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TEST - 1

POLITY

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REG. NO: 7952

1. Concerns regarding the wide formulation and indiscreet application of discretionary powers of the Governor need closer attention. Discuss

(150)

The Indian constitution itself guarantees the discretionary powers of the Governor through Art. 163.

There have been several concerns regarding it because of its wide applicability and the impact on the federal system.

MAJOR CONCERNs requiring closer attention:

- ① Art. 356: invoking President's rule on the basis of Governor's report: State
- ② Reserving bills for President's assent
- ③ Additional powers with respect to Tribal district councils or adjoining union territories.

In addition to constitutional discretion, the Governor enjoys situational discretion too.

- ① Appointment of chief minister when no party has clear majority
- ② Dismissal of council of ministers of state
- ③ Dissolution of state legislative assembly when council of ministers has lost its majority.

The end result, in the words of Justice Bhagwati, is that the Governor becomes a "Saboteur, rather than a sage". This was seen in the recent years in Uttarakhand and Arunachal Pradesh regarding Art. 356, and in Goa regarding the appointment of Chief Minister.

The best way forward is to heed to the Sarkaria and Punchhi commission recommendations on appointing eminent and non-political Governors.

2. Explain the concept of subordinate legislation in India. Also discuss the mechanisms for their scrutiny and control. (150)

Laws in India are supposed to be created by legislators, elected or nominated. But in practice, they usually don't have the time, nor the expertise regarding technical aspects ~~and~~ of a law. For this reason, the legislators are assisted by the bureaucrats, and other experts. This often ~~and~~ This is called subordinate or delegated legislation.

This has some advantages like

- Domain expertise
- Awareness of ground level realities
- Political division of labour, etc.

But it has issues also.

- Unhealthy dependence on bureaucrats who are not democratically elected.

- Role of political class reduced to debate and discussion.

MECHANISMS FOR SCRUTINY & CONTROL:

- ① Three stage process for passing any bill - with opportunity for debate.
- ② In depth examination by the departmental ~~standing~~ ^{select} committees of the house
- ③ Must repeat the entire process in both the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.
- ④ President can use his veto powers.

However, the time spent scrutinising a bill has reduced drastically from the 1950's to the present time, making such mechanisms weak. ~~Therefore~~ Making the committee stage introspection compulsory will improve the situation.

3. The crucial position accorded to the speaker in Indian legislatures makes it imperative to protect them from undue political pressures and incentives. Examine (150)

The speaker is the presiding officer of the Lok Sabha. She derives powers from the Constitution, Rules of procedure and Parliament-ary conventions.

- Speaker's crucial position is seen in her powers for
- 1) Maintaining order and decorum in the House.
 - 2) Final interpreter of the constitution, rules of procedure and conventions.
 - 3) Deciding whether a bill is a money bill or not.
 - 4) Power of casting vote in case of a tie.
 - 5) Disqualification of members on grounds of defection.

6) Appointing chairman of various parliamentary committees -

~~Recent~~ Speaker has often been accused of partisan functioning due to political pressures and incentives -

- Unlike in Britain, Speaker in India is essentially a partyman with no requirement to resign party membership.
- They are invariably from the ruling party.
- Opposition parties accuse the speaker of stifling dissent. This often leads to ruckus in the house, lowering productivity.

e.g.: 2016 winter session Lok Sabha productivity was abysmally low

- Money bill definition is often ambiguous. e.g.: Aadhar bill.
- The defection disqualification power is also often misused in the past

4. The Departmentally Related Standing Committees have been referred to as mini-parliaments in India. Highlight their relevance in a democratic polity and discuss with examples how they improve the overall effectiveness of the Parliament. (150)

There are 24 departmental standing committees which assist the Parliament in debating the budget more effectively.

Relevance:

- Their main objective is to ensure Executive accountability towards the parliament.
- Their work is devoid of any party bias.
- It ensures economy and efficiency in public expenditure.
- It makes up for Parliament's lack of time and expertise in

analysing the various aspects of the budget.

