Policy and Practice of Lifelong Learning in Nepal: a Socio-political Study

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INTRODUCTION

My life has been a long journey, both geographically and in terms of education, from my isolated village in the remote North-East region of Nepal. It is for this reason that I have undertaken this investigation into the current situation of lifelong learning in Nepal, setting it in its social and historical context and examining the impact of recent historical events and of the current civil war upon lifelong learning in my country. The aim of this introduction is to aid the reader by giving an overview of the content of each chapter of my thesis.

Chapter one focuses on the background and context of my research based on my personal background both in Nepal and Britain. I highlight the importance of relationship between policy and practice of lifelong learning and its role in solving one of Nepal's most pressing problems. Questions are raised, based on my background and experience, and are further evolved towards the end of chapter two, where socio-political structures, learning systems and the context of the problems are examined. This evolutionary process will be apparent throughout the whole of the thesis.

Main research questions:

- What is the relationship between the Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice within the parameters of socio-political structure?

- How has lifelong learning influenced social and cultural processes and vice versa?

- What are the socio-political barriers that inhibit the lifelong learning process from expanding in Nepal?

- Why have global and national efforts failed to achieve a significant outcome, despite the fact that, for the past fifty years, considerable stress has been placed on lifelong learning?
In order to answer these questions, it is paramount to understand Nepal, its socio-political issues and the context of the problems that affect lifelong learning policy and practice.

Chapter two explores the learning system, policy, practice and problems of Nepal, establishing relevant research questions. I start with an introduction to Nepal, describing geographical settings and giving a historical, cultural and socio-political profile. I look at the civil war and power dynamics; globalisation, glocalisation and localisation; learning, lifelong learning, and the learning system of Nepal; as well as international donor agencies and their influence on Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice. I review and analyse learning policy in brief (First to Tenth Five-year Plans) including discussions from which the problem context and specific research questions have been raised. I also highlight the difficulties encountered in carrying out the research on policy and practice where two conflicting ideologies exist and when the country is in a state of civil war.

Nepal is the only independent Hindu state in the world. As a Hindu nation, social exclusion of the lower castes, marginalisation and domination of women folk are normal practice although the constitution embraces equality and diversity. According to Hindu norms and values, equality is impossible. This affects policy and practice and creates a vast gulf between higher and lower castes in Nepal, so the policy remains on paper and is never transformed into practice.

In addition, Nepal, landlocked, isolated and semi-colonial, is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country and is currently engulfed in a Maoist-led civil war. In the 1970s, it was the thirteenth poorest country on earth but is now the second poor in the world. Despite the five decades of foreign aid, the divide between rich and poor continues to widen. The country's development programmes, including those aimed at poverty alleviation and the improvement of the learning system, have totally failed. With the misuse of foreign aid, only a handful of elite individuals have become excessively rich, while the majority of the population succumbs to poverty. As per the Nepalese Government records, 38% of population live below the poverty line. However, the CPN (Maoist)'s estimate is higher, at 72%. Consequently Nepalese society is divided into classes of the oppressed and the
oppressor. The country's social structure maintains the characteristics of a feudal society where production and prosperity is owned by the reactionary class. Lifelong learning process, along with any form of learning policy and practice, has been ineffective due to this elite's control over the knowledge system and its directional flow.

Lifelong learning is the only solution by which Nepal's ongoing demands for skills and knowledge can be addressed, yet, currently, lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal is not effectively addressing these issues. In order to investigate the relationship between Nepal's lifelong learning policy, practice and its influence on the social and cultural processes in the present context, the following questions are addressed:

Specific research questions:

1. Who controls the lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal and how?

2. How and why do globalisation (donor countries and agencies) and Nepalese social elites/policy makers manipulate the policy and practice of lifelong learning?

3. How does the foreign lifelong learning policy and practice have affected the local indigenous lifelong learning, knowledge, culture, tradition and religion?

4. How does the lifelong learning policy and practice generate knowledge and skills at a local level and how do they contribute to the socio-political construction?

5. How does the lifelong learning policy and practice address the issues of social exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity?

6. How and why does the Hindu religion and the civil war affect the lifelong learning policy and practice?

7. How and why are local knowledge, culture, traditions and religion resisting and rejecting the western policy and practice of lifelong learning?

8. Why have the lifelong learning initiatives and trials failed?

The specific questions born from the general ones are not exhaustive but provide a means by which to explore the main issues. In order to achieve this, a theoretical/analytical
framework is required to underpin the issues, and this I have presented in chapter three.

If social inequalities and conflict issues such as oppressor and oppressed, power, domination, benefits and surplus values, discrimination, etc., are to be explored, then ‘Marxist social theory’ is more germane to the argument than any other social theories as this is based on the concept of power over political, economic and social control. Therefore, in order to explore these sociologically related inequalities i.e. the issue of learning and the civil war, I have chosen Marxist social theory. In this thesis, lifelong learning policy and practice, the question of access and control over the learning system are taken as key concepts to analyse oppression, social exclusion, marginalisation and power relations among the different strata of society. Lifelong learning, both non-formal and formal is controlled from above. Its socio-political circumstances are based on dependency, as different powers have their own vested interests in influencing and manipulating policy and practice. It is highlighted in chapter two, with 60% of the country’s development budget coming from the forces of globalisation (global donor agencies such as the World Bank, IMF and ADB) with their own personal agenda, while the country’s social elites (Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar) control resources and knowledge and create a mentality of ‘acceptance and dependency.’ As a result, the country’s social elites and the forces of globalisation strongly influence and dominate the country’s policy and practice, including that of lifelong learning.

Globalisation creates wealth for rich countries and corporations but poses a threat to the poor and developing countries. For example, Nepal, already a poor nation in the 1970s, has been reduced to the status of the second poorest country, despite all the aid and loans from the rich global countries and agencies. To add to her woes, the nation has been suffering from civil war since 1996. I ask whether it is this dependency on foreign aid and its misuse have led to this civil war or is it due to the Hindu religion or the forces of globalisation. To answer these questions, it is this vital to understand globalisation, the Hindu religion, and the social structure of Nepal. Globalisation, Hindu religion and social structure, and the civil war have therefore become important issues for this thesis and are discussed in chapters four, five and six respectively.
The aim of chapter four is to clarify the concepts of globalisation and glocalisation, to highlight how these terms are value-laden and to relate them to the Nepalese context. In order to deal with the issues, I present a discussion of global/local relations, the concept of globalisation and its negative and positive impact, glocalisation and its weaknesses, social change and stability, individualisation, standardisation and localisation.

Nepal is already globalised in many ways, with the learning sector most heavily influenced by international agencies. Urban areas are more or less part of the ‘global village,’ albeit not free from poverty, while the rest of Nepal - mostly villages and rural areas - remain primitive, enduring poverty. This is a very important discussion point aimed to determine why rural Nepal, with its traditional values and beliefs, is passively resisting global changes. Why even after fifty years of western and international aid does the condition of Nepal remain unaffected? Why could artificial knowledge not bring changes to rural Nepalese society as it has done in developed countries? Why does a knowledge gap persist in this age of Information Communication Technology (ITC)? Why are people still suffering from hunger, malnutrition and disease? Why have the people risen up causing a civil war? Why is it that it is mostly women, Dalits and poor people who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of this ‘people’s war’? Why has the war been so successful in winning the hearts and minds of women, Dalits and poor people? For these reasons, it is of utmost important to explore globalisation and its impact on Nepalese society.

On the one hand, global donor agencies manipulate the learning policy in Nepal, while on the other, knowledge is controlled by the Brahmins and learning has been designed to benefit them alone. Hence, the learning policy and practice of Nepal seems only to produce social inequalities rather than challenging or transforming the status quo. In addition to this, the bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes known as the social elite - the majority being Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars - have been facilitating the work of the global donor agencies and monopolising their financial aid for their personal and communal benefit since the early 1950s. As a result, the global donor agencies’ fifty
years of aid has not been able to improve the situation of the poor of Nepal. On the contrary, it has made them poorer. The so-called the social elite and the agents of global capitalist corporate bodies such as the World Bank, IMF, ADB, etc and globalisation have proved to be a 'chronic disease' for Nepal. In terms of politics, economics, culture and religion, they have ruined the nation-state, making the Nepalese people ever poorer while pushing the country into a civil war. Thus, it is important to explore the Nepalese social structure, the role of the Hindu religion, caste and class stratification, as well as the issue of the civil war following globalisation/glocalisation. These matters are dealt with in chapters five and six respectively.

In chapter five, I carry out in-depth discussions on Nepalese social structure, Hindu religion, caste and class stratification which was briefly touched in chapter two as these issues affect and influence lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal. I initiate my argument with the examination of the socio-political structure of the state, covering ancient, mediaeval and modern Nepal, followed by issues concerning the Hindu kingdom, the Hindu religion and the social stratification - castes, indigenous nationalities, gender disparity and class system - as these are historically, socially and politically interlinked. Throughout this discussion I highlight how the Hindu religion has created the varnashram (caste and occupation system), gender disparity and the class system or social stratification in Nepalese society that has affected and influenced the processes of lifelong learning. This chapter also covers the socio-political alienation of indigenous nationalities and that of the low-caste Sudras.

'Stratification' refers to social inequality in society. Take, for example, the caste system of Nepal where the highest caste, the Brahmins, are the religious authority and the Chhetris are the political players. Brahmins and Chhetris have mutually beneficial ties. The king is a Chhetri, and is the centre of political and socio-religious power, one promoting the other in the aim of maximising the institution's interests. All of social activity including associations, and many socio-political and economic interrelationships, are determined by both the caste and class system. Hence in Nepal, class functions within the framework of the caste system. At present, Nepalese society suffers from the
exploitation and oppression of the caste system, feudalism, bureaucratic comprador capitalism and imperialism. Due to which, Indigenous Nationalities, Sudras, working class Brahmins, Chhetris, Newars, Madhesi and others -those oppressed by global, national and local reactionary forces- are determined to overthrow their oppressors, uniting under the umbrella of the Maoist-led civil war. Thus, it is important to explore further the Maoist-led civil war, something I do in Chapter six.

Having dealt with the influence of Nepalese social structure and the Hindu religion on lifelong learning policy and practice, chapter six explores the Maoist-led civil war and its effects on lifelong learning policy and practice in the state. At present, the Maoists control almost all the villages in the country. I examine how, why and when the current civil war and the communist movement started in Nepal and how the CPN (Maoist) emerged as a power to be reckoned with in the Nepalese political scene. The legacy of the communist movement in Nepal is examined, followed by a discussion of lifelong learning policy and practice in the contemporary socio-political environment.

The Maoist movement arose for social, political and economic reasons. Social stratification, immobility, discrimination and disparity in the social sector have strongly contributed to the ongoing people's war, while poverty and backwardness are the highly influential factors. The economy plays a strong hand in all social issues. The failure to transform the economy and the non-productivity of the agricultural sector has led to increasing numbers of workers leaving agriculture. The productivity of the labour force is increasingly being reduced despite growth in population. Thus, poverty has increased rapidly instead of decreasing. The government's failure to exercise democracy, especially in the administrative sector, has led to the outbreak of insurgency. The failure to consolidate democratic processes coupled with the incapacity of leaders who have failed to lead the country in the direction aspired to by the people and the failure of the development incentives have all contributed to the escalation of the people's war. Lifelong learning may be regarded as a tool to consolidate and mobilise the people to achieve a knowledge economy, to become active citizens who are socially included, employable, adaptable and personally fulfilled. However, this is only possible in an open
and democratic society, something which is lacking in Nepal. In addition, achieving these goals is not feasible without the correct policy approaches that address the needs at local level. These needs are discussed in depth in chapter seven.

Given the universal assumption that lifelong learning facilitates the generation of knowledge that could address burning social issues, chapter seven explores the policy and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal and demonstrate the strength of lifelong learning in generating knowledge and skills. It highlights the fundamental differences between lifelong education and lifelong learning. The role of lifelong learning in generating knowledge, its types, mobility and function in society is discussed, as well as ‘Education for All’ as a part of lifelong learning, followed by an in-depth discussion of Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice.

The various Five Year Plans are described in detail and the attempts to put these Plans into practice is outlined. I show how a number of educational commissions have been formed, the way many foreign experts have been involved since 1954 and how so much research has been carried out into formulation and implementation of policies. UNESCO is working very closely with the Ministry of Education in the policy making and practice processes. The World Bank, the EU, OECD, the ADB and other national and international donor agencies have been heavily involved since the early sixties in the field of learning. Despite the contribution of these agencies, almost all the Plans did not achieve or are not achieving their aims.

Thus chapter eight reviews the lifelong learning policies of the major donor agencies in Nepal. Donor countries and international donor agencies contribute 60 % of the total budget of Nepal. The OECD, the EU, the World Bank and the ADB are the main sources of finance when it comes to policy processes and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal. The lifelong learning policies of these transnational organisations are explored in order to examine their influence on the Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice. In order to do so, I first review the UNESCO's ‘EFA’ policy followed by the lifelong learning policies of the World Bank, the OECD, the EU, the ASEM and the ADB.
The lifelong learning policies of the OECD, the EU and the AESM are mainly concerned with developing the knowledge and skills required for modernisation and globalisation. If lifelong learning policy and practice is exclusively applied for modernisation and globalisation, then the future society faces instability in morale, ethics, culture, religion and tradition. Matrimonial relationships will depend on money-earning capacity and breakdown in family ties, values, love and affection may result.

The lifelong learning policies of the World Bank and the ADB have claimed that the banks are committed to alleviating poverty in poor countries. In the case of Nepal, the World Bank and the ADB's policies have never been transformed into reality. On the contrary, the country has been plunged into civil war, which has greatly affected the nation, including the policy and practice of lifelong learning.

Thus, in the first eight chapters, I examine and discuss globalisation and donor agencies, Nepalese social structure, the Maoist-led civil war and the lifelong learning policies and the practices of the Nepalese and donor agencies through the lens of neo-Marxist perspective. But the standard format of neo-Marxist perspective was found to be not sharp enough to dissect the social inequalities created by Hinduism, such as the marginalisation of ethnic groups and the exclusion of untouchables and women. In Hindu society, women create a separate class, regardless of their caste and social class. Thus, the research model that evolved in chapter two and the theoretical framework described in chapter three are needed to be further re-structured in order to examine lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal, a country where class functions within the framework of caste, ethnicity and gender.

Chapter nine first examined the preceding chapters indication i.e. the mode of production and centre-periphery (dependency theory) based neo-Marxist perspective is too narrow to explore a society where class, caste, race, ethnicity and gender issues are entwined and deeply embedded, perpetuating inequality in Nepalese society. This situation is also fuelled by the march of globalisation and the interference of donor agencies as they drain
resources in the name of help. In consequence, the nation is now embroiled in a bloody civil war. In this respect, globalisation and donor agencies, social stratification and the civil war are all major factors affecting the process of lifelong learning policy and practice in the country. For these reasons, neo-Marxist theory, based as it is solely on class and the mode of production, is not an ideal theoretical framework to answer the research questions are raised in chapter two.

Towards the end of the 20th century, issues of ethnicity, culture and globalisation and their fundamental role in society have been recognised by many Marxist social theorists. In order to make this notion more transparent, I have re-structured the model in the wider form of a neo-Marxist perspective that includes class, mode of production, caste, ethnicity, culture, gender and the role of globalisation/donor agencies, in order to examine the lifelong learning policy and practice across the country. Having established this useful perspective, I describe the social actors of Nepal and their current role in society, such as the king, his socio-political position and power; the social elite and feudal class, domestic reactionary forces; the middle class (urban and rural bourgeois); poor farmers, peasants and landless labourers; socially oppressed and marginalised groups i.e. women of all classes, castes, race, and indigenous nationalities; the influence of Hinduism on indigenous religions, cultures and traditions; the bias towards the urban rather than the rural; donor countries/agencies and their role in policy processes; the Maoist-led civil war and learning and finally, a brief discussion on the historical and theoretical context of lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal.

In order to test the model re-structured in chapter nine, research methodology is required which detailed in chapter ten as the research objective and the theoretical perspective influence the choice of the research methodology which in turn guides the research inquiry. In addition, it facilitates the collective analysis of behaviour, perceptions, causes, interrelations and interactions among the participants involved in lifelong learning policy making and those involved in practice. For this research, I used anthropology/ethnography and comparative qualitative research methodologies. In the case of methods of data collection: document analysis (policy documents), interviews,
purposive sampling, focus group discussions, participation and observations have been used. The criteria employed when choosing the research approach, methodologies, techniques, methods of data collection and sites were chosen according to suitability, effectiveness and representation for lifelong learning policy and practice research, so that research findings would be of a high quality, valid, reliable and generalisable.

