Portrayal of Disability in Textbooks A Psycho-educational Perspective

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Abstract

The Constitution of India guarantees equal rights for all citizens. The Right to Education (RTE) Act (2009) made elementary education a fundamental right of every child, including children with disabilities. The education system works as an apparatus in furthering the ideological stand of the state. Since textbooks dominate the educational process and occupy a significant position within the Indian education culture; textbooks thus become the 'tools' to achieve constitutional, legal and social goals through education. The present paper aims to critically analyse the portrayal of persons with disabilities in textbooks used in elementary schools. The paper closely analyses the depictions of the issues and concerns pertaining to disability. The paper examines the themes, plots and contexts of the lessons. It further builds the characters of the persons with disabilities and the views and attitudes of other characters towards them. The paper locates these within psycho-educational perspectives.

The Preamble to the Constitution of India clearly states that all the citizens of India are equal before the law and everyone has the right to equality of status and opportunity without any discrimination. Although, the Articles ensuring these are general in nature and do not specifically refer

to persons with disabilities, however, the Article 41 of the Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution supports the right to work, to education and to public assistance in certain cases, including disablement. The Constitutional provisions are enacted through various legislations

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and Acts, laid down to protect the rights of persons with disabilities. To mention a few selected ones in this regard, Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1996 became landmark legislation in the history of special education in India as it ensured that every child with disabilities also has access to free education and an integration of students with disabilities in the normal schools. Besides this, the Right to Education (RTE) Act (2009) made elementary education (in the age group of 6-14 years) a fundamental right of every child, including children with disabilities.

The faith instilled in the power of education to transform lives became instrumental in getting education, recognition as a human right. Likewise, since the past few decades, India has observed a considerable shift in the manner in which disability is understood. Disability has come to be viewed in the context of Human Rights.

Henceforth, education of children with disabilities has become a priority for the Government of India. The Government's commitment has been reflected in various enactments, schemes and through establishment of relevant institutions. The education system in India can thus be perceived as a powerful means to achieve equality for all, including those with disabilities. It works as an apparatus in furthering the ideological stand of the state. In this regard, the National Curriculum

Framework, 2005 acknowledges that Inclusion in education is one of the components of inclusive society'. It thus recognises the need to create an inclusive environment in the classroom for all students, especially, for students with disabilities, who may be at risk of marginalisation. The National Focus Group on Children with Special Needs also noted that, "Special and general education, in other words, are gearing for a significant move to come closer together". However, here it is important to draw attention to the fact that a critical analysis of the policy documents suggests that the primary steps taken for education of children with disabilities have largely been focussed on the issues of access, and those associated with classroom based 'processes', which significantly determine the quality of the educational experience have been sparse. Anita (2000), stresses that the concept of inclusive education has not yet found linkages with the discussion on pedagogy.

This paper focuses on pedagogical tools—more specifically it looks at the content of textbooks. In the Indian education culture, textbooks continue to dominate the educational process and occupy a significant position within classrooms. Textbooks are produced in large numbers. have a large outreach (Mehrotra and Ramachandran, 2010) and are sometimes the only text the students read. Zevin (1992) notes that textbooks are the most used instructional resource in the

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classroom: sometimes even more than the classroom teacher. Sleeter and Grant (1991) argue that the textbook is the 'major conveyor' of the curriculum. The content presented in the textbooks influence students. who may accept this content as 'exhaustive', 'true' and 'right'. Since textbooks dominate what students learn, they thus emerge as one of the most powerful 'tools' of the education system through which constitutional, legal and social goals can achieved. The CABE sub-committee textbooks suggested that textbooks should be constructed in lines with constitutional principles. They should be free of prejudice and bias and should build a commitment towards democratic values such as equality (CABE, 2005). The images that textbooks build of those who are marginalised, including those of persons with special needs, directly or indirectly influence what children assume them to be. To some extent, they understand persons with disabilities vis-à-vis the society through the lens provided to them by the textbooks.

Thus, keeping the centrality of textbooks in mind, the present paper aims to critically analyse the portrayal of persons with disabilities in textbooks used in elementary schools. The paper closely analyses the depictions of the issues and concerns pertaining to disabilities. The section below briefly presents the methodology undertaken for the study.

