in western, northern and southern India, there has been much more erosion of the tribal language and culture. In eastern India,

especially the northeast, the scenario is somewhat better. This has been mainly due to the fact that in north- east India, there was a kind of institutionalized arrangement that facilitated such development. This has received a major boost with the creation of tribal states and autonomous districts. This shows that a collective right such as this can be better realized only where tribes see themselves as a nationality or nation, to govern themselves.

It is ironical that despite a large number of well meaning constitutional provisions and laws aimed at protecting and safeguarding the welfare and interest of the tribal communities, the process of marginalization of the tribals has gone on unabated. Paradoxically, at the root of such marginalization are the laws themselves. Tribes had no tradition of reading and writing and had, hence, no tradition of record keeping and dealing with such laws. The court language and practice had been alien to them. In the absence of such tradition, the nontribes have taken advantage of such laws and have been depriving tribals of their lands through variety of ways and means. The local administration, which is generally manned by the nontribals, has been working hand in hand with their ethnic kinsmen to ensure smooth transfer of land from tribes to non-tribes.

Tied up with the above have also been laws that protect tribes and the laws that are meant for general citizenry and human beings. The latter is articulated in terms of citizenship and human rights. Indeed, rights meant for tribes have invariably been pitied against citizenship rights and more importantly human rights. In the process, specific laws meant for a group, even though marginalized, have invariably come to be subjected to general laws. On the same vein are the laws aimed at protecting tribes and those aimed at public interest such as land acquisition act, conservation act, forest act, wildlife sanctuary act, etc. The latter have invariably held sway over the former under the garb of public interest and purpose. Tribal rights have come to be sacrificed to the greater cause of the nation and public interest. In short, those who are in charge of tribal rights are in general insensitive to the constitutional provision and legal entitlements of the tribal communities.

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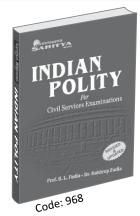
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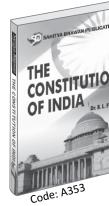
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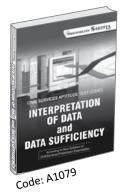
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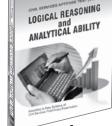
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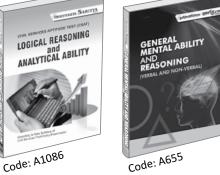
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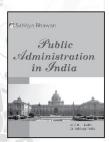




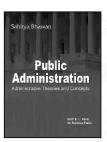
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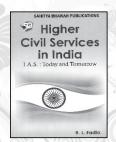
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The Limits to Law, Democracy and Governance

Ajit Menon C R Bijoy



Both PESA and FRA give powers to communities that allow them to determine their future destiny. What these laws also do is to make the state bureaucracy and for that matter elected, mostly non-tribal, representatives accountable to community institutions. The centre of power will, therefore, shift and allow tribals control over their own governance and natural resources that they are dependent upon for their livelihood. PESA and FRA can create a legitimate political space and democratic mechanism where equity, justice and participatory democracy are the core

R I B A L
DEVELOPMENT policy
from its inception has
always been beset by a
contradiction, namely to
recognize the uniqueness
of tribal communities

(including their governance systems) but yet deliver the benefits of mainstream development. In practice, the former has, for the most part been undermined, seemingly to attain the latter. However, even the latter goal mostly has not been achieved because of the wider priorities of 'growth' and 'development' for the nation. Over the last two decades since the adoption of the New Economic Policy in 1991 and the drive to speed up the growth process, a widening gap between the goals of national development and tribal development has emerged. The accelerated attempt to exploit natural resources in the name of economic growth has led to maladministration and misgovernance ('governance deficit') and neglect in terms of infrastructure, development and welfare ('development deficit') in tribal areas. These failures of state policy have led to the spread of Left Wing Extremism (LWE), pervasive now in 83 districts of the country.

This is not to say that progressive Constitutional provisions and laws that empower tribal communities have not been periodically passed, but rather that, these have been for the most part undermined. From Article 244 of the Constitution, which led to the establishment of Fifth Schedule Areas.

to legislation such as the Panchayati Raj (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (hereafter PESA), and the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 (hereafter FRA), legal measures have been passed to empower tribal communities to govern themselves. But invariably these legal measures have to a large extent remained on paper because of a lack of political will to implement them, given the economic priorities of growth.

The purpose of this paper is limited to detailing tribal development policy in India and the tensions that exist between mainstreaming development and protecting the rights of tribal communities. While the historical narrative illustrates the possibilities within a parliamentary democracy to pass 'progressive' legislations, it also suggests how hegemonic discourses of development undermine these legislations in practice.

Constitutional Protection to Tribals: Good Intention, Limited Scope

Tribal areas were to a large extent 'self-governing' prior to British colonization, though many of these areas were notionally part of non-tribal states. While the British tried to colonize tribal areas, they were often unsuccessful because of tribal resistance and revolts. One consequence of this was an official recognition by the British of existing customary institutional arrangements through special laws

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which effectively acknowledged and permitted the relative independent existence of tribal regions. Examples of this were Regulation XIII of 1833 that declared the central Indian region of Chotanagpur, a non-regulated area and later the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874 that declared certain backward districts as scheduled so as to make existing laws not applicable in these tracts. The Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935 further allowed for the declaration of backward districts and the exemption of excluded or partially excluded areas from the provisions of national and state laws. This allowed for tribal self-governance in such areas.

Partially excluded and excluded areas were translated into Article 244 of post-Independence India's Constitution - the article that sanctioned the creation of Fifth and Sixth Schedule areas. Article 244 (1) provides that the provisions of the Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes (STs) in any state other than the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. A 'Scheduled Area' was any area defined as such by the President. In brief, the Fifth Schedule allowed the President to rescind any order or orders made, that were applicable to any given state and in consultation with the Governor of the states concerned, make fresh orders for Scheduled Areas. Para 5 (2) provides that the Governor may make regulations for the peace and good government of Scheduled Areas under Clause (a) to prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the STs, under Clause (b) to regulate the allotment of land to members of the STs in such areas and under Clause (c) to regulate the business of money lending to STs.

Article 244(2) provides for the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution and applies to the administration of certain tribal areas in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. These areas are governed by District Councils, Autonomous Councils and Regional Councils constituted for Autonomous Districts and Autonomous Regions. These councils have wide ranging legislative,

judicial and executive powers with power to make rules with the approval of the Governor. Powers cover matters such as primary schools, markets, dispensaries, ferries, cattle ponds, roads, fisheries, road transport and water-ways. Additional powers to make laws with respect to other matters such as secondary education, agriculture, social security and social insurance, public health and sanitation and minor irrigation were granted to the Autonomous Councils of the North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong in Assam. Councils (excepting in

Unfortunately, Constitutional protections have had their limits.

Well over fifty per cent of STs live outside the Scheduled Areas and hence are denied rights provided in Article 244. There are tribal habitations in states with Scheduled Areas that are left out of the provisions of the Fifth Schedule.

Bodoland and Tripura) have the power under the Civil Procedure Code and Criminal Procedure Code for trial of certain suits and offences, powers to collect revenue and taxes, and powers to regulate and manage natural resources. However, these councils do not have the power to manage reserved forests or acquire land.

Unfortunately, Constitutional protections have had their limits. Well over fifty per cent of STs live outside the Scheduled Areas and hence are denied rights provided in Article 244. There are tribal habitations in states with Scheduled Areas that are left out of the provisions of the Fifth Schedule. Tribal habitations in the states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir have not been brought under the Fifth or Sixth Schedule. Various Government-appointed Committees have recommended including the remaining Tribal Sub-Plan and Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) areas and similar pockets as Scheduled Areas but the government is yet to comply with these recommendations. At present, the Tribal Sub-Plan areas are coterminous

with Scheduled Areas in the states of Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Rajasthan. The Dilip Singh Bhuria Committee constituted by the central government to recommend extension of the 73rd Amendment to Scheduled Areas has also recommended inclusion of the left out areas under the Fifth Schedule. As recently as 2012, the National Advisory Council of the Government of India has recommended the same. However, no follow up action has been taken.

State governors have also not carried out their duties diligently in terms of the powers conferred upon them in Scheduled Areas. The Governor is the constitutional head of state in the states and is appointed by the Central government. However, under Article 163 of the Constitution, the Governor is bound to exercise his/her powers with the 'aid and advice' of the Council of Ministers, i.e. the Cabinet of the elected state government. In other words, in practice the Governor appears to be bound by Cabinet decisions and the policy of the elected government, although there has been significant debate as to whether this should have been the case. In fact, an official committee found that the mandatory annual reports by Governors to the President regarding the administration of Scheduled Areas under Para 3 of the Fifth Schedule were irregular. Moreover, these reports contain largely stale narrative of departmental programmes without reference to crucial issues of administration, the main intended thrust of the Fifth Schedule. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs, in a letter to the Governors of states having Scheduled Areas, dated 4 April, 2013, also asserted that given the threat of mining to inhabitants in Fifth Schedule areas, Governors should have invoked their powers in pro-active ways to secure the rights of STs. This letter was followed by a meeting of eight Governors organised by the Ministry in December 2013 at Jaipur in which the same was reiterated.

Pro-active Vision – Retrogade Implementation

Notwithstanding the limited geographical scope of the Fifth

Schedule, a number of other legal initiatives have been taken vis-à-vis tribal self governance. PESA, the result, no doubt of tribal movements and protest, promotes peoplecentric governance. PESA extended the provisions of Part Nine of the Constitution, which addressed issues of decentralization, to tribal areas. The most noteworthy features of PESA are that it empowers gram sabhas at the hamlet (or groups of hamlet) level as opposed to at the level of the unwieldy Gram Panchayat. This was done so as to safeguard and preserve the traditions of tribal people, to prevent land alienation within Scheduled Areas, to control (and give consent to) local development plans and to be consulted in matters of land acquisition and rehabilitation. Additionally, it was incumbent on the state governments having Scheduled Areas to adopt the pattern of Sixth Schedule areas in structure and content, i.e. District Councils with wide ranging legislative, judicial and executive powers.

But, here too, there have been significant limits in terms of achievements. A Planning Commission Working Group Report in 2006 minced no words in saying that most states had not taken adequate action to make PESA work. Old rules regarding money lending, forest use and ownership, mining and excise remained in place, nullifying PESA. Moreover, powers statutorily devolved to gram sabhas were not matched with concomitant transfer of funds and functionaries resulting in the non-exercise of such powers. Despite repeated calls by the central government and Planning Commission to rectify the flaws, the state governments have been unresponsive. In fact, many states still have not framed rules for implementation of PESA. Rules have only been notified in three of the nine states that have Scheduled Areas, namely Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh and that too recently. Empowering the gram sabha, it would seem, is anathema to resource grabbing for neoliberal development.

In 2006, the FRA was enacted. The main aim of the FRA was 'to

recognise and vest the forest rights and occupation in forest land in forest dwelling STs and other traditional forest dwellers who have been residing in such forests for generations but whose rights could not be recorded; and to provide for a framework for recording the forest rights so vested and the nature of evidence required for such recognition and vesting.' Fourteen rights were identified excluding hunting. Individual and community rights were to be conferred. Furthermore the law, in addition to vesting rights on claimants, also spoke about responsibilities and authority for sustainable use, conservation of biodiversity and maintenance of ecological balance, hence strengthening the conservation regime of forests while ensuring the

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livelihood and food security needs of forest dwellers. An elaborate procedure was prescribed through which rights could be claimed and verified. What the Act also implied was the need to get gram sabha consent for diversion of forest land for projects such as mines and dams, though in practice, this has not happened.

Weak implementation, failure to follow due process prescribed by the Act, refusal to recognise community forest resources and other community rights and stiff resistance by the forest bureaucracy have been the order of the day. Although 22,35,166 hectares have been settled and 13,98,831 titles given (as on 30 September 2013) under the Act, this is only about 15-20 per cent of the government controlled and

managed forest land that comes under this law. Moreover, the rejection rate of claims is over 50 per cent.

Tribal Development vs. Tribal Self Governance

Despite the enactment of progressive legislations that empower tribal communities to govern themselves through their own institutions, the main thrust of tribal development policy continues to be that of the Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP) through Tribal Sub Plans. Tribal Sub Plans have been in operation in 22 states and two Union Territories, i.e. in all states except the tribal majority states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland and in the Union Territories of Lakshadweep and Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The main aim of the ITDP is to bring the fruits of development to tribal areas.

ITDP and TSPs have come under a cloud for not having had any significant impact on tribals due to inefficient delivery of schemes, often marred by corruption and diversion of funds. Most states, moreover, do not allocate proportionate funds as required. Despite central guidelines from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs and other agencies, most states have also failed to set specific targets for TSP expenditure, and no states have field monitoring mechanisms to verify how well the funds are being spent.

Considering that ITDP and TSPs are the primary development and welfare strategy of the Government of India for STs, there has been a clamour to provide them statutory character. Andhra Pradesh has enacted a law, namely the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan (Planning, Allocation and Utilization of Financial Resources) Act, 2013, that does exactly that. A similar law has recently been enacted by Karnataka. However, these Acts are at variance with the provisions of PESA as, under PESA the Gram Sabha is endowed with powers to oversee local plans and resources [Sec.4(m)(vii)]. The ITDP is a bureaucracy driven programme, not one of self governance. It cannot be a substitute for either PESA or the FRA.

It is important to note that of particular concern are the 75 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs), previously called as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), most of whom have a precarious existence as a result of ecological vulnerability of their habitats and the precariousness of their livelihoods. A specific strategy for their survival with dignity is yet to be charted out concretely though, there are some recent initiatives to work towards this.

The National Advisory Council, like the earlier Mungekar Committee report, noted how tribal governance has been undermined. On 31 December, 2012, the National Advisory Council made a detailed set of recommendations visà-vis governance in Scheduled Areas. The recommendations included the need to amend PESA so as to empower gram sabhas and give them the powers to constitute committees, the need to align central and state laws in conformity with PESA, the importance of mandating prior informed consent for land acquisition and the importance of including excluded tribal areas within the Fifth Schedule.

The Governance That Could Be

The community governance regime that underlies the FRA and PESA departs from prescriptive solutions that privilege a bureaucracy-centred governance model. Both PESA and FRA give powers to communities that allow them to determine their future destiny. What these laws also do is to make the state bureaucracy and for that matter elected, mostly nontribal, representatives accountable to community institutions. The centre of power will, therefore, shift and allow tribals control their own governance and natural resources that they are dependent upon for their livelihood. PESA and FRA can create a legitimate political space and democratic mechanism where equity, justice and participatory democracy are the core.

Skeptics might argue that these laws commit tribal communities to a life of backwardness and that it will likely most result in degradation, not protection of natural resources. On the contrary, it is the tribal areas which are still richest in natural resources and where people are waging a battle to protect resources from destruction. Tribal self-governance, in fact, is seen as a space to develop conservation and development solutions that counter projects that destroy natural resources in the name of national development. Unlike the centralized, bureaucracydriven visions of conservation and development that have for the most part failed, PESA and FRA offer an open system of decision-making, transparency and accountability as no other known system with space to raise and address all concerns. Quite significantly, in March 2010,

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the Ministry of Panchayati Raj recommended adoption of such a system for all areas and peoples. The question is whether such a vision is possible given the priorities of neoliberal growth and the increasing claims to land and resources in tribal areas?

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DO YOU KNOW?

What is Islamic Banking?

Islamic banking is based on the principle of Islam that interest should not be charged on money lent. The emphasis is on risk sharing and profit sharing whereas the charging of interest is prohibited as it gives the lender an edge over the borrower. The person who needs the money often becomes a victim of undue exploitation at the hands of the money lender. Islam does not consider money as an asset but as a tool for measuring value. Risk/profit sharing rather than getting income from the money is the objective. It is considered a form of a socially responsible investment.

Charging interest is considered unjust and tilted in the favour of the lender, thereby making usury unacceptable in Islam. Sharia (Islamic law) allows investment in company shares if the company does not deal with prohibited activities like gambling, production of alcohol etc.

This form of banking gained momentum in the Islamic countries in the sixties. In 1975, Islamic Development Bank (IDB) was established to provide funds to member countries. Its headquarters is in Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) with four regional offices in Morocco, Malaysia and Senegal. Its financial year is the lunar Hijri year. The purpose of the bank is to foster socio economic development in accordance with the Islamic principles. The bank participates in equity capital and grants loans for productive purposes apart from assisting member countries. The bank accepts deposits and mobilizes resources through Sharia compliant modes. It also assists in promoting foreign trade, especially in capital goods among member countries. At present, 56 Islamic countries are members of this bank. Upto June 1992, the authorised capital of the bank was two billion Islamic dinars, a unit of account of IDB which is equivalent to one Special Drawing Right (SDR) of the International Monetary Fund. According to one report, the growth rate of Islamic Banking is 10-15% per year. Islamic banks have more than 300 institutions spread over 51 countries worldwide. Sharia compliant assets are estimated to be 822 billion US dollars. These are 0.5% of total estimated world assets in 2005.

Islamic banking broadly has the same purpose and functions as conventional banks except for the fact that it adheres to the Islamic laws of fair play. Some Islamic books are said to be having 100% reserve ratio. Islamic banks claim that they engage in ethical investing and moral purchasing. Islamic banks also face challenges and in some Muslim countries, their activities remain restricted to certain non-priority sectors.

What is Open Source Software?

According to Open Source Initiative (OSI), open source software is a software that can be freely used, changed and shared (in modified or unmodified form) by anyone. Open Source Software is made by many people and distributed under licenses that comply with that definition. Open Source Software is a computer software in which the copyright holder allows the rights to study, change and distribute the software to anyone with a license.

The Open Source label was created on 3rd February 1998 in Palo Alto, California (USA). The meeting where the initiative was formed was attended by Eric Raymond and Michael Tiemann. By October 1991, OSI had published its first formal list of approved licenses. It is referred to by many third parties

including governments and standard bodies. Along with Free Software Foundation, OSI has become one of the two principal advocacy organisations for free and open source developers. As against the proprietary software, free software offers freedom. It involves a larger number in the development of software. A closed source software does not disclose its source code to the public. Open Source system has several applications and has been proving useful in several cases like telecommunication products, academic research etc.

The objective of open source software is to build bridges among different constituencies in the open source community for the good of the community. This method provides economic and strategic advantages, according to its advocates.

Open source software can be used for commercial purposes also. However, the person so using the software cannot put further restrictions on those who receive the software from him. The way people use the open source licensed programme cannot be restricted. There can be no discrimination against people or groups in this programme. It was felt by the advocates of open source software that software freedom was practical rather than ideological. A program cannot be called open source, without using approved license. As far as software in the public domain is concerned, it is also a sort of open source. Yet this issue has certain complications too. Organisations like OSI say they are not legal services organisation and generally cannot offer any help in case of any violation of copy right license.

(Compiled by Hasan Zia, Sr. Editor, E-mail: hasanzia14@gmail.com)



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Climate Change and State Preparedness

Subhash Sharma



....It should take all steps voluntarily to reduce carbon footprint through clean technology like LED, CNG, integrated approach to implement green building, sustainable building and energy codes, encouraging public transport and non-motorised transport (cycle, rickshaw, camel, horse, bullock carts) and strong political will in this direction for popularising of renewable energy (wind, solar, etc) and adapting 'reduce, recycle and reuse' moto at a larger scale.

LIMATE IS the sum of weather trends over a long period of time (say, a century or so). Obviously, weather is a short term phenomenon.

Since Rio Earth Summit in 1992 as well as UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992), it has been widely recognised and accepted that there are various forms of climate change in different parts of the world: increase in summer temperature, shorter but severe winter, more erratic rainfall distribution, severe and more frequent fog, more frequent occurrence of extreme events like floods and droughts, though total rainfall in a year may be the same, acid rain and so on. Global warming is more pronounced and hence, recognized by all the stakeholders in the entire world. Obviously, climate is a global issue with local consequences. The climate system is defined by the dynamics and interactions of five components- atmosphere, hydrosphere, cryosphere, land surface and biosphere. Climate system dynamics is driven by both internal and external forces like volcanic eruptions, solar variations or human induced activities like green house gases or land use changes. It is estimated by various researchers that the world will experience three to four degree Celsius warming by 2100 A.D. According to Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), since 1850

the warmest years were 1998, 2005, 2002, 2003 and 2004 (in descending order). As per UK Meteorological office, global average temperature has been rising by 0.15° C every decade. The period of 2001-2010 was 0.20° C warmer than 1991-2000 decade (that was 0.24°C above 1961-90 while the period of 2001-2010 was 0.44° C above 1961-90 mean temperature).

Undoubtedly, climate is affected by the multiple factors which are as follows:

- Incident solar radiation- variation with latitude – e.g. high latitude is energy deficit while the low latitude has excess energy.
- Closeness to large water bodiesdistribution of land and water.
- iii) Mountain barriers- e.g. in Maharashtra, Mumbai and Pune have different mountain scenarios; hence, Pune is colder than Mumbai.
- iv) Ocean temperature and currents.
- v) Altitude- higher altitude is colder.
- vi) Land cover with vegetation and forests.
- vii) Atmospheric pressure (atmosphere consists of 78.09 per cent nitrogen, 20.95 per cent oxygen, 0.93 per cent argon and 0.04 per cent CO₂).
 - Obviously, three main features of climate change are noticeable:

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- a) Deviation from mean magnitudes.
- b) Phase difference from periodicity.
- c) Altered frequency of occurrences.

