

ELITES TO PAUPERS: TURNING POINTS IN EDUCATION

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## Abstract

In the name of *Durbar School* (DS), the first modern school was established by Jung Bahadur Rana in 1854 A.D. in Kathmandu. In the beginning, only elites were allowed to study in DS, but in the course of time, it has witnessed turning points, and now the same school with the name- *Bhanu Madhyamik Bidhayalaya* is still running at the west side of *Rani Pokhari*. Unlike in the past, now children of people living in very marginalized situation i.e. paupers are studying in DS with a hope of success in the future. While observing these contexts - 'Turning Points in Education' as they are reflected in the case study of DS. I started this study, in order to understand how these turning points in education and the people who are living in very marginalized situation interplay with each other and again the situation is turning to miss the points of social justice and equal opportunities. Hence, this study shed light on diverse experiences of and responses to schooling as seen from the view of actors in students, teachers, parents and footpath *pasale* in and around DS.

Following the brief discussion of local cosmology of schooling, the study turns to the elite formation in Modern Nepal and making elites linkages with DS, which was the primary research unit. Information was then gathered, mainly based on the qualitative design of research, by using questionnaire based survey form, FGD, individual interview, life stories, NGD, participant observation, and I took this study as a mosaic of learning, a pattern produced by text posing events in the history of Nepal and making their linkages with the present context of DS in Kathmandu. While

making such an exploration superunknowns and empirical heuristics in educational research are also considered.

It is apparent that turning points have occurred in education in Nepal and these turning points also sneaked up on the paupers life and taking schooling as a means for their prosperous future life. But in the school context, there are many turning points including missed turning points which could be witnessed and must be retraced back. Beyond these, the power of education and knowledge of English is primarily underpinning in Nepali school. In this respect, this study throws light on the 'Turning Points in Education' as a new discourse in Nepal.

Further, this study explores on the multiple aspects of turning points around the issue of paupers schooling. The dynamic interplay between *Durbar School*, inner-city context and pauper's subjective experiences have been in the foreground, empirically and analytically, and has motivated me to look at the 'Turning Points in Education' as a new discourse. In order to establish an understanding of the turning points in education, I have used an analytical framework that builds on three major theoretical constructs. The first is the work of Bourdieu on the role of schooling in social and cultural reproduction and second, agency and structure of Anthony Giddens and cultural production of Skinner and Holland to unfold the social realities in and around DS in Kathmandu. Finally the notion of power/knowledge by Michael Foucault to understand the social facts and people's practices. Besides these I have used the notion of rebirth and *Dharma* from *Gita* to understand the serving nature of DS in the past and in the present.

This study shows that children living in other's houses as domestic workers are not only poor from economic points of view but they face multiple difficulties at

home and school. This infers that paupers have to bear double and greater burden of marginalization and stigmatization. This sort of double victimization of the paupers in Nepali society is contributing to witness missed turning points in education. First school seems to promise anticipated turning points in pauper's life but at the same time it becomes missed turning points for the paupers and school contributes to the reproduction of social inequalities. Second the discourse of education in Nepal is found ever changing in nature, slowly the trends are shifting, paupers voices are being heard in school setting. Within in these context, the agentic nature of DS and knowledgeability and capability of the students are analysed and interpreted based on the theoretical constructs; agency-structure developed by Anthony Giddens, cultural production propounded by Skinner and Holland, and 'rebirth' from *Bhagwat Gita*. Third, schooling itself being a complex process, I intend to go beyond the agency and structure, to understand turning point in education as a new discourse. So, I have applied the terms power/ knowledge developed by Foucault, as an abstract force which determines what will be known, rather than assuming that elites develop ideas and knowledge to dominate the paupers in the society. This study also reveals that children studying in DS had given more value to education specially English education. This conjuncture of power and knowledge on English education has created great difficulties. The power of education and knowledge of English is underpinning in Nepali school. Nevertheless, there are many unresolved issues and challenges in the field of education which could be understood from other theoretical and empirical understanding, with that respect this study could be challenged. However this study also turned to the current school system which requires certain readjustment and transformations in order to make useful for the paupers in Nepal.

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July 1, 2008

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 ELITES TO PAUPERS: TURNING POINTS IN EDUCATION submitted by Ishwari Prasad Regmi in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATION WITH SPECIALIZATION IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES.

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## Abbreviations and Acronyms

AD	:	Anno Domini
ASI	:	Assistant Sub Inspector
B.Ed.	:	Bachelor of Education
B.Sc.	:	Bachelor of Science
CERID	:	Research Centre for Educational Innovation and Development
D.H.S.	:	Durbar High School
DOE	:	Department of Education
DS	:	Durbar School (Palace school)
EFA	:	Education For All
FGD	:	Focus Group Discussion
FOE	:	Faculty of Education
FT	:	Female Teacher
HMG/N	:	His Majesty's Government of Nepal (Now, Government of Nepal)
I.A.	:	Intermediate of Arts
I.Sc.	:	Intermediate of Science
IGES	:	Institute for Global Environmental Strategics
INGO	:	International Non-Governmental Organization
INGOs	:	International Non-Governmental Organizations
KU	:	Kathmandu University
M.Ed.	:	Master's Degree in Education
M.Phil	:	Master of Philosophy

M.T.	:	Male Teacher
MOES	:	Ministry of Education and Sports
NBT	:	National Book Trust
NC	:	Nepali Congress
NCERT	:	National Council for Education Research and Training (India)
NESP	:	National Education System Plan
NGD	:	Natural Group Discussions
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organization
Ph.D.	:	Doctor of Philosophy
RNA	:	Royal Nepal Academy (Now Nepal Academy)
RQ	:	Research Question
SLC	:	School Leaving Certificate
SMC	:	School Management Committee
TP	:	Turning Point
TU	:	Tribhuvan University
UGC	:	University Grants Commission
UNESCO	:	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	:	United States of America
V.S./B.S.	:	Vikram Sambat/ Bikram Sambat (Nepali Calendar)
VCDP	:	Vulnerable Community Development Plan
VDC	:	Village Development Committee

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## Chapter I

### Situating the Research

In this chapter, I am going to look and understand Nepal's local cosmology of schooling, and its partial linkages with elites in Nepal. While making such an understanding, I will be just initiating the discussion, 'Turning Points in Education' as a new discourse to explore the linkages between elites and schools and paupers in Nepal. Today, elites and paupers consider schooling as an essential strategy to achieve success in life and they alike depend on schools which guide their lives, form their world views and define for them what is legitimate and what is not (Parajuli, 2002; Illich, 1972). But the elites decision have dominated the societies throughout the world, Nepal is not exception, especially in educational aspects. Elite's judgement about the best interest of society may not coincide at all with the judgement of other people such as paupers. It stands to reason that if elites have the power to determine the importance of different tasks, such as disseminating knowledge and opening schools, they are most likely to assign greatest important and hence the greater share of society's resources to the function from which they stand most to benefit. The society will therefore take shape in accordance with their special interests and their views of good life and good society (Tumin, 1999; Levy, 1966). From this we can infer that sets of people like Ranas in Nepal who by reasons of their social positions enjoyed dominant power in the context in which they operated. Here, first I look at texts and knowledges to understand the local cosmology of schooling (Levy, 1966). Then I enter into elite formation in Nepal to understand turning point discourse in education.

*Local Cosmology of Schooling: Texts and Knowledges*

Schooling began in Nepal with Indo-Aryan tradition. Because of the Indo-Aryan culture, Nepal has the same type of school as in the Indian sub-continent. The traditional attitude towards education/schooling was primarily based on faith systems prevalent in those times. In earlier days, particularly education in Nepal was highly influenced by Hindu philosophy which are found in three basic texts: the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Epics*. These writings appeared from about 1200 BC to 200 AD. These texts have great influence on Indo-Aryan culture (Ozmon & Craver, 1999; Koirala, 1994). The *Vedas* existed for centuries before they were finally written down. The *Vedas* were a group of hymns, chants and treatises of a people who called themselves ‘Aryan’<sup>1</sup>. Vedic literature involves a continuing attempt to effect a harmony between people’s material needs and their spiritual lives. The Vedic seers believed that humans are spirit not merely body or mind. Unlike other animals, we can realize our divinity because ‘God’ is with in us. We cannot see this when we are motivated by lust, anger or greed; hence these evils must be removed and the heart and mind purified (ibid).

Next, the *Upanishads* “secret teachings” were built on the *Vedas* but carried Vedic thought to a new dimension. The message of the *Upanishads* is to merge self (*Atman*) with the supreme (*Brahman*), whereby *Atman* and *Brahman* come together. The *Upanishads* promote a monistic conception of the deity. The *Brahman* is all powerful, all pervading infinite, eternal, impersonal and indescribable Absolute. *Brahman* is the only absolute reality, one must be absorbed into *Brahman* to achieve

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<sup>1</sup> The Aryans are believed to have established the Aryabarta (land of Aryans) and the Aryan civilization (Known as vedic of Hindu civilization) in the south Asian Region around 3000 B.C. (See; Awasthi, 2004)

liberation. The best way to accomplish this task is to find a teacher knower of *Brahman*. Instruction, however, is secret and to be imparted only to qualified students. The student is advised to approach humbly a spiritual teacher (*Guru*), who is well versed in vedic scriptures, as well as in knowledge of *Brahman*. (Awasthi, 2004; Samovar & Porter, 2001)

Another aspect of Hinduism is the development of laws. These laws exercised great weight in Hindu life and established codes that still influence Hindu social life. One of the great law givers of Hindu thought was *Manu*. *Manu* said to be one of the Chief authors of *Laws of Righteous Conduct*, which was probably completed within the first few centuries of the Christian era. *Manu* reiterated that place of *Brahmins* at the top of the social hierarchy. The creation of hierarchy is closely linked with the attitudes of the people. The caste hierarchy (as cited in Koirala, 1996) was first designed to ensure an individual's movement from lower strata to upper strata. There were two *Margas* (paths) for human being; namely *Pravritti Marga* and *Nivritti Marga* to ensure the individual's movement in society. Actually these paths are related with people's activities. *Pravritti* is an activity to material joy and pleasure but *Nivritti* is an eternal repose or eternal state to become *omniscient* or nothingness. It may be the reason that *Brahmins* had to follow *Nivritti Marga* and *Manu* placed *Brahmins* at the top of the social hierarchy.

Next the food habit of the people might have contributed to define their paths whether they were following *Pravritti Marga* or *Nivritti Marga*. Vegetarian food (*Satwik Bhojan*) consuming culture was established and was considered as necessary

for *Brahmins*; *Satwik* foods were considered as a means to promote truth.<sup>2</sup> *Brahmins* are people of learning, thinkers, priests, teachers, and seekers of *Brahman* and are expected to lead lives of simplicity and austerity. Beneath the *Brahmins* are the *Kshatriyas*, people of courage and energy but without the intelligence of *Brahmins*. Beneath the *Kshatriyas* are the *Vaisyas*, merchants and professionals who tend to seek wealth and power as ends in themselves. The *Sudras* are laborers and servants. Beneath the *Sudras* are the *Untouchables* people considered not much above the level of lower animals. Ultimately these divisions developed caste system and became a part of Hindu society (Ozman & Craver, 2001; Koirala, 1996). Then the education was based on the caste system, and hence, the only a few high caste people were educated, the rest were left to be educated in their extended families that were aimed to the socialization of the child.

*Manusmriti* put emphasis on the need of obeying *Guru* by minds, by words and by deeds. *Manu* established the desired stages of a human life in which the first stage, the students learn training and discipline of mind and body under a *Guru* or teacher who requires no fees. As a means of achieving the goals of Vedic Education, the Aryans introduced the *Gurukul Shiksha*.<sup>3</sup> Another reality in Hinduism is based on the fundamental assumption that the material world. The one we can touch and see, is not the only reality. Instead they hold that there are other realities that reveal the true nature of life, the mind and the spirit (see, Samovar & Porter, 2001)

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<sup>2</sup> A person who eats *Satwik* food (simple vegetarian) is a *Brahmin*; who eats *Rajashi* food (varieties of vegetarian and non vegetarian) is *Kshatriya*, who eats *Rajashi* as well as *Tamasi* food (a food or drink, that makes a person excited, e.g. meat, alcohol) is a *Vaishya*; and a person who always eats and drinks *Tamashi* food (meat and alcohol) is a *Sudra* (see, Dumont, 2002; Koirala, 1996)

<sup>3</sup> In the *Gurukul Shiksha* (Vedic Education) a pupil had to live with *Guru* and devote his/her life to learning lessons upto 25 years of age. It served higher caste people, particularly *Brahmins* and *Kshatriyas*, and aimed at the male members of society (See Awasthi, 2004).

Literature refers that there were other traditions of schooling in Nepal in Ancient times. As South Asian Society was witnessing turning points with the rise of other philosophy like Buddhism, Jainism and Islamism. Nepal was not in exception, influenced by such traditions. In earlier days, particularly during the Licchavi Period (250-878 A.D.), Kathamndu Valley clearly has a substantial body of highly skilled and professional labourers, including artisans and sculptures. Their skills were demonstrated not only within Nepal but also in other parts of the world. These skills were acquired in relatively sophisticated educational institutions perhaps modeled on the great universities of the plains at Taxila Pataliputra and Nalanda. During this period, most of the institution of higher education were Buddhist and, perhaps the Nepali institutions were Buddhist as well. But the turning point occurred in the eleventh century when the advent of the *Shankarcharya*, a pinoneer of Hindu Philosophy, Buddhist institutions were attacked and the products of their work destroyed, with wide spread book burning (Bista, 2001).

In earlier days, education consisted of learning, ritual prayer and the reading of religious texts. To be educated one had to be born into a caste where such an education was appropriate. Education was the means of acquiring practical skills. Its connection with productive activity, such as with engineering, applications disappeared and was replaced with this more narrow orientation towards ritual life. Eventually Sanskrit *pathshalas* were introduced for high caste children (ibid.). This also infers that elites (educational elites or political elites) influence society in many ways. To witness the influence of elites in society in historical and socio-cultural context one has to understand the interrelationship among school, society and elites (see, Parajuli, 2002).



*Elite Formation in Nepal: Short Historical Glimpse**Who are elites?*

Elites are the inevitable feature of any historic or modern society. They hold the power to rule the society. Literally, the best or most talented members of society (e.g. educational elites), however in sociology the term most usually refers to political elites (Jary & Jary, 2000). According to Wright Mills (1956) an American social scientist, the inner circle of power holders are elites. They composed of three loosely interlocking groups who had come to occupy the pivotal positions of power in modern society including leading politicians, Military leaders and industrialists. Similarly, G. Willain Domhoff (1967) far more directly than Mills, asserts the close ties between the upper class and the power elites. He calls upper class as a governing class which receives a disproportionate amount of countries income, owns a disproportionate amount of a country's wealth and contributes a disproportionate number of its members to the controlling institutions and key decision making groups (as cited in Marger, 2002: 127).

Based on the above mentioned literature, there is no doubt that high caste Hindu people are the innercircle of the power holders of Nepal. In society, groups of or individuals depend on other groups of people or other person to run their life. As mentioned in earlier section, typically the caste system evolved as individuals bearing specific characters in society. Specific characters signify the mental as well as physical activities. In Dumont's view (2002:259), "The *Brahmin* is spiritually or absolutely supreme, he is materially dependent; whilst the king (*Kshatriya*) is materially the master, he is spiritually subordinate". Next, in Bougle's word (as cited in Dumont, 2002; Koirala, 1996), the society is divided into a large number of

permanent groups which are at once specialized, hierarchized and separated in matter of food, marriage, education, physical contact etc in relation to each other. From the very early times, the relationships between the groups of people divided into different caste are fixed. This could be the reason that Hindu people at top hierarchy still holding power in their hands and in minds. Eventhough Kathmandu Valley itself had long been a center for Hindu devotion and pilgrimage, it was the *Gorkhali* kings who spread the faith in it's diverse forms across the Midhills of Nepal (see, Dixit & Ramachandran, 2004; Koirala, 1996). In this study I have used the terms Ambitious elites, Autocratic elites and Revolutionary elites in our local context to historicize the process of elite formation in Nepal (see, Pradhan, 2004; Jary & Jary, 2000)

#### *Ambitious elites*

It is difficult to historicize the process of elite formation in Nepal. It is certain that the making of the modern Nepal was largely by the work of ambitious *Gorkhalis*. They were ambitious in the sense that King Prithivi Narayan Shah (1732-75 A.D.) who rose from the little state of *Gorkha* and unified small principalities including Kathmandu Valley through twenty six years of wars, sieges, annexations, blockeds and assaults (Awasthi, 2004; Acharya, 2002).

According to Mashesh Chandra Regmi (1995), First Roman Maga Say-say laureate of Nepal, explored that the underlying impetus or the major turning points in territorial expansion are the relative poverty of the King and political leaders of the hill state of *Gorkha*<sup>4</sup>. This infers that the rulers from the *Gorkha* were relatively paupers. Though they were paupers in comparison with other principalities, it is

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<sup>4</sup> See, Regmi, M.C. (1995). King and Political leaders of the Gorkhali Empire. Hydrabad: Orient Longman.

because of their ambition or agency that made it possible to conquer other principalities.

During 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Nepal was completely a peasant society. Agriculture was the predominant economic activity of Kathmandu valley. Favourable climate, fertile soils and state operated irrigation system contributed to more, developed Kathmandu. Acquisition of Kathmandu made it possible for the *Gorkhali* kings to garner economic surplus and use a part of that surplus to reward the political leadership (Regmi, 1999).<sup>5</sup> The conquest of Kathmandu Valley in 1769 was not only a political and military feat, socially it heralded an era of elite formation in Modern Nepal. Political leaders of the western hills have been a significant force in the whole Nepal since that time. Later much of the efforts of the ruling class turn towards the cultivation of personal ambition, as the nobles and courtiers embarked on a regime of intrigue; a practice prevalent in Kathmandu (Stiller, 1995; Regmi, 1995). However, less than a century time this gave rise to the other form of elite-formation in Nepal, which is called autocratic elites.

#### *Autocratic elites*

In 1848, Jung Bhadur, the founder of the Rana regime, rose to the power through a bloody contest known as *Kot* massacre and established a rule of hereditary Prime Ministers. For 104 years there after, the Rana Prime Minister became the real ruler with the king relegated to a titular role and virtual captivity (Pandey, 2000). The orientation of the Ranas was towards furthering the fortunes of their family, not of the

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<sup>5</sup> See, Regmi M.C. (1999). *Thatched Huts and stucco-palaces: Peasants and landlords in 19<sup>th</sup> century Nepal*. New Delhi: Adroit Publishers

country work, combined with effective control over their administrative resources which were discreet and manageable (Bista, 2001).

During the Rana Period, the practice of *Chakari*, system was developed as a criterion for judging loyalty and reliability and was applied even to less privileged kinsmen as well as other Nepali officials.<sup>6</sup> Anyone who did not appear for *Chakar*, was immediately suspected as at least unreliable and therefore unworthy retaining job. Government employees had to perform *Chakari* to ensure job security and in order to be eligible for promotion (ibid, p. 89-94).

High lighting the term-*Afno-manchhe*, Bista (2001) as the characteristics of elites emphasizes that, it means one's inner circle of associates-which refers ones own people and to those who can be approached whenever need arises. The rise of Ranas and the development of values and personality factors as mentioned in above discussion infers that the social psychology of Nepali elites intermixed with *Chakari* and *Afno-manchhe*, really contributed to the formation of elites in each and every corner of the Nepali society. Over the past two centuries, the ruling elite in Kathmandu Valley have tried to impose their vision of social good within the framework of their understanding of Hindu society and polity (Pradhan, 2004). The great humanist Jaya Prithivi Bahadur Singh (2007) described the word 'unnatural inequality' the discrimination against weaker sections of the society by the elites. According to him oppressions, exploitations, slavery, suspicions, hatreds etc are unnatural inequalities. This sort of unnatural inequality of the autocratic elites which

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<sup>6</sup> With the Hinduism, *Chakari* is an essential concept which mean to wait upon to serve, to appease or to seek favour from the god. (See, Bista, 2001)

never allowed paupers to penetrate the walls of the inner circle of the state powers (Chitrakar, 2007)<sup>7</sup>.

Now, on the basis of this discussion, I am going to explore the linkages between autocratic elites and Durbar school in Kathamdu.

### *Elites and Durbar School*

Prior to the Rana regime (1948-1951), the geography of Nepal and her politics totally discouraged foreign visitors. Britishers, following two year war (1814-1816 AD) between Nepal and British India demanded a residency in Kathamndu but, didn't really achieve this goal until 1848. Although Nepal was never colonized, the Ranas, co-operated with British-India. The ruling Ranas were greatly impressed with the British achievements in many ways<sup>8</sup> (Skinner & Holland, 1998; Wood, 1976). The cultural, political and economic changes resulting from this foreign contact were largely confined to the Kathmandu valley, and many specifically to the Rana families, which, nevertheless constituted the power structure and thus a potential force in Nepal's future (Wood, 1976).

Jung Bahadur Rana, the founder of the Rana rule, introduced the western type of education, particularly the English system of education in Nepal, in limited scale soon after his return from Europe in 1851. Earlier there were Sanskrit schools conducted by *Brahmin* priest. Junga Bahadur Rana was highly impressed by the english education, himself tried to learn it, though he was illiterate (Maskey, 1996; Vaidya et al., 1989). Two/ three years after his return from Europe he opened a

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<sup>7</sup> See, Chitrakar, R (2007) Education for social Transformation: A shift from feudalism-elites to popular education. *Society and education*, 1 (1), 9-25.

<sup>8</sup> Ranas visited European capital, sent their youth to British schools, encouraged the youth of Nepal to join the British army, adopted many British trappings of government (Court, taxation, protocol etc) and learned English (see, Wood, 1976).

coaching class in the *Dakh Chok* of his *Thapathali Durbar* to educate his children. In the beginning, the teachers in the Jung Bahadur's family school were from England and India. The two British teachers were Rose and Canning since it was housed in the *Durbar (Thapathali Durbar)*, so it was called *Durbar School*. This shows that there remains a power with elite to influence the society. Though it was the first English school in Nepal, its aim was to teach Jung Bahadur's children only. At the time of the establishment of *Durbar School*, English was being taught in another *Durbar* also. Dhir Shamsheer, the youngest brother of Jung Bahadur who has accompanied him to Europe, too was deeply impressed by the English education (Maskey, 1996). While Jung Bahadur was imparting western education to his children in *Durbar*, the condition of education in Nepal during his time as described by Daniel Wright:

The subject of schools and colleges in Nepal may be treated as briefly as that of snakes in Ireland. There are none. Sir Jung Bahadur and some of the wealthier class have tutors, either European or *Bengali Babus*, to teach their children English; but there is no public provision for education of any sort. Every man teaches his own children, or employs the family priest or pandit for the purpose. The lower classes are simply without education of any kind whatever (ibid, p. 130).

This statement seems very suspicious because upper caste and elites in Nepal had the traditional oriental education. *Durbar School* took more than 20 years to rise from the primary school to a High School. After the death of Jung Bahadur on Feb 25<sup>th</sup>, 1877AD, his brother Ranaudip Singh became the Prime Minister of Nepal, he built a building for *Durbar School* on the North of *Rani Pokhari* first and the school was shifted to new building from the *Thapathali Durbar*. Ranaudip handed over the

complete authority of the school to his brother Dhir Shamsher, the commander in chief. It is through his effort that *Durbar School* evolved into *Durbar High School* (Pradhan, 1995; Maskey, 1996).

However, upto that time the facility of education was provided to a limited number of students. The facility of studying in *Durbar School* was confined to the children of Ranas, *Bhardars* and the businessmen (Sharma, 2003; Sharma, 1996). However the establishment of DS was undoubtedly the turning point in the history of educational development in modern Nepal. After the construction of a huge building in 1881 AD (1948 VS) on the western side of *Rani Pokhari*, again the school was shifted there where it is still running.

While referring the link between elites and *Durbar School*, it shows that elites are the school expansionist in Nepal. History referred only to those Ranas who were in powers. Generally it is said that Ranas were the propounders of modern education in Nepal. But the history never reveals about the disadvantaged and marginal peoples who had constructed so many *Durbars* for Ranas in Kathmandu including *Durbar School* (Parijaat, 2004)<sup>9</sup>.

Next, access to education and the English language is argued to define the dominant strata under Rana rule. The transit from *Gurkul* education to English education was based on the policy of the Ranas, to form the elites who may be interpreters between Ranas and Britishers, a class of persons, Ranas in blood and colour but English in taste (Awasthi, 2004; Waldrop, 2000). Later the process of elite formation in Nepal paralleled with so called democratic political set up. So, in this

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<sup>9</sup> Parijaat a well known literary figure in Nepal, who had written many stories about elites and paupers, the concept of elites and pauper is found in her Story *City Hall Ko Budha Sanga- with City Hall's Mason*, [see, Parijaat, (2004). *Sadak ra Prativa* {street and genuine}. Pulchowk: Sajha Prakashan].

study, the term Democratic elites' refers to those class of people who hold power in democratic political system.

### *Democratic elites*

The turning point occurred during the reign of the late King, Tribhuvan. Nepal witnessed a dawn of democracy in 1951 (Awasthi, 2004). That year, the people of Nepal led by the Nepali Congress (NC), supported by the King, overthrew the 104 years old Rana Family rule and ushered in democratic political order for the first time (Pandey, 2000). Encouraged by Indian Independence and the sense of change experienced every where, specially in the third world countries, authority was placed in the hands of the people most active in the campaigning against the Ranas. To make this happen, people had to sacrifice their lives. Democracy was the dream of the people in Nepal. Elites and paupers joined their hands for the change in the country (Awasthi, 2004; Bista, 1991).

New Indian Government was in favour of democracy, Indian leaders and the public gave support to the independence in Nepal. Some Nepali leaders were also involved in the "Quit India" independence movement. Several number of Political Parties were formed, representing views from the extreme left to the extreme right (Bista, 2001). Parliament was formed. The change in 1951 promised big things. King Tribhuvan promised that Nepal has now a democracy and that the country would thereafter be ruled under a constitution drafted and approved by a Constituent Assembly of elected representatives of the people. But the Constituent Assembly did not happen (Pandey, 2000). According to Pandey (2000) the lesson learnt from this period was that notwithstanding the 1951 'revolution' Nepal remained a feudal society where the change in the form of government could not bring a change in the



distribution of political power, let alone economic relation. With facing various ups and downs, in 1960, the late King Mahendra dismissed the democratic government, which was formed by the general election in 1959 (Bista, 2001).

The democratic practices were abruptly brought to an end in 1960 and the King Mahendra took over power by means of a military coup d'état in Nepal. Nepali experienced a direct rule of the King for nearly three decades (see, Chapter V). The king adopted the a nationlist model for the consolidation of his power. This was continued until the popular movement of 1990 (Awasthi, 2004). To happen the, people, under the leadership of the Nepali Congress and the united front of the various factions of the communist party rebelled against the partyless *Panchayat* system. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal (1990) was promulgated after the restoration of Democracy in 1990 AD. However various provisions were mentioned in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal but they have very little effects on Nepali people (see, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, 1990). The turning point occurred in socio-political context of Nepal, and the process of elite formation continued with respect to the people's revolution.

### *Revolutionary elites*

One of the most controversial aspects of the constitution (1990) was that the 'Hindu Kingdom' has been retained. This is obviously a concession to the forces of tradition and continuity (Pandey, 2000). Democratic culture cannot be institutionalized simply by the preaching of leaders. They must adapt this as a way of life for themselves to begin with. Historical and social biases 'us' and 'other' even after the restoration of democracy contributed to the development of revolutionary leaders (Bista, 2001; Pandey, 2000). It is well known that poverty is both a cause and

consequence of conflict, but the precise determinations in each specific case are opaque. At the root of conflict lies a complex factors, the imbalance of political, socio-economic and cultural opportunities among different identity groups, lack of democratic legitimacy and effective governance; the absence of a vibrant civil society and the absence of effective mechanism for non-violent conflict management of group interests (Upreti, 2004). This infers that the discriminatory historical legacy of the elites or ruling class was the main cause of the armed conflict that the country faced in the past.

Maoist's insurgency first started from Mid Western Region (*Rolpa, Rukum, Salyan and Jajarkot*). Since their influence has spread across the country. The main reason of expansion and growth of Maoist insurgency was that the major utilization of frustrated masses (e.g. ex-bounded labourers, unemployed youth) and poor, marginalized and underprivileged groups. The other reason was the failure of the democratic governance according to the democratic ideals. At the beginning, very few people were aware about the Maoist movement led by Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) but by late 2001, things have changed to such an extent that each and every word from top Maoist leaders attracted a tremendous amount of interest and prediction in all sections of society (Sharma, 2003, Karki & Seddan, 2003). However, the negligence of the *Dalits* and women continued under the democratic government. *Janajatis, Dalits* and women have formed the bulk of rebels for the maoist people war (Karki & Seddan, 2003). Attitudes of the elites as 'will to dominate' other produced an underdemocratic culture. This infers to the Maoist movement as a result of the leaders of the 1990 people's movement, failed to respond to the hopes of disadvantaged groups.

Similarly, Awasthi (2004) pointed out that failure to realize or failure to take actions to enhance the disadvantaged people's capability and ensure their freedom of choice have exacerbated power imbalance and has increased inequalities and poverty in the country. Further, he elaborated that in such a desperate situation give the Maoist insurgents a strong case to argue in support of their movement (Magar, quoted by Awasthi, 2004).

As elaborated above, the over all scenario of Nepal was one of growing frustrations of the people with the activities, successive elites and could not change the deeply rooted discrimination and hierarchy. It is not easy to harmonize Hindu society that deeply divided between the elites and the disadvantaged groups. The distance that exists between rich and poor, men and women, higher caste and lower caste, Nepali speaking Hindus and non-Nepali speaking Hindus and so on has institutionalized social hierarchies in the country, ultimately these hierarchies given rise to social exclusions and inequalities (Awasthi, 2004).

During the time of this study revolutionary elites have been participated in the government and constituent assembly was held in 28<sup>th</sup> Chairta, 2064 V.S. to address the needs of the people.

While observing elite formation in Nepal in shortly some turning points could be witnessed in terms of elites, education and paupers. Ambitious elites were more concerned with territorial expansion and wanted to establish a powerful state where they can rule for ever. These elites were less concerned with the educational needs of the people. In the course of time autocratic elites started concerning with modern education (namely English education) but only for their own family members. They

could not feel the necessity of education for the paupers. However some rulers from Rana descent became sensitive towards the education for masses.

After the advent of democracy in 1951, democratic elites started giving due emphasis on educational sector to develop our country. At the same time there existed polarization between elites and paupers in terms of education. Elites preferred English medium private boarding schools for their children for better future whereas paupers had to rely on manual labour to sustain their daily life including hands to mouth problems. But now the situation has been changed, even people living in a very destitute condition, want to take part in schooling. Within this context, it seems necessary to understand and create a new discourse which could help to raise the voices of the paupers in school setting. Elite formation is a continuous process, elites must be aware about the paupers children's problems at school setting. So this study turned to understand and look for a new discourse as turning points in education.

*Looking for a New Discourse: Turning Points in Education*

Turning point is a relative term to understand, as something to achieve and experience that significant changes have occurred. Originally and literally the term 'Turning point' was linked with the word 'crisis'. The etymology of 'crisis' traces the word back to its Greek origin from the root 'Krinein' - to separate, to decide to judge. The Greeks first used the word 'Krisis' in medical sense to describe the 'turning points' in a disease, and then to indicate a moment in judicial proceeding when a certain direction was taken. A *Krisis* was a critical juncture, a time of decision

(Angelis, 2005)<sup>10</sup>. The word ‘crisis’ is commonly used to denote a negative condition but the etymological meaning of crisis is some thing different from negative connotation. Actually, what feels like a crisis is, in truth, a turning point, a moment of judgment, of decisiveness, of transformation, when we have an opportunity to separate from an old reality and chart a new course. According to Reinelt (as cited in Jones, 2005: 766), a crisis is a turning point, a moment when conflict must be dealt with even if we can not resolve it; it is a tension that opens a space of indeterminacy, threatens to destabilize social structures and enables a creative uncertainty (see, Danzin & Lincoln, 2005)

Turning point is a web that we see ourselves as having a place in complex network of mutually interrelated positions, and that our individual well-being depends on the well being of the group including the least privileged. It is a sense that survival depends on helping each other out, on a sense of mutuality, not exclusion (Zandy, 2000). Turning point is a kind of discourse which describe and explore history and story of the paupers of which the country has not been included<sup>11</sup>.

So the turning point is a kind of discourse which gives priority to the voices of the marginalized people or paupers. It is a kind of tension which opens a space for marginalized people’s voices in school setting. Slowly the experiences of marginalized people are started to documenting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). According to Parajuli (2002) only by prioritizing the discourse of the poor and the marginalized

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<sup>10</sup> “Crisis” is often the word we used to describe unwelcome experience or situations that we wish were not happening. After all when asked if the word crisis defines something negative or positive, most people would answer negative (see; Angelis, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Paupers are socially, politically and economically destined people, who are very hardly participating in main stream education, with a big hope of witnessing turning point in their life (see, Chapter IV for further detail)

group of the people any contribution can be made toward assuring access to quality education for all and eventually in raising the living standard of the people (ibid, p. 6).

Tuning point is reconstructed and interpretive understanding of educational aspects of the Nepali society particularly based on the case study of historical *Durbar School* and interpretive research practice at least in this thesis. Elites and paupers are invisible to each other, the formation of knowledges and experiences of paupers or disadvantaged peoples had not been included in significant ways (Zandy, 2000). People see their own lives in terms of individual biography and personal details; if they succeed, they ascribe that success in personal worth or merit; if they fail, they see it as a personal deficiency. The structure of exclusion and disadvantage have become largely invisible to those afflicted by them (Seabrook, 2005; Parajuli, 2002)

The new view of “Education for all or “Social Justice in education” were by no means easy for the elites like Ranas, at the beginning to accept. The exploration of the society and schooling brought elites in contact with a strange and unexpected reality that seemed to defy any coherent description. Educational and social scientists from east and west struggled to grasp new reality and elites became painfully aware that their basic concepts, their language and their whole way of thinking were inadequate to describe the micro schooling phenomena (Awasthi, 2004; Capra, 1982).

The theme of the ‘Turning point’ as educational discourse has tended to arise through case study with ethnographic- sensibilities, research such as mine, which looks at the process of change at *Durbar School* in historical and socio-cultural context of Kathmandu. Linguistically, the term discourse is understood as verbal speech or communication but following Foucault’s argument (as cited in Parajuli, 2002) discourse is the space where only certain things are allowed to think, talk and

practice beyond which all other arguments are discredited. It is thus the legitimized systems or rules that control the ways of thinking, acting and practicing even ignoring and denying the existence of ideas other than the legitimized ones (see, Parajuli, 2002).

Here, turning point as educational discourse is to understand the discourse of education from historical and social perspective and to interpret the problems, aspirations experiences, struggles and strategies of the actors in DS in Kathmandu. Thus, actors oriented approach which is grounded on the everyday life experiences and understandings of children, parents, teachers, foot path *pasale* (street vendors) in and around DS. Drawing upon the concept from Foucault (as cited in Ritzer, 2000), I claim that the advent of the *Durbar School*, in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century eventually arose out of separation of the English educated from the Sanskrit educated. First, Sanskrit education was solely the property of the *Brahmins* but later it was took over by the Rana's English education. Durbar school came to be extended to elites and it adopted the normative evaluation, distinguishing between English educated elite and Sanskrit *educated elite* in Sanskrit schools. This was not the expansion of school but epistemic change as English educated.

#### *Emergence of the Study*

The emergence of the topic and this study is the manifestation of my instrumental interests in the field of education in Nepal. My own experiences of being a student of M.Phil study in T.U., my interactions with the teachers and the friends about Nepali education system. All contributed the motivation for this study. Literature showed that Nepal had experienced a dramatic expansion of schooling in the past fifty years (see Parajuli, 2002 and Koirala, 1996). As a beginner in the field of

educational research and specially interested in qualitative research methodology, I asked question myself, how this expansion of schooling is working in the field level. In this regard, Denzin & Lincoln (2005) infer that qualitative researchers seek strategies of empirical inquiry that permits them to connect lived experiences, larger social and cultural structures (see, Awasthi, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

As the study advanced, I became curious about the participation of people in school specially from the marginalized backgrounds. How do paupers perceive schooling in particular context? I have wondered whether there is a link between elites, school and paupers. Further I assumed that this is a co-created topic, co-created in the sense that I had discussed about my topic, in different levels with Professors in M.Phil study at T.U. first, Dr. Lava Deo Awasthi; my inspirator and a respected teacher advised me to search a topic and a case which remains to be worth doing in the context of Nepal. Similarly Dr. Mahesh Nath parajuli, my mentor inspired me to see the “same thing” from different perspectives to inhance the interpretive research practice in qualitative research. Prof. Bidya Nath Koirala currently working as M.Phil Coordinator in FOE in TU, inspired me to dig out multiple realities and reconstruct the topic as study advances. Like wise Prof. Mana Prasad Wagley, now, the Dean of the Faculty of Education in Kathmandu University advised me to be critic on the topic and to create a discourse which really enhances my research capability.

Again and again I met them and discussed about my topic to complete M. Phil study. Basied on the discussions with Professors, I decided ultimately to carry out a case study of *Durbar School* in Kathmandu. Still I was in a confusion, what to do about DS? I went through the literatures related to the development of education in



Nepal and at the same time on theoretical literature specially in sociology of education (See, Sharma, 2003; Parajuli, 2002 and Koirala, 1996).

Dr. Awasthi again advised me to go through *Gita*, one of the Hindu scriptures. In *Gita*, however, I have found that a reluctant warrior, Arjun in the war of *Kurukshetra* witnessed a turning point and fought against *Kurus*, the underline essence and inspiration of witnessing a ‘turning point’ was the Krishna a Demigod (Prabhupada, 2004)<sup>12</sup>.

Then I realized that the essence of ‘*Guru*’ in experiencing turning point in student life<sup>13</sup>. Without taking a turn life is impossible, so witnessing a “turning point” could be the discourse in the field of education and I decided it to apply in *Durbar School*. Gradually I became interested in turning points in Education. As the condition of historical DS in present context inspired me to carry out this study (see, previous sub section). *Durbar School* is one such example of our country which depicts an entry point to understand the development of modern education in Nepal and helps to understand turning points in education.

### *Objectives of the Study*

The principal objective was to elucidate on alternative discourses in the field of education. Specifically, I wanted to create and understand, ‘Turning Points in Education’ as a new discourse in terms of paupers schooling. Next I wanted to interpret the level of paupers involvement in schooling based on their alternative visions and aspiration. Finally to identify the possible ways through which the

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<sup>12</sup> Highly referenced epic in Hindu philosophy which explains about the war of *Mahabharat* in *Kurushetra*, the place which lies in India, now.

<sup>13</sup> *Guru* refers to the word teacher in English in narrow sense (see Awasthi, 2004 and Prabhupada, 2004)

participation of paupers in school could be encouraged. DS was selected to complete this study because it is the first modern school established by the first Rana Prime Minister. In the beginning, only Ranas were allowed to study but in the course of time, common people i.e. paupers entered into the same school in changed social context. It is now time to see, whether such institutions which were once established to serve the elites in the past had any role for social development. Besides these, I was expecting to enhance my analytic and interpretive research practice in the field of education.