They improve the overall effectiveness of the Parliament by considering the demand for grants before they are discussed in the Lok Sabha. They consider the annual report of various ministries. It examines bills pertaining to their respective departments. They also ~~can~~ analyse the long term policy documents presented before the houses.

Thus, they stand true to their name of "mini - Parliaments".

5. Enumerate the issues associated with functioning of tribunals in India. How can they be addressed?

(150)

Tribunals in India have the constitutional backing under Art 323A and 323B. They aim to provide speedy and inexpensive justice to public servants, while helping reduce the burden of the judiciary.

ISSUES :

- ① "Tribunalisation" is seen as an attempt by the Executive to encroach into the domain of the Judiciary.
- ② Several tribunals face severely inadequate workforce.
- ③ No uniform recruitment conditions, and are in the mercy of parent ministries for all purposes.
- ④ Many tribunals have locations only in Delhi, making accessibility

difficult.

- ⑤ Often appeals are made to the Supreme Court directly, skipping High Courts. This defeats the purpose of relieving Judiciary's burden.
- ⑥ Judicial overreach by some tribunals. eg: Armed forces tribunal granting non-functional upgrade to armed forces.

WAY FORWARD:

- ① Supreme Court guidelines in cases like Chandra Kumar case and NCLT case must be followed.
- ② Increase the autonomy and independence of tribunals from the ministries.
- ③ Need to formalize the tribunal structures.
- ④ Create effective appellate system so as to prevent overburdening of the courts.

6. Examine the significance of Gram Sabhas, as mentioned in Article 243A of the constitution, in the development process with special reference to Fifth Schedule areas. (150)

73rd Amendment Act and Art. 243A mentions Gram Sabha as the foundation of the Panchayati Raj system. Gram Sabha consists of all the registered voters in a panchayat.

Significance in the development process:

Effective working of the Gram Sabha has a positive correlation with development, due to several reasons.

- ① It embodies "democratic decentralisation", wherein people feel that they own the developmental process.

- ② Helps in downward information flow regarding government schemes.
- ③ Helps in upward information flow, creating a feedback mechanism ~~for~~ for the centre and states to understand what works.
- ④ Jean Dreze argues that their effective functioning invariably reduces the leakages.
- ⑤ It is a source of fresh blood, energy and ideas.

In Fifth Schedule areas, Gram Sabhas have been institutionalised by PESA Act 1996. Here,

- ① Gram Sabha is envisaged as the nucleus of all political activities and governance.

- ② Instrument to provide self rule for the tribal population.
- ③ Safeguards tribal customs and traditions.
- ④ Protecting the rights of locals while granting licences or mining leases for minor minerals.

7. The Rajya Sabha is merely a secondary house rather than a second house in the Indian Parliamentary system. Critically analyse the statement. Also compare and contrast the position of Rajya Sabha vis-a-vis the State legislative councils. (150)

- Rajya Sabha was designed for
- providing a sober check on hasty legislation by Lower House.
 - Avenue for intellectuals and eminent persons to be a part of politics.
 - To implement cooperative federalism, and to house the concerns of the states.

But it is criticised for merely being a "secondary" or inferior house because:

- ① Lok Sabha can push through bills using its numbers in a joint sitting.

- ② Rajya Sabha has become a sanctuary for unelectable party members.
- ③ Recent Rajya Sabha membership has been used by parties to generate funds by selling it, ~~to business~~ as per media reports.
- ④ Poor quality of debates and violent ruckus in the house has lowered the intellectual role of the Rajya Sabha.
- ⑤ Lok Sabha can push through ~~money bills~~ controversial bills in the guise of money bills.
eg: Aadhar bill.

Rajya Sabha vs Legislative Councils

- ① Legislative Council can only delay a bill by 4 months at most, and then bills are considered passed.
- ② In case of money bills, its powers are similar to those of Rajya Sabha, ie, can only delay it for 14 days.
- ③ There is no provision for joint sitting for legislative councils.
Thus, legislative councils are much weaker than Rajya Sabha's role.

8. A major shift is needed in the institutional framework of the Central Water Commission (CWC) and the Central Ground Water Board to make water management more holistic and multidisciplinary. Discuss in the context of Melia Shah Committee Recommendations.