However, there are various uncertainties regarding climate change. Three of these are as follows:

First, how climate change will vary regionally, is a grey area.

Second, uncertain impact of climate change on different sectors.

Third, possible surprising consequences from unanticipated effects (e.g. volcanoes)

Anthropogenic Activities and Climate Change

It remains a fact that, as per IPCC-AR4, various greenhouse gases (namely carbon dioxide, methane, nitrous oxide) since 1750 AD had greater cumulative effect than the aggregate emissions of the last ten thousand years. Further, during 1995-2005, the level of carbon dioxide increased by 20 per cent. Nevertheless, it is also noteworthy that naturally occurring greenhouse gases (e.g. water vapour) too, contribute about 50 per cent of total warmingcreating necessary stable climate for all life forms on the earth. But, during the last 200 years or so, GHG emission due to anthropogenic activities have badly affected this stable climate and the overconsumption habits in industrialized nations are largely responsible for this sordid state of affairs. To be more specific, annual global anthropogenic emission of carbon dioxide increased to approximately 38 Giga tonnes (GT) and by 2010, emissions from fossil fuel burning alone reached 30.6 GT. Further, it is estimated that atmospheric carbon dioxide concentration increased from 280 PPM in pre-industrial era to 390 PPM in 2010- equivalent to 780 GT of carbon dioxide, compared to 560 GT in pre-industrial era. As per Keeling and Shertz, the main driver for about 55 per cent of global warming is this additional carbon dioxide, the balance coming from other GHGs. Needless to

emphasise that, nitrous oxide's effect is more dangerous, as impact of one kg of nitrous oxide on global warming is over 300 times that of one kg of carbon dioxide. And, agriculture is the largest source of nitrous oxide emissions. Further, when nitrogenous fertilizer (urea, ammonium etc) is used in soil, a chemical reaction (hydrolysis) takes place and while the plant takes up nitrogen as NO₂ another by product (N₂O)- nitrous oxide- escapes into the atmosphere-leading to global warming. Unfortunately, N₂O molecules remain in the atmosphere for 120 years! The situation in India's 'green revolution' belt (Punjab, Haryana and western U.P) has aggravated because the so-called 'miracle' seeds of dwarf wheat requires high doses of nitrogenous fertilizer and consequently, there is soil degradation, falling down of water table, salination of water and soil and decline of biodiversity (rice-wheat monoculture). IPCC is of the view that every delay in the peak emissions could add about 0.5°C of warming and GHGs emitted today will result into full warming in the decades to come. Needless to say that CO₂ fossil fuel contributes 56 per cent of emission of GHGs in India. In 2005, global per capita CO₂ emission was 4.5 tonnes and India's per capita CO₂ emission in 2030 would be 5 tonnes.

In addition, as per UN Convention on Biological Diversity, following natural changes are notable:

- a) Global mean sea level rose by 10-20 cm (present rate of rise is 3 mm per year);
- b) The overall volume of glaciers in Switzerland decreased by 2/3;
- c) Arctic ice thickness in late summer and early autumn decreased by about 40 per cent;
- d) Mount Kenya lost 92 per cent of its ice mass while Mount Kilimanjaro lost 82 per cent;
- e) A 40-60 per cent decrease in total available water in the large catchment basins of Niger, Lake Chad and Senegal;
- f) The retreat of 70 per cent of sandy shorelines; and

g) A northward movement, by some 100 kms, of Alaska's boreal forest line for every one degree rise in temperature.

If we look at the total GHG emission in the world, we find that in absolute terms, China, US, Russia, EU and India are the highest emitting nations (Table-1):

Table 1: Global GHG Emission in **Different Countries in 2006 Total GHG** per cent **Country** emission of Global **GHG** (million tons per emission yr) China 6017 21.8 % US 5902 20.3 % 1704 Russia 05.7 % 3 European NA 24.5 % Union India 1293 04.7%

It is estimated that GHG emission in India will increase from 1293 million tonnes/year to 2750-3600 million tonnes/year in 2020 and to 4900-5700 million tonnes/year in 2031. India's emission profile depicts that the electricity consumption sector emits the highest (37.8 per cent), followed by agriculture (17.6 per cent), transport (7.5 per cent), residential sector (7.2 per cent), cement (6.8 per cent), iron and steel (6.2 per cent) etc. Table 2 may be perused for details:

Table 2: GHG Emission Profile in India (2007)		
Sector	%emission	
1. Electricity	37.8 %	
2. Agriculture	17.6 %	
3. Transport	7.5 %	
4. Residential Sector	7.2 %	
5. Cement	6.8 %	
6. Iron & Steel	6.2 %	
7. Other Energy	5.3 %	
8. Other Industry	8.7 %	
9. Waste	3.0 %	
Total	100.0	

Source: MOEF (2010)

This is the national profile of emission but in different States, emission profile is different; for instance, in Delhi, which has the notorious distinction of having the largest number of vehicles among all the metros, the transport sector contributes the maximum emission amounting to 46 per cent of total emission (15.41 million tonnes in a year). For several years, a thick blanket of smog has been enveloping Delhi due to smoke particles coming from burning of paddy straw in Haryana, Punjab and Western U.P. This situation is worsened when haze mixes with the massive vehicular emission. During October 26- November 8, 2012, smog spell led to an increase in respiratory and asthmatic diseases. In India, air pollution causes 6.20 lakh deaths annually and it causes 32 lakh deaths in the world as a whole (fourfold increase from 8 lakh in 2000). Emission profile in Delhi may be persused in Table 3:

Table 3: GHG Emission Profile in Delhi (2007)		
Sector	% emission	
1. Transport	46 %	
2. Domestic	34 %	
3. Commercial	12 %	
4. Industry	8 %	
Total	100.00	

At present, global urban population is more than 50 per cent and as such urbanites rely on institutional, environmental and physical systems for food, water, shelter, transport, energy and communication beyond immediate local areas which are exposed to effects of climate change in different ways. Undoubtedly, human productivity, health and energy are directly affected by the rise of temperature. India's urban population grows annually by 70 lakhs and that of Delhi alone by 5 lakhs. Not merely heat increase is leading to more demand for refrigerators, ACs, coolers etc., but frequent and intense rainfall on poorly drained roads are causing flooding and disrupting traffic very badly in many cities. Urban flooding is a new and serious phenomenon, especially in Mumbai and Delhi. Delhi's urbanisation is 55 per cent and it is expected to reach 85 per cent in 2021. By then, Delhi's emission position maybe the worst, if the current trend goes on uninterruptedly. However, it is also noteworthy that, due to public pressure from civil society organizations like Centre for Science and Environment, CNG fuel (relatively clean energy) was introduced in public transport vehicles like buses, taxis and autorickshaws. During 2007-12, many State capitals like Patna had multifold increase in private vehiclesthus increasing vehicular emission resulting in environmental pollution. It is estimated that 1375 cars are added daily in India. Thus, emission from transport is a major concern as per one estimate, 75 per cent of global/ national emission is from energy related sources and in India, 86 per cent of energy comes from fossil fuel. Further, increase in variability of precipitation will stress the already stressed and constrained capacity of urban areas to meet the water, sanitation, food, education, health and other needs of their permanent population, migrant population and floating population. Obviously, it is a matter of serious concern as to how and to what extent urban people suffer from the climate change or adapt to it and do well. Hence, getting the structural components and the process of urbanisation right is very critical in view of the rising unplanned growth of towns, cities and metros. Marcus Moench rightly sees urban vulnerability to climate change as the consequence of fragile systems, marginalized populations and exposure to the impacts of climate change. For instance, the rich people residing in coastal cities may be more valuable to the direct effects of sudden storms, cyclones and rise in sea level than poor people living inland in less exposed urban areas. On the other hand, when the storms, cyclones and rise in sea level affect the agricultural production, the urban poor residing in 'protected' inland locations may have more severe indirect impact from food price hike while rich people living in exposed coastal locations hardly notice it.

For instance, Howrah's coastal environment and mangroves are exposed to cyclones and storms, therefore, the poor living in low-lying areas and along river channels are most affected by non-maintenance of coastal environment systems. Further, in Gorakhpur city in UP, a low-lying region of middle Ganga basin, is facing serious problem of waterlogging and flooding due to change in rainfall (average intensity of rainfall has increased in summer) as well as by the degradation of water bodies, unplanned growth and land encroachment. Further, due to lack of incinerators or water treatment plants, the problem of solid waste, siltation of drains and pollution of water bodies has become severe. In another city of Indore (MP), due to lack of sufficient water supply, the private water sector has come up

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there since 1990's, sharing 10 per cent of total drinking water supply there. Unregulated (non-packaged) water supply is causing health problems and there is no effective complaint redressal system. In addition, climate change in the form of precipitation variability intensifies the existing problems of contamination due to old and poor quality water supply pipes getting mixed up with the sewerage and solid waste. Thus, the policy of 'water supply and sewerage disposal system' gets converted into 'sewerage supply and water disposal system'! The climate change will further worsen this chaotic situation. On the other hand, 60 per cent of India's population depends on agriculture which is very

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much damaged due to various climatic events:

- a) 60 per cent of agriculture area is prone to earthquakes;
- b) 40 per cent agriculture is subject to flood damage;
- 68 per cent agriculture is prone to drought;
- 76 per cent of coastal regions are prone to hurricane damage (800 kms of total coastal area).

Aspects of Vulnerability

Vulnerability has different perceptions among different stakeholders on the one hand and variability in terms of issues, intensity, degree and extent in different regions/ States of India.

Unregulated (non-packaged) water supply is causing health problems and there is no effective complaint redressal system. In addition, climate change in the form of precipitation variability intensifies the existing problems of contamination due to old and poor quality water supply pipes getting mixed up with the sewerage and solid waste. Thus, the policy of 'water supply and sewerage disposal system' gets converted into 'sewerage supply and water disposal system'! The climate change will further worsen this chaotic situation.

Locations (streams) and different levels (community, district and state) have different perceptions. For instance, a Highnoon study of adaptation to climate change in the Ganga basin, North India, found the following different perceptions:

a) Flood protection management scored high in the upstream case while water conservation and storage, and livelihood diversification were most important issues in drought prone mid-stream and downstream cases. Their options were mostly 'green measures' (small scale water management at field level and better use of rainfall) and 'blue measures' (large scale storage dams) were seen less viable for the Ganga basin.

- Stakeholders at district and state levels saw cost as the main criterion for prioritisation of adaptation options. High cost options like strengthening of embankments were low on priority for district level stakeholders in the upstream case. Similarly, relocation of people from flood plains was least preferred and least feasible due to high costs and low social acceptability.
- At higher stakeholder levels (State and district), alignment with existing programmes / schemes (e.g. widening scope and crop insurance) was preferred.
- d) Community preferred immediate benefits like water storage structures rather than long term measures like afforestation.
- e) Social acceptability mattersdistrict level authorities emphasized shifting from summer rice-cultivation to less water intensive crops (pulses, vegetables), it ranked low on acceptance by communities.
- f) Farmers did not prefer new techniques and practices due to existing gaps in capacity and their lack of confidence in supporting institutions.

Further, different States have different intensity, degree and extent of vulnerability. For instance, in Bihar, 73 per cent area is flood-prone, 17 per cent is drought- prone and 10 per cent is water logging area. In 2013, (June-October), many districts suffered from drought, while five to six districts suffered from flood. About 85 per cent of catchment area of North Bihar rivers lies inside Bihar (especially Nepal). Kosi River is the Sorrow of Bihar. Bihar suffers from floods due to three categories of rivers:

- Perennial rivers originating in the Himalayas carrying snow fed flows with significant discharge in the dry season- Kosi, Gandak, Karnali (Ghaghra) and Mahakali (Sharda).
- ii) Rivers originating in the midlands of Mahabharata range of mountains, are fed by precipitation and ground water regeneration- Mechi, Kankai, Kamala, Bagmati, West Rapti, and Babai. Though these are also perennial rivers, these have wide seasonal fluctuations in discharge.
- iii) Small rivers originating from southern Siwalik range of hillsseasonal and characterised by flash floods during the monsoon.

Actually, all 21 districts in North Bihar are badly affected by floods originating in Nepal. Hence, the local people constantly wait for relief as the 'third crop'. Further, the rise in sea level and potential changes in storm/ cyclone patterns threaten several coastal cities in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat, West Bengal, Odisha, Andaman and Nicobar islands and Goa.

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Mitigation Efforts

Different States have different issues of priority regarding climate change. Hence, they have to prepare State Action Plan (SAP) for mitigation at different stages and by different

stakeholders. By September 2013, only 20 States in India had prepared SAP and Odisha was the first State to do so. Gujarat is the only State to have a separate department for climate change. There are two major types of adaptation- planned and unplanned (autonomous). Planned adaptation means deliberate policy decision for a desired goal e.g. wetland restoration, cyclone mitigation, etc. Actually, there are four major dimensions of adaptation:

- i) Intent- autonomous or planned.
- ii) Action-reactive (post), concurrent (during) or anticipatory (ante).
- iii) Temporal- short term (instantaneous) or long term (cumulative).
- iv) Spatial- Localised or widespread.

Obviously, informed and conscious people prefer the planned, anticipatory and localised adaptation for immediate and visible outcomes. Following steps need to be taken by different States in India:

First, we should adopt bottomup approach, planning from below, (not the top-bottom approach) in order to have realistic and specific measures suitable to local and regional requirements. Swaminathan

Different States have different issues of priority regarding climate change. Hence, they have to prepare State Action Plan (SAP) for mitigation at different stages and by different stakeholders. By September 2013, only 20 States in India had prepared SAP and Odisha was the first State to do so. Gujarat is the only State to have a separate department for climate change.

Foundation as well as IFFCO are providing helpline to farmers; likewise solar biomass-based cold storage technology (designed by TERI, New Delhi) is successful and Fiji has adapted it.

Secondly, capacity-building (developing the technical skills and institutional capabilities in developing countries) is to be accorded high priority for all stakeholders for premonsoon, monsoon, post-monsoon and winter seasons for agriculture sector. Flood forecasting, flood proofing, flood plain zoning and so on, are the need of the hour. Weather forecast in India is not mature and accurate so far, hence technological innovation is very much required. Further, weather forecasting with site specific modelling of soil, nutrient status and crop water stress are to be combined. Drainage system should also be improved to accommodate sudden rains; big water storage systems for water supply during drought period; earth quake, cyclone and storm-resistant structures and embankments in low lying areas should be built.

Thirdly, designing of Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) in India should take into account four essential aspects: social well-being (through alleviation of poverty, by generating additional employment, removal of social dispensaries and basic amenities for improvement in quality of life), economic well-being (additional investment consistent with the needs of the people), environmental well-being (resource sustainability, biodiversity friendliness, reduction in pollution level, better sanitation) and technological well-being (transfer of ecologically safe technology, energy efficient projects, etc). Further, CDM scenario needs to be made broad-based and participatory for community at local level as, at present, it is overpowered and dominated by big Indian Corporate houses. Therefore, the need of the hour is a strong, transparent and proactive regulatory authority for regulating CDM projects in India in order to have intense examining of such projects, so that these are not unfriendly to environment and the local people.

Fourth, though India is committed to the promotion of REDD+ (Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation) through Green India Mission, Joint Forest Management Committee, Forest dwellers' Right Act, Community Forest Management, but, in practice, local communities are exploited by forest officials in the name of REDD+ or forest/ wild life conservation. On the other hand, forest officials- contractors-traders nexus is flourishing in allotting forests, lands, water and mines to private players despite protests from local communities. Hence, there is a need for full transparency in adaptation measures by making the local people fully aware of the ground realities about vulnerability and they should be fully involved in mitigation efforts

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by giving due weightage to their indigenous knowledge systems, collective experiences and wellinformed choices.

Fifth, the very development paradigm of neo-liberalism (that protects the interests of the corporate more than that of the people), should be substituted by an alternative paradigm of people-oriented development that should focus on people's participation, political decentralisation, social equity, economic visibility, technological affordability, ecological sustainability and cultural acceptability to the local people in general and the poor people in particular. Such alternative development paradigm demands proactive policy formulation by involving the local people, civil society

orgnisations (CSOs) at grassroots level, and mutual trust and partnership of government, CSOs and the common people rather than the so-called PPP (Public-private partnership) which, in reality, means public fund for private sector's gains mode. Hence, shared learning dialogue is a key participatory tool for adaptation to climate change. The communication silos between the stakeholders should be bridged at the earliest. Though, it is true that National Mission on Sustainable Habitats is committed to promoting sustainability in urban habitats by enhancing the energy efficiency of buildings, solid waste management and shift towards public transport, yet there are huge gaps in implementation. Since prevention is better than cure, early warning system regarding disasters should be developed fully.

Finally, the Indian government, private sector, NGOs and CSOs should collectively mobilize the citizens, international NGOs, multilateral agencies at different levels in different ways so that the developed countries must bear the costs of adaptation of climate change in developing countries for historical wrongs committed by the former. At international fora like UNFCCC, India should strongly and specifically assert her right for more carbon space, as its per capita emission

is much lower than that of developed countries like US, Russia, European Union, Japan and emerging regional power like China. India should stick to the principle of 'common but differentiated responsibility' in letter and spirit so that developing countries may get clean technology transfer as well as necessary fund, for adaptation to climate change from the developed countries who have been evilting the most in the past and are emitting the most per head even today. However, it should take all steps voluntarily to reduce carbon footprint through clean technology like LED, CNG, integrated approach to implement green building, sustainable building and energy codes, encouraging public transport and nonmotorised transport (cycle, rickshaw, camel, horse, bullock carts) and strong political will in this direction for popularising of renewable energy (wind, solar etc) and adapting 'reduce, recycle and reuse' motto at a larger scale.

Thus, we may conclude that climate is a major long term problem that requires a long term solution. Hence, all the stakeholders should try to take not only short term (immediate) measures but also, medium term and long term measures by mainstreaming it in all kinds of development initiatives at all levels in a transparent way.

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Corrigendum

The name of the author in the article, National Food Security Act: Work in Progress, in December 2013 issue of Yojana should read as Dr. Himanshu. It had, inadvertently, been mentioned as Dr. Himanshu Bhushan.



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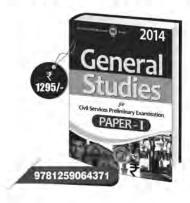
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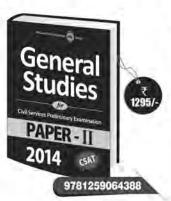
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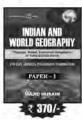


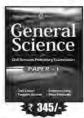


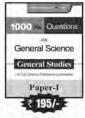
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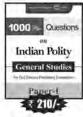


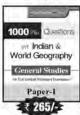




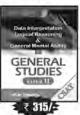


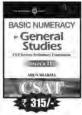


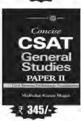














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TE-218/201

Actualising Adivasi Self-Rule-The Only Panacea

Rahul Banerjee



Adivasi self rule will be possible only if there is conscious community mobilisation at the grassroots level in support of this. Macro level policies since independence have led to the decay of the traditional communitarian practices of the Adivasis and so a revival will have to be attempted at a decentralised level by the Adivasis themselves

A

SEARINGLY HOT summer afternoon in the month of April 2001 saw Motiabhai, the Bhilala Adivasi Patel of Katukia village in Bagli Tehsil

of Dewas district in Madhya Pradesh sitting among the ruins of his house and plaintively asking the then Chairman of the National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission, whether as a citizen of India he did not have the right to live with dignity under his own roof.

Why is it that Adivasis like Motia Patel have again and again been forced to ask this question in independent India without receiving any satisfactory answer? Why is it that, despite constitutional safeguards and other ameliorative legislations, Adivasis continue to face the iron hand of state repression whenever they demand their rights in any significant manner? Why has the Panchayat Provisions Extension to Scheduled Areas Act 1996 (PESA), which had initially been hailed as the long awaited panacea for all the ills of Adivasi mal-development, also been unable to deliver the goods to the Adivasis? Why indeed does Adivasi self-rule still remain an elusive Holy Grail even after over six decades of independence? To find the answers to all these burning questions, it will be necessary to trace the history of various legal provisions leading up to

the enactment of PESA and its later non-implementation.

The presence of articulate Adivasi leaders like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Jaipal Singh resulted in the debates in the Constituent Assembly reverberating with eulogies for the inherently democratic and non-exploitative nature of Adivasi communities and the expression of concern about enabling them to negotiate the process of integration into the modern economy to their advantage (GOI, 1954). Consequently, extensive provisions were made in the Constitution and many laws were enacted for the protection and betterment of the Adivasis. Nevertheless, the imperatives of modern industrial development enunciated in the centralised planning process initiated from the early 1950s and the powerlessness of the Adivasis in the face of the State authorities. resulted in a policy of even greater intrusion into Adivasi areas than in colonial times, being adopted after independence, to exploit the vast natural resources that these held.

The independent Indian government, in fact, continued the policy of the British of extraction of resources to fuel modern industrial development. The British enacted the Indian Penal Code (IPC) in 1860 and the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC) in 1861. These laws, with some minor amendments

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only, are still in force today and have been codified in such a manner so as to provide the administration with a handy means of suppressing organised public dissent.

