Accountability in Solid Waste Management: Critical Insights from a Waste Management Dispute in Kerala

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Abstract

Accountability serves a corrective purpose by making it feasible to address individual or group concerns and penalize misbehavior by the people and institutions in question. Based on the study of waste management in different regions of Kerala, the paper discusses and explores accountability and environmental concerns in solid waste management. Effective solid waste management systems are required to promote greater human health and safety. This is a qualitative - case study done with the help of secondary information obtained from different sources. The research work with a similar end was also reviewed to clarify the conceptual and descriptive parts of the study. The investigation analyzes how far decentralized waste management in Kerala aims to fix operational excellence in solid waste treatment. It also discusses the significant hurdles the area must overcome to achieve and retain this title.

Keywords: Accountability; Solid Waste Management; Environmental Concerns.

Introduction

Ademocratic nation¹ like India must prioritize accountability (Merriam-Webster, n.d.) and openness, and it is essential for successful governance that citizens can demand these things from their government.² Even though accountability is difficult to grasp, knowing where it comes from can help citizens find ways to hold governments responsible. Fundamentally, accountability is synonymous with answerability; it refers to the

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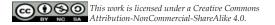
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duty to account for one's actions to specific people, groups, or organizations.3 The most legitimate forms of government are those that uphold democratic ideals including accountability, representation, transparency, pluralism, and citizen participation in decision-making. When a government is unable to offer fundamental services, Citizens lose faith in it. As a result, the extent to which a government can perform its duties at any level typically determines a country's capacity to maintain democratic changes and ensure the welfare of its citizens.4 Democracy is also dependent on the rule of law. All the following are reliant on responsible governments, equitable and open enforcement of the law, and adherence to universally recognized norms for human rights: Unbiased political and judicial systems safeguarding human rights, active civil society, public faith in the courts and police, and reform of the security sector.5

The study strongly advocates for more effective implementation of waste management rules in



Kerala unless the administration accords high priority of the subject, the unfavorable condition may not be remedied. It is necessary to implement a strategic transformation through stringent oversight and the creation of specialized monitoring cells that establish accountability for deviation from laid down timelines by state and central governments. The main purpose of this study is to analyze the waste management performance of various districts, especially in the urban areas in Kerala. By examining the waste management system, this research attempts to analyze how to handle disaster like situations in Brahmapuram (Kerala). Due to the poor handling of plastic waste in Brahmapuram, the state is being portrayed in a negative light to the rest of the world. The state had 3,34,06,061 people, or 2.76 percent of India's population, according to the 2011 Census of India.⁶ At 450 grams per person per day, the State produces around 15000 tons of trash daily. The center and northern regions of the State are anticipated to produce more waste in the future than the southern region. Kerala's rural communities may clearly see the effects of garbage generation in metropolitan areas. Highland Kerala's rural areas produce about 380 grams of carbon dioxide per person per day, compared to over 400 in cities nearby, 419 in municipalities, and about 545 in corporations. The continuum of uncollected rubbish along its corridors that run through cities and other areas also exhibits the ru-rban pattern⁷ According to a comprehensive environmental evaluation based on the CEPI score (CEPI is an innovative global partnership working to accelerate the development of vaccines against epidemic and pandemic threats8, the industrial cluster in the Greater Kochi Area (GKA) has been ranked as one of the most dangerously polluted places in the country with a score of 75.08 in 2012.9 Still, there have been no significant changes.

According to the Indian Constitution¹⁰, solid waste management is a state subject matter, and it is the main duty of state governments to make sure that suitable solid waste management practices are implemented in all the cities and towns in the state. The general responsibility of the Indian government is to develop policy directives and, when needed, offer technical support to the states and cities. Additionally, it aids in the development of human resources for local and state governments, and it serves as a conduit for securing outside funding for the execution of solid waste management projects¹¹ Externalities on the environment¹², biodiversity¹³, and society have been negatively impacted by the lack of sanitation and waste disposal services. Therefore, it is crucial to develop environmentally friendly options for infrastructure and services that are suitable for Kerala while also enhancing institutional capabilities to design, plan, and manage them.¹⁴

