



The healing touch

Sri Lankan leaders must move to end the demonising of Muslims

The mass resignation of two Muslim governors and nine Ministers in Sri Lanka deepens a new fault line that has emerged in the island nation after the Easter Sunday blasts perpetrated by a fanatical Islamist group. Sinhala Buddhist hardliners had demanded that the Governors, Azath Salley and M.L.A.M. Hizbullah, and Cabinet Minister Rishad Bathiudeen, be removed for allegedly backing the terrorist group and interfering with the investigation. Stung by the aggressive demand at a time when investigators had not found any evidence implicating the three, all Muslim Ministers resigned in an act of solidarity. The campaign intensified mainly because of an indefinite fast by Athureliye Rathana Thero, a Buddhist monk, in Kandy. Thousands marched in his support. It is clear that the upheaval caused by the blasts, in which more than 250 people were killed in churches and luxury hotels, has caused widespread fear and mistrust across ethnicities. In a development that seemed too organised to be a spontaneous, emotional backlash, a campaign of violence and intimidation was launched against the Muslim community. This despite the fact that the National Thowheed Jamaat, the group behind the blasts, which included suicide bombers and was led by the radical preacher Zahran Hashim, has been dismantled. Hundreds have been arrested and the plot possibly inspired by Islamic State propaganda has been unravelled. It is intriguing that the government is not made accountable for the failure to act on advance intelligence on the attacks, but the community is being targeted.

Ever in need of new enemies and a blameworthy 'outsider', the majoritarian impulse in any society is likely to be awakened by an event as catastrophic as a religiously motivated attack. However, it is Sri Lanka's misfortune that anger against the perpetrators has been turned by some influential sections into fear and hatred towards Muslims. The President and the Prime Minister, who belong to the two main national parties, have not taken a firm stand against the disproportionate influence some Buddhist monks have on the political situation. Not many have called out the campaign of hatred. Finance Minister Mangala Samaraweera has decried the allegation that one of his ministerial colleagues is in league with terrorists, and has boldly challenged "politicians, religious leaders and media moguls trying to incite racial and religious hatred". Last month, a wave of violence swept through some Muslim habitations. A concerted campaign is now on to demonise the community, and one extreme example is the allegation that Muslim doctors were surreptitiously rendering Sinhala women infertile. Having emerged from a destructive civil war, Sri Lanka needs to focus on rebuilding inter-ethnic trust and ushering in a new egalitarian order. It will be ill-served by a conflict between communities.

Caught napping

Kerala makes up for lost focus by acting quickly on the Nipah outbreak

A year after Kerala's prompt action quickly brought the deadly Nipah virus infection outbreak under check in two districts (Kozhikode and Malappuram), the State has once again shown alacrity in dealing with a reported case. A 23-year-old student admitted to a private hospital in Ernakulam on May 30 tested positive for the virus on June 4. But even as the government was awaiting confirmation from the National Institute of Virology, Pune, steps had been taken to prevent the spread of the disease by tracing the contacts, setting up isolation wards and public engagement. Two health-care workers who had come into contact with the patient exhibited some symptoms and are being treated. While 311 people who had come in close contact with the student are kept in isolation to prevent the spread of the disease, the numbers might be more – the student had reportedly travelled to four districts (Ernakulam, Thrissur, Kollam, and Idukki) recently. Containing the spread of the Nipah virus is important as the mortality rate was 89% last year, according to a paper in the journal *Emerging Infectious Diseases*. The source of infection in the index case (student) remains unknown. However, transmission to 18 contacts last year and the two health-care workers this year has been only through the human-to-human route.

If Kerala was taken by surprise by the first outbreak last year, its recurrence strongly suggests that the virus is in circulation in fruit bats. After all, the virus isolated from four people and three fruit bats (*Pteropus medius*) last year from Kerala clearly indicated that the carrier of the Nipah virus which caused the outbreak was the fruit bat, according to the paper in *Emerging Infectious Diseases*. Analysing the evolutionary relationships, the study found 99.7-100% similarity between the virus in humans and bats. The confirmation of the source and the recurrence mean that Kerala must be alert to the possibility of frequent outbreaks. Even in the absence of hard evidence of the source of the virus till a few days ago, fruit bats were widely believed to be the likely candidates. That being so and considering the very high mortality rate when infected with the virus, it is shocking that Kerala had not undertaken continuous monitoring and surveillance for the virus in fruit bats. One reason for the failure could be the absence of a public health protection agency, which the government has been in the process of formulating for over five years, to track such infective agents before they strike. Not only should Kerala get this agency up and running soon, it should also equip the Institute of Advanced Virology in Thiruvananthapuram to undertake testing of dangerous pathogens. Known for high health indicators, Kerala cannot lag behind on the infectious diseases front.