Selection of the right research site proved most important, as the research site is the source of field data, without which this research would not be complete and therefore, the research sites and settings for this research are covered in chapter eleven. Choosing the correct research site is important as it plays a vital role in influencing the overall result. For this research, I have used policy representation, socio-economic, socio-politics, geographical, regional, urban and rural criteria when selecting research sites. Taking this into account, I have purposely chosen an urban and a rural research site.

I conducted my field research in three stages. In stages one and two, I reviewed policy and conducted interviews with the policy makers. At stage three, I looked at other areas of the country where these policies are practiced. I asked the research questions evolved in chapter one and used the model developed in chapter two and re-structured in chapter nine, testing these at two research sites and comparing my findings with nine other test sites across the country. The resulting data is analysed in subsequent chapters.

Globalisation, one of the variables of my research model, has a major role in the process of socio-politics, economic and lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal. As highlighted in chapters four, seven and eight, globalisation is a disguised form of imperialism with lifelong learning as developed in the west forming an integral part. In order to support my argument, chapter twelve is divided into three stages. Stage one deals with global influences on Nepal, while stages two and three cover urban and rural research respectively. In this chapter, I discuss globalisation based on research findings.

My contention is that globalisation spreads dependency, not a new issue for a semi-colonial country like Nepal. Almost 200 years of semi-colonialism has converted self-
dependent Nepal into a fully donor-dependent country, despite resistance from local people. The research findings clearly reflect the way the extended family system has rejected the process of individualisation in Nepalese communities across the country where local social norms and values are strongly embedded in society. The majority of Nepalese people are happy with their own culture, tradition and religion.

Both Hindu and indigenous religions, cultures and traditions have been the sources of informal learning in Nepal from the outset. Knowledge is generated through informal learning, influenced by religion and culture. However, non-formal and formal learning within the framework of 'development model' is western and is orchestrated by the ruling elite and international institutions to suit their unstated goal of power consolidation. But, in Nepal, knowledge generated by the practice of informal lifelong learning is resisting and rejecting the western concept of non-formal and formal lifelong learning practice, which is part and parcel of globalisation. Hence the non-formal and formal learning practice based on the 'development model,' though articulating the needs of the modern world conflicts with the dominant Nepalese socio-religious informal lifelong learning practice.

In chapter thirteen, I present the lifelong learning practice of Nepal, which is divided into two parts, namely urban and rural. The practice of lifelong learning varies in accordance with the local context and its needs. In the context of Nepal, lifelong learning practice is not a new phenomenon: it is as old as Nepalese civilisation and is extremely important to our daily life. Most of the people whom I came across during my field research were fully aware of the importance of lifelong learning practice. However, every single person I met was dissatisfied with the Government's current policy in this area. Their main complaint was the way it is practised in Nepal, where it fails to generate the knowledge needed to address the widespread oppression, social exclusion and marginalisation of the poor, lower castes, indigenous nationalities and women, something perpetuated by the Hindu religion and culture. Hence, in chapter fourteen, I discuss the Hindu religion and social structure of Nepal based on my field research.
While in chapter five, I discuss Nepalese social structure and its manifestation in society in general, in chapter fourteen I cover Nepalese social structure and its impact on lifelong learning practice in particular. In order to do so, I discuss the effect of the Hindu religion and its resulting social inequalities on lifelong learning practice, based on my field research in this chapter.

The relationship that exists between the different strata of the society reflects the characteristics of its social cohesiveness. The degree of cohesiveness depends on various factors, religious, economic and political. In the context of Nepal, the different socio-cultural backgrounds obtaining among the members of a society and differing value systems are further complicated by the caste system, the social hierarchy and the way women are marginalised in society. The Hindu religion has perpetuated the oppression, social exclusion and marginalisation of the poor, indigenous nationalities, the lower castes and women. In addition, feudalism and systems of religious knowledge system apparently dominate the forces forging change in society. The lifelong learning policy and practice of the last five decades have done little to further the processes required for social change. In response to this failure, the CPN (Maoist) began an armed struggle that has escalated into civil war.

Chapter fifteen sets out the socio-political situation in Nepal and makes clear the way the class system functions within the constraints of the caste system. There is a chain of hierarchy extending across the entire social order that is and always has been a tool of oppression and exploitation. It is this that has led the poor, the lower castes and women to revolt. There have been positive as well as negative effects of the civil war, but it has severely disrupted the practice of lifelong learning.

Chapter sixteen analyses the field data, relating it to the available literature, employing wider form of neo-Marxist social theory. Lifelong learning can be a powerful tool for nation-building, if the policies are generated with participatory approach, that is, from the bottom up. It gives a society the power to withstand the negative impact of globalisation by promoting localisation and efficient mobilisation of the local resources. Religious and
social values may be generated and preserved, while modifications and reforms can keep pace with the processes of social diversification and development. Yet, even today, in the post-modern era, Nepal has one of the lowest records of human development. The education sector is no exception, with only 54% of the total population being literate. In such an environment, the lifelong learning process has continued to be the chief tool for interaction and generation of skills and diversification. It is the means by which the continuity of indigenous and scientific knowledge systems and promotion of acquired skills may be achieved.

However, with the rapid development in the growth of science and technology, the global society has changed enormously in terms of its value systems and its capacity in production and productivity. The necessity of small societies in developing countries to keep up with these global productive forces has been a challenge. Therefore, it is relevant that the lifelong learning process must be made efficient to prepare any society for future challenges and, at the same time, enable the country to be an active participant in these global initiatives.

Though local and global challenges are paramount, with the right policies and efficient practices, these obstacles can be met. Nepal, however, possesses structural barriers that need to be addressed to make the process effective and efficient. Dependencies in policy formulation, inefficiency on the part of the government, lack of transparency at all the stages of project cycles and centralised - instead of decentralised and devolved - systems are some of the chief hurdles. The preferences of foreign aid and the lack of mobilisation of national and local resources have contributed to the failure of lifelong learning practice in Nepal.

Despite the impact of the Maoist insurgency over the past ten years, the root cause lies in the nature of governance before and after the insurgency. Structural barriers have existed for centuries and it is against these that the insurgency has been organised. If successful results had derived from policies and practices before the people's war, the Maoist insurgency could be accepted as being one of the major reasons for the failure. However
this is not the case; thus it can be accepted that the failure of the development process in
general and specifically the failure of lifelong learning policy and practice have been one
of the outstanding reasons for the outbreak of the insurgency. In chapter seventeen, I
present more conclusive discussion and recommendations for further research and points
for the transparent workable policy and practice.

In Nepal, a Hindu nation, the domination of the Brahmins, the social exclusion of the
lower castes and the marginalisation of women and the indigenous nationalities are the
norm, despite the constitution declaring equality for all. Equality is impossible in a
Hindu society. The Government of Nepal has introduced many policies -for instance, the
abolition, in 1965, of the caste system and untouchability- that were never put into
practice. Thus Nepal makes policies, including those concerning lifelong learning, that
are not implemented; such practices are formulated merely to keep donor agencies and
the western world happy in order to get moral sympathy and aid.

My four years of research in lifelong learning policy and practice, my research
experience and review of the literature, my field research and findings have led me to
give the following recommendations for future lifelong learning policy and practice of
Nepal and suggestions for areas of further research:

• Lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal must address the issues of the
class, caste, ethnicity and gender, as, in Nepalese society, ‘class functions within
the framework of caste, ethnicity and gender.’

• The multi-cultural nature of the society at large must be recognised, departing
from the political agenda of monoculturisation of indigenous cultures.

• Policies need to be formulated for the protection and promotion of the different
religions and cultures.
• We must draw from these cultures and indigenous systems the policy framework for the lifelong learning process and practice.

• We must accept that political outcomes are a result of structural features, and therefore the lifelong learning process should focus on changing these structures.

• In the global context, the indigenous knowledge systems and cultures form the basic forces to battle against the negative trends of globalisation and thus it becomes necessary for a country like Nepal to preserve diversity within the broader aspects of unity.

• The centralised planning, currently restricted to donor-ruler approach in planning and execution, must be brought to an end and be replaced by a participatory, bottom-up approach.

• Policies should identify the necessity of individual communities and work out policy frameworks to make the programmes beneficial at local level.

• Gender disparity is one of the most conspicuous aspects of Hinduism. Women are accepted as being subordinate to men whereas men are regarded as being capable, independent, and normal. Women are seen as dependent, weak, susceptible entities without a separate existence and free space of their own. All forms of lifelong learning -i.e. formal, non-formal and informal learning- need to address this issue.

The above points are only a few examples taken from my research. More research needs to be done in the field of lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal. My research was the first research in the field of lifelong learning in Nepal and was able only to explore some of the issues. My research is not conclusive: it has just opened the issues for further research.
In Chapter eighteen, I review my thesis and highlight the strengths, weaknesses and limitations of my research. I have endeavoured to explore lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal from every angle. However, I could not overcome certain barriers, which limited my research in some respects. My field research was obstructed by the unexpected escalation of the civil war in Nepal, which has led to a breakdown in overall security. The Royal Nepalese Army and the Maoists, the two major forces embroiled in this war, shoot at will, under the pretext of the victim being classed the enemy. All Nepalese researchers, being local, are suspected by both factions to be spying or linked with the opposition and thus the threat to life remains stark and real. Local people or government officials are naturally loath to participate in any form of open discussions or interviews. This made it very difficult to access government and non-governmental organisation offices. Field research in areas of western Nepal, the area worst affected by this civil war, was a challenge.

My PhD research explored the current lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal and provided learning-related socio-political suggestions and recommendations. This is pioneering research and I hope that I will be able to continue, despite the obstacles I encountered.
CHAPTER ONE

THE BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

The main objective of the research is to carry out a socio-political study of policy and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal. In this chapter, I aim to focus on the background and context of the research. My interest in education stems from my personal background both in Nepal and the United Kingdom (UK).

My background

I was born and brought up at a place called Kunjari, Taplejung, North East Nepal. Kunjari is a very remote village for various reasons but, primarily, transportation. For example, it took me eight days for my journey to Kathmandu (the capital city of Nepal) when I first went there to join my college in 1977. This comprised a six day walk to the nearest driveable road followed by two days by bus. I am a Limbu and Laksamba is one of the sub-tribal castes of the Limbu that hails from the Eastern hilly region of the kingdom. This tribe is one among the “61” (Ukyab and Adhikari 2000: 5) different indigenous nationalities co-existing in the country. Owing to their valour, self-discipline and tenacious ability and adaptability, many youths from this tribe serve in the British and Indian armies. Recruitment began in 1815 after the Anglo-Nepal war was followed by a treaty between the two countries. The modern-day Limbus are descendants of the ‘Kirat’ confederation consisting of Limbu, Khambu, Yakha and Sunuwar, each practising and preserving their own consecrated and distinct cultural and social heritage to this day. I spent my childhood and early years of youth in the Limbu community with its distinct culture and tradition.

When I was an undergraduate student at the Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, in 1980, my grandfather sent me a letter asking me if I was interested in teaching in the village school where I completed my own primary education. I immediately accepted the offer and returned back to the village to teach, without completing my Bachelor Level studies. The reason for my decision was the opportunity to serve my community as the only person
in the village to have completed Intermediate level in Science. This degree was adequate for me to teach and motivate the poor and illiterate people, especially the school-aged children. After three years of teaching, at the age of 22, in January 1984, I decided to follow in my father’s footsteps and joined the British Army as a Gurkha soldier, leaving behind teaching, community, culture and tradition in the remote mountain village of Nepal. While in the Army, I spent most of my time teaching both military and civilian personnel in various subjects, ranging from Military Tactics to Weapon Training, from Military Law to Primary Health Care and Advanced Paramedical Courses. I had the opportunity to visit many countries, witness different cultures, traditions, religions, languages, life styles and social value-systems as well as their effects on the day-to-day lives of the ordinary local people. I observed the various education systems and their effectiveness, thus enhancing my experience. Jarvis (2001a: 47) writes, “as learning begins with experience, so some forms of lifelong learning begin with the experiences of ordinary and everyday life.”

Naturally, I am not free of social bindings and beliefs and my everyday life embraces cultures from the hills of eastern Nepal to those of developed nations; from poverty to prosperity; from rich social cultures and vibrant traditions to pure consumerism. From 1984 to date, I have lived with the British people and have now comfortably adapted to their culture and society. I have attended and celebrated Christmas, New Year and Easter with my British friends. Like them, I enjoy visiting pubs and clubs and take summer holidays every year for recuperation and relaxation, a life-style that could be regarded as completely alien to that of most Nepalese people. Similarly, since 1984, English has been my first language and Nepali the second. Although I have spent two decades in the British Army, serving the Crown, am comfortable with the local people, and their culture and traditions, I am still regarded as a foreigner, simply for being Nepalese. Back in my country, again I am perceived to be a foreigner (Lahure)\(^1\) within the Nepalese community, having been employed by the British Government and out from my village for such a long period of time. I am a stranger amongst the younger generation of my village. In the social context this puts me in a unique position of being neither an Easterner, nor a Westerner, an outsider to both communities, truly a nowhere man! Thus my view will unfold as the thesis

\(^1\) The term ‘Lahure’ is not an original Nepali word. It has been derived from the name of the city of Lahore in Pakistan. During the British Raj those Nepalese who joined the British-Indian Army as Gurkha soldiers were sometimes based in Lahore and thus the term arose. Nowadays this expression is widely used to indicate any Nepali who works in a foreign country.
proceeds. I am a Nepalese insider in the eyes of the westerner and a westerner in the eyes of my local people. A complicated standing: Merriam et al (2001: 405) write, “what does it mean to be an insider or an outsider to a particular group under study? For example, can women understand men’s experience? [...]” (in italic is original). In the context of this research, on the one hand, I am an outsider having spent twenty years out from my country and living in the west. On the other hand, I have a strong socio-ethnic heredity nurtured in the twenty two years I spent in Limbuwan. My research orientation will therefore be influenced by both the western and eastern cultures having spent a considerable time on both sides. The Marxist writings of Youngman (1986, 2000) and the Christian Marxian writings of Freire (1970, 1972, and 1974) have been significant sources of influence throughout this thesis. As an insider, I am aware of the Nepalese mind and culture; my understanding of religion and the custom of the people has influenced my analysis (see diagram, page 56). The research has been analysed and interpreted through the lens of both eastern and western perspectives. I have elaborated this further on methodology in chapters ten and eleven.

As mentioned earlier, prior to joining the British Army, I was a teacher in my village school for a few years where I observed the high percentage of young people who dropped out of school and how the majority of the adult population remained illiterate. Although I grew up in the same village and attended the same village primary school, I was not then aware of this. Learning, experience and education have definitely widened my vision and sharpened my consciousness. This has enabled me to see the true state of my village. The prevailing illiteracy, lack of education and poor learning standards have concerned me greatly, and only now do I understand it to be the product of the cycle of poverty in place from generation to generation. It is perceptible that the present concept of my research is a result of the direct or indirect outcome of my experiences as a teacher in the early 1980s.

Upon my return to the village in 2000, I discovered that there had been no improvement in the school drop-out rates, nor any further improvement in the provision of adult learning during the intervening years. Throughout the country, the school drop-out rate is very high and a serious concern. According to the Ministry of Education and Culture’s published statistics, “if eleven students join in class one, only one is likely to reach class ten” (cited in
Sharma 2057 B. S.\textsuperscript{2}: 6). This discovery has been a major factor in motivating me to enhance my higher-level qualifications and, in particular, to carry out research into lifelong learning policy and practice. My research work and eventual findings will hopefully provide in-depth information and associated knowledge helpful in promoting lifelong learning and generating hypotheses towards Nepalese lifelong learning. This, in turn, may lead to the adoption of new and more effective approaches to the delivery of lifelong learning throughout the country. On completion of my research it is my intention to work in the field of lifelong learning and aspire to be able to apply the results of my research in the development of lifelong learning programmes. In order to transform this concept into reality, I endeavour to highlight that a good relationship between policy and the practice of lifelong learning can contribute towards solving one of Nepal’s most pressing problems. The following main research questions are based on my background and experience. These questions will further evolve towards the end of chapter two, where socio-political structures, learning systems and the context of the problem are examined. This evolutionary process will be apparent throughout the thesis.

**Main research questions:**

- What is the relationship between the Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice within the parameters of socio-political structure?
- How has the lifelong learning been influencing social and cultural processes and vice versa?
- What are the socio-political barriers that inhibit the lifelong learning process from expanding in Nepal?
- Why have global and national efforts failed to achieve a significant outcome, although for the past fifty years considerable stress has been placed on lifelong learning?

**Conclusion**

In order to deal with these questions, it is important to explore the background information of Nepal, its socio-political issues and the context of the problems that affect the lifelong learning policy and practice which are covered in chapter two.