Methodology

This is a qualitative-case study done with the help of secondary information obtained from different sources. The research work with a similar end was also reviewed to clarify the conceptual and descriptive parts of the study. The analytical framework is built around the concept of accountability in solid waste management. Vance, Lowry, and Eggett (2013) describe the theory of accountability, it is important to distinguish between the two main applications of accountability, which are as a mechanism and as a virtue. In this sense, accountability is a positive attribute of an entity since it is seen as a virtue in which an individual exhibits a willingness to accept responsibility, a desirable trait among public officials, government organizations, or corporations. The concept of accountability is understood as a system wherein an individual may be obliged to defend their activities to a third party with the power to judge them and impose possible consequences on them.¹⁵ To enhance solid waste management, the government has introduced several programs, such as MSW development (Municipal Solid Wastes) rules, the creation of a SWM (Solid waste management) and JNNURM (Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission was a massive city-modernization scheme launched by the Government of India under the Ministry of Urban Development) changes, but little progress has been made. For example, scientific treatment and sanitary disposal have not taken off, most PPP (publicprivate partnerships) initiatives have not yielded positive outcomes, and standard enforcement is a serious issue. 16 So the primary goal of this research is to examine the waste management performance of several districts in Kerala, particularly in metropolitan areas. This study examines the system to determine how to handle disaster-like scenarios in the Brahmapuram region of the Kochi district (Kerala). It must be realized that everyone is responsible for trash management, and there is no use in blaming one another. What is required is a shift in attitudes regarding the priority we place on waste management. The information came from peer-reviewed papers, meta-analyses, government or private sector databases, and datasets. This investigation also made use of information gathered by government ministries, as well as organizational

records and statistics.

Study Area

Waste Management and Accountability

The legal system is a powerful tool of accountability since it is a major guarantor of the rule of law. Citizens and non-citizens can use the legal system to formally assert their rights and seek restitution, and a powerful, independent, and well-respected judiciary can serve as a check on the arbitrary exercise of state power.¹⁷ However, those in poverty face significant obstacles to accessing the justice system and are more likely to be denied protections under the law pertaining to property, labor, and business. Legal empowerment techniques assist citizens demand accountability from officials while enhancing the accessibility

of the legal system. These include giving citizens the knowledge and opportunities necessary to access institutions and services, as well as raising awareness of citizens' rights. However, state organizations and authorities might try to undermine this accountability.18 To assess two or three distinct circumstances in Kerala, it is crucial to use these interpretations of accountability. In 2023, The ODF Plus ranking¹⁹, which was done as part of the central government's Swachh Bharat Mission rural efforts for waste management²⁰, places Wayanad district top in the three-star category. The rating is a component of a strategy to improve rural residents' hygiene practices to make towns and villages cleaner, more attractive, and wastefree21 Swachh Bharat Mission was introduced as a nationwide effort on October 2, 2014, across the entire nation. The initiative seeks to realize the goal of a "Clean India" by October 2nd, 2019.22



Source: Government of Kerala. Plastic and Other Non-Biodegradable Waste Management in Kerala (2023).https://swachhbharatmission.gov.in/sbmcms/writereaddata/Portal/Images/pdf/Kerala-Plastic_and_other_NBW.pdf

In 2022 the Swachh Bharat Mission (Urban) national ranking, the Kalpetta Municipality (Wayanad District in Kerala) achieved open defecation-free (ODF) ++ status, a first for the State, for its meritorious accomplishment in solid and liquid waste management. While only one urban local body (ULB) in the State has been chosen for ODF+ status, up to 35 ULBs have been chosen for ODF+ status, including four in the Thiruvananthapuram district, five in Ernakulam and Kannur, four in Alappuzha, Malappuram, and Kottayam, two in Idukki, three in Thrissur, and one each in the Pathanamthitta, Wayanad.²³ In the 14

districts of the State of Kerala, there are as many as 491 Model ODF Plus villages, 12 Aspiring ODF Plus villages, and 17 Rising ODF Plus villages, for a total of 520 ODF Plus villages. The State Administration is conducting various capacity-building exercises to train officials and speed up the implementation of activities across all ODF Plus verticals to speed up designating more villages as ODF Plus.²³

The ODF Plus progress reported by the villages until the first of October 2022 will be used to determine the ratings for Panchayats and Districts. Below is a list of the weights for the various ODF Plus village categories.

ODF Plus (Model) Verified - 100%

ODF Plus (Model) - 80%

ODF Plus (Rising) - 60%

ODF Plus (Aspiring) - 40%.