Hindi or English, comparing apples and oranges

The project to remove English from India remains misplaced and dangerous to development and integration



D. SHYAM BABU

True to their well-earned reputation, the people of Tamil Nadu have once again stood up against attempts to 'promote' Hindi in non-Hindi States. It would be a pity if we dismissed the protests as regionalism or separatism. The three-language formula (TLF) under the draft National Education Policy (NEP), now modified, stipulated mother tongue and English compulsory everywhere till class X, and Hindi in non-Hindi States and non-Hindi languages in Hindi States to be taught. The proposal was rightly seen as a Trojan horse to smuggle Hindi into non-Hindi States. History vindicates the fear.

The old TLF under the Official Language Resolution of Parliament in 1968 was never implemented either in letter or in spirit. While Hindi-speaking States never bothered to promote non-Hindi and "preferably one of the Southern languages", non-Hindi states continue to teach Hindi (Tamil Nadu obtained an exception to this irrational policy).

Is it such a crime that one part of the bargain has not been honoured? One might as well argue that the Hindi States deprived their students of learning an additional language, while non-Hindi States are better off with a third language in the toolkit of their students. But the irony of the TLF is that to be an Indian one must have fluency in two Indian languages, in addition to English which we originally wanted to disappear from the land.

By dropping the clause for com-

pulsory teaching of Hindi, the government has merely averted the backlash from several non-Hindi States, but it is persisting with the TLF. Unless the government amends Part XVII of the Constitution (which deals with the language policy) to be in sync with the global trend of mother tongue plus English, we are bound to witness many an avoidable controversy.

Absurd policy

Our language policy is based on a honourable objective: decolonising all walks of our national life. Therefore, progressive replacement of English with Hindi was thought to be a sound beginning. But things didn't work out the way we hoped in 1950.

One, the project to remove English has become redundant. From being a language of colonialism, English transformed itself into a global language of culture, science and technology, and world politics. Its universalist claims are also backed by its capacity to absorb words from other languages.

Two, the intent to replace English with Hindi is based on an erroneous understanding that all languages are similar. All Indian languages are languages of identity and cultural expression whereas English is a language of mobility and empowerment. There is no point in comparing apples and oranges.

However, history also teaches us that primacy of a language is rather transient. There was a time the English (and even Germans) were communicating in French. One cannot now rule out the possibility of Mandarin replacing English as the global language in future.

Three, though Tamil Nadu's position is seen as 'anti-Hindi', it contains an implicit question: why on earth should students learn a third



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language which they, after they leave high school, are unlikely to use? There was a time Bihar opted for Telugu as the third language, just as Andhra Pradesh chose Hindi. But Bihar reneged on the TLF and Andhra Pradesh persisted with the same. How would Bihar students have benefited from Telugu being a third language on their school-leaving certificate? How are students in non-Hindi states benefiting from Hindi as a third language? Wouldn't it be sensible if the policy replaced the third language and allowed students to choose a subject or a skill?

Four, the TLF in any form is unconstitutional. A Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court ruled in 2014 (in *Karnataka v. Recognised-Unaided Schools*) that imposition of even the mother tongue as the medium of instruction is violative of one's fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression [Article 19(1)(a)]. If the government cannot even force students to learn in their own mother tongue, where does it obtain the right to make language(s) teaching compulsory?

Reflecting the 'condition' that Article 344(3) imposes on the language policy that it must "have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India," the Bench advanced the rationale for English: "For example, prescribing English as a medium of instruction in subjects of higher education for which only English books are available and which can

only be properly taught in English may have a direct bearing and impact on the determination of standards of education."

Five, the TLF is not only irrational but impractical as well. Consider a scenario even under the revised NEP: every State is required to teach one modern Indian language, in addition to mother tongue and English. Bihar, say, re-opts for Telugu but it has hardly any teachers proficient in that language. Should it import Telugu teachers? Create an academy? How long does the venture take and how much will it cost?

Six, a case can be made that India ought to introduce English throughout school and college education so that all Indians will be conversant in their mother tongue and English. Such a policy will be beneficial to the Hindi States. Consider the demographic trends: by 2060, non-Hindi States, especially in the south, are projected to experience demographic decline and attendant labour shortage. The situation in the north will be the opposite. Embracing English as the second language will promote mobility and economic development, especially in the north, and make India a more legible place to its citizens.

The Macaulay test

The common thread that runs through issues such as language in administration, medium of instruction and inclusion of a third language in curriculum is the project to remove English. Until the project is dismantled, the forces it unleashed through Part XVII will continue to wreak havoc with the country. The draft NEP recommends English throughout school education but it is, strictly speaking, counter to the spirit of Part XVII.

