



Graduate School of Development Studies

**DEMOCRACY AS A DISCOURSE AND
PROJECT:
Communicating Religion and Caste to the
Indian Middle Class School-goer**

A Research Paper presented by:

Sandhya Chandrasekharan

(India)

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialisation:

**Governance and Democracy
(G&D)**

Members of the examining committee:

Prof. Des Gasper

Dr. Joop De Wit

The Hague, The Netherlands
September, 2008

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Research papers are not made available for circulation outside of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address: Institute of Social Studies
 P.O. Box 29776
 2502 LT The Hague
 The Netherlands

Location: Kortenaerkade 12
 2518 AX The Hague
 The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

Acknowledgements

Thank you very much Des. Your extremely patient and meticulous guidance and insightful comments and suggestions have been invaluable.

Thank you Joop, Jos Mooij, Bilal, and Swati for your valuable inputs at critical points in the Research Paper process.

Sincerely,

Sandhya Chandrasekharan
Budapest, 15 September 2008

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures	6
Abstract	7
Chapter 1.	
Diversity, Democracy and Education for the Middle Class	8
1.1 Background	15
<i>1.1.1 Indian CBSE Education</i>	15
<i>1.1.2 Social Studies</i>	17
1.2 Research objectives and Analytical framework	19
<i>1.2.1 Research Objectives</i>	19
<i>1.2.2 Research Questions</i>	19
Chapter 2.	
The Political Context in which Social Studies is Taught in India: Religion, Caste and the Middle Class	22
2.1 Does Democracy shape new identities?	22
2.2 Material Realities and their Implications for the Ideational Sphere	24

Chapter 3.	
The Textbooks' Discourse on Democracy.	31
Chapter 4	
What is Good Practice in relation to Content?	48
4.1 The Criteria for content selection	49
4.2 Some Possible Approaches to Framing	54
4.2.1 <i>Framing around a 'load lifting idea'</i>	54
4.2.2 <i>Framing emphasising Content Integration and the Knowledge Construction Process</i>	57
Chapter 5	
Analysis and Conclusions	59
References	64
Textbooks Analysed	67
Appendix	68

List of Tables and Figures

FIGURE 1.1 Key elements of the Research Paper	21
FIGURE 4.1 Approaches to Social Studies with Implications for Content	53
TABLE 1.1: The Research Process	20
TABLE 3.0: The first level of framing: Key Chapters	33
TABLE 3.1: Content within Comparable Frames	35
TABLE 3.2(i): Discourses on Social Expressions of Caste	38
TABLE 3.2(ii): Discussion of Caste in Relation to Democratic Politics	40
TABLE 3.2(iii)A. Set 1 and 2: Communalism, Minority/Majority as Key Frames	42
TABLE 3.2(iii) B. Set 3: Diversity and its Economic and Political Correlates as Key Frames	43
TABLE 3.3: Meta Frame of ‘Democracy’	46
TABLE 4.1: The potential and challenges before Democracy as a Load-lifting idea in America and India	56
TABLE 4.2: Dimensions of multicultural education	57

Abstract

The paper argues that the idea of India' as something shared above particularistic identities, especially of religion and caste, is an idea that has not gone deep yet with vast groups, even amongst the relatively privileged sections of Indian society. Since 2000 three different sets of Social Studies textbooks have been used in the school system that caters to this relatively privileged, and expanding, English speaking section of Indian society. The paper situates these texts in the context of the ideological moorings of the ruling political parties that commissioned them and examines their discourses on Democracy. The exercise is used to deliberate upon the issues and prospects in the deepening of democracy in the ideational sphere through school education.

Relevance to Development Studies

The paper deals with the importance of the ideological role of education as a force for change and in deepening democracy.

Keywords

Democracy, Discourse, Curriculum, Textbooks, Social Studies, Indian Middle Class

Chapter 1. Diversity, Democracy and Education for the Middle Class

This study is an attempt to probe a very selectively defined discourse communicated by a particular kind of school system in India. The schools in focus are those with English as the medium of instruction affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education. These schools cater overwhelmingly to the 'Indian middle class', a group whose roles and relationships, with all its nuances and shifts, have been linked to the democratisation project since independence in 1947 (see Parekh, Kothari in Baxi and Parekh, 1995). With the post liberalisation boom in the service sector in the 1990s, this burgeoning group has increasingly come to be depicted as India's 'consuming class', (whether of cars at the high end or cellphones at the low end). The sociocultural effects of liberalisation (growth of various layers within the middle class with sharp distinctions among them, marked labour market restructuring and job insecurity, and heightened aspirations) and their shifting political allegiances and indifference to rural and urban poverty also gained attention in academic and public discourse (Fernandes, 2000; Vishnu, 2005). In this context, the focus of the study will be the ideas on democratic citizenship and associational life with a special emphasis on religion and caste as key variables, as communicated through and by the process of education, in the formal school system catering to the better off sections of the Indian middle class and aspirants to this class. The rationale for such a focus is the larger culture of formal school education where memorisation of the content of textbooks has been the norm.

This engagement stems from a broader concern with the socio-political landscape in India. Sixty or fifty years ago the middle class was seen as the by product of colonial education and employment opportunities, and post independence as the agents of social transformation in Nehruvian India and its 'organic intellectuals' (Chatterjee, 1992 cited in Fernandes, 2000). Yet, there was also the reality of second-wave democratisation, where the middle class did not emerge as they did in advanced industrial contexts, as an evolutionary

concomitant. It was a middle class that lacked a basis for economic expansion through release of the forces of industrialisation; this was due to, first, colonial economic control, and later, dependence on state protection. This ‘old’ middle class had as its highest aspiration a job in a bank or the civil service and valued austerity and simplicity in lifestyle, inspired in no small measure by the Gandhian ideal that development for India ought to satisfy the ‘needs’ of her millions, rather than ‘wants’.

The value system that they brought to embody the project of Indian development can, to my mind, be succinctly captured, as an ambiguous and difficult interplay between the three worldviews Bhikhu Parekh offers – modernism, critical traditionalism and critical modernism (Parekh in Baxi and Parekh,1995). The modernists decried the Indian social structure, deeply fractured by caste and religion, which made united action difficult and stifled individual rights and initiative. They sought a liberal, individualist and enterprising society similar to those in Europe. The critical traditionalists took note of the valid critique of the modernists and shared the vision for more justice and well being, yet argued in favour for the distinct character and cultural wealth of Indian society (that had assimilated and integrated other cultures into its fold), which could be its own regenerative resource. The discarding of the emancipatory ideals and deeply rooted inspirations in Indian culture were seen as neither feasible nor desirable. The critical modernists occupied an “intermediate but not quite halfway position” (ibid: 25) between the two, leaning more towards the urgency for comprehensive modernization in India, but also engaged with the critical traditionalist viewpoint and open to the possibilities in giving modernity a vernacular tone. Modern democratic norms and values, at their nascent stage, were left to be nourished by these worldviews, and by the middle class as key actors, supported strongly by key institutions of State and nation building.

However, since the 1970s, discernible trends and shifts in this vision for India’s future have come to the fore. A new genre of politicians facilitated growing populism (Kothari in Baxi and Parekh,1995) and the rural rich, cushioned by State policy in the early years, were becoming more politically savvy. The American influence on consumption aspirations brought about by

exposure through mass culture and the lifestyle of the growing Indian Diaspora was on the rise. Affirmative action by the State had facilitated mobility for groups previously excluded, particularly the intermediate castes in the traditional caste hierarchy and to a lesser extent, the Dalits; decisively dislocating the traditional Brahmin and other upper caste elites in the social, cultural and political sphere; if not the economic. Through all this social churning, the political landscape in India paved the way for increasing regionalization and greater denominational grouping in politics on the one hand, and an unprecedented popularity for right wing forces on the other.

In the early 1990s a confluence of factors, be it the sheer pressure of looming economic crisis, political expediency, or pragmatic responsiveness to the global ascendancy of neoliberalism, also set India firmly on the path of economic liberalization. The policies of economic liberalization have led to very significant avenues for employment in the service sector of the economy and for professional white collar employment within the private sector, particularly in Multinational companies. By the late 1990s one in every two employed Indians worked for the service sector which was growing at the rate of 8% per annum. (Fernandes, 2000) This phenomenon facilitated entry of and mobility for diverse groups into the urban middle class, (including the more qualified among rural and small town folk, and small business entrepreneurs). The class itself now encompasses great diversity, from clerical workers to upper level managerial staff with sharp differences in income. What unites the 'new middle class' is their whole hearted embracing of socio-symbolic practices of commodity consumption and pursuit of status accruing from the same. Less evident is the fact that, after the initial boom in the early years of liberalization, the combined effects of global economic recession, the Asian crisis, and failure of the Indian middle class 'market' itself to measure up to the inflated projections of their consumption potential, led multinationals and foreign banks from the late 90s to rein in costs through severe cutbacks or indirect pressures tied to performance on the job that made people leave (ibid). The modest steps in public sector reform and growing role of the domestic private sector also made perceived job security in India rather different from what it had been in the past.

And with this, I feel, the process of the common sense world view of the Indian middle class which was previously left-of-centre being increasingly replaced by one not just right-of-centre but with extreme rightwing reactionary overtones vis-à-vis significant minority groups like Muslims and Dalits is growing in strength. This gnawing feeling shaped by the nature of the steady stream of a seemingly innocuous feature of the e-age – email forwards – that I receive from members of my own extended family and social circle, is one of the autobiographical elements I bring to this research, and which inform my quest to examine spaces where countervailing influences to what I perceive as democratic erosion of secular and socialist commitments in the ideational realm of the Indian body politic can be expected to operate. Education as part of the ‘ideological state apparatus’¹ (and India being a democratic state) make schools an obvious choice for investigation of such countervailing forces that hopefully facilitate democratic deepening.

The paper is premised on the importance of exploring the current status of, and possibilities for deepening engagement with, the concept of democracy in relation to religion and caste through the ideational role of education at the secondary school level, especially in the light of growing social polarization in India along communal and caste lines. In the last two decades in India, a right wing party rose to unprecedented power in national politics and the same forces engineered brutal human rights violations against minorities in Gujarat and elsewhere (Nussbaum, 2007). The study will examine discourses about democracy that schools transmit to middle class sections of society in these twin contexts of political flux and an instrumental culture of education that emphasises much less its role in socialization for a functioning and inclusive democracy compared to its role in facilitating future social professional success and a particular vision of national economic advance. Growing individualization of education for these sections of Indian society raises questions of its aims, processes and prospects as a globalised market

¹ But not just as a mechanism reproducing class privilege as Antonio Gramsci originally theorised it.

economy increasingly becomes the point of reference for key stakeholders like parents and school managements, as well as students themselves.

Dubois and Trabelsi (2007: 54) draw attention to the fact that violent conflict today is predominantly a manifestation of infighting among individuals and groups within a state, rather than between states. While working towards a macro level strategy and framework relating human security to development, a focus on the micro level of the behavioural choices of the people and their corresponding attitudes is also warranted. They highlight the need to recognise and build the capacity of people, through education, to act as social agents. They cite research by Collier and Hoeffler that employs econometric and qualitative analysis to explain the current surge of intra-state conflict in terms of variables like level of wealth and poverty, level of inequality, the importance of natural resources, the economic policy, the number of ethnic groups and population size, all of which, I feel, have implications for the Indian context and the future of Indian democracy. Qualitative studies suggest an important role besides for the political habits within the country, the regional politics, local culture and tradition, institutional weaknesses, and the perception by people of economic crisis. In its role in informing the political habitus, education promotes or impedes democracy as (in the UNESCO phrase) 'learning to live together'.

The exploration is doubly relevant because the global imperative for Sustainable Development (conceptualised as having three pillars: social, economic and ecological justice) provides the rationale for and renewed possibilities of a reinvigorated Social Studies education. Sustainable Development oriented education, cannot restrict itself to "do and don't" messages vis-à-vis the natural or even social environment, but needs to engage with how the environment and natural resources are implicated as the material basis upon which conflict in society along the lines of ethnicity and community precipitates. Thus it ties up with social studies education and concern for the democratic rights and privileges of citizens in fundamental ways.

The particular position of and aspiration attached to English medium schools in India by the middle class today as in the past make them a good

choice for exploration. Fluency in English is much sought after by the aspiring middle class., besides the ‘symbolic capital’ (Bourdieu, 1984) of manners, taste and style thought to be imparted by these schools. In this context (examined in greater detail in Chapter 2), the study seeks to explore specifically how social studies textbooks² deal with these ideational and associational aspects of deepening democracy in relation to religion and caste.

A useful reference point in the distinction Beetham (2004: 15) makes between the ‘some aspects of democracy that can be introduced relatively quickly’ and the ‘others, which require a much longer haul’. In the first category he includes: a broadly agreed on constitution with a bill of rights, free elections under universal suffrage with the incumbent government having a fair chance of losing, freedom for party formation, free press, freedom to form associations etc. The second, and in the context of this study, more interesting set of features relate to overcoming democratic deficits that a mere institutional engagement with democracy usually does not address. These include (among other things) securing the effective inclusion of minorities, providing equal access to justice, achieving meaningful inner party democracy, lessening the sway of business and financial interests over parties, elections and governments, minimizing corruption in public life, and increasing women’s participation in public life. Of these, the discourses related to the first two aspects -- securing the effective inclusion of minorities, and effective (social) justice, but in ways that further human rights and democracy all round -- form my key research interest.

