

ForumIAS

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## Mains Marathon

4<sup>th</sup> Week May, 2026

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*HISTORY  
ECONOMICS  
POLITY  
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
GEOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENT*

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FORUMIAS

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**Critically analyze the factors driving academic malpractice in India's research ecosystem. Evaluate the necessity of establishing an autonomous Research Integrity Office.**

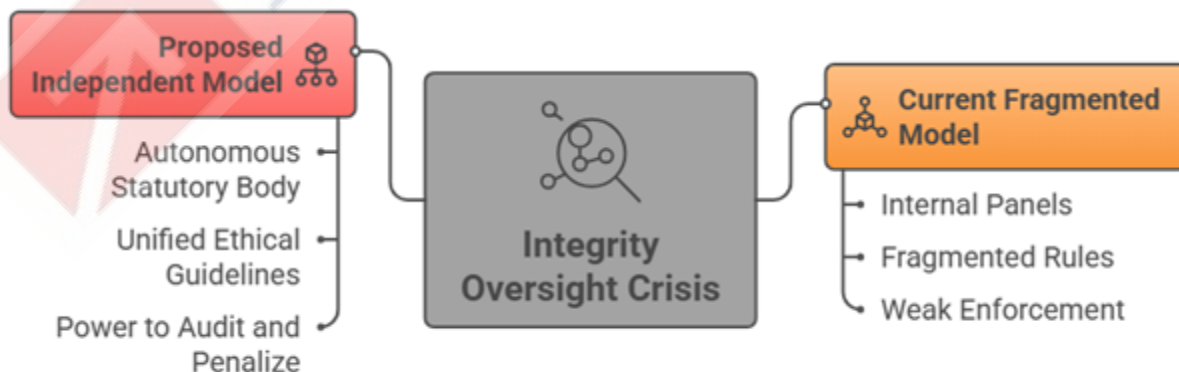
**Introduction**

India ranks third globally in research publications → second in retractions → 5% of global publications but 20% of retractions (2025) due to malpractice. Economic Survey 2025–26 emphasized innovation-led growth, yet rising research retractions and predatory publishing expose India's academic credibility crisis.

**Factors Driving Academic Malpractice**

- 1. Publish or Perish Culture:** Research output has become the dominant criterion for: faculty recruitment, promotions, grants and institutional rankings. UGC's Academic Performance Indicators (API) and ranking frameworks like NIRF heavily reward publication volume and citations. NIRF allocates nearly 30% weightage to publications and citations. QS rankings emphasize research metrics further. Example: Citation cartels.
- 2. Rise of Predatory Journals and Paper Mills:** Pressure to publish has fueled a parallel economy of unethical publishing. Predatory journals offer rapid publication without rigorous peer review. Paper mills sell fabricated or AI-generated manuscripts to researchers. Example: Fake peer review.
- 3. Weak Institutional Oversight:** Most misconduct investigations are handled internally by universities. Institutions hesitate to penalize faculty due to reputational concerns. Internal committees often lack independence and technical expertise. Example: NIRF image protection.
- 4. Inadequate Research Funding and Infrastructure:** India's GERD ~0.7% of GDP, far below major innovation economies. Limited grants intensify unhealthy competition. Researchers manipulate data to secure promotions or funding continuity. Example: Funding race.
- 5. Hierarchical Academic Culture:** Indian academia often functions through rigid supervisor-centric structures. Junior scholars may face pressure for ghost authorship or manipulated findings. Example: Toxic lab culture.
- 6. Technological and AI Challenges:** The rise of generative AI and digital publishing has complicated research verification. AI-generated content, image manipulation, automated plagiarism evasion have made fraud increasingly sophisticated. Example: AI-written papers.

**Integrity Oversight Crisis: Current vs. Proposed Model**



Made with Napkin

### Why an Autonomous Research Integrity Office (RIO) is Necessary

- 1. Ensuring Independent Investigation:** An autonomous Research Integrity Office (RIO), modeled on the US Office of Research Integrity (ORI), would eliminate institutional conflicts of interest. Independent audits, forensic analysis, centralized complaints mechanisms would improve transparency. Example: US ORI model.
- 2. Creating Uniform National Standards:** Currently, ethical regulations remain fragmented across: UGC, ICMR, CSIR, DST. A statutory RIO could establish a unified national framework for research ethics and misconduct penalties. Example: Standardized penalties.
- 3. Protecting India's Global Scientific Reputation:** Retractions and predatory publications damage India's credibility in international collaborations. Foreign universities and journals increasingly scrutinize Indian submissions. Research diplomacy and technology partnerships may suffer. Example: Global trust deficit.
- 4. Safeguarding Public Funds:** Public research funding under the National Research Foundation (NRF), IITs, and public universities requires accountability. An RIO could: audit grant utilization, blacklist habitual offenders, monitor publication fraud. Example: Grant misuse prevention.
- 5. Promoting Ethical Research Culture:** Beyond punishment, the RIO should institutionalize: ethics training, data transparency, open-access standards and whistleblower protection. This would shift academia from numerical targets toward genuine innovation. Example: Research ethics curriculum.

### Way Forward

- 1. Reform Academic Evaluation Metrics:** Adopt principles similar to the San Francisco Declaration on Research Assessment (DORA), prioritizing quality, patents, societal impact, and innovation over publication counts.
- 2. Strengthen Ethical Research Training:** Mandatory ethics education should be integrated into PhD and faculty development programmes.
- 3. Build Technological Verification Systems:** India should develop AI-based tools for detecting plagiarism, fabricated images, and manipulated datasets.
- 4. Institutionalize Whistleblower Protection:** Anonymous reporting portals and legal safeguards are essential for protecting junior researchers exposing misconduct.
- 5. Link Funding with Integrity Audits:** Research grants should include periodic integrity and reproducibility audits. Example: Open-data compliance.

### Conclusion

As Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan observed, universities are custodians of civilization's intellectual conscience; preserving India's scientific credibility therefore requires transparent, ethical, and autonomous institutional mechanisms ensuring research integrity and public trust.

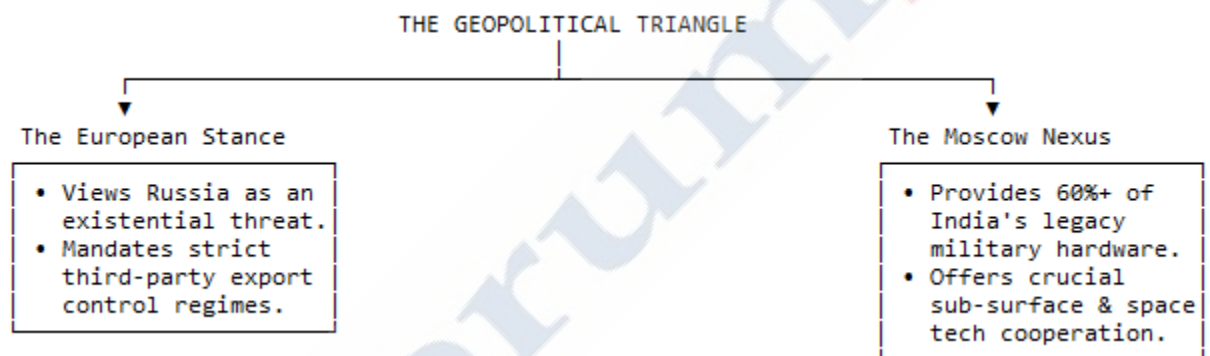
**Examine the strategic imperatives behind India's defense rebalancing toward Europe. Evaluate how deeper integration with Western defense architectures tests its traditional multi-alignment posture.**

### Introduction

With defence allocation crossing ₹7.84 lakh crore in Union Budget 2026-27 and exports touching ₹38,424 crore, India is recalibrating its defence partnerships toward Europe to secure technology, resilience, and strategic autonomy.

