

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis of the Social Science Textbooks

This chapter presents the analysis of the social science text books from Classes VI to X, developed by NCERT, based on the understanding of NCF, 2005. In the process of analyzing these books, various stages were involved. At the first stage, a detailed analysis of each chapter, of each book, has been done. At the second stage, this detailed analysis was summarized text book-wise. Finally, a thematic analysis has been done. To strengthen the text book analysis, teachers' interviews were, also, conducted. Finally, an overall analysis of the social science text book has been done.

In the present chapter, a summary of the descriptive analysis, along with the thematic analysis of each book, is presented. An analysis of interviews of school teachers has been presented here, to provide a better understanding of the social science text books from a human rights perspective. Finally, an overall analysis of text books, from a human rights perspective, has been presented.

This chapter consists of the following components:

- I. A summary of a class wise descriptive analysis and thematic analysis of textbooks (a detailed analysis of each book can be referred to from appendix I-V)
- II. Analysis of interviews of school teachers
- III. Overview of Social Science Textbooks: A Human Rights Perspective

I. Summary of the Class wise Descriptive and Thematic Analysis of Textbooks

Social and Political Life- I- Class VI

The Book, 'Social and Political Life -I', for class VI, starts on the premise that the knowledge about political institutions, already given, is not sufficient and promotes only rote learning. The book, thus, focuses on understanding the concept given in the text book, instead. Respecting the learners' experiences and involving their past

experiences, in the teaching learning process, has been considered essential. The book mentions the objective of promoting peer engagement, to develop reflective thinking and understanding. The book has been divided into four sections: Diversity, Government, Local Government and Administration, and Livelihood. Each section comprises of, at least, two chapters.

The book raises several different issues and concerns. The chapter, 'Understanding Diversity', provides proper attention towards gender concerns and talks about including the gender perspective in language. The first chapter has been written, accordingly. However, this understanding has been restricted to the first chapter only and, that too, only in the book written in Hindi.

A story of Samir one and Samir two has been used, to explain the concept of diversity. The story carries a positive thought but, also, strengthens the differences that exist between the poor and the rich. In this way, the story may become a reason for developing greater differences, rather than developing an understanding of unity in diversity

The term 'Difference' has been defined effectively in the chapter, 'Diversity and Discrimination', by acknowledging the eight major religions in the world and that each of these religions is practiced in India. Further, India practices 1600 languages and has over a hundred race forms. The picture provided is helpful in understanding the meaning of 'differences'. The meaning of the term, 'Prejudices', has been explained, as judging other people negatively or seeing them as inferior. This has been explained in the context of rural and urban life. But, it has not been explained comprehensively, so there is a possibility, that some students or teachers may believe that rural people are dirty, ignorant and superstitious and urban people are spoilt, lazy and cannot be trusted. The concept of, 'discrimination', has been discussed with different examples of Dalits, specifically, the example of ill treatment of Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and his brother, by the station master, has been taken. It is, also, important to highlight that the term 'Dalit' has been used many times. As the constitution considers everyone equal, using this derogatory term again and again, to represent a particular community, is not healthy.

The chapter, 'What is Government?', discusses the need and importance of a government for any nation. But, the role and function of a government has not been

discussed appropriately. The chapter is theoretical and, rarely, gives an opportunity to develop a practical understanding of democracy.

With reference to the kinds of government, only democracy and monarchy has been discussed and learners are fed with only the positive aspects of democracy. Developing a critical perspective towards democracy has not been discussed. Except voting, no other means and ways of participating in democracy have been discussed. This, also, has been discussed only as a positive mechanism, which is not appropriate and sufficient to develop the critical thinking abilities in learners. Lines such as, “not all sections of people can actually participate” are vague and demotivate people from participation and raising their voice against what is unjust.

The chapter, ‘Panchayati Raj’, discusses the function of the ‘Gram Sabha’ very interestingly with the help of a meeting of the ‘Gram Sabha.’ But, the relevance of this concept, to the context of urban students, is questionable. Though the problem of water in ‘Haridas’ village has been discussed, along with relevant examples, it is important to highlight that the chapter does not talk about the peoples’ rights, with reference to the ‘Gram Sabha’.

Rural administration has been discussed in Chapter Six. The chapter discusses the need for rural administration with reference to the needs for water, electricity and land records. The chapter deals with two basic functions of rural administration i.e. police work and maintenance of land records. The story of Mohan has been discussed, in which Mohan has to struggle a lot, just to file an FIR against land encroachment in his field by someone. The story gives a very poor impression about the police. Thus, there is a need to be very selective and careful while selecting a story to be included in the text as the objective should be to develop the faith of the learners in democratic processes.

Regarding the maintenance of land records, the functions of ‘Kanoongo’ and ‘Patwaari’ have been discussed. Further, the ‘Hindu Succession Amendment Act 2005’ has been discussed, which provides equal rights to women in parental property. But, still, it is an open reality that women are not able to exercise their rights, because of their socialization, that leads them to develop the understanding that the parental property belongs to the son. Such issues of socialization have not been discussed in the chapter, which would have given it a more human rights perspective.

Similarly, the chapter, 'Urban Administration', is a story based chapter and is very student friendly. It starts from a street, where children are playing cricket and, suddenly, a ball hits the street light, and the light gets broken. All the children return home and tell the entire story to one of the children's mother. She tells them to go to Yasmin Khala, who works in the Municipal Corporation. She explains that the lights, parks, electricity, water, cleaning of the street and so on, is the work of the MCD. She discusses the process of budget preparation for the municipality and how the counselor is paid. The important aspect, which has been left out here, is the composition of the MCD, which could, also, have been discussed, in brief. The example of Ganga bai is very appropriate. It shows how she fights for cleanliness in her locality. But, one question that is essential to ask here is that if one has to fight for everything, then where does the spirit of democracy lie? One of the main and very important responsibilities of the municipal corporation, that is 'education', has been ignored. Cleanliness, among other issues, exists within the school. Such examples can help the learners to relate their daily life to learning. But, such examples have not been included.

Further, the textbook consists of two more chapters regarding rural and urban livelihood. The chapter, dealing with rural livelihood, is based on some short case studies of: Tulsi, Shekhar, Aruna and Paarivelan. With the help of these case studies, various issues have been raised, regarding rural livelihood. The only concern, which needs to be highlighted here is, that the representation of poor families is dominant. The rich or middle class have been shown as exploiters, which is not a correct representation of village life. Though it is important to highlight the issues that have been raised in the chapter, it should not represent a biased perspective.

The chapter, 'Urban Livelihood', discusses the different professions that are prevalent in cities. A story of a '*Rickshaw-wala*' is given in the chapter, which shows the violation of the basic needs of human beings. This story shows the struggles of a person for arranging two square meals for him and his family. The service sector has been discussed more, regarding private jobs such as call centers, but the implications of such call center jobs has not been discussed, such as the associated issue of the decline of skills and that only English is being appreciated. **(For detailed analysis, please refer to appendix-pages 1-11).**

Thematic Analysis

Diversity vs. Unity: Diversity has been discussed, extensively, in the book, mostly in the first two chapters, through examples and stories. But, the difference between the poor and the rich is being strengthened. Possibilities of strengthening the preconceived notions about the poor and the rich also, exist in the book. Activities in the book should be revisited, as they talk about differences rather than equality. For instance, on page 8, students were asked to write about different ways of worship, marriage and clothing and so on, which they followed. Such activities make learners feel that they are different. Either these activities need to be revised or the activities need further explanations. The book seems to pay more focus on differences and diversities, than equality and unity.

Dealing with Prejudices: The book seems to develop arguments on the pre-existed prejudices, regarding the poor-rich, rural people and their lives, urban people and their lives and so on, which is inappropriate. These prejudices are more visible in chapters one, two, five, six, seven and eight. This will lead learners to think about prejudices, which is not viable.

Equality vs. Inequality: The book has talked about the discrimination faced by different marginalized groups, such as economic, social and political discrimination. Caste, class, gender based discriminations have been discussed extensively. But, at most places, the book emphasis more on inequality, than equality and this can develop a kind of negative attitude towards people, among learners. There is a need to include some positive examples, which may develop a kind of optimistic understanding, to give the content a more human rights perspective.

Gender equality has been seen in terms of theory, with reference to its legal perspective. For instance, the Hindu Succession Amendment Act 2005, has been given, but this law, itself, has very little importance, unless supported by social structures. This has not been discussed.

The Perspective and Function of the Government: The need of the government, for a nation, has been discussed, but, not the practicality or practical aspects. Only the democratic form of government has been discussed theoretically, which does not provide a comparative perspective and thus, provides

a one sided perspective only. Laws need to be discussed with suitable examples, for these learners. “People generally do not vote” creates a negative impression. Instead of this, how voting will help to form a more democratic government could have been discussed. We also need to strengthen the content in terms of the actual situation of elections in India, which has only been, theoretically, discussed.

Rural and Urban Administration: The function of rural and urban administration has been discussed in the book, but how rural and urban administrations are formed, is, missing. In other words, the election process of the Panchayat, rural and urban administration has not been given. This may confuse students about how all the work is done in their cities and villages. The function of rural and urban administration has been shown in a very narrow perspective and important functions such as education, discrimination against women and so on has been ignored. The lack of optimism is a negative aspect of the book.

Social and Political Life- II- Class VII

The vision of the book is to build awareness among learners, about the current social, political and economic issues. It aims to develop the learners’ ability to, critically, understand and analyze social and political issues, in keeping with the tenets of the Indian constitution. This would help learners to assimilate the values enshrined in the constitution, as well as their importance. Further, it helps learners to understand the notion of equality in Indian democracy. Efforts have been made to understand the concepts of gender discrimination, market and other related social issues.

The book presents different issues existing in society. Chapter one discusses the concept of equality and, to understand this concept, the story of ‘Kanta’ has been used to describe how Kanta feels equal to her boss while voting, as her boss waits for his turn, but feels unequal in the hospital, where she has to wait in a queue, but her boss does not. Inequality has been discussed with the help of the autobiography of Om Prakash Valimki. But, what exists in the present times and the students’ lives is missing.

The pictures of ‘Deewar’ (1978), the movie, have been shown, where a child polishing boots, refuses to take money thrown at him. While this shows the need for

dignity in life, it simultaneously, also, strengthens the idea of child labour, which is not correct from a human rights perspective. The civil rights movement, in USA, has been touched upon. But, the chapter is silent about the concept of economic equality.

The second chapter, suddenly, introduces the State Government, which is disconnected with the concepts discussed in the first chapter. At the outset, the title 'State Government' and the contents, which deal with the issue of 'Health Services', are not related to each other. Though it can be said that health services are taken care of by the respective state governments, the title 'state government' gives the impression that the chapter is about the functioning of the three organs of the state government, viz. state legislature, state executive and state judiciary, but the chapter only discusses health services.

