

**The Indian EXPRESS**

FOUNDED BY

RAMNATH GOENKA

BECAUSE THE TRUTH INVOLVES US ALL

## MAN SLAUGHTER

The lynch mob can get away with it, in the name of the cow. That's the message from Vasundhara Raje's Rajasthan

**S**PEAKING AT A public event in August 2016, Prime Minister Narendra Modi had condemned cow vigilantism. They were anti-social elements, he said, who had set up shop in the name of the cow. At that time, it had seemed that the PM's rebuke, entirely welcome, had come a little late. In July, the flogging of Dalits in Una by a group of gau rakshaks had sparked anger and outrage across the country. A year earlier, in September 2015, Mohammad Akhlaq was lynched at Dadri on the suspicion of storing beef. The incidents at Dadri and Una had deepened fears that the BJP's large electoral victory in 2014 had emboldened those lumpens who would use gau raksha as a cover for taking the law into their own hands, against Muslims or Dalits. Even though belated, the PM's reprimand last year held out the assurance that such violence and vigilantism would not go unchecked. Now, the attack by gau rakshaks on a group of men on National Highway 8 in the Behror area of Alwar last week is a reminder that his message is not being heeded and respected by a government led by his own party.

By all accounts, the Vasundhara Raje-led government in Rajasthan has much to answer for in the incident at Alwar, in which a group of Muslim men was accosted and assaulted by a band of gau rakshaks — one of them, Pehlu Khan, a dairy farmer, died later — for allegedly smuggling cows for slaughter. The police arrived late at the scene of the crime. As this paper has reported, even though the victims had receipts to show they had purchased the cows, it was quick to register FIRs against them for illegally transporting cattle for slaughter under the Rajasthan Bovine Animal Act 1995. It is yet to show similar alacrity or efficiency in nabbing all the accused and moving against them under the IPC. On Wednesday, Rajasthan Home Minister Gulab Chand Kataria claimed that "both sides are at fault" — in effect, and in a grotesque parody of his own responsibility as a minister, blaming the victims.

The Rajasthan government must be held answerable for the incident at Alwar, for the apparent climate of impunity in which such an attack became possible. But there is a wider accountability, too. It is bizarre that Union minister of state for parliamentary affairs and minorities Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi all but denied the incident in Rajya Sabha on Thursday. It does not behove the governments, at the Centre and in the state, to do anything less than accept the enormity of the outrage and commit that the guilty would be brought to book. Tragically, this basic assurance of a constitutional democracy — that action would be taken in accordance with the law against vigilantism of any kind — seems imperilled in a climate in which BJP chief ministers, in UP, Chhattisgarh and Gujarat, compete with each other to sound more muscular and to bring in the more draconian legislation on the cow.

## PINARAYI IN THE DOCK

Police action against a mother seeking justice for her dead son has sparked deserved outrage. CPM government must answer

**S**HE WAS A mother seeking justice for her dead son. But for the personnel standing guard at the state police chief's office in Thiruvananthapuram, she was a mere intruder, who dared to protest in front of their boss. In no time, she was dragged along the road and into a police vehicle and, only later, admitted to a hospital. The episode, streamed live on television screens across Kerala, will haunt the Pinarayi Vijayan government for a long time. Chief Minister Vijayan has since justified the police behaviour and, worse, indicated that he will not meet the mother, Mahija, whose son, Jishnu Prano, an engineering student with a private college in Kerala, was found dead three months ago in controversial circumstances. Vijayan's remarks reek of arrogance and his conduct is unbecoming of a chief minister.

The Vijayan government's response in the Jishnu case has been far from satisfactory. The police has been slow to react to his family's demand that the circumstances in which the young man committed suicide must be investigated. The college authorities have been accused of physically assaulting Jishnu for questioning the management's actions, before he took his own life. Indeed, the FIR mentions that the college chairman, vice-principal and the PRO among others, were involved in an alleged conspiracy to accuse and shame Jishnu on the charge of copying in the examination. However, the first arrests in the case — on charges of abetment to suicide — were made only on Wednesday, after extended protests by students. The police has been slow or reluctant to take action in other sensitive cases such as the rape and murder of children in Kollam and Palakkad. The unease about the conduct of the state police is no more restricted to the general public or the Opposition. For instance, the CPI, an LDF constituent, has publicly censured the police more than once.

The wide-spread outrage in the state over the assault on Mahija, which ironically happened on the day that marked 60 years of the first elected communist government, should serve as a wake-up call to the CPM-led government. The CPM has been in the forefront of mass movements that demanded action in the 2012 Delhi gangrape case and Rohith Vemula's suicide. It can ill afford to appear cavalier and unresponsive in similar cases in a state under its watch.

## OXFORD DUCK

A Beijing campus has infiltrated Oxford. Just let them try that stuff in India

**T**HE BRITISH, WHO have returned to traditional insularity with Brexit, are nevertheless beset. Arab money started buying into premium British brands and real estate in the Eighties. Russian and American ownership of soccer teams in the 21st century is even more galling. And now, Beijing University has snuck up on Oxford and snapped up the £8.8 million home of a defunct earl. Its proposed business school is not part of Oxford University, it isn't anywhere near those dreaming spires, but it's still a Chinese campus and it's enough to put the English off Peking duck forever.

Because last year, Chinese president Xi Jinping had declared that Chinese campuses should be communist party strongholds. It's nice to know that India isn't alone in its determination to grow a political monoculture on campus, but the British are unamused. Especially because the purchase of the earl's property may have been facilitated by the party, by setting aside strict currency controls. And in a cruel blow, the ailment of the pound following Brexit made it even easier for Beijing University to brush aside the competition, which included a true-blue Oxford college.

While England has been exporting higher education to the Asian nations, this is a rare instance of Asia returning the compliment. India numbers among the countries which have dusted off the welcome mat for UK universities, but this business of importing higher education is not unfringed. Foreign campuses come with foreign faculty and foreign ways. India has been an instinctively liberal nation, but these days we are happy to take offence at any sign of difference — in how people look, what they wear, what they say and what they eat. What if someone can't stomach what our children are taught by foreign courses? Will the contents of their minds be genetically inspected, like that of refrigerators?



DEV LAHIRI

AS YET ANOTHER round of board examinations comes to a close, and another generation heads to university, it is perhaps wise for schools and universities to reflect on how prepared the average school-leaver is for university, and equally important, how prepared is the university for the school-leaver?

P. Chidambaram, in an article in *The Indian Express* (IE, February 27), has opined, "A university is not a mere collection of buildings. It is also not a collection of colleges or centres of research. It is not constituted solely for the purpose of conferring degrees upon the young men and women who enter its portals, study subjects and pass examinations. It is a space designed to nurture knowledge and freedom, and beckon the children of the world to take from and give unto the reservoir of knowledge and freedom."