METHODOLOGY

The present paper investigates how persons with disabilities have been depicted in Hindi language textbooks published by National Council of Educational Training and Research (NCERT). The sample selected for the study included textbooks used for Hindi language teaching in Classes I to VIII. The Hindi textbooks for Classes I to V are entitled, Rimihim and the textbooks for Classes VI to VIII are entitled, Vasant. Elementary textbooks constitute important component of education. Hindi textbooks were chosen as the stories, poems and drama included in the language textbooks offer unique opportunities to children to connect with their cultural heritage and social realities. According to NCF-2005, they provide children with opportunities to understand their own experiences and to develop sensitivity towards others. The textbooks used for the purpose of content analysis are the current editions of the textbooks in circulation. These are largely reprints of the editions that were first published in the years 2006-2008. It is important to take cognisance that these textbooks were conceived and developed in concordance with Curriculum the National Framework-2005 outlines. Ritubala (2001) observes that NCERT-2005 textbooks are in congruence with progressive educational, social and political understanding.

To identify the text and illustrations related to persons with

disabilities, an elaborate scouting task was undertaken. The Hindi language textbooks from Classes I to VIII were meticulously read and any lessons that included reference to persons with disabilities were noted. After the initial scouting, it was found that the numbers of lessons with persons with disabilities were limited; hence to expand the data pool, stories which featured animal characters with disabilities were also included for analysis. Alongside, the lessons were categorised genrewise. This was done to reflect on the variety of genres available to the learners. To analyse the depictions of the issues and concerns pertaining to disabilities, the coverage of disabilities in the textbooks was highlighted. The themes, plots and contexts of the lessons with persons with disabilities thoroughly examined spelt out. In addition to that, the characteristics of the persons with disabilities, their challenges and the attitudes of other characters towards those with disabilities were also investigated.

Data analysis was done step-wise. Initially, the data were organised around themes and sub-themes. To organise better, sub-themes were later clubbed under broader themes. The data were subjected to descriptive content analysis. The paper locates these within psycho-

educational perspectives. The next section focuses on the findings of the study.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

This section presents an overall picture of the coverage of disabilities in the textbooks examined. Thereafter, the results of the qualitative content analysis of the text and illustrations related to persons with disabilities are thematically arranged. The themes, plots and the contexts of the lessons have been described. Following this, the characteristics of the persons with disabilities, their challenges and the views and attitudes of other characters towards persons with disabilities have been highlighted.

COVERAGE OF DISABILITIES IN THE TEXTBOOKS

The eight NCERT Hindi language textbooks reviewed for the current study contained a total of 137 lessons, which included text written in various genres, such as poems, stories, essays, drama, interviews, memoires, letters and life stories. A closer examination of these 137 lessons revealed that six lessons contained reference to individuals with disabilities. The table given below summarises the data on the number and nature (genre-wise) of lessons included in each of the textbooks. It also elicits the lessons that took up the issue of disabilities.

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Table 1
Number and nature (genre-wise) of lessons included in classes I-VIII textbooks

	Rimjhim Series					Vasant Series		
Genre	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI	Class VII	Class VIII
Poems (Kavita)	16	6	5	4	5	6	7	7
Stories and folktales (Kahani aur Lokkatha)	7	6	9(7+2)	8	6(5+1)	3	5	6
Essays (Nibandh, Lekh)				1	4	5	3	5
Drama (Natak/ Ekanki)			1	1	1	1	1	
Interview (Bhent-varta/ Sakshatkaar)					1		1	
Memoir/ letter/life story (Sansmaran, Patr, Jeevani, Lekha-jokha)					1	2	3	
Total number of lessons (137)	23	12	15	14	18	17	20	18
Number of lessons featuring persons with disabilities	1	Nil	Nil	1	2	1	1	Nil
Details of lessons featuring persons with disabilities	Story- Saat Poonch ka Chooha	-	-	Story- Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi	Essay- Jahan Chaah Waha Raah Poem-Ek Maa ki Bebasi	Essay- Jo Dekh Kar Bhi Nahin Dekhte	Story – Neel- kanth	-

