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Misappropriation of NCF 2005 in Distorting the Textbooks of Karnataka

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Abstract

Communalizing of textbooks has remained one of the major issues of education in Karnataka. Students continue reading the textbooks most of whose chapters are influenced by sectarian ideology. These textbooks are expected to be retained for the forth coming academic years.

With textual examples, this paper examines misappropriation of some concepts of National Curriculum Framework 2005 (NCF 2005) like 'Construction of Knowledge', 'Interrelations among Disciplines', 'Plurality and Local Content', 'Normative Concerns', and 'Integrated Approach'. Textbooks of standards five, six, seven, eight, nine and 10 of Karnataka, prescribed during the years 2012, 2013 and 2014 are used as samples for the study. This paper also focuses on the innovative methods employed in the preparation of textbooks to circulate dominant ideologies.

Key Words: Ideology, co-optation, mythification, historicizing, revitalizing and revisionism

Introduction

when text books Every time communalized, the supremacist ideological groups have employed innovations in promoting their ideologies. It can be the skills of using revisionist approach, technique of reviving history or creating a new Curriculum Framework like National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2000 and so on. Since NCF 2000 was found to be promoting the revision of texts on divisive lines, a new NCF was prepared in the year Though most of the Governments in India followed NCF 2005, the text books of a few states could never be made free of permeating communal bias and stereotypes. The tampering of textbooks in Karnataka, prescribed during the years 2012, 2013 and 2014 corroborates our claims. Some textbook writers in Karnataka, along

with sustaining the previous innovations of distorting textbooks, have used some more techniques in manipulating NCFs.

In this paper I examine a few techniques of co-opting concepts of NCF 2005 like 'Construction of Knowledge', 'Interrelations among Disciplines', 'Plurality and Local Content' and 'Normative Concerns' in communalizing textbooks. When misappropriating NCF 2005, the textbooks have followed consistency and pattern. This paper attempts to study with textual examples how co-optation is realized in drafting the lessons. The paper also focuses on Manichean divide and anxiety of proving a few persons, institutions and ideas in India's past are greater than the rest. We look at 'Integrated Approach' in science, realization of 'Local Content' in history texts, Mythification of Vedic civilization,

'Othering' of minorities in history and civics and guidelines to 'Knowledge Construction'. Science textbooks will be analysed first followed by history and civics. Science and social science textbooks of Karnataka of standards five, six, eight, nine and 10 prescribed from 2012 to 2014 are used for the study.

Science of signs

These days to indoctrinate communal ideologies the hegemonic groups would not focus only history or language textbooks. Their discourse can powerfully work in core subjects too. There is no guideline in NCF 2005 which supports the idea of promoting the superiority of Indian knowledge system. But NCF 2000 guides under the subtitle 'Integrating Indigenous Knowledge and India's Contribution to Mankind'. "Ayurveda is being increasingly recognized as a holistic system of health and Indian psychology as a more complete discipline than the western" (NCFSE 13). Most text book writers and teachers agree with such statements because whatever good is spoken about the country is always a matter of pride. The textbook committee of Karnataka seems to have consensus with such an anxiety of claiming the superiority of Indian science. In standard nine science textbook prescribed in the year 2013 1 Ayurveda, Yoga, Cow, Charaka Samhite, Chikitsa have become 'signs' of science in carrying the discourse of the right wing nationalists.

Saying India had a tradition of science is different from writing in the tone that long back Indians knew everything about the present science. For instance in standard nine science, after explaining 'Assisted Reproductive System' under the side heading 'Test tube babies in ancient India' (taken from Chikitsa 1979) there is a mention of a character called *Drona* of Mahabharata. Here Drona is claimed to be the first test tube baby in the world who was born 7,500 years ago. The text book says, "...one day Baradwaja went to the Ganges for a bath, he saw a beautiful apsara named Ghritachi. He was overcome by desire, causing him to ejaculate. Bharadwaja captured the fluid in an earthen pot (*drone*), from which Drona was born and got his name" (209). Here the textbook does not make any difference between myth and scientific truth. After explaining the whole process of how test tube baby is made, additional explanation is provided about how *Drona* was born. This pattern is followed in most of the science textbooks i.e. after explaining the topics at the end 'Indian' version of science is introduced.