\textsuperscript{2} The Bikram Sambat (B. S.) is an official year calendar for Nepal. The calendar year is 57 years in advance of the A. D. calendar year.
CHAPTER TWO

AN INTRODUCTION TO NEPAL, SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND, PROBLEM CONTEXT AND SPECIFIC RESEARCH QUESTIONS

My main aim in this chapter is to explore the learning system, policy, practice, problems and establish specific research questions. In order to achieve this, I have started with an introduction to Nepal, covering geographical settings, historical, cultural and socio-political profile; civil war, power dynamics; globalisation, glocalisation and localisation; learning, lifelong learning, and the learning system of Nepal: international donor agencies and their influence on Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice; review and analysis of learning policy in brief (First to Tenth Five-year Plans) including discussions from which the problem context and specific research questions have been established. I have also highlighted the difficulties in carrying out the research on policy and practice where two conflicting ideologies exist and the country is in a state of civil war.

Introduction to Nepal

Geographical settings, historical, cultural and socio-political profile. Nepal is a land-locked country, sandwiched between China and India. China lies to the North and India to the East, South and West. Therefore, “its geographical positioning [...] gives it a strategic importance beyond its size” (Philipson 2002: 7). The total area of Nepal is “147,181 sq. km, and its length is 885 km. (East to West) with a non-uniform, mean width of 193 km North to South” (CBS 2000:1). Nepal, the only Hindu Kingdom in the world, is also the birthplace of Lord Buddha (the light of Asia). “Nepal is a unique country in many respects, it is extremely diverse; culturally, ecologically and geographically” (Parker & Sands 1997: 6, in italic is original). The Himalayan region is situated along the northern

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3 Throughout the thesis, ‘learning’ has been used instead of ‘education’. The word ‘education’ is only used when ‘learning’ is not appropriate.
Country and Regions

Source: http://www.world-gazetteer.com/s_s_np.

Map of Nepal
border of Nepal extending east to west. Hills and valleys occupy the central region, with plains and fertile land occupying the southern area. The country is divided administratively into five development regions (Eastern, Central Western, Mid Western and Far Western) and 75 districts, 3,913 Village Development Committees (VDCs) and 58 Municipalities. Ecologically it falls into three regions: Mountain, Hill and Terai. The estimated population of Nepal in 2000 was 22.9 million “11,437,952 men and 11,465,654 women” (CBS 2000: 4), and life expectancy at birth was 58 (UN 2001: 43).

Nepal is a multicultural and multiethnic country with 125 ethnic languages; amongst them, 17 languages have their own script and Nepali is the declared official national language.

Nepal is an agricultural country and farming is the chief occupation. However, most of the terrain is mountainous and hilly and is not suitable for cultivation. “At factor cost, the contribution of the agriculture sector to the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) constitutes 40.1%” (CBS 2000: 5). Tourism and remittances from Nepalese working overseas are the two major source of foreign income. Business and industries are still only geared to meet domestic needs and therefore unable to cope or compete in the international market. Nepal exports only limited items, mainly carpets, handicrafts and raw fibre. Such exports account for only a fraction of its foreign income. Foreign aid provides 60% of the country’s budget. The National Planning Commission (NPC 2002: 27) states that “38% of Nepal’s population live under the poverty line” and are “extremely poor and cannot meet its basic needs” (UNHDR 2000 cited by Thapa and Sijapati 2003: 58-59). According to the World Bank (1997), Gross National Product (GNP) per capita of Nepal is “US$ 200” and CBS (2000: 252) is “US$ 210”, leading to Nepal being categorised as of one of the poorest countries in the world. Thus, Gurung (1999; i) writes, “Nepal remains one of the poorest countries despite plethora of development experiments that span nearly five decades.” The development plans, policy and practice, including learning policy and practice executed within the last fifty years, have failed to counter poverty in spite of the development funds that are funnelled into the country.

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4 The second unit from the bottom of the government administrative body.
5 Plain and fertile land of southern Nepal.
Unification of modern Nepal was carried out by the king of Gorkha, King Prithivi Narayan Shah in 1769. The Gorkha conquest provided Nepal with a single name, a distinct identity, and a strong central government - and also the advent of hordes of Indo-Aryan immigrants along with encroachment of Hinduism that destroyed the cultures, languages, and lifestyle of the indigenous nationalities.

Since the founding of modern Nepal in 1769, the nation seemed to be at peace. In reality it was similar to a smooth flow of volcanic lava with a burning fire beneath. King Prithivi Narayan used violence in the mission of territorial unification of Nepal by indulging in Gorkha imperialism and internal colonialism. It was an introduction of feudal unification for greater territory where the public were living in a constant state of fear under the pretext of socio-political stability, law and order. The country has since been ruled by a minority under oppressive Hindu norms and policies that deliberately discriminate against the majority of the ethnic indigenous nationalities, including women. The Nepalese people have been either tricked or fooled into accepting the political legitimacy of their rulers, the military and the political elites. Most prominently, the two dynasties, namely the Shah and Rana, ruled Nepal longer and more coercively than any democratic parties have done.

The Rana oligarchy, instituted by Janga Bahadur Rana through a bloody coup d'état known as the ‘Kot Parba’ (Kot Massacre) in 1846, segregated the nation from the outside world for 104 years. The Ranas governed Nepal as their private fiefdom. The tyrannical Rana rule condemned Nepal to an era of self-imposed isolation and economic stagnation depriving the people of literacy and foreign influences. In addition, the Rana regime entered emphatically upon the campaign of Hindunisation of the social, judicial, and the administrative structure of the country by transforming Nepal into a Hindu state. The indigenous people were thus reduced to voiceless subjects.

In 1951, the Rana regime was overthrown by the people's democratic movement, thus sowing the seeds of democracy in Nepal. However, the democratic regime was short-lived owing to political instability and bitter intra- and inter-party feuds among the party leaders, thus giving way to the Panchayat⁶ system inaugurated by King Mahendra through a "royal coup" on 15 December 1960. King Mahendra condemned the parliamentary system as

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⁶ Partyless political system.
providing no panacea for the socio-political and economic maladies of the country and ruled as an absolute monarch. The authoritarian palace-centered Panchayat policy strangled the nation for three decades, abusing all civil, political and human rights of the citizens. His son, King Birendra, took over the reins of power in 1972 but was relegated to the role of constitutional monarch by the democratic movement of 1990 that ushered in an elected government, thereby ending the Royal Family’s dynastic grip on power.

The Panchayat autocracy coercively advocated the policy of one language, one religion and one nation, which led to the complete suppression of the native languages and cultures. After the promulgation of a democratic constitution in 1990, there were demands for the constitutional recognition (for inclusion) of the other languages and religions, as well as the representation of all nationalities in the parliament (Upper House), and for autonomous regional governments linked to historical claims to land and territories and the current demographic situation of particular groups of the country. The Constitution Recommendation Commission (CRC) and the interim government, on the contrary, virtually bypassed these grievances, simply perceiving them as a threat to national unity. This measure was an attempt to subsume all the indigenous nationalities under the canopy of Nepalese Hindu nationalism, thus perpetuating the counterproductive elements of wider social disparity that gave the lie to Nepal’s popular platitude of ‘unity in diversity.’

More than fifty years of global aid has only strengthened the seat of power (the Royal Palace) and widened the gap between the rich and poor, resulting in of increased corruption, rather than the much anticipated social change in Nepalese society. Thapa and Sijapati (2003: 59) write:

This pervasive poverty can to some extent be attributed to the neo-classical development philosophy Nepal adopted, which, instead of emphasising distributive justice or equity, has led to the uneven distribution of income and wealth.

According to Karki and Seddon (2003: 122), “Nepal has declined from 13th poorest in the 1970s to the 2nd poorest in the world today.” In addition, the power struggle between the party members of parliamentary parties, the degrading political culture, corruption, bribery, misuse of power and so on by the elected representatives cast a shadow over the system as a whole. For an example:
Kathmandu, Oct 30, 2002: Nepal’s anti-corruption watchdog, Wednesday ordered the arrest of two former ministers on charges of corruption. Khum Bahadur Khadka, who served as home minister [...] and former information minister Jaya Prakash Prasad Gupta were detained by police [...]. Khadka, who has been a minister for the past 12 years, was charged with bending norms for the Bakraha River Control Project in Sunsari district of eastern Nepal. [...] Gupta was charged with receiving kickbacks for the import (importation) of mobile telephones. Instead of ordering the actual requirement of 20,000 sets, he gave a contract to a private firm to import 60,000 sets which, sources claim, were later sent to India through illegal channels. (Noronha 2002: www.indialists.org/pipermail/corruption-issues/2002 - October/ 000200html, in italic is original).

Following the people’s pro-democracy movement in 1990, the CRC drafted a new democratic constitution, promulgated in 1990 but which failed to realise the people’s aspirations. “One of the most controversial aspects of the constitution is that the concept of ‘Hindu Kingdom’ has been retained” (Panday 2001: 273). The constitution once again failed to realise a secular state. The Hindu scriptures again played the upper hand throughout the twelve years of democracy influencing major policy formulation and practice; more people were marginalised and socially excluded, with the resulting political failure continuing to erode the living standard of the people. The model of political super structure (the king, the social system of castes and the associates of the palace) being the continuity of Hindu domination has never, and will never, play an inclusive role. The political super structure has always practised social exclusion. Byrne (1999: 2) cites, according to Madanipour et al. (1998: 22) social exclusion is:

[...] defined as a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. When combined, they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods.

As long as the King is accepted by the state to be the incarnation of Lord Vishnu (God of Life) and Nepal retains a non-secular Hindu state, an inclusion can’t prevail. The Hindu religion has imposed various categories of social exclusion in society, among them the marginalisation and exclusion created by the caste system and gender differentiation. In Nepalese society, women are expected to fulfil the roles of production, reproduction and community activities only and their contribution is not socially recognised as being important. As a result, the majority of women are underprivileged, subordinated and
suppressed and, because of this, cultural and traditional barriers have been imposed upon them by the Hindu religion.

Although the caste system has existed in one form or another in many societies throughout history, the two classic examples are those of Nepal and India. In these countries the caste system, based on Hindu religion and mythology, has existed for thousands of years. Roles are assigned by castes forever, ranging from the priestly religious and intellectual functions of the highest, or Brahmin, and the common labour performed by the lower castes. The lowest castes are defined as 'untouchable' by those people in the higher castes. Contact of any type -even just looking at one another- is forbidden, with individual castes living separately. According to this system, the caste into which one is born traditionally determines one's status throughout life: marriage, jobs, entitlement, including the status of one's children and grandchildren throughout their life, from generation to generation.

According to the Hindu religion, Nepalese people are divided into four caste groups: Brahmin (for priest and intellectual tasks), Chhetri (for rulers and warriors), Vaishya (for farmers, craftsmen and trades) and Sudra (for slaves, manual work and labour). This system is called 'Varnashram' (caste-occupation). Sudras are again divided into two groups: touchable and untouchable. Both touchable and untouchable Sudras are socially, politically, economically and educationally marginalised in the country. Especially the untouchable groups of Sudras called 'Dalit' in the Hindu society are socially excluded, poor, backward and uneducated. Koirala (1998: 1) has expressed this in the following way:

Dalit is an umbrella term to indicate some 50 caste groups of people who are economically exploited, socially considered as untouchable, politically unheard, and educationally disadvantaged for generations. About 20% of the country's population belong to this group. This group, in a wider sense, is a replica of the Nepali system where there is religious diversity, caste hierarchy, and occupational varieties.

According to Brusset and Regmi (2002: 6):

The upper castes (Brahmin, Chhetri) constitute 37% of the population, but have Human Development Indicators 50% higher than the Hill ethnic groups. 87% of all school graduates are from the higher castes. Figures on the representation of caste
in the upper civil service ranks show an overwhelming and still growing proportion of the higher castes.

In regard to this Philipson (2002: 6) writes “all major political parties, including the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [...] are controlled by high castes, predominantly Brahmins”. For instance, the party chairman Puspa Kamal Dahal alias Prachanda and United Revolutionary Peoples’ Council (URPC) coordinator Dr Baburam Bhattarai are both Brahmins. Only a few Sudras are in the party central committee, while the majority of them are in lower positions as grass-roots workers. Thus the effect of the caste system is strongly embedded in Nepalese society.

Gender disparity is another burning issue owing to the caste system in Hindu society. Women are treated as a commodity for men. Parvati7 (2003: 167) writes:

Women’s social oppression is firmly rooted in the state-sponsored Hindu religion, which upholds feudal Brahminical rule based on the caste system, which disparages women in relation to men.

The Hindu religion divides people by castes with women categorised one rung lower than men; thus excluding and marginalising the lower caste people and women in society in general. Chapter five deals further with the Hindu religion; the caste system; gender disparity and social exclusion.

As well as the issue of caste, Nepal is also not free from the social class system. In sociology, social class refers to a group of people who are similar in terms of their level of income or wealth. Inequalities in income and wealth are called class stratification and the position within that system of inequality is called social class. In this context, Nepalese society is a feudal agricultural society; the landowners are the ruling class with the subordinate class consisting of peasants, serfs, tenant farmers, sharecroppers or slaves who work the lands they do not own and who are required to turn over the products of their labour to the landowning class. Thus, in agricultural societies, the means of production is land and those who own the land possess most of the wealth and thus the power. In the

7 An alternative name given by the party to hide the real identity in public. She is a member of the CPN (Maoist) and she is also associated with the All Nepal Women’s Association (Revolutionary). She is currently underground.
case of Nepal, small elites (local aristocrats, religious leaders, top level politicians and army generals) own the land and the rest of the population toil for them. The socio-political system is headed by a monarch and those who own land have some formal political or religious title that is passed on from generations along with landownership. Nepalese social class is discussed further in chapter five.

In summary, 104 years of tyrannical Rana oligarchy, thirty years of the Partyless Panchayat system and twelve years of democracy within the 250 years of ‘Hindu State’ and ‘King Raj’ reduced the country from average-poor to the poorest by promoting the caste system, social exclusion and gender disparity and by exploiting the learning system of the country. With the process of global change, these forces are also undergoing transformation within the context of the country and to a certain extent following the trend of global forces. The Communist Party Nepal (CPN) Maoist considers both these process as being harmful for Nepal and its people. Thus, it was then that the CPN (Maoist) put forth a 40-point agenda (in Appendix 1) and took to the jungles to solve the problem through the ‘barrel of a gun’ which has led the nation into a state of ‘civil war’ and a re-alignment of power.

A civil war is a war fought between different groups of people who live in the same nation-state for various reasons, such as socio-economic, socio-political or religious and is often associated with revolution. According to Jary and Jary (2000: 72), civil war is:

 Armed conflict, often protracted, in which politically organised groups within a state contest for political control of the state, or for or against the establishment of all or part of that state in a new form.

Marx has probably had more influence over the conflict theory than any other sociologist. Marx argued that in industrial societies, the bourgeoisie uses its power to assure that all elements of the social structure and ideology support its continued ownership of the means of production. The proletariat, in contrast, has an interest in change. Marx saw these two groups as having fundamentally opposing interests and very unequal ‘power’.

In a simple way ‘power’ is strength and ability to do. Oxford Dictionary (1999: 1122) defines, ‘power’ “the ability to do something or act in a particular way […].” There is no doubt that every person has a degree of power. It may differ from person to person due to
their social, political, religious, military, etc. status as well as their intellectual and economic capability. Nevertheless, power exists within the individual and in society. However, different philosophers, sociologists and educationists have different views on 'power' which I will deal with in chapter three.

Civil war and power dynamics in the context of Nepal

On 13 February 1996, a people's war was declared in Nepal under the leadership of CPN (Maoist) with a 40-point agenda, as previously mentioned. "When the 40-point demand was put forward by the Maoist leader, Baburam Bhattarai on 4 February, 1996, it was totally ignored by the government" (Sharma 2003: 361). Because of that ignorance, more than 10,000 people have been killed until the early 2005 in the name of so called 'civil war' and this number is increasing everyday. In 2003, the CPN (Maoist) declared itself as a new regime and people's power which control by the standing committee at the top, beneath which are the politburo, central committee, regional bureaus, and district, area and cell committees. Their mission is to use people's power to overthrow the semi-feudal and semi-colonial reactionary state and establish a new democratic state. Karki and Seddon (2003: 75) cited the following lines from the leaflet that was distributed by the CPN (Maoist) on 13 February 1996, just before the final launch of the people's war, clearly highlighting their vision:

We are fully conscious that this war to break the shackles of thousands of years of slavery and to establish a New Democratic state will be quite uphill, full of twists and turns and of a protracted nature. This is the only path of people's liberation ensuring a great bright future.