### *Research Questions*

Research questions are the central part of the study (Regmi, 2001). The curiosity of initiating this research was centered on the relationship of DS with elites in historical perspective and current situation of the same school in socio-spatial context. The interest here was, how people occupy their space in school. The preliminary research questions which I took into the field were derived from my instrumental interest (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), and perceived from my experience in M.Phil study. Originally I had a plan to study the process of change in Durbar school by framing a research question: How did DS witness a turning point from a center of elites to paupers? But it became apparent that the task became more historical and more wider for the time available to me and it was decided to focus study on the present actors in and around *Durbar School* (see, Chapter III)

However, as the field work proceeded searching my interest the powerful place of social inequality in children's life in the *Durbar School* and their experience with schooling seemed the central issue to explore even without losing my instrumental interest on 'Turning Points in Education'. Then the research question

shifted into more general question: How does DS interplay with the students/ children from innercity-societal context of Kathmandu? Whether the DS has witnessed a turning point from a center of elites to paupers?

The over arching research question was further expanded in the following ways.

How do students in DS perceive schooling?

How do teachers including HT and Assistant HT respond on changing nature of DS?

Does the relationship occur between elites and paupers in terms of Durbar school? And whether it has witnessed the turning point?

Specially this study covers the issues which emerge at micro-level. It was necessary for me to cover micro-issues to understand turning point in education. Since I was looking for paupers voices, voice from persons working with marginal backgrounds specially in the context of DS in Kathmandu

### *Chapterization*

This thesis is divided into seven chapters each with subtopics. In the introductory chapter, I have introduced the some of the factors which encouraged me to look at turning points in education in the specific context of DS in Kathmandu. Based on the texts and knowledges of local cosmology of schooling and formation of elites in Modern Nepal, this chapter looks into the idea of schooling in terms of DS. Because of my instrumental interest, I introduced the concept of 'Turning Point in Education' as a new discourse in this chapter. While discussing, Turing point in education as a new discourse I also have outlined the emergence of topic and research

questions. Besides these I have outlined objectives of the study. However chapter one provided me the foundations to understand the complexity of turning points in education.

Chapter II started with basic and related literature a frame for understanding turning points in education. Basically I started with the research studies carried out by Nepali as well as foreign scholars in Nepal, specially on schooling processes at local levels. Studies have focused on the schooling as a change agent in Nepali society. Some reflections were also made in turning points in education, which were found more influential in this study. Nevertheless, paradoxes, dilemmas and crisis in schooling and Dalits were discussed in local context of schooling. Generally people take education as a means for justice and equality, it also contributes inequality and cultural reproduction. So the chapter further constructs the different theoretical standpoints to understand the turning points in education. I begin by looking cultural reproduction theory as developed by Bourdieu in order to understand the missed turning points in education or the reproductive nature of schooling. This theory does not give due recognition to the agency of the actors, so I approached the theory as Agency- Structure of Anthony Giddens. This helped me to understand phenomena of witnessing turning points in education as school also contributes cultural production of educated elites, those educated elites challenge the structure and structure starts to witness turning points. Beyond these, I have applied the concept of power/knowledge developed by Foucault to understand turning points in education. With the help of this concept, I have tried to link the power of education and knowledge of English is underpinning in school system and sneaked on people's everyday life. At last I have drawn the concept of 'rebirth' from *Gita* to understand the *Dharma* or serving nature of DS.

Chapter III deals with the methodological aspects of this study. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of qualitative research design, including the concept of super unknowns and empirical heuristics, acknowledging Durbar school as a case in this study and case study as research strategy. To understand turning points in education in grass-root level, I had chosen DS, beside this, I have chosen Turning Point (TP) school to make my understanding more clear, since the results of the trial FGD and NGD in T.P. School were very insightful, at the same time life stories of the students were also found useful and it was decided to include them in analysis and interpretation<sup>14</sup>. This chapter also illustrates the processes of data analysis and interpretation, through my position in the field. (see, Chapter III)

In chapter IV I have tried to understand the missed turning points in education in terms of DS. In order to understand missed turning points in education first I have made some discussions introducing the themes like historicism, birth of DS, changing nature of Durbar school, school as a social space, paupers and schooling society. Then I entered into the role of schooling in selecting and sorting out children, primarily on the basis of changed context of DS. While discussing with empirical data I have tried to relate turning points in individual life and the turning points of DS. While making relations, there existed mis matches between the children and the DS, so it is expressed as missed turning points in education. This chapter specially focus on the significant changes have occurred in DS, as children from marginalized situation entered in the school system, which means paupers started giving value to education. In this chapter I have defined paupers in our local context. Though, private schooling has gained much legitimacy among the people in Kathmandu and contributed

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<sup>14</sup> Here Turning Point (TP) refers to Pseudonym to a school in innercity context where I have employed pilot studies; it was done for the sake of ethnical consideration.

Kathmandu to recognize as schooling society. Despite the ideas of creating equality by education, DS is turned into a socially selective institution, as a public school where now children from very marginalized situation are admitted but the structure remained unchanged and still contributing socio-cultural reproduction. It is because, DS was not established at first by considering the necessity of education for the paupers.

This chapter further focused on how people perceive and give meaning to the schooling. I have analysed these based on the expected outcome of schooling, children's knowledge on schooling, issues related with schooling like, gender, working children or children living with their parents who were involved in selling things on footpath.

In chapter V, I move from analytical framework of reproduction to the more actor oriented approach agency and structure in order to explain how DS played social actor's role in cultural production of educated elites including the brief role of Martyr Gangal Lal who was also an ex-student of DS, played an important role in throwing Rana regime. I have then looked in depth at children's construction of schools and their alternative visions. In this chapter I have argued the agentic nature of DS in the production of educated elites.

Chapter VI deals with the power/ knowledge aspects of schooling. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of education, democracy and development. In this chapter I have tried to make a reflection on turning points in education by adopting power/knowledge theme of Michael Foucault. The theme of power/knowledge is applied to understand the everyday practices of the people. How people are governed

by knowledge is a matter of concern in this chapter. For this I have incorporated my auto-ethnographic sensibilities to understand the complex process of schooling.

At last, in chapter VII, I have made some conclusions, though I was not interested to make conclusions from the study, it is my belief that, if I conclude the things, that becomes like generalizations of the study, which stands against the norms of qualitative inquiry and prevent creative uncertainty. Working on turning points portray some how in the line of creative uncertainty.

## Chapter II

### Review of the Literature

#### *Literature Review*

Literature review is an integral part of research project. Without reviewing literature researcher will not acquire an understanding of his/ her of what has already been done in the area of how it has been researched, and what the key issues are. The main theories in the subject area and how they have been applied and developed, as well as the main criticism that have been made of work on the topic must be understood (Hart, 1998). According to Chris Hart, literature review is the selection of available documents (both published and unpublished) on the topic, which contain information, ideas, data and evidence written from a particular stand point to fulfill certain aims or express certain view on the nature of the topic and how it is to be investigated, and the effective evaluation of these documents in relation to the research being proposed (ibid.).

Based on Hart's statement, it can be said that competence in reading research is not easily acquired. It is a part of the process of research training and education. It takes time and a willingness to face challenges, acquire new understandings and have sufficient openness of mind to appreciate that there are other views of the world. The choice of a particular topic, together with the decision to research it using one specific strategy rather than another and to present it in a certain style, one design decision offers based on prior commitments to a view of research (1998). Literature review being a rigorous work in research it would be better to start with basic literatures first and then to turn in to advanced literature. So, I have attempted reviewing literature according to my topic in the following ways



*Basic literature review*

Etymologically, the Latin word *schola* or the Greek word *schole* are the root for the word 'school' in English. In Nepali word 'school' is translated as *Bidyalya*. *Schola* was used to indicate the leisure devoted to learning and the the word 'schole' was used to the leisure, to the learned, to the discussion, and to the lecture. The schooling later on became the training, the guidance or the discipline derived from the experience as well as the contains with the experts, and the action of teaching or the state, or the fact of thought in school (Koirala, 1996). Infact schools are pre-dominantly educationally oriented organizations. Structures of education exist in all societies, but schools do not necessarily exist as subsystem in all societies. When they do exist in relatively non modernized such as Nepali society during the period of early Rana period, they may be comparatively pauce and involve only a small minorities (only Ranas) of the population. It is one of the peculiar characteristics of relatively modernized societies that in them schools fall into the category of basic organizations as well as in to the category of intermediate organization. The average member of a relatively modernized society always participates in one or more schools at some time during his/ her life cycle. In addition, there exist a large number of special schools in term of which only relatively specialized members of the society are educated. This infers that schooling is not a matter of universalization rather it is specialization. The 'free education for all' slogan may sound comforting and visionary but it has only served as a diversion (Dixit, 2004).

The interesting thing within the interval of time, is that how elites or specialized members captured or occupied schools and those schools are now replaced by paupers or disadvantaged. Why schools are re-borning in Nepali society?

How schools are witnessing turning points from a centre of elites (Ranas) to disadvantaged groups of the society? Are schools in Nepal society serving to paupers equally as Ranas ? if not then why ? The understanding of schooling is a matter of creating discourse. Why schools are expanding? According to Edmond J. King (as cited in Koirala, 1996) the reasons for the expansion of schooling are, claiming, reclaiming and realization of educational accountability by the power elites.

Koirala (1996) further claimed that the Christian church was the supreme institution, which has right to bring up children according to their choice but the French revolutionaries claimed that education was the function of the state.

All these show that traditional social hierarchy is being reshaped and new economic hierarchies are emerging. The traditional pillars of the Nepali society are weakening. People's work and wealth ethic is being reshaped. There are attractions towards things from abroad. The mass departure of Nepali people in search of jobs and education is becoming alarming (Acharya, 2002). Every society has got its own norms, values and culture. Education system ought to be oriented towards the security of its people in the society. All these are contributing to witness turning point in education.

Every society has certain moral principles which regulate and control the behaviours of its members. The moral principles are necessary concomitants of any culture, the existence of society or social institutions like schools without some moral principles is impossible. However, there are no uniform in patterns of moral codes in different cultures. The moral principles also undergo change and modifications with change in culture pattern of society. The progress and decline of education culture is judged by the order and hierarchy of values in society (Sharma, 2004). But here

comes a question, whose values count in the society as well as in social institutions, elites or pauper? Why marginalization is very high in Nepal? Why education system always witness turning point to serve only for elites even the system of education are occupied significant number of disadvantaged groups of students? To overcome the answers of these questions it is necessary to analyze or to understand 'turning points' in education especially in the context of Nepal. Now, first I am going to review some studies on schooling and society, which were carried out in Nepal by foreign scholars and Nepali scholars.

#### *Related research*

The existence of educational system in the society is to contribute to individual goods. But there existed a large number of special schools in Nepal in terms of which only relatively specialized members by status of the society are educated. Ideas of social equality promoted by modern schooling, go hand in hand with an effort to create sameness among socially and culturally diverse group of students. The school as an institution seeks to eradicate social differences and thereby to promote social justice but it implicitly contributes to produce and reproduce social inequalities (Valentin, 2001).

The expansion of education has always been closely linked to the ideals of democracy. Reformers value education for its own sake for the opportunity it provides for individuals to develop their capabilities. Yet education has also consistently been seen as a means of equalization. Access to universal education, it has been argued, could help reduce disparities of wealth and power. Are educational opportunities equal of everyone? Has education in fact proved to be a great equalizer? Much research has been devoted to answer these questions.

Sociological research addressing equal educational opportunities falls in to two categories: research assessing "between school effects" and research assessing "within school effects". "Between school effects" refer to inequalities among children who go to different school. "Within effects" are different among students in the same school (Giddens, 2000). As in the case of *Durbar School*, it was different from other schools in the past time, in the sense that public spending for DS was higher than other schools in Nepali society. The study of "between school effects" has been the focus of sociological research on educational system for the past three decades. James Coleman, a sociologist carried out a research in America in 1960 and he concluded that the material resources provided in schools made little difference to educational performance; the decisive influence was the children's background. In Coleman's words, "Inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood, and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of schools" (ibid p. 376).

This infers that even DS witnessed a turning point from a centre of elites to pauper; there are high chances that it is still producing inequalities through education in Kathmandu, though research has not been carried out. It can be further elaborated in the words of Ivan Illich:

It should be obvious that even with schools of equal quality a poor child can seldom catch up a rich one. Even if they attend equal schools and begin at the same age, poor children lack most of the educational opportunities which are causally available to the middle class child. These advantages range from conversation and books in the home to vacation travel and a different sense of one self, and apply, for the

child who enjoys their both in and out of school. So the poorer children fall behind so long as he depends on school for advancement or learning. The poor need funds to enable them to learn, not to get certified for the treatment of their alleged disproportionate deficiencies. (Illich, 1971: 14)

Some researches are also carried out in Nepal regarding school and society relationship by local research scholars and foreign scholars. But interestingly those researchers have not indicated any turning points regarding education in Nepal directly. Koirala (1996) showed the relationship between Dalits and schooling; and mentioned that schooling contributed for the social and economic mobility of low caste people. He believed that schools need to find ways to enable Dalit children to come to school and not to be hungry, to do schooling and not to be shorter of food and other economic resources than they would be if they were not in school. Dalit children changing school times according to the annual and daily economic cycle is one way to do this but only one way (Koirala, 1996). Koirala further elaborated that the caste system as the major structural problem in Nepali society, not the economy or the political system or even the educational system. Dalits have not their own culture and if they want improvement in their situation, they have to forget about their self and identity and adopt the elite culture. Similarly Parajuli (2002) reviewed Koirala's Doctoral thesis and mentioned that there is no denying on school's contribution towards creating informed students, but the researcher's interpretation is analytically questionable; it seems that the study it self is committed to contribute to cultural reproduction when it suggest for “mass Sanskritization” of low caste untouchables because they do not have a separate language, nor do they have a specific culture to be preserved. This study reflects some turning points in education in indirect ways

which has brought forwards the need for studying educational issues at the local level and has contributed to our understanding of how people, the low caste people perceive and interact with schooling in what sorts of enabling and constraining environment (Parajuli, 2008). However this study had been done in rural part of Nepal it has reflected the whole process of schooling in Nepal in contextual manner.

Similarly, Valentin (2001) carried out a doctoral study based on the ethnography of squatters in an illegally occupied slum settlement in Kathmandu. The study reveals that the social and cultural values ascribed to school is not new itself, but with the rapid expansion of formal education, a major shift has taken place in public and official perceptions: schooling is no longer seen as a privilege, but as a right. The increasing impact of global human rights based discourse and planned development on both national and international level has played a major role in this process (Valentin, 2001). Further the study has focused on the two sets of paradoxes evolving around the issue of schooling. In one hand schooling seems to promise social justice and equal opportunities for all, but the self contradiction is that, schooling contributes to the reproduction of social inequalities, due to the existing divisions based on social structures. This infers that people see the schooling with great hope but very few of them would be able to gain success in their life; on the other hand within the micro level, such as family or an individual, schooling is an economic and status value but the paradox is that it raises the potential threat to family values based on generation position and caste identity. Like wise, Parajuli (2002) reviewed the thesis and commented that, this is particularly true in case of sons and such threats can be noted in Nepali families (Parajuli, 2002). However, this study helped me to understand turning points in education in Nepal, as the study mentioned the paradoxes of schooling and changing ideology from privileged to right. In my study as well

people from very marginal social position participating in school have shown the great hope of witnessing turning point in their life (see, Chapter V).

Another ethnographic research carried out by Debra Skinner and Dorothy Holland (1996) in the mid-hills in central Nepal contributed to understand the heteroglossic nature of the school site. According to Bhaktin (as cited in Skinner and Holland, 1996) the vision of heteroglossia goes far beyond the general notion of one homogenous. In line with Bhaktin, study showed that no single text or teacher or student gave voice to one consistent perspective. Valentin (2001) reviewed the study and commented that notions of the educated persons are changing and that schooling by bringing together children of different class and caste, which contributed to the formation of new social practices and identities. Further, Parajuli (2002) commented on the study that the increasing individualism and materialistic consumerism among students could not get sufficient place in the analysis and interpretation of field realities. His argument is that such cultural productions by the local youths must be analysed in the practical realities of lived experiences and at the same time it must be looked in terms of socio-cultural reproduction theories and the hegemonic state discourse (See, Parajuli, 2002).

However, in their fine summary of schools and the cultural production of the educated person in a Nepalese Hill Community, Holland and Skinner (1996) claimed that the youth were contributing their identities had implications not only for their continued educational participation and future goals but also for potential changes in dominant ideologies and structures (see, Holland and Skinner; 1996). Further they elaborated that school children were creating identities and self understandings that resisted older forms of privilege.

Based on the study and comments made by the scholars helped me to understand the turning points in micro level, as school is a site of multiple agendas and voices providing children and their parents a space to contest with state ideologies and societal relations. While drawing insights from this study, I can easily believe that school is a site to look multiple turning points. Elites and paupers equally believe on the power of education, but in the course of time school starts to serve them differently (see, Chapters IV & V)

Likewise, doctoral study by Parajuli (2002) is very interesting and ethnography of four villages in Nepal: Uchhakot and Kalena in the Hills of Doti district in the far Western Part and Atrahatti and Meijhi in the plains of Nawalparasi District in central part of the country. He focused on the relationship among the state, the school and the society, which was an attempt to understand the relationships at both macro- and micro level context. I really wondered how the researcher had kept the balance between breadth and depth of such a huge study. But I became interested on the micro-level analysis and interpretation based on the everyday ethnographies in understanding the lived experiences of the people, mostly the poor and the marginalized one.

In his fine reflections and drawing upon of the study, Parajuli (2002) stated that three main actors vis, school, state and society were in constant interaction with each other developing a highly contextual and fluid relationship that are rooted in political as well as cultural realities of the society. Further, interestingly the study reached in the conclusion that challenges are in the need for recognizing diversities, gaining knowledge on how people perceive interact with schooling and recognize the tensions. This study helped me to understand some missed turning points in Nepali



education system and witnessing turning points in education is a process of the dialectic discourse between structure and agency. While making some understanding on missed turning points, I have drawn reflections from socio-cultural reproduction and schooling of this study (see, Chapter IV)

Awasthi in his Doctoral study (2004) examined how the national school system as a collective entity of various agents responds to the teaching and learning needs of Non-Nepali speaking children at primary school. The study was carried out in Tharu Language communities in Bardiya. According to the researcher, the existing medium of instruction in schools in multilingual country like Nepal has been favourable to the Nepali speaking students. Ultimately, the dominating role of Nepali language has been widening and leading to social, economic and political inequalities (Awasthi, 2004). The researcher observed in his study. Tharu girls were not encouraged to participate in the class, possibly because teachers thought that they did not know Nepali. Next, Tharu girls in school have been labelled as failure, dropout, absenteeism, irregular etc. In this study, I understood that school have not received enough inputs to facilitate the children from diverse backgrounds. This study helped me to understand the issues of schooling as the people from diverse backgrounds including the participation of paupers in school with big hope, but in the course of time very few seem to be succeed in this effort, it was because of the mismatch between the policy framing at the center and local school practices. However this study reveals and recommends that the diversities in schools must be addressed on the basis of local realities.

Similarly, CERID (2006) conducted research on the situation of inclusive class-room in Nepal and published the report with focusing on the needs of the

learning opportunities for the children who differ in status. The study focuses on inclusive education in the classroom. Study intends to identify practices that lead to the inclusion of students from various backgrounds (ethnicity, language, culture etc and with differing characteristics, including disability and disadvantagedness). Study further concluded that teachers were not equipped with enough knowledge and skills to inclusive education. Teachers were not able to identify the needs of the children and develop materials. Teachers of school had received basic teacher training but were not able to identify special needs children including paupers. There are some other factors which inhibits in making classroom more inclusive interms of students regularity at school. Broadly student related factors (failure in the exam, cultural difference, failure to do homework etc.), household related factors (involvement in household chores, poverty, illiteracy etc), school related factors (lack of physical facilities, toilet for girls, distance of school, irregularity in school operation etc) and teacher related factors (insensitive toward student's needs and difficulties, lack of motivation for teaching lack of training, punishment by teacher etc), inhibit students regularity at school (MOES/DEO, 2004). But here comes the question how these factors are affecting the children in school from paupers background, study did not focus on micro-level issues minutely.

Putting a certain position amidst the above discussed empirical literatures, my study is an attempt to understand turning points in education by focusing on the interplay between DS and actors in it, in current situation. Possibly, no other study has tried to understand the processes of schooling, and their linkages with aspects like, elites, paupers and turning points in education. In a nutsell, I found a little bit gap between stated literature and my instrumental interest in this study. As indicated in reviewed empirical literatures, studies were focused on alternative discourses on

education mainly in the context of village everyday life and in a particular community without looking directly on turning points in education including missed turning points. But in this study I have focused on the single historical institution-DS in innercity context to understand the turning points in education. In the same line with the stated literatures, this study intends to explore the relationships between disadvantaged groups as paupers and school, the ways that relationship is influenced by the plight of the poverty, agency and power/knowledge of education.

In order to situate the study, and to understand turning points in education, I have approached a number of bodies of theoretical literatures. My setting out on the course of action, began following the theory of socio-cultural reproduction by Bourdieu which helped me to understand the missed turning points in school/education. However, this theory does not give due considerations on actors role and practice, I applied the theory of agency and structure by Anthony Giddens (2002). This theory helped me to understand the kind of witnessing 'Turning point' in any sector of the society depend on the interplay between agency and structure. Likewise beyond reproduction and production I have approached the power/knowledge concept of Michael Foucault (2007) to understand the turning points in education.

### *Theoretical Constructs*

I picked up Bourdieu's' concept of socio-cultural reproduction, Giddens' idea of agency-structure, Foucault's notion of power/ knowledge and *Bhagawat Gitas'* notion of rebirth and *Dharma* to understand the turning points in education. Understanding turning points in education is very complex process, so I have discussed theoretical constructs chronologically below.

*School and socio-cultural reproduction*

Different cultures exist in a society. All these different cultures are not given equal importance at educational institution. The primary importance is given to the culture of dominant classes. As a result, it becomes easier for the children of the dominant classes to adjust to the educational system (Corson, 1998). Besides these, in the name of teaching-learning, school attempts to impose the cultural arbitrariness of dominant classes on the children who come from other cultures. This makes the children from marginal backgrounds, their culture is inferior and the culture of dominant classes is worth learning. This process of schooling only enables the children of dominant classes to excel or success at educational institutions (Pathak, 2002).

Cultural reproduction refers to the mechanisms by which continuity of cultural experience is sustained across time. The process of schooling in modern societies are among the main mechanisms of cultural reproduction and do not operate solely through what is taught in course of formal instruction. Cultural reproduction occurs in a profound way through the hidden curriculum aspects of behaviour instruction of behaviour learnt by individuals in an informal way while at school. A central thinker in this area is the French anthropologist, Pierre Bourdieu, whose work helps us to understand several aspects of education (Giddens, 2001)

Schools are places where most of culture's dominant discourses are passed around and passed on. Apple (1982) lists some of the major social functions that schools have. They select and certify work force; they maintain group privilege by taking the form and content of the dominant culture and defining it as legitimate knowledge to be passed on; they help recreate a dominant culture; they legitimize new

knowledge, new classes and strata of social personnel. For Apple school allocates people and legitimizes knowledge, or legitimizes people and allocates knowledge. As a result, formal education looks after the interests of some more privileged social groups better than it looks after the interest of some other socio cultural groups (as cited in Corson, 1998). Bourdieu has argued that it is the culture of the dominant groups that control the economic social and political resources which is embodied in schools and that it is the embodiment that work as a reproduction strategy for the dominants group (Harker, 1990)

Highlighting the role of education in socio-cultural reproduction, Bourdieu has used the number of related concepts to extend his arguments of socio-cultural reproduction. Concepts like habitus, field, symbolic violence and cultural capital are the key features in his arguments. Bourdieu sees the field as an arena of struggle. According to Bourdieu (as cited in Valentin, 2001) education as a specific field, which is an objective defined network of social relations and positions between individuals and institutions, and social groupings, which co-exist and overlap with a range of other fields of structural relations. The field is a type of market place in which various kinds of capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) are employed and deployed. The positions of various agents in the field are determined by the amount and relative weight of capital they possess (Ritzer, 2000). The field is governed by certain rules and principles but these are never made fully explicit. They become legitimate through tacit recognition which means that they are not consciously held, but accepted and played out by the actors (Valentin, 2001). Bourdieu's field is not with a boundary but it is a field with force or power. Positions in this field as education are structured by power relations in an on going struggle over the resources, the material and symbolic capital; which are at stake (Awasthi,

2004; Valentin, 2001). Thus the social space is understood to possess multiple field, which are linked with one another. The specific social contexts and structural factors are the determining factors to bring about changes in field situation (Valentin, 2001).

The popular concept 'Habitus' for which Bourdieu is most famous in the field of sociology and education. Habitus are the mental or cognitive structures, through which people deal with the social world. Habitus is characterized by being deeply embodied, inculcated by experience rather than explicit learning, and durable over time and as such an outcome of collective history that produces individual and collective practices (Bourdieu quoted by Valentin, 2001: 44). Thus, habitus is acquired as a result of long term occupation of a position within the social world. Habitus ensures the active presence of past experiences, which deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the correctness of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms (Bourdieu quoted by Harker et al., 1990). The habitus is a set of dispositions, which incline agent to act and react in certain ways. Dispositions are acquired through a gradual process of inculcation in which early childhood experiences are particularly important (Thomson quoted by Awasthi, 2004).

The relationship between field and habitus exist as in built character. Field stands for the social reality outside the individual and the habitus stands for the social reality inside the individual. This infers that field and habitus are mutually constituting. So, in fact the children from marginal background/ deprived positions carry the influence of their home and family environment in to their behaviour including knowledge, attitudes and practices (Valentin, 2001; Awasthi, 2004).

To explain the links between education and reproduction Bourdieu presents 'culture' metaphorically as an economic system. His phrase cultural capital describes the advantages that people acquire as a part of their life experiences, their peer group contacts, and their family backgrounds. The ideas of cultural capital has become an educational debate. It is because the cultural capital that school place value on is so often quite different from the cultural capital that is valued by people in their own families and other social spaces (Corson, 1998). According to Bourdieu (as cited in Valentin, 2001) cultural capital exist in three distinct forms. First, the embodied state, which is external wealth converted into an integrated part of the person and is acquired unknowingly over time. It is subject to disguised hereditary transmission. Second, is the objectified state, which represent the material objects (books, instruments etc). The possession of such objects requires economic capital. The third form is the institutional state which refers to the academic qualification serve as certificate of cultural competence.

These different forms of capital are convertible but there comes the matter of time. While certain goods and services can be accessed immediately through economic capital, others can only be obtained through the possession of social and cultural capital which in order to yield, requires a longer time span (Valentin, 2001). This infers that those with limited economic capital have less chance of accumulating cultural capital which again in a longer perspectives, can be converted into economic capital. Differential access in cultural capital among different groups of people explain differences in their success in schools. This shows that children from high and middle class are in advantages position in school (Parajuli, 2002).

Infact, the kind of cultural capital valued in schools is not equally available to children from different background. Diverse groups have their own highly valued sets of cultural capital and these can be quite different from the capital valued in school. In spite of this, schools still operate as if all children had equal access to the capital valued in education. As a result, schools reproduce arrangements that are favorable to some and unfavorable to other groups (Corson, 1998).

The dominant groups language, manner, dress style and code game, customs, beliefs, etc. are regarded as best and those who posses these capital are considered as smart, intelligent and fast learner and those who lack these attitudes are regarded as dull inferior and slow learner. The school systems, exams, evaluations, rewards, disciplinary actions all favor those who possess intelligence and thus their success is assured. They acquired that intelligence gradually during their upbringing and school habitus corresponds with their habitus and thus, when they enter into the school field they find a supportive environment (Parajuli, 2002). But those who belong to socially deprived groups and thus do not posses the legitimate intelligence have every chance of low achievements or even failure in school. Because their upbringing takes place in a different field, they form a different habitus and thus when they attend the school, they have to confront an alien environment.

Another concept 'Symbolic violence', which is elaborated in Bourdieu and Passeron's *Education, Society and Culture* (1977), is used to understand the schooling and socio-cultural reproduction. Symbolic violence is power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing power relations which are the basis of the force (Collins & Makowsky quoted by Sadovnik, 2001: 25). Far from being neutral schools are biased towards the cultural capital of the dominant



classes. School actually advantage the upper and middle classes through their symbolic representations. Language, ideas, knowledge of music, art, literature etc of these classes are valued in the educational institutions and in the market place (Pathak, 2002). Such process of signifying values give rise to symbolic violence which is inculcating the elite culture, not through the force and physical violence but through the consensus on non elite students. According to Bourdieu and Passerons all educational actions are symbolic violence (Sodovnik, 2001; Parajuli, 2002).

According to Collins (as cited in Sadochnik, 2001:26), Bourdieu's theory is completely closed. It is totally cynical, totally pessimistic. We are externally doomed to stratification. We cannot get outside ourselves, we can only change places inside an iron circle. Similarly, R. Nash (as cited in Parajuli, 2002) criticized the Bourdieu and said that there is no explanation possible for individual agency. This is more deterministic in nature and no space for resistance and association. Bourdieu for privileging class structures as the prime determinant of life chances, relying on highly schematic and deterministic models of structure and culture, and basing on simplistic models of state and its supposed use of schools as instruments of control. Attributes like age, sex, caste, location etc. make social process a very complex are but Bourdieu's model does not explain these characteristics (Levinson & Holland quoted by Parajuli, 2002:32).

Despite all these limitations, I find it a useful theoretical contribution to my study. According to Richard Harker (1990) there are two tasks in front of educationist who would seek to use Bourdieu in relation to non-French school system. First, it is necessary to catch up with Bourdieu theoretically, by seeing his works as a method of enquiry rather than a completed theoretical edifice, and second, to work out the

method in relation to their own social space and the particular field of education within it (as cited in Harker, Mahar & Wilkes, 1990). The interrelations between social interaction and social structure are crucial in Bourdieu's work and has proved instrumental in defining the role of school system in the reproduction of social and economic relation and institutions (Awasthi, 2004).

Based on these logics and discussions I have used Bourdieu's theory of socio-cultural reproduction and school in my study. The aim of using this theory is to provide partial explanation of the school process and try to understand the missed turning points in the field of education in Nepal. So this theory provides an explanation of the structural forces that underlies class based inequalities which also become manifest with regard to schooling and the relative success or failure it brings about in individual families (Valentin, 2002). This theory also helped me to understand and interpret question like, where we have reached? In the name of development of education. But this does not give due recognition to the agency of the actors or the institutions hence I find it is essence to include a next theoretical approach in order to understand the turning points in education i.e. agency- structure. The following paragraphs show the essence of agency and structure theory developed by Giddens in understanding paupers and schooling.

#### *Agency-structure*

Central thinker in this theory is the British sociologist, Giddens whose work help us to understand agency and structural aspects of society. Educational institutions are the product of society, so these institutions can be understood from Giddens's theory of structuration. At its core Giddens's structuration theory, with its focus on social practices, is a theory of the relationship between agency and structure. He gave

more emphasis on agency. Actors are capable of rationalization, as well as have motivation to act, and these motivations involve the wants and desire that prompt action (Ritzer, 2000).

According to Giddens (as cited in Adams & Sydie, 2002), every process of action is a production of something new, a fresh act, but at the same time all action exists in continuity with the past, which supplies the means of its initiation. Structure thus is not to be conceptualized as a barrier to action, but as essentially involved in its production: even in the most radical processes of social change, like any others, occur in time. Social structures are not seen as purely constraining, impersonal forces which stand above and apart from individuals, but instead are both implicated in and reproduced by actors interacting with others through time and space in their daily lives (Shilling, 1992). Giddens conceptualized the relation between structure and agency as a 'duality' that is a relation in which neither of the related terms has any independent existence. He talks of the duality of structure; though it is equally a duality of agency. Duality rules out subjectivism by conceptualizing agents powers as dependent upon the use of structures comprised of rules and resources the constraints which enable. The 'duality of structure' implies that it is only the purposive-ness of actors which activates structures and keeps them in being. History is not an end seeking agent, which some how pulls or directs present actions so that it has particular consequences in the future (Parker, 2002). Structural rules, techniques or generalisable procedures applied in the enactment and reproduction of social practices. They include knowledge of social conventions and their contexts of application, and provide actors with a set of tools for accomplishing social interaction (Shilling, 1992). Actors drawn up structural resources during the time of interaction. Resources consists of goods and services, and the authoritative power to control both

these and influence the actions of others. Resources refer to phenomena which provide individuals with ‘capabilities’ of making things happen (ibid). Structure is made possible by the existence of rules and resources. Structure themselves do not exist in time and space, rather, social phenomena have the capacity to become structure. Giddens contends that ‘structures’ only exist in and through the activities of human agent. This offers a very unusual definition of structure that does not follow the conventional pattern of viewing structures as external to and coercive over actors (Ritzer, 2000).

Structuration theory provides a framework to rethink the subject by distinguishing between capability, knowledgeable and motivation. Capability refers to the capacity of individuals to act otherwise and make a difference. Capability does not require agent to be fully aware or even intend to act in a particular ways. It merely refers to the transformative capacity of human; their power to intervene in social life (Shilling, 1992). Capability is an intrinsic property of human beings. Even those in oppressed positions have the power to influence events because of the dialectic control the fact that power relations are reciprocal and depend on the actions of both dominator and dominated (Giddens quoted by Shilling, 1992: 82).

Subjective power of agency therefore depend primary depend on actors knowing how to do things, having a practical consciousness of the appropriate rules for making sense of situations and a command of relevant resources (Parker, 2002). Thus structuration theory presupposes the knowledge ability of human agents. This recognizes that members of a society know a great deal (if not all) about society and the way it is constituted. Individuals carry on in their daily lives with the aid of both discursive and practical consciousness. Discursive consciousness refers to what actors

are able to articulate about social conditions and the context subordinating their own behaviour. Discursive consciousness recognizes that actors routinely monitor their own activities, those of other and the context in which they move. Interviewing and listening to pupils and teachers talk are particularly appropriate methods of gaining a degree of access to the discursive consciousness of the individual involved in schooling (Shilling, 1992). Agents are knowledgeable and resourceful, described as the state of practical consciousness; and have the capacity to understand what they do while they do it (Parajuli, 2002). This practical consciousness of knowing how to go on depends on a wealth of taken for granted, mutual knowledge, about the routine requirements of the diverse context of activity. The vast bulk of taken for granted, mutual knowledge; about the routine requirements of the diverse context of activity the vast bulk of human agency uses only this practical consciousness in contexts of reutilized and familiar situations, where it is unnecessary to give reasons for what is being done (Parker 2002). Once acquired, these practical consciousness are taken for granted and are utilized during interaction with other people (Parajuli, 2002). Actors are often unable to provide reasons for how they act, but this does not mean that their actions are not based on implicit knowledge of their circumstances and surrounding (Shilling, 1992). Despite the differences between practical and discursive consciousness, there is no immovable barrier but there exist barrier between consciousness and unconscious motives of action (Parajuli, 2002).

Several scholars have criticized the Giddens Structuration on various grounds. Margaret Archer (1988) criticized Giddens on the greater emphases on actors perspectives and minimizing the structural aspect. Giddens fails to explain the miracle by which human agents communicate with each other; he fails to explain how agents come to perceive social structure; and he fails to explain the origins of the agents faith

that his/ her actions will result in specific consequences. For Giddens, all these aspects of agency and structure are seemingly self- begotten, which is not an adequate sociological explanation (Archer quoted by Prajuli, 2002: 36). It has also been argued that because of the dynamic interplay of structure and agency- structuration becomes always a process never a product, with no fixity, no durability no beginning and no end (Mestrovic quoted by Adams & Sydie 2002: 54).

Structuration theory does not provide any answers to fundamental questions about the position of education or schooling in our society, and it leaves a number of sociological questions unresolved (Shilling, 1992). Giddens work has also been criticized for the lack of support from the empirical findings and systematic cross-reference between theoretical debate and empirical research and as typical piece of abstract theorizing that has no particular relevance to real world issues and hence does not help in the construction of empirical research problems (Clark & Layder quoted by Parajuli, 2002:36).

However, one can argue for and against the application of social theories in the field of education. According to Layder (as cited in Parajuli, 2000), one of the greatest strengths of the structuration theory is its potential for empirical application. Several studies have been carried out by using Giddens theory of structuration in the field of education and development (see, Parajuli, 2002). Structuration theory offers a promising basis for bringing issues of social structure and human agency. The potential of this approach is to facilitate a more sophisticated understanding of the degree to which structures are reproduced in and through social interaction in school (Shilling, 1992). The debate about structuration has important consequences for the way we explain the production and transformation of social structures such as

institutions and rules, distribution of power and inequality, patterns of regular behaviour (Parker, 2002). Actor-oriented approach requires an understanding of multiple social realities people are living in and their strategies and struggles to cope with harsh physical and social environment. For this it is quite important to understand how their everyday lives are patterned, how they manage their interpersonal relations and how they negotiate, create and utilize new knowledge (Parajuli, 2002).

Unlike, Bourdieu's socio-cultural - reproduction theory Giddens's theory of structuration helped me to understand agency of the actors with reference to DS in Kathmandu. The meaning of actor is taken here in wider sense including students parents, teachers, DS itself all are said to possess agency (Parajuli, 2002). Some time turning points can be quite, almost invisible and therefore, hard to predict and easy to miss. It is because, first they don't look like turning points at all. Deep within the institutions, individuals and within the society something has been shifting so slowly that it has been virtually imperceptible (Angelis, 2005).

Based on the above discussion my treatment of structuration theory in this thesis is relatively brief, and I shall limit my discussion to its direct implications for social structure and human agency. This contributes me to understand turning points that sneaked up on DS and the individuals in it. However, structuration theory of Giddens can be applied to witness turning points in educational and social sectors. Structuration theory focuses on how social life is maintained and highlights the complexities involved in the production of social system by individuals (Angelis, 2005; Shilling, 1992). While focusing on how social life is generated by human agents, this approach also has theoretical and methodological implications concerning

the status of actors accounts and the inadequacy of theories which do not allow for the centrality of agency in the reproduction of society (Shilling, 1992).

From this, it is inferred that the witnessing any turning point in any sector in society depend on the interplay of agency and structure. Opening Durbar school was a conscious or rational effort of Ranas but ultimately it witnessed a turning point from a centre of elites to paupers. So I borrowed the concept of 'cultural production' to unfold the social realities in and around DS in Kathmandu. (see, Chapter V)

### *Cultural production*

Generally, it is accepted that school run according to the will of the elites, but school should not be viewed simply as a site where paupers were being molded to the agenda of the elites and state. Next it is often said that schools are essentially oppressive institutions where children remain passive just receiving the hegemonic behaviours of elites. Several studies have revealed that school is the site of multiple discourse rather than elites hegemonic discourses (Skinner and Holland, 1998).

