INDIGENOUS APPROACHES TO KNOWLEDGE GENERATION

Unveiling the Ways to Knowledge Generation, Continuation, Distribution and Control of the *Pariyars*: Commonalities and Points of Departure from School Pedagogy

By

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to uncover the approaches to knowledge generation, continuation, distribution and control of the *Pariyars*, one of the least privileged caste groups of Nepal. I even tried to explore the commonalities and points of departure between the *Pariyars*' indigenous knowledge and our school pedagogy. The principal research question of my study was: How do the *Pariyars* of Nepal generate the knowledge regarding music and what are the indigenous approaches they use in knowledge generation? To ease my study, I formulated three subsidiary questions focusing on knowledge distribution, control and the ways to knowledge generation at home and at school. The review of the literature covered the general review of different types of literature regarding the *Panchai Baja* followed by the review of specific theoretical closures regarding the knowledge generation of the *Pariyars* and the issues linked herewith. As my study area was basically focused on the perceptions of the individuals regarding the culture they live in, their ways of knowledge generation and other ideas associated to indigenous knowledge, I adopted the qualitative research methods. Since my study was more cultural and was more linked with the perceptions of the individuals, I used ethnographic methods to unveil the indigenous knowledge of the *Pariyars*. I selected four families in which at least one member played the *Panchai Baja*. I chose the families purposively. However, later as I proceeded I took ten people as my research participants. For data gathering I used in-depth interviews, participant-observation and interviews with the people linked up with the *Pariyars* and the *Panchai Baja*. I recorded all the possible conversation with the help of video camera. After observing the data, I linked with corresponding theories to interpret them. I triangulated the data, triangulated the theoretical closures and gave meaning to my findings. The major finding was that children typically learnt their cultures by observation, imitation, and participation. The *Pariyars* distributed and controlled their knowledge within their communities alone. I even explored

the dichotomy of auspiciousness and untouchability as a result of cultural hegemony. But my experience in the Pariyar community showed that conventional curricula and achievement tests, however, did not support students' learning based on their indigenous knowledge. I found that the prescribed school pedagogy was alien and indifferent to the local knowledge of the *Pariyars*. The same school pedagogy was used in Kathmandu for the students of affluent family and it was the same school pedagogy that was used in the remote village of Gorkha district. Their local environment and other cultural aspects were largely ignored. Here I realized that learning environments need to be adapted to help students build on their indigenous communities' knowledge and by recognizing students' culture and value systems. I also felt that educators could further this type of education by combining appropriate pedagogical techniques. I also saw the concept of cultural capital playing an important role in helping people understand why social class influenced school success. I felt that social and cultural capital of the *Pariyars* are affected by each other and by the resources of economic, physical, technological or informational, and human capital. I had a great insight regarding the indigenous knowledge generation approaches and their importance in the field of education.

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Acceptance and Recommendation

The undersigned certify that we have read, approved, and recommended to the Faculty of Education, Tribhuvan University for acceptance, a thesis entitled UNVEILING THE WAYS TO KNOWLEDGE GENERATION, CONTINUATION, DISTRIBUTION AND CONTROL OF THE *PARIYARS*: COMMONALITIES AND POINTS OF DEPARTURE FROM SCHOOL PEDAGOGY by Ganga Bahadur Gurung in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATION WITH SPECIALIZATION IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES.

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Glossary

Baja : 1) A musical instrument; 2) Ensemble of instruments

Damaha : A large kettledrum

Damai : Caste of tailor / musicians (synonymous of Pariyar)

Dholaki : A double headed barrel drum

Jhyali : Cymbals

Jhurma : Cymbals

Karnal : A natural trumpet, a big-mouthed instrument popular in western Nepal

Magar : A minority group of west-central Nepalese hills

Nagara : A large kettledrum used for ritual music

Narsinga/gha : A long curved horn popular in central Nepal

Naumati Baja : Panchai Baja with nine instruments

Panchai Baja : Five instruments: ensemble of kettledrums, shawns and trumpets or horns

Pariyar : One of the least privileged caste groups of Nepal

Rasa : 1) A rag played at temples; 2) the Sahanai which plays this rag

Sahanai : A shawn, a pipe like instrument

Tyamko : A small kettledrum

Vratabandha : A sacred thread investiture ceremony

Chapter I

Introducing the Context

Nepal is known to the rest of the world for the rich culture it possesses. It is a country as diverse demographically as it is topographically. There are many culturally and linguistically distinct ethnic groups. Within this immense diversity, the *Panchai Baja* is a common feature of village life throughout much of the country and for a large proportion of Nepalese minority groups (Tingey, 1994). However, due to urbanization and industrialization, many cultural issues including the *Panchai Baja* are at risk. Cultural perversion can be observed not only in the urban areas but also in the remote areas of Nepal. The encroachment of western culture has made it so very difficult to preserve the typical Nepalese culture. The western Band Baja is an instance of the encroachment. This kind of cultural invasion is observed all over Nepal. Nevertheless, there are many indigenous or / and ethnic knowledges Nepal still treasures. One of them are the *Pariyars* of Nepal who make their living out of playing *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* in various special occasions like wedding, feasts and festivals and so forth. Their ways of knowledge generation, distribution and control are hardly uncovered as they belong to the underprivileged groups of Nepal and no due attention is given to promote their culture. There are not any specific programs launched for the same. Culture is exclusive in any indigenous community and it gives the identity and confidence to the people living in a particular cultural tapestry. Tausie (1980) opines:

> Firstly, culture gives one confidence and identity. A person without a culture is a person without a soul. Culture is something that belongs to a particular cultural group – it is something its members can call their own. Even if other people can imitate it, what they produce will usually be 'second rate'. Culture is a means by which a

> particular group can assert itself and develop confidence. Secondly, cultural expression allows for greater fulfillment of the potential of everyone. (p. 6)

Thus, to study cultural things is an activity which often refers to the exploration of the practices and lifestyles of the people in a particular society, mostly of the high culture but not all the time, yet it can also involve the investigation of the lived experiences and representations of everyday life as in 'class cultures', 'ethnic cultures', 'street cultures', even 'subcultures' and 'club cultures' (Thornton, 1995). There is a very close relationship between local knowledge and the everyday lives of the people. Culture of a place influences the ways of living and so forth. Smith (2005) expresses views about it as:

> The relationship between social scientific knowledge and the everyday lives of people, their relations, their institutions and their ways of making sense of the world is perhaps the trickiest one of all to address. The history of social scientific knowledge should be seen as a series of detached accounts of the social order and its constituent parts. (p. 22)

To study a culture means to uncover their ways of knowledge generation and giving meaning to their ways of learning and life style. As my topic demanded I wanted to explore how the *Pariyars* in hilly regions of Nepal generate and distribute knowledge though they do not know any formal notations like *sa re ga ma* or any chords of music. I wanted to explore how it is possible to play exactly the way they hear from others. As we know the *Pariyars* of Nepal are popular for playing *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* in every nook and corner in Nepal. I wanted to dig out how they distribute and control the knowledge they acquire to the younger generations. I even wanted to know who controls the knowledge and what the reasons are behind it. Many questions came into my mind once I thought of conducting this research. It is significant to find out who is expanding the knowledge of this *Panchai Baja*

and why the *Pariyars* are still into this culture despite the encroachment of modernity. As my area was more to uncover the hidden realities or unveiled cultural tapestry, it was important to know what the underlying realities were behind knowledge distribution and control. It was equally important to see what are the commonalities and points of departure from our present school pedagogy. How do their children learn at home to play the musical instruments from their seniors and how do they learn at school from their teachers?

According to Darnal (2004), the *Panchai Baja* which represents the typical Nepalese culture should not be confined to the temples and *Puja* rooms of the houses rather they should be developed scientifically for the development of the Nepalese music. We can observe the encroachment of western culture in many areas in our country. This is why the *Panchai Baja* cannot be an exception as we can see many people opting for the western band during wedding ceremonies and other rituals. This is a major threat to the pure cultural identity the *Pariyars* have been preserving on their own. There has hardly been any support officially for the preservation of such instruments of cultural values.

There are various reasons behind my taking up this filed as my research. Having been born in a village, I have had many a experience of listening to the *Naumati Baja* and *Panchai Baja*. I have danced to the tunes of these melodious musical instruments. In almost all the occasions, the *Naumati Baja* used to be the center of attraction to many. However, once I left my village to pursue my higher education, I was quite perplexed to see the encroachment of the western culture in many ways. Nepal was not what I had thought of. It was different, utterly differently. A decade passed, but I could see hardly any measures being taken for the preservation of this culture. What I could see was just the perversion of the culture, the risk of losing the typical Nepalese culture. Having read the article published by Krishan Man Manandhar in *The Kathmandu Post* (1993), I was in despair that one day this auspicious

music would remain only in history as these *Panchai Baja* are displayed in a world renowned American Museum. This and many other related literatures made me take up this area for my research work.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

This chapter includes the review of all the possible literature related to my study. The first few topics cover the general review of different types of literature followed by the review of specific theoretical closures regarding the knowledge generation of the *Pariyars* and the issues linked herewith.

Panchai Baja and Naumati Baja

Panchai Baja is a group of five traditional Nepali musical instruments that are played during auspicious occasions. The *Jhurma* or *Jhyali* (cymbals), *Tyamko* (small kettledrum), or *Dholaki* (two headed drum), *Damaha* (large kettledrum), *Narsinga* (a long horn-like instrument), *Sahanai* (a pipe instrument), and Karnal, (a big-mouthed instrument) comprise the *Panchai Baja* (Ranjan, 2007) . *Panchai Baja* is used in holy ceremonies like marriage. But now this system is found only in the rural areas where people living in poverty cannot afford advanced musical bands. So, people living in the villages are preserving Nepal's tradition and culture.

Damai music scholar Ram Saran Darnal (2004) restricts the name "*Panchai Baja*" to a group using these five instruments only, while others categorize the bands more loosely. The term *Naumati Baja* (nine instruments) is sometimes used to describe a larger band. Darnal states that the *Naumati Baja* specifically contains nine instruments: those that comprise the *Panchai Baja* with an added *Damaha* and *Sahanai*, as well as two *Narsinga* (long, curved horn, popular in central Nepal), or *Karnal* (natural trumpet, popular in western Nepal). In popular speech, the term *Panchai Baja* is often used for both the five-instrument ensemble and the larger *Naumati Baja*. Both Darnal and ethnomusicologist Carol Tingey (1990)

mention *Nagara* orchestras of up to 36 *Nagara* of increasing size, as a popular ensemble in far-western Nepal, and Tingey notes that the term *Panchai Baja* is sometimes also applied to this ensemble.

Musical instruments have proved to be one of the major sources of entertainment since long. However, technology created musical complexity and the need for changing intonation in later years. People are getting used to the modern instruments as they are easy to use, and lots of institutions give training for use of such instruments. There are many schools in and around Kathmandu valley that provide music classes to those who are interested in playing different musical instruments. But there is not a single institute that offers any classes to play *Panchai Baja*. The reason is apparent, the younger generation, who is supposed to preserve the tradition and culture of our ancestors, is much influenced by western music.

Panchai Baja and other traditional folk musical instruments are now in trouble due to the increasing demand for western music. There needs to be a reform so *Panchai Baja* performers can play professionally. Then people from around the world will have an opportunity to learn about the significance of Nepal's traditional musical instruments (K.C., 2006).

The *Damai* traditionally earn their living both as musicians and as tailors. As musicians they are hired to play for temple rituals and also for rites of passage, processions and other ceremonies. *Damai* music is played by various instrumental groups, including the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*, which are composed of shawns, horns and percussion instruments. These instrumental ensembles play primarily during rites of passages and processions. Ritual ensembles mainly play during temple rituals are usually composed of the *Nagara* drum, horns and sometimes the *Rasa* shawn. The *Damai* musicians also play other instruments such as the flute.

Morning and evening, the musicians, stationed at a distance from the temple, play at the signal of the priest (*pujari*), performing a ritual of invocation and offerings (*puja*) inside the temple. Instrumentation varies according to the available of musicians and instruments.

The main instrument, which is essential to every performance, is the kettledrum know as *Nagara*, from which the ensemble takes its name. The *Nagara* player, using two drumsticks know as *gaja*, plays rhythmic phrases composed of a slow beat which gradually accelerates, leading into a drum roll and then slowing return to the initial beat. These rhythmic phrases are know as *murra* or *lari*. The horns intervene sporadically with bursts of sound, playing motifs of two or three pitches. The *Rasa* plays the melodic and ornamental line in an uninterrupted sequence, achieved through circular techniques.

During daily *pujas* and at special ceremonies, the *Damai* musicians perform auspicious music as an offering which accompanies an invocation of the divinity. The appreciation of the listening divinity is essential for the success of the ritual and the well-being of the faithful. This performances also includes bursts of sound from the *Karnal* and *bijuli-bana* (or *nagbeli-bana*) horns as well as ornate and sinuous melody played by the *Rasa* shawn. The sustained melody of the *Rasa*, with its free rhythm and varied melodic motifs, seems to be improvised. However, this melody consists of specific motifs played in a sequence determined on the spur of the moment by the performer. The distinctive quality of this music is produced by the musicians. Each performer plays in his own rhythmic realm, with no set synchrony, thus giving the music its characteristic texture. The bells resounding by the temple belong to the ritual soundscape, but are not to be part of the music.

Murali or flute playing based on a modal scale with the third and seventh degree usually minor, the ornamented melody with its pentatonic proceeds in ascending and descending waves.

In Central Nepal ensemble usually consists of two *Damaha* (kettledrums), one *Dholaki* (barrel shaped drum), one *Tyamko* (small kettledrum), one pair of *Jhyali* (cymbals), two *Narsinga* (telescopic horns) and one or two *Sahanai* (shawns). The instrumentation and styles vary from one region to another, but this music is recognizable everywhere on account of the texture created by the regular and repetitive beat of the percussion instruments forming a rhythmic basis above which rises the ornamented and sustained melody of the Sahanai shawn. The horns with their powerful brassy sound are played sporadically, creating a discontinuity in the music, and enriching its texture.

All the characteristics of ritual music – the *Sahanai* melody is freer and more exploratory than music for entertainment, the second *Sahanai* plays a drone and the percussion instruments provide a rhythmic background in which the *Dholaki* accentuates and varies certain motifs, in some parts the *Dholaki* is accompanied by the Jhyali cymbals emphasizing the accents. The *Narsinga* horns play simple melodic motifs of long sustained notes.

The western Nepalese ensembles are renowned for their emphasis on the *Damaha* drums.

The Myth of Damai Caste

According to Bam (2005) many years ago when people in the villages wanted to celebrate auspicious occasions there was no one to play instruments. One day a villager needed to celebrate a festival in his home. He really wanted to have music at his festival, so he had a copper *Damaha* made. On top of this *Damaha* he placed two wooden sticks. After that, in front of all his family, friends and neighbors, he said, "Look, whoever is the first to hit this *Damaha* with a stick will forever after be the musician for our society." That day there

was a large crowd assembled in his house for the festival. His daughter was there with her young son. It turned out that it was this small boy who first hit the *Damaha* with the stick. And because he did this, he became *Damai*. When the daughter cried, "Please, don't make my son *Damai*," her older brother said, "Don't worry, you will always be given enough food to eat, you will make new clothes to wear, you will walk in the front of the procession at weddings and vratabandhas. My nephew will not be made to plow or dig in the fields, he will be brought close to the thresholds of the gods, and always walk ahead of the king." After this his sister was satisfied. This is how it is said that they became *Damai*.

But according to Tingey (1990), it is likely that migrant Rajput nobles brought musicians with them during their 14th century migration, or possibly introduced them after establishing their rule. Their kettledrum ensembles developed as important traditions in both court and temple, and eventually took on popular roles as well. The large kettledrum, called the *Nagara*, is the major instrument of the Nagara Bana, a court and temple ensemble that also continues to be played by *Damai* musicians.

Untouchability and Auspicious Music

Historically an auspicious, yet untouchable occupational caste of professional musicians and tailors, the *Damai* are best known for their musical traditions, which include, among others, the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* festival/ritual ensembles, the Nagara Bana temple ensemble, and the Hudke tradition of dancing, drumming and ballad singing (Ranjan, 2007). The *Damai*'s origins as a caste are related with the development of their musical traditions. The name *Damai* is said to come from the kettledrum *Damaha*, used in the *Panchai* and *Naumati Baja* ensembles. Though *Damai* musicians have traditionally performed several kinds of music, their festival ensembles are the most widely known and well documented. The music they play is regarded very auspicious. However, the musicians

are discriminated labeling as the lower caste. The dichotomy of untouchability and auspicious music is surprising. Some regard this as the product of feudalism, some others argue that this contradiction lies due to cultural hegemony and power. Whatever it be, this is an unjust tag to label someone as untouchable whose music is taken as pure and holy.

Indigenous Knowledge Generation and Associated Theories

Knowledge has been defined as information combined with context, interpretation and experience (Davenport et al., 1998). It can be either explicit or implicit. Explicit knowledge is formally expressed in symbols or language, whereas implicit knowledge is not codified and resides in people's minds. The emerging knowledge society (Drucker, 1995) makes it mandatory for society to manage both explicit and implicit knowledge.

Indigenous knowledge, is known as traditional knowledge. It is also knowledge as local knowledge and it is embedded in the community and is unique to a given culture, location or society. The term refers to the large body of knowledge and skills that has been developed outside the formal educational system, and that enables communities to survive. This is why, in my research, I have ventured to opine the knowledge of the *Pariyars* as indigenous knowledge and have tried to assess it from different theoretical closures. The dominance of the western knowledge system has largely led to a prevailing situation in which indigenous knowledge is largely ignored and neglected. It is therefore easy to forget that, over many centuries, human beings have been producing knowledge and strategies enabling them to survive in a balanced relation with their natural and social environment. As indigenous knowledge is closely related to survival and subsistence, it provides a basis for local-level decision making in many sectors: it may be knowledge generation, distribution, control or any other issue. Most of the *Pariyars* rely on playing *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati*

Baja and tailoring. They do have their own ways of transforming knowledge to the younger ones.