Health has been seen as a part of fundamental rights and has been presented with the help of the story of 'Hakim Sheikh'. However, the chapter does not talk about the right of an individual to approach the court to protect his rights.

'How the State Government Works', which is the next chapter, gives greater importance to the way in which a legislature is elected and proceeds in the assembly. There is a difference between the process in which the government is elected and the way in which a government works. Thus, the title is not representative of the content. As far as formation of the government is concerned, it has been discussed only with reference to the party who obtains a majority in the election. But, the concept of a coalition government has not been discussed.

The chapter gives the impression that, during the discussion in the assembly, only an MLA can express his opinion on the subject under discussion. However, this notion is totally incorrect. During the discussion, selected members of various political parties, are entitled to express their views and that too within the time allotted to them. Further, the book says that any decision taken by the chief minister and the minister has to be approved by the legislature, which is against the basic principles of the state, where powers are distributed between three organs of the government and are independent of each other. Statements such as "the decisions taken by the ministers need to be approved by the legislature" need to be revisited.

The chapter, 'Growing up Boys and Girls', discusses the notion of gender bias. It discusses the enculturation of boys and girls and the specific behaviour expected from

them. Some questions have been raised, in the beginning of the chapter, such as, is the growing up of boys and girls the same, across different societies? How do responsibilities, at an early age, prepare them for their future roles as men and women? Why is work done by women considered less important and valuable than men? The chapter elaborates upon these questions. Such questions are quite important, as far as equality of men and women are concerned and raising such questions gives the text a human rights based perspective. The examples of Somoa Island and Madhya Pradesh provide good context to the content. However, there is an absence of optimistic examples. Some examples should have been taken where educated women have changed the scenario and challenged the existing biased practices. The story, 'My mother does not work', emphasizes that women work a lot at home, which is correct. But, the story, also implies that men cannot work at home. Showing that men cannot work at home, and substantiating it with examples, strengthens the pre-conceived notion that men cannot work at home. Such examples need to be avoided. Instead, examples, where men are shown to be working at home, could be more effective, as far as gender equality is concerned. The chapter seems to only highlight the problems of gender bias. Some optimistic examples, such as that of Kalpana Chawala and so on should have been included, as they can provide an idol image for girl students.

The book discusses the differences that exist in the professions for men and women and the role of education has been highlighted to deal with such differences. Raising certain issues, such as why specific professions are considered appropriate for women, stereotypical thinking about women and so on, give the content a human rights perspective based. The examples of Laxmi Lakra, Ras Sundari, Pandita Ramabai and Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain are really motivating and inspiring. Campaigning has been presented as a tool for the formulation of certain laws, such as the law against physical violence-2006, sexual harassment at the work place-1997 and so on.

The Chapter six, 'Understanding Media', tries to establish a link between means of communication and technology and business tycoons. Further, it, also, tries to develop an understanding of the role of the media, by discussing its role in developing an understanding regarding equality, brotherhood and so on, as these are our fundamental rights. It discusses the negative and positive aspects of media, but, it does not talk about the issues of accessibility of the media for people from the lower

economic class. Only the middle, urban class is the focus of the chapter. A historical perspective, and local means of communication such as the 'Chopal' and so on, are completely missing. The pictures used in the chapter, such as that of a laptop, a person talking on the phone, playing the guitar, PVR mall and so on., are only related to upper and middle class life. Ignoring the economically disadvantaged is inappropriate.

Chapter seven, 'Understanding Advertising', helps the learners to develop knowledge about advertisements, and to understand the brand and value determination of various things available in the market. Further, the chapter helps the learners to know and understand the social values of a brand. The use of emotions in advertisements is discussed in the chapter, but, the chapter does not talk about developing a critical perspective towards advertisements. Implication of the media for children, especially school going children, social life and economic life could have been added, to provide it a human rights perspective.

The next chapter, 'Market around Us', suddenly, shifts the focus from diversity to the market around us. This chapter deals with the understanding of a market and helps the learners to understand the process of the sale of goods, how they reach the buyer, who these buyers are, who these sellers are and the sort of problems they face. The two forms of the market presented in the book needs to be discussed. The book presents the poor, as those who purchase things from the weekly market and the rich, as those who purchase things from malls. Though who is purchasing what is not important, what is important is the way the book presents it. The chapter only seems to give information, without promoting critical thinking or the reasoning skills in the learners. In some places, a few questions have been asked but these are quite straight forward and do not initiate the students to reflect on issues. The influence of the market, on the lives of the people, has not been discussed at all.

Very interestingly, the eighth chapter, 'A Shirt in the Market', narrates the story of a shirt and its journey from the field to the market place, has been shown beautifully. In this story, the chapter helps students understand that, in this process, equal benefits are not given to all the people working and contributing towards making a shirt. This difference has been used to highlight the differences in the poor and rich in society. How the poor are exploited, in this process, has been presented with the help of the story of a cotton farmer. The chapter talks about the inequality prevalent in the market, which gives it a human rights based perspective. It raises several questions

about the state and its policies and draws the learners' attention to the aspect that, through a proactive role, people can prevent exploitation.

Chapter ten, 'Struggle for Equality', again shifts to social equality. Issues of inequality have been discussed, with special reference to Tawa Dam, in Madhya Pradesh, and concerns of the peoples' human rights have been touched upon. The Constitution of India has been presented as a living document. **(For detailed analysis, please refer to appendix- pages 11-22).**

Thematic Analysis

Understanding Equality: The book, effectively, deals with the concept of equality, with many hypothetical examples and small stories. The book highlights the issues of rights, critically; for instance we are equal in terms of voting, but unequal in social and economic terms. But, the relation between vote and food, and the relationship between vote and social life has not been discussed, which is fairly important. Such a perspective could have been included to provide a human rights perspective to the content. Though, certain relevant examples have been used, yet more are required to provide a balanced perspective.

Perspective towards Social Issues: In many places, pictures are shown to clear concepts. But, such pictures may develop an unhealthy attitude in children, such as the picture from the movie 'Deewar', where a child (doing boot polish) refuses to take money thrown at him, because it violated his self-respect and dignity. Yet, the problem of child labour has not been questioned in the book, which is essential. Other similar pictures need to be revised or re-discussed. It seems that the book is biased in favor of government policies and schemes and lacks a balanced perspective. Besides, it does not provide space to develop critical thinking about policies.

Narrow Perspective: In various chapters, the perspective is only one-sided or very narrow such as in the chapter, 'State Government', which only talks about the health services provided by the states. But, it has provided a very limited understanding about the state government and much more could be discussed, with reference to the function of the state government.

Only the legislative perspective has been discussed, with reference to how the state works, which is an incomplete perspective. Moreover, the Government and the legislature have been used interchangeably, which is a matter of concern. Government formation has been discussed, with reference to the majority party, yet, it is very clear, that today, in India, hardly any party gets a majority of votes and coalition governments are being formed. Nothing about the coalition government has been discussed. The book, especially the chapter ‘State Government’, says that any decision taken by the chief minister has to be approved by the legislature, which is incorrect, and as it is against the spirit of democracy and a parliamentary form of government.

Gender Perspective: The book presents gender biases prevalent around us every day. The expected behavior of good girls, and good boys have been given in the text book. Different issues and concerns associated with women have been highlighted, with the help of stories and actual life incidents, but, negligible examples have been taken from the urban area. Another point which needs attention here is that most examples are not optimistic enough to motivate the learners. Contribution of women in family and social life is overemphasized compared to the economic and political spheres. In some places, the book appears to strengthen the existing pre-conceived notions. For instance, the story in chapter four, “My mother does not work”, leaves an impression on the learners that men cannot work at home effectively, even if they want to. This is not right. Rather than saying that men cannot work at home, some examples, where men work at home effectively, could have been shown, to give the content a positive slant.

The book seems to blame men for everything, which is an unhealthy way to discuss the gender perspective, as it could lead to opposition, which will surely not solve the purpose.

The Role of the Media: The media has been discussed for its merits and demerits. But, much of the discussion is in favor of the media. The entire representation of media is shown through the middle class and ignorance is shown towards the poor class. In other words, what kind of relationship does media have with the economically poor section has not been discussed.

Along with this, the historical perspective of the media is completely missing in the book. Thus, it is important to bridge the gap between the past and present.

A very superficial understanding, without any criticality, has been given in the book, with reference to media and democracy. How school going children get affected by the media is a crucial perspective, which needs to be added to give it a more human rights based perspective.

Perspective of the Market: The market is discussed only to give information. The content seems to show that there are different markets, for different people, such as the weekly market for the poor and malls for the rich. This particular understanding is quite problematic. As, when assumptions are so fragmented, then, for sure, the concept will, also, be the same. Thus, the concept of the market seems to be biased with some pre-conceived notions. Though issues of economically weaker groups have been touched upon, it has not been done extensively. For example, how a shirt reaches the market has been discussed just for the sake of information, but who suffers and how, in this process, has not been adequately discussed.

Biased: There are certain places, where the book seems to be very biased, such as the Tawa Dam displacement which has not been seen as a very serious problem. Moreover, it has been shown that it is in favor of the people and their livelihood, which is not the complete truth. In the same way, Naxalism is represented against human beings. Thus, the lack of a balanced perspective, in some places, makes the book biased.

Social and Political Life- III- Class VIII

This book focuses on the rules of law and social justice. The vision of the book is to enable the learner to know and understand about laws, the rules of law, the inefficiency of laws and the needs and struggle for rights. The Indian constitution, secularism, parliament, judiciary, marginalized community and so on, are some of the topics that have been extensively discussed, in the book. The book seems to provide a holistic understanding about political processes and social issues, along with relevant examples.

The chapter, ‘The Indian Constitution’, elaborates upon the rules and regulations which govern the system of any nation, with examples of football, cricket and hockey matches. The constitution has been discussed with reference to democracy,

communism, and capitalism. It discusses fundamental rights, but the term 'human rights' has not been used, in any context. The characteristics of the constitution have been discussed. Federalism, in which the division of power, between the center and state, has been discussed, but the Panchayati Raj system has been ignored. Gender equality has been touched upon, with reference to the parliamentary system, but, there is no discussion about eunuchs in the context of gender equality. This is a serious concern from a human rights perspective. The process of voting has been discussed, with the help of a picture, where a man is voting. A picture of a women voting could have been more motivating.

The chapter, 'Understanding Secularism', starts with a comparison between the religions of western nations and religions in India, where only three religions (Hindu, Muslim and Sikh) have been given. Although it may not have been possible to mention all religions, it could have mentioned that many religions exist, simultaneously, in India. Here, one should remember Kancha Ilayaha and his pain, with reference to the dominant religion in our country. With reference to law and religion, the examples of 'helmet' and 'Pagdi' have been taken, which are quite unclear. Some other examples could have been taken to discuss this concept.