² Deliberating on the curriculum and commissioning and publishing textbooks is the mainstay of a body (detailed later here) called the NCERT. A curious blend of factors like the increasing competition for school-leaving credentials equated to student scores in public examinations in Class X and XII, the professional preparation (or lack of it) of teachers, and the culture of schooling, have in India equated the ‘curriculum’ (ie: a formal course of study aimed to impart knowledge and skills, or the purposive, planned (and unplanned) experience imparted by the school) to the textbook. Education within schools as a ritual of ‘teaching to the test’ (again, mechanical and ‘objective’ tests such as the system warrants, that irrespective of the discipline emphasise rote learning by seeking information more often than analysis or argumentation), gives the dominant discourse in textbooks, an important, if odd, status. Also, the content and style of NCERT textbooks often serve as guidelines to federal state-level boards attempting the same.

Social Studies is a single school subject (for which students sit an exam as they would do for English or Mathematics) and it subsumes the traditional subjects of history, geography, elementary economics and political science/civics, under a common umbrella. The focus here is on the discourses relating religion and caste to democracy in secondary level (class IX and X) Civics/ political science textbooks used in the last 2 decades. This will form the main part of Chapter 3. This purposive selection is informed by various considerations. For one, the topics in the content of these books lend themselves easily to such analysis. Secondly, the pressure of a public examination in Class X and parental expectations associated with it, justifies presuming more deliberate engagement by the average student with this content. Moreover, strong streaming in the Indian education system and the dictates of the job market ensure that most students aspire to join the ranks of the techno-managerial elite, and make a permanent departure from social science education after this point. Given the strong streaming and the instrumental (to future employment and financial success) nature of Indian education in general, (often at the cost of any broader humanistic concerns) and its implications for the acute status differentials among disciplines that permeate school culture (a detailed examination of which is beyond the scope of the present study) many students engage with the topics that constitute ‘Social Studies’ for the last time at this level of study. After that, mass media, peer groups, family and workplace influence their worldviews on these topics. Finally, the three sets of textbooks being analysed, brought out by different governments, inevitably indicate the political and ideological influences of those in power.

The study will also seek to identify and examine ‘Good Practices’ in relation to educating for democratic sensitivity vis-à-vis diversity and disadvantage in the polity (Chapter 4). The focus will be on ‘good practices’ in relation to the selection and framing of content in teaching-learning materials.

This part of the study will seek to examine relevant instances of such good practice from the United States particularly, given its diversity, history of slavery and the Civil Rights Movement, and the legacy of thinkers like John Dewey on ‘Democracy and Education’.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Indian CBSE Education

The scope of this study is delimited to the Social Studies Curriculum of English Medium C.B.S.E (Central Board of Secondary Education) schools. Formed in 1952, the Board that had under its jurisdiction (through accreditation) privately managed high schools in the then existing administrative regions (since reorganised) of Rajputana, Central India, Gwalior, Ajmer and Merwana (www.cbse.nic.in). It was reconstituted in 1962 as a Central Government Board³ with a wider geographical spread, when the Kendriya Vidyalaya Sanghathan, a scheme of directly administered Central Government schools, was approved. The CBSE schools occupy an important place in independent India’s school system. In particular, the board and its schools may be seen as the end product of a long engagement by the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) to give a fresh look to Secondary Education. It is CABE that recommended that the Government of India set up the Secondary Education Commission (also known as the Mudaliar commission, henceforth SEC) in 1952. The aims of education in India as spelt out by the SEC and recommendations it made towards this end (in its report of 1956) fed into the working of the CBSE. The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) – an autonomous organisation set up by the Central Government in 1961, assumed an important role in providing guidance to school education also through the CBSE. The association that CBSE schools have with the middle class, especially the more educated, upwardly mobile, urban sections among them, has to do with the fact that, the central bank officer or civil servant (who

as mentioned, epitomised the traditional middle class) who was periodically transferred as part of his/her job favoured these schools for his/her children.

The SEC identified as among the main aims of education, the *development of democratic citizenship*. It stressed, in relation to this, clear thinking, *receptivity to new ideas*, clearness in speech and writing, *education in the art of living in the community*, *passion for social justice*, *development of tolerance*⁴, and *development of true patriotism*, the last being explained as having a sincere appreciation of one's heritage coupled with a readiness to recognise weaknesses and frankly work for their eradication.

Among its major recommendations were:

- With regard to text books, that there be no single book, but instead a reasonable number of books developed, leaving the choice of textbook open to the school concerned.
- And, the need for a dynamic method of teaching. The focus was not merely to be on imparting knowledge in an efficient manner, but also on inculcating desirable values and proper attitudes and habits of work in students. A shift from memorisation to learning through purposeful, concrete, realistic situations and the activity method and project method was emphasised.

Later, the Kothari Commission (1964-66), suggested an organisation of the curriculum in the 10 + 2 pattern. While classes I-V formed the primary stage, classes VI-X constituted the secondary stage and XI and XII the higher secondary stage, in this scheme. Diversification was to take place only in the higher secondary stage, after ten years of general education. The CBSE introduced a 10 + 2 curriculum from 1975.

³ Education in India is on the 'concurrent list' making it an area of intervention for both tiers of the federal structure – the Centre and the States.

⁴ What words like 'tolerance' entail, are debatable. The above may be seen in the socio-historical context within which it is located.

1.1.2 Social Studies

Douglass (1967: 5) defines the singular of the term social studies, namely, a social study as “any enquiry which has as its central focus the study of one or more aspects of man’s relationship with his fellow man”. Social Studies thus concerns itself with the relationships among people (both individual to individual and between individual and group), and between people and institutions. The curriculum of social studies is explained by him, as “that portion of the school’s activity concerned with the teaching and learning of those socially significant problems, questions, themes or topics believed to be important to the well being of our society” (ibid: 6).

Wesley and Cartwright (1967) differentiate between the Social Sciences and Social Studies. Both are organised bodies of knowledge that deal with human relationships. The Social Studies are derived primarily from the Social Sciences and hence resemble them in their content. The two thus differ not in the kind of subject matter, but in their level of difficulty and primary purpose.

The Social Sciences are concerned with research, discovery and experimentation. The social scientist is eager to expand the boundaries of human knowledge in these scholarly disciplines. On the other hand, Social Studies is a school subject. Social Studies therefore constitute simplified portions of social sciences, reorganised for instructional purposes. Social Studies may thus be variously described as a field of study, a federation of subjects, an area of the curriculum. The social studies curriculum refers to the instructional materials and learning activities concerned with human relationships.

Social Studies at the middle school (classes VI-VIII) and lower secondary (classes IX and X) stages normally consist of History: the records and stories of individuals, groups and institutions; Civics: relationships that result from official government control; and Geography: relationships between man and earth and between men in their attempts to deal with problems related to natural environment. The subject at this stage also draws from Anthropology and Sociology to describe some basic tendencies in human relationships, and

Economics, to deal with those activities that cluster around earning a living (Wesley and Wronski, 1958; Wesley and Cartwright, 1967).

The rationale behind including social studies in the curriculum stems from the understanding that children acquire rather than inherit a social disposition. The underlying values, knowledge and the behaviour essential to the conduct of democratic societies cannot be inherited, they must be learned. Each individual must learn for himself/herself the loyalties, the values and the principles of a democratic way of life. Curriculum of social studies relates directly to these objectives (Douglass: 1967; REC, 1966; Wesley and Cartwright: 1967). The teaching of Social Studies is to foster not only:

- Understanding of concepts
- Acquisition of Skills (reading maps, interpreting charts)
but also to further, in a society guided by principles of democracy,
- *Critical/reflective thinking* on ideas and problems (partly dependent on intellectual capacity and maturity of the learner) and *problem solving* – essential to consider problems that students will meet later in school/ in life.
- The acquisition of *knowledge, cognitive and behavioural dispositions* conducive to *democratic living* (Douglass 1967, emphasis mine).

The Kothari Commission (1966, 8.23), posited similarly that “The aim of teaching social studies is to help individual students to acquire a knowledge of their environment, an understanding of human relationships and certain attitudes and values that are vital for intelligent participation in the affairs of the community, the state, the nation and the world. An effective programme of social studies is essential in India for the development of good citizenship and for emotional integration”. And elsewhere (ibid, 8.70) “Both in history and in geography, the syllabus should bring out not only the political, social, economic and cultural features of the countries that are studied,something of *the scientific spirit and the methods of social sciences should permeate the teaching of social studies* (emphasis mine).” Such an understanding of Social Studies has implications for the manner in which a curriculum is to be designed and transacted.

The subject area of Social Studies can easily lend itself to make classrooms, as Santome (1996) visualises, a space where society is submitted to revision and criticism, and necessary skills are built to participate in and improve a community. Baner (1997) suggests that the 20th century's social and ecological catastrophes can be linked with how learning has taken place and what has been learnt in modern societies. He suggests that previous modes of learning may have been successful (in a limited sense) in respect of scientific and technological achievements, but he questions whether they have been able to keep abreast of other socio-historical developments. In all countries that gained independence in the post World War- II period, the instrumental rationality of the school in the service of the economy is privileged at the cost of the school's allegiance to the larger ideal of social visioning and reconstruction (Alboronz, 1989; Alba, 1999; Numata, 2003).

1.2 Research objectives and Analytical framework

1.2.1 Research Objectives

1. To investigate the discourse on democracy as associational life in relation to three sets of Indian Secondary School textbooks commissioned by three different governments (with three different political parties at the helm) in India.

2. To study possible good practices in content selection/development in social studies teaching and learning to deepen democracy vis-à-vis diversity and disadvantage in the polity and society more generally.

1.2.2 Research Questions

1. What have been the discourses on/pertaining to democracy as associational life in relation to religion and caste in Social Studies textbooks of Class IX and X in Indian CBSE schools since 2000. This will involve 3 sets of textbooks: the first set which had been in use for over a decade, the second introduced in 2003 and the third in 2005 till the present.

2. What are relevant good practices in content selection in social studies to deepen democracy?

<i>Highest level objective (= motivation)</i>	Research objectives	Research materials	Research methods	<i>Corresponding question(s)</i>
To [contribute to] deepen democracy	Investigate discourse in English medium secondary schools on democracy	Via analysis of 3 sets of textbooks and Key resource persons/ secondary sources	Critical Discourse Analysis Category Analysis (topic listing) Frame Analysis	What are the textbooks' predominant discourse frames related to democracy vis-a vis religion and caste? Normative v/s institutional/ social analysis (Beetham): for framing
	Situate it in social Context	secondary sources	Review of literature	How are Religion and Caste implicated in the Middle class identity? How does this in turn impact the democratic project in India?
	Study possible good practices in content selection/framing	secondary sources	Review of Literature	What are the criteria for content selection? What are the criteria for framing of content that engage both the private and public spheres in democratic societies?

Table 1.1: The Research Process

Analysing the discourses in the textbooks will answer (to some extent) the question 'what is the discourse on democracy in school education'. Looking at good practices from other regions for how they engaged elements of education practice in the process of change, will help answer "How can democracy be deepened through schools".

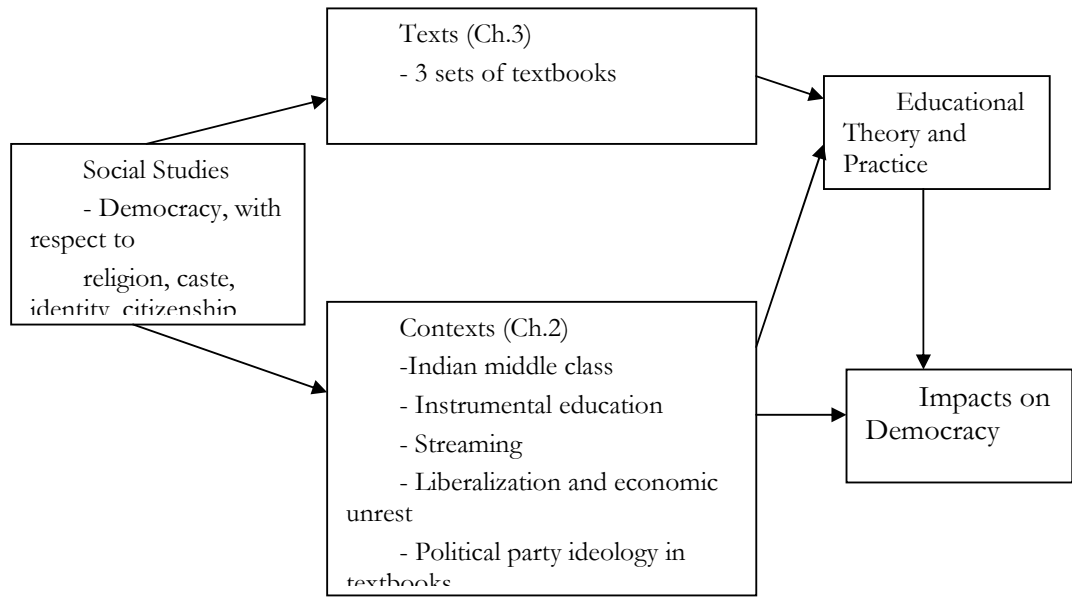


Figure 1.1: Key elements of the Research Paper

Chapter 2. The Political Context in which Social Studies is Taught in India: Religion, Caste and the Middle Class

2.1 Does Democracy shape new identities?

While the importance of social science teaching for the democratic project has always received perfunctory reference in policy documents and curriculum frameworks, the issue took on a new level of visibility when a government with India's right wing party at the helm (the BJP) came to power and undertook in 2000 to rewrite textbooks. The resulting outcry also drew attention to the more fundamental issues of the culture of teaching to the test (the power of which is felt most in Class X with its public exam) and emphasis on rote learning – two things that successive political parties that come into power actually seek to reinforce when competing over what to include and what to omit in content – and the larger pedagogical challenge of teaching about controversial and debatable aspects of democracy in India. Hence the focus on good practices later here.