Indigenous knowledge is dynamic, the result of a continuous process of experimentation, innovation, and adaptation. It has the capacity to blend with knowledge based on science and technology, and should therefore be considered complementary to scientific and technological efforts to solve problems in social and economic development. However, in the context of our school pedagogy, the significance of indigenous knowledge is mostly undermined or unpaid attention to. There are instances that people blame western approaches of learning. But there are few instances where they have come up with some innovative ideas to blend indigenous knowledge with the knowledge based on science and technology. Indigenous knowledge has the disadvantage of not having been captured and stored in a systematic way. The main reason for this constraint is that it is handed down orally from generation to generation. This creates an implicit danger that indigenous knowledge may be extinct.

According to UNESCO (2007), indigenous knowledge share seven common characteristics viz. (a) Indigenous knowledge is generated within communities (b) It is location and culture specific (c) It is the basis for decision making and survival strategies (d) It is not systematically documented (e) It concerns critical issues of human and animal life: primary production, human and animal life, natural resource management (f) Indigenous knowledge is dynamic and based on innovation, adaptation, and experimentation, and (g) Indigenous knowledge is oral and rural in nature.

Indigenous knowledge is a growing field of inquiry, both nationally and internationally, particularly for those interested in educational innovation. There is a great significance of indigenous knowledge in the field of education. The education becomes lame if people fail to blend it with school pedagogy or the western approaches of knowledge transformation. The question "What is indigenous knowledge?" is usually asked by Eurocentric scholars seeking to understand a cognitive system that is alien to them. The greatest challenge in answering this question is to find a respectful way to compare Eurocentric and indigenous ways of knowing and include both into contemporary modern education. Finding a satisfactory answer to this question is the necessary first step in remedying the failure of the existing First Nations educational system and in bringing about a blended educational context that respects and builds on both indigenous and Eurocentric knowledge systems (Battiste, 2002).

> In the process of industrialization, indigenous (local) knowledge is often devalued relative to the modern knowledge and technologies that develop to serve the needs of the new commodity-generating economy. In developing countries, it is often the case that men and ethnic majorities gravitate toward the emerging modern sector, whereas women, ethnic minorities and others remain more on the margins of the new economy. This may allow those at the margins to retain indigenous knowledge long after it has been lost by others and, in fact, the sudden commercial interest in indigenous knowledge often targets women and indigenous groups who are furthest removed from the industrial economy as potential sources of local knowledge. Technology blending that means combining indigenous knowledge with modern knowledge and technologies represents one means of applying and extending local knowledge. (Doane, 1999, p. 235)

A system with an indigenous capability is not linear but, under appropriate circumstances, exponentially increasing. At the beginning, it might have to be fed externally, but thereafter, it can generate further development without external force-feeding. To be sure, the system still needs to maintain contact with the outside world (in the case of the algae, to absorb energy and chemicals) but now it has the ability to convert the raw ingredients into the growth of itself (Moravcsik, 1981).

Similar to other innovative changes in post–World War II development paradigms, indigenous knowledge has also become an essential component of the many different approaches to sustainable development by different interest groups. For those who still function within the mainstream paradigms of development, indigenous knowledge is an important source of overcoming the limitations and failures of development. For the adherents of the post development school, indigenous knowledge is an important source of imagining and realizing alternative paradigms of development. For the culturalists, indigenous knowledge is an invaluable source of politics of difference/politics of identity. For multinational corporations concerned with sustainable development, indigenous knowledge is a highly promising area of investment, a way of making their investments socially responsible. It has evolved as a means of legitimizing as well as resisting mainstream development. The political power of it lies in its amenability to such different projects—all claiming their aim is to work toward sustainable development (Fernando, 2003). Indigenous scholars discovered that indigenous knowledge is far more than the binary opposite of western knowledge. As a concept, indigenous knowledge benchmarks the limitations of Eurocentric theory -- its methodology, evidence, and conclusions --reconceptualizes the resilience and self-reliance of Indigenous peoples, and underscores the importance of their own philosophies, heritages, and educational processes.

Indigenous knowledge fills the ethical and knowledge gaps in Eurocentric education, research, and scholarship. By animating the voices and experiences of the cognitive other and integrating them into the educational process, it creates a new, balanced centre and a fresh vantage point from which to analyze Eurocentric education and its pedagogies. Indigenous knowledge has been exposed as an extensive and valuable knowledge system. According to the categories used by Eurocentric knowledge, it is a transcultural (or intercultural) and interdisciplinary source of knowledge that embraces the contexts of about 20 percent of the world's population. Indigenous knowledge is systemic, covering both what can be observed and what can be thought. It compromises the rural and the urban, the settled and the nomadic, original inhabitants and migrants. Other names for indigenous knowledge (or closely related concepts) are "folk knowledge," "local knowledge or wisdom," "non-formal knowledge," "culture," "indigenous technical knowledge," "traditional ecological knowledge," and "traditional knowledge (ibid.)."

Theory of Knowledge and Learning Process

I examined the literatures on the epistemology and the ontology of the knowledge. The literatures of Crossman & Devisch (2002), Mbiti, J.S. (1990), and Tarnas, R. (1996) have mentioned many types of epistemologies and ontologies. And they are mostly based on indigenous perspectives. But for this purpose of this research I used three out of them. The table below displays them.

Table 1

Epistemology and ontology of the knowledge

Perspective	Assumptions	Associated pedagogy
The associative perspective	Learning as acquiring competence Learners acquire knowledge by building associations between different concepts. Learners gain skills by building progressively complex actions from component skills.	▪ Focus on competences ▪ Routines of organised activity ▪ Progressive difficulty ▪ Clear goals and feedback ▪ Individualised pathways matched to the individual's prior performance
The constructive perspective (individual focus)	Learning as achieving understanding Learners actively construct new ideas by building and testing hypotheses.	▪ Interactive environments for knowledge building ▪ Activities that encourage experimentation and discovery of principles ▪ Support for reflection and evaluation
The constructive perspective (social focus)	Learning as achieving understanding Learners actively construct new ideas through collaborative activities and/or through dialogue.	▪ Interactive environments for knowledge building ▪ Activities that encourage collaboration and shared expression of ideas ▪ Support for reflection, peer review and evaluation
The situative perspective	Learning as social practice Learners develop their identity through participation in specific communities and practices.	▪ Participation in social practices of enquiry and learning ▪ Support for development of learning skills ▪ Dialogue to facilitate the development of learning relationships

Source: HEFCE, (2004). *An online e-learning.* Retrieved February 17, 2008 from http://www.elearning.ac.uk/effprac/html/approach_define.htm

According to Piaget, learning is what results from both mental and physical maturation plus experience (Moll, 1990). That is, development preceded learning. In contrast Vygotsky observed that learning processes lead development. Vygotsky (1978, p. 90)

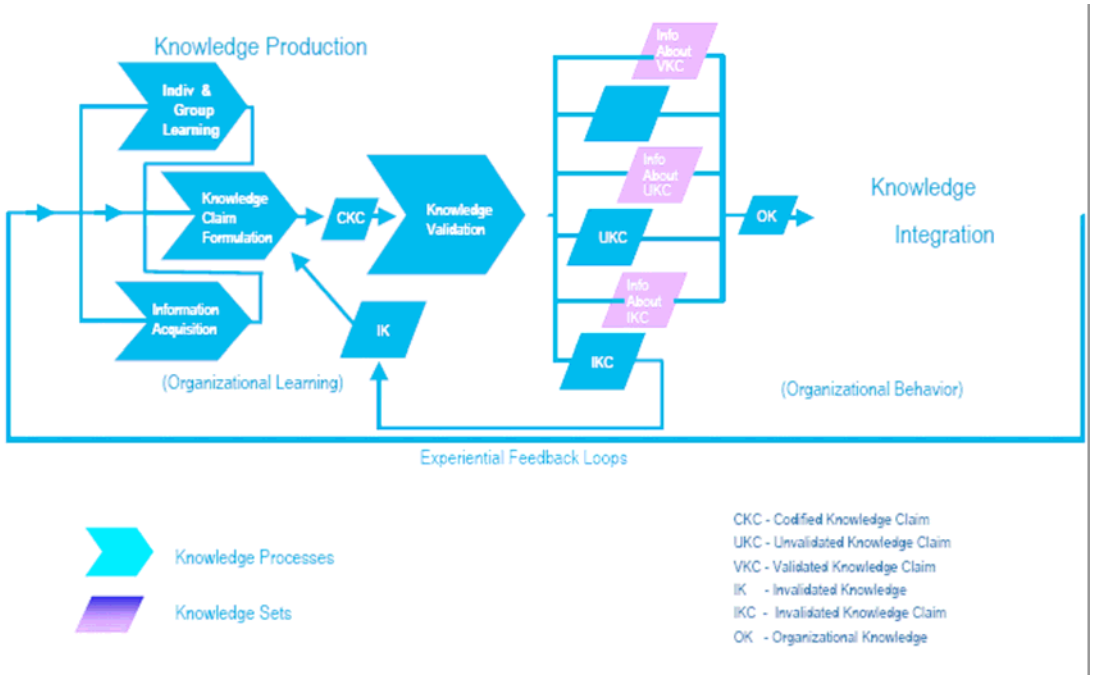
maintained that "learning is a necessary and universal aspect of the process of developing culturally organized, specifically human, psychological functions." In other words, learning is what leads to the development of higher order thinking.

According to Vygotsky the two primary means of learning occur through social interaction and language. Language greatly enhances humans' ability to engage in social interactions and share their experiences. The most important fact uncovered through the ... study of thought and speech is that their relationship undergoes many changes (Vygotsky, 1962). Initially, a child's new knowledge is interpsychological, meaning it is learned through interaction with others, on the social level. Later, this same knowledge becomes intrapsychological, meaning inside the child, and the new knowledge or skill is mastered on an individual level.

Knowledge is produced when people make sense of their world and knowledge is based on their experience as they construct tools, methods, and approaches to cope with the situations facing them. This meaning-making notion of knowledge production leads to an understanding of power imbalances in society (Hill, 1998). The following table shows how knowledge is produced and integrated.

Table 2

The knowledge life cycle



Source: McElroy, M. W. (1999). The knowledge life cycle: An executable model for the enterprise. *ICM Conference on Knowledge Management.* Miami: FL.

Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Indigenous people have had their own ways of looking at and relating to the world, the universe, and to each other (Ascher, 2002). Their traditional education processes were carefully constructed around observing natural processes, adapting modes of survival, obtaining sustenance from the plant and animal world, and using natural materials to make their tools and implements. All of this was made understandable through demonstration and observation accompanied by thoughtful stories in which the lessons were imbedded (Kawagley, 1995). However, indigenous views of the world and approaches to education

have been brought into jeopardy with the spread of western social structures and institutionalized forms of cultural transmission.

Recently, many indigenous as well as non-indigenous people have begun to recognize the limitations of a mono-cultural education system, and new approaches have begun to emerge that are contributing to our understanding of the relationship between indigenous ways of knowing and those associated with western society and formal education. Our challenge now is to devise a system of education for all people that respects the epistemological and pedagogical foundations provided by both indigenous and western cultural traditions. While the examples used here will be drawn primarily from the Alaska Native context, they are intended to be illustrative of the issues that emerge in any indigenous context where efforts are underway to reconnect education to a sense of place and its attendant cultural practices and manifestations (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005).

Indigenous Knowledge and School Pedagogy

Indigenous knowledge is starting to become more widely valued even in the western community, for a variety of purposes. David Suzuki explores indigenous traditional ecological wisdom in his writings on environmental issues (Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992). He says that traditional ecological knowledge is becoming an integral part of understanding the environment wherever such Indigenous knowledge still exists (Langton, 1998). For instance, in Darwin there exist a number of ecological research centres, which include cooperative arrangements with peak indigenous bodies, such as the Centre for Indigenous Natural and Cultural Resource Management (CINCRM) at the Northern Territory University.

Here the issue of ownership of knowledge is often very important in indigenous cultures. Some knowledge is held by all members while some things may only be known by

particular people (e.g. women's knowledge, men's knowledge etc.). There are also questions about the acknowledgment of ownership, and the protocols by which the knowledge can be obtained and to whom it can be transmitted. When researchers belonging to the indigenous community begin to produce knowledge about their own culture and traditions, knowing that certain kind of knowledge is not supposed to be of access to all, how do we research on that? Where do we draw the line? Or do we (George, 1998)?

This conflicts with the perceived western notion, where we are told that knowledge is a common heritage (although people often may not have any access to it because of ownership of patents or intellectual property rights, or because of the language it is enshrined in or of the places where it is physically kept, such as university libraries, specialist journals and conferences). Despite the issue of knowledge claim, there have been efforts to see the commonalities between the characteristics of western and indigenous science and the ways to generating knowledge.

Table 3
Comparison of the western and indigenous ways of generating knowledge

Aspects of knowledge	Western epistemology	Indigenous epistemology	Indigenous ontology	Western ontology
Experimentation	Instrumentation	Spirituality	Location	Observation
Observation	Prediction	Initiation	Cosmology	Causality
Mathematics	Representation	Role of humanity	Harmony	Ceremony
Control	Objectivity	Elders	Artifact	Practice
Distancing	Freedom of external social values	Spirit	Dreams	Visions
Uniformity	Models	History	Maps	Symbols
Causality	Technology	Subjectivity	Relatedness	Understanding
Progress	Fragmentation	Sanction	Transformation	Path
Explanation	Authority	Sacred mathematics	Sacred space	Representation
Truth	Transformation		Technology	

Source: Peat, D. F. (1996). *Blackfoot physics: A journey into the Native American universe*. London: Fourth Estate Limited.

This depicts that there are differences in the process and ways of knowledge generation when we talk about western science and indigenous science. The following table further illustrates the issues of western scientific knowledge and indigenous knowledge.

Table 4

Empirical findings on knowledge generation by the indigenous peoples (IPs) and the West

Concept: Landforms	Australian indigenous ways	Western scientific ways
Explanation	Results from the effects of religious events in the Dreamtime. For example, the actions of the Rainbow Serpent traveling across the land.	Results from the effects of erosion. For example, the effects of wind, the movement of water in rain and rivers and heating from the sun.
Evidence	Comes from stories, songs and dance.	Comes from observations, theories, predictions and experimental confirmation.
Available to	Particular people who are related to that land and own the knowledge. Others can be aware but will not claim the knowledge publicly.	Anyone who is able to access it and has some background science knowledge.
Can be accessed by	Participation in ceremonies; oral transmission; art; singing; dancing. Manipulation of media containing Indigenous knowledge: print, video, audio, CD-ROM, internet.	Participation in science education. Manipulation of media containing Western scientific knowledge: print, video, audio, CD-ROM, internet.

Source: Michie, M., & Linkson, M. (1999). Interfacing western science and indigenous knowledge: A northern territory perspective. *Paper presented at the 30th Australasian Science Education Research Association Conference*, held at Rotorua, Aotearoa New Zealand.

The two tables above give a picture that both epistemology and ontology of the IPs and the West differ in many ways. Because of these differences the approaches to generating

knowledge gets differed and the distribution and control of the knowledge is also affected. Though indigenous academic theorizing, which utilizes indigenous approaches, epistemologies, ontologies and axiologies has had a short history but the body of indigenous academic knowledge is growing (Mihesuah, 1998).

Ownership of Knowledge

Incorporating indigenous knowledge into an educational environment can also help students feel ownership of the knowledge they bring to learning environments. In Pedagogy of the Oppressed Paulo Friere (2007) suggests that allowing students or individuals to have ownership of their knowledge is equivalent to respecting their culture, tradition, and identity. He writes that educators can avoid teaching students as if they are empty vessels and abandon the education goal of deposit-making. When education is not taught merely as "banking" information, students have the opportunity to understand the relevance and meaning of the knowledge they are being taught (Srikantaiah, 2005).

It is clear that the process of indigenous knowledge dissemination is well advanced, but it is important to question the worth and feasibility of the initiative. There are various potential problems with the transferability of indigenous knowledge, relating to the willingness of indigenous peoples to share their knowledge, the overall effectiveness of the sharing and the nature of benefits and beneficiaries. In contrast to indigenous knowledge technologies, western science and technology is not culturally, socially or environmentally specific. Agrawal notes that 'indigenous knowledge, … exists in close and organic harmony with the lives of the people who generated it. Modern knowledge, however, thrives on abstract formulation and exists divorced from the lives of people.' (1995, p. 425). It is necessary to view the two technologies more broadly. Often western science requires more capital sometimes an extravagant amount for a small task, and its use relies upon the presence

of infrastructural support for operation, and maintenance. Most modern science has been designed and developed by highly educated people with easy access to unlimited resources, and addresses the needs of people in a developed country. According to Cunningham, in contrast, most indigenous technologies have been developed using few external inputs, many natural resources, by, and for, a set of people with little money or education (cited in Ole-Lengisugi, 1996). Whatever its origins, and be it indigenous knowledge or western science, knowledge has to meet the criteria of belief, justifiability and truth, if it is in fact knowledge and not something else such as opinion (Horsthemke, 2004).

But the indigenous peoples (IPs) are shaped by the different philosophy which is similar to the Hindu and Buddhist's understanding about Drasta. In other words, they did not claim the knowledge because they did not make it but saw it. Moreover, these knowledge claims are very often produced within a context of hotly contested social and environmental values and competing economic and political interests. It is little wonder, then, that so much environmental knowledge can be seen as provisional and uncertain; and is so often subject to contestation (Eileen & Cordoba, 2005).