## Strategic Imperatives Behind India's Defence Rebalancing

- 1. Diversifying Beyond Russian Dependence:** Historically, nearly 60–65% of India's legacy military inventory has Russian origins. However, the Ukraine conflict exposed vulnerabilities in spare-part supplies, maintenance chains, and delayed deliveries of platforms like S-400 systems. European partnerships therefore provide strategic insurance against overdependence. Example: S-400 delays.
- 2. Transition from Buyer to Builder:** India's engagement with Europe increasingly emphasizes co-development rather than mere procurement. The India-EU Security and Defence Partnership (SDP) and India-Italy Defence Industrial Roadmap support joint manufacturing in aerospace, drones, electronic warfare, and naval systems. This aligns with Atmanirbhar Bharat and Defence Production Policy goals. Example: Leonardo cooperation.
- 3. Access to Advanced Technologies:** European firms possess strengths in submarine propulsion, jet engines, radar systems, AI-enabled warfare, cyber security, and maritime surveillance. Such technologies are critical as warfare shifts toward multi-domain operations involving cyber, space, drones, and AI. Example: Sixth-generation systems.
- 4. Indo-Pacific and Maritime Security:** France, Italy, and other European powers increasingly support a rules-based Indo-Pacific order. Their naval presence in the Indian Ocean complements India's SAGAR doctrine and strengthens maritime domain awareness against expanding Chinese naval activity. Example: Western Indian Ocean.



## How Western Defence Integration Tests India's Multi-Alignment

- 1. Redefining Strategic Autonomy:** India traditionally practiced non-alignment, later evolving into multi-alignment. Today, deeper defence-industrial integration with Europe demands selective strategic convergence with Western security priorities without formally joining military blocs like NATO. Example: Strategic autonomy 2.0.
- 2. Russia–Europe Strategic Contradiction:** The EU views Russia as a long-term security threat, while India still depends upon Moscow for nuclear submarines, missiles, and legacy platforms. Excessive Western integration may create diplomatic friction with Russia, especially in defence exports and technology-sharing arrangements. Example: BrahMos ecosystem.
- 3. Export Control and Technology Restrictions:** European defence collaboration often comes with stringent end-user verification clauses, intellectual-property safeguards, and third-party export restrictions. These conditions may constrain India's ambition to emerge as a major defence exporter to Africa and Southeast Asia. Example: SAFE regulations.
- 4. Interoperability and Security Challenges:** Integrating NATO-standard digital systems with Russian-origin platforms creates technical vulnerabilities in encryption, communication architecture, and classified intelligence sharing. The proposed Security of Information Agreement (SoIA) with the EU thus becomes strategically essential. Example: Data compatibility.

### Broader Dimensions of the Rebalancing

1. **Economic Dimension:** Defence manufacturing supports high-value employment, MSMEs, and innovation ecosystems. The Economic Survey 2025–26 emphasized resilient supply chains and strategic manufacturing as pillars of national competitiveness. Example: Defence corridors.
2. **Geopolitical Dimension:** India seeks to avoid becoming a junior partner in any bloc. Instead, it leverages Europe, the US, Russia, and Indo-Pacific frameworks simultaneously to maximize strategic flexibility. Example: Issue-based alignment.
3. **Technological Dimension:** Partnerships with Europe can accelerate domestic capabilities in semiconductors, cyber defence, quantum communication, and unmanned systems. Example: AI warfare

### Way Forward

1. Fast-track Security of Information Agreement with EU for secure tech sharing.
2. Prioritise joint ventures over simple procurement for IP transfer.
3. Maintain calibrated engagement with Russia while scaling European partnerships.
4. Develop domestic manufacturing to substitute legacy dependencies.
5. Expand “Quad-Plus” and European frameworks for inclusive architecture.

### Conclusion

As EAM Jaishankar writes in The India Way: “Multi-alignment is the art of pursuing national interest in a world of competing powers”. India's European defence pivot tests whether that art can survive the structural demands of supply chain integration where technology dependence and geopolitical alignment are not easily separated.

### Analyze the socio-economic and political implications of India's sub-replacement fertility trends. Evaluate policy measures required to handle a rapidly greying national profile.

#### Introduction

The SRS Statistical Report 2024 recorded India's Total Fertility Rate at 1.9, below replacement level, while Economic Survey 2025–26 warned that demographic dividends can rapidly transform into ageing burdens without policy preparedness.

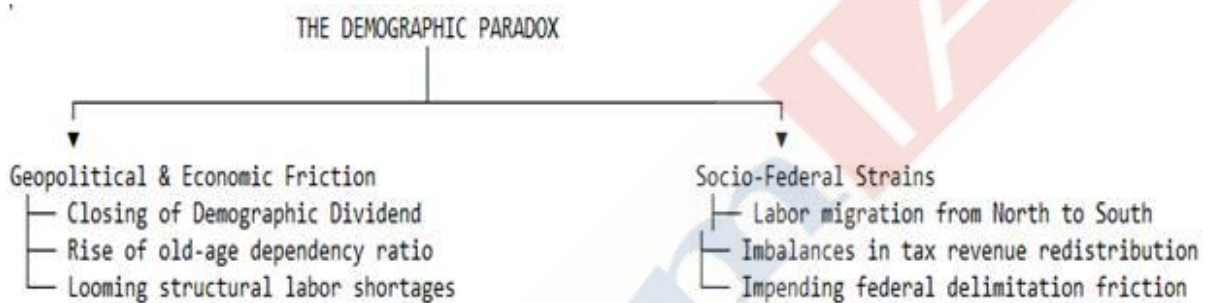
#### India's Sub-Replacement Fertility Transition

India has entered an advanced demographic transition phase. Fertility decline, urbanisation, rising female literacy, delayed marriages, and economic pressures are reshaping population structures. While population stabilization aids resource sustainability, prolonged sub-replacement fertility creates serious socio-economic and political consequences.

#### Socio-Economic Implications

1. **Shrinking Demographic Dividend:** India's working-age population (15–59 years) currently forms 66.4% of the population. However, sustained low fertility means fewer entrants into the labour market in coming decades, reducing economic dynamism and productivity growth. Example: Labour shortages.

- Rising Old-Age Dependency:** The 60+ population has risen to nearly 10%, with Kerala already touching 15%. This increases pressure on pensions, healthcare expenditure, and social-care systems before India achieves high-income status. Example: Kerala ageing.
- Healthcare and Geriatric Stress:** The epidemiological burden is shifting toward chronic illnesses, dementia, cardiovascular disorders, and palliative care. Existing health infrastructure remains heavily maternal-child focused under NHM. Example: Geriatric care gap.
- Internal Migration Imbalances:** Southern states with low fertility increasingly depend on migrant labour from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Jharkhand for construction, logistics, manufacturing, and care economies. This may intensify linguistic and cultural frictions. Example: North-South migration.
- Women and Family Transformation:** Falling fertility reflects rising female education, workforce aspirations, and reproductive autonomy. However, weak childcare systems and informal labour conditions continue to limit Female Labour Force Participation (FLFP). Example: Urban dual burden.



### Political and Federal Implications

- Delimitation Tensions:** Future parliamentary seat redistribution based on population may politically disadvantage southern states that effectively controlled fertility. This raises questions of cooperative federalism and fiscal fairness. Example: Southern representation debate.
- Welfare Architecture Challenges:** Traditional schemes centered on maternal and child welfare may become inadequate. Policy priorities must gradually shift toward elderly protection, assisted living, and lifelong healthcare support. Example: Pension reforms.
- Fiscal Federal Pressures:** States with ageing populations may face rising healthcare costs alongside shrinking tax-paying workforces, increasing demands for larger fiscal transfers from the Union government. Example: Dependency burden.

### Policy Measures Required

- Build a National Geriatric Care Framework:** India must expand geriatric wards, palliative care centres, and telemedicine under Ayushman Bharat. NITI Aayog's Senior Care Reforms Framework also emphasizes community-based ageing support. Example: Silver economy.
- Universal and Portable Social Security:** Strengthening pension systems like Atal Pension Yojana and expanding portability through ONORC. Expand universal pension coverage and geriatric care infrastructure nationwide. Example: SHATAYU dashboard scaling.
- Boost Female Labour Participation:** Affordable childcare, flexible work arrangements, safe urban transport, and equal-pay enforcement can offset workforce contraction by integrating more women into productive employment. Example: Care economy.
- Invest in Human Capital:** With fewer future workers, India must prioritize quality over quantity through skilling, AI integration, vocational training, and productivity enhancement under Skill India and Digital India. Example: Automation transition.

**5. Balanced Regional Development:** High-fertility northern states require focused investments in healthcare, girls' education, nutrition, and employment generation to achieve demographic convergence. Example: Bihar TFR 2.9.