The biggest lacuna of all was that Gandhi's conception of "Gram Swaraj" or the promotion of grassroots democracy through the establishment of autonomous village republics was given a go by. Panchayati Raj was included in the Directive Principles of State Policy which were non-justiciable that is, unlike the fundamental rights these could not be enforced through

The biggest lacuna of all was that Gandhi's conception of "Gram Swaraj" or the promotion of grassroots democracy through the establishment of autonomous village republics was given a go by. Panchayati Raj was included in the Directive Principles of State Policy which were non-justiciable that is, unlike the fundamental rights these could not be enforced through the

the courts. Basic rights like that to free education, health and nutrition services and the means to a dignified livelihood too, were included in this section. Thus, provisions that could have created an aware, healthy and articulate Adivasi population and provided them with an institutional structure for implementing their development according to their own genius, were ignored totally by the Governments, both at the centre and the states after independence, paving the way for the persistence of a form of internal colonialism and feudalism. Matters were compounded by the fact that fundamental rights too, were not easily assured, given the tremendous expenses involved in approaching the High Courts and the Supreme Court for redress. While the erstwhile princes, landlords and the industrialists often went to court to obstruct the path of justice for the poor, the latter could hardly afford to do so and had to bear with the illegal actions of the rulers through the organs of the state.

The Adivasi Dilemma

The Adivasis, as mentioned earlier. had special provisions included for their benefit in the Constitution. Those in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram were to be covered by the provisions of the Sixth Schedule while those in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Jharkhand, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan were to be covered by the provisions of the Fifth Schedule. The basic philosophy behind these provisions was that the tribals had a unique communitarian culture based on a subsistence non-accumulative lifestyle that was totally at odds with the consumerist culture spawned by modern industrial development. Thus, it was necessary to conserve this culture by secluding it from the aggressive thrust of modern development. The British administrator, anthropologist and social activist Verrier Elwin was the foremost proponent of this view and it was he who influenced Nehru in this matter and was the brain behind his "Panchsheel" for tribal areas which spoke of their development keeping in mind their uniqueness. However, given the tremendous imbalance of powers away from the grassroots level, these noble ideas remained a pipe dream in reality.

The provisions under the Sixth Schedule purport to provide for a self contained code for the governance of the tribes living in those areas through the institution of autonomous district councils. Despite the fact that autonomous district councils gave some powers to the tribes in respect of determining many aspects of their life, these were limited by the greater powers of the states of which they were a part. In the case of Assam and Tripura, non-tribals who were in no mood to cede any substantial concessions to the tribals dominated the state legislatures and curbed the powers of the district councils. In the case of the states of Meghalaya and Mizoram, the tribal leaders at the state level usurped all the powers emasculating the district councils. Problems have been created by not giving sanction to the laws and rules passed by the councils and also by restricting the funds available to them to carry out developmental activities. Centralised development and immiserisation of the tribals has been the rule and the district councils have fallen well short of the aspirations of the people in the North Eastern states (Roy-Burman, 1997).

The situation in the Fifth Schedule areas has been even worse. The relevant portions of Section 5 of the Fifth Schedule reads thus –

5 (2). The Governor may make regulations for the peace and good government of any area in a State which is for the time being, a Scheduled Area. In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such regulations may –

Problems have been created by not giving sanction to the laws and rules passed by the councils and also by restricting the funds available to them to carry out developmental activities.

Centralised development and immiserisation of the tribals has been the rule and the district councils have fallen well short of the aspirations of the people in the northeastern states

- a) Prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area;
- Regulate the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area;
- c) Regulate the carrying on of business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area.

5 (3). In making any such regulation as is referred to in sub-paragraph (2) of this paragraph, the Governor may

repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State or any existing law which for the time being, is applicable to the area in question."

Thus, theoretically it is possible for the Governor of a State, on the advice of the Tribes Advisory Council consisting of the Adivasi MLAs of the state, to prevent the application of or repeal the Indian Forest Act and the Land Acquisition Act. The most important aspect of these provisions is that the Governor may implement them so as to ensure "peace and good government" in Adivasi areas, as the framers of the Constitution felt that this could be possible only if the Adivasis were allowed to develop according to their own laws and customs. However, this has never happened because it is not a binding provision and only a suggestion like the Directive Principles of State Policy, which finally has to depend on the executive for its implementation.

Consequently, there has been neither peace nor good government in Adivasi areas. The history of the past 60 years after independence is replete with innumerable struggles of the central Indian Adivasis against the injustice meted out to them by the Indian state through the ruthless implementation of the Indian Forest Act and the Land Acquisition Act and the cynical non-implementation of the Fifth Schedule. There have been widespread protests by Adivasi mass organizations.

The Samatha v.State of Andhra Pradesh, 1997 8 SCC 191 case, fought the Government of Andhra Pradesh's decision of giving of a lease to a private company to extract minerals in scheduled Adivasi areas, all the way to the Supreme Court which, in a landmark judgment, rendered in the light of the debates in the Constituent Assembly, upheld that the intention of the founders of the Constitution when drafting the Fifth Schedule was that the Adivasis should be protected from dispossession of their land and so, even though the actual word in the Constitution is that the Governor "may" act for their benefit, it should

be read as "shall" and has thus, effectively prevented the transfer of Adivasi land to non-Adivasis. This view has now been further strengthened by the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Niyamgiri case in Odisha that the Adivasi Gram Sabhas will have the final say in deciding whether their lands are to be used for purposes other than for what they have been traditionally using them. This has now provided power to the movement for Adivasi self rule as will be detailed later.

The Promised Land

Obviously, the lack of grassroots governance institutions was becoming more and more of a problem as the level of political awareness and literacy was increasing and the centralised trickle down type of development was coming apart at the seams. There was a need to provide a third tier of democratic institutions to take some of the pressure

The report basically upheld the paramountcy of the Adivasi Gram Sabha in all matters related to their governance and development and defined the Gram Sabha as the small Adivasi hamlet and not the administrative panchayat which may contain one or more villages and is too large a unit for the Gram Sabha to function through direct democracy. With the enactment of PESA, the paramount nature of the Gram Sabha in Adivasi areas has been established even though it has not been vested with the wide ranging powers that it should have.

of accountability off the shoulders of the State and Central Governments. Consequently, the pressure building up within the mainstream parties and from various mass organisations and NGOs finally led to the passing of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment in 1992 making Panchayati Raj mandatory. Article 243M (4) (2) of Part IX of the Constitution envisages that "Parliament may, by law, extend the Provisions of this part to the Scheduled Areas..... subject to such exceptions and modifications as may

be specified in such a law". Thus, this was the first time that a central law had not been automatically extended to the Scheduled Areas. It was also stated that such a law enacted by Parliament would not amount to an amendment of the Constitution and could, thus be passed by a simple majority. Provision for this special law was made keeping in mind the failure of the Governors to implement the enabling provisions of the Fifth Schedule.

There was, however, no enthusiasm shown by the central government to pass this special act and extend the provisions of the 73rd amendment to the scheduled areas. Finally the Government of India constituted a Committee of Members of Parliament and Experts in 1994 to suggest the framework of the special law to be enacted for this purpose and the changes necessary in other statutes to accord with the spirit of the new law. This committee, which has since come to be known as the Bhuria Committee submitted its report on January 17th, 1995. The report basically upheld the paramountcy of the Adivasi Gram Sabha in all matters related to their governance and development and defined the Gram Sabha as the small Adivasi hamlet and not the administrative panchayat which may contain one or more villages and is too large a unit for the Gram Sabha to function through direct democracy. With the enactment of PESA, the paramount nature of the Gram Sabha in Adivasi areas has been established even though it has not been vested with the wide ranging powers that it should have.

Illusion and Reality

The Madhya Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act was amended in 1997 in accordance with PESA and rules framed for its implementation in 1998. The Gram Sabha or village council had been made the paramount decision making body and so a special local government system to accord with Adivasi lifestyle and culture had become a legal possibility. Mobilisation proceeded all over the Bhil Adivasi dominated western Madhya Pradesh region to exert pressure towards implementation of these provisions.

Since 1999, there had been deficient rainfall in this region. Whereas some tehsils of Barwani and Jhabua districts had been officially declared drought hit, others had not been so fortunate as the harvest there had not been less than the statutory level of 37 per cent of the normal harvest required for declaring a district or tehsil as being drought hit. Even after being declared drought hit, paltry amounts of between Rs 3 and 4 crores each had been sanctioned for these two districts for relief works over and above the minimal amounts that are normally available through various Central Government schemes. The rest of the region had not even got these crumbs. The Adivasi mass organisations launched a massive campaign for putting pressure on the Government to carry out sufficient relief works. Plans for soil and water conservation works were prepared by the people and sanctioned by the Gram Sabhas and forwarded to the administration for action.

The net result was that the Sahukars were having a field day. The Adivasis were forced to go to these sahukars in the absence of any other support system and bear the burden of usurious interest rates that had shot up to levels of 10 per cent per month and more. Reviewing the situation, the Adivasi mass organisations found that the only way in which things could be improved was for the Government to take action under the various laws at its disposal against the sahukars. However, this did not result in much relief as the Adivasi mass organisations were not strong enough to get the provisions of the PESA implemented. Generally, this has been the problem in most places and PESA has largely remained on paper.

The Way Ahead

The PESA, despite its lack of implementation, does provide a greater space for legal and mass action to press for increased Adivasi autonomy especially after the Samatha and Niyamgiri judgments of the Supreme Court which have empowered the

Adivasi Gram Sabha considerably. With the help of the judiciary and the media, it may be possible to give weight to the contention that modern development cannot be carried out at the cost of the Adivasis. Thus, there is a chance to ensure that the basic principles of liberal democratic governance are not flouted with impunity by the State in Adivasi areas as they were being earlier. The PESA is a first step in the direction of preserving and promoting Adivasi culture and thus, ensuring a saner world involving more sustainable resource use and equitable interpersonal relations than the one we are living in (Rahul, 1997). Proof of this can be found in the fact that the leaders of the Chiapas indigenous people's movement in Mexico have used PESA as one of the reference points for the formulation of their own draft constitution.

The PESA is a first step in the direction of preserving and promoting Adivasi culture and thus ensuring a saner world involving more sustainable resource use and equitable inter-personal relations than the one we are living in.

The passage of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act and the Right to Information Act in 2006 has considerably enhanced the effectiveness of PESA. There are now many instances throughout the country of small mass organisations in Fifth Schedule Areas taking advantage of the provisions of these later laws and using them to fulfil the promise of self rule that is there in PESA. Similarly, many Adivasi mass organizations have conducted long drawn campaigns which have resulted in the enactment of the Scheduled Tribes and Other Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Rights) Act, 2006, popularly known as the Forest Rights Act, which tries to give teeth to the provisions of the Fifth Schedule and nullify the historical

injustice done to the Adivasis through the implementation of the Indian Forest Act by making the Gram Sabha paramount.

The foregoing discussion makes it abundantly clear that ultimately Adivasi self rule will be possible only if there is conscious community mobilisation at the grassroots level in support of this. Macro level policies since independence have led to the decay of the traditional communitarian practices of the Adivasis and so a revival will have to be attempted at a decentralised level by the Adivasis themselves. Especially as, such communitarian culture, apart from ensuring peace and good governance, will also save the natural resources and have a mitigating effect on climate change (Cruz, 2009). So, the way ahead lies in persisting with the synergistic implementation and further refinement of the Adivasi oriented laws that promote self rule as envisaged in the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution as the only panacea for the lack of peace and good government.

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NORTH EAST DIARY

ASSAM PAVILION RECIEVES GOLD MEDAL AT IITF 2013

he Assam Pavilion received the Gold Medal for 'First for Excellence in display amongst state governments and Union Territory pavilions' at the India International Trade Fair 2013 at Pragati Maidan, New Delhi recently. The theme of this year was Inclusive Growth and the Assamese pavilion reflected the growth of various sectors in the state. The live demonstrations of manufacturing of designer candles, various water hyacinths products, traditional Assamese jewellery and natural dyes were the attractions at the pavilion. The stall, set up by the Directorate of Tea, where various types of tea were shown and testing procedure of teas were demonstrated, was another highlight. Live demonstrations of muga reeling, displayed by the Department of Sericulture also drew large crowds. The various agro products displayed by the Horticulture department was also a big draw. This is the first time in the 33 year old history of the IITF that a state government has consecutively received the prestigious Gold Award in succession.

HORNBILL FESTIVAL ATTRACTS MORE THAN 1.60 LAKH VISITORS

ver 1.60 lakh visitors including foreign tourists, domestics and locals thronged the picturesque Naga Heritage village for the biggest indigenous festival of the north-east and the annual tourism promotional festival organised by the government of Nagaland – the Hornbill festival. This year, conciding with 50 years of Nagaland statehood, the Hornbill Festival was inaugurated by no less a dignitary than the Hon'ble President of India, Shri Pranab Mukherjee. The 10-day festival called the 'festival of festivals', showcases all aspects of Nagaland culture.

ASSAM TO GET UPPER HOUSE IN ASSEMBLY

he Union Cabinet has given approval for formation of an Upper House in the Assam Assembly. The Upper House will consist of 42 members. As per Article 171 of the Constitution, the House must consist of one third of the total members in the Legislative Assembly. Assam has a total number of 126 MLAs.

ARUNACHAL PRADESH AS RELIGIOUS TOURISM DESTINATION

runachal Pradesh may soon be a religious tourism destination according to Chief Minister Nabam Tuki. He pointed out that the world famous Tawang Monastry, the Buddhist town of Mechuka, the Golden Pagoda and the famous pilgrimage centre of Parasuram Kund are all great tourist attractions. Several infrastructure projects in the State like the Trans-Arunachal Highway, the railway connection to Tezu, besides proximity to the airport in Assam's Dibrugurh district would help religious tourism thrive. The Chief Minister was speaking after inaugurating the Golden Pagoda eco resort tourism complex at Lohit district. The Rs 469.26 lakh project of the Union Tourism Ministy includes four special suits, eight executive suits or twin sharing, two dormitories, a restaurant and other facilities.

BAMBOO TILES FOR EUROPEAN MARKETS

India's first 'bamboo park' in Tripura has achieved success in its aim of developing bamboo products for the international market. A Mumbai based industrial group, which had set up a factory in the bamboo park for bamboo floor tiles, is all set to export these to European markets. Several hundred people are expected to get employment directly and indirectly because of the unit. The Tirpura government, five years ago, had developed India's first bamboo park at a cost of Rs 30 crore on 70 acres of land to help expand bamboo-based industries. Bamboo is also known as 'green gold' in the Northeastern Region. With 19 to 20 species available Tripura is one of the major bamboo producing states, harvesting 1.5 million tones of total 13.67 million tones of bamboo harvested in the country each year.

(This item was inadvertently omitted from the North East Diary of December 2013 issue of Yojana)

26

The Food Bill, Wild Foods and the Adivasi people

Madhu Ramnath



For the Food Bill to work in text as well as in spirit, it would be necessary to go deeper into the point 1(d) in Schedule III, about the diversion of land and water, to ensure that along with the distribution of staple food grains the various supplements are also accessible. It should be recognized that the procurement of foods, at least among some communities, keeps alive many aspects of traditional skills, ecology and culture and that such communities perform an important service in monitoring their local environment

A

BOUT 60 kms from Bolangir, at the base of the Gandhamardhan hills, is Kendrabhata village. It is a forested village, though all the

neighbouring fields in the tract have been invaded by cotton, quite like maize, that pervades the bordering Nabrangpur district. Apart from the discussions I had with the people about the smuggling of timber and medicinal plants from the hilly forests whose fame is known since the Ramayana, my interest was also about the food that the tribal people in the village gathered from the forest. In the house where we sat and talked, the people said that they had not dug up and eaten yams for 4 years. Not because it was unavailable, but because neither the women nor the youth go into the forest to gather food: they only go to get wood or bamboo. The story was the same in other villages that I visited in the area; there was a general decline in the collection and consumption of various greens. Apart from the older generation, not many people could even identify edible plants, especially mushrooms; the desire to buy food rather than go out to collect it has made people look out for wage labour of any kind, often away from the village. All this showed on their health, especially in the health of the women, many of whom suffered from anaemia.

The National Food Security Bill 2013 was formulated with the intention "to provide for food and nutritional security in human life cycle approach, by ensuring access to adequate quantity of quality food at affordable prices to people to live a life with dignity and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto." In the 15 Chapters that deal with different aspects of this ambitious goal, the 14th Chapter mentions, almost in passing, vulnerable groups and tribal areas. Schedule II gives figures for nutritional standards and Schedule III, under (1)(d), aims to revitalise agriculture by prohibiting unwarranted diversion of land and water from food production. The entire Bill is focused on food grains (rice and wheat) and coarse grains and some agricultural produce and makes absolutely no mention about the various kinds of wild and uncultivated foods consumed by the tribal and rural populations of the country. This is an astounding omission, as these foods comprise - in a region such as central India - of over 400 species, available for nothing other than the cost of going out to collect them.

What is, after all, the meaning of 'security'? It is "freedom from danger or anxiety" which, in our case of food security, translates to the state assuring its people of this hopeful condition of food and nutritional security. And do our rural and forest-dwelling people feel insecure about getting adequate food and nutrition, or are they insecure about the existence

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and access to their resource base that provides them a substantial part of their foods? This is a crucial question whose answer, understandably, may vary from place to place, depending on the natural resources available. But what is unfortunate is that over the last 2-3 decades, the food security that a large section of our population enjoyed as a matter of course, has been undermined by government policies and government apathy. Mining, the pollution of rivers and water bodies, the diversion of large amounts of water and areas of land - are some of the reasons that has made necessary and has pushed people into accepting, the NFS Bill 2013.

As mentioned above, rural communities in central India – the situation is similar in most parts of the

...As diversions of forest and agricultural areas have increased, "food security" and the "right to food" have come to play an important role as political spinoffs. The staples that have become ingredients in the promised Food Bill have displaced traditional crops such as millets and pulses — emphasizing hybrid strains of rice and maize instead — and have been indirectly responsible for the diminishing contribution of foods gathered to supplement cultivated staples.

North East of India - have traditionally harvested and consumed more than 400 species of wild foods that include yams, mushrooms, amaranths, tubers, insects, fish, crab and small game. Each of these have specific nutritional values, in terms of minerals, vitamins and micro-nutrients, that are usually not available or found in most of the staples that are cultivated or procured through the shops. Most important, these are foods that are not just organic but a step ahead: they are beyond organic, found in the wilder spaces around villages, in the fallows, in select forest patches, along streams and on the bunds of fields.

Though, the fact that many subsistence foods are gathered from the forest is clear enough, the implications of the practice, in terms of health and economics, has not been officially recognized. It is the wild foods, such as fish, crab, small game and seasonal greens that keeps nutritional deficiencies at bay; many of these foods have important medicinal values; and all of them are available if the requisite skill and knowledge for gathering them are extant in the culture. It is unfortunate that the state overlooks the important role of wild foods in tribal and rural life especially as most forest dwelling communities procure and consume a substantial amount of the foods directly from their environment. Ironically, over the past decade, as diversions of forest and agricultural areas have increased, "food security" and the "right to food" have come to play an important role as political spin-offs. The staples that have become ingredients in the promised Food Bill have displaced traditional crops such as millets and pulses - emphasizing hybrid strains of rice and maize instead - and have been indirectly responsible for the diminishing contribution of foods gathered to supplement cultivated staples.

Almost all the foods gathered or collected from the wild by adivasi peoples are biological indicators of water and soil qualities as well as indicators of changes in microclimates and local ecology. They point to polluted rivers (when certain fish are unavailable) or forests whose canopy has been broken (when certain mushrooms don't appear); the adequateness of a monsoon or the length of summer is known by time of flowering and fruiting of trees. As biologists are seldom concerned with such an array of species in their assessment of ecology or meteorology, it is the practical knowledge of the local adivasi people – in the course of their livelihood – that can provide us valuable information in these fields.

Many wild food species require specific skills and material before they can be collected or consumed. Fish require traps that demand bamboo, the skill to fashion traps and the knowledge about fish movement in order to place them in the appropriate spots; some fish are caught using plant poisons that requires a knowledge of the plant part that is effective as well as the quantity to be used for a successful haul; toddytapping requires that the basic aspects of plant phenology is understood to ensure a correct flow of the sap; many

Unlike the intentions of the Food Bill, that is little else but a handout, which encourages highinput agriculture and leads to the pollution of soil and water in the long run, food gathering demands that people use their knowledge and skill and be keen observers of their environment. It is not the intention of the author to recommend that everyone take to food gathering, but to make clear what a blind adherence to the Food Bill policy for a large tribal population can undermine with regard to indigenous knowledge.

yams need processing before they can be consumed to avoid itchy throats and other unpleasant side-effects. Unlike the intentions of the Food Bill. that is little else but a handout, which encourages high-input agriculture and leads to the pollution of soil and water in the long run, food gathering demands that people use their knowledge and skill and be keen observers of their environment. It is not the intention of the author to recommend that everyone take to food gathering but to make clear what a blind adherence to the Food Bill policy for a large tribal population can undermine with regard to indigenous knowledge.