Further, the need for parliament in a democracy has been discussed in the chapter, 'Why do we need a Parliament.' The title of the chapter is appropriate, because the word 'we' represents all Indians, without any discrimination. It gives the feeling of an egalitarian understanding. A note for the teacher has been given, which suggests giving special care to the concept of parliamentary democracy and the functions of democracy. But, certain sentences in the chapter show male domination. For instance,; "*Pratayek nirvachan keshetra se ekvayakti ko sansad bheja jayga*", "*Bharat ka pradhanmantri.*", though women can, also, be Members of Parliament and the Prime Minister. Such lines do not reflect gender sensitivity. The chapter is quite ambiguous with reference to the functions of the 'Lok Sabha' and 'Rajya Sabha.' The functionings of parliament have been ignored and important rights, such as the right to food, has not been touched upon.

The chapter, 'Understanding Laws', perceives laws as necessary for developing an egalitarian society. But, the examples taken, need to be revisited. For example, the chapter elaborates on a case in which a government employee breaks rules and saves

himself. This particular example can be understood in two ways; first, it may lead to the understanding that all the government employees do not follow the rules and are involved in exploitation; second, how can one save oneself after committing a crime. Such things are important to share, yet they must have a positive slant. Such examples put a question mark on the dignity of a government employee and on the entire system of a particular field of work, which is inappropriate according to a human rights perspective.

The rule of law has been discussed in this chapter, with reference to certain undemocratic rules, during the British era. The concept could have been strengthened, if a discussion on the access of democratic laws to all human beings in the present context has been undertaken. Protesting against undemocratic laws has been discussed, but without developing a critical perspective. Some examples could have been taken here to elaborate this concept. The chapter talks about the fundamental rights and provisions of going to court, if they are violated. But, the gap between justice and poverty has not been touched upon, which is crucial from a human rights perspective. The discussion over the Domestic Violence Act provides strength to the content from a human rights perspective. Over all, the chapter discusses legal provisions, but not their use for one's rights.

The chapter, 'Judiciary', discusses the judicial system. It states that if fundamental rights are violated, then the law can be approached, which is really appreciable. It could have also discussed that justice, often, remains distant for the poor. The chapter talks about 'separation of power', but does it really happen? Can a judge be impartial to a politician? The students need to know the reality and not be acquainted merely with ideal statements, which have no meaning in the context of real life.

'Understanding our Criminal Justice System', is the title of the sixth chapter, which talks about laws and the different courts, although, the chapter should have focused more on criminal laws. Only a few criminal laws have been discussed. The chapter, briefly, discusses the PIL, which needs to be discussed in greater detail, as students need to understand the services provided by the Supreme Court. The services provided by the apex court and the rights of the citizens, with respect to the court, have been discussed only in a few sentences, which is insufficient. They need to be explained in greater depth, so that, when students go back to society, they are in a position to help spread awareness, which is an essential objective of education. In the

same way, the critical perspective has not been discussed, making the discussion insufficient. For instance, only discussing the mid-day meal scheme is not sufficient. The discussion should, also, include incidents about the various kinds of exploitation in the mid-day meal distribution. This would enable the students to become more aware about the food they are served in school.

The chapter, 'Understanding Marginalization', talks about the concerns of the marginalized communities, in India, in which caste based discrimination has been, particularly, discussed. In the beginning of the chapter, the term marginalized has been explained. A tribal family has been introduced and the reasons for their migration have been discussed. Thereafter, the chapter familiarizes the students with their language, religion, lifestyle and so on. The basic idea behind this may be to reconstruct the image of a tribal, so that a biased and discriminated understanding that the students may already be carrying, can be challenged. But, on the other hand, there is the possibility that students, who belong to the marginalized community, may feel inferior and may develop a negative attitude about themselves. A similar attitude about them may be developed in the non-marginalized students. This may cause a sense of alienation in the students, which, in turn, will hinder the interaction among students.

Further, the contribution of the tribal communities, in the development of the country, has not been discussed. This could have been explained with some examples. The issue of survival versus development could, also, have been discussed in this context.

Chapter Eight, 'Confronting Marginalization', is written in continuation with the previous chapter and discusses the policies and provisions to protect the rights of marginalized people. The chapter talks about the rights of marginalized people, with special reference to their fundamental rights. Further, it also, talks about the implementation of these rights and provisions, with reference to reservation and its need.

A poem, by the famous poet Soyarbai, provides a human rights perspective to the chapter. The poet says that caste is made by man, but man is not made by caste. An interesting story has been provided, in which a Dalit person's struggle for his rights and his taking recourse to law, have been depicted. The chapter explains the two different ways, through which the marginalized have exercised their rights. First, by insisting on their fundamental rights, they forced the government to recognize the

injustice that has been done to them and second, they insisted that the government enforce these laws. The perspective of protection of rights of the marginalized makes this chapter sensitive from a human rights perspective. Further highlighting the human rights perspective, certain acts for the protection of SCs and STs have been discussed, such as the problems of scavengers and so on.

Public Facilities has been discussed in the ninth chapter. The emphasis on the right to life, as guaranteed under Article 21 of the constitution of India, which covers ensuring the availability of public, utilities equally to all the citizens, is commendable.

‘Law and Social Justice’ is the last chapter of the book and deals with the laws made for the workers, consumers and producers, so as to develop a just society, where there is no exploitation of the workers nor are the profits of the producers kept on the backlog. The table given on page 122, which deals with the laws made, why each of them is necessary and whose interests they protect, is highly appreciable. More details could have been provided in the concept of ‘minimum wage’ and so on. For instance, providing contemporary data, would have helped clarify the concepts, further. The case study of the Bhopal Gas Tragedy (1984) has been presented very well and the detailing in the breach of safety laws has been discussed, later, in the chapter.

Overall, in the last two chapters, the language is appropriate for students of VIII standard. The presentation, pictorial representation and thought provoking questions are, indeed, commendable. **(For the detailed analysis, please refer to appendix-pages 22-32).**

Thematic Analysis

Representation of the Constitution: No human rights have been discussed in the chapter titled, ‘Understanding Constitution.’ The book has talked about the ideals of the constitution, but in a very vague way, nothing concrete has been said in this regard. With reference to the constitution, mainly rights and division of power have been discussed, which provide a very narrow understanding of the constitution. Even the division of power has been discussed very vaguely. Separation and division of power has been used interchangeably. The Panchayati Raj System has not been discussed at all and has not been mentioned, even when discussing the division of power.

Equality: Representation of religion has not been adequately given. The book seems to consider only three religions as important: Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism and though it is accepted that all religions cannot be taken up here, but acknowledging them is quite important. It is of foremost importance to not only accept other religions, but their identity as well. Another important point is that minorities play a major role in Indian politics, therefore, it becomes essential to acknowledge them. Some laws have been discussed with reference to religion, for instance about wearing a helmet or not, but, such concerns should be raised with reference to women. The book tries to give a comparative perspective, with reference to secularism in India and America. The struggle for independence has been discussed, but only with reference to famous personalities. It does not talk much about women's contribution to the struggle for independence.

Relevance of the title with content: It is important that the title of the chapter should represent the content it carries. There are some problems in the book, where the chapters are not adequately representative of the content. For instance, the chapter, 'Why Do We Need Parliament', should talk about the need for a parliament, it's working, how it gets effected or affects others and so on, but, nothing like this has been discussed and thus, makes the title a little unclear. There is no discussion even on the functional aspect of parliament. Some other titles of the chapters are inadequate, with reference to the content.

Examples: In some places, examples are not adequate. For instance, in chapter 4, 'Understanding Law', corruption has been discussed and the example of a government sector employee has been taken. Is this the right way to discuss corruption? It implies that the private sector is free from corruption. Such ambiguous examples should be avoided, as they only strengthen preconceived notions.

Perspective towards Law: The law has been discussed in various chapters in some way or the other, but, mostly, with a very narrow perspective. Only theoretical and government favored perspectives do not provide a healthy perspective to the learners. Importance of the social-cultural perspective has been ignored and nothing has been discussed with reference to the violation of rights and precautionary actions. This, again, is a drawback from the point of view of a human rights perspective.

Further, with reference to protests, some laws have been discussed, but, nothing has been said about the government declaring many such protests as undemocratic. It is, essential, to share this with the learners, as well, as such knowledge will help them question a wrong system. Examples to explain laws could have been taken from daily life experiences, such as the traffic signal, instead of the complicated examples given.

Lack of criticality is clearly visible in the content given from the judicial aspect of laws. Important aspects such as PIL, Act against Domestic violence and so on have been discussed very superficially and do not provide learners essential information.

Understanding Egalitarianism: Caste based discrimination, is a very common problem in India and is, also, a serious concern for human rights. Though the constitution makes arrangements to preserve the culture of all the marginalized sections, the situation is still grim. This book, specifically, has talked about marginalized people, which makes the content closer to a human rights perspective. The term ‘marginalized’ has been explained with introduction of a tribal family, along with reasons for their migration. The content makes students familiar with this language, religion, way of living and so on. The basic idea behind this could be to reconstruct the image of tribals for students’ understanding, so that biased and discriminated understanding can be challenged. Here, the book tried to touch upon the understanding of an egalitarian society, which does not discriminate on the bases of caste, class, gender, religion and region. Another idea behind this could be establishing the understanding of unity in diversity. Such discriminated understanding has been seen in various researches conducted in schools. Thus, it is a good effort by NCERT text books. Such examples will facilitate the learners to develop a positive attitude about such issues.

On the other hand, there are possibilities that students belonging to the marginalized community, may feel inferior and may develop a negative attitude about themselves. This attitude could develop in non-marginalized students, as well, as this may cause alienation among students. This alienation could hinder interaction among students, and is a cause of serious concern. Certain provisions

for marginalized people have been discussed, but, their social applicability is missing. This social perspective needs to be included.

Democratic Politics- I – Class IX

The vision of the book is to make the learner aware about democracy, from multiple perspectives. It takes the learners on a journey of democracy where it, specially, talks about democratic processes with reference to the constitution, electoral politics, functioning of the institutions and fundamental rights. The book appears to have a positive attitude towards democracy and its processes.

The chapter, ‘Democracy in the Contemporary World’, discusses different, actual incidents across the world of the making and unmaking of democracy, with some comprehension tasks and activities. These stories are meant to give a sense of what it means to experience democracy and its absence. The chapter first presents the pattern of the spread of democracy within a country, but towards the end of the chapter, democracy or its absence in terms of its relations between different countries has been given. The functioning of some international organizations has been presented, which raises the relevant question that are we moving towards democracy at the global level?