If this is indeed so, how prepared are our school-leavers to take on this new ecosystem? The first element in this ecosystem is what one could broadly define as the intellectual/academic expectations of a university. A good university would look for students who are, for the most part, good "self-learners", critical thinkers, can think laterally and ask questions. But what are we doing in our schools today? Whereas education should be a liberating experience that allows the mind to drink deeply at diverse fountains, be it music or math, we have created a system that is obsessed with certification through examinations, where percentages and the ability to clear entrance tests are the criteria for success. To do this requires children to be "boxed" in, from virtually class 9 onwards, into the pigeon holes of science, commerce, or for the "lesser gifted", humanities.

The problem is further compounded by thrusting the young mind into the soul-destroying world of private tuitions. Given this scenario — of being trapped in a soul-less classroom and tuition centre obsessed with "teaching for the test", and then being catapulted to university — what chance does the young mind have to grow, to ponder on the

We need to ask if the school-leaver is prepared for the university — and vice versa

A good university would look for students who are, for the most part, good 'self-learners', critical thinkers, can think laterally and ask questions. But what are we doing in our schools today? Whereas education should be a liberating experience that allows the mind to drink deeply at diverse fountains, be it music or math, we have created a system that is obsessed with certification through examinations, where percentages and the ability to clear entrance tests are the criteria for success. To do this, requires children to be 'boxed' in, from virtually class 9 onwards into the pigeon holes of science, commerce, or for the 'lesser gifted', humanities.

mysteries and perhaps injustices of the universe, or, as the poet said, to just "stop and stare".

And it is not as if, even within the limitations of our system, it is impossible to imbue our students with the skills that universities and, in fact, adult life itself require. All it needs is an imaginative, motivated teacher, backed by an equally imaginative and perhaps daring principal. Alas, for reasons all too often catalogued, the school-teaching profession itself has been seriously emasculated. As for "daring" heads, most heads today have been reduced to managers, rather than leaders, whose main job is to ensure that the cash tills keep rolling.

The problem is exacerbated by the systematic manner in which we have steadily denigrated the study of the humanities. Since school education is viewed mainly as a means of securing a lucrative job in either engineering, medicine or commerce, the humanities are viewed as an option only for those not "good enough" for the other streams. The fact that the humanities are generally poorly taught in most schools (who would want to teach a subject with no tuition market?), does not help the cause. Yet, it is a well-known fact that the "liberal arts" programme or its equivalent has been the foundation on which some of the best universities in the world have built their reputation. And indeed, it has been so since the Renaissance. A study of the humanities fosters a deeper understanding of the world we live in and enhances feelings of mutual respect, empathy and tolerance. A lot is being said these days about the shrinking space for debate. What is shrinking is not the space — it is our hearts and minds.

So, what we succeed in churning out from our schools is a young mind thoroughly "pressure cooked" with liberal doses of examinations and tuitions, looking at an uncertain future and desperately gasping for freedom. Are we surprised when these impressionable and often confused young

minds fall prey to the machinations of our politicians who stalk our universities? Students at the better-known universities all over the world also participate in political debate and discussion, and indeed go on to become eminent political leaders. But very rarely does one see the kind of "gang war" that one sees on our campuses.

The other great challenge facing a young school-leaver is what I would call the "emotional" turmoil that one faces at university. The school is a highly structured environment. A university is not. A school is, by and large, quite homogeneous in its socio-cultural mix of students. A university is not. For the young person leaving the cocoon of a school, university can, therefore, initially be a very lonely, alienating experience.

And how prepared are universities to hand-hold this bewildered young person? The very fact that most universities hand over this critical area of responsibility to a warden tells us what their priorities are. Wardens, by definition, belong to jails or wildlife reserves. Teaching faculty very rarely have either the time or inclination to take on the challenges that confront the student. At most universities, young people have to negotiate all the minefields on their own. And the sad fact is that many do not. The recent spate of suicides and student unrest in universities are only a symptom of this huge hiatus that exists in our system.

Tagore, the visionary, possibly had a premonition of this pitiable state of education when he wrote those iconic lines "Where the mind is without fear". And unless we wake up to this reality, we will, like the famous American singer, Don McLean, be left lamenting: *And now I understand/What you tried to say to me/How you suffered for your sanity/How you tried to set them free/They would not listen/They are not listening still/Perhaps they never will.*

The writer is Director, student development and welfare, O.P. Jindal Global University



JASMINE SHAH

PRESENTING HIS THIRD budget for the Delhi government last month, the Finance Minister, Manish Sisodia, also unveiled Delhi's Outcome Budget for 2017-18 calling it "an historic innovation for ushering in transparency and accountability in public spending". Delhi's Outcome Budget document was released last week (bit.ly/2nXohrX) and gives several reasons to believe why this claim might be true.

Public administration in India has been plagued by a lack of focus on results and outcomes that matter most to citizens. Annual planning and monitoring revolves largely around the allocation of the government's budget to its departments and programmes and periodically checking if the money is being spent and activities completed. "Did they do it?" is the operative question to judge performance — did they build enough toilets, did they open schools and hospitals?

Such an approach, however, completely misses the difference between doing the job, and doing it well. An outcomes-based approach shifts the perspective to the short and long-term outcomes of governance. "So what?" is the operative question here — so what if toilets were built, are they clean and functional and did open defecation reduce?

An outcome budget seeks to enshrine this approach within governments by linking budgetary outlays to specific outputs (tangible services or infrastructure provided) and outcomes (short or long-term benefits to the people). It arms citizens with data to hold governments accountable, and in turn empowers the governments to better orient the bureaucracy towards results.

Outcome Budget was first introduced in

## OUTCOMES, NOT SLOGANS

Delhi government's Outcome Budget is a unique effort towards accountability

India by the UPA in 2005-06 with then-Finance Minister P. Chidambaram declaring that "the people of the country are concerned with outcomes, not outlays". Since then, the Centre has continued to release annual Outcome Budget reports with incremental changes and without any reference to the previous year's performance. Building on this, the Delhi government's Outcome Budget for 2017-18 shifts the bar for transparency and accountability in public spending to a new level. There are at least three distinct ways in which the Delhi government's effort is unique for any government in India.

First, a substantial chunk of the annual budget has been linked to quantifiable indicators measuring both outputs and outcomes. In all, 1,938 unique indicators were developed to capture the performance of 34 departments and agencies of the Delhi government. The report also captures the baseline performance against these indicators for 2016-17 and targets for 2017-18, a bold act of suo moto disclosure for any government in India. Second, realising the difficulty of capturing certain outcomes through administrative data, the Delhi government plans to rely on independent surveys and citizen feedback to assess the outcomes of important programmes. For example, independent surveys will now measure the percentage of community toilet seats that are functional and their average cleanliness score, and average satisfaction levels among citizens using Mohalla Clinics and hospitals of the Delhi government. Third, since programmes and schemes have been linked to a comprehensive set of indicators with targets, the Delhi government plans to use the

Outcome Budget as a government-wide quarterly monitoring framework facilitated through an IT application, and not as a one-off annual report. This has major implications for creating a common bottom line for government functionaries to focus on, similar to the quarterly profit and performance targets (KRAs) driving private sector managers.