(150)

By Art. 262 of the Constitution, Parliament has the authority to provide for solving Inter-State river water disputes. The CWC and Central Ground Water Board are mechanisms to this end.

A major shift is needed from the present because:

- ① Present system of tribunals for each dispute has been ineffective, with Ravi Beas dispute festering for 30 years.
- ② Control over water is seen by states as a right, leading to civic strife. e.g. Cauvery issue.

- (3) No national level data bank.
- (4) No issue of finality, with only 3 out of 8 tribunals giving judgements which were affected.

In this context, the Alka Shah Committee recommendations are significant.

- (1) Bring water into concurrent list.
- (2) More emphasis on supply side management.
- (3) Declaration of rivers as national property.
- (4) Set up River Basin Organisations to regulate and develop inter-state rivers.

Government has introduced the Inter state Water Disputes Bill, 2017, to ameliorate the present situation.

Q. On what grounds can a person be denied the right to contest elections to the Parliament in India? Will a lifetime ban on those convicted of heinous crimes address the problem of criminalisation of politics? Discuss. (150)

~~Indian citizens enjoy the constitutional right to vote derived from Art. 324 and 325.~~

Indian citizens generally have the right to contest, derived from the Constitution and the Representation of people Act, 1951

It can be denied on the grounds of :

- ① Accused in a crime carrying a sentence of atleast 20 years.
- ② Accused of spreading communal disharmony, hate speech, etc.
- ③ Unsound mind
- ④ Non-residence criteria for Lok Sabha.
- ⑤ Convicted for murder, rape, etc.

Recently, the election commission supported a PIL demanding life time ban on convicted politicians.

- From 15th to 16th Lok Sabha, there has been an increase in criminalisation of politics, from 30 to 34%

- Politicians with money and muscle power can easily subvert the criminal justice system, if given second chance.
- Strengthen democracy: As CEC Gopalaswami argued "law breakers must not be law-makers".
- A lifetime ban will be a deterrent, and promote discourage parties from wielding criminals in elections.

However, these measures must be supplemented by reforms in Model Code of Conduct, ~~and~~ increasing awareness among the people, and creating special courts to fast track such cases.

10. Directive Principles can be considered as even more important than the Fundamental rights because they give a positive bent towards welfare. Discuss. (150)

Directive Principles (DPSP) are embodied in Part-IV of the constitution. They are non-justiciable, but serve as a guideline/roadmap for the executive.

They are considered very important because:

- ① DPSP embodies the Economic and Social rights of the people, which have been ignored in the Fundamental rights.
- ② It exhorts the state to work towards the fulfillment of a "good life" of the people and not merely protecting negative rights.
- ③ Embodies the essence of a "socialistic pattern of society" and

reducing inequalities

④ Several crucial efforts of the government like Land Reforms are driven by DPSP.

For this reason, past governments has tried to give DPSP prominence over Fundamental Rights through amendments like 42nd Amendment.

But,

- It leads to encroachment of the state into personal domain.
- Important rights like right to Property has been removed.
- Paves way for unrestricted political populism.
- Strengthens the Executive, vis-a-vis the Judiciary & Legislature.

Thus, as the Supreme Court opined in the National Mills case, DPSP and fundamental rights are two sides of the same coin, and the constitution must be based on a balance between the two.

11. In light of demands for replacement of the FPTP system with other alternatives, compare the merits and enumerate the challenges associated with replacing the current system. (250)

FPTP or First Past the Post system means that the person who wins the most number of votes in an election to a constituency, wins the seat. It is used for ~~single member constituencies~~

MERITS :

- 1) FPTP is the simplest form, which is easy for the common man to understand.
- 2) It is biased towards a stable 2-party system as per Duverger's law, which is crucial for the Parliamentary system.
- 3) It discourages fringe parties representing radical ideologies.

- 4) It is easier for the people to identify with their political representative, who can be chosen for ~~an~~ individual ability, rather than party colours.
- 5) It develops a sense of responsibility of the political representative towards their constituency, ~~rather than~~ unlike the list system.
- 6) It helps encourage the idea of plurality, and compromise which is suited to India's diversity.

