

Life Skills Education as a Bridge to Social Inclusion: A Conceptual Framework for Children with Special Needs at the Higher Secondary Level

Mr. Mayank Ranga, Research Scholar, Department of Education
Dr. Amita, Associate Professor, Department of Education

Abstract

The higher secondary level represents a critical transition period for adolescents, marked by increasing social expectations, career decisions, and personal responsibilities. For Children with Special Needs (CWSN), this phase is particularly challenging as they navigate complex social environments while managing their unique learning and behavioral needs. Life Skills Education (LSE) has emerged as a powerful pedagogical approach that goes beyond academic instruction to prepare students for real-world interactions. This conceptual paper explores the role of LSE as a bridge to social inclusion for CWSN at the higher secondary level. Drawing on global frameworks from WHO and UNICEF, as well as Indian policies including the National Education Policy 2020 and the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act 2016, the paper argues that LSE fosters peer acceptance, self-advocacy, and collaborative skills essential for social integration. The paper also examines implementation barriers such as inadequate teacher preparation, curriculum rigidity, and limited family engagement, while proposing practical enablers including whole-school approaches, assistive technologies, and community partnerships. The paper concludes that LSE, when embedded as a core component of inclusive education, can transform higher secondary institutions into spaces where CWSN not only learn but belong.

Keywords: Life Skills Education, social inclusion, Children with Special Needs, higher secondary education, peer interaction, inclusive pedagogy.

Introduction

Education in the 21st century is no longer viewed merely as the transmission of academic knowledge. Instead, it is increasingly understood as a holistic process that nurtures the cognitive, emotional, social, and ethical dimensions of a learner. For Children with Special Needs (CWSN), this holistic vision is not an aspiration but a necessity. The higher secondary level encompassing grades 11 and 12 is a defining period when adolescents prepare for adulthood, higher education, employment, and independent living. During this phase, the ability to form friendships, resolve conflicts, express needs, and collaborate with others becomes as important as academic achievement.

Yet, for many CWSN, higher secondary education remains academically focused, with insufficient attention to the life skills that enable social participation. Traditional special education models have often prioritized remedial instruction and skill drills over social learning. As a result, many CWSN complete higher secondary school with adequate academic knowledge but inadequate social confidence, leaving them ill-prepared for the demands of college, work, and community life.

Life Skills Education (LSE) offers a transformative alternative. Defined by the World Health Organization (WHO, 1997) as the abilities for adaptive and positive behavior that enable individuals to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of everyday life, LSE encompasses skills such as empathy, effective communication, interpersonal relationship building, critical thinking, and coping with emotions. When intentionally designed for CWSN, LSE can serve as a bridge connecting these students to their peers, teachers, and the broader school community.

This conceptual paper argues that LSE is not merely an add-on program but a fundamental strategy for achieving social inclusion for CWSN at the higher secondary level. Unlike experimental studies that measure numerical gains, this paper adopts a theoretical and policy-oriented approach, drawing on existing literature, policy documents, and pedagogical frameworks to articulate how LSE works, why it often fails, and what can be done to strengthen it.

Objectives of the Study

1. To explore how Life Skills Education facilitates social inclusion and peer interaction for Children with Special Needs at the higher secondary level.
2. To examine the barriers and enablers in implementing Life Skills Education for Children with Special Needs within Indian higher secondary schools.

Review of Literature

This conceptual paper draws upon existing literature from three interconnected domains: (a) theoretical foundations of Life Skills Education (LSE), (b) empirical evidence on social inclusion for Children with Special Needs (CWSN), and (c) Indian policy frameworks governing inclusive education at the higher secondary level. The purpose of this review is not to conduct a meta-analysis or systematic synthesis but to identify key concepts, debates, and gaps that inform the conceptual framework presented in this paper.

Theoretical Foundations of Life Skills Education

The modern conceptualization of Life Skills Education traces back to the World Health Organization's landmark framework published in 1997. The WHO (1997) defined life skills as "abilities for adaptive and positive behavior that enable individuals to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of everyday life." This framework identified ten core life skills: self-awareness, empathy, critical thinking, creative thinking, decision-making, problem-solving, effective communication, interpersonal relationships, coping with emotions, and coping with stress. These ten skills have since been grouped into three broader categories: (a) skills of knowing and living with oneself (self-awareness, coping with emotions, coping with stress), (b) skills of knowing and living with others (empathy, effective communication, interpersonal relationships), and (c) skills of making effective decisions (decision-making, problem-solving, critical thinking, creative thinking).