### Way Forward

1. Create a National Ageing Policy 2.0 integrating healthcare, pensions, housing, and digital support.
  2. Expand public-private partnerships in elderly care infrastructure.
  3. Develop labour-mobility agreements between states.
  4. Encourage healthy ageing through preventive healthcare and fitness ecosystems.
  5. Reform delimitation mechanisms to balance demographic performance with federal equity.
- Example: Cooperative federalism.

### Conclusion

As Amartya Sen argued in *Development as Freedom*, demographic transition succeeds only when human capabilities expand; India must transform its ageing challenge into an opportunity through inclusive welfare and productive human capital.

## Examine the institutional challenges of water governance in peri-urban India. Evaluate policy measures required to prevent ecological crises in tomorrow's expanded urban centers.

### Introduction

India's rapid urbanization trajectory indicates that by 2047, the nation will require approximately 500 new cities and 230 million additional housing units. In this paradigm, today's peri-urban fringes the fluid, semi-urban transition zones surrounding major metropolitan areas are rapidly becoming tomorrow's dense city centers.

### Institutional Challenges in Peri-Urban Water Governance

1. **Administrative and Constitutional Vacuum:** Peri-urban regions remain trapped between Gram Panchayats and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). While the 74th Constitutional Amendment envisioned Nagar Panchayats and Metropolitan Planning Committees (MPCs), implementation remains weak across States. Consequently, accountability for sewage, drinking water, and drainage becomes diffused. Example: Delhi-Rawta village.
2. **The Administrative Twilight Zone:** Water governance is divided across multiple agencies municipal corporations, groundwater boards, irrigation departments, pollution control boards, and development authorities. Such overlapping mandates delay coordinated action and weaken enforcement. The colonial-era Indian Easements Act, 1882 still links groundwater rights to land ownership, encouraging unchecked extraction by real-estate actors. Example: Bengaluru aquifer stress.
3. **The "Tragedy of the Commons" and Groundwater Depletion:** Lacking access to formal, municipal surface-water networks, peri-urban real estate and industries rely heavily on unregulated groundwater extraction. Archaic laws like the Indian Easements Act, 1882, enable unchecked groundwater extraction. Example: Tanker mafia dominance.
4. **Ecological Degradation and Pollution:** Urban sprawl destroys wetlands, lakes, and floodplains that naturally recharge groundwater. Simultaneously, untreated sewage and industrial discharge contaminate local ecosystems because peri-urban areas lack sewage treatment infrastructure. The

CPCB repeatedly reports that most urban wastewater in India remains untreated. Example: Hyderabad leachate pollution.

**5. Social and Economic Inequities:** Peri-urban populations often pay urban-level prices without receiving urban-level services. Marginal farmers lose irrigation access as water is diverted toward expanding cities. Women and informal workers disproportionately bear the burden of water insecurity through time-intensive collection practices. Example: Jaipur-Bisalpur diversion.

### Policy Measures to Prevent Ecological Crises

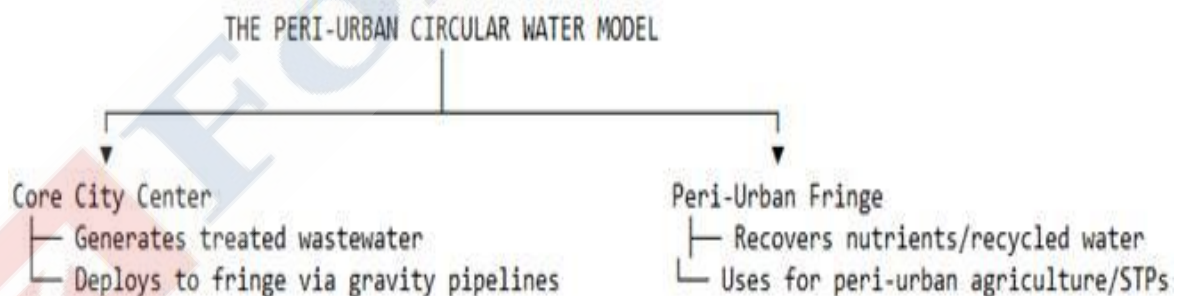
**1. Strengthening Metropolitan Governance:** States must operationalize Metropolitan Planning Committees under Article 243ZE to create integrated regional water plans treating cities and peri-urban areas as a single hydrological unit. Functional Nagar Panchayats should be established in all Census towns. Example: Integrated watershed planning.

**2. Transition toward Circular Water Economies:** AMRUT 2.0 and Jal Jeevan Mission should prioritize decentralized wastewater treatment systems (DEWATS), reuse of treated wastewater, and rainwater harvesting. Startups like Indra Water demonstrate scalable plug-and-play recycling systems capable of recovering over 95% water. Example: Circular reuse model.

**3. Protecting Blue-Green Infrastructure:** Urban planning laws must legally protect wetlands, recharge zones, and floodplains through strict zoning regulations. Adoption of “Sponge City” models using permeable pavements, bioswales, and urban lakes can reduce floods while enhancing recharge capacity. Example: Chinese sponge cities.

**4. Technological and Data Reforms:** India requires GIS-based aquifer mapping, IoT-enabled groundwater monitoring, and AI-driven urban water forecasting. The National Aquifer Mapping Programme should be integrated with Smart Cities Mission platforms for real-time governance. Example: Digital aquifer mapping.

**5. Financial and Community-Based Reforms:** Budget 2026-27’s urban infrastructure thrust should include dedicated peri-urban water resilience funds through blended finance models similar to Uttarakhand’s World Bank-supported projects. Simultaneously, participatory water governance involving RWAs, Panchayats, and civil society must be institutionalized. Example: Maharashtra source sustainability.



### Way Forward

1. Strengthen Nagar Panchayats for all Census towns with dedicated water mandates.
2. Integrate peri-urban water into National Water Policy with clear allocation norms.
3. Promote public-private models for faecal sludge and septage management.
4. Link urban expansion approvals to mandatory water sustainability audits.
5. Scale nature-based solutions like constructed wetlands for natural treatment.

### Conclusion

Water security is not achieved when taps are installed, it is achieved when sources are protected and systems

are accountable. India can build 500 new cities by 2047, but without governing the water beneath and around them, it will build 500 new water crises instead.

**Examine how the U.S.–China rapprochement impacts the Indo-Pacific geopolitical landscape. Evaluate India’s strategic alternatives to maintain regional equilibrium amid shifting alliance commitments.**

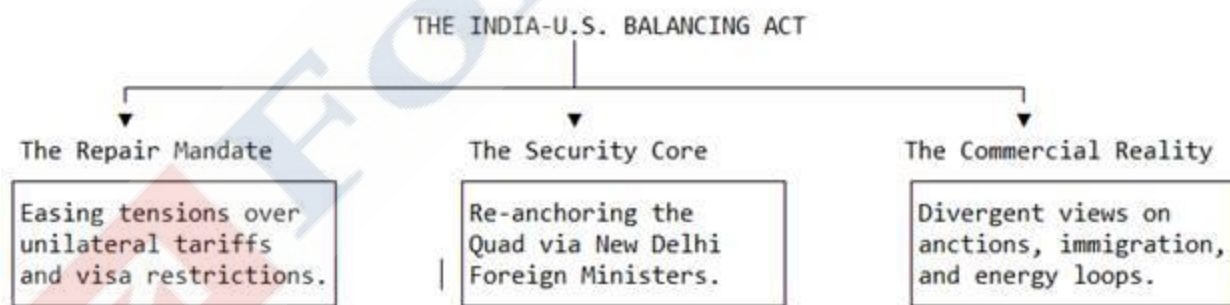
### Introduction

Amid the 2026 U.S-China thaw and India’s ₹7.85-lakh-crore defence modernization push, the Indo-Pacific faces uncertainty, compelling New Delhi to recalibrate Quad-centric assumptions while preserving strategic autonomy through diversified partnerships and indigenous capabilities.

