

**EFFECTING INCLUSIVENESS THOROUGH MAINSTREAMING THE MINORITIES—  
A STUDY IN THE CURRICULAR CONTEXT**

Sudhakar Sardar, Assistant Professor,  
Dept. of B.Ed, Acharya Jagadish Ch. Bose College, Kolkata (West Bengal)

Dr. Pratap Kumar Panda, Principal,  
Annapurna Memorial College of Education, Kakdwip (West Bengal)

**Abstract**

The present study dealing with the concept of inclusion has been studied with reference to the *The Salamanca Statement* (1944) covering, while defining inclusive education, the inclusion of “children from linguistic, ethnic or cultural minorities and children from other disadvantaged or marginalised areas or groups”. While ‘cultural inclusion’ denotes the absorption of the cultural aspects of the said minorities in the school curriculum, the term ‘mainstreaming’ connotes making the learners feel comfortable in the schools that are availed of by the majority learners, though basically the term ‘mainstreaming’ gained ground in the context of “exposing the disabled to an educational experience as close to that of non-disabled as possible” (Dash 51). The study tries to find out if indifference to the culture of the socioeconomically disadvantaged learners is a considerable variable in their shunning the so-called mainstream educational centres that basically deal with the dominating culture of the socio-politically dominating community. Efforts are also put to finding, if any, an association between the concept of ‘affective filter hypothesis’, a part of what is known as ‘Input Hypothesis’ in relation to acquisition of knowledge, as propounded by linguist Stephen Krashen, in the context of the acquisition of a language and the preference of the Madrasahs by the Muslim pupils or the drop-out of the tribal learners from the so-called normal schools, especially dominated by the teachers belonging to the culturally majority group. The study also refers to certain measures as taken by the School Education Department of the Government of West Bengal to give a semblance of the incorporation of the minority culture in its curriculum to address target learners with a view to helping them overcome the ‘affective filter’ that can tame the drop-out of the culturally disadvantaged learners. (289 words)

**Keywords:** Inclusion, cultural minorities, cultural inclusion, mainstreaming, affective filter; input hypothesis, target learners.

**Introduction:** An educational institution (here school) has to create an ambience of cultural environment where a learner may find the reflection of his her culture, in which he is rooted. He should be given the chance to identify himself with the kind of cultural dealings going on inside the institution. The curriculum as a whole should acquaint the learners with a semblance of culture they are used to inculcate in their domestic affairs and this cultural discourse can make the students feel a sense of belonging to the society. In the process, their full academic potential can be exploited. According to a research on second language acquisition, conducted by the Frankfurt International School, “There is some evidence that students in situations where their own culture has a lower status than that of the culture in which they are learning the language make slower progress.”<sup>1</sup> So, it is imperative to incorporate the culture of the learners in the curriculum.

This is especially relevant in the context of the teaching-learning activities of the learners belonging to minority community—religious, linguistic, social, etc. To delimit the range of the target people here we would like to deal with a few representatives of the groups of minorities and would like to get at the tension and anxiety suffered by them while dealing with a curriculum where their concerned cultures do not enjoy a respectable representation. Regarding religious minorities we would like to deal with the target learners belonging to Muslim community, the second largest religious community in India, the social minority learners belonging to the Scheduled Caste, popularly known as the Dalits (a Marathi denomination) and socially and linguistically minority learners—the tribal learners, belonging the Scheduled Tribes—the three most disadvantaged sections in India. So, we will try to illustrate the issue of the significance of incorporating a target culture in the curriculum in relation to these target people, referring to the learners belonging to these three communities and the target culture will refer to the cultures of these three sections of pupils.

In this context, a comparative study of the literacy rate among the target people will be considered as an indicator of their educational achievement “Despite its inadequacies, literacy remains the most easily understood and widely used indicator of educational achievement (Sachar Committee Report, 2006).”<sup>2</sup> And, we have to find out if the culture-related perception of the concerned communities is a considerable cause of their dropping out of the so-called

mainstream schools or lagging behind the other sections of the society in relation to educational status. If the answer is yes, then, naturally enough, incorporation of target culture will be considered as one of the remedies against the lower educational achievement of the mentioned communities.