UNICEF India (2019) extended the WHO framework by adopting a rights-based, life cycle approach to LSE. According to UNICEF, life skills education is not merely a training program but a fundamental right of every child, including those with disabilities. The UNICEF framework emphasizes that LSE must be developmentally appropriate, culturally relevant, and delivered through participatory, experiential methods such as role-playing, group discussions, and real-life simulations. This rights-based perspective is particularly significant for CWSN, who have historically been excluded from social learning opportunities.

For CWSN, the theoretical argument for LSE is even more compelling than for typically developing peers. Mangal (2021) argues that CWSN often experience deficits in social cognition, emotional regulation, and adaptive behavior — not because of their disabilities per se, but because traditional special education has historically prioritized academic remediation and skill drills over social learning. Brevik et al. (2024) support this view in their scoping review of inclusive education practices, noting that inclusive education models that intentionally integrate LSE show significantly better social outcomes for CWSN compared to segregated, academically focused settings. The authors conclude that LSE should be considered a core component, not an optional add-on, of inclusive education.

Social Inclusion as a Conceptual Goal for CWSN

Social inclusion has been defined in multiple ways across the special education literature. UNICEF India (2019) emphasizes four essential dimensions: (a) physical presence in mainstream classrooms, (b) meaningful participation in academic and extracurricular activities, (c) positive relationships with peers and teachers, and (d) a genuine sense of belonging to the school community. For CWSN at the higher secondary level, Hvalby et al. (2024) add a fifth dimension: preparation for post-school social roles, including workplace interactions, community participation, and independent living. This fifth dimension is particularly critical because higher secondary school is often the final formal educational setting before CWSN transition to adulthood.

Research indicates that CWSN in higher secondary settings face unique social challenges compared to younger students. Chadha (2018) observed that as adolescent's mature, peer networks become more complex, social hierarchies intensify, and the expectation for independent social navigation increases. Unlike primary school, where teachers often facilitate peer interactions, higher secondary students are expected to initiate and maintain friendships, resolve conflicts without adult intervention, and navigate romantic relationships and peer pressure. For CWSN who have not received explicit social skills instruction, these demands can be overwhelming.

Tsob (2023) investigated dialogical learning environments for CWSN with physical and sensory disabilities and found that without explicit instruction in social norms and interaction strategies, CWSN are significantly more likely to experience peer rejection, social isolation, and bullying during adolescence. However, Tsob also found that when schools intentionally created dialogical spaces — where students are encouraged to speak, listen, and respond to each other in structured ways — CWSN showed measurable improvements in social participation within three months. This finding underscores the importance of intentional, structured LSE interventions rather than assuming that social skills will develop naturally through exposure.

Empirical Evidence on LSE for CWSN in India

While experimental and quasi-experimental studies on LSE for CWSN in India remain limited compared to Western contexts, the available evidence is promising. Singh and Sharma (2020) conducted a teacher-led LSE program for students with learning disabilities in grades 9 through 12 across four schools in Punjab. Their results showed significant improvements in social competence and emotional regulation, with teachers observing better peer interactions, reduced classroom disruptions, and increased willingness to participate in group work within three months of implementation. The authors noted that the most effective components were role-playing exercises and structured peer feedback sessions.

Rao and Reddy (2017) focused on visually impaired adolescents in inclusive secondary schools in Karnataka. Their structured LSE program, which emphasized communication skills, self-advocacy, and social problem-solving, resulted in increased classroom participation and reduced social withdrawal. Specifically, students reported feeling more confident in asking for academic accommodations, initiating conversations with sighted peers, and participating in extracurricular activities such as debates and cultural events. The authors concluded that LSE can be particularly transformative for visually impaired students, who often face social isolation due to communication barriers.

