

'Son preference' is spreading to tribal population

--Shambhu Ghatak¹

Most of the reports that we find in the mainstream media about falling child sex ratio in India pertain to non-tribal areas. It is assumed that tribals have been better than non-tribals in terms of child sex ratio and gender equality. For example, one can find that most tribal dominated North-Eastern states such as Arunachal Pradesh (972), Meghalaya (970) and Mizoram (970) enjoy better child sex ratio as compared to economically developed states like Haryana (834), Punjab (846) and Gujarat (890). Hence the tendency of the mainstream media is to ignore the new trends emerging for child sex ratio in tribal populated states such as Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and North Eastern states.

Attempt in this research is to reanalyze data specifically emerging from tribal India. Once again the approach is to compile data, tables, charts etc. in such a way that it is of immediate use to journalists of mainstream media. However, a cursory look at the data compiled in the present report gives us an idea that these issues have been more or less ignored by not only the national media but also the language media of these states.

About the study

The present study looks at the declining trend of child sex ratio among the tribal dominated states/UTs of Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, Assam, Jharkhand, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Lakshadweep and Andaman & Nicobar Islands. For this purpose, data and reports from the Office of Registrar General & Census Commissioner and Ministry of Tribal Affairs have been relied upon.

The study has identified Scheduled Tribe communities across the states/ UTs of Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, Assam, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Goa, Lakshadweep, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and

¹ A [first version](#) of this report was published in indiatogether.org

Andaman & Nicobar Islands, having child sex ratio exceeding 1000 during the Census 2011. For this purpose, the study has consulted report of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

Based on a survey of literature, the study discusses at length the various factors responsible for the declining child sex ratio in India including poor implementation of Pre-conception and Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques (Prohibition of Sex Selection) Act, 1994. The study discusses the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao (Save and Educate the Girl Child) programme of the NDA Government by looking at official documents and media reports.

Research perspective

Child sex ratio (CSR) in India has declined from 927 in 2001 to 918 in 2011 (girls per 1,000 boys), according to the report entitled Missing Girls: Mapping the Adverse Child Sex Ratio in India (Census 2011). Of the total 640 districts in the country, 429 districts have experienced decline in CSR. Of these 429 districts, 26 districts exhibited drastic decline (of 50 points or more), and 52 districts reported sharp decline (of 30 - 49 points).

The report from the Office of Registrar General & Census Commissioner shows that 13 out of the 35 states and Union Territories (UTs) have CSR lower than the national average of 918 girls per 1,000 boys in 2011. The CSR ranged from a maximum of 972 in Arunachal Pradesh to a minimum of 834 in Haryana. Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Haryana, NCT of Delhi, Chandigarh, Rajasthan, Uttarakhand, Gujarat and Maharashtra have recorded lower than 900 girls per 1,000 boys.

The document entitled Guidelines for District Collectors/ Deputy Commissioners, which was released prior to the launch of Beti Bachao Beti Padhao (Save and Educate the Girl Child) programme mentions that the decline in CSR, calculated as number of girls for every 1000 boys between age group of 0-6 years, has continued since 1961. It says that the fall in child sex ratio is widespread across the country and has diffused to rural as well as tribal areas. A lot many factors influence child sex ratio such as: under-registration of girls, differential infant & child mortality, strong socio-cultural and religious biases, preference for sons and discrimination against daughters.

The report entitled Women and Men in India 2014 from the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation shows that the bottom 6 big states in terms of CSR (for the age-group 0-6 years) are: Haryana (834), Punjab (846), Jammu & Kashmir (862), Rajasthan (888), Uttarakhand (890) and Gujarat (890). The top 5 states in terms of sex ratio for the same age group are: Arunachal Pradesh (972), Meghalaya (970), Mizoram (970), Chhattisgarh (969) and Kerala (964).

CSR in tribal dominated states

It is true that the CSR among the Scheduled Tribe population (957 girls per 1,000 boys) exceeds the same among the total population (918 girls per 1,000 boys), however the CSR figures have been deteriorating in many of the tribal dominated North Eastern states. For example, the ratios in the states of Sikkim, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and Assam have dipped between 2001 and 2011. Apart from the North Eastern states, the same trend has been observed in tribal dominated Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand.

Traditionally, tribal societies or Scheduled Tribe (ST) groups have been considered to display greater gender parity vis-à-vis the rest. The 'surprise' element, therefore, lies in the fact that CSR among such groups has been falling, indicating a preference for a son, and by corollary, discrimination against the girl child.

Table 1 below shows the number of districts in a particular state with ST population of more than 50 percent, and between 25 and 50 percent in 2011.

One can also see the percentage share of ST population in the total population of a particular state, which gives a fair idea of whether a state is tribal-dominated. For example, since the percentage share of ST population in Mizoram is 94.4 percent and it has got 8 districts with an ST population of more than 50 percent, the state can reasonably be said to be tribal-dominated.