Delhi's outcome budgeting initiative puts it in the league of global cities that rigorously measure the performance of their agencies. For example, since 1977, the New York City government releases a half-yearly Mayor's Management Report which tracks the city's 44 agencies against 1,649 performance indicators. The publication of the report is mandated by the city's charter and has become a well-accepted standard for civic openness.

Delhi's Outcome Budget is a remarkable achievement also for the fact that it was not just a technocratic project. Backed strongly by the elected leadership, it was a collaborative exercise between the Planning department and hundreds of officials from various departments. Much more work will be required to improve upon the choice of indicators and to build robust systems to generate reliable data. Nevertheless, this initiative underscores an important point. The promise of good governance won't be realised by crafting catchy slogans and launching well-meaning welfare schemes alone. It will be realised by a relentless focus on the right outcomes and motivating the government machinery to deliver on those outcomes.

The writer is a Fulbright-Nehru Fellow and was associated with Delhi's Outcome Budgeting initiative. Views are personal



## APRIL 7, 1977, FORTY YEARS AGO

### NEW RAW CHIEF

R.N. KAO, chief of RAW (Research and Analysis Wing), went on a four-month leave preparatory to his retirement. Shankaran Nair has been appointed the new RAW chief. RAW is an intelligence set-up in the Prime Minister's Secretariat and deals primarily with foreign intelligence.

### JP'S KIDNEYS

THE GOVERNMENT DECIDED to hold an inquiry to find out how the kidneys of Jayaprakash Narayan were damaged when he was in detention during the Emergency. Home Minister Charan Singh said the exact mode of the inquiry and its scope would be

determined in consultation with the Ministry of Health and Family Planning.

### MISA DETENU DEATHS

THE GOVERNMENT WILL make a statement in Parliament on the question of instituting a high-powered inquiry into the excesses committed during the Emergency. Home Minister Charan Singh said the suggestion for payment of compensation to victims of the Emergency and providing jobs to dependents of those who lost their lives will be considered. He, however, could not make a commitment. In a written reply, the minister said 41 MISA detenus died in prison during the Emergency. Nine detenus died

while on parole.

### 10 SCIENTISTS KILLED

TEN SCIENTISTS, FIVE of the Atomic Energy Commission and five of the National Remote Sensing Agency (NRSA), died when the Dakota they were travelling in on a survey crashed near Kanigiri. There were no survivors. The plane, owned by the NRSA, had taken off from Madras on a routine aeromagnetic survey. Official reports indicated that the plane was caught in thick fog in the early hours of the morning. It hit a hillcock and went down in flames. The wreckage was spotted near Podili village and all the bodies were charred beyond recognition.



# 15 THE IDEAS PAGE

## The banality of evil

The creation of 'us' and 'them' divisions is worrying. But, as the Alwar attack shows, what is more chilling is the ordinariness of violence



PETER RONALD DESOUZA

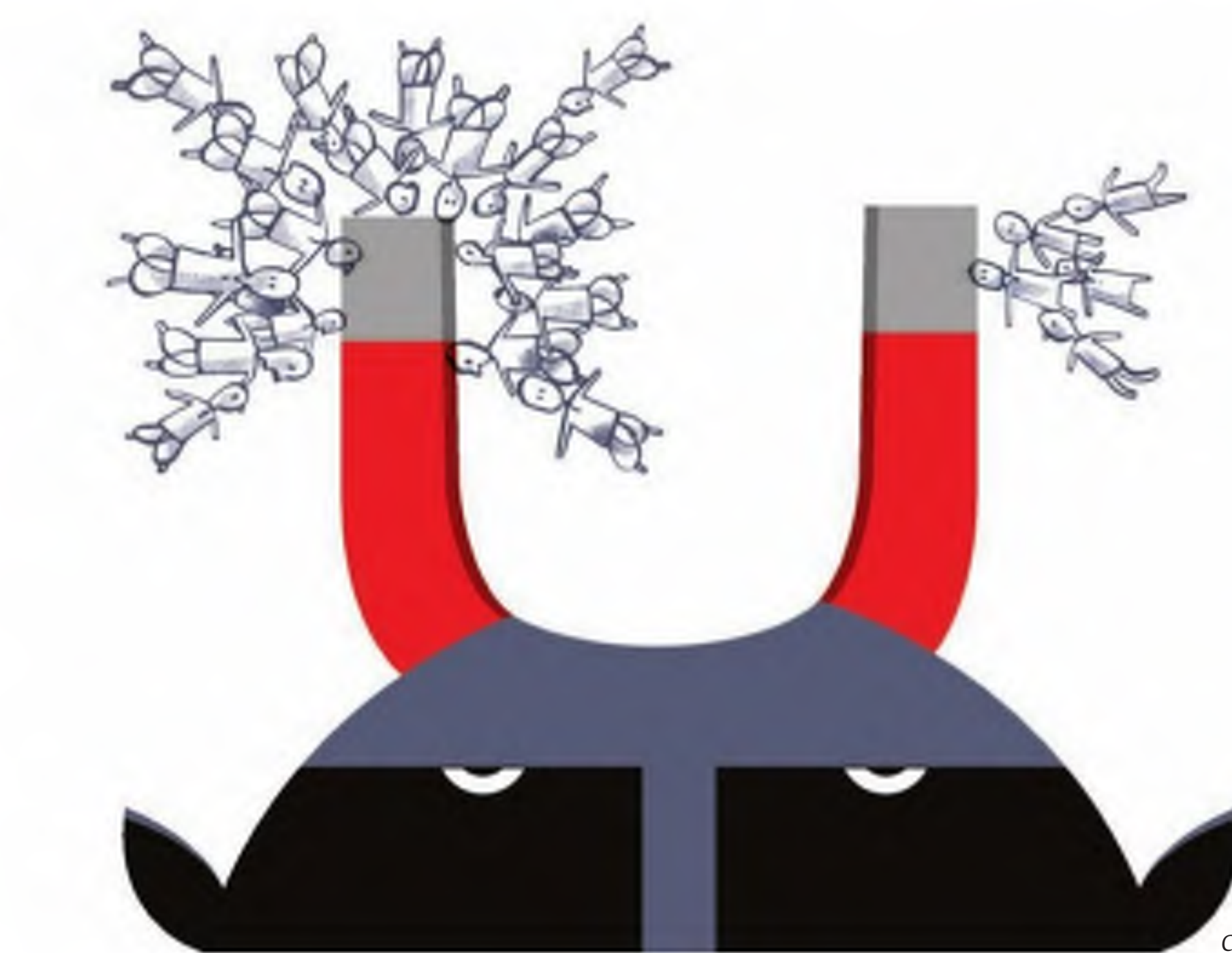
THE KILLING OF another innocent man by a vigilante group of gau rakshaks leaves "ordinary India" a bit confused and perhaps a little troubled. Is this the new normal, we ask, where vigilante democracy will increasingly decide, outside the courts and outside the Constitution, on what is crime and what should be punishment? Or should this episode be regarded as an isolated deviation, an unfortunate pathology that will soon be set right by the majestic institutions of law? I have consciously used the term "ordinary India" in the opening statement because I sincerely believe that in "ordinary India" resides decency and a deeply-held commitment to *karuna* and *ahimsa*.