A similar attempt can be observed in standard five and eight science textbooks where after explaining the 'atom', functions of atom and the role of Dalton, Kanaada's contributions are explained. In standard five science textbook it is said "'All things are made up of small atoms', it is first proclaimed by Indian philosopher Maharshi Kanaada"(2). Later the biography Kanaada has been explained for about a page. While carrying such exercises the science textbooks like the communalized history textbooks have traversed chronological sequences and have violated the boundaries of the discipline. The same text book has become an abode of amalgamation of science, myths, epics and select episodes of Sanskrit texts.

Further, in the standard nine science textbook information is given about one political party recalling another political party's mistake in the past. The same chapter 'Assisted Reproductive System' states "The first successful test tube baby in India was produced by Dr Subhash Mukyopadhyaya... just 70 days after the first test tube baby of the world, Louise Brown was born...But the West Bengal government rejected his claim saying that his work was bogus..." (209).

Moreover the anxiety of projecting Indian science is continued by quoting few Sanskrit slokas. In the chapter entitled Processes' a Sanskrit quotation is given from Sangeetha Rathnakara 2.105. Before explaining 'Reproduction in Human Beings' quotation has been given from Charakasamhita. This done by manipulating the concept of 'Integrated' Approach'. Considering India's past as a 'museum', the writers of the textbooks have consciously chosen a few 'signs' from the ancient Indian texts and have integrated them in the targeted lessons. Students as they go to higher secondary level and to do graduation in science can never benefit from such an initiation given in the teaching of science.

Local Content of NCF 2005 made texts 'local'

The 'proposed epistemological frame' of NCF 2005 makes a mention of Kothari Commission which emphasized that India should not be seen simply from

developmentalist approach, because treated poverty, illiteracy and casteism as obstacles to the national progress. Taking cue from Kothari Commission, the National Focused Group (NFG) notes that such a developmentalist approach suggests that the common 'illiterate' masses have failed the nation. Therefore there is a need for epistemological shift towards reorienting /redesigning the curriculum so as accommodate the multiple ways imagining the Indian nation. Along with the national perspective, the local also needs to be creatively balanced (NCF 2005 3). Common 'illiterate' mass should never be projected as hindrance to the development of the nation because this could lead to alienation of some sections of the masses.

In this direction, NCF 2005 highlighted the need to alternatively include the possibility of knowledge generating through decentralized mechanism. This would empower the students, teachers and the local communities to contribute to the body of knowledge their own realities. It states "Relevant local content should be part of the teaching-learning process, ideally transacted through activities drawing on local teachinglearning resources" (NCF 2005 2). But this guideline has been misappropriated by the textbook writers. A close analysis of social science, science and language texts show that the idea of 'Local Content' came as a boon to expand the scope of contents of Saffronisation. The Karnataka text books, along with the regular communal contents have added many local heroes, places, stories and events in the lessons.

Social science textbook of semester I, standard five for Bangalore division, between pages six and 23 (17pages) either explains or mentions 54 Hindu temples/*Matas*, including 17 pictures of the temples or *Matas*. Five Mosques with two pictures and three Churches with one picture find a mention in these pages. These 54 temples/*matas* are limited to the territorial jurisdiction of Bangalore division which includes nine districts.

With regard to standard three to five, the NCF 2005 suggests, "Children will begin to be sensitized to social issues like poverty, child labour, illiteracy, caste and class inequalities in rural and urban areas. The content should reflect the day-to-day experiences of the children and their life worlds" (5). But the textbooks have not followed the above mentioned guideline. There references to are Sri Raghavendraswami of Malladihalli, Sri Vyasarayaswami, Sri Chennamalla Swami of Nidumamidi Mata and Sri Shivkumara Swami of Siddaganga Mata highlighting their projects related to social concern. One may ask if providing information regarding religious centres in the texts will help sensitize the children regarding the social issues like poverty, child labour, illiteracy, caste and class inequalities? Do such lessons accommodate 'the multiple ways of imagining the Indian nation' as desired by NFG in NCF 2005?