Bourdieu's Cultural Capital and Cultural Reproduction of the Knowledge

The concept of cultural capital has been important in helping us understand why social class influences school success (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu (1986) argued that the cultural experiences in one's home facilitate the interactions children have with schools and influence their achievement. This process reflects the transformation of cultural resources into cultural capital that is then used for social advantage. Because cultural resources (knowledge, practices, and artifacts) are differentially valued by society, they can lead to different quantities and types of advantage, or none at all. The standards and expectations of schools are not neutral or equitably distributed. Bourdieu (1986) outlined three types of

cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital refers to styles, manners, cultural preferences and affinities, and valued types of cultural knowledge. Cultural capital is objectified in artifacts and goods we generally think of as cultural, such as literature, music, dance forms, art, historical sites, museums, and the like. School syllabi and texts are also cultural artifacts of this type (Olneck, 2000). Institutionalized cultural capital on the other hand refers to academic credentials and educational qualifications—those institutionalized things that signify one's cultural distinction.

Social and cultural capital are affected by each other and by the resources of economic, physical, technological or informational, and human capital (Bourdieu & Coleman, 1991). To explain how social capital is related to other forms of capital, Granovetter (1985) introduced the concept of embeddedness, explaining that social relationships and networks underlie the transfer, accumulation, or diminishment of other capitals. Cultural capital is acquired through social networks when one invests his or her social capital.

Cultural capital comprises three subtypes: embodied, objectified and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu distinguishes between these three types of capital: an embodied state, this is where cultural capital is embodied in the individual. It is both the inherited and acquired properties one's self. Inherited not in the genetic sense, but more in the sense of time, cultural, and traditions bestow elements of the embodied state to another usually by the family through socialization. It is not transmittable instantaneously like a gift. It is strongly linked to one's habitus - a person's character and way of thinking. Linguistic capital, defined as the mastery of and relation to language, in the sense that it represents ways of speaking, can be understood as a form of embodied cultural capital. an objectified state. Things which are owned, such as scientific instruments or works of art. These cultural goods can be

transmitted physically (sold) as an exercise of economic capital, and symbolically as cultural capital. However, while one can possess objectified cultural capital by owning a painting, they can only consume the painting (understand its cultural meaning) if they have the correct type of embodied cultural capital (which may or may not be transmitted during the selling of the painting) and an institutionalized state; this is institutional recognition of the cultural capital held by an individual, most often understood as academic credentials or qualifications. This is mainly understood in relation to the labour market. It allows easier conversion of cultural capital to economic capital by guaranteeing a certain monetary value for a certain institutional level of achievement (wikipedia, 2008).

The idea of cultural reproduction was first developed by Bourdieu (1977) who sees the function of the education system as being to reproduce the culture of the dominant classes, thus helping to ensure their continued dominance. Through his concepts of `cultural capital' and `habitus' Bourdieu's influence spread into other areas of socialization and high culture. However, despite the complex of influences that contribute to Bourdieu's method, sociologists of culture and students of cultural studies seem to have picked up on the negative and critical elements in the work. In particular, they developed the metaphor of reproduction as copy or imitation rather than reproduction as regeneration and synthesis. As a consequence `cultural reproduction' has become part of the orthodoxy of studies in the theory of ideology and neo-Marxisms. While still addressing this well established theme of ideology and structural determinacy in cultural reproduction theory, this collection of original essays seeks also to explore other possibilities, in terms of ethnomethodology, Durkheimianism, structuralism and post-structuralism. Many of the arguments put forward also confront the most contemporary challenges presented by postmodernism. The papers address an unusually wide spectrum of cultural formations including gender roles, fine art, film, journalism, education, consumerism, style, language and sociology itself. The introduction discusses the

origin and development of the concept of cultural reproduction and shows the variety of analytic possibilities within several traditions of social theorizing, all later expanded in the body of the text.

Most of the contributors are academics working in the area of sociology of communication studies. All of them have taught in and have continuing research interests in the sociology of culture and cultural studies. For example, we can note that the theory brings into focus the question of cultural values as they relate to things like:

What constitutes knowledge ?

How knowledge is to be achieved ?

How knowledge is validated and so forth ?

In this respect, writers such as Bourdieu make such questions problematic (that is, open to question) and take as their starting-point the idea that questions of power and ideology are central to the differential achievement debate. In particular, we could think about the way powerful groups in our society are able to define these questions and, by so doing, provide their offspring with cultural advantages.

More specifically, Bourdieu argues that, since there is no objective way of differentiating between different class cultures (upper, middle and working class cultures for example), the high value placed on the dominant cultural values characteristic of an upper or ruling class is simply a reflection of their powerful position within capitalist society. A dominant class is able, in effect, to impose its definition of reality upon all other classes. Using this frame I claim that indigenous knowledge is discarded since long as the so-called ruling class did not like buying the approaches from different indigenous and ethnic groups,

indigenous ways of thinking, understanding and approaching knowledge have long been dismissed by the academic world because they have been considered not to belong to any existing theory as mentioned by Cook-Lynn (1997).

Thus, each economic class develops an associated class culture involving ways of seeing the social world, ways of doing things within that world, etc. These things are specific to, and develop out of, each class' experiences in the social world.

Children are not simply socialised into the values of society as a whole. Rather, they are socialised for a specific knowledge into the culture that corresponds to their class and, in Bourdieu's terms, this set of cultural experiences, values beliefs and so forth represents a form of "Cultural Capital". That is, a set of values, beliefs, norms, attitudes, experiences and so forth that equip people for their life in society.

The term cultural capital is used because, like money, our cultural inheritance can be translated into social resources (things like wealth, power and status) and the cultural capital we accumulate from birth can be spent in the education system as we try to achieve things that are considered to be culturally important (mainly educational qualifications for the majority of children - but status can also be considered here when we think about the way the rich can educate their children privately at high status schools such as Eton and so forth).

Not all classes start with the same kind or level of cultural capital of course. Children socialised into the dominant culture will have a big advantage over children not socialised into this culture because schools attempt to reproduce a general set of dominant cultural values and ideas.

The most common form of cultural reproduction is enculturation, which is described as a partly conscious and partly unconscious learning experience whereby the older

generation invites, induces, and compels the younger generation to adopt traditional ways of thinking and behaving.

Cultural reproduction means, in this context, the way schools, in conjunction with other social institutions, help to perpetuate social and economic inequalities across the generations. For Bourdieu, the relationship between the education system (considered as part of the political / ideological superstructure in capitalist society), and the economic infrastructure (or "base") is a dependent one.

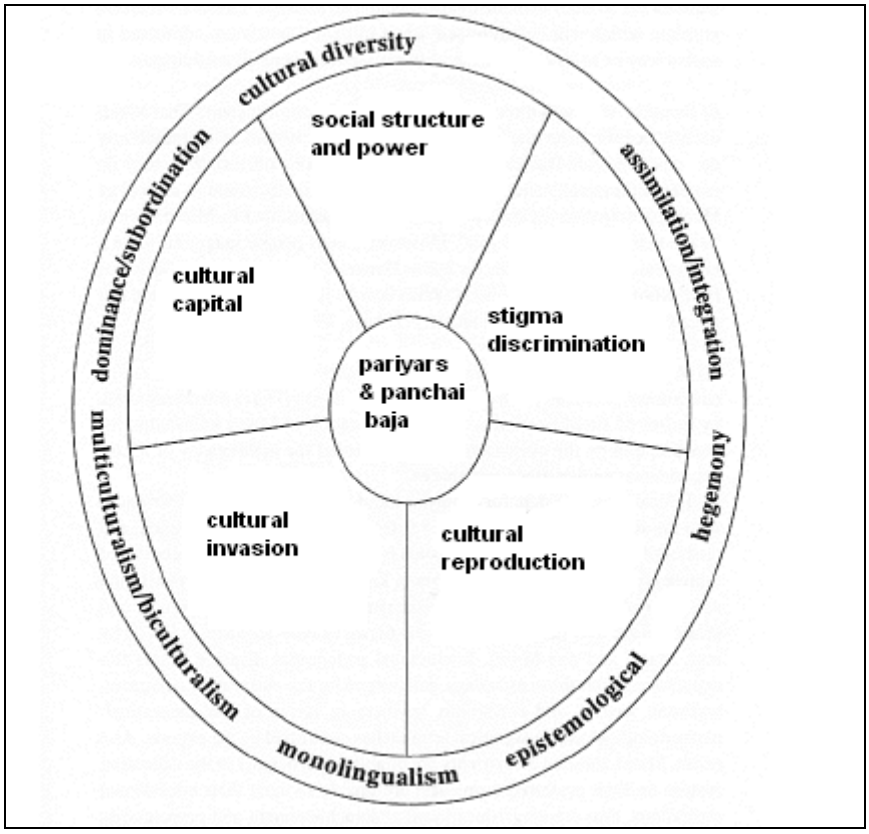
For Bourdieu cultural capital is an asset that has been acquired; it enables people, collectively, to generate relations of distinction which are instituted as social or status hierarchies (Fyfe, 2000). This is how the concept of cultural capital is linked up with the indigenous people's ways of generating knowledge as these people do acquire some specific cultural capital as an asset out of which they make their living and they are known for the same that is to say the *Pariyars* of our country acquire the knowledge for playing the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* which enables them for their survival and provides them the exclusive identity as well.

Theoretical Framework

Reflecting the above theoretical understandings I realized that different theories contributed to the *Panchai Baja* players about the generation of knowledge. I have developed a theoretical framework of these contributions in the following chart.

Table 5

Theoretical framework



There many theoretical blocks contributing to the knowledge generation, distribution and control of the Pariyars. Among them, cultural hegemony, social structure and power do play the pivotal role in the production of this indigenous knowledge of the *Pariyars*.

Despite this theoretical understanding I found that the exclusive culture of *Panchai Baja* is in stake. Many argue it is because of the negligence of those who exercise power and who are called as elites in social structure (Mills, 1956). They hardly care about the preservation of such cultural issues as that makes no difference in their living, in their identity and that does really no matter to them. Social structure and power plays a vital role in conserving any cultural phenomenon. But my experience says that unfortunately there are

hardly any people representing the *Pariyars* in the authority. They do not get access to decision making levels and cannot exercise power. Their representation in policy making and planning is almost none and same is the case in the bureaucracy. Despite such unfavorable situation, there are few *Pariyars* who are trying their best for the protection and preservation of the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*.

The demise of the patronage system, while in theory a step toward greater social equality, has had a significant economic impact on the *Pariyars*. With their major source of income from musical events removed, many *Damai* interchangeably Pariyar have adopted other, more lucrative professions. Some have become full-time tailors, leaving their villages for Kathmandu or other larger cities. Others, especially those in Kathmandu, have abandoned the *Panchai Baja* for the Band Baja. One reason for this may be that the clarinet, trumpet snare and bass drum band receives more than twice the income of the traditional *Panchai Baja*. However, while this is true in the villages where bands must be called from far away, the situation can sometimes be opposite in Kathmandu where bands are plentiful. But the people who used it in Kathmandu mentioned the expense of a *Panchai Baja* as a deterrent from hiring this type of band for their functions, though they preferred the sounds of sahanai, dolakhi and *Damaha* to the clarinet, trumpet, snare and bass drums. However, changes for the better are occurring in *Damai* musical society, along with the rest of Nepal. In the past few years it has become increasingly acceptable for women to sing and dance in public, and several *Damai* women have become well known as singers of *lok git* (folk songs). Non-*Damai* or partially-*Damai* musical groups have begun to adopt the sound of the *Panchai Baja*, including it in the composed *lok git* featured on Radio Nepal and in Nepal Television music videos; thus, the musical practice is becoming less associated with untouchability, and gaining status as a Nepali national genre. Tingey (1994) concerned with the survival of traditional repertoire, states that in central and western Nepal, where the *Damai*s and their

performance traditions have been the strongest, the repertoire of the Nagara Bana remains the same as its sacred status proscribes changes to melody and rhythm.

The lives of *Damai* musicians often demonstrate a complicated mix of these elements of loss and advancement. The social status of the *Damai* as a group, and the popularity of the music that they play, are affected by many factors which vary according to location and individual situations (Ranjan, 2007).

Foucault's genealogy of power and the modern subject combines an original philosophical conceptualization of power with a revisionist account of the genesis of modern society. These tasks are essentially interconnected in Foucault's conception of genealogy, for a rigorously nominalistic approach to history that emphasizes the lowliness of historical origins, the discontinuity of events, and the contingency of identities subject to endless dissolution and reconfiguration, is the discipline of thought by which metaphysical notions of originary meanings, enduring essences and an objective teleology in history can be overcome. Thus Foucault's philosophy of power and his history of the genesis of modern social institutions and the modern subject are two integral parts of a single enterprise which aims at a thoroughgoing transformation of our understanding of ourselves and of the modern world (Cronin, 1996).

Encroachment of Western Culture and the Significance of Panchai Baja

Technology created musical complexity and the need for changing intonation in later years. People are getting used to the modern instruments as they are easy to use, and lots of institutions give training for use of such instruments. The younger generation, who is supposed to preserve the tradition and culture of our ancestors, is much influenced by Western music (K.C., 2006). Traditional musical instruments such as *Panchai* and *Naumati*

*Baja*s played with five and nine instruments respectively are gradually disappearing, giving way to modern music and musical instruments. Those musical instruments used to be played in marriage and sacred thread ceremonies and other festivals but nowadays those traditional instruments are completely swamped by modern bands and music.

The gradual waning of such instruments has posed threat to the livelihood of those, who make and play them.

At this point I have, wherever possible, tried to link the issues related to the indigenous knowledge of the *Pariyars* in this chapter. Though there are many journals, books and other resources about the indigenous knowledge, there is hardly any piece of literature that talks about the exclusive knowledge of the *Pariyars* of Nepal. Thus, my idea of unveiling the approaches to knowledge generation, distribution and control of the *Pariyars* is justifiable. This is equally important to link the indigenous ways of knowing with the present school pedagogy so that the two knowledge generation systems co-exist.

Chapter III

Research Methodology

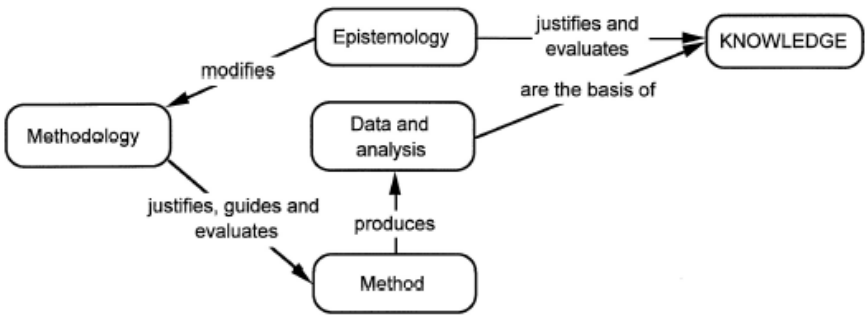
Epistemology, Methodology and Method

Before moving to the justification of my selection of research design and the methods I applied in this study, it is wise to know about epistemology, methodology and method used in qualitative research design. What criteria should govern the selection process of one approach over another? Researchers should begin their inquiry process with philosophical assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology), how they know what is known (epistemology), the inclusion of their values (axiology), the nature in which their research emerges (methodology), and their writing structures (Creswell, 1998). Qualitative researchers use various interpretive paradigms to address these assumptions, such as positivist or postpositivist, constructivist, critical, and feminist-poststructural (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). I agree with Denzin and Lincoln (2005) that qualitative writers may take stances within all these diverse interpretive paradigms.

Table 6

Epistemology, methodology and method

The Simple Relationship Between Epistemology, Methodology, and Method



Method, methodology, and epistemology are defined in conflicting ways in the research literature. Epistemology is "the study of the nature of knowledge and justification" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 71), and epistemological issues are "issues about an adequate theory of knowledge or justificatory strategy" (Harding, 1987, p. 2). As shorthand, epistemology can be thought of as justification of knowledge. A methodology is defined as "a theory and analysis of how research should proceed" (Harding, 1987, p. 2), "analysis of the assumptions, principles, and procedures in a particular approach to inquiry" (Schwandt, 2001, p. 161), or "the study—the description, the explanation, and the justification—of methods, and not the methods themselves" (Kaplan, 1964, p. 18). In short, methodology provides justification for the methods of a research project. Methods are "techniques for gathering evidence" (Harding, 1987, p. 2) or "procedures, tools and techniques" of research (Schwandt, 2001, p. 158).

As my study area is basically focused on the perceptions of the individuals regarding the culture they live in, their ways of knowledge generation and other ideas associated to indigenous knowledge, I adopted the qualitative research methods. In general, when we speak about qualitative research, we mean social research in which the researcher relies on text data rather than numerical data, analyzes those data in their textual form rather than converting them to numbers for analysis, aims to understand the meaning of human action (Schwandt, 2001). Thus, my study has followed all the requirements of qualitative data as opined by Schwandt. As the topic is concerned with culture and sociological aspects of the *Pariyars* I have adopted ethnography as a main method to explore their perceptions because ethnography is a form of research focusing on the sociology of meaning through close field observation of socio-cultural phenomena.