In order to achieve this, the CPN (Maoist) is applying Mao's strategy of a protracted people's war in establishing base areas in the countryside and aiming to surround the cities, seize nationwide power, and establish a 'new democratic republic' progressing to a new socialist society where people acquire social, political and economic equality. Regarding this Thapa and Sijapati (2003: 55) write:

The Maoists claimed in 1996 that the introduction of a 'new democratic system' through a protracted 'people's war' was inescapable because all the attempts to
carry out reforms within the old 'semi-feudal' and 'semi-colonial' system had failed.

In reality, there are numerous domestic obstacles, as well as the possibility of isolation from international donor agencies. Also intervention, especially by the United State of America (USA), aimed at destroying the Maoist movement will doubtlessly become a huge and formidable challenge to the Maoists. Neupane (2003: 313) writes, "the Communist party Nepal (Maoist) has been developing a total transformational agenda, [...] and tried to develop solutions to every one of the problems raised." Muni (2003: 1) states, "the Maoist insurgency has emerged as one of the most serious political and security challenge in Nepal". Muni further writes, "the Maoists have systematically structured, ideologically cultivated and consistently mobilised this diversified social support" (ibid: 18).

On the ground, either directly or indirectly, the Maoist Party controls almost all of the villages in the country. "At the time of their first attacks on the army in November 2001, [...] the Maoist had strong support in about 44 of the 75 districts, particularly in the rural areas" (Muni 2003: 12). The king controls the cities and district headquarters only. The Maoists have a dedicated and strong People's Liberation Army (PLA), exact figure unknown equipped with modern weapons and ancillaries. Within eight years, "they declared the setting up of a 37-member United Revolutionary Peoples' Council (URPC) headed by Dr Baburam Bhattarai, with its headquarters in Rolpa" (Muni 2003: 33). According to the CPN (Maoist), the party has emerged as a new power winning the hearts and minds of many Nepalese people. Sharma (2003: 361) writes, "within six years of starting an armed insurgency, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) had managed to establish itself as a formidable alternative political force". Bhattarai (2003: vii) states:

The Nepalese society at the beginning of the 21st century is passing through the greatest upheavals in its entire history in the form of the revolutionary People's War

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8 Dr Bhattarai is a social scientist. He achieved the highest grades in all Nepal in both School Leaving Certificate and Intermediate in Science examinations and was awarded a scholarship to study engineering in India. Later, he did his Ph.D in socio-economics from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi. "He is well known as one of the leading ideologues of the Maoist movement" (Karki and Seddon 2003: xxiii). He stood for parliament twice in 1991 and 1994. He could not win the hearts and minds of Nepalese people in the ballot box politics and defeated both times. In regards to this, Thapa (2002: 44) writes "[...] that financially weak but intellectually strong leader has been sidelined. Money power wins elections in Nepal".
of the oppressed classes, regions, nationalities, gender and communities against the outmoded semi-feudal and semi-colonial social order.

Muni (2003: 12) writes in similar way:

The social groups that constitute the bulk of the Maoists support are from the [...] indigenous people (jan jatis), i.e. Magars, Gurungs, Rais and Limbus. Besides them, the [...] other Dalit groups and the Thaurus of Terai have also joined the Maoists. Most of the tribals and Dalits are non-Hindus (Buddhists, atheists or animists) [...]. They have their indigenous culture and want to preserve it rather than being dominated by Hindu community.

Drawing attention to these people, the Maoist leader Dr Bhattarai writes:

The oppressed regions within the country are primarily the regions inhabited by the indigenous people since time immemorial. These indigenous people dominated regions that were independent tribal states prior to the formation of the centralized state in the later half of the eighteenth century, have been reduced to the present most backward and oppressed condition due to the internal feudal exploitation and the external semi-colonial oppression. [...] it is necessary to solve the problem of oppressed regions and nationalities by granting regional and national autonomy. (Bhattarai 1998: www.icpnm.org).

With the aim of 'granting regional and national autonomy', the CPN (Maoist) have formed around a dozen ethnic and regional 'National Liberation Fronts' such as: the Magarant, the Tamuwan, the Tharuwan, the Tamang, the Thami, the Majhi, the Madhesi, the Newa Khala, the Nepal Dalit, the Karnali Regional and the Kirat. "The activities of these fronts are coordinated by the ethnic and regional fronts coordination committee of the CPN (Maoist)" (Sharma 2003: 364). According to Karki and Seddon (2003: 28) "the Maoists plan extensive devolution of power to the regions and this is all in the URPC constitution."

On the eve of Friday 1st June 2001, Crown Prince Dipendra massacred the Royal Family (the King, the Queen, his younger brother, sister, close relatives and other royal members) and reportedly killed himself in a family get-together party. The late King Birendra’s immediate brother, Prince Gyanendra was absent on that particular evening and thus survived to later become the 11th King of Nepal. "The incident brought about major changes in the politics of the country" (Singh 2003: 315). In regards to this Karki and Seddon (2003: 31) write:
The massacre in June 2001 of the Royal Family, by a member of the Royal Family, was entirely unforeseen and certainly affected the Maoists' plans and tactics, if not their overall strategy.

Within a few months after King Gyanendra's accession, the Maoist came to the negotiations table with demands for an interim government, a constituent assembly, and a new constitution, but:

The new king, Gyanendra, certainly appeared prepared in principle to adopt a much stronger line with respect to the Maoists than the previous king, Birendra, [...]. The deployment of the army to various locations in the hill areas, plans to establish an Integrated Internal Security and Development Programme (IISDP) indicated a greater willingness on the part of Gyanendra to listen to the army chiefs and entertain a military solution. (Karki and Seddon 2003: 36-37)

To counter the government activities, on 23 November 2001, the Maoists walked away from the negotiations and launched a series of fresh attacks on army garrisons in different parts of the country. They successfully destroyed their targets and captured a large quantity of arms and ammunition. These incidents and the recommendation of the Council of Ministers encouraged the King to declare a state of emergency throughout the country effective from 26 November 2001 and the CPN (Maoist) branded a terrorist organisation. Later, King Gyanendra sacked the Prime Minister and took over executive power, thus ending the twelve years of democratic governance on 4th October 2002 and changed the power equation. The King and his hand-picked cabinet of ministers have run the country ever since. The nation, however, has been critically affected by the lack of capability and absence of a proper government network in rural areas. This crucial service is administered and coordinated by the Maoists thus enhancing their struggle further against the national armed forces.

As mentioned earlier, the politburo of the CPN (Maoist) declared the CPN (Maoist) to be the new regime and emerging power and the King and the Royal Army as the old regime of the country. The King and his government have accepted the Maoists claim as power equilibrium. International powers such as the USA and the United Kingdom (UK) have taken the policy of 'wait and see' (this issue will be discussed later in this chapter and throughout the thesis when it progresses). Thus, it is clear that there are two major powers
currently existing in the country: the King, backed by the Royal Nepalese Army, and the CPN (Maoist) backed by the People’s Liberation Army. In this current context of civil war, ‘the Multi Party Democratic Forces’ and any power they have had has become less effective in the power contest with the Royalist and the Maoists as their powers come from the barrels of guns. However, Democratic forces are actively conducting peace movements against the King’s action of 4th October 2002 but are limited in influence to urban areas.

The Royal Palace, the Maoist and the Multi Party Democratic forces are all directly or indirectly manipulated and influenced by international powers and donor agencies. This is not a new practice. Nepal has been a semi-colonial country since the Anglo-Nepalese war in 1815 - 16. “Since Nepal’s semi-colonial position in the early 19th century seems to have been governed by the colonialist direction [...] still Nepal continued to remain a semi-colony [...]” (Bhattarai 2003: 37, in italic is original). Prior to 1950, Nepal was only a semi-British colony but post-1950, especially after the independence of India in 1947, the British influence faded with the increasing influence of the newly independent sub-continent and the increasing role of the USA. India has thereafter always remained keen on promoting a powerful role in the affairs of Nepal, while the influence of the USA has peripheral. During the cold war, the phenomenon of India having been bound by the Indo-Soviet treaty for twenty years provided ample space for Nepal to turn westward for its allies, especially the USA, in dire times. However, the 1,200 km open border, prevailing trade and commerce and similarity of culture and religion of the Nepalese Aryan rulers and social elites with India has kept the USA at bay to a certain extent. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the geopolitical situation has changed and India has emerged as one of the most powerful countries in regional politics keeping the USA on the periphery. For example, in January 2003, “India’s former ambassador to Nepal, K V Rajan, argued that New Delhi was not ‘comfortable’ about the growing US-UK influence in Nepal” (http://www.observerindia.com) and “the US and British ambassadors [...] told the Nepali Congress (NC) president Girija Prasad Koirala to unite with the monarchy and government to fight the Maoist insurgency” (Kathmandu Post 2003d http://www.Nepalnews.com).

Recently, the USA has been more interested in Nepalese politics and its internal matters. The “USA placed Nepal in the list of top six countries to support against terrorism and committed to assist in security intelligence, training and finance” (Upreti 2002: 9): a new
version of global-imperialism! Nepal is also strategically vital for the USA because it is surrounded by three nuclear powers: China, India and Pakistan. In April 2002, the USA granted 20 million US dollars to Nepal to assist in the elimination of the Maoist insurgency. According to Karki and Seddon (2003: 42):

At the end of April, at least a dozen specialist personnel from U.S. Pacific Command spent several weeks with the Royal Nepalese Army touring western districts where fighting has been most intense. A Pentagon spokesperson went on the record to state that the mission’s purpose was to assess how best to spend U.S. funds to help the government of Nepal fight the insurgents. In May, [...] the U.S. government appeared prepared to consider an allocation of $20 million for military assistance and to double the development aid allocation to $38 million for 2003.

Day-by-day, it is becoming clear that the USA is Americanising the region in the pretext of the ‘war against terrorism’. It is time to analyse whether this ‘war against terrorism’ is really a war against terrorism or it is only a means of Americanisation through ‘shock and awe’ and ‘power of the dollars’. Is it really benefiting poor countries or only creating chaos and becoming a threat to them?

It is quite clear that the palace and the multi-party forces are already in the grip of global powers and donor agencies and the Maoists are no exception. Muni (2003: 21) writes:

The international contacts of the Nepali Maoists expanded during the 1980s when they become a founding member of the ‘Revolutionary International Movement’ (RIM), along with the comrades from the US, Latin America and other parts of the world.

In regards to this, the Chairman of the CPN (Maoist), Prachanda (2003: 192)9 said:

Therefore, what I want to say here is that one of the specific things about our People’s War; [...] there was international involvement right from the beginning. [...] And after the initiation of the People’s War in Nepal it has been proved – we helped the Communist Party of Peru, we helped the RIM as a whole, we helped the whole revolutionary masses. And we also took help from all over the world.

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Thus, globalisation is not new to Nepal. However, it is a complex issue. On the one hand, Nepal is only at the periphery of globalisation and gets only a trickle-down effect, while on the other hand, although Nepal is the second poorest country in the world it has recently become a member of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), one of the major tools of globalisation. Nepal had applied for its membership during the mid 1990s and was finally allotted the status as a member state on 15th September 2003, even though Nepal is not an important country for the WTO, the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF). However 60% of its development budget comes from donor countries and international donor agencies. Since the budget is prioritised by the agencies themselves, the resulting deficiencies and overlaps created in the allocation of resources had been responsible for fuelling the insurgency during the early stages. Therefore, global donor agencies are responsible to a certain extent for the outbreak of civil war in the country. Thus, Bauman (2002: 178) writes:

‘Globalization’ means today no more (but no less either) than globality of our dependencies: no locality is free any more to proceed with its own agenda without reckoning with the elusive and recondite ‘global finance’ and ‘global markets’, while everything done locally may have global effects, anticipated or not.

Globalisation, glocalisation and localisation

Globalisation. Globalisation may be defined as a process for creating a world without international boundaries, obstacles or limits so that information, trade and ideas can flow without any restriction. According to Beck (1997: 20), “globalisation means that borders become markedly less relevant to everyday behaviour in the various dimensions of economics, information, ecology, technology, cross-cultural conflict and civil society”. Jarvis (2002: 79) writes that globalisation is “the growing compression of the world and the increasing consciousness of the whole, resulting in an increasing level of interdependence across the world”. Globalisation is a process of integration of knowledge, learning, industries, product, commerce, trade, markets, agriculture, seeds, food, medicines, health, economies and cultures on a global scale.

Globalisation is controlled and manipulated by the few rich countries of the West and the North. Countries from the East and South are suffering from poverty, hunger and disease
and their difficulties are worsening because of the negative impacts of globalisation. Globalisation is a competition and to win the winners need means (wealth) and power, which are not significantly available in the Eastern and Southern countries. Therefore, poor countries have relatively no chance of winning the contest. The world’s richest countries control modern technology, communication, industries, commerce, trade and capital, the World Bank, IMF and Asian Development Bank (ADB). They reap profit even while granting donations to poor nations. For example, Nepal: despite more than fifty years of global aid and loans, the country is getting poorer. Thus, the gap between the rich and poor is widening appreciably day-by-day, both locally and globally. In the name of poverty alleviation and globalisation, the trans-national organisations and donor countries have continued to siphon off wealth from poverty-stricken countries thus making them poorer. Hence, globalisation has become a major threat against third world countries and it is important to take preventive measures in time to circumvent a case of 'too little too late'. Thus, prior to executing any planning and policy writing, the policy makers and planners must be aware of the global impact in the local context as well as the long-term consequences of their decisions. In order to address such issues systematically, we have to replace the system with a new and stable one, which Robertson (1995: 28) called "glocalisation". It could be one of the solutions against the negative impact of globalisation.

Glocalisation. Glocalisation is the merging of global and local forces. The process of glocalisation is like mixing up two different chemical substances (global and local) to create a new, more suitable and stable concept or model for local purposes. It requires a rigorous process. According to Beck (1997: 55) “glocalisation is first and foremost a 'redistribution of privileges and deprivations, of wealth and poverty, of resources and impotence, of power and powerlessness, of freedom and constraint'. In addition, glocalisation is the process of integration of local and global policies, laws and regulations into a framework in order to perform the worldwide activities on business and economic issues. In regards to this, Robertson (1995: 28) writes:

According to The Oxford Dictionary of New Words (1991: 134) the term 'glocal' and the process noun 'glocalization' are 'formed by telescoping global and local to make a blend. Also according to the Dictionary the idea has been 'modelled on Japanese dochakuka (deriving from dochku "living on one’s own land"), originally
the agricultural principle of adapting one’s farming techniques to local conditions, but also adapted in Japanese business for global localization, a global outlook adapted to local conditions.

The concept of glocalisation was originally developed in Japan and was widely used in the business world in the 1980s but not in the socio-political context. It is also not much different to globalisation. Thus, in order to preserve local cultures, religions, traditions and languages from the negative impacts of globalisation and glocalisation, it is important in localisation of global thinking to appreciate the local context and requirements.

**Localisation.** Localisation is the blending of indigenous knowledge (knowledge gained through local experience associated with tradition and culture) and social knowledge with the global knowledge (artificial knowledge) to suit the local needs. This apparently is the method of preserving the social fabric in the rapidly growing process of globalisation. This process is also called standardisation. Thus, globalisation without standardisation only creates vacuum in society which is known as the negative impacts of globalisation (the issue of standardisation and globalisation will be discussed in chapter four). This could paralyse the infrastructure of a poor country like Nepal, including the learning sector, at any time. However, the Nepalese learning sector is not free from globalisation. Currently, the World Bank, ADB and the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries have invested a large amount of money in the learning sector including ‘Education for All (EFA)’. Historically, “learning and the learning system of Nepal” have been strongly influenced by the Hindu religion, Brahmanism, civil war, global donor agencies and globalisation.

**Learning and the learning system of Nepal**

Learning is formally classified into three categories i.e. informal, non-formal and formal. Informal learning can take place anywhere: at learning organisations, at home, in the workplace including experience. Non-formal and formal learning are normally coordinated and conducted by the Government and Non-Government organisations at learning institutions/organisations such as schools, colleges and universities. A Learning

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10 The World Hindu Conference 2000 was held in Trinidad, which indicates that the Hindu religion is also globalising.
system is a classification and arrangement of learning procedures. The following paragraphs cover the background of Nepalese informal, non-formal and formal learning and its systems.

**Informal learning.** Nepal has a long history of informal learning. The Hindu and Buddhist philosophies are the product of informal learning. Lord Buddha gained knowledge and the wisdom of enlightenment and founded the mainstream Buddhist philosophy almost 2,500 years ago by means of informal learning and his life experience. He used informal teaching and learning to preach his philosophy to his disciples and followers. In earlier times, informal learning was extensively used to prepare Hindu priests, Buddhist monks and witch doctors (Dhami, Bijuwa, Phedangma, etc.). Even today, the Nepalese way of life is extensively guided by the knowledge gained from informal learning. But Nepal’s history of formal and non-formal learning is very different from its informal learning. As highlighted by Ragsdale (1989: 12) “modern education (non-formal and formal learning) has not had a long history in Nepal” (in italic is original) compared to informal learning.