If standard five social science textbook is loaded with description of temples, standard six social science textbooks display social antagonism and political hostility. While prescribing lessons to the Upper Primary

level NCF 2005 states, "Similarly, History will be taught emphasizing the concepts of plurality" (6). But a few lessons while presenting 'Local Content' violate this guideline. For instance, standard six social science II Semester, History section, in the first lesson entitled 'The Bhakti cult', while explaining Sufism, states, "...many of them example, Baba Budan) were worshippers of Dattatreya..."(3). Sufis in this lesson are projected more as followers of Hindu tradition alone. It further states, "Sufis were influenced by Yoga, Vedanta... Budan-al-din, wrote songs in praise of Lord Krishna...these practices were forbidden by orthodox Muslims..." (3).

These statements are not completely true because there is no mention of the contribution of Muslims to the Sufi tradition in the textbook. In the textbooks, absence of some information and additions of little information are not free of politics. Prescription of Govinahaadu² was closely associated with the politics of Karnataka. Similarly, explanation of Sufi cult with the addition of Dattatreya and absence of Muslim traditions associated with it has also got something to do with politics in Karnataka. The issue of Bababudangiri (a popular Muslim shrine) in Chikmagalore district of Karnataka is still subjudice³. This attempt is similar to the tactics of using mythified history in textbooks, in favour of Ram Janma Bhumi in most of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) ruled states in India during the Babri Masjid campaign. Calling Bababudangiri as Dattapita in standard five history textbook is connected with the same issue.

In some part of India it is true that, in 'religious accelerating communitarian identity' especially with Hindus, missionary activities in India was a vital contributory But the resistance to evangelization project of the missionaries was a defensive one. As it is pointed out, "Although the colonial state never seriously considered evangelization as a possible political solution, the fear of the loss of faith was a distinct reality for many..." (Panikar 12). The writings in Tattwabodhini Patrika and in western India the efforts of Vishnu Bawa Brahmachari who is the earliest to counter missionary propaganda set a ground for religious defense but not in the present communal sense. But it is so unfortunate that in the present textbooks the early missionaries have become one of the 'exchangeable signs' irrespective of time and space to arouse religious negation and hostility.

For instance in standard six social science while explaining the history of Tulunadu (Coastal Karnataka) it is mentioned, "...foreign missionaries were the earliest to propagate Christianity. Later their work was continued by the Indian Missionaries" (66). The above mentioned sentences serve no purpose but in revitalising religious negation. Even in fifth textbook while claiming Ramchandra Rao a real patriot it is said, "Sri Ramchandra Rao is a real patriot, who brought back the Hindus who got converted to Christianity..." (67). Again in standard six social science, Ramchandra Rao's contributions are repeated. It is an example of communalism which equates

patriotism with bringing back Hindus who got converted to other religions.

Mythification of Vedic civilization

NCF 2005 guides, "Given that syllabus framers and text book writers need to choose what to include from a mass of relevant information, the effort should not be to convey as many facts as possible. Instead, a focus on concepts and the ability to analyse socio-political realities should be stressed" (1). On the contrary the textbook writers never want the social-political realities to be taught but they want to prefer people and events that are associated with 'revisionism' of Hindu nationalist culture.

In standard five history in the lesson entitled 'India of Vedic Time', subtitled *Dharmika jeevana*, it is said, "...*Bhagavadgeetha* has the essence of the *Upanishads*..." (46). In the following paragraph entitled *Great Epics* in the same page, we can find the explanation of the two epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. The additional information provided to the chapter 'India of Vedic Time' is irrelevant to the chapter because it does not concur to any of the guidelines of NCF 2005.

In standard five textbook an attempt is made to relate *Bhagavadgeetha* and epics to Vedic civilization in a patchy and incoherent way. Similarly in standard eight history textbook in the 'Vedic Age' lesson, there is a clear attempt of historicizing of myth and relating the origin of Aryan to the same civilization. The information in the Vedic civilization gets widened as it moves to the higher classes i.e. from standard five to eight. Such an attempt can be observed as the misusing

of 'Spiral Approach' used in preparing textbooks.

In the lesson 'Vedic Age' of standard eight, four pages sustain the same historicizing effort. For instance, the text reads, "We get information primarily about the numerous battles between the various tribes of that time, in the *suktas* of Vedas. One of the tribes named *Bharatha* had settled in the land between *Satadru* in east Punjab and river Yamuna. Later this area was called *Aryavarta*, and they called themselves Aryans" (16).