**Relevance of the Incorporation of Target Culture:** Due to the heterogeneity of the students of an Indian classroom the incorporation of target culture in the concerned curricula demands special emphasis. But, a study of the contents included in the textbooks of different boards—central or state—reveals a conspicuous gap between the requirement and realisation in this regard. Let us start with an enumeration of a few cultural aspects of the target people and then let us have a peep into some prevailing textbooks to see if the curriculum framers show due concern for the said incorporation.

**Muslim Pupils—Their Pedagogical Perception:** The Committee headed by Justice Rajendra Sachar reveals a grim picture of the overall human development indices, including education, of the Indian Muslim community. The premier indicator in this respect is literacy. As per Indian Census 2011, while the national literacy rate is 74.04% the literacy rate of the Muslims is about 67.6% only. And here too, one of the primary causes of this low achievement is associated with the sense of uncomfortability felt in relation to the kind of culture they have to deal with in the concerned curricula.

**Certain Basic Muslim Cultural Aspects:** Islam is the only that has categorically stated what a practicing Muslim should do in relation to any day-to-day activity—academic, administrative, social, economic, etc. Such a Muslim usually feels himself to be an alien in association with the cultural ambience, disseminated by the so-called mainstream curriculum in the non-Islamic countries. The primary tenet upon which Islam is based is the belief system of total submission to Allah. The Quranic verse ‘La ilaha illallah’, means ‘There is no God but Allah’. But, Muslim learners in a general Indian classroom usually have to deal with curricular contents having a leaning either towards popular Indian culture or mythologies that usually contradicts the basic tenets of Islam. For example, in the language curriculum, the Muslim learners have to read the extracts from the Hindu religious texts or have to get acquainted with the images of various gods and goddesses whereas Islam is quite outspoken against idolatry. According to the findings of

the Sachar Report (2006), “The ‘communal’ content of school textbooks, as well as, the school ethos has been a major cause for concern for Muslims in some States.”<sup>3</sup>

Again, Islam does not permit a practising Muslim to bow before any being except Allah. And, a learner, conditioned in this cultural leaning can hardly cope with the traditional Indian greeting of bowing before or touching the feet of anybody.

An indirect pressure upon the state bodies to begin a day with either Suryapnam (prayer to the Sun God) or Swraswati Vandana (prayer to Goddess Saraswati) goes against the religious culture of the Muslim learners. This may compel such pupils to shift their allegiance to unrecognized Madrashes that mostly do not follow the concerned state government prescribed curriculum.

**Dalit or Scheduled Caste Learners—why minority and their uniqueness:** The learners belonging to this community has remained deprived of the basic amenities of life—food, education, health, shelter, etc.— for thousands of years due to religious tenets that term them as Avarnas (non-Hindus)<sup>4</sup>. Mahatma Gandhi’s ‘Harijans’, denominated as ‘Dalits’, are considered as ‘minority’ because of their menial position among the Brahminical social pattern where they are considered as ‘untouchables’. Dr. Ambedkar has categorically termed the Dalits as minority especially in the context of First Round Table Conference in 1930 where he represented the untouchables and earned for them a separate electorate from the British Rulers as was given to the Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Sikhs—the religious minorities in India. Because of their being ‘Avarnas’ they are, as if, ‘Non- Hindus among Hindus’<sup>5</sup>

The observance of untouchability was considered to be a religious ‘duty’ by both the caste-Hindus and the untouchables themselves. The same can be perceived in the novel *Untouchables*, by Mulk Raj Anand where Lakha, the father of Bakha, an untouchable young latrine-cleaner, says to Bakha, “We must realize that it is religion which prevents them [caste Hindus] from touching us”.<sup>6</sup> But, at present the Dalit populace have been voicing their views against the Hindu hegemony in the context of considering themselves as non-Hindu and, that is why, a minority community. The incidents of oppression upon the Dalit pupils confirm their being minority even in the schools of West Bengal, a so-called ‘casteism’ free state. As per the news in *The Statesman*, dated 27.05.12, “lower caste children [ mostly of Dumurdi Girls

Prathamik Vidyalaya, Purulia] still have to wait their turn to drink from a tube-well located in the neighbourhood of a village inhabited by Brahmins.”