It is also imperative to realize that the kind of wild food gathering as mentioned above is being threatened on a variety of fronts, the foremost among them being the migration of a large section of adivasi youth from rural and forest areas to cities. This demographic shift has broken the natural and easy transmission of knowledge and skills necessary between generations within a community; the youth of these communities no longer bother about procuring their food from their landscapes but depend entirely on subsidies and shops. This change in the manner of procuring food has also led to an attitudinal change with regard to their perception of the forest. The youth has little stake in their forest; forest fires during the summer months. diversion of forest areas for nonforestry purposes, the encroachment of cotton, maize and other cash crops in forest areas (accompanied by a heavy use of chemical inputs), etc., does not bother them. Despite a democratic system of governance and the prime position given to the Gram Sabha in the PESA areas, the youth have increasingly distanced themselves from their natural resource bases, which an earlier generation managed and depended upon.

Considering the impact that the Food Bill has on various aspects of the foods gathered from the wild, it would be prudent to be aware of the threats to adivasi knowledge and culture in the long run. It would be better if the respective state governments first make an assessment of, a) the kinds of foods the local people are able to access from the environments, b) whether these foods are available as in earlier years or are declining in yield, c) whether there were other species available in the past but not now, d) the known reasons for the decline or disappearance of various food species from an area, and e) whether there have been any efforts to revive the availability of food species in these areas. A preliminary assessment of these, mostly, supplementary foods, would help us understand the overall status of existing food security that people in the rural and forest areas enjoy. Since de Condolle's *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, where he lists 249 species, there has been little of major value that has been added to the human fare; it is time that some research is conducted on the wild species to see whether any of them could be fruitfully domesticated.

It is my contention, that the Food Bill should function as something more than just dole or charity and handed out to the people regardless of what effects

It is my contention that the Food Bill should function as something more than just dole or charity and handed out to the people regardless of what effects — some of which have been indirectly detrimental to the ecology - it has on society. In many villages in central India, after 2003, when subsidized food grains was introduced, it has been difficult to find cowherds to look after the village cattle: it has not been worth their while to look after the cattle in return for food!

- some of which have been indirectly detrimental to the ecology - it has on society. In many villages in central India, after 2003, when subsidized food grains was introduced, it has been

difficult to find cowherds to look after the village cattle: it has not been worth their while to look after the cattle in return for food! This single change in village society has led to large herds of unmanaged cattle-grazing in forest areas (thereby packing the earth and slowing down regeneration) and a vast number of cattle going feral (and damaging crops). With agricultural wage labour becoming expensive - compounded with scarce fencing material available - many fields lie uncultivated. What is worse is that, with food grains made available almost for free, there is no impetus for the tribal and rural people to think around these problems.

For the Food Bill to work in text as well as in spirit, it would be necessary to go deeper into the point 1(d) in Schedule III, about the diversion of land and water, to ensure that along with the distribution of staple food grains, the various supplements are also accessible. It should be recognized that the procurement of foods, at least among some communities, keeps alive many aspects of traditional skills, ecology and culture and that such communities perform an important service in monitoring their local environment. Finally, I would like to stress that good forest management of the forest comes only from regularly using it, as with food gathering, and not by distancing oneself from it, as happens when food is subsidized and considered sufficient for a dignified lifestyle.

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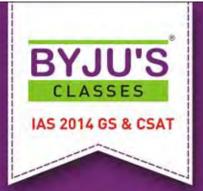
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- 1. Livelihood and Health issues of the Adivasis in Sonebhadra district of Uttar Pradesh-Prema Tiwari
- 2. Pattern of Local Governance for Excluded Tribes in India-Dr. S. T. Shirsath
- 3. Schedule Tribe Areas & Tribals in Himachal Pradesh-Ravinder Kumar
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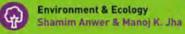


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Community Resource Person: Harbinger of Change in Rural Land Governance

Sanjoy Patnaik



By virtue of its decentralised operation, the CRP programme has successfully garnered support of PRI functionaries, local development actors and civil society to demystify perceived technicalities and complexities around land administration and to make the process peoplefriendly and uncomplicated. Using CRPs to expedite land allocation, motivated revenue officials to prioritise land allocation that they earlier could not accomplish because of staff shortages



ORLD OVER, land is one tangible asset which has been the most precious for families. They have cherished it, revered

it, passed it from one generation to the next and have drawn their sustainance and sense of self from it. However, some of the most complicated and complex socio-economic and political conflicts in India have emerged from rural indebtedness and dispossessed peasantry, especially in the context of negligible and non-existent access to land. The root cause of rural poverty in India, as in any other part of the world, is intricately tied to the control and use of land.

Land legislation in postindependent India did aim to reform the exploitative and iniquitous system of land revenue assessment that had taken firm root under the colonial regime. Agricultural development became the buzzword and this was seen as the gateway to improving the status of the rural poor - a class that suffered the most during the colonial regime. To confer ownership rights on the tenants, the state realised the need to abolish intermediaries and ensure tenure security for tenants. The central and state governments of India promulgated a number of land reform laws post-1947 with the aim of bridging the gap between the landless poor and landed rich. These progressive laws

focused on redistribution of available land through the introduction of land ceiling provisions, with the ultimate goal of providing "land to the tiller." The laws also sought to achieve the more pragmatic objective of promoting proper and effective utilisation of land, in an effort to increase agricultural production.

The Government of Odisha demonstrated its committed resolve to provide land as well as land tenure rights to the landless by enacting a number of progressive legislations that included redistribution of land, especially to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Caste families, by fixing ceiling limits. The state also introduced strong legal instruments to protect tribal land rights from being transferred to the non-tribals. However, due to several implementation bottlenecks, these measures provided only limited success. This led to a scenario where there were rampant issues related to land ownership with clear title. Again and again, rural households face the problems of occupying government land without a title and not being in possession of land for which government had provided the title.

Homestead Land Distribution

Based on an enumeration of landlessness undertaken by the Revenue Department of Odisha in 2005-06, the state government introduced a homestead land allocation programme

The author is State Director, Landesa, Odisha.

called the Vasundhara. The initial enumeration had identified close to quarter of a million as homesteadless families who were provided with 4 decimals (later increased to 10 decimals in 2008) under the Vasundhara programme. But by 2008-09, it was observed that the programme had wide implementation challenges making it difficult to address the problems that the programme was designed to tackle.

In 2009-10, (then Rural LANDESA Development Institute) conducted an assessment of the status of the implementation of the Vasundhara scheme in selected villages of its project area. The study found that successful implementation was very limited and identified that the prime reason for this was the lack of field-level revenue staff. Another key finding of the study was that the scheme did not have a separate implementation guideline to identify and settle the homesteadless rural families.

Navigating Long Standing Constraints

In order to resolve the issue of capacity, LANDESA designed a pilot model using trained local youth to provide additional capacity to the field-level revenue officials. The local youth was called the Community Resource

The idea of providing additional capacity through CRPs came from the fact that the field-level revenue officials could not undertake a household survey to correctly enumerate landlessness. Additional capacity was required to provide accurately enumerated landless figures.

Person (CRP) or Bhumi Sanjojak and was selected by the community and trained by Landesa to provide additional capacity to the Revenue Inspector. The idea of providing additional capacity through CRPs came from the fact that the field-level revenue officials could not undertake a household survey

to correctly enumerate landlessness. Additional capacity was required to provide accurately enumerated landless figures.

The objective of the pilot was to supplement the Revenue Department's capacity by employing trained local youth. In designing the pilot, Landesa consulted revenue officials to develop a step-wise allocation plan along with a time line and defined roles and responsibilities of CRPs and revenue officials, mainly Revenue Inspectors, with whom the CRPs worked.

The main tasks assigned to the cadre of CRPs are :collecting information from various sources, identifying landlessness through triangulation (cross matching household list with household names enlisted in the Record of Rights), providing support to the Revenue Inspector during field verification, and filling out requisite forms and applications. CRPs also ensure that every homesteadless and landless family participates in the camp court process organised by the revenue department. In this process, CRPs help bridge the gap between Revenue Inspector and community by creating awareness and action on new revenue department schemes and programmes such as Vasundhara.

Scaling the CRP model

The CRP model was successful in establishing that trained village youth could provide additional capacity to the field level revenue officials and help to undertake land allocation in a time bound manner. The next step was to scale their application. Landesa identified Odisha Tribal Empowerment and Livelihoods Programme (OTELP), an externally aided Government programme, as the solution to address long standing problems in land allocation, which were identified during the assessment of the Vasundhara programme.

OTELP and Landesa agreed to jointly implement a land allocation programme in which OTELP would

hire CRPs and Landesa would provide technical support in the form of training and facilitation in order to ensure land to the landless in the 1056 project villages in 7 districts of Odisha. Within a short span of time, in 98 per cent of project villages, the CRPs helped identify close to 30000 landless families. Almost 16000 pattas had been distributed in the project villages.

Based on the success of the CRP model, Government of Odisha has extended the land allocation programme to 18000 villages in the

The CRP model was successful in establishing that trained village youth could provide additional capacity to the field level revenue officials and help to undertake land allocation in a time bound manner.

118 Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) blocks of 12 districts of the state. With close to 1.2 million tribal households in the TSP blocks, the land allocation programme is expected to benefit half a million families. The Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste Development Department of the Government of Odisha will be the nodal department for the intervention. OTELP and Landesa would continue supporting the Revenue Department and the respective district administrations to ensure land to the landless. While the Integrated Tribal Development Agency will facilitate intervention at district-level, similar facilitation will be done by NGOs at the block-level.

Governance reforms: People's Participation

Land administration in general, and determination of the extent of landlessness, in particular, has been the exclusive responsibility of the state government. This project provided an example in which the CRP, a local community representative with native and traditional knowledge and active support and participation of the village community, prepared a landless list (using government definitions

of landlessness) to be subsequently authenticated by the revenue officials. Land allocation becomes a communityled process.

The involvement of local people was not, however, limited only to enumeration of landless families. During field verification, the identified landless families got an opportunity to actively participate in the identification and demarcation of their land to avoid any future conflict over area and possession. Earlier, villagers had limited scope to know who was landless and who had received land. With the CRP involving the poor and the landless in the land allocation process, land allocation became a communityled process. The CRP programme in Odisha has been particularly significant in establishing a robust team, taking the government and non-government actors together to collectively address the complicated issue of land allocation and settlement.

This was a rare example in which a state government enlisted support from civil society to help with one of its most critical and core functions. The CRP model has emerged as a good practice, demonstrating results through an efficient and collective planning and monitoring process. Here, self -help transcends from individual dividends to community gain.

This was a rare example in which a state government enlisted support from civil society to help with one of its most critical and core functions. The CRP model has emerged as a good practice, demonstrating results through an efficient and collective planning and monitoring process. Here, self -help transcends from individual dividends to community gain. The participatory process as understood the common parlance, is a system of development intervention where community supports the government machinery. But the CRP model, integrates the community into the process: the community graduates itself to a decision making role by identifying the extent of landlessness, which is validated by the government, subsequently, thereby redefining the existing definition of participatory development and rearranging the leadership role in it. One of the key components that emerged as the land allocation programme progressed, has been the unprecedented and unhindered trust on community's abilities to support government in responding to the needs of the people. This developed trust helped break two mutually contradicting and misplaced perceptions that neither the government nor the local communities can deliver or work together.

As development processes evolve, government institutions need enhanced capacity to respond effectively to complex development challenges. Land to the landless is one such complex and difficult state mandate that is hard to achieve unless a mutually complementing partnership is established by creatively juxtaposing multiple capacities. The CRP model is one such partnership platform where the native and the traditional knowledge of local communities is recognised as a crucial input to the government's landless enumeration process, thereby assuring local participation in land governance.

Knowledge: Decentralising Creation and Access

The CRP model is an excellent example of decentralising knowledge to enable enhanced access to basic information on ownership of land. The process of this decentralisation of knowledge begins with the CRP bringing the village RoR to the community and progresses to the CRP preparing and sharing the final list of landless families to the community in a village meeting. A number of activities are undertaken as part of this decentralisation of knowledge.

The CRP, identifies landless households, brings the village RoR to the community and educates the community members on the use of land records. The practice of keeping records at the community level enhances community members' access to information and creates transparency about landholding status in the village. Earlier, the village RoR used to be with the Revenue Inspector, and especially in Scheduled Areas, few community members were aware of something called the village RoR and its utility. Now, with the CRP working closely with the community and the Revenue Inspector, people can easily access revenue records, especially the village RoR.

In a joint family situation, the father is typically regarded as head of the family and therefore eligible to get the land. Thus, Revenue Inspectors usually overlook the process of ascertaining family land share of other family members. But with the CRP working with the Revenue Inspector, descendants having less than two decimals (2/100 acre) may also be considered homesteadless. By using a transparent process to prepare the genealogy to establish the exact shares of family land, the CRPs help to avoid future conflicts among descendants, especially conflicts caused by ignorance of respective individual land shares.

To help descendants ascertain their share of land, the CRP prepares the genealogy (showing family shares of ancestral land) in the presence of family members and the Revenue Inspector. In a joint family situation, the father is typically regarded as head of the family and therefore eligible to get the land. Thus, Revenue Inspectors usually overlook the process of ascertaining family land share of other family members. But with the CRP working with the Revenue Inspector, descendants having less than two decimals (2/100 acre) may also

be considered homesteadless. By using a transparent process to prepare the genealogy to establish the exact shares of family land, the CRPs help to avoid future conflicts among descendants, especially conflicts caused by ignorance of respective individual land shares.

• The CRP prepares and shares the final list of landless families with the community in a village meeting. This open process of reading out names in a village meeting helps villagers know which households are homesteadless and landless and what criteria has been used.

The entire exercise of providing land to the landless used to be an activity limited to the Revenue Department and Revenue Inspector's office, with barely any role for the community. The villagers rarely knew who was landless and who had received land or what land they had received.

During field verification by revenue officials, families identified as landless have an opportunity to actively participate in identifying and demarcating the government land they are occupying. This helps avoid future conflict over area and possession. The entire exercise of providing land to the landless used to be an activity limited to the Revenue Department and Revenue Inspector's office, with barely any role for the community. The villagers rarely knew who was landless and who had received land or what land they had received. Moreover, with support from the CRP, the Revenue Inspectors have done field verification in each village. Previously, this had not been the practice due to multiple demands on the Revenue Inspectors' time.

Importance of Land Rights

The nature of identifying the landless is such that all issues related to land becomes public knowledge. The philosophy behind the CRP model is to create a "friend of the people" figure who can help initiate social mediation between communities and the government to resolve land issues. Throughout the pilot project and OTELP scaling, the CRP proved to be usefull in helping the people, especially the landless, realising them that getting a piece of homestead land was their right, thus generating demand that had been missing.

The CRP also helped the Revenue Inspector to locate families (not always landless) who had encroached onto government land by placing the RoR before them and involving them in field verification. By bringing such unauthorised occupation to public notice, the CRP provided able support to the Revenue Inspector. This helped the CRP to gain the confidence and trust of villagers, who could then sort out their problems with the Revenue Inspector mediating with other villagers and advocating on behalf of the poor.

Earlier, because the entire community was not involved in the revenue process, such unauthorized occupation of government land went unnoticed, and the Revenue Inspector was not motivated to initiate eviction on his or her own. With villager's support, encroachment on government land by the wealthier and more influential members became a village issue.

A Public-Private-Community Partnership Model

Involving literate youth from the village in regularizing the occupation of government land was an innovative model of land allocation because it relied on the capacity of a private individual to enumerate landlessness. Earlier, civil society and private individuals had no direct role in such revenue operations. Land allocation and settlement was not perceived as an area in which people's participation

could even be possible. For the first time in the country, a partnership was formed between the state and non-state actors, in an area that was considered an exclusive reserve of the government. By accepting the increased engagement of non-revenue persons in land allocation, the state government exhibited its openness to recognising the capacity within the community to provide critical support

Implementing the land allocation programme offers a unique experience of a workable and successful model in which government partners and civil society jointly carved out distinct roles and responsibilities for each player in a rather complicated area of land allocation. The CRP model not only ensures people's participation in identifying landless families, but also ensures that they take part and provide vital information regarding land holding to revenue officials.

to the government. It also recognised the ability of local youth to socially mediate to reach the unreached.

Further, the CRPs could also reestablish the link between the people and government by delivering results in record time. Implementing the land allocation programme offers a unique experience of a workable and successful model in which government partners and civil society jointly carved out distinct roles and responsibilities for each player in a rather complicated area of land allocation. The CRP model not only ensures people's participation in identifying landless families, but also ensures they take part and provide vital information regarding land holding to revenue officials.

Empowerment and other Benefits

By virtue of its decentralised operation, the CRP programme

has successfully garnered support of PRI functionaries, local development actors and civil society to demystify perceived technicalities and complexities around land administration and to make the process people-friendly and uncomplicated. Using CRPs to expedite land allocation, motivated revenue officials to prioritise land allocation that they earlier could not accomplish because of staff shortages. Many Revenue Inspectors have said that since they did not follow a standardized method of landless identification, the numbers they were offering were inaccurate. However, within the previously existing circumstances, they felt they had no other option. Some Revenue Inspectors also said that since they did not have additional support, they hardly ever undertook field verification before providing land.

The process of keeping data at the community level and periodically sharing it, created a proactive engagement of communities in land allocation issues. Increased access to land records and the presence of CRPs appears to have brought about a visible increase in the frequency and the number of people visiting the revenue circle offices. The CRP programme, to a large extent, empowered and motivated community members to get involved in land allocation work. Because of the CRP's close proximity to the community and the Revenue Inspector, the CRP has also been able to help people with regard to land disputes that were not strictly under the CRP's purview.

The CRP programme has experienced increased participation of women in land allocation for the land being jointly titled in the name of both spouses. As per *patta* distribution figures collected as

of November 2013, 94 per cent of homestead and farmland pattas distributed in the project villages were jointly titled, and 2.5 per cent went to women-headed households. A number of women who received pattas revealed that they had never before seen a patta and had never even heard about joint titling. After land allocation, the women exhibited the most interest and zeal to productively use the homestead plots by accessing government schemes and programmes. There were instances in which women landholders, on their own, formed user groups to access government services. With regard to womenheaded households, patta was of great help in getting residential proof to ensure their children's education because such documents are required for enrolling children in schools.

(E-mail:sanjoyp@landesa.org)



J&K WINDOW

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MIGRANT PACKAGE APPROVED

he Jammu & Kashmir Government has approved the proposed amendment to the Prime Minister's package for the return and rehabilitation of Kashmiri migrants to Kashmir Valley. The proposed amendment will allow all migrants families, which would return to the Valley to avail incentives for construction or reconstruction of houses available under the package irrespective of the fact as to whether they had sold their properties before or after 1997.

GOLDEN CROP TO GLOW AGAIN

he "Golden Crop" of Kashmir i.e. the Kashmiri saffron is set to register an increase of 10% yield this year thanks to the efforts of the National Saffron Mission(NSM) scheme. The world famous crop, known for its fine quality, is hopeful of yielding 11 metric tonnes this year as againt 10 metric tonnes the previous year. Pampore township of Pulwama district is the largest producer of saffron in the country, with 80 per cent of area under the cultivation of the crop and is referred to as the 'Golden Bowl' of Kashmir.

ARTIFICIAL SNOW FOR GULMARG VISITORS

he Jammu & Kashmir government is proposing to buy snow – making machines to usher an early skiing season. The aim is to advance the skiing season by six to eight weeks, according to Director of Tourism, govt of J&K. This decision was taken since it was found that snowfall has been happening late in the past few years – usually only by mid or late December as against early November two decades ago. One of the major concerns about this proposal is the availability of water. The Tourism Department hopes to be able to tap the water from the Seven Springs in Mount Apharwat at an altitude of 13,780 ft. The glaciers could also be utilized, the Department felt. These snow machines or snow guns use water to create a blanket of artificial snow. In one minute, a snow gun can carpet upto 4000 sq ft with six inch snow. This technology is used in Europe to supplement natural snow when it is deficient and to extend ski seasons. Indoors, where the temperature can be controlled, the machines can create snow for indoor ski slopes like in parts of West Asia.

J&K GOVT AND J&K BANK SIGN MoU FOR DBT

Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the State Government of J&K and the J&K bank on implementation of Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) Electronic Benefit Transfer (EBT) scheme in the state for transfer of government entitlements under various Central Sector/centrally sponsored schemes directly into the beneficiaries accounts. J&K Bank has been designated as the Leader Bank in all the 22 districts of the State. The Scheme, in the first phase, is being launched in six pilots districts of Ganderbal, Jammu, Kargil, Leh, Rajouri and Srinagar. In the pilot phase, the beneficiaries of IGNOAPD(Old Age pension scheme) are being covered under DBT/EBT roll out. The remaining 16 districts will be covered in the second phase which will benefit the entire IGNOAPS beneficiary population of the state of about 1,30,000 presently.

EXPERT PANEL FOR EDUCATION POLICY FORMED

n expert panel to work on formulation of Education Policy for the school system in J&K school education Vision Document 2025 and Language Policy; medium of instruction, regional languages and school curriculum is proposed to be formed. The expert panel will comprise eminent academicians, intellectuals, activitists and experts with Prof Farida Khan, Jamia Milia Islamia as Chairperson. It will furnish the report with its recommendation within a period of three months.

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Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan

Saumya Shrivastava



Clearly, it would be neither feasible nor necessary for all ministries to meet the 16 / 8 per cent benchmark for SCSP/TSP. But if the ministries make serious efforts along these lines, the combined Plan allocations reported for all ministries is quite likely to be higher than the benchmarks - if not in the first year itself, then over a span of a few years

CHEDULED CASTES
(SCs) and Scheduled Tribes
(STs) have been among the most disadvantaged sections of our society due to their socio-economic exploitation and isolation over a long period of time. They lag behind the rest of the population in terms of both human development as well as

economic indicators. Table 1 reflects

the marked difference in the social and

economic indicators of SCs and STs as

compared to other social groups.