For specific disability groups, targeted LSE interventions have shown strong results. Gupta and Kumar (2023) demonstrated that Indian Sign Language (ISL)-based interventions significantly improved peer communication for Deaf and Hard of Hearing (DHH) students in inclusive schools in Uttar Pradesh. The study found that when DHH students received explicit instruction in ISL alongside hearing peers who also learned basic ISL, both groups showed increased positive interactions, reduced frustration, and improved academic collaboration. The authors emphasized that assistive tools alone are insufficient; structured LSE that teaches *how* to use these tools in social contexts is essential.

Patil and Varghese (2022) examined scenario-based problem-solving training for students with intellectual disabilities in Mumbai. Their intervention used real-life scenarios such as handling peer pressure, responding to teasing, and requesting help from teachers to teach social decision-making. Results showed that students who received the intervention were significantly more likely to choose appropriate responses in simulated social situations compared to a control group. The authors noted that repeated practice with varied scenarios was critical for generalization beyond the training context.

However, a systematic review by Chaudhary and Mehta (2021) cautioned that most Indian studies on LSE for CWSN are short-term (typically 8–16 weeks), small-scale (fewer than 100 participants), and lack longitudinal follow-up data. Consequently, there is limited evidence on whether LSE gains are maintained after the intervention ends or whether they transfer to real-world settings outside the school environment. The authors called for more rigorous, long-term studies and for greater attention to implementation factors such as teacher training and family involvement.

Policy Landscape for LSE and Inclusive Education in India

India has made significant policy commitments to inclusive education and life skills development over the past decade. The National Education Policy (NEP) 2020 represents a paradigm shift from content-based to competency-based education (Ministry of Education, 2020). The NEP explicitly calls for holistic, integrated, and enjoyable learning that includes life skills, vocational training, social-emotional learning, and ethical reasoning. For CWSN, the NEP mandates that all schools must adopt inclusive practices and provide reasonable accommodations, including assistive technologies and specialized instructional support.

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2023 operationalizes the NEP's vision by integrating life skills across subject areas and recommending pedagogical shifts toward experiential, inquiry-based, and collaborative learning

(NCERT, 2023). The NCF emphasizes that life skills should not be taught as a separate subject but should be woven into the fabric of the school day — in morning assemblies, subject teaching, co-curricular activities, and even disciplinary conversations. For higher secondary CWSN, the NCF recommends age-appropriate LSE focusing on career readiness, financial literacy, health awareness, and social relationships.

The Rights of Persons with Disabilities (RPwD) Act, 2016 is particularly relevant to this paper, as it mandates inclusive education as a legal right for CWSN (Government of India, 2016). The Act requires schools to provide reasonable accommodations, which include not only physical accessibility and assistive devices but also social skills training and emotional support. Section 16 of the RPwD Act explicitly states that CWSN have the right to "participate in all school activities" and that schools must "ensure that no child with disability is discriminated against." This legal mandate provides a strong foundation for integrating LSE into higher secondary education.

Despite these progressive policies, implementation gaps persist. Murphy-Graham and Cohen (2022) conducted a narrative review of life skills education in developing countries, including India, and found that policy intentions rarely translate into classroom practice. Common barriers include lack of teacher training, insufficient instructional time, absence of standardized curricula, and low prioritization of life skills compared to academic subjects. The authors argue that without specific implementation guidelines, monitoring mechanisms, and accountability measures, LSE remains a rhetorical commitment rather than a lived reality for most CWSN.

The review of literature reveals three significant gaps that this conceptual paper addresses.

First, most existing literature on LSE for CWSN focuses on primary or middle school levels, with relatively little attention to the higher secondary level (grades 11–12). This is problematic because higher secondary students face qualitatively different social demands including career decisions, romantic relationships, workplace readiness, and independent living than younger students. This paper specifically addresses the higher secondary level.

Second, Indian studies on LSE for CWSN tend to be descriptive (documenting what exists) or narrowly experimental (testing a specific intervention in one location). There is a shortage of broad conceptual frameworks that can guide policy and practice across diverse Indian contexts. This paper responds by offering a conceptual framework that synthesizes theoretical, empirical, and policy insights into a coherent model.

Third, there is a notable disconnect between India's progressive policy mandates (NEP 2020, NCF 2023, RPwD Act 2016) and school-level implementation. Few resources exist to help educators, administrators, and parents translate policy principles into daily practice. This paper addresses this gap by identifying specific barriers and enablers and by providing practical recommendations that bridge policy and practice.