Table 1: State wise no. of districts where the ST population is more than 50 percent, and between 25 percent to 50 percent as per Census 2011, and corresponding CSR

Name	Percentage of ST Population	No. of districts having more than 50% ST population	No. of districts with 25% to 50% ST population	CSR in 2001	CSR in 2011
Jammu & Kashmir	11.9	2	3	941	862
Himachal Pradesh	5.7	2	1	896	909
Rajasthan	13.5	3	3	909	888
Sikkim	33.8	1	3	963	957
Arunachal Pradesh	68.8	13	3	964	972
Nagaland	86.5	11	0	964	943
Manipur (excluding 3 sub-divisions of Senapati district)	35.1	5	0	957	930
Mizoram	94.4	8	0	964	970
Tripura	31.8	1	3	966	957
Meghalaya	86.1	7	0	973	970
Assam	12.4	2	5	965	962
Jharkhand	26.2	5	8	965	948
Odisha	22.8	8	6	953	941
Chhattisgarh	30.6	7	6	975	969
Madhya Pradesh	21.1	6	13	932	918
Gujarat	14.8	5	4	883	890
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	52	1	0	979	926
Maharashtra	9.4	1	3	913	894
Andhra Pradesh	7	0	1	961	939
Lakshwadeep	94.8	1	0	959	911
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	7.5	1	0	957	968
Total	8.6	90	62	927	918

Sources: Tribal Profile at a Glance, May 2013

<http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/archiveDoc/201410170113319773837STProfileataGlance.pdf>

Mapping the Adverse Child Sex Ratio in India Census 2011

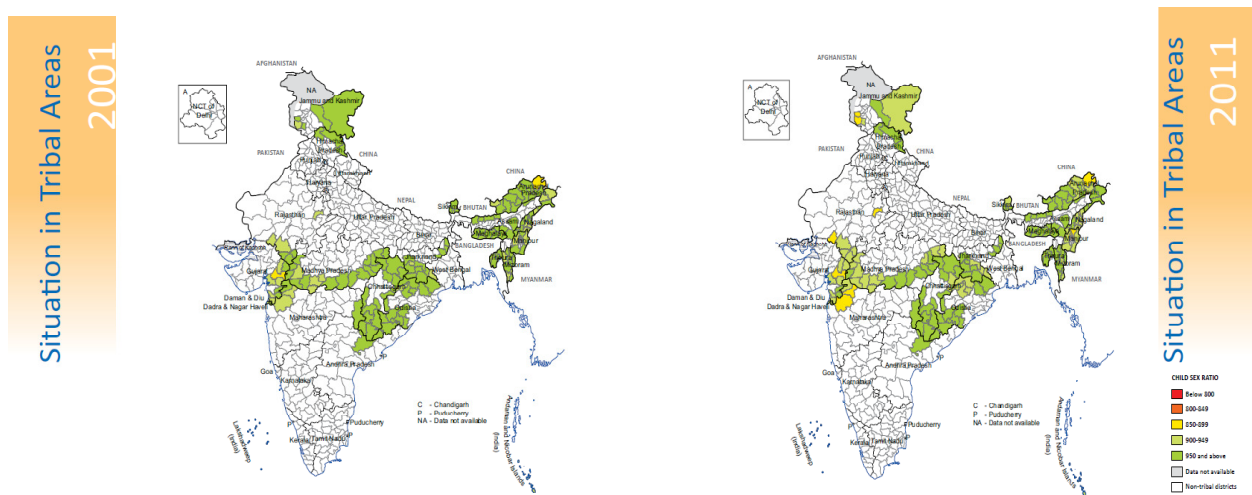
<http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/missing.pdf>

The **table 1**, thus, shows that the CSR in most tribal-dominated states has gone down between 2001 and 2011. The exceptions are Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Gujarat.

Falling CSR in tribal districts

The report titled Missing Girls: Mapping the Adverse Child Sex Ratio in India (Census 2011) reveals that although the CSR for most of the tribal districts (those having more than 25 percent tribal population) was above the national average of 918, the situation has significantly worsened in 2011. While in 2001, 120 tribal districts had a CSR of 950 or more, in 2011 this figure fell to 90 districts.

Chart 1: CSR situation in tribal districts across India (2001 - 2011)



Source: Mapping the Adverse Child Sex Ratio in India Census 2011

<http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/missing.pdf>

Brought out by the office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, the report compares 2001 and 2011 CSR maps to reveal small pockets of contiguous districts in the range of 900-949,

extending from the west to the east of India. It finds that the districts in the North-eastern part of India have witnessed a decline in CSR below 950 between 2001 and 2011.

When tribal districts are compared with non-tribal ones, one notices that the decline in CSR diffuses from non-tribal to tribal areas, and there is a contiguous pattern to this phenomenon (as observed in the maps above).