Research Design

This study looked at the knowledge generation of the *Pariyars* with a special focus on unveiling the indigenous approaches to knowledge generation, distribution and control. However, I tried to render the equal importance to uncover the similarities and differences between the approaches of knowing among the *Pariyars* and the present school pedagogy. It searched for the approaches to knowledge generation among the *Pariyars* which was possible to dig out from the detailed descriptions made by the research participants of the four chosen families in Gorkha district of Nepal. This chapter provides the brief sketch of my journey with regard to the research plans I made for acquiring knowledge on my research topic. This chapter includes my research design corresponding to the development of my rationale and research questions. I have explained why I chose to do qualitative research, and ethnographic methods I have applied to answer my research questions. I have included the brief details about selection of research participants and data gathering, analysis and interpretation (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2005) in this chapter. I have even talked about the ethical issues (ibid.) herewith.

Before I started my research, I collected the possible literature on indigenous knowledge, I read about the *Pariyars*, *Panchai Baja* and many other issues linked with the knowledge generation, distribution and control.

Research design helps researchers a lot in accomplishing the task successfully (Hoepfl, 1997). Thus, I constructed my research design which helped me to carry out my research plans smoothly. Marshall & Rossman (2006) opine the importance of research plans in the process of analysis and interpretation. So, I managed to stick to the plans of my study and this helped me in analyzing and interpreting my findings. Research design is the plan and structure of a study, a sort of blueprint of the procedures by which we address our research

questions and interpret the results. In the case of my study, the activities of generating and analyzing data, refocusing and revisiting my research questions and identifying and avoiding potential validity threats all went on more or less simultaneously.

In order to make my research design apt, I brought together the various components of my research. I amalgamated the purpose, conceptual context, the research questions, the methods and the validity as much as harmoniously (ibid.) I made sure that my research questions had a clear articulations to the objectives of my study (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2005) I assured that the questions were valid and relevant to the topic I was studying.

Unveiling implicit knowledge: An ethnographic way

Ethnography is a long term investigation of a group (often a culture) that is based on immersion and, optimally, participation in that group. Ethnography provides a detailed exploration of group activity and may include literature about and/or by the group. It is an approach which employs multiple methodologies to arrive at a theoretically comprehensive understanding of a group or culture. The issue for the observer is how the particulars in a given situation are interrelated. In other words, ethnography attempts to explain the web of interdependence of group behaviors and interactions.

Ethnography is 'thick description (Geertz, 1973)'. When culture is examined from this perspective, the ethnographer is faced with a series of interpretations of life, commonsense understandings, that are complex and difficult to separate from each other. The ethnographer's goals are to share in the meanings that the cultural participants take for granted and then to depict the new understandings for the reader and for outsiders. The ethnographer is not concerned with the representations but wants to promote a phenomenon of 'shared meaning'(LeCompte & Schensul, 1999).

When used as a method, ethnography in general refers to fieldwork (alternatively, participant-observation) conducted by a single researcher who 'lives with and lives like' those who are studied, usually for a year or at times for a long period of time (Maanen, 1996).

Ethnography literally means 'a portrait of people' (Sklar, 1991). An ethnography is a written description of a particular culture - the customs, beliefs, and behavior - based on information collected through fieldwork (Harris & Johnson, 2000). This implies that, field work is a fundamental phenomenon of ethnographic research. Ethnography is also the art and science of describing a group or culture (Fetterman, 1998). The description may be of a small tribal group in an exotic land or a classroom in middle-class suburbia (ibid).

However, it is not to forget that ethnographic research is not a mere outcome of a filed work. It incorporates so many other issues associated with the culture being studied. In this regard, ethnography is a social science research method. It relies heavily on up-close, personal experience and possible participation, not just observation, by researchers trained in the art of ethnography. These ethnographers often work in multidisciplinary teams (Sterk, 2003). The ethnographic focal point may include intensive language and culture learning, intensive study of a single field or domain, and a blend of historical, observational, and interview methods. Typical ethnographic research employs three kinds of data collection: interviews, observation, and documents (Hammersley, 1990). This in turn produces three kinds of data: quotations, descriptions, and excerpts of documents, resulting in one product: narrative description. This narrative often includes charts, diagrams and additional artifacts that help to tell "the story" (ibid.). Ethnographic methods can give shape to new constructs or paradigms, and new variables, for further empirical testing in the field or through traditional, quantitative social science methods. Smith (2005) expresses:

> In particular, they developed ethnographic techniques whereby the researcher becomes heavily and directly involved in the lived experiences of the group or community involved… Interactionist sociologists initially used ethnographic research strategies to find out about those aspects of social existence which could not be easily explored through survey methods and statistical evidence. (p. 31)

In this regard, as my study is more cultural and is more linked with the perceptions of the individuals, I have used ethnographic methods to unveil the indigenous knowledge of the *Pariyars*.

Rationale and research questions

Having studied the available literature about the *Panchai Baja*, I came to know that there has hardly been any research carried out in Nepal about the knowledge generation of the *Pariyars* and their indigenous approaches to knowing. Thus, I considered it worthwhile to conduct this research which would uncover the indigenous knowledge of the *Pariyars* of Nepal which is largely uncared or is invaded by the western influence in the cultural transition.

My literature review also showed me that there have been some studies about the *Pariyars*, their cultures and about the *Panchai Baja*. However none of these talk about the knowledge generation, distribution and control. These literatures showed me that they are more or less dumb to the indigenous pedagogy of the *Pariyars* which they use in their homes in teaching and learning to play the musical instruments. No study had attempted to study the perceptions of the *Pariyars* about their ways of making music. My research was an attempt to give due regards to the indigenous knowledge of the *Pariyars* and to unveil their approaches to knowledge generation which I think can be converged to the present school pedagogy.

Since the purpose of my study was to unveil the indigenous approaches to knowledge generation of the *Pariyars* and to reveal the commonalities and points of departures from the present school pedagogy, I formulated the following research questions corresponding to the objectives of my study.

The principal research question of my study was: How do the *Pariyars* of Nepal generate the knowledge regarding music and what are the indigenous approaches they use in knowledge generation?

In order to support my main research question I framed my subsidiary questions as follows:

1. How is the knowledge generated and distributed?
2. Who controls their typical knowledge and why?
3. What are the similarities and differences between the approaches to learning of the *Pariyars* at home and the present teaching approaches at school?

Selection of study location and research participants

I chose Chyangli V.D.C. of Gorkha district for my study as the *Pariyars* of this district are famous for playing the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* in many occasions. Their fame was not confined to their home district alone. Thus, this was a suitable place to study about the *Pariyars* who make their living by playing the *Panchai Baja*.

Research participants are those who provide thick descriptions regarding their perceptions on some particular cultures. Therefore, at first I selected four families in which at least one member played the *Panchai Baja* from the group of ten members available in the village. I chose the families purposively as it was hard to find the *Pariyars* families living on

their *Panchai Baja* these days. As being the vital musical instruments in the *Panchai* and *Naumati Baja*, I gave priority to those who could play *Sahanai* and *Dholaki*. I made the selection of the participants after reaching the study location and only after having the preliminary talk i.e. after being sure that they could provide me the thick descriptions as my study demanded. Having chosen a person as an informant it was easier for me to trace to the rest of others as my research participants.

Data gathering

Data gathering in ethnography was not as easy as I had thought of. I had to undergo a very formidable phase to explore their real versions on the approaches to knowledge generation. At first I talked to the research participant I had chosen for my study which later opened up so many issues regarding the *Panchai Baja*. For instance, after talking to one of my research participants only I came to know that there was a group of non-*Pariyars* in Tanahun district who played the *Panchai Baja* in many occasions just like the *Pariyars*. I had made interview protocols and participants' observation checklist to ease my data gathering. I formulated the protocols and checklist considering the purpose of the study and was sure they would help me answer my research questions. I not only talked with my research participants but also with all the members of the families and all those who, in one way or the other linked with my study. I had my friend record all my conversation with the research participants in a video camera and other activities as well.

Though I had made a schedule for data gathering, it was largely ineffective as I had to work as per the wishes of my research participants. I followed them wherever possible. I even traced their children's school, visited it, talked to the head master, teachers and gathered information about their children's achievements in academic field. I would write field log, field jottings and field diaries every day. I remained there until I felt my data gathering was

sufficient. I would have lunch with them, I would accompany them during dinner and other meals, I was there in all the possible moments of their lives which contributed so much to my data gathering. I was almost a part of their families, so it was not so difficult to talk with them in any issue.

Process of data analysis

Data analysis process, I think, was more hectic than data gathering. It required much patience and dedication despite my ever moving habit. In preparing to analyze my data, I read and scrutinized the transcripts of my interviews after converting them to the compact discs so as to seek for the meanings of the interviews (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). I paid due attention to what the research participants said and I paid much attention in which situations they said so as such situations play a vital role in giving meaning to their voices (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). After observing the data, I linked with many possible theories to interpret them. I triangulated the data, triangulated the theoretical closures and gave meaning to my findings. In this process, I tried to produce the accurate descriptions of the contents.

Interpretation involved attaching meaning and significance to the analysis, explaining descriptive patterns, and looking for relationships and linkages among descriptive dimensions.

Credibility issues

Researchers need to record all the interviews very carefully and transcribe them to prevent any invalid interpretations (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). I did the same during this study. I did not impose my own meaning to the data I gathered rather listened to my research participants and gave meaning as they would love to. I not only triangulated the views of my research participants, I triangulated their views with the views of people who were almost all

the time together in their community. I did this to avoid biases. Incase of some controversial versions, I listened to those who knew much about the *Panchai Baja* but were non-*Pariyars*. I did try my best to translate their descriptions so that the statements would give the meaning what they intended.

I was very sincere in data gathering, data processing, analysis and interpretation and left no stone unturned to give the right meaning of the data I gathered.

Having been the qualitative work, it is more descriptive and there is nothing statistically presented. In the process of data analysis and interpretations I tried to triangulate the findings with possible theoretical closures.

Ethical considerations

Since ethnographic research takes place among real human beings, there are a number of special ethical concerns to be aware of before beginning. Researchers must make their research goals clear to the members of the community where they undertake their research and gain the informed consent of their consultants to the research beforehand (Speziale & Carpenter, 2006). It is also important to learn whether the group would prefer to be named in the written report of the research or given a pseudonym and to offer the results of the research if informants would like to read it. Most of all, researchers must be sure that the research does not harm or exploit those among whom the research is done. As a qualitative researcher, being ethical meant that I had to be constantly in touch with my own values regarding trust, confidentiality, harm, deception and consent while considering the overall welfare of my research participants. I explained the objectives of my study, got the informed consent beforehand, talked to them that this research would bring nothing immediate worth in their lives. I explained them that the research was for the academic purpose and told them that I

would pay them as per my capacity. I made sure my research would not harm or exploit my research participants. Before I left the study location, I paid them for their contributions to my research.

Terminologies Contextualized

In this study the use of some terminologies are used in broader perspective. Whenever I mention about knowledge generation, my intention is to see the (re-)production of the cultural knowledge of the *Pariyars* about the *Panchai Baja* and the activities carried out for the continuity and preservation of this traditional culture. This does not necessarily mean to create something new all the time. The distribution of the knowledge means the whole transformation process and control of the knowledge refers to the authority holding this cultural capital.

Chapter IV

Uncovering Knowledge: An Indigenous Way

Knowledge is a strategic resource (Freeman, 2001). The success of humankind is going to largely depend on gathering, analysing, storing, sharing and harnessing what other members of society know as well as drawing upon codified and documented knowledge. The process of organizing and leveraging knowledge embedded in people's experiences, competencies, talents, ideas, practices, intuitions, skills, wisdom and capabilities, in addition to documented and codified sources, has been characterized as knowledge management. The central focus of knowledge management is sharing what people know (Todd, 1999). The fact that indigenous people also hold a wealth of knowledge and experience that represents a significant resource in the sustainable development of society is slowly dawning.

Knowledge is generated in many ways. There is no specific pattern to be followed while generating knowledge. Many educational institutions follow the western approaches to generate and transform knowledge. However, there are many indigenous approaches to knowledge generation in the world. It is apparent that people from different ethnic communities and cultures do have their own specific ways to produce knowledge. Most of the indigenous knowledge generation approaches share the common phenomena despite the different geographical variations and different cultural patterns; they are: observation, imitation and participation (Vygotsky, 1978; Rogoff, 2003). No formal classes are managed, there is not a fixed place to learn and to teach. The seniors teach the juniors voluntarily if they wish to learn any indigenous knowledge that exists in the society.

I found that there is no formal class managed for sharing the knowledge of the *Pariyars*. However, the knowledge has been transformed from one generation to the next

generation since long. This culture is still the same among those who make their living by playing the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* during many occasions in and around their district. Nevertheless, I also came to know that the new generation is very reluctant about learning to play the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* due to various reasons. Almost all the research participants I talked with had not taken any formal music classes let alone about knowing the basics of the music like *sa re ga ma*. They all agreed that learning is possible through observation, imitation and practice. Most importantly learning occurs in a group and those who already know to play the musical instruments teach those who are new or the beginners in this field.

> Regarding the knowledge use and its transformation Boggs (1992) opines:
>
> Many discussions of social knowledge use or of knowledge transfer begin with an implicit premise that social knowledge use involves two parties: knowledge producers (social scientists), and knowledge users (e.g., policymakers or decision makers). This seems so logical and obvious that we tend not to consider it. There is, however, an anomaly in such an approach when our focus is on the use of social knowledge. Social knowledge is not only created by people and used by people, it is also about people. And the people the knowledge is about are also the people its use; targets and affects. Yet framing knowledge use as merely a two-way exchange fails to represent these same people as persons, as social actors. (p. 29)

Indigenous knowledge is dynamic, the result of a continuous process of experimentation, innovation, and adaptation (UNESCO, 2007). It has the capacity to blend with knowledge based on science and technology, and should therefore be considered complementary to scientific and technological efforts to solve problems in social and economic development. Indigenous knowledge has the disadvantage of not having been

captured and stored in a systematic way. The main reason for this constraint is that it is handed down orally from generation to generation. This creates an implicit danger that indigenous knowledge may be extinct. The *Pariyars* knowledge regarding the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* is an indigenous knowledge as it is generated within the communities. There is no formal class being taken or given for the same. As mentioned earlier it is not systematically documented and it is the basis for survival strategies of the *Pariyars*. The knowledge of the *Pariyars* is dynamic and based on innovation, adaptation and experimentation.

Thus, indigenous knowledge generation is very different from the western ways of knowledge production.

Learning a Culture: Observing, Imitating, and Participating

Most fieldwork in anthropology—indeed most social science research—relies primarily on informants' verbal descriptions or explanations. Yet research on children around the world shows that adults hardly ever tell children how to do anything or explain anything to them as they are naturally curious about their environment and culture and would benefit from explorations from an early age (Teaero, 2002). Children typically learn their cultures by observation, imitation, and participation. People acquire most of their culture by observing and participating. This participation is often based primarily on imitation of observed practices that people acquire and know motorically, as bodily skills (Rogoff, 2003). These kinds of competence can rarely be translated into articulate verbal concepts. Informants pressed to explain practices that they themselves learned by observation, imitation, and participation generally have to make up concepts that have very vague, often imaginary relations with the manner in which the informants themselves actually acquired or generate the actions in question.

During my research, I found that the children of the *Pariyars* who were best known for their music, basically the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*, also adopted the same process in learning: observation, imitation and participation. However, I found that the seniors who were expert in playing these musical instruments told the children how to play and help them whenever necessary.

The children learn this culture by observing the seniors in many occasions. This was possible because the children always accompanied their seniors. Then they got into participating in minor roles just starting with easier instruments to play like *Damaha* and Jhyali, and eventually carrying them out with others. These children evidently encode, think about, and reproduce their tradition and/or culture. This is how they reproduce the relevant skilled practices (Vygotsky, 1978).

Imitation

I realized that most of the cultural issues are transformed or distributed through imitation. It is one of the prominent factors in disseminating or generating any local knowledge. In this same regard Fortes (1970) opines regarding a play:

> In his play the child rehearses his interests, skills, and obligations, and makes experiments in social living without having to pay the penalty for mistakes. Hence there is always a phase of play in the evolution of any schema preceding its full emergence into practical life. Play, therefore, is often mimetic in content, and expresses the child's identifications. But the Tale child's play mimesis is never simply mechanical reproduction; it is always imaginative construction based on the themes of adult life and of the life of slightly older children. He or she adopts natural objects and other materials, often with great ingenuity, which never occur in the adult activities copied,

> and rearranges adult functions to fit the specifically logical and affective configurations of play. (pp.58–59)

This equally applies to the children of the *Pariyars*. They learn to play the musical instruments by imitating their seniors. While doing so, they commit many mistakes but they are not punished for their mistakes the way the children get the punishments for their mistakes in school. Durga Bahadur Pariyar of Chyangli Village Development Committee, Birauta, of Gorkha district, one of my research participants, has the same viewpoint about the transformation of the knowledge who has been playing the *Panchai Baja* for 12 years now.

> This culture is here since long. I learnt to play these instruments with the help of my father and other seniors. Practice today, tomorrow and the day after… this is how I learnt, I imitated my father and he, at times, told me to do this way or that.

The people who I talked to agreed that learning occurs mostly by imitating those are already experts in this field. Though there is some kind of guidance required in this process. They (all the *Pariyars*) give high importance to the imitation in distributing this traditional knowledge. Prem Bahadur Pariyar, who is also my research participant, agrees with this process of knowledge dissemination. In his words:

> If my father plays any musical instrument, when I am not at home, my siblings basically brothers try to copy him, though they might not be able to play it nicely in the beginning,… they go on doing so even if they fail many times…

Lal Bahadur Pariyar who is responsible for managing his family survives on playing the Sahanai. He has started playing this instrument since he was 13 and has been playing for about 34 years now. He agrees with the idea of Fortes and gives due regard to imitation in learning. He says:

> I learnt to play the Sahanai from my grandfather, Dharme Katuwal, he was an expert. Other *Pariyars* also imitated my grandfather in playing the Sahanai. However, people told me and even tell me now that I was better than others and I think, I am.