Such incidents are quite rampant in the pan-Indian context. Now, to overcome this humiliating condition such children are being groomed in the teachings of the Dalit icons like Jyotiba Phule, Savitribai Phule, Gautam Buddha, Sant Ravidas, Harichand-Guruchand, Periyar E. V. Ramasamy and topping them all, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who fought against casteism. Media reports show how desecration of Ambedkar statues may lead to an observance of shutdown by Dalit groups in Eluru town and in parts of Adilabad district [Andhrapradesh]. The kind of inspiration the Dalit people get from the institution called Ambedkar can be gauged from the fact that in every social ritual—birth, death, marriage, etc.—the portraits or images Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is being exhibited by some Dalit-Bahujans (Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes), a term especially popularised by Kancha Illaiah, a dalit intellectual and Professor of political science. There is not a single social or political movement that is organised without the image of Dr. Ambedkar. When the dalits in Una were thrashed for skinning dead cows the single image that the protesters held to give a vent to their fumes was that of Dr. Ambedkar.<sup>7</sup>

Now, any attitude of dishonour or even of indifference to these Dalit icons who have become the organic part of the Dalit culture will naturally lead towards the generation of grudge or grievance among the Dalit learners towards the whole curriculum or the concerned institution.

**Tribal Learners— Perception of Their Culture:** The tribal people maintain a unique identity of their own which may not appear to be in tune with the so-called mainstream culture of the dominant socio-religious communities. But, they have failed to make their presence felt in the cultural aspects of the prevailing. The tribal people are usually born and brought up in association with the following cultural events:

**Karam**—The greatest festivals of the tribal people in India, it is basically associated with harvesting crops. Tribes worship trees, representing Karam God, during this festival (as they are a source of livelihood), and they pray to Mother Nature to keep their farmlands green so that they get a rich harvest.

**Tusu:** The word comes from the Bengali word ‘tus’, outer covering of paddy. Tribal people

worship Tusumani Goddess so that she can protect them from starvation. It is a prayer to let them survive on even such meagre sustenance as 'tus' if not the rice which is mostly enjoyed by the ruling class though originally harvested by the tribal people.

**Saharai:** The event concerns prayer to the Saharai Goddess to protect their crops from any type of hazards, including insect or natural calamity. The festival deals with the prayer to protect their crops. Everything associated with harvesting—cow, plough, scythe, spade, even bike and bicycle— becomes the objects of worship.

But, the prevailing curricula hardly let the tribal pupils have a feel of the sense of respect associated with such culture which may be enjoyed by them in a Santhali medium school where at least the language curriculum pays due importance to tribal literature and language. This attitudinal problem has been affecting the achievement of the learners which is indicated by their literacy rate. As per Indian Census 2011, while the national literacy rate is 74.04% the literacy rate of the tribal community is as low 59%.

**Impact of Cultural Hegemony of the Ruling Class or Castes:** According to a survey conducted under the Pratichi Trust, founded by Nobel Laureate Amarty Sen, "In some of the centres [Integrated Child Development Services], especially in tribal areas the barrier of language and sometimes the attitude of the non-tribal worker made the children uncomfortable leading to poor attendance at the centre."<sup>8</sup> That a lower status or total indifference to their culture acts as a potential deterrent in their academic achievement is corroborated by Haseena and Mohammed. According to them, "Most of the tribal communities have their own languages and culture different from the language spoken in the state where they are located."<sup>9</sup> And, "Apart from all this lack of awareness of the teachers about tribal culture and environment also force the tribal students to withdraw from education."<sup>10</sup>

**A brief overview of the cultural inclusion in the textbooks:** As a student of English language and literature, I would like to start with some English textbooks where we may perceive the inability of the curriculum framers to effect an inclusiveness in the textbooks, the primary aspect of a curriculum. The study is limited to prose texts only as socio-cultural manners or behavioural characteristics are supposed to be best revealed from such texts especially belonging to the genre of narratives.