With the help of examples of Chile and Poland, two features of democracy have been discussed. First, only leaders elected by the people should rule the nation and second, that people have the freedom to express their views, freedom to organize, and freedom to protest. It is important to mention that the spread of democracy has been seen because of World War II. The internal struggle of a nation has not been acknowledged and there are some statements in the book that are quite problematic. For instance, in the example of Ghana, it has been said that, “After independence, Nkrumah became the first prime minister and, then, the president of Ghana. He was a friend of Jawaharlal Nehru and an inspiration for democracy in Africa. But, unlike Nehru, he got himself elected president for life.” These lines are quite unclear: What was Nehru’s contribution? Did he have the right to be the prime minister for a life time and did he refuse? What do these lines mean? The text book should avoid such biased statements without evidence. A very relevant issue of expanding democracy, American hegemony, the Iraq issue, and the possibility of a world government has been presented in this chapter. The questions given here lead to a discussion towards

international organizations such as the UNO. The voting system in the UNO has been criticized, which is based on financial contribution. The USA hegemony has, also, been highlighted with reference to Iraq.

To strengthen the understanding about democracy, the chapter, ‘What is Democracy? Why Democracy?’ has been included in the book. This chapter explains and elaborates upon the meaning of democracy, with its minimum features and tries to explain why democracy is the best available way of governance. The election has been the core of discussion on democracy, but, it is important to highlight that only an election is not the core of democracy. There are many other aspects, such as, rights, liberties, equalities, which also form the core of a democratic government. An election may happen in many states, but not, necessarily, be democratic. For unfair elections, examples of China and Mexico have been taken. In this regard, some examples could also have been taken from India, to contextualize the concept. Democracy has been presented as the best form of governance. What could also have been discussed is how people become active only at the time of elections, which ruins the spirit of democracy.

‘Constitutional Design’, is the title of the third chapter. It discusses the making, need, relevance and importance of the constitution in a democratic nation. The chapter starts with the examples of South Africa and the struggle of Mandela. The kind of racial discrimination, rejection of humanity that existed there, became the core cause for the need of a constitution. A discussion about the making of the constitution of India has been presented, starting with a discussion on the diversity present in contemporary times. But, there no discussion on relevant issues, such as the change in the judicial system in India, post-independence, but not in the police system in India has been given. The discomfort of Ambedkar, regarding social equality, has been highlighted, with reference to the constitution. Quoting Ambedkar, “the Constitution says that there will be one person, one vote and one value which will be followed in political life but, in social life, the value of the individual is not equal.” The importance of the preamble of the Indian constitution has been theoretically discussed.

Chapter 4, ‘Electoral Politics’ presents the election situation, in India and other associated concepts such as whose representatives get elected in democracy? Why is election needed in a democracy? What makes an election democratic? and so on.

The chapter starts with an example from Haryana, mentioning how people changed the government from Congress to Lokdal and, then, back to the Congress. Such statements reflect a biased understanding. The discussion is followed by a few questions, in which one of the questions asked was: “The Governor invited Devi Lal to become the Chief Minister because he was impressed with his speeches.” Such statements make students think in a predefined direction, which is not justified.

The chapter favors open competition for democratic elections in democracy. It states that, without competition, elections cannot be fair. But, competition also creates problems in the system, such as politics of fake propaganda, money, casteism, regionalism and so on, which, completely, ruins the spirit of election. The chapter argues that if people do not like the government and if the government does not work in favor of the masses, in the next election they may reject that party, for instance, if one shopkeeper does not have a good deal with you, you will go to the next shop. It is very strange that a shop has been considered equal to a nation. Such examples destroy the importance of the concept itself. Is running the nation similar to running a shop? Such examples are inappropriate and unjustified.

The formation of electoral constituencies, with regard to reserved seats for SC/ST, has been discussed. What is also important is that the information of the nomination form should be publically displayed, so that a better selection in the elections can be done. But, unfortunately, we do not have such a system in India and such understanding has not been presented in the book. In the same way, the guidelines regarding making complaints have been discussed only theoretically. Everything has been presented as if there is no problem in the election process in India. No functional knowledge has been given in the chapter ,regarding the rights, duties and elections, which is a serious concern. For instance, there is no discussion on the procedure to file dissent regarding elections.

The chapter, ‘Working of Institutions’, discusses the functioning of the legislative, executive and judiciary, in brief. The issue of OBC (Other Backward Classes) reservation has been discussed to explain the role of the judiciary. The chapter talks about the need for political institutions in democracy. The need for parliament has been shown, with reference to the supreme body, which makes laws for the nation, gets them amended, and decides where the capital of the government will be used. The Prime Minister has been discussed as an institution, where, it has been said, that

the leader of the majority party will be the Prime Minister. But, this is not true. The present government is proof that it is not necessary to be the leader of the party to become prime minister.

The judicial system has been discussed without the concept of judicial activism, which is inappropriate. Judicial activism means that people are losing trust in the executive. Such critical perspectives are missing.

Chapter six, 'Democratic Rights', deals, more, with the perspective of rights in the book. It has been discussed that if we do not have rights, then what will happen? What kind of life will we be living? Basically, fundamental rights have been explained in this chapter, with the help of some real life incidents. The role played by rights in our life, in recent years, has, also, been discussed. Examples of Guantanamo Bay and Saudi Arab have been taken to explain the concept. The chapter has elaborated upon the fundamental rights given in the Indian constitution. Different rights have been explained, but how these rights are being violated is missing. Right to food has not been discussed and not even been defended. This is a matter of serious concern and needs to be addressed. **(For a detailed analysis, please refer to appendix- pages 32-45).**

Thematic Analysis

Democracy: The book, broadly, talks about democracy, its way of working, establishment and challenges. It discusses the making and unmaking of democracy, in different parts of the world. The book discusses, extensively, the struggle of different nations for democracy and democratic processes such as Chile, Poland and so on. The common emphasis, in reference to democracy is the elections and the freedom of speech. Incomplete information has been given, such as the Second World War, which has been shown as the core of the spread of democracy in the world. But this is only, partially, correct.

Ambiguities: Certain examples have been very ambiguously given such as: regarding Ghana's President. It has been said that, unlike Nehru, he got himself elected as the President for life, which Nehru did not. Such lines imply that Nehru could, also, have become President for the rest of his life, but he did not

do that. What is the need to include these lines, if there is no hidden agenda? This question remains unanswered.

Arguments regarding the global government have been given, both in favor and against. An international agency, such as the UNO has been discussed. But its critical perspective has been ignored, which should have been included. How the IMF determines the policies of other nations has not been touched upon, which could have been done.

The case of Iraq has been discussed regarding the establishment of democracy by the USA, but it has not been discussed as to who gave this authority to the USA. Therefore, what happened and its critical analysis are two different things. Only what has happened had been discussed from one perspective. But, why it happened, we do not know.

The Need for Democracy: The need for democracy has been shown in terms of the participation of the people for governance and their contribution to policy-making, but how does it happen has not been discussed, except in the portion dealing with elections. The value of one person, one vote and one value has been discussed, but how do the economic conditions affect this value, has not been included. The chapter has emphasized accountability towards the people and quality in decision-making. In some places, the need for democracy has been shown with reference to other nations such as China and so on, in such a way, that it criticizes their governance. However, the perspective to analyze the situation and question the system is not effective.

The Constitution in a Democracy: The book talks about the need of the Constitution in a democratic nation. To establish the need of the Constitution, by giving certain examples from different parts of the world such as South Africa, America, regarding racial and other kinds of discrimination, but no examples have been taken from India to prove the need for a constitutional democracy.

The argument given for the importance of a Constitution is that, in a democracy, the decisions are taken, with certain rules and these rules frame the Constitution. This method of representing the need of a Constitution is not wrong, but is incomplete, and needs to be rethought. To protect the rights of the minorities is,

also, a reason to have the Constitution, so that a peaceful life can be ensured for the people.

Certain thought-provoking discussions have been given, such as the last speech of Dr. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly in which he said that we will be politically equal, but will be socially and economically divided. There will be one person, one vote and one value but, socially, the value of a person will be different in many aspects.

Elections: The overall representation of the elections is to prove that only democratic nations have elections, which is not true when we look at nations, such as China, in the world. The book seems to prove that the elected members are better representatives of the people. Certain measures have been discussed to have free and fair elections. But, the political rights and that all the citizens can fight for a seat in the elections needs to be discussed in social and economic terms, regarding the extent to which it is possible. Discussing this dimension will help learners to understand the democratic processes, critically. Other measures, such as a fixed amount of money to be spent, no use of the government amenities and property, in elections, need to be discussed in comparison with what, actually, happens. Why does democracy seem to believe what is on paper, rather than what actually happens? Using vague sentences such as, ‘the poor cast more votes than the rich, in India’, without giving any reason, does not provide a supportive argument for why the poor casts more votes than the rich.

The Working of the Institutions: The Legislature, Executive and Judiciary and their functions have been discussed, quite vaguely. How the House of the People celebrates more power than the House of the States, has been discussed. But, the role of the House of the States has, only, been discussed, as a subordinate of the House of People. For instance, if any bill is passed by the House of the People, the House of the States, ultimately, cannot stop it and can only delay the process. But, the House of the States has its own importance and significance in a parliamentary democracy, which needs to be acknowledged. In the same way, the role of the President has been shown as purely ceremonial, which is not correct. The history of politics in India knows that the Presidents in India have played a very significant role in decision-making.

With reference to the Judiciary, important information such as the judicial activism and judicial review, have not been discussed. It has as such not touched upon as to why, in the present times, we always look towards the Judiciary for everything. Does this imply that we do not trust the Legislature and the Executive and have started doubting them? Why? Such concerns need to be brought out in the book.

Rights: The Fundamental Rights have been discussed with hypothetical and real life examples. It has been explained as to how and what kind of life we will have without our rights. This has been explained with some examples, such as the prison of Guantanamo Bay, Saudi Arabia, and so on. With the help of these examples, it has tried to explain the fact that our life would become miserable without rights. But, the argument that democratic governments respect the rights does not fit here, because the USA has intervened in both cases, even though it is a democratic nation. Or can we call it an authoritative democracy? Such critical concepts have been ignored in the book.

The Rights have been explained as a claim of a person to society and the state and are associated with the dignity and respect of human beings. It has also been argued that these rights should be rational. A kind of relationship between rights and responsibilities should exist. The Rights should be without any kind of discrimination. This has been discussed, but no examples have been taken from India to explain this idea. Human trafficking, equality, liberty rights have been discussed. A special box has been given on the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), but only the formation and the administration have been discussed, which is not sufficient.