CSR among ST groups

It is worth mentioning a report here, entitled Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India 2013, which has published CSR figures for individual ST groups. By analysing the data provided in the report, it is seen that the tribal community of Langkai Tangsa (3500) in Arunachal Pradesh has the highest CSR as compared to other ST groups during 2011.

This result, however, contradicts the finding of a report in The Times of India, entitled Scheduled tribes show worrying decline in child sex ratio (1 June, 2014). That report said, "*when it comes to the child sex ratio, there are only two tribal groups - the Bhottadas/Dhotadas and the Bhuias/Bhuyans, both from Orissa - which have a ratio of over 1,000.*"

Based on the Census 2011 data as provided in the report from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, it could be said that there are many ST groups spread across various states which have CSR of more than 1,000.

Due to the large size of **table 2**, it has been appended at the end of this paper.

Table 2 also shows that Chhattisgarh (992) has the highest CSR and Lakshwadeep (907) has the lowest CSR among ST population.

Why is the CSR falling?

Media reports, based on interviews with social scientists, suggest that one of the reasons behind falling CSR among the ST population is that sex determination tests have been gaining popularity among them. With increased urbanisation, tribal groups have far greater access than earlier to modern technology, pre-natal ultrasonography being among them (Nair, 2012).

Many tribal communities are trying to ape the culture of upper castes, among whom the cultural preference for sons is quite widespread. Dominant castes in India still believe that it is the son who carries forward the lineage and looks after parents in their old age, apart from performing the funeral rights of parents. Sons are also preferred to daughters since they bring in dowry at the time of marriage. It seems that such beliefs are now increasingly percolating to the so called 'depressed' castes or STs.

Other factors which may affect CSR include gender gap in literacy rates and insurgency. A sharp gender gap in literacy not only indicates that women are far behind men, but also perpetuates gender-based inequality in society. Kulkarni, Pandey and Gaiha (2014), however, inform that female education has ambiguous effects: on one hand female education reduces son preference at a given family size, but on the other hand it results in a fall in fertility and a stronger son preference.

Similarly, if a particular state suffers insurgency, it will invite the presence of army and paramilitary forces and have draconian laws imposed, so as to curb disturbances. Under such volatile circumstances, gross violation of human rights is very likely, with women being the worst victims. People here, therefore, tend to avoid having daughters and prefer having sons. The Xaxa Committee report, published in 2014, informs that in the insurgency hit states of Manipur, Assam and Nagaland as well as parts of Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 is in operation. We can find from the **table 1**, that except in Arunachal Pradesh, in the rest 4 states, CSR has declined between 2001 and 2011.

The Xaxa Committee report (2014) has also noted that there has been a decline in the overall sex ratio of tribal women in areas around development projects and areas facing degradation of common property resources/ forests in Jharkhand, which actually reflects the falling status of women in the tribal community.

An important factor behind falling CSR is the poor implementation of the Pre-conception and Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques (Prohibition of Sex Selection) Act, 1994 (PCPNDT Act). The PCPNDT Act could not be implemented or enforced seriously by either the central or state governments due to lack of political will.

In the report titled *Laws and Son Preference in India: A Reality Check*, lawyer Kirti Singh (2013) has revealed that in some states the PCPNDT Act did not even get notified till very recently. In one case of violation, action could not be initiated as notification of the Act had negligently not been published in the gazette.

It has been found that a number of clinics, counselling centres and laboratories do not maintain proper registers and records as specified under the PCPNDT rules. The case law under the PCPNDT Act shows that sometimes the Appropriate Authorities (AAs) are deliberately negligent in performing their functions. Singh, therefore, demands an amendment to the Act so that the AA can be held accountable under Section 25 for dereliction of duty.

Based on data accessed from the Ministry of Health & Family Welfare and Ministry of Women & Child Development, a news report from Daily News and Analysis (DNA), dated 10 May, 2015 informs that not even a single person has been convicted for pre-conception and pre-natal diagnostic between 2011 and 2013, thus, raising doubts over the proper implementation of the PCPNDT Act. Based on research, in an article by Vani S Kulkarni, Manoj K Pandey and Raghav Gaiha, which was published in *The Indian Express* dated 26 August, 2014, it has been informed that during more than 15 years of the enactment of the PCPNDT Act, a little above 600 cases have been lodged across India but the total number of convictions is abysmally low i.e. 20.