The other prospective systems are

- ① Proportional Representation (PR)
- ② List system

These can be based on single transferable vote or based on multiple votes.

CHALLENGES with replacing the present system:

- ① Systems like Proportional Representation

or Hare's system are complex for the common man to understand and consequently hard to implement.

- ② It is true that the other systems will help in minority representation. But it could also mean the risk of radical Far-Right/Left groups based on hostile ideologies coming to power.
- ③ There will be no need for politicians to appeal to the general populace because they can easily come to power based on the backing of a small group.
- ④ It will spur identity politics and politics of patronage.
- ⑤ It will give rise to unstable parliamentary majorities and broad based coalitions, which may focus on politicking, rather than governance.

Therefore, it would be better if the chunks of FPTP are removed e.g. Better population-representative ratio, inner party democracy, etc.

12 Despite long term recognition of the problem of pendency of cases in the courts, limited progress has been made in reducing their number. What are the possible reasons for such a scenario? Suggest a framework of measures that can be taken to address this issue. (250)

Around 3 crore cases are estimated to be pending before the Indian judiciary.

Reasons for such a scenario are:

- ① Inefficient case management. A study by DAKSH found that in several high courts like Bombay & Kerala, 86% cases took 10-15 years to be disposed of.
- ② Insufficient manpower and vacancies, with average time per hearing is 2 minutes.

- ③ Poor judge to population ratio of only 17 judges per million, while at least 50 are needed.
- ④ ~~Issues~~ Issues regarding appointments, regarding Memorandum of Procedure, NJAC, rejection of names, etc.
- ⑤ Poor procedures, with liberal adjournments
- ⑥ Role of police, regarding evidence collection, witnesses, etc.
- ⑦ Clogging of the system by huge number of appeals, traffic challans, etc.

Measures required :

- ① National Court of Appeal can help unclogging the higher courts from appeals.
- ② ADR (Alternative dispute resolution) methods like mediation must be encouraged.
- ③ Increasing manpower and working 365 days has been suggested by ex-CJIs.

- ④ Lok Adalats clear millions of cases every year and can be made more frequent.
- ⑤ Plea bargaining can be incorporated.
- ⑥ Training of police regarding scientific management of evidence.
- ⑦ Effective National litigation Policy to reduce the government litigation ~~is~~ responsibly.

Since justice delayed is justice denied, the pendency of cases must be treated as a major issue and solved on a war footing.

13. Despite the phrase 'due process of law' not being included in Article 21, the Supreme Court over the years has adopted the doctrines of 'procedural due process' and 'substantive due process' into Indian constitutional law. Comment.

(250)

Art. 21 states that no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to "procedure established by law". The constitution makers have avoided the phrase 'due process of the law', which gives wide interpretative powers to the judiciary.

'Procedure established by law' means that the judiciary can only look into whether the state was working in procedurally legal ways. It cannot question

the wisdom or propriety of the law itself. It establishes the primacy of the Parliament, which is democratically elected.

However, the Supreme Court in its Maneka Case judgement found that "due process" ~~must~~ be followed ~~even~~ and even the "procedure" itself must be fair and just.

This combined with the 'basic structure' doctrine of the Kesavananda Bharti case have tilted the balance in favour of the Judiciary, ~~as~~ giving it wide powers to protect and expand fundamental rights.

Positive implications for it is seen the expansion of Article 21. In the Unnikrishnan case, ~~the~~ Supreme Court said that Right to Education was implicit in Right to Life. In the Francis Coralia case, Right to life was

not merely animal existence but included all aspects of dignified life. Later Art. 21 was said to encompass right to clean water, environment, etc.

However, its negative side is seen in 'Judicial overreach'. In the Vireet Naarain case, the Judiciary takes on Executive role. In the Vasaka case, it takes on a legislative role. In the Interlinking rivers case, it made judgements with huge economic and environmental implications with no research.

Thus, it is clear that over the years, the judiciary adopted both procedural and substantive due process into Indian constitutional law.

14 Can we say that cooperative federalism in India has strengthened in the post-liberalisation era? Give reasons in support of your answer.