Democratic Politics- II – Class X

The book aims to help the learners to understand the political processes, in detail. Accordingly, the concept of sharing of power has been discussed extensively, along with the federal system of governance. Diversities in democracy, peoples' movement and political parties are other topics that have also been discussed. These topics help in addressing the need of a democracy. The challenges to democracy and possible solutions to them have been discussed, to evaluate the democratic setup and processes associated with it, in India. Thus, the main vision of the book is to build awareness in

the learner and develop a positive attitude towards democracy and the democratic processes.

The first chapter is, “Power Sharing”. The most important characteristics of modern age is humanism and solutions based on rational thinking. This chapter attempts to explain the aforementioned characteristics, with the help of relevant and practical examples. It is, with this perspective, that the topics of Democracy, Liberty, Social and Political Institutions have been discussed. The solution to an unwanted struggle at various levels, that emerges because of diversity, has been suggested through, “*Satta ki Sajhedaari*”

The examples of Belgium and Sri Lanka that have been discussed do not seem appropriate. It has been mentioned that since Belgium has given equal respect to both the languages spoken i.e. Dutch and French, it has managed to resolve the problem. In contrast, since Sri Lanka has not acted similarly, the language problem continues to persist there. Such conclusion seems incorrect. Further, India has given equal respect to all languages in the constitution, and, yet, the problem continues to exist in India. The story of Khalil’s Dilemma (Vikram and Betal) has been given on page no 7. It seems to strengthen the idea of rejecting the Sri Lankan system of governance and the provision of the constitution. Thus, a biased perspective has been presented. No scope has been provided for reflection. The terms ‘power sharing’, ‘power division’ and ‘separation of power’ have been used interchangeably. These words have, altogether, different meanings in polity. It is appreciable that the chapter accepts people as a source of political power.

Federalism has been discussed, in the second chapter, to justify the need of sharing power. The chapter starts with a very positive attitude, which states how we (India) run our governance successfully, through sharing of power, not only at the center and state levels, but, also, at the local government level, a new and third tier of Indian federalism. Page number 14, effectively, explains the concept of federalism. However, the repeated use of Sri Lanka, as an example, can be criticized. Distinctions between a unitary government and federal government, with reference to locus of power, and, also, in terms of democratic processes have been discussed. Diversity in India has been seen as the rationale for the federal system, in India.

Certain incomplete concepts have been presented, such as Kashmir having a special status—but the reason behind it has not been discussed. Similarly, language based

state formation has been favored, but has not been seen in terms of unity, with appropriate justification. It is simply stated in the chapter that our experience says that states, based on language, create harmony. However, the reasons behind it have not been elaborated upon. The Center-state relationship has only been discussed with reference to power sharing. This does not provide a complete picture of the relationship between the center and the state. Collaboration between the two could have been discussed, to provide a healthy perspective.

The chapter, 'Democracy and Diversity', explains the visibility of differences in our life, emanating on the basis of caste, class, religion, region, language and so on. The discussion creates a curiosity to know more about such differences. But, the chapter has included examples, mostly from other countries. Some examples from India must, also, be included. On page 32, the following statement has been presented: "it is fairly common for people, belonging to the same religion, to feel that they do not belong to the same community, because their caste or sect is very different". This does not leave a good impression on the students. Such lines enforce the existing thinking that we all are different beyond and within our religions. This view is contrary to a human rights perspective. The chapter shows that social diversities are responsible for all India's problems. But, the influence of politics on such social diversities has not been discussed. Most of the examples taken are pessimistic. Instead, examples showing that people live together, or those highlighting unity in diversity, could have strengthened the concepts.

Gender, religion and caste have been discussed in the next chapter. It starts with an effort to associate the learners' previous understanding, with the concepts that have been introduced in this chapter. The chapter is quite interesting and deals with three major aspects, which influence the Indian social and political system: Gender, Religion and Caste. It has tried to highlight that these aspects have both negative, as well as positive implications for democracy.

The chapter talks about equality between men and women. It is significant to highlight appropriate use of language, when addressing such issues. The language used should not be indicative of blame, since blaming will not solve the purpose. Further, it will create a sense of opposition, which will harass women further. Thus, it is crucial to think moderately and to work towards equality between men and women. A very good example of women's reservation has been taken up in the book, which is

still, pending in parliament. Such examples are motivating and deal effectively with a human rights perspective. Along with this, some examples of women political leaders could have been given, to show the contribution of women in politics. The chapter argues that, because of the secular nature of the state, the government cannot favor any religion. But, there are examples which prove that, on some occasions, the state has used secularism for the sake of politics. Such relationships have not been discussed, although they could have provided a critical perspective. The discussion about communalism also only reflects the problem. The possible solutions have not been discussed. Some other things that deserve attention are: in India, profession is based on caste —this is partially true, now; parties choose their candidates for election, keeping in mind their religion, caste and region--- such lines do not convey a healthy perspective. The chapter seems to emphasis on the influence of caste on politic, but the influence of politics on caste has not been discussed.

‘Popular Struggles and movements’, is the title of the fifth chapter, which helps the learner to understand the struggle for rights, that has been initiated by different people, in India. The examples of the struggle in Nepal, for the establishment of democracy, and Bolivia for water war, have been taken up. But, the chapter says that in Nepal, Mao’s party and other people got their work done through the arms movement, which cannot be appreciated. If the book supports such incidents, the students may develop a different perspective towards the functioning of democracy and the form of action that can be undertaken, while making significant decisions.

The focus shifts to Political Parties in the next chapter. In the beginning, the chapter talks about the necessity of political parties and their functions. The contribution of political parties has been discussed, but counter perspective of the problems created by political parties has not been discussed nor their use of peoples’ sentiments and religious faith for vote banking. Such realities need to be highlighted in the text books, in order that a healthy and balanced perspective can be developed, regarding the current situation of political parties. It needs to be highlighted that, sometimes, political parties widen the difference, rather than bridge the gaps between.... With reference to political parties’ programs, the congress ideology has been shown. This reflects a bias in favour of the party. The 1975 emergency should have been shown as a non-democratic decision, by the concerned party. But, such things have been ignored in the content. Page 83 talks about the challenges for political parties. Certain, very critical points have been raised, such as non-democratic environment in parties,

family hegemony, money, anti-social elements, lack of alternatives and so on. These challenges are based on some other issues that, also, need to be discussed, such as lack of education, poverty, and corruption. It is because of these problems that an ordinary person has not been able to take part in politics. Forget about participation, they are unable to vote the right person, of their own free will. The picture (page 86) of the election commission as ‘Tanashah’, with a hunter in hand, trying to control the political parties that are not listening to it, gives an inappropriate message, that things taking place in a democracy are a product of non-violence, which is incorrect.

The outcomes of and challenges to democracy have been discussed in chapters seven and eight. The outcomes of democracy have been written to evaluate the democratic processes and their comparison with non-democratic governments. It starts with lots of sensible questions on democracy and its processes such as: what does a democracy do? What outcomes can we reasonably expect of democracy? Also, does democracy fulfill these expectations in real life? The chapter states that the question will be analyzed with reference to the quality of government, economic well-being, inequality, social differences and conflict, freedom and dignity. The beginning of the chapter, thus, develops a special motivation in the learner to read the chapter. Further, the chapter discusses the strengths of democracy, in comparison to non-democratic nations, with reference to accountability, responsiveness and legitimacy. Here, the data presented shows an honest picture where nondemocratic governments rate higher on the scale of economic development, but accountability towards people is very low in such governments. The chapter seems to prove that the best outcome of a democracy is that it is a democracy. The rationale given for why development is not as fast in a democratic country, as in a non-democratic country, is that in a democracy more people are involved. However, this is not justified.

Chapter 8, ‘Challenges to Democracy’, has more focus on recapitulation and evaluating the students’ understanding about democracy given throughout the book. The chapter raises fundamental questions of democratic politics, such as what are the challenges that democracy faces in our country and elsewhere? What can be done to reform democratic politics? The chapter claims that the students will be able to find out some other ways to reform democracy and its processes. The chapter categorizes the challenge of democracy in three basic categories: the first is to establish democracy in non-democratic nations, which is called a foundational challenge; the second challenge involves applying the basic principles of a democratic government

across all the regions, different social groups and various institutions, which is called the challenge of expansion; the third is to strengthen the democratic processes, called deepening of democracy.

A discussion has been presented between Rose and Madam Lyngdoh, which clearly states that political reforms are not very simple and removing all politicians is not the solution. The discussion clarifies that laws can have little impact, unless attempts to made mislead and divide people in the name of caste and religion is existed, which gives students an understanding beyond the legal perspective a human rights perspective. **(For detailed analysis, please refer to appendix- pages 45-56).**

Thematic Analysis

Power Sharing: The book provides a rationale of why there is a need for power sharing. It says that diversities are spread all over the world and we do celebrate that but, sometimes, it becomes so vast, that we have to have a way out, to maintain peace and, for this, power sharing is the best possible way.

Examples and Notions: Examples taken to explain the concept need to be revisited at many places in the book, such as the argument regarding Sri Lanka, where it has been said that if Sri Lanka gave equal weightage to both languages (Tamil and Sinhala), the conflict can be resolved, as has been done in Belgium. But, how justified such examples, are needs to be rethought. If only constitutional acceptance could resolve the problems, then why does India have such problems? Belgium and Sri Lanka have lived different histories. Therefore, making such generalizations are inappropriate. Such declarative information is not an appropriate way to talk about the needs of a democracy and a constitution.

Confusing: The book talks about the sharing of power, but its essence is that of division of power, which needs to be rethought. Though the belief that sharing power is essential for democracy, it seems confused between division, separation and sharing.

Federal System: States formed on the basis of language, power division, and so has been favored in the book, for the successful functioning of the federal system. But, the federal system has been discussed with reference to the diversities in India. The best form of governance is federal in India and power sharing can make

the system work smoothly. If we start formulating the states on the basis of language, there will be more than a 100 states in India and this may cause further regional diversities.

State-Center Relation: State-center relations have been seen only on the basis of power division and sharing, as if there is no other relationship between the center and states, such as cultural, which have not been discussed. Therefore, it provides the learner a very narrow understanding of the state-center relationship.

Understanding Diversity in Democracy: The book explains how diversity has been seen in a democracy, but, all the examples have been taken from outside India. A few representative examples have been taken from the Indian context, whereas a few more examples are needed.

The book seems to strengthen the notion of diversity, but hardly any efforts have been made to discuss unity in diversity. Social structures have been blamed for the division or diversities in society. The political aspect has again been ignored, whereas in a Political Science book, there should be more focus on the political aspect. Consequently, lack of a Political Science perspective, is another matter of concern.

Marginalized Groups: The book discusses caste, religion and gender with respect to their marginalized identity and their conditions in society. Stereotypes, associated with women, have been given and it has been shown how women live a different life compared to men in society. But, the examples given are pessimistic. Some optimistic examples could have been included, such as the many successful political women leaders we have had in India. But, unfortunately, most of the time, the book is critical, rather than analytical.