Several States have already made their respective languages

the sole language of administration. As if to hurt the prospects of students from poorer sections, States stipulate mother-tongue instruction being mandatory only in government and aided schools. The well-off are free to access English medium education in private schools.

While English stands dismantled as a second/link language in administration, Hindi remains unacceptable to non-Hindi States. So, an educated person from a non-Hindi State will be clueless in a Hindi State and vice-versa. It does not matter whether he is transacting some business or attending an official meeting. Therefore, instead of promoting national integration, the official language policy has accomplished the opposite.

While firing the opening salvos in India's language war, Lord Macaulay suggested a simple test of asking people on what language they prefer. The least a government in a democracy can do is to fathom the people's will and act accordingly.

Unpack what is at stake

The non-Hindi States habitually join Tamil Nadu against any attempts to impose Hindi but they never bother to unpack what is at stake. Is it merely their cultural pride that cannot reconcile to Hindi? Sub-national aspiration can go only thus far. Instead of merely opposing Hindi imposition, they can build a better case for English as the second language throughout the country. That process will also expose their own hypocrisy. For starters, why don't they formally align their positions with Tamil Nadu and demand similar exemption that the former enjoys from the three-language formula?

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Making sense of Hindutva

The present political moment requires a renewed look at nationalism, communalism and majoritarianism



AJAY GUDAVORTHY

We are witnessing epoch-making changes to how democracy is working itself in India. It is often lamented as the new rise of cultural nationalism, majoritarianism and communalism. Earlier, historians had differed on how nationalism relates to communalism. Some felt nationalism itself was the product of colonialism and thereby the source of narrow identities. Therefore, one could not productively make a distinction between communalism and 'ethno-nationalism'. Others argued that nationalism was different from communalism: the first was about the 'making of a nation' and inclusive, while the second was divisive and caste-Hindu in its character.

Pointer to deeper changes

Today, for all effective purposes, this distinction has collapsed with the emergence and consolidation of majoritarianism. However, the framing of the recent changes and electoral outcomes cannot be fully captured through these categories as they now refer to a new sociological reality.

The unprecedented rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party-Rashtriya

Swayamsevak Sangh (BJP-RSS) combine since the 1990s, and the simultaneous and gradual decline of the Congress cannot be understood merely as the rise of communalism or majoritarianism; even as it carries these tendencies, it has become a viable project and a part of popular politics because of deeper changes in questions of identity, emotions and representation. A relevant question to ask is whether the majoritarian-Hindutva politics is also essentially about cultural subalterns who include both traditionally dominant castes as well as the subordinate castes, and classes. Would it not be right to argue that the upsurge of Hindu nationalism has paved the way for the mainstreaming of a 'way of life' and modes of thinking that lay at the margins of liberal democracy?

The complexity of the current moment in Indian politics is precisely this overlap between marginalised cultural groups that are asserting their identity but through conservative social ideology. The BJP-RSS combine, especially after the neoliberal reforms, has succeeded in combining aggressive pragmatism with regressive idealism. It is simultaneously inclusive and polarised; it provides mobility yet reinstates traditional hierarchies. Unless we unpack the irony of how contradictory processes are getting combined into a seamless process, a mere moral critique of the process would be inadequate, if not irrelevant. Unpacking



RITUAL KUNWAR

is a possible way to avoid the elitism of the liberal-secular critique of the current upsurge of cultural nationalism. The secular-liberal critique, in fact, further justifies the cultural nationalist project, enabling it to take on more majoritarian proportions.

In one sense, the political project of the Right, has subverted the binary distinction B.R. Ambedkar made between revolution and counter-revolution. He had observed that in Indian history, Buddhism was a revolution that privileged the shudras and provided them with dignity and equality, while a counter-revolution was forged by Brahminism and Vedic Hindu rituals to subjugate and marginalise the Shudras. What we are witnessing today is a counter-revolution that has the promise of being a revolution. It has managed to bring under-privileged castes and social groups to challenge the hegemony of caste Hindus/liberal elites over liberal, democratic institutions.

Inclusion of the marginalised

The wide gap that was created between tiny liberal elites and

swathes of cultural subalterns due to the failure of the developmental state is being short-changed and subverted by muscular inclusion of the groups that lay at the margins. The resurgence of the 'Hindu' identity is not merely about communalism or majoritarianism but also about identities that had little hope of moving up the ladder within the limits of constitutionalism.

The BJP-RSS in this sense represent the cultural subalterns that cut across caste and class hierarchies. They are bringing with them social groups that suffered from routine inferiority and lack of mobility. The moral legitimacy of Hindutva lies in this silent change or subversion they are bringing about.