The role of the middle class is of special significance in democratic societies, more so in India today when the socio-political and economic changes underway are both a challenge and an opportunity to the larger project of Indian development and democratization. In this, my analytical lens tends towards an elite theory of democracy that does not see the role of 'the masses' as being of major consequence for the working of this political system. However this 'not seeing the masses' is not a normative position but a critical one. Far from the classical democratic aspiration of government *by* the people in a very organic sense, the people figure only as votes for the elite– or at best, one set of elites from among a number of competing elites – who essentially constitute the leadership (Arblaster, 1987: 52). Sections of the Indian middle class constitutes the relatively privileged strata of society *vis-à-vis* their groups based on caste and religious identities, and these ascribed 'group identities' play a very significant role in mediating the relationship between the two elements

that are recognized in theory by a democratic set-up: the 'individual' and the 'State'. As such, the discourse on democracy and particularly its intersections with aspects of these powerful group identities and worldviews rooted in these identities is of substantial significance to the project of Indian Democracy. The Indian middle class as the elites of their caste and religion based groups have a potential trend setting role in relation to citizenship. As such, it is worthwhile to examine the ideational role/potential of the education they receive.

In Europe during the Reformation and Renaissance the 'middle class' were the intermediate social class between the feudal nobility and the peasantry. They emerged around mercantile functions in the urban centres and gave shape to scientific and political thought that ushered in revolutions. Huber, Rueschemeyer and Stephens (1993, cited in Barro, 1999: S159) see capitalist development, which lowers the power of the landed classes and helps organise the working and middle classes, as a key determinant of democracy. Economic historians have dealt with the 'importance of a large middle class for economic development' (Easterly, 2001: 318) citing among other things 'the great English middle class as the reason behind England being first at Industrialisation' (Landes, 1998 cited in *ibid*) and as 'a driving force in the economic development of Western Europe' (Adelman and Morris, 1967, cited in *ibid*), and emphasizing increased education and enlarged middle class as a key element determining democracy (Lipset, 1959 cited in Barro, 1999: S159) . In contrast to these classical formulations on the socio-historical location of the middle class and their dynamic vis-à-vis early industrial capitalism in the West, in the Indian context the middle class have existed since colonial times as beneficiaries of first the colonial, and later (in ever increasing numbers up to the liberalization phase) as beneficiaries of the state run economy and to a lesser extent the professional and managerial class in the private sector (Vishnu, 2005).

Derived from both the European and Marxist formulations, "middle class" when used to describe the professional and managerial class, and all manner of white collar workers with asset ownership (such as a house) as distinct from both the owners of the means of production (industrialists, large

land owners) on the one hand and the agricultural and industrial (blue collar workers) labourers on the other, misses out on how such factors as the nuclear family, secular education, free association and high degree of self reflection played a crucial role in defining the middle class identity in the West (Frevert in Mahajan and Reifield, 2003). While not wanting to idealize the West or generalize for India, I am not convinced that religion and caste as key markers in Indian identity have facilitated either free association or a high degree of self reflection among the Indian Middle Class. While industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation were expected to significantly alter the traditional and acknowledged influence of the village, community and joint family system over the individual, the actual continued hold of the 'traditional' social order has engaged political scientists and sociologists (Demerath, Jodhka and Demerath, 2006). In saying this, I do not want to make the mistake of constructing 'modern' and 'traditional' in binary opposition, nor overlook how tradition itself undergoes renewal and reform from within – the Bhakti and Sufi movements injecting humanism into ritualistic and blind worship being a case in point. However, the tenacity of anti-egalitarian aspects of traditional social order must be acknowledged.

2.2 Material Realities and their Implications for the Ideational Sphere

The political trends in last few decades have played a major role in giving shape to this situation. In the 1980's and 90's the transfer of socio-economic power to the numerically strong but hitherto marginalised caste groups known as the Other Backward Castes (OBCs), for example through the Mandal Commission recommendations, gave new life to caste in the public sphere. On the one hand, it challenged the manner in which opportunities in the modern sector, in theory caste-free, had been monopolized by those with a tradition of learning and urban residence, comfortably recreating the privileges of the caste structure (Kochhar, 2004; Srinivas cited in Demerath, Jodhka and Demerath, 2006). In effect, it changed the caste composition of the middle class. Yet, while the middle class burgeon through India's urban centres owing to socio-political and economic forces working in tandem, the ideational markers that were previously understood as making the middle class 'middle class' are perhaps under siege. Some perceive a collapse of "the self perceived transcendence of the (traditional) middle class from caste consciousness" to make way

for “articulated caste interest” (Alam, 1999: 757). In a scenario where the political mobilization of formerly marginalized sections based on caste to challenge power structures (‘caste appeal’), is defended on account of their marginal status, the expectation that the traditional middle class rise above, and not fall back into the mire of asserting their caste and traditional group loyalties, seems naïve.

Also, though the Indian state professes to be secular, the clear hold of religious-denomination considerations in the political sphere is underplayed. In relation to the constitutional commitment to religious pluralism in Indian polity, democracy is implicated given that, as Nussbaum (1997: 261) observes, “Religions differ... in their estimation of the role of reason, enquiry and argument in the good human life”. To which must be added, individual adherents of the various religions also differ in the manner and extent to which they engage with religion and see it as an element of more egalitarian or humanitarian social relationships (as against fostering divisiveness and conflict). Given that it is a facet of culture that is neither monolithic nor static, engaging religion in the democratic arena, makes it extraordinarily challenging.

The concepts of ‘private and public spheres’, and how they relate to each other in the interest of democracy prove useful, in connection to caste and religion in the Indian context. Tracing the history of the formulation of private and public spheres Mahajan (2003: 11) notes “perhaps the most important aspect of the modern conception is public and private here exist as complementary entities”. This is in contrast with the Aristotelian view of the household as the private domain of the master with unquestioned supremacy over the wife, child and slave; and the public domain where decisions were arrived at through consultation (albeit, by those designated as ‘equal’ and citizens). She points out “Rigid separation between the public and private could exist in a context where all persons were not seen as being equally free or autonomous” (ibid: 12), something anathema to present-day democratic notions which democracy education would be expected to address . Interesting also is the legacy of early liberalism of the private and the public being two discrete entities. Mahajan elaborates how the manner in which private and public are defined in relation to each other form significant moments in democratization. While the early liberals carved out the private as a sphere free from interference of the State, feminist scholarship in the 20th century strove to point out the injustices that stem from this perspective. If autonomous, rational, self-governing persons, who are by nature equal, formed the basis of the classical liberal notion of the private; it is

concern for social justice that argued the case for the private to be open to the State and its laws. I feel both these perspectives offer extremely valid imperatives to the Indian context. More specifically, in the context of this study, they offer imperatives to engage with the religion/tradition-informed world view of (a) all Indian citizens, their ‘churches’ (used in the broadest sense as the institutional support structures of religions) and numerous denominations, in a reflective and introspective manner and (b) particularly those of the traditionally powerful groups in relation to less powerful out-groups and also in relation to less powerful subgroups (eg: women) within the groups themselves. I tend to agree with Leroy S. Rouner (in Baxi and Parekh, 1995: 169) that “Traditional religions in India often frustrate national unity by fostering conflict among different groups” (for whom it is an identity marker)... “and encouraging both superstitious practices and mindless authoritarianism”.

The problem, to my mind, is also that ‘secular’ as defined in the Indian context does not take into account this fact. This, whether secularism is talked of as the Gandhian respect for all religion – *sarva dharma sambhava*, or the Nehruvian stance that “The word secular...means freedom of religion and conscience, including freedom for those who may have no religion” (Chandoke, 1999). ‘Respect’ and ‘freedom’ facilitate maintaining (a possibly democracy-diluting) division of the private and the public. It prevents addressing those aspects of religious life that foster illiberal values and communitarian tendencies, whether of the majority or the minority. As Rouner (in Baxi and Parekh, 1995: 170) states “the political paradox concerning religion in India is that precisely because religious ideals and values have been so much a part of India problem, they will have to be a part of India’s solution”. To return to the defense of the perspectives of both the early liberals and feminists,

1. That religion be defined against the social (tradition, church) (rather than the political ‘public’) makes the case for facilitating greater individualization and rational engagement with religion *in the private sphere, in a manner free from its social or traditional trappings.*
2. At another level, religious beliefs even when located in the domain of the private still have to coexist with the public and are intrinsically linked to it, and *hence the imperative (of democratic societies) to deal with religion in the public sphere.*

The viability of the first (ie: individuals engaging with religion in a manner free from its social trappings) in strengthening the private and public as complementary entities is something that Gandhi sought to popularize through what can be un-

derstood as a critical-traditionalist approach. His towering influence in the social and intellectual sphere on the religion question (and associated State policy) in India remains (even if in an extremely residual form) till this day, so is worth examining. Gandhi's worldview, inspired by his interpretation of Hindu and Jain traditions, was of humankind as part of a total cosmic order, this interconnectedness being the one truth. The human being required sustained effort over a lifetime to experience and realize this truth for his/her self. The need for all endeavors to be non-violent ones (in thought, word and deed) emerged from this conception. His critique of aspects of Hinduism like untouchability practised on the dalits was also informed by this. Authentic moral living, affirming *ahimsa* (non-violence) was for him, addressing *himsa* through energetic, loving compassion. Towards this end, in the village level reconstruction activities that he engaged himself in throughout his political career, he engaged in manual labour considered polluting to caste Hindus, and worked against blind worship. Yet, the fact that his efforts yielded paltry 'results', even then, also remains (Brown in Baxi and Parekh, 1995). While acknowledging the appeal and potential of such reflective engagement with religion in India, the fact remains that its effectiveness is extremely difficult to ensure, gauge and sustain. Moreover in the midst of India's religious plurality, Gandhi's appeal for recognising religion in private and public life was defended by his assertion that all religions had a common core. Nussbaum (2007, 273-275) questions whether even such claims as 'the essence of every religion is the same, only the practices differ' while seeming innocuous enough, can be accepted in that simple a form by any practicing Muslim, Jew or Christian, or even Hindu. She sees the assertion that all religions have a common core as being as much a dogma as any other religious dogma, and as likely to be objectionable to other religions.

So then it becomes necessary, with a more modernist slant, to turn attention to the second point above. Religious beliefs even when located in the domain of the private still have to coexist with the public and are intrinsically linked to it, and *hence the imperative (of democratic societies) to deal with religion in the public sphere*. In connection to which this study asks : within the liberal framework of the Indian Constitution which among other things guarantees *Freedom of Religion* and *Civil and Political Rights for the formerly disfranchised Dalits* what is the engagement in the ideational sphere with aspects of religious identity that compromise these liberal ideals or other democratic ones? To the extent that schools are an arena of ideational influence, textbooks will be analysed in the following chapter in an attempt to probe for answers. The extremely delicate and difficult debates of consequence to both instruction *about religion* and *religious in-*

struction (the latter less pertinent here, but which the Indian constitution permits in non-state supported schools), to my mind, should receive major attention, but in practice do not get space in relation to Indian Civics education.