This shows that imitation is one of the major ways of knowledge generation and distribution if it is about producing any indigenous knowledge including the *Panchai Baja* playing.

Observation and participation

When it comes about learning, Bandura's social cognitive theory comes forth as it is essential to understand how the knowledge is generated in the society. In later writings, Bandura (1986) relabeled his approach as social cognitive theory in recognition of the more comprehensive nature of his theory than what was traditionally viewed as learning at that time. Bandura explains his rationale for this shift in terminology in his book, *Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory*. In his book he says,

> The theoretical approach presented in this volume is usually designated as social learning theory. However, the scope of this approach has always been much broader than its descriptive label, which is becoming increasingly ill-fitting as various aspects of the theory are further developed. From the outset, it encompassed psychosocial phenomena, such as motivational and self-regulatory mechanisms, that extend beyond issues of learning. Moreover, many readers construe learning theory as a conditioning model of response acquisition, whereas within this theoretical framework, learning is conceptualized mainly as knowledge acquisition through cognitive processing of information. The labeling problem is further compounded because several theories with dissimilar postulates . . . bear the social learning label. In the interests of more

> fitting and separate labeling, the theoretical approach of this book is designated as *social cognitive theory*. (p. xii)

The above quotation reiterated that learning takes place through observation and participation. For this, Banduara (ibid.) presents some observational learning variables. According to him, observational or social learning is governed by four component processes, which results in a person translating a modeled event into performance that is matched with the model. A model can be either an actual person or symbolic, such as a book, television or film character, a picture, a demonstration, or a set of instructions. These four processes—attention, retention, behavior production, and motivation—are discussed below (Hergenhahn & Olson, 1997).

Attention. In order for people to learn from observation, they must first attend to the important components of the behavior that is being modeled. Attention is influenced by a number of factors including the person's sensory capacities, past reinforcements, the attributes of the modeled activities or the models themselves (e.g., their attractiveness or status), and the nature of the interactions between individuals. Going through the ways of generating knowledge of the *Pariyars* I found that the children attended the ceremonies where they got to observe their seniors playing the musical instruments. At times, they were given chances to play these instruments in such occasions which helps them to execute the knowledge they had gained through observation.

Retention. For the information gained from observation to be beneficial, people must be able to remember the modeled behavior. Therefore, people must represent the response patterns in memory in symbolic form—either imaginally or verbally. Imaginally stored symbols are pictures or mental images of past experiences, whereas verbal symbols capture the complexities of behavior in words. Bandura notes that conceptual representations often

comprise both images and verbal symbols. In addition, once the information is stored symbolically, delayed modeling is possible as this information can be retrieved covertly, rehearsed, and strengthened some time after the observational learning has occurred. I found that the *Pariyars* also followed the same principle of retention aforementioned.

Behavior production. These processes involve translating the observational learning into performance. Assuming that individuals have the physical capabilities to respond appropriately, they compare their actions to the symbols retained from a modeling experience and undergo a rehearsal process whereby they gradually adjust their behavior based on self-observation and self-correction until an acceptable match with the model is achieved. In relating it to the *Pariyars*' approach to generating knowledge I knew that the observational learning acquired by them were translated into performance. They had to go through many rehearsal processes for the desired performance.

Motivation. Motivational processes influence the observational learning experience in that people are more likely to adopt the modeled behavior if this behavior is seen as likely to result in positive outcomes. Reinforcement creates an expectation in observers that if they act similarly to a model whom they have observed receiving reinforcement, they will be reinforced as well. In addition, reinforcement provides an incentive or motive for translating learning into behavior. Bandura distinguishes between learning and performance in that information that is gained through observational learning will only be acted on when there is a perceived need to do so.

I found exactly the same situation among the *Pariyars* in the process of learning. These all four processes as described by Bandura have been adopted by them in the process of playing these musical instruments. For example Shiva Pariyar who is one of my research

participants, has been playing the *Dholaki* for about 18 years has his say about how he learnt to play this instrument. In his words,

> I learnt it from my friends. I observed them while they played these instruments… I even tried at home, I had a great interest in these traditional musical instruments since my childhood, I paid much attention to learn to play the *Dholaki*…I had to undergo many rehearsals before I could play it perfectly. This has given subsistence to my family. That's why I am into it and I cannot discard it as it pays me well…

I realized that people generate knowledge when they are interested in a particular field. That motivates them in learning. Once they learn to do anything, they retain it for behavior production which brings some benefits out of it. Dil Bahadur Pariyar, 36, one of my research participants has the similar views about learning to play the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*. He says:

> There is not a particular system in learning to play these *Panchai* or *Naumati Baja*, there is no any formal class for this. Learning is possible through close observation and… one who is interested in this field can learn to play these musical instruments…observe, listen to these Bajas being played in many occasions and go on practicing…

Thus, cultural knowledge is generated in three different ways: observing, imitating and participating. Nevertheless, interest of any individual certainly plays a vital role. If a person is not interested s/he cannot pay attention to learning and retention becomes weaker and this does not help in behavior production. But if a person is interested in learning any culture, attention, retention, motivation help him/her for behavior production which brings many positive changes in his or her life.

Chapter V

Distribution and Control of Knowledge: The Cultural Reproduction

The most common form of cultural reproduction is enculturation (Loflin & Winogrond, 1976), which anthropologists describe as a partly conscious and partly unconscious learning experience whereby the older generation invites, induces, and compels the younger generation to adopt traditional ways of thinking and behaving.

Cultural reproduction means, in this context, the way schools, in conjunction with other social institutions, help to perpetuate social and economic inequalities across the generations. For Bourdieu (1977), the relationship between the education system (considered as part of the political / ideological superstructure in capitalist society), and the economic infrastructure (or "base") is a dependent one.

Regarding the distribution and control of the knowledge of the *Pariyars*, I could not find an unanimous opinion. My research participants differed in their views. However, what I could uncover was that the knowledge of the *Pariyars* is distributed among their close relatives. The priority is given to the family members, other members of the community get chance only if the family members do not show interest or do not want to adopt this cultural tradition for various reasons. All my research participants told me that they were ever ready to teach to play the musical instruments to the non-*Pariyars* but I could not find the practical implementation of this. The underlying fact is that they do not want to distribute this skill and knowledge to non-*Pariyars*. There are contradictions in the opinions of the *Pariyars* and non-*Pariyars* regarding the distribution and control of this knowledge. My research participants told me that they are going to control this tradition at any cost. They are not going to give it up. They want to take great control over this culture. This is their cultural capital and they

make their living by means of playing the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*. They are all aware of the non-*Pariyars* taking up this culture which they claim they were generous enough to teach them. However, the non-*Pariyars* do not agree with this saying, they have their own say. They claim that they learnt to play the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* on their own without the direct help or support from the *Pariyars*.

Regarding the knowledge distribution and control of the *Pariyars*, Lal Bahadur Pariyar, an expert in playing the Sahanai, has his say as follows:

> …they are trying to learn from me … I am always ready to teach others to play the musical instruments, they should come to me and should be able to spare a couple hours a day for this. I want to teach them…others (non-*Pariyars*) cannot play this musical instrument (Sahanai) but they can play the flute…by observing and imitating me, some Bishwokarmas have learnt to play the Sahanai…I taught them the skills I know, they are like my brothers, I did not ask for money, it was free of cost…

The quote above shows how the knowledge is distributed. But what I basically observed was that they always give first priority to their own children to impart this cultural knowledge. Though they seem very positive about teaching this knowledge and skills to the non-*Pariyars* in words, they are much reluctant in doing so empirically which I learnt from those who do not agree with what the *Pariyars* say. They are all aware of the fact that this is their cultural capital and they do not want it to be handed over to others. Prem Bahadur Pariyar, one of my research participants speaks regarding the shift in cultural transmission this way:

> The Magar community (non-*Pariyars*) has started taking up this culture, they have bought all the required musical instruments as well; they learnt from us, they observed us while we played these instruments and practiced at home as well…

I could see some sort of sadness and dissatisfaction in them about non-*Pariyars* taking up their profession though they did not like to speak up much. I could feel their concerns that one day their profession would be snatched away by others. They are disappointed that their cultural knowledge and skills are being taken away from them. For the supremacy of knowledge, they do not forget to claim that their ways of playing the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* are better than that of the Magar community. For the same Prem Bahadur Pariyar opines:

> …they (the Magars) cannot play the instruments perfectly and clearly like ours, they are not perfect, they are still learning.

This shows that they desperately want to control this knowledge among the *Pariyars* alone. Though they seem to be very generous in words about the distribution of this knowledge and imparting the skills to non-*Pariyars*, they are not at all happy when other communities have started playing the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*.

To validate if the *Pariyars* had really taught the Magar community their culture of the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* I decided to move to Bandipur Village Development Committee of Tanahun District. There is a small village having around 150 families in a place called Gurungtar, Chhap. The observation showed that this community is self dependent in many ways. They do not depend on others rather survive on their own. This sort of culture made them take up the *Panchai Baja* to play in many occasions in their community which later got immense popularity and now they get many invitations for the same. I met

Mr. Som Bahadur Thapa who is professionally a primary teacher but has been in the field of music and culture since long. He has many medals and awards for his remarkable performances. He is committed to preserving the typical Nepali culture and art. He has a different story to tell us about how they learnt this culture of playing the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*. In his words:

> We as a group learnt on our own…by imitating others… the boys learnt to play… those who used to play the flute could easily play the Sahanai… we learnt ourselves… the *Pariyars* did not teach us. There was not any formal class or training as such… they (the *Pariyars*) did not come nor did we go to learn there… there is no difference in the melodies we create and they do… the instruments are the same and so is the melody… there is no fundamental difference.

This clearly shows that the *Pariyars* want to keep this culture confined within their community alone. The other people in the community I came across did agree with Mr. Thapa's viewpoints. The cultural monopoly or whatsoever called the cultural capital is not so easily given away by a particular community. They want to exercise this power and get benefits out of it as this is their typical culture and they do not want to lose it (Sargent, 2007). Regarding the strategies for breaking the professional monopoly on knowledge Reiff (1974) states:

> The basis of professional power is not knowledge itself but the control of knowledge. When professionals refuse to be accountable to the client or the public at large or its governmental institutions, they are refusing to surrender monopolistic control. In many instances they readily surrender control of their knowledge to a professional bureaucracy, but that is "keeping it in the family," so to speak. The professional monopoly on knowledge itself is not affected by whether it is exercised by all

> professionals acting democratically or by a professional bureaucracy… If a community wishes to reduced the power of the helping professionals it will have to break up their monopolistic control. If the institutions of professionalism-its educational systems and organizations-were compelled to share their power with society, it would inevitably result in the democratization of knowledge and a new social contract between the professionals and the society that supports them and the clients they serve. (p. 459)

Therefore, the *Pariyars* want to get hold of their cultural identity. They want to exercise it on their own. The reason of this kind of monopoly in culture is that they know how important this culture has been for them since long and this traditional culture has helped them survive on it. They want to transform this cultural capital into economic capital for their prosperity. The *Pariyars* know that if this culture is taken away from them, they will be in the crisis of their identity in terms of culture. Even they will have to work really hard for their continued existence.

I did not find any initiatives taken by the community and the state for the preservation of this traditional culture. Whatever efforts are made, they are made by the *Pariyars* themselves.

Chapter VI

Socio-economic Condition, Power Play and Access to Education

The Sudras of a Hindu society are the Dalits or oppressed, as we understand today and *Pariyars* are one of them. These are marginalized not only in the religious sphere, but in terms of political representation, economic participation or social exclusion, these people find themselves to be the most disadvantaged groups in Nepalese society. In other words, they are economically deprived, politically backward and socio-culturally hatred by the Hindu upper caste groups. The development process is demolishing their infrastructure forcing them out of their homes, depriving them of their traditional ways of life and work.

Constitutionally, however, every citizen is equal and deserves equal rights in the society. However, the letter and the spirit of the constitution is yet to be effectively implemented. The state seems incapable on its own to implement the existing legal provisions for the eradication of discrimination, economic welfare and redistribution in a decline for any economic program to have a long term and positive impact on the lives of the oppressed and the political condition thus arising not very conducive to bring about positive social changes. Given this situation, a strong civil society can play a vital role for the resolution of the existing problems of Dalits.

In Nepal, Dalits are poorer than most other social groups. While the proportion of the population below the national poverty line is 31% nationally, 47% of Dalits live below the national poverty line. Eighty-six per cent of Dalit households have an income lower than the national average. Multiple regression analysis of Nepal Living Standards Survey (NLSS) II data also found: a) per capita consumption of Dalit households is about 46% lower than that of the Brahmin and Chettri (the highest Hindu caste groups); and b) the ‘social penalty’ for

being a Dalit translates to Rs.4,853 (or US$ 67) less per capita consumption.14 Since the average national consumption per capita is Rs.15,484, this difference is significant (UNICEF, 2007).

Structural system also plays major role in cultural reproduction and social integration. Those who are at the top preserve their culture at the cost of anything. The deprived and underprivileged people have to struggle to promote and preserve their culture as they belong to a lower level in hierarchy or in a system. Ritzer (2000) expresses his thoughts about the system and structure as:

> In analyzing systems, we are attuned to interconnection of actions, as well as the functional significance of actions and their contributions to the maintenance of the system. Each of the major components of the life-world (culture, society, personality) has corresponding elements in the system. Cultural reproduction, social integration, and personality formation take place at the system level… The system has its roots in the life-world, but ultimately it comes to develop its own structural characteristics. Examples of such structures include the family, the judiciary, the state, and the economy. As thes e structures evolve, they grow more and more distant from the life-world. (p. 544)

If we talk about the *Pariyars*, most of them are landless, they do not have their own land. They mortgage the land. They make their subsistence by sewing or/and playing the *Panchai Baja* during many occasions. There are various factors responsible for the culture being encroached. Tingey (1994) expresses the impact of the economy as:

> New musical influences are not only contributors to changes in the *Panchai Baja* tradition. Economic factors too, are affecting the tradition. In the case of temple

> music, the decline of the tradition is related directly to lack of financial support… Less directly, economic factors also threaten the continued existence of the village *Panchai Baja* in some areas… There is an increasing trend sons to migrate, at least temporarily, to the big towns of the Terai and Kathmandu Valley. (pp. 238-239)

When it comes about preserving the culture of a society, it is necessary to know who holds power because power plays a vital role in every aspect of our lives. About the genealogy of power of Michel Foucault, Cronin, (1996) opines:

> The extraordinary resonance of Michel Foucault's genealogy of power is undoubtedly due to the fact that it promises to show us a way out of this predicament by challenging some of our most deeply held philosophical and empirical assumptions concerning modern social and political institutions and their history. Taking his orientation from Nietzsche's conception of genealogy, Foucault argues that modern power can no longer be understood as something invested in subjects who exercise it over others with the sanction of right or law; on the contrary, since the 19th century power has increasingly operated through impersonal mechanisms of bodily discipline that escape the consciousness and will of individual and collective social agents. Foucault's originality consists in his attempt to combine a relational analysis of power in terms of ceaseless social struggles with a theory of modernization as the emergence of a complex of disciplinary institutions which make possible the production of new forms of scientific knowledge concerning subjects. (p. 56)

In any society there are two or more groups, thus, one group exercises power whereas the other groups have to struggle. This is why power must be understood as the multiplicity of force relations (McQuillan, 2000). There are ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens etc. During my research what I could see that the *Pariyars* never got

chances to exercise power. They never had their say, be it a meeting or any other informal gathering the village. Their voices are all ignored and neglected. So, this was natural that they could not initiate any moves for the preservation of their traditional culture. Having been powerless for long, they do not have good social recognition as they cannot afford education which ultimately affects their financial condition as well. *Pariyars'* power situation reminded me of Michael Foucault and power relations.

> For Foucault power works only in a dispersive manner and that identities are not so much substantialities produced by power as simulacra that appear on the surface of a very different dynamic. Resistance, in turn, is not a force opposed to power but rather a consequence of the disjunctive nature of power relations themselves. (Widder, 2004, p. 411)

Once the people are powerless, they do not have access to education which weakens them socially and economically. When I talked to Mr. Ishwar Kumar Shrestha, the headmaster of Jeevan Jyoti Secondary School of Gorkha district, I came to know that most of the children of the *Pariyars* do not continue their studies after they finish their lower secondary education the main reason being very poor and not being able to solve the basic needs of life such as food, clothes and shelter to the families. The children have to depend on their own. The head teacher has his own version regarding the access to education. He says,

> Economy is the major reason for not going to school. They are aware of the value of education. As they are provided with the scholarship, the parents do not care whether or not the child passes the exams and goes to school… this is because there is no financial investment of the parents… there is no ownership.

The head teacher's statement was true in the analysis of the EFA mid decade report (2005) as well. These statements are from a man who is academically sound and has obtained graduation in education. His ways of interpretation is entirely subjective. From my observation I came to know that it is not their fault being poor, or being backward socially. They have to struggle hard for their survival let alone going to school and being academically sound. This is a fascinating dream. But the *Pariyars* do have their own complications in life. They come across difficulties almost everyday related to the expenditure. I talked in details with the sons of Lal Bahadur Pariyar. Though reluctant in the beginning, they opened up once I built a nice rapport with them in the later days. There is a pathetic story of the children of Lal Bahadur why they do not go to school. In Arun's words:

> I am not going to school these days as I do not have school uniform. If I go wearing casuals, they (the school administration) excuse for a couple of days only, after that they send me back home. So, I do not go to school.