Conceptual Framework: Life Skills Education and Social Inclusion

Before examining the role of LSE, it is essential to clarify what is meant by social inclusion in the context of higher secondary education for CWSN. Social inclusion goes beyond physical presence in a classroom. It involves meaningful participation, positive relationships with peers, a sense of belonging, and the opportunity to contribute to school life (UNICEF India, 2019). For CWSN, social inclusion is often compromised not because of their disabilities but because of environmental barriers attitudinal, structural, and pedagogical.

LSE addresses these barriers by equipping CWSN with three interconnected sets of competencies:

1. Intrapersonal Skills (Self-awareness and Emotional Regulation)

Before students can interact effectively with others, they must understand themselves. LSE helps CWSN recognize their emotions, strengths, limitations, and triggers. For example, a student with autism spectrum disorder may learn to identify when sensory overload is building and request a break before a meltdown occurs. This self-regulation prevents social withdrawal and reduces stigmatizing behaviors.

2. Interpersonal Skills (Communication and Empathy)

Social inclusion requires two-way interaction. LSE teaches CWSN how to initiate conversations, take turns in dialogue, interpret non-verbal cues, and express disagreement respectfully. Equally important, LSE fosters empathy

— the ability to understand another person's perspective. For CWSN who struggle with theory of mind, structured activities like role-playing and social stories can build this capacity.

3. Decision-Making and Problem-Solving Skills

Social situations are inherently unpredictable. CWSN often face bullying, exclusion, or misunderstanding. LSE provides strategies for evaluating social problems, generating solutions, and choosing appropriate responses. A student with intellectual disability, for instance, can learn a simple script for refusing peer pressure or seeking help from a trusted adult.

When these three competency sets are developed, CWSN transition from being passive recipients of support to active agents of their own social lives. LSE, therefore, does not change the child; it changes the child's capacity to navigate the social world.

How Life Skills Education Facilitates Peer Interaction and Belonging

Building Shared Social Language

One of the greatest barriers to peer interaction for CWSN is the absence of a shared social language. Many CWSN have difficulty interpreting sarcasm, humor, or indirect requests. LSE introduces explicit instruction in social norms — for example, how to join a group conversation, how to ask for help, or how to respond to teasing. When CWSN learn these conventions, their peers find them more approachable, initiating a positive feedback loop of interaction.

Reducing Stigma through Competence

Stigma often arises from visible differences in behavior. A student who shouts unexpectedly or avoids eye contact may be labeled as "weird." LSE reduces these visible differences by teaching alternative, socially acceptable behaviors. As CWSN demonstrate greater social competence, their peers perceive them more favorably, reducing social distance and increasing opportunities for friendship.

Creating Opportunities for Collaborative Learning

LSE is best delivered through interactive methods such as group projects, peer mentoring, and cooperative games. These activities naturally bring CWSN and their typically developing peers together around shared goals. When structured thoughtfully, collaborative learning breaks down stereotypes and builds mutual respect. For example, a group project that assigns roles based on individual strengths allows a CWSN with organizational difficulties to contribute through creativity or verbal input.

Empowering Self-Advocacy

Social inclusion is not only about being accepted by others but also about advocating for one's own needs. LSE teaches CWSN how to request accommodations, explain their disability to peers, and assert their rights respectfully. A higher secondary student who can say, "I need written instructions because I process spoken language slowly," is far more likely to succeed in group work than one who remains silent and struggles.

Barriers to Implementing Life Skills Education for CWSN in India

Despite the clear benefits, LSE for CWSN at the higher secondary level remains under-implemented in India. Several barriers explain this gap.

Curriculum Rigidity and Examination Pressure

The higher secondary level in India is heavily oriented toward board examinations that determine college admissions. Schools, particularly in urban areas, prioritize syllabus completion and test preparation. LSE is viewed as "non-academic" and therefore dispensable. Even when LSE is included in policy documents like the National Curriculum Framework (NCERT, 2023), it rarely translates into timetabled instruction.

Inadequate Teacher Preparation

Most higher secondary teachers are trained in content areas (mathematics, science, humanities) rather than in special education or life skills pedagogy. Even well-intentioned teachers lack the knowledge to adapt LSE activities for CWSN with diverse needs. For instance, a teacher may not know how to modify a role-playing exercise for a non-verbal student or how to manage emotional outbursts during a discussion about feelings.