(250)

Post-liberalisation era from 1991 onwards, saw several changes in favour of cooperative federalism, like:

- ① Rise of multi-party politics and coalitional governments.
- ② Increase in importance of state-level parties.
- ③ Moving towards a liberal capitalist economy, where states are active players seeking investment.
- ④ Democratic decentralisation as a part of 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts.
- ⑤ Rise in identity politics based on religion, caste, etc giving rise to powerful local leaders.
- ⑥ Change in attitude of Planning Commission towards an indicative role.

As a result, the nature of federalism changed. "Cooperative federalism" is defined as the harmonious working of the Centre and states towards the common goal of development. States are seen as active participants in the process.

Its working can be seen in the working of

- ① At 263 - Inter state council
- ② Planning Commission
- ③ National Development Council
- ④ Chief ministers' conferences
- ⑤ Setting up of Niti Aayog
- ⑥ Increased grants by the Finance Commission etc.

However, there are some issues still.

- ① Role of Governor, who are still ~~not~~ appointed without referring to Sarkaria and Punchhi committee guidelines
- ② Invocation of President's rule

- ③ 16th Lok Sabha ~~is~~ - witnessing the re-emergence of single party dominance.
- ④ Decreasing debate and discussion in the Parliament both in quantity and quality.

Thus, even though federalism still faces challenges cooperative federalism has strengthened in the post-liberalisation era.

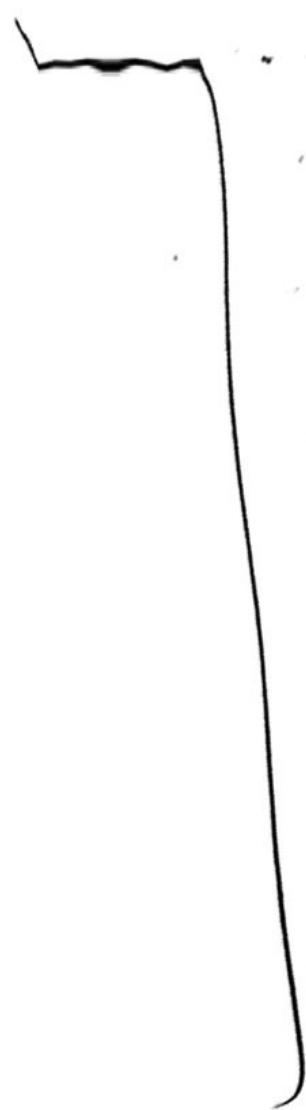
15.

Faulty regulatory policies can have a severe adverse effect on the efficient interplay of market forces and end up harming public interest. Examine in the context systemic issues pertaining to the regulatory environment in India.

India has several regulators like Competition Commission of India, IRDA, AICTE, UGC, MCI, TRAI, SEBI, RBI, etc.

- Faulty regulatory policies can have adverse effects, because:
- ① Hampers the smooth functioning and interplay of demand and supply.
 - ② Overregulation can drive away potential investors and entrepreneurs.
 - ③ Overlap between agencies eg: TRAI and CCI tussle recently.

- ④ Denies the benefit of competition and lower prices from reaching the consumers.
- ⑤ Paves way for corruption, nepotism and crony capitalism.
This is partly due to the systemic issues pertaining to the regulatory environment, like:
 - ① Multitude of regulators, with no single overarching framework.
 - ② Outdated processes and procedures, which are cumbersome.
 - ③ Compliance is very time consuming
 - ④ Inadequate preparedness for modern challenges like the digital revolution, working of free market, internationalisation etc.



16. Mention the constitutional provisions to safeguard and ensure the independent and impartial functioning of the UPSC. Further assess the limitations of UPSC in effectively performing its role as the 'watchdog of merit system' in India as envisioned by the Constitution. (250)

Constitutional provisions safeguarding the UPSC are Articles 315 to 323.