Suraj also had the same kind of story who says: "I don't have slippers or shoes to wear on, so I also do not go to school". The root problem appears to be the economic status of the family. People with better economic situations tend to have higher literacy as opposed to those of lower economic status. The cause of schooling and literacy problems subsist because of low economic expectations (Hunter & Harmon, 1985). Economic instability has such a great effect on the results of literacy of teenagers. Upon entry into the labor force, high school graduates , or drop-outs, are most likely to be hired into jobs that reflect their schooling. These jobs will be hands-on skill oriented and not reading-skill oriented for those of lower literacy levels.

These children who should be going to school for making their future bright are deprived of education only because they belong to a poor family. Rather they stay at home

and learn to play the Sahanai from their father which they immensely enjoy. They even dream of being like their father. This reminds the hard and bitter fact that school and home are different in many ways. In school students need to follow the prescribed routine, pedagogy and curriculum whereas at home they are not bound to such issues, they learn things when they feel like and there is no much pressure for learning as they are self-motivated. As per my observation of the school practices and home culture of the *Pariyars*, the children do not enjoy being at school. However, they are happy at home no matter they are economically poor and have to suffer a lot.

Chapter VII

The Dichotomy of Auspiciousness and Untouchability

The term 'untouchable' or *Achhut* has been in the Nepali discourse from a very long period of time denoting those castes of *Shudras*, who are not permitted by upper castes to enter their houses, temples and other public places and to touch food or water to be used by the upper caste people. In later days mainly in last decades of 20th Century, the term *dalit* has been started to use intensively to replace the word *'Achhut'* (GEFONT, 2002). The practice of untouchability is being lesser and lesser in urban areas whereas it is still highly victimising people in rural areas.

The *Panchai Baja* or *Naumati Baja* is regarded very auspicious. That's why in many religious occasions, the *Pariyars* are invited to play these instruments. However, the *Pariyars* are still facing the discrimination on the basis of caste. Before going into the dichotomy of auspiciousness and untouchability it is essential to know what auspiciousness really means. According to Tingey (1994):

> Auspiciousness is a divine blessing – the general state of well-being, encompassing health and happiness, peace and prosperity- that Hindu householders hope to be blessed with during this life. A fundamental distinction must be made here between (im-)purity and (in-)auspiciousness. Low ranking within the case hierarchy - or relative impurity – does not preclude the well-being, health and happiness of an auspiciously blessed life. (pp.3-4)

In this way, I believe, auspiciousness has nothing to do with the caste. The discrimination is just a human made practice, created by those who exercise absolute power in the society. There cannot be anything worst than untouchability even in this age. I could

see the anger, frustration, humiliation and resentment in the *Pariyars* for being discriminated only because they belong to a so-called lower caste. The music they play is auspicious, and they are regarded as untouchable, this dichotomy has led this culture in danger. The young generation is not taking up this profession and is looking for the substitute of it only because they are not happy with the behaviors of the people in the society. They blame to the feudalism, the Brahmanism, the capitalism and many others for this discrimination. Those who put blame on this dichotomous mindset claimed that the educated ones carried this filthy tradition of untouchability. Because of this socially stigmatization I found that the *Pariyars* are utterly shattered and are always victimized because of untouchability. In this regard, one of my research participants, Dil Bahadur Pariyar of Bhanu Village Development Committee of Tanahun district exhibits his anger and frustration at the same time. He speaks up loud and clear:

> Once they follow this culture of playing the *Panchai Baja*, people are labeled as of lower level, this is the reason why the young generation does not want to follow this culture. The music is auspicious, why not the men who compose or create it? This is the result of capitalistic culture…the number one reason is Brahmanism, this is what I know and this is true…

His word Brahmanism made me interested to know more about it. This cultural hegemony, Gramsci (1971), was the main reason for nurturing this dichotomy. I now realized that his words were not many but it reminded me why the ancient culture is in the verge of extinction. There are many people to be blamed for this. But at least the *Pariyars* cannot be held responsible for the culture being in stake as even today I found almost all the villagers from this community agree that this typical Nepalese culture must be saved. Whatever name is given, be it feudalism or Brahmanism or any other, this auspicious music creation is in

stake. The reason is obvious, as many *Pariyars* agree, the cultural hegemony has been practiced since long. Prem Bahadur Pariyar has his version. He tells:

> They (Brahmins and others) love our music and culture but they discriminate us. The problem is here… when the same instruments are played by the Magar or other communities, they are not regarded as of lower caste… why only we?

Here I saw the hegemony. Hegemony, according to Gramsci (ibid.), is characterized by:

> The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; the consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. (p. 12)

The question of hegemony, however, is not merely material, it is also a politics of moral and intellectual leadership. To assert its hegemony, the ruling class must be able to defend its own corporate interests by universalizing them, by ensuring that these interests can at least apparently become the interests of the subordinate groups.

Taking the hegemonic knowledge of the Brahmin and others over the *Pariyars* I saw that Prem Bahadur Pariyar frustration is justifiable. *Pariyars* like him have seen other communities taking up the culture of the *Panchai Baja* as their professions and they are not the victims of the untouchability. But the *Pariyars* are always discriminated as untoucables. Thus, the coming generation is very reluctant to take up this profession. This also shows how culture is political (Edwards, 1999) and is embodied in the language, symbols, and beliefs of the people. To the extent that the culture shapes thought, behavior, inquiry, and morality, it is more or less hegemonic. At this point I could claim that culture that is truly sacred is totally

hegemonic. Needless to say, there are many gradations within the quality of sacredness that still allow people to speak of a hegemonic culture (Blake, 1995). This cultural politics is evident in the saying of Shiva Pariyar as well. In his words:

> My sons also play these instruments (*Naumati Baja*) but are not so good at playing… they do not want to continue this old tradition… they have started to study…maybe they have known from others…

The above statement helped me understand that cultural hegemony works like the slow poison. This slow poisoning system cannot be challenged by the voiceless people like the *Pariyars*. It is where they were seeking easy escapes adopting some other professions as the substitute of traditional culture. The social system definitively bursts out of the horizon of the lifeworld, escapes from the intuitive knowledge of everyday communicative practice, and is henceforth accessible only to the counterintuitive knowledge of the social sciences developing since the eighteenth century. I realized that this system is outside the realm of the intuitive knowledge associated with the body and traditional societies. It is instead a space in which technical discourse (ibid.) takes place. At this point I see that this system does not exist in what Durkheim termed "mechanical" societies (ibid) in the *Pariyars*' community.

Working in the Pariyar community I realized that social hierarchy in terms of caste, occupation, caste barriers and untouchability are some of the distinct features of a Hindu society found nowhere in other parts of the globe. Even more surprising is the question of untouchability and claiming of superiority within the sub-castes of Dalits itself. However, in spite of caste pollution, such stratification has served even today as a cementing force for group formation; for within the structure of the caste-oriented society individual behavior is largely regulated in terms of expected and accepted norms in which the individual is born. The primary loyalties of an individual are found towards his or her kin and caste members.

Thus, caste represents a close clustering of members at different levels. Especially in the rural areas, people are more caste-bound and remain rigid within caste boundary.

The roots of the caste system are so deep that, apart from its symbolic value, it does have functional importance in the society. There may have been changes in inter-caste or intra-caste relationships, but in its functioning, caste is an important factor as ever in maintaining social distance as well as social solidarity. Hence no date can be predicted for a comprehensive eradication of caste disparities, but due to the growing sociopolitical awareness among the educated Dalits and non-Dalits, the distance between them does need to be narrowed down to a desirable extent. The situation in this community also not has been worse than it was before with traditional caste discrimination prevailing in public places like teashops, groceries and so on disappearing. I also found that except in his or her native area the people of Dalit are solemnly identified and treated accordingly. Disclosure of caste identity is no longer demanded in public places and in educated circles.

There are many factors responsible for the decline of the tradition of the *Panchai Baja* as stated earlier untouchability is the main reason for the new generation not taking up this tradition voluntarily. Tingey (1994) opines:

> In urban settings, access to education and a heightened status consciousness amongst young *Damai* are also salient factors in the decline of the *Panchai Baja* tradition. Whilst some *Damai* choose to avoid the social stigma associated with the playing of the *Panchai Baja* instruments, conversely, others may win popularity with their peers by demonstrating an ability to play the latest film hits. (p. 241)

Her opinion shows that there the tradition of the *Panchai Baja* is declining in the status conscious Pariyar community who have access to education and those who reside

mostly in urban areas. However, the rural communities of the *Pariyars* are still trying to preserve this tradition and culture.

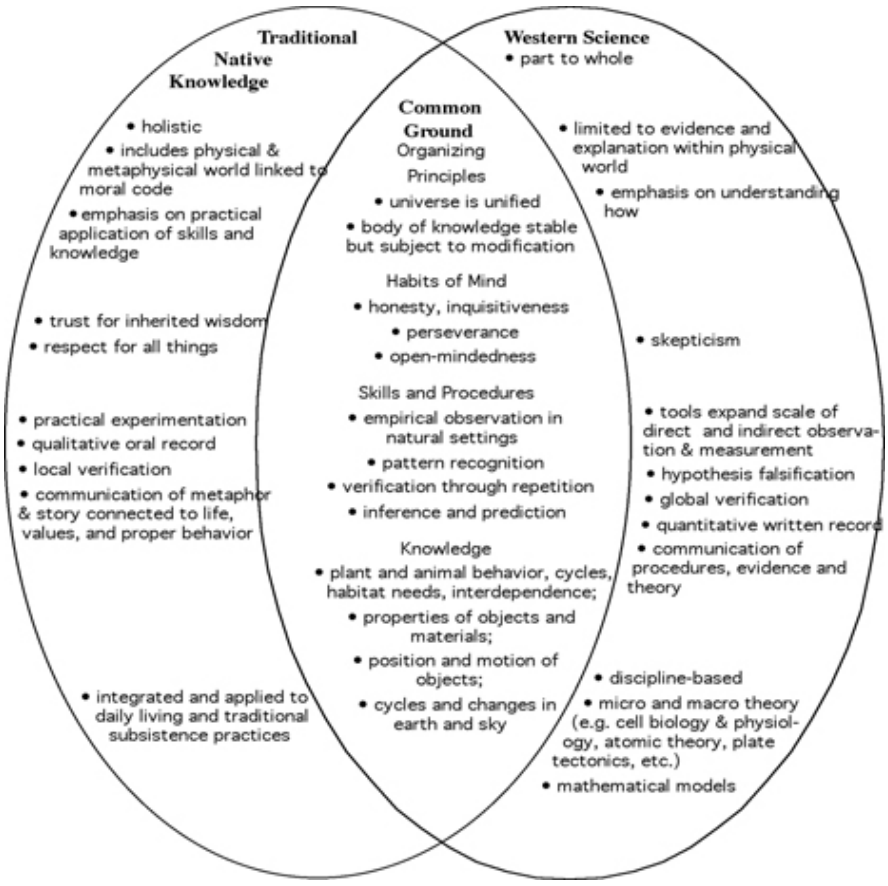
Approaches to Acquiring Indigenous Knowledge and School Pedagogy

Knowledge is produced when people make sense of their world and knowledge is based on their experience as they construct tools, methods, and approaches to cope with the situations facing them. This meaning-making notion of knowledge production leads to an understanding of power imbalances in society (Hill, 1998).

Vygotsky (1978, p. 90) in this respect maintained that "learning is a necessary and universal aspect of the process of developing culturally organized, specifically human, psychological functions." Taking his views I experienced that, indigenous knowledge generation and application are participatory, communal and experiential, and reflective of local geography. In both indigenous and scientific knowledge systems, information is organized to condense both experience and beliefs into knowledge. In western knowledge systems also this process involves the organization of individual data into abstract theoretical systems, composed of multiple components, each of which requires a specialist to be fully understood. Translation of scientific knowledge to members of the larger society is not prioritized, and through processes of self-authentication science is set apart by its practitioners from other forms of knowledge production. In indigenous knowledge systems, generation of knowledge starts with stories as the base units of knowledge; proceeds to knowledge, an integration. The following diagram illustrates the commonalities and differences between western science and indigenous knowledge.

Table 7

Indigenous knowledge and western science



Source: Richard, G. (2000). Traditional knowledge, environmental assessment, and the clash of two cultures. In S. Stephens (ed.), *Handbook for culturally responsive science curriculum*. (pp. 13-14). Fairbanks: Alaska Native Knowledge Network.

Indigenous knowledge systems like *Pariyars* treasure have been described as ecologic, holistic, relational, pluralistic, experiential, timeless, infinite, communal, oral and narrative-based (Castellano, 2000). Keeping in mind the limitations of a dichotomous framework and recognizing that there is also considerable overlap in some areas, western science has been described as reductionist, linear, objective, hierarchical, empirical, static, temporal, singular, specialized, and written (Little, 2000)). Even at this point I questioned

myself, can there be an interface between two theoretical models that seem, at first glance, to be diametrically opposed? Possibly yes, my research finding says. The compatibility between indigenous and western models of knowledge generation and transfer relies critically on the system of interactions among researchers and users that, for interface to exist, must be defined by the indigenous context in which the process is occurring.

I also reflected that indigenous knowledge could act as a powerful tool in a learning environment to teach students. But my experience in the Pariyar community says that conventional curricula and achievement tests, however, do not support students' learning based on their indigenous knowledge. I found that the prescribed school pedagogy is alien and indifferent to the local knowledge of the *Pariyars*. The same school pedagogy was used in Kathmandu for the students of affluent family and it was the same school pedagogy that was used in the remote village of Gorkha district. Their local environment and other cultural aspects are largely ignored. Here I realized that learning environments need to be adapted to help students build on their indigenous communities' knowledge and by recognizing students' culture and value systems. I also felt that educators can further this type of education by combining appropriate pedagogical techniques. What follows are various strategies that can help educators recognize indigenous knowledge that students bring with them to learning environments and use this as a stepping-stone to help them succeed academically (Srikantaiah, 2005).

While western science and education tend to emphasize compartmentalized knowledge which is often de-contextualized and taught in the detached setting of a classroom or laboratory, indigenous people have traditionally acquired their knowledge through direct experience in the natural world. For them, the particulars come to be understood in relation to the whole, and the laws are continually tested in the context of everyday survival. Here I saw

that western thought also differs from indigenous thought in its notion of competency. Reflecting the IPs and Western knowledge generation system I found that there is no predetermining conditions to learn to play the *Panchai Baja* or/and *Naumati Baja*. Those who are interested in it can learn from their seniors, there is no test conducted nor they are discouraged when they fail to learn in the initial stage. however in western terms, competency is often assessed based on predetermined ideas of what a person should know, which is then measured indirectly through various forms of objective tests. Such an approach does not address whether that person is actually capable of putting that knowledge into practice. In the traditional native sense, competency has an unequivocal relationship to survival or extinction (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005)-if you fail as a good music player of the *Panchai Baja* or *Naumati Baja*, your whole family may be in difficulty, or you need to take up some other alternatives for survival. You either have it, or you don't, and it is tested in a real-world context. This was the beauty of the *Pariyars* indigenous knowledge system.

When I talked to the children of the *Pariyars*, many of them liked the ways of learning to play the *Panchai Baja* or *Naumati Baja* as compared to going to school and learning from the teachers. Arun Pariyar a fourth grader opines:

> My father always encourages me to learn at home to play the Sahanai, I don’t get punishments for my mistakes. But at school, the teachers tell me to write on my own, by thinking, if I fail to do my homework, they punish me. So, I have no interest in studies, I want to be like my father in the future.

This shows how the boys enjoy the learning approaches of their father but they exhibit their resentment about the school pedagogy. When I lived with them, I had a great time talking to them. They were innocent and did speak the truth, whatever the question I asked I felt they genuinely spoke out the fact. I learnt that they could very easily copy or imitate

others in terms of singing songs or playing the musical instruments. I told them to follow the way I sang, they did, exactly the way I sang. Not only that, I played some beats in *Dholaki* and asked them to reproduce the beats as I did, with no time they could manage to do so. It was amazing. They learnt very easily by observing, imitating and participating. And I knew they enjoyed the learning process. To the contrary, I asked them if they could say a line from the poem they had learnt, they could not utter a single word. This shows how our school pedagogy is indifferent to the indigenous approaches to knowledge generation (Hammond & Brandt, 2007). Had the children been weak mentally or slow learners, they would not have picked the melodies of the songs and the beats of the *Dholaki* so easily and so comfortably.

Why has our curriculum and pedagogy failed to arouse interests in these children? What I got the opinions from the children that the knowledge they get school has nothing to do with the practical life. It is not applied in daily life and they do not get any return. They have to just recite, learn something by heart and pour down during exams. Our school pedagogy has given much importance to rote learning and is not converged with the knowledge of the local people. The same curriculum and pedagogy are used throughout the nation, which largely ignores the local or indigenous knowledge. This gave me many questions which still haunt my mind. Whose knowledge should I count and how and why? Are some people privileged by the knowledge I study? If so, who? If knowledge is socially produced, am I a producer or consumer? Why? If knowledge is affected by the socially constructed culture and the context from which it arose, then whose culture is being celebrated? If social knowledge is not objective, then how does that affect the way we conduct research? If objectivity is the not the only way of knowing, in what other ways can we know (Cunningham, 1993)? It seems some privileged people draft and formulate the curriculum and pedagogy but they do not care what the real need is and how the indigenous knowledge be fused with the curriculum they formulate and the pedagogy they prescribe. I

felt that the aforementioned questions need to be addressed to recognize the value of indigenous pedagogy and indigenous culture.