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evident from the data tabulated above, the textbooks of Classes II, III and VIII did not have any lessons with reference to persons with disabilities. Only six lessons out of a total of 137 lessons bore reference to persons with disabilities. Class IV textbook contained a story titled, 'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi'. Class V textbook featured an essay titled, 'Jahan Chaah Waha Raah' and a poem titled, 'Ek Maa ki Bebasi'. Class VI textbook had an essay titled, 'Jo Dekh Kar Bhi Nahin Dekhte'. The stories titled, 'Saat Poonch ka Chooha' and 'Neelkanth' in the textbooks of Classes I and VII respectively did not feature any persons with disabilities but the personified animal characters with mild physical impairments gave a glimpse into the lives of differently abled.

Here, it is worth explicating that genre-wise there was a reasonable spread, including three stories, two essays and a poem on the persons with disabilities. Another point of significance is that in five of the six lessons, the protagonist was either a person with disabilities or a person close to someone with disabilities (the mother). In only one lesson, the character (the peahen in the lesson, Neelkanth) was 'included' in the story like any other character.

As far as illustrations supplementing the texts are concerned, Classes II, III, VII and VIII did not carry any pictorial representations or illustrations of persons with disabilities in any

form throughout the textbooks. The discrimination faced by persons with disabilities and differences is depicted in the illustrations carried by the Class I textbook where the seven tailed rat (in story 'Saat Poonch ka Chooha') is shown being laughed at due to his 'typicality'. Likewise, in the Class IV textbook, the boy named Amit (in story 'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi') is mocked by his peers for being shorter in height than his age mates. Along with these, the Class IV textbook carried the picture of a girl child on wheelchair being pushed playfully by a boy child. The girl is shown smiling gaily and enjoying herself. Class V textbook carried the pictures a girl named Ila, who used her feet to embroider due to her disability. The essay in Class VI based on Helen Keller's life was also supplemented with an illustration.

The data presented in the text above explicitly points out that although an attempt to include persons with disabilities has been made, however, the text underrepresented persons with disabilities. Persons with disabilities were neither talked about nor represented pictorially in three of the eight textbooks analysed. There was a complete absence of persons with disabilities in the textbooks and consequently there was silence on their lives as well. However, the pictorial representation of a girl child on a wheelchair playing with a boy child can be marked as a positive depiction. Such depictions perhaps build positive images in

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the young readers' minds. They may further contribute in fostering peer acceptance and mobilise healthy relations between children with and without disabilities within their peer groups. But such depictions were sporadic in nature.

This quantification of the data serves as a useful starting point but to get rich insights into the content and context within which the reference is located, a qualitative analysis that closely examines the contents of the stories, essays and poems that revolved around persons with disabilities was called for. The following sections present the same.

DESCRIPTION OF THE THEMES, PLOTS AND THE CONTEXT

As stated earlier, only a limited number of lessons touched upon the issues of disability and hence only six lessons could be identified for the study. In this section, the themes, plots and contexts of the selected texts have been summarised.

As reflected through the title of the Class I story, 'Saat Poonch ka Chooha', and the protagonist is a seven tailed rat. The rat is teased and stigmatised for his difference. Under pressure, he goes to a barber and gets his tails cut off one after the other. However, the teasing does not cease even when the rat gets his last tail also chopped off. Nevertheless, others continue to tease him as the 'tail-less' rat. The story is significant as it highlights people's deep rooted attitudes towards those with physical

differences. It also implicitly weaves in the emotional commotion one goes through in the wake of social pressure and stigma.

'Sunita kiPahiya Kursi' in Class IV textbook narrates the story of a physically challenged girl named Sunita, who uses a wheelchair for movement. The story revolves around an episode where for the first time; Sunita goes to the market all by herself. On her way to the market she witnesses children playing in the streets and a child named Amit being teased by other children on account of being 'shorter' in height when compared to other children of his age. Most importantly, the story presents the challenges Sunita faces in the market and the help she receives from Amit (the boy mentioned above) and others. This lesson brings out the trials and hostile social experiences and subsequently, the emotional states borne out of them, which a child with disabilities encounters.