**Nature of the texts:**

Board & Class	Reflection of incorporation of target culture
Central Board of Secondary Examination (CBSE); Class V <sup>11</sup>	Out of ten prose texts Indian contexts form the background of as many as six texts and the rest ones are written against European background. Among the Indian prose-writings one centres round a Muslim personality—Salim Ali, an ornithologist. But, due to its biographical context, there is little behavioural characteristics relating to the Muslim manners. But, the awareness of the curriculum framers about the community divulges out of stray references (numbering four) to Muslim names in the linguistic activities or exercises succeeding the texts.
Central Board of Secondary Examination (CBSE) ); Class VI <sup>12</sup>	Out of thirteen prose texts not a single text or any linguistic activity centres round any Muslim protagonist. Even a single Muslim name does not find mention in the whole text.
Indian School Certificate Examination (ICSE); Class VII <sup>13</sup>	Among the eleven prose pieces one relates to Indian mythology (“Yaksha’s Questions” from the <i>Mahabharata</i> ). Awareness of Muslim sentiment is conspicuously missing here.
West Bengal Board of Secondary Education; Class VII <sup>14</sup>	Out of ten prose texts as many as five relate to Indian background and among which one centres round one Muslim personality (the emperor Akbar). Certain other attempts like linguistic activities concerning Muslim characters (Nilofar, Shamim p.1, /families, that of Kazi Abdul and Nargis, p. 5) otherwise hint at the desperate attempt at addressing the Muslim cultural ethos.

To take into consideration other textbooks, even the Bengali textbook (first language), *Sahityamela*, meant for Class VII, WBBSE, does not contain a single narrative or any genre of text centring round a Muslim protagonist or the tribal people and certainly not a single topic

concerning Dalit culture or Dalit writers.

**Lack of Cultural Incorporation and Its Effect:** We have seen how the awareness of the low status of one's culture, experienced in association with the concerned curricula in particular and institutional environment in general, affect academic achievement of the target people. What happens here can be related to Affective Filter Hypothesis<sup>15</sup>, as propounded by the linguist Stephen D. Krashen in relation to stating the concept of Comprehensive or Comprehensible Input while explaining how the learners acquire a second language. The affective filter is an impediment to [learning](#) or acquisition caused by negative [emotional](#) ("[affective](#)") responses to one's environment. These negative emotional responses may emerge out of the consciousness of the negative presentation or wrong presentation or even the lack of presentation of a learner's culture in the curriculum he is dealing with. And, herein lies the significance of incorporating target culture in a language curriculum.

**Initiative towards Effecting an Inclusive Curriculum:** Although to a very limited level, yet, efforts have been started to provide the minorities with a cultural space in the concerned curricula. Textbooks on language and literature and those on history bear the most visible aspects of the concerned culture. Let us start with the textbooks on history, considered through random selection.

i. *Atit O Oitijhya (The Past and Tradition)*, Class VI<sup>16</sup>: Giving due submission to the tribal tradition of dealing with Ravana as their ancestor (p. 45) it has been shown how the side of the vanquished is always shown in a negative light. Perception has started taking place among the Dalits and tribals to identify themselves with the Asuras (like Mahisasura in the myth of the Goddess Durga), and Rakshasas (like Ravana) who are considered by them as the true indigenous heroes. The perception, if not fact, is being watered by the writings like the bestseller novel *Asura, the Tale of the Vanquished*, by Anand Neelakantan<sup>17</sup> and also by several Dalit literatures in regional languages where Ravana, Hiranyakashipu, Mahisasura, etc. have been glorified as patriots who fought to save their country from the Aryan invaders.