According to B.A. Levinson (as cited in Valentin, 2001), the cultural production as the process of making meaning by reflexive social actors in specific and diverse context of structured power. This definition focuses on the perspectives of human agency. Literatures show that the school has also become a forum for the development of critical discourses on the government as well as a space for practices of elites and paupers and for the generation of alternative visions and discourses about educational achievement (Skinner & Holland, 1998).

According to Giroux (as cited in Parajuli, 2002), cultural production theories have been developed by giving importance to the notion of human agency and the



conflict, struggle and resistance they exert on the oppressive nature of schooling. The point is that the domination always parallels with the resistance. Sometime it becomes invisible and insignificant but at other moment it might turn into a powerful one (see, Parajuli, 2002). Skinner and Holland (1998) argued that school is a site of multiple agendas and voices providing children and young people a space to oppose the government and develop a critical discourse on the dominant caste system and gender relations (Valentin, 2001). This infers that the agency in human contributes to influence the existing social/ or educational structures and receives influences from the constraint as well (Parajuli, 2002).

However these studies bring the subjective experiences and interpretations of schooling to the forefront of analysis. These also contributes to understand the complex site of struggles, rejection and creation of the individuals (Valentin, 2002). I found these discussions are more useful in my study. I have briefly utilized these concepts to understand the individual- turning points in life. At the same time I have used *Gita's* notion of 'rebirth' to understand the '*Dharma*' of DS in present context. Here, '*Dharma*' refers to the duty of durbar school on paupers schooling.

#### *Gita as a philosophy of education*

*The Bhagavad-Gita* was written some time between the fourth and third century B.C., and it is one of the best known and loved of Indian writings. The *Gita* is a dialogue between *Arjuna*, the great warrior, and *Krishna*, the lord, who is an embodiment of the supreme. *Arjun* is asking *Krishna* about responsibility and mastery of one self in the face of life challenges. The dialogue between *Arjuna* and *Krishna* shows some of the distinctive ethical ideals to come out of Hindu philosophy.

*Bhagavad- Gita*, a poem of some seven hundred verses in eighteen chapters, describes a greater war that took place before 1000B.C. between the *Kauravas* and the *Pandavas*, who were cousins, succession to the throne. One great warrior, Arjuna ponders the consequence of war and the meaning and nature of existence. The questions posed by Arjuna are answered by Krishna, who explains to Arjuna why he should fight. Arjuna is told that, he must fulfill his dharma, the obligations of the deeper concerns their discussion involve motivation, purpose, and the meaning of any human action (Ozmon & Craver ; 1999: 98). According to Mahatma Gandhi (as cited in NBT, 2004, p. 95) the bitter experiences of desire for fruit the author of the *Gita* discovered the path of renunciation of fruit and put it before the world in most convincing manner. The common belief is that religion is always opposed to material good. There is no place for religion in such pursuits; religion is only for attainment of salvation; we hear many worldly people say. In Gandhi's opinion the author of the *Gita* has dispelled this delusion. He has drawn no line of demarcation between salvation and worldly pursuits. On the contrary he has shown that religion must rule even our worldly pursuits. Gandhi felt that the *Gita* teaches us that what can not be followed out in day to day practice can not be called religion. Thus according to *Gita*, all acts that are incapable of being performed without attachment are taboo (NBT, 2004). Gandhi further said that these golden rules saves man kind from many a pitfall.

Why do we believe in rebirth? What are the discourses that can be incorporated in rebirth? *Gita* shows the way to understand the phenomena of appearing and disappearing in this world. This can be explained by following verse, (as cited in Prabhupada, 2004: 226).

Yada Yada hi dhrmasya

Glanir bhavati Bharata

Abhyutthanam adharmasya

Tadat-manam. Srijamy aham.

Meaning: wherever and wherever there is a decline in religious practice, O descendant of *Bharata*, and a predominant rise of irreligion- at that time I descend myself. If obligations are not performed well then there exist the adharma. Can we develop these verses as theory of research in education?

It is not my intention here to adopt whole *Gita* to understand the turning points in education. In *Gita*, there is a concept of rebirth, I just introduced that concept to deal with the rebirth of DS As mentioned above *Gita* adopted the knowledge of everyday life and existentialism, next I am not going to adopt the concept of rebirth directly because *Gita* describes the rebirth of soul but I am going to understand the rebirth of DS in terms of service it provides to the paupers changed context in Kathmandu (see, Chapter V).

This is not even enough to understand turning points in education in Nepal, so it seemed essential to apply Foucault's notion of power/knowledge in brief.

### *Power/knowledge*

Power refers the ability of individuals, or the members of a group, to achieve aims or further the interests they hold. Power is a pervasive aspect of all human relationships. Many conflicts in society are struggles over power, because how much power an individual or group able to achieve governs how far they are able to realize their own wishes at the frame work of thinking in a particular area of social life (Giddens, 2001: PP. 607- 703 ). Foucault (1980) describes knowledge as being a

conjunction of power relations and information-seeking which he terms 'power/knowledge' (as cited in Mills, 2007)

If we think of knowledge, it has always been linked to power, in the sense of having the power to have an effect on individuals or more generally, on society. Michael Foucault's central concern was how knowledge is related to power. He was specially concerned with charting how different regimes of knowledge shaped modern society. Foucault did not regard knowledge as power but contributing in different ways, in different contexts, to the exercise of power (Adams & Sydie, 2002)

Existing ideas were reshuffled into perspectives that formed new narratives or discourses about what counts as truth and knowledge. The result was 'regimes of truth' that exercised power and control over people and institutions. Power in this sense is not something people possess, nor is it imposed from outside rather it is in the ways people conduct and govern themselves and how they perceive and define themselves and the society in which they live (Ozmon & Craver, 1999). According to Holstein and Gubrium (2005), Foucault considers how historically located systems of power/knowledge construct subjects and their world views. Foucauldian refers to these systems as 'discourses' emphasize that they are not merely ideas, ideologies or other symbolic formulations, but are also working attitudes, modes of address, terms of reference, and course of action, suffused into social practice. Foucault (1972, p. 48) himself explains that discourses are not 'a mere intersection of things and words: an obscure web of things, and a manifest, visible coloured chain of words. Rather they are the practices that systematically form the objects (and subjects) of which they speak (see, Holstein & Gubrium, 2005).

The traditional understanding of power is that it is possessed by some one or something. Foucault suggests a different perspective on power. First power is exercised rather than possessed. Second power is not simply or inevitably repressive or coercive but can be productive. Third power does not flow from a centralized source but also flows from bottom up that is, from the multitude of interactions at the micro level of society. According to Foucault, power is different through-out society. It is same thing that circulates: it is never localized here or there, never in any-body's hand, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth..... And not only do individuals circulate between its threads ; they are also in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising power (Foucault quoted by Adams & Sydie, 2002: 240).

For Foucault, it is more accurate to use his newly formed compound 'power/knowledge' to emphasize the way that the two elements depend on one another. I do agree with Foucault's line which focuses power/ knowledge power as something which helps to witness turning point in human life as well as in society. Foucault's views on the links between power and discourse have become influential: rather than a privilege that on individual person posses, power is network of relations constantly in tensions and ever present in discursive activity. It is exercised through the production, accumulation and functioning of various discourses. Discourse here is really the object of human conflict, so that study of power is best located at the point where the wishes of the powerful are played out in real and effective practices (Corson, 1998).

In this study, I have applied Foucault's newly formed compound 'power/knowledge' to understand the use and production of D.S. and shifting trends and practices in education or schooling (see, Chapter VI).

### *Chapter Summary*

In this chapter I started with basic literature of schooling and build on the knowledge established by previous research studies carried out in Nepal on schooling processes at the local levels. Studies have focused on the schooling as a change agent in the society. The notion of turning points were also witnessed in terms of schooling. Studies also have focused on paradoxes, dilemmas and crisis, by taking schooling as a means for justice and equality and at the same time schooling as inequality creators and cultural reproduction process. This chapter further builds on different theoretical strands to understand the turning points in education. I have outlined three major theoretical approaches and concepts of 'rebirth' from Gita to the study of schooling which I shall draw upon this thesis.

I was interested on the ground level of work to understand turning points in education. For this I have approached socio-cultural reproduction theory of Bourdieu, agency and structure of Anthony Giddens, to frame the agency, I took the cultural production theory to understand the productive nature of DS which shall be discussed in Chapter-five. Bourdieu's theory will help me to understand the missed turning points in education. Similarly I have used the concept of power/ knowledge of Michael Foucault to understand the turning points in education looking beyond agency and structure. All were concerned with the subjectivity. I put socio-cultural reproduction simply in the context of DS and it explains how a marginalized social situation serves as a constraint of children to gain success from schooling and this

situation of school could be resembled as missed turning points in education. Agency-structure a theory is used to understand the human agency as a driving force in schooling and constructing people own model of schooled person- school also contributes in cultural production of educated elites; those educated elites challenge the structure and structure starts to witness turning points and it goes on continuum. So, agency and structure play an important role in witnessing turning points in education. Next school as a social actor has power to influence individuals and it is also re-produce by the individual, as it is seen in DS Beyond these, I have used power/knowledge concept of Michael Foucault to understand the linkages between power of education and knowledge of English in the context of DS Not only this, I have used the concept of 'rebirth' from *Gita* to understand the services of DS in terms of *Dharma* of school as to serve the people living in marginalized situation. In next chapter I am going to deal with my methodological stand points in this study.

## Chapter III

### Research Methodology

#### *Looking for Turning Points: Study Design*

The emerging debate in educational and social science research is the paradigm. Paradigms are human constructs. Paradigm can be taken as a basic set of beliefs that guide action (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). When we discuss about the paradigm, it encompasses the basic questions of ethic (axiology), epistemology, ontology and methodology. These questions or issues have been described as the philosophy of social research. These help researcher to select and validate particular research methods (Parajuli, 2002). As these four assumptions of fundamental set of belief system are defensively interconnected, selection of one ultimately leads to the other within the same paradigm. So the paradigm defines the world view of researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Awasthi, 2004; Parajuli, 2002).

Highlighting the paradigm debate in research, Parajuli (2002) recognizes that a researcher selects particular theories or methods not because s/he is convenient in those theories or methods but because s/he has expressed belief on particular ontological and epistemological assumptions. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005) major paradigms and perspectives are positivist, post-positivism, constructivism and participatory action frameworks. Fundamentally these paradigms are divided into two broad groups. First two, positivism and post-positivism are conventional social science models based on the ontological premises that a real world is out there; which can be studied, measured, and generalized in an objective way and precise manner and independently of any influences of human perceptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Parajuli, 2002). These paradigms and perspectives are quantitative research and



methods are questionnaire based survey, schematic observations, experiments and basically relies on generating numeric data. Generally, post-positivism relies on multiple methods as way of capturing as much of reality as possible. At the same time, it emphasizes the discovery and verification of theories and generalization. These sets of paradigms or quantitative research method have grown out of scientific search for cause and effect (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Parajuli, 2004; Stake, 1995).

Other than first two, as mentioned above, a group of paradigms which are used in social science research can be categorized into humanistic models. According to Brewer (as cited in Parajuli, 2002) these models are developed on the ontological premises that, realities are in the form of intangible, localized, multiple constructions and are created, recreated, perceived and interpreted by people themselves. These are qualitative in nature and methods are indepth interview, observation, discussions, ethnography, diaries, stories and other personal documents. To shape the search for understanding, it needs close interaction between researcher and the respondents (see, Parajuli, 2002; Valentin, 2001).

Highlighting the importance of qualitative study, Fredrick Ericson (1986) claimed that the primary characteristics of qualitative research is the centrality of interpretation. He said that the findings are not so much 'findings' as assertions. Given internal interaction of the researcher with persons in the fieldwork and else where given, the attention to participants internationality and sense of self, however descriptive the report, the researcher ultimately comes to offer a personal view (see, Stake, 1995).

Similarly, Parajuli (2002) contends that, it is subjective and knowledge of the social world, and is influenced by the actors construction and reconstruction.

Qualitative researcher also draws on and utilize the approaches, methods and techniques of ethno methodology, phenomenology, hermeneutics, feminism, rhizomatics. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials: case study, personal experience, life story, interview, artifacts, cultural texts, historical texts and productions (ibid.).

Based on the above discussion, it became clear that my research study was more close to the qualitative social-educational research. The research questions, I presented earlier (see, Chapter I) also demanded that I rely on qualitative methodology. Considering the nature of the research question and the complexity of the research subject, I needed to understand the issue from the actors perspectives. It was equally significant for me to interpret the soft data based on the actors account and I was looking into the perception and practices of the people like *Durbar School*, elites, paupers and turning points in education.

This study responded my research questions and also it responded to the growing trend of qualitative research methods. In responding qualitative research methods, Guba and Lincoln (2005) mentioned that even those established professionals trained in quantitative social science (including two of themselves) wanted to learn more about qualitative approaches because new young professionals being mentored in graduate schools were asking serious questions about and looking for guidance in qualitatively oriented studies and dissertations (see, Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

*Superunknowns and Empirical Heuristics*

As I mentioned earlier, my study is more inclined toward the qualitative mode of learning. So, I believe on the superunknowns in my study. In his fine explanation of nature of educational qualitative research, in *Harvard Educational Review*, Ralf St. Clair (2006) argued that the process of research findings or interpretation from one setting to another is unsupported, irrespective of method or methodology, due to the existence of superunknowns. Superunknowns are defined as the factors that cannot be anticipated not because of instrumentation defect, but because of their nature. The group of superunknowns include factors of social relationships that cannot be defined irrespective of advances in methods or observations (see, Katrina & Rita, 2006). In my study the particular experiences were shared to me by the actors in *Durbar School's* context, these experiences would have not been verified in other context, for example if I were a female researcher, it seems impossible to assess the impact of an infinite number of unknown factors in my study. According to Misher (as cited in Clair, 2006) qualitative concepts, such as transferability, leave the superunknowns to the readers and they have the responsibility to decide the degree of dis-similarity in interpretation. Now the point is that within education there is no way to generate and distribute knowledge that does not finally depend on an understanding of the strategies human use achieve ends they view as described in particular context. To deal with superunknowns, empirical heuristics can contribute the researcher's best estimate of trustworthiness to accompany the findings and interpretations (ibid).

In the course of research the heuristics that are developed can be called empirical because they are derived from data. In other words, an empirical heuristic is a data based model of educational process. The outcomes of educational research can

not be general laws, but they can be way of thinking used to challenge and understand educational ideas and practices. In the case of my study, I have used number of theories developed in the western context, different from Nepal's particular context. Next English is my second language, according to Wittgenstein (as cited in Clair, 2006) emphasized the importance of physical, contextual description because language cannot explain events or give them any foundations. From this we can infer that human knowledge can not be extended through language but only described, and realized the same as in my studied case.

### *Case studies in Qualitative Research*

Case studies are a common way to do qualitative inquiry. Case study research is neither new nor essentially qualitative. Case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied. If case study is more human or in some ways transcendent, it is because the researchers are so, not because of the methods. By whatever methods, we choose to study the case (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). According to Yin (2003), in general, case studies are the preferred strategy, when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed in the research, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real life context. Since my research focus was primarily concerned with how questions, So I employed case study strategy in the pursuit of this study (see, RQs in Chapter I). The case to be studied is a complex entity located in a milieu or situation embedded in a number of context or backgrounds. Historical context is almost always of interest but so are cultural and physical context. Other contexts often interest are the social, economic, political, and ethnical. In my study, historical context as well as the social

context the most prominent interest but other contexts are also included as the study demanded (Stake, 2005).

Case study is singular, but it has subsections, groups, occasions, dimensions and domains, many so well populated that they need to be chosen. Each of these may have its contexts, and the context may go a long way toward making relationships understandable. Qualitative case study calls for the examination of these complexities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Local meanings are important, foreshadowed meanings are important and readers consequential meanings are important. Qualitative researchers have strong expectation that the reality perceived by people inside and outside the case will be social, cultural and contextual and they want the interactivity of functions and contexts. Next, case study primarily focuses on the unit. The unit in this study is “*Durbar School*”. Highlighting the real life context, Stake (2003) recognizes the importance of local meanings in case study research. His observations suggest that case studies are combination of local context and researcher’s interpretations. From these viewpoints we understand that in case study researcher the expansive is on the understanding of the case within its own world and on the understanding of the context in which it operates (Awasthi, 2004).

For most part, the cases of interest in education and social services are people, institutions and programmes. Each one is similar to other persons and institutions in many ways and unique in many ways (Stake, 1995). I was interested in DS for both its uniqueness and commonality with other schools phenomenon. It is unique in the sense that it was the first modern school established by Ranas in Nepal and the matter of commonality, is still serving or running as other public school in Kathmandu. I had to create an alternative discourse based on the research questions related with turning

points in education a general need for understanding and felt that I may get insight into the questions by studying DS in Kathmandu. Thus the case study here is instrumental, to accomplish my understanding about turning points in education. Next, I was interested in it because I had to learn or understand cases inside the case. I had interest in cases inside D.S, to understand the interplay among DS, students, parents, teachers including HT and people in and around school (Awasthi, 2004).

Here, in my study I am not going to separate the meaning and methods of studying an intrinsic case study and instrumental case study (see, Wellington, 2000; Stake, 2005). So I have applied instrumental as well as intrinsic interests in this study. According to Robert E. Stake (as cited in Wellington, 2000) the separation between intrinsic and instrumental, case study is often difficult, and there is no line to distinguish between their rather a zone of combined purpose combines them (see, Wellington, 2000).

Qualitative methods and case study were criticized because these were developed as 'alternative strategies against the received positivist strategies. Case study is criticized because it goes against the established norms of natural science where objectives are detached and after measuring and finding the truth which are out there and then generalizing for larger universe (Parajuli, 2002). There are some conventional wisdoms about case study research: one cannot generalize from a single case, some would say social science is about generalizing; other would argue that the case study may be well suited for pilot studies but not for full fledged research schemes; other again would comment that the case study is subjective, giving to much scope for the researchers own interpretations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

I think, above mentioned conventional wisdoms are over simplification about case study research. In order to understand why the conventional view of case study research is problematic, I tried to grasp the role of cases and theories in human learning (Seale, Gobo, Gubrium & Silverman, 2004) According to Flyvbjerg (2004) first, the case study produces the type of context dependent knowledge that research on learning shows to be necessary to allow people to develop from rule based beginners to experts, second in the study of human affairs, there appears to exist only context dependent knowledge, which thus presently rules out the possibility of epistemic theoretical construction (ibid.).

Context dependent knowledge and experience are at the very heart of expert activity. Such knowledge and expertise also lie at the centre of the study as a research method and as a methods of learning. The main point in connection with the learning and understanding process is that there does not and probably cannot exist predictive theory in social science (Flyvbjerg, 2004). Social science has not succeeded in producing general, context independent theory and has thus in the final stance nothing else to offer than concrete context dependent knowledge and the case study is especially well suited to produce that knowledge. These discussions by Flyvbjerg were found appropriate for my study because, in the first place I wanted to understand or to learn about the qualitative research as an interpretive practice as a beginner in the field of educational research and then the next, I believe that knowledge is socially constructed.

### *Setting the Locale*

Subjectivity is the prime agenda of qualitative educational research. The principle of historicism, which is one another issue of case study research, assumes

that the present events are the result of past event. To understand the historical effects on present events, it is necessary to analyze the events of quite long period of history. But case study is useful to study social change even in a short period (Adhikari, 2003).

To understand the turning points in education in micro-level, I have chosen *Durbar School* as a case study which is situated at the side of Ranipokhari in Kathmandu. It offered me an opportunity to learn the most. It is chosen because, it has historical legacy as an elite school and is easily accessible to me. My research questions and my instrumental interests demanded this school (see, Chapter I). Next it was selected to understand the critical phenomena of school children who were studying in *Durbar School* during the time of this study. Case study research greatly relies on subjective data, such as the testimony of participants and the judgement of witness. Children, parents, teachers, staffs and their relationship with *Durbar School* and Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal, was explored in this study (Stake, 2005).

The Valley of Kathmandu gained the central place in the history of Nepal. From the ancient and medieval history, Kathmandu-Valley remained focal point of elites (Awasthi, 2004). In ancient and medieval time Nepalese culture was focused on religion and spiritualism. Economy was not the main focus and objective of life. Culture was far more than economy but today the focus has reversed: people are paying more attention to economy than the culture (Acharya, 2002). These economic activities are directly or indirectly related to the education system of the country.

The cultural, political and economic changes resulting from foreign contact were largely confined to the Kathmandu valley. Kathmandu centralism has pulled more resources and mainly the elites residing in Kathmandu are benefiting (Upreti,



2004). According to Upreti (2004) a conflict analyst of Nepal, emphasizes that social exclusion is a deliberate action of certain powerful elites to fulfill their vested interest. Elites try to maintain prevailing economic and social structures and they develop on filtering mechanism such as higher fees for services, literacy and numeracy skills requirement to access certain facilities, ridged regulations, these prevented marginalized people to access resources and services (see, Upreti, 2004; Onta-Bhatta, 2000).

Being the nation's capital, government ministries and departments, services and facilities are concentrated in Kathmandu. It has also benefited from both public and private industrial establishments, export oriented industries such as garments and carpets have been one of the major sources of job opportunities for those who have migrated from rural areas (Onta-Bhatta, 2000). Onta Bhatta (2000), in her Ph.D. dissertation, emphasized that poverty as the major push force behind hill-out migration, but migration occurs due to urbanization and many other structural processes. All these have contributed migration in Kathmandu since historical time in Nepal. Urbanization is a result of many interlinked processes of what is broadly called the development. Likewise, Shrestha (1998) highlighted the development activities by elites in Kathmandu, are the construction of fancy houses and motorable roads to connect them with main roads. Many rich people in Kathmandu, erect not just one house but several houses to be rented to the migrants and foreigners (see, Shrestha, 1998).

Increased urbanization is not necessarily an indicator of prosperity but also an indicator of growing inability to sustain peace, stability and economic development in rural areas. Growth of slums and squatter population in Kathmandu is an evidence of

it. Lack of accessibility to service centers, reduced from subsidies, poor education and health services unemployment, like of collateral and financial assets are other push factors which contributed to further displacement of rural inhabitants and encourage them to look for shelter in deserted marginal peri-urban land and inner city area, with the hope of living a better life (Karmacharya, 2006). What is the relationship of those above mentioned factors with my research topic is a matter of concern. The indication of how Kathmandu itself is witnessing a turning point from a centre of elites family to disadvantaged are, may have some links to the turn of government schools from a centre of elites to paupers. Growth of in-migrants population has contributed to the increasing land and housing prices in Kathmandu valley. This has made poor people, especially in the migrants, difficult to access a decent and secured housing.

Settlements which are normally known as informal or squatter settlements have increased sharply in Kathmandu valley. In the year 1971, there were only 17 such settlements which now have reached to 64 settlements. They are usually vulnerable to natural and human made disasters and are deprived of access to basic services (ibid.).

According to Valentin (2001) residential middle class areas are scattered all over the city. The houses are built in concrete, they are angular and ponderous and usually surrounded by brick walls to keep away unwanted people. A polished name plate in marble or brass may tell that the house owner is a doctor, lawyer or contractor. The gates of these residences are opened to visitors by boy and girl, 10-14 years of age. From their appearance and behaviour it is obvious that they are not part of the family, but domestic workers: their bodies are tiny, they are bare footed or wear plastic slippers, the boys are in shirts and the girls worn out dresses which are either too big to small. They are quite and will call the land lady to let her decide if you are a welcome guest or not. There might be other children around in the garden, well-fed

and dressed in brand new clothes and sports shoes. They amuse themselves with fancy toys and do not hesitate to give order to their contemporaries, the domestic workers (Valentin, 2001:6).

The curiosity to my overarching research question and a case study of *Durbar High School* in Kathmandu partly lies in the portrait given above.

### *Innecity context*

Kathmandu is a historical city. It is for ever changing, always different according to different conditions, different peoples. It is never exactly the same, never predictable (Amatya, 2053 VS). City is not just a place of famous people, spectacular events, great works of arts, powerful politicians rich- businessman and grand architectural projects, it is also the place of all people, common occurrences, workers/labourers, squatters, and small shops on the footpath etc. (Miles et al., 2000). Today's Kathmandu is not in exception, specially the area of my study is in innecity context. A review of the literature related to innecity context, suggests that, there is a lack of consistency in defining the location of the inner city implies a complex web of urban problems combining decayed infrastructure, high unemployment and concentration of people with social difficulties. I had made some observations of innecity context of *Durbar School* and found the similar kind of occurrences in and around *Durbar School* (see, Observation in this Chapter).

### *Data Gathering Tools and Process of Generating Information*

This study was carried out among students, teachers, parents and school staffs including watchperson in *Durbar School*. It was descriptive and interpretive in nature and relied exclusively on qualitative methods. At the level of method or procedure, a

variety of approaches were used to understand the turning points in education in Nepal. Data were collected through questionnaire based survey form, observations, focus group discussions, interviews with key informants, natural group discussions and life stories (see, Table 1 below).

Table 1: Data gathering tools and process of generating information

Tools/Methods	Features	Focus
Students Survey Form	Collecting General Information about the students and their parents	Parents' occupations, subjects they felt difficulties, grade 5, grade 7, grade 9
Observations	Extended period of contact with school and inner-city context	Teacher room, library room, class room, footpath around <i>Durbar school</i>
Focus Group Discussion	Intensive group interaction	Boys working as household worker, girls living with their parents
Interviews	Unstructured/ Open ended interviews	HT, Assistant HT, watch person, teachers, students footpath <i>pasale</i> .
Natural Group Discussion	Spontaneously	Students/Teachers
Life stories	Memories/ Aspirations	Students

#### *Student survey form*

Based on the insights drawn from the literature review and first contact with HT in *Durbar School*, I developed a survey form based on the questionnaires for students to be employed in this study. This was done to gather general informations about the current situations of student's affairs like parental occupation, education, to whom they are staying with, etc. Next this was done to find out the cases for my intrinsic interest of the children from marginal backgrounds. Before applying survey form to the students in DS, I reviewed the forms by using

them in one innercity public school in Kathmandu. The reasons behind choosing 'Turning Point' school were the presence of children from marginal backgrounds and the school was easily accessible to me. Some informations were gathered first through HT and teachers in 'Turning Point' school. Through this process, I received useful feedback on survey forms regarding questionnaire contents and organizations. It helped me to avoid ambiguity and unclear expressions in the form. The main purpose of reviewing the survey form was to see how students understood, meaning, wording and their willingness to respond a particular information (Koirala, 1996; Stake, 1995).

Gaining access to the children in DS, it was emergent for me to collect informations based on survey forms<sup>15</sup>. According to this, children were chosen or selected from grade five to grade ten except grade eight. It was my assumption, during the study time that children from grade five and above would be able to rate their parent's educational and occupational status clearly. Education is clearly an element, which plays a major role in determining what occupation one will achieve and hence, inturn probable level of one's income (Tumin, 1999). Grade eight was selected for another sort of data generating method viz. life stories in this study. Similarly, below grade five I was involved as participant observant in this study.

While distributing forms, the number of students were decided right on the presence of students in the grades. Forms were distributed to the students by taking consent from HT and teachers in the respective classes. I attended in grade seven and ten and other grades were attended by the respective teachers in the classes. During my study period, I found HT, teachers, school staffs and students were so responsive

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<sup>15</sup> In this study survey form was used to identify the case of my instrumental as well as intrinsic interest, survey form was designed by using some sort of questionnaire, so survey form or information form are used interchangeably.

and eager. Informations provided by the students, the form distributed to them were observed and manually analysed by myself. Basically grade 5, grade 7 and grade 9 were observed and analysed separately. It was done to understand the parent's and children's current state of affairs viz. education, occupation, to whom children were staying and striving to witness turning point in life through schooling. This process of generating informations helped me to draw more insights and indepth study of *Durbar School*.

### *Observations*

In this study I carried out observations in various settings and sometimes observations were mixed with informal talks with teachers, students and people in and around *Durbar School*, including children's parents. In the light of Delamont (2004), I concentrated my observations in the two kinds of settings: one was inside the school and the other was outside the school. All the observations were carried out simultaneously in DS. First, observation was carried out in teachers room, then in the library room and at last in the class-room, time for observation was managed according to the period, as second and third periods for teachers room, in fourth period I participated in teaching learning activities in grade one. During the time of interval (tiffin time), I attended in the library room and again in the fifth period I participated in teaching/ learning activities in grade three. This process of observations lasted for more than fifteen days.

The main purpose of doing observation in teacher room was to understand how teachers spend their leisure periods in school, whether they discuss their experiences about students, DS and the parents. During the time of my field work, as observation in DS, while entering into the teachers room there was a pair of separate

chair and table at the left side of the room, which was occupied by the Assistant HT. At the middle of the room there were two rectangular tables connected with each other and chairs around it. There were wooden cupboards at the right side of the wall with teacher's name stucken.

While observing teachers room, I understood that some teachers mainly female teachers were found busy in checking student's homework. Sometime they talked about contemporary political situation in the country. But rarely, I found they were talking about children, parent and school, this infers that teachers in school rarely bring the issues in discussion regarding children and their parents. I had also acknowledged similar kind of experience when I was a teacher in public school (see, Annex B6). We generally concentrate our discussions in our own matters, while interacting with each other in school. I think, it would be better, if we as teachers discuss about our children and their parents in school, such type of discussion brings new issues related to children and their parents. It helps us to develop positive attitude toward the children from marginal backgrounds.

Likewise, the aim of participation in teaching learning activities was to understand in which subject they felt more difficult, where did and to whom they stay with, how smart they were in their study. Another major concern of doing this was to identify the cases that really fix into my study. With the help of this process, I acquainted with children's parents. This process helped me to realize the micro-process of interaction between school and children.

Next, the observation was carried out in the library room, the main objective of doing observation in the library was to look how teachers and students participate in reading. Library concern and reading habit of the students and teachers in school

matters a lot. Significantly, the library of DS was found a more resourceful and a wide space to learn, well equipped furnitures. I had observed various matters to learn ranging from daily national newspapers to english literatures. According to Ishwar Chitrakar a librarian cum teacher, very few teachers and students borrow books from the library. During the time of my observation in the library I found none of the female teachers concerning library, but some male teachers were found actively participated in the library. Later on I asked with one lady teacher how DS library contributed to the students and teachers then she replied that, teachers have had some good reference books at their home, they used to concern refrence books at home. She added that students generally do not borrow extra books from the library, because at home they have to help their parents at different chores. They are from marginalized backgrounds and do not even understand the subject matter in the text book taught by the teachers.

In the case of students, small children were found interested about the stories with pictures. A few number of senior students were found reading in the library. while I was sitting at the corner side of the library some children from grade one and grade three came with me and asked me to translate the English story in to Nepali, they come with me because they were already acquainted with me in the classes.

Above discussion infers that home environment and school environment of the children in DS were found mis-matching. Though, the facility of teaching learning environment from teachers perspective was sound but the result in real practice was very nominal. Small children were facing difficulties in learning English and mathematics, they were telling that no one was there to teach them at home and they were not taking any tuitions.



The observation inside the school was followed by the observation outside the school. This included the observation of children's parents residing area and the distance between school and residing place, pupil's parents working sites and observation of the surroundings of DS.

I visited a residing place of a girl who was studying in grade three. She was found- a little bit weaker in her study. First phase of observation inside DS made it possible to acquaint with her guardians. She was living with her mother's sister room at ten minutes walking distance from the school. Her mother's sister had three children including two daughters and one son. Her children were studying in other public school in Kathmandu. Her husband runs a footpath *Pasal* at *Ratna Park*. I observed that all of them were residing in one small room, hardly there was a place to move in. Some materials which would be sold at *Ratna Park* were also occupied at room. Her husband was absent during the time of my visit. Similarly I visited and observed Kalpana's mother's working site as well (see, The Story-III in Annex B).

Based on the literature about city and inner-city and the observation of the areas around DS, I found some inter-linkages between today's DS and innercity context. Innercity area is defined as the urban settlement with high level of social problems and poverty (Jary & Jary, 2000). In other word, the zone of transition. According to the perspectives of urban ecology, an area which borders the central business area. Although its socio-economic make up is constantly changing due to the process of urban growth and relation, it is characterized by high level of migration (as poorer people and new comers move into to the city area and well off people move away to the better areas of sub-urbs.), by social heterogeneity, multi occupations of

dwellings and high incidence of reported social problems such as poverty, crime, mental illness and alcoholism (see, Miles et al., 2000; Jary & Jary, 2000).

I moved around DS area in three different times: morning, afternoon and evening. Time for observation was managed in such a way that morning and evening time was utilized before and after the first phase of observation inside school. Two more days were included to observe the area in the afternoon. While observing, I understood, it was crowded all the time but little bit less crowded in the early morning time I did not dare to observe it at mid night. In the afternoon people from affluent classes run on their vehicles and remain busy in their business and services around the city. Cars, micros and buses move frequently and blow horns which make noises in the school.

People living in a marginalized situation, occupy a small space at the roadside of DS and put goods things for sale. Things for sell varies from boot polish to seasonal clothes and wearing, from electronic gadgets to vegetables, from books to fried beans and maize.

In the morning, I have observed that children from affluent family go to the well known private school in Kathmandu. They waited their school buses in front of the DS gate. The peon from DS mentioned that he had to open the gate of DS, as the large number of children from affluent families wait for buses on the pavement of the DS, if he did not open gate fully there were chances of being fell in accident.

In the evening, around five o'clock the area around DS becomes more crowded, people from jobs, businesses, offices and other purposes return their residing places. Those who lived on the foot path-business come forward to occupy

space, sometimes they used to quarrel each other claiming about the space they occupied. These observations helped me to gain insights into the interrelationship between DS and people around it.

#### *Focus group discussions*

After analysing the survey form, students were selected to conduct focus group discussions. Though, this method was not outlined in the proposal, as the study proceeded I applied FGD in this study. Qualitative study less depends on the procedures outlined in the proposal and the relationship between the initial proposal and the eventual outcomes (Morse, 2004).

A pilot focus group was carried out in the same school, in which I have reviewed student survey form. It was easier for me to handle pilot focus group, as I had worked as a research assistant cum moderator with John Were Wadenya, an Ugandan from Hiedelberg University of German in 1999. The study by Wadenya (1999) was focused on qualitative methods particularly FGD, observation, semi-structured interview to explore the male involvement in reproductive health in Nepal. Those learnings were useful in this study. I had acted as a moderator in that study. Pilot focus group which was held in TP School helped me to increase coherence across the stages of methods, minimize the conflict between assumptions and styles and limit the possibility of intervention and manipulation (Litosseliti, 2005).

Tape recording was, of course very important for the purpose of transcription and analysis in this study. High quality Japanese Panasonic, micro-cassette<sup>TM</sup> recorder (RN 202/502) model was used with student's consent. Pilot focus group discussion was carried out in the vacant room at school with sufficient illumination and

ventilation. The informations and insights from pilot focus group discussions were also used in my study. For pilot focus group discussion six students were selected from grade six and seven, three from each grade. Teachers in Turning Point (pseudonym) school helped me to find out the boys who were working as domestic helper. The discussion lasted typically one hour and fifteen minutes.

Two FGDs were carried out in actual setting in DS. First FGD in DS was carried out with boys. Boys were selected on the basis of their status as working in other's house. Six boys were included in FGD, two from grade nine, three from grade seven, and one from grade eight. A boy from grade eight was selected on the basis of information provided by the class teacher in DS. All the boys were working as domestic helper in respective residing homes.

During the time of focus group discussion with boys, I had faced some difficulties. By taking consent with the students, focus group discussion was scheduled to conduct on Friday, after school periods in the class-room but right on that day football match was organized in school. Most of the participants, four out of six were found to be the players, then I post-poned the FGD for that day and I watched their football match. After completing football match, I took consent from the participants and the FGD was carried out on Monday. The permission was sought from HT and agreement from the teachers. Benches and tables were already arranged in circular patterns at the corner side of the library room. The corner played crucial role in my study by avoiding unnecessary noises from the road side. Here, FGD was conducted after tiffin time, on fifth and sixth period to avoid other students and teachers intervention in the library. I requested to the teachers to compensate the lessons to the participants and they were agreed.

I had developed a topic guideline to conduct indepth discussion on the context and various components of the topic. The topic guide line is a list of issues to be explored during the session, containing words that remind the researcher/ moderator of each topic (Machaghten & Myers, 2004). Discussions were open ended based on the topic guidelines. Typically, most of the participants in first FGD in DS were from Tamang ethnic backgrounds. One participant was from Chhetri, a high caste lad. Two Tamang boys wanted to speak more and continuously where as three others including Chhetri-boy were moderate and, one participant was quite reluctant to share his views at the beginning. I encouraged him to come forward and participate in the discussion, at the end of the session he became more active and expressed his views openly.

To make sure that non of the details were lost, all the discussions were tape recorded. I had found it possible from my early research experience, with the help of good quality recorder, that specially in moderate and smaller focus group discussion could be conducted without an assistant moderator and observer (Machaghten & Myers, 2004; Awasthi, 2004). In this process I worked myself both as the researcher and moderator, which gave me the advantage of having more insight and contextual knowledge about the study over-all. Refreshments were served during discussions to make it more relax and comfortable. Recorded discussions of the FGD were transcribed in Nepali first, then translated into English. There are two processes of transcribing for analysis. First the complete group discussion and the second is the abridged transcription (Litosseliti, 2005). I followed the complete transcription for analysis though it was difficult and more time consuming process, I found it was rigorous, rigorous in the sense that it allowed, intimate understanding of the content of the talk and the group dynamics.

Other FGD was also conducted in the library as already mentioned in DS. Unlike the first FGD, this was conducted with six girls who were living with their parents. Three participants were from grade seven, two from nine and one from grade eight. These girls were living with their parents, and their parents were involved in one type or other types of income generating jobs. Topics guide line was prepared based on the perspectives of girls, in relation with DS and their perception on schooling. Procedures applied to conduct this FGD was similar to the earlier one.

### *Interviews*

The FGD was followed by interviews. Interviewing includes a wide variety of forms and a multiplicity of uses. The most common form of interviewing involves individual, face to face verbal interchange, but interviewing can also take the form of face to face group interchange. It can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured. It can be used for the purpose of understanding individual or group perspectives. The use of interviewing, to acquire information is so extensive today that it has been said that we live in an interview society (Fontana & Frey, 2005)

Interview was one of the main source of information in this study. Face to face interviews were conducted individually and I had applied an unstructured ways of interviewing with watchman, peon, librarian cum teacher, female-teacher, male teacher, HT, Assistant HT and students. Some interview guidelines were developed in advance to make interview more organized and focused (Awasthi, 2004). The main purpose of doing this was to acquire indepth knowledge about DS and its interplay with students in the present context. Besides this, some interviews were carried out with the parents in their residing room, working places i.e. on the foot path. I have realized that the application of interview in this study helped me to understand the

world views of the participants, their social life, their struggles, their perception toward DS and education as a whole to witness turning point in life.