The essay titled, 'Jahan Chaah Waha Raah', on the life of a girl named Ila, with impairment in hands, in the Class V textbook, begins with the everyday challenges faced by her. The lesson highlights the protagonist's undying will and spirit to conquer her limitations, following which she trains herself to embroider using her feet and wins laurels. The textbook also had a poem titled, 'Ek Maa ki Bebasi' which poetically evokes the turmoil of a mother's helplessness over her hearing impaired child. In addition, the poem sheds light on

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the psycho-social states of the child with impairment and other children's attitudes towards him.

In the article based on Helen Keller's life, titled, 'Jo Dekh Kar Bhi Nahin Dekhte', in Class VI textbook, she playfully asks her sighted friends to describe what they saw while treading through the jungle. When their descriptions lack detailing, she urges to value the sense of sight that people often neglect to honour. The article inspires to cultivate a positive attitude and respect towards nature's seemingly 'small gifts' of the five senses to humans.

The story titled 'Neelkanth' in Class VII textbook unfolds the life of caged animal and bird characters. Although the narration keeps the focus on the peacock, Neelkanth, yet another character named Kubja, the peahen with fused claws also plays a small but significant role. Here, Kubja's character was painted with shades of grey. The lesson does not directly take up the cause of those with disabilities but subtly displays people's attitude of contempt towards those with differently-abled bodies.

The spectrum of themes identified across the six selected lessons depicts a myriad range of lived experiences that characterize the lives of persons with disabilities. The different personality traits and characteristics of those with disabilities that they embody through different forms of behaviour, both as individuals and as a collective, also remain at the centre. The next section takes up a detailed

description and analysis of these in relation to the objectives that were set up.

CHALLENGES FACED BY PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

Persons with disabilities come across a number of challenges owing to their disabilities. Some may be on account of their physical limitations and others may be due to people's discriminatory attitudes towards them. The psycho-social challenges they face, may sometimes pose greater challenges to their social acceptance and well being. How these challenges have been articulated in the textbooks forms the content of the following sections. The physical, psycho-social educational and challenges faced by persons with disabilities are highlighted in the text that follows.

PHYSICAL CHALLENGES

Persons with disabilities often come across physical challenges and structural barriers and this was pertinently demonstrated in 'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi', 'Jahan Chaah Waha Raah' and 'Ek Maa ki Bebasi'. The excerpt from 'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi' given below is significant in this regard-

"उसने अपनी टाँगों को हाथ से पकड़ कर खींचा और उन्हें पलंग से नीचे की ओर लटकाया। फिर पलंग का सहारा लेती हुई अपनी पहिया कुर्सी तक बढ़ी।"

The text above explicitly brings forth the everyday physical challenges such as walking without help, using one's hands, changing one's clothes,

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wearing shoes and so forth that people with physical disabilities confront.

The text, occasionally, evinces that owing to obstructive nature of architecture and structures of buildings and public spaces, persons with disabilities find it difficult to access them. The invisibility of persons with disabilities from social spaces and subsequently, in social participation is creatively emphasised by the poet in 'Ek Maa ki Bebasi' where the existence of the child with hearing impairment is rendered invisible by the use of the phrase '...wonder, from which invisible neighbourhood, would he appear...' ("...ना जाने किस अदृश्य पड़ोस से, निकल कर आता था वह...). This invisibility may be a matter of social access that is often denied as a repercussion of denial of physical access to the spaces that are ordinarily occupied by the able-bodied. When persons with disabilities lack physical spaces to mingle with those without disabilities, the chances of their social acceptance within mixed groups is likely to remain restricted.