The argument of Aryan origin also uses mythical base in the same lesson:

Over the ensuring years, the people moved to the eastern areas of Northern Kosala and Videha and settled there. These places acquired fame due to the presence of Rama and king Janaka respectively. But by the time of Buddha, king Janaka's Videha and his had lost capital Mithila their importance....The Yadavas had settled in Mathura near Yamuna. According to the epics, the Yadavas had reached Saurashtra under the leadership of Krishna (16).

As it is observed in the science text book, the divisive line between science and myth was so thin, it is the same case with myth and history.

The lesson entitled 'Folk History' in standard 10, gives information about history writing in India. This chapter seems to justify mythification of history in the previous textbooks. In the introduction of the chapter there is an explanation regarding

the influence of British over the history writing in India.

Every incident was narrated in a way beneficial to the writers. For ex: the British, while writing, projected all the freedom struggles as mutiny or riots. But Indian writers rejected them as mutiny and instead called them a struggle for independence. After the Indian independence, the events, descriptions and writings of Indians paved way for a new history (19).

Though the statement has some reliable information, it also means any history (one sided) written by Indians is true and authentic. In the same statement, there is an absence of problems of 'nationalist the **'British** historiography' like historiography'. As it is located in the essay entitled, On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India:

The historiography of Indian nationalism has for long time been dominated by elitism- colonial elitism and bourgeois nationalist elitism which cannot explain Indian nationalism for us. For it fails to acknowledge, for less interpret, the contribution made by the people on their own. that independently of the elite to making development nationalism...the history of Indian nationalism ...written up as a sort of spiritual biography of the Indian elite (Guha 37).

So the lesson 'Folk history' is not taking care of mistakes committed by Indians while recording history of India.

The lesson 'Folk history' concludes bringing forth the methodology of Indian history writing. It is stated that the history writing which is deeply influenced by Westerners who followed simple linear model. In this system after writing events of 17th century only the events of the 18th century recorded. In contrast to western mode of history writing the lesson explains how Indian tradition is an exception. "Indian system views time in acyclic manner. This is also called Kalachakra. There is no end in sight for kalachakra. After one rotation of this chakra is completed, the second one starts. The completion of one cycle is called yuga. In this way, history is narrated as tretayuga, dwaparayuga etc. In circumstances, many new incidents and events or avatars may merge. They undergo change from time to time (21). Which again is a one sided explanation of history writing in India. Here Indian oral history tradition is viewed only through Vedic time cycle. This explanation does not focus on many other ways in folk traditions or non Vedic traditions to look into the time in history.

India and the World 'outside'

In the preface of the standard sixth I Semester, History textbook, it is given to our notice that 'Constructive Approach' has been observed according to NCF 2005. But in reality most of the presented content of history is 'constructed' and it is presented without leaving any scope for children to construct knowledge in the class. For instance, the first chapter which introduces Christianity and Islamism has been entitled *Bharatha matthu horaprapancha* (India and the World Outside). Similarly the other titles

given are, 'Vijayanagara-The Unforgettable Empire', 'The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire' and so on. The titles indicate how a child is denied the opportunity of deciding the validity and credibility of the empires, using his or her own understanding by reading and discussing the lessons.

In standard six history lesson the title 'India and the World Outside' itself alienates the two religions and thus those who follow them. Even the content of the lesson in some areas makes the children to alienate the two religions. For instance while explaining the spread of Islamism it is written, "...the Arabs also conquered the province of Sindh (in India) and spread Islamism in the land... The long rule of the Sultans led to the speedy spread of Islam in India" (5). This is a common myth regarding the spread of Islamism that has been spread over the years using textbooks. In Constructive Approach freedom has to be given to the children and the teacher to construct knowledge in the class room. But the popular conception of history in the prescribed lesson gives enough scope manipulate Knowledge Construction in the class.

In the same lesson 'India and the World Outside' Crusades find a special mentioning. The lesson mentions participation of 40,000 Christians in Crusades. The same lesson explains 50,000 children participating in Crusades and how most of them die on the way. For sixth standard children while learning about Christianity, Crusades and other related explanations are irrelevant.