The educational research will need to establish some kind of rapport with interviewee and will necessarily have background knowledge and prior conceptions which are brought to the study. In order to develop friendship with teachers and students I applied informal chats and politeness (Wellington, 2000). I have expressed my objectives of doing this sort of study with them. I understood, they were so-cooperative and responsive, from the beginning. Most of the interviews were carried out in DS premises but not in a fixed way. They were ranged from teacher's room to library room, Head Teacher's room to open space (Varanda). All the interviews were carried out by myself; most of them were single in nature but being an informal and less structured, some time other people used to come and listen to us, some time they expressed their views as well (Parajuli, 2002). Some interviews were lengthy and spread into more than one attempt. It happened because of the issues related with my study and my reflection on the topic.

Rapley (2004) argues that we should analyse what actually happened, how our interaction produced that trajectory of talk, how specific versions of reality are co-created, how specific identifies, discourses and narratives are produced. I have used cassette recorder to tape the interviews. Some teachers did not feel comfortable with recordings, some interviews were pre-arranged and some were not. Some interviews were more formalized but not recorded some were less organized but recorded, it happened because of the respondents consent in one hand and partially from my side too; time was not fixed, while talking with the respondents sometime it could be long interview with one and it could prevent recording for other due to lack of electric

charge in the battery. Specially students and the parents were found more interested to record their voices but some teachers had reservations.

In some cases, informally I talked with the people around DS without any notes and recording. Most of the interactions were held at public places like *Ganesh Man Singh and People's Movement Martyr Memorial Peace Garden*, in front of DS, public vehicles, shopping centers, footpath etc. If I need to buy something, I used to visit DS side. These informal chats with the people helped me to understand the everyday life of the people in Kathmandu specially around DS. Very marginalized people doing small business or *Pasal* on foot paths, *Varias* (porters) carrying heavy loads on their back, people suffered from illness, disabled lying on the overhead bridge all contributed me to understand the saddest part of inner city life

Nevertheless, I had witnessed some problems while conducting interviews and chatting with the people in and around DS. More than two times in the cases of teachers, informally they have asked me to visit them at school next day, but I found they were absent on that day. While I was conducting an interview with a footpath *Pasale* (Street vendor) by taking consent from her around 5 O'Clock in the evening. Her daughter was studying in *Durbar School* in class one. I was already familiar with her daughter as I was involved in class-room teaching learning activities for observation. Her daughter *Kalpana Ghimire* (name changed) informed me that her mother had to a prepare maize on open fire (*Makai Polne Kaam*) on the footpath, at the side of DS. She was showing more interests to talk with me. We were talking about her daughter's study interest at home, home environment, her struggle for survival and sending her daughter to school. Suddenly, her husband came with alcoholic mood and started quarreling with Kalpana's mother and forced her to lend



some money to him. I did not feel easy to continue my interview with her and left on that day. Next day I visited her and she arranged interview time, she called me at Peace Garden, which is situated nearby DS (see, The Story in Annex B3)

### *Natural group discussions*

The group interview is essentially a qualitative data gathering techniques that relies on the systematic questioning of several individuals simultaneously in formal or informal setting. The non-directive approach is more likely to be implemented in a naturally established field setting where the research purpose is phenomenological to establish the widest range of meaning and interpretation for the topic (Fontana & Frey, 2005).

These arose spontaneously without any arrangements in my study. One was occurred in Turning Point school with girls student and another with teachers in *Durbar School*. As I had already mentioned that initial focus group discussion was carried out in Turning Point school. The discussion was so insightful that I had a plan to include it in my study. Because of this plan, I had a schedule to meet with HT of Turning Point school. As I reached in the school, it was just interval time, most of the students were on the ground. I was passing by, one boy came running with me, who had participated in the pilot focus group, informed that girls from the same background, working as domestic helper were also interested to interact with me. Four girls were standing at the side of the *Canteen* wall. The day was cloudy and started to rain. With the help of Kumar (name changed), I called them, having introduced myself to them, I found they were more interested to interact with me. I inquired the space to interact, fortunately we got a room attached with a big hall. There were benches and desks. We sat there and I offered tea and *Pakauda*. We discussed at

length about the struggles they have been doing in terms of schooling. The discussion lasted about an hour. At last I asked them to write a life story about themselves, including major turning points in their life, and how did it happen to them to choose this particular school. Stories were collected the day after next day. This process broadened my insights about the power of schooling; how power of schooling was attached with the people even living in a very marginalized situation.

The second NGD took place in teachers room in *Durbar School*. I was there to collect some information about children from the teachers. I was talking with a female teacher first in formal way. I found more female teachers gathering around table, they were interested with me how my study was going on. They were in leisure periods, obviously the number of female teachers were found higher, because the number of female teachers in DS were in greater number than male teachers. Spontaneously, I asked them to interact with me, if they were interested with my study. They accepted my proposal right on that time. We discussed at length about how DS witnessed turning point from the center of elites to paupers. In the discussion, there were more than five female teachers who were working as teachers in DS more than eighteen years; as this discussion was occurred in leisure periods of the teachers, they were not obliged to stay in the discussion as they had other periods to attend in the classes. So teachers came and went naturally and participated in the discussion (Wadenya, 1999). Highly experienced female teachers were involved in this discussion. This sort of discussion helped me to understand the teacher's views about schooling and its connection with the contexts around DS.

*Life stories*

In my study, I had requested grade eight students of DS to write about their life stories based on their memories and experiences. The present perspective conditions the selection of memories, and the type of representation of the remembered experiences. This means that in the course of a life with its biographical turning points—points of interpretation that lead to a reinterpretation of the past and present, and also of the future (Seale, Gobo, Gubrium & Silverman, 2004). This infers that experience of individual turning points in life are the matters of inquiry in relation with schooling. Writing of experienced events refer both to the current life and to the past experience<sup>16</sup>. Upon my request, children have written their life stories about how did they get in *Durbar School*. I had given them a scheme for writing life stories which included major events took place in their past life; how their present life is running and what are their future aspirations. My main purpose of doing this was to understand their perception on schooling, their families, their everyday life etc (see, Parajuli, 2002). I went through those stories, I have found that children have expressed their parent's struggle on overcoming the poverty. Some children expressed that, they had good schooling at first but later parents divorced, father brought step mother which resulted tragic life for the children, these events led them to admit in *Durbar School*.

Here, it was not my intention to include all the stories in this study. It was done to find out the cases which really contribute me to understand the relationship between individual turning points in life and schooling. Turning points occur in personal life but those turning points could be interpreted interms of schooling.

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<sup>16</sup> See, Chase, Susan E. (2005). Narrative Inquiry. In Denzin and Lincoln (Eds). *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pp. 651-679.

*Data Analysis and Interpretation Procedure*

The analysis of data derived from qualitative research strategies is potentially a vast field. The collection and analysis of spoken material is one domain where over specialization is danger. The development of discourse analysis and conversation analysis has been one of the most egregiously successful domains of qualitative research (Atkinson & Delamont, 2005). Data analysis is part of the research cycle, not a discrete phase near the end of the research design and future data collection, i.e., it is formative, not summative (Wellington, 2000).

While analysing the qualitative data, I drew insights from Miles and Huberman (as cited in Wellington, 2000). According to them qualitative data can be breakdown into three process categories for analysis purpose. First data reduction consists of data selection and condensation. In this stage data are collated, summarized, coded and sorted out into themes, clusters and categories. My data analysis started with writing short notes out of interviews, focus group discussions, observations, life stories and natural group discussions. I made a complete transcript of all interviews and discussions with the teachers, children, parents and people whom I contacted during the time of field study. During the analysis, I focused on the form and the meaning of the text (see, Awasthi, 2004; Parajuli 2002). My field notes and transcriptions supplemented each other. Throughout the fieldwork, I had developed the habit of writing brief notes in English based on the field reflections. This rewarded me a lot in developing meaning on what was expressed. In some cases interviews and informal talks were not recorded, I had to rely on field notes that I had developed. Second, data display is the process, data are organized and assembled, then displayed in pictorial, diagrammatic or visual form. This display allow the researcher to

conceptualize the data leading towards interpretation and conclusion drawing. These reflections helped me to develop and understand the themes in my study. I had tried to code themes in various categories. They were organized and reorganized according to my intrinsic and instrumental interest in this study. This was done based on the respondent's identity and their perspectives. When I faced larger volume of data, while analyzing, I returned to the research questions, it helped me to divide data into manageable units, each unit could be matched to a research question (Wellington, 2000). I have prepared manageable units, including a matrix- like form, so that it would be easy for me to retrieve data and at the same time see the patterns and relationships among data items (Parajuli, 2002).

Third process involves interpreting and giving meaning to data. This process involves searching for themes, patterns and regularities, and the activity of comparing or contrasting units of data (see Wellington, 2002). In order to analyse and interpret data, I first tried to understand the voices from the participants perspective and supplied some direct quotations from group discussions and interviews. In some cases detailed accounts of respondent's views are presented partly through use of telling quotations interspersed with my own text (Koirala, 1996). I inquired issues, described them carefully and reformulated as appropriate.

Beside these, I drew inputs from Wolcott's frame work (as cited in Parajuli, 2002). This framework infers that qualitative data analysis consists of description, analysis and interpretations. Description concentrates on the something like reporting of what has been experienced in a way what is going on there? Analysis is understanding of phenomena and to make systematic description of interrelationships between data and theories in the study. Interpretation is deriving meaning from the

phenomena where, researcher focuses on the questions such as what does it all mean? (see, Awasthi, 2004; Parajuli, 2002). In my study all three processes were employed, but not on the basis of step by step process, it could be said that, I needed to go back and forth on the continuum of description, analysis and interpretations. So insights drawn from Miles and Huberman, and inputs drawn from Wolcott in my study were highly influential to analyse and interpret the data.

However, one cannot be sure if the data have been analysed fairly adequately or reliably. Several strategies can assist a researcher in improving the reliability and ‘trustworthiness’ of these process: talking over the data and discussing it with other (Wellington, 2000). So in the following section, I have made some reflections while talking over the data based on the literature and the fieldwork.

### *Trustworthiness*

Clive Seale (2004), one of the editors of the book titled, *Qualitative Research Practice* argued that only by conducting an inner and outer dialogue, quality of the qualitative research could be achieved. According to him, outer dialogue concerns the external relations of research project, it’s relevance to practical and political projects, its consequences, uses and over all purpose. The inner dialogue concerns its internal logic the adequacy of links between claims and evidence. He gives more emphasis on inner dialogue and prefers to enhance the quality of inner dialogue by learning how to draw on philosophy, social theory and methodology in practical research skills.

Likewise, Lincoln and Guba (2005) offered ‘trustworthiness’ as an alternative criteria to judge the traditional ‘reliability’ and ‘validity’ in educational and social research. According to them terms such as credibility, transferability, dependability

and conformability replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity. I understood these terms as outer and inner-dialogues of Clive Seale as mentioned above (see, Lincoln & Guba, 2005; Awasthi, 2004; Seale, 2004) and these terms refer to the contextual dimension of research which help to analyse and interpret socio-cultural and historical processes and the worth of the study. More recent interpretations of the hermeneutic principle of understanding local realities view research in more interactive terms as happening in the dialogic space between the self of the researcher and of the persons being researched. On the dialogic end of the hermeneutic continuum, research participants are involved in the project of constructing and capturing their reality as co-workers, involved in designing, executing and reporting on the study (Saukko, 2005: 348).

Prolonged involvement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing are some ways to foster credibility. Persistent observation brings indepth to the study. The use of evidences from different sources of different methods of collecting data and of different investigators, where feasible are all triangulation techniques which enhance credibility (Wellington, 2000). According to Patton (as cited in Awasthi, 2004) because of triangulation the quality of the research can be enhanced. Similarly, Yin (2003) claims that case studies draw on a wide variety of sources. He argues that the use of multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows a researcher to address a broader range of historical, socio-cultural and personal issues (see, Awasthi, 2004; Yin, 2003). In my research, I employed document study/ literature review and survey form in the first phase, which was followed by observation, FGD, interviews, NGD and life stories with in the framework of inner dialogues (see, Seale, 2004).

Transferability is a kind of description which specifies everything that a reader may need to understand the findings which appears suspiciously circular as a definition. The findings themselves are not part of the “thick description”, though it must be interpreted in their light (Lincoln & Guba, 2005). One of the issues around validity is the conflation between method and interpretation. So dependability is analogues to reliability, just as reliability is necessary though not sufficient condition for validity. So that a study that is valid must needs reliable, then dependability is necessary, though not sufficient for credibility. Hence, a study that is shown to be credible is also dependable. Triangulation, discussed above in connection with credibility could be argued as being more obviously a means of assessing dependability (Wellington, 2000).

However, postmodern turn suggests that no method can deliver an ultimate truth and infact “Suspects all methods” the more so the larger their claims to deliver on truth (Lincoln & Guba, 2005). Thus one might argue that some methods are more suited than others for conducting research on human construction of social realities, no one would argue that a single method or collection of methods is the royal road to ultimate knowledge. In new paradigm inquiry, however, it is not merely methods that promises to deliver on some set of local or context grounded truths, it is also the process of interpretation (ibid.).

Based on the above discussions, trustworthiness in my study partly relied on the portrait given above. So, now I am going to describe about outer and inner dialogues employed in my study briefly. Foremost this study is done to complete M.Phil degree in education. The intensive courses designed in M.Phil programme in T.U., which I had learnt in first and second semesters were found much more useful to



complete this study. The philosophical debate on quantitative and qualitative research methodology in the classrooms, assignments in advanced research methodology, and in development studies were found highly influential in this study<sup>17</sup>. To complete this study I partly relied on theories, specially theories in sociology of education; socio-cultural reproduction and school, agency-structure, cultural production and schooling and power/knowledge. Though, power/knowledge concept of Michael Foucault was not applied in the school setting, new researchers in the field of education are applying Foucauldian perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). However, these theories helped me to understand turning points in education, while applying theories in the everyday reality of actors in DS. Despite the nature of theories and their application in western context, many more researcher are applying these theories in local context specially in Nepal (see Awasthi, 2004; Parajuli 2002; Valentin, 2001; Koirala, 1996). Going through the literature, I found that, excessive dominance of western theories in Nepalese context for the quality of social research. Scholars felt obliged to 'theorise' their work, putting energy into review of literature at the expense of applying research skills (Seale, 2004). I found, some how myself trapped in the same tradition. In this study, I have also tried to understand 'Turning Points' in education in micro-level, the term 'Turning Point' is borrowed from Fritjop Capra (see, Capra, 1982). The concept 'Turning Point' in Capra's book is not directly linked with education. His book reveals that we are at a turning point in all areas of our culture. It was my effort to link education with turning points. It was my understanding from Capra's work that educational aspect in any society is also a cultural aspect, so I applied the concept of turning points in my study (see Acharya, 2002).

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<sup>17</sup> See, further details on the courses of study on M.Phil programme in T.U., 2005.

However, my methodological writing was the result of being in a lucky position, able to learn from others practice (Seale, 2005). I went through the dissertations which were accomplished by Nepali as well as foreign scholars, particularly in Ph.D. level in the field of education in Nepal. It was golden opportunity for me, because most of those scholars were my professors, who always inspired me to accomplish the study on time. I had discussed about my topic my methodology, analysis and interpretation and the whole write up with my teachers and colleagues. These sort of interactions were the most crucial in determining quality and credibility of my research I was in a inner dialogue as suggested by Seale (2005).

While conducting this study, I gained remarkable learning experiences. Gathering data from the field, looking themes in the data, categorizing them rearranging them in the order, looking back and forth. This did not mean that, smoothly I completed this study. I faced many ups and downs in my everyday schedule, at the same time I experienced academic stress (see, Regmi, 2002). As a beginner in the field of qualitative research, I realized it was a huge job to accomplish with in a given time framework. One of the biggest worries in my study was reflected in the topic that I have choosen. Ends and means were in my hands. I accomplished this study by playing different types of roles. The idea of taking a role is however problematic in itself because, by focusing on a single role, the researcher neglects the shifting social identities of researcher and informants, be they teachers, H.T., watchperson or students. According to Valentin (2001) it is entirely up to the researcher to select and define such role and it thus ignores the inter-subjective nature of the fieldwork encounter. I had to establish one sort of role in one situation and the other role in other situation. Using observation as the research method in the classroom specially in grade one and grade three, I explicitly adapted the active role

of teacher but in mind I was a searcher, searching a suitable case for my study. It helped me to build the rapport with the students and I could meet their parents as well. At the same time I was really upset with the situation of the children, who usually asked me to stay in their school and teach them regularly. Generally, children in my participant observation period felt more relaxed with me than a regular teacher. It was difficult for me to maintain the role of teacher in the class-room and balancing disciplined relationship in the class room. Some time the dominating children teased others and the others came forward to complain and punish him/her.

Similarly, it was difficult for me to carry out the role of interviewer with the students and the teachers. It was difficult in the sense that, sometime I had to distance with them and some time proximate with them (Valentin, 2001). While following the interview, one of my key informant, a teacher became so close to me, started orating more negative, more aggressive and pessimistic views towards *Durbar School* and other teachers, I observed and realized that this could influence my research. I requested him not to be too critic to other, because there are chances that others will criticise you as well. It was happened from the side of respondent, so it was difficult to control.

In this study, I had to use English as a medium of writing and as it was the prime requirement of M.Phil study in T.U. Medium of instruction in M.Phil study was also followed in English. English was my second language in terms of exposure and proficiency (Awasthi, 2004). So it may be possible that my English could be different from what is expected for an academic writing in the west (ibid.). However, at the end of the study I felt smarter in English than before, which was great achievement in my life.

Likewise, I had experienced a kind of violence against the respondents by the researcher. Though it was ethical consideration to take consent from the respondent in the research. The respondents had to give time and had to share their experiences, for the sake of researcher's purpose. However, consent was a considerable matter, one afternoon, I was interviewing a middle aged women in the *Ganesh Man Singh Memorial Peace Garden* in front of DS, where her footpath *pustak pasal* (book shop) was, she was so curious and responsive toward my presence as researcher. At last I thanked her and bought two books as compensation. Even, nowadays I also follow the same route, if need to buy some books I ask her to bring books and I used to buy them. This infer that qualitative researcher reflect, construct, and change the world views as the study advances (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

#### *Ethical Considerations*

Case studies often deals with matters that are of public interest but for which there is neither public nor scholarly right to know along with much qualitative work, case study research shares an interest in personal views and circumstances.

Ethic and moral play an important role both in educational and scientific research. Moral underpin ethics, but the two terms are not quite synonymous. An 'ethic' is a moral principle or a code of conduct which actually governs what people do. It is conceived with the way people act or behave (Wellington, 2000). Proper respect for humans freedom generally includes two necessary conditions. First, subjects must agree voluntarily to participate - that is, without physical or psychological coercion. Second, their agreement must be based on full and open information and social science codes of ethic uniformly oppose deception. In general deception is only acceptable if discomfort is believed to vanish by itself or is removed

by a debriefing process after the study (Wellington, 2000; Ryen, 2004; Christians, 2005). In another word it is called conformability. It is obliged to protect the participants identity, places and the location of the research. All personal data ought to be secured or concealed and made public only behind a shield of anonymity. Professional etiquette uniformly concurs that no one deserves harm or embarrassment as a result of insensitive research practices (Ryen, 2004).

Highlighting the ethic in research, Steiner Kvale (as cited in Ryen, 2004) argues that ethic is not restricted to field work, but refers to all stages in the research process including field relation and writing up the report. According to him personal interactions in the interview and discussions affects the interviewee and participants, and the knowledge produced by the interview and discussions affect our understanding of social context (Awasthi, 2004). Likewise, Ryen (2004) noted that there is no international agreement or regulations of ethical standards in research, but three main issues frequently raised in the western ethical research discourse: codes and consent, confidentiality and trust. Codes and consent refer to the right to know that they are being research participants and have the right to know that they are being researched, the right to informed about the nature of the research and the right to withdraw at anytime (see, Christian, 2005; Ryen, 2004). Research ethical issue as confidentiality refers to the researchers are obliged to protect the participants identity, places and the location of the research (Ryen, 2004).

According to Fine (as cited in Ryen, 2004) trust refers to the relationship between the researcher and the participants, and to the researchers responsibility not to spoil the field for others in the sense that potential research subjects became

reluctant to research. Trust also applies to the report or the discursive practices defining the standards for presenting both the researcher and the work as trustworthy.

Based on the above discussions, some ethical issues were considered in this research. First, permission to conduct this study in DS school was sought and received from the M.Phil. study programme in T.U. and then permission was sought from the DS. Informed oral consent was obtained from each of the participants prior to the interview and discussions. Similarly permission was sought to participate in class-room teaching as the part of this study. Permission to record the interviews, FGDs, NGDs were obtained separately from the informants. It was difficult for me to conceal the identity of the some respondents since I was conducting case study of DS. Because of this confidential problem I asked with the Head Teacher and Assistant HT whether I mention their actual name in my research. They replied that it does not matter, as I wish; therefore I applied fictional names to them. Attention was paid by me to protect the privacy of the other participants in my study, as they were called by the fictional names. In the case of survey form, students have written their actual names and it was easy for me to choose the participants by actual names but in this study I have provided them with fictional names.

The research participants were guaranteed that their interviews and discussions were treated confidentially, private data identifying the subjects were not reported. Transcripts were anonymised. I have used photographs rarely in this study. Using photos fieldwork can make a study more vivid and act as a proof of fieldwork, but these practices are scarcely used in field work (Ryen, 2004). However I had taken permission before taking photographs. In my study, the purpose of taking photographs

was not to include photos in the report but to use them in presentation, if it was considered necessary.

### *Chapter Summary*

In this chapter, I have drawn from the qualitative research design and methodology as demanded by my research questions and thesis blended with my instrumental interest. As I have shown here case study as a research strategy which would allow me to carry out an actor oriented approach in socio-cultural and historical perspectives in terms of DS in Kathmandu. I had chosen DS, first modern school in Nepal which is still running at the west side of *Rani Pokhari* in Kathmandu. Yet I have argued that the case study is constructed and a bit goes beyond DS, since the trial of FGD and life stories from TP School (pseudonym) were found more insightful to understand turning points in individual life and it was decided to include them in the analysis and interpretations.

An exploration of my engagement in writing and positioning with in the field has helped me to understand turning points in the social life in and around DS. Based on the changing context of *Durbar School*, I have tried to understand turning points in education, which shall be elaborated in this thesis in the following chapters. Despite the proclaiming of egalitarianism or equal opportunity for all, Chapter-IV will reveal that the school system continues to sort out children and label them as successors and failures. People in and around DS or in innercity context, their lower socio-economic status and schooling could be observed and interpreted based on their social practices. So I have tried to understand these relationships or interplay of schooling and paupers as missed turning points in the context of DS. So I had given the topic as 'elites to paupers', not from 'paupers to elites' it is because discourse of modern education in Nepal had started with the interest of the elites.

## Chapter - IV

### Elites to Paupers: Missed Turning Points

In Nepal, schooling has constructed its history as one of steady process towards greater objectivity, understood as pursuit of the 'truth' as 'Education for All'. With in such a history, the establishment of *Durbar School* has been identified as a significant moment or as a turning point in the history of educational development. It would be difficult for any one to over look the crucial role played by DS in shaping our society and lives, specially in the context of modern Nepal (EFA, 2004 - 09; Valentin, 2001).

In this chapter based on the statement as indicated by Mahesh Nath Parajuli (2002)<sup>18</sup>, below, I intend to understand the historical turning point in education as opening of DS was false. I have taken a number of themes for these purposes like historicism, the birth of DS, changing nature of DS, DS as a social space, social-cultural reproduction and schooling, gender and schooling etc. The aim of understanding these aspects is to analyse and interpret the relationship between school and inner city societal context in terms of DS and at the same time looking for a new discourse: 'Turning Points in Education', while, making interpretation, the meaning people give to education will show, as I have argued in chapter one that turning point is a kind of discourse which describe and explore voices of the people living in marginal situation. To make a foundation for the discussion, now I enter into the theme- historicism.

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<sup>18</sup> Only by prioritizing the discourse of the poor and marginalized groups of people, any contribution can be made toward assuring access to quality education for all and eventually in raising the living standard of the people (Parajuli, 2002: 6).



*Historicism*

The term 'historicism' describes the relationship between a particular event or structure and the historical context in which it functions (Spinks, 2007). Historicism, in its teleological form is frequently used to establish a sense of historical continuity between the past and the present. Friedrich Nietzsche (1874) reflected upon the value of history by making a radical break with this teleological concept of historicism. Nietzsche argues that the meaning of historical events is not determined by the broader historical context that encompasses them, not is it the purpose of research or historiography simply to provide points of narratives continually between past and present. It is not the point, here of studying history to find out the 'truths' of the past events, we need history for the sake of creative learning and understanding in the present (Ibid.).

Based on above discussion, the establishment of DS was a true event in the history and it is still running at the west side of *Rani Pokhari* in Kathmnaudu. With the help of this school, I am going to learn and understand about turning points in education as a new discourse which seems creative and productive. At the same time I am not going to make a draft of the all historical development of education in Nepal, rather I tried to understand missed turning points in education at least in this chapter. For this I had to make some dialogues with the event 'the birth of *Durbar School*. So in the next sub sections I have started looking and understanding some missed turning points in education.

*The Birth of Durbar School*

Naming has important value in learning. It locates us in time and space.

*Durbar School* by its name allows us to locate in Rana regime (1846 AD- 1951AD). I will make some discussions on time and space in next-sub-sections, but now, I would like to search the linkages between the terms; *Durbar* and school. The term '*Durbar*' refers to the residence of elites specially in the context of Nepal, and the term 'school' is western construction. The term 'school' has its origin in a Greek word meaning leisure or recreation. In pre modern societies schooling existed for the few who had time and resources available to pursue the cultivation of arts and philosophy but in the course of time, education in its modern form, the instruction of pupils within specially constructed school premises, emerged in the first few years of the nineteenth century, when primary schools began to be constructed in Europe and the United States (Giddens & Duneier, 2000). At the same time, India was ruled by Britishers in the name of East India company. Britishers were the English language speakers and things altered radically in India, when Thomas Babington Macaulay emerged as an utilitarian and, who had faith in the supremacy of modern English education (Awasthi, 2004 & Pathak, 2002). According to Philipson (as cited in Awasthi, 2004) the significance of language, was understood from the early expansionist phase of imperialism, the English language was regarded as a force for modernizing the country in India, the purpose being to educate a class of Indians who could function as interpreters between the British colonial power and the millions of Indians, they governed a class of persons Indian in Blood and Colour, but English in taste. Nepal, being a neighbour and open boarder system the conspiracy of British India-Company as mentioned in above discussions have some direct or indirect impacts on educational developments and the establishment of DS in Kathmandu (see, Chapter I).

From the beginning of the second half of the 18th century, the rising influence of British colonialist in India naturally had some direct or indirect impact on neighbouring Nepal. There is no doubt that after the establishment of British rule in India, English language entered in Nepal as power to communicate with foreigners. Besides these, the establishment of the British residency here in Kathmandu in the year 1816 AD hold a great influence on promoting the English language in Nepal (Maskey, 1996).

In Chapter I, while describing the establishment of DS, I had indicated that, it was a special school at first only Ranas were allowed to enter, it was not established with the hope it would serve to the marginalized groups of people. As earlier in this section, I have indicated that the word '*Durbar*' belongs to the elites. Hundreds of people from marginalized sections of the Nepali society have contributed to construct *Durbars* in Kathmandu. These *Durbars* were utilized by elites for disseminating their power to the people; which was also true in the case of DS (Amatya, 2051 v.s.). Generally it is said that it is the moral duty of the state to provide education for all citizens. The state should provide opportunities for education to the marginalized people to whatever religion or community they may belong (Tyagi, 2000). But the case of the birth of *Durbar School* was just opposite of this logics. It was established by elites for the elites, so it was named *Durbar School*. The underline, essence of establishing DS was the matter of power. If it was not meant for their powers then how did it serve to them. Why paupers were neglected? The curiosity and exploration of such things helped to understand the practices of elites in the past as well as in the present. It is not my intention here to blame elites for everything did wrong in the past. It is my belief that there must be more dialogues between elites and paupers to understand the voices of the poors in the present. It was mistake, history shows that,

*Durbar School* was in elite's camp at first, the beginning was somehow susceptible, a female high school teacher in *Durbar School* also viewed the opening of DS in susceptible way and made comment on it:

Elites like Ranas took the advantage from DS as they were the power holders, it was not considered marginalized people must be educated at first, so we call them, now autocratic leaders. It was the human nature, particularly autocratic elites who hold power wanted to grab maximum opportunities for their own families (Interview, 2064/03/20 VS).

This infers that it was the human nature of autocratic elites that prevented them to think and do something for the paupers or the poor peoples. There was not a provision of listening to the paupers. People were infested with fatalism. Fatalism worked as the way hegemony works, the members of marginal groups accept that, this is the way things must be in schooling (Corson, 1998). Hegemony is the form of power utilized by dominant classes in the constant structuring of consciousness process of the sub-ordinate groups to shape their commonsense views, needs and interests, not only using the means of coercion but more by the process of consent (Giroux, quoted by Parajuli, 2002) This shows that paupers were neglected in the past due to elite's attitudes and practices of self-centeredness. The dialectic nature of the relationship between elites and paupers were also absent in those times interms of DS. So it was missed turning point in education when DS was established. It was missed turning point in the sense that it had missed the dialogues between elites and disadvantaged group of people in terms of establishing DS. It is my next belief that only by the dialogues between elites and paupers in terms of schooling can change the attitudes and practices of the elites but other forces must be considered for the change,

of context in the society as well. So now I would like to shed light on the changing nature of DS in terms of time and space.

Here missed turning points in education could be understood in terms of attitudes of the elites. Attitudes of the autocratic elites like Ranas were found to be self centered and influenced people by avoiding them from reaching to the powers as in the case of opening DS in Kathmandu. Next inability of the paupers to raise their voices against elites could have worked as missed turning points for the paupers.

### *Changing Nature of DS: Time and Space*

#### *Ubiquity of change*

When we arrive at a point, where we can speak systematically about social change, we can regard at least some of the changes in people's lives, in groups, in institutions and in entire society as possible regular or lawful, then we see change everywhere we turn (Moore, 2004). The sense of time and perception of change are inextricably linked to the human experience. The link works both ways; neither time nor change is a dependent variable, one cannot link about change with out including the concept of time and, without of having some sense of its passage (ibid.).

While looking time as an adjunct of change, and changes in DS that could be identified with some causes. Without time there is no sense of change, without change, however there is no sense of time. Parajuli (2002) had identified some forces of changes in DS, in his Ph. D. Thesis, he has admitted that time as the greatest force of change, and explored that peoples demand for education was the primary importance, particularly people in Terai districts as their proximity with Indian boarders. Next, Parajuli (ibid, p. 84) highlighted the First World War as the agent of

change. The demand of literate people in British Indian Army and appealing to please the Government of British India forced Ranas to establish a few schools in some places in the hilly regions. However, first half of Rana rules tried to keep masses out of DS, but Dev-Shamsher opened it for the masses (Pradhan, 2052 V.S.; Parajuli, 2002 AD). There were dissenters as politically conscious people protesting against Rana rulers considered as the other prime reasons to compel Ranas to improve educational condition in the country (see, Chapter V).

A male teacher, one of the informant in this study from DS viewed the changing nature of DS in a very critical way and made comment on it:

All the elites do not have same type of self centered attitudes and thoughts; some of them bring changes in thoughts and practices according to time and space. Next, elites quickly become aware of the outer world influencing their people and society and try to make sure that they (elites) are involved in changes along with the peoples will. But it is very complex matter to make conclusions on changing nature of DS, for example Dev Shamsher was from the autocratic families but worried about the educational status of the Nepali people and opened DS for the masses, when he was Prime Minister of Nepal, but other elites from the same Rana family opposed his ideas and deeds.

(Interview, 2064/03/18 VS)

This infers that elites replace elites and the action ultimately influence the paupers or disadvantaged. This further shows that witnessing turning points in society in terms of education are mostly the matters of elites. If the moment of change in terms of education could not become pro-poor people then it is missed turning points for paupers as in the case of DS. Some-time, awareness about the outside world by elites

work as turning points for the paupers but some other time elites awareness turned into fear and that works as missed turning points for the paupers.

To understand the turning points in education in Nepal, it would be worthwhile here to elaborate the concept of DS as a social space in brief. Space like time, sets limits on human life and on the variability of social structures (Moore, 2000).

#### *Durbar School as a social space*

In order to understand the interplay between elite families and Durbar school, I introduce the concept of social space. Social space is about context for relational encounters (Moore, 2004). If one imagines how a person moves around in Katmandu throughout the day and draws these movements up on a map, one gets a picture of his/her path for particular days. Adding up these paths throughout a year, a picture slowly develops of where his/ her main paths of movement are. If one does the same thing for several people and puts these on top of each other, one will see that certain places are frequently visited by many people, other places are frequently visited by some but not by others, and some are one time visits. A social space may thus be defined as an area for relational encounters, or as a setting for interaction. Both school and families are social space (Waldrop, 2000:3)

If we look into the DS in terms of social space in the past it infers that mostly caste like *Newars*, *Chhetri* and *Brahmins* have frequently admitted their children in DS (see, Table-2). DS was opened to male students only.

Table 2: Students in DS in the Past: A Short Numerical Glimpse

Caste/ Ethnicity	Year/Grade				Year/ Grade				Year/ Grade				Year/ Grade				Year/ Grade			
	2008 V.S./X				2009 V.S./X				2016 V.S/X				2018 V.S./X				2031 V.S./Test			
	Sec. A		Sec. B		Sec. A		Sec. B		Sec. A		Sec. B		Sec. A		Sec. B		Sec. A		Sec. B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Newars	14	-	16	-	30	-	35	-	18	-	32	-	32	-	26	-	24	-	-	-
Brahmins	17	-	10	-	17	-	15	-	23	-	9	-	15	-	20	-	20	-	-	-
Chhetri	6	-	11	-	7	-	6	-	5	-	7	-	4	-	3	-	12	-	-	-
Thakuri	1	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Madeshi Brahmin									2	-										
Magar													2	-						
Gurung																	1	-		
Rajbansi							1	-												
Dalmul																				
Bharati/Giri											1	-			1	-	1	-		
Rawe									1	-										
Musalman											1	-	1	-						
Rai																	1	-		
Kapali											1	-					1	-		
Saikhala											1	-								
Mali									1	-										
Rana									1	-										
Basamka																	1	-		
Dewa																	1	-		
Dalit	1	-	-	-	1	-														
Unidentified	2	-	4	-	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Total	41	-	42	-	62	-	62	-	51	-	52	-	60	-	58	-	62	-	-	-

Source: School Record Files (2008 VS, 2009 VS, 2016 VS, 2018 VS 2031 VS) (See Annex 4)



Social space as an analytical concept may be divided into ideal types of either open or closed, and either heterogeneous or homogenous. Open social spaces are open for everybody while closed social spaces will have rules or norms and gate keepers to regulate entrance. Heterogeneous social spaces contain people from different background. While homogenous social spaces contain people from similar backgrounds. Thus, four ideal types of combination are possible. In reality, however, social spaces may be empirically found on a scale from open to every body to closed, and from homogeneous to heterogeneous. Schools are in an ambiguous position (ibid., pp. 3-4)

In principle all educational institutions are supposed to be open and heterogeneous social spaces where people from different caste, classes, religions and regions may meet. Based on the ideal of educational institutions as means of the state to provide social justice, schools may be viewed as arenas for upward social mobility through which individual may change their social position. Thus, educational institutions may have the potential to fundamentally shape the life chances of individuals. In practice, in the Nepali case, however, the education system is an arena for reproduction of inequalities (Parajuli, 2002). Depending upon the socio-economic, political and cultural contexts people take the meaning of education differently. Thus, educational outcomes are contextualized in the relationship among education, the economy and society. Similarly, the people at different positions might perceive educational outcomes differently. Educational policy maker, planners, and academia might take the meaning of education differently than the people at the local level causing a lack of coherence between educational objectives, policies and actual implementation (Ibid.).

Based on the above discussion in the course of time school may uphold the values and world views linked to particular social classes, thereby creating a sense of alienation for students from other classes. As in the case of *Durbar School* at first, it was a closed social space, only Ranas were used to get admission, but at the end of Rana rule, less conspicuously it was opened for all, in practice it remained open only to those in the Rana family and the classes close to them (Bista, 2001). This infers that elites like Ranas brought the idea of an English educated elite and slowly schooling was linked to the knowledge and power of English. Ultimately, this power/knowledge of English led to the privatization of education as an economic activity (Bhattarai, 2007). One consequence of educational privatization, is that education becomes part of the market, and one consequence of a market economy is competition (Waldrop, 2000). In contrast to the present, students from DS in the past used to do well in the SLC exam, school was sure to make results public, and reputation was very high in the Kathmandu (Pradhan, 1996).

Before 1971 AD, schools in many part of the country have been opened with or without state support, but the government nationalized all private schools for making a uniform system of education but at the same time Government requested, Eton School, a British top notched elite school to establish a model private school called *Budhanilkantha* where Prince Dipendra (now dead) studied (Bhattarai, 2007). This shows that how the power/knowledge of English was attached with the elites and how elites understood the future needs of the self. There is no doubt elites were the school expansionists in Nepal but still schools are serving to the elites. This is because, schools, specially modern schools were not designed according to the needs of marginalized people i.e. paupers in the society (Parajuli, 2006). In my study, I have given this sort of action as missed turning points in education, specially for the

development of society as a whole and those missed turning points must be revisited. For this paupers/marginalized voices must be heard at school setting. Opening *Durbar School* was elite's turning point but it was missed turning points for the paupers.

*Paupers as residual learners*

According to *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* (2000) the meaning of pauper is very poor person or a person who receives from poor law, relief. Similarly, *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* defined paupers as a person destitute of means except such as are deprived from charity; one who receives aid from funds designated for the poor. Very rarely the word 'pauper' is pronounced in social context, so it is important to situate the historical and cultural meaning of paupers in *Nepali* context. Antonio Gramsci (as cited in Jones 2006/2007) account of the subaltern provides of key theoretical resource for understanding the conditions of the poor. Gramsci used the term sub-ultern to refer in particular to the unorganized groups of rural peasants based in *Southern Italy*, who had no social or political consciousness as a group, and were therefore susceptible to the ruling ideas, culture and leadership of the state. The meaning of the term subaltern is broad and encompasses a range of different social locations. Subultarn classes may include peasants, worker/labours and other groups denied access to the hegemonic power. Gramsci claimed that the history of the subultern classes was just as complex as the history of the dominant classes, although the history of the dominant class is as official history (Ashcroft, Grifliths & Tiffin, 2004). Slowly the discourse of disadvantaged groups in the society are increasing. Many more voices are being raised, including the voices of those who were once dispossessed (Corson, 1998).

Similarly, UNDP (2004) reported that the poor in Nepal ranged over a wide variety of socio-economic groups irrespective of caste, sex, religion, and geographic regions including urban areas. Women cut across all these categories, whether Dalits, Indigenous people, individual with disabilities or children. Not traditionally high caste people are rich and have access to resources. Like wise not all low caste people are poor or other wise disadvantaged (see, UNDP, 2004).

The above discussion infers that there are diversities among paupers. Broadly the meaning of 'paupers' in this study, represent not only economically poor in the society, they are group of people destitute of means and resources and their capabilities are deprived off including people, displaced due to people's war, working children, girls children etc. In other words paupers are economically, socially and politically destined people, who are very hardly participating in mainstream education with a big hope of witnessing turning points in their life. But there is vulnerability among them, if the situations and context are not understood in local level, it would be worthless of uttering social justice in education (see, VCDP, 2004; EFA, 2004-09).