### Strategic Impact of U.S.–China Rapprochement on Indo-Pacific

- Dilution of the Quad’s Foundational Mandate:** The Quad emerged as a balancing coalition against unilateral Chinese expansionism in the South China Sea and Indo-Pacific. However, renewed Washington–Beijing engagement risks weakening collective deterrence momentum. U.S. preference for trade stabilization over confrontation may reduce maritime assertiveness. Example: Beijing summit 2026. ASEAN states may increasingly hedge between China and the U.S. instead of aligning firmly. Example: ASEAN balancing.
- The Vulnerability of a Transactional Foreign Policy:** Washington’s willingness to pause friction for direct deals (such as secured assurances on Iranian arms or technology trade adjustments) underscores the highly volatile, interest-driven nature of modern major-power politics.
- Increased Regional Assertiveness:** A minimized threat of direct, coordinated blowback from the U.S could give Beijing greater confidence to project power along its continental periphery, including the LAC with India and flashpoints in the South China Sea.

### Marco Rubio’s Visit the Repairing Fences and Enforcing Realism



- Re-Anchoring the India Pivot:** Rubio’s visit confirmed, Washington views India as an indispensable, structural anchor. By pushing forward TRUST initiative and prioritizing high-tech defense transfers, the U.S. is signaling that its tactical agreements with China do not mean it is abandoning its long-term strategic reliance on New Delhi.
- The Limits of Convergence:** Despite the diplomatic warmth, Rubio’s visit could not mask immediate structural divisions-ranging from sudden 50% U.S. tariff hikes to deep disagreements regarding India’s energy procurement networks during regional Middle-Eastern disruptions. This reinforces the reality that India cannot treat the U.S. as a formal security guarantor.

### How It Tests India’s Traditional Multi-Alignment

- 1. Historical Evolution:** India historically pursued strategic autonomy through non-alignment and diversified partnerships. Today's fluid geopolitics tests this doctrine because: the U.S. expects stronger Indo-Pacific alignment. Russia remains critical for legacy defence systems, submarines, and missile technologies. Example: S-400 systems.
- 2. Economy and Technology:** The U.S. remains India's largest trade and technology partner, while China remains a major manufacturing hub. Economic Survey 2025–26 emphasized resilient supply chains and semiconductor diversification. India must avoid technological dependence on either bloc. Example: TRUST initiative.
- 3. Defence and Security:** India's defence modernization increasingly relies on Western platforms and interoperability. Budget 2026–27 raised defence capital expenditure significantly for aerospace, naval, and AI-enabled warfare modernization. However, deeper integration with NATO-standard systems may complicate Russian-origin architecture compatibility. Example: data integration.

### India's Strategic Alternatives to Maintain Regional Equilibrium

- 1. Accelerating Plurilateral Mini-Lateralisms:** India should deepen issue-based partnerships independent of U.S.–China fluctuations. India–France–UAE corridor for maritime security. India–Japan–Australia cooperation in logistics and critical minerals. Example: SCRI initiative.
- 2. Building Indigenous Strategic Capacity:** Strategic autonomy ultimately depends on domestic strength. Expand Atmanirbhar Bharat in drones, cyber warfare, semiconductors, and naval systems. Increase defence R&D and private-sector participation. Example: iDEX scheme.
- 3. Diversifying Diplomatic and Energy Networks:** India must avoid bloc dependency. Maintain engagement with Russia, Gulf nations, ASEAN, and Europe simultaneously. Accelerate FTAs with EU and EFTA nations. Example: TEPA agreement.
- 4. Cultivating Independent Continental Deterrence:** Strengthen border infrastructure and theatre commands. Expand maritime domain awareness across IOR chokepoints. Example: MAHASAGAR doctrine.

### Way Forward

1. Institutionalise Quad working groups to insulate from political volatility.
2. Pursue "Quad-Plus" engagement with Vietnam and Philippines on maritime security.
3. Accelerate defence indigenisation to reduce external dependencies.
4. Balance maritime focus with robust LAC infrastructure development.
5. Champion Global South forums to amplify middle-power voice.

### Conclusion

As EAM Jaishankar declares in The India Way: India's rise will be shaped not by the choices of others, but by its own decisions. The US-China rapprochement is not India's crisis it is India's test. India has the cards; the question is whether Delhi will play them with the confidence the moment demands.

**Evaluate the impact of relying on central bank surplus transfers for fiscal consolidation. Examine the trade-offs between expansive welfare spending and budgetary discipline during macroeconomic shocks.**

### Introduction

Amid crude oil crossing \$100 per barrel and the RBI's record ₹2.87-lakh-crore surplus transfer in 2026, India's fiscal consolidation increasingly reflects dependence on volatile monetary windfalls rather than durable structural revenue reforms.

## Central Bank Surplus Transfers and Fiscal Consolidation

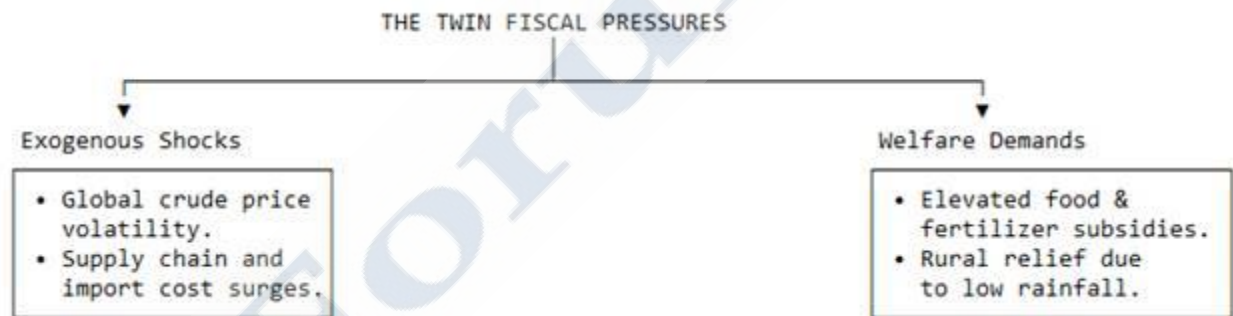
### Immediate Fiscal Relief and Deficit Management

1. The RBI dividend substantially strengthens government finances by expanding non-tax revenue. It covers nearly 20% of the Union government's fiscal deficit financing needs. Example: FY26 transfer.
2. Reduces pressure on market borrowings, thereby lowering bond yield spikes and crowding out risks. Example: G-sec stability.
3. Helps maintain fiscal deficit target of 4.3% despite external shocks. Example: oil volatility.

### Stabilizing Welfare and Subsidy Expenditure

1. Macroeconomic disruptions—West Asia conflict, supply-chain disruptions, and food inflation—raise welfare obligations.
2. RBI transfers create fiscal space for fuel, fertilizer, and food subsidies. Example: PMGKAY support.
3. Prevent abrupt welfare compression during rural distress and climate shocks. Example: rainfall deficit.

### Risks of Structural Fiscal Dependence



Excessive reliance on central bank surpluses weakens long-term fiscal sustainability.

1. **Volatile and Cyclical Revenue Source:** RBI profits arise from: forex interventions, global bond returns and interest income on securities. These fluctuate sharply with global liquidity and exchange-rate cycles. Treating them as stable income distorts budgeting. Example: dollar sales.
2. **Threat to Central Bank Independence:** Persistent fiscal dependence may blur monetary-fiscal boundaries. Markets may perceive pressure on RBI to maximize dividends rather than prioritize inflation control. This can affect sovereign credibility and capital inflows. Example: investor perception.
3. **Reduced Financial Shock Absorption:** The RBI lowered the Contingent-Risk-Buffer (CRB) from 7.5% to 6.5%. Though compliant with the Bimal Jalan Committee framework, lower buffers reduce resilience against future balance-of-payments or currency crises. Example: external shocks.

### Trade-Off of Welfare Expansion vs Budgetary Discipline

#### Necessity of Expansive Welfare Spending:

## Mains Marathon Compilation [Fourth Week] May 2026

1. During macroeconomic shocks, welfare expenditure acts as counter-cyclical stabilization.
2. High marginal propensity to consume among poorer households stimulates demand rapidly. Example: VBGRAMG multiplier.
3. Social spending reduces inequality and prevents human-capital erosion. Example: food security.
4. Economic Survey 2025–26 emphasized targeted welfare to sustain consumption-led recovery.