The 12th Five Year Plan noted that the incidence of poverty is most pronounced among the SCs and the STs across all social groups. Though efforts have been made for bringing them at par with the rest of the population, gaps still exist. The 12th plan document notes that "This calls for an inclusive growth process which provides opportunities for all to participate in the growth process combined with schemes that would either deliver benefits directly or more importantly help these groups to benefit from the opportunities thrown up by the general development process."

It was witnessed that despite dedicated efforts for the up liftment of SCs and STs over the years, they continued to face multiple developmental deficits, which could clearly not be addressed through the general welfare schemes and programmes that had been in place.

Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan

The persistence of socio-economic backwardness of the SCs and the STs, in spite of the development efforts, warranted a special and focused strategy, to enable them to share the benefits of overall economic growth in a more equitable manner. In order to ensure direct policy-driven benefits for SCs and STs through specific interventions, the Planning Commission during the 1970s introduced plan strategies - the Special Component Plan for SCs (SCP) and the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP). The SCP for SCs was later renamed as Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (SCSP). The main objective of SCSP and TSP is to channel Plan funds for the development of SCs and STs in accordance with the proportion of these communities in the total population which was16 per cent and 8 per cent respectively at the national level as per the 2001 Census.

Under these strategies, Plan funds are to be earmarked for SCs (through SCSP) and STs (through TSP) under separate budget heads (SCSP with budget head 789 and TSP with budget head 796) for each ministry implementing SCSP and TSP. These

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Table 1: Socio-Economic Indicators for Scheduled Castes

Indicators	Year	SCs	STs	Other Groups
Literacy Rate (Rural) %	2007-08	60.5	58.8	76.9
Literacy Rate (Urban) %		74.9	78	89.9
Unemployment Rate by Current Daily Status (Rural)	2007-08	11.9	7.5	8.4
Women with BMI < 18.5 (%)	2005-06	41.2	46.6	29.3
Women with Anaemia (%)	2005-06	58.3	68.5	51.2
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000)	2005-06	66.4	62.1	48.9
Households with Pucca houses (%)	2008-09	38.3	39.5	66.1
Households with electricity (%)	2008-10	61.2	18.8	75

Source: India Human Development Report 2011, Towards Social Inclusion, Institute of Applied Manpower Research, Planning Commission, GoI [computed from NFHS, NSS various years)

strategies could include allocations for area-oriented programmes benefitting SC/ST hamlets or designing new appropriate developmental programmes for the development of these groups. The SCSP and TSP funds should be non-divertible and non-lapsable.

Allocations under SCSP and TSP

The sub plans statements show the allocations reported by various ministries/ departments for welfare of SCs and STs. Graph 1 and 2 show the trend of the share of allocations for SCs and STs respectively as a proportion of Total Plan allocations of the Union Government (excluding the Central Assistance to States and Union Territories). Source: Compiled from Statement 1, 21 and 21A, Expenditure Budget in with Vol. I, Union Budget (various years)

Allocations for SCs reached an all-time high at 10.43 per cent of the total plan allocation of Union Budget 2012-13 (RE), but this too fell short of the 16.2 per cent share stipulated by SCSP norms. The increase in outlay was mainly due to a substantial fall in the total plan allocation of the Union government from Rs. 321405.55 crore to Rs. 317184.62 crore, which increased the proportionate share of SCSP in the total plan allocations. However, the share of SCSP in the total plan allocations of Union Budget (excluding

Central Assistance to States and Union Territories) has dipped to 9.92 per cent in 2013-14 BE.

Similarly, it is interesting to see from Graph 2 that in no year have the allocations under the TSP reached the stipulated 8 per cent mark, remaining below 6 per cent in all the years under analysis. As has been the case with SCSP, the proportionate allocations under TSP have remained almost stagnant in the last few years.

Problems

Reporting is not being undertaken by all the ministries/departments, and some of these are the ones which are liable to allocate funds under SCSP. Further, a few Departments and Union Territories (UTs) have discontinued reporting under the statement. Annexure 1shows allocations under this Statement by various ministries/departments.

As per Statement 21 of Union Budget 2013-14, the government's allocation under SCSP has gone up to Rs.41561 crore from Rs. 33085.04 crore in 2012-13 (RE). This marks an increase of Rs. 8476.09 crore over the year. Even so, several ministries and departments still remain out of the ambit of the SCSP.

As has been the case with the SCSP, even in TSP, not all the ministries/departments are allocating

funds under this Statement (see Annexure 2). The Ministry of Agriculture which had been reporting funds till 2012-13 BE, has stopped reporting under Statement 21A from 2012-13 RE. Similar is the case with the Ministry of Civil Aviation and Department of Biotechnology which reported allocations for just one year (2010-11 RE). There hasn't been any increase in the number of ministries/ departments reporting under it from last year. Annexure 2 shows allocations by various ministries/ departments for TSP, over the years. As per Statement 21A of Union Budget 2013-14, the government's allocation under the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) has increased to Rs. 24598.39 crore from Rs. 18721.33 crore in 2012-13 (RE), marking an increase of Rs. 5877.57 crore.

On the positive side, the Statements (21 and 21A) have, for the first time reported figures of Actuals in the Union Budget 2013-14, which could be seen as a step towards greater transparency. Moreover, the Finance Minister in his budget speech this year, emphasised that the funds allocated to the Sub Plans cannot be diverted and must be spent for the specified purposes. However, much remains to be done with regard to the reporting under these statements. Some concerns that continue to affect the proper implementation of these plan strategies have been highlighted in the following section.

Concerns in the implementation of SCSP and TSP

As noted above, the implementation of these two strategies has been fraught with three major problems: allocations not meeting the stipulated earmarking of 16 and 8 per cent; many ministries remaining out of the ambit of these statements and several ministries not having the required budget heads for SCSP and TSP in their detailed budget books (Detailed Demands for Grants). Additionally, there also remain issues regarding the overall approach of these plan strategies.

Another key issue that has adversely affected these plans is the approach taken by the Narendra Jadhav Task Force. The Narendra Jadhav Committee's roadmap for implementation of SCSP and TSP has not addressed the core issue pertaining to misplaced rationale underlying the interventions being reported. In several schemes, the nodal Ministries are reporting a part of their Plan allocations as a proportion of funds meant for benefiting SCs/STs even though the schemes/component(s) may not target the specific needs and challenges of SCs/STs. Reporting under SCSP over the years has been more in the nature of "retrospective budgeting" where allocations for SCs are earmarked after the Plan budgets of the ministries are finalised in the process of formulation of the Union Budget, without any special measure taken for formulating SCSP and TSP during the budget preparation phase.

Secondly, a scrutiny of the programmes /schemes across several such ministries also indicates that they are merely 'assuming' that a certain proportion of funds in a certain scheme would benefit SCs / STs based on the share of SC / ST population in the country's total population, giving rise to the debate on 'notional' allocation of funds under the SCSP and TSP.Moreover, in some cases the interventions reported under the statements are not SC/ST specific;

they are more in the nature of general interventions that cannot be perceived as meant largely for the benefit of SCs / STs. There are some glaring examples of how the SCSP / TSP funds, particularly the SCSP funds, are being used for very general purposes that cannot be perceived as meant largely for the benefit of SCs / STs. This can be clearly seen from some state level examples outlined below.

Example from Madhya Pradesh State Budget: Madhya Pradesh State Budget reported interventions like purchase of furniture and equipment, constructions of channels and survey and mapping of projects, under SCSP. These interventions clearly do not promote empowerment of SCs or address their specific developmental needs. Inclusion of such interventions under SCSP does cast doubts over the reporting under SCSP in the state.

Use of SCSP Funds in Madhya Pradesh in 2010-11 (BE)

- In the Department of Medical Education, Rs. 22 lakh have been booked for purchase of furniture and equipment for establishing Homeopathy and Ayurvedic clinics.
- Under Higher Education department, there is a provision of Rs. 1 crore for construction of staff room.
- Water Resources Department has allocated Rs. 6.4 crore for the construction of channels.

 For Narmada Valley Development Project, Rs. 40 lakh is allocated for survey and mapping of the detailed project for Narmada Valley Development.

Source: Data compiled by National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR), a Delhi based NGO, from Detailed Demands for Grants in the State Budget of Madhya Pradesh for 2010-11

Example from Odisha State Budget Budget: The Odisha State Budget for 2010-11 reported Construction of Jail Buildings under SCSP with an allocation of Rs. 4.77 crore (under the Head 4059-60-789). Clearly, construction of jails, building for police or fire stations does not lead to the development of SCs or accrue any benefit to them.

Example from Gujarat State Budget: Similarly, Gujarat State Budget has reported certain interventions under TSP which do not have any specific provision for the development of the STs, as shown below. Reporting general schemes which do not have specific provisions for STs or reporting allocations on celebrating a birth anniversary cannot be seen as programmes addressing specific concerns of STs.

Use of Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) Funds in Gujarat in 2012-13 (BE)

 Under Minor Head 796, Sub Head: 07 - Celebration of Swami Vivekanand's 150th Birth

Table: 2 Excerpt from the Detailed Demand for Grant for Home Department in Odisha (in Rs. Crore)								
Schemes	2009-10 BE	2010-11 BE						
Construction of Building for Jails	2.30	4.77						
Construction of Building for Fire Services	3.32	4.11						
Construction of Building for Police Welfare (37062- Construction of Office building through O.S.P.H &W Corporation)	7.49	1.70						

Source: Data compiled by National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR), a Delhi based NGO, from Detailed Demands for Grants in the State Budget of Odisha (2010-11)

Anniversary for which an amount of Rs. 5 crore is allocated for the year 2012-13.

Under Minor Head 796, Sub Head: 08-UDP- Swarnim Jayanti Mukhya Mantri Shahari Vikas Yojana for which an amount of Rs. 170 crore is allocated for the year 2012-13. This scheme is meant to provide assistance for basic social infrastructure to ULBs, e.g. construction/restrengthening school buildings, creating facilities in urban health centers, kindergartens, e-Libraries, play grounds, Solid & Liquid Waste Management, e-Governance, Parking and Public Toilets, facilities for Vegetable & Seasonal Venders Markets, etc.

(Source: State Budget Documents (2012-13), Govt. of Gujarat)

Such practices of use of funds for general purposes defy the purpose of initiating strategies like SCSP and TSP. Projects meant for SCs and STs should have a beneficiary oriented approach as far as possible and cover SC and ST dominated hamlets in projects related to infrastructure and basic amenities, ensuring development of these groups with planned interventions for addressing their specific concerns

Thirdly, the Narendra Jadhav Task Force has exempted a number of ministries / departments from reporting under these statements primarily on the grounds of 'indivisibility' of these sectors. But, it needs to be noted here that no sector is indivisible and the Ministries can identify some specific challenges confronting SCs/STs in their respective sectors and then formulate a new intervention / a new scheme to address such challenges, even if the allocations may be small as compared to the total budget of the Ministry.

Such concerns do stress the need for rethinking the plan strategies of SCSP and TSP on how to make them more responsive to the needs of the SCs and the STs respectively.

Annexure 1: Assessment of Fund Allocation through Statement 21 in Union Budget 2013-14 (In Rs. Crore)

S. No.	Ministry/Department	2010-11 RE	2011-12 RE	2012-13 RE	2013-14 BE
1	Department of Animal Husbandry, Dairying and Fisheries	0	160.11	291.59	328.05
2	Department of Agriculture and Cooperation	-	1401.98	1533.71	1888.11
3	Department of Commerce	-	90	94	100
4	Ministry of Civil Aviation	0.1	-	-	-
5	Police	2.66	-	-	-
6	Ministry of Labour and Employment	9.8	210.6	352.59	408.89
7	Ministry of New and Renewable Energy	0	42	40.25	53.23
8	Department of Science and Technology	3	31.52	25.97	69.43
9	Department of Biotechnology	3.5	-	-	-
10	Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment	3434.76	4019.1	3888.93	4755.8
11	UT of Chandigarh	10.41	-	-	-
12	UT of Daman and Diu	0.56	-	-	-
13	Ministry of Agriculture	272.5	-	-	
14	Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion	30.73	30.01	5.8	42
15	Department of Information Technology	53.2	45.08	51.74	60
16	Ministry of Environment and Forest	0	51	43.36	53.46
17	Department of Health and Family Welfare	2163	3137.61	3712.88	4433.08
18	Department of AYUSH	-	32.5	33.5	53.45
19	Department of AIDS Control	0	228	267.45	271.32
20	Ministry of HUPA	0	234.91	162.5	328.5
21	Department of School Education and Literacy	5881.83	7791.4	8545.8	9931.8
22	Department of Higher Education	2175.67	1922.85	2076.91	2431.51
23	Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises	276.26	186.09	309.69	357.24
24	Ministry of Panchayati Raj	11	14.01	23.78	75.49
25	Ministry of Power	-	502.23	390.76	800
26	Department of Rural Development	7492	4375.06	3819.74	6358.37
27	Department of Land Resources	0	279.75	491.69	933.85
28	Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation	0	2200	2860	3358
29	Ministry of Textiles	139.2	265.16	225	231.55
30	Ministry of Women and Child Development	2349	2530	3700	4070
31	Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports	204.98	136.55	137.4	168
	Total Allocation	24514.16	29917.52	33085.04	41561.13

Source: Statement 21 from Expenditure Budget Volume 1, Union Budget various years

Annexure 2: Assessment of Fund Allocation through Statement 21A in Union Budget 2013-14 (in Rs. Crore)

S. No.	Dept./Ministry	2010-11 RE	2011-12 RE	2012-13 RE	2013-14 BE
1	Ministry of Agriculture	139.3	692.33	-	-
2	Dept. of Agricultural Research & Education		100.8	86.4	123
3	Dept. Agriculture and Cooperation			757.3	932.5
4	Ministry of Coal		27	31.01	31.6
5	Dept. of Telecommunications	0	5.02	5.99	14.5
6	Dept. of Information Technology	0	196.2	138.46	201
7	Dept. of Food & Public Distribution	0	1.96	3.44	6.28
8	Ministry of Culture	7.4	16.1	17.28	28.7
9	Ministry of Environment & Forests		15	14.51	16
10	Dept. of Health & Family Welfare	1167	1683.7	1804	2391.53
11	Dept. of AYUSH	8.21	13	13.4	21.38
12	Dept. of AIDS Control	0	123	144.28	146.37
13	Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation	0	25.06	17.32	35.04
14	Dept. of School Education & Literacy	3441.06	4168.4	4572	5313.52
15	Dept. of Higher Education	621.29	961.33	1021.53	1219.59
16	Ministry of Labour and Employment	0	106.6	169.01	206.95
17	Ministry of Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises	147.32	133.96	211.11	244.21
18	Ministry of Mines		8.12	8.72	9.72
19	Ministry of Panchayati Raj	11	7.08	12.27	37.55
20	Ministry of Road Transport & Highways		375	500	800
21	Ministry of Rural Development	0	3081.94	2778.87	4452.03
22	Dept. of Land Resources	0	246.42	302.4	576.45
23	Dept. of Drinking Water & Sanitation	0	1000	1300	1526
24	Dept. of Science & Technology	3	32.75	21.86	69.43
25	Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment			0	46
26	Ministry of Textiles	27.6	63.63	54.75	55.57
27	Ministry of Tourism	0	27.5	23.75	32.05
28	Ministry of Tribal Affairs	3203.3	3723.01	3100	4279
29	Union Territories (Andaman & Nicobar Islands)		2.71	2.94	2.94
30	Union Territories (D&D)		1.16	1	1
31	Ministry of Water Resources	0	10.4	17.5	19.5
32	Ministry of Women and Child Development	0	1037.3	1517	1668.7
33	Ministry of Youth Affairs & Sports	75.9	72.55	73.23	90.28
34	Ministry of Civil Aviation	0.05			
35	Department of Biotechnology	1.75			
36	UTs of Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu and Lakshadweep	367.13			
	Total Allocation	9221.31	17959.03	18721.33	24598.39

Source: Statement 21A, 2013-14, Expenditure Budget Volume-I, Ministry of Finance, Government of India

Suggested Roadmap

The objective of SCSP / TSP should not be to merely capture the assumptions / perceptions of Ministries with regard to 'incidental' benefits accruing to SCs / STs from their general schemes, but to ensure availability of adequate budgetary resources with Ministries for providing direct 'policy-driven' benefits to SCs / STs in their respective sectors. The main objective of SCSP and TSP should not be to just report/show that 16 or 8 per cent of the total plan budgets of all ministries are for benefiting SCs and STs, because such an objective pushes several ministries to focus merely on retrospective reporting. The main objective of the Sub Plan should be to encourage all ministries to – (i) identify what could be the additional difficulties /challenges confronting SCs / STs in their sectors of concern, (ii) what kind of measures could be taken by them to address those special difficulties/ challenges, and (iii) how much additional resources would be required for such special measures. These additional resources devoted for the special measures for SCs/STs should then be reported under SCSP / TSP.

Clearly, it would be neither feasible nor necessary for all ministries to meet the 16 / 8 per cent benchmark for SCSP/TSP. But if the ministries make serious efforts along these lines, the combined Plan allocations reported for all ministries is quite likely to be higher than the benchmarks - if not in the first year itself, then over a span of a few years.

(E-mail: saumya@cbgaindia.org)

Five Fundamental Principles of Tribal Development

- People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
- (2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.
- (3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- (4) We should not over-administer these areas or over-whelm them with multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.
- (5) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

New Delhi, 9th October, 1958

Jawaharlal Nehru

(From the Foreword to the Second Edition of the book 'A Philosophy for NEFA' by Verrier Elwin)

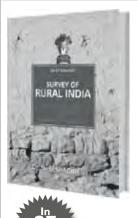
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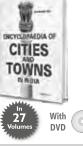


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Evidence from some 'Least Developed' States

Archana Prasad



The status of the scheduled tribe is getting consolidated as a rural and urban worker and not as a farmer. In this situation the slow implementation of the Unorganised Sector Workers Social Security Act, 2008 and Forest Rights Act, 2006 will only further hurt the interests of the scheduled tribes in contemporary India

F THE five states described as 'least developed' by the Report of the Raghuram Rajan Committee on Evolving a Composite Developmental Index,

four have a considerably large scheduled tribe population. It is also significant that all these states boast a robust annual growth rate and have pursued aggressive policies which have resulted in the changing class differentiation within tribal people. This differentiation is also a result of the forms of adverse integration of tribal workers into rural and urban labour markets. The increasing labour mobility amongst the scheduled tribe population is reflected in the growing trends of urbanisation and changing intensity of dispossession amongst the tribal people. The root cause of these changing patterns of mobility and rising inequities within tribal communities is the continuing structural changes in the agrarian economy, both in terms of the consolidation of land holdings and the penetration of big capital into export led commercial agriculture. This is particularly true of states like Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh where contract and corporate farming in tribal lands has been a result of sustained policy initiatives that are consistently linking tribal farmers

and rural farmers to national and global markets. Third party industry agreements in joint forest management projects (in states like Andhra) and the promotion of export and industry oriented agricultural produce like safed musli (for example in Bastar, Chhattigarh), soya bean (through the ITC in Madhya Pradesh) and floriculture in large parts of Chhattisgarh has fundamentally changed the agrarian relations within the tribal regions. This article shows that it has also led to growing inequities within the tribal society as revealed in the available sources of data for the scheduled tribes.

Forms of Land Dispossession

Ownership and control of land, particularly cultivated land, is one of the basic characteristics of the growing inequities within tribal societies. The decadal changes in the land ownership patterns of four least developed states with tribal population reveal a growing landlessness amongst tribal people in these states in three different periods between 1999-2000 and 2010-11 (a decade that is temporally comparable with the census data enumeration in 2001 and 2011)

Table-1 shows that the decedal increase in landlessness amongst the scheduled tribes has been the highest in

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Table: 1 per centage Changes Access to Cultivated Land by Scheduled Tribes, 1999-2010

		Chang	ge: 1999-	2000 to 2	2010-11			Change: 2004-05-2010-11				
	0	0.01-0.40	0.41-1	1.01-2	2.01-4	Above 4	0	0.01-0.40	0.41-1	1.01-2	2.01-4	Above 4
Chhattisgarh*							-0.8	14.7	6.7	-3.3	-15.8	-1.5
Jharkhand*							8.2	-4.9	3.2	-7.7	0.9	0.3
Madhya	23.1	-3.5	-13.2	-4.6	-0.2	-1.4	17.9	1.1	-10.9	-3.6	-1.8	-2.5
Pradesh												
Odisha	4.7	-0.2	-5	-0.3	1	-0.2	1.5	8.8	-7.5	-1.4	-0.6	-0.7
All India	5.1	-2.2	-1.6	4.6	1.1	0	3.6	1.1	-1.7	5.4	-1.2	-0.1

Calculated from NSSO Report, 469, p. 49, NSSO Report 516, 2004-05, p.70 and NSSO Report 543, 2010-2011, p.74.

*Specific data for the newly formed states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh was not collected in 1999-2000. The Chhattisgarh figures have been included Madhya Pradesh.