In states such as Gujarat (CSR: 890) and Maharashtra (CSR: 894), the Comptroller and Auditor General reports on General and Social Sector have found huge shortfalls of inspection carried out by AAs in the test-check districts. The shortfall in inspection of clinics by district AAs in Gujarat ranged from 73 percent in 2013-14 to 90 percent in 2009-10, as per the Report no. 6 of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India on General and Social Sector (tabled in the Gujarat State Legislature Assembly on 31 March, 2015). Since 2001, offences registered under the PCPNDT Act in Gujarat totaled 181. Out of the total 181 cases filed, only 49 cases had been finalized as of March 2014. Out of 49 cases finalized, only in six cases (12 percent) the delinquents were convicted. In the test-checked districts, out of 104 cases filed, only 31 cases had been finalized as of March 2014 and in three cases conviction entailed. The CAG report has

noted inordinate delay in adjudication of PCPNDT related cases for contravention of the law, and low conviction rates. Since 2001, 85 percent of the offences registered under the PCPNDT Act in Gujarat were related to non-maintenance of records by clinics, 7 percent offences were related to non-registration of clinics, 6 percent cases were linked to sex determination and 2 percent offences were related to advertisement.

The shortfall in inspection of sonography centres by district AAs in Maharashtra ranged from 55 percent in 2013-14 to 43 percent in 2011-12, as per the Report no. 4 of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India on General and Social Sector (tabled in the Maharashtra State Legislature Assembly on 10 April, 2015).

The two-child norm, too, has had an adverse impact on gender equality, finds Kirti Singh (2013). The two-child norm was adopted as the population policy in a number of states. In order to ensure conformity, certain states passed coercive legislation prohibiting persons with more than two children from holding posts in panchayats, urban local bodies etc. It has been widely reported by social activists and studies that such norms perpetuate the preference for sons and aversion towards daughters; most people, if they are forced to have a small family, automatically prefer sons to daughters. States which still adhere to the two-child norm are Gujarat, Odisha, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh. States which have abolished the norm are Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

Kulkarni, Pandey and Gaiha (2014) inform that lowered fertility led to a more male-skewed sex ratio under the Devi Rupak programme in Haryana.

Caveat: Which is a better measure?

Population or overall sex ratio is often used as an indicator by social scientists to depict the level of gender discrimination existing in a society. Although women are considered to be biologically stronger than men in terms of survival and life expectancy, gender discrimination often cuts short the life span of the unborn/born female child in a patriarchal set up, thus leading to 'missing women'.

Overall sex ratio, however, may not give a true picture of gender discrimination because due to migration one may find that more women are left behind in the rural areas vis-à-vis men, thereby, yielding high sex ratio figures. Corollary to this, when more men flock to cities and towns in search of livelihood, it results in low sex ratio in the urban areas.

As per the Census 2011 data, overall sex ratio in urban areas is 929 females per 1,000 males while in rural areas it is 949 females per 1,000 males. Between 1951 and 2011, overall sex ratio has declined by (-)0.32 percent to reach 943 females per 1,000 males.

Instead of relying on the overall sex ratio, experts prefer sex ratio in the age-group 0-6 years so as to assess gender discrimination resulting in female foeticide and infanticide. Also, the latter rules out to a great extent the effect of migration (as discussed earlier). Low child sex ratio (for the age-group 0-6 years) is an outcome of female foeticide, which takes place because sons are preferred to daughters for various reasons including to carry forward the lineage.

The report *Missing Girls: Mapping the Adverse Child Sex Ratio in India (Census 2011)* says that the sex ratio at birth (SRB) is a more robust indicator than the CSR, of the extent of gender-biased sex selection/abortion in practice. This is because unlike the CSR, which is affected by factors such as postbirth mortality, selective neglect of girls and so on, the SRB provides data of the number of girls born for every 1000 boys born.

Based on the implied sex ratio at birth (ISRB), calculated indirectly through a demographic technique of 'reverse survival' using the 0-6 age group, one can find that half of the Indian states (barring J&K) have witnessed a decline in their ISRB, and the range of decline has varied between -33 and -3 points, with Uttarakhand exhibiting maximum decline and Tamil Nadu recording the minimum decline.

However, 14 states have shown an increase in ISRB. Data shows that maximum increase in ISRB has been reported from states such as Punjab, Mizoram and Himachal Pradesh.

The ISRB for India as a whole has declined from 935 in 2001 to 923 in 2011 (girls born per 1,000 boys born). In districts like Jhajjar (782), Mahendragarh (775) and Rewari (787) in

Haryana and Samba (779) in Jammu & Kashmir (apart from others), one observes low ISRB along with low CSR, implying both pre- and post-birth discrimination.

The document Beti Bachao Beti Padhao programme entitled Guidelines for District Collectors/ Deputy Commissioners says that the SRB for the period 2010-12 was 908 as against the internationally observed normal SRB of 952, clearly indicating that lesser number of girls are born as compared to boys in India. A low SRB is directly linked to easy availability and affordability of diagnostic tools leading to increasing Sex Selective Elimination (SSE), informs the report.