Religion has been used with reference to secularism, but the only perspective given is that India is a secular state and does not favor any one religion. There are many incidences when secularism has been used for the sake of politics. Why have such critical perspectives, such as creating vote banks, not been included? However, not visualizing secularism as a form of an ideology is appreciable.

With reference to caste, gender and religion, the book seems to mistrust society which is not right and appear to be creating a safeguard for politics and political leaders. Caste based politics has not been touched upon.

People's Struggle: People's struggle has been discussed for establishing democracy. But, the reason that many people were in favor of change implies, that if more people are in favor of doing wrong, that will be done. An appropriate rationale is needed for democracy and not just numbers. With reference to democracy, Mao's example in Nepal has not rightly quoted. If we start favoring armed movements, then how will peace and the spirit of democracy be fulfilled? Only a social (and very superficial) perspective has been given about the people's struggle. A political perspective was, also, needed.

Need of Political Parties: The contributing role of political parties, in a democracy, has been discussed, but criticality regarding the formulation, membership and functioning has been ignored. The book argues that the faith of the people, on political parties, across the world, has decreased but, on the other hand, membership in political parties has increased. But, why has this happened, is more significant and is missing. Family, hegemony, money, social status and so on could have been discussed in terms of political parties.

Evaluating Democracy: The book evaluates democracy, in terms of the quality of government, economic well-being, inequality, social differences, conflict resolution, freedom and dignity of life. But, the book mostly, favors democracy, which does not give the students an analytical perspective. Even the points taken for analysis in the book are only the basic principles of democracy. The evaluation process does not talk much about economic equality, but talks more about freedom, which, again, provides a one sided view of democracy. Accountability, responsiveness and legitimization have to be adequately discussed, with reference to democracy.

Across the book, certain challenges have been given, with regard to democracy across the book, such as control of people over the government, a federal form of government, struggle for everything, social structure as the reason for problems, and so on. The book does not adequately deal in resolving the problems of economic imbalances and blames the social system, rather than the political system for this. The decline in the political system in a democracy has not been discussed. If we consider elections as the most important aspect of democracy, then why has only the majority form of government been discussed and not the

coalition form of government, which is the actual reality of the present political party system?

Challenges to Democracy: The book deals with the challenges of a democracy and categorizes them in three types: first, the establishment of democracy in non-democratic nations, second, challenges for expansion and third to strengthen the democratic processes. However, examples taken to explain these need to be revisited. Examples such as, the US intervention in other nations for the sake of democracy, need to be rethought.

The reforms suggested by the book, in terms of laws, do not seem appropriate. The book, on the one hand said that the social system is the cause for all problems not the political system and, on the other hand, it said that the laws can reform the system. Does this mean that politics will make laws and these laws will reform the system? The book does not appear to have any understanding on this.

II. Analysis of the Interviews of School Teachers

The Teachers' Perceptions about Textbooks

All the teachers interviewed said that the text books were written well, because they carried a lot of activities, colored pictures, and stories. The teachers said that there were some good activities given in the books, which helped the learners to understand the concept, effectively. Five teachers highlighted, that certain very critical issues have been raised. Only three said that books are Human Rights sensitive. One of them said that there was a lot of discussion about caste, class, gender, religion, and so on. But, when a researcher asked whether Human Rights meant only this, then most of them could not respond much and agreed. The teacher, further, added that if everybody become sensitive about these concerns, what could be better than this and, for him, this was a human rights perspective. But, he could not give concrete examples from the text book to explain how the books have a human rights perspective that makes text books sensitive.

Four of the teachers said that the book had some elements of Human Rights, but these were not satisfactory. One of them showed two basic concerns with the textbooks 1)

the books were very general in nature and content, nothing specific existed in the book to teach any concept substantially. The books only talked about what existed in the surroundings. He said that it was good to know about that but what after that? He said that the books carried incomplete knowledge. 2) the books 'Social and Political Life' did not represent the political life of society, adequately. More emphasis was given on social life and a sociological perspective, which was not right. He felt that the books were deliberately written in that way, so that the future generation becomes unaware about their rights, in practical terms.

Most teachers (eight) said that the teacher should be included in text book writings, because they know the actual reality of the field and they would not include too much idealistic or unrealistic matter. Two of them said that the social science text book only dealt with social issues and nothing else, which was insufficient.

On the same lines, three teachers mentioned that the books had some sense of a human rights perspective, but it was insufficient. Only stories were given in the textbook. Knowledge which could make learners aware and empower them was lacking. The books had not provided sufficient information regarding several topics which was a very serious problem. One of them said that the books mostly talked about the caste system and women's rights, but there were other issues, which could be included. She felt that these two aspects were overemphasized in the Social Sciences textbooks.

Two teachers, particularly, raised questions regarding content and said that the textbooks did not contain good content knowledge. Only sensitization would not help the future generation. Something concrete needed to be given and, in this respect, the books needed improvement. In contrast, one teacher appreciated that the books raised very good issues, which concerned our society and good activities had been suggested. She said that the students had space to think and could do something, otherwise it was completely based on rote learning earlier.

Most of the teachers (Seven) said that they had attended a few refresher courses about the textbooks, but all these courses were very superficial and did not help the teachers to effectively deal with the class. One said that the assumption behind these courses was that the teachers did not know anything and everything had to be given by the resource person whereas that resource person had never been in the school system. They felt that such courses were good to attend, but not practical for the actual

situation. Such orientations were rejected by the teachers, who stated that it was a waste of time and money.

Sensitive Issues (only raising issues)

It is very obvious that the Social Science textbook must talk about social issues to make the learners aware about them. Discussing such issues would help learners to develop a perspective regarding their social life. Three of the teachers accepted some good things about the textbooks such as organization, colored pictures, stories, activities and so on. The books raised some very crucial and important issues such as caste based discrimination, gender equality and so on, but it was, also, important to keep in mind, that repeating things, again and again, was not a good idea. There was a good possibility that students would develop a negative attitude towards the so called lower caste students. One of them said that he encountered many problems in the class, while discussing these issues. Students, sometimes, became very aggressive, especially when discussing religion. He felt that the books did represent a human rights perspective, but not adequately. He mentioned "*jaisa maine kaha ki spirituality is important. Lekin aisa kuch books mein nahi hai jo joda ja sakta hai*" (as I said spirituality is important, but there is nothing like this in books which can be associated with it). He greatly emphasized on spirituality in relation to Human Rights.

Two of the teachers said, though the books talked about caste, and gender issues, they, also, talked about children's issues and concerns. But, they said that they did not talk about how to solve or resolve these issues. One of them said that it was not the right way of teaching or awakening awareness about the problems in children. Some sort of suggestive ways also need to be discussed in the books.

Four teachers mentioned that the writing in the books was quite simple. One can add concepts, but the important thing was that how could one teach such concepts. One of them said that concepts such as caste, and so on. Were too sensitive and tough to teach in class. "*jaati ke muddo ko padhana kaksha mein kitna kathin hai, to bhi hum padhate hai or apni puri koshish karte hai. Or sara blame bhi hami ko milta hai*" (teaching issues like caste is very tough still we do and we are the only once who are blamed). She was very annoyed with such situations.

In contrast, three teachers said that the textbooks were well written and dealt with some good, sensitive issues. One of them appreciated that these books were far better,

than the previous books. The Social Science books gave an open space for thinking and reflecting, but only on the processes, not on content. He also mentioned that the books were less knowledge oriented and gave space only to talk and discuss very general issues, which was insufficient. He said that in the earlier classes, the content was very general but, suddenly, in 9th class, it became very tough which the students couldn't understand on their own. Thus, a kind of co-ordination between different standards, needed to be thought of.

Another teacher said that the Social Science textbooks, especially Social and Political Life, were more general in nature and not based on political understanding. It seemed that this understanding and perspective had been deliberately removed from the textbook and they had become only story telling books, talking about social issues sociologically, but not politically. Though issues of equality, freedom, rights and so on were raised, but their representation was inadequate.

On the same lines, one teacher, very assertively said that inequality should be discussed in a limited way, while discussing equality. Otherwise, the basic objective was defeated. He also said that the books were over dominated, with the sociological aspect compared to the political aspect. According to him, Social and Political Life textbooks did not do justice to the political science perspective.

What would a Teacher Like to Change in Textbooks?

It is essential that the review of the textbooks should be done from time -to -time, so that the upcoming concerns can be added and things and perspectives, which were left out could be included. On asking what teachers would like to include in Social Science textbooks, one stated that the books were well written and he did not think that more needed to be added in the textbooks. He said that the books were full of activities and stories, which made learning interesting. After asking, more specifically, about what changes would he like to make in the Social Science textbooks, he said that some content, which was knowledge based needed to be added, because the books did not acquaint the learner with such knowledge. The books only talked about very general things about society. He admitted that these were important but, incomplete, until some concrete knowledge was given. He, also, mentioned that Social Science books needed to be revised, with reference to the political aspect.

One teacher said that the questions, at the back of the lessons, were very vague and had very little relevance with regard to evaluation. Most of the questions were application based and could not be answered effectively, in the exams. We should accept that our education system is still exam oriented. He said that knowledge and understanding based questions must be part of the textbooks, which was absent in the current textbooks of Social Science. He said that the current books of Social Science would only sensitize students about issues, but the books did not help to give them any practical knowledge about these issues. For instance, in Social and Political Life, the books were full of social issues, but nothing like political awareness had been mentioned, which was a very serious matter. Therefore, the content of the textbooks needed to be revised. He mentioned that a human rights perspective needed to be taken care of, while writing books. Here, the teacher undermined the effort and worth of the text book he had taught as having a one directional view.

Another one said, *“pustako mein or jyada maanavadhikaro ke muddo ko add karna chahiye taaki vidhyarthiyon ki behtar samjh ban paye”*(more issues of human rights are required to be added in the textbook so that students can develop a better understanding about them). But, she could not say anything specific about including this in the text books to give them a human rights based perspective.

There teachers elaborated that many issues had been raised in the text books with reference to caste, class and gender. Some examples were inappropriate, said a teacher, but, could not state any specific example. He said that stories and other incidences were pessimistic, rather than being optimistic, as they constantly talked about problems, which should be avoided. He, also, said that there were some chapters, which had no linkages with the previous chapters. Thus, the students could not make sense of these chapters.

One of them said that examples such as, “The Valmiki Basti in Haryana”, developed a negative attitude towards that community. Repeatedly talking about the same thing was not a healthy practice. Representation of people with a specific caste, is not the right way of writing textbooks. This representation would develop a negative attitude about that particular community.