### Risks of Fiscal Expansion

1. Excessive expenditure financed through debt or temporary revenues creates macroeconomic stress.
2. Rising public debt burdens future generations; combined Centre-State debt exceeds 80% of GDP. Example: debt servicing.
3. Higher deficits may fuel inflationary pressures and currency depreciation. Example: imported inflation.
4. Rating agencies may reassess sovereign risk. Example: fiscal credibility.

### Capex versus Revenue Expenditure Dilemma

1. Budget 2026–27 retained high capital expenditure focus exceeding ₹12 lakh crore.
2. Welfare expansion often squeezes infrastructure investment with long-term multiplier effects. Example: railway modernization.
3. Cutting productive Capex undermines employment generation and industrial competitiveness. Example: logistics corridor.

### Institutional Imperative

1. Article 112 mandates fiscal accountability through annual budgeting.
2. FRBM Act seeks sustainable deficit and debt management.
3. NITI Aayog has repeatedly emphasized balancing growth-oriented spending with fiscal prudence. Example: cooperative federalism.

### Way Forward

1. **Rule-Based Monetary-Fiscal Coordination:** Strict adherence to the Bimal Jalan Economic Capital Framework must continue to preserve RBI autonomy.
2. **Establish an Economic Stabilisation Fund:** Windfall revenues should finance: debt reduction, infrastructure creation, climate resilience funds; not recurring consumption expenditure.
3. **Deepen Structural Revenue Reforms:** Rationalize GST architecture, improve direct tax compliance, formalize the digital economy. Example: GST analytics.
4. **Targeted Welfare with Outcome-Based Monitoring:** Shift from blanket subsidies toward DBT-linked targeted support. Example: JAM Trinity.

### Conclusion

As former RBI Governor Raghuram Rajan observed in I Do What I Do, macroeconomic stability requires institutions resisting short-term populism while safeguarding long-term fiscal credibility, resilience, and inclusive developmental capacity.

**Evaluate the Election Commission's use of Special Intensive Revision to maintain clean electoral rolls. Assess the constitutional challenge of balancing universal franchise with data accuracy.**

**Introduction**

According to the Election Commission, India's electorate crossed 98 crore in 2025, making electoral accuracy central to democratic legitimacy. The Supreme Court's 2026 endorsement of SIR revived debates on inclusion, citizenship scrutiny, and institutional accountability.

**SIR Constitutional Basis and Administrative Rationale**

**Statutory and Constitutional Foundations**

1. Article 324 empowers the Election Commission of India (ECI) to supervise and control electoral processes.
2. Section 21(3) of the Representation of the People Act, 1950 authorises Special Intensive Revision beyond ordinary annual revisions. Example: Power of Special Departure.
3. Rule 21A of Registration of Electors Rules, 1960 mandates notice, inquiry, and hearing before deletion.
4. Supreme Court (2026) upheld SIR as constitutionally proportional and legally valid. Example: Bihar SIR verdict.

**Why the ECI Considered SIR Necessary**

1. Electoral rolls in several States had not undergone house-to-house verification for over two decades. Example: Bihar since 2003.
2. Urbanisation, migration, duplicate registrations, and unrecorded deaths distorted voter databases. Example: migrant clusters.
3. Clean rolls uphold "one person, one vote" and reduce impersonation risks. Example: bogus voting.

**Administrative and Technological Significance**

1. Booth Level Officers (BLOs) used geotagging and digital enumeration tools for verification. Example: GIS mapping.
2. Aadhaar inclusion as indicative proof widened verification flexibility after judicial intervention. Example: Aadhaar acceptance.
3. Digitised roll management aligns with Digital India governance reforms. Example: ERONET platform.

**Constitutional Challenge of Universal Franchise vs Data Accuracy**

**Threat of De Facto Disenfranchisement**

1. Initial Bihar draft rolls excluded nearly 65 lakh individuals, largely due to procedural lapses and documentation gaps. Example: unsubmitted forms.
2. Migrants, homeless populations, SC/ST communities, women, and illiterate citizens face disproportionate exclusion risks. Example: seasonal labourers.
3. Excessive documentation burdens may indirectly weaken Article 326's guarantee of universal adult suffrage. Example: identity barriers.

**Electoral Integrity and Democratic Trust**

## Mains Marathon Compilation [Fourth Week] May 2026

1. Duplicate or deceased voters undermine electoral legitimacy and public confidence. Example: ghost electors.
2. Accurate rolls strengthen free and fair elections, a basic structure principle recognised in multiple Supreme Court judgments. Example: Indira Gandhi case.
3. Citizenship verification for electoral purposes was held “prima facie and contextual,” not a final citizenship determination. Example: Section 16 RP Act.

### Federal and Institutional Dimensions

1. Large-scale SIR exercises require coordination among States, local administrations, and central databases. Example: civil registration systems.
2. Concerns emerged regarding possible politicisation of deletions during competitive elections. Example: opposition allegations.
3. Institutional neutrality of ECI remains essential for democratic credibility. Example: public trust deficit.

### Broader Governance and Democratic Concerns

#### Social Implications

1. Electoral exclusion can deepen political alienation among vulnerable populations. Example: urban poor.
2. Inclusive democracy requires accessibility in multilingual and low-literacy environments. Example: vernacular notices.

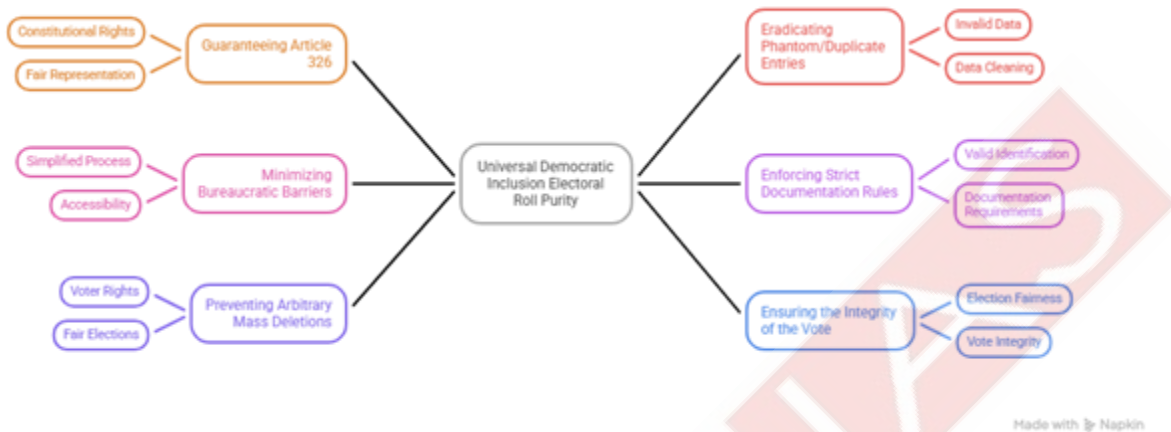
#### Legal and Rights-Based Issues

1. Supreme Court balanced procedural fairness with electoral purity using proportionality doctrine. Example: constitutional safeguards.
2. Judicial insistence on publication of deleted names improved transparency and grievance redressal. Example: exclusion lists.

#### Comparative and Global Perspective

1. Democracies worldwide increasingly use continuous voter-list purification linked with civil registration systems. Example: Estonia model.
2. However, aggressive voter purges in some countries have triggered allegations of voter suppression. Example: U.S. debates.

### Universal Democratic Inclusion Electoral Roll Purity



### Way Forward

1. Shift from periodic mass revisions to continuous automated micro-updation linked with birth-death registries.
2. Strengthen BLO training, multilingual outreach, and doorstep verification for vulnerable populations.
3. Establish independent appellate tribunals for rapid electoral grievance redressal.
4. Integrate AI-based anomaly detection while ensuring data privacy safeguards under digital governance frameworks.
5. Institutionalise transparent audit mechanisms and parliamentary oversight over electoral data practices.

### Conclusion

As T.N. Seshan held: An address does not mean a luxury home; it means merely a place where a person resides. Electoral roll purity and universal franchise are not competitors they are co-dependents. A roll cleaned at the cost of the poorest voter's inclusion has not strengthened democracy; it has inverted it.

**Examine the cybersecurity vulnerabilities arising from the automation of India's critical infrastructure. Evaluate the policy frameworks necessary to safeguard these interconnected assets.**

### Introduction

India's Critical National Infrastructure (CNI)—spanning power grids, banking (BFSI), telecommunications, transport, strategic defense, and government systems has undergone a massive digital transformation. The Economic Survey 2025–26 warned that AI-enabled cyber threats and vulnerable IoT ecosystems are expanding systemic risks across strategic sectors.