Based on a report entitled World of India's Girls 2014 prepared by faculty members at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) and published by the NGO Save the Children, a news report by Anahita Mukherji, published in The Times of India, dated: 27 December, 2014 reveals that the last girl to be conceived is more vulnerable to sex-selective abortion as compared to the first one. It means that when the first child taking birth in a family is male, there is no fall in the sex ratio for the second/subsequent child. However, when the first child taking birth is female, there is a decline in the sex ratio of the second/subsequent child. This is the crux of the analysis done in the TISS report, which is based on secondary data generated from the three rounds of National Family Health Surveys.

Due to the paucity of comparable SRB data among ST and non-ST populations, the same could not be produced and analyzed in the present study.

Will things change ever?

The imperative of improving the status of women in Indian society and mainstreaming their participation in all walks of life cannot be emphasised enough. Falling CSR is a matter of concern in this respect, and more so since the phenomenon is spreading from non-tribal to tribal populations. Worse still, the CSR in India is worsening despite the presence of a strong legal and policy framework and various government initiatives, including cash transfers and incentive schemes, various media and messaging efforts.

A skewed sex ratio may contribute to further decline in the status of women, resulting in increased gender violence, more frequent practices of polyandry and so on. The 12th Five Year Plan has expressed apprehensions that if falling CSR is not reversed, it will alter demography, erode gender justice, social cohesion and human development. Thus it called for focused interventions to improve the CSR, within an overall 'National Strategy for Care and Protection of the Girl Child'.

The Plan document says that a girl child-specific District Plan of Action will be developed through decentralised planning processes, involvement of panchayati raj institutions and partnership with civil society organizations. It wished to link these initiatives with the proposed pilot interventions planned by the Ministry of Panchayati Raj, such as Rashtriya Gaurav Gram Sabha Awards to be given to panchayats that show a marked improvement in CSR and enhanced care and protection of the girl child. Similar policies are being pursued now by the new NDA Government at the Centre with vigour.

The Minister for Women and Child Development Smt. Maneka Gandhi announced last year that the Government plans to improve SRB by 10 basis points per year. She also said that the NDA Government has chosen 100 districts during 2014-15. As per official documents, under the Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao Abhiyan, Rs. 5 lakh per district, may be used for promoting girls' education by instituting district level awards to be given to 5 schools in each district every year on the basis of certain parameters.

Although Rs. 90 crore was promised under the Union Budget 2014-15 for the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao Campaign, the revised estimates suggest that only Rs. 45 crore was allocated. During the Union Budget 2015-16, Rs. 97 crore has been promised for the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao programme.

The Ministry of Women and Child Development has come out with action plans at the village, block as well as district levels so as to encourage the birth of girl children along with improvement in their educational levels. The District collectors/ Deputy Commissioners are the nodal officer at the district level for implementation of the scheme.

The minister has asked for a number of steps for improving CSR, which includes promoting early registration of pregnancy in the first trimester, institutional deliveries and 100 percent birth registration, apart from campaigns to change people's mindset and social behavior.

The Government is preparing a media plan whereby several short films are being prepared in regional languages, which will be made available for use on national TV channels and also cable channels. The district officers are encouraged to make extensive use of these short films during intervals at commercial film shows in theatres. They have been urged to use audio messages on declining CSR on FM, radio and community radio for maximum outreach.

Safeguards for protecting the girl child

It is worth noting that the Government of India has identified 100 districts on the basis of low CSR as per Census 2011 for implementing the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao programme on a pilot basis. The three criteria for selection of districts namely are: i) districts with CSR below the national average (87 such districts spread across 23 states); ii) districts with CSR above national average but shown declining trend (8 such districts across 8 states); and iii) districts with CSR above national average and shown increasing trend (5 such districts across 5 states). These 5 districts (under 3rd category) have been selected so that CSR levels there can be maintained and other districts can emulate and learn from their experiences.

The Beti Bachao Beti Padhao programme, which was launched on 22 January, 2015 by Prime Minister Narendra Modi from Panipat in Haryana has three objectives: a. Prevent gender biased sex selective elimination; b. Ensure survival & protection of the girl child; and c. Ensure education of the girl child.

The monitorable targets under the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao programme are:

- Improve the SRB in 100 gender critical districts by 10 points in a year.
- Reduce gender differentials in Under Five Child Mortality Rate from 8 points in 2011 to 4 points by 2017.

- Improve the nutritional status of girls by reducing number of underweight and anaemic girls under 5 years of age (from NFHS 3 levels).
- Ensure universalization of ICDS, girls' attendance and equal care monitored, using joint ICDS NRHM Mother Child Protection Cards.
- Increase girls' enrollment in secondary education from 76% in 2013-14 to 79% by 2017.
- Provide girls' toilet in every school in 100 CSR districts by 2017.
- Promote a protective environment for girl children through implementation of Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POCSO) Act 2012.
- Train Elected Representatives/ Grassroot functionaries as Community Champions to mobilize communities to improve CSR & promote Girl's education.