Creating a discourse from the paupers perspectives provides insights into strengths and weaknesses of marginalized groups in school setting which enable us to experience the chaos of inhuman form of life. The chaos of inhuman form of life could be found in historical domination by elites. Nepal's history can be recollected as the history of alienation, secularism by the State, Ranas and the Urban elites. Its history is a history of elite of a generation. The sub-ultern or the paupers' history that stood suffered and side lined is still to be covered and written (Francon, 2007). This study is an effort to look paupers voices in school setting. However, foot path *pasale*, boys working as domestic workers, girls working in other's house, labourers, peons;

watchperson, people displaced by peoples war etc. are regarded as paupers or the residual learners in my study.

It would be unwise to put all the paupers in a single group and treat them as similar. Elites generally put paupers in a very single broad group but this approach ultimately turn into a missed turning point for the paupers. The voices of the paupers must be heard separately at school setting. Here paupers must be analysed on the basis of their complexity as mentioned in above paragraphs. For example children working in other's house are quite different from the children who are living with their parents but at the same time there exist the matter of income and occupations in which they are involved.

#### *Residual learners of Durbar School*

According to the Head Teacher of DS, the educational carrier of the children in DS seems very unstable, involving frequent movements from one school to other. The dynamic nature of the educational carrier of the children in DS, makes it difficult to provide an exact numerical overview of the students, therefore the number of children enrolled in DS as shown in the following table were collected from the attendance register, and it is most likely that they have changed since the time of data collection, the time of data collection typically lasted from April 2007 to August. While observing attendance register, found that there were many application letters kept in register, begging leave by the students and some students were found absent for a long time, just their names were written in the register. This also infers that it was difficult to provide exact number of students in DS. However the total number of students registered in attendance register during the time of study in DS are shown in the following Table 3.

Table 3: Total number of students in DS, 2064 VS

Classes	Male	Female	Total
Nursery	10	8	18
K.G.	7	7	14
I	13	14	27
II	11	13	24
III	20	18	38
IV	20	10	30
V	11	14	25
VI	12	12	24
VII	13	7	20
VIII	17	10	27
IX	18	12	30
X	18	12	30
Total	170	137	307

As mentioned in Chapter III questionnaire based survey form was used to identify the general information about children regarding their parental occupation and educational attainment, the subjects in which they were facing difficulty in learning, whether they were staying with their parents or not etc. The questionnaire based survey form was distributed to the students of grade 5 and above but for the sake of understanding I have observed and analysed the informations about students particularly from grade five (5), seven (7) and nine (9) separately in brief. This was done to identify the cases for in depth study.

From grade 5, twenty one students have responded the form; among them fourteen were girls. Among fourteen girls, 10 of them were found staying with their parent here in Kathmandu. According to the children none-of the children's parent have house or land in Kathmandu but some children have mentioned that their parent

had land and house in their own districts, from where they came in Kathmandu. This infers that the involvement of local elites in DS is faded away. Four boys students have mentioned that their mothers were involved in putting *Pasal* on footpath. Similarly five girls children mentioned that their father were *Varias* (person carrying load on back). None of the children's mother have passed SLC but most of them were found literate. Two girls, who were not staying with their parents, mentioned that, they were living with their relatives and one girl was found as household worker.

Above information revealed that students learning in DS were from very miserable economic condition. They were studying in DS with a great hope of success in the future, this was reflected in the form and they had mentioned that, they would be job holders in the future ranging from doctors to business person. Similar kind of analysis was found in Parajuli (2002); as the study had revealed that schooling was expected to result in non-agricultural and non-manual employment.

The scenario of grade 7 is not so different from grade 5, seventeen students have completed the questionnaire based survey form. In this class the majority of the male student were found. The caste ranged from *Madhesi Brahiman* to *Pahade Brahman*, including *Chhetri*, *Newar* and *Tamang*. Among eleven boys, eight students have mentioned that English was the hardest subject for them. Six boys mentioned that they were living with their parents both mother and father, other fives were found working as a domestic labour, serving in the hotel, living with their-relatives. According to boys, nine of them had not land and house in the valley. Most of the boys (7) mentioned that they had land out side the valley but not sufficient to survive. One boy did not have parent so he was living with his relatives in Kathmandu. Among six boys living with their parents most of them informed that their parents were

involved in footpath *Pasal*, working in *Sauji's pasal* (owner's shop) etc. Two boys mentioned that their fathers were labourers. None of the male student's mother have passed grade five among them two were illiterate. In the case of fathers one had passed I.A. and involved in a job in an office but all fathers were found literate, some of them had passed grade five and grade ten.

Above mentioned information infers that DS is facing a challenge of flow of students from marginal backgrounds. The legacy of elite-school is changing into the paupers school. How does it serve to the students from diverse background of marginality is a matter of concern now. How is it possible to make safe and paupers friendly environment?

In grade 9, twenty five (25) students including 16 boys and 9 girls have completed the form. The caste ranged from *Brahman* to *Dalits* including *Magar*, *Gurung*, *Chhetri*, *Tamang*, *Thakuri* etc. More than fifteen students had mentioned that English was the hardest subjects for them to learn and others have mentioned maths, science as the hardest subjects.

Among twenty five (25) students 7 girls and 10 boys mentioned that they were living with their parents. Four male children and 2 female children mentioned that their parents were laborers, 4 boys were working as a domestic helper. Three girls rated that their parents did not have any piece of land outside or inside the valley. Among fathers of the student, only two had passed SLC.

While observing the informaions as above, the situation of DS has definitely been changed. None of the elites like Ranas or Shahs are there studying in Durbar school now. In it's history of more than one hundred and fifty years, it has been



witnessed turning point from the centre of elites to paupers. Based on the information made on these three grades infer that the face of the *Durbar School* is changed.

In the past DS was the center of quality education and used to produce qualified students. This could be seen shortly in the following table. Where SLC graduates from DS stood in the top most position in SLC board exam.

Table 4: SLC Board (Topper) students from DS

Year (V.S.)	Name	Position
1990	Puspa Bhakta Malla	First
1992	Yadu Nath Khanal	First
1993	Shyam Krishna Gautam	First
1994	Chandra Dev Ojha	First
1995	Tirtha Prasad Pradhan	First
1996	Bharat Bahadur Pradhan	First
1997	Bhuban Lal Pradhan	First
1998	Renu Lal Singh Subal	First
1999	Tirth Bahadur Pradhan	First
2000	Gyanmani Aa. Dee.	First
2001	Bishnu Prasad Dhital	First
2002	Ranjan Raj Sharma	First
2003	Upendra Man Malla	First
2004	Bhawani Shankar Rajbansi	First
2024	Bal Krishna Shrestha	Ninth
2031	Rajendra Prasad Sharma	Fourth
2033	Kanchan Prasad Upadhya	Fifth
2034	(a) Subarna Mani Achara	Fourth
	(b) Binod Chandra Ray	Fifth
2035	Nirmal Shashi Gautam	Third
2039	Bishowjit Amatya	Tenth

Source: Introduction to Durbar High School (*Durbar High School Chinari-* Text in Nepali), Durbar High School (2064 V.S.)

According to the Head Teacher of DS who was also an ex-student of *Durbar School* mentions:

Once it was a centre of learning for elites but now only the children from foot path *pasale*, labourers, domestic helpers, drivers, porters, *nanglo pasale* etc. are studying and the number of students are also decreasing (Interview, 2064/04/03 VS)

More than one and half centuries have been passed, there after the establishment of DS and now the first face of DS has seen completely changed, with in these context I have tried to understand turning points in education in Nepal. To understand that I need to know how children are studying in DS, what are their perception towards schooling. Based on my discussions with the students and interviews with the teachers in DS I have made interpretations. It's my belief that, while making interpretation I have given due recognition to the paupers voices and I have asked myself why paupers could not travel with elites in the journey of educational attainment or development? What would have happened if DS was first opened to the paupers instead of elites? What would have happened if paupers and elites have travelled together? But, now policy documents in the filed of education show that the discourse of the paupers are prioritized (see, EFA-2004-09; VDCP, 2004). Whether these efforts in policy level come to work in the field reality as suspected by Paulo-Freire (1972) i.e., “The interest of the oppressors lie in changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them” (p. 32).

This infers that paupers who were studying in DS might have developed the concept of education as necessity of life by looking at the successes of the elites and even living in very hard situation they were striving to obtain education and to witness

turning points in their life. If paupers situation are not changed even they study in so called elite-school they lag behind (Illich, 1972).

Ideally education should lead toward reducing disparity between the rich and the poor but the present educational system is encouraging this gap (Wagley, 2006). Private schools have helped people to be educated to some extent but they have widened the gap because they became more commercial and have only served the affluent classes (see in earlier section, *school as a social space*). In the course of time DS is changed from elitist school into a public school and, now it is serving to the very marginalized people living in inner city. In fact DS was not established to serve these kinds of people in the past and even now the teachers are not prepared to serve those people who are participating in it. It seems, the legacy of serving the elites is still there but the context has been changed. In this context, Parajuli (2006) asserts that elites have established the modern school, to obtain job for themselves and that schooling became the medium to stick them in the power circle, because of these reasons paupers could not participate in school from the beginning. Further he questions that whether these schools were designed according to the need of the marginalized people? In the case of DS first it was absolutely meant for the elites. Ranas never thought that children like Kalpana, Deepak, Sarita and like others would be in DS (see, Annex B). Besides this, the involvement of these children in DS does not assure the chances in life, there comes the matter of succession. So modern schools served only to elites to witness turning point in their life through the means of education.

From the beginning paupers could not participate in schooling in Nepal because elites designed schools in such a way that it could serve only to elites. Still

the structure of the school is not changed according to the needs of the paupers. DS must be changed into paupers friendly school other wise it would be again a missed turning point for the paupers in the days to come. These points are elaborated in following sections. I found that in the past there were very few schools in Kathmandu including DS, but now the schooling context has been changed and DS is serving to the people in this changed context.

*Paupers and Schooling: Missing the Turning Point*

Historically, Kathmandu has been a suitable place to open schools (see, Chapter III). As a result, large number of schools including private boarding schools are opened in this capital city. Proliferation of schools in the Kathmandu Valley and the children with their uniform in the city infers that Kathmandu Valley is changed into a schooling society. Each and every corner of the city, hanging boards with schools name plates show the changing context of Kathmandu in terms of schooling. Not only this, every morning, afternoon and evening the streets of Kathmandu are packed with children of all ages in a variety of uniforms. The government school uniform is easy to distinguish from those of, the private schools which each have distinct symbols (Valentin, 2001). Parents even living in a very poor condition want to send their children in private boarding school. The access to private education is no longer confined to the elites now. There are private schools to cater different segments of society (Bhattarai, 2007). A middle aged woman, named Bishnu Maya involved in foot path *pasal* around DS said that, there were people even doing *pasal* on foot path, they had sent their children in private boarding school. From this, I came to understand that children in DS whose parents were doing *pasal* on the foot path, could not have sent their children in private boarding schools.

There were children in DS who had first studied in private boarding school, but for reasons such as, they were compelled to admit in DS. For example, Deepen, a fifteen year old boy in grade eight in DS expressed in his life story that first he was living with his grandfather who was a pensioner of Indian Army. The reason behind living with his grandfather was that his parents used to quarrel and drink alcohol. In order to save the grand child from this environment grandfather adapted him. He was very happy with his grandfather and he was studying in a private boarding school in *Bhaktapur*. When he was studying in class six, unexpectedly his grandfather fell in sick and died in hospital. This made Deepen to be pushed out from boarding school and he came back with his parents who were very quarrelsome and drunkard. During the time of this study, Deepen's parents were in Kathmandu doing small business on foot path, Deepen writes in his life story:

When I was in boarding school in *Bhaktapur*, I was very smart in my study including English but now I cannot concentrate on my study, I am becoming weaker in my class. Mostly I remember those schooldays in *Bhaktapur* and I think, if my grandfather was alive, I would not have witnessed this unfortunate turning points in my life, but somehow I am studying in government school, I am not sure how far my schooling goes further (64/02/16 V.S.).

There were, Deepen like children in public schools in Kathmandu, who first studied in private boarding school then admitted in public schools. This also infers that, now, DS in views of children like Deepen dropped into a inferior rank in comparison with other private boarding schools. If we see the history of the establishment of DS and its linkages with the English, still the same psychology of

people is working as they want to send their children in private school. This also shows that even students who had left boarding school due to various reasons, but they believed on schooling and participated in *Durbar School*. It is not only the case of D.S in Kathmandu, but other public schools including TP School (pseudonym). Students came from other public schools from the outside of the valley and continued their study, even they had to work in others house as household worker. This infers that people even living in a poor and marginalized situation started giving value to education and at the same time believed that schooling brings some changes in their future life. But in the context of Kathmandu, people participate in schools according to their selection, which means according to their social positions. So now, I would like to make some discussions on schools and social selection in terms of inner city context in Kathmandu. These discussions also reflect on how paupers miss the turning point in education.

#### *Schools and social selection*

As a modern institution representing itself as promoting democratic, egalitarian values the school is an important tool in this process because of its integrative intention (Fuller quoted by Valentine, 2001). Through homogenizing strategies, such as uniformity, time schedule, course of study, exams, teaching methods etc. the school tries to create a common basis for the pupils and there by to eradicate social differences. In reality schools tend to produce and reproduce hierarchical relations and there by select children ignoring egalitarianism. However, it is important to understand peoples meaning of the school as a social institution (Parajuli, 2002; Valentin, 2001). Next, by looking at the peoples participation in particular schools like DS and T.P. School, we can understand the process of social

selection. Despite the provision of equal opportunities for all children, schools are highly stratified and selective.

This reminded me the term ‘Social Darwinism’ which infers to the application of Darwinian Principles of Natural Selection to the societies (Dickens, 2002). Herbert Spencer (1855) argued that society should be viewed as if it were an adaptive organism. I believe the term ‘Social Darwinism’ seems educationally problematic, since, if individuals specifically paupers in innercity context, are to the survival of the fittest, then the status quo is always seen as justifiable in school setting (as cited in Ritzer, 2000). This view while implying in school setting further endangers the least ‘fit’ as the pauper in schooling.

To support my understanding on turning points in education, I relied not solely on DS as I had mentioned in methodological part of this study. Beside DS, I have drawn some inferences and insights from Turning Point School in Kathmandu. Like DS, the Turning Point (TP) school at the time of field study was serving as a public school in innercity context in Kathmandu. While Juxtaposing these two schools in terms of the types of the students enrolled in, they stood similar. During the time of my study, children studying in DS and in Turning Point (TP) School were found mostly from the marginalized situation in Kathmandu. Some of the children who were from out of the valley and were from deprived families. They were found working as household workers to the affluent families in Kathmandu and as helpers in hotels. Some other type of children who were living with their parents, but their parents were found working in a very marginal situations including labourers, and putting *pasal* on foot path. While comparing children as mentioned earlier and later, these living with their parents were found in more advantageous position, than those

were working in others house (Regmi, 2002). This also infers to the specific moments in family and in personal life makes a specific type of school selection (see, Annex-B).

While referring back to the stories, children like Kumar and Sarita are striving to witness turning point in their future life, but how the school and home context is turning them and making very different to fulfill their school demands. Bourdieu (as cited in Valentin, 2001) argues that schools draw unevenly as an example in the story of Sarita, she could not complete her assignment at home, as she had to keep herself busy in household work, according to the will of the householder but the children who were living with their parent had made some adjustment with school. Muna, a ninth grader 15 years girl in DS expressed her views toward the parental support in her schooling:

Since I am living with my parents, I do not have to worry about the things required for schooling. My father asks me what I need in school including tiffin sometime he sends me for tuition classes if I find difficulties in subjects. But at home unlike my brother I have to involve in household chores. [FGD-G, 2064-03-14 VS]

Unlike Sarita, Muna (name changed) had better conditions at home and there were parents to look after her studies. Children from higher social status enter schools already familiar with some social arrangements. Bourdieu (as cited in Parajuli, 2002) maintains that socio-cultural experiences in the home facilitate children's adjustment to school and achievement, and there by transforming socio-cultural resources into what he calls cultural capital. This infers that school likely to reject or exclude the



children of the poor majority, who have to work in others house and household worker as in the cases of Kumar and Sarita in Turning Point School in Kathmandu.

The stories of Kumar and Sarita infer that, pauper- children need some sort of supportive treatment at school to enhance their learning achievement, otherwise there are high chances of lagging behind and it would be injustice to poor children (See Chapter VII)

So turning points in education, as very marginalized people started entering into the school, relates to the schooling and intention to eliminate social differences by promoting equal opportunities. The ideas of social equalities, as turning point in education go hand in hand with an effort to create sameness among a socially and economically diverse group of students but the school as an institution, implicitly contributes to produce and reproduce social inequalities and it misses the turning points in education and those missed turning points must be retraced backs.

How school perpetuates inequalities, in other words how school witness missed turning points is a very complex matter to understand but there are some partial ways to understand it. For this I looked into the social as well as in an individual level of the children who come to school with diverse background, if some provisions are not made in school to treat these diverse-group of children our conventional school system only favours elites. Partially, to understand how school has been witnessing missed turning point, I have made some discussions in the following sub-sections as well.

*Work and school*

Working within one's family or for some one else, was and still is a significant part of the every day reality of the children in Nepal (Onta, 2000). Children learning in DS and in TP School were not exception, some others had to work, in their own house. Sometimes we cannot predict, how turning points occur in individual life and at these turning points in life, persons have to perform one kind or other kind of work, at the same time working pattern changes with respect to time. Time is a factor which contributes to organize and define children's activities not only with in the school, but also outside the school. The current school system implicitly favours children who can devote their time to schooling and who are socially and culturally equipped to follow the tight schedule (Valentin, 2001). School demands maximum time from the children as in the cases of Kumar and Sarita as I had mentioned in the stories, in earlier section, they could not give extra time at home for their study, consequently, it made them weaker in their study at school. Sarita expressed that she had to be absent in the class in order to work at home, there were not any provisions at school to compensate their lessons (see, Annex- B2). Some children who were living with their parents had better pre-requisites for coping with the school system, because their parents were found working hard and freed their children from works, allowing children to follow school's schedule. Man Raj, my informant at DS expressed that, this year he has to appear in SLC, so his parents were not letting him to do household-work or go outside to works with his father to sell the carpet in the market (see, Chapter VI). Children in DS who had other duties at home such as household work are more likely to fall behind (Valentin, 2001; Parajuli, 2002). Simillar kind of views were expressed by a seventh grader Rabindra at DS:

I have to get up 4:30 in the morning, I have to clean the house first, then I have to prepare bed tea for the family members. Then uncle orders me to bring daily Newspapers-*Kantipur* and *Kathmandu Post* from nearby *Patrika Pasal* (Newspapers shop). Home tutor comes to teach their children at home. Two girl children who are studying in grade-4 and grade 5 in private boarding school. I prepare breakfast for all of them including the tutor. Then I had to prepare food for the family. Sometime unknowingly their guest come at home, and I have to prepare food for them, due to this reason I had missed classes in school. So I had failed in Maths in sixth grade (FGD-B, 2064/03/11 VS)

Despite the fact that school believed to be egalitarian institute, it perpetuates inequality by selecting the children who can devote extra-time and support at home and making them successes (Parajuli, 2002). This was applied in the case of Rabindra who had to perform various task at home but his household owner's children were getting full support from their parents, and there was a tutor to teach them so it was easier for them to cope with the school environment. This also infers that, yes children from very marginalized situation entered in to the school system, further they entered into historical DS but the legacy of DS is still there preventing pauper children to be a successor. First DS was established to favour the children from elites in Kathmandu, now there are many "*Durbar*" schools in the form of private boarding school. So, is it not the missed turning points in education, some are favoured by the school system and some others are likely to exclude from the system. There are other things to be considered, which make school to witness missed turning points in education in local

context. Gender and caste are two things to be considered, which make school to witness missed turning point in education.

### *Gender and schooling*

Males and females as member of society, they have to perform their roles according to the values of society. There are traditional division of work between males and females. These gender roles being from the children during which the boys and girls are made to be accustomed to their future responsibilities (Wadenya, 1999). Women face special problems in society like ours, where women are treated as in inferior rank. In the past, there were no provisions made for women's education. Now some changes in gender roles could be seen in Nepali society, but it is very difficult to eradicate historically legitimized social roles based on the gender (Valentin, 2001). From the time, the child is born, it is put into his/her mind that you are a boy or a girl, when it put into practices it inhibits particularly girls children from full, participating in school activities even they are living with their parents at home. A 15 years girl, *Ambika*, seventh grader in DS expresses:

I have to do all household chores including cooking and cleaning at home, but my younger brother never does these chores, he goes with his friends to play, when he returns home from school. Parents also do not compel him to do some work. He gets enough time to prepare his lessons at home but I have a tight work schedule at home [FGD-G, 2064/03/14 VS].

Girl-children in our context, have to perform tasks at home as expressed by *Ambika*, and it directly or indirectly affects the girls schooling. From this, easily we

can draw, the conditions of girl children who are working in others house and continued their studies at school. As I had indicated earlier in Sarita's story at school she had to perform household chores, regularly she could not attend at school, and missed the classes and she became weaker in her studies. Girl's work duties at home and their lack of schooling is evident in the study- carried out by Skinner and Holland (1998). Thus gender roles in house affect in the process of learning at school. Gender role in DS is not limited to the children but also applied to the female teachers as well. When, I was conducting NGD in *Durbar School*, I had, asked with female teachers about the appointment of female H.T. in DS, at the end of the discussion, female teachers expressed their veiws:

*Regmi: What do you say about the appointment of Female H.T. in DS? Since the establishment, only male Head Teachers are found leading DS*

FT - I : In the past, there were two opportunities for me, but I did not accept the offer, because there were various roles at home I had to perform. I had to look after mother in law, my husband, children and various other family affairs.

F.T.-II: In male dominated society like ours, women have to perform various roles and responsibilities, as women we have to give time for household activities. I also had an opportunity in the past but I denied. It would be difficult for women to take the major responsibility at school and to maintain time between home and school [NGD, 2064/04/07 VS].

Above expressions made by female teachers in DS show that there existed gender roles, that prevented them to be the Head Teacher within this context, I argue that DS has witnessed turning points as females were appointed as teachers. Once in

the past, even girl children were not allowed to study at school but now the situation has been changed, the roles of female at home is affecting both the girl children and female teachers. So, it refers that gender roles affect schooling, there is likely to favour male children in the context of *Durbar School*, who were living with their parent. So in the context of DS, the consequences of schooling for female children's engagement in household work was critical, not necessarily because it prevented them from working but because they have to manage both the schooling and work obligations at home (Bourdieu, 1977; Valentin, 2001).

This infers that gender disparity was clear in children's participation in household activities. Some girl children in DS were found living as household worker, they needed to balance household work and schooling. Though girls were attending in school, but their gender roles have affected their educational carriers. For one, these were nothing but missed turning points in education. Missed turning point in the sense that schools are not girl child friendly, because there are not any provision of treatments for the girls at school.

#### *Dalits in Durbar School!*

Generally, it is accepted that, caste is not an issue of discussion in urban context, but I do argue that this conception is completely wrong. According to Koirala (1996), historically Dalit could not enter into a high caste home, there was a taboo of touching but it is still working even in urban area. Here comes the matter how it is working in DS? In my observation, I have found very few number of children from Dalit family were found studying in DS. The reason behind this was a taboo of untouchability. Those who were studying in DS as household workers, were from higher and touchable caste. By birth, one was made untouchable so s/he would not

have even chance getting work in the kitchen of higher caste. This does not mean that, they have to be employed in the kitchen works, but my argument is that, those who were living in the city in affluent condition they prefer to hire children from higher caste or touchable caste (see, The story I & II in Annex-B). The following excerpt from my field note, how a male teacher in DS expressed his views towards this point:

Dalit children are deprived from the lower level of opportunity in Kathmandu, because of the mindset of untouchability, Dalit children are not allowed to work, in the Kitchen. There are few Dalit children in *Durbar School* but most of them are living with their parents and their relatives. In cases of Dalits, there are levels of Dalits in Kathmandu: some Dalits used to run on their own private car but others show their inherited skills on foot path in the city corners. Dalits in *Durbar School* are from the later categories (Interview, 2064/03/18 V.S.).

This excerpt, shows the condition of Dalits in *Durbar School*, first they were deprived from schooling due to untouchability, second they entered into the DS, but because of their lower socio-economic position in the innercity societal context, Dalit children likely to lag behind. It is a missed turning point in education as there were not made any provisions for the Dalits children in DS, because Dalits are different from other children. Different treatment is needed for the Dalit children in school system, so caste is a daily reality whether it is village or urban, caste provides the basis for identity, honour, stigma, and determines the interaction in school contexts.

*Chapter Summary*

Referring back to the discussion as I have presented at the beginning of this chapter by the statement of Mahesh Nath Parajuli (2002), the historically turning point, as the 'birth of DS' was false and I had taken number of themes to understand the missed turning points in education. First I made some discussion's on the birth of DS school, school as a social space, missing the turning points, residual learner of DS, then I entered into analysis and interpretation of empirical data. While making interpretation, as argued by Bourdieu, children come to school with different forms of cultural capital. As discussed earlier, students in DS and in TP came from very marginalized situation and striving to witness turning point in their life. As I have shown here, schools have been functioning as social space where children's identities as private boarding schools students, *Durbar School* students, public school student etc. are created and enhanced. Educational carrier of the children in DS seems very unstable, involving frequent movement from other private boarding schools to DS and other government schools to *Durbar School*.

Though, the earlier face of DS has been changed completely but it is functioning as an egalitarian institute. The context in and around DS is completely changed and Kathmandu has become schooling society. There were very few schools in Kathmandu in the past, but now the proliferation of public and private schools have made Kathmandu, the schooling society. With in these context, children like Kumar and Sarita are striving to witness turning point in their life in the future but the mismatches between their home and school environment, contributed them to feel weaker in their studies. According to Bourdieu, the school retains the children from the wealthy minority, who can afford full time day schooling and support at home and



excludes the children of the poor majority who have to work along side their parent or in other's house (Valentin, 2001). Next working is a significant part of the everyday reality of the children in Nepali society, but the nature of work and roles of gender determines the achievement in schooling.

In this chapter, I have focused on the institution of schooling and some of the mechanism which under lie social selection that still goes on with in DS with it's past legacy. In theory, now the DS is opened to all children but only from marginalized children enter into the DS, why? Where are the elites children learning? What conspiracy again elites are doing on paupers? Do they again want to miss the dialogues between them and disadvantaged in terms of schooling?

Schools have little relationship with the cultural life of Kumar and Sarita (See The Story I & II in Annex B). Turning points in Individual life and turning points in education are not matching or in other word, there exists the incompatibility between the children and the school. They are finding difficult to accommodate with the school environment which demands maximum time from the student at home and school. I have noted some children in DS, they were staying with their parents, they did not have to worry about the things required at school, Bourdieu mentions that cultural experiences in the home facilitate children's adjustment to school and academic achievement.

In DS I have witnessed some significant changes, as children and parent even living in very marginalized situation, valued education and participating in school. This infers that people from marginalized background started entering into the school system but school system is not supporting them fully, so I refer to this condition as missed turning points in education. I had noted earlier that missed turning points can

be retraced back, as they are not dead end as argued by Bourdieu. However, we can not compensate those who were once unschooled in the past due to various reasons including caste and gender but these moments, as paupers entering into school must be considered as entry point to make discussions on social justice in education. At the same time agency of the children must be valued in school setting, as in the case of DS, children were struggling to witness turning points in their life. The case of Dalit was different, they were deprived from lower level of opportunity due to the taboo of untouchability and because of their marginalized situation in innercity context and their children are likely to lag behind.

Thus using Bourdieu's concepts of socio-cultural reproduction and schooling, partially helped me to understand missed turning points in education in local context of DS in Kathmandu. But as revealed by my data, children in DS and in TP school are not limited in reproducing missed turning points in education. They are also actively engaged in resisting and producing new culture I am turning to these issues in the next chapter.

## Chapter - V

### Paupers and Schooling: Turning points

In chapter-IV, I have made an attempt to understand the missed turning points in education. This was done by using Bourdieu's Socio-cultural reproduction theory, in the context of DS in Kathmandu. However, Bourdieu's theory helped me to understand the reproductive nature of schooling but the school system remain unchanged and due to this unchanged situation in school, only has contributed the elites to witness turning points in their life. This is further supported by the proliferation of private schools in Kathmandu. It was missed turning points for the paupers, when DS was established, but still DS is witnessing missed turning points due to various factors including work, gender and caste.

Despite this, the reproductive theory does not give due recognition to the agency of the social actor, so in this chapter I have drawn some insights from the agency-structure frameworks as developed by Anthony Giddens to understand turning points in education. I have tried to understand the agentic nature of DS in our societal and historical context. To support my understanding in turning points in education, I have approached the concept of cultural production in terms of DS. At last the concepts of 'Rebirth' and 'Dharma' from *Gita* used to understand the agentic nature of DS.

#### *Turning Points in Education and the National Setting*

Now, in Nepali society school is found as a proper place to learn and to socialize the children. This idea has been promoted by political leaders, national and international child right organizations, as well as international aid agencies (Valentin,

2001). Actually, things began to change in the field of education when US extended both technical and financial resources to the government of Nepal during the late fifties and the sixties, the school system was extended and opened to a greater range of people (Bista, 2001). A number of administrative bodies were set up including the ministry of education in 1951. New schools were built, curriculum for primary education was formulated, text books were published and in 1956 AD the college of education was established for teacher training (Valentin, 2001). After the political change of 1951 AD, that over threw the Rana rule, then after the policy of successive democratic government was to make primary education accessible for all. The thirst for opening schools even in remote areas of Nepal could be seen. Most of schools were started, under trees without building and other facilities (Acharya, 2002).

Above discussion infers that the effort made by the elites cannot be underestimated in terms of schooling. These efforts have some positive impacts on paupers as well, for example sending girls to school was one of the act of revolution. Besides, National Education System Plan (NESP-2028 V.S.) established a uniform system for the whole country. All schools were nationalized and were fully supported by the government and to support this new activity, there was a large increase in the educational budget (Bista, 2001:125). Ironically it is said that this was done by indoctrinated partyless *Panchayat* system, but it has contributed to the development of education in Nepal. It had a policy of universal primary education. Primary school enrollment rose, and education became the state affair (Acharya, 2002). Due to these activities the affect was also seen in the societal and individual level, slowly the people from deprived community started raising their voices against discrimination. It is due to the fact that education by its vary nature, lays it's influence to and, in turn gets itself influenced by the public. The reason, is that it helps the people in knowing

about the value of adequate nutrition, safe drinking water and preventive health measures in their daily life (Khati, 2003). If we link these effect of education, definitely we can understand that the agentic nature of schooling. Besides these educated person gets a job. This means there are indirect influences on individuals. Similarly, Koirala (1996) summarizes that Dalits being to the lowest stratum which never had access to school, it was the western type of school which gave them schooling access for the first time in the history of Nepal. He further reveals that Dalits experienced physical mobility, developed self confidence, minimized inferiority feeling because they were non-touchable developed questioning insights, identified avenues for employment, promoted helpful attitudes toward women, increased their level of income, raised their quality of life (See, Acharya, 2002; Koirala, 1996).

The discourse of education in Nepal is found ever changing in nature. Slowly the trends are shifting, and people even living in very marginal situation from all respect now are participating in schooling. Similar kind of interpretations were made in the study carried out by Holland & Skinner (1996), in a Nepali Hill Community. According to them, before the advent of public schools in *Naudanda* (pseudonym used for place of study) some families hired *Bahun* Priest to teach literacy and religion, and a few wealthy families sent their sons to Kathmandu to attend boarding schools, but it was not until 1974 A.D., when the Sanskrit Language School (*Bhasa Pathshala*) was converted to the first primary school that both girls and boys of all castes had access to education. This infers that the changing nature of schooling in national setting but now I would like to make some discussions about the agentic nature of DS and cultural production of educated persons. As I mentioned in chapter-IV, DS was the site of elites operation. When we see or observe the changing nature

of DS there were some observable event from where counter hegemony was developed.

*Durbar School and Cultural Production of Educated Persons*

A kind of tension went in and around DS in the last half of the Rana rule in terms of democracy. The outcome of the tension or struggle would be relative interms of time and context, as well as would have different meaning to different class and groups of people. When elements like autocracy tend to become more strong, the reproductive nature of school becomes more active but when aspects like plurality and democracy are more active, productive nature of the school become more active. (Parajuli, 2002: 37).

Historically, DS in brief, appeared in my study to be a site of multiple agendas and multiple voices, alternative social spaces and a new sort of person like Martyr Gangalal Shrestha, a person whose knowledge and practices were thought to be contrasted vividly with those of the autocratic Rana rulers. Though, Ranas kept a person like 'Gangalal' out of awareness and democratic consciousness. Students were produced themselves as 'educated persons' at the same time, they participated in the production of persons outside DS (Skinner & Holland, 1996).

In fact, the first half of the twentieth century, students who were educated in DS had greatly influenced the Nepali society. To establish the democracy in the country, ex-students of DS sacrificed their lives. Now we prey them as martyrs and great liberators of our country. Warriors who educated from DS were like Sukara-Raj Shastri, Gangalal Shrestha, Bal Banadur Pandy, Thirbum Malla and others and other (Pradhan, 2052 VS). As Parajuli (2002) mentioned earlier in his study, when aspects

like plurality and democracy were more active in Nepali society, then the productive nature of Durbar School become more active and more visible. To understand the productive nature of DS it would be better here to incorporate a short glimpse of Martyr Gangalal (see, Annex C2).

Gangalal's story shows that, there remains agency in human actor, because of this agency actor challenges the structure. In case of Gangalal, he challenged Prime Minister Judda Samsher Rana and Gangalal was sentenced to death. When Gangalal was in DS, at that time he had bagged prizes from the hands of same Prime Minister, who ordered him to kill by shooting, at the side of Shova Bhagawati at Teku in Kathmandu. Later period, due to his sacrifice including others as we got democracy. Is it not the cultural production of DS?

To understand the agency and structure of DS it would be suitable here to bring the case of Martyr Sukra Raj Shastri who studied in DS, as his father was imprisoned due to political reasons and Sukara Raj writes about the days in Birgunj (Pradhan quoted by Onta, 2000:62).

After we reached Birgunj, we survived for a few months by pounding paddy (dhaan kutera) of the Kainla Shahebj. Mother was very good at sewing. Women therefore used to come and give her different kinds of clothes for sewing and thereby helped us out of generosity. They used to be sympathetic to our difficult situation. And my brother Amar Raj and I used to go to the government office and earn some money which used to help a little bit, but barely survived. In this way we somehow spent eighteen months in Birgunj.

I argue that even at the displacement and disrupted time Sukra Raj's family did not surrender with 'Rana' rulers. As his father, Madhav Raj Joshi had also challenged the Rana rulers, but later Sukara Raj involved in politics and became the president of '*Praja Parishad*' a political party. Members of this party had threatened the Rana rulers and such activities were carried out by the ex-students of DS. Instead of becoming docile and loyal to Rana, why they have fought against Ranas? It was just because of the human agency and at the same time it was linked with the education, that came to be seen from liberation point of view. These arguments in historical and socio-political perspectives helped me to understand the agency and structure of *Durbar School* in Kathmandu, as mentioned by Anthony Giddens (see, Chapter III).

According to a secondary level, male teacher in DS, who was my informant in this study expressed his views how *Durbar School* is still playing a crucial role in the transformation of Nepali society. He asserts:

Children who come to our school these days are from very marginalized or poor condition, as they are living in Kathmandu, political parties use these marginal section of society, during the period of national movements. In *Jan-Andolan* (People's Movement) Part II, some of the Children in our school said that their relatives were injured, when they were taking part in the historical movement.

(Interview. 2064/03/8 VS)

Now, DS as modern educational institute, caters children from deprived situation, and played crucial roles in transforming the society, now we are in a mode of declaring 'Republic Nepal' (see, Interim-constitution-II<sup>nd</sup> Amendment-2064 VS).



I believe, agency and structure go hand in hand, and the interplay between agency and structure brings some changes in the society. So in the case of DS, the application of agency and structure concept, to understand turning points in education is equally important. Witnessing turning points in education depends on the interplay between agency and structure, but the agency plays major role in cultural production.

Now, to understand the cultural production of DS in present context, I have used the themes like everyday practices of the children, rebirth of DS, DS as a site of new relations and alternative visions, cultural production on the street etc. The aim of understanding these aspects is to analyze and interpret the relationship between DS and innercity societal context and at the same time it was my instrumental interest to look for new discourse-turning points in education.

#### *Everyday Life/Social Practice*

Looking at the everyday practices which human actors make multiple and minute transformations of dominant form or, use their sub-ordinate positions to adapt the conditions of dominations to their interest is therefore, useful for understanding how human agency manifests itself in social practices (Onta, 2000). Everyday life is a critical concept which helps to understand educational issues in socio-cultural context. Further it helps to design school or educational system with respect to the agents with the capacity for critical reflection i.e. the capacity to act purposefully, reflexively, critically and also to evaluate and respond to dominant ideologies and practice (ibid, p. 211). According to Heller (as cited in Parajuli, 2002) everyday life consists of content and variable feature and its content changes quite frequently when compared to the modification of its structure. When the situation changes people could have to establish new meaning to adjust their daily life. Location of school and school

practices also shape pupil's life but children and parents respond in a particular way. The contribution school can make toward developing new learning strategies are related with the educational dimension of the school which is simply the closeness of the school with the children's experiences (Madson, quoted by Parajuli, 2002).

While making reflections on above indicated discussions, children's everyday life, parents everyday life and *Durbar School* seem to be interlinked to understand cultural production of educated persons. With in this, conceptual understanding of every day life and practices of people in and around DS, I begin with a analysis of children's coping strategies during the time of examination, homework etc. in school. As mentioned in earlier in chapter IV, children in DS had to devote their time not only to the study activities at home, in many cases they had to involve in various kinds of household chores. During the time of this study, children in DS were mostly from diverse marginalized backgrounds, some of them were found living with their parents, some others were working in other's house as household workers. Ganesh, a household worker, 8<sup>th</sup> grader in DS, shared his experiences about his practices of adjusting with the demands of school:

I do not get enough time to study at home, but I utilize tiffin time in school to complete my home work and some time I stay at late night to complete my assignments and I prepare for exams. Though it seems difficult for me, to balance work and study but I am hopeful with my future (FGD-B, 2064/03/11 VS).