However, learning is a life-long process and having many indigenous groups in the country we have many methods of teaching and educating all members of our communities. As one of the members of the Gurung ethnic community I can understand that historically aboriginal literacy, learning and philosophies for life were preserved and passed along through oral tradition, kept in the memories of the elders of each community. In contemporary times television, video games and the computer often replace human interaction, resulting in the loss of intergenerational learning. In some cases there is a rupture between the generations due to language barriers. But the Euro-centric colonial systems of education have resulted in the loss of respect for aboriginal traditions and languages, and the loss of respect for our elders both from in within our communities and from outside (Eileen & Cordoba, 2005). At the same time, some of the elders are trying to rediscover their roles within our communities. They have had different and varied experiences in our contemporary context due to the historical disruption in our ways of learning.

In seeking to develop a model for lifelong education, Knowles (1973) identified the following skills for self-directed inquiry: the ability to develop and be in touch with curiosities (to engage in divergent thinking), the ability to formulate questions ... that are answerable through inquiry (to engage in convergent or inductive-deductive reasoning), the ability to identify the data required to answer the various kinds of questions, the ability to locate the most relevant and reliable sources of data and the ability to select and use the most efficient means for collecting the required data from the appropriate sources.

This reminded me that our education, the curriculum we design and the pedagogy we adopt should be corresponding to the needs of the indigenous knowledge. I, thus, realize that

the concerned bodies need to give due respect to the approaches to indigenous knowledge generation and education needs to be life long and practical. The teachers of the Pariyar community could be one of the clients to be trained and/or reoriented.

Deconstruction of Indigenous Knowledge (Knowledge Transformation into Non- Pariyars and Gender Involvement)

The traditional culture of the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* is not of the *Pariyars* alone nowadays as this culture is being taken up by many non-*Pariyars* in different parts of the country. The Brahmins of Dhanding, the Magars of Tanahun and many other communities have adopted this culture due to many reasons. I found that the most beautiful aspect of this knowledge being transformed into non-*Pariyars* is that even the females have joined the group for playing the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*. I could not find any single woman from the Pariyar community being involved in this culture. They have their own reasons and logics behind it. However, I got chance to see the women from the Magar community who actively participated in their group for playing these musical instruments at professional level.

When I talked with Shiva Pariyar, one of my research participants, he provided me with the reasons why women are not included in their group. He says:

> Most of the women don't know how to play the *Panchai Baja*, at the same time we need to go far away from home which is not convenient for the women. At times, people use bad words I mean vulgar words which would hurt them and it's not good if they listen to such things. It's the matter of security. They have to look after the household chores. They have to look after the kids as well. That's the main problem. Some of them know how to play these instruments but…

This shows that the *Pariyars* do not want the women to be in their group. What I observed and learnt that if the women are in their group, they would not get chance to drink so much and they need to be disciplined. They do not get the freedom they are exercising now. Moreover, I learnt from the people in the community that women are not included in the group because when they have menstruation cycles they are taken as impure or unholy. The *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* are played in holy occasions, if the women are included in the *Panchai Baja* group, they say the purity is lost or even the clients (mostly non-*Pariyars*) would not invite them and their subsistence would get into trouble.

However, the Magar community has its own reasons for taking up this tradition. Som Bahadur Thapa opines:

> We want to be independent in every sector. That's why we have started playing the *Panchai Baja* in many occasions. We had started thinking to play these instruments only for the members of our community during some auspicious occasions. But later, we were invited by the people all over. The reason we chose to play the *Panchai Baja* was the *Pariyars* charged around ten thousand rupees for an occasion which was not possible for many of our members to afford. So, now we play in a cheaper price for the people who cannot afford to pay much.

Nevertheless, knowledge is transformed and it is getting widened throughout the nation. There are many other communities who have taken up this tradition lately.

Chapter VIII

Discussion and Reflections: The Crosscutting Thoughts

During the analysis of data, I tried to triangulate my data to give meaning to what they basically mean. I even tried to undertake the triangulation of the possible theories along with the empirical experiences I had gathered from my research participants. Now, I present some valid discussions on how knowledge is produced and how it is linked with the cultural reproduction, the relationship between cultural capital and its influences in distribution and control of the knowledge. Now I present the exclusive ways or approaches to knowledge generation among the *Pariyars* and their relevance to the indigenous knowledge.

As many of my research participants agree that there is no basic formal or systematic way for the knowledge production or generation among the *Pariyars*, it is largely produced on its own ways. They are not much aware of the approaches they use in the process of knowledge generation. This is similar to enculturation (Loflin & Winogrond, 1976). That is to say, cultural reproduction is enculturation of a particular culture; a partly conscious and partly unconscious learning experience whereby the older generation invites, induces, and compels the younger generation to adopt traditional ways of thinking and behaving.

My research participants did agree with this view of enculturation in cultural reproduction. Prem Bahadur Pariyar has his say:

> I knew about *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* since I was a kid. What I know is this culture is transmitted from older generation to the younger ones. This is our identity which is being taken up unquestionably since long and it is our duty to carry on in the days to come no matter what happens in the future. At any cost we are going to save it.

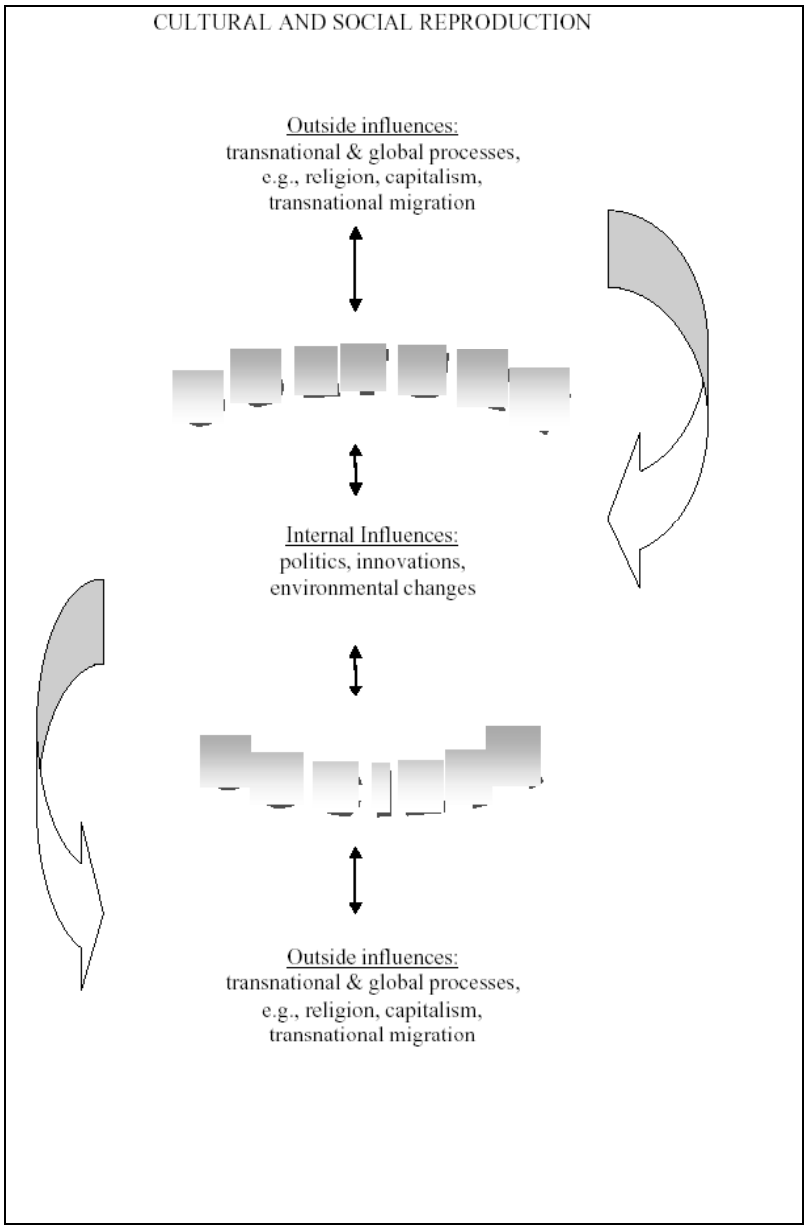
Many changes can be observed in this culture in course of time. However, the *Pariyars* are transmitting this knowledge from one generation to the next as it is unquestionably being followed the way Prem Bahadur Pariyar expresses his view. This mostly corresponds to the Bourdieu's cultural reproduction. However, there are people who believe that culture cannot be transmitted exactly to the younger generations.

Contemporary anthropological theory conceptualizes culture and change differently. For them, culture is still the system of meanings that people construct to order to their world, and the material productions and social relationship that are part of that cultural world. However, I realized from this study that cultural reproduction is not cloning. One generation does not transmit a culture in perfect formation to the next generation because the individuals in the next generation are subject to flows of information from many directions at once: from parents, peers, teachers (formal and informal), and the many other interests and institutions in the society and beyond. Therefore, reproduction is never complete; cultural systems are not static. Cultures on the other hand are dynamic and subject to historical processes, even though culture change is constrained by preexisting cultural understandings and social structures, but these too are subject to change (Chavez, 2006).

Cultural reproduction is also influenced by various aspects. This can be represented in a diagram (ibid.) in this way.

Table 8

Cultural and social reproduction



Source: Chavez, L. R. (2006). Culture change and cultural reproduction: Lessons from research on transnational migration. In J. Stockard & G. Spindler (Eds.). *Globalization and change in fifteen cultures: Born in one world and living in another.* Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth.

As the aforementioned diagram speaks up, there are various aspects affecting cultural reproduction. A culture gets changed, sometimes gets enhanced and sometimes gets

deteriorated. It depends so much on the external and internal influences in the culture. One of my research participants, Durga Bahadur Pariyar, agrees on this view as he feels the encroachment of western culture, here "Band Baja", in this traditional culture of the *Pariyars*. He expresses his views this way:

> The situation of the *Panchai Baja* these days is not so good as the urban elites do not invite us in many cultural rituals. This is because there is a great influence of the Band Baja in the nearby urban areas like Dumre, Damauli, and Aabu Khaireni. Thus, our culture is lagging behind as compared to the situation in the past.

Nevertheless, cultural reproduction is taking place and the *Pariyars* are transmitting this culture to the younger generation and learning takes place in the community by means of observation, imitation and participation as explained in the previous chapter.

Here I see the concept of cultural capital has been important in helping us understand why social class influences school success (Bourdieu, 1977). I also feel that social and cultural capital of the *Pariyars* are affected by each other and by the resources of economic, physical, technological or informational, and human capital (Bourdieu & Coleman, 1991). There are differences in cultural practices and knowledge between the *Pariyars* and the non-*Pariyars* in the society. The cultural capital of the *Pariyars* is mainly ignored by those who exercise absolute power in the society, be it in the school management or whatsoever.

The concepts of social and cultural capital also explain how inequality is reproduced in the Pariyar community's schools. There, the high-status cultural practices and knowledge, and access to these through elite social networks, become the indications through which success is recognized and rewarded. However, it is in the dynamics of negotiating social and

cultural capital that processes of social reproduction can potentially be upset and derailed. (Monkman, Ronald & Theramene, 2005, p. 4)

I observed that the children of the *Pariyars* did not enjoy going to school as their cultural practices are not incorporated in the school curriculum and the techniques in teaching learning are mostly theory based and the teachers adopt, almost all the time, the lecture method in the classroom. They are happy being at home and learning their own culture from their seniors. They do not need to feel isolate or ignored at home whereas at school they are lonely among friends and teachers. Their voices are unheard, even if they are heard, they are not paid attention to. Their voices should be heard and their ways can be well converged into school pedagogy as Darrida (1996) says that the decentered voices should be made in the center. In other words, the *Pariyars* want to have good control over their culture and want to disseminate it among them. They know how important their culture is for their survival.

I realized that indigenous knowledge is dynamic, the result of a continuous process of experimentation, innovation, and adaptation. The exclusive indigenous ways of the knowledge production of the *Pariyars* I found were close observation, imitation and participation which Bandura (1986) expresses as attention, retention, behavior production and motivation. This made me aware that indigenous knowledge is generated from stories, songs and dance and any other cultural artifacts. It is accessed by participation in ceremonies; oral transmission; art; singing; dancing (Michie & Linkson, 1999). The knowledge of the *Pariyars* also exclusive as aforementioned. This means, the knowledge is not documented not it is transmitted formally, this is transmitted orally and in the form of music which people know it as the traditional culture of *Panchai Baja* or *Naumati Baja*. This knowledge is available to those who belong to this particular caste and they feel the ownership of this knowledge.

The curriculum, pedagogical approaches used and teaching/learning assumptions held in all schools in this region were for a long time exclusively based on the cultures, worldviews and values of the colonial powers. In the climate of resource scarcity that characterize many economies in the region, globalization, and a prioritization of the supposedly more useful subjects in the west, the indigenous issues have always borne the brunt of being nudged out of center stage in the educational arena. Much of the curriculum objectives in subjects are being actively taught in schools in the region are based on subject curriculum objectives and not necessarily on behavior that appropriate to societies and competencies to perform role expectations (Islands, 1990).

There is the dominance of the western culture and the social structure of the country has not defied the encroachment to safeguard the traditional culture. So, this is obvious to have adverse effects in the cultural pattern of the indigenous community. Although invoked with the intention of protecting aboriginal peoples from outside domination, the cultural-imperialism thesis paradoxically works to reinforce western cultural influence by taking it as a given rather than by challenging it (Sinclair, Elizabeth, & Cunningham,1996).

My stay in the community of the *Pariyars* brought some reflections in me, to my observation and understanding, policy makers in education, school leaders, teachers and parents need to be sensitized about the wisdom and values of integrating aspects of indigenous knowledge, cultures, values, beliefs and art in the school curriculum – especially in legislation and policies, curriculum, pedagogies, teacher education and training, assessment and evaluations, management and administration and resourcing of education (IOE, 2002). What I found from my research participants is that social structure and power relations do play a vital role in the ways they live and the cultural set up they work in.

Table 9

A Matrix of Research Questions and Findings

How do the *Pariyars* of Nepal generate the knowledge regarding music and what are the indigenous approaches they use in knowledge generation?	Learning takes places through close observation, imitation and participation. Inductive approaches are adopted in disseminating the knowledge to the children. Learning process includes four folds: Attention, Retention, Behavior Production and Motivation.
How is the knowledge generated and distributed?	Cultural reproduction or / and enculturation Knowledge is distributed within their own family and close relatives. Others will not get chances so easily.
Who controls their typical knowledge and why?	The *Pariyars* are the experts regarding the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja* and they have the strong control over this knowledge. The *Pariyars* want to control this knowledge because they know that it is their cultural and economical capital and they do not want to lose it.
What are the similarities and differences between the approaches to learning of the *Pariyars* at home and the present teaching approaches at school?	Seniors or/and learned ones teach the younger ones. There are hardly any similarities. Conventional curricula and achievement tests, however, did not support students' learning based on their indigenous knowledge. The prescribed school pedagogy was alien and indifferent to the local knowledge of the *Pariyars*. The same school pedagogy was used in Kathmandu for the students of affluent family and it was the same school pedagogy that was used in the remote village of Gorkha district. Their local environment and other cultural aspects were largely ignored. Students were less motivated in learning at school as compared to learning at their own homes. They didn't get punishment even if they made mistakes while learning to play the *Panchai Baja* whereas at school the case was reverse. The children would not get individual attention at school.

Chapter IX

Reflections and Implications to Education

Reflections

As I am about to give the final touch to my research work, it is essential that I need to come up with some reflections regarding the knowledge I gained and the experiences I attained during my tiring journey of my research. Firstly, I had a great insight regarding the indigenous knowledge generation approaches and their importance in the field of education.

It is still adventurous to recall the moments I spent with the Pariyar families in Gorkha district. The days were exciting and I had a lot of fun while learning, I think, this is the beauty of doing research in the area of culture. Before that when I had collected the related literature about this traditional culture, I had a tough time finding them in the libraries, book shops and surfing the possible sites in the internet. When I went to the field I had not thought of any theory which would be corresponding to my topic, however, by the time I proceeded, I could make sense of many theoretical blending when I was gathering data and I recollected the zeal to make my research a nice amalgam of theories and empirical knowledge of the field. It was not so difficult to shape the research design as I was aware of the fact that I was going to study a culture and my research topic demanded some qualitative research design and it was not surprising to adopt ethnography as my principal methodology.

At first I had thought of confining my field-work to the four families of the *Pariyars* making four of them as the principal research participants. However, when I reached the site, I had to alter my mind of limiting my study only to the four families. The more I talked to them, the more participants my study demanded. So, I managed to meet those people who helped a lot dig out the issues of the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*. When I left Kathmandu

I had not thought of meeting the non-*Pariyars*. But once I was in the middle of data gathering, I realized that my study would be lame unless I talked to the non-*Pariyars* who generously provided details that my study needed.

I had thought that once the data was gathered my job was almost finished, but I was wrong in my perception. Data processing was a hectic job but I immensely enjoyed this job and gave a nice shape to the data I had gathered. Analyzing and interpretation remained a tough job as well. Nevertheless, it was equally wonderful experience giving meaning to the words of the *Pariyars* and triangulating them with the possible theories available. It was one of the toughest job ever done, however, it was the most beautiful task I found when I accomplished it.