The strategies under the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao programme include:

- Implement a sustained Social Mobilization and Communication Campaign to create equal value for the girl child & promote her education.
- Place the issue of decline in CSR/SRB in public discourse, improvement of which would be a indicator for good governance.
- Focus on Gender Critical Districts and Cities low on CSR for intensive & integrated action.
- Mobilize & Train Panchayati Raj Institutions/ Urban local bodies/ Grassroot workers as catalysts for social change, in partnership with local community/ women's/ youth groups.

- Ensure service delivery structures/schemes & programmes are sufficiently responsive to issues of gender and children's rights.
- Enable Inter-sectoral and inter-institutional convergence at District/ Block/ Grassroot levels.

Conclusion

Based on various studies, reports and data analyses, the present study finds that CSR ranged from a maximum of 972 in Arunachal Pradesh to a minimum of 834 in Haryana during 2011. Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Haryana, NCT of Delhi, Chandigarh, Rajasthan, Uttarakhand, Gujarat and Maharashtra have recorded lower than 900 girls per 1,000 boys during the same year.

The study finds that the bottom 6 big states in terms of CSR (for the age-group 0-6 years) in 2011 are: Haryana (834), Punjab (846), Jammu & Kashmir (862), Rajasthan (888), Uttarakhand (890) and Gujarat (890). The top 5 states in terms of sex ratio for the same age group are: Arunachal Pradesh (972), Meghalaya (970), Mizoram (970), Chhattisgarh (969) and Kerala (964).

CSR in the tribal dominated North Eastern states of Sikkim, Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and Assam have plunged between 2001 and 2011. Apart from the North Eastern states, the same trend has been observed in tribal dominated Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand.

When tribal districts are compared with the non-tribal ones, one finds that the decline in CSR diffuses from non-tribal to tribal areas, and there is a contiguous pattern to this phenomenon.

Media reports indicate that sex determination tests have been gaining popularity among ST population. With increased urbanisation, tribal groups have far greater access than earlier to modern technology, pre-natal ultrasonography being among them. ST communities are trying to

ape the culture of upper castes, among whom the cultural preference for sons is quite widespread.

Other factors which may affect CSR include gender gap in literacy rates and insurgency. CSR is also falling because the PCPNDT Act could not be implemented or enforced seriously by either the central or state governments due to lack of political will. Conviction rate for violation of PCPNDT Act has been low.

The two-child norm in many states has had an adverse impact on gender equality. Lowered fertility actually led to a more male-skewed sex ratio.

It has been found that the tribal community of Langkai Tangsa (3500) in Arunachal Pradesh has the highest CSR as compared to other ST groups during 2011. There are numerous ST groups spread across various states, which have CSR of more than 1,000.

The present study also discusses why the SRB is a better measure as compared to CSR or the simple population sex ratio.

The study then discusses the policies adopted under the UPA Government to curtail falling CSR. The objectives, targets and the strategies of the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao programme have also been discussed.

Under the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao programme, the Government has planned to map all the available ultra-sonography machines (individual machines and not the clinics) at the district level, and update this data on a regular basis in every 3 month.

In addition to this, analysis of birth records at IVF centres, surrogacy clinics, and genetics counselling centres in the district, with a view to know the percentage of births of male & female child there, will be done by District Appropriate Authority.

It is suggested here that there should be strict implementation of the PCPNDT Act, and its monitoring at the district level must be done appropriately. Appropriate Authorities should be made accountable for implementation of the PCPNDT Act. The Government should strictly monitor fertility centres, where obsessed parents conceive male children via ART (Assisted Reproductive Technologies). The fertility centres should be made accountable to disclose the gender of the aborted foetus.

Apart from working with NGOs, the Government should also work closely with community organisations and medical professionals to bring about a change in the mindset of people.

The corpus of nearly Rs. 100 crore (promised under the Union Budget 2015-16) for the Beti Bachao Beti Padhao Abhiyan should be increased to some reasonable amount, so that the entire country including more numbers of tribal districts can take advantage of the programme.

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Table 2: CSR among ST groups in various states in 2011

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Jammu and Kashmir	912	Beda (1344), Garra (1029), Mon (1000)
Himachal Pradesh	930	Swangla (1002), Beta/Beda (1438)
Uttarakhand	929	
Rajasthan	921	Patelia (1098)
Uttar Pradesh	944	Raji (1000), Patari - in district of Sonbhadra (1182), Bhuiya/Bhuinya – in district of Sonbhadra (1004)
Bihar	969	Binjhia (1000), Birhor (1308), Chero (1001), Gorait (1373), Ho (1222), Karmali (1316), Korwa (1429), Munda/Patar (1049), Parhaiya (1065)
Sikkim	961	