**Non-formal learning.** In the hills and villages, returning Gurkha soldiers, many of whom learned to read and write while serving in the British and Indian armies, started local literacy programmes for adults and introduced education to children, which has helped in the development of the learning process in Nepalese society, but there is no documentary evidence to support it. Officially, non-formal learning started in Nepal in 1947 (2004 B. S. /1947) with basic learning programmes, but these programmes did not receive any assistance from the Rana government. The Rana rulers were afraid that, if people were educated, they would overthrow the regime. Despite pressure from the Ranas, the underground and exiled political leaders and workers did use the literacy programme to liberate the country from 104 years of Rana oppression. However, only 2% of Nepalese were literate in 1951 when the Rana rule collapsed and 5.3 % in 1953 (Fifth Census 1953–55).

**Formal learning.** History shows that formal learning started in mid 19th century. Before 1853, there is no record of any formal learning system in Nepal. In “October 1853” (Sharma 2057 B. S. /2000: 36), Prime Minister Janga Bahadur Rana, the founder of the
Rana regime, opened an English primary school in his Thapathali palace. Since then the school has been known as Durbar (palace) school. During his visit to Great Britain in 1850, he saw schools and colleges that influenced and motivated him to open a school to provide a western (English) education exclusively for his brothers and sons, but not for the general public. Historically, we can take this as a starting point of the exploitation, manipulation and oppression of the general public in the learning process by the Rana regime. Initially there were two teachers, Mr Ross and Mr Canning from Britain. The former was given the responsibility to run and supervise the school and later became its Headmaster. In 1877, the school was upgraded to the status of high school. In “B.S. 1932 (1875)” (Sharma 2057 B.S: 37), the school was opened to the higher castes and elite social groups and in “B. S. 1942 (1885), the Prime Minister Bir Shamsher” (ibid: 39) made this school open to all. Although, Janga Bahadur did not open schools for the general public he was the first person to introduce a formal learning system in Nepal. During the period of 1870 – 1890, there were a few schools opened, in particular three Sanskrit schools for the children of the general public: Dingla Pathashala (a school) in 1875, in Bhojpur, East Nepal; Ranipokhari Pathashala in 1877 and Tindhara Pakshala (education with food and accommodation) in 1884, both in Kathmandu. Although the Rana ruler said these schools were for the general public, they were entirely designed to educate children from the Brahmin caste to produce Hindu priests. The majority of Nepalese were marginalised from formal learning until the end of the Rana rule. Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher Rana, the first Nepali citizen to pass the Matriculation Examination, roughly equivalent to GCE ‘O’ level, founded the first college in the country, Tri-Chandra College in 1918. A technical school was established in 1930, followed by an agriculture school in 1936, an engineering school in 1942, a skill-based education school in 1946, a teacher training centre for basic education in 1947 and a school for management and control of finance in 1948. On top of these technical schools, an Aryuvedic11 school was opened in 1929 to train Aryuvedic physicians and a medical school was established in 1934 to provide training to medical assistants and practitioners. During the period 1930 - 45, a number of middle and high schools were opened in different parts of the country along with a girls’ high school in Kathmandu. When Rana rule came to an end in 1951, “there were in the whole country only 321 primary schools, 11 secondary schools and two colleges” (Belbase 1986: 159).

11 Traditional medicine and practice.
Since the liberation of the country, in 1951, from the Rana oligarchy, efforts have been made to establish a productive and effective learning system in the country. In this process, the government formed the National Education Planning Commission (NEPC) in 1954. During the Panchayat regime from 1959, the government has allotted sufficient resources and time for the establishment of commissions and committees to further the task of planning and management of the learning sector. For example: the All Round National Education Committee in 1961, the National Education System Plan (NESP) 1971 and the Royal Higher Education Commission 1982. For the higher level formal learning, Tribhuvan University (TU) was founded in 1959. Prior to that “there were 26 colleges, including 5 Government Colleges, 17 Private Colleges, 3 Sanskrit Mahabidyalaya and 1 College of Education” (Amatya 2001: 1). “Nepal National College, Kathmandu (1951) and Public Commerce College, Kathmandu (1958)” (Wood 1965: 75), both night colleges were obviously established for people who were not able to attend the college at daytime. It reflects some degree of equal opportunity and flexibility in higher-level formal learning even in the 1950s post-Rana regime. “The College of Education was established in 1956 to prepare secondary school teachers, normal school teachers, school administers, and other professional leaders” (Wood 1965: 50). At that time it was the only college in the country, “which awarded its own degrees on the authority of the Nepal Education Ministry” (ibid: 51).

In 1971, the National Education Plan (New Education System Plan) (NESP) was implemented as an integral part of the Fourth Five-Year Plan to address individual and social needs to achieve the national goal. According to NESP’s policy, all colleges and schools throughout the country came under the direct management of Tribhuvan University and the Ministry of Education respectively. The curriculum was developed with expert help from United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The theme of the curriculum was based on American models. According to the curriculum of the NESP, the objective of primary level formal learning was to teach literacy, numeracy, hygiene and social discipline. Lower secondary schooling aimed to create a positive attitude towards manual labour, while the higher secondary school’s goal was to prepare students for higher education and produce the semi-skilled manpower required by society, industry and the government. The Institute of Education, part of Tribhuvan
University, was responsible for running in-service teacher training programmes within the NSEP. During this period, Tribhuvan University introduced a work experience accreditation for the continuation of learning and to provide access to further and higher formal learning in Animal Science and Agriculture, Engineering and Medical science sectors. Although the NESP tried to bring innovation and reform into the learning system, however, it did not fully achieve its goal. In 1990, Nepal introduced the ‘Jomtien 1990 declaration EFA’ into the learning system and was fully committed towards achieving its goals by the year 2000. However, it did not achieve its aim. The World Education Forum 2000, which was held in Dakar, Senegal, re-affirmed the vision, and adopted a new framework for action. Its targeted date for the achievement of this goal is 2015. UNESCO is playing the major role in operating the project. This will be discussed in chapter eight.

In addition, three technical training schools were opened in the Panchayat era with the assistance of donor countries and organisations; Karnali, Jiri and Uttar Pani technical training schools were built with help of the United Mission to Nepal (UMN), the Swiss and British Governments respectively. The schools’ main aims were to give “employability skills and knowledge to those unemployed adults, age group 15 years and above with class 7 passed qualification” (Sharma 2057 B.S.: 77, 103) who were unable to continue with further formal learning. These schools conducted training in “agriculture, health, midwifery, animal husbandry, electrician, auto mechanics, carpentry, etc” (ibid: 77, 103) as required in the local settings. The schools have set good examples in producing effective and productive, medium-level skilled workers, suitable for both urban and rural communities. These schools, however, have been unable to operate successfully owing to their limitations imposed by size and the failure of suitable policies in the later stages of training.

In summary, learning can be informal, non-formal and formal. In the Nepalese context, non-formal and formal learning takes place during certain periods of people’s life cycle; it starts and ends as it is controlled and structured from above. Nevertheless, informal learning is free of structure and control and it is a lifelong process. If there is life there is ongoing informal learning and occasional non-formal and formal learning since people require ‘lifelong learning’ to live. Thus, life and learning start together and end together.
Lifelong learning. Lifelong learning is learning throughout life by means of informal, non-formal and formal learning. It is a complex and vast subject which will be dealt in full in chapter seven. According to Jarvis (1986: 2) "lifelong learning is [...] regarded as the acquisition of knowledge, skill or attitude at any time in the lifespan by study, experience or teaching". It is not only for adults, but for all, regardless of age, sex, class, caste and ethnicity to enhance knowledge, skills and competence for "[...] personal fulfilment, active citizenship, social inclusion, knowledge economy, community development and employability and adaptability" (EC COM 678final 2001: 9, in italic is original). The application of lifelong learning differs from one country to another. It is mainly guided by the power and interest of ruling elites and corporates. Thus, the present scope of lifelong learning is limited and directed in such a way as to feed the power of the ruling elites and corporates. The lifelong learning policy is thus restrained either in terms of society, politics, or by the perspective of the diffused power conduits. EU countries are using lifelong learning in order to address the issues of 'knowledge economy, active citizenship [...]’ along the line of globalisation. However, countries like Nepal are utilising lifelong learning as a tool for literacy and as a source of income generation. For Nepal, Education for All (EFA) is seen as a springboard for lifelong learning. Even the CPN (Maoist) is applying the concept of lifelong learning to empower oppressed people and liberate them from oppression. The Maoists are using all available resources i.e. informal, non-formal and formal (school to jungle) learning to impart knowledge and skills for liberation. Thus, lifelong learning is important to all i.e. individual to community, peace to conflict, local to global and worldwide. Williamson (1998: 7) writes:

 [...] It is why the idea of lifelong learning has to be much more widely conceived to embrace not only skills and competencies, but ideas, thoughts, feelings and self-awareness as much as knowledge acquisition. It is why lifelong learning has to lead to new ideas, ever-renewed ways of thinking and of doing things and why a worthwhile vision of what it could be has to anchored in a lively image of the open society itself, the moral principles which should guide it and the social institutions which must protect it.

It can be done informally, non-formally and formally throughout life when it is appropriate and required. The informal, non-formal and formal learning systems of Nepal are explained below.
Informal learning system. The informal learning system is guided by the Hindu, Buddhist and local ethnic religions and their philosophies, which are strongly embedded in the Nepalese extended family system. Most of the informal learning takes place in the morning and evening while all family members are at home. In addition, informal learning also takes place at temples and religious ceremonies, learning organisations, work places and during preaching. In short, informal learning takes place at every step of our day-to-day life. Currently, the Government and its EFA programme have triangulated informal, non-formal and formal learning to uplift the lifestyle of adults and to address issue of making a livelihood.

Non-formal learning system. The end of the Rana rule and the formation of an interim Government brought hope and aspiration. Non-formal learning - i.e. adult literacy - was one such idea that started in 1951 with the assistance of the United States Official Mission (USOM). Initially, the adult literacy programme was only a six-month course. In 1962, it expanded to nine months to make the courses more effective and sustainable. Adult facilitators also required basic training in the methods of teaching adults. Belbase (1986: 203-4) writes, in 1970s - 80s, there were five major programmes such as Small Farmers Development Programme (SFDP), Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRD), Education for Rural Development (ERD), Radio Education, Functional Literacy Programme (FLP) and Occupational Training Programme (OTP) were implemented, which helped people in the retention and continuation of literacy. The Centre for Educational Research Innovation and Development (CERID) also played a major role in the non-formal learning sector in 1970s. It launched a community based education programme 'Education for Rural Development' in Lahachok, Kaski district, west Nepal in 1974, followed by girls' literacy class as in 1981 and out of school children's classes (Shiksha Sadan), women's education, adult literacy, environment and community reading centre programmes in 1987.

The Nepalese government has been fully aware of the importance of non-formal learning and its role in raising the standard of living, health and employment since 1951 when the Rana rule came to an end. The importance of adult education was realised as soon as the country opened up to democracy. The National Education Commission (NEC 1954: 4) mentioned in its 1954 report that “if we are to keep democracy alive in the country, adult
education campaigns need to be given priority along with free education". At that time, the Government's understanding of the importance of adult learning was clear.

The Education Act in 1971 had divided non-formal learning into two parts: adult non-formal learning above 15 to 45 year old (illiterate) and child non-formal learning, children from age of 8 to 14. The child non-formal learning was designed as access education for those who wished to join formal learning but were initially unable to do so. Children would be admitted in the formal learning stream through their ability in an entry test indication.

The Government of Nepal forms the District non-formal Learning Committee and the National non-formal Learning Council to implement and run the non-formal learning programme effectively. An organisational chart of the District Committee and the National Council is at Appendix 2.

The Adult Education Division of the Ministry of Education conduct three different types of programme: a basic literacy programme of four months, a non-formal education programme of six months and a functional literacy programme of six months. In addition, a National Committee on Community Learning Centres (CLCs) was formed in April 1999. The CLCs in Nepal cover both urban and rural areas and present a variety of learning opportunities to community members. The Government and local NGOs are running nine CLCs in the Banepa Municipality, providing agricultural and vocational training programmes to neo-literates. Currently, the Government has established two CLCs: one in Kathmandu Municipality, Ward12 18, focusing on the improvement of the quality of life through vocational training and the preservation of cultural sites in the community and the other one, in Baitadi, initiating literacy and poverty alleviation; targeting rural remote areas in the far west region of the country as pilot projects. According to (CLC 2003: 1):

CLCs are therefore viewed as facilitators of lifelong learning process, and not consisting of just literacy or post literacy activities. They accordingly are designed to be integrally linked to adult life style and livelihood issues. Thus, CLC activities attempt to lead the deprived and marginalized towards social and economic empowerment.

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12 Ward is the lowest and the smallest unit of the government administrative body.
The classes will no doubt add to the development process of knowledge. The CLC programme is an integral part of the EFA and the government is establishing 205 more CLCs across the country within the Tenth Plan period (2002 – 2007).

**Formal learning system.** The current formal learning system of Nepal is a hybrid product of Indian, British and American learning systems. Primary schooling begins at the age of six and continues for five years and secondary education (lower secondary and secondary) starts at the age of eleven and continues for a further five years. The lower secondary level comprises grades six to eight and the secondary level of nine and ten. The School Leaving Certificate (SLC) examination is an important national level examination conducted centrally by the Examination Control Office, the Ministry of Education, which is held at the end of grade ten. This examination first started in 1932. Students normally complete their secondary school education by the age of 16. They then go on to study for either a 'ten plus two' qualification in higher secondary schools, which was started in 1992, or take the Proficiency Certificate Level (PCL) two years in a university college. According to the Government plan, this programme will eventually be phased out and all the SLC graduates, if they choose to study further, will have to go through the ten plus two system of post-secondary (Higher Secondary) education prior to university undergraduate programmes. The Bachelor Degree course for humanities and arts runs for three years and those for technical subjects vary from four to five years duration. The Master's Degree is for two years, while a further three years is required for a Doctoral degree (PhD) at university. In addition to the above, the following types of formal learning are currently in operation in Nepal:

**Vocational training (learning).** The history of vocational training (learning) starts in 1930. However, for the purpose of economic development, a 'Specialized Technical and Vocational Education' (STVE) programme was established in 1953 covering Health, Agriculture, Forestry, Home Economics, Industry, Engineering and Administration fields (Wood 1965: 61). The current 'Technical Education and Vocational Training' (CTEVT) is a government run council and its responsibility is to operate vocational training schools while at the same time providing affiliation with private institutions to run vocational training programmes. Its main objective is to
produce basic and middle level skilled manpower for the country's development process. Students - those who fail the SLC examinations and those who are not able to afford further and higher education - normally seek vocational training for better employment. However, the capacity of CTEVT is extremely limited and as a consequence has neither been able to cope with the numbers of student applications nor meet the country's demands. CTEVT training covers various fields such as agriculture, health, construction, mechanics, plumbing, electricity, hotel management, computer and electronics and so on. Currently, the CTEVT is implementing a 'Model Community Technical Education (Annex Programme)' programme in fifteen selected schools of fifteen districts from five development regions. If this Annex programme is successful, it will help in creating employability and adaptability in the country. But there is no provision for further and higher learning after completing the CTEVT.

**The Open University (OU).** The concept of an 'Open University' came into the Nepalese learning field about two decades ago. The Government's Education Commissions recommendations on the importance of OU in the country are only at the policy stage and have never been converted into reality.

**Distance learning.** Distance learning was introduced in 1978 to train primary school teachers by means of Radio Nepal (the Government-owned medium) running special programmes. The current 'Distance Learning Centre' was established in 1993 for the same purpose but still remains at its initial stage.

**Special education.** The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 states that education, health and social security policy shall be adopted for the protection and progress of disabled and handicapped people of the country. Disabled people are the target group of special education programmes; therefore, classified as "physically disabled, retarded, deaf and partial hearing, blind and low sight power, learning disability or inability, communication disability, and multiple disabilities" (NPC 1998: 623). The government has included 'Special Education' as one of the integral part of EFA.
In summary, informal learning, being free of structure and control, is free from censorship as it normally functions from the bottom up. In contrast, non-formal and formal learning, besides being based on the model of control from above, is structured and censored according to the Government needs and aims and it is representative of top-down theory, hence, "[...] the educational (learning) system with respect to the interests of the dominant classes must always take into account the specific services [...]" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 199, in italic is original). However, in the case of Nepal, there is apparently no difference between the formal and non-formal education in terms of their design and function. According to Jarvis (1985: 133):

The term ‘function’ has been traditionally associated with the structural functionalism in sociology [...], in education, there has been a tendency to confuse it with ‘aims’ [...]. By contrast to aim, a function is an event or consequence that occurs after the phenomenon has begun to exist whereas an aim is an intention in the mind of the designer or provider.