### Vulnerability Matrix in Automated Critical Infrastructure

1. **The IT-OT Convergence Dilemma:** Historically, Operational Technology (OT) networks—like SCADA systems controlling power grids or nuclear valves—were air-gapped (physically isolated

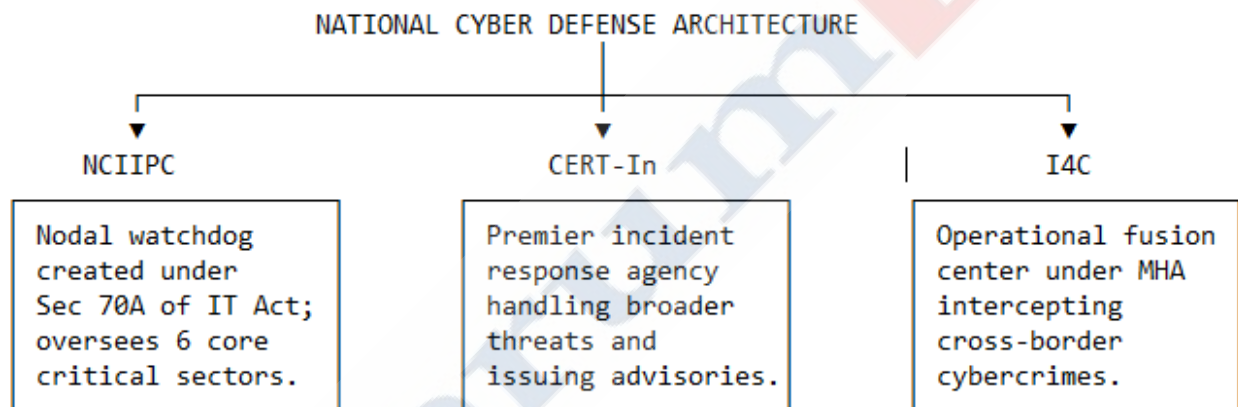
from the internet). Connecting these machines to the public internet via IoT sensors to enable real-time central monitoring allows remote hackers to compromise IT networks and pivot laterally to manipulate physical machinery.

2. **Prohibitive Edge-Device Security:** Industrial IoT components are often designed for low power and high efficiency rather than advanced encryption. Nearly a third of these systems remain exposed to legacy credential exploits or lack firmware-level protections, allowing adversaries to use compromised sensors as entry points into national networks.

3. **AI-Driven Automated Exploitation:** Modern threat actors are actively deploying AI models to perform high-speed reconnaissance and autonomously chain "zero-day" exploits. Traditional, manually operated cyber defenses can no longer keep pace with automated ransomware-as-a-service (RaaS) campaigns or polymorphic malware.

4. **Supply-Chain Hardware Weaponization:** Lower-level procurement processes occasionally bypass strict localization mandates due to loose technical specifications. This allows re-branded foreign equipment with hidden backdoors or mislabeled firmware to blend into sensitive national data centers and 5G/6G infrastructures.

### Existing Institutional and Policy Frameworks



### National Cybersecurity Architecture

1. National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre (NCIIPC), under Section 70A of the IT Act, protects strategic sectors.
2. CERT-In functions as the national incident-response agency. Example: malware advisories.
3. Indian Cyber Crime Coordination Centre (I4C) strengthens inter-agency operational coordination. Example: cybercrime fusion.

### Policy and Regulatory Measures

1. National Cyber Security Policy, 2013 established baseline cybersecurity objectives.
2. Trusted Telecom Portal mandates procurement from verified vendors in telecom infrastructure. Example: 5G rollout.
3. Digital Personal Data Protection Act, 2023 strengthens accountability in data governance. Example: data fiduciaries.

### Capacity-Building Initiatives

1. Government introduced Certified Security Professional in Artificial Intelligence (CSPAI) programmes. Example: AI defence training.

2. Cyber Surakshit Bharat and Digital India initiatives improve institutional awareness. Example: PSU workshops.

### Gaps and Structural Challenges

1. **Absence of Infrastructure Protection Law:** India lacks a comprehensive Critical Infrastructure Protection Act defining liabilities and mandatory cybersecurity baselines. Existing IT Act provisions remain inadequate for Industry 4.0 ecosystems. Example: outdated legislation.
2. **Coordination and Compliance Deficits:** Sectoral fragmentation weakens coordinated responses during large-scale attacks. Small utilities and municipal agencies often lack skilled cybersecurity manpower. Example: local water boards.
3. **Economic and Strategic Risks:** Cyberattacks on banking, logistics, or energy systems can disrupt GDP growth and investor confidence. Hybrid warfare increasingly targets digital infrastructure as instruments of geopolitical coercion. Example: cyber deterrence.

### Policy Frameworks Necessary for Safeguarding Critical Infrastructure

1. **Critical Infrastructure Protection Act:** Define critical sectors, mandatory security audits, and operator liabilities. Introduce statutory penalties for negligence in firmware and supply-chain security. Example: audit failures.
2. **Mandate Security-by-Design in IR-4.0:** Require Software Bill of Materials (SBOM) tracking and zero-trust architecture in IoT ecosystems. Public procurement should prioritize origin-tested indigenous technologies under Atmanirbhar Bharat. Example: firmware validation.
3. **Sector-Specific Cyber Defence Ecosystems:** Establish specialised CERTs such as Power-CERT and Fin-CERT for real-time contextual responses. Encourage cyber-resilience exercises and digital-twin simulations. Example: war-gaming drills and grid monitoring.
4. **Deploy AI-Based Defensive Systems:** Use machine-learning tools to monitor abnormal industrial telemetry and automated threat responses. Promote indigenous AI-security innovation through public-private partnerships. Example: Certified Security Professional in Artificial Intelligence (CSPAIA).

### Way Forward

1. Integrate cyber resilience into national security planning and infrastructure financing.
2. Expand indigenous semiconductor and telecom manufacturing under strategic technology missions.
3. Create mandatory cyber insurance and disclosure frameworks for critical operators.
4. Foster international cyber cooperation through QUAD, BIMSTEC, and UN cyber norms. Example: Indo-Pacific resilience.

### Conclusion

National strength increasingly rests on technological sovereignty. India's digital infrastructure revolution must therefore be matched by resilient, indigenous, and anticipatory cybersecurity architecture.

**Examine the operational challenges of the IT Rules 2026. Evaluate whether the three-hour takedown window compromises free speech under the guise of cyber-safety.**

### Introduction

India's 2026 IT Rules amendments emerge amid rising deepfake threats and AI-driven misinformation, with the Economic Survey 2025–26 warning that unchecked synthetic content can destabilize democracy, elections, public trust, and digital economic ecosystems.

### Structural Overhaul IT Rules 2021 vs. IT Amendment Rules 2026

The 2026 amendments establish structural accountability mechanisms for artificial intelligence and synthetic media, introducing severe operational constraints:

Regulatory Parameter	IT Rules-2021	IT Amendment Rules-2026
<b>Legal Status of AI Content</b>	No standalone statutory definition for synthetic media.	Formally codifies Synthetically Generated Information (SGI) under Rule 2(1)(wa).
<b>Standard Takedown Window</b>	Allowed platforms up to 36 hours to remove content following formal notices.	Slashed to 3 hours for court orders/government notices; 2 hours for intimate deepfakes.
<b>Platform Due Diligence</b>	Passive conduit protection under Section 79 (Safe Harbor) upon reaction.	Proactive AI Due Diligence; mandatory user self-disclosure and technical verification tools.
<b>Creator Classification</b>	Focused primarily on structured digital publishers and large networks.	Extends quasi-broadcasting accountability parameters to independent digital content creators.