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Arunachal Pradesh	977	Khowa/Bugun (1180), Momba/Memba (1155), Any Naga tribes (1028), Sherdukpen (1169), Hrusso (3000), Adi pasi (1077), Ashing (1286), Bagi (2000), Bangni (1042), Bogum (1000), But Monpa (1043), Darok Tangsa (1143), Dirang Monpa (1119), Havi Tangsa (1036), Hill Miri (1333), Karka (2667), Khamiyang (1000), Komkar (1000), Langkai Tangsa (3500), Libo (1060), Lichi Tangsa (2000), Longchang Tangsa (1066), Lowang Tangsa (2000), Millang (1042), Moglum Tangsa (1082), Monpa (1011), Mossang Tangsa (1130), Padam (1027), Dalbing (1000), Phong Tangsa (1105), Rangai Tangsa (2500), Rongrang Tangsa (1000), Simong (1151), Sulung (1016), Taisen Tangsa (1037), Taram (1000), Thai Khampi (1125), Yobin (1015), Yongkuk Tangsa (1571)
Nagaland	942	Kachari (1019), Mikir (1118), Makware (3000), Pochury (1001), Unclassified Naga (1009)
Manipur	920	Chothe (1042), Koireng (1144), Monsang (1103), Purum (1600), Sema (1500)
Mizoram	971	Dimasa-Kachari (1625), Garo (1148), Man – Tai speaking (1073)

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Tripura	957	Khasia (1083), Lushai (1088), Noatia/Murashing (1019), Orang (1013)
Meghalaya	973	Dimasa/Kachari (1043), Lakher (2000), Man – Tai Speaking (1127), Any Mizo Lushai Tribes (1061), Any Naga Tribes (1180)
Assam	957	Chakma (1061), Khasi/ Jaintia/ Synteng/ Pnar/ War/ Bhoi/ Lyngngam (1038), Lakher (1250), Man Tai – speaking (1094), Any Mizo Lushai Tribes (1022), Syntheng (1000), Lalung (1015), Khampti (1000)
West Bengal	974	Asur (1113), Chero (1067), Chik Baraik (1032), Gorait (1023), Hajang (1000), Mru (1727), Parhaiya (1222), Sauria Paharia (1090), Savar (1014)
Jharkhand	976	Baiga (1104), Bedia (1023), Korwa (1002), Sauria Paharia (1034), Savar (1019), Kol (1013)

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Odisha	980	Bagata/Bhakta (1049), Baiga (1000), Bhottada/Dhotada/Bhotra/Bhatra/Bhattara/Bhotora/Bhatara (1007), Bhuiya/Bhuyan (1002), Binjhia/ Binjhoa (1041), Birhor (1098), Bondo Poraja/Bonda Paroja/Banda Paroja (1048), Chenchu (1000), Dal (1005), Dharua/Dhuruba/Dhurva (1002), Ghara (1000), Kol (1028), Kolah Loharas/Kol Loharas (1025), Koya/Gumba Koya/Koitur Koya/Kamar Koya/Musara Koya (1034), Mankidi (2000), Pentia (1033)

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Chhattisgarh	992	<p>Agariya (1006), Baiga (1021), Bhattra (1003), Bhil/Bhilala/Barela/Patelia (1242), Bhil Mina (1250), Biar/Biyar (1002), Birhul/Birhor (1032), Gadaba/Gadba (1016), Kamar (1010), Kondh/Khond/Kandh (1098), Kol (1016), Kolam (1027), Korku/Bopchi/Mouasi/Nihal/Nahul/Bondhi/Bondeya (1026), Majhwar (1021), Mawasi (1056), Nagesia/Nagasia (1005), Pao (1025), Pardhan/Pathari/Saroti (1019), Saur (1278), Sonr (2000), Pardhi/Bahelia/ Bahellia/ Chita Pardhi/ Langoli Pardhi/ Phans Pardhi/Shikari/Takankar/ Takia [in (i) Bastar, Dantewara, Kanker, Raigarh, Jashpurnagar, Surguja and Korba district, (ii) Katghora, Pali, Kartala and Korba tahsils of Korba district, (iii) Bilaspur, Pendra, Kota and Takhatpur tehsils of Bilaspur district, (iv) Durg, Patan, Gunderdehi, Dhamdha, Balod, Gurur and Dondilohara tehsils of Durg district, (v) Chowki, Manpur and Mohala Revenue Inspector Circles of Rajnandgaon district, (vi) Mahasamund, Saraipali and Basna tehsils of Mahasamund district, (vii) Bindra-Navagarh Rajim and Deobhog tahsils of Raipur district, and (viii) Dhamtari, Kurud and Sihava tahsils of Dhamtari district] (1036)</p>