It needs to be added that this change cannot but be illiberal and is not necessarily anti-democratic as it might hold the promise of representing the majority. This change therefore cannot be captured in traditional or conventional caste and class categories; it goes beyond and cuts across the categories creating new divisions and social constituencies.

While communalism offers a sense of inclusion, majoritarianism offers a sense of mobility and the muscularity necessary to wedge open opportunities that otherwise looked closed; nationalism then offers a necessary moral antidote to exclusion and violence that are ingrained in the processes of communalism and majoritar-

ianism. Nationalism is therefore not merely about an exalted sense of the nation, it also plays a significant and a deeper role of providing moral-emotional succour to the narrow-violent sensibility that is understood to be indispensable to set right 'historical injury'/communalism (against Muslims) and achieve mobility/majoritarianism (against the traditional elites). Violence (found in mob lynching), mediocrity (in seeking quick mobility – for instance as found in the recent recruitments to universities), and even crime and criminality (for instance, alleged accusations against Pragya Thakur) can compromise the moral legitimacy of the project.

Moral legitimacy of any political project is to be found in notions of justice and universality, and nationalism works as a conduit that precisely fills this space. Nationalism allows the self-belief that Hindutva is not about narrow interests, or not just about 'Hindus' but about restoring the glory of a 'lost civilization'. It includes everyone who resides in 'Bharat'. This higher purpose offsets guilt and inconvenient pressures of conscience. Nationalism serves the purpose of providing 'mobility with dignity'.

Unless one makes sense of the 'positive' and affirming aspect of right-wing politics, one cannot get a full sense of the surge in cultural nationalist politics.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Letters emailed to letters@thehindu.co.in must carry the full postal address and the full name or the name with initials.

Sorting out Chagos

The UN General Assembly vote and the ruling by the International Court of Justice against the United Kingdom do not mean anything if status quo on the U.S. military base is going to be maintained. The decision on whether or not to allow the base should be left to the people of Mauritius. If India voted for Mauritian claims of sovereignty, then it cannot mediate for the right of that sovereignty to be curtailed to serve the interests of colonial ambitions and military powers. India will do well to uphold its stature with the former colonies by taking a clear stand against the militarisation of the Indian Ocean and a complete decolonisation of remnants of colonial

occupation (Editorial page, "The immediate neighbourhood", June 5).
FIROZ AHMAD,
New Delhi

Cracks in the Congress

It is unfortunate that the Grand Old Party, the Indian National Congress, is facing bad days after the results of the 2019 general election ("Desertion, discord rattle Cong. ahead of revamp", June 5). Cracks in party units in Congress-ruled States such as Rajasthan, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh should not be allowed to widen. The leaders of the party need to discuss the issues in a frank manner. The party needs to be in tune with people's aspirations, or vanish soon.
SHARADCHANDRAN S.,
New Delhi

Space for cycling

Cycling as a replacement for motoring, more so in cities, is a sound option as far as its impact on an individual's health and the environment are concerned. The recent move by the Union Minister of Health and Family Welfare, Harsh Vardhan, to ride to work is profound, especially in terms of the ministry he heads. Officials can encourage cycling in the metro cities if, for instance, they ensure that there is extra space on buses or trains (as an extra coach). Cycle lanes in select areas could help. However, cyclists' concerns about traffic hazards and accidents must be addressed. Two days in a week should focus on cyclists and commuters

using public transport.

B.N. GANGADHAR,
Bengaluru

Water security

Chennai is perhaps facing its worst water crisis in recent times. It was not so long ago that large parts of the city were under water but residents need to acknowledge the fact that most water sources are almost bone dry. Could there have been a better way to manage all this? Possibly yes. There should have been stringent measures to reduce wastage with no efforts being spared to communicate this at regular intervals to citizens and users. Chennai cannot depend on rainwater any more. Desalination plants must

supplement the needs of the city, rain or shine. There have to be curbs on reducing groundwater extraction. Boring deeper may have other environmental consequences. Recycling and treating grey water at a central source must be thought of. Finally, the city may not be able to handle further growth and

CORRECTIONS & CLARIFICATIONS:

A clarification on the story headlined "Scientists edit chicken genes to make them resistant to bird flu" (some editions, June 4, 2019): The penultimate paragraph had referred to a 2009 pandemic caused by H1N1. That entire paragraph on H1N1 should not have been mentioned as the story is related to bird flu (H5N1).

With reference to the "Between Wickets" column titled "India have the team to win the World Cup, so do at least three others" (May 22, 2019), a reader has pointed out that for the record, England reached only one final (1979) when they hosted the event (from 1975, 1979, 1983 and 1999) and not two as the column said. On two other occasions England made it to the title clash: in 1987 (Kolkata) and in 1992 (Melbourne). The reader is right.