For instance, non-formal and formal learning are both supported by the government and funded by donor agencies. The policies coming from above relate to the way government responds to the public needs but they do not necessarily relate to the needs of the people. They are now an extension of globalisation. In addition, if learning becomes a manipulative tool of the elite, it too becomes a vehicle for globalisation. Under these circumstances, the Nepalese non-formal learning is serving the same function as formal learning. The Maoist learning system is also centralised and entrapped in the top-down mode. In reality, learning needs to be people-oriented and related to the requirements and concern of the people and society. In regards to this, Bottomore (1976: viii) writes, "[...] the reproduction of culture through pedagogic action plays in the reproduction of the whole social system" because, "education is being reproductive both socially and culturally" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 54). Besides these, learning from above always sets the state discourse, where the learning in peer groups sets the peoples’ discourse and the peoples’ demands. Adult and community learning traditionally started with the needs of the people. This has customarily been non-formal learning. Thus, non-formal learning needs are higher for provider organisations other than the government, but should remain non-corrupt and unbiased. The NGOs could provide informal and traditional adult learning, as discussed below.
In the context of Nepal, the interesting point is that the Government has vandalised the non-formal learning process along similar lines to those of the formal process i.e. the centre, with the tendency to embrace metazoan policy rather than respond to the needs of the people. Since non-formal learning has always been dictated by the state, in result turned out to be unproductive. As mentioned earlier, learning cascaded from above is narrow and only serves government needs most of the time. By its very nature, the top-down system is unable to address the relevant issues; tradition, culture and religions of the people in general, and Nepal in particular, where donor agencies play a major role in policy processes and practice. In fact, traditional adult learning essentially needs a different method of approach to get the same message across with an alternative learning system catering to the needs of the people, as opposed to making them subject to the demands of the state. Non-formal learning is traditionally based on requirements of local people. Hence, it is necessary to be contextual and localise global thinking into the needs of local context. In this sense, non-formal learning or adult learning and community learning have been encapsulated from a globalised perspective. Since the flow of knowledge is from the west, the policy makers have systematically copied this thinking and have practised it through the top-down model. However, the necessity lies not in copying this globalised system, but rather through the generation of localised knowledge and adoption of this into the policy process, producing a localised network. Nevertheless, some forms of lifelong learning within the communities are non-formal and originate from below, with resources from the people and from their peers. We do need the learning available to us from our peers and this should be run by the local non-government bodies. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977: 196) stated, "pedagogic work whether performed by the School, a Church or a Party has the effect of producing individuals [...]". Non-formal learning is bottom-up as opposed to formal learning which is top-down. Therefore, the best way to conduct the CLC programme is via the local people and organisations, as opposed to the involvement of the Government and UNESCO. However, as mentioned earlier, the concept of the CLC is developed and coordinated by UNESCO and the project is funded by the World Bank, ADB, OECD, the EU and various global donor agencies. It is important to take into account that five decades of foreign development aid have failed in Nepal. Instead of the alleviation of poverty, it has served only to widen the gap between the rich and poor, perpetuating the current Maoist-led civil war in the country. This issue will be discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters.
Donor agencies

As mentioned earlier, 60% of Nepal’s budget is generated from the donor countries and international donor agencies. This percentage is also reflected in the learning sector and currently UNESCO, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Mission to Nepal (UMN), the British Department for International Development (DFID), OECD countries, the World Bank, IMF, ADB and many individual countries have financial investment in the field of non-formal and formal learning. Brusset and Regmi (2002: 9) write:

Total donor funding in Nepal amounts to approximately 60% of the Government development budget, and 40% of total Government expenditure.

As a result, the country’s major development policies, including learning policy and practice, have been deeply influenced by the developed countries and their powerful global donor agencies such as the World Bank, IMF, ADB, and UNESCO and so on. Their lifelong learning policies will be discussed in chapter eight and a list of donor countries and organisations appears in Appendix 3. In regard to this, Pieterse (1995: 59) writes, “[...] major actors in today’s global circumstance are the IMF and World Bank, transnational corporations and regional investment banks; it is easy to acknowledge their influence on the domestic policies of countries [...]”. Because of this, the Nepal Planning Commission’s policies always end up far from Nepal’s fundamental needs, consequently failing to achieve their goals. Freire (1970: 68) writes “[...] to speak a true word is to transform the world.” But there is very little truth in the Nepal Planning Commission’s policy, as most of the agendas are manipulated by donor agencies. Panday (1999: xii) writes:

We do not pay much attention to the ground reality with regard to the position and power of the forces of development as against the interests of the forces of status quo. We forget that a concept needs to be understood and translated in the context of the existing reality of a people for whom it is meant.

If plans and projects are manipulated by donor agencies, there is vulnerability to further deterioration. Nepal has experienced this kind of problem many times. The poor nations normally incorporate the donor countries’ policies into their main policy framework in
order to get funding from them. The dependency of developing countries on donor countries for knowledge, technology and the attainment of wider development goals produce immensely counter-productive results at local level. As the powerful nations resort to power and influence to manipulate weaker nations, the governments of those nations use the same top-down approach to govern. Thus, when voices from below fall on deaf ears, and when people lose hope and unite to gain their lost citizens’ rights, social unrest surges. Nepal’s learning system, policy and practice have also been suffering from this syndrome since 1951. In regards to this, Reed and Reed (1968: 158) write:

Foreign advisors can aid or influence the policy decisions of a developing nation, but they may fail to take enough factors into account or they may unconsciously interject their own value biases, and thereby misdirect the people they intend to help.

One of the major difficulties in educational planning arises from the heavy reliance on foreign aid. No matter how comprehensive the planning may be, most aid-giving agencies tend to insist that their contributions be applied to certain projects.

In the case of Nepal, UNESCO, OECD, EU, the World Bank and ADB are the major donors, and they have always influenced and manipulated the country’s learning system, lifelong learning policy and practice, both during the partyless Panchayat system (1960 – 1990) and the multiparty democracy (1990 – 2002). The same situation prevailed during the period post October 2002, when the King proclaimed executive authority and took national sovereignty into his own hands. There are no doubt these donor organisations and countries have been dictating lifelong learning policy and practice to their client states.

**Nepalese learning policy and practice: a brief review**

**Policy and practice.** Policy is decision, authority and the guiding principle that normally comes in forms of text or discourse and its practice is the action and running through of the policy. According to Ball (1994: 10):

Policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended. Policies are always incomplete in so far as they relate to or map on to the ‘wild profusion’ of local practice. Practice is sophisticated, contingent, complex and unstable.
For the first time in the history of Nepalese learning system, a learning policy was formulated and implemented in 1956 as a part of the 'First Five-year Plan'. Since then, the country has promulgated nine Five-year Plans and one Three-year Plan (1962 - 65). One way or the other, learning policies from the beginning to the present day are theoretically interconnected. In each Plan, abundant stress has been laid on learning, which has always been considered an important factor for the development process, and policies have been written accordingly. As stated earlier, 60% of the national development budget has been donor fed; the national policies have ever since been reflecting the desire of the donor agencies. Thus, the policies can not be regarded as free from the ideology of neocolonialism of the developed world as long as power remains concentrated within the ruling elites, giving them control over the means of production. These policy approaches, therefore, are aimed at consolidating power. Policy and practice issues are discussed throughout the thesis as it progresses.

The Five-year Plans: an overview. The First Five-year Plan (1956 – 1961) mainly concentrated on promoting and publicising the importance of learning in the nation’s development process. The Second Three-year Plan (1962 – 1965) was exceptional, despite being only a three-year plan in duration. Technically, the Second Plan was more mature, with clearer aims and objectives than the First Plan. It not only aimed to promote and publicise learning, but tried to address formal and non-formal learning problems and challenges. The Third Five-year Plan (1965 – 1970) adopted the government’s policy to provide education to all children by 1980 and to develop quality learning in the country. The Plan implemented the ‘Education Development Programmes’ that consisted of primary, secondary and adult education. The Fourth plan (1970 – 1975) incorporated the NESP 1971. It was the first time in the history of formal learning that Nepal had introduced a planned learning system and tried to change the whole mechanism. The Fifth Five-year plan (1975 – 1980) was mainly engaged in completing the process of the NESP. The Sixth Plan (1980 – 1985) primarily concentrated on the continuation of the NESP. In 1984, the Ministry of Education initiated ‘Primary Education Project’ (PEP) in the non-formal and formal learning sectors with loan assistance from the World Bank. The Sixth Plan was more liberal than the Fourth and Fifth Plans in terms of opening private colleges. It came up with a policy that allowed groups or individuals interested in opening private colleges - other than technical colleges delivering subjects such as medicine and
engineering - to do so if the set provisions were met. The Seventh Five-year Plan (1985–1990) emphasised the provision of free formal learning up to standard five and the policy of privatisation. The Plan also had a scheme to open vocational adult learning centres in various parts of the country.

The Eighth Plan (1992–1997) was the first Five-year plan after the restoration of democracy in 1990. It was based on the democratic constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 1990 and its main goals were to develop basic and primary formal learning in view of the national goal of universalisation of primary level learning, and the attainment of a literacy rate of “67% by the year 2000 A. D” (NPC 1992: 468). The main policies of the Ninth Plan (1997–2002) were to develop non-formal and formal learning as a fundamental means for alleviating poverty and to bring substantial improvement in the standard of living through socio-economic well-being, as well as to achieve national progress through proper development of human resources. In addition, the Plan had a programme to make primary level learning gradually compulsory; the implementation of a literacy programme as a national campaign; qualitative development in learning; improvement of vocational training facilities; production of high level manpower; minimisation of social exclusion by increasing female participation in non-formal and formal learning; making learning accessible to disabled, backward and weaker sections of society. The Tenth Plan (2002–2007) contained a strategy to expand and develop primary level learning to meet the national commitment of ‘Education for All’ to which Nepal has been committed. The Plan aims to decentralise the administration of learning to local village and community level. In order to achieve these goals, the Plan has prepared long-term concepts, policies and action policies. This is the plan that has been most affected by the civil war, which has created difficulties in the transformation of policy into practice. All the Five-year Plan will be fully analysed in chapter seven.

The problem context

As mentioned earlier, the process of globalisation, the involvement international donor agencies, the Hindu religion and the caste system have created a mentality of acceptance and dependency. Social exclusion, acute inequalities and poverty have barred access to resources, learning and have discriminated against the lower castes, indigenous
nationalities, women and poor people of the country, which has fuelled and escalated the Maoists People's War. Since the unification of Nepal to the present day, the political structures of the country have failed to address these issues and propelled the Nepalese people towards civil war. The democracy that was restored in 1990 was very fragile and did not give much power to the people. Thus, we can rightly ask "how democratic is democracy" within the Nepalese context? Has it been merely a discourse? Was it just anti-traditional monarchy or anti-traditional eliticism? Or what! Democracy is actually a discourse rather than a reality in Nepal. Hence, in this case, it was simply something manipulated by the elite with the aim of maintaining their control. Thus, the current war in Nepal is a battle of elites and what these elites have been doing to the minds of the people. We can raise the question, are the people really battling for power? It was not actually empowering people. In reality, neither the political scene nor the non-formal and formal learning scene comes from the bottom-up to any large extent, with even the Maoist policy still coming from the top.

On the other hand, Nepalese learning policies are written with emotive slogans and wonderful goals because this is a high level-begging bowl designed by the country's high-level think-tanks. It is mainly based on the donor agencies' and social elites' interests and not on the needs of the Nepalese people. Nepal is a poor country and the "lack of wealth is a major deterrent to speedy improvement of the Nepalese system of education (learning)" (Reed & Reed: 1968: 161, in italic is original). 60% of the nation's budget is derived from foreign aid, consequently; donor agencies and foreign advisors have the ability to manipulate government policies, including learning and its practice, to further their own interests. I found Nepalese learning policy to be a well-written and presented document, containing almost all of the necessary elements that are supposed to be in a modern learning policy, including an action policy and guidelines for its practice.

However, the policy always remains poles apart from ground realities and most of the time plans and projects appear to conclude without achieving their aims and objectives. Policy making and planning is only a starting point. An effective practice is vital towards achieving satisfactory goals. There appears to be no effective and sustainable relationship between the learning policy and practice, in the current state, the civil war does not support the policies, which are ineffective in any case.
From this perspective, diagram 1 illustrates the fields of research (in the square and rectangular boxes) and the dominant forces - globalisation, the Hindu religion, Nepalese social structures and civil war - in circles. As shown in the diagram, donor agencies have intervened both direct and indirect in policy and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal.

Diagram 1: The diagram below illustrates the problem context of the research:

One the one hand, donor organisations and countries have implemented their policy directly into the practice using international and national organisations such as UNESCO and other INGOs and NGOs. On the other hand, they have used indirect intervention (hegemony) in the name of aid to the government. This process is mainly facilitated by the country's social elites i.e. the Hindu upper castes who control the state's resources and policies. In return, the Hindu upper castes have benefited from foreign aid and have been enabled to become rich, leaving the majority of population deprived, poor and oppressed. This kind of corrupt practice has perpetuated the current Maoist-led civil war in the country. In addition, there is a strong cultural resistance to western-oriented learning policy and practice. Hence, in this research, the Hindu religion, social structures and the civil war have become the major players, while globalisation is clearly affecting lifelong
learning policy and practice. These variables will be explored separately in chapters four, five, six, seven and eight.

**Discussion.** It is unfortunate that, despite the hard work and the vast amount of grant and loans the country has received from a range of sources over the years for both formal and non-formal learning, the end results are unsatisfactory. The government developed and put into practice many plans and policies regarding the learning system since 1956 (First Five-year Plan). Despite the exercise of improving and promoting the different aspects of learning, the outcome however was and is not rewarding, which is highlighted in the problem context above. It is important to fathom the causes that prevent the transferral of policies into effective sustainable practice. True causes could be economic, political, social or cultural. In general, one of the major factors stems from the writing of policies by the elite, who control knowledge and are mainly influenced by the donor agencies. These policymakers normally implement the system that has been developed by the donor countries and agencies (for example: NESP 1971, which was developed in the USA) without regard to local and rural realities. Therefore, it is essential to explore the lifelong learning policy and practice and its contribution to generating knowledge and skills at local level, together with their influence on socio-politics and economy.

In addition, because of the civil war, the country’s economic situation is deteriorating day-by-day. The Ninth Five-year Plan ended with very little achievement and what was achieved failed to have any large scale impact. Currently, now the Tenth Plan is supposed to be in full swing but the government is facing difficulties in effecting its practice in the field. The Tenth Plan and EFA programme in Nepal are struggling against heavy odds to bridge the gender disparity in primary and secondary level education by 2005, this despite the ‘Women’s Education Section’ providing incentives and scholarships for girls. The Government is spending a large portion of donations and aid money on purchasing arms and ammunition. If the state’s situation remains as it is, then the Tenth Plan’s targets of ‘eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005’ will be very difficult to achieve. We have already seen that the ‘Jomtien 1990 declaration’ was not effectively put into practice in Nepal and, currently, the nation-state is suffering from the civil war which does not make it any easier to implement the policy. Thus, the Tenth
Plan’s goals are highly unlikely to be achieved. It is important to find out how the lifelong learning policy and practice will achieve its goals in a situation of civil war.

Besides these factors, one of the main causes of the current civil war is that the Hindu religion and the concept of Nepal as a Hindu state has been retained by the 1990 Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, where the elite Brahmins control knowledge and the learning process. The elite manipulate and influence the country’s learning policy and practice. Thus, it is vital to investigate the effects of the Hindu religion and the civil war upon the lifelong learning policy and practice.

As discussed earlier, currently there are two sets of power fronts in Nepal: the Monarchy - the old regime - and the CPN (Maoist), the self-declared new regime. Ideologically, the nation-state is divided into two parts with two sets of policies and two sets of conflicting ideas resulting in civil war. I am trying to understand how lifelong learning policy and practice are functioning in the current complex context. It is easy to talk about policies when there is a democratic polity and a politically stable society. On the contrary, it will become much more problematic when the nation is in the state of civil war. Therefore, in this research, I will also explore and analyse the civil war and its effects on the process of lifelong learning policy and practice. Lifelong learning cannot only provide knowledge to solve the social problems of Nepal; it is also a survival kit in this era of globalisation. We need to develop a culture of lifelong learning in order both to live and to protect against the negative impact of globalisation. This is an ongoing process. Lifelong learning is the only means by which the ongoing demands for skills and knowledge can be addressed. Currently, the lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal is not effectively addressing these issues. Therefore, in order to investigate the relationship between the Nepalese lifelong learning policy, practice and its influence on social and cultural processes in the context of the civil war, the following specific research questions have been generated.