Source: Ministry of Jal Shakti (2023). Categories of ODF Plus villages. https://sbm.gov.in/SSG2023/ODFPLus Ranking Delta Score.aspx

All households and institutions in the ODF Plus - Aspiring category, in addition to having access to sanitation through private latrines, also have plans for either solid waste management or liquid waste management; those in the ODF Plus - Rising category, on the other hand, have plans for both solid waste management and liquid waste management. All the following are present in those that have been designated as ODF Plus-Model where informational, educational, and communicational messages are distributed and presented.²⁴

So, the efforts to rid the community of open defecation and manage solid and liquid waste with public support will contribute to outstanding success and this will help to achieve the central theme of accountability. Accountability is put up on clear intentions so if pollution-related problems do occur state should be able to limit related distractions through efficient remedies, like judicial and other redress mechanisms, sanctions, administrative fines and action, and civil liability. To protect the human rights of those who are impacted by hazardous chemicals, the government must maintain laws and ensure their rights including the right to participation, access to justice, and right to access to information that helps to maintain sufficient vigilance over the government which makes them more accountable. Attacks on environmental human rights activists are increasing, which may silence lawful protests and activism and will also force them to limit accountability that may endanger the environment, unsuitable developments, and indignity in addition to violating their human rights.²⁵

In India, The Ministry of Environment and Forests has announced the revised Solid Waste Management Rules, 2016²⁶, which clearly outline the duties assigned to various classes of consumers after losing the struggle against the rising wave of municipal waste.

WASTE MANAGEMENT RULES

The Plastic Waste Management Rules, 2016

The Batteries (Management and Handling) Rules, 2001

The Hazardous and Other Wastes (Management and Transboundary Movement)

Rules, 2016

The Bio-Medical Waste Management Rules, 2016

The E-Waste (Management) Rules, 2016

The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974

The Construction and Demolition Waste Management Rules, 2016

The Solid Waste Management Rules, 2016

Source: Government of Kerala Local Self Government Department (2023). Waste Management Rules | Local Self Government Department (lsgkerala.gov.in)

The logistical chain for garbage evacuation would therefore need to be provided by cities and municipalities, with a system of cash reimbursement for the consumer in place. The regulations that were published 16 years ago utterly failed in the absence of such a system. Urban municipal organizations found it practical to simply transport waste to the suburbs, often using private companies that won lucrative long-term contracts.27 Construction and demolition waste management rules violations are subject to the criminal penalties outlined in the Environment Protection Act of 1986 (29 of 1986). Swachh Surekha has given Kochi Corporation very bad ratings for the last five years. In terms of sanitary standards, the city falls short in areas like sufficient garbage collection, waste treatment facilities, and an adequate supply of public restrooms.²⁸

The six functional aspects can be used to organize the actions involved in managing municipal solid wastes from the point of generation to final disposal: Waste generation, handling, storage, and processing at the source, collection, sorting, processing, and transformation, transfer and transport, and disposal are all included.²⁹ However, the Brahmaputra garbage dumping yard in the Kochi district of Kerala was discovered to be exploited improperly, generating several difficulties for the surrounding people and environment, according to the 2016 Kerala State Waste Management Report. Additionally, the 2016 Advocate Commissioners report made clear the alarming situation at the site, where there was a flagrant disregard for the 2016 Solid Waste Management Rule as well as numerous directives from the tribunal from time to time. The Advocate Commissioner's report, which was submitted back in 2016, included several recommendations for proper segregation and composting but no meaningful coercive measures have been adopted as expected.³⁰ The Kochi Corporation was hit with a heavy fine of Rs. 1 crore in a 2018 order by the National Green Tribunal (NGT) for disregarding the 2016 Solid waste management regulation which is applicable to every municipal authority responsible for the collection, segregation, storage, transportation, processing, and disposal of municipal solid. The Kerala State Pollution Control Board (KSPCB)³¹ should receive two equal parts of the fine money, according to the tribunal's judgment, and the Central Pollution Control Board should receive the other half.³² Also, The Kochi Corporation has been ordered to pay an environmental compensation of Rs. 10.05 crore by the Kerala State Pollution Control Board (PCB) because the municipal body disregarded the Solid Waste Management Rules, 2016, at its Brahmapuram plant. The evaluation period runs from April 9, 2019, until the end of October. Soon, a report on solid waste management based on inspections made by board representatives and the State Level Monitoring Committee (SLMC) was delivered to the National Green Tribunal (NGT).³³ However, the State High Court ruled in 2016 that the order should be suspended, stating that "the direction contained in the order that pollution control Board shall take steps to prosecute the officers of the petitioner will stand stayed." Again in 2021, another updated status report was submitted by the Chief Environmental Engineer of the Kerala State Pollution Control Board before the tribunal explaining various remarks about the same issue including that the administration fails to protect citizens. It states that despite repeated requests over the past two years, there has been no significant action taken to comply with the Solid Waste Management Rules, 2016 (SWM Rules) or handle solid waste. The samples unequivocally demonstrate that the environmental standards are not being met, as is evident from the State Pollution Control Board's report. The Municipal Corporation is still engaging in unlawful activity. Work on bio-mining has not yet begun. The right to a clean environment is just as important as the right to live in a community free of crime. The assessed compensation has not been paid out. The composting facility with windrows is in poor shape. The Chief Secretary's affidavit fails to provide evidence of any concrete steps that have been taken that are working. The situation is therefore not at all satisfactory. Maintaining law and order and defending the populace against crimes are equally important as upholding the environmental rule of law. The potential for public health harm exists when environmental standards are consistently broken, in addition to violating the rights of residents.34 (So one question raised in that report is whether the officers handling the situation lack the necessary expertise or whether they will fulfill their constitutional duty to maintain a clean environment for the citizens.