So if an attitude of active mercy and compassion and a belief in non-violence have been the gifts of this great Indic culture to the world, where does the act of severely beating up a 55-year old who was transporting legally-purchased cows for milk come from? Is it just thuggery come alive from another age? Is it poor policing? Is it economic collusion between the sellers of the cows and the vigilantes so that the goods can be sold several times at super profits, knowing full-well that the purchasers would be from certain demonised communities and, therefore, at a political disadvantage in getting the protection of the state? Or is it an early sign that the moment of truth for the India of decency — the "ordinary India" — has arrived? How will "ordinary India" respond?

Two details from the episode, as reported in the papers, make disturbing reading. The first is the report that the vigilantes asked people driving the vehicles for their name and then allowed those with non-Muslim names to leave the scene. There is something very eerie about dividing Indian citizens on the basis of community, about holding a community *ab initio* guilty. There is something frightening about the construction of a "we" and a "them" — cultural persona in hostile opposition — and then ascribing to the "we", innocence, and to "them", criminality.

The new form that this politics of othering is taking brings a deep disquiet because it is reminiscent of all the horrors of history from Rwanda to Srebrenica and from Iraq to Sri Lanka. In *Julius Caesar* Act 3, Scene 3, Shakespeare notes the following exchange between Cinna the poet and the mob out on a rampage to find the conspirators who have killed Julius Caesar. "Your name, Sir, truly? Truly my name is Cinna". "Tear him to pieces; he's a conspirator"... "I am Cinna the poet, I am not Cinna the conspirator"... "It is no matter, his name's Cinna; pluck but his name out of his heart and turn him going".

The second detail is even more unnerving. The vigilante group asked one of those transporting the cows to run away because he was elderly saying "tu buddha aadmi hai, bhaag". He ran. Then they chased him and beat him up again. He died from the beating. Vigilante action, it now seems, has gone beyond vandalism. It has become a sport. Slaves in America were subject to such sport — "run you have your freedom" and as they were running, they were shot from behind; to the sound of callous laughter. The *pravasis* of India, who were taken to work in the plantations of Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, and the West Indies, have similar memories of such



C R Sasikumar

harassment. And today, we in Independent India, have added to that bestiality. This is more than a moral slippery slope. It leads to Jallianwalla Bagh.

It is not that suddenly decent India became dormant and allowed indecent India to surface. It is politics which is producing this perversity, a politics that has begun to transform the social fabric of our country such that the "soft othering" that had hitherto defined relations between religious communities — "they are like that and we are like this" — has now become a "hard othering". Competitive politics requires the creation of an enduring vote constituency. The Congress strategy was one of accommodation, if not appeasement, of differences while trying to create a national political community. Secularism was its ideological plank, scientific temper its policy instrument. There were other elements to its policy portfolio but let me here limit myself to the cultural dimension of pursuing a politics of unity in diversity. So while the Congress may have, at the local constituency and even regional level, pursued a cynical politics of communal othering, at the national level it was committed to the Nehruvian secularism which gave to every religious community a sense of equal citizenship.

In spite of the demands of a pragmatic politics, the Congress normal could have a Muslim president, a Sikh chief of army staff, a Hindu prime minister, and a Christian principal secretary to the prime minister. The optics were right even though the politics may have been more cynical. All communities had a feeling of belonging to *Mera Bharat*. And, this feeling made *Bharat mahan*.

This strategy has today been abandoned. The feeling of belonging is under threat. Citizens are being divided by name and being ascribed *de facto* (not *de jure*) lesser rights protections by the state. (This Latin distinction must be made just to please their lordships who may protest.) We have now moved into a phase of competitive politics where the othering has changed from being a "soft othering" to become a "hard othering", where a cultural adversary has to be created to consolidate the self. That the cultural adversary is another Indian, a brother from another mother, is of no consequence as long

We have now moved into a phase of competitive politics where the othering has changed from being a 'soft othering' to become a 'hard othering', where a cultural adversary has to be created to consolidate the self. That the cultural adversary is another Indian, a brother from another mother, is of no consequence as long as he serves the purpose of consolidating the constituency. It has emerged. An antagonist to Indic culture, who is responsible for the historical hurt of destruction of temples and holy places, is constructed and introduced into the public discourse.

as he serves the purpose of consolidating the constituency. It has emerged. An antagonist to Indic culture, who is responsible for the historical hurt of destruction of temples and holy places, is constructed and introduced into the public discourse. Politics asks for historical wrong to be redressed. The politics of accommodation must be abandoned and replaced by a politics of assertive, unapologetic majoritarianism.

The historical hurt, one can understand. The demand for a salve one can understand because the wound festers. But one cannot understand its conversion into a politics of hostility. Who is responsible for the hurt? Not the "them" that is being blamed but the vagaries of a collective history for which we must all accept responsibility. Nehru gave us a conceptual frame to understand this history. He described India as a palimpsest where inscriptions of earlier histories are never fully erased and later histories, even when they write over them, show traces of the earlier period. That is how a rare Kashmiri Shaivite Sanskrit document can be discovered in the Malayalam script in Kerala. The politics of hard othering seems to have learnt its craft of divide and rule from the British colonial state. Internal colonialism in the name of nationalism.

This division into communities, into a "we" and a "them" by religion, into a nationalist "we" and an anti-nationalist "other", jeopardises that great historical experiment of building a national community of equal citizens. By itself what is happening is deeply troubling. But what is even more worrying is the endorsement of this politics of othering by "ordinary Indians". Friends support it. Neighbours support it. Family members support it. Cutting across gender and class. An esteemed colleague lamented, this politics has divided my home. The hostility has entered our soul. *Karuna* and *ahimsa* have no sanctuary. Reminds me of an argument made by Hannah Arendt, that when evil becomes banal, ordinary people will participate in it. The banality of evil makes young men chase an elderly man and beat him to death. For sport. Is this the new normal?

The writer is professor, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies. Views are personal

### WHAT THE OTHERS SAY

"The visit of President Xi Jinping of China will be a test of Trump's ability to address global issues with an experienced leader."