Again like an observation of Spiral Approach, a similar communal discourse continues in the standard ninth social science textbook. In the first chapter entitled 'Christianity and Islamism' it is projected as if Jesus was popular with the Jewish and that he was arrested by the Jewish soldiers. And the point to be observed is, to explain both Christianity and Islamism three pages have been devoted, but three pages have been used to explain the immoral behaviour of the Catholic Church in the chapter 'Protestants'.⁴

On the contrary in 'Religious reformation in India', Bhakti movement in India and Birth of Buddhism and Jainism (in standard fifth and eighth), we find just a casual mention about Indian caste system, untouchability, hegemony of the upper castes, blind beliefs and so on without introducing explaining them to the students. For instance it is just mentioned, "...their reforms eradicated ignorance, evil condemned practices...Shankaracharya practices..." certain orthodox "...Ramanujacharya condemned casteism..." (41), "...Basaveshwara condemned caste system, idol worship, and yajna-yagas..." and so on (43). None of these concepts and history of these evil systems have been explained to the students in any textbooks except one-word mention. As Setalvad opines:

They selectively speak about the immoral behaviour of Catholic priests in the middle ages, while exonerating the Brahmins and the Indian ruling classes. What is the message that we send out to the growing child with theses factual misrepresentations and deliberate exclusions of some historical events and modern day

social realities when it comes to the conduct of the Brahmanical elite? (colaco.net.com).

It is true that in the lesson 'India and the World Outside' effort has been made to indoctrinate more unhealthy matters about the two religions. So there are all chances for the learner to think that the 'World Outside' (horaprapancha) is bad and cruel.

Guidelines to 'Knowledge Construction'

To facilitate 'Construction of Knowledge' and for the purpose of Continuous and Comprehensive Evaluation (CCE) discussions of the historical contents has to encouraged in the class Accordingly there are indications given in the textbooks to discuss in the class room. But most of such indications give scope to create communal bias in the class room. For instance in standard 10 social science textbook there is an elaborate explanation about the role of Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Muslim league in creating Pakistan as a separate nation. Here a question is given for discussion in the lesson itself. "Is it correct from the part of Jinnah giving importance to division of India?"(43). This question gives the meaning; Jinnah alone is responsible for the partition of India. Here students are made only to focus on the role of Jinnah.

The question taken up for group discussion in standard sixth civics is very interesting, "What is the need for a Uniform Civil Code for the citizens?" (64). This question does not seem to be an appropriate question for group discussion to standard sixth children.

In the same civics lesson in the 'Directive Principles of State Policy', provides

explanation about Prevention of Slaughter of Cattle. In the same topic in the group discussion part, we can find a question: "Why did the Directive principles enjoin the state to prevent the slaughter of cattle?" with a note to discuss the issue in the class (62). To answer this question in the group discussion a student needs to explain how cattle/cow is holy according to Hindu belief. All the expected answers and arguments have fewer chances to comfort the concept of 'plurality' advocated in NCF 2005.

Many questions provided in the textbooks have misappropriated the concept 'Construction of Knowledge' in the class. Whenever there is a sensitive issue questions are given in the text book only to discuss about it. The worse thing is the age group they have targeted to discuss such issues.

Cautioning Civics

It is stressed in NCF 2005 that the social sciences need to carry normative concern "...and widen the popular base for human values, namely freedom, trust, mutual respect, and respect for diversity. Given this, social science teaching should aim at investigating in children a critical moral and mental energy to make them to alert to the social forces that threaten these values" (2). But in few lessons of sixth civics I Semester it gives the impression as if the social forces which threaten human values are writing the textbooks.

In some chapters the textbook writers seem to use textbooks for instructing or cautioning minorities and dalits. For instance in the section on Fundamental Rights while explaining Right to Freedom of Religion it

is said, "...nobody should be converted to another religion by means of force, fraud or allurement" (68). The statement is given without explaining the Right to Freedom of Religion to the children. Similarly in Cultural and Educational Rights, the lesson does not explain the provisions given to education in Constitution and special programmes of government in encouraging free and compulsory education. But it says "...the minority educational institutions are bound by the Government regulations..." as if that is the crux of the Right to Education (69). Such examples clearly reveal the mindset of the authors of the textbooks in attempting to destabilize the Rights of the minorities.