In terms of social participation, the text acknowledged that children with varying physical abilities do not participate in activities with other children in the 'typical' ways. Ratan, the child with hearing impairment, in 'Ek Maa ki Bebasi', found it difficult to connect with other children and vice-a-versa owing to his use of sign language. Nevertheless, the textbooks also portrayed pictures of positive participation such as Ila's engagement in singing with other wheelchair children and bound

Sunita being playfully pushed by a child. Such alternate pictures open up opportunities of common participation children between with and without disabilities. A study conducted by Mehrotra and Ramachandran (2010) present a counter view to this interpretation and argue that Sunita's depictions are unreal to a certain extent. They contend that wheel-chair bound individuals are less mobile than Sunita; many need a basic attendant and find it impossible to go out alone on roads and markets with traffic.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES

This section unravels the ways in which the textbooks have portrayed the psycho-social world of persons with disabilities. In particular, it explicates the personality traits and characteristics, thoughts, feelings and emotions of persons with disabilities. It also brings to light people's attitudes towards persons with disabilities. The educational vulnerability of persons with disabilities as presented in the text has also been looked at.

Resilience and perseverance stood out as the most adorned human traits in the depictions pertaining to persons with disabilities. In 'Jo Dekh Kar Bhi Nahin Dekhte' Helen Keller's resilience was exhibited by the fact that she asks her friends to describe what they 'saw' through their jungle trail; and eventually in comparison to their descriptions, she displays her competence by describing many

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finer details that they missed out on. This act of resilience is legitimised by the fact that she did not surrender to her visual impairment and indeed developed her sense of touch much better than sighted individuals. Likewise, 'Jahan Chaah Waha Raah' also portrayed Ila, the protagonist as a strong willed and determined individual who did not give in to her situations and fought back to achieve the seemingly unachievable goal of embroidering using ones feet.

The text did not merely put on view the challenges that persons with disabilities come across but went a step ahead and presented a picture of how these people found means to combat these challenges. As drawn out from the extract given below, the persons with disabilities did not succumb to their difficult circumstances; rather they found ways to cope and work out solutions to the difficulties.

"हालाँकि कपड़े बदलना, जूते पहनना आदि उसके लिए कठिन काम हैं, पर अपने रोज़ाना के काम करने के लिए उसने स्वयं ही कई तरीके ढूँढ निकाले हैं" (Excerpt taken from: Class IV, Rimjhim, lesson-'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi')

Hence, the text carved out the picture of persons with disabilities as those who have learnt to manage their challenges and gained autonomy and control over one's life conditions. However, this does not hold applicable universally to all the characters portrayed in the textbooks since in 'Ek Maa ki Bebasi', the mother's and her child's helplessness were pictured

and in 'Neelkanth', Kubja's character of a peahen with physical deformity was also painted negatively.

As far as the thoughts, feelings and emotions of the persons with disabilities and other persons in contact with them are concerned, the text brought forth a gamut of feelings that form the emotional repository of persons with disabilities. At one end of the continuum, these human emotions ranged from joy, happiness and achievement to sadness, sorrow and helplessness at the other end. Being able to do one's work gave a sense of contentment and fulfilment to Sunita in 'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi'. The text clearly mentioned that Sunita's eyes sparkled as she was to visit the market by herself, for the first time (... सोचते ही उसकी आँखों में चमक आ गई। सनीता आज पहली बार अकेले बाज़ार जाने वाली थी।). On the other hand, Sunita's sadness over the fact that unlike other children she cannot engage herself in outdoorstreet games was also enunciated. Likewise, fears and worries of the persons with disabilities and their significant others also found mention in the text and illustrations.

Itwas interesting to note that 'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi' threaded together two contradictory yet complementary ideas. In one instance, Sunita claimed that she was not different from other children and like other children she would also like to lead a 'normalised' childhood. She voices her frustration over the fact that people treated her 'differently'. Here, Amit argued that since Sunita used a wheel-chair and

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he himself was shorter in height; this 'does' make them different from others. The point that he implicitly stressed was that people are differently abled and each person is thereby different and unique in his/her own way. He pointed out the need to accept and celebrate differences and diversity.

The textbooks presented various people's attitudes contours of towards persons with disabilities and those with other differences. Accounts of discrimination, apathy and indifference as well as sensitivity and support extended by people towards persons with disabilities were presented in the text. Two notable examples where the harsh social realities found expressions were in 'Sunita Ki Pahiya Kursi' and 'Saat Poonch ka Chooha', where Amit, for being shorter in height and the rat, for his unusual seven tails were mocked at and stigmatised. In the poem, 'Ek Maa ki Bebasi' as well as in 'Neelkanth' persons with disabilities were addressed as 'broken toy', 'strange' and 'damaged goods'. These examples point towards the stereotypic view that a majority of population still holds with reference to persons with disabilities.