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Not just happy endings

Education in India doesn't discuss depression and mental health. Cinema must step into the breach



MOHAN AGASHE

IN OUR COUNTRY, talking about depression is more of a taboo than talking about sex: We simply don't discuss mental health, particularly its emotional aspect. Not just because of the stigma attached to it, but also because people don't understand the subject properly. Why don't we understand it? Because emotional development isn't taught in schools or homes. No one has ever tried to tell us about emotions in a manner that doesn't seem like an academic exercise or in a way that could make us relate to the issue and evoke genuine interest.

Depression — and suicides resulting from it — is the second leading cause of morbidity amongst 15 to 29-year-olds globally. Every year, more than 8,00,000 people die having committed suicide; many more attempt it, as the World Health Organization, 2014, writes in *Preventing suicide: a global imperative*. It was this glaring chasm, between reality and the realisation of the seriousness of the issue, that prompted me to think it's high time we addressed the subject in a manner that struck home — there is perhaps no better way to do this than through cinema. Interest and motivation are in the domain of emotion, not cognition. Formal education helps the development of cognitive intelligence, not sensory, because it focuses on learning through reading and writing, language, words, not images and sound. Films combine the two — that is the advantage of films; that makes cinema a richer medium of instruction.

For far too long, we've perpetuated the theory that anything that has to be taught should be through books; cinema is only for entertainment. How often we hear people say, I went to the movie, leaving my brains at home. But cinema's purpose goes far beyond. You may watch cinema for entertainment but a lot of information from screen goes into your subconscious mind; if this information isn't authentic, it results in misunderstandings. But when authentic cinema tackles a subject, it is a much better tool of education than any other.

Sumitra Bhavne is a filmmaker with a difference. She is not the product of a film school but a graduate from the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. After doing research on problems women in slum areas face, she wanted to communicate her findings to these women through print — only to realise that none of the women she worked with could read or write. But all of them saw films. So, she thought, "Why don't I communicate through the medium they understand — cinema?" She made *Bai* — it received a thumping response from her target audience. The women who never talked about their problems became so animated to speak about issues relating to their lives in the film that the experience

was overwhelming.

The audience expands; one knew the words "dyslexia" and "learning disability" but never gave them much thought till *Taare Zameen Par* lent viewers a new understanding. I made *Astu* under Alzheimer's — so many people who saw the movie started talking about their father or aunt who had a similar problem. Many said they wished they'd seen the film five years earlier; they would have known better how to tackle the issue.

With depression becoming the second largest reason for morbidity amongst the young, I knew this was a subject waiting to be brought into the public domain, through the medium that reaches out best to people. Hence, *Kaasav* ("Turtle") that explores the subject of depression through two characters, one consumed by it, the other coming out of it after treatment. The trust is, you need to protect a person going through a depressive phase till they are out of it — just like you need to protect Olive Ridley turtles, used symbolically in the film.

It is unspoken, unrecognised depression that leads to suicide or substance abuse. Depression is part of a psychiatric disorder. To talk about it, one doesn't require intelligence but acceptance. Society is now accepting the concept of the intellectually challenged, but not the emotionally challenged. We don't talk about emotions because we are taught about everything but this; in fact, in India, a sign of maturity, especially amongst women, is apparently how successfully they can conceal their emotions, rather than expressing them. No guru, barring J. Krishnamurthi, has talked about emotion.

Meanwhile, social pressures are only rising. The phenomenal growth in means of communication today could result in your getting lost within a jungle of information. We think only of the immediate now: The belief is that this is the only life you have, so you must get what you want here. The result is, high levels of aggressiveness, fierce motivation, a growingly self-centred society.

Yet, in my work, I feel I was at my best productivity level when I was paid the least. As I grew older, the remuneration became better. As I neared retirement, I was paid the highest. Earlier, returns took into account how much you needed, at what stage of life. Today, if you're good at something, A pays you X, B says she will pay you X plus, but with no guarantee of tomorrow. This leads to insecurity.

We need to change our lifestyle, our relationship with material things, our expectations from life, our perceptions of dignity in ourselves and others. But, before all that, we need to understand these complexities, their causes and where they lead us. Once we understand that, we will have acceptance and it will be easier to talk about this. Till then, let the movies help us navigate the choppy waters of emotion, particularly depression. It's the least they can do for a society that has given the medium the stature it enjoys.

The writer is an actor, producer and psychiatrist. His recent Marathi film 'Kaasav' tackles the subject of depression

### LETTER TO THE EDITOR

#### DEBATING A SCHEME

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'Evidence no bar' (IE, Apr 5). Universal Basic Income (UBI), which the *Economic Survey* portrays as a game changer, is a distant dream. Half of the country's adult population still doesn't have access to banking services. The survey itself mentions that some gaps need to be plugged before the UBI can be implemented. Finally, the Indian economy is not as mature as the Western economy, where inflation is along predictable lines. In India, cash transfers will have to be seriously adjusted for inflation every quarter, and also regionally. That will be a difficult task.

Abhinav Kaushal, Delhi

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'Evidence no bar' (IE, April 5). A large percentage of India's adult population is now covered by Aadhaar. This is further augmented by a mobile subscriber base of 1.12 billion. A large number of households in the country also have bank accounts. The zeal with which the government has promoted JAM provides the right impetus for UBI. The government should continue its digitisation drive, irrespective of criticism.

Amit Singh Khokar, Delhi

#### CHANGE MINDSETS

THIS REFERS TO the article, 'The Racist in the mirror' (IE, April 5). Our double standards regarding skin colour are so deeply entrenched that sometimes we may not even realise it, and make character judgements based on a person's

#### LETTER OF THE WEEK AWARD

To encourage quality reader intervention, The Indian Express offers the Letter of the Week award. The letter adjudged the best for the week is published every Saturday. Letters may be e-mailed to editpage@expressindia.com or sent to The Indian Express, B-1/B, Sector 10, Noida-UP 201301. Letter writers should mention their postal address and phone number.

THE WINNER RECEIVES SELECT EXPRESS PUBLICATIONS

skin colour. I have seen instances where people click pictures with "white" people, treating them as celebrities. I don't know if this affection for fair skin is a colonial relic or if it is another fallout of the caste system. It seems as if the adage *atithi devo bhava* should now come with a footnote: Only if you are of the right colour. As people who often face racism in the West, Indians should look beyond colour.

Pankhuri Mishra, Delhi

#### UP CM'S MEAT FOCUS

RASHTRIYA SAHARA (APRIL 3) writes: "Following loud proclamations by PM Narendra Modi during the Uttar Pradesh election about "sab ka saath, sab ka vikas", the government of UP, under Yogi Adityanath, took up imposing a ban on illegal slaughterhouses and meat shops as its first focus. Even legal slaughterhouses and meat shops were sealed on orders from the chief minister... The new guidelines regarding the sale of meat issued by the government are very difficult, if not impossible, to implement... The worst-affected are from Muslim and Dalit communities... The question is: Why are such strict conditions put on sellers of meat when there are a number of small traders of eatables who are operating by the roadside and are victims of extortion by police and administration? ...In milk and ghee, there is adulteration and use of chemicals to make illegitimately high profit. If the government is actually concerned about the health of the people, it should be equally strict about monitoring other trades too."