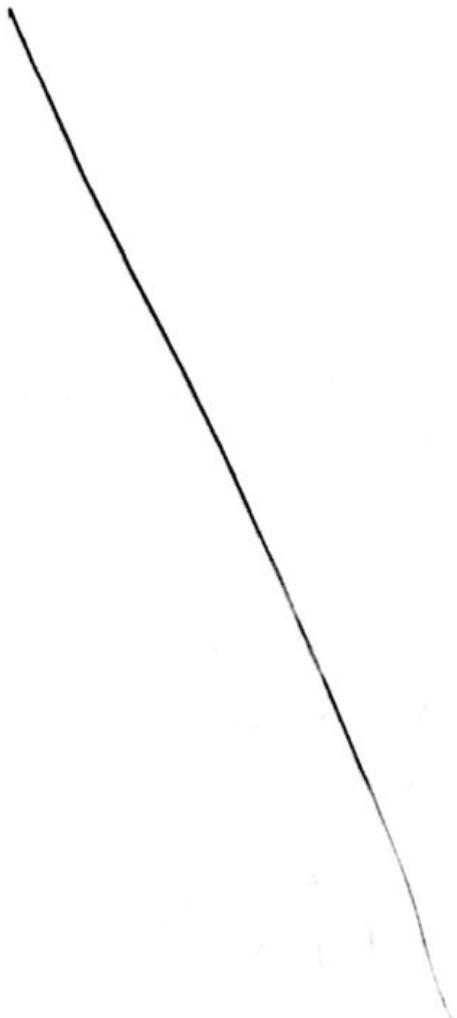
- ① Chairman and members can be removed only by the President, in the manner prescribed by the constitution.
- ② Expenses are charged on the consolidated fund of India.
- ③ Conditions of service cannot be varied to their disadvantage after appointment.

- (4) They are not eligible for further appointment in the government.
(except within the UPSC or SPSC)

LIMITATIONS :

- ① Consultation with the UPSC for appointments by the government is not mandatory.
- ② Its advice is only recommendatory in nature; and not binding.
- ③ UPSC is not consulted while making reservations for SC, ST, OBCs, etc.
- ④ CVC's emergence has eroded UPSC's role in disciplinary matters.
- ⑤ UPSC members are appointed by the President, and hence there is potential for nepotism and political opportunism (unlike for eg; the NHRC)
- ⑥ No qualifications are prescribed.

Even though UPSC has performed its role as the merit 'watch-dog' admirably, the various weaknesses have to be ironed out.



17. What are the key issues in the context of electoral funding in India? How far do you think the idea of state funding of elections can address these issues? (250)

Electoral funding refers to methods of financing political parties

Key issues:

- ① Danger of crony capitalism
- ② Potential of turning into black money lenders.
- ③ Disrupting the democratic process with money power.
eg: Freebies, ~~as was seen in buying~~ of votes in R K Nagar by polls recently.
- ④ Ensuring a level playing field for new ~~as~~ and small entrants.

State funding of elections wherein the state takes over all election expenses, is seen as a

potential solution, because:

- ① It ~~enables~~ reduces the influence of personal / corporate wealth on elections.
- ② Increases the transparency inside the party.
- ③ Can be used as ~~as~~ a bargaining chip to promote internal democracy, representation of women, weaker sections, etc.
- ④ Reduces the potential for black money entering politics.

Arguments against:

- ① It is undemocratic, because taxpayers are forced to support even the parties they don't like.
- ② Politicians will be less inclined to ~~to~~ engage the people, now that the finances are secure.
- ③ Political parties tend to become organs of the state.

Despite its flaws, it was recommended by Dinesh Goswami Committee.

Some of the positives of slate funding can be simulated by electoral reforms, like the new 'electoral bonds', strict transparency provisions under RTI, independent audits, etc.

18 Separation of powers in case of India has acquired its own uniqueness under the constitutional arrangement, Explain (250)

Lord Acton famously said "Absolute power corrupts absolutely". Separation of power seeks to avoid the situation by dividing the power centres into a system of "checks and balances".

In its true form, it means strict separation of the Executive, legislature and the Judiciary, as is seen in the USA.

In India, the parliamentary system and unique political history has resulted in its own uniqueness.