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Needed: a solar manufacturing strategy

Despite making significant progress in solar power generation, India still relies on China for equipment



SANTOSH MEHROTRA

India has made significant progress in creating capacity for solar energy generation in the last few years. The Prime Minister's emphasis since 2014 has given a new fillip to solar power installation. The unit costs of solar power have fallen, and solar energy has become increasingly competitive with alternative sources of energy. India expanded its solar generation capacity eight times from 2,650 MW on May 26, 2014 to over 20 GW on January 31, 2018, and 28.18 GW on March 31, 2019. The government had an initial target of 20 GW of solar capacity by 2022, which was achieved four years ahead of schedule. In 2015, the target was raised to 100 GW of solar capacity by 2022.

Relying on imports

This rapid progress should have been made earlier, however. India is energy deficient, yet blessed with plenty of sunlight for most of the year. It should have taken a lead in solar panel manufacture to generate solar energy long ago. Despite the new policy focus on solar plant installation, India is still not a solar panel manufacturer. Just as India has had no overall industrial policy since economic reforms began, there is no real plan in place to ensure solar panel manufacture. The share of all manufacturing in GDP was 16% in 1991; it remained the same in 2017. The solar power potential offers a manufacturing opportunity. The government is a near monopsonistic buyer. India is regarded by the global solar industry as one of the most promising markets, but low-cost Chinese imports have undercut its ambitions to develop its own solar technology suppliers. Imports, mostly from China, accounted for 90% of 2017 sales, up from 86% in 2014.

Substituting for imports requires human capabilities, technological capabilities and capital in the form of finance. On the first two capabilities, the supply chain of solar photovoltaic panel manufacturing is as follows: silicon production from sili-



"Low-cost Chinese imports have undercut India's ambitions to develop its own solar technology suppliers." A solar panel being installed on the rooftop of a house in Nada, a village near Mangaluru. ■ AP

cates (sand); production of solar grade silicon ingots; solar wafer manufacturing; and PV module assembly. The capital expenditure and technical know-how needed for these processes decreases from the first item to the last, i.e. silicon production is more capital-intensive than module assembly. Most Indian companies are engaged in only module assembly or wafer manufacturing and module assembly. No Indian company is involved in silicon production, although a few are making strides towards it. According to the Ministry of New and Renewable Energy (2018), India has an annual solar cell manufacturing capacity of about 3 GW while the average annual demand is 20 GW. The shortfall is met by imports of solar panels.

So we may not see domestic players, in the short term at least, replacing imported ones. While the safeguard duty now puts locally made panels on par with imported ones in terms of cost, the domestic sector needs to do a lot more to be effective. For instance, it will have to go down the supply chain and make the input components locally instead of importing them and putting the modules together here. Public procurement is the way forward. The government is still free to call out bids for solar power plants with the requirement that these be made fully in India. This will not violate any World Trade Organization commitment. However, no bids will be received as manufacturing facilities for these do not exist in the country. But

as Ajay Shankar, former Secretary, Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion, argues, if the bids were large enough with supplies spread over years, which gives enough time for a green field investment to be made for manufacturing in India, then bidders will emerge and local manufacturing can begin.

Lessons from China

China's cost advantage derives from capabilities on three fronts. The first is core competence. The six largest Chinese manufacturers had core technical competence in semiconductors before they turned to manufacturing solar cells at the turn of the century. It takes time for companies to learn and put in action new technologies. When the solar industry in China began to grow, Chinese companies already possessed the know-how. Experts suggest that the human and technical learning curve could be five to 10 years. Indian companies had no learning background in semiconductors when the solar industry in India began to grow from 2011. State governments need to support semiconductor production as part of a determined industrial policy to develop this capacity for the future.

The second source of cost advantage for China comes from government policy. The Chinese government has subsidised land acquisition, raw material, labour and export, among others. None of this is matched by the Indian government. Perhaps even more important is commitment by the government to

procure over the long run – without that the investment in building up the design and manufacturing for each of the four stages of production of solar power equipment would come to nought.

The third is the cost of capital. The cost of debt in India (11%) is highest in the Asia-Pacific region, while in China it is about 5%.

Fifteen years ago, the Chinese could also have remained dependent upon imports from Korea or Germany; they did not. Remaining dependent on imports only leads to short-term benefits for India. A continuation of the current approach means India's energy sector will be in the same condition as its defence industry, where enormous amounts of money have been spent procuring weaponry – so much so that India has been the world's second largest importer of defence equipment for years.