*Akhbar-e-Mushriq*, in its editorial on April 1, writes: "Following the UP CM's statement about illegal slaughterhouses, BJP workers were infuriated (*taish mein aa gaye*). In the crackdown, along with sellers of buffalo meat, sellers of mutton, chicken and even eggs were not spared and the situation took

the form of a Muslim-government confrontation... The campaign against meat trade is a form of cultural fascism."

#### QUESTIONING EVMS

ELECTRONIC VOTING MACHINES (EVMs) have been under much discussion following doubts expressed by senior leaders. *Jadeed Khabar*, in its editorial on April 3, writes: "After reports of a mock trial of EVMs at Bhind in Madhya Pradesh (where pressing any button reportedly showed a vote for BJP) the moral pressure on the EC has increased. But even now, the commission is claiming EVMs to be tamper-free and has rejected all accusations in this regard... The BJP had been rejecting all accusations, intoxicated as it was by its success in UP and Uttarakhnd... It is the same BJP which had raised innumerable allegations against EVMs in the past. The party's General Secretary, G.V.L. Narasimha Rao, had even written a book on misuse of EVMs whose foreword was written by L.K. Advani and Subramanian Swamy had made a virulent speech against EVMs at its release function."

*Sahafat*, in a commentary by Rajat Mona, a noted scientist and a member of Election Commission's expert technical group for EVMs, says that "EVM machines are free from any kind of tampering."

Compiled by Seema Chishty

### THE Urdu PRESS

#### ISLAM AND WOMEN

CHIEF JUSTICE OF India J.S. Khehar's appointment of a five-judge bench during the Supreme Court's summer vacation to consider the issues of Triple Talaq, Nikah-e-Halala (mandatory marriage of a divorced Muslim woman and its consummation with another man and divorce from him if she has to remarry her husband who had divorced her), and polygamy are a laudable and unprecedented step. *Inqilab*, in a commentary on April 2, writes: "The legality of these three practices has been challenged under Articles 14, 15, 21 and 25 of the Indian Constitution. The concerned petition has been filed in the SC under Article 32 of the Constitution which fully authorises the SC to issue a special order (writ) to declare unconstitutional and reject any social, religious or legal tradition or practice (*rasm-o-rawaaj*)."

The paper adds: "In reply to the 33-page application by Saira Bano (a divorced woman), the All-India Muslim Personal Law Board has filed a 70-page affidavit. On reading this affidavit, anyone who has knowledge of either the Indian Constitution and or Islamic laws can only fret and fume. As a legal document this affidavit is absolutely hollow and unworthy of any serious consideration by the court. It is also full of contradictory statements and any lawyer would not be able to either reply to the possible questions of

the court... The affidavit very clearly points out that Triple Talaq is right according to the Quran and the *hadees* (sayings and traditions of the prophet Mohammad). It should be noted that Triple Talaq is considered *haram* (forbidden) among the Shia and Ahle-Hadees sects... Experts of Islamic law from Ameer Ali to (A.A.A.) Fyzee and Justice Hidayatullah to Professor Tahir Mehmood have declared Triple Talaq illegal. In 25 Muslim countries, Talaq of this type has been banned. The Pakistan Supreme Court too has declared this practice unconstitutional... Historically, it has been proved (and there is no difference between *ulema* on this) that Hazrat Umar had put limits on those who gave Triple Talaq, that meant that they were flogged, apart from the Talaq being annulled... Many customs, practices and traditions of other religious groups, including Hinduism, have been rejected and law has been framed against such practices... Several courts have given judgements that do not conform to Muslim Personal Law but the Personal Law Board has never challenged these judgements."

*Hamara Samaj*, in its editorial on April 1, writes: "This is an extremely serious matter that must be sorted out. The SC's show of seriousness is laudable. If the court silences the contesting parties with a just and satisfactory judgement, it would give a boost to people's confidence in the judiciary."



## 16 EXPLAINED



## SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE

If only Daddy would have known about the power of #Pepsi.

**BERNICE KING**, tweeting a photo of her father Martin Luther King Jr being pushed by a white police officer. King (62,700 followers) was referring to a Pepsi ad in which white American model Kendall Jenner joins a Black Lives Matter-type protest and tames a policeman with a can of Pepsi. Pepsi has pulled the ad and apologised.

## FACT-CHECK

## Do the new draft RTI rules differ from the existing Rules of 2012?

SHYAMLAL YADAV  
NEW DELHI, APRIL 6

ON MARCH 31, the Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT), the nodal department for the implementation of the Right to Information (RTI), put on its web site a circular titled "Framing RTI Rules, 2017 in supersession of RTI Rules, 2012", and sought comments from the public until April 15.

On April 3, the Congress accused the government of attempting to subvert the RTI Act through the draft Rules. Senior leader Ahmed Patel questioned the government's "intention", and spokesperson Manish Tewari said that the draft Rules looked innocuous "but the devil lies in the detail".

Specifically, Tewari said that the draft Rules had imposed a new word limit of 500 words on RTI applications, beyond which they could be rejected, and that the charges for replies had been raised steeply and photocopying charges had been doubled.

Union Minister M Venkaiah Naidu has rejected the Congress allegations, saying the proposed Rules regarding the word limit and application fees remain the same as they were under the UPA government. He has described Tewari's allegations as "a blatant lie and a malicious campaign".

**What was the need to scrap existing (2012) Rules and bring new ones?**

Under Section 27 (1) of the RTI Act, 2005, "The appropriate Government [which could be either the central or a state government] may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make Rules to carry out the provisions of this Act." Section 27 (2) says, "In particular... such Rules may provide for all or any of the following matters", which includes, under Section 27(2)(e), "the procedure to be adopted by the Central Information Commission or State Information Commission... in deciding the appeals", and, under Section 27(2)(f), "Any other matter which... may be prescribed."

These Rules were framed by DoPT in 2012. In the mean time, the Central Information Commission (CIC) had framed the CIC (Management) Regulations, 2007. These Regulations were, however, quashed by the Delhi High Court in 2010, which ruled that the CIC had no power to make Regulations.

But some High Courts, including Patna High Court, have approved the Regulations framed by their respective State Information Commissions. These Rules were framed under Section 12(4) of the RTI Act, which says: "The general superintendence, direction and management of the affairs of the Central Information Commission shall vest in the Chief Information Commissioner who shall be assisted by the Information Commissioners and may exercise all such powers and do

all such acts and things which may be exercised or done by the Central Information Commission autonomously without being subjected to directions by any other authority under this Act."