EXECUTIVE :

It is the ~~democratic~~ government in essence. As per the Parliamentary system, the leader of the lower

house of the legislature is appointed as the PM, i.e., the head of the executive. Thus, there is no strict separation of power, but it's rather based on cooperation between the two executive and legislature.

LEGISLATURE:

It acts as a check on the executive, by enforcing financial and political accountability. Since the executive controls the majority in the legislature, it controls the law making process. But the second house, i.e., Rajya Sabha can block hasty law making and force the executive to forge a consensus.

JUDICIARY:

It is kept strictly separate from the other power centres, and using its power of judicial review, it can check the "tyranny of the majority". It is

the 'defender of the Constitution' and protector of citizens fundamental rights

UNIQUENESS:

The Judiciary has started to play Executive and legislative roles through various judgements. In Visaka case, the Supreme Court created guidelines for women's safety in workplace. In Vineet Narain case, it took the executive role by creating the CVC to fight corruption.

The executive takes on judicial powers by creating Tribunals.

On the whole, the form of separation of Powers in India ~~has taken~~ is sui generis.

19. Highlight the extent of President's powers under Article 352. Comment on the judicial scrutiny of proclamation and the exercise of executive powers under National Emergency. How is this power different from the one bestowed under Article 356? (250)

Article 352 refers to the National Emergency.

Extent of President's power.

The President can declare it in 2 cases ① External aggression
② Armed rebellion.

- It can be declared even before an actual attack taking place.
- It can be declared throughout the country or any part of it.
- It transforms the federal structure into essentially a unitary one.
- The Centre can give directives to the state on any matter.

- The President can declare the suspension of the enforcement of Art. 19 using Art. 358. all fundamental rights except Article 20 & 21 under Art. 359.
- Art. 19 is automatically suspended under Art. 358.

Judicial Scrutiny

- The declaration of Emergency cannot be arbitrary, and is subject to judicial review.
- Suspension of fundamental rights are theoretically alive, only their suspension is withdrawn.
- Only laws which are related with the emergency are protected from scrutiny.
- Satisfaction of the President must be based on relevant material. It is
- The courts cannot go into the correctness of the material, but it can check its relevance.

Difference with Art. 356

- President's rule is declared when a government of a state cannot be carried on according to the constitution.
- Art. 356 dismisses the state executive & the legislature is either dissolved or suspended. Art. 352 does not affect either.
- Maximum period of operation of Art. 356 is 3 years, whereas Art. 352 has no limits.
- It has no effect on fundamental rights of citizens.
- Resolutions approving it need only simple majority while Art. 352 needs special majority.
- * Thus, both Art. 352 and 356 are extraordinary powers to deal with emergencies, but their consequences are very different.

20. Fiscal transfers from the centre to the states are critical in India. In this context, explain the rationale of both general and specific purpose fiscal transfers. Also highlight the problems witnessed in the design and implementation of specific purpose transfers. (250)

The revenue-raising power of the states are very limited in India, which makes fiscal transfers from the centre. It is done as per Art - 275, according to the recommendation of the Finance Commission. Art - 282 also provides for 'discretionary grants'.

RATIONALE:

General purpose transfers are open ended, which means that it can be used wherever the

states find it necessary. For example, the statutory grants as per the Fourteenth Finance Commission mandating 42% of the divisible pool of taxes.

Specific purpose transfers are of two types

- ① Central Sector Schemes (100% funded)
- ② Centrally sponsored schemes where a certain share will be paid by the centre.

These are used by the centre to nudge the states to the developmental goals which are nationally expected eg: National Food Security Scheme and MNREGS for combatting poverty and hunger

Problems of specific purpose transfers:

- ① It assumes a one-size fits all approach with all the states

which is ineffective. For example, Kerala's health achievements are vastly different from Bihar's.

- ② Rigid top down model, ignoring ground level realities with little flexibility for the states.
eg: Kerala might prefer to use its health grants for industrial development instead.
- ③ Poor monitoring and accountability mechanisms.
- ④ Inadequate grassroots involvement using PRIs & NGOs.
- ⑤ Poor uptake of schemes because the 'downward information flows' from the centre to people are low.