In the solar panel manufacturing sector, the Indian government allows 100% foreign investment as equity and it qualifies for automatic approval – so much so that India has been the world's second largest importer of defence equipment for years. The government is also encouraging foreign investors to set up renewable energy-based power generation projects on build-own-operate basis. But the Chinese government is clearly adopting an aggressive stance while the demand for solar power in India continues to grow, as does the government's commitment to renewables. In 2018, China cut financial support to developers and halted approval for new solar projects. As a result, Chinese producers will cut prices to sustain their manufacturing plant capacity utilisation by sustaining exports to India. In other words, the Chinese strategy is to undercut any planned effort by India to develop the entire supply chain capacity within India so that dependence on imports from China continues. As a counter, India needs a solar manufacturing strategy, perhaps like the Automotive Mission Plan (2006-2016), which is credited with making India one of the largest manufacturers of two-wheelers, three-wheelers, four-wheelers and lorries in the world. This would also be a jobs-generating strategy for an increasingly better educated youth, both rural and urban.

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Helping strangers

Only by cultivating a strong sense of citizenship and respect for the rights of all can philanthropy in India grow



RAJNI BAKSHI

After the din of a bitterly contested election, it is easy to forget that society is the foundation on which political parties and the entire edifice of democracy actually stand.

One indicator of the vibrancy of Indian society is the 'Everyday Giving in India Report 2019' which shows that Indians, some of them not even in the middle class, donate a total of about ₹34,000 crore every year to help others, mostly strangers. And according to the World Giving Index of 2018, by the U.K.-based Charities Aid Foundation, India tops the list of countries in the number of people donating money (although it ranks only 89th for participation rates when calculated as a proportion of the population). India is followed by the U.S. and China. However, it is significant to note that 90% of India's 'everyday giving' is to religion and community; only 10% goes to social purpose organisations.

Increase in everyday giving

The good news of the 'Everyday Giving in India Report 2019', conducted by the Bengaluru-based Sattva, is that over the last 10 years there has been a significant increase in citizen engagement and volunteering – not just the act of giving money. Present-day 'everyday giving' is largely a continuation of a long-standing Indian tradition of citizens giving money to religious and caste-based organisations. India's freedom struggle inaugurated the practice of donating in cash or kind for larger social causes and for the welfare of underprivileged communities without religious or caste considerations. This kind of donation saw some decline immediately after Independence, but has re-emerged over the last few decades. One of the most famous examples of this is Child Rights and You (CRY), an organisation founded in the 1979 by Rippan Kapur, an airline purser who in his spare time sold greeting cards to raise money for disadvantaged children. Over 40 years, CRY has benefited millions of children of all religions, castes and regions, by raising small donations from lakhs of supporters.

With the earning capacity of both Indian residents and the Indian diaspora rising, India's 'everyday giving' has the potential to grow four times in the next 3-5 years, accord-

ing to Sattva.

What drives people to donate? About 74% of respondents in the Sattva survey said they are moved to support a cause that needs urgent attention. Some givers said they felt a sense of affiliation to a cause, whether related to health, environment or education. Half of those surveyed said they went by the recommendations of friends and family.

Among the most common ways of collecting donations are door-to-door collections, telemarketing, payroll giving, crowdfunding, and e-commerce-based giving. All of these are projected to grow strongly.

However, many of the people surveyed said their willingness to engage with social causes was impeded by lack of information on reliable organisations. More significantly, the report says few civil society organisations make citizen engagement the core of their mission; they instead prefer to reach out to large donors (high-net-worth individuals) or international funding agencies.

There is indeed a big role to be played by large-scale philanthropy by the rich.

For instance, the rich can help to plug a part of India's ₹533 lakh crore funding shortfall to meet the targets set by the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. But as Chairman of the Mahindra Group, Anand Mahindra, says in this report, the Indian context needs "a billion givers rather than a billion dollars by a single giver".

Supporting good ideas

This potential of a billion givers can only fully be realised if the giving is connected to cultivating a strong sense of citizenship and respect for the rights of all. At present, NGOs which foster this commitment to citizenship receive a small fraction of everyday giving. Secularised organisations need to reach out much more to engage the everyday giver. At the same time, religious and community-based institutions that are recipients of large-scale everyday giving need to expand beyond welfare programmes directed at their 'own' congregations to include work that cultivates respect for constitutional guarantees – most importantly, the right to dignity for all.

This report is of interest because it highlights the importance of making it easy for large numbers of people to support good ideas, good individuals and good institutions. In a society that appears to be bitterly polarised today, this is important.

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SANDEEP SAKHIA

SINGLE FILE

Language discrimination

It is incredible that India should think of privileging the language of the most recent migrants

PULAPRE BALAKRISHNAN



The first draft of the National Education Policy gathered controversy. This is no disqualification of course, as we should expect some disagreement on how to structure education in so large and diverse a country. Anyhow, the original draft had proposed that school-children learn three languages, namely their mother tongue, English and Hindi when Hindi is not their mother tongue and Hindi, English and a 'modern Indian language' in case their mother tongue is Hindi. This met with opposition from south India's politicians who see in mandatory Hindi a discrimination vis-à-vis the southern States. They are entirely right to protest.