In the Mahabharata, Ekalavya, a Nishada low caste boy learns archery on his own though he considers Dronacharya, who refuses to teach Ekalavya archery because of his low caste, as his Guru. He does not hesitate to offer the thumb of his right hand at the behest of Dronacharya



who is believed to have actually devised the ploy to make Ekalavya handicapped so that the might of Arjuna, Kshatriya, is not undermined. The story, as depicted on pp. 59-60, draws special attention of the readers as it is supposed to effect catharsis among the Dalit learners who identify themselves with Ekalavya.

A considerable space (pp. 71 to 74) has been given to Buddhism, an indigenous Indian religion, that has been resurrected in India almost with the singular efforts of Dr. Ambedkar through his spiritual classic *Buddha and His Dhamma* and his reversion (Ambedkar did not consider is as conversion) to Buddhism, along with some 365,000 of his followers, on 14 October 1956. Now, the followers of Dr. Ambedkar show a typical leaning towards Buddhism that they believe to preach the typical Ambedkarite tenets of equality, liberty and fraternity.

**ii. *Atit O Oitijhya (The Past and Tradition), Class VIII*<sup>18</sup>**

Contents	Page	Community catered to
Jyotirao Phule and his wife Savitri Bai Phule	82	SC and ST
Santhal Hul (Revolution), led by Sidhu, Kanhu—two famous tribal icons.	84	ST
Munda Ulgulan, a tribal farmers' revolution, led by Birsa Munda, a tribal icon.	86	ST
Farazi Andolan (Struggle), led by Haji Shariatulla, a Muslim cleric.	86	Muslim
Portrait of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar	155	Dalit students in particular but SC and ST learners in general. Though, Indians in general have a great reverence for Dr. Ambedkar.

**iii. *Adhunik Bharoter Itihas O Poribesh (History of Modern India and Environment), Class X*<sup>19</sup>:** Here, a considerable space is given to the history of the Tribal protests and Dalit struggles that appear really to gratify the cultural identity of the target people. To get a space of about six

pages—pp.39 to 44—to relate the narrative of their struggles in the history of India, with Munda Revolution, Chuyar Revolution, Kol Revolution, etc. in its fold, is really matter of pride for the tribal people.

Though to a limited extent, a space of about three pages—pp. 111 to 113—this is for the first time that Dalit movement has earned a separate space in the history of modern India, so far as the history curricula in West Bengal is concerned. Personalities like Jyotirao Phule, Sri Narayan Guru, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Harichand, Guruchand, Jogen Mandal—the Dalit icons—have been mentioned in the history textbook.

The consciousness of the curricula framers to effect an inclusiveness can be felt to a great extent if we look into the curricular contents of the following textbooks too where direct representation of one's culture can hardly be presented:

**i. *Amader Paribesh (Our Environment) Class III, WBBPE*<sup>20</sup>:**

Contents (in words/phrases/sentences)	Page	Community catered to	
a. Arabic terms denoting relationships among Muslim families	আমিনারনানা (grandfather of Amina)		Muslim
	ইমরানবলল, 'ফুফুরাশখনপড়ত...।' (Imran said, "When aunts [sisters of father] studied....")	74	Muslim
	হাসানচাচা(Hasan uncle [father's brother])	103	Muslim
	আলিবলল, "আব্বাটেলারিং-এরদোকানকরলেন।" (Ali said, "Father opened a tailoring shop.")	108	Muslim
b. Coexistence of names of different communities	মরিয়ম, জিয়ানা, ইমরান (Mariam, Ziana, Imran)	13	Christian and Muslim
	দীপক, অরুন, নীলিমা, জন, সোনাই, টিকাই, ডমরু, হাসান, বিল্টু, সাজিদা (Dipak, Arun, Nilima, John, Sonai, Tikai, Domru, Hasan, Biltu, Sazida)	15	Christian and Muslim
	ইসমাইল, আয়েশা, জেকব (Ismail, Ayesha, Jacob)	25, 31, 78	Muslim

**ii. *Amar Ganit (My Mathematics), Class III*<sup>21</sup>:**

Contents (in words/phrases/sentences)	Page	Community catered to
Coexistence of names of different communities	পলাশ,মিতা, মাসুম(Palash, Mita, Mashum) 42	Muslim
	শাকিল(Shakil) 63	Muslim