Likewise the same mind set of the writers of the textbook coin new meaning to 'Unity in diversity' in the standard sixth II Semester Civics. In the section 'Unity in diversity', it is explained how Kashi, Ganga, Kaveri, Tirupati, Shrishaila, Rameshwara, cow, cobra etc. are important to north Indians and south Indians. Later it is stated, "Sanskrit was a prominent literary language of ancient India...Dr B R Ambedkar argued that if there was any language worthy of being considered national language, it Sanskrit" (98). Without mentioning other languages of India the statement continues "...the influence of Sanskrit can be seen on Kannada, Telugu and other Hindi, languages" (98). Later the lesson informs Ramayana and Mahabharata are great epics. Though this section of the lesson is meant to explain 'Unity in diversity', neither it mentions any non-Vedic traditions and beliefs Islamism. nor Christianity,

Buddhism, Jainism and other religions and their co-existence. The explanation for 'Unity in diversity' sounds more like the *Sangh Parivar's* definition of *Hindutva* and *Hindu Rashtra*. It also reveals where the sympathies of the textbook writers lie.

Conclusion

Thus it is quite clear that in Karnataka, to communalize textbooks the technique of coopting NCF 2005 has been used to a great extent. The textual instances reveal the fact that most of the concepts of NCF 2005 have also been distorted while implementing them. The method of misappropriating NCF 2005 is so subtle that it had made the textbook analysts too difficult to communicate teachers and common mass the text the truth that books are communalized.

It is true that to some extent NCF 2005 has elucidated some concepts with examples. For example, 'Interrelationship among Disciplines' has been explained with the example of institution of 'mandi' and the concept of 'Plurality' with the example of Ekalavya's Textbook. Similarly explication of other concepts explained with some textbook examples would have helped in avoiding misappropriation of NCF to a great extent. In Karnataka whenever the textbook

society has been accused of Saffronisation of textbooks, the members of the same society in various occasions said that they have followed NCF 2005. But they have not explained how the concepts of NCF 2005 have been realized in the textbooks.

The textbook analysis indicates the fact that in Karnataka, NCF 2005 has been used as a pretext by the right wing nationalists for creating a popular historical consciousness. In carrying this exercise the textbooks followed neither minimum criteria of correct empirical data nor a proper scientific temper. The generation which reads such 'popular' narrations will seldom be suited to face the complexities and realities of the real world. Because in the discourse of communalism the boundaries between professional and popular are leaky and absorbent, it is more true with its application of past to the present system of knowledge. Nearly 20% to 40% of the pages of the give analysed textbooks irrelevant knowledge. This knowledge will not be tested in any of the exams the children face in their future. Studying such textbooks children in the state seriously lag behind in learning. Misappropriating of NCF 2005, in impact certainly cause a sudden deterioration in the quality of education.

Notes:

¹ Standard fifth and eighth textbooks are prepared in 2011 and prescribed in 2012 when BJP was in power. Standard sixth and ninth textbooks are prepared in 2012 and prescribed in 2013 (they are prepared during BJP rule and prescribed by Congress). Standard X and seventh textbooks are prepared (when Congress is in power) in 2013-14 and prescribed in 2014 June.

² The eighth Hindi lesson entitled "*Punyakoti*" changed to strengthen cultural significance of cow. *Punyakoti* is a character in the original Kannada folk poem. In the Kannada original poem *Govinahaadu* the tiger leaves the cow without killing it because the cow displays extraordinary

honesty and truth. The poem ends with the tiger sacrificing its life. In this Hindi lesson the original theme of the poem is changed. Here at the end tiger says "...using cow as food is a wicked thought. So I pledge that I will not eat any cows hereafter..." (pp 7-8). The concluding part of the story suggests that the consumption of beef is immoral. The poem was prescribed when BJP dispensation in Karnataka was proposing a legislation to ban 'cow slaughter'.

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³ Two opposing communities (Hindus and Muslims) are claiming that the shrine belongs only to their communities.

⁴ The information regarding the immoral behavior of Catholic Church is repeated in standard seventh social science lesson entitled, 'Religious Reformation' (pp 11-14).