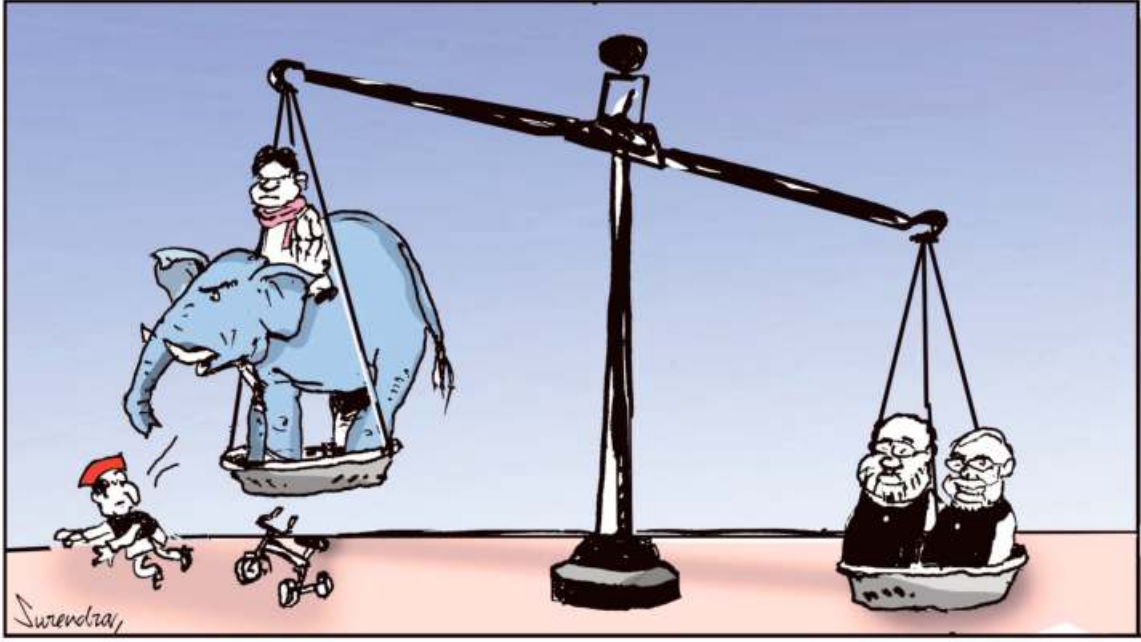
There is no credible basis on which to insist that south Indians learn to speak Hindi while north Indians are exempted from learning a language spoken in the south. The original draft policy had stated that Hindi speakers could study any modern Indian language as their third language, and not necessarily one spoken in south India. It is not difficult to see that this is discriminatory. But to see why it is not credible either we would need to travel further.

Hindi belongs to the family of Indo-European languages. It is only one of the several spoken in India even in this group. Indians also speak languages that belong to the Dravidian family. There are also groups, patronisingly termed 'tribal', which speak languages belonging to neither family, but they are so marginalised that they have little hope of having their voice heard. The contention is thus between those privileging Hindi through its imposition and promotion by the Indian state and speakers of Dravidian languages.

How incredible is this insistence on Hindi may be seen through the light of recent scientific advances. Population genetics combined with DNA evidence points to the role of migration in constituting the Indian stock. The findings from this exercise have been gathered by Tony Joseph in his recent book *Early Indians: The Story of Our Ancestors and Where We Came From*. In chronological order, these migrations may be termed Out of Africa, West Asian including Dravidian, East Asian, and Aryan. 'Aryan' is the self-description of speakers of Indo-European languages.

So, we are all immigrants here, with the Aryans being the most recent. It is incredible that India should even suggest a language policy that privileges the language of the most recent migrant. Unless we believe that majoritarianism would be kosher in a democracy, that is. Had he been alive, an ancestor who had cooled his heels in Vellore Jail during the Quit India Movement is sure to have murmured, "This is not what I had meant at all."