The moments spent within these several months of my study I cherish so much and so deep that words fail to express my pleasure of undertaking this research task specifically when I was in Gorkha with the *Pariyars*; we ate together, drank together, danced together and had a lot of fun. The last day of my stay at the field site, the *Pariyars* arranged the *Naumati Baja* and it was like a ceremony to watch. I would never forget those nice moments of my field trip. I went through many literatures which was a great journey of wisdom. Finding the resources on indigenous knowledge and associated issues was not a big deal as they were easily available in books, journals and internet. However, finding the relevant literature about the *Pariyars* was a very daunting task for me. There I could find hardly any literature documenting about the indigenous knowledge of the *Pariyars* of Nepal. Before I went to the field I basically did not have much theoretical concepts in my head. By the time, the research proceeded on, so many theories haunted my mind. I was in a deep thought what to apply and what to discard. Before going to the field, I had thought of applying Bernstein's Code Theory in my research. But when I talked to my research participants, this was not possible to be

applied anywhere in my research work. I got the immense pleasure going through the available literatures on Bourdieu. It was a difficult task initially, however, I managed to grasp so many things out of Bourdiue's concept of cultural capital and cultural reproduction. Having gone through my journey of research work, I have not been able to develop any new theory as such. Nevertheless, my observation and study shows that indigenous knowledge generation takes place inductively. Inductive ways of knowledge dissemination are used by the *Pariyars* while teaching their children in the natural setting. Mostly I agree on the points and the concepts promulgated by Bourdieu and Foucault. My experience in this research work has the similar opinion like that of Bourdieu and Foucault in many regards.

Implications

I was about to unveil the ways to knowledge generation, distribution and control of the *Pariyars* and wanted to uncover the commonalities and points of departure from school pedagogy and school practices. Thus, it is worth mentioning that from my research I can draw many implications in the field of education, cultural identity and social life. I undoubtedly reveal the areas for further studies in this field to those who want to undertake the research in this traditional culture of the *Pariyars*.

Implications for education

Most words of my research I spent on describing the importance of indigenous or local knowledge in education. Education becomes lame without converging it with the local knowledge. So, it is very important to converge western science and indigenous knowledge. Embracing literacy from a wholistic perspective requires that we understand education as a life-long process that reaffirms indigenous identities, cultures and epistemologies. Intergenerational transmission of knowledge is fundamental to this process. From our elders we learn our histories, languages, traditions, cultures, arts, medicines, sciences, and how to

survive; their stories and experiences teach us who we are, where we come from and guide us in visioning for the future. Our elders, our families and our communities remind us that indigenous knowledge is informed by a balance between body, mind, heart and spirit. Thus, learning from the indigenous people is much more than reading and writing at a formal place. In this regard, Moravcsik (1981) says:

> As is evident from the foregoing, indigenous capability, willpower, and human and material resources are indispensable in the creation of a scientific and technological infrastructure in developing countries. Thus one of the main limitations of international cooperation in science and technology is the necessity of linking up with such an indigenous potential within the country. If such potential is absent, the cooperation will fail even in the face of massive external resources. (p. 365)

The above statement and my experience with the Pariyar community imply that both developmentalists and teachers should utilize local knowledge as a part of their job. The local knowledge thus gained should be given a due respect while undertaking the development activities and adopting the classroom pedagogy.

Despite many years of research within the coexisting fields of inclusion, bilingual education, diversity and overrepresentation of minorities in special education, a cyclopic system unable to address the increasing diversity within our schools perseverates. (Fisher, 2007, p. 159). This also signifies the importance of blending local knowledge with the western science. Doane (1999) in this connection expresses his views as:

> In the process of industrialization, indigenous (local) knowledge is often devalued relative to the ’modern’knowledge and technologies that develop to serve the needs of the new commodity- generating economy. In developing countries, it is often the case

> that men and ethnic majorities gravitate toward the emerging modern sector, whereas women, ethnic minorities and others remain more on the margins of the new economy… Technology blending (combining indigenous knowledge with 'modern' knowledge and technologies) represents one means of applying and extending local knowledge. (p. 235)

Many indigenous communities are attempting to reassemble components of their traditional ways of life and learning in a contemporary context. These endeavors, although understood by the tribal community as reinvigorating old values and beliefs, are often misunderstood by the dominant society. This implies that indigenous knowledge promoters should be prepared at all levels be it the development field or teaching in the classroom or in the mass media.

Implications for culture preservation and development

It is evident that the cultures of indigenous people are in danger and they need to be preserved. However, Nepal has not been able to formulate its policies and planning as per the country's needs.

> It is known to all that Nepal has pursued centralized development planning based on the policy prescriptions of different donors. … it has destroyed the indigenous economic system, such as local knowledge and cooperative spirit that were sustainable, though not necessarily modern… At the same time the politicians of our country are advocating for the restruction of new Nepal. This effort needs the balance of already sustained local knowledge and the modern knowledge for the improved regional socio-economic conditions with the active participation of the

people so that resources will be utilized efficiently as well as equitably (Devkota, 2007, pp. 294, 312).

In the field of development also, it is felt the importance of the cultural diversity and the importance of local knowledge. Ignoring this knowledge, the borrowed western technology alone can do nothing as there lies the tension between western science and our own indigenous science. 'This tension between the local and sacred and the technoscientific universalization of knowledge has been at the core of conflicts around indigenous knowledge' (Marker, 2006, p. 491). This implies that , preservation of the traditional culture through teachers, parents, and students along with the local elites could be one of the major tasks of the country for the years to come.

Implications for the further research

There are various areas that await for the researchers to give meaning to the traditional culture of the *Pariyars*. My effort was a tiny one as I came across to many issues which can be the areas for research to those who want to unveil the knowledge of the *Pariyars* and their exclusive culture, which I felt, is still in a bulk. The following are the indicative topics for further research.

- Study about the processes of change taking place in this tradition.
- The nature of music and musical instruments .
- Socio-economic situation of the *Pariyars* and their ways of subsistence.
- The technical knowledge about the melodies, beats and rhythms of the *Panchai Baja* and *Naumati Baja*. (Ethnomusicology)
- The expectations of the musicians and the functional significance of the music.

- Cultural identity and the indigenous knowledge

Finally, having finished about a year digging out the ways of knowledge production of the *Pariyars*, I am immensely satisfied about the knowledge and experiences I attained while carrying out this research. I have learnt so much that I feel still thirsty and I wish I could go on studying about it for years. This has justified that what I knew was just a little, and there is more to explore and learn in the future. Having fused the empirical knowledge of the *Pariyars* and the associated theories, I think this is the time to halt and take a fresh breath after a long tiresome journey of almost one year. To add my happiness, Visual Dynamics and Asian Music Centre have shown great interest on making a documentary film on the *Panchai Baja* based on this thesis. This has given me an immense pleasure as I realize now that the research I conducted was worth doing. In a nutshell, I learnt how culture is linked up with subsistence and how exclusive the ways of the local people have regarding the knowledge production.

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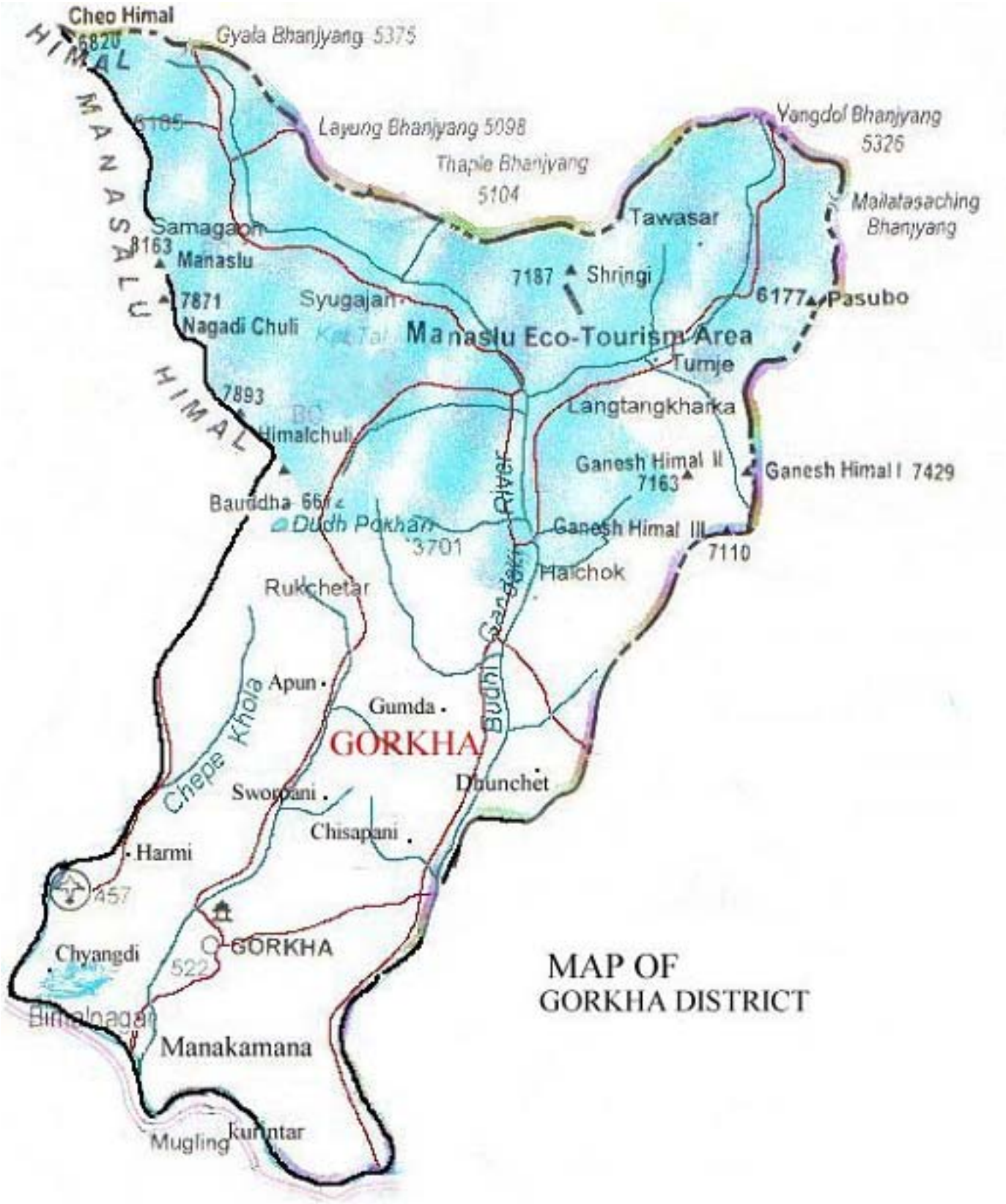
Appendix 1

A Map of Gorkha District



Appendix 2

Interview Protocols

To explore the knowledge generation, control and distribution of *Pariyars*	To compare and contrast their approaches to learning of playing musical instruments basically known as *panche bajas* and *Naumati Bajas* with the school pedagogy
How did they learn to play the musical instruments popularly known as *panche baja* and *Naumati Baja*?	How do the children of *Pariyars* learn to play musical instruments at home from their seniors at home?
Do they have any formal classes?	How are they taught at school by their teachers?
What are the approaches used in learning to play such instruments?	What are the similar methods applied to teach and learn at home and at school?
Do they have any knowledge about *sa re ga ma* or any other chords used in music?	How do the children of *Pariyars* react at the present school pedagogy?
What are the underlying meanings in different melodies they create in different situations even in the same occasion?	What are the specifically different approaches used for teaching learning at home and at school?
How do they catch the new melody they hear from the people?	What do they enjoy the most? Learning at home from the seniors to play musical instruments or learning at school?
How the knowledge is distributed to the younger generation?	How is their performance at school?
Do they teach people from other communities or of other families?	Is there anyone who dropped out from the school or and gave up learning to play

	musical instruments?
Who controls and expands this knowledge?	How are they treated by the seniors while learning at home and by the teachers at school?
And what are the reasons behind it?	How do the children treat their seniors at home and teachers at school?
How interested is the younger generation in preserving this culture?	Do they love working in groups or individually?
How are the *Pariyars* helped by other members of the community?	What are their perceptions?
Are there any other alternative to this culture?	Other issues which may come across while talking to the respondents.
What is the situation today as compared to few decades ago regarding the concept of *Naumati Baja* and *panche baja* among the communities.	

Appendix 3

Observation Checklist

Musical instruments and the way the teaching takes place in the real situation. Their life styles, culture, language and other related issues regarding knowledge generation, distribution and control. How do they treat other members from the community? Observation of practice, drilling, working in group, working individually and working professionally. Observation of the school system, classroom activities and other school activities.

Appendix 4

Profile of Research Participants

Name: Prem Pariyar

Age: 45

Address: Chyangli Village Development Committee, Biruwatar, Gorkha

Members in family: 5

Education: No formal education

Occupation: Sewing, coordination of the members of the *Panchai Baja*

Name: Lal Bahadur Pariyar

Age: 48

Address: Chyangli Village Development Committee, Gorkha

Members in family: 7

Education: No formal education

Occupation: Playing Panchai Baja (has been playing for 17 years now), sewing

Name: Arun Pariyar

Age: 12

Address: Chyangli Village Development Committee, Gorkha

Name of the School: Shree Jivan Jyoti Secondary School, Chyangli, Gorkha

Class: Three

Name: Suraj Pariyar

Age: 10

Address: Chyangli Village Development Committee, Gorkha

Name of the School: Shree Jivan Jyoti Secondary School, Chyangli, Gorkha

Class: Three

Name: Shankar Pariyar

Age: 8

Address: Chyangli Village Development Committee, Gorkha

Name of the School: Shree Jivan Jyoti Secondary School, Chyangli, Gorkha

Class: One

Name: Shiva Pariyar

Age: 39

Address: Chyangli Village Development Committee, Gorkha

Members in family: 4

Education: Literate

Occupation: Playing Panchai Baja (has been playing for 17-18 years now), sewing

Name: Dil Bahadur Pariyar

Age: 36

Address: Bhanu Village Development Committee, Tanahun

Members in family: 4

Education: Literate

Occupation: Sewing, playing Panchai Baja, working as a laborer

Name: Durga Bahadur Pariyar

Age: 30

Address: Chyangli Village Development Committee, Gorkha

Members in family: 4

Education: Literate

Occupation: Playing Panchai Baja, working as a laborer

Name: Ishwar Kumar Shrestha

Age: 40

Address: Chyangli Village Development Committee, Gorkha

Education: B. Ed.

Profession: Head Teacher of Jivan Jyoti Secondary School, Chyangli, Gorkha

Number of students in the school: 918

Number of teachers: 18 (including two female teachers)

Distribution of students: 85 % Janajati, 5 – 8 % Dalit and the rest others

Name: Som Bahadur Thapa Magar

Age: 47

Address: Bandipur Village Development Committee, Chhap, Tanahun

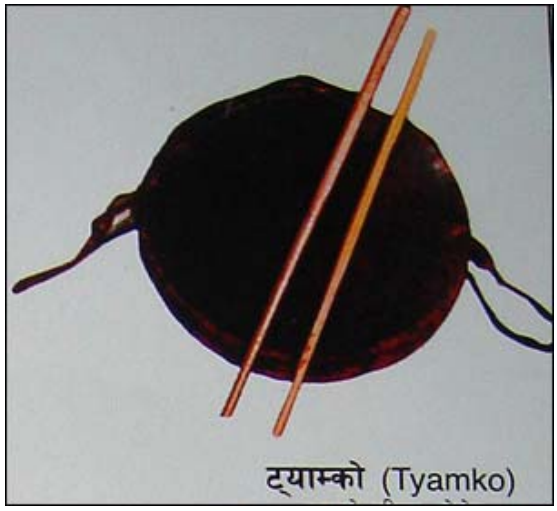
Members in family: 9

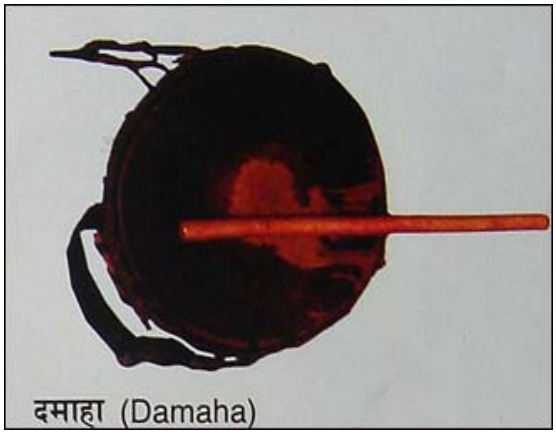
Education: S. L. C

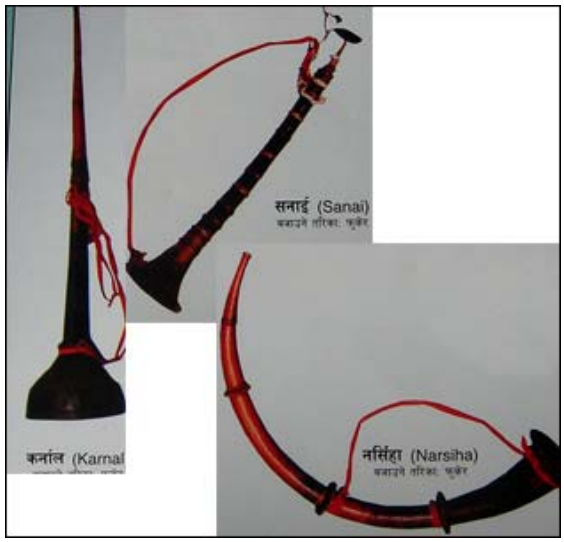
Profession: Teacher, social worker, coordination of the Panchai / Naumati Baja among non-Dalits

Appendix 5

Images of Panchai / Naumati Baja







Source: K.C., B. (2006). Panche Baja plays tunes of rural Nepal: Traditional music from slowly disappearing. *Ohmy News.* Retrieved November 4, 2007 from http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?menu=c10400&no=274041&rel_no=1

Appendix 6

Images from the field

Images from the field

Images from the field


Time spent with Prem Bahadur Pariyar and his family


Suraj Pariyar and Arun Pariyar


Getting ready to create music


J. B. Pradhan showing them their recorded views