The CIC challenged the decision of Delhi High Court in the Supreme Court. The next hearing is on May 2. Before that, the government wants comprehensive new Rules, and has proposed the draft in question — seeking comments until April 15. These draft Rules are almost a merger of the CIC (Management) Regulations, 2007 and the RTI Rules, 2012, and seem aimed principally at reducing the number of appeals and complaints to the CIC. The government could finalise the Rules before it goes before the Supreme Court.

**Okay, so is the 500-word limit new?**

No, it is not. It is in the RTI Rules, 2012.

Rule 3 of the RTI Rules, 2012 says: "An application under sub-section (1) of Section 6 of the Act shall be accompanied by a fee of Rupees ten and shall ordinarily not contain more than five hundred words, excluding annexures, containing address of the Central Public Information Officer and that of the applicant: Provided that no application shall be rejected only on the ground that it contains more than five hundred words."

This remains unchanged in the draft new Rules.

**And is there a change regarding abatement of an appeal/complaint in case of death?**

Rule 12(2) of draft Rules says: "The proceedings pending before the Commission shall abate on the death of the appellant." The CIC (Management) Regulations, 2007, which was quashed by Delhi High Court, too had said, "The proceedings pending before the Commission shall abate on the death of the appellant or complainant."

However, in the light of attacks on RTI users and activists, the Central Information Commission had, in September 2011, resolved: "If it (CIC) receives a complaint regarding assault or murder of an information seeker, it will examine the pending RTI applications of the victim and order the concerned Department(s) to publish the requested information *suo motu* on their web site as per the provisions of law." The CIC had also resolved to follow up on the criminal cases filed in such matters.

The matter of abatement of appeals and complaints in the case of death of the appellant/complainant was not in the RTI Rules, 2012. If the draft RTI Rules now replace existing RTI Rules, an appeal or complaint would abate (lapse without any action) once the CIC comes to know that the appellant/complainant is no more. Activists fear this might increase the risk of attacks on RTI users.



Liquor vends, such as this one on National Highway 10 in Rohtak pictured in this file photograph, have had to shut shop following the Supreme Court order. Express Archive

## Highways and others: how India classifies roads, reclassifies them

SC order banning sale, consumption of liquor near national and state highways has seen attempts by states to reclassify highways as local roads. What qualifies as a 'highway' anyway? KRISHN KAUSHIK explains.

**How are roads classified in India?**

As World War II saw a rapid increase in the volume of road traffic in India, the government of the Raj convened a conference of engineers in Nagpur in 1943 to discuss the condition of roads, and the way forward. The conference produced the Nagpur Plan, which divided roads into 4 main categories: National Highways, State Highways, District Roads and Village roads. Later, Expressways were added as an additional category.

**What makes a road a State or a National Highway?**

Under the Nagpur Plan Classification, National Highways connect all major ports, state capitals, large industrial and tourist centres, and foreign highways. Roads that are required for strategic movement, those that reduce the travel time substantially, and those that open up backward areas and help economic growth, are also classified as National Highways. Earlier in 1927, a road development committee under M R Jayakar had recommended that National Highways should be the frame on which the country's road connectivity should rely.

State Highways, according to the Nagpur Plan, are the arterial roads of a state that connect to National Highways, district headquarters and important cities. These are also linked to district roads.

Major District Roads (MDRs) are roads that connect areas of production, main markets and the State and National Highways crossing the state.

Village Roads connect villages to each other or to the nearest District Roads.

**Who decides the technical requirements for different classes of roads?**

The Indian Roads Congress, a semi-official body that was set up by the government in 1934 on the basis of the Jayakar Committee's recommendations, and registered as a society in 1937, decides the minimum requirements for roads, keeping in mind geography, speed, volume of traffic and safety. The IRC is the apex body of road engineers in the country and regularly updates

the technical requirements — such as width, sight distance and other related parameters — for highways and other roads.

**What is the length of India's road network, and of National, State Highways?**

According to the Ministry of Road Transport and Highways, at the end of 2015-16, India had a total 1,00,475 kilometres of National Highways and Expressways. State Highways were 1,48,256 km, and other roads, 49,83,589 km. National Highways constitute approximately 2% of the road network.

**And what is the volume of traffic on National Highways?**

According to the National Highways Authority of India, roads carry about 65% of India's freight traffic and 80% of its passenger traffic. And National Highways carry 40% of the country's total road traffic.

**How are National Highways numbered?**

Until 2010, National Highways continued to be numbered the way they were numbered in the National Highways Act of 1956, which listed each National Highway. In 2010, the government issued a notification to rationalise the numbering system, arguing that the "existing number of National Highway does not give any indication of its location and direction". In the new system, all east-west highways have odd numbers, and all north-south highways have even numbers. On odd-numbered highways, the number increases from north to south. So a highway from Jodhpur to Kanpur will have a smaller number than a highway from Mumbai to Chennai. For even-numbered highways, the numbers increase from east to west. A highway from Kolkata to Chennai will have a smaller number than a highway from Delhi to Mumbai.

**Who is responsible for the upkeep of National and State Highways?**

Under the National Highways Act, 1956, National Highways became the responsibility of the central government. The National

Highways Authority Act, 1988 led to the creation of NHA to look after National Highways.

The Public Works Departments of states are mandated to look after State Highways.

In Union Territories, the UT government is responsible for State Highways. For example, in 2005, the Chandigarh Administration declared that all its major arterial roads were State Highways. This was done as the municipal bodies were suffering from a paucity of funds, and this way the roads could be maintained by the Administration directly. But just before the Supreme Court reiterated that no liquor can be sold within 500 metres of any State or National Highway, Chandigarh decided to re-classify all its State Highways as district roads. UT Home Secretary Anurag Aggarwal was quoted as saying that all Chandigarh sectors are 1.2 km long and 800 m wide, and ensconced between State Highways; if not for the notification, the Supreme Court order would have rendered the entire city dry. But this was challenged in the Punjab and Haryana High Court by Harman Siddhu, the same petitioner on whose PIL the Supreme Court had passed the order banning sale of liquor along the highways. Though the High Court allowed the notification, the case is still pending in the Supreme Court, and is listed for later this month.

## SIMPLY PUT

**Who is responsible for the upkeep of a State or a National Highway that passes through a city?**

Irrespective of whether a National Highway passes through a city or not, it is the central government's job to take care of, and manage it, unless it has specifically declared through a gazette notification that the management has been handed over to another body for a particular stretch. Similarly, State Highways, even when passing through cities, are the responsibility of the state's PWD.

But there is often confusion on the status of these highways on certain stretches. For example, parts of both the Inner and Outer Ring Roads in Delhi are notified as National and State Highways, but not for their entire

lengths. So while liquor shops will have to be shut down on the parts that are mentioned in the National Highways Act, 1956, the remaining parts will be allowed to stay open.