Specific research questions:

1. Who controls the lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal and how?

2. How and why do globalisation (donor countries and agencies) and Nepalese social elites/policy makers manipulate the lifelong learning policy and practice?
3 How has the foreign lifelong learning policy and practice affected the local indigenous lifelong learning, knowledge, culture, tradition and religion?

4 How does the lifelong learning policy and practice generate knowledge and skills at local level and how do they contribute to the socio-political construction?

5 How does the lifelong learning policy and practice address the issues of social exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity?

6 How and why does the Hindu religion and the civil war affect the lifelong learning policy and practice?

7 How and why are local knowledge, culture, tradition and religion resisting and rejecting the western policy and practice of lifelong learning?

8 Why have the lifelong learning initiatives and trials failed?

Conclusion

Nepal is the only Hindu state in the world. As a Hindu nation, social exclusion of lower castes and marginalisation and domination of women are normal practice although the constitution claims equality for all. In the Hindu state, according to the Hindu norms and values, equality is impossible. Hence, the policy and practice does nothing to minimise the vast gulf between higher and lower castes in Nepal. Therefore, policy remains forever on paper and is never transformed into practice.

In addition, Nepal is a landlocked, isolated, semi-colonial, multicultural and multi-ethnic country engulfed by a Maoist-led civil war. It is also one of the poorest countries of the world. Despite the five decades of foreign aid, the gap between the rich and the poor is widening. The country’s development programmes, including those aimed at poverty alleviation and the improvement of the learning system, have totally failed. Only a handful of elite individuals became excessively rich because of the misuse of foreign aid while the majority of the population remain poor. According to Government records, 38% of population are living below the poverty line. The CPN (Maoist) estimate is higher, at 72%. In consequence, Nepalese society is divided into the oppressed and the oppressor classes. The country’s social structure maintains the characteristics of a feudal society where the means of production are owned by the reactionary class. Feudalism and all its sponsored
institutions are in negation with the people making it the chief form of contradiction. The lifelong learning process, along with learning policy and practice, has been ineffective due to elite’s control over the knowledge system and its directional flow. Thus, the specific questions that have been generated from the general one are not exhaustive but will provide the means by which I aim to explore the main issues. Therefore, to evolve the issues further, the processes of globalisation, glocalisation and localisation will be covered in chapter four; the Nepalese social structure in chapter five; the civil war in chapter six, while Nepalese and donor agencies learning policies will be discussed in chapters seven and eight. In order to achieve this, a theoretical/analytical framework is required to underpin the issues, and this I have presented in chapter three.
CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL/ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK TO ANALYSE THE SOCIO-POLITICAL STUDY OF LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY AND PRACTICE IN NEPAL

In the preceding chapter I described the socio-political problems and interrelationship between policy and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal. This chapter provides the theoretical/analytical framework to analyse these issues. This analytical framework is based on the concept of power over political, economic and social control. It raises questions common to the entire study in order to facilitate the analysis of who participates in what, and why, and how. For example: who decides what and how? Who dominates or controls the decision-making process and how? Who benefits, how much and why? Who contributes, how much and why? Why have five decades of foreign aid failed to change the face of Nepal? Why have oppressed people taken up arms in the cause of equality? Why have more than 10,000 people been killed in the name of the so-called Maoist-led civil war? If social inequalities and conflict issues such as oppressor and oppressed, power, domination, benefits and surplus values, discrimination, etc., are to be explored, then 'Marxist social theory' is more germane to the argument than other social theories. Regarding this, Youngman (2000: 239) writes:

[...] an undogmatic and creative conception of Marxism that can address new realities and theoretical developments, and provide an outline of Marxist political economy which focused on a number of key concepts: historical materialism, the mode of production, class, capitalism, imperialism, social revolution, socialism, the state, the party, consciousness, ideology and hegemony. I argued that these concepts provided the basis for a distinctive type of analysis which examines the relationship between the mode of economic organisation on the one hand and social and political phenomena on the other.
Therefore, in order to explore these sociologically related inequalities and civil war issues, I have chosen ‘Marxist social theory’. As “the analytical value of Marxism remains, and it is tenable to utilise the political economy approach based on Marxist theory as a means of explaining the dynamics of semi-capitalist society such as Nepal [...]” (Youngman 2000: 20, in italic is original). Further, the logic and reason behind choosing ‘Marxist social theory’ is fully discussed throughout the chapter. In this thesis, normally lifelong learning policy and practice as well the question of access and control over the learning system have been taken as key concepts in analysing oppression, social exclusion, and marginalisation and power relations among the different strata of society. Thus, in this chapter, in order to evolve the theory, I will briefly discuss ‘classical Marxism’ as a background in order to proceed into ‘neo-Marxist perspective’, particularly Youngman’s theories of dependency, the analysis of concepts of power and approaches to studying the power relations and conflicts. In addition, I will also discuss Freire’s ‘adult learning and power’ and Lukes’s ‘three dimensional power’ followed by the Foucauldian concept of discourse analysis on lifelong leaning policy and practice. The chapter concludes by drawing a contextual basis for the analysis of information obtained through field research.

Theoretical/analytical framework

In the process of research, theory is a route map that leads the researcher to the destination towards which he/she is aiming. Theoretical concepts and understanding guide the researcher in where, what, why and how to look for answers to their questions and an analytical framework is a heuristic tool that has been designed to analyse the relevant research issues. The theoretical/analytical framework used in this research is derived from my social background and understanding of the contemporary world, work experiences, field research and theoretical background. Thus, this study aims to use ‘Marxist social theory’ as the theoretical and analytical framework to look into the issues of lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal; especially, in the current situation where the country is enveloped in the Maoist-led civil war and the process of globalisation. In this regard Youngman (2000: 11) writes:
Marxism is still a viable and creative social theory which can provide powerful tools of analysis for research into contemporary capitalist society, and in particular for the study of adult education within its social context.

Therefore, in order to understand the civil war and inner social structures of Nepal, a classical Marxist position is ideal and a neo-Marxist perspective is more effective for wider phenomena such as globalisation and glocalisation. However, the Nepalese socio-political situation is complex and it is not possible to analyse it by single theoretical framework. On the one hand, "Nepal is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country where bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes along with foreign monopoly capitalism have been ruthlessly exploiting and suppressing the people" (CPN (UML) 1993/1998: 2). According to Marx (1935: 377) "the economic structure of capitalistic society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society". In this type of circumstance, "the political analysis of adult education from the perspective of Marxist political economy [...] seeks to investigate [...] the distribution of power in society, and to the contending interests and values of different classes and social groups" (Youngman 2000: 211-212). On the other hand, the country is a member of the WTO and is already in the process of globalisation, thus a neo-Marxist approach will be best suited. Lifelong learning will be analysed through both of these perspectives. However, lifelong learning is a depoliticised form of adult education. "[...] it is argued that the conceptual tools of Marxist political economy are not outdated but remain of practical use for analysing the [...] adult education [...]" (Youngman 2000: 29).

Marxism is dynamic, based on the materialistic interpretation of the universe and society; the role and function of Marxism changes according to the time and space. Its analysis of the world and its inhabitants depend on contemporary realities. Though the analysis and explanation of Marx are still valid, the caste system and religion precede class characteristics. As mentioned above, there are broadly two streams of the Marxist approach, namely classical Marxist and neo-Marxist. Although there are some methodological variations, both approaches have their foundation in Marxism. A description of each approach is given below.

**Classical Marxism.** The 'classical Marxist approach' is based on 'historical and dialectical materialism'. "Materialist dialectics is the foundation of Marxist method of
analysis of a social phenomenon" (Bhattarai 2003: 6). In general terms for Marx and Engels, 'historical materialism' is historical and concerns social and economic change and provides the method of analysis. Marx and Engels defined 'dialectical materialism' as a 'contradiction and resolution', the fundamental general law for nature, society and thought. "Marx employed the dialectical method as the basis of historical materialism, focusing exclusively on socioeconomic change and on nature by Engels" (Jary and Jary 2000: 154). According to Bhattarai (2003: 17):

By the very nature of its being a 'materialist' philosophy and its method of seeing things in 'dialectical' relations the concept of physical space is immanent and any form of 'determinism' whether of natural or economic, is ruled out in the scheme of social development as perceived in the Marxist framework.

Marx is described as an economic determinist because he argued that in any society those who own the means of production determine virtually all the characteristics of that society. This group uses wealth to control all social institutions such as government, education, law, science, the arts and the media. With respect to government policy, the wealthy use their power to assure that government operates in their interests. The wealthy can also control policy indirectly by using their wealth either to put others in places of power to do their bidding or to influence those who are in positions of power. Thus, Marx believed strongly that the government is inevitably a tool of rich people. He sees it is necessary to eliminate the economic inequality and ensure the establishment of common ownership of the means of production by means of working class power. Marx (1859/1935: 371-372) wrote:

In the social production of their means of existence men enter into definite, necessary relations which are independent of their will, productive relationships which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The aggregate of these productive relationships constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis on which a juridical and political superstructure arises, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of the material means of existence conditions the whole process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development the material productive forces of society come into contradiction with the existing productive relationships, or, what is but a legal expression for these, with the property
relationships within which they had moved before. From forms of development of the productive forces these relationships are transformed into their fetters. Then an epoch of social revolution opens. With the change in the economic foundation the whole vast superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.

This is called the theory of ‘political economy’ or the ‘classical Marxist approach’, “the key to understanding the various dimensions of social reality” (Youngman 2000: 12). This theoretical proposition was presented by Marx in 1859, in ‘Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy’. In addition, Youngman (ibid: 15) writes:

Thus, within the tradition of Marxist political economy, the working class is identified as the historical agent with the strategic location in the economy and the material interest to carry out the revolution that will end capitalist society and create a new stage of social development.

In the Nepalese context, it can be contested whether the class struggle has been sufficiently potent to justify an all-out armed struggle against the suppressing domestic reactionary class. The substructures and superstructure of the country and the transnational donor agencies have continuously exploited this weakness for more than 250 years and five decades respectively. Marx and Engels highlighted this in the following way in ‘The German Ideology’:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time the ruling intellectual force. The class has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production. (Marx and Engels 1970: 64, cited in Youngman 2000: 17).

In accordance with the classical Marxist theory we can put the country's superstructure and the domestic rich class in the category of bourgeoisie because they possess capital-based power. For of this very reason, the poor are suppressed and exploited by the rich and capitalist class. These two groups have fundamentally opposing interests and unequal power in society. Taking account of these, Marx developed theories that proletariat could revolt ‘for a fair distribution of wealth and power from bourgeoisie’. In the context of Nepal; peasants, workers, middle class workers, indigenous nationalities, untouchables (lower castes) and women have been fighting since 1996 ‘for a fair distribution of wealth
and power from the bourgeoisie’. More than 4,000 Maoists have already sacrificed their lives for this purpose.

In summary, ‘classical Marxist theory’ or “Marxist political economy [...] is a general social theory which provides the concepts and methodology for the study of particular activities in society, such as adult education” (Youngman 2000: 18). Further Youngman (ibid: 32) writes:

Since the early days of Marxism there has been a close connection between Marxist theory and the practice of adult education. In 1847, in Brussels, Marx himself delivered a course of lectures on wage labour and capital to the German Workers’ Education Association, [...].

Following the Second World War, Marxist ideas have taken a new direction. “The first specific application of Marxist ideas within development studies [...] emerged after 1945, however, was in dependency theory [...] has been characterised as ‘neo-Marxist’ because of its departure from earlier Marxist position” (Youngman 2000: 84).

Neo-Marxist approach. As mentioned above, this is also-called the ‘dependency theory’, which is defined as the development of underdevelopment or “development in the core capitalist countries as having underdeveloped the Third World and blocked its possibilities for development” (Youngman 2000: 84). Paul Baran worked within a neo-Marxist approach in late1950s followed by Andre Gunder Frank in the 1970s. Frank developed this concept further writing a famous essay entitled ‘The Development of Underdevelopment’. Bhattrai (2003: 8) writes:

The neo-Marxist approach or the ‘dependency theory’ has been the most influential theory of underdevelopment in the recent years. It was Baran who in a direct response to the neo-classicist apologetics of colonialism in the field of the theory of economic development during the tumultuous years of ‘cold war’ laid the foundation of a radical theory of underdevelopment which was brought to its ‘pristine glory’ as ‘dependency theory’ by Frank.
According to Baran, economic imperialism creates surplus in commerce, industries, agriculture and so on, which are extracted from the periphery to the centre thus blocking the accumulation of capital in the periphery. “In consequence, industrial development in the periphery, undertaken by a domestic capitalist class, was unlikely to happen” (Youngman 2000: 60). In the context of Nepal, the domestic bourgeois use their control over the state authority to maintain the status quo and facilitate foreign investment. Youngman (2000: 60) states:

Baran concluded that a socialist revolution and disengagement from the world capitalist economy would be needed to enable full socio-economic development to take place in the Third World.

Further, Frank highlighted the relationship between the centre and the peripheral countries of the world. He developed this thinking “[...] from the perspective of his historical analysis of the experience of Latin America” (Youngman 2000: 61). His theory was based on the capitalist countries’ penetration of Latin America in the sixteenth century, thereby establishing colonial rule and a trading system which facilitated their export and import trades, as a consequence of which the peripheral countries exported cheap primary products and imported expensive manufactured goods. This type of imbalanced export and import trading surplus has led to the underdevelopment of the Third World.

Frank argued that the present situation of poverty and low productivity in the countries of the Third World had been produced historically by their subordination into the world market, and was not an original condition resulting from their internal characteristics. (Youngman 2000: 61).

According to this theory, countries in the third world are underdeveloped because of the actions of developed countries, who appropriated resources for their own benefit and controlled the power over underdeveloped countries. The theory claims that the activities of the industrialised countries keep the poor nations in a dependent position rather than enabling them to develop on their own. Youngman (2000: 61-62) writes:

Frank identified the dominant capitalist class in the periphery as ‘comprador’ – that is collaborationist. Its alliance with foreign capital meant that the dependent
relation of Third World countries would be perpetuated. [...] His analysis was thus similar to Baran's, with some difference of emphasis – for example, on the extent of capitalist penetration of pre-capitalist modes of production. Like Baran, Frank reached the political conclusion that a socialist revolution was required.

In addition, Immanuel Wallerstein's 'World -System' theory, divided the world into three major interrelated groups such as 'centre or core', 'semi-peripheral' and 'peripheral'. The USA, Japan, the UK, Germany and so on (mainly the OECD countries) form the 'centre or core' group. We can take Sri Lanka and Nepal as an example of 'semi-peripheral' and 'peripheral' respectively. According to the world-system theory, the relations between core countries and peripheral countries are imperialistic. Core countries' development and continued economic growth occur at the expense of peripheral and semi-peripheral countries' resources. Core countries use peripheral countries as sources of cheap raw materials and, increasingly, cheap labour. Their main objective of investment is to make profits for core countries and not to assist peripheral countries in reality. In particularly the transnational corporations of the core countries generate a large proportion of their profits in peripheral countries. The First World countries, particularly the USA, are very much interested in creating political, social and economic chaos in peripheral and semi-peripheral countries purely for their self-interest. Due to these actions, peripheral and semi-peripheral countries are suffering from the underdevelopment syndrome where people are dying from hunger, diseases and civil war, as in the case of Nepal and Sri Lanka. In these countries, the gap between the rich and poor is very great with the majority of people poor and socially excluded. Therefore, from the standpoint of 'world-system' theory, foreign aid, loans from the World Bank, IMF, and ADB and so on are all forms of imperialism because they require the recipient to buy goods and supplies from the loaning country and to follow certain economic and political policies. Thus, Frank (1970: 55) writes:

[...] an alternative policy for economic development and cultural change will have to be politically ever more revolutionary and help the peoples of underdeveloped countries to take destruction of this structure and the development of another system into their own hand.

In summary, "the main conclusion of dependency analysis was that development must be based on a socialist revolution and disengagement from the world capitalist market"
For these reasons, the majority of the people from semi-peripheral and peripheral countries are attracted to the neo-Marxist philosophy. Thus, there are different views on the nature of society and how it should develop. As mentioned above, some of these questions address aspects of the capitalist socioeconomic order and point to the importance of an adult education dimension, because they seek to change people’s ideas about a society where adult education plays a vital role.