This infers that students like Ganesh in DS were facing difficulties but somehow they were adjusting with the existing school system. Special provisions were not made for the household workers in DS, conventional ways of teaching

methods as chalk and talk were used but some provisions were made for the students who were appearing in SLC examination. Students had to pay nominal fees to attend in coaching classes conducted by school teachers. In focus group discussions, specially boys have expressed that English, Maths and Science subjects were very difficult subjects for them to understand. Children who were working as domestic helpers had to devote more time for work at home, house owners paid little attention to their schooling, one of the participant, in FGD-B expressed, “House owners do not understand our problems they use us for their advantage. Some time we do not get medicine for our illness”. These infer that students have agency with them and even at difficult time, they are adjusting with school system but they need some sort of support at school. *Hari Prasad*, seventh grader, in TP school expressed his views in trial FGD-B:

When I had passed annual exam of grade six, my house owner compared my result with his son and labelled me as a weaker, his son was also studying in the same class in private boarding school. I felt sad, as I had passed in lower position in the class and his son has secured II<sup>nd</sup> position in his class, but I had replied him, if I were in boarding school and had tuition classes like your son, I would have also passed in good division as your son had passed (FGD-B, 2064/03/03 VS).

Some other participants in discussion have mentioned that they do not get enough time to learn at home even during the time of examination, but Ramesh 14 years old, seventh grader, a Chaudhary lad in T.P. School said:

We have to manage time ourselves, it is natural that house owners want more work from us, because they are sending us to school in day time. We have to give interest in our study (Trial FGD-B, 2064/03/03VS).

This reveals to the agency of the boy, he is coping to cope with the demands of school and he has secured second position in his class. Thus everyday life study contributes to understand the children's and parent's experiences in day to day life. Majority of children's everyday life in DS includes working at home, going to school, again assisting in household chores. The plight of some of working children is very critical, some other children in DS expressed that their parents were involved in footpath *Pasal*. Here, I would like to make some interpretation on footpath however footpath was becoming a everyday practices and life of some people in and around DS.

*Footpath as everyday life of the parents and students*

Footpath is a public place to move on. *Oxford Dictionary* defines footpath as path for pedestrians. But footpath in and around DS was found as a great avenue for the survival of the people. As people put *pasal* on footpath and by it's nature and discourse, people got their identity as '*Footpath pasale*'. These people who put *pasal* on footpath, they did not have to pay any tax to the government but they some time get suffered from Kathmandu Metropolitan Polices, because it was not allowed to put footpath *pasal* in office hours. Bishnu Maya, aged 45, a women, my respondent and also a footpath *pasale* expressed her views:

Some footpath '*pasale*' are very poor, just they bring things from wholesale *pasal* to sell, and keep a little bit percent of profit, but there are number of richer Marchents on footpath, they are making more profits. But there are some footpath '*pasale*' who were from very marginalized situation in past but now they have built houses in Kathmandu and they are sending their children in private boarding school. So we do not have to see all footpath '*pasale*' are alike [Interview, 2064/05/13 VS].

Bishnu Maya's reflection on footpath *pasal*, reveals that there were levels of people on the foot path including richer merchants. So it would be unwise to homogenize all foot path *pasale* were poor because some foot path '*pasale*' have sent their children in expensive boarding schools. But we can reflect that these footpath *pasale* who send their children at DS were from marginalized background and parents did not have to pay fees for children's education upto grade 5; even after fifth grade Durbar School charges nominal tuition fees.

Swastika, nine years old, polite girl studying in grade three in DS expressed that her mother also put *pasal* on footpath in the *Ratna Park* area. According to her, "There are bad boys on the street, they are pick pocketers, some other are plastic pickers and some others they used to smell *Dendrites* (a kind of drug)". I had made informal talks with Swastika's mother, when she came at DS to bring Swastika and her brother. Swastika's mother expressed her views:

There are high chances of being come in contact with bad street children, so I used to come here to bring my children. It was not my intention to be on footpath but '*Dukhi*' (poor) like me, where I have to

go, I did not get chance to study in my childhood but I want to see my children more educated.

Parents like Swastika's mother were found more aware about the culture of the street in Kathmandu. Dealing with street culture in this study is not possible, because it has vast field. However I would like to just bring the discussion of the buzzword '*Khatte*' (derogatory term for street children) which is very popular in the capital city of Kathmandu. Even children learning in smaller grades they were found much familiar with the footpath everyday life.

'*Khatte*' is one such word, originally meaning scavengers, it has now come to mean all street kids, and the word now is slipped in to the vocabulary of Nepali Dictionary (Pradhan quoted by Onta, 2000). While looking into this, everyday life of the city in and around DS is changing and it may have some effects on school's relationship with the children and at the same time the identity of school might have changed in people's mind. According of Parajuli (2001), when structural changes take place in the society due to different reasons, bringing hardship in the living conditions, the old meaning of every day life may not valid. Such changes might be positives as well as negative and bring interruptions in the existing traditions but agency remains with the human actor. According to the watchman in DS, there were many things affecting the peoples every day life in Kathmandu, during the time of this study, the context of DS was very much nearer to the street culture, most of the parents in DS were from Footpath *pasal*-background and they were living in a very disadvantaged situation in inner city context.

In order to explore the cultural production of the street, I reviewed the story of Bikram, which was extracted from Onta's (2000) doctoral study and a life story of Shanti from DS (see, Annexes B4 and B5).

Bikram was a street boy who had challenged the harsh situation of city and keeping himself alive by developing a life skill. An excerpt from his story:

We stayed up all night yesterday because it was too cold to sleep. We built a fire near the trash bin to stay warm we kept on walking all night. I left with Bijay to collect *mall* (i.e. recyclables) at dawn. The earlier you go, the more you find *mall*. Because there are lot of *khatte* now, it is difficult to find *maal*. Because we worked together, we were able to collect a sackful by eight O'clock. So we went to the Junkyard in Dallu to sell it. It was worth forty-eight rupees (P.1).

This refers to the cultural production of the human being, in another word agency of the actor, which helps to adjust with the changing environment. Street children knew the life skills, business skills, time management skills etc to adjust with the inner-city environment.

Similarly, Shanti, a household worker was studying in DS with a big hope of being an educated person in the future, she had been working hard to pass the school examination by managing her time at school and at home. An excerpt, from her life story: "Though I have to work at home, I have managed time to study at home; generally I study at late night, I have a great interest in study". These stories revealed that human beings show their existence and they struggle for survival, it was possible to him/her challenge the situation however agency lies in the human being. This sort

of willful nature of human being searches for alternative visions. So in the following sub-section I have tried to understand student's perception on schooling and making alternative vision to show their existence.

*School as a Site of New Hope and Alternative Visions*

Over four months period, I have interviewed, observed and discussed about peoples perspectives towards schooling, specially focused on the children's perspectives on schooling. Children in DS and in TP school made it clear that being a student was a very significant part of their future lives. For children education was a necessary means to achieve their goals.

Referring back to the life story of Shanti, I knew that it was great opportunity for her to be in school and she is expecting good future and had secured good position in her class. It is not because she was living with owner's house that made her to think in that way, but it was linked with her schooling. If she were not admitted in school, she might have thought in different ways, so school gave her a big hope for her future and she was striving to secure a good position in her school she further expressed that, she should help her parents to come out of their plight by standing herself as an earning member of the family. Similarly, Som Bahadur, seventh grader, 16 year old, Tamang boy expressed his views:

In future, I would like to be a police officer, and make my name more famous by helping poor people. A person from my village, who was also very poor but studied very hardly as a household worker in Kathmandu and completed +2 level last years and now he has joined in



police force as ASI. If he has not been educated he would not have become police officer [FGD-B, 2064/03/11 VS].

Education for Som Bahadur was directly related to his future goal of becoming a police officer and he was struggling to come out of his present situation. Most of the children participated in FGD-B have expressed that their parent were less educated and because of that less educated situation of their parents they became poor. Not only this, children have linked schooling with social and personal awareness which help people to come out of their ignorant position. Mohan, a less expressive participant in FGD-B in *Durbar School*, expressed his views on the need of schooled person to know the better health of the family:

Last year, my sister fell in sick, she was just nine months old, my parents went for *Dhami/Jhankri*, (Shaman) rather than taking her to hospital or in a clinic. *Dhami/Jhankri* also charged money and other materials to perform treatment, but we lost siter. To understand this, we need education. We get these modern knowledge in our text books and the teachers also teach us about health in school [FGD-B-2064/03/11 VS].

The views expressed by Mohan, refers to the need of alternative visions to understand the social problems including health problems in the society. Alternative visions could be gained only through schooling. His parents were illiterate, and had to face problems in the family. All the students participated in FGD-B in DS admitted that education as an asset and will bring the changes in their future life. Similarly a rural girl from Doti Districts in a doctoral study carried out by Parajuli (2002) also expressed her trust on education by writing:

I have to study hard, otherwise, my life would be like my mother's. If I don't labour well now, I can not become *thulo ra asal maanchhe* (great important & good person) as my mother's dream for me. I won't be like my mother [Parajuli, 2002:130]

This infers that the productive nature of schooling is accepted by the children and expressed their views on education. Schooling provided agency to the children. So school especially DS can be taken as a site of new hope and alternative visions for the paupers

#### *Alternative Visions of Gender and Work*

School is not only a place for reading books and listening to teachers, school constitute a space in which different types of relations are possible and new identities are imagined and formed (Skinner & Holland, 1996). It is hard to escape the fact that experiences of schooling are gendered, specially in a society like ours, where economic, social and legal discrimination of female is reflected in range of areas (Valentin, 2001). Similarly Koirala (1996) observed that school is an enabling one to escape not only from caste position but also enables one to escape from tough life. When we think or imagine women or girls from gender perspectives, they are in a tough life in our social context. However, schooling is the one way to escape from oppression.

There is plenty of evidence that when women get the opportunities that are typically the preserve of men, they are no less successful in making use of these facilities that men have claimed to be their own over centuries (Sen, 2005). In the case of girls students in DS, drew upon the notion of the educated person to produce novel

form of identity that would contest with older models (Skinner & Holland, 1996). In her life story, Binita, a Chaudhary girl in *Durbar School* expressed a keen desire to continue schooling and she wanted to become a teacher in the future, but when her father told her that he could only afford up to grade-5, as there were two younger brothers, to go to school, then Binita replied her parent saying, “If you cannot send me to school after grade-5, I will continue my study even serving to other’s house”. But during the period of this study her father had gone to Malaysia to earn money and her mother was doing small business in Kathmandu. Binita was continuing her study to be a teacher in the future so schooling has given agency to Binita and she was contesting with her father in the past now she has developed confidence over her imagination of being teacher as she had indicated this sort of willful nature in her life-story.

As I had mentioned in chapter-III, I had visited Aruna’s residing place, a ten minute walking distance from DS. Aruna was living with her mother’s elder sister. According to Shanti Bhujel (Aruna’s mother’s elder sister), there was a quarrelsome relationship between Aruna’s parent. Aruna’s father was completely turned into alcoholic, Aruna’s mother tried to commit suicide but Shanti reminded her sister and managed to send her to Malayasia to earn money. According to Shanti, Aruna’s mother had passed sixth grade from village school and it also helped her to go abroad to earn money. This infers, unlike the traditional belief, wife must depend on husband’s earnings, Aruna’s mother went to earn money in abroad. So the visions of gender and work are changing. Referring back to Aruna’s elder mother, in my observation period, she had expressed with me, “I understood from my sister’s case that girls have to study and they have to become independent, so I encourage Aruna to study hard, but I am also living in a very marginalized situation my children are also studying in public school”.

The views expressed by Binita and Shanti infers to girls and women started imagining and practicing alternative visions in their life through schooling. These narratives suggest that schooling is perceived as a source of alternative visions of life and helps people to work in that ways.

I also had observed in grade one and grade three students in DS. During my observation period, a girl in grade-one named Kalpana (name changed) who frequently remained absent in the class, I inquired about her parents and came up with a story (see, Annex-B, The story-III). Story reveals how Kalpana's mother took school as an alternative source in her life.

While making observations on children's knowledge on schooling the special relationship between D.S. and the paupers in innercity-societal context had been established. Now it would be better here to make some reflections on "rebirth of DS" from teacher's perspective to understand the enabling or constraining feature of DS.

#### *Rebirth of DS: Some Reflections*

At the end of this chapter, I have tried to understand the agentic nature of DS with the help of the concept of "rebirth". The concept of 'rebirth' is found in Gita, a holy epic of Hindus. It is related to the '*Dharma*'. In our local context, *Dharma* unlike religion in the west is defined as the laws of nature, which provides basis for harmony and co-existence (Awasthi, 2004). People in Nepal believe that everything in the cosmos has it's own system of operation, which is guided by the over arching principles of *Dharma*. In this sense, *Dharma* of the sun is to give heat and light, *Dharma* of soil is to grow plants, *Dharma* of the spring is to bloom, *Dharma* of

farmer is to supply food, *Dharma* of Guru is to enlighten pupils, *Dharma* of dog is to bark, *Dharma* of fire is to burn and so on (ibid, p. 88).

Based on the above discussions, it can be said that the *Dharma* of school is to enlighten pupils either rich or poor equally. During the time of this study, DS was providing services to the people, who were living in a very meagre situation in inner city context of Kathmandu. The entrance of paupers in *Durbar School* shows some significant changes and the voices of marginalized are being heard. First it was *Adharma* (non religious) when DS was established and only confined to elites camp. As the *Adharma* increases, there exist the situation to control it. Explicitly the concept of 'rebirth' is associated with the rebirth of soul, but here I am trying to understand the 'rebirth' of DS in terms of *Dharma* of school. Within this context, I have made discussion with the teachers in *Durbar School*, the discussion was occurred spontaneously (see, Chapter-III). I believe that the concept of 'rebirth' is implicitly refers to the agency of *Durbar School*.

*Regmi: How do you assess the services that DS had provided in the past and now it is serving to the people in Kathmandu?*

FT1: (More than 30 years of Teaching Experience) : In the past DS had provided services to the elites only but now it is giving services to the very poor people, with in this context the DS has witnessed turning point from the centre of elites to paupers.

FT2: (More than 25 years of Teaching Experience) : In the past, teachers who were teaching in DS, had direct contact with *Durbar* (Palace) and had power to influence the people, but now the situation is completely changed, teachers

have to limit their power in the classroom. Now its not the matter of prestige to teach in DS as before.

FT3: (More than 25 years of Teaching Experience) : Whatever it was in the past but now *Durbar School* is doing it's '*Dharma*' means duty, it is providing services to the marginaled people. Teachers in DS are also doing their duties, but quality in terms of examination result is degrading. In the past students from DS used to secure top ten positions in SLC but now it is very hard even to make them just pass in the exam.

*Regmi: 'Is it the rebirth of Durbar School in terms of services it provide to the paupers?'*

FT1 : Only in terms of services and it's changed context, it seems *rebirth* but if we observe from other perspectives like quality DS is in *Aryaghat*, lying on the pyre. The result of DS in SLC is degraded, we teacher are becoming older and we are still following the traditional methods of teaching. We have not taken any type of training to understand the changed context of DS.

FT4 : I do not agree, it is rebirth of DS; It is degrading situation of DS. To apply the concept of rebirth to DS, it has to serve equally to the poors as it had served to the elites in the past. DS is not serving poors equally in the changed context. There are private schools in Kathmandu, for affluent classes. Those private schools could be understood as rebirth of DS, because these private schools are serving to the elites.

FT5: I think, it is partially true, DS is now providing services to the very marginalized people living in Kathmandu. These people cannot fulfill the demand made by school. This may be the one of reasons for degrading result of DS. School

ystem must be changed according to the need of the children. We have diverse nature of marginalized children in our school. (NGD, 2064/04/07 VS)

Female teachers in DS as shown in above discussion disagreed and agreed according to their perception of DS, but all of them have made reflections on the word 'rebirth', so this infers that the concept of rebirth is there in people's mind in Nepali society. For example one of the female teachers agreed on the concept of rebirth only in terms of services but she equally disagreed with the school achievements in terms of quality education. Similarly, another female teacher commented that the concept of 'rebirth' which must be directed to the services and justice to the people. Teachers participated in discussion agreed that DS must be reoriented toward the every day life of the people in and around DS. Further female teachers have expressed their views on need of special training to the teachers to enhance the quality of teaching in DS

Discussion with the female teachers in DS helped me to understand the concept of 'rebirth' in terms of social justice and services to the people. Next, I have drawn the insights from this discussion that we have to turn the discourse of education in that direction which always favours the marginalized people.

Female teachers agreed that present DS is not working in accordance with the need of poor students. This infers that agency of DS is fading away in terms of pauper's need of schooling. To see DS in its 'rebirth' face, it has to be reoriented towards the needs of the paupers. 'Rebirth' must be seen from the pluralistic values and visions of paupers schooling. 'Rebirth' is the pluralistic values and visions of our local cosmologies to understand the agentic nature of schooling.

The structure of DS and agency of the children in DS are not matching with each other. This also infers to the *Dharma* of new face of DS has likely to failed to stand by it's inherent values that it claims to be meant for paupers. Similarly, Humagain, watch person of DS observed that parents participation in school was extremely low specially beyond the grade four and five, it was because children were living in other's house as household workers, some others were living with their parents but their parents were involved in very low income jobs and business, and they felt hesitation to talk with teachers, as they were found less educated, but parents whose children were learning in lower grades used to come on the ground to pick up their children they rarely went up to the school office. In the past guardians used to come and visit with teachers to know their children's results. Now local elites have neglected DS but it had given services to the local elites in the past, students who had studied in DS, are now in various prestigious positions in the country.

But HT reported that, he has been working hard to raise the participation of ex-students in school development activities. In his opinion state's ignorance has been the major cause of degrading quality of DS. *Durbar School* is a historical school, Nepal Government must be responsible to uplift the quality of education in DS.

Now, to uplift the educational standard of DS, management of DS has been handed over to the private sector. Newly elected Chair Person of School Management Committee (SMC), Umesh Shrestha one of the famous educationists expresses, "those who are interested to invest in DS, the professional communities and civil society will be made more responsible". According to him, private teacher staffs would be added, training would be provided to the teachers, additional resources



would be searched and slowly it would be transferred to the community in the days to come (Karki, 2007:20).

### *Chapter Summary*

In this Chapter, I have drawn briefly on national discourse of education as well as the short glimpse of the late Martyr, Gangalal's role to overthrow Rana, including others who were educated in DS, constituted the context for this study. I have looked indepth children's construction of school and found that they treated school as sites of the new hopes and alternative visions. Alternative visions, as children and parents have expressed, their present life would change if education is acquired. Some children have expressed that they want to do something for the working children in the future, that will help to up lift the status of the children who work in others house.

Unlike, as discussed in previous chapter, opening of DS was a missed turning point, a deterministic role it has been playing to reproduce social hierarchy, this chapter highlights the agency of DS as well as the agency of children and parents in contemporary context of DS could be interpreted as heteroglossic site (see, Skinner & Holland, 1996) where children had expressed different voices for their understanding of themselves and their societal context. The ways in which parents and children in DS were constructing their identities had implications, not only for their continued educational participation and future aspirations but also for changes in dominant ideologies and structures. All these turning points in and around DS in the past and present context, helped me to understand the role of agency and structure to make a turn in society in terms of schooling.

## Chapter - VI

### Power/ Knowledge: Turning the Turning Points

In this chapter I intend to go beyond the agency and structure, and partially have tried to understand the turning points in education with the help compound term power/knowledge developed by Michael Foucault. Schooling itself being a complex-process, it was necessary for me to look this complex-process through power/knowledge lense. I found the concept of power/knowledge very useful to understand the turning of the turning points interms of schooling.

In the discursive mode, power is conceived neither as an institution, nor as a strength human beings are endowed with. Power is conceived as “existing in discourses by which subjectivities have been historically constituted and reconstructed” (Clegg, quoted by Onta, 2000:3). In other words, individuals are not producers of power, rather they are constituted by power, they are the effects of power, they are the vehicles of power, not it’s points of application.

Foucault’s focus is on strategies of discursive power where strategies appear in the forms of knowledge, regulatory techniques and disciplinary practice that produce specific modes of being and thinking as “educated” (Mills, 2007). Foucault characterizes power/knowledge as an abstract force which determines what will be known, rather than assuming that individual thinker develop ideas and knowledge. He asserts it is power/knowledge which produces facts and the individual scholars are simply the vehicles or the sites where these knowledge is produced. Thus we must be very suspicious of any information which is produced, since even when it seems most self evidently to be adding to the sum of human knowledge, it may at the same time play a role in the maintenance of the status quo and the affirming of current power

relations (ibid.). Many of Foucault's writings are concerned with how it is that we know something, and the processes where by something becomes established facts. He argues that rather than knowledge being a pure search after 'truth', in fact, power operates in that processing of information which results in some thing being labeled as a fact. Thus, where there are imbalances of power relations between groups of people or between institutions there will be production of knowledge. Because of the institutionalized imbalance in power relation between elites and paupers in terms of schooling; knowledge was produced about Education, Democracy and Development. For example after the over thrown of Rana rulers, in democratic periods, there was an outpouring of scholarly, and more popular, knowledge about marginalized people. Democratic elites felt that it was their duty to expand public schools for people living in remote part of the country by distributing and establishing educational set up (see, Chapter - V). Further, democratic elites in *Panchayat* period imposed the unified education system which they proposed a national objective of knowledge but, which were in fact, formulated from elites perspectives with King's interest at his core. This process of production of knowledge on schooling took-place excluding other equally valid forms of knowledge on schooling as schools relevant to the local context (Valentin, 2001). This further infers that witnessing turning points in education is a complex process whereby power/knowledge operates in societal context.

Now, as mentioned in above description, I would like to shed light on the inter-linkages between education, democracy and development in terms of power/knowledge referring to the turning points in education in brief.

*Education, Democracy and Development*

The expansion of education system has always been closely related to the ideas of democracy. Reformers value education for its own sake for the opportunity it provides for individuals to develop their capabilities (Giddens & Duneier, 2000). Next, democratic state recognizes the importance of individual, and it is the process of development of individuals, which is called education, Dewey has pointed out that democracy is inconceivable with out education, because education alone can generate and instill the qualities which democracy demands as a pre-requisite (Chandra & Sharma, 2004). The essence of a participatory democratic process in development lies in our ability to define the role of education for the poorest and the most disadvantaged. Paupers would not be the passive receivers of charity or the services but actively they can contribute to the development. Both development and dignity for the poor are equally important for charting out a new path of development therefore, education is the centre of participatory democracy that all citizens would have a fair share in social development and at the same time they would have an obligation to contribute to the social development (Bhaduri, 2006). Based on this, in the context of Nepal, power/knowledge of stated policy objectives, in terms of education asserts that:

Education has been accepted as the primary means of a country's all round development. The country can develop only when available resources are used at their optimum level by linking education to the national reality and accepting the concept of, 'Education for All' and 'Education for Development'..... Since educated human resources can play an effective role in reducing poverty, it is essential

that the tenth plan have the main objective of developing education as a more effective means of poverty reduction (NPC, 2003:382).

In a country like Nepal, development is rarely a regular process, evolving indigenously through its symbiotic interaction with the expanding base of local knowledge and resources (Shrestha, 1998:51). Educational policies and programmes in Nepal in the past were highly influenced by the westerners. But in the past few years, a new paradigm of development is entering into the field of education in Nepal. This could be seen in the state level documents like *Education for All-2004-09* and in *VCDP-2004* (see, Awasthi, 2004; Parajuli, 2002; Shrestha, 1998).

The perspectives of development and its meaning have changed over time. Now in global way paradigm of development is shifting from conventional paradigm to the alternative paradigms of development. The term 'paradigm' refers to an established collection of 'proven' knowledge, principles, theories and ideologies (Chitrakar, 2007:15). Alternative development is an argument that stresses on the need for seeing development as a function of need and desire of people. It is an attempt to situate the development at local level and along with local actor. With in this, there will not be only one discourse but the multiple discourses of actors situated in varied sectors (Parajuli, 2002:74). So in the following sections, I have tried to understand and create turning points discourse in education by analyzing voices of actors in terms schooling.

#### *Use and Production of DS*

Above discussion, infers that the theme of power/knowledge of Education, Democracy and Development are mixed up in the state level discourse of National

Planning. Arguing for turning points in education as new discourse is to deny for only one standard and static discourse and argue for multiple discourses based on the problems, aspiration, struggles and strategies of the actors in varied situation (Parajuli, 2003). Looking turning points in education as a new discourse rejects the static and standard form of programmes and practices that do not consider the local cultural forms and traditions.

All major schools in Kathmandu, as well as most around the country, are marked by socially constructed boundaries that divide categorically along class lines. When we look at the changing face of DS, socially constructed boundaries are clear. Earlier face of DS was designed as elites school or modern English school that marked *Durbar School's* students as different from those in Sanskrit school. These constructs index an understood knowledge base of historical, and ontological properties that are partly produced within the DS. While identifying the knowledge propositions underpinning the DS in present context tell us a great deal about its meanings. The social constructs of *Durbar School* was signified in teachers talk (Buendia, Ares, Juarez & Peercy, 2004). The following comment made by a male teacher represents a typical statement in which the constructs were positioned in binary:

The context of DS has been changed completely. Now DS is serving as a 'learning centre' for the paupers. Parents who are doing small scale business on the footpath, drivers and *Varias* send their children in DS. Similarly children working in other's house i.e. domestic workers also come here to study. The academic performance of the children in DS is very low (Interview, 2064/03/18 VS).

The production of knowledge of the present DS was evident in how teachers and other staffs repeatedly coupled discourses of the 'very poor', working in 'other's house', 'academically inferior', 'parent's on footpath', highlighting the spatial dimension of the construct by referring back to the past history of DS. Teachers and other staffs in DS interwoven these discourses to define their students, the families of their students and their involvement in school as teachers, and to delineate the space identified as the DS now. City wide constructs such as 'DS in the past' or 'DS in the present' are spatial codes which result from more than the informal conversations of city residents. This infers that people are made subject to various forms of knowledge production. The question now is whether this sort of knowledge production is contributing to the well being of deprived groups of people or to their further subjugation. Crisis in schools including DS now won't be solved in short term, and it won't be solved by school reforms alone, no matter how thorough going. The lesson of sociological research is that, inequalities and barriers in educational opportunity reflect wider social divisions and tensions including knowledge production. While the Nepal remains influenced by caste discrimination gender discrimination, and the polarization between elites and paupers; persists the crisis in school system is likely to prove difficulties to turn around (Parajuli, 2002; Giddens & Duneier, 2000; Koirala, 1996). The 'new poor class' the class of urban poor, is also emerging. Increasing number of the urban destitutes are seen by the rise of people dependent on physical labour (Valentin, 2001; Onta-Bhatta, 2000).

So the search for alternatives in education must therefore start with an agreement on what it is we mean by 'school' in Nepali society in local context. According to Ivan Illich (1972) it could be done by the listing of latent functions performed by modern school system such as social selection, learning and verifying

of those latent functions; whether render services to the children and parents living in a marginalized situation in innercity context.

This infers that the knowledge on education from global perspectives are highly influential in designing the educational programmes in national context, at the same time there exist application of power/knowledge concept in school level as well as in individual level. However, the discourse of education in Nepal seems ever changing, due to the production of knowledge in global ways *vis* 'education as a right'.

As I had mentioned earlier in chapter (IV), referring to DS, schooling was the privilege of the elites in the past in Nepal. The influence of the modern project initiated in the past and the increasing impact of foreign aid and global rights based discourses, schooling has gradually been defined as a right to which all children should have access and a pre-condition of becoming a good and conscious citizen (Valentin, 2001). Nepal has received foreign aid for the improvement of the educational sector since the early 1950's. Formal education has gradually been turned into basic right, politically sanctioned through several international declarations, among others the *UN Convention of the Rights of the Child* in 1989 and the World Declaration on *Education for All* in 1990, both signed by Nepal (ibid:196).

The Ministry of Education and Sports (MOES) and the Department of Education have developed the EFA-2004-09, a five year strategic programme within the framework of the fifteen year National Plan of Action (NPA) for *Education for All -2015*. The components of the programmes are formulated around its objectives (see, Annex-C1).



In order to achieve these objectives, *MOES* in Nepal is initiating programme in local level, as Nepal had already ratified the UN convention on the rights of the child in 1989. The document, *EFA-2004-09* reflects the right of the child:

Every child has a right to receive education of good quality which is ensured by legal provisions. Each child between the age groups of 6-10 in Nepal has access to and completion of free and compulsory quality basic and primary education irrespective of gender ethnicity, religion and disability and geographical location (p.9).

This infers that the discourse of education is shifting from access to the quality in terms of right to education. Similarly, developed and scaled up to a national level during the programme period in order to increase access of children from marginalized groups. So, these are some turning points in the field of education that the legitimate high caste or elites monopoly on schooling is contested. During the time of this study most of the children studying in DS, were also from the marginalized groups (see, Chapter IV).

Marginalized groups include Dalits, girl children, ethnic minorities, linguistic minorities, children from indigenous groups [as per the National Foundation for development of Indigenous Nationalities Act 2058 VS (2002)], children with disabilities, working children, street children, conflict affected children, children from remote region, poor children, children from parents in prison, children rescued from trafficking, and children of migrant parents. In addition location specific definition of disadvantaged groups will also be used (see, Core Document: *EFA-2004-09*: 21-22).

This infers to the marginalized people are gaining power through national and international agencies. The international agencies have power to influence Nepali education system. The inclusive policies on education at national and international setting are ever changing in nature. So it is the time to understand ‘epistemic shift’ of schooling.

### *Shifting Trends*

Equal access to education, by itself, does not ensure equal educational achievements or outcomes. Certain population groups enjoy social, cultural and economic advantages that enable them to benefit more from the educational services available, and which in many cases seem designed to perpetuate those very advantages (UNESCO, 1985). Even with in a school, children from diverse background enter to gain education, at the same time individual identity of the students come from group membership. Students develop knowledge, attitudes and practices not by chance but by means of which students are socialized. As a result, in searching for social justice in education needs to identify the groups as well as individual interest. Children enter into school as individual and also bring cultural baggage on their back. So, group as well as individual ideas on social justice in education are relevant. Children have the rights of access to a curriculum that empowers them for future. So the good education system is always concerned with individual student as well as groups (Corson, 1998).

People's faith in education as a means of individual improvement and social mobility is widely shared concerns with the social-group's situation particularly marginalized one, for example, how a Dalit mother had given value to education and asked her daughter to stay in school (VCDP, 2004):

Education is your secret property. If you have Rs. 10000 in your pocket, it can be stolen. If someone steals it then it is gone. But no one can steal the knowledge that you have gained from education. It will give you a chance and open all doors to get a good job in the future. Now is the time to study because now even if I want to study I can not. My age has gone. I am trying to be literate I am taking adult literacy classes. But it is very difficult for me. Everything has to be done in time and now is the time for you (p. ii).

Dalit mother's appeal to her daughter indicates that it is the power/knowledge of education which is making her to keep her child in school. What we find here is even people living in very marginalized situation started giving value to education. This also refers to the knowledge on education is related with the power as Dalit mother expressed that education open all doors to get a job. People exercise their power to gain education. It is not the case of parents they send their children to school, but children also express or exercise their power/knowledge regarding school and education and carry out certain practices. A seventeen years youth in DS, 9th grader expressed that:

I have to complete SLC at any cost, I have to fulfill my parents dream. After completing SLC, further I want to study in Hotel Management. My household owner has hotel in Kathmandu. He advised me to be good in English in modern time, it is essential to know English to get a good job (FGD-B 2064/03/11 VS).

While comparing the expressions made by Dalit mother and a youth in DS, shifting trends in education are quite visible. Here in youth's expression power of

education is interlinked with the knowledge of English in terms of good job. This infers that English is not just another language of communication in society like ours, English is power, it symbolizes one's status and privileges. Not only this, it provides opportunity to those who acquire it. One of my key informant in DS, Devendra (pseudonym), a peon by occupation expresses, "It was due to lack of educational qualification and lack of knowledge in English, I had to serve as peon". But now, because of this sort of experience on education and knowledge in English, Devendra admitted his two children, son and daughter in private boarding school but not in *Durbar School*. As a peon, he used to get only four thousand rupees as salary per month, but he had to pay seven hundred for his each child in boarding school. His wife was also supporting him to send children in boarding school by doing small business in Kathmandu. Devendra realized that it is necessary to learn English to get good opportunity in the future for his children. Parents who are living in very poor condition also want to send their children in boarding school, it is because, power of education and knowledge of English is making them as objects of operation. Further, Devendra told that some government school in Kathmandu started teaching in English medium, even this Sanskrit School (which is running on the ground floor of DS) provided options to the students to learn English.

The practices of people sending their children in private boarding school, converting government Nepali-medium schools into English medium schools created a legitimacy of knowledge in English in our society. Following Foucault's argument (as cited in Parajuli, 2003:2), discourse is the space where only certain things are allowed to think, talk and practice, beyond which all other arguments are discredited. It is not the conspiracy of elites that they are sending their children in private boarding school but it is the power/knowledge of English making even poor parents to send

their children in private boarding school. From this we can infer that it was power/knowledge of English which inspired Jung Bahadur to open DS for his children, though it was denied for others to enter and learn at first.

There is no doubt, DS was the first pioneer institute to intensify English in Nepal. But the English had got the position of the international language. English is not only a language of communication in the modern world, it is far more than that-in a singularly powerful sense, global language of commerce, trade, culture and research in the contemporary world. In many academic discipline a knowledge of English is a necessary condition for even basic competence in the disciplines. Students are expected to read much of the technical literature in their fields in English, and in many settings, are expected to be able to function professionally in English (Reagan & Schreffler, 2005).

According to Acharya (2002), there is a strong evidence that more and more Nepalese people are adapting English as their language at their homes, work places, and at places of study. In Kathmandu, it has become a kind of fashion to be able to speak English and communicate in English. It is with this fashion, that there has been a rush in the so called English medium schools, people are extremely conscious about their children's ability to speak English, in other word, the ability to speak English has been one of the key indicator of good education (see, Acharya, 2002). Not only this, if we see the policy document in state-level, clearly stated that: 'Teach English from grade one' on the basis of capabilities.

Who are formulating policies in central level are convinced that quality education could be achieved by intensifying English. So the power/knowledge of English education is exercised from centre to peripheral/local context. Similarly the

chapter on education in the Tenth Plan (2002-07) indicated that, one of the objectives- utilize education as a effective means of economic and social development to eradicate poverty by way of developing human resources that can compete at the international level for all round development of the country and support the national economy (ibid., p. 454). This further, shows that preparing human resources who can compete at international level needs English to communicate. This also refers that, there is a shift in 'episteme' from educated person to English educated person.

Increasing more and more works on Nepal and Nepali people is becoming available in English Language. For example, people organize seminars, write papers, discuss their Nepali literature are translating into English. All these activities or practices, either paupers or elites are influenced by power/knowledge of English.

As, I have indicated earlier, whether this sort of knowledge production contributes to the well being of deprived groups of Nepal. The consequences of the intensification of legitimate knowledge of English is essentially a mechanism for reproducing social inequality. This kind of legitimate knowledge would make, the marginal people feel inferior. They realize that the acquisition of legitimate knowledge requires special training, orientation, and aptitude. For instance a child in grade three (3) in DS who did not have skill of reading English, when I asked her to read lesson during my observation period. She expressed to me "I recently admitted in this school, I did not have to learn English in my village school before". Similarly the children whom I consulted belonged to grade III also expressed that they had felt difficulty to learn English as there were no one to assist at home to learn English. DS recently adapted the national policy of implementation of English education..

Similarly Assistant HT cum English Teacher in DS expresses:

Educational level of the children's parent is very low in DS, parents cannot guide their children at home, some children have to work with their parent's worksite, some other children are staying at other's house as workers. These children do not get time to study at home, and they are very weak in English including other subjects (Interview, 2064/03/26 VS).

Likewise working students who were participated in FGD had admitted that, they also wanted to be in English medium school but it would be difficult for them to adjust in boarding school, because it has become late to join boarding school. Tamang lad, a ninth grader expresses:

There are two children in house where I am living, these two children are learning in private boarding school and facing learning difficulties in Nepali subject in their school. Boarding school has sent a letter to the parents mentioning about their weaknesses in Nepali subject. Their parents are educated but they could not make their children well in Nepali (FGD-B, 2064/03/11 VS).

This infers that the statements made by Assist HT in above and the Tamang lad are contradicting to each other. Educated parents are not only the source for children to achieve in learning, but there comes the matter of power/knowledge of the subject in educational setting. In private boarding school power/knowledge of *Nepali* subject is also influencing the children's academic achievement.

All these do not suggest that any mechanistic relationship between schooling and the elite class hegemony exists, sometime there is resistance; paupers children

refuse to accept the validity of power of English and even teacher denied this in DS  
More than 30 years of teaching experience, a vocational education teacher in DS says:

Now, children in this school come from very marginalized background, instead of making this DS again as English medium in the past, it would be better if they would have given vocational training at certain grades and this could be linked to vocational training centres and workshops in Kathmandu (Interview, 2064/02/27 VS).

According to him, there were electric and carpentry workshops in DS in the past and he was a trained vocational teacher, but in the course of time he turned into a librarian cum teacher in DS, as workshops in DS had been collapsed and students were not inspired to choose vocational subjects. Further he asserts, “I am not denying English is not necessary in modern world for the children but I put emphasis on teaching vocational subjects in school”.

However, teacher accepted the power of English but he was highly influenced by the power/knowledge of vocational subjects in schools. I argue that his notion of vocational subjects knowledge was excluding other forms of knowledge. This infers to the particular form of discourse, which exists between power and knowledge. To elaborate the power/knowledge concept, further I have introduced the case of Man Raj (pseudonym) a tenth grader, the high caste, 17 years old boy to whom I had interviewed. I was interested to him because he had mentioned in the survey form that he was from Kalikot, one of the most affected area of the Maoist people's war. He wanted to be an engineer in future but much worried about his English performance.



According to him many people have been displaced from Kalikot, during the time of Maoist insurgency which roughly lasted from 2052 VS to 2062 VS. His parents were not displaced by Maoists but the situation was so severe, that there were high chances of being into cross fire between Royal Nepal Army (now, Nepal Army) and Peoples Liberation Army (Maoist Army Guerrilla). Maoists also used to come and ask for lodging/fooding even with the common people, there was a great fear in the village.

Man Raj mentions that, there was land enough to survive his family but during the time of this study his family was living in Tangal, Kathmandu, 20 minutes walking distance from DS. He had been studying in DS from grade six and this year he is going to appear in SLC exam. Before joining DS, he was not interested to continue his study, but his father compelled him to study. His father used to sell carperts in the city, by carrying carpets on his back. Man Raj also used to go with his father to sell the carpet but this time he had to prepare for SLC and his father advised him to study hard, so he did not go with his father to sell the carpets in the market. The following expressions are from interviews with him and illustrate how he emphasizes on education and power of English.

*Regmi :* *In your opinion, why is education necessary?*

Man Raj : Education makes life successful, my father told me that many people in our village in Kalikot, who were poor in the past, but after completing SLC and IA, they joined in different jobs including-teaching in village schools. Now they are sending their children to study in private boarding schools in Kalikot and other district head quarters.

*Regmi :* How do you feel when you see other children go to private boarding school in Kathmandu?

Man Raj : I think they are from rich families. In the morning time, boarding school children stand in a queue and wait for buses in front of our school's gate. Sometime I feel inferior to them, because they speak English fluently with their parents and their friends, but it is difficult for me to pass English subject in the exam.

*Regmi :* Don't you feel proud, as you are studying in such a Historical school?