In general, government entities and municipalities prioritize the issues they are currently facing rather than considering problems that will arise in the future because of environmental decline. According to their perspective, they will deal with difficulties when they arise rather than now. Because acting for the environment does not result in electoral benefits or guarantee a seat for the next election. The challenge now is: How can we alter this mindset? We think that long-term planning and implementation should be done with a positive attitude. The establishment of

a framework is necessary because legislation and its efficient enforcement are essential to sustainability.³⁵ A similar waste management problem like the Kochi Corporation troubled the people of the Trivandrum district in 2011.

Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation (TMC) was unable to handle waste in an economically viable manner before 2011. Nearly 80% of waste generated in the district, was dumped at Vilappilsala, the place which is the city's dump. Following local protests over the site's lack of scientific waste management in 2011, the city was forced to close the Vilappilsala dumpsite. Following the shutdown, TMC used a decentralized strategy to deal with the crisis under the direction of the Kerala Suchitwa Mission, a technical support project run by the Local Self Government Department of the Keralan government. After the shutdown, TMC used a decentralized strategy to deal with the crisis under the direction of the Kerala Suchitwa Mission, a technical support program run by the Kerala Government's Local Self Government Department. The Mission oversees giving local self-governments in the state technical and managerial support for trash management. To carry out this Mission, TMC collaborated with private organizations and self-help organizations to collect and treat garbage created in the city door to door.³⁶

But in the case of Brahmapuram Since 2012, the Kochi Corporation has been handling and transporting the municipal solid waste of five municipalities (Aluva, Angamaly, Kalamassery, Thrikkakara, and Tripunithura) and two panchayats (Cheranalloor and Vadavucode-Puthencruz).³⁷ 383 tonnes of trash are currently delivered to the plant each day. Since then, residents of nearby villages have demonstrated against the area's careless and illogical processing and disposal of waste.³⁸

Most of the plastic garbage is being dumped into Brahmapuram, which then pollutes Kadambrayar and Chitrapuzha. Around nine of Brahmapuram's panchayats receive their water from Kadambrayar.³⁹ The Central Pollution Control Board specifically in its report "Comprehensive Report on Prevention and Control of Pollution in Kadambrayar River: An Action Plan for Rejuvenation" in 2018 states that Water for the industrial zones like KINFRA, Infopark Phase-1, Phase-2, Smartcity, Cochin Special Economic Zone (CSEZ), and for businesses like Nitta Gelatin India Ltd, Philips Carbon, Wonderla, Cochin Kadaalas, among others, comes from Kadambrayar is on the rivers in India that do not meet water quality criteria. 40 So it is clear that the corporation violated several laws, including the Water Prevention and Control of Pollution Act of 1974⁴¹, the Environmental (Protection) Act of 1986⁴², and the Municipal Solid Waste (Management and Handling) Rules of 2000⁴³, which mandates that municipal solid waste collection, storage, segregation, transportation, processing, and disposal take place only within the bounds of the relevant municipality.⁴⁴