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DATA POINT

Fallen forts, safe havens

The BJP wave in the 2019 Lok Sabha election breached the "safe seats" of many parties. As many as five seats won by the Congress in the past four elections (1999 to 2014) were won by the BJP in 2019. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) also lost four such seats – two of them to the BJP and the other two to the Congress. However, several other bastions weathered the BJP storm. **By Sumant Sen**

YET TO CRACK The table lists the seats which have been won by the same party for the past five elections (1999 to 2019)

Constituency	Party	2019 winner	Constituency	Party	2019 winner
Hyderabad	AIMIM	Asaduddin Owaisi	Satara	NCP	Udayan Bhonsle
Rae Bareilly	INC	Sonia Gandhi	Ponnani	IUML	E.T. Mohammed Basheer
Kaliabor	INC	Gaurav Gogoi	Kendrapada	BJD	Anubhav Mohanty
Aska	BJD	Pramila Bisoyi	Jajpur	BJD	Sarmistha Sethi
Mainpuri	SP	Mulayam Singh Yadav	Cuttack	BJD	Bhartruhari Mahtab
Shillong	INC	Vincent Pala	Puri	BJD	Pinaki Misra
Baramati	NCP	Supriya Sule	Chhindwara	INC	Nakul Nath
Nalanda	JD(U)	Kaushlendra Kumar			

■ Nakul Nath bagged the lone win (Chhindwara) for the Congress in M.P. His father Kamal Nath had represented the constituency for nine terms

■ AIMIM President Asaduddin Owaisi won Hyderabad for the fourth consecutive term. Prior to 2004, his father Salahuddin Owaisi won every term since 1984

Constituency	1999 to 2014	2019	2019 loser	2019 winner
Amethi	INC	BJP	Rahul Gandhi	Smriti Irani
Chikkballapur	INC	BJP	M. Veerappa Moily	B.N. Bache Gowda
Kolar	INC	BJP	K.H. Muniyappa	S. Muniswamy
Tripura East	CPI(M)	BJP	Jitendra Chaudhary	Rebati Tripura
Tripura West	CPI(M)	BJP	Sankar Prasad Datta	Pratima Bhounik
Kasaragod	CPI(M)	INC	K.P. Sathishchandran	Rajmohan Unnithan
Palakkad	CPI(M)	INC	M.B. Rajesh	V.K. Sreekandan
Kannauj	SP	BJP	Dimple Yadav	Subrat Pathak
Bastar	BJP	INC	Baidu Ram Kashyap	Deepak Baij
Guna	INC	BJP	Jyotiraditya Scindia	Krishna Pat Singh Yadav
Bhubaneswar	BJD	BJP	Arup Patnaik	Aparajitha Sarangi
Gulbarga	INC	BJP	Mallikarjun Kharge	Dr. Umesh Jadhav
Nowgong	BJP	INC	Rupak Sharma	Pradyut Bordoloi

The table above lists seats which changed hands to either the BJP or the Congress in the 2019 election
Source: ECI, Trivedi Centre for Political Data, Election Atlas of India

FROM The Hindu. ARCHIVES

FIFTY YEARS AGO JUNE 6, 1969

PM's poignant meeting with Ghaffar Khan

The Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi received an unprecedentedly warm welcome from the Afghan Government and people on her arrival here [Kabul] to-day [June 5] on a five-day visit to this country with which India has had the closest ties from the days of the Rig Veda, Buddhist philosophy and the early Islamic influence. Immediately on her arrival here, Mrs. Gandhi called on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Tens of thousands of students and common people lined the 12 kilometre route from the airport to the Royal guest house cheering her all the way and showering her with rose petals at important road junctions. Even the striking students of the Kabul colleges and schools took some time off from their demonstrations to welcome her as the motorcade passed through the crowded city.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO JUNE 6, 1919.

Mysore and War.

The Mysore Blue Book Journal, in giving a record of the part played by Mysore State towards winning the War, refers to the work of the Imperial Service Lancers in Suez Canal zone and in Palestine and to the work of Mysore transport corps, at Sanjay and that trained horses were supplied to the Imperial Government and the state had recruited 5000 men by the time the armistice was signed. As regards money contributions, the total amount contributed or made available by the Mysore State and the people amounted to over two crores. Among other work, some 19,000 army blankets were supplied up to the 30th September. Special investigations were made by the state mines department in regard to the supply or increase in the output of particular minerals required in the munition making. 150,000 cubic feet of rosewood were supplied by the State to the Gun Carriage factory at Jubbalpore and 30,000 teak metre gauge sleepers for railway construction in Meso-potamia.

CONCEPTUAL

Social jet lag

SOCIOLOGY

This refers to the difference in the sleep patterns of people between weekends and weekdays. Social jet lag is seen by many as caused by the modern lifestyle which requires that people operate within a strict time schedule on weekdays unlike on weekends. On weekends, people are generally free to sleep longer and in sync with their body's natural sleep cycle. This frequent change in sleep pattern is considered to be similar to the change in sleep pattern witnessed when people travel across time zones. Researchers believe that such a disrupted sleep pattern can have harmful effects on health.

MORE ON THE WEB

Rivers in India: A reality check

<http://bit.ly/RiversIndia>