Man Raj : In fact, neither I am proud with its history nor I am happy with its present situation. I don't know more about this school's history but I only know it was English medium school, and it was opened by Rana rulers to educate their children. It is natural that every new thing becomes older ones in the course of time. But now various types of students come and go, some time they quarrel. Teachers do not give due consideration to the students, once they teach, their duty is finished, teachers only follow their duties for salary (*Jagir Pakaune Meso*). The environment around this school is very noisy sometime it becomes difficult to study in the class-room.

*Regmi :* Do you prefer to make DS as English medium school now?

Man Raj : It would be better, children like me would be benefited from it. I want be an engineer in future, but my English is very poor. If I had studied in English medium from class six, I would have improved English far better.  
(Interview, 2064/03/28 VS)

Man Raj, convinced with his father that education will bring changes in his future life. The knowledge of schooling made Man Raj's father to admit his son in DS. He wanted to be an engineer in future but doubted on his English performance and dissatisfied with treatment at school as teachers do not give due consideration to the students. He felt inferior to other private boarding school's students. All these accounts of Man Raj show that individuals are the vehicles of power/knowledge of education. So witnessing turning points in education is partially understood as the discourse of power and knowledge of English in global as well as in local level.

In expressing a way of seeing power/knowledge simultaneously express the way of not seeing. Power/knowledge is exclusionary : it silences alternative understanding. Foucault (as cited in Edles, 2002) rejected the image of power as always radiating in a single direction from top to bottom and coming from a specific source (e.g. state). He mentioned that no form of thought could claim an absolute hold on 'truth'. He believed that all political and social forms of thought were inevitably caught up in the interplay of knowledge and power (Foucault, quoted by Hall in Edles, 2000). As Foucault states:

There is not, on the one side, a discourse of power, and opposite, another discourse that runs to counter to it. Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and contradictory discourses with in the same strategy: they can, or the contrary, circulate with out changing their form one strategy to another, opposing strategy (ibid., p. 211).

This infers that we all are trapped in culturally constructed and deconstructed stand points that imprison our reasoning at the same time all become victims of

systems of power/ knowledge. In the next section I will try to understand myself, how I was trapped within a culturally constructed power/knowledge system and given first and high priority for education (see, Annex-B6).

At the last of this chapter, I intend to understand, how did I get here?, in reference with power/knowledge of Education. As I had mentioned earlier in chapter-I, turning point is a web that we see ourselves as having a place in complex network of mutually interrelated position. I found myself in a position very nearer to the people living in very disadvantaged situation and striving to witness turning points in life. It was because, this is the first time, I am writing and understanding marginalized people from different theoretical orientations. Marginalized people are integral part of Nepali society contributing to the elites from different perspectives *vis* poor children are serving them in the house. I think, paupers are not weak, they were made weaker, because history of Nepal never occurred in favour of them now minor changes have occurred but how far these changes do well for the people living in disadvantaged position.

I also believe in the power of education to inspire people and carry out certain practices to witness turning points in their life. As we all know without taking a turn life is impossible, but what makes us to turn? I will try to understand Education as a form of power/knowledge to understand and look for turning point as a new discourse in education. Within this context, I also trapped within the power/knowledge grid of Foucault. Innocently, I am expressing that I was quite unaware about marginalized peoples struggles before joining M. Phil study. I used to think/understand them as taken for granted or legitimized one. To complete this study, I have retrospectively my bygone days and blended those experiences, with my journey to M. Phil study.

*Reflections Over Myself*

While reflecting my struggle for schooling and my father's role in witnessing turning points in my life. I came to understand that education has power to inspire individuals. First, when I was younger my father's knowledge guided me, at the same time my father was also guided by some other form of knowledge. Actually my father used to tell me that, he was troubled, because he could not get formal education, as my grandfather did not let my father to be in school. In stead of sending my father to school, grandfather liked to send his son to look after cows and buffalos. Unlike my grandfather, father inspired me to be in school and be highly educated. This infers that knowledge of my grandfather on education was different from my father, my grandfather used to send my father to look after cows and buffalos but my father even sold a milking cow which was only source of income in my family, for the sake his son's education. So it is knowledge, which makes people subject. Foucault is less concerned with individual than with knowledge. According to him people are governed by knowledge and that can be found in the meanings of every situation they come across in their everyday lives (Edles, 2002). At the same time knowledge constitute the power relation means power is exercised rather than possessed.

After completing SLC, I joined in faculty of science why? It was because I wanted to be a doctor or an engineer, I was guided by the knowledge of being a doctor or an engineer. Some one who wants to be a doctor or an engineer had to join Faculty of Science. If I had agency or something like that, I would have been a doctor or an engineer, but I am not, I am studying M. Phil in education. However, I did not discontinue my study, power of education and knowledge of being educated guided me all the ways. So power/ knowledge operates in everyday life of the people. Why

did I go India? Actually I went India, if I find a job so that I can earn some amount for my further study and at the same time there was a trend that many people from my village used to go to India to search for job. I was guided by that knowledge at that time and that made me to be in Delhi as household worker. So witnessing turning points in life is a complex phenomena which underpins power/knowledge. From this we can infer that, as time passes the knowledge tends to change, in other word people are guided by various forms of knowledge through out their life. Based on these discussions, it can be concluded that schooling system must be seen or analysed from post structural point of view i.e. beyond agency and structure.

I came Kathmandu in early fifties (vs) to continue my study, but I had changed my interest of studying science further, It was because I was guided by the knowledge of Faculty of Education, at the same time I joined in English medium boarding school as a teacher and at that time to be a trained teacher one had to study B Ed. This infers that power/knowledge go hand in hand to establish a fact or a practice. Therefore the grid of power/ knowledge of education is ever changing.

### *Chapter Summary*

As, I had mentioned in chapter I, turning point is reconstructed and interpretive understanding of educational aspects of the Nepali society particularly based on the case study of historical DS and interpretive analytic practice as research method in Kathmandu at least in this thesis. At the same time I also mentioned that the theme of the 'Turning point' as educational discourse has tended to arise through case study with ethnographic sensibilities the research such as mine.

Schooling could be interpreted in many different ways, in this chapter, I had interpreted schooling from the power/knowledge perspectives. First I started with the

concepts like education, democracy and development these three terms are interrelated with each other in global as well as in local discourse of education. Then I followed the discussion how people are made subject to various forms of knowledge production and the local discourses on planning education, how education should be imparted to the people in Nepal, are increasingly influenced and shaped by global forces including the rights of the child. This infers that elites and paupers as the victims of systems of power/knowledge of english education.

Then I moved in to the discussion about the intensification of English. Nepali people are increasingly influenced by the power/knowledge of English. English is necessary condition for basic competence in the discipline, children in DS were also found influenced by the power/knowledge of English. The theme of power/knowledge could be applied to understand the everyday practices of the people. For this, I had chosen my past struggles for the completion of various levels of academic courses.

## Chapter VII

### Reflections and Implications

From the beginning, I took this study as a multi-pronged approach in order to understand the turning points in education, so several reflections or conclusions can be drawn from this study. One of my intentions while conducting this study was to represent sub-ultern or pauper's voices in educational setting. Generally group characterises the same properties, this study shows that children living in other's house as household workers are not only poors from economic points of view but they face multiple difficulties at home and school. This infers that paupers have to bear, double and greater burden of marginalization and stigmatization. My intention was to represent the implication for intensified and double victimization as the missed turning points in education.

The understanding frame work of this study is diversified and looks into varied themes and approaches which each explains analytically incompatible, but approaching the topic from 'Turning Point' perspectives, the complexities of schooling become visible. Next, I have initiated this study to enhance my analytic research practice. So this study does provide definite analytic research practice and it also provides some linear connection between the chapters and topics. However study has showed that schooling is a complex phenomena which does not initiate and promote definite processes for individuals and society. Turning points in education refers to the fragmented, self-contradicting and creative uncertainties of schooling process. Hence, turning point discourse does not follow straight forward of understanding and expressions rather it tries to blurr the genres and make confusion to the readers (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It was my instrumental interest to do something on



Turning Point in Education as a new discourse. So I had chosen DS as a case in this study.

I took this study as an exploratory study covering the issues that ranged different topics like, elites, turning points, paupers, schooling practices of the people in local context specially confined to the DS. I was the one already entered into the Faculty of Education in T.U. as a student first and after completing Masters Degree in Education and involved in teaching/learning activities in graduate level, it was important for me to understand the complexities of schooling phenomena in local level in terms of turning points in education as a new discourse.

While creating 'Turning points in education' as a new discourse, theories in sociology of education specially socio-cultural reproduction theory of P. Bourdieu, agency-structure that of Anthony Giddens, cultural production of Skinner and Holland, and the theme power/knowledge of Michael Foucault and some other supporting concepts in our local context such as 'birth' and 'rebirth' in terms of *Dharma* are found more influential in this study to understand turning points in education.

As the research process advanced, I limited this study in and around DS. After the overthrow of Rana rulers educational agenda became the state discourse in Nepal and the process of elite formation has been changed now, even people living in very marginalized situation perceive schooling as an agent of liberation and they are attracting towards schooling. With in this context the same school- DS is still running at the side of the *Ranipokhari*. First face of DS was completely in elites camp but now it is serving to the children from marginalized backgrounds living in inner city context.

One of the points I have made in this study is that DS was elites construction but in the course of time, very poor people entered into the same school with a big hope of success in the future at the same time school has been changed from English medium DS to Nepali medium public school. Thus the challenges passed by power/knowledge of English in school are critical juncture of inquiry. People even living in a very desperately poor condition, have taken part in school as a liberating agent to overcome their present condition. With in this context, my main research question for this study was: How does DS interact or interplay with innercity societal context of Kathmandu.

It was difficult task for me to create and understand 'Turning Points in Education' as a new discourse and to understand the local cosmology of schooling. At this juncture, I have asked myself why turning points in individual life matches or mismatches with school structure, at the same time how the agency of the social actors is working in ground level. To understand these complex phenomena I have started with DS and it's interplay with the children from innercity societal context in Kathmandu. It is extremely important, to recognize agency in children but it is my contention that overemphasizing children and their parents as social agents, with their own interpretation of reality is not adequate. Such one side emphasis runs the risk of separating children's agency from the other aspects such as power/knowledge of education and *Dharma* of school and places them is the matter of educational concern. The relationship between school as a social institution and children in school as social actors would reveal how children act upon structure but they are also resist by it.

Based on the major research question as mentioned in chapter-I, I have presented the summery of the understandings which elaborates research question and

in relation with any theoretical construct. I then discuss about the methodological consequences and research implications of the findings of my study. Finally, I have given brief analysis of turning points in education.

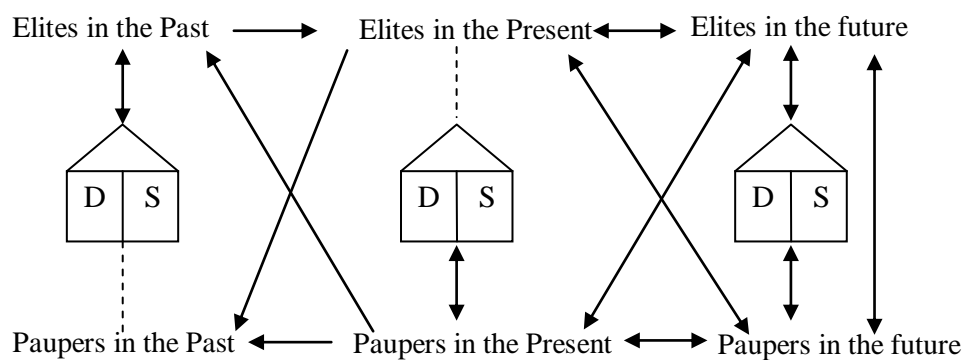
Main understandings that I have delineated in this study are expressed as following:

- a. Development of schools in Nepal has been closely linked with the formation of elites in Nepal so the elites and education have some linkages from the beginning.
- b. DS as educational institution, has been contributing toward the reproduction of class inequalities from the very beginning but at the same time school has been utilized by the social actors to contest, reject or accommodate and produce new discourse against hegemonic discourse of elites or state. These relations contribute my instrumental interest of understanding a new discourse 'Turning Points in Education'.
- c. The impacts of schooling have been profound in everyday life of the people, including paupers, DS has been full compatible with the innercity context.
- d. The relationship between paupers and DS is established, so the present DS is not in elite's camp, but still there exist the missed turning points regarding school phenomena.
- e. Urban everyday life has been difficult for the paupers particularly working children and the parents who were on the footpath business.

- f. There exist the relationship between the power/knowledge of education and the practices of the people. People carry out certain practices guided by their power/knowledge of particular thing as in this case study, actors were participating in school according to the knowledge they hold.

In a nutshell, I understood the schematic dialectical relationship between elites and paupers in terms of DS is shown in the following Figure-1.

Figure 1: Schematic Dialectical Relationship between Elites and Paupers



While looking at the turning points in education in terms of DS in Kathmandu, it is clear that first DS was special school, only Ranas were allowed to study. It was not established with the hope that it would serve to the paupers. Tracing back to the modern history of Nepal, first elites were less concerned with schooling, they were more concerned with the territorial expansion. But in the course of 'time' due to the geo-political situation of Nepal and technological development, elites became aware about the western types of education, specially English education. It seems true that elites first come in contact with the changing nature of society and at the same time they try to influence society according to their own will. This infers to the self centered attitudes of the elites. Self centered views or attitudes of the elites could have

prevented them to think and do for pauper-schooling at first. Next Bourdieu points out that different cultures exist in a society. All these various cultures are not given equal importance at educational institution. The primary importance is given to the culture of elites or dominant classes. As a result it becomes much easier for the children of the elites to adjust to the school system. Similarly, school becomes a missed turning point for the paupers.

As in the case of DS, school was established first to adjust Rana's children but some historical evidences inferred that even children from Rana's family have been failed in school exam, for example in 1880 AD, son of Dhir Shamsheer named Khadga Shamsheer failed in the entrance exam held in Calcutta (Pradhan, 2052 V.S.).

However, this single example can not challenge the Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital but it infers to the close ties between elites and schooling from the beginning. There are other factors to be considered while treating children specially from paupers backgrounds. There are some contradictory evidences from DS that children even working in other's house achieved good results in school exam. Children in DS and in TP school have expressed that they had to be absent in the classes in order to work at home but there were not made any provisions at school to compensate their lessons. This sort of schooling system only favours the children from elites background, who can devote their time in schooling and who are equipped with school culture. It can be termed as missed turning points in education because school does not stand on its own '*Dharma*' as it had to serve paupers equally. So the turning points in education are becoming missed turning points for the paupers. This study revealed that some significant changes have occurred in peoples perspectives. Parent even living in very marginalized situation valued education but school system did not give due recognition to the pauper's voices in school setting, so it is referred as missed turning

points in education. At the beginning DS was established to favour the children from elites in Kathmandu, now there are many ‘*Durbar*’ schools in the name of sophisticated private boarding school. Is it not the missed turning points in education? Without making any transformation in paupers schooling, again we are turning to miss the point of social justice in education.

Bourdieu’s notion of ‘cultural capital’ refers to the most deterministic view of reproductive nature of school but in this study I have used this concept to understand missed turning point in education in terms of paupers schooling. Those missed turning points must be retraced back, as I have found agency in the paupers to challenge the structure, but they need special support from outside.

Conventionally, it is accepted that schools run according to the will of the elites and people including paupers are accommodated to the agenda of the elites and state. I strongly disagree with this conventional view that poor are only victims, entirely at the mercy of the social structure and unable to engage in effective action to change their situation. Paupers also adopt common way of coping strategy by sending their children in school, at the same time school provides a frame to convey ‘alternative visions’ in a particular way because it engages children from an early age and occupy a greater share of their everyday life (see, Chapter-V). A number of factors made paupers think schooling as important and valuable to their life: alternative visions towards life, mainly to get rid from poverty, acquiring prestigious situation in society, acquiring non manual jobs etc., the results from DS contrary to the arguments of the critical interpretive literature that schooling provides ‘docile’ citizen instead of liberated human beings.

Now the context of DS has been changed, i.e. it has witnessed turning point from a centre of elites to paupers. Children from marginalized position in the innercity context are studying with a great hope of success in the future. Girl children, poor children, Dalits children, working children have developed alternative visions towards life through schooling (see, Chapter V). This infers to the Giddens' notion of agency-structure of DS is ever changing in nature. With in this, one can not deny the role played by DS in innercity context in Kathmandu. This study shows that school has become a sources of alternative visions and discourses for the paupers.

Next, it is not the conspiracy of the elites that they are sending their children in private boarding school but it is the 'epistemic' shift, i.e. power/ knowledge interms of English, making even poor parents to send their children in private boarding school. One of the staff in DS mentioned that parents who were living in extreme poverty also wanted to send their children in boarding school. It is because power of education and knowledge of English is making them as objects of operation as indicated by Michael Foucault. To understand turning points in education one has to go beyond agency and structure. This study also focuses on that line by applying the notion of power/knowledge by Foucault. This is also reflected in my Journey to M. Phil study (see, Annex-B6). English is not only a language of communication but it is more than that, in many academic discipline including M. Phil. in education, knowledge of English is necessary condition for admission. I suppose, a study like this should focus to paupers schooling interms of English. It will help elites to find other ways to understand the paupers voices in school setting and to look for new discourses to address the challenges faced by modern schools as these schools are occupied by significant number of paupers.

This study has been more for of an exploratory and creative in nature, hope fully many issues related to schooling but leaving many unresolved. However, I understood, 'paupers schooling' as an emerging issue in Nepali society. This study as creative uncertainty - 'Turning Points in Education' come from field work in and around DS. In all these observations and discussions, 'paupers schooling' seemed central and turning points have occurred in DS, I knew that, I am educated Brahmin not grown up in a rich family, much like the children staying with their parents and studying in DS but the social context where I grown up was different. Next, my lower socio-economic condition in society and my father's effort to make me an educated person inspired me to understand the turning points in education. So it may be the reason that this study seems so important to me, but there are other approaches and theories must be considered.

*Issues in Paupers Education: Building Better Schoolings*

'Turning Point' indicates some significant changes in the context, while making link of turning point with education, it also indicates the some changes in educational sector. At the same time it is a time for making judgment, how far the development effort in education has been achieved. Whether these changes are working in favour of the paupers, or disadvantaged in terms of schooling. If turning points in education are not compatible with the turning points in individual life then there are chances of witnessing missed turning points (see, Chapter IV). To avoid this there must be some dialogues between elites and paupers to retrace the point which has been missed. Therefore in this section I have drawn some implications of the study.



In the process of change, paupers entered into the school and expected to improve their present life situation. Children participate in school because there is a belief that it would allow them an opportunity to create their space in society and feel empowered. The crisis in this respect resulted in terms of DS, raising many issues such as how to prepare teachers to teach children from diverse disadvantaged position in the classroom, how to institutionalize a support mechanism to assist children living in very difficult situation in terms of schooling, the need of sensitive elites, the need for mutual learning, how to develop a link system between parents/guardians and school teachers, how to enhance the quality of education, and the need of contextual understanding.

Start with making children to enhance their achievement and to complete their assignment at school. When children come to school, they could be made more engaged in curricular activities, so that they do not need to learn more at home, because children from disadvantaged situation have to devote their time at home for other purposes. Now, audio system or cassette players are easily available, school can use these cassette recorders for children who are very weak and do not get enough time to learn at home. But the critical point which under lies this idea is school need to take into account socio economic situation of the children.

It could be started with the aspects of children's literature. Madhavi Kumari (2007) of the NCERT of India felt that every child no matter how young or old can easily be encouraged to develop relationship with literature or books. Further she stressed that children's needs and desires changes with different age groups. School could make consolidated efforts to reach the books to the child. There is a library in

DS that could be used effectively, because there existed some mismatches between the school and home environment of the children.

DS could search alternative income source for the poor children by creating a mechanism of collecting rain water from the roof of the school and mixing this water in *Rani Pokhari* so that school would get extra amount from Kathmandu Metropolitan office. In the summer time the level of water decreases in the pond. Both students and teachers thus become knowledgeable to harvest rainwater for better world.

Human beings start experiencing creativity from a very early stage in life. Unfortunately, the inherent creativity of childhood gradually disappears in later years. So to utilize the natural creativity of the child, DS can co-ordinate with *Lalitkala Campus* (Creative Art College), so that some innate capacity of the children could be fostered and may help senior students from *Lalitkala Campus* to instruct children for art work (Sinha, 2007).

One other way is to improve the financial support system directly. Most children in DS are from desperately from poor situation and need additional support to bear the cost of schooling. For example, teachers in school could raise a revolving fund to collect money from NGOs and INGOs and other programmes as well.

There is also an issue of teacher training. Children come from diverse backgrounds so they need diversified form of treatment to enhance the achievement of schooling. This could be done by establishing a school based teacher training programme in DS so that real difficulties of the children could be addressed (Koirala, 1996). This idea would also contribute to the issue of critical policy making in school. As children in DS come from diverse marginalized backgrounds and they

need to be treated individually in some cases. The first stage of critical policy making in school is to identify the real problems of school and using experts or researcher's knowledge to resolve the issues or problems found in schools (Corson, 1998).

As mentioned in earlier paragraphs children and teachers from DS, and teachers and students of *Lalitkala* Campus can organize art exhibition so that fund could be collected for the poor children. If school organizes or initiates innovative programmes, there exists a pressure for the government to make support for DS as it is a historical school and can be a model school.

In my study, children have written their stories, which, reveal that they have witnessed unanticipated turning points in their life such as abduction of father by Maoist, being a child from Dalit family, being a child from poor family etc. School can make some provisions and can ask these children to write their life stories and publicize it so that some humble and sensitive elites could support to the students. It could be done weekly, monthly, half yearly etc. Further school could select the students from the tragic ending.

The world view of the teachers must be free from prejudiced type of world views, some students in DS have shared that, teachers do not give due recognition to the children must be seen from diverse grounds, because they are the nation builders, only the need is to make a environment where they can flourish their ability and skills. Nepali elites need to question the importance of a hierarchical society by documenting its short comings and advancing the benefits of egalitarian society.

There are some other issues and challenges need to be addressed for, they require not only to reorient teachers but that school system. Children in DS are facing

difficulties in learning English but they are also guided by the power of English knowledge, they felt need of the English for better future. To address this issue school could establish English language laboratory. For this school can organize an interaction programme with American and British ambassadors to Nepal.

To address the problems of weaker students, the guidance and counseling programme could be implemented. For this, first school could appoint a teacher from DS to implement this programme. It is not necessary that immediately school needs a professional counselor to support student in learning. Children in DS and in TP school expressed that it was very difficult for them to concentrate on study. It may be the reason that they might have suffered from some mental illness or academic stress (Regmi, 2002; Koirala, 1996). It could be helpful for the teacher if education system by state level make some decisions about the appointment of counselors in school for students and teachers. As I had mentioned in my methodological chapter that some teachers have made sarcastic comments against other teachers. It may be the reason that, they had some mental or emotional problems or may be other reasons need to be inquired in school setting.

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Annexes

Annex - A

Research Instruments

Annex A1: Student's information/ survey form

Annex A2: Focus Group Discussion Guide/ FGD registration form

Annex A3: Interview Schedule for Teachers

Annex A4: Interview Schedule for H.T. and Assistant H.T.

Annex A5: Observation Schedule in and around DS

Annex A6: Interview Schedule for footpath *pasale*

Annex A7: Life Stories

Annex A1

Student's Information/ Survey Form

(My translation)

1. Student's Name
2. Gender: Male          Female          Age \_\_\_\_\_ year
3. Place of Birth:  
\_\_\_\_\_ District \_\_\_\_\_ VDC/Municipality/Metropolitan city \_\_\_\_\_
4. Write your present address where you are living.
5. Based on your assumption, how long does it take to reach DS? walk on foot (time)\_\_\_\_minutes. on vehicles \_\_\_\_\_ minutes/hour
6. Since how long you are studying in this school?
  - i) From grade 1          ii) From grade 6          iii) From grade
7. Write the name of one subject that you feel the most easiest while studying \_\_\_\_\_
8. Write the name of only one subject that you feel the most hardest one while studying.
9. In which division, you have passed the annual exam of 2063 B.S.?
  - i) First          ii) Second          iii) Third          iv) Promoted
  - v) Failed
10. Have you ever failed in previous grades?  
Yes          No  
If yes, in which grades/subjects \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_
11. Have you ever noticed that, your friend had left school?  
Yes          No

If yes, why he/she/had left school \_\_\_\_\_

12. How is your home environment for study? Tick one or add.
- i) I have to work at home, so I get little time to prepare my lessons
  - ii) I do not have to work at home, So I get enough time to prepare my lessons.
  - iii) I take tuitions at home
  - iv) Some time I don't go to school, because I had to work at home
  - v) .....
13. How you are managing the cost of schooling?
- i) I am living with my parents /elders sisters /brothers
  - ii) I am living with other's house
  - iii) I am living with my relatives
  - iv) Other ways of managing.....
14. Where do your parents live?
- i) Both live in Kathmandu
  - ii) Both live in the village/district
  - iii) I have mother only but she lives in the village/district
  - iv) I have mother only I am living with her.
  - v) I only have father he lives in the village/district
  - vi) I only have father , , in kathmandu
  - vii) I don't have parents
15. Do your parents have land  / house  in Kathmandu.....
- Yes                      No
16. Do your parents have land/house in the village/district (out of valley)?
- Yes                      No

17. Please mention your parents educational status (Applicable only for those who have both parents or single parent).

<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
Illiterate	Illiterate
Literate	Literate
Passed 5 <sup>th</sup> grade	Passed 5 <sup>th</sup> grade
Passed 8 <sup>th</sup> grade	Passes SLC
Passed SLC	Passed 8 <sup>th</sup> grade
Passed +2 level	Passed Intermediate level
Passed B.A./Ed./B.Sc.	Passed Bachelor Degree
Passed Master's Degree	Passed Master's Degree

- 18 Please, mention your parent's occupational status-

Mother's occupation: Job Business Agriculture Others ...

Father's occupation: Job. Business Agriculture Others ...

“What sort of occupation (specifically) .....

- 19 What do you want to be in the future? Mention briefly.

.....

.....

.....



## Annex A2

## Focus Groups Discussion Guide

I welcome all of you to today's discussion. Thank you for accepting to take time off your study. Our topic for discussion concerns the schooling, specially in formal setting. I am Ishwori Pd. Regmi, an M. Phil student in T.U. I request each of you to introduce him self/herself in this format. Each and everybody's, views are important to me. No body is right and nobody is wrong. It is perfectly in order to disagree. Everything that will be discussed in here will be kept confidential. So please do feel free and relaxed to give your frank and honest opinions. If you don't mind I would like to record the discussion so that I can remember your views. The session will last about one and half hours.

FGD Guidelines for Working Children in DS

Perception of schooling/DS

Children's (boys) interaction with school and home

Private Boarding School/Public School

Working Children and Schooling/[types of work at home to do.]

Knowledge of English/Power of education

Parent's educational/occupational status

Children's past experiences/future aspirations/expectations

FGD Guidelines for Girls living with their parents.

Perception of schooling/DS

Work load at home and schooling

Gender roles and schooling/Nepali society.

Experiences and expectations from schooling

Parent's education and occupational status

Private Boarding Schools/Public Schools

Power of Education/knowledge of English

*Annex A2 continue....*

## Summary of Particulars for Focus Group Participants

## FGD/Boys in DS

Participants	Age (years)	Caste/ethnicity	Grade	Children's Status
1	15	Tamang	7	Household worker
2	16	„	7	„
3	15	„	7	Working in hotel/house
4	14	Cheetri	8	Household worker
5	17	Tamang	8	Household worker
6	16	„	9	Household worker

## FGD/Girls in DS

Participants	Age (years)	Caste/ethnicity	Grade	Children's Status
1	15	Cheetri	7	Living with the parents
2	15	Tharu	8	„
3	15	Brahmin	7	„
4	15	Gurung	7	„
5	15	Thakuri	9	„
6	15	Newar	9	„

*Annex A2 continue....*

Focus Group Discussion Registration Form

Date : ..... Venue : ..... F.G.D. Type.....

Start time : ..... End time : .....

No.	Name/optional	Age	Ethnicity/caste	Grade	Remarks
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					

Annex A3

Interview Schedule for Teachers

Name :..... Date of Interview

Sex : Female Male Teaching status ..... Level

Teaching subjects .....

Perception of the teachers toward DS

Durbar school in the past

Children's participation in school

School and societal Relationship/previous experiences

Teaching/learning environment in the past

Durbar School in the present

Context of DS/other private boarding schools

Participation of children/parent in DS/

Teachers interaction with students

Children's teaching/leaving activities

Power of Education/knowledge of English

Problems students/teachers are facing...../prestige.....

Turning points in Education/Elites/Paupers

Subjects/curriculum/training of teachers/



Annex A5

Observation Schedule in and Around DS

Date of observation.....

Observation in DS

Observation in Teachers room

Observing/participating in Teaching/learning activities

Observation in the library room.

Observation around DS/foot path life/occupation

In the morning/peoples participation/footpath life

In the Afternoon

In the Evening/footpath life

Annex A6

Interview Schedule for 'footpath *pasale*'

Name of the Respondent

Sex : Male                  Female                  Age:      Qualification      Caste/ethnicity

Past life of the respondent

Family affairs

Business on foot path

Problems faced by foot path *pasale*

Physical and mental environment

Peoples on the foot path

Children's schooling

Perception towards schooling

Streets children/pick pocketers

Views towards foot path life

Future Aspiration/Expectation

Annex A7

Life story Guideline

Life story Guide line for students

General Introduction

Major turning points in life

Parental situation

How did it happen to study in DS?

Perception towards schooling/ DS

Past memories

Future aspirations



Annex B

Life Stories

- Annex B1: The Story I - Kumar
- Annex B2: The Story II - Sarita
- Annex B3: The Story III - Kalpana
- Annex B4: The Story IV - Shanti (Lucky Girl!)
- Annex B5: The Story V - Bikram on the Street
- Annex B6: Ripples in my Journey to M.Phil. Study

## Annex B 1

## The Story I- Kumar

Kumar Ghimire (pseudonym), 15 years boy is learning in grade seven in Turning point school in Kathmnadu. He was born in Bhojpur on 15<sup>th</sup> Bhadra, 2049 B.S. How did he get here? How turning points occurred in his life? The story was narrated by himself I just developed and I had translated in my field notes during my field study time and the story proceeds in this way.

According to Kumar, referring to his step father, Kumar's mother was eloped with Dhana Prasad when Kumar was just three months old. Being the infant one Kumar's mother brought him with her. This infers that Kumar was a step son of Dhana Prasad. Later one brother and sister were born in the family. When Kumar was seven or eight years of old his mother again eloped with other person leaving Kumar and other two kids with Dhana Prasad. According to Kumar from the beginning Dhana Prasad, Kumar's step father was not positive with him, it was because he was step son. Unfortunately Kumar's step brother fell in sick and died in Hospital. Later his step father married another woman, then father and mothers were both step to him step mother started hating him and one day his step father took him to the hotel and ordered him to stay and work there. It was done according to the advice of his step mother. He had to clean the dishes in Hotel, Hotel owner used to pay Rs. 500 to his step father at the cost of this work at hotel.

Kumar used to work honestly in the Hotel, because of his honesty, the Hotel owner was so impressed and transferred him to the other job, as he had to open shop at 4 am. He was happy there, because he got love from the Hotel owner. It was 2058

V.S. Poush 18th, his step uncle, from Kathmandu went to him and asked whether he was interested to go to Kathmandu, but he had to stay with other's house as a domestic helper. According to Kumar, he accepted this sort of proposal from his step uncle, because he had a curiosity about the capital city of Nepal. On 6th Magh, 2058 V.S. he came in Kathmandu and the next day started working as a domestic helper, and it was top floor of the house. In the lower floor there were other domestic helpers, staying with other's families who have joined school and continuing their study. Inspired by the friend who was also working as a domestic helper in the house, one day Kumar asked his owner and expressed his desire to study. Owner first denied because he had crossed the official age of starting grade one. While talking this Kumar's tears fell down on the carpet, by looking this owner assured him and he would send him to school. It was Ashad 4<sup>th</sup>, 2059 V.S., he was admitted in T.P. School and continuing his study without being failed. Because of his generousness and honest nature, he was promoted from grade two to grade four. According to him, "Now it is very difficult for me to continue my study, working as a domestic helper. There are two sons of owner's at home who are studying at well known private boarding school in Kathmandu. I have to prepare them for school and have to involve in other house hold chores in morning and evening. I get little time to prepare my lessons at home". Similarly he has expressed that now he is not so smart in study. These days house owners are becoming indifferent with his study, they rarely ask about his academic affairs in school. So sometime he felt difficult even to manage notebooks, dresses, geometry box etc.

Annex B2

The Story II - Sarita

My name is Sarita Khanal (Pseudonym). I am 14 years old. Now I am studying in grade six in Turning point school (Name changed) in Kathmandu. I was born in Dapcha, Kavre and I grew up there until I was eight years old and I was in grade three in village school. My family witnessed unfortunate turning point when Maoists had abducted my father, and still my father's condition is unknown. It is completely six years of my father's anonymity. I have younger sister and brother. We searched and inquired our fathers but we could not get. Because of this incident slowly our economic condition was degrading as my parents were farmers. Right after this incident my mother suffered from mental illness, but later slowly 'she revived and I came with her in Kathmandu. The reason behind coming Kathmandu was, to search for any sort of work for me. My mother inquired her some relatives who were living in Kathmandu, whether, I would get work at someone's house as domestic helper.

Now I am working as a domestic helper in some one's house and continuing my study. I am not sure what will happen at the future. I do not get enough time to learn at home. Some time I have to miss the classes in school, it is because I am living with a big family, I had to serve them according to work their will. But teachers in my school labelled me as weak learner. It was because, I was failed in the two subjects in the terminal exam. There are, some other students in my school who are studying in a very miserable situation like me.

## Annex B3

## The Story III - Kalpana

26 years old, Reshma Ghimire (Pseudonym), Kalpana's mother has been living in an inner gali of Ason, a few minutes walking distance from DS Around eight years ago, she has got love marriage with Bikas. Both of them were from Nuwakot District. Bikash could not continue his schooling, because his economic condition was very low and quited his study, when he was studying in grade-nine in the village. One of his relatives brought him to Kathmandu and provided a job for him at New Road. Then, frequently he used to go to village house in Nuwakot district. He liked Resma and proposed her to marry, at that time Reshma was just 16 years old. With out taking consent from her parents, she eloped with Bikash and come in Kathmandu. Reshma had studied just three grades and left school, her father asked her to leave school and help her mother in household work and in the farm.

They came in Kathmandu, it was all correct, they were staying happily because Bikash was a job holder. As the time passed, slowly conflicts arose between Bikash and Reshma. The main reason behind arousing conflict between them was the alcohol drinking habit of Bikash. Bikash used to come at late night from his job with alcoholic mood. Reshma did not like her husband's drinking habit. Bikash has become so drunkard, even some time he used to miss his duty. Due to these reasons Bikash was expelled from his job. Reshma has got two children, one girls named Kalpana and other son name Krishna only one and half years old.

When Bikash was expelled from the job, it was Resma's turn to take care of while responsibility of the family. A woman from Dhading district was living next to Reshma's room. Reshma used to share her sorrows with a women, whom she used to

call '*Didi*'. The same *Didi* advised Reshma to do pasal on the footpath. *Didi* fully helped Reshma, where to contact and how to sell vegetables on the footpath. This is how Reshma learnt, how to run footpath pasal in and around, DS. According to her, she had to bear the responsibility of looking after her two kids and drunkard husband. She could not save any money from footpath pasal because her husband used to take money to drink alcohol, if not given, used to quarrel with her. All those things made her more frustrating and planned to suicide. But she controlled herself and become more bold to live for small children.

Now she works whatever kind of work, she finds in the city. She admitted her daughter in DS. When I visited her, she was involved in *Makai Polne Kaam* on footpath nearby DS. According to her daughter, Kalpana, her father sets out early in the morning and there was not any fixed time to return at room. During my observation period on DS, one day I was moving into the residing side of Aruna Shretha, a girl who was studying in grade-three (see-chapter III) in DS. On the way to Aruna's residing place, I saw Kalpana carrying her brother Krishna on her back. She saw me and greeted, I inquired her, why she did not come to school today? She replied that her mother Reshma had gone to do labour work at building construction site and it became Kalpana's duty to look after her small brother, Krishna.

## Annex B4

## The Story IV- Shanti

I am a daughter of a poor family. I was born in Khanikhola of Tanahu District. We were the poorest among the villagers there were seven members in my family. My parents used to work in other's field and house as '*Nimek*' If was difficult to survive, one day my father decided to leave the village. There were some relatives of my father in Chitwan. They have advised my father to leave village. In Terai, there was a little bit high chances of getting labour work. We went Chitwan, where we stayed a few days with my father's relative. My parents used to go for labour work in the city areas. While searching work, one day my father brought the news that there was a house in need of a household worker. There were two older sisters than me but eldest sister had some problems on hind limbs, it was difficult for her to move from one place another place. Other elder sister was living with my father's relative in Chitwan; so my father sent me there. I worked at that house around eight month, then the house owner sent me to Kathmandu, as his daughter has got married in Kathmandu. I came here in Kathmandu, and the daughter of that house owner admitted me in this school. Now I am happy at home though I had to work at kitchen and other household chores, because it is a great opportunity for me to be in school. I secured 4<sup>th</sup> position in my grade. Though, I have to work at home, I have managed time to study at home; generally I study at late night. I have a great interest in study. I hope one day in the future, I will be earning member of my family and I will help my parents. [Class-eight, Shanti, 2064-2-16 VS]

## Annex B5

## The Story V: Bikram on the Street (Onta-Bhatta; 2000:1)

We stayed up all right yesterday because it was too cold to sleep we built a fire near the trash bin to stay warm. We kept on walking all night. I left with Bijay to collect *mall* (i.e. recyclables) at dawn. The earlier you go, the more you find. Because there are lot of *Khaate* now, it is difficult to find '*maal*'. Because we worked together, we were able to collect a sackful by 8 o'clock. So we went to the junkyard in Dallu to sell it. It was worth 48 rupees. But instead of getting twenty-four rupees, my half, I only got fifteen as her (the Junkyard owner) deducted nine rupees as my loan repayment. I still owe twenty rupees. Then we went together to Hanumandhoka to eat. Since it was still early in the morning, there was no meal ready yet. So we just had tea. Then we rented a bicycle and rode around the city for an hour. Then we went back to eat. Our other friends showed up to eat there too. We all went to the park and slept their in the sun for a few hours. When it is a sumy day like today, this is what we do because we can not sleep at night. Then it was time to come here for snacks.

Twelve-year old Bikram (Janaury 1995).



## Annex B6

Ripples in my Journey to M. Phil Study: Shortly in Reference with Power/Knowledge  
of Education*My early school days in Bardiya and Nepalganj*

I was born in a lower middle class Brahmin family in Jamuni VDC-5 of Bardiya district in 2031 V.S. Now, I am interpreting those days of mine as lower middle class, because we had land but that was not sufficient to survive my family as we had to work for other's field I still remember those early school days in Bardiya, my father inspired me to study hard. First he taught me *Ka, Kha* at home and admitted me in nearby public school in grade one. First day, I went school with my father and I was embarrassed, because typical sounds were coming from school rooms and I was surprised while experiencing that school environment, very different from my previous experiences at home environment. My father had not studied English and did not attend any formal school but he knew how to study and write Nepali. I am the elder son of my parent, my father was so strict, he did not let me to go with friends to play, I had to write *Ka, Kha* repeatedly at home but he was not interested to the study of my sisters, I had two elder sisters and one younger sister and one younger brother. Sometime my father used to go to school whether, I am learning or not and used to ask with teachers about my study and performance in the class.