A Parliamentary Act established the National Green Tribunal⁴⁵ to carry out six laws, including the Environmental Protection Act, and to accomplish the Stockholm Conference's objectives. The NGT is a tribunal with the authority to hear cases on its own motion. On largely quantifiable environmental issues, the NGT has the authority to step in and resolve conflicts.46 In 2018, the NGT ordered to start of a new plant with the order to file a case against the secretary of the municipal corporation and impose a penalty on the Kochi Corporation for violating the solid waste management rules in Brahmapuram. The verdict was postponed by the High Court. The High Court did not explain why the order was stayed in the stay order. There is no dispute that the corporation violates the law, whether intentionally or unintentionally, and that it is not exempt from liability for doing so. However, it was still unclear how the court could have permitted violations of such statutory requirements. There had been an effort to set up a solid waste treatment plant at Brahmapuram⁴⁷ however, the offense cannot be wiped out.

The world is sick of promises that are not kept. If future commitments are not supported by efficient accountability procedures at every level and translated into noticeable improvements in people's lives, they will lack credibility and are less likely to be carried through. Responsibility necessitates those persons in positions of responsibility have clearly defined responsibilities and performance criteria, allowing for an honest and unbiased evaluation of their actions. Public officials and organizations must be accountable by providing rational arguments to those who may be impacted by their decisions, oversight committees, the electorate, and the public.⁴⁸

Accountability necessitates political vigor because those calling for accountability must be confident that they can do so safely, that officials will respond honestly, and that social needs and demands are taken seriously. This confidence must come from individuals, interest groups, civil society, the courts, the press, and opposition parties.⁴⁹

The acknowledged active civil society and energetic political action, which have developed

over a long historical process, maybe what makes the Kerala ethnicity unique. The state's social and political history demonstrates that the growth of its civil society and strong social ties was not a gift, but rather the result of numerous forces.⁵⁰ Now, Brahmapuram has demonstrated how inadequate public services, such as waste management, can cause a great deal of insecurity among the populace. The failure, however, has also been the ineffective regulation of damaging human activities from the perspective of the environment. Acceptance of the strong, inclusive political parties' active support and cooperation with a thriving civil society as the solution to this problem must be gained. By depending on the High Court, legal violations persisted for four priceless years. The abuse was not persuaded by the court either. Unfortunately, a fire that started at the location on March 2nd, 2023, lasted for eleven days and caused a lot of hardship for the locals of the city and surrounding areas. The fire, which spread swiftly through the debris thrown over a 40-acre area, also caused panic. Over a sizable area, smoke from the burning plastic trash had been released. The health and environmental problems caused by the fire and smoke, as well as the ineffective waste disposal system, have drawn harsh condemnation from several sources.⁵¹ The annual burning of plastic waste at the Brahmapuram facility, according to city residents, has been going on for the past 11 years, but only this year did things get out of hand. According to opposition leaders, one of the contractors hired to handle the building waste ignited the fire on purpose. An inexperienced Bengaluru-based company was allegedly given a Rs 54 crore bio-mining contract at Brahmapuram by the state government, according to the opposition.⁵² After four years, in 2023 the Division Bench of the court lifted the stay when it realized the magnitude of the disaster.53 Kerala's ecological way of life has been called out by Brahmapuram, and it now takes priority over all else. Waste management is one of the most important public goods, hence government equipment that is geared towards providing private products must be redirected to creating public goods.54

Although the government has waste management regulations to handle disaster-like situations in Brahmapuram, the agencies were not properly mobilized in response to the Solid Waste Management Rules.⁵⁵ The Indian waste management system could undergo a significant change because of the Solid Waste Management Rules.⁵⁶ The regulations seem too perfect to be true in a nation with such massive waste management. As opposed to being a piece of information in the

statute book, legislation is more about execution and enforcement. Strong accountability legislation would alter the mindset of government employees since it will increase transparency through more effective implementation of the RTI statute. The government might switch from inactive to active disclosure, and it might switch from process accountability to goal accountability. We need a friendly bureaucracy with informed and empowered people for successful administration, not just powerful legislation. There are several causes behind this relaxed mindset, including