This issue in the Indian context, assumes significance for both the majority community and the minorities. Allegiance to a secular state and a shared civic identity is guided by core liberal principles of critical reflection, re-examination of cultural inheritance and freedom of association, which traditional groups stamp out by emphasising the overriding duty to comply and 'belong' with one's family or (caste/religious) group. That religious and caste identities may work against children developing a universal moral concern or mutual sense of obligation is something that school systems fail to address, ultimately to the detriment of democracy. I think this is precisely what Indian education has, and continues to, fail to address, as will be explored in the next chapter. Signs of the fissiparous tendencies accruing from this, (set alight and fuelled further, no doubt, by larger socio-political and economic changes) are increasingly evident. The non-linear relationship between democracy on economic growth (growth initially increasing, and then decreasing on account of social redistribution, (Barro, 1999)), can in fairly straightforward terms explain the breakdown of the societal consensus built around the Gandhi-Nehru legacy and erosion of the values of political equality, civic consciousness and fraternity. The Indian situation, with 8-9 per cent growth per annum in recent years to my mind, tends towards what William Easterly would predict, in the absence of what he calls a middle class consensus. A middle class consensus is described as (2001: 317) 'a high share of income for the middle class and low degree of ethnic divisions', (though in the Indian case the divisions are not ethnic but along the lines of caste, religious and linguistic divisions). In its absence the prospects (among other things) of minorities facing less risk, and for more social modernization and democracy, are bleak. However, are developments in the contemporary Indian public sphere proof only of the nature of the present material basis of democracy or also of the lack of attention to its ideational sustenance? I argue that it is as much about the latter as it is the former.

Post liberalization in the 1990s the phenomenon of the 'new Indian middle class', as already mentioned, has gained much attention (Fernandes, 2000; Wells, 2001). While I would not call them the 'elites' of Indian society in the sense that the old middle class were, they are certainly well-described as non-poor key 'votebanks' in the parlance of Indian electoral democracy. The National Council of Applied Economic Research's mid-1990s report on the growing Indian middle class, defined this

group based on ownership of vehicles and electrical home equipment like color TV, electric iron, blender, sewing machine, and refrigerator. At a time when the estimated population was 900 million, the survey said the *Very Rich* consisted of about 6 million. Below them were three sub classes: The *Consuming class*, about 150 million people (17%), the *Climbers*, about 275 million people (30 %); and the *Aspirants*, about 275 million (30 %). Beneath these were the *Destitute*, estimated to be 210 million (23%). The premium on the traditional middle class interests in India—English medium education leading to tertiary and possible professional degrees, asset/home ownership and a disposable income for consumption in keeping with rising aspirations fuelled by liberalization and the media—is higher than ever before. The homeland of India’s new middle classes, with an appetite for telephones, cars, televisions, clothes, refrigerators and other consumer goods, are the more than 200 cities with a population of over 100,000. And Wells writes “Full of energy and drive, the Indian middle class is said to be *uninhibited and pragmatic*. *Unlike the older bourgeoisie, which was traditional, secular and ambiguous*, the new middle class is first and foremost street savvy. The new middle class has worked hard to rise from the bottom, bringing with it a *nouveau-riche* mentality ...”. (ibid)

What informs such uninhibited pragmatism that takes it in non-secular directions? The ideational sphere in plural democracies is shaped by many institutions. The fact that democracy as an idea is based on the premise of fundamental political equality of individuals in the polity, and that this *may not sit well* with traditional social identities shaped by family, caste, religious and class background is something that deserves much more deliberation and attention than is the case. In the pedagogically unchallenging approach to teaching about democracy merely as a set of key institutions, and institutionalized rights, this is missed. An engagement with the nature and implications of membership that children have in these traditional groups is bypassed as a result. In the West there is recognition within the formal education system of the gravity of this and for the fact that “Unlike adults who are relatively free to endorse, choose or reject membership in a group...children neither choose membership in a group nor naturally have the capacity to examine their ends critically” (Rob Reich cited in Vanhuysse and Sabbagh, 2005: 393). My contention is that, while there may be conflict and turmoil in the social fabric of Indian democracy, the ideational aspects of a progressive middle class identity may well be facilitated through strengthening the liberal humanistic elements in the formal education systems in particular, to further

the deepening of democracy in the years to come. Private schools (and the majority of CBSE schools are such) potentially offer fertile ground for such critical pedagogy.

Chapter 3. The Textbooks' Discourse on Democracy

Discourse, for the purpose of this study is best defined as an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to phenomena. Discourses frame certain problems; that is to say, they distinguish some aspects of a situation rather than others (Hajer, 1993: 45 cited in Gasper and Apthorpe, 1996: 2). Discourse analysis serves to examine 'the complex relationship between structures and strategies of discourse and both the local and the global, social or political context' (van Dijk, 1990: 14, cited in Gasper and Apthorpe, 1996: 4-5).

The three textbooks being analysed correspond to roughly two decades of India's democratic history. For the major chunk of this period (corresponding to the use of Set 1 books), the Congress (I) was in power. In independent India the Congress(I) had only short periods out of power up until the 1990's. It owes its popularity in no small measure to the fact that, its predecessor the Indian National Congress (INC) formed in 1885 was at the forefront of campaigning for Indian independence from Britain. The original Congress Party espoused moderate socialism and a planned, mixed economy. However, the Congress (I) has never been above opportunistic appeals to powerful organised interest groups or to caste and religious identity and since 1990 has supported deregulation, privatisation and foreign investment.

Another major, but only recently popular, political party in India is the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). It represents itself as a champion of the socio-religious cultural values of the country's 'Hindu majority' (construed as a monolith) and advocates conservative social policies and strong national defence. The BJP, as the leading party in the Right-wing political coalition called the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), led the government from 1998 to 2004. It was during this period that political appointments to key positions in the NCERT marked the beginning of what Nussbaum (2007) terms the 'education wars'. A new curriculum framework brought out in 2000 referred to the importance of value-based education and the need for students

to be evaluated on their ‘spiritual quotient’ or S.Q. New textbooks to facilitate this process were commissioned and in the meantime orders went out from the Ministry of Education to the CBSE to delete certain ‘objectionable’ portions in history textbooks in use at the time. These portions were generally accounts of early Hindu practices such as sacrificial killing and caste rigidity and Buddhist and Jain reactions to them. New books (Set 2) in all subjects were published in 2002 and 2003. While History then became the subject of intense scrutiny by scholars, the larger questions about Curriculum and Education in India, on the selection of content and the implications of this selection for the child and society, remained neglected. Relegated to the margins as the concern of some pedagogically insightful NGOs and elite schools till then, these questions however soon found the space to surface centre stage.

The Centre-Left political coalition called the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) which came to power in 2004, through the process of a new curriculum framework actively engaged with these groups and new textbooks (Set 3) were introduced in 2005. The Indian Congress Party is the leading party in the UPA, however the Left was a significant driving force in this process. Through all this, the discourses in the textbooks can clearly be expected to have undergone shifts.

To analyse the three sets of textbooks, I examine

1. Shifts and trends in framing of caste and religion as related to ‘Democracy’ (taken to be the Meta-frame) in the Indian context, between the three sets of books (for a sample see Table 3.3). Of particular relevance here is the concept of framing: “specifically what and who is actually included, and what and who is ignored and excluded” (Gasper and Apthorpe, 1996: 6).
2. Within topics that are common to all three sets, what and how much is said. For instance, in 1998 the topic ‘Democracy’ constituted one chapter with a little more than half a page devoted to political parties. In contrast, in 2005, Democracy seems the common thread of 14 chapters (please see the rightmost column of the table below). 8 of the chapters

listed have the word ‘Democracy’ in the title. Others ie: ‘Constitutionalism’, ‘Federalism’, ‘Gender, Religion and Caste’ discuss its key institutional and normative aspects. For other examples see Table 3.1 and 3.2

3. Some topics or parts of topics (related to the overarching theme of caste and religion as related to Democracy) that are not shared, but that highlight an important issue (e.g.: Table 3.4 which examines a topic contained only in set 3).
4. The extent to which the discourses (in their inclusion and presentation) indicate something of the scientific spirit and the methods of social sciences for selection of good content (as further explained in the next chapter).

(See the Appendix for the detailed investigation.)

Table 3.0: The first level of framing: Key Chapters

	Set 1 (1998)	Set 2 (2003)	Set 3 (2005)
Title	India: Constitution and Government, A textbook in civics for Classes IX and X	Economic and Social Development	Democratic Politics
Comment		This textbook merged all the subsections of Social Science (including economics and civics) into one book, and hence this is the title of the relevant ‘Unit’. In 1998, in comparison, the separate Economics textbook had 7 chapters to be dealt with over 2 years.	
Sl. No: Chapter			
1	Society and citizen		Democracy in the contemporary world
2	Government		What is Democracy? Why Democracy?
3	Our local governments		Constitutional Design

4	The constitution of India and its salient features		Electoral Politics
5	Fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy		Working of Institutions
6	Our government at the centre		Democratic Rights
7	Our government in the states		Power sharing
8	Our courts		Federalism
9	Democracy		Democracy and Diversity
10	Election		Gender, Religion and Caste
11	Political parties	Economic Development	
12	Our Nation and Society	Towards Liberalisation and Globalisation	Political Parties
13	Challenges before Indian Democracy	Major Challenges before the Indian Economy	Outcomes of Democracy
14	Indian Foreign Policy and the United Nations	Consumer Awareness	Challenges to Democracy
15	World Problems	Social Development and Concerned issues	
16		Dynamics of Human Development	
17		Challenges of Communalism and Casteism	
18		Insurgency and Terrorism	
19		India's peace initiatives	

Related to point 2 above, the detailed comparative analysis will be between

Set 1	Set 2	Set 3
Ch.13 Challenges before Indian Democracy	Ch.15. Challenges of Communalism and Casteism (?)	Ch.14 Challenges to Democracy (Parts of)

To examine framing of content (in general, but particularly for point 3 above, ie: topics related to the overarching theme of caste and religion in relation to Democracy, but that are not common across the three sets of books) in the textbook, these are the guidelines I have followed:

1. Identified the key words and phrases that are significant carriers of meaning for a given issue as perceived by relevant actors and interpretative communities.
2. Identified the discourse(s), the specific systems of meaning being communicated through the specific selection of words and phrases, and the set of inclusions and exclusions.
3. Identified other discourses that are relevant to the issue under analysis (eg: a religion based or Right Wing position).
4. Identified the points of conflict and their conceptual sources (affective/cognitive, and/or moral) that reflect different interpretations by different communities.

Based on the analysis in the attached Appendix, a brief tabulation on the frames and discourses on caste and religion in relation to democracy is given here:

Table 3.1: Content within Comparable Frames

	Set 1: 1998	Set2: 2003	Set 3: 2005
<i>Frame</i>			
<i>Challenges before Indian democracy</i>	A listing of nine unconnected issues and a paragraph on each of them.	Drastic impoverishment of the set of issues to two: Communalism and Casteism	A connecting of issues, through use of models/theory - corresponding to stages of democracy, explained in relation to issues examined in all the previous chapters and from various parts of the world, students asked to identify the challenge
<i>The general verdict on Indian democracy as made out in the opening paragraphs</i>	Indian democracy is seen to follow a linear and progressive trajectory since independence. The situation is	Sense of something significant in India being 'large' and a democracy.	A far subtler, more ambitious text, showing relativities: Democracy as

	<p>something to feel good about.</p> <p>In comparison to other countries, India is doing well.</p>		<p>dominant form of government, better than alternatives but full of problems</p>
<p><i>Democracy as a project</i></p>	<p>The principles of Indian democracy are equality, egalitarianism, socialism, secularism.</p> <p>There are institutional support structures for these principles.</p> <p>The principles have not yet been realised in practice.</p> <p>This is to be expected and reasons for this being the case can be sought in a historical/comparative analysis.</p> <p>A fairly simple message, predominantly optimistic. Without international comparison.</p>	<p>Divisions and diversity in the polity exist but the polity is still bound together by underlying unity.</p> <p>Nation, Indianness, oneness, unity and national development (as against individuals or inequalities among them) are emphasised.</p> <p>An optimistic message; diversity is a source of richness not a fundamental problem. No perspective beyond India.</p>	<p>One fourth of the world that is not democratic must still move towards this 'ideal' of democratic form of government through what is largely an institutional mechanism (structural and historical features of democracy not mentioned).</p> <p>A qualified message, with a serious international perspective</p>
<p><i>Categories/labels used to problematise features of social life in relation to democracy</i></p>	<p>The rich and the poor,</p> <p>so called upper castes , the so called lower castes and those who are called the untouchables;</p> <p>man and woman, literate and illiterate</p>	<p>communalism, casteism, regionalism and lingualism</p>	<p>ordinary people , rich and powerful people</p>
<p><i>Other challenges mentioned (in the chapter)</i></p>	<p>Recognising equality of citizens while accommodating differences</p>	<p>None</p>	<p>Ensuring greater decentralisation of power and more representativeness of the polity</p>

<p><i>Varna system as occupational categorisation.</i></p>	<p>Both in 1998 and 2003 the Atishudras are omitted as a fifth category. It is they who were outside the Varna system and considered untouchables</p>	<p>Not detailed. Does refer to 'outcastes' however.</p>
<p><i>The manner in which 'Inequality</i></p>	<p>the latter mentioned and the</p>	<p>both mentioned</p>

<i>between the caste categories' and 'existence of caste categories' per se is dealt with</i>	former suggested to be a 'corruptive influence'		
<i>Nature of the discrimination stemming from inequality. (and vice versa !)</i>	Not precise	Vague	Highlights untouchability, economic repercussions, social backwardness
<i>The social expressions of caste that shape norms of interaction, status differentials and early socialisation into an overall perception of in-group and out-group. Endogamy as a very rigid principle to ensure lineage and continuity of caste</i>	Explained and made light of as 'odd restriction' rather than operative reality of students' lives	Not really dealt with	Explained as a practice that continues, without explaining the continued connection with traditional occupations and difficulties in breaking free.
<i>Discussion of caste in relation to democratic politics.</i>	Reservation as undoing inequality, rather than as a compensatory solution or palliative in the absence of structural change to address socio-economic deprivation and its continued reproduction	Trite mention of 'caste consideration' in politics. Conflicting messages on why reservation was put in place on the one hand, and how it is not really required at other times.	Treatment at length of reservations in relation to the 'right to equality'.
<i>Communalism</i>	Focus on shared cultural artefacts and heritage as countervailing force to communal tendencies.	More on how attempts at promoting narrow own-interests and identity by a particular community breed social tension	Communalism presented as fundamentally flawed because it views community as a monolith
<i>Minority Rights</i>	Explained in conjunction with a) Fundamental Rights in Indian Constitution and (excluding 2003) b) Democracy as an egalitarian political system		

'Religion', 'caste', 'democracy', 'diversity', 'minority' were the key words selected to identify the frames used and discourses included or excluded as a result.