Two teachers, also accepted that it was not a good idea to include so many legal issues in the Social Science textbooks, but, an adequate representation needed to be given, which was lacking. Examples, such as controversial issues related to religion,

and so on, should be given in the textbooks, only after deep thought. On the same lines, one said that it was not necessary to deal with an in-depth knowledge of the legal perspective of rights, but some kind of strengthening, in this respect, was required. At least, the learners should be aware about his right and responsibilities, which was not clearly specified in textbooks.

One stated that the Social Science textbooks were well written, but, not up to the mark, as some topics, even chapters, were abstract, such as the history of clothes and so on. She specifically said that the chapters. “*Sansthao ke Kaamkaaj*” and “*Chunavi Rajneeti*”, were quite tough and the students faced lots of problems in these two chapters. Thus, these should be re-written with a different orientation. She said that the Political Science books, indirectly, praised the present government. The books did discuss some critics as well, but those were nominal. Thus, the students developed a biased perspective. She mentioned that the books only sensitized students about problems and should empower them to raise questions and give solutions, were necessary. Sometimes, a student came into a lot of conflict, which became tough to resolve. Thus, she said that the book needed some improvement.

Functional Knowledge

Many teachers (Seven) said that the book only provided theoretical knowledge and that the books were full of examples, incidents and stories. One said “ *yahi kitabe nahi,aj tak jitni bhi kitabe likhi gai hai, sabhi saidhantik batein karti hai. Vayvharik gyan ki to koi baat hi nahikarta. 12th class tak Political Science padne ke baad bhi koi ye nahi jantaki FIR kaise likhwat ehai, kaise RTI likhi jati hai or kis ko bheje.Ye sab batein kahan kitabein sikhaati hai*”(not only this, but all the books earlier books, only talked about theoretical knowledge, no one talked about practical knowledge. The students, who have studied Political science till class 12, are not aware of, how to get on FIR (First Information Report) launched, how to write a RTI (Right to Information) and whom to send it to.

Three of the teachers said that the books talked a lot about women’s exploitation. But, what a woman can do was not made a part of the textbooks. The teachers said, “*kitabean aware to karti hai ek had tak ki shoshan ho raha hai par karein kya,ki koi baat nahi ki gyai. Keval alochana karna to paryapt nahi hai*” (for sure, the textbooks make learners aware about exploitation, but what can be done to curtail this has not discussed. Only criticizing was insufficient).

One teacher raised the issue of elections and said that no critical perspective could be developed from the given content. Saying only that one must vote was not enough. One said that the actual meaning of Political Participation should be talked about and some practical knowledge should, also, be included, so that learners could critically evaluate the system.

Less Political Knowledge

Many teachers (Six), also, raised the issue of a Political Science Perspective. They said that all the books from classes 6th to 10th, were dominated by a social perspective, ignoring the political perspective. They mentioned that it was important to have an understanding of the Social perspective of issues, but one couldn't ignore the Political perspective, especially in Political Science text books. Two of them said that every problem was seen as a social problem. The books hardly talked about the political perspective of problems, which was very unfair for Political Science students. On the same lines, one said *“Sarkar ne jaan bujkar aisi kitabein likhi hai taki rajneetik jankari na mile or sab samsayaon ke liye student samaj ko zimmedar manane lage”* (The government has deliberately written such books, so that the student considers society responsible for all the problems, rather than politics).

Another said that the caste system and gender discrimination were not the only constructs of society. The political system played a major role and was still doing so. Then, why such perspectives had not given in the textbook, was very surprising.

Activities and Time (contradiction)

The current Social Science textbooks are well known for the activities they carry with them. But, the teachers who are the actual practitioners, had a different perspective regarding these activities. With reference to the activities, one teacher said that the teachers should have some space and authority to decide on the different activities. In this way, they would be able to develop the activities, according to the needs of the class. One said that the activities mentioned in the textbooks were good, but if she used them, she failed to think for herself. Therefore, she believed that her ability to think in new ways did not develop and she is become completely dependent upon the textbook, which, according to her, was not good for a teacher.

Another teacher said that the activities suggested, sometimes, activities were so comprehensive, they could not be completed. For example, reading the newspaper for the next one month and discussing things appearing in it. This was something impossible, especially when there was a fixed schedule for course completion. She said that it caused a conflict and nothing happened. Thus, she said that the activities should be left to the teacher to develop. By providing such activities, the teachers stopped thinking and used those activities, without proper thought. She said *“hum to kathputali ban gaye hai jo diya gaya hai wahi padhana hai or kuch nahi, to hamara vikas kaha hua jinse students ke vikas ki umeed ki jati hai”* (we are just puppets and have to teach whatsoever is given to us, so, how can the students development be expected). She was very dissatisfied with the entire system. She said that the Social Science textbooks were just to be read and forgotten. These books did not give sufficient knowledge to the learners, but made them dependent on some data all the time. The students were losing their memory. She related this with the example of a phone, *“jaise hume apne ghar ka number tak yad nahi rahta or baar baar phone dekhna padta hai usi prakaar students bhi yaad nahi rakh pate”* (as we even do not even remember our house telephone number and have to see the mobile every time, in the same way students are not able to remember learned knowledge). She said that it was not a good practice. Their students were losing their ability to remember things, as there were many things which had to be memorized. The books were inadequate and, hence, she felt uncomfortable with them.

Two teachers mentioned that although many activities had been given in the text books, half of them were useless and could not be done, for two reasons: first, the teachers had lots of extra work and no time to prepare innovative classes; second, the activities required some material, which was difficult for poor students to procure. One teacher quoted a simple example and said, *“agar news papers ki cutting hi mangwani ho to kaise layenge bache or kaha se layenge. Ye kaam unke liye pahad jaisa ho jata hai”*(if students are asked to bring newspaper cuttings only, this become a tough task for them as from where will they bring these). He also said that giving such a task to them was, somehow, unfair, as they could not afford it. Would it not be a violation of their Human Rights? Thus, the textbooks were Human Rights based, but only to some extent, and needed a lot of improvement.

One teacher said that, though some activities were given in the books, yet they were insufficient. He suggested that everything should be left to the teacher or everything

should be given to them, but they were caught in the middle and, in this way, they were unable to give their best. In school, they were given nothing. They did their duty, due to the rules and policies. Consequently, he felt that the books were too vague.

The Role of Teachers:

Most of the teachers (Seven) said that they did not have any role in the teaching - learning process. They, broadly, gave two arguments about this: first, a teacher had lots of work, other than teaching and second, the text books had a very fixed role for teachers, in which a teacher had to follow the given instructions.

Four teachers said that, except teaching, they had to do lots of school administrative work and, along with this, each teacher had to take 6-7 periods per day. In such a situation, how could a teacher play a significant role? The teachers, specifically, talked about their duties during the election. They said that particular time could be used for their academic development, but they were forced to do duty during the census and elections.

Three of the teachers said that they were the least trusted community. They said that teachers were not consulted, while taking important decisions regarding school education. They mentioned that they were hardly asked for help during writing books and even if they were, it was very superficial. One teacher said, *“hum to keval niyamo ka palan karne wale hai. Ye tak nahi keh sakte ki ye niyam theek nahi hai. Diye gay ekamo ko karna or chup rehna hamari job hai. Or yahi hamara role hai”*(We just obey the rules. We cannot even say that these rules are not right. Just do given work and be quiet is our job and this is our only role).

Examples in the Textbooks

The examples always help to understand the concept effectively. The Social Science textbooks also have lots of examples. All the teachers appreciated this effort, which had not been done before. They said that the given examples made the learners aware about the system they were living in. But, one teacher said that the majority of examples were negative (pessimistic) where only the exploitation of women and caste based discrimination was shown. He accepted that it was important, but along with this, some positive examples could have been taken, about success stories against such exploitation. But, very few such examples had been given.

Overemphasis

There are various social issues which should be raised by the textbooks, but according to one teacher's point of view, only two issues were overemphasized in the text books: the first, women's discrimination and the second, caste based discrimination. They said that these were really very crucial issues to talk about, but to what extent? This needed to be thought about. One said, "*ye janbhujkar kiya gya hai taaki rajneeti ki samaj kam ho or in mudho par bahas jyada ho or rajneeti or uske vayvhar bache rahe , jo katayai theek nahi hai*"(this is deliberately done, so that, the student learns less about politics and more about social issues and politics and its behavior can be guarded).

Three of the teachers said that over emphasis on caste issues would develop a negative attitude in the children. They said that this would create more problems for a student, and even for the teachers, to deal with such situations.

III. Overview of Social Science Textbooks: A Human Rights Perspective

This particular segment of research will present the theme based analysis of the Social Science textbooks from a human rights perspective. The base of this segment is the analysis done in the last segment (i.e. the chapter wise analysis and, then, the book wise analysis).

Pessimistic Examples: The analysis of the content of the text books shows that the books were full of examples, which have been used to explain certain content to the learners. But, what has, also, emerged from the analysis is that the examples used are pessimistic. There were very few examples which were optimistic. The optimistic examples could have motivated the children in a more positive way, to make the learners aware about their rights and responsibilities. But, unfortunately, the examples titled more towards the side of pessimism. For example, the exploitation of women has been shown, but where women have done contributory work for their nation has

been ignored. Therefore, some optimistic examples could have been included to make the books more human rights perspective-based, because optimistic examples would positively motivate the learners to respect and appreciate each other's life, with dignity. The same is true with caste and other issues, which exist in India. The teachers said that the examples used in the books were pessimistic, rather than optimistic which could develop a negative attitude in the learner about his surroundings, which is inappropriate.

Political Science Vs. Sociology: The books were also criticized as dealing with a more sociological perspective, than a political perspective. The examples tilted more towards social life, than political life. The issues raised were more sociological in nature and the ways suggested to resolve these issues were more social, than political. Thus, the difference between the sociological and the political way of looking at issues was not reflected in the books. The social system has been blamed for all the problems in the social and political life, which is inadequate way of presenting the content. There seems to be a deliberate effort to make the learners unaware about the political science perspective, to the problems.

The teachers mentioned, in their interviews that the books talked more about the social issues, than political ones, which was not right. They mentioned that it had been done deliberately to make the future generations unaware about their rights, in political terms. They said that the caste system and gender discrimination were not the only constructs of society. The political system played a major role and is still playing this role. Then, why such perspectives have not been given in the text book, is very surprising.

Activities and the Role of Teachers: The text books had lots of activities, which helped the learners to engage themselves with the content. Almost all the books from classes VI to X, carry activities. Some activities are subject to revision, such as 'listing gender based work' and so on. and need improvement, as they have the possibility to maintain the status-quo, with reference to gender. The teachers accepted that the books were full of activities, but they raised some issues such as lack of time to prepare the activities, the extra work with teaching and so on. Some teachers said that everything had been given in the book, even activities. Consequently, the teachers did not bother to develop their own activities and that they were, thus, not developing, as far as teaching was concerned. They called themselves 'Kathputli'. They

mentioned that the role of teachers was just to follow the instructions given in the book. They said that their role had been minimized in the teaching-learning process. They said that teachers were the least trusted community and only obeying orders had become the role of the teacher. In this regard, the teachers, also, said that the refresher courses, generally, could not be used practically.