Resource Constraints

Effective LSE requires visual aids, social stories, assistive communication devices, and sometimes separate spaces for small-group work. Many Indian higher secondary schools, especially in rural and semi-urban areas, lack these resources. Additionally, large class sizes make it difficult to provide the individualized attention that CWSN need during LSE sessions.

Limited Family Engagement

LSE is most effective when skills practiced at school are reinforced at home. However, many parents of CWSN are unaware of LSE or unsure how to support it. Some parents prioritize academic tutoring over life skills, believing that examination scores are the only path to a secure future. Others may feel ill-equipped to discuss sensitive topics like emotions, friendships, or peer pressure.

Attitudinal Barriers

Perhaps the deepest barrier is attitudinal. Some educators and administrators hold low expectations for CWSN, believing that they are incapable of learning social skills or that such skills are irrelevant compared to academic content. This deficit mindset becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, as CWSN are never given the opportunity to develop and demonstrate social competence.

Enablers: Strengthening Life Skills Education for CWSN

Overcoming these barriers requires systemic changes at multiple levels. The following enablers are drawn from successful inclusive education models globally and within India.

Whole-School Approach to LSE

LSE should not be confined to a weekly "life skills class." Instead, it should be infused throughout the school day — in morning assemblies, subject teaching, extracurricular activities, and even disciplinary conversations. For example, a history teacher can facilitate a debate on conflict resolution, drawing parallels to historical events and students' own peer conflicts. A whole-school approach normalizes LSE and ensures consistent reinforcement.

Specialized Teacher Training and Support

Pre-service and in-service teacher training programs must include modules on LSE for CWSN. Training should be practical, not just theoretical, with opportunities to practice role-playing, case studies, and classroom management strategies. Additionally, schools should establish peer support networks where teachers share successful LSE activities and troubleshoot challenges together.

Assistive and Adaptive Tools

Technology can bridge many gaps. For non-verbal CWSN, Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC) apps on tablets enable participation in group discussions. For students with hearing impairments, Indian Sign Language (ISL) videos can teach social scripts. For those with intellectual disabilities, picture-based social stories and visual schedules reduce anxiety and improve predictability. These tools need not be expensive; many open-source or low-cost options exist.

Parent and Community Partnerships

Schools should conduct regular LSE awareness workshops for parents, demonstrating simple activities that can be done at home, such as role-playing a phone call or discussing a social dilemma from a television show. Community organizations — including disability NGOs, mental health centers, and youth groups — can also provide resources, volunteers, or venues for practice.

Policy-to-Practice Mechanisms

While India has progressive policies like NEP 2020 and RPwD Act 2016, implementation remains weak. State education departments should issue specific guidelines for LSE at the higher secondary level, including minimum weekly hours, suggested curricula, and assessment rubrics. School inspections should evaluate not only academic results but also the quality of life skills instruction and social inclusion outcomes.

Discussion

The role of Life Skills Education for CWSN at the higher secondary level extends far beyond individual skill development. When implemented effectively, LSE reshapes the social ecology of the school. It reduces peer rejection, increases prosocial behavior, and creates a culture where diversity is normalized rather than stigmatized.

However, the discussion must also acknowledge tensions and limitations. First, LSE is not a panacea. For CWSN with severe disabilities, LSE may need to be supplemented with individualized behavioral supports or therapeutic interventions. Second, LSE places demands on teachers who are already overburdened. Without administrative support and reduced class sizes, even the most committed teachers cannot deliver LSE effectively. Third, measuring the success of LSE is challenging. Unlike academic subjects with clear examination outcomes, social inclusion is qualitative and context-dependent. Schools need flexible assessment tools such as sociometric mapping, teacher observations, and student self-reports rather than standardized tests.

Compared to experimental studies that focus on quantifiable gains, this conceptual paper has emphasized the theoretical and practical conditions under which LSE can promote social inclusion. The absence of statistical data is a deliberate choice, reflecting the reality that inclusion is ultimately a matter of relationships, belonging, and human dignity constructs that resist reduction to numbers.