- There is no sufficient supervision of policy implementation.
- There are no absolute standards of punishment for employees who violate the rules when they are carried out since, in most circumstances, fear of penalty—such as financial loss, loss of emoluments, demotion, and advancement in the service—works.
- Delays are brought on by excessive red tape and stubbornness.
- Because of widespread corruption, conflicts of interest, ignorance of policies, and the digital divide, beneficiaries suffer the most.
- For the system to run more efficiently
- Raising people's levels of digital and nondigital literacy so they are more aware of their rights and entitlements and can comprehend how to lodge complaints with the system.
- The bureaucracy's mid-career sensibilization, as it is frequently already overworked and may not be able to handle every case owing to time and resource limitations.
- Educating civil officials about their responsibilities and instilling in them a strong sense of ethics and integrity.
- The correct application of technology to assure accountability.

Study Results

Strong accountability legislation would change the mindset of government personnel by increasing transparency through more effective Right to Information (RTI) (Govt of India, n.d.) implementation. The government may shift from passive to active disclosure, as well as from process accountability to goal accountability. We require a pleasant bureaucracy. Brahmapuram has shown how insufficient public services, such as garbage disposal, can engender widespread insecurity in the community. The failure, however, has also been the ineffective regulation of environmentally

harmful human activities. Acceptance of the active assistance and cooperation of strong, inclusive political parties with a robust civil society as the solution to this challenge is required.

Discussion

The present waste management laws, which include a wide range of concerns such as waste treatment at the source, garbage collection and disposal, septage treatment, and waste removal from public places, should be severely enforced. Workers from the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) (Government of India, n.d.-a), Kudumbashree, citizens' associations, Haritha Karma Sena (HKS), and youth clubs would be recruited to clean up rubbish in public spaces. Local bodies should keep the district administration informed of progress in implementing these types of action plans that help to increase the accountability of officials. Local governments cannot give up their duty to provide crucial services like waste management. Source-level waste segregation according to norms is critical to averting a repeat of the disaster that occurred at the Kochi waste dump. The National Green Tribunal's Principal Bench, chaired by Adarsh Kumar Goel, wrote: "Long stories of all-round failure of the administration are poor substitutes for good governance required to enforce environmental rule of law for protection of public health and the environment." The truth is that the administration is failing to protect residents' right to a clean environment, which is no less vital than the right to live in a crime-free environment. Despite repeated directives over the last two years, there has been no real activity to comply with the Solid Waste Management Rules, 2016 (SWM Rules) and solid waste handling of solid waste despite repeated directions in the last two years" (The Hindu, 2023a). Environmentalists who have been closely investigating the Brahmapuram disaster for a long time believe that decentralized garbage management, which has been successfully carried out in other parts of the state, is the only solution to Kochi's waste dilemma. Households can implement a composting system that is appropriate for them. Then there can be decentralized composting systems costing 10-15 cents in small pockets. This could handle approximately 65% of the garbage.

Conclusion

Kadambrayar and Chitrapuzha became contaminated when most of the plastic waste

was disposed of in Brahmapuram. Waste mismanagement has a direct impact on Article 21 of the Constitution, which states that everyone has the right to live in a clean environment, with access to clean water and air. Approximately nine panchayats in Brahmapuram obtained water from Kadambrayar. Therefore, the will to carry out worthwhile projects for the public, regardless of political differences, is more important than all of this. Projects should be combined with accountability to provide a sustainable remedy for this solution. Projects should prioritize Solid Waste Management services such as primary waste collection and transportation, source segregation and treatment at the decentralized level, resource recovery facility development and/or rehabilitation, and biodegradable waste management facility development. To increase the efficiency or accountability of officials, first information automation is necessary, which means officials should be compelled to post all information in the public domain so that anybody may access it, rather than acquiring it through RTI. Second, it is necessary to foster an attitude of sensitivity, which means public officials should participate in training sessions and awareness campaigns to help them understand the effects of their actions on the lives of others. Third, the general public's awareness is necessary, as people who are covered by socioeconomic programs view them as government-granted privileges. They should be made aware that they have the right and the ability to demand that they receive the benefits under a system. Finally, the grievance procedure needs to be made available. Anyone who does not receive their fair share of benefits under a program should be able to file a complaint and follow its development. These grievances ought to be made public as well. The role of media is also important, which helps investigative reporting by the media to identify the regions that have reaped the greatest rewards and others that have lagged.

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