### Operational Challenges under the IT-Rules 2026

- 1. Impracticality of the Three-Hour Compliance Window:** A strict three-hour compliance countdown makes contextual, human-in-the-loop legal review operationally unfeasible. Especially for multilingual and region-specific content.
- 2. Context-blind moderation:** To retain Section 79 safe-harbour immunity under the IT-Act, intermediaries are incentivized to deploy aggressive, automated moderation algorithms. However, automated systems struggle to distinguish between: satire and misinformation, criticism and hate speech, parody and malicious deepfakes. Example: Political memes.
- 3. Compliance Burden on Smaller Platforms:** Large intermediaries like Meta or Google may build expensive 24×7 moderation infrastructure, but regional startups and independent platforms lack comparable legal and technological capacity. This creates unequal regulatory competition. Example: Regional apps.

### Does the Three-Hour Rule Compromise Free Speech?

1. **The Creator Dilemma:** By subjecting individual digital creators and independent journalists to protocols originally written for mainstream television networks, the rules challenge the decentralized nature of the modern internet.
2. **Constitutional Concerns under Article 19(1)(a):** Legitimate satire, political critique, and journalism face arbitrary removal. Excessively short timelines encourage “remove-first, examine-later” behavior, undermining procedural fairness.
3. **Chilling Effect on Democratic Expression:** Fear of legal exposure may compel platforms to suppress legitimate satire, political critique, and journalism and their arbitrary removal. This weakens democratic deliberation. Example: Protest coverage.
4. **Threat to Independent Digital Media:** Treating influencers and creators as quasi-broadcasters imposes disproportionate compliance burdens, including grievance mechanisms and metadata obligations. Smaller creators may resort to self-censorship. Example: Independent journalism.

### Way Forward

1. **Adopt Tiered Takedown Frameworks:** Immediate removal should apply only to high-risk categories such as non-consensual intimate imagery, financial fraud, or terror propaganda.
2. **Ensure Judicial and Independent Oversight:** Non-emergency takedown orders should undergo rapid post-facto judicial review to prevent arbitrary executive censorship.
3. **Promote Transparency Obligations:** Platforms should publish periodic transparency reports detailing takedown requests, restoration rates, and algorithmic moderation patterns.
4. **Invest in Media Literacy and Provenance Systems:** India should prioritize digital literacy campaigns, blockchain-based provenance tracking, and cryptographic watermarking rather than solely relying on content deletion.
5. **Develop Rights-Centric AI Governance:** Following NITI Aayog’s Responsible AI principles, regulation must combine accountability with innovation and constitutional safeguards.

### Conclusion

As Justice P.N. Bhagwati, architect of India’s public interest jurisprudence, held: Freedom of speech is the foundation of all other freedoms. When a bot decides what India may say in 3 hours, and a Joint Secretary decides what India may not say in 180 minutes, the foundation is not protected it is automated away.

**Examine how quantum computing imperils India's cryptographic infrastructure. Evaluate the role of the National Quantum Mission in securing a quantum-safe digital ecosystem.**

### Introduction

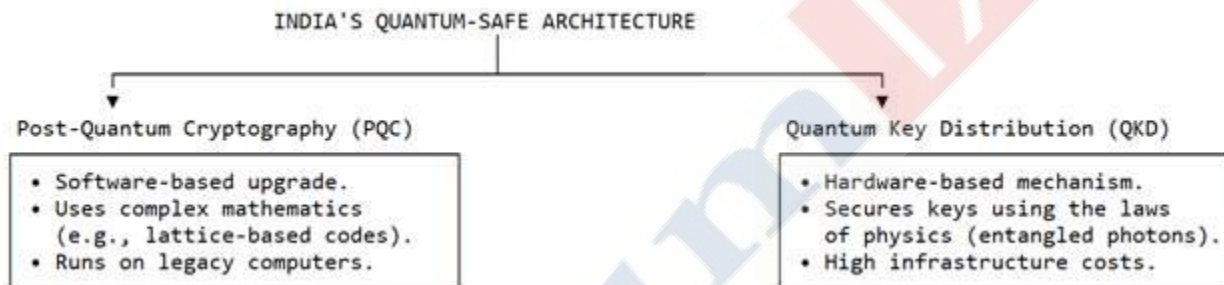
With India’s digital economy projected to exceed \$1 trillion by 2030, the DST Task Force Report 2026 outlines an urgent national roadmap to address Q-Day--the point at which mathematically advanced quantum systems can crack standard encryption in minutes, demanding an aggressive, proactive migration to a quantum-resilient defense framework.

### How Quantum Computing Imperils India’s Cryptographic Systems

1. **Vulnerability of Public-Key Infrastructure:** Present cryptographic standards such as RSA and Elliptic Curve Cryptography rely on the computational difficulty of factorization. Quantum systems using Shor’s Algorithm can solve these rapidly, compromising: digital signatures, e-governance systems, military communication, financial authentication. Example: Banking PKI.

2. **“Harvest Now, Decrypt Later” (HNDL) Threat:** Adversaries are already collecting encrypted strategic data today to decrypt later once quantum capabilities mature. Sensitive information with long-term relevance defense plans, diplomatic cables, genomic databases faces immediate exposure risks. Example: Defense archives.
3. **“Trust Now, Forge Later” Risk:** Quantum attacks on root cryptographic keys may enable forged certificates, fake software updates, and malicious infrastructure access without triggering traditional cybersecurity alarms. Example: Grid sabotage.
4. **Vulnerability of Critical Information Infrastructure (CII):** Power grids, telecom networks, transport systems, and digital financial infrastructure depend upon vulnerable PKI systems. A successful quantum breach could trigger systemic disruption. Example: Power SCADA.
5. **Geopolitical and Strategic Concerns:** Quantum supremacy is becoming a major domain of strategic competition among the United States, China, and the European Union. Delayed preparedness may create technological dependence and strategic asymmetry for India. Example: Cyber deterrence.

### Role of the National Quantum Mission (NQM)



Launched with a ₹6,000 crore allocation, the National Quantum Mission provides the institutional foundation for India's transition toward a quantum-safe ecosystem.

### Key Components of India's Quantum-Safe Strategy

1. **Post-Quantum Cryptography (PQC):** PQC develops algorithms resistant to both classical and quantum attacks using lattice-based and hash-based cryptography. Since PQC is software-driven, it can be integrated into existing systems through upgrades and patches. Example: Secure banking.
2. **Quantum Key Distribution (QKD):** QKD uses quantum mechanics and photon polarization to detect interception instantly. India has already tested secure military quantum communication corridors. Example: Rajasthan link.
3. **National Testing and Certification Ecosystem:** The DST Task Force recommends: National PQC Testing Labs, TEC/STQC certification, sector-wise crypto audits, mandatory crypto inventories. Example: Telecom certification.
4. **Indigenous Technological Ecosystem:** NQM encourages: domestic Quantum Random Number Generators (QRNGs), indigenous secure hardware, startup-led innovation, public-private R&D collaboration. Example: Deep-tech startups.

### vThe Migration Timeline & Systemic Bottlenecks

The DST Task Force report establishes a structured, phased migration schedule, prioritizing sectors based on their systemic risk profile:

Phased Milestones	Targeted Sectors / Action Items
By December 2026	Launch the National PQC Testing and Certification Programme to vet domestic software tools.
By 2027-2028	Complete sandbox pilots and hybrid integration across High-Priority Systems (Defense, Power, Telecom).
By 2029 (Full Adoption)	Achieve complete, mandatory quantum-safe conversion across all Critical Information Infrastructure (CII).
By 2033	Transition broader civil commercial enterprises and secondary digital networks to default PQC architectures.

### Challenges in Implementation

- 1. Technological Constraints:** Legacy systems lack “crypto-agility,” making migration complex and expensive.
- 2. Human Capital Deficit:** India faces shortages of quantum physicists, cryptographic engineers, and advanced cybersecurity professionals.
- 3. Financial Burden:** The DST report estimates fresh infrastructure investments exceeding ₹5,000 crore for secure migration and QKD backbone expansion.
- 4. Legal and Regulatory Gaps:** India still lacks a dedicated quantum-security regulatory framework for procurement, liability, and interoperability standards.

### Way Forward

- 1. Accelerate Sector-Specific Migration:** RBI, SEBI, CERT-In, and CERC should mandate phased PQC adoption in banking, telecom, energy, and governance systems.
- 2. Build Crypto-Agile Infrastructure:** Future systems must support seamless algorithm replacement without redesigning entire software architectures.
- 3. Strengthen Indigenous Research:** Collaboration among IITs, DRDO, C-DOT, startups, and industry should focus on commercially viable indigenous quantum technologies.
- 4. Expand International Cooperation:** India should deepen cooperation through Quad and BRICS technology frameworks while safeguarding digital sovereignty.
- 5. Promote Quantum Workforce Development:** Dedicated fellowships, quantum engineering curricula, and cybersecurity training are essential for long-term resilience.