**iii. Amader Poribesh (Our Environment), Class V<sup>22</sup>:**

Contents (in words/phrases/sentences)	Community catered to
Coexistence of names of different communities	Rafik, Riyaz, Zafar, Rokeya, Rabeya, Rehana, Sabina, Kalam, Rafikul, Nasrin, Amina, Asif, Rahman, etc. Muslim
	Jiko, Mary, Emile, etc. Christian
	Fulmani, Damru, etc. Smacking of tribal identity

In the above texts, related to environment and mathematics, where it is really hard to accommodate the cultural features of any community directly, we see how the concerned authorities have tried deftly to let the target people have a feel of their concerned cultural aspects concerning their christening and relationships.

Thus, an effort has been initiated to give a break to the shifting of their emotional allegiance to their typical culture-specific educational institutions like Madrasha, Eklavya Model Residential School (EMRS), a Government of India scheme for Indian tribals across India in the context of a grudge against the so-called mainstream educational institutions.

**Strategies for the Incorporation of Target Culture:** Now, as a student of English language and literature, I would like to suggest some organic strategies for the representation of the target culture.

**i. Incorporation of Originals or Translation:** The narratives of writers belonging to Muslim dominated countries may serve the purpose of giving a feel of the culture of the Muslim learners

because irrespective of countries or regions, Muslim community is typically characterised by their religious identity which appears to be almost uniform everywhere. The culture of the tribal and Dalit pupils can be conveniently met with the tribal and Dalit literature in translation.

**ii. Exercises on Writing Paragraphs:** Any autobiographical text can be followed by exercises on writing biographies on Birsha Munda, Sidhu, Kanhu—all revolutionaries, Pandit Raghunath Murmu (the creator of the script known as ‘[Ol Chiki](#)’ used for the [Santali language](#)), etc. A narrative text can be complemented with exercises on such great tribal events/festivals as Karam, Tusu, Saharai, Hul Divas, Gambhira, Chhau, etc. To cater to the cultural demand of the Dalits, exercises on writing paragraphs on personalities like Jyotirao Phule, Savitribai Phule, B.R. Ambedkar, Harichand, Guruchand, Jogen Mandal, Gunadhar Barman, etc. And, the same strategy may be applied for incorporating Muslim culture too.

**iii. Projects:** Projects on dialogue-writing can be assigned to the students asking them to let the characters maintain the manners and characterising his/her socio-religious community. Projects on writing paragraphs/playlets/short stories on the cultural activities of the mentioned communities can also be taken up.

**iv. Grammatical Items:** Grammatical items like the following, relating to the socio-cultural aspects of the said communities, can also come in handy here:

- i. Cheriyam Munda can write poems in Santhali. (Change the voice)
- ii. Eid is one of the greatest festivals in the world. (Change into positive degree)
- iii. Zahirul said to Mrityika, “I get great inspiration from the struggles of Dr. Ambedkar.” (Change into indirect speech)
- iv. The history teacher yesterday said to us, “The so-called untouchables of India were actually Kshatriyas by caste.” (Change into indirect narration)

**Conclusion:** Thus, the minuscule presence of or utter indifference to the desirable target cultures is affecting both the academic achievement of the target people. What the curricula should immediately take into consideration is to respond to Affective Filter Hypothesis the realisation of which again depends upon incorporation of relevant target culture/s. Though the hypothesis is basically related to second language acquisition, it applies to all the aspects of academic achievement of the learners because a learner’s antipathy towards the language curriculum is