However, examples of change also featured within the text. Towards the end of the poem, 'Ek Maa ki Bebasi', the child accepts that he was able to empathise with the vows and fears of Ratan as he started understanding sign language. Also in 'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi', Amit and Sunita's mother come across as sensitive,

caring and empathetic towards her. The role of significant others was portrayed positively in this regard. The following excerpt is significant in understanding the same-

माँ ने मेज़ पर नाश्ता लगा दिया था।
"माँ, अचार की बोतल पकड़ाना «, सुनीता ने कहा।
"अलमारी में रखी है। ले लो», माँ ने रसोईघर से जवाब दिया।
सुनीता खुद जाकर अचार ले आई।
(Excerpt taken from – 'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi', Class IV, Rimjhim)

Here, it is apparent that upon Sunita's request the mother did not rush to provide assistance to her. In fact, she showed her the way and empowered her to do her everyday tasks herself. This gesture is significant in building the self-esteem and self-confidence of persons with disabilities.

Positive attitude builds in persons with disabilities when they can mutually contribute to the well being of the lives of others around them and believe themselves to be productive members of their family and the society at large. This image of a legitimate contributing member of the family was explicated when Sunita asked her mother what she can bring from the market. This conversation between Sunita and her mother is significant in this regard-

''माँ बाज़ार से क्या-क्या लाना है?''

"एक किलो चीनी लानी है। पर क्या तुम अकेले सँभाल लोगी?"

"पक्का», सुनीता ने मुस्कुराते हुए कहा। (Excerpt taken from – 'Sunita ki Pahiya Kursi', Class IV, Rimjhim)

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Despite being aware of the difficulties Sunita might face, her mother wins over her own worries and promotes Sunita's independence. Thus, the text does not stop at shedding light on the challenges of the persons with disabilities but also gave space to the socio-emotional challenges of the people who come in close contact with them, may it be their mother or friends.

Contrary to popular belief that with disabilities persons need continuous support from others to do their work, the text suggested that persons with disabilities appreciate only occasional and moderate assistance from others. When the shopkeeper readily extends help to Sunita by placing sugar upon her lap, Sunita dislikes it. However, within the same loop of episodes, to climb the stairs, Sunita had to take the help of Amit in pressing the pedal of her wheelchair. Hence, the balance between when to help and when not to help; when not to seek help and when to seek help, were contrasted. Mehrotra and Ramachandaran (2010) urge that people should be observant and should develop basic sensitivity to respond to the real needs of the differently abled persons.

Lastly, in terms of educational vulnerability, the text in the lesson 'Jahan Chaah Wahan Raah' elicits that persons with disabilities stumble upon educational barriers due to lack of information. Ila dropped out of school before tenth standard as she was unaware of the educational

provisions such as an extra hour during examinations and facility of a scribe for writing, that she was entitled to. The need for timely support and action thus tacitly got advocated through the text.

Conclusion

It may be concluded that although an attempt to include persons with disabilities has been made, however, with disabilities persons were underrepresented in Hindi language textbooks published by NCERT. A variety of themes pertaining to the lives of persons with disabilities were revisited through the stories, essays and poems included in the textbooks. The themes encompassed discrimination, stigmatisation and stereotyping, along with experiences of the positive kinds that persons with disabilities come across and their emotional reactions to them. These emotional reactions ranged from feelings of rejection to acceptance. The text built the physical challenges of access and psycho-social challenges that persons with disabilities face. In terms of personal characteristics. persons with disabilities portrayed to possess qualities of resilience, perseverance and undying positive will. Finally, educational challenges faced by the persons with disabilities were also depicted in the selected texts.

These findings are significant for policy makers, teachers and parents. Role of textbooks in classrooms cannot be undermined and hence

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those involved in the process of textbooks construction may find this paper useful. It highlights the need to include examples of the plurality of people and ways of life to be positively represented in the textbooks. The portrayals of persons with disabilities should be sensitively depicted and any oversimplification, labelling, or judgement should be checked for.

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