One major example concerns the frame given to *social expressions of caste* that shape norms of interaction, status differentials and early socialisation into overall perceptions of in-group and out-group

Table 3.2(i): Discourses on Social Expressions of Caste

<p>Set 1 Ch: Challenges before Indian Democracy (1998)</p>	<p>p.80 .With the passage of time, the caste system has become very complicated. Instead of four castes there are now innumerable castes. Each caste has its own rites and ceremonies that distinguish it from others. They ask their boys and girls to marry within their caste and not to outsiders. Each caste has many sub castes. Accordingly people have to lead their lives under very odd restrictions. They cannot eat from others or with others. It means, people belonging to one caste treat others with hatred and suspicion.</p>	<p><i>Explained and made light of as 'odd restriction'</i></p>
<p>Set 2 Ch: Challenges of Communalism and Casteism (2003)</p>	<p>p.147. Castes are further divided into subcastes each having a distinct place in social hierarchy. Caste system is closely associated with the Hindus and also to some extent exists among the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs. Caste creates social gradations and social groupings, which lead to social distinction, discrimination and disintegration</p>	<p><i>Brief, and perfunctory but as critical of discrimination and disintegration</i></p>
<p>Set 3 Ch: Gender, Religion and Caste(2005)</p>	<p>p.49...Members of the same caste group were supposed to form a social community that practiced the same or similar occupation, married within the caste group and did not eat with members from other caste groups.</p> <p>Caste system was based on exclusion of and discrimination against 'outcaste' groups. They were subjected to the inhuman practice of untouchability.</p> <p>...with economic development, large scale URBANISATION, growth of literacy and education, OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY and the weakening of the position of landlords in villages, the old notions of CASTE HIERARCHY are breaking down....</p> <p>Yet caste has not disappeared from contemporary India. ...even now most people marry within their own caste or tribe. Untouchability has not ended completely despite constitutional prohibition...The caste groups that had access to education under the old system have done well in acquiring modern education as well. Those groups that did not have access to education or were prohibited from acquiring it have naturally lagged behind. That is why there is a disproportionately large presence of 'upper caste' among the urban middle classes in our country. Caste continues to be closely linked to economic status.</p>	<p><i>More lengthy. Explained as a practice that continues without explaining the continued connection with traditional occupations, material privileges or deprivations relating to land/ material resources, accruing from caste, and difficulties in breaking free. Importance of urbanisation and occupational mobility highlighted</i></p>

The discourse in Set 1 is interesting for the manner in which it seeks to underplay the material-ideational linkages in how the caste system came into being. The multiplicity of caste groups, endogamy that ensures preservation of an inherited group identity, and notions of purity and pollution and who has access to what resources, all take on crucial significance in a predominantly agrarian context . The notions of purity and pollution and the crucial

importance given to the ‘rites and ceremonies’ have continued to exist, including in new forms, even for the minority in India who have transcended the material conditions of occupation and caste-defined access to resources. The discourse in contrast seeks to deny ‘rationality’ to the system, rather than challenge on the grounds of its premises and implications for people’s lives. Where the discourse on the social expressions of caste is critical (set 3) the critique is drawn from the imperative of human rights informed by the liberal premise of equality of individuals. It observes that caste hierarchy but not caste per se is what is showing signs of being transcended in some quarters. While the importance of urbanisation and occupational mobility are highlighted and the fact that these have been disproportionately benefited the traditionally privileged caste groups, the last aspect does not inspire important questions about structural changes required if there is to be an economic ‘way out’ of the worst features of the system.

Table 3.2(ii): Discussion of Caste in Relation to Democratic Politics

While the basic critique of the caste system draws from the liberal ideology of rights for the individual, the provisions of special reservations on grounds of caste has only made the state a referee of conflicting claims of caste groups rather than a bestower of liberal equality. This issue is one key exclusion in the books. The discourse pertaining to these aspects is another interesting example.

<p>Set 1 Challenges before Indian Democracy (1998)</p>	<p>pp.80-81...people of the lower castes were poor. Because of their poverty, they were unable to have education and as a result, they could not get better jobs. To offset this our Constitution has included certain provisions under which, some jobs are reserved for those belonging to the Scheduled Castes.... Some seats can be reserved for them in educational institutions also. This is a way of undoing the injustices that the society had done to them for centuries. As long as discrimination against</p>	<p><i>reservation as undoing inequality, rather than keeping structural inequality in place by sponsoring mobility for a few in an iniquitous system...</i></p>
---	--	--

	<p>these castes remain, there can be no real democracy. It violates the principle of dignity of the human being. It goes against the main principle of a democratic society that all human beings should be treated as equals.</p>	
<p>Set 2 Challenges of Communalism and Casteism (2003)</p>	<p>p. 147. Caste discrimination has drastically declined but conversely the importance of caste consideration has increased. ...</p> <p>p.148. To counter the challenges of communalism and casteism, the Constitution of India prescribes protection and safeguards to the minorities, weaker sections, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and backward classes...India is a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic which secures social, economic and political justice to all its citizens. The Directive principles has the significance in context of socio-economic transformation of India for achieving equality..Right to equality guarantees equality before law; prohibition of discrimination on various grounds; and equality in the employment of public services. The state has been authorised even to impose reasonable restrictions on certain fundamental rights for the protection of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to meet the obligations of the welfare state....The objective of these constitutional provisions is that the minorities, weaker sections, backward classes/castes are specially helped to acquire their rightful position in the national democratic life.</p> <p>p.149-150...15 per cent of reservations for scheduled castes and 7.5 per cent for scheduled tribes in government services. The provision for reservation was introduced as a transitional measure initially for ten years only. But this period has been extended from time to time and is continuing till date.</p> <p>p.150. Other Backward Classes have also been identified on caste basis keeping in view of their social, economic and educational profiles. Since 1990, as many as 27 per cent reservations in public services for the backward classes/castes have been done...</p>	<p><i>Slightly conflicting messages.</i></p> <p><i>Asserting that caste discrimination has declined, before detailing the special provisions based on caste that continues.</i></p>

<p>Set 3 Democratic Rights (2005)</p>	<p>p.102.....the Government of India has provided reservations for Scheduled Caste's, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. Various Governments have different schemes for giving preference to women, poor or physically handicapped in some kinds of jobs. Are these reservations against the right to equality? They are not. For equality does not mean giving everyone the same treatment no matter what they need. Equality</p>	<p><i>Not really asking a question, but emphasising one view as the right answer.</i></p> <p><i>Obscures how the language of rights in India works</i></p>
--	--	--

	<p>means giving everyone an equal opportunity to achieve what they are capable of. Sometimes it is necessary to give special treatment to someone in order to ensure equal opportunity. That is what job reservations do. Just to clarify this, the Constitution says that reservations of this kind are not a violation of the Right to Equality</p>	<p><i>around 'grouping', sees these groups as homogenous units, and in the process may discriminate against individuals in all the groups. ie: a poor Brahmin vis-à-vis an SC elite member, an SC person in a village v/s one in the city or belonging to a family that has already availed of reservations for a few generations.</i></p> <p><i>Also, same comment as for set 1 above re implying reservations are about equal opportunities</i></p>
--	---	---

Table 3.2(iii) Discourse on Religious Diversity and Communalism/ the Concomitant Stresses in Society

Framing in the Set 1 and 2 books occurred through the terms 'communal' and notions of 'majority' and 'minority', and the focus remained exclusively on India. In contrast, Set 3 chose framing within the notions of 'diversity', secular arguments on how 'community identity's' are fostered, and what economic and political features make these identities (rather than others) pre-eminent. Also interesting are the ways in which pre-partition history and Pakistan are brought in sideways by Set 2 and Set 3. While the former suggest historically rooted animosity, the latter seeks to emphasise meeting points.

3.2(iii)A. Set 1 and 2: Communalism, Minority/Majority as Key Frames

<p>Set 1 Challenges before Indian Democracy (1998)</p>	<p>pp.77-78. One great hindrance to Indian democracy is religious communalism. Communalism means placing one's own community above others, even above the nation.</p>	<p><i>A fairly neutral definition of Communalism and how it affects Indian democracy</i></p>
<p>Set 2 Challenges of Communalism and Casteism (2003)</p>	<p>p.147. Communalism has been fatal as it led to the split of the nation in 1947. Thousands of innocent lives were lost. Families displaced from their homes became refugees. This communal carnage made children orphans and women widows. Even after over five decades of independence, India has not been able to overcome the problem of communalism. Communalism accompanied by terrorism and separatism poses danger to our national unity and integration. Mixing of religion with politics has given a setback to the secular democracy. Communal violence and bloodshed create a sense of insecurity among all. India cannot afford to fall victim to fear, panic and suspicion.</p>	<p><i>'The split of 'the nation' informed by demand for the Islamic state of Pakistan, hence implicitly, the Muslims are communal here.</i></p> <p><i>Numbers of lives lost put down as 'thousands' as against the reality of closer to a million.</i></p> <p><i>Terrorism and separatism are things minority communities as opposed to the majority Hindus in India are seen to indulge in, for 'Communalism accompanied by terrorism and separatism' seems to implicate minorities. If majority communalism were seen as generating minority terrorism would 'accompanied by' be the most appropriate here?</i></p>
<p>Set 1 Challenges before Indian Democracy (1998)</p>	<p>p.78. Some people want India to be a Hindu state, because they feel Hindus are in a majority. But this is a wrong idea. Because India is as much a country of the Hindus as of the Muslims, Christians and others who have been born and lived here. In fact, Indians have a very rich culture precisely because it is not the culture of any one community but of many. (Gives 2 examples – of cultural artefacts (Konark temple and Taj Mahal) and art (classical music) which all Indians are proud of)</p>	<p><i>No reference to the radical Dalit rejection of the notion of 'the Hindus'</i></p>

<p>Set 2 Challenges of Communalism and Casteism (2003)</p>	<p>p.147. Amidst religious pluralism of India, the Hindus constitute majority and other religious groups constitute minority with the Muslims being the largest one. Communal confrontations start coming on surface when a particular religious or sub religious group tries to promote its own interest at the expense of others. Attempts of promoting vested interests and identity by a particular community breeds social tension. In communal frenziness and hysteria, one turns hostile to one's fellow brethren.</p> <p>A religious person is not necessarily communal, rather communalism is certainly anti-religious. To talk in terms of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or communalism of minority or majority is not only misleading but also fraught with danger.</p> <p>Fundamentalists project their religious community distinct and separate from the rest of the religions. They give precedence to their interest over common interest. They perceive and deal with citizens not individually but communally. ... An aggressive communalism, if unchecked at a certain stage leads to a separatist tendency.</p>	<p><i>While most sentences can apply to either the majority or the minority here, the last one suggests aggressive communalism to be a tendency of the minority.</i></p> <p><i>Same comment also as for Set 1</i></p>
---	--	---