### Conclusion

The race for quantum resilience is a core element of long-term digital sovereignty. As the countdown to Q-Day accelerates, maintaining standard encryption methods leaves India's critical infrastructure vulnerable to pre-emptive data harvesting.

**Analyze the efficacy of RBI's proposed 'kill switch' in mitigating digital financial frauds. Examine the challenges associated with its systemic implementation.**

**Introduction**

India's digital payment transactions have grown 38-fold over the last decade yet cyber-fraud has scaled proportionally: 28 lakh cases involving ₹23,000 crore in losses (RBI Annual Report 2026). RBI's 2026 proposal for a universal 'kill switch' seeks to strengthen trust amid escalating cyber-fraud losses.

**RBI's Proposed Kill Switch**

The proposed universal kill switch enables customers to instantly freeze all digital payment channels UPI, IMPS, wallets, cards and net banking through a single command, shifting fraud management from post-facto recovery to real-time containment.

**Efficacy in Mitigating Digital Financial Frauds**

- 1. Strengthening Consumer Protection:** Provides immediate control during suspected fraud attempts. Reduces dependence on bank helplines and complaint escalation mechanisms. Enhances consumer confidence in Digital Public Infrastructure (DPI).
- 2. Countering Social Engineering Frauds:** Interrupts authorised push payment (APP) frauds where victims are coerced into transferring money. Limits losses arising from phishing, vishing and deepfake-enabled scams. Example: AI impersonation.
- 3. Disrupting Mule Account Networks:** Prevents rapid layering of stolen funds through multiple intermediary accounts. Improves recovery prospects for law-enforcement agencies. Example: Fund tracing.
- 4. Technological Security Enhancement:** Acts as a financial circuit breaker similar to emergency shutdown systems in critical infrastructure. Complements RBI initiatives such as AI-based fraud analytics and MuleHunter.ai.
- 5. Economic and Financial Stability Benefits:** Protects household savings and digital commerce participation. Supports Economic Survey 2025-26 emphasis on secure digitalization and trust-based growth.
- 6. Social Inclusion:** Particularly beneficial for elderly citizens and first-time digital users. Encourages wider adoption of formal financial systems.

**Challenges in Systemic Implementation**

- 1. Technological:** Integration across banks, payment gateways, NPCI networks and legacy Core Banking Systems. Ensuring real-time synchronization without transaction failures. Example: Backend interoperability.
- 2. Security Paradox:** Fraudsters controlling devices through remote-access malware may activate the switch themselves. Risk of denial-of-service against genuine account holders. Example: AnyDesk scam.
- 3. Convenience versus Security Trade-off:** Accidental activation may disrupt essential transactions. Re-activation procedures involving biometrics or branch visits may inconvenience users. Example: False trigger.

- 4. Regulatory and Legal Concerns:** Need for uniform standards across banks and payment operators. Clarification regarding liability during delayed or failed switch execution. Example: IBA guidelines.
- 5. Operational Challenge:** Treatment of recurring mandates such as EMIs, SIPs and insurance premiums remains unclear. Continuous monitoring infrastructure increases compliance costs. Example: Standing instructions.
- 6. Cybersecurity Governance:** Requires secure out-of-band activation channels to prevent device-based manipulation. Necessitates strong audit trails and accountability protocols. Example: Digital logs and USSD mechanism.

### Way Forward

1. Integrate kill switch with AI-driven fraud detection systems for automatic risk alerts.
2. Enable activation through multiple channels SMS, USSD (\*99#), IVR and bank branches.
3. Create a standardized national reactivation framework under RBI and IBA.
4. Introduce tiered restrictions rather than blanket freezes for low-risk transactions.
5. Conduct nationwide digital awareness campaigns under RBI's financial literacy initiatives.
6. Mandate periodic cybersecurity audits and stress-testing across all regulated entities.
7. Integrate with the National Cyber Crime Reporting Portal for faster response and recovery.

### Conclusion

Digital payment security is not an option it is the foundation on which financial inclusion stands. A Kill Switch that protects citizens without penalising them for false positives is not a regulatory detail it is a constitutional obligation.

**Analyze the demand to de-list converted Scheduled Tribes from reservation benefits. Evaluate the socio-cultural and constitutional implications of this debate.**

### Introduction

The May 2026 tribal mobilisations revived demands to de-list converted Scheduled Tribes from reservations, raising questions about cultural identity, affirmative action equity, and constitutional guarantees amid continuing tribal socio-economic deprivation.

### Demand for De-listing Converted Scheduled Tribes

1. The demand seeks amendment of Article 342 to exclude tribals who convert to Christianity or Islam from Scheduled Tribe (ST) reservation benefits.
2. Proponents argue that conversion alters the cultural characteristics historically used to identify tribal communities, while opponents view the proposal as inconsistent with constitutional protections and tribal realities.

### Historical and Constitutional Basis of the Debate

- 1. Lokur Committee Criteria (1965):** The Lokur Committee identified five indicators of tribality: primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact and general backwardness. Supporters contend that abandonment of traditional tribal faiths weakens these criteria. Example: Indigenous rituals.
- 2. Kartik Oraon Committee Concerns:** Kartik Oraon argued that a small section of educated converted tribals disproportionately captured reservation benefits. Demanded constitutional amendment for de-listing. Example: Reservation equity and Elite capture.
- 3. Constitutional Divergence:** Article 341 (SCs) imposes religious restrictions through the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950. Article 342 (STs) contains no such religious limitation. ST identification is linked primarily to ethnicity, geography and historical isolation rather than religion. Example: Constitutional asymmetry.

#### Arguments Supporting De-listing

- 1. Socio-Cultural Dimension:** Helps preserve indigenous tribal faiths, customs and languages facing assimilation pressures. Strengthens protection of traditional institutions and customary laws. Example: Tribal dialects and Village councils.
- 2. Welfare Distribution:** Prevents concentration of benefits among relatively advanced groups. May improve access for Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). Example: Baiga community.
- 3. Administrative Implications:** Creates a clearer framework linking benefits with preservation of tribal identity. Example: Cultural continuity.

#### Arguments Against De-listing

- 1. Constitutional and Fundamental Rights:** Article 25 guarantees freedom of conscience and religion. Linking reservations to religious affiliation may indirectly penalize conversion. Example: Religious choice.
- 2. Social Justice:** Tribal backwardness arises from remoteness, land alienation and poor human development, not merely faith. Conversion rarely eliminates structural disadvantages. Example: Forest settlements and Educational gaps.
- 3. Judicial Issues:** In *State of Kerala v. Chandramohan*, the Supreme Court held that conversion alone does not automatically extinguish ST status. Courts favour examining continued acceptance within the tribal community. Example: Community recognition.
- 4. Governance Issues:** Religious filtering may trigger administrative disputes and litigation. Risks deepening divisions within tribal societies. Example: Identity verification and Social fragmentation.

#### Broader Implications

- 1.** Influences electoral representation and reservation politics. Example: Tribal constituencies.
- 2.** Affects distribution of scholarships, employment quotas and development benefits. Example: Education access.
- 3.** Raises questions about whether tribal identity is cultural, ethnic or religious. Example: Identity debate.

4. Must align with indigenous rights principles recognised in global frameworks. Example: UNDRIP norms.

### **Way Forward**

1. Conduct a nationwide socio-economic assessment through Tribal Research Institutes (TRIs).
2. Establish objective indicators of cultural continuity rather than religion-centric criteria.
3. Consider sub-categorisation or creamy-layer-type mechanisms within ST reservations to prevent elite capture.
4. Strengthen targeted support for PVTGs and highly vulnerable tribal communities.
5. Promote preservation of tribal languages, customary laws and indigenous knowledge systems.
6. Build consensus through consultation with tribal councils, constitutional experts and state governments.

### **Conclusion**

Echoing Jaipal Singh Munda, tribal policy must safeguard both identity and dignity. Reform should ensure equitable distribution of benefits without undermining constitutional freedoms or tribal unity.