liable to affect his/her attitude towards the whole curriculum as well as the institution itself. The strain, created out of persistent dealing with this undesirable situation, may also lead to drop-out of the concerned learners, ultimately leading to the inculcation of a ghetto mentality by them and what applies for Muslim learners, the findings that “The perception of being discriminated against is overpowering amongst a wide cross section of Muslims resulting in collective alienation.”<sup>23</sup> may also apply for the tribal or Dalit learners too. And, it is not unusual to say that the grudge against the society or the state itself may emerge out of this suffering lot ultimately leading to the generation of undesirable divisive forces in the society disrupting the basic fabric of unity in diversity, the primary defining feature of the Indian society. So, the concerned authorities should address this issue on a priority basis. The sooner the said incorporation gets materialised and the inclusive nature of the curricula is effected the better the mainstreaming of the said target people will be realised and their academic achievement will be realised to a desirable extent. For the all-round development of the nation and the survival of the integrity of the Indian societal structure, the issue needs concentrated attention on the part of the respective authorities.

**References:**

1. “The factors that influence the acquisition of a second language”. <http://esl.fis.edu/teachers/support/factors.htm>. Retrieved on 26.01. 2015.
2. *Sachar Committee Report (2006)*. Source: [http://www.minorityaffairs.gov.in/sites/upload\\_files/moma/files/pdfs/sachar\\_comm.pdf](http://www.minorityaffairs.gov.in/sites/upload_files/moma/files/pdfs/sachar_comm.pdf). Retrieved on 25.01.2015
3. *Compilation of Observations & recommendations made by Sachar Committee & Ranganath Mishra Commission*. <http://ncm.nic.in/pdf/compilation.pdf>. Retrieved on 25.01.2015
4. Naskar, Sanatkumar (Ed.). (2012). *Poundra Manisha, Volume I*. Poundra Mahasangha: Kolkata. p.245
5. Anand, Mulk Raj. (1983). *Untouchable*. New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann,.
6. <http://www.thestatesman.com/images/small.png>. Retrieved on 10.02.2017.

7. Rana, Kumar & Achin Chakraborty (Eds). *A Study on the Delivery of ICDS in West Bengal. 2009.* [http://pratichi.org/sites/default/files/Pratichi\\_Child\\_Report.pdf](http://pratichi.org/sites/default/files/Pratichi_Child_Report.pdf). Retrieved on 25.01.2015
8. Haseena, V.A. & Ajims P. Mohammed. *Scope of Education and dropout among tribal students in Kerala—A study of Scheduled tribes in Attaappady.* <http://www.ijsrp.org/research-paper-0114.php?rp=P252220>. Retrieved on 25.01.2015
9. Ibid
10. Vasudev, Vasanthi (Ed). (2012). *Active Teach Images*. Dorling Kindersley (India) Pvt. Ltd.: New Delhi.
11. Horsburgh, Nicholas (Ed). (2009). *Oxford Reading Circle*. Oxford University Press. New Delhi.
12. Tickoo, M.L & N.S. Prabhu (Ed). (2010). *Gul Mohar*. Orient Blackswan Private Limited. New Delhi.
13. *Blossoms*. West Bengal Board of Secondary Education. 2014.
14. Sardar, Sudhakar. (2014). *Thoughts and Practice in Teaching English*. Aheli Publishers: Kolkata. p.32
15. *Atit O Oitijhya (The Past and Tradition)*, Class VI. Published by the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education, 2015
16. Neelakantan, Anand. (2012). *Asura: Tale of the Vanquished, the Story of Ravana and His People*. Platinum Press: Mumbai.
17. *Atit O Oitijhya (The Past and Tradition)*, Class VIII. Published by the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education, 2015
18. Dey, Amit & Subir Dirghangi. (2017). *Adhunik Bharoter Itihas O Poribesh*. Kolkata: Parul Prakashani Pvt. Ltd.
19. *Amader Paribesh (Our Environment)* Class III. Published by School Education Department, Govt. of West Bengal, 2016.
20. *Amar Ganit (My Mathematics)*, Class III . Published by the West Bengal Board of Primary Education, 2016.

21. *Amader Poribesh (Our Environment)*, Class. VI, Published by the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education, 2015
22. *Compilation of Observations & recommendations made by Sachar Committee & Ranganath Mishra Commission.* <http://ncm.nic.in/pdf/compilation.pdf>. Retrieved on 25.01.2015