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Madhya Pradesh	952	Bhil Mina (1031), Birhul/ Birhor (1333), Gadaba/Gadba (1171), Kamar (1000), Kondh/Khond/Kandh (1083), Kolam (1400), Korwa/Kodaku (1167), Majhwar (1115), Pardhi/ Bahelia/ Bahellia/ Chita Pardhi/Langoli Pardhi/ Phans Pardhi/ Shikari/ Takankar/ Takia [in (i) Chhindwara, Mandla, Dindori and Seoni districts, (ii) Baihar tehsil of Balaghat district, (iii) Betul, Bhainsdehi and Shahpur tehsils of Betul district, (iv) Patan tehsil and Sihora and Majholi blocks of Jabalpur district, (v) Katni (Murwara) and Vijaya Raghogarh tehsils and Bahoriband and Dhemerkheda blocks of Katni district, (vi) Hoshangabad, Babai, Sohagpur, Pipariya and Bankhedi tehsils and Kesla block of Hoshangabad district, (vii) Narsinghpur district, and (viii) Harsud tehsil of Khandwa district] (1002), Parja (1250)
Gujarat	953	Chodara (1008), Pomla (1128), Siddi/ Siddi- Badshan (in Amreli, Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, Junagadh, Rajkot and Surendranagar districts) (1002), Tadvi Bhil/Bawra/Vasave (1063), Padvi (1000)
Daman and Diu	925	Varli (1010)
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	977	Kathodi (1200), Koli Dhor including Kolgha (1045)

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Maharashtra	955	Barda (1150), Bavacha/Bameha (1100), Bhaina (1308), Bhattra (1750), Kol (1008), Sawar/ Sawara (1083)
Andhra Pradesh	931	Gadabas/Bodo Gadaba/Gutob Gadaba/Kallayi Gadaba/Parangi Gadaba/Kathera Gadaba/Kapu Gadaba (1017), Goudu in the Agency Tracts (1051), Hill Reddis (1333), Jatapus (1032), Kattunayakan (1429), Konda Kapus (1031), Kondareddis (1010), Kondhs/ Kodi/ Kodhu/ Desaya Kondhs/ Dongria Kondhs/ Kuttiya Kondhs/ Tikiria Kondhs/ Yenity Kondhs/ Kuinga (1028), Malis (excluding Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad and Warangal districts) (1066), Manna Dhora (1037), Mukha Dhora/Nooka Dhora (1067), Reddi Dhoras (1318), Nakkala/Kurvikaran (1048), Dhulia/Paiko/Putiya (in the districts of Vishakhapatnam and Vijayanagaram) (1000)

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Karnataka	964	Adiyan (1394), Bavacha/Bamcha (1054), Gamit/ Gamta/ Gavit/ Mavchi/ Padvi/ Valvi (1219), Gowdalu (1031), Hakkipikki (1028), Kammara (in South Kanara disitric and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district) (1000), Kaniyan/ Kanyan (in Kollegal taluk of Mysore district) (1250), Kokna/Kokni/Kukna (1000), Koda Kapus (1003), Koraga (1051), Kuruba in Coorg district (1028), Kurumans (1800), Maha Malasar (1000), Malaikudi (1014), Malasar (2000), Malayekandi (2667), Maleru (1158), Palliyan (1333), Paniyan (1500), Patelia (1000), Toda (3000), Yerava (1029), Siddi in Uttar Kannada (1098)
Goa	969	Dhodia (1000), Dubla -Halpati (1000), Siddi -Nayaka (2000), Kunbi (1113)
Lakshwadeep	907	

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Kerala	949	Kadar/ Wayanad/Kadar (1033), Kanikaran/Kanikkar (1022), Koraga (1250), Kudiya/Melakudi (1393), Maha Malasar (1600), Malakkuravan (1750), Malayan/ Nattu Malayan/ Konga Malayan (excluding the areas comprising the Kasargode, Connanore, Wayanad and Kozhikode districts) (1008), Malayarayar (1118), Ten Kurumban/Jenu Kurumban (2500), Karimpalan (1050), Vetta Kuruman (1231)
Tamil Nadu	918	Kammara (excluding Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) (1000), Kanikaran/Kanikkar (in Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah and Ambasamudram taluks of Tirunelveli district) (1146), Kaniyan/Kanyan (1031), Konda Kapus (1417), Kota (excluding Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) (1133), Kudiya/Melakudi (2333), Muthuvan (1667), Palleyan (1154), Toda (excluding Kanyakumari district and Shenkottah taluk of Tirunelveli district) (1402)

State	CSR among ST population	ST group having CSR>1,000
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	955	Andamanese/Chariar/Chari/Kora/Tabo/Bo/Yere/Kede/Bea/Balawa/Boji giyab/Juwai/Kol (1333), Onges (1600)

Source: Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India 2013,

<http://tribal.nic.in/WriteReadData/CMS/Documents/201410170519295222004StatisticalProfileofSTs2013.pdf>