Again, the Western Expressway Highway in Mumbai was not considered to be either a State or a National Highway according to a recent response by the Maharashtra government to an RTI query filed in February. The government said that the stretch from Dahisar Check Naka to Mahim Junction was under the PWD, and it only converted to NH8 after Dahisar in the north. But since the Supreme Court's order, liquor shops and bars along the road have been shut even within city limits.

**How does a State Highway become a National Highway and vice versa?**

Section 2 of the National Highways Act, 1956, gives the central government the exclusive right to notify any road in the country as a National Highway and add it to the list of National Highways annexed to the Act. The Act also gives the central government the right to announce through the national gazette the removal of any National Highway from the list.

The Union Ministry of Road Transport and Highways, in consultation with the erstwhile Planning Commission, had come up with a set of criteria which, if met, could put a road up for consideration to become a National Highway. These criteria are largely in sync with the Nagpur Plan for a National Highway. State governments can send proposals to the central government to upgrade roads to National Highways. Every time the Union Cabinet approves an upgradation, it has to be notified through the national gazette, and the list of National Highways in the National Highways Act, 1956, has to be amended.

States cannot upgrade State Highways to National Highways or vice versa. They do, however, retain the right to tag State Highways as District Roads, as some states have done to circumvent the Supreme Court's order. In such cases, liquor can be bought or consumed near these Highway-turned-District Roads.

## Behind tussle between Muslim law boards, a political context



## IN FACT BY SEEMA CHISHTI

EXPRESS EDITORS INTERPRET

BOTH THE All India Shia Personal Law Board and the All India Muslim Women Personal Law Board were set up in Lucknow around the same time — in 2005. The two new boards were distinct from the existing custodian of Muslim personal law in India — the All India Muslim Personal Law Board — and appeared to address different and discrete constituencies within the community: Shia Muslims and Muslim women.

The All India Muslim Personal Law Board was set up in 1973, the trigger being a fear that Muslim identities were being scrubbed, and that the promise that Muslims would be

able to practise their faith in full pursuit of Article 25, was under threat.

Muslim insecurities, rising since the early 1960s, had spiked especially after the death of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964. This was the time that communal riots, especially in Jabalpur and Ranchi, had resurfaced after a long time. It was also the time when, the AIMPLB web site records, the "Government of India was trying to subvert Shariah law... through parallel legislation. Adoption Bill had been tabled in Parliament. Mr H R Gokhle, then Union Law Minister, had termed this Bill as the first step towards Uniform Civil Code."

As the AIMPLB sought to weld Indian Muslims together, bringing all sects under one umbrella, Shias, although far smaller in population than Sunnis but more influential than their numbers indicated, were well represented in the Board. That situation has not changed — and Lucknow-based Kalbe Sadiq and Kalbe Jawwad, and other Delhi and Hyderabad-based Shia clerics continue to be members of the Board.

Differences in Shia and Sunni family laws

and "indifference" of the umbrella Board were cited as reasons for the emergence of the Shia Board. At the time of its formation in 2005, Maulana Mohammed Athar, founder president of the All India Shia Personal Law Board, told the BBC, "It was time that we stood for our rights. We have formed a forum of ourselves because the AIMPLB never took interest in our well being." Members of the breakaway group expressed scepticism over the way the AIMPLB was being run.

But the constitution of the Board set up in 2005 did not match the seriousness and stature of those in the All India Muslim Personal Law Board. Said a member about the Shia Board, "Just look at the meetings and the proceedings, and those who constitute the new Board". Doubts about its politics, and why it was felt necessary to break away, remain the dominant theme of any discussion about the 'new' Board.

When it split from the umbrella Board, the Shia Board had 69 members, and the support of the former ruling Shia family of Lucknow. The AIMPLB at the time had 204 members. The positioning of a set of lesser-known clerics as alternate voices against Kalbe Sadiq and Kalbe Jawwad signalled an

intent to undercut the influence of the umbrella body in the affairs of Indian Muslims. This was significant because Shia-Sunni political faultlines have never been deep or sharp in India — except perhaps in Lucknow, where trouble has been reported around celebrations. It is, then, no surprise that it was in Lucknow that the Shia Board came up.

The Shia Board's support for a ban on cow slaughter, its call to the central government to enact a law to ban triple *talaq*, and its endorsement of the Supreme Court's suggestion to settle the Ayodhya dispute outside courts, run counter some of the AIMPLB's flagship political concerns. The AIMPLB, which came to attention nationally in the late 1980s in the context of the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, is today a litigant in a range of matters including those related to Ayodhya and Muslim marriage and divorce, and especially triple *talaq*.

On the Shia Board's support for the cow-slaughter ban, supposedly based on a *fatwa* by a Iraq-based Shia cleric, a Lucknow-based member of the AIMPLB, Khalid Firangimahli,

said, "One should not change one's opinion based on who is in power in Delhi. It has been a widely accepted and acknowledged belief for hundreds of years amongst leading Muslim elite in India, that where the law says clearly, like in North India, that there must not be cow slaughter, there should be none. Even Emperor Akbar instructed his sons to be careful. All laws must be respected. But will the government move to ban cow slaughter in Goa and the Northeast too?"

"What the Shia Board spokesman has said is nothing very unusual. It is something that has been accepted by all of us — that the law must be followed. But it is being twisted to push sizeable sections of Indians, mostly Muslims, against the wall by making such statements now. This kind of politics is not good politics," Firangimahli said.

The *Indian Express* had on Thursday reported the statement of Maulana Ejaz Athar of the Shia Board, who said that a *fatwa* against cow slaughter had also been issued by a Shia cleric in India "around 40 or 50 years ago", and that "a person should follow the laws of the country where he lives".

While the AIMPLB is seen as largely oppositional to the values of the VHP and the BJP/RSS, there is no such positioning in the Shia Muslim Personal Law Board. Yasoob Abbas, the Shia Board's chief spokesman, had backed the BJP in the recent elections, and is seen to be close to the party, and especially to Home Minister and Lucknow MP Rajnath Singh. Members of the older personal law boards note that he has been part of Muslim delegations to the Prime Minister "at least thrice". To the old guard, the battles of the All India Shia Personal Law Board and the All India Muslim Women Personal Law Board are directed more at breaking with the larger umbrella body than at addressing purportedly unaddressed concerns.

Said Lucknow-based Zafaryab Jilani, legal counsel for the AIMPLB, "It is easy for them (the Shia Board) to take positions on triple *talaq* and *nikah halala*, as the particular sect they come from don't recognise it. Within the larger Muslim Personal Law Board, there are several sections, like the Ahle Hadees, that do not agree with triple *talaq*. But some sects do. So we need to take a more measured view."