One Sided Perspective: The books, at most places, talked about only one dimension of the concept. Democracy has been discussed only for its merits, which did not provide enough space to analyze it and without analyzing it how could one develop a critical perspective about the functioning of a democracy. The books seem to feed the learners only with the positive aspects of a democracy. In the same way, elections showed that nothing was wrong with the political parties and the process of the elections, which is, again, inadequate. State- center relations were limited to power sharing, as if there is no other kind of relation between them. It is really a very narrow and one sided perspective. Livelihood, in urban and rural areas, has been portrayed as that the rich exploiting the poor and this is a social construct. The challenges in a democracy have been seen in terms of spreading and maintaining it, which does not provide space to critically evaluate a democracy. The seventh class book consists of certain pictures and explains only one perspective where in a picture from the movie 'Deewar' a child, polishing shoes, refuses to take thrown money. However, the perspective of child labour has been ignored.

There are some other chapters where the perspective is only one sided or very narrow such as the chapter 'State Government'. It only talks about the health services provided. In the other chapter, only a Legislative perspective has been discussed with reference to how the state works, which is a very incomplete perspective. Moreover, the Government and legislature has been used interchangeably, which is a matter of concern. The Government formation has been discussed with reference to the majority party, but the coalition government has been ignored.

Equality: The concept of equality has been discussed with reference to Gender, caste, religion, and so on. All these categories have been shown only in terms of their oppression with pessimistic examples. The people, who have really contributed and done good work, have rarely been introduced. The teachers mentioned that the books were full of pessimistic examples, rather than optimistic. In most places, the books emphasized more on inequality, than equality which developed a negative attitude in

the learners. There is a need to include some positive examples, which may develop optimistic understanding to give the content a more human rights based perspective. On the same lines, the teachers mentioned that emphasizing inequality would develop a negative attitude in the learners, which was in appropriate.

In some chapters, gender equality has, also, been seen in terms of theory, with reference to its legal perspective, for example the Hindu Succession Amendment Act 2005 has been given, but, this law itself has very little importance, until social structures support it. This has not been discussed. At certain places, purely, men are blamed to be responsible for gender discrimination, but such blame could create opposition, which is a matter of concern. Women participation has also not been discussed, adequately, in politics. At some places, it has been shown that a man cannot work at home effectively, which strengthens this preconceived notion. It has been discussed how one person, one vote and one value does not exist anymore, which needs further discussion.

Religion has been used, with reference to secularism and India has been correctly considered as a secular nation, but why a critical perspective, such as using religion to create vote banks, not been included? However, not seeing secularism of an ideology, is appreciable. The teachers mentioned their difficulty in teaching about religion, caste and other such concepts. They said that, sometimes, the students got very aggressive, especially while discussing religion. One of the teachers related secularism and religion with spirituality.

Democracy: Broadly, text books of classes IX and X, talk about democracy and the democratic processes. Democracy has been presented, as a need of the world, in contemporary times. Democracy has been compared with monarchy, but mostly, with reference to elections and rights, whereas a democracy is much more than this. The need of a democracy has been shown in terms of the participation of people for governance and contributing to policy making, but how does it happen has not been discussed, except in elections. The Constitution has been seen as an important aspect of democracy, which governs the system effectively.

Though elections have been shown as the spirit of a democracy, but the associated problems have rarely been highlighted. Hardly any space has been given to critically look at democracy.

Diversities: Diversity has been discussed in almost all the books, from classes 6th to 10th, in some way or the other. Diversity has been represented in terms of caste, gender, religion and so on. The diversity has, also, been discussed for the rationale of the federal system and the democratic system in India.

The content provides a rationale, as to why there is a need for power sharing. It says that the diversities are spread all over the world and we do celebrate that but, sometimes, it becomes so vast, that we have to have a way out to maintain peace and, for this, power sharing is the best possible way.

The books seem to strengthen the notion of diversity, but very few efforts have been made to discuss unity in diversity. The social structures have been blamed for division or diversities in society. But, the political aspect has again been ignored. In a Political Science book there should be more focus on the political aspect.

Biasness: The analysis proves that, at some places, the content of the textbooks seems to be biased. For instance, media has been discussed for its merits and demerits but, mostly, the discussion is in favor of the media. The entire representation of media has been shown through the perspective of the middle classes. What kind of relation does the media have with the economically weaker sections, has not been discussed, which makes it biased towards one side and one perspective. There are many other examples like this, such as the Tawa Dam displacement, Naxalism, language problems in Sri Lanka and Belgium and so on.

The content appears biased in various other ways, as more sociological than political issues have been discussed. The content seems to be favor of the government and its policies, without providing space for critically evaluating them. In the same way, democracy has been presented, without space for critical thinking.

The teachers mentioned that correct information was not given in the book. At most places, the content was in the form of a story, which was really interesting, but did not empower the learners. The teachers, also, said that the textbooks only talked about the problems, but not about the solutions. A teacher very, assertively, mentioned that the books were less knowledge oriented.

Government: The need of a government, for a nation, has been discussed, but not the practical aspects. Only the democratic form of government has been discussed theoretically, which does not provide a comparative perspective and provides only

one sided perspective. Laws need to be discussed with suitable examples, as far as age is concerned. The participation in a democracy has been discussed such as voting, rallies, strikes and so on, but statements such as people, generally, do not vote, creates a negative impression. Instead of this, how voting would help to form a more democratic government could have been discussed. Along with this, the book needs to strengthen the content, in terms of the actual situation of elections in India, which has only been theoretically discussed.

One teacher, particularly, said that the present books favored the present government, which was not fair from a human rights perspective.

Rights and Duties: Rights and Duties have been discussed throughout the books, but the dimension is social, not political. The Right to equality, The Right to liberty, women rights, rights of minorities and, so on, have been discussed in the book across the classes.

Fundamental rights have been discussed with hypothetical and real life examples. It has been explained how and what kind of life we will have without rights. This has been explained with some examples such as the prison of Guantanamo Bay, Saudi Arabia. With the help of these examples, the text shows how miserable our life would become without rights. But, criticality towards rights, has not been discussed, in particular, political right. Rights have been explained as the claim of a person to society and the state and they are associated with human respect and dignity. It has, also, been argued that these rights should be rationale. A kind of relationship between rights and responsibilities has, also, been discussed. But, the Right to food and economic equality and the Right to Education has hardly been touched upon.

The teachers mentioned that the books talked more about theoretical understanding and where ever they talked about practicality, it was, very general, in nature, which did not equip learners with knowledge. The teachers, specified that Human Rights should be, explicitly, added to the textbooks.

Rationality of the Arguments: The books provide a rationale for the stand they have taken, but the arguments have not been very satisfactory, including diversity for democracy and the federal form of government, constitution for the language problem in Sri Lanka, men blamed for the poor condition of women, US intervention in Asian countries for establishing democracy and so on. Along with these, there many other

examples and arguments have been given in the books, which really put a question mark on whether they have really it seem appropriate ideas that should be mentioned, in the textbooks. Very interestingly, population has been stated as the cause of poverty in India, which is in correct.

Promotion of Critical and Reflective thinking: For various concepts, chiefly democracy and elections, the content seems to favor the existing trend and does not provide space to develop a critical and reflective understanding regarding concepts. It appears to that the students have been given a pre-determined view. The analysis of the interviews shows that the books have a very general nature and content, nothing specific had been provided in the books, for substantive teaching. Thus, hardly any scope for reflection and criticality has been given.

Class based Discrimination: Indian society is not only divided on the basis of caste but, also on the basis of class. But, the books have not talked much about the discrimination that is happening, based on class. Over emphasis has been given on caste and gender based discrimination. It is important to discuss the discrimination people face because of class, but this has not been discussed because we do not consider class disparities important, in comparison to caste and gender.

The Social Structures are Responsible for all the Miss-happenings in India: The books clearly seem to put the blame on the social system, for all the problems existing in society such as education, equality, liberty and so on. That is how, the books seem to create a safeguard for the political system. Though differentiating or understanding the political system outside the social system is tough, yet, when it comes to policy-making and decision-making based on such policies, the political system plays a major role, which is very positive in nature. The social system including the elections, establishing democracy, gender equality and so on have been questioned. The books have not provided the learners a healthy perspective and the content does not reflect a human rights perspective.

The Right to Food: Many arguments have been given in the book, to prove that India is the biggest democracy in the world, providing all kinds of rights to make the nation more egalitarian, Rights to speech and liberty have been discussed many a time in the books, in almost all the classes. But nowhere, has the Right to food been talked about.

Nowhere, has it been questioned, why the biggest democracy in the world, does not provide Right, to food. Or can we say that India does not have the capability to feed its own citizens. In the same way, economic equality has also not been touched upon.

Laws vs Social System: The books seem to blame the social system for all the problems, in India, such as corruption, caste based problems, gender issues, economic issues, less education and so on. The content and arguments avoid discussing the political system. Why have such things not been presented in the book? Is there any hidden agenda? No, it is a clear agenda to create a safeguard for the political system in India. One may argue that the political system is not more separate from the social system, but society and people do not make rules, until they do not have political power. Thus, the political dimension, also, needs to be discussed, with reference to the existing problems. The teachers said that it was not a good idea to put all legal matters in the Social Science text books, Instead, an adequate representation needed to be given, which was absent.

Development vs Democracy: Development was the first need of India, after Independence and democracy has been chosen for this purpose. But, development taking place in democratic nations, needs to be evaluated. It has been assumed, in the text books, that if there is a democracy, there will be development. Even the books prove, with authentic examples, that non-democratic nations are more developed, than democratic nations and that has been justified with only the right to speech. Right to food and other such concerns have been ignored. Thus, how development takes place in a democracy and what challenges does it face, need to be discussed.

Functional Knowledge: Though the basic principle of the books is to contextualize knowledge and to empower people to use it in their life, the textbooks are not up to the mark on this principle, because functional knowledge has not been included, such as regarding elections- how to fill the nominee form for an election, how to oppose elections in one's locality constitutionally and so on. People's struggle for rights has been shown, which is appreciable. But, is it sufficient to talk only about the struggle for rights? The teachers said that there was a lack of functional knowledge in the textbooks. They said that the students, even after passing 12th class, were not aware about filing an FIR or writing an RTI. They, also, raised issues regarding problems and solutions such as the textbook has extensively talked about exploitation of

women, but what should be done to counter it, has not been explicitly given in the text books, which is a matter of serious concern.