Madhya Pradesh in the period between 2000-2011. While the increase in landlessness is lower than the all India average in all states except Jharkhand, percentage of marginal holdings below one hectare has registered a significant rise in all the four states. This clearly indicates that medium size land holdings are getting fragmented and the loss of land amongst the adivasis may not be absolute in its character. This means that those with larger land holdings are losing a significant part of their land but not all their land so as to be classed as 'landless'. Chhattisgarh is especially significant in this regard since there seems to be an unusual increase in medium adivasi land holders, a phenomena that has possibly arisen out of the Chhattisgarh government's contract farming initiative where adivasi peasants are directly linked to corporate houses. This rise in marginal and medium land holdings, at the same time, indicates a fundamental change within the class structure of the Chhattisgarh adivasis and can explain the spurt in urban growth rates of adivasis in the state. The secular rise in marginal land holdings has to be seen as a part of the larger

proletarisation of the tribal people. It is even more interesting to note that the rate of decline of large and medium land holdings within scheduled tribes is considerably less than that of small and marginal holdings. At an all India level, the picture emerges in a more complex form. The rate of decline of large land holdings is much slower than marginal and sub-marginal holdings. This indicates that the tribal people with larger land holdings are able to retain their ownership whereas the marginal farmers were becoming dispossessed, increasing the inequities between the landholders and the landless tribal workers.

The importance of the enactment and implementation of the Forest Rights Act has to be considered in this context and perspective. At the time of its enactment, the advocates of tribal rights anticipated that this Act could be an antitode to both displacement and dispossession. But its implementation, when compared with the diversion of forest lands for other projects, serves as a grim reminder of the reality. According to the CAG Report on the Implementation of the

Compensatory Afforestation scheme in India, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha account for about 51 per cent of the diversion of forest lands for corporate projects. If Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan are added to this list then these seven states account for about 70 per cent of the land diverted for non-forestry purposes. However, this fact is also accompanied by the lack of recognition of land rights under the Forest Rights Act. The scenario for the 'least developed states' is the following:

Of the four least developed states, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh have a poor record in the settlement of claims under the Forest Rights Act. Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh also have the highest rate of diversion of forest lands for nonforestry purposes. Most of this diversion is for the purposes of private mining projects which have a big impact in the displacement of tribal livelihoods. This is clearly seen in the decedal changes in land ownership as shown previously. In fact, in Madhya Pradesh, landlessness has increased by 23.1 per cent in the decade of 2000-2011, and in

Table 2: Diversion of Forest Lands (2010-13) and Implementation of Forest Rights Act, 2013

State/India	Forest Land Diverted (ha)	Claims received under FRA 30 September 2013	Percentage of Claims accepted	Percentage Rejected	Percentage Pending
Chhattisgarh	20,461.70	7,56,062	41.5	56	3.5
Jharkhand	8328.45	42,003	36.4	40.3	23.2
Madhya Pradesh	20,795.72	481,128	37.3	57.8	4.9
Odisha	8820.77	5,41,800	59.8	25.8	14.4
All India	1,14,877.26	35,39,793	39.7	47.2	13.0

Diversion Figures are taken from CAG Report No 21, 2013, pp.20-21

FRA per centages Calculated from Progress Report of Implementation of FRA as of 30.9.2013, Ministry of Tribal Affairs

Chhattisgarh by 8.2 per cent between 2005 and 2011. This clearly indicates that the class position of the adivasi as a rural worker rather than as a peasant has been further reinforced ever since the post-economic reform period. But today, most adivasis are unable to find gainful employment opportunities in agriculture. Such a conclusion is only reinforced by the Census data of 2011.

Transforming Occupational Structures Amongst Tribals

The long term impact of the forms and patterns of dispossession are reflected in the Census of India, 2011. The following picture emerges when compared with the Census of India, 2001:

Table 3 shows a secular decline in the number of main workers or workers getting more than 180 day of regular work in one year, even though there is only a marginal decline or increase in the total work participation rates. What is more interesting to note is the fact that this decline is more drastic in the rural areas of all regions except Madhya Pradesh, whose decline in the main rural workforce is lower than that of the all India workforce. This figure becomes especially significant when we consider the fact that the main work participation rate of women has increased in the state. This is in stark contrast to the decline in the work participation rates of the marginal female workforce in the state in the same period. But, overall, the secular increase in marginal tribal rural workforce (that people working for less than six months a year) is reflective of the larger rural crisis that has fundamentally impacted tribal livelihoods. In contrast, there is a generalised increase in the main female urban workforce in all cases except for Chhattisgarh, and the decline in the urban male workforce in the same period highlights the gendered nature of the changes in the occupational structure. Further, even though there is a general all India increase in the total work participation rate for scheduled tribes, it is largely a result of the increasing rates of marginal rural and urban work. But even here, the rate of increase in total and rural female

marginal work is higher than that of males. Significantly, the decline of female marginal workers in the urban areas is replaced by a corresponding increase in the main female urban workers. Once again, this indicates that schedule tribe women are shouldering greater responsibility to meet the daily needs of urban survival.

In this context, further probe into the nature of occupational changes reveals a rather interesting scenario of working class formation and consolidation amongst the scheduled tribes. The decedal changes in the industrial classification of main workers reflects the land dispossession that is taking place amongst the tribals.

Given the figures for increasing landlessness amongst the tribal people, it is not surprising that the number of tribal cultivators or peasants have declined by more than 10 per cent in all least developed states except for Odisha, where the rate of decline is less than the all India average of 10.31 per cent. As expected, most of this decline is amongst the tribal farmers of rural areas, but this decrease is also

Table 3: Decedal Changes in Scheduled Tribe Work Participation Rates, 2001-2011

Total			Tota	ıl Main Wo	orkers	Total Marginal Workers		
Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
-0.39	0.68	-1.31	-4.16	-7.33	-0.69	4.16	7.33	0.69
0.64	0.42	0.98	-13.23	-18.58	-5.95	13.23	18.58	5.95
0.73	0.90	0.73	-8.49	-11.31	-4.45	8.49	11.31	4.45
-0.58	0.49	-1.57	-7.13	-10.40	-3.98	7.13	10.40	3.98
-0.52	-0.01	-1.08	-4.14	-9.19	1.51	4.14	9.19	-1.51
	-0.39 0.64 0.73 -0.58	Person Male -0.39 0.68 0.64 0.42 0.73 0.90 -0.58 0.49	Person Male Female -0.39 0.68 -1.31 0.64 0.42 0.98 0.73 0.90 0.73 -0.58 0.49 -1.57	Person Male Female Person -0.39 0.68 -1.31 -4.16 0.64 0.42 0.98 -13.23 0.73 0.90 0.73 -8.49 -0.58 0.49 -1.57 -7.13	Person Male Female Person Male -0.39 0.68 -1.31 -4.16 -7.33 0.64 0.42 0.98 -13.23 -18.58 0.73 0.90 0.73 -8.49 -11.31 -0.58 0.49 -1.57 -7.13 -10.40	Person Male Female Person Male Female -0.39 0.68 -1.31 -4.16 -7.33 -0.69 0.64 0.42 0.98 -13.23 -18.58 -5.95 0.73 0.90 0.73 -8.49 -11.31 -4.45 -0.58 0.49 -1.57 -7.13 -10.40 -3.98	Person Male Female Person Male Female Person -0.39 0.68 -1.31 -4.16 -7.33 -0.69 4.16 0.64 0.42 0.98 -13.23 -18.58 -5.95 13.23 0.73 0.90 0.73 -8.49 -11.31 -4.45 8.49 -0.58 0.49 -1.57 -7.13 -10.40 -3.98 7.13	Person Male Female Person Male Female Person Male -0.39 0.68 -1.31 -4.16 -7.33 -0.69 4.16 7.33 0.64 0.42 0.98 -13.23 -18.58 -5.95 13.23 18.58 0.73 0.90 0.73 -8.49 -11.31 -4.45 8.49 11.31 -0.58 0.49 -1.57 -7.13 -10.40 -3.98 7.13 10.40

Rural	Total			Tota	ıl Main Wo	orkers	Total Marginal Workers		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
India	-0.40	0.53	-1.28	-4.72	-8.02	-1.17	4.72	8.02	1.17
Jharkhand	0.44	0.07	0.82	-14.22	-20.01	-6.63	14.22	20.01	6.63
Odisha	0.69	0.84	0.70	-8.96	-11.88	-4.88	8.96	11.88	4.88
Chhattisgarh	-0.12	0.53	-1.29	-7.73	-11.09	-4.52	7.73	11.09	4.52
Madhya Pradesh	-0.73	-0.13	-1.26	-4.46	-9.76	1.29	4.46	9.76	-1.29

Urban	Total			Total	l Main Wo	rkers	Total Marginal Workers		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
India	2.58	3.04	2.66	-1.04	-1.97	1.83	1.04	1.97	-1.83
Jharkhand	4.77	5.08	5.04	-2.39	-2.74	0.06	2.39	2.74	-0.06
Odisha	2.92	3.21	3.41	-2.83	-3.73	1.36	2.83	3.73	-1.36
Chhattisgarh	4.31	3.97	5.63	-3.45	-3.34	-0.68	3.45	3.34	0.68
Madhya Pradesh	2.73	2.72	3.31	0.29	-1.15	4.96	-0.29	1.15	-4.96

Data Computed from Census of India, 2001 ST01 and ST02; Census of India, 2011, ST Tables Online data.

Table 4: Decadal Changes in Industrial Classification of Main Tribal Workers, 2001-2011

State	Cultivators			Agricultural LABOURERS			Other Workers		
Total	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
India	-10.31	-8.84	-12.83	7.80	6.38	9.99	2.89	2.74	3.40
Jharkhand	-12.81	-11.64	-15.19	4.66	3.24	7.05	8.99	9.27	9.04
Odisha	-5.59	-3.88	-9.67	1.34	-0.60	6.16	5.10	4.66	6.36
Chhattisgarh	-13.67	-11.72	-17.26	10.27	8.76	12.98	3.74	3.31	4.59
Madhya Pradesh	-14.05	-12.79	-15.83	13.42	12.33	14.46	0.97	0.81	1.73
Rural									
India	-9.92	-8.29	-12.56	9.09	7.57	11.37	4.04	1.05	1.75
Jharkhand	-11.69	-10.33	-14.26	5.69	4.11	8.32	6.86	7.12	6.85
Odisha	-5.14	-3.31	-9.58	1.99	-0.18	7.44	4.10	3.77	5.04
Chhattisgarh	-12.86	-10.82	-16.50	11.25	9.67	14.02	1.97	1.54	2.80
Madhya Pradesh	-14.26	-12.97	-15.89	14.35	13.34	15.26	0.23	-0.02	0.94
Urban									
India	-0.67	-0.25	-1.91	1.41	1.45	0.61	-0.42	-1.20	2.63
Jharkhand	-0.37	-0.45	-0.05	1.27	1.30	1.16	-0.85	-0.78	-0.90
Odisha	0.67	0.59	1.27	-0.21	-0.42	-0.18	-1.14	-1.41	0.43
Chhattisgarh	2.24	2.83	0.25	4.24	3.91	3.58	-6.00	-6.71	-1.41
Madhya Pradesh	-1.29	-0.77	-2.90	2.96	2.85	1.37	-0.84	-1.62	3.59

Source: Calculated from the Census of India 2001, ST01 and STO2 and Census of India, 2011

gendered in its character. The rate of decline in female cultivators is higher than that of male cultivators in the rural regions, indicating that female farmers and female headed households face a greater degree of vulnerability. An interesting aspect of changes in work patterns relate to the category of 'other workers'. Here too, the rate of increase in female work participation rate is higher than that of males. Significantly, though there is a secular decline in the category of "other workers" in urban areas, the female urban work participation rates in this period seem to be increasing at an all India level and at least in two of the four least developed states. In states like Odisha. the rate of its decline is small and much lower than the rate of decline of male work participation. This leads us to the conclusion that more women are being forced into the non-agricultural workforce as far as regular work is concerned.

This picture contrasts with the decedal changes in the character of marginal work. The data shows that though the number of tribal marginal other workers have gone up in both urban and rural areas (Table 3) the increase is much higher in the case of

male worker participation rates (7.33 per cent) as compared with female marginal work participation rates (0.69 per cent). The pattern of this trend is more evident in the rural areas where work participation rates of marginal work have increased by 4.02 per cent overall and for male workers they have risen by 8.2 per cent in rural and 1.97 per cent in urban areas. In the four states under consideration, the rural marginal work for male workers has risen by almost 20 per cent in Jharkhand and more than 10 per cent in Odisha and Chhattisgarh. In Madhya Pradesh, it has risen close to 10 per cent, a figure higher than the all India average. Almost all this increase is in category of 'other workers' in the case of Odisha and Jharkhand and agricultural labour in the case of Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh.

The data presented above reveals the different methods of the integration of the 'tribal worker' into labour markets and the larger neo-liberal political economy. In the case of states like Odisha and Jharkhand, the sharp rise in the male and female rural 'other workers' is more a result of private mining and construction works in legally demarcated rural areas. But the changing economic geography of these

regions indicates the development of a peri-urban workforce especially with the setting up of industrial townships with the help of private corporate capital. In case of Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh, the consolidation of land holdings under the control of relatively large farmers is inspired by a governmental push towards contract farming and export-led agriculture through corporate support. Further, the data also supports the argument that the rate of increase of the entry of female tribal workers into the regular labour market is higher than that of the tribal male workers in most cases. This clearly shows that the work patterns within the scheduled tribes is in contrast with the general decline in the female workforce participation within the Indian labour market. In all cases, however, it is clear that the status of the scheduled tribe is getting consolidated as a rural and urban worker and not as a farmer. In this situation the slow implementation of the Unorganised Sector Workers Social Security Act, 2008 and Forest Rights Act, 2006 will only further hurt the interests of the scheduled tribes in contemporary India.

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Reflections on Marginalization of Tribes in South India

Ritambhara Hebbar



Biodiversity is integral to the livelihood strategies of tribes in south India. Their dependence on forests have contributed to the vast knowledge of the local biodiversity, which is critical to their survival and also of the ecosystem. There is an urgent need to reframe the terms of association with tribes on the issue of biodiversity conservation in order to realise a more sustainable form of ecogovernance

TUDIES ON tribes in India have largely focused on central India, mainly on tribes inhabiting the Chotanagpur region and Chhattisgarh, to the neglect of tribes in other regions

such as south India. South India is known to be relatively more developed than most parts of north India, with a better record of governance and public action. Ironically, in the process, tribes and tribal issues have taken a backseat and never really been in the forefront of social justice concerns in the region. The paper reflects on why this is the case. In the first section. I present some of the anomalies within the classification of tribes in south India that hides, more than it reveals, the cultural and economic interconnectedness of tribes across states. The second section focuses on the recent developments in the Western Ghats and the ensuing politics that has marginalised tribal livelihoods. In conclusion, I argue that the concern over biodiversity conservation of the Western Ghats cannot be at the cost of the tribal population and their knowledge systems that have thus, far contributed towards sustaining the biodiversity of the area.

Beyond Numbers- The Politics of Classification

Number of reasons have been attributed to the near absence of tribal politics in south India, one of

the reasons being that tribes of south India constitute a small percentage of India's total scheduled tribe (ST) population. A large concentration, almost 85 per cent of India's tribal population is concentrated in central India. North-east India accounts for about 11 per cent of the total tribal population and the rest 4 per cent are dispersed over north and south India. However, as per the census of India, 2011. Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka scheduled tribe population constitutes 7 per cent of the state's population, which by no means, is insignificant. Tamil Nadu and Kerala constitute 1.1 per cent and 1.5 per cent respectively. Interestingly, all the four states have a large number of scheduled tribe groups when compared to its total ST population. Karnataka has 49; Andhra Pradesh has 33, while Tamil Nadu and Kerala have 36 and 35 scheduled tribes respectively. Karnataka has the second largest number of tribal groups (with Odisha having the largest number of 64) notified in any state within the country. Some of the prominent tribes are the Naikda, Marati, Jenu Kuruba, Coorgi (Kodavaru), and the Gond in Karnataka; the Malayali, Irula, Kattunayakan, Kurumans, and Kondareddi in Tamil Nadu; the Sugali, Koya, Yenadi, Yerukulas and the Gonds in Andhra Pradesh: and the Panivan and Kurichchan in Kerala. Kerala is known to have 11 tribes with a population less than 500 persons, of which the Kota, Kammara, Kochu Velan and Konda

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Kapu have a population less than 50. Thus, despite the small per centage of tribes in south India vis-à-vis the rest of India, there are over 150 tribes in South India.

These estimates are confusing as many of these tribes are found in more than one state. Tribal communities like Kattunaickan and Konda Kapus are found in all the 4 states of south India. Tribes such as Arandan, Eravallan, Kadar, Kannikaran, Kochu velan, Kurichan, Kurumbas, Malai Arayan, Malai Pandaram, Malai Vedan, Mala Kuruvan, Mannan, Muthuvan, Palleyan, Palliyar and Urali are found in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Marati are recognised as scheduled tribes in Karnataka as well as Kerala. Tribal groups like Sholaga are found in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu while Koyas are found in Andhra and Karnataka. The Adiyan, Irular, Kammara, Koraga, Kota, Kudiya, Kuruman, Maha Malesar, Malesar, Palliyan, Paniyan are found in Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The Yerava of Karnataka and the Adiyan of Kerala are the same tribal group. Karnataka lists both these names as two communities, while Kerala only recognises the Adiyans. Divided across states, these tribal groups have been reduced to a minority, who otherwise are larger groups inhabiting an area. For instance, Wyanad in Kerala, Kodagu in Karnataka, and Nilgiris in Tamil Nadu are adjoining districts that also have a substantial tribal population. These three districts are also known for their plantation economy. Tribes in these areas are culturally quite similar. They have been primarily plantation labourers, who also regularly migrate to neighbouring districts to work in the plantations. Landlessness and indebtedness among them is high, as the influx of outsiders into these areas has led to land alienation. The reorganisation of states in south India has weakened tribal social and cultural organisation and inhibited the consolidation of tribal identity and politics in the region.

A related issue that is typical to south India tribes is the politics of tribal classification. For example, Lambadas, a nomadic tribe found not just in the south, but also in states like Rajasthan, have SC status in Karnataka and Scheduled Tribe status in Andhra Pradesh. Lambadas are now a politically important group in Andhra Pradesh, as compared to other tribal groups such as the Konda Reddies and the Kolams. Similarly, in Karnataka, communities like the Siddis and Hallaki, who have been locally and anthropologically recognised as tribes, were officially given the status of scheduled tribes (with area restriction, i.e. recognised as ST only within Uttara Kannada district) only in 2003. Another example is of the Sholaga and Soliga, listed as two separate communities in the Scheduled tribe list in Karnataka, but are two different names of the same community. In contrast, the Naikdas, a numerically dominant community and therefore, far more influential as compared to smaller tribes in the state, are a rather amorphous group. They collectively identify themselves

This confusion over tribal classification reveals the lackadaisical attitude towards tribes and their welfare. It evidences the lack of systematic research on tribes, their history and contemporary concerns. Likewise, tribal administration is characterised by a colonial mentality and hackneyed style of functioning. The absence of tribal politics in the region could be attributed to this continued and somewhat conscious neglect of tribes rather than to their lesser numbers.

as the Valmiki community, but have different names such as Beda, Bedar, Nayaka and Valmiki across Karnataka. Nayaka is also a title, found among various caste groups, even among Dalits. Over the years, they have emerged as an important group among tribes in Karnataka. Their status as scheduled tribes have been contested by other smaller tribal groups, who are now trying to organise themselves to collectively address this discrepancy within the enumeration of scheduled tribes in the state. This confusion

over tribal classification reveals the lackadaisical attitude towards tribes and their welfare. It evidences the lack of systematic research on tribes, their history and contemporary concerns. Likewise, tribal administration is characterised by a colonial mentality and hackneyed style of functioning. The absence of tribal politics in the region could be attributed to this continued and somewhat conscious neglect of tribes rather than to their lesser numbers. There is a need to reimagine tribal administration in south India, along the cultural and ecological lines which extend beyond state borders, so as to cater to the specificities of the challenges faced by tribes in the region.

Biodiversity and the Tribal Question

The Western Ghats is home to many tribes, who primarily derive their livelihood from forests. Shifts in land use patterns due to changes in forest laws have restricted access of local tribal communities to forests. However, there are still some tribes who practice shifting cultivation such as the Jenu Kurumbas, Bette Kurumbas, Uralis, Ulladans, Kannikar, Paliyans, Mannans, Muthuvans. The role of these communities, living in and around forests, towards maintaining biodiversity has been significant, which derive from the various forms of local customary arrangements for resource use and conservation. State policies, however, have always focused on restricting their access to forests, even as forests have been systematically diverted for non-forest purposesi.e. for industrial and commercial utilisation, which has resulted in deforestation and loss of biodiversity. Due to continued exploitation of natural ecosystems, through largescale commercial plantations, hydro and power projects, SEZs, mining, and tourism, the Western Ghats was declared as an ecological 'hotspot' in the late 1980s, and was included in the World Heritage List in 2012. It has now been declared as an ecologically sensitive zone. An ecologically sensitive zone refers to ecological zones which would serve as 'shock absorbers' or transition zones between high protection to

less protected areas (Ministry of Environment and Forests' guidelines for declaration of eco-sensitive zones around national parks and wildlife sanctuaries, 9 February 2011). Recently, the Ministry of Environment and Forests, through a notification under Section 5 of the Environmental Protection Act, 1986, has issued a notification dated 13 November 2013 prohibiting development activities/ projects within the Western Ghats. These include mining, quarrying, and sand mining, thermal power plants, building and construction projects of 20,000 sq. m. area and above and/ or with built up area of 1,50,000 sq. m. and above, and red category industries (industries that the Ministry identifies as highly polluting). The notification also lists villages across six states that fall within the ecologically sensitive area. However, the fate of the significant tribal population that lives within this area is uncertain. The conservation drive has been misused by environmental groups and the forest department to label tribal forest dwellers as encroachers. They choose to ignore the role of tribes in conserving and protecting the biodiversity of the region. This reproach has only worsened the situation of tribes, as they compete with various interest groups such as land mafia, environmental lobby, the forest department, Non-Governmental Organisations, and private commercial interests, for their survival in the forest. Environmental concerns only camouflage the larger politics over forests, as well as the exclusionary and colonial vision that it espouses.