In the course of time, I reached in grade four and I had to study English subject. I felt very difficult to learn English, I was beaten by English teacher, as I could not prepare home work. No one was there to assist me to study English at home. One day, now I suppose, that was Saturday, I was sitting on a mat in the *Aagan*. I was writing English alphabet in four line copy, a neighbourhood sister named-Sabitra

Pandey came to my house, she admired my writing. She was in grade 5, her brother was my friend but he was in grade-3, at that time. Sabitra Pandey advised me to attend at her house, for study. At that time she had told me that her friends and their brothers also attend at her home for study, in the evening. Sabitra sister's parents and my parents had good relationship, My father also used to visit her house frequently.

I started attending Sabitra's house in the evening for study, my elder sister also started attending there. As I have already mentioned that my father was not so interested with my sister's study and admitted my elder sister in grade one when I was in grade two. We became all familiar with each other and used to learn from each other. Sabitra Pandey helped me to learn English, she was the first girl of her grade, teachers also liked her very much. From 4th grade I also started getting position in the grades. We continued.

Now, I think, that sister's house was learning centre for children like me. I really surprise now that learning process was developed, and that mutual learning process was a major turning point in my life. Later in 2047 VS I passed SLC and Joined in faculty of science in M.M. Campus Nepalganj. I was interested to learn science, because it was necessary for one to study science to become a doctor or an engineer. I went to Nepalganj, head quarter of Banke District, to study I. Sc. As already I had mentioned that my family was not in a good economic condition to send me to study I. Sc., at that time my father had sold a milking cow, which was also a source of income for my family. My father managed very hardly to continue my study.

Some months have been passed, in Nepalganj, one day a village brother who was in Nepalganj came with me and offered a job in Nepal Engineers Association.

Engineer, Kedar Chandra Sharma was the president who offered me to join the work. I was offered a job of office-runner. I had to distribute letters to the engineers, those who were working at government offices and other project offices. I had to run on bicycle. I used to get Rs. 550 per month as salary. I had to attend in practical classes in M.M. Campus in day time but job prevented me to attend in the classes. Later I requested president, let me to attend at least in practical classes and he agreed. I had depended on that job but I was becoming weaker in study as I had to miss theoretical classes in the college. As I was a runner, I had to run on bicycle from Ranjha to Rupeidia (20 km. distance) everyday, sometime I had to involve in other programmes organized by NEA in Nepalganj. It was difficult for me to study at late night, because I used to become tired, due to the running on bicycle in the day time. All these factors led me to secure poor marks in I. Sc. first year but I was ranked in a position of obtaining Rs. 2000 as scholarship from the M.M Campus I was in a great dilemma at that time, in one hand I had to pass I. Sc. and at the other hand I had to continue my job. It was very difficult for me to balance science study and holding job but there was no alternatives for me, therefore I decided to quite the job at least few months before the time of examination. I did the same. At the end of I. Sc. study, I had contacted a person who was working in India. I also made a plan to go to India after completing the examination.

### *My Journey to India*

It was at the end of Chaitra (last month of the year) in 2049 VS. According to my earlier plan I went to India with person to whom I had contacted beforehand. I was interested about the place where we both were proceeding. Next day we reached Gajiyabad, one district of India nearer to Delhi. I found that Krishna Raj Giri, to

whom I had gone to India, was the watchman of a Garment Factory in Gajiyabad. His wife and two small daughters were also there, living in a quarter in the factory. I stayed two days there in Gajiyabad with Krishina, then he took me to Delhi, where his some friends were working. I met his two friends in Delhi. Narayan was interested to me and asked about what was my academic qualification and whether I can speak English and Hindi fluently. Krishna left me with Narayan and asked Narayan to find a job for me and he returned back to his job in Gajiyabad.

Narayan, Middle aged man, was a cook in *Chanyakya Puri Guest House* in New Delhi. He was also residing there with his wife and four children including two sons. All of them were studying in public school in Delhi. I became familiar with them in a few days. I also used to guide Narayan's children at home specially in mathematics. Narayan's children taught me to speak Hindi sometime they (children) used to tease me by calling Sharmili Dai (shy-brother). I stayed with Narayan more than two weeks but I was not getting a job. Narayan was also worried about my job and inquired with his friends in Delhi. One day he told me that it is very hard to get a good job here in Delhi. So I decided to do whatever job will be offered to me, ultimaltely I got a job; where I had to work as a household worker.

I had to cook food, clean dishes, sweeping rooms, fetching milk from milk centre, and serve to the guest. There was an old woman at home, her son and daughter in law were in *Dubai* to run their business. First it was difficult for me to adjust with that house, as household worker, it was because I had no idea of preparing food according to the choice of older woman. Later I got a job in the newly constructed Factory, where I had to make entry of the constructed material and at night I had to watch the factory. There were other Nepali workers as well. One day I got a letter

from my father and it was noticed in the letter that I had passed the I.Sc., I became so glad and immediately I made a plan to return to Nepal. I also took advice from Krishna, he advised me to return Nepal and to continue study further.

*A journey to Kathmandu: Dreamland*

I returned from India and collected my academic certificates from M.M. Campus. I had certificates in my hand but I did not have idea what to do then. Again I became worried and confused how to carry out my further study, My father was also worried about my further study, as there was not any good alternatives at hand to send me for higher studies. Each and every critical situation my father advised me to tackle the problem. At that time also, he suggested me to go to Kathmandu and meet relatives, who were running Boarding School in Balaju, Kathmandu. I had saved 500 IC in my poket. I followed my father's suggestions and come here in Kathmandu and met with my relatives. Actually, Boarding School was run by my mother's niece (elder mother's daughter) in relation we were brother and sister. School was running up to grade 5. I requested sister to help me for my further study by providing a job at school. She was principal cum teacher at that school. First few days she advised me to take classes in Nursery and K.G., it was because I had to be acquainted with the boarding school environment, as I had to conduct classes in English medium. Few months later science teacher left school as he has got better payed school in Kathmandu and I appointed as a science teacher in that school. Sister's husband was a lecturer in Unviersity Campus, Kirtipur. He advised me to join B. Ed. progamme in evening time to continue study further, but I was interested to study B. Sc. Later I decided to join B. Ed. programme in Kathmandu Shiksha Campus, which was running on the ground floor of DS in evening time. I was convinced that if I want to be a

teacher in future then it would be better to choose education faculty rather than science. It was the matter of 2050 VS, around fifteen years ago. It was my turning point in life; though it was difficult for me to continue work and study. I passed B. Ed. with major maths and Health Education. Then I went to teach in Government school in Surkhet, in 2054 VS. I left Kathmandu, because I wanted to study Master Degree with out doing any job, so that I can secure good marks. I did not want to discontinue my study but I had to earn some amount to continue my study.

I admitted in M. Ed. in University Campus Kirtipur in 2056 V.S. Head Teacher of Surkhet-Government school was so cooperative, and who also inspired me to continue my study. He had provided some leaves for me to study. I did hard labour in M. Ed. and completed M. Ed. in 2059 VS with first division. After the completion of Master's Degree in Health Education, I went to teach in Babai-Multiple Campus in 2059 in Bardiya, the same district, where I was born. I taught there upto 2062 VS before joining M. Phil in T.U.

Annex C

Miscellaneous

Annex C1: EFA 2004-2009

Annex C2: Martyr-Gangalal Shrestha: Short Glimpse

Annex C3: Glossary of Nepali Terms

Annex C1

EFA 2004-2009

1. Expanding and improving early childhood development.
2. Ensuring access to Education for all children.
3. Meeting the learning needs of all children including indigenous peoples linguistic minorities.
4. Reducing Adult Literacy.
5. Eliminating Gender Disparity.
6. Improving all aspects of quality education.



## Annex C2

## Martyr Gangalal Shrestha: A Short Glimpse

Martyr-Gangalal was born in Remchhap in 1975 VS: where his father, Bhakta Lal was an officer at Dolakha District's Sectional Office known as Maal Adda at that time. His schooling started at the age of 5 at Ramechhap Bhasa-Pathshala (Sanskrit Schools) but later when his father transferred from Ramechhap to eastern district Okhaldunga. He went with his father in Okhardhunga. Later he went to Calcutta with his uncle Shanker Lal, when he was 11 years of old. His uncle went Calcutta to study medical science. Gangalala stayed there in Calcutta with his uncle around one and half years. At that time he got the opportunity to observe the India's freedom struggle. Indian people were raising their hands against British rule. Because of the unfavourable weather of Calcutta his uncle could not continue his study in medical science, as his uncle fell in sick and both came to Nepal. In 1989 VS, Gangalala joined in DS and completed SLC in 1994 VS and stood board second position with first division. He won the various prizes from DS He was extrovert and used to take part in all extra-curricular activities in school. Even after completing his SLC he used to visit DS frequently.

When he was studying in T.C. College in 1995 VS he involved in political activities to overthrow Rana autocracy from Nepal. At that time he had given a speech in T.C. college; on excerpt from his speech:

Has mouth only for sweet taste have hands only for fearing flesh, has life only for fun and enjoyment? Don't we have any responsibility toward Nation and people? Similarly, when his father was reminding him not to carry out any sort of activities against government and Gangalal replied to his father:

Look Father! Your have many sons, what will happen, if I will not be there? I want to sacrifice my life for my country and people.

## Annex C3

## Glossary of Nepali Terms

<i>Afno-manchhe:</i>	own's people/ belong to him/her
<i>Agan:</i>	open space in front of house in Nepali society
<i>Arjun:</i>	one of the Warrior in Mahabharat (Kurukshetra War)
<i>Aryaghat:</i>	a place in Kathmandu where death rituals are performed
<i>Atma:</i>	soul
<i>Bhagwat Gita:</i>	a religious book related to Hindu Philosophy
<i>Bhardar:</i>	courtiers
<i>Bidyalaya:</i>	school
<i>Brahman:</i>	high caste people in <i>Varnashram</i> system
<i>Chaitra:</i>	last month of the year
<i>Chakari:</i>	to appease people by all means
<i>Dalit:</i>	a scheduled caste person
<i>Dharma:</i>	the pathway for everyone's salvation even for all living and non living things
<i>Didi:</i>	sister
<i>Durbar:</i>	palace
<i>Galli:</i>	inner part of the innercity
<i>Ka, Kha:</i>	first and second letter of Nepal alphabet (Pronunciation)
<i>Kathmandu Post:</i>	national newspaper
<i>Kot:</i>	fort at the top of the mountain or at the palace
<i>Kshatriya:</i>	ruling caste people in <i>Varnashram</i>
<i>Manusmriti:</i>	laws of Manu
<i>Nanglo Pasal:</i>	Small business on footpath

<i>Nivritti Marga:</i>	a path of life to salvation or Nirvana
<i>Pakauda:</i>	a kind of edible thing made from onion and flour
<i>Panchayat:</i>	political system in Nepal between (1960-1990)
<i>Pasale:</i>	shopkeeper
<i>Patrika Pasal:</i>	Shop from where newspapers are sold
<i>Prativa:</i>	genuineness
<i>Pravritti Marga:</i>	a path of life to material joy and pleasure
<i>Punarjanma:</i>	rebirth
<i>Rajasi:</i>	promoting passion
<i>Sadak:</i>	road, path
<i>Satwik:</i>	promoting truth
<i>Satwik:</i>	promoting truth
<i>Sauji :</i>	Nepali word used to denote owner of the business
<i>Shiksha:</i>	education
<i>Sudra:</i>	lowest group of people in Varnashram
<i>Tamasi:</i>	promoting Anger
<i>Vaishya/Baishya:</i>	third group of caste people in Varnashram
<i>Vaishya:</i>	third group of caste people in Varnashram
<i>Varia:</i>	person who carries load on back, porter
<i>Vedas:</i>	Scriptures on Hindu philosophy
<i>Vikram Sambat/</i>	
<i>(Bikram Sambat):</i>	Nepali era which is 56 years 8 month, and 14 days ahead of the Christian era

## Annex C4

## Durbar School in the Past

**Name of the students studied in DS in Grade Ten in 2008  
Section 'A'**

S.N.	Name of Student	Caste	S.N.	Name of Student	Caste
1.	Bhuban Bhakta Joshi	Newar	22.	Nava Raj Joshi	Newar
2.	Bidya Ratna BA	Newar	23.	Ram Bdr. Shrestha	Newar
3.	Soorya Nath Subedi	Brahmin	24.	Sagar Nath Upreti	Brahmin
4.	Achuta Pd. Paudel	Brahmin	25.	Tika Dutta Timalsina	Brahmin
5.	Bihari Lal R.B.	Newar	26.	Shreedhar Upreti	Brahmin
6.	Chudamani Sh. Sh Tapa	Chhetri	27.	Prakash Bdr. Sahi	Thakuri
7.	Dhruba Bdr. Singh Thapa	Chhetri	28.	Govinda Bir Pande	Chhetri
8.	Narendra Raj Pande	Chhetri	29.	Badri Nath Regmi	Brahmin
9.	Mahesh Pandey	Brahmin	30.	Behari Krishna	
10.	Sudarshan Sh. Sh. Thapa	Chhetri	31.	Dec Bahadur	Chhetri
11.	Mani Ratna Tuladhar	Newar	32.	Ralindra Nath Rimal	Brahmin
12.	Shree Dhar Upreti	Brahmin	33.	Shiva Bdr. Nepali	Dalit
13.	Sambhu Nath Pyakurel	Brahmin	34.	Surendra Nath Rimal	Brahmin
14.	Ratna Tuladha	Newar	35.	Pravat Kumar Manandhar	Newar
15.	Ishwori Man Manandhar	Newar	36.	Amrit lal Shrestha	Newar
16.	Kedar Raj Rjabhandari	Newar	37.	Kumar Lochan Sapkota	Brahmin
17.	Balaram Lohani	Brahmin	38.	Mrigendra Bdr. Pradhan	Newar
18.	Rajani Nath Pyakuryal	Brahmin	39.	Bal Krishna Poudel	Brahmin
19.	Ananda Dev Bhatta	Brahmin	40.	Nava Raj Sharma	Brahmin
20.	Khagendra Man Shrestha	Newar	41.	Bisemra Kumar	
21.	Bhola Nath pandey	Brahmin	42.		

Source: Record File; 2008 V.S., DS Ranipokhari.

Newar - 13

Brahmin - 18

Chhetri - 6

Caste unidentified - 2

Thakuri - 1

Dalit - 1

*Annex C4 continue....***Name of the students studied in DS in Grade Ten in 2008****Section 'B'**

S.N.	Name of Student	Caste	S.N.	Name of Student	Caste
1.	Sachay Kumar Pahari		22.	Ratna Kaji Stapit	Newar
2.	Chandra Bhakta Shrestha	Newar	23.	Shree Dhar Pd. Pradhan	Newar
3.	Yadav Khanal	Brahmin	24.	Ganga Lal Shrestha	Newar
4.	Hem Bdr	Chhetri	25.	Dev Pd. Sen	Thakuri
5.	Hiranya Lal Shrestha	Newar	26.	Bhekh Bdr. Thapa	Chhetri
6.	Kabi Keshari Basnyat	Chhetri	27.	Narendra Nath Aryal	Brahmin
7.	Mukunda Pd. Dhungel	Brahmin	28.	Ram Nath Aryal	Brahmin
8.	Mahata lal Shrestha	Newar	29.	Virendra Singh K.C.	Chhetri
9.	Chandra Raj Joshi	Newar	30.	Padma Ratna Tuladhar	Newar
10.	Chhetra Bdr. Basnet	Chhetri	31.	Saradalal Maskey	Newar
11.	Santa Bir Pandey	Chhetri	32.	Bijay Raj Bhandari	Chhetri
12.	Jagan Nath Pandey	Brahmin	33.	Nil Ratna Tuladhar	Newar
13.	Keshab Raj Bhattarai	Brahmin	34.	Sudarshan Prasad	
14.	Bishnu Hari Shrestha	Newar	35.	Manoj Nath Regmi	Brahmin
15.	Laxman raj Pandey	Brahmin	36.	Amheshwor lal Shrestha	Newar
16.	Bal Gopal K.C.	Chhetri	37.	Badri Man Shrestha	Newar
17.	Ram Singh Joshi	Newar	38.	Birendra Kumar	
18.	Punya Bdr K.C.	Chhetri	39.	Surendra Pd. Shrestha	Newar
19.	Bishnu Bhakta Manandhar	Newar	40.	Shree Ram Dev Bhattarai	Brahmin
20.	Ishwari Raj Panele		41.	Laxman Raj Paudel	Brahmin
21.	Chandra Bdr K.C.	Chhetri	42.	Omkar Rana	Rana

Source: Record File; 2008 V.S., DS Ranipokhari.

Newar - 16

Brahmin - 10

Chhetri - 10

Caste unidentified - 4

Thakuri - 1

Rana - 1

*Annex C4 continue....*

**Name of the students studied in DS in Grade Ten in 2009  
Section 'A'**

S.N.	Name of Student	Caste	S.N.	Name of Student	Caste
1.	Ajit Kumar Basu		33.	Shamha Sh Sh JBR	Rana
2.	Ram Kumar Tiwari	Brahmin	34.	Madan Prasad Tuladhar	Newar
3.	Loke Bhakta Tapa	Chhetri	35.	Subarna Bahadur Shah	Thakuri
4.	Uttam Lal Pradhan	Newar	36.	Madan Junga Tapa	Chhetri
5.	Madan Man Malla	Thakuri	37.	Chiniya Kaji Tuladhar	Newar
6.	Bishnu Hari Shrestha	Newar	38.	Mahendra Bahadur K.C.	Chhetri
7.	Shekhar Babu Manandhar	Newar	39.	Krishna Pd. Sharma	Brahmin
8.	Mathura Pd. Shrestha	Newar	40.	Salik Ram Shrestha	Newar
9.	Dwarika Pd. Shrestha	Newar	41.	Kamal Prasad	Brahmin
10.	Ram Bdr. Manandhar	Newar	42.	Mahesh Man Joshi	Newar
11.	Kanchha Bhai Raj Bhandari	Newar	43.	Shree Ratna Bajracharya	Newar
12.	Surendra Bdr. K.C.	Chhetri	44.	Tara Bdr. Shrestha	Newar
13.	Jahanavi Kumar RM		45.	Chandra Shrestha	Newar
14.	Hari Shankar Shrestha	Newar	46.	Narayan Pd. Sharma	Brahmin
15.	Basu Dev Pradhan	Newar	47.	Vidhyananda Singja	Newar
16.	Pronop Kumar Basu		48.	Ganesh Bdr. Raj Bhandari	Newar
17.	Narayan Pd. Ojha	Brahmin	49.	Govinda Ram B.K.	Dalit
18.	Gautam Dhoj Joshi	Newar	50.	Hansa Pd. Malla	Thakuri
19.	Upendra Nath Pyakuryal	Brahmin	51.	Laxmi Bdr. Malla	Thakuri
20.	Keshar Bahadur Shah	Thakuri	52.	Niranjan Ram Bhandari	Brahmin
21.	Gopal Bahadur Shrestha	Newar	53.	Shyam Sundar Gubhaju	Newar
22.	Govinda Lal	Newar	54.	Shree Dhar Raj Bhattari	Brahmin
23.	Keshar Babu Aryal	Brahmin	55.	Mukunda Lal Gurubacharya	Newar
24.	Krishna Lal Tandukar	Newar	56.	Sandhya Kumar Chalisay	Brahmin
25.	Govinda Man Vaidya	Newar	57.	Babu Kaji Tiwari	Brahmin
26.	Ananda Man Pradhan	Newar	58.	Ratna Shamsher Tapa	Chhetri
27.	Tri Prasad Nepal	Brahmin	59.	Ram Krishna Sharma	Brahmin
28.	Ram Saran Basnyat	Chhetri	60.	Indra Narayan Manandhar	Newar
29.	Ram Mohan Pradhan	Newar	61.	Padma Nath	Brahmin
30.	Dharma Lal Shrestha	Newar	62.	Ghana Shyam Rijal	Brahmin
31.	Radhya Shyam Dali	Newar	63.	Bishosharan	
32.	Keshav Pd. Dhungel	Brahmin	64.		

Source: Record File; 2009 V.S., DS Ranipokhari.

Newar - 30

Brahmin - 16

Chhetri - 6

Caste unidentified - 3

Thakuri - 4

Rana - 1

Dalit 1

*Annex C4 continue....***Name of the students studied in DS in Grade Ten in 2009****Section 'B'**

S.N.	Name of Student	Caste	S.N.	Name of Student	Caste
1	Subarna Man Shrestha	Newar	32	Hrishikesh Dhungel	Brahmin
2	Bharat Pd. Dhital	Brahmin	33	Kershal Kumar Shrestha	Newar
3	Ratna Lal Pradhan	Newar	34	Sarad Man Joshi	Newar
4	Shiva Bhadr Shrestha	Newar	35	Udaya Sh Sh Thapa	Chhetri
5	Shankar Bdr. Joshi	Newar	36	Indra Man Joshi	Newar
6	Bintatya Nanda Vaidya	Newar	37	Govinda Pd. Rimal	Brahmin
7	Gaur Shankar Raj Bansi		38	Pushpa Raj Manandhar	Newar
8	Surendra Bdr. Shrestha	Newar	39	Shankar Nath Pantha	Brahmin
9	Madhav Raj Pande	Chhetri	40	Krishna Bdr. Shrestha	Newar
10	Bharat Man Joshi	Newar	41	Prayag Raj Pandit	Brahmin
11	Om Lal Shrestha	Newar	42	Sanu Man Nakarmi	Newar
12	Pradhimna Man R.K.		43	Poorna Bdr. Pradhan	Newar
13	Rudra Nanda Vaidya	Newar	44	Ram Prasad Raj Bhandari	Newar
14	Madan Bdr, Shrestha	Newar	45	Kamal Pd. Aryal	Brahmin
15	Ganesh Lal Singh	Newar	46	Purusottam Pd. Simkhanda	Brahmin
16	Bhubaneshor Lal Shrestha	Newar	47	Mukti Prasad	
17	Shiva Man Joshi	Newar	48	Dayananda Vaidya	Newar
18	Ghana Shyam Shrestha	Newar	49	Lila Bhakta Joshi	Newar
19	Teertha Bdr Shrestha	Newar	50	Samundra Sh Sh Thapa	Chhetri
20	Kedar Niddhi Tiwari	Brahmin	51	Shiva Ram Pantha	Brahmin
21	Ram Lal Shrestha	Newar	52	Purusttam Pd. Aryal	Brahmin
22	Mohan Lal Shrestha	Newar	53	Ram Krishna Shrestha	Newar
23	Shiva Ratna Sakyadhikshey	Newar	54	Shankar Pd. Dhakal	Brahmin
24	Kedar Pd. Rajbhandari	Newar	55	Mada Raj Aryal	Brahmin
25	Bishnu Gapal Man	Newar	56	Badri Prasad	Brahmin
26	Trailokya Nath Jaisawal	Rajbanshi/ Brahmin	57	Shankar Man R.K.	
27	Ram Krishna K.C.	Chhetri	58	Khagendra Man Shrestha	Newar
28	Badri Pd. Upadhya	Brahmin	59	Bidya Manda Vaidya	Newar
29	Mohan Jung Bista	Chhetri	60	Deo-Bdr Basnet	Chhetri
30	Nil Ratna Tuladhar	Newar	61	Kshetra Bdr Basnet	Newar
31	Janak Nath Pyakural	Brahmin	62	Laxmi Shrestha	Newar

Source: Record File; 2009 V.S., DS Ranipokhari.

Newar - 35

Brahmin - 15

Chhetri -6

Caste unidentified - 5

Rajbanshi - 1

*Annex C4 continue....*

**Name of the students studied in DS in Grade Ten in 2016  
Section 'A'**

S.N.	Name of Student	Caste	S.N.	Name of Student	Caste
1.	Shiva Pd. Adhikari	Brahmin	27	Gopi Nath Dahal	Brahmin
2.	Poorna Ratna Bahracharya	Newar	28	Kalyan Prasad Upadhya	Brahmin
3.	Aditya Pd. Payakuryal	Brahmin	29	Amrit Man Rajbhandari	Newar
4.	Sita Ram Ranjitkar	Newar	30	Madan Nar Singha Rana	Rana
5.	Jagan Nath Prasad	Brahmin	31	Tulasi Pd. Chapagain	Brahmin
6.	Gopal Pd. Sapkota	Brahmin	32	Ashok Kumar Nepal	Brahmin
7.	Hom Jung Thapa	Chhetri	33	Mangal Mohan Shrestha	Newar
8.	Kancehha Tiwari	Brahmin	34	Bindo Pd. Paudel	Brahmin
9.	Karna Lal Shrestha	Newar	35	Chandra Rama Parajuli	Brahmin
10.	Narayan Das	Madeshi	36	Acchut Pd. Sharma	Brahmin
11.	Gautam Man Shrestha	Newar	37	Amrit Pd. Manandhar	Newar
12.	Bhagirath Rawe		38	Nir Dhoj Joshi	Newar
13.	Krishna Kumar Kharel	Brahmin	39	Nagendra Jung Tapa	Chhetri
14.	Krishna Man Mali	Newar	40	Dhruba Lal Shrestha	Newar
15.	Sudarshan Raj Paudel	Brahmin	41	Mohan Bahadur Basnyat	Chhetri
16.	Mukunda Pd. Shrestha	Newar	42	Narendra Kumar Shrestha	Newar
17.	Diwakar Prasad Bhattarai	Brahmin	43	Gyan Ratna Bajracharya	Newar
18.	Krishna Kaji Tamrakar	Newar	44	Ram Hari Mishra	Madeshi
19.	Gyan Raj Joshi	Newar	45	Bishwa Nath Pantha	Brahmin
20.	Narendra Man Shrestha	Newar	46	Lekh Nath Paudel	Brahmin
21.	Rajendra Nath Adhikari	Brahmin	47	Rabindra Nath Paudel	Brahmin
	Devi Bdr. Thapa	Chhetri	48	Uttam Lal Shrestha	Newar
22.	Shiva Pd. Khanal	Brahmin	49	Rabindra Raj Adhikari	Brahmin
23.	Upendra Prasad Adhikari	Brahmin	50	Aishworya Man Shrestha	Newar
24.	Mahabir Man Pradhan	Newar	51	Bishnu Prasad Paudel	Brahmin
25.	Narayan Bdr. KC	Chhetri			

Source: Record File; 20016 V.S., DS Ranipokhari.

Newar - 19

Brahmin - 23

Chhetri -5

Rana - 1

Rawe - 1

Madeshi Bharmin - 2



*Annex C4 continue....***Name of the students studied in DS in Grade Ten in 2016****Section 'B'**

S.N.	Name of Student	Caste	S.N.	Name of Student	Caste
1.	Bijaya Chandra Shrestha	Newar	27	Madan Mohan Saikhala	
2.	Niranjan Kapali	Newar	28	Narayan Bdr Shrestha	Newar
3.	Madan Bdr. Chitrakari	Newar	29	Prem Bdr. K.C.	Chhetri
4.	Netra Kaji Tuladhar	Newar	30	Prakash Raj Nepal	Brahmin
5.	Mukunda Bdr. Shrestha	Newar	31	Hari Bhadra Subedi	Brahmin
6.	Rishi Bdr. Pradhan	Newar	32	Uttam Raj Shrestha	Newar
7.	Dipendra Bdr. Singh	Newar	33	Dhruba Lal Shrestha	Newar
8.	Kishor Kumar Pradhan	Newar	34	Shree Krishna Joshi	Newar
9.	Santa Dev Bhattarai	Brahmin	35	Gyan Ratna Bajracharya	Newar
10.	Purusottam Nar Singha Pradhan	Newar	36	Ishwor Man Pradhan	Newar
11.	Shyam Lal Chitrakari	Newar	37	Raja Ram Shrestha	Newar
12.	Dharma Bhakta Shakya	Newar	38	Surendra Man Singh	Newar
13.	Ram Prasad Parajuli	Brahmin	39	Triratna Bhakta Stapit	Newar
14.	Satya Man Bajracharya	Newar	40	Shambhu Thapa Chhetri	Chhetri
15.	Bal Krishna Shrestha	Newar	41	Mohan Harsha Bajracharya	Newar
16.	Puskar Ram Bhandari	Chhetri	42	Umesh Man Pradhan	Newar
17.	Shyam Bdr. Thapa	Chhetri	43	Madan Bahadur Pradhan	Newar
18.	Uttam Raj Shrestha	Newar	44	Ram Bdr. Shrestha	Newar
19.	Falya Bdr Shrestha	Newar	45	Bhuwan Dev Pantha	Brahmin
20.	Mohan Pd. Shrestha	Newar	46	Kapil Ram Shrestha	Newar
21.	Mohan Bdr. Basnyat	Chhetri	47	Bhuvan Pd. Paudel	Brahmin
22.	Bishnu Hari Acharya	Brahmin	48	Mukunda Nath Pgakuryal	Brahmin
23.	Jaya Raj Regmi	Brahmin	49	Jamaladdik	Muslim
24.	Ram Bhakta Thapa	Chhetri	50	Dharma Ratna Tamrakar	Newar
25.	Vasanta Kumar Thapa	Chhetri	51	Laxman Lal Joshi	Newar
26.	Manik Ratna Bajracharya	Newar	52	Shiva Prasad Bharatio	Bharati

Source: Record File; 20016 V.S., DS Ranipokhari.

Newar - 32

Brahmin - 9

Chhetri -7

Kapali - 1

Bharati - 1

Muslim - 1

Shahikhala - 1

*Annex C4 continue....*

Annex C4 continue....

## Name of the students studied in DS in Grade Ten in 2018

## Section 'A'

1	Subash Kishor Shrestha	Newar
2	Sudarshan Pd. Pradhan	Newar
3	Balendra Bdr. Singh	Chhetri
4	Hemanta Raj Joshi	Newar
5	Ratna Kaji Tuladhar	Newar
6	Sanu Raja Joshi	Newar
7	Prashu Ram Shrestha	Newar
8	Ratna Kaji Tuladhar	Newar
9	Ananta Man Shrestha	Newar
10	Sailendra Kumar	
11	Madhukar Basnyat	Chhetri
12	Prem Bdr. Shrestha	Newar
13	Govinda Pd. Sharma	Brahmin
14	Ishwor Man Shrestha	Newar
15	Narayan Pd. Shrestha	Newar
16	Govinda Shrestha	Newar
17	Krishna Bahadur Magar	Magar
18	Purusottam Kumar Adhikari	Brahmin
19	Tirtha Ram Bhandari	Brahmin
20	Shekhar Nath Khanal	Brahmin
21	Udaya Nath Nepal	Brahmin
22	Bishnu Man Napit	Newar
23	Surendra Lal Chitrakar	Newar
24	Manohar Pd. Rana Magar	Magar
25	Jagu Bhai Siknikar	
26	OM Bahadur Shah	Thakuri
27	Madhusuddan Lamichhane	Brahmin
28	Prakash Kumar Sharma	Brahmin
29	Satish Chandra Shrestha	Newar
30	Bhes Dhoj Basnyet	Chhetri
31	Bishwamber Man Shrestha	Newar

32	Lal Dhoj	
	Dil Chandra Nanda	
33	Vaidya	Newar
34	Govinda Lal Shrestha	Newar
35	Tulsi Bdr. Manandhar	Newar
36	Chandra Man Pradhan	Newar
37	Prem Man Dangol	Newar
38	Tilak Pd. Rijal	Brahmin
39	Shiva Ram Amatya	Newar
40	Mohan Bindo Aryal	Brahmin
41	Bidur Man Singh	Newar
42	Tirtha Man Singh	Newar
43	Gyan Chandra Shrestha	Newar
	Dinesh Kumar	
44	Lamichhane	Brahmin
45	Ram Man Vaidya	Newar
46	Janaki Pd. Sharma	Brahmin
47	Netra Bahadur Shah	Thakuri
48	Kamal Prasad Shrestha	Newar
49	Manik Charan Shrestha	Newar
50	Ram Sharan Ranjitkar	Newar
51	Prayag Man Shrestha	Newar
52	Govinda Hari Luitel	Brahmin
53	Baikuntha Hari Sharma	Brahmin
54	Purusottam Raj Bhattarai	Brahmin
		Rana
55	Keshav Mar Singh Rana	(Chhetri)
56	Nav Raj Pradhan	Newar
57	Madhav Bdr. Tandon	
58	K Ali Shah	Muslim
59	Bal Krishna	
60	Shree Ram Bhattarai	Brahmin

Source: Record File; 20018 V.S., DS Ranipokhari.

Newar - 32

Brahmin - 15

Chhetri - 4

Thakuri - 2

Mushlim - 1

Magar - 2

Caste Unidentified - 4

**Name of the students studied in DS in Grade Ten in 2018****Section 'B'**

1	Gyan Bhakta Shakya	Newar		Shrestha	
2	Mangal Pd. Shrestha	Newar	31	Hem Pd. Chapagain	Brahmin
3	Nati Kaji Shakya	Newar	32	Binaya Man Singh	Newar
4	Naresh Chandra		33	Lokeshor Nanda Vaidya	Newar
5	Narayan Das Manandhar	Newar	34	Binayak Pd. Dhital	Brahmin
6	Sambhu Bdr. Pradhan	Newar	35	Krishna Hari Paudel	Brahmin
7	Basanta Lal Raj Bhandari	Newar	36	Binod Prasad Sharma	Brahmin
8	Krishna Prasad Shrestha	Newar	37	Ram Krishna Acharya	Brahmin
9	Arjun Bahadur Shrestha	Newar	38	Santa Ram Shrestha	Newar
10	Binayak Raj		39	Ram Kumar K.C.	Chhetri
11	Purusottam Pd. Pradhan	Newar	40	Mahesh Kumar Khanal	Brahmin
12	Nirin Chi Nath Malla	Thakuri	41	Kedar Raj Pandey	Brahmin
13	Kedar Pd. Aryal	Brahmin	42	Rana Bdr Chhetri	Chhetri
14	Bal Deo-Krishna Manandhar	Newar	43	Udaya Bdr Amatya	Newar
15	Janak Raj Joshi	Newar	44	Kedar Man Raj Bhandari	Newar
16	Hari Har Man Shrestha	Newar	45	Brahma Lal Joshi	Newar
17	Kedar Pd. Gautam	Brahmin	46	Ram Lal Shrestha	Newar
18	Shanta Gopal Jha	Brahmin	47	Accut Raj Devkota	Brahmin
19	Bal Mukunda Sharma	Brahmin	48	Niran Jan Ranjitkar	Newar
20	Mohan Bdr. Chhetri	Chhetri	49	Chiranjibi Lal Amatya	Newar
21	Narayan Man Malla	Thukari	50	Ram Krishna Panta	Brahmin
22	Amar Bahadur		51	Acchut Ram Malla	Thukari
23	Upendra Pd. Gyawali	Brahmin	52	Bijay Raj	
24	Dharma Raj Shakya	Newar	53	Pashupati Nath Adhikari	Brahmin
25	Ramesh Raj Sharma	Brahmin	54	Arun Kumar Shrivastava	Brahmin
26	Anananda Ram Maithly		55	Gajendra Man Shrestha	Newar
27	Ishwor Man Singh	Newar	56	Padma Pd. Shrestha	Newar
28	Sukh Sagar Dal Mool	Dalmool	57	Ghana Shyam Panta	Brahmin
29	Bishnu Raj Ojha	Brahmin	58	Giri Raj Sharma	Brahmin
30	Govinda Krishna	Newar			

Source: Record File; 2009 V.S., DS Ranipokhari.

Newar - 26

Brahmin - 20

Chhetri - 3

Thakuri - 3

Dalmool - 1

Caste Unidentified - 5

*Annex C4 continue....***Name of the Test Appearing students in DS in 2031 VS**

1	Rajendra pd. Sharma	Brahmin	32	Bhimsen Giri	Giri
2	Janari Babu Singh	Newar	33	Dabal Kaji Bahra	Newar
3	Puspa Raj Ray	Chhetri	34	Dhruba Mudwari	Brahmin
4	Gyan Das Dewal		35	Ram Ki Rai	Rai
5	Govinda Prasad Upadhya	Brahmin	36	Dhurba Karki	Chhetri
6	Sawa Mukesh Amatya	Newar	37	Kumar pd. Sharma	Brahmin
7	Acchut Paudel	Brahmin	38	Nnchee Ratna Tuladhar	Newar
8	Govinda Das Kapali	Kapali	39	Udayaman Raj Bayak	Newar
9	Suresh Man Pradhan	Newar	40	Bindo Thapa	Chhetri
10	Kiran Ram Ranjitkar	Newar	41	Madhusudan Upadhya	Brahmin
11	Ashok Pokhrel	Brahmin	42	Bishma Raj Joshi	Newar
12	Rajendra Man Bajracharya	Newar	43	Bindo Prakash Shrestha	Newar
13	Aloke Tripathi	Brahmin	44	Ram Kaji Maharjan	Newar
14	Rahendra Adhikari	Brahmin	45	Nagendra Man Amatya	Newar
15	Nava Raj Khattri	Chhetri	46	Madhu Sudan Nepal	Brahmin
16	Kiran Shivakoti	Chhetri	47	Nani Ram Nepal	Brahmin
17	Kiran KC	Chhetri	48	Damodar Shrestha	Newar
18	Uttam Shrestha	Newar	49	Nagendra Man Shrestha	Newar
19	Shekhar Nath Shrestha	Newar	50	Bharat Manandhar	Newar
20	Ashok Amatya	Newar	51	Sawat Kumar Manandhar	Newar
21	Jeen Tandukar	Newar	52	Bharirab K.C.	Chhetri
22	Shashi Lamichhane	Brahmin	53	Keshav Gautam	Brahmin
23	Karan Bdr. Singh	Newar	54	Ram Bdr. Shresth	Newar
24	Ajaua Singh	Chhetri	55	Santa Kumar Shrestha	Newar
25	Murari Pd. Arual	Brahmin	56	Pashupati Thapa	Chhetri
26	Ram Prasad Phuyal	Brahmin	57	Vijaya Sharma	Brahmin
27	Pramod Chandra Neupane	Brahmin	58	Basanta Man Singh	Newar
28	Jagadish Chandra Nepal	Brahmin	59	Ashok Kumar Dhital	Brahmin
29	Mitha Ram Thapa	Chhetri	60	Dev Shankar Adhikari	Brahmin
30	Mohan Krishna K.C.	Chhetri	61	Deepak Raj Kunwar	Chhetri
31	Man Bdr. Basanka	Basanko	62	Ajit Kumar Gurung	Gurung

Source: Record File; 2009 V.S., DS Ranipokhari.

Newar - 24

Chhetri - 12

Giri - 1

Basanko - 1

Brahmin - 20

Gurung - 1

Dawal - 1

Rai - 1 Kapali - 1