Findings

Based on the conceptual exploration, the following findings emerge:

1. **Life Skills Education serves as a bridge to social inclusion** by equipping CWSN with intrapersonal, interpersonal, and decision-making competencies that enable meaningful peer interaction and a sense of belonging in higher secondary schools.
2. **Barriers to LSE implementation in India** includes curriculum rigidity, inadequate teacher preparation, resource constraints, limited family engagement, and low expectations for CWSN.
3. **Enablers for effective LSE** includes a whole-school approach, specialized teacher training, assistive technologies, parent-community partnerships, and concrete policy-to-practice mechanisms.
4. **LSE is most effective when it is embedded across the school day** rather than treated as an isolated subject, and when it is delivered through interactive, participatory methods rather than lectures.

Conclusion

The higher secondary level is a make-or-break period for adolescents with special needs. Those who leave school with strong social skills, self-advocacy abilities, and a network of peer relationships are far more likely to succeed in college, employment, and community life. Those who leave without these competencies face heightened risks of social isolation, unemployment, and mental health difficulties.

Life Skills Education offers a proven, practical, and scalable strategy for tipping the balance toward positive outcomes. By teaching CWSN how to understand themselves, connect with others, and solve social problems, LSE does more than prepare students for examinations, it prepares them for life. However, realizing this potential requires more than good intentions. It requires curriculum reform, teacher training, resource allocation, family engagement, and a fundamental shift in how schools define success.

This paper has argued that LSE is not a luxury for CWSN but a right a right embedded in Indian law and global human rights frameworks. The task ahead is to move from policy to practice, from isolated pilot programs to systemic change and from academic coverage to genuine social inclusion. When higher secondary schools embrace Life Skills Education as a core mission, they become places where Children with Special Needs do not simply attend they belong.

References

1. Government of India. (2016). *The Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016*. Ministry of Law and Justice.
2. Ministry of Education. (2020). *National Education Policy 2020*. Government of India.
3. National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). (2023). *National Curriculum Framework for School Education 2023*.
4. UNICEF India. (2019). *Comprehensive life skills framework: Rights-based and life cycle approach to building skills for empowerment*.
5. World Health Organization (WHO). (1997). *Life skills education for children and adolescents in schools*.
6. Brevik, L. M., Snildal, A. B., & Arnesen, T. E. (2024). Life skills in inclusive education: A scoping review of evidence-based practices. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 28(3), 345–362.
7. Chadha, A. (2018). *Problem-solving in special needs education: Strategies and outcomes*. Sage Publications.
8. Chaudhary, S., & Mehta, R. (2021). Life skills education for children with disabilities in India: A systematic review. *Journal of Special Education Research*, 9(2), 112–130.
9. Gupta, R., & Kumar, P. (2023). Enhancing communication through Indian Sign Language: A study on Deaf and Hard of Hearing students in inclusive schools. *Indian Journal of Disability Studies*, 15(1), 45–60.
10. Hvalby, A., Brinchmann, B., & Hartviksen, T. A. (2024). Holistic life skills education for adolescents with disabilities: A systematic scoping review. *Disability and Rehabilitation*, 46(8), 1567–1582.
11. Mangal, S. K. (2021). *Life skills and independence among children with special needs*. Kalyani Publishers.
12. Murphy-Graham, E., & Cohen, A. K. (2022). Life skills education in developing countries: A narrative review of culturally relevant approaches. *Comparative Education Review*, 66(4), 587–610.
13. Patil, R., & Varghese, S. (2022). Problem-solving skills development through real-life scenario training for students with intellectual disabilities. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research*, 66(5), 432–447.
14. Rao, K., & Reddy, P. (2017). Inclusive education outcomes for visually impaired learners: A study in Indian secondary schools. *Journal of Visual Impairment & Blindness*, 111(4), 321–335.
15. Sharma, N., & Desai, M. (2024). Teacher preparedness and assistive communication tools in inclusive education. *Education and Training in Autism and Developmental Disabilities*, 59(1), 78–92.
16. Singh, A., & Sharma, R. (2020). Life skills training for children with special needs: Impact on social competence and emotional regulation. *Indian Journal of Special Education*, 12(2), 89–104.
17. Tsoy, T. (2023). Dialogical learning environments for children with special needs: Fostering social skills in inclusive settings. *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education*, 70(6), 987–1003