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, also known as FRA, brought hope to the large number of tribal forest dwellers in Western Ghats, as it sought to regularize land holdings of tribal and other forest dwellers on forest land, by giving them legal titles on the same. It also gave them the right to collect and use Minor Forest Produce, besides making them responsible for protecting and conserving the forest. It recognizes community rights on grazing in the forests, use of water bodies and MFPs, and other resources for daily use. However, the evocation of the FRA has not helped matters. Gudalur, Tamil Nadu is located within the elephant corridor and is also the buffer zone for the proposed tiger reserve, both of which would lead to displacement of the local inhabitants that include tribes such as the Kota, Kurumba and the Paniya. The local organization had hoped to challenge the creation of the buffer zone for the proposed Tiger Reserve through FRA. However, cases have been filed in the Madras High Court by private forest owners and by conservationists questioning the implementation of the Act. FRA seems to have intensified conflict in tribal areas. There have been reported cases of violence and intimidation against tribal forest dwellers from Andhra

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Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Claims made by forest dwellers within national parks, wildlife sanctuaries and reserves have been shelved. These projects have directly violated tribal rights on land and disregarded the provisions of FRA. Number of organisations particularly in Andhra Pradesh and also Tamil Nadu have been actively working with local tribes to challenge random and undemocratic acquiring of land for development and environmental projects. One of the issues that has come up regularly is the

resistance from the forest department to the implementation of the Act. This was in any case expected, given that the forest department has been on an eviction spree since 1996 to reclaim forest land from tribal and other forest dwellers. There have also been cases against the Andhra Pradesh forest department for using Joint Forest Committees to claim community rights over forest land. The dominance of the forest department in the forest rights committees and the weak presence of the tribal welfare departments has also been a significant factor for the slow progress in the implementation of the Act.

Conclusion

Any discussion on the marginalisation of tribes, necessarily has to address their interface with the state apparatus as well as mainstream society. Marginalisation of tribes is a political process that implicates the establishment. Tribal departments in south India are perfunctory and forest departments, high-handed. While most tribal communities are aware of the FRA, they are uninformed of their rights. Lack of transparency has characterised the implementation of FRA in south India, with local tribes completely clueless on where to register their complaints of malpractice and neglect. Local tribal struggles and movements are crying foul over development and environmental projects that are marginalizing tribal livelihoods and habitats. Development and environment projects have presented tribal rights on forests and forestland as part of the problem. Tribes are, in fact, victims of a long standing politics in south India that marginalises them economically, politically and intellectually. Biodiversity is integral to the livelihood strategies of tribes in south India. Their dependence on forests have contributed to the vast knowledge of the local biodiversity, which is critical to their survival and also to the ecosystem. There is an urgent need to reframe the terms of association with tribes on the issue of biodiversity conservation in order to realise a more sustainable form of eco-governance.

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Economic Sustainability of the Himalayan Ecosystem

B K Konwar



The projection of Nagaland as a large scale producer of flowers, fruits and vegetables as well as vermin-compost for internal/external markets could give a big boost to the rural economy of the state.

HE HIMALAYAN ecosystem covers over 51 million people, it is vital for the ecological security of the north and north eastern regions of

the country, providing forest cover, feeding perennial rivers that are the sources of drinking water, irrigation and hydropower, conserving biodiversity, providing a rich base for high value agriculture and spectacular landscapes for sustainable tourism. This ecosystem is fragile and diverse. People in the hilly parts of the ecosystem practice hill agriculture and remain vulnerable to various eco-geographic risks. The Himalayas house one of the largest resources of snow and ice and its glaciers which form a source of fresh water for the perennial rivers such as the Indus, the Ganga and the Luit (Brahmaputra). Glacial melt may impact their long-term lean season flows with adverse impacts on the economy in terms of water availability and hydropower generation. Recession of Himalayan glaciers is due to the rising global temperature and the greenhouse effect poses danger to the country, more specifically to the region.

East-South Himalayan Region

The north eastern part of India is a land of extremes and undoubtedly one of the most picturesque parts. Within its area of 2,55,997 kms, on the one hand,

steep, rugged and inaccessible peaks of Arunachal Pradesh, rising beyond 6,000m above msl with temperate to cold climate and on the other, the enormous flood plain of Brahmaputra (Luit) River, covering 90,000 kms with sub-tropical climate and supporting large population with agricultural yields. The southern scarp of the Meghalaya upland (600-1800 m from msl), sandwiched between Bangladesh plains in the south and the Brahmaputra valley in the north, is marked by magnificent deep gorges with wide valleys at their head. The world's rainiest spot, Mawsynram is located here. Rocks of diverse geological ages from the Archaean to the Quaternary comprise the geology of the region.

Accessibility to the Region

Except for valley areas, major part of the region is lacking in communication. The airports, railway lines and most of the motorable roads are located in the Brahmaputra and Barak valleys. There are no railway lines in the hilly terrains and very few motorable roads connect these areas with the valley plains. Such lack of and deficiency in infrastructure are the major constraints in the mineral and other industrial developments of the region.

Areas of Mineral Deposits

North East India is rich in nonmetallic mineral resources, especially in respect of high grade limestone and coal containing high sulphur

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and low ash. Significant deposits of dolomite, clay, low grade glass sands and low grade graphite occur here. An enormous amount of construction raw material e.g. gravel, sand, silt-clay and soft rock aggregates also exist. The terrain conditions like inaccessibility, rugged topography, deep weathering profile and thick vegetation, etc pose problems in locating metallic deposits by traditional methods of ore search.

Petroleum

The state of Assam is one of the richest in respect of crude petroleum production in the country. In fact, crude petroleum was first discovered at Digboi, Upper Assam and Asia's first oil refinery came in to existence there in 1892. Till the discovery of oil reserves at Gujarat basin and Bombay high of Arabian Sea, Assam alone used to produce almost 54 per cent oil of the country. In the last 10-15 years, oil exploration has also been extended to Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura and Nagaland.

Economy of the Region

Forest products, river and forest eco-tourisms, cement industry, petroleum, coal mining, rice, vegetable and tea cultivation are the major economic enterprises in Assam. In the case of mountainous states of North-Eastern region comprising of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Sikkim, forest products, coal mining (except Meghalaya, no organized sector in the other states), slash and burn agriculture, fruits cultivation, construction materials (stone pieces) and tourism contribute to some extent to north eastern states' economy.

Nagaland

Nagaland is located in the northern extension of the Arakan-Yoma ranges. Almost the entire state is hilly, except along the foothills flanking the Assam plains. Due to its strategic location, the State has a huge potential to develop into an international business and trade hub in the East Asian region.

Agriculture in Nagaland

In India, shifting cultivation is being

practiced mainly in the tribal dominated hilly, forest terrains of the north eastern states, including Nagaland. In Naga tribal life, the village elders locate large stretches of forests for jhum cultivation and are distributed among the families of the village. The thick forest canopy is slashed in the pre-monsoon period and is usually allowed to dry for some time. Meanwhile, the large tree trunks may be cut and removed after this, the entire area having the fallen canopy along with the ground vegetation and the remaining tree trunks, are set on fire. Before the onset of monsoon, the terrain is prepared for sowing, according to the contour of the hillock. With the onset of monsoon, paddy and other crop seeds are put in the field. All the labours rendered are community activities. No fertilizers or insecticides are used. Watering is also not done but weeding is.

Vegetable and cash crops such as beans, tomato, onion, ginger, aroids, chilly, cucurbits, banana, pineapple, pear, passion fruit, etc are also cultivated along the margins of the field. Maize, millet, etc. are also cultivated along with paddy. Paddy harvesting is

Table 1. Basic Statistics of North Eastern Region and Nagaland

Parameters	North East Region	Nagaland		
Road length	1,16,551 km	8,805 km		
Population	3,65,47,314	19,79,000		
Forest cover	1,66,270 km ²	14,360 km ²		
Area	2,55,997 km ²	16,527 km ²		
Total hard rock area	1,87,621 km ²	15,700 km ²		
Population Density	124 persons/km ²	75 persons/km ²		
Quaternary area	67,376 km ²	827 km ²		
Villages	39,720	963		
Literacy	47%	70 %		
Major minerals	Coal, dolomite, limestone, magnetite, natural gas, oil, sillimanite and uranium.	Coal, limestone, magnetite		
Minor minerals	Apatite, asbestos, building stones, clay, chromite, cobalt, copper, fireclay, Fuller's earth, glass sand, gold, graphite, iron ore, kaolin, lead-zinc, lignite, marble, nickel, phosphate, platinoids, rare earths, sillimanite, talc, tin and tungsten	Base metal sulphides, chromite, cobalt, nickel, platinoids		

also a societal event usually done during September-October. Usually 2/3 consecutive cropping is done in the first 2 or 3 years of slashing in the same field before shifting the cultivation to another forest area. After 2 or 3 consecutive cropping, the yield decreases and hence the field is fallowed for several years (presently jhum cycle is 4-5 years). In typical practice in olden days, it ranged from 20 to 30 years. However, presently, the fallow period ranges from 3 to 8 years only. Meanwhile, another forest area is slashed and burnt for cultivation. In this way, uncontrolled shifting cultivation is going on every year in thousands of hectares of forest land leading to undesirable land use change patterns.

A remarkable feature of the economy is that there are no absentee landlords and there is no class of landless peasants. The village society is so organised that the basic requirement of food, clothing and shelter are guaranteed to all members. The population as a whole remain gainfully employed in productive activities and there is no surplus labour. There is a system of providing communal labour as a group of men and women from the village. Every member of the group gets the benefit of labour by turn.

The area under *jhum* cultivation is about 87,339 hectares and under terraced cultivation is about 62,091 hectares. The jungle is felled and burnt, and the crops are sown on the soil fertilized by ashes. The complete rotation of plots may take between 4/5 years depending upon the acreage of the field. The longer this duration the more fertile the soil becomes and better are the crops.

Economy of the State

Nagaland has basically an agricultural economy. A remarkable feature of the economy is that there are no absentee landlords and there is no class of landless peasants. The village society is so organised that the

basic requirement of food, clothing and shelter are guaranteed to all members. The population as a whole remain gainfully employed in productive activities and there is no surplus labour. There is a system of providing communal labour as a group of men and women from the village. Every member of the group gets the benefit of labour by turn.

In tribal areas like Nagaland, the obstacles to economic development generally arise out of the prevailing geo-physical and socio-economic conditions. The geo-physical conditions relate to the hilly terrain, dense forests and difficult communications. The social obstacles are lack of modern information and primitive methods of production. The economic difficulties are the dearth of capital, absence of marketing, and other similar factors.

The total road length is about 9,315 kms. Dimapur has rail and air services. Forest area of the state is divided into three categories: reserved, protected and private forests. The per centage of forest area to the total land area is about 33 per cent. Extensive and intensive mineral survey and investigation show an encouraging picture of the mineral potential of the state. The important minerals include high-grade limestone, coal, copper, chromium, slate, oil and natural gas, etc.

Agricultural Trade and Economy

The economy of Nagaland is also dependent on forestry, cottage industry, and tourism. The gross domestic product of the state amounted to 9,288 crores in 2009. The remarkable feature of the economy is that there are no landless peasants in the state. The various kinds of crops cultivated in Nagaland are corn, pulses, oil seeds, sugarcane, colocasia (aroids), tobacco, millets and rice. The internal production being not sufficient, the state has to import food items from other states. This is due to the fact that people are mostly following the old unsustainable jhuming practices causing loss of fertility due to surface runoff, drainage and soil erosion. This has hampered the economic growth of the state. The economy also depends

on the forests as the state has a huge forest cover (33 per cent forest area). The sale of various products from the forests to regional and national markets brings in revenue to the state. Nagaland economy also gets its revenue from the state's cottage industries. The cottage industry manufactures pottery, weaving materials and woodwork. Weaving products by the cottage industry are sold in national and international markets.

Horticultural crops of Nagaland

Till recently, for most farmers, horticulture has been mainly a backyard activity, as they are generally busy throughout the year in cultivation of food crops and have little time for development of horticultural crops on a commercial basis. Besides, due to the long gestation period involved in plantation and horticulture crops, the cultivation of these crops has been generally confined to small backyard gardens developed by almost every household. It is only in the past decade that there has been a more focused attention to the development of horticulture in the State. The plantation and horticulture sector plays an important role in the development of the rural economy of

The diverse agro-climatic conditions, varied soil types and abundant rainfall prevailing in the State enables the cultivation of several plantation and horticultural crops covering fruits, vegetables, spices, flowers, mushrooms and medicinal and aromatic plants. The geographical conditions offer tremendous scope for horticulture development in the State.

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Coverage of Horticulture Crops

The total area covered by horticulture crops has been about 36,177 ha which represents 9.95 per cent of the gross cropped area (3.63 lakh ha). The State produces 1.57 lakh MT of fruits, 1.40 lakh MT of vegetables and 0.08 lakh MT of plantation crops. The State has about 58,370 ha under culturable wasteland and 1,57,210 ha under permanent fallow of which an estimated 29000 ha could be developed under horticultural crops. In addition to this, with proper exploitation of potential surface water resources, about 10 per cent of the additional area brought under irrigation could be devoted to high value horticultural crops, vegetables, etc. Based on the elevation, both sub-tropical fruits such as pineapple, banana, citrus, guava, etc. and temperate fruits such as plum, peach, pear, passion fruit and various nuts have a potential for exploitation. Important among the vegetable crops grown are potato, cassava, colocasia, cabbage, cauliflower, peas and cucumber while ginger, chillies, cardamom, garlic,

Due to the fragmented nature of holdings, tea plantation in Nagaland is basically a small planters' crop. Tea cultivation shall be taken up on a community basis over a cluster of villages. This may solve the problem of labour shortage and help in processing of green leaf by installation of a factory and allied facilities on a cooperative basis.

black pepper make up the major spice crops. Amongst the plantation crops, areca, coconut, tea and rubber offer the best potential for cultivation on a commercial scale. Among the fruit crops, pineapple, mandarin orange and passion fruit are already being produced on a commercial scale. Based on climatic suitability, topography and market potential, the Horticulture Department has identified the following crops in Nagaland for commercial development:

Potential Crops in Nagaland

Fruits: Passion fruit, orange, pineapple and banana.

Vegetables: Bottle gourd, squash, pumpkin, cabbage, potato, beans and onion.

Flowers: Gladioli, roses, lillium, orchids and anthurium.

Spices: Ginger, cardamom, turmeric and black pepper.

Medicinal and aromatic plants: Patchouli, neem, agar and ginseng.

Plantation crops: Areca, coconut, tea and cashew.

Potential Horticultural Programs

Fruit Cultivation: Large scale cultivation of fruits like pineapple, orange, passion fruit, kiwifruit and banana on commercial scale is likely to improve the economy of the state.

Spices Development: Among the spices, ginger, garlic, black pepper, cardamom and chillies are the main crops for development. The growth of such crops are due to favourable agro-climatic conditions. Field surveys indicate that farmers are cultivating ginger and chillies on a large scale due to their commercial value and guaranteed markets.

Tea Cultivation: The State has proven potential for production of high quality tea grown on different altitudes on commercial basis both in the hills and foothill areas adjoining Assam. Due to the fragmented nature of holdings, tea plantation in Nagaland is basically a small planters' crop. Tea cultivation shall be taken up on a community basis over a cluster of villages. This may solve the problem of labour shortage and help in processing of green leaf by installation of a factory and allied facilities on a cooperative basis. Till sufficient production is achieved to establish a full-fledged factory, the producers may dispose off the green leaves to the nearest tea estates in Assam. The lack of processing facilities, high cost of labour, absence of skilled manpower and the existing land ownership system pose constraints.

The number of small tea growers in the state has been gradually increasing and more and more farmers are developing tea gardens. Other potential districts where tea cultivation can be promoted are Wokha and Mon.

Rubber Cultivation: Rubber is a rain-fed crop and can thrive well even in marginal soils with suitable agro-management practices. Rubber cultivation is possible in the foot hills where the land is denuded on account of absence of tree cover and excessive *jhumming* practices and is left fallow without any economic activity. A group approach in the development of rubber plantation can be taken up in a compact area.

Although fruits such as pineapples, guava, oranges, passion fruit, etc. are produced in fairly huge quantities, the production period is rather short and seasonal. The lack of post-harvest technology and storage facilities; inadequate transport and communication and absence of proper marketing and infrastructure facilities has further hampered the growth of this potential sector. These factors often result in localized gluts and consequent price falls/distress sales by growers.

Mushroom Cultivation: Recognizing the potential for the development of this activity on account of the favourable agroclimatic conditions prevailing and the availability of an assured market, mushroom spawns are produced by the Department and made available to interested growers at nominal rates.

Processing and Value Addition

Although fruits such as pineapples, guava, oranges, passion fruit, etc. are produced in fairly huge quantities, the production period is rather short and seasonal. The lack of post-harvest technology and storage facilities; inadequate transport and communication and absence of proper

marketing and infrastructure facilities has further hampered the growth of this potential sector. These factors often result in localized gluts and consequent price falls/distress sales by growers. The best option available is to process and produce value added products like juice concentrates, canned juice, slices, dehydrated products, jams, etc.

Medicinal and Aromatic Plants:

The State is rich in bio-diversity. The peculiar climate of the region with gradations from humid alluvial valley through evergreen forests to the snow line produces an immense variety of flora and fauna. There are evergreen forests with dense floor cover of herbs and shrubs. Many of these herbs and shrubs have medicinal or essential oil bearing properties, which are inadequately utilized.

Cultivation of Citronella:

Citronella is an important medicinal and aromatic plant. It is being extracted on a commercial scale in the State. Java citronella is the best source of citronella oil. Production of geranium oil, citronella oil, hydroxyl citronella are other similar. High value perfumery bases is also done. The oil is widely used as a starting material for various aromatic chemicals in scented soaps, sprays, deodorants, detergents, polishes and in mosquito repellant creams. The oil is in great demand in the country. CSIR-NEIST (RRL), Jorhat, Assam was the first agency to initiate the process of citronella cultivation in the State after it set up an experimental-cumdemonstration unit at Yaongyimsen village in Mokokchung district in the early seventies. Farmers find it to be an attractive and remunerative alternative to shifting cultivation and brought more and more areas under citronella cultivation.

Cultivation of Lemongrass:

Oil from lemongrass is the main source of synthesizing Vitamin A. The technology was released by RRL to farmers in the State in 1980 and within a short span, a number of farmers have taken to cultivation of this grass. RRL has launched promotional activities for cultivation of this plant species in Nagaland and has motivated more

farmers for commercial cultivation of this grass.

Patchouli Cultivation: The agroclimatic conditions of Nagaland are favourable for cultivation of Patchouli. The oil of Patchouli is used in high grade perfumes. It has strong fixative properties and thus promotes tenacity of a perfume. This high value plant species has been introduced into the State as an alternative commercial crop. This crop has generated a lot of interest amongst the local farmers mostly from Dimapur district. Distillation plants are also some of whom have taken up commercial cultivation of this crop coming up as commercial ventures in a number of locations.

Ornamental Plants/Floriculture:

Floriculture has emerged as a major diversification option in the agribusiness in recent years. The product wise groupings under floriculture are cut-flowers (fresh), bulbs and tubers, live potted plants, dried plants, dried flowers, etc. Floriculture has the potential to contribute substantially to the growth of the agriculture sector in the state. The State Horticulture department has identified a few flowers for commercial production with an eye on the export market. Lillium, anthurium, carnation and roses are the identified flowers. Commercial production of rose and lillium has since started and the same are being exported to both domestic and foreign markets.

There is good potential for establishment of commercial nurseries for production of planting materials for horticulture crops, plantation crops, flowers, medicinal and aromatic plants and decorative plants. One of the major constraints in horticulture development in the State is inadequate quality plant material especially for fruit and plantation crops. Commercial nursery units are viable and highly profitable and private entrepreneurs in the State can promote such units.

The formation of Producer Companies and Farmers Associations for handling, sorting, grading, packing, transportation and selling of fruits, flowers and vegetables need to be explored. Large-scale cultivation of these crops on commercial scale can transform the lives of the people. Till a few years back, Nagaland was importing flowers, the state now can take pride in the fact that the high quality home grown flowers are finding a market outside the State.