3.2(iii) B. Set 3: Diversity and its Economic and Political Correlates as Key

Frames

Democracy and Diversity (2005)	Meaning/ Messages and Comments (<i>in italics</i>)
<p>p.31. Differences, Similarities, divisions (subtitle) cartoon: I met this group of girls from Pakistan and felt that I had more in common with them than many girls from other parts of my own country. Is this anti-national to feel so?</p>	<p>Friendship and conciliation with Pakistan Pakistani's have a lot in common with Indians from some regions</p>
<p>p.32. Origins of social divisions (subheading) These social divisions are mostly based on accident of birth. Normally we don't choose to belong to our community. We belong to it simply because we are born into it.</p>	<p>A 'secular' argument . Negates the religious argument of predestination by ignoring it. Belonging to a community has to be understood as a matter of chance</p>
<p>p.32...But all kinds of social differences are not based on accident of birth. Some of the differences are based on our choices. For example, some people are atheists. They don't believe in God or any religion. Some people choose to follow a religion other than the one in which they were born.</p>	<p>Belonging to a social group can also be a matter of choice.</p>

p.32. Every social difference does not lead to social division (explained with the help of an example)	
p.33. Overlapping and cross-cutting differences (subheading) Social division takes place when some social difference overlaps with other differences...In our country Dalits tend to be poor and landless. They often face discrimination and injustice. Situations of this kind produce social divisions, when one kind of social difference becomes more important than the other and people start feeling that they belong to different communities (different fate of Ireland and Netherlands both of which have Catholics and Protestants, but different distribution of wealth among the 2 groups cited)	Social division born of social differences surfaces when each difference reinforces and intensifies differences in other spheres such as the economic.
p.33. Social divisions of one kind or another exist in most countries.	This is normal for countries. Being accommodative of difference is important.
p.34. Politics of social divisions (subtitle2) How do these social divisions affect politics? What does politics do to these social divisions?At first sight it would appear that the combination of politics and social divisions is very dangerous and explosive.	Social divisions can affect the country in very adverse ways, Concern and seriousness being expressed.
p.34. Democracy involves competition among various political parties. If they start competing in terms of existing social divisions, it can make social divisions into political divisions and lead to conflict, violence or even disintegration of a country. This has happened in many countries.	Political parties can play on social divisions. The parties that do this potentially lead the country into conflict. Highlights the negative role of parties that play on denominational characteristics. Social division leading to open conflict and disintegration owing to the agenda of political parties is also common.
p.34. Range of outcomes(subheading 2.1) (discusses peace building in Northern Ireland and disintegration in Yugoslavia)	
p.34...social divisions of one kind or another exist in most countries of the world. Wherever they exist these divisions are reflected in politics. In a democracy it is only natural that political parties would talk about these divisions, make different promises to different communities, look after due representation of various communities and make policies to redress the grievances of the disadvantaged communities. Social divisions affect voting in most countries. People from one community tend to prefer one party over others. In many countries there are parties that focus only on one community. Yet all this does not lead to disintegration of the country.	Elsewhere also brings in a more nuanced aspect of how divisions that get reflected in politics require interrogation: (through another frame: Challenges to Democracy, 2005) ie: India is not alone in facing these challenges. Social divisions lead to lots of fracturing of polity but it still endures.
p.34.Three determinants (subheading 2.2) Three factors are crucial in deciding the outcome of politics of social divisions. First of all outcome depends on how people perceive their identities...[in] singular and exclusive terms... [or as] multiple and are complementary with the national identity...This is how most people in our	'or a social community' (<i>euphemism for caste?</i>) "This is how most people in our country see their identity: they think of themselves as

<p>country see their identity: they think of themselves as Indian as well as belonging to a state or a language group or a social and religious community.</p>	<p>Indian as well as belonging to a state or a language group or a social and religious community?': <i>underplaying the terrible contradictions that come into play as a result?</i></p>
<p>p.34.Second, it depends on how political leaders raise the demand of any community. It is easier to accommodate demands that are within the constitutional framework and are not at the cost of another community.</p>	<p><i>What about something like religion-specific personal law that is within the constitutional framework (depending on how it is interpreted) but may seem more threatening to some communities than others?</i></p>
<p>p.35.Third, it depends on how government reacts to demands of different groups....if the rulers are willing to share power and accommodate the reasonable demands of minority community, social divisions become less threatening for the country. But if they try to suppress the demand in the name of national unity, the end result is often quite the opposite</p>	<p>'reasonable demands of minority community'...<i>meaning: at the very minimum, not challenge integrity of the polity? (which is not spelt out)</i></p> <p><i>What is 'reasonable': (eg: in a context such as the Shab Bano case which is not discussed)</i></p>

Table 3.3: Meta Frame of 'Democracy'

Besides, there is the larger discourse on 'Democracy' (in 1998 and 2005) within which these selective framings of topics get embedded, which also informs the specific discourse that gets communicated.

	Text	Comment on meaning	Imagery/ Ethos/ Logos/ Pathos (also Comments/ Questions I ask of the text)
Democracy (1998)	p.53. ...democracy is a government which depends on the consent of the governed ie: of the people. It is also sometimes called a government of the people, or a government in which people have the supreme power.	'sometimes called' (expressing reservation) 'people have the supreme power' (idealising)	Pathos: Hardly any?
	p.53. Practically this means that there must be some mechanism available to the people to participate in decision making, and the people must exercise control over the government	There is a practical angle to the high-sounding idea of democracy as government of the people	
Democracy in the contemporary world (2005)	p.7 Democracy is a <i>form of government</i> that allows <i>people to choose their rulers</i>	Form of government: associated with countries. ...	
	(the two features) p.7. Only leaders elected by people should rule the country People have the freedom to express views, freedom to organise and freedom to protest	[does it do justice to the introductory sentences "This chapter...different stories...meant to give a sense of <i>what it means to experience democracy and its absence.</i> " What of economic and social rights? Is talking of the leadership and the policy decisions that they favoured enough? The socialist democracy slant...does it say anything for the unorganised sector in India, rural and urban poor? Caste as it is implicated in the	In effect, electoral democracy with civil liberties. No mention of economic and social rights as essential for meaningful political rights

		experience of democracy?]	
--	--	------------------------------	--

To conclude, analysing the shifts and trends in framing of caste and religion as related to ‘Democracy’ (taken to be the Meta-frame) indicate very diminished space for, and barely any connections being made in 2003/Set 2. This reflects a downgrading of the ‘mission’ in relation to Democracy building overall in the political climate prevailing at the time. On the other hand, comparing across the texts and from what and how much is said, in 2005/set 3, Democracy besides being the overarching focus of almost all the chapters clearly frames issues relating to Religion and Caste within ‘Democratic Rights’ rather than within ‘Challenges’. The former conveys normativeness and non-negotiability, while the latter is suggestive of things being amiss and therefore having to be set right. In the set 1 books the institutional aspects of Democracy are accorded pre-eminence. Dealing with democracy in each of these different ways have to do with political agendas (in relation to caste and religion) for the governments that commissioned these different sets of books.

Chapter 4. What is Good Practice in relation to Content?

Can curricular theory provide normative direction to political agendas that as we saw in Chapter 3 come into play in relation to selection and framing of content in textbooks? The objective of this chapter is to proffer some questions and answers to ‘selection of content’ related aspects of Social Studies education, particularly those that have a bearing on

- a. Religiosity and religious plurality in a secular state (in so much as these come in the way of a fuller experience of democracy of sections of the polity)
- b. Addressing systemically prevalent inequalities and social distancing due to race or caste.

The task of ‘enlarging/ improving experience’ (Dewey, 1915) for associational life cannot escape the importance of such challenging subject matter and the messages it conveys to enlarge experience. This in turn claims space for the related questions such as: What does good practice vis-à-vis content entail in terms of

- a. how it is selected, ie: as per what criteria (for instance, as Cleo Cherryholmes (cited in Parker, 2003:45-46) observes of engaging students in problem solving through the reflective inquiry tradition: “which problems are worth solving, according to whom, to what ends and in whose favour”. There are also issues of age or learner-readiness.)
- b. Framing? What must it say and how much? (even within a topic what must be included and excluded?)

Also important are such question as: what demonstrable outcomes (related specifically to content) should good practice have in relation to the learner, and how will these be measured (ie: assessed)? There are clearly many kinds of learning facilitated by the content of social studies. At one level it is about

gaining information, and enhancing conceptual understanding of institutions, social phenomena, ideals etc. Within this set, there are areas that are either more or less amenable to contextual, and relativist understandings. However, over and above this cognitive level of comprehension or learning there are affective and behavioural components that other kinds of content in social studies seeks to foster. Egalitarianism and commitment to democratic ideals are among these. While competencies related to comprehension, reasoning and argumentation can be tested through conventional examinations, ways and means of testing the latter remain rather elusive. A very conscious engagement with both epistemic and normative considerations in establishing both what will be tested, why and how is thus warranted, but will not be dealt with here.

4.1 The Criteria for content selection

The most recent Indian school curriculum framework (National Curriculum Framework, 2005) does undertake to examine the issue of content selection and the associated dilemmas at some length, and concludes that the answer to 'what constitute criteria' lie in the broader aims of education and societal goals, such as those laid down by the Indian constitution besides considerations of desirable capabilities for individuals, and epistemological considerations.

Theorising the nature of subject matter/content in Social Studies (building on Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) cited in Parker 2003) is aided by three traditions of citizenship education

- a. citizenship transmission tradition (ie: affirms existing political institutions and ideals- rule of law, civil liberties, tolerance - and seeks to pass them on to succeeding generations
- b. social science tradition: the focus is on helping students acquire the methods of enquiry of the social science disciplines, and to test hypotheses and apply reason based on these.
- c. reflective inquiry tradition: concerned with citizens' capability for decision making, and with more activist leanings, this tradition emerged from the work of Shirley Engle on Deci-

sion Making as the 'heart' of Social Studies Instruction and that of Hunt and Metcalf (1955) on society's 'closed areas' that are closeted away from discussion and probing. (Parker, 2003)

Even in John Dewey's classic text on Democracy and Education (1915), a view exists of the knowledge imparted by school as closely allied with the content selected for study: a notion of the 'transmission curriculum' (this, not in exclusion of, but alongside other aspects like cultivation of skills and reflection of values). In it, he suggests that Formal Education is something, that instead of being incidental, seeks to enlarge and improve experience in a systematic way. While this experience is relevant to all fields of work-related and practical knowledge, it is also so for associational life as required by a democracy. Also, while the role of the environment in determining the value of the planned experience of education is emphasised, education as social process guiding students towards *a particular* social ideal and the role of choice of subject matter in the development of mental and moral dispositions are equally emphasised. This social ideal is one which students are facilitated to competently arrive at through exercise of their choice, based on democratic interaction with other points of view – as opposed to simply following authority/not listening to other groups/people.

Citing Herbart's contribution to highlighting *material of study* or *content* as all important, even to the extent of forming the mind entirely from without, Dewey points out the shortcomings of such an over deterministic view, while acknowledging its merit and potential. In India, the dangers of over determinism are evident in a watered-down notion of what constitutes the 'transmission curriculum' that informed the writing of textbooks till the recent years. In the post independence years the overriding focus on national integration, and in more recent times the influence of organised political ideologies in presenting only one view that would presumably 'percolate' into the ideational realm are indicative of this problem. Nussbaum (2008: 369-370) bemoans the 'contempt for the humanities and the arts' that result in these subjects being associated with a 'complete lack of critical thinking' and rote

learning, as against ‘cultivated imagination and refined critical faculties’. She cites instances of Set 2 books dealing with Christianity and Buddhism in a ways that are “brief, vague and illiterate”. Accounts such as that Jesus “emphasised on one God and the supreme importance of love, brotherhood and compassion. He performed various miracles such as raising the dead, casting out devils, healing the sick, calming the winds and the waves, etc” (2007: 267).

Clearly, curriculum theory provides for a more nuanced notion of ‘transmission’ than the handing down of such messages. For the transmission curriculum to do justice to goals formally endorsed at the societal level requires teasing out of finer issues: How can teaching-learning materials and processes address real aspects of power/conflict/ resentment/ social stigma and bias which are endorsed by students’ home/surroundings? A practical instance of this related directly to religiosity is one Lelwica (2008) draws attention to, concerning aspects of religion that indirectly compromise the democratic ideal. For instance, the belief that only one religion contains the “Truth”. This automatically makes followers of other faiths ‘misguided at best or damned at worst’ (Eck, 2003 cited in *ibid*: 7). In other words, how does transmission curriculum engage with environment that is at odds with its messages, and really get successfully ‘transmitted’ (from the receiver’s point of view)? To my mind, it is by successfully addressing this issue that a transmission curriculum becomes potentially one fostering reflective enquiry and the boundaries between the two approaches then blur. In practice, the *exclusivist* approach of religions (so termed by religion scholar Diana Eck, and cited in the example used above) is very often sought to be downplayed by the *universalist* approach that claims that superficial differences aside, all religions are essentially the same. While acknowledging its less divisive impact, Lelwica (2008) is of the view that this diminishes the genuine differences (and potential sites of conflict among adherents) between religions (such as the belief in the existence or otherwise of a supreme divine being).

I would think that more important than these ‘genuine differences’ are those that impact the day to day life of people within that religious fold. As (for instance) Majid (2008: 6) states “Muslims would benefit from asking such questions as whether Islam is the “only” true religion, or whether women and members of minority groups enjoy their God-given rights in Islamic states.” In the author’s view, such questioning does not amount to heresy as “Muslims who censor such questions to protect their faith are in fact impoverishing their intellectual heritage. Even major prophets, according to the Koran, challenged God to prove his existence” (ibid). However, within the ‘secular’ domain of the State and its ideological apparatus of the school system, especially in a country like India, these issues are very challenging. More so, when the Hindu right has used the issue of the common civil code as a stick with which to beat the Muslims (Dhavan, 2001: 318 cited in Madan, 2002).