**Dependency theory and adult education.** According to Youngman (2000: 65), amongst Freire’s many books the three books which were published in English in the 1970s namely: “Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970), Cultural Action for Freedom (1972) and Education for Critical Consciousness (1974)” highlighted his concept of dependency theory and adult education. In addition, Youngman (ibid: 65) writes, “[...] and through his travels under the aegis of the World Council of Churches, Freire disseminated his ideas to the English-speaking world in the early 1970s.” Youngman (ibid: 65) further writes:

The most important reference point for dependency approaches within adult education was the early work of Paulo Freire. The intellectual milieu from which Freire emerged, the Latin America of the 1960s, was the source of the original thinking about the concept of dependency. Freire’s practical activity in adult literacy and rural extension in Brazil and Chile in the 1960s was conceived in terms of challenging the underdevelopment produced by dependency. [...] Freire stressed that his pedagogy had its roots in the Third World, specifically in the experience of South America, where colonialism had resulted in economic dependency.

Freire (1972b: 61-62) wrote:

Latin American societies are [...] lack of internal markets, since their economy is controlled from the outside; by the exportation of raw materials and importation of manufactured goods, without a voice in either process; by a precarious and selective educational system whose schools are an instrument of maintaining the status quo; by high percentages of illiteracy and disease, including the naively named ‘tropical diseases’ which are really diseases of underdevelopment and dependence; [...].

According to Freire, colonisation by European countries had created a ‘cultural invasion’ in the Third World countries, which is a form of dependency on which society becomes
dependent. Thus, Freire (1972: 21) argued that "the adult literacy process as cultural action for freedom" from dependency. We can take an example of it from Freire (1974: 81 – 84) "A Culture Circle in Action – Generative Words, WEALTH (riqueza). Aspects for discussion: Brazil and the universal dimension" which is given below:


The above aspect for discussion has reflected that Freire’s adult education and literacy is mainly targeted to liberate oppressed and marginalised people from dependent society. Thus, Youngman (2000: 66) writes:

It is clear that dependency theory was an important feature of Freire’s early work; [...] Hence dependency theory, through Freire and other sources, was one of the intellectual influences on thinking about adult education and development in the 1970s.

In addition, Youngman (2000: 46, 47, 48) has adapted the following framework for the political economy of adult education in peripheral capitalism:

1. Adult education activities take place within a structural context shaped by the mode of production and its class relations. The study of adult education in a specific context must therefore provide an analysis of the development of the capitalist mode of production and its relation to the pre-capitalist mode of production. It must also provide an analysis of the changing class structure and the processes of class formation. It is assumed that this analysis will give the structural background for explaining developments within the field of adult education.

2. The manner and extent to which the mode of production and the class relationships have influenced particular aspects of adult education constitute an area of investigation. It is assumed that these factors have a significant impact on adult education activities, but also that these activities have a relative autonomy from the economic basis of society, and can influence its development.
3. The dominance of the capitalist mode of production at the world level means that socioeconomic development in peripheral capitalist countries [...] must be located within the context of the global political economy. It is assumed that the dynamics of imperialism have an impact on the policies and practices of adult education.

4. Different classes have different interests, and conflicts arise as they pursue these interests. It is assumed that these conflicts have effects on the nature and consequences of adult education at very level, including policies, organisation and curricula.

5. Besides the relations of class, there are other important social inequalities, especially those based on gender, ethnicity and race. It is assumed that these inequalities have profound influences on adult education and its outcomes, including in ways which interact with those derived from class relations.

6. The conflicts within society that arise from class differences and other social inequalities are reflected in the state, which is a significant provider of adult education. It is assumed that the formation, implementation and outcomes of public policies on adult education can be meaningfully analysed in terms of how they relate to the inequalities in society.

7. Intellectual and cultural life is shaped by the capitalist mode of production and the contestation between different classes and groups in society over the legitimacy of the existing socioeconomic order. It is assumed that adult education provided by the state and the organisations of civil society constitutes an area in which struggles for ideological hegemony are carried out.

As Nepal is a peripheral, semi-feudal and semi-capitalist country, I have considered Youngman's (2000: 46) "the framework for the political economy of adult education in peripheral capitalism" to analyse 'the lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal'.

Marxist social theory and power relations. As mentioned earlier in chapter two, power means the ability to affect others. In reality, power is more than that and is complex as there are many concepts and views on power. Different philosophers, sociologists and educationists perceived and defined power in different ways. Russell (1986: 19) expressed that "power may be defined as the production of intended effects [...] it is easy to say, roughly, that A has more power then B, if A achieves many intended effects and B only a few". In contrast, Lukes (2005: 12) argues, "it was a mistake to define power by 'saying' that A exercise power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests".
Because Lukes (2005: 124) states "[...] the victims of domination are to be seen as tactical and strategic actors, who dissemble in order to survive [...]". Thus, power not only comes from the top, it also comes from the bottom as well and not only A affects B, B also affects A. In the case of authority power is legitimised to A then A possesses legitimate power and B accepts the idea of A. In other words, people accept the idea that it is proper for the individual with authority to have power. Hence, they will do what that person wants them to do for the collective interest such as:

The 'power of A over B is, in its legitimised form, the "right" of A, as a decision-making unit involved in collective process, to make decisions which take precedence over those of B, in the interest of the effectiveness of the collective operation as a whole' (Parson 1967: 318, cited in Lukes 2005: 31).

Regarding to this power debate, Lukes (ibid: 29, 38) has presented three views of power:

**One-Dimensional View of Power:**
Focus on (a) behaviour (b) decision-making (c) (key) issues (d) observable (overt) conflict (e) (subject) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation.

**Two-Dimensional View of Power:** (Qualified) critique of behavioural focus
Focus on (a) decision-making and nondecision-making (b) issues and potential issues (c) observable (overt or covert) conflict (d) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances

**Three-Dimensional View of Power:** Critique of behavioural focus
Focus on (a) decision-making and control over political agenda (not necessary through decisions) (b) issues and potential issues (c) observable (overt or covert), and latent conflict (d) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances

In brief, [...] the one-dimensional view of power presupposes a liberal conception of interests, the two-dimensional view a reformist conception, and three-dimensional view a radical conception. ([...] any view of power rests on some normatively specific conception of interests).

According to Marx (1867/1935: 375) “[...] money is changed into capital; [...] the accumulation of capital presupposes surplus-value; surplus-value presupposes the pre-existence of considerable masses of capital and of labour-power in the hands of producers

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of commodities”. Mclellan (1995: xvii) writes, “Marx is very strong on the dehumanizing effects of money [...]. [...] money was the supreme representative of social power in capital society [...].” Thus, Marx saw wealth and power as essentially the same and it is a collective product “[...] not a personal, it is a social power” (Marx 1848/1935: 39). Further Marx (1867/1935: 377) explained, capitalists dominate the labour in bourgeois society and in the communist society labour dominates the capitalist. In reference to this notion, Weber (1986: 28) argued “domination constitutes a special case of power [...]. Not every position of economic power, however, represents domination [...]. Nor does domination utilize in every case economic power for its foundation and maintenance”. Lukes (2005: 26) writes, for Weber, “power was the probability of individuals realizing their wills despite the resistance of others”. Jarvis (1985: 10) states, “Weber (1930) suggested that capitalism itself merged as a result of the Calvinist ethic, while elsewhere he [...] claimed that power resided in class, status and party, so that Marx’s analysis of power was too narrow”. According to Lukes (2005: 12) “power as domination by any means is only one species of power”.

In Freire’s concept of ‘oppressor, oppressed and liberation’, we can clearly see the involvement of dual directional power i.e. oppressors’ power over oppressed and oppressed peoples’ power to liberate themselves from oppression. In this sense, Freire’s view on power is that it is not only suppressive and one-directional, it can be more than that involving resist once and fighting back in order to achieve liberation, because “freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift” (Freire 1970/1996: 29). In this case, power also comes from the opposite direction, normally from the oppressed and it will be bottom up. In regards to Freire’s concept of power, Giroux (1985: xix) writes, “Freire provides one of the most dialectical notions of power in contemporary social theory. Power is viewed as both a negative and positive forces [...] and its mode of operation is always more than simply repressive”.

According to Foucault, power is an important variable that circulates within society and everyone has a right to have the power to protect oneself and live in society with dignity and respect. Power is an integral part of civil society. It plays a vital role in both social
construction and destruction. It is not only the prerogative of the rulers and powerful classes of society; it is available to every single member of society as well. Layder (1994: 48) writes:

As we shall see, particularly in the discussion of Foucault's work, power is much more fragmented, dispersed and localised. Power in this sense is not 'caused' by some central mechanism like the economy, the class system or the state.

Youngman (2000: 23) further highlighted Foucault's concept of power in the following way:

Michel Foucault, who has argued that power is not located in relations between classes or in a central point, such as the state, but is 'decentred', diffused throughout society in many different forms.

With regard to this notion, Olssen (2002: 8) cites Foucault's conception of power written by Sawicki (1991: 20-21) in his unpublished paper "[...] that power is exercised rather than possessed; [...] that power is productive, as well as repressive; and [...] that power arises from the bottom up" rather than top down.

Considering Foucault's conception of power, Lukes (2005: 92) cited (Hindess 1996: 149-58) that "if Foucault is right, then we must abandon 'the emancipatory ideal of a society in which individuals are free from the negative effects of power' [...]" and Lukes (2005: 92) writes, "if all this is so, then Foucault's view of power is indeed a very radical view. But is it so?". In this sense, "Foucault's approach has been said to reveal a 'fourth dimension' of power" (ibid: 88).

As discussed above, in general, there are different forms of power i.e. social, political, religious, intellectual, economic, military, democratic, proletariat and so on. It is often said that power should be protected and distanced from abuse. But, one thing is very clear: that power plays an important role in society and without it, society become static and social change and mobility very rarely take place. In regards to this, Parsons (1967: 299,) writes, that we must "treat power as a specific mechanism operating to bring about changes in the
action of other units, individual or collective, in the process of social interaction” (cited in Lukes 2005: 31).

According to Marx, in industrial societies, the bourgeoisie uses its power to assure that all elements of the social structure and ideology support its continued ownership of the means of production. The proletariat, in contrast, has an interest in change. Marx saw these two groups as having fundamentally opposing interests as well as very unequal power that often lead to conflict, because “power is one of those concepts which is ineradicably value dependent” (Lukes 2005: 30). In consequence, “violence appears where power is in jeopardy […]” (Arendt 1970: 56, cited in Lukes 2005: 34).

In the field of learning, Freire (1970/1996: 49, 61) wrote, “the correct learning method lies in dialogue. Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers” (in italic is original) where learners will participate equally in the process of teaching and learning in the form of “[...] problem posing education [...]” (ibid: 64) from where “[...] people develop their power [...]”. That meant, Freire (ibid: 64) expressed:

[…] people perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation (in italic is original).

In a similar way, in the practice of lifelong learning, senior citizens, parents, teachers, tutors, adults, the young, children and students use the teaching and learning processes at home (informal), at work (informal and non-formal) and learning organisations (non-formal and formal) which generate the knowledge that empowers the individual. In this sense, the knowledge and power enables him/her to critically analyse the society, his/her position (class and caste divisions) and inequalities. After examining all these issues, individuals will desire change which initiates conflict. Thus, Marxist social theory and “the political economy approach argues that the existence of class divisions, conditions social and political phenomena, and that class conflict is the major engine of social change” (Youngman 2000: 14).
Marxist social theory and conflict. In general, conflict is the opposite of peace. Conflict is an active stage of disagreement between people with opposing opinions and principles. According to Upreti (2002: 44):

Conflict can refer to a debate or contest; a disagreement, argument, dispute, quarrel; a struggle, battle or confrontation; or a state of unrest, turmoil, chaos, violence and so on.

Conflict could be an integral part of the human condition and may be part of human society. It can occur between individuals, families, castes, ethnic groups, religions, genders, communities, societies and nation-states. Many views conflict and are destructive, but in reality they can be both destructive and constructive. They can be destructive if conflict goes beyond control and becomes unmanageable; otherwise conflict brings changes in society, which counts as constructive conflict. There are many factors, such as oppression, exclusion, marginalisation and globalisation that may initiate conflicts in society.

Marx has probably had more influence over conflict theory than any other sociologist. Marx’s theories concerning the ownership of the means of production and concerning the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are very important. According to Marx ‘a mode of production is a mode of life’. Marx saw ‘classes as aggregates of people who are in the same relationship to the means and relationships of production.’ Capitalist society is built upon a conflict of interests between capital and wage labour. ‘[…] the interests of capital and the interests of wage labour are diametrically opposed (Marx 1891: 64). Ownership of resources is an ultimate source of social and economic contradictions. People live under economic conditions of existence that separate their life, interests and culture from those of other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the other groups. In society, dominant class or social elites have control over the production, resources and distribution including the source of knowledge. Thus, Freire (1970/1996: 36-37) stated:

The pedagogy of the oppressed, as a humanist and libertarian pedagogy, has two distinct stages. In the first stage this confrontation occurs through the change in the way the oppressed perceive the world of oppression; in the second stage, through
the expulsion of the myths created and developed in the old order, which like spectres haunt the new structure emerging from the revolutionary transformation.

According to the Marxist philosophy, if the ruling class’s, social elites’ or capitalist’s oppression become unbearable then the proletariat finally attempts to overcome such oppression. At this stage the proletarians become conscious of themselves as a class and unite for conflict to change ‘the mode of production and life’. The following diagram 2 has illustrated the mode of production, surplus value and class contradiction of Nepal.

Diagram 2: Production, surplus value and class contradiction in Nepalese context:

Mode of production of Nepal in general, and the field of lifelong learning in particular, have been under the control of feudal, bureaucratic comprador bourgeois classes along with the global donor agencies’ monopoly in collaboration with the Indian and Chinese opportunist neighbours. It is precisely against these reactionary forces that the oppressed people have been fighting.
Foucauldian discourse analysis: lifelong learning policy and practice

The lifelong learning ideas of the ruling elite represent the dominant discourse. Following which, it is obvious that the extant policy represents the point of view of the elites whether in local, national or global context, because they dominate the discourse. The appeal of their ideas is represented in policy and strategy approaches. Thus, Foucault’s ‘discourse analysis’ will be used to analyse the policy documents. According to Foucault (1969/1972: 51, 54):

[...] discourse must establish in order to speak of this or that object, in order to deal with them, name them, analyse them, classify them, explain them, etc. These relations characterize not the language (langue) used by discourse, nor the circumstances in which it is deployed, but discourse itself as a practice. [...] practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. [...] It is this ‘more’ that we must reveal and describe.

Policy as discourse is by nature more related with ‘top down’ and policy as text is for ‘bottom up’ approach. Regardless of their approach, malpractice of policy can create “risk society” (Beck 1986/ 1992), “ambivalence” (Bauman 1991) and “conflict” (Barber 2003: 155).

Trowler (1998: 78) writes, “policy as text stresses the importance of social agency, of struggle and compromise, and [...] understanding how policy is ‘read’”. In the context of policy as discourse, where the language (speech, talk), or other forms of communiqué (poster) will be used in expressing the ideas. Ball’s Foucauldian concept of discourse which Griffin (1998: 28) cited in the following way:

[...] we need to appreciate the way in which policy ensembles, collections of related policies, exercise power through a production of ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’, as discourse. Discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak [...] Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention (Ball 1994:21)
Griffin (1998: 28) writes, the “Foucauldian concept of discourse is an alternative way of approaching policy”. As mentioned earlier, policy normally comes in the forms of either text or discourse: “these two sources, taken together, provide a powerful tool for investigating the function of rhetoric in relation to the policy process of lifelong learning” (ibid: 23). According to Aristotle (1975: xi) “rhetoric, in the general sense of the use of language in such a manner as to impress the hearers and influence them for or against a certain course of action, [...]” (cited in Griffin 1998: 23).

Lifelong learning: policy concept and practice

The concept of policy is more complex than the people perceive, and implementation into practice becomes more complex if policy does not match with ground realities. There is a general feeling that policy is a thing, a piece of paper or statement for practice that is the tone perceived by policy makers and planners. If we interpret policy and practice in this way then policy and practice become too narrow. Policy process must be based on ground realities and practice needs be effective and dynamic rather than static. According to Trowler (1998: 49), dynamism comes from a number of sources that are listed below:

- There is usually conflict among those who make policy, as well as those who put it into practice, about what the important issues or problems for policy are and about the desired goals.

- Interpreting policy is an active process: policy statements are almost always subject to multiple interpretations depending upon the standpoints of the people doing the interpretive ‘work’.

- The practice of policy on the ground is extremely complex, both that being ‘described’ by policy and intended to put policy into effect. Simple policy descriptions of practice do not capture its multiplicity and complexity, and the implementation of policy in practice almost always means outcomes differ from policy-makers’ intentions (which were, anyway, always multiple and often contradictory).

There are different types of policies such as public policy, social policy and so on. One country’s policy will be different from another’s. The majority of countries have not considered learning as social capital and not included it in their social policy. Social