Vermi-composting could be a potential industry in the state for the very cause of organic farming. The projection of Nagaland as a large scale producer of flowers, fruits and vegetables as well as vermin-compost for internal/external markets could give a big boost to the rural economy of the state.

Action Plan on Climate Change (APCC)

The State Action Plan on Climate Change (SAPCC) has to be formulated in line with the NAPPC for sustaining the Himalayan ecosystem. The plan shall attempt to address matters like:

- a) Biodiversity and wild life conservation and protection;
- b) Traditional knowledge societies and their livelihood and;
- c) Planning for the sustainment of the Himalayan Ecosystem;
- d) Eco-friendly agriculture and industry;
- e) Land and soil conservation;

The approaches to be adopted for building various capacities are:

- a) Building peoples' Knowledge Capacities;
- b) Building Institutional Capacities
- Better coordination among such knowledge institutions and;
- to build new institutions in areas of knowledge gaps in a time bound manner and;
- iii) to build institutional capacities in the areas of traditional knowledge systems;
- iv) Himalayan agriculture, ecotourism, biodiversity etc.
- Building capacities for continuous learning and pro-active designing of development strategies.

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The "Need", Costs and Alternatives to the Food Security Bill

Surjit S Bhalla



Until recently, India spent about 4 per cent of GDP on infrastructure investments (today that fraction is close to 7 per cent). Spending half per cent of GDP would have been a small amount of investment per se, but a large amount of investment for the poor. This investment would have borne benefits in terms of better nutrition, higher productivity, lower costs of health care, higher incomes and lower poverty. And with very little leakage and no more than the normal quota of corruption for public sector contracts

HE FOOD Security Bill (FSB) is a continuation of the food subsidy system that has been in operation in India for more than 30 years.

In this regard, India has extensive experience with the administration of the system, its' likely costs, the proven benefits and the likely benefits.

Given the bill's near identity with an existing operation, the legitimate question is: why the controversy? Some simple math facts about FSB suggest that the facts are plain and that there should be no dispute about the costs of the FSB, as per the letter and spirit of the Bill.

- 1) The bill is expected to provide 60 kg of food-grains (primarily rice and wheat) per person per year. The grains are to be provided at an average price of Rs. 2.5 per kg to two-thirds of the Indian population (800 million). The production cost of these grains is approximately Rs. 23 per kg, so in simple round numbers, the subsidy is Rs. 20 per kg.
- 2) 60 kg of grain a year for 800 million individuals is 48 million metric tonnes (MMT) of delivery every year. At a subsidy level of Rs. 20000 per tonnes, this amounts to Rs. 96,000 crores of subsidy per year.
- 3) A conservative estimate of administration costs of the

- program, and worked out on the basis of the existing program, is Rs. 14,000 crores a year.
- 4) There is a buffer stock of about 25 MMT that has to be maintained. That is, an additional cost of Rs. 50,000 crores a year assuming zero costs of interest. (At 10 per cent interest per year, this is an additional Rs. 5000 crores a year).
- So, before the system begins to operate, the costs of implementing the Food Security Bill is Rs. 160,000 crores.

Simple math suggests that the FSB will cost a minimum of Rs.160,000 crores. Yet, government estimates that it will only cost Rs. 125,000 crores. But the government has the option of transferring costs to next year's budget, and next year's subsidy to the year after that. While accounts can be juggled and transferred, the simple reality of costs does not change. Indeed, a proper accounting would entail an additional cost to the exchequer of another Rs. 3500 crores for transferring the subsidy to the next fiscal year (Rs. 35,000 crores to the next year at 10 per cent interest).

A bare-bones annual subsidy level of Rs. 160,000 crores assumes that there are no leakages in the program, and no corruption. These are extremely unrealistic assumptions. What is the evidence on leakage and corruption in the PDS operation, something

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India has experience with for more than 30 years? First, the cumulative evidence is that approximately half of the food that leaves the storage godowns of the Food Corporation of India never reaches anybody, rich or poor. So, if the FSB operation had the same level of "efficiency" as the last thirty years, and 5 kg of foodgrains had to be transferred to 800 million instead of the 2.5 kg presently being transferred, this would mean an additional procurement of 24 MMT of foodgrains. Obviously, this is not going to happen; there lies the question of domestic supply and world markets.

How can the government eliminate, or even reduce leakage, in the delivery of foodgrains to the ration shops? There is talk of eventually replacing the PDS system with cash transfers to the targeted 800 million individuals. But cash transfers would mean delivery of cash to the individual, but the individual would still be required to

What is the evidence on leakage and corruption in the PDS operation, something India has experience with for more than 30 years? First, the cumulative evidence is that approximately half of the food that leaves the storage godowns of the Food Corporation of India never reaches anybody, rich or poor.

buy food from the ration shop. If not, then the FCI and the PDS system will have to be dismantled in its entirety. While that might be a desirable future, it certainly is not something that is planned, or suggested, by the Food Security Bill.

So, under the assumption that business will continue as usual, the 24 MMT of foodgrains will not be procured and will not be delivered to the "needy" 800 million. But the spirit and intent of the lawmakers is that this food is needed by the poor and hungry 800 million. Accounting economists and civil society, must make an attempt to estimate the theoretical costs of implementing

well-intentioned goals via leaky government schemes and perhaps, acts of Parliament. Accounting suggests that the additional cost of theoretically implementing the FSB, given existing inefficiencies, is an additional 24 MMT of foodgrains or Rs. 80,000 crores.

This extra Rs. 80,000 crores cost can be reduced by improving efficiencies and lowering corruption, but most advocates and supporters of the Bill are silent on this important dimension. Until some concrete ideas of reducing corruption are on the table, one has to continue with the belief that implementing the target of Rs. 5 kg. per person per month, will entail a total subsidy level of Rs. 240,000 crores each year.

One final addition that is unplanned for by FSB costings rotten food. The Agriculture Minister himself has indicated that rotten foodgrains amounts to a cost of Rs. 30,000 crores a year. This raises a fundamental question - how come India has individuals capable of sending rockets to Mars, unable to store foodgrains efficiently? The answer is that India has more experience than any other country for storing foodgrains and it has been doing so for more than 30 years. It is (almost) inconceivable that India does not have the technical knowhow, or land, to build additional silos. Which leaves open the distinct theoretical possibility that food actually does not rot in India, but perhaps is made to rot. What can be gained by allowing food to rot? The alternative use of rotten food, alternative to the breeding of rats, is as input into the production of liquor.

If this is a reality, then the neatness of the scheme has to be admired. Rotten food does not need to be "accounted" for in a financial sense. But it can accrued as costless inputs in alternative uses and costless inputs mean extra profits. So perhaps food is not wasted in India in the strict sense of the word. But rotten food does entail a cost to the public, and the exchequer. Unless the implementation of the FSB has provisions for elimination of rotten

food, the cost of rotten food needs to be added to the total subsidy of Rs. 240,000 crores, making Rs. 270,000 crores as the cost of the Food Security Bill.

Is the Food Security Bill at an expenditure level of Rs. 270,000 crores, the right way to attack hunger and poverty and nutrition in India?

What is the magnitude of hunger in India today? There are various estimates. In the main, however, the sources for such estimates are two. The first estimate is the answer to a traditional hunger question in a household survey e.g. did any member of your family *not* receive two square meals a day in the preceding week (or month). This question was regularly asked in the National Sample Surveys.

What is the magnitude of hunger in India today? There are various estimates. In the main, however, the sources for such estimates are two. The first estimate is the answer to a traditional hunger question in a household survey e.g. did any member of your family not receive two square meals a day in the preceding week (or month).

However, after the 2004-05 NSS survey, this question has been eliminated for the simple reason that a very few households (less than 2 per cent of the Indian population) are responding that they are "hungry". Three decades ago, this proportion was upwards of 10 per cent.

The second source of information on hunger is via calorie consumption i.e. if consumption of calories falls below a certain "minimum" level, the individual can be presumed to be hungry. Calorie consumption is a problematic indicator of hunger for several reasons – it varies by age, sex, work load, height, weight, political ideology, etc. Nutrition experts have devised methods to glean information on nutrition, not hunger, from data on calorie consumption, but these derivations remain suspect.

Perhaps the best, and near universal, indicator of under or malnourishment remains the weight for height indicator for children below the age of 5. And according to this indicator, about 40 per cent of children in India are "malnourished".

Intellectual origins of the Food Security Bill

It is worthwhile to discuss the ideological, political and economic rationale behind the introduction of the PDS system in India. As discussed in detail in Bhalla (2013c), the government involved itself at all levels of production of foodgrains, procurement and distribution. Instead of providing food stamps (as done in the US and Sri Lanka), the government set prices for the farmers, procured grain from the farmers, banned the inter-state movement of foodgrains (a draconian measure only removed in the last decade) and set up eligibility criteria for buying subsidized foodgrains. Predictably, there was a black market, and in some states, the number of ration card holders exceeded the population.

But the comic-tragic corruption story did not end there. The government wanted more domestic foodgrain production to make its number one anti-poverty program a success. So it allowed fertilizer subsidies to explode. But along with fertilizer, the new technology needed an assured water supply. So water was subsidized; but irrigation needed power, so power was subsidized. All this has added up to possibly the most corrupt anti-poverty program in the world.

Why the need for a Food Security Bill?

There were three arguments made in favour of the Food Security Bill by the sponsors (politicians and academics) of the bill. The first and most important defence of the bill was that it would substantially reduce, if not eliminate, hunger. However, as shown above, there is no statistical evidence to support the hypothesis that even 5 per cent of the population suffers from hunger problems, let alone 67 per cent for whom the

bill provides subsidized food. The second defence of the bill was that a substantial number of Indians are poor and they need food to reduce their poverty. But the most recent NSS 2011-12 survey results point to only 22 per cent of the population of India as poor. So if a program was devised to help the bottom third of the population, it would be credible, but there seems little logic in starting a food rights program for two-thirds of the population to help less than the bottom one-third.

There remains the argument of

But the comic-tragic corruption story did not end there. The government wanted more domestic foodgrain production to make its number one anti-poverty program a success. So it allowed fertilizer subsidies to explode. But along with fertilizer, the new technology needed an assured water supply. So water was subsidized; but irrigation

needed power, so power was subsidized. All this has added up to possibly the most corrupt antipoverty program in the world.

malnourishment of children. The reality of malnourishment of a substantial per centage of Indian children cannot be denied or ignored. Indeed, statistics suggest that the weight for height of Indian children is worse than the poorest countries of sub-Saharan Africa. But it is not obvious how the FSB will help in decreasing the malnourishment of children. Recent research (e.g. Spears(2012)) has shown that the major contributor to malnourishment is the lack of water and absence of sanitation. India has the largest proportion of open defecation (close to 50 per cent), and this explains high child malnourishment in India despite the fact that it is now a middle income country.

Alternatives to Food Security Bill Expenditure

An important counter-factual for

Indian policy makers is for them to imagine, or estimate, what would have been the status of poor, malnourished individuals if money spent on welfare programs for the poor were spent on alternative programs? For several years now, India has spent upwards of 2 per cent of GDP each year on "in the name of the poor" schemes. (This is before the advent of the FSB and includes food programs like PDS, employment programs like NREGA, and subsidies for fertilizer to advance agricultural production). Assume for a moment that half of this money was to be spent on water and sanitation projects. Until recently, India spent about 4 per cent of GDP on infrastructure investments (today that fraction is close to 7 per cent). Spending half per cent of GDP would have been a small amount of investment per se, but a large amount of investment for the poor. This investment would have borne benefits in terms of better nutrition, higher productivity, lower costs of health care, higher incomes, and lower poverty. And with very little leakage and no more than the normal quota of corruption for public sector contracts. That this did not happen is a "tribute" to the highly elitist system of programs and schemes for the poor - schemes, that as Rajiv Gandhi said, do not benefit much the presumed beneficiaries – the poor.

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Cultivating Self-Reliance

Shailendra Sinha

USHILA MURMU, A tribal woman in a nondescript hamlet called Paharpur located in the Kathikund Block, twenty seven kilometres

fromDumkain Jharkhand, was struggling hard, till three years ago, to change the mindset of the villagers. The only woman in the entire village to have completed her school education, Sushila, was upset at seeing people of her community quit farming due to heavy losses and, worse, being forced to migrate to other states in search of livelihood. She wanted to put a halt on the trend. Soon, she was associated with a non profit organization called Lahanti and started her own Self Help Group. She called it the BeliLahanti Self Help Group. Under the ambitious livelihood programme of PACS, (Poorest Areas Civil Society) Programme, an initiative of the UK Government's Department for International Development (DFID) aimed at the welfare of socially excluded groups, Sushila brought together a group of women and gave them lessons in community farming. Her sustained endeavours not only empowered women but also encouraged the adivasi community to break the cycle of poverty through concerted and coordinated efforts.

Sharing her experiences, the farmer's role model proudly says, "Tribal women are believed to be backbone of their community. It was because of such an ethos that we could infuse a sense of confidence and community among Santaals who were struggling to survive. The results are before everybody: how we turned rocky and dry land into cultivable land through our collective efforts."

While there is a considerable decrease in the seasonal mass migration from the village now, its residents also enjoy a proportionate increase in their collective prosperity. Today, the village is food and financially secure, like never before. Villagers maintain that migration prevented their children from staying off from school. Now, self-reliance in farming has earned them a livelihood, collectively farming the vast tracts of land which were earlier left barren.



Sushila's self-help group spread awareness about MGNREGA and procured job cards for all those looking to enrol themselves. It launched a movement against the middlemen who had monopolized job cards and pass-books issued in the name of villagers under the centrally sponsored rural employment guarantee scheme. Thereafter, the group started targeting exploitative private money lenders whose land- grabbing had devastated the lives of poor villagers.

"We motivated the villagers to reclaim their lands in Paharpur, Kodarchela, Lakhanpur, Kadma, Pakardeeh and Manjhdeeha. The crooked moneylenders have been chased out of the agrarian business today," says Sushila proudly.

"Soon after the first evaluation of the self-help group, we took a loan of Rs 25,000 from the bank. We used it to cultivate potato and had a good harvest of 20 quintals. After selling the surplus produce, we repaid the borrowed money. Today, we are self-reliant in farming and are growing almost every crop. Consequently, every woman in the village is earning a monthly income of Rs 1500 through agriculture and allied activities. Some families were able to start their own small businesses," says Sushila, listing the success stories of her group's endeavours.

The zeal has taken these women from their houses to the compound of the Panchayat Bhawan where, every Thursday, they gather information related to government welfare schemes. In these meetings, they also table social development issues. "Our group members are now more aware of the Forest Rights Act, for instance. They not only participated in the Panchayat Elections but also stood for and won the seats for Panchayat Committee and Ward Member". Recognizing the efforts of the group, the district administration has handed over the implementation of the Public Distribution System to them, thus bringing transparency to this beleaguered scheme.

Citing financial constraints as a major obstruction in the way of new ventures, Suhasini Soren, a ward member of Kadma Panchayt rues, "Normally, the banks don't cooperate with small and marginal farmers like us. We continue working as unrecognized farmers. If the cumbersome procedures for availing loans under several self-employment schemes are simplified, villagers will be in a better position to reap all the benefits that are promised by the government welfare schemes."

Charkha Features

Sabla: The road to empowerment and self esteem for adolescent girls

Manisha Jain



Through various schemes including Sabla, the government is investing in the health, nutrition and development needs of adolescent girls to advance their rights to education, health and protection. This will help them to build a future of gender equality and justice

A

DOLESCENCE IS a phase during which major physical and psychological changes take place in children, along with changes

in their social perceptions and expectations. Adolescence is also the stage when young people extend their relationships beyond parents and family and are intensely influenced by their peers and the outside world. This is the time that they need the maximum understanding and caring.

There are nearly 1.2 billion adolescents in the world, that is, those aged between 10 to 19 years.

Studies show that millions of adolescents today do not enjoy access to quality education, basic sexual and reproductive health care, support for mental health issues and disability, protection from violence, abuse and exploitation and forums for active participation.

Women constitute nearly half of the population of the country, but gender disparities in socio-cultural spheres have adversely affected a balanced equitable development. These disparities get reflected in important social development indicators such as health, nutrition, literacy, educational attainments, skill levels, occupational status and so on. The same is also reflected in the situation of the adolescent girl.

Adolescent girls in the 10-19 agegroup constitute almost 47 per cent of the total population of adolescents in the country. But their development is fraught with varied problems. Almost 50 per cent of women marry before the legal age of 18 verses 10 per cent of young men. Overall, one in six women in the age group of 15-19 have begun childbearing. Early childbearing is most common in rural areas and among women with no education. Around 41 per cent of all maternal deaths take place among those aged 15-24 years. 56 per cent adolescent girls are anemic (verses 30 per cent adolescent boys). Anemic adolescent mothers are at a higher risk of miscarriages, maternal mortality and still-births and low-weight babies. The drop-out rates among the girls are quite high. 21 per cent adolescent girls and 8 per cent adolescent boys have no education. Dropout rates among girls are high largely due to distance from schools, male teachers, sanitation facilities at school, early marriage and early assumption of domestic responsibilities, etc.

Adolescent girls are a core resource for national growth. Investment in their health and development is investment in the greater well-being of the country. Considering that several of these girls are out of school, get married early, face discrimination in

The author is a journalist specialising in social sector issues. She has also written books on health issues.

accessing health, education and other services, work in vulnerable situations, and are influenced by peer pressure, they need special attention. The public health challenges for adolescents, which include pregnancy, risk of maternal and infant mortality, sexually transmitted diseases, reproductive tract infections, rapidly rising incidence of HIV, etc., require to be brought to the attention of adolescent girls(AGs). They need to be looked at in terms of their needs both as a group as well as individuals as they are the productive members of the society in future. Recognizing the unmet needs of AGs, Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls - Sabla has been launched as a comprehensive intervention for Adolescent girls in the age-group of 11-18 years, with a focus on out of school girls. The scheme is now operational in 205 districts across the country on a pilot basis.

The Sabla project has picked up in the last two years with a marked increase in community participation. This has been achieved by mobilizing the public and making them aware of the rights and needs of adolescent girls.

Using the ICDS platform, this scheme is reaching out to nearly 1crore adolescent girls between 11 - 18 years of age with an integrated package of services. Sabla aims at all-round development of adolescent girls of 11-18 years (with a focus on all out-of-school AGs) by making them 'self reliant'. At the Anganwadi Centre, supplementary nutrition providing 600 Kcal and 18-20 g of protein and micronutrients is provided every day either as hot cooked meal or as take home rations to out of school adolescent girls in 11-14 years age group and all girls between 14-18 years for 300 days in a year.

In addition, out of school adolescent girls are being provided non-nutrition services which include life skills education, supervised weekly iron and folic acid (IFA) tablets, supplementation and nutrition counselling, sexual and reproductive health education and counselling, skills in leadership, problem solving, decision making and accessing public services.

NGOs also provide counselling services under ARSH (adolescent reproductive sexual health counselling).

In addition, older adolescent girls (16-18 year olds) are given vocational training to make them self reliant. The Scheme also emphasizes convergence of services under various programmes such as Health, Education, Youth affairs and Sports, and Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI) to achieve the programme objectives.

With the support of community-based frontline workers (anganwadi workers) and civil society groups, adolescent girls have been organized in groups called Kishori Samoohs. Each Samooh is led by a peer leader (Kishori Sakhi) who meet at least 5-6 hours a week to receive programme services and function as a peer support group.

There is an effective co-ordination between the Anganwadi worker, (AWW) and the kishori samoohs, . One AWW can have one or two samoohs under her care.

Every girl enrolled in Sabla is given a Kishori Card, an entitlement tool to monitor girls' access to and uptake of the services under Sabla. The non-nutrition services under the Sabla programme interventions also reach out to the non-school going adolescent girls through adolescent groups i.e., Kishori Samooh meetings. Each adolescent group comprises of 15 - 25 adolescent girls led by peer leaders i.e., Kishori Sakhi and their two associates i.e., Sahelis. The Sakhis and Sahelis are imparted training and serve as a peer monitor/ educator for adolescent girls. They serve the group for one year and each girl will have a term of four months

as a Sakhi on rotation basis. The AGs also participate in day to day activities of AWC like Pre School, Education, growth monitoring and SNP and facilitate the AWW in other activities. They also accompany the AWW for home visits (2-3 girls at a time) which will serve as a training ground for future.

Tamil Nadu is doing very well in Sabla but Delhi has shown poor performance, evidence suggests. In Delhi, they don't have enough Sabla kits and Sabla registers have not been maintained. Publicity material has also not been printed. In some states, the funds are available but they are not being properly absorbed. Whatever little is there, is not being used.

Constant monitoring of the scheme is carried out by ASCI (Administrative Staff Training College Institute), Hyderabad. Every three months, a report is also sent by the state governments. Evaluation is also carried out by the National Monitoring and Co-ordination Committee.

There is a need to educate the community and the girls. Pamphlets are distributed so that they know their rights and entitlements. Advertisements are also put out in the media and state governments.

A module has also been developed to prevent child trafficking by enlightening the girls through exposure by NGOs and AWWs.

Sabla endeavours to have adolescent girls with enhanced self esteem and improved nutrition and health status. It aims to provide them with enhanced skills and the capacity to make informed choices. Through various schemes including Sabla, the government is investing in the health, nutrition and development needs of adolescent girls to advance their rights to education, health and protection. This will help them to build a future of gender equality and justice.

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