Bing and Talmadge (2008: 13), though writing in a different cultural context, offer insights into the difficulty of dealings with religion in the classroom. Educators, they observe, feel generally unprepared to facilitate dialogue about religion, are often unfamiliar with the different religions represented in their classrooms, and lack expertise in managing possible conflict emerging from such dialogue and fear losing control of the classroom. They also worry about revealing their own view in the course of such classroom discourse, and possibly impacting the student-teacher relationship. These issues multiply many fold in contexts such as India’s where the professional preparation (or lack of it!) of teachers hardly requires that they be reflective practitioners or examine their own view on issues.

Yet another issue is that certain ‘messages’ go hand-in-hand with certain ‘methods’ of classroom practice (and not others). The choice of pedagogical approach (eg: dialogical v/s top-down instruction, or one facilitative of a well-argued answer against ‘one right answer’ wherever possible) enhances or decreases the acceptance of chosen messages. In the curricular domain, the issue becomes one of making a ‘transmission’ curriculum more ‘participatory’ (see diagram below).

In the average Indian classroom situation, all of this makes good teaching-learning material/textbook very important.

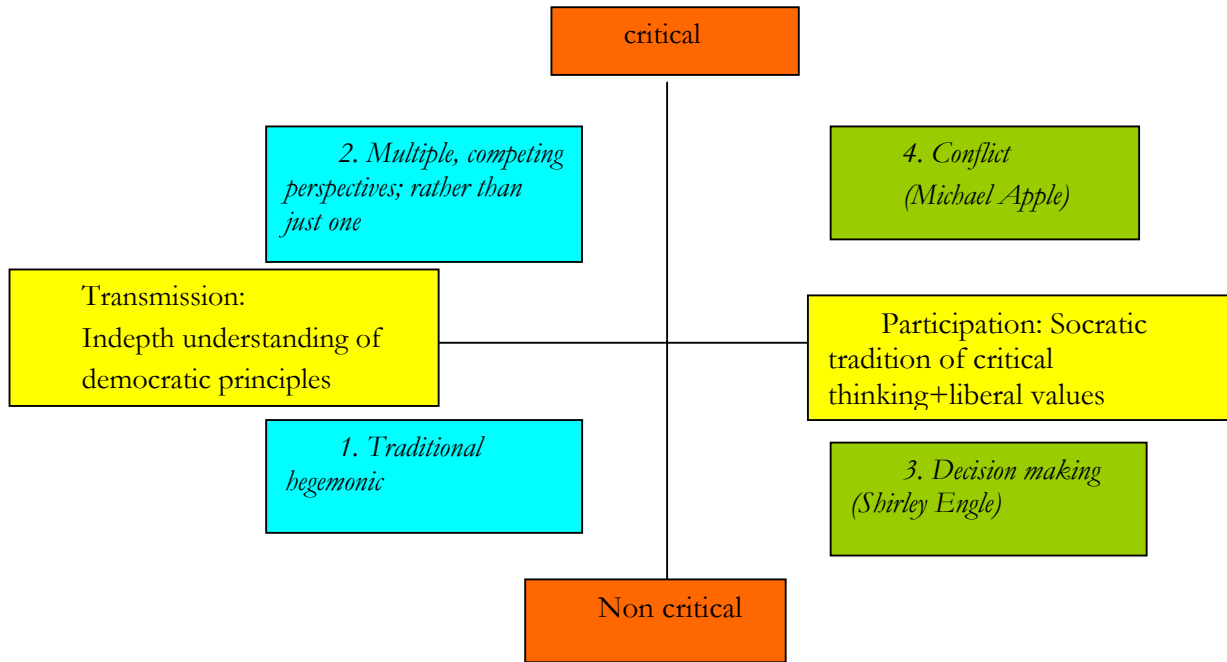


Fig. 4.1 Approaches to Social Studies with Implications for Content

Diagram developed based on Parker, 2003: ‘Transmission’ refers to the citizenship transmission tradition of Barr, Barth and Shermis and ‘Participation’ is very close to the reflective enquiry tradition of social studies education

The two axes, with ‘Transmission’ and ‘Participation’ at two ends of one continuum and ‘Critical’ and ‘Non-critical’ approaches at the ends of another continuum, describe 4 quadrants that capture the nature of the dominant discourse in the textbooks analysed in Chapter 3 too. Sets 1 and 2 (1998, 2003) are largely traditional hegemonic education, with top-down passing on of messages being the focus. Set 3 (2005) combines elements of quadrants 1,2 and 3, with the third, Shirley Engle’s contribution of Decision Making encouraging reflective inquiry and capability for decision making informed by more activist leanings. Michael Apple’s work which is seen as combining the

virtues of reflective enquiry with the value of dealing with conflict vis-à-vis issues of class, gender and race, does not find much application in India.

Referring back to questions raised on page 37, I now examine:

4.2 Some Possible Approaches to Framing

4.2.1 Framing around a 'load lifting idea'

On the question of what content ought to say and how much, Leroy S. Rouner's writing on education to foster a civic identity offers some direction (in Baxi and Parekh, 1995: p.171-172.). Citing William Ernest Hocking's *Experiment in Education* reflecting on the problem of re-educating Germany after World war II, he notes that Hocking argued that post war Germany needed a focus to its programme of educational de-Nazification in order to restore meaning and purpose to national life. Inspired by a German student who had written to him, he suggested the notion of 'a load lifting idea', a functional absolute which the community can affirm, and in affirming, find renewed purpose and identity. He later argued that 'the best fruit of modernity' is the dignity given to every individual in the notion of human rights. Rouner holds that the load lifting idea as a binding ingredient is of interest for all secular democracies made up of radically diverse ethnic groups.

Sunil Khilnani accords the same pride of place in the Indian context to Democracy. He asserts "Democracy as a manner of seeing and acting upon the world is changing the relation of Indians to themselves" (1997:1). Yet, if this is indeed India's load lifting idea, its status as a panacea seems rather uncertain. For, as the author himself asks, "How did the idea arrive in India? And what has it done to India, and India to it?" given Indian "society's unusual fixity and cultural consistency" (ibid). Democracy can be the load lifting idea for India, yet its very status as a discourse and the manner in which it intersects with (or ought to) intersect with the identities formed by religion and caste is contested overtly and covertly. Religion and caste as a normative aspect in the life of students shapes their relationships with others in a plural Indian society (eg: whom to marry, perception of menial caste based hereditary occupations as being unjust or otherwise...or even perceiving that they exist at all). It is a very

major factor shaping gendered socialisation and the ‘positioning’ of people vis-à-vis oneself as either an ‘equal’ or otherwise (with an infinite variety accounted for by the student’s own personality, background and personal relationship with religion!). In general, religion does play a major role in shaping views and behaviour on many “topics that are inextricable from their (students’) personal identity and their preparation for public roles” (Rice, 2008: 2). Social Science approaches, even when formally stated (in policy documents/ curriculum frameworks) to owe allegiance to critical enquiry and rationalism, rarely consider explicitly the procedural details and challenges in dealing with these topics in ways that would bring them home to students and facilitate critical, reflective engagement in the interest of democratic deepening.

Among the three sets of textbooks being analysed, Set 3 appears to owe greatest allegiance to democracy as a load lifting idea, both in the space accorded, and in the content and framing of ‘democracy’. Yet what ‘loads’ are lifted are open to interpretation. As Ambedkar asked in 1950, and Khilnani cited and chose to focus on, “In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions?”. And aspects of the social and economic structure continue to receive questionable emphasis in the discourse on democracy even in the Set 3 textbooks.

Moreover, of consequence is another fact that Rouner draws attention to – significant differences among the social realities of secular democracies and the manner in which load lifting ideas can therefore leverage themselves within them. He provides an interesting comparison/contrast of the US and India, summarised in the table below (1995: 173-184).

Table 4.1: The potential and challenges before Democracy as a Load-lifting idea in America and India

America	India
Democracy out of ethnically diverse people	Much more diverse cultural conglomerate. Radically divergent people with different ethnic, regional, linguistic, caste, class, religious backgrounds.
Load-lifting idea: Jeffersonian democracy; openness to those from different backgrounds, generous encouragement of their hopes within the liberal tradition	<p>Traditional bonds of language, region, caste, class, religion are inherently strong. They give people more of a psycho-social sense of being ‘at home’ than a single pan Indian identity? Visceral human instinct to gravitate towards ‘our own’?</p> <p>“To be part of this family; to be familiar with this place remembered from childhood; to know this language’s local accent and intimate meanings; to have a place, however low, in this community; and to share with others the celebration of belief and commitment, in which the deepest in us meets the deepest in our fellows – that is what it means to be at home. So while regionalism, casteism and the rest are regularly decried in Indian political speeches and in the national press, these traditional identities probably still assure most Indian about who they really are. And of course, the greater the maelstrom, the more the assurance counts” pp.174-175</p>
Idea of America became the binding ingredient/ ‘home’ for a diverse population	<p>-traditional communities include some people only by excluding others</p> <p>-for all their warm personal reassurances, traditional identities do not directly serve civil loyalty (SC: <i>but maybe some do more than others...regional, linguistic, caste, class, religious?...intersections and contradictory locations in diverse spatio-temporal points?</i>)</p>
What explains the above?—USA developed from a modern immigrant population on ‘virgin’ land	v/s Indian regionalism, ancient, immobile, rooted in villages which America never had
American dream: romanticised immigrant opportunity; most immigrants had lost a lot in their native lands (<i>pull factor for a new identity</i>)	v/s Indian civil loyalty seeking to change what has always been there...transition from traditional communal values to modern values of individualism, secularism, freedom involves a major shift in the paradigms of self understanding (SC: <i>and I would add, material realities, as an insufficient but necessary concomitant?</i>)

4.2.2 Framing emphasising Content Integration and the Knowledge Construction Process

Guidelines are suggested by James A Banks (2005) in the 29th Annual Faculty Lecture at the University of Washington . Speaking in context of multicultural education, he identifies five dimensions, of which the first two are particularly relevant to the present purpose too.

Table 4.2: Dimensions of multicultural education

	Content Integration	Knowledge Construction Process	Prejudice Reduction	Equity Pedagogy	Empowering school culture
<i>Method / Approach</i>	<p>Include content from the cultures of other groups</p> <p>Group s neglected in the popular culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - develop positive image - make the more active, engaged 	<p>Investigate actively with students how all content is 'positional'</p> <p>ie: stated from one particular perspective (eg: Happy slaves versus Afro American reality)</p>	<p>Interact positively in equal status situations (super ordinate groups that make other group identities fade: sports team?)</p> <p>(extracurricular eg here)</p>	<p>Modify teaching to facilitate achievement of those from other cultures (eg: language of home and school...)</p>	<p>Safe environment</p> <p>Professional faculty</p> <p>School wide emphasis on positive achievement</p>
<i>Comment</i>			<i>These aspects though not of</i>		<i>Very</i>

<i>ent</i>			<i>direct relevance to 'content' per se, are extremely pertinent to show how aspects over and above the textbook and its content serve to support its messages.</i>	<i>relevant to what is said through textbooks and how it can be said, but beyond the scope of the present study.</i>
------------	--	--	---	--

The key here is Diversity balanced by concern for justice and equality. Banks understands Nussbaum's use of 'Cosmopolitanism' as rising to the task of facilitating recognition of diversity, together with an overarching inclusive identity. She refers to American students cultivating a global perspective, but the central goal for the Indian student would be to create a pan-Indian one.

For both the possible approaches to framing discussed above, related but extrinsic support factors also then come into the picture, such as

1. Teacher professionalism: what would it entail and how would it be achieved...pre-service/ in-service training, also unlearning (own school education/ social construction of childhood/ goals of education)
2. School culture: does the school have an identity and vision for social studies education stemming from this identity and
3. Social expectations of education. These operate at various levels. As an aspiration of parents and students. As a policy discourse and associated institutional arrangements which support (or fail to do so) this discourse.
4. Resource commitments (both material and human).

Chapter 5. Analysis and Conclusions

To return to the questions laid out in the first chapter, and summarise the analysis undertaken in chapters 3 and 4:

1. What have been the discourses on/pertaining to democracy as associational life in relation to religion and caste in Social Studies textbooks of Class IX and X in Indian CBSE schools since 2000.

2. What are relevant good practices in content selection in social studies to deepen democracy?

The first question involved examining 3 sets of textbooks: the first set which had been in use for over a decade – from 1990 to 2002, the second introduced in 2003 and the third in use from 2005 till the present. With regard to shifts and trends in framing of caste and religion as related to ‘Democracy’ (taken to be the Meta-frame), between the three sets of books, Set 1 has a clear focus on the institutional aspects of democracy. Aspects of religion and caste thus are not presented in dialogue with the private sphere of students lives. Democracy per se receives very little attention in 2003/Set 2. With half the space accorded to frames like ‘Economic Development’, ‘Towards Liberalisation and Globalisation’, ‘Major Challenges before the Indian

Economy’, and ‘Consumer Awareness’ the textbook seems focussed more on consumer society rather than democracy. Issues relating to Religion and Caste when dealt with, are framed as ‘Challenges of Communism and Casteism’ rather than as anything to do with the notion of human rights and freedoms of religious minorities or dalits. In sharp contrast, in 2005/set 3, frames issues relating to Religion and Caste within ‘Gender, Religion and Caste’ and ‘Democratic Rights’.

Within topics that are common to all three sets, there is a difference in what and how much is said. For instance, the topic of caste based reservations is common to all three sets. In 1998 and 2003 this topic is framed under the broad topic of ‘Challenges’. There is a difference there too, as the former frames it within ‘Challenges to Democracy’, while the latter frames it within ‘Challenges of Communalism and Casteism’. In Set 1, special provisions in jobs and educational institutions based on caste are explained as ‘a way of undoing the injustices that the society had done to them for centuries’ (p.81). Set 2 gives slightly conflicting messages. Democratic commitment to social, economic and political equality are mentioned as is the need to allow people deprived caste groups claim their ‘rightful place’ in society, at the same time, continuing (and growing) caste based protectionist policies and ‘caste consideration’ are problematised. Set 3 asserts that reservations are about treating unequal people unequally in order to give them equal opportunities. While the basic critique of the caste system draws from the liberal ideology of rights for the individual, the provisions of special reservations on grounds of caste has only made the state a referee of conflicting claims of caste groups rather than a bestower of liberal equality. This is a key exclusion in the Set 1 and 3 books. Set 2 on the other hand does not convincingly demonstrate that affirmative action has led to equality in outcomes, so as to warrant the removal of special provisions.

The exercise of situating these texts in the context of the political climate that they took shape in was of explanatory value for both the meta frames and specific discourses. The liberal worldview that views people as individuals, who are group members but with the right to exit any group; makes the traditional community a feature of prehistory. However, as Partha Chatterjee (1995 cited in Gasper, 2008a) explains, the liberal worldview that

‘community’, as ‘prehistory, a natural, prepolitical, primordial stage in social evolution must be superseded for the journey of freedom and progress to begin’ is intimately intertwined with the story of capital. In the absence of large scale industrial capitalism, and the presence of Western colonial domination, the ‘inner realm’ of culture (bound closely to community and tradition) was something that Indian nationalists sought to strengthen. ‘The home, ... (became)... the original site on which the hegemonic power of nationalism was launched.’ (Chatterjee 1995: 147 cited in Gasper, 2008a). The nationalist strategy was to accept universalism in the outer realm of business and State politics and strongly reject colonialist claims of difference there, while also strongly rejecting many colonialist universalist claims for the inner/domestic realm – that of the household and dearly valued ‘superior’ culture to the West’s. This is the commonality that I see in the historical legacy and continued ideological sustenance of both the Congress I and the BJP, which gets reflected in how the public and private spheres are dealt with in the textbook. This understanding provides a useful lens to make sense of the discourses related to democracy of the Set 1 and 2 books.

Set 3 in the space accorded, and in the content and framing of ‘democracy’, appear to owe greatest allegiance to democracy as a ‘load lifting idea’ in the face of India’s social diversity and commitment to economic and political justice. Yet, aspects of the social and economic order which undermine the experience of political equality continue to receive questionable emphasis in its discourse. For instance, even when there is a sensitive and refreshing discourse on diversity taking on challenging political manifestations when there are unfavourable and clear cut economic correlations, what responses a democratic set-up can offer except in the form of welfare (that is fast being undermined and diluted) is unclear. As such, the discourse feeds the notion that the ideational sphere alone (to the neglect of the material) can give shape to a certain kind of (in this case democratic) political society. The project that the Left in India seems to be engaged in, is to realise [unlike the alternative Chatterjee (1995: 197-8) visualises of ‘democratic community that are based neither on the principle of hierarchy nor on those of bourgeois equality’] democratic community certainly not based on the principle of hierarchy but

one premised on at least the ideational elements of bourgeois equality sans any willingness to engage its historical rootedness in material transformation of societies or aspects of individualism as having anything to do with a narrative of capital. Hence they are defenders (literally, as emerges in the Set 3 textbooks) of the ‘additional language’ ‘available to the political leadership in India when it began the task of constructing a state ideology’ (Chatterjee p.210 cited in Gasper, 2008a)...that of democracies not based on an exclusive language of freedom but a language of welfare.

With regard to good practices in the selection and framing of content, both socially engaged content selection (ie: derived explicitly from goals stipulated in the constitution), and commitment to facilitating learner engagement with this content in a reflective and critical manner (accommodative of multiple perspectives), is most evident in Set 3. Whilst sets 1 and 2 (1998, 2003) facilitate largely traditional hegemonic education, with top-down passing on of messages being the focus, Set 3 (2005) thus offers a refreshing alternative with scope for reflective enquiry and decision making. This is commendable given that the challenges before adopting such an approach in the Indian context are significant. At the time of writing, a federal state level textbook which took a cue from National Curriculum Framework 2005 and decided to have a lesson built around a hypothetical scene (very culturally rooted) of the conversation that takes place between the parents and headmaster of a school when the former seek admission for the child, has raked up considerable controversy. In this hypothetical scene that constitutes the lesson, the father is identifiably Muslim, and the mother Hindu. The father requires that the columns for religion and caste of the school-enrolment form be left blank. He also suggests, when asked by the headmaster about the possibility of his child wanting to have a religion when he grows up, that he would be free to choose. Rapidly mobilised public opinion from various quarters, among other things questions the ‘moral’ implications of such ‘anti-religious’ pronouncements.

In relation to the larger project of deepening Democracy vis-à-vis the middle class, the current textbooks certainly represents a ‘modest reform scenario’ which as Gasper (2008b: Norrag news 40) explains ‘The premise of a

scenarios' exercise is that people and societies have choices, which can be influenced by reflection and debate'. Yet, as he also points out, change by individuals, if it runs against predominant meaning-systems, is difficult. People have needs for meaning and identity, and attempts to change behaviour through addressing individuals, via information may have little impact given people's (and in this case, being middle class Indian children, vulnerable people's) social lock-in, other motivations and the massive influences that pull in the other direction. There is already much stated support for values of solidarity but the challenge in these areas is how to bridge the attitude-behaviour gap. As Gasper writes "Major value changes can be observed in human history, sometimes surprising and impressive, such as the rise of beliefs in and real commitment to human rights and racial equality. How do fundamental changes in values and practices arise? What roles can education play? Or is it just a dependent variable within society, with no fundamental system-altering impacts?" (ibid). Perhaps 20 years hence, in analysing the role of the Indian middle class as intellectuals and trend setters for democratic deepening, I can hope to find answers.

References

- Aggarwal, J.C (1982) *Development and Planning of Modern Education. With special reference to India*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Alam, Javeed (1999) 'Is Caste Appeal Casteism? Oppressed Castes in Politics', *Economic and Political Weekly*, pp.757-761.
- Alba, Alicia De (1999), 'Curriculum and Society: Rethinking the Link', *International Review Of Education*, 45 (5/6): 470 – 499.
- Albornoz, Orlando (1989), 'Education and Development Revisited: A Sociological Perspective', *International Sociology*, 4 (3): 273 – 291.
- Arblaster, A (1987), *Democracy*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Baner, Walter (1997), 'Education, Bildung and Post-Traditional Modernity', *Curriculum Studies*, 5 (2): 163-175.
- Banks, James A. (2005) 'Democracy, Diversity and Social Justice: Education in a Global Age', 29th annual faculty lecture at the University of Washington.
<http://www.uwv.org/programs/displayevent.aspx?rID=2668> (accessed 20 June 2008)
- Barro, R. J. (1999), 'Determinants of Democracy', *Journal of Political Economy* 107(6): S158-S183.
- Baxi, Upendra and Bhikhu Parekh (eds.), (1995) *Crisis and Change in Contemporary India*, New Delhi: Sage

- Beetham, David (2004) 'Towards a Universal Framework for Democracy Assessment', *Democratisation*, 11:2, 1-17.
- Biswas, Arabinda and Suren Agrawal, (eds.) (1971) *Indian Educational Documents Since Independence. Committees, Commissions, Conferences*. New Delhi: The Academic Publishers.
- Chandoke, Neera (1999) 'A Nation Searching for a Narrative in Times of Globalisation', *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 1: 1040-1047
- Darlington, 2008, <http://www.rogerdarlington.co.uk/Indianpoliticalsystem.html> (assessed 25 August 2008)
- Demerath, N J , Surinder S Jodhka , Loren R Demerath (2006) 'Interrogating Caste and Religion in India's Emerging Middle Class', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(35): 3813-3818.
- Dewey, John (1916), *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*, New York: Free Press.
- Douglass, Malcolm.P (1967) *Social Studies: From Theory to Practice in Elementary Education*, Philadelphia : Lippincott.
- Dubois, Jean-Luc and Milene Trabelsi (2007) 'Education in pre and post conflict contexts: relating capability and life skills approaches', *International Journal of Social Economics*, 34 (1, 2): 53- 65
- Easterly, W. (2001), 'The Middle Class Consensus and Economic Development', *Journal of Economic Growth*, 6, pp: 317-335.
- Education Commission, Report of the. 1964 – 66, (1966)*, New Delhi: Ministry of Education, Government of India.
- Faust, David and Richa Nagar, (2001), 'Politics of Development in Postcolonial India: English Medium Education and Social Fracturing?' *Economic And Political Weekly*, July 28th : 2878 – 2883.
- Fernandes, Leela. (2000), 'Restructuring the New Middle Class in Liberalizing India', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, XX(1,2), pp: 88-104.
- Gaspar and Apthorpe (1996) 'Introduction: Discourse Analysis and Policy Discourse' in Apthorpe, R and Des Gaspar (eds.) *Arguing Development Policy: Frames and Discourses*, London: Frank Cass. pp 1-15
- Gaspar, Des (2008a) work in progress, refers to Chatterjee, Partha (1995), *The Nation and its Fragments – Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, New Delhi: Oxford Univ. Press,

- Gaspar, Des (2008b) 'Education and the coming global 'Great Transition' – but which one?', *NORRAG News* 40, pp.147-149, <http://www.norrag.org/issue.php?id=40> (accessed 5 September, 2008)
- Gramsci, Antonio: schooling and education <http://www.infed.org/thinkers/et-gram.htm> (accessed Saturday, 19 April 2008)
- Khilnani, Sunil (1997) *The Idea of India*, London: Hamish Hamilton
- Lauder, Hugh; Philip Brown, Jo-Anne Dillabough and A. H Halsey (eds.) (2006) *Education, Globalization, and Social Change*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Laurie, Nina., Robert Andolina, and Sarah Radcliffe,(2003) 'Indigenous Professionalisation: Transnational Social Reproduction In The Andes', *Antipode*, 35 (3): 463 – 492.
- Mahajan, Gurpreet and H Reifield (ed.) (2003) *The Public and the Private*. New Delhi : Sage Publications
- National Curriculum Framework* (2005), New Delhi: NCERT
- Numata, Hiroyuki (2003) "What Children Have Lost By The Modernization Of Education: A Comparison Of Experiences In Western Europe And Eastern Asia" *International Review of Education*, 49 (1-2): 261 – 264.
- NORRAG News, NN39 Policy Brief - Best Practice, http://www.norrag.org/db_read_article.php?id=1068 accessed Wednesday, 23 April 2008
- Nussbaum, Martha C. (1997), *Cultivating Humanity : A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2007). *The Clash Within : Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's future*, Cambridge, MA Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Palmer-Molony, L.Jean and Bloom, Elizabeth (2001) 'Classroom as the field for studying Geographical Education', *Geographical Review*, 91 (4): 641 – 654
- Parekh, Bhikhu (2000), *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Parker, Walter C. (2003) Ch. 3: 'Toward an Enlightened Political Engagement' in *Teaching Democracy: Unity and Diversity in Public Life*, New York: Teachers College Press
- Santome, Jurjo Torres (1996) "The presence of different cultures in Schools: Possibilities of dialogue and action". *Curriculum Studies*, 4 (1): 25-41.

Vanhuysse, Pieter and Clara Sabbagh (2005), 'Promoting happiness, respecting difference? New perspectives on the politics and sociology of education in liberal democracy', *British Educational Research Journal*, 31 (3), pp.391-403

Vishnu, Prabhir (2005), 'Converging Priorities of the Middle Classes, Media and Polity in Contemporary India: An Analysis of Plans, Press and Policy', ISS research paper

Wells, David H. (2001), *Milestones: A Road Map to the Indian Middle Class* <http://www.aliciapatterson.org/APF2001/Wells/Wells.html> accessed 20 June, 2007

Wesley, Edgar. B and Stanley. P Wronski, (1958) *Teaching Social Studies in High Schools*, Boston: D.C Heath and Company.

Wesley, Edgar. B and William. H Cartwright, (1967), *Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools*, Boston: D.C Heath and Company.

Textbooks Analysed

India: Constitution and Government, A textbook in Civics for class IX and X (1998)

New Delhi: NCERT

Contemporary India, A Social Science Textbook for Class X (2003)

New Delhi: NCERT

Democratic Politics (2005)

New Delhi: NCERT

Democratic Politics – II, Textbook in Political Science for Class X (2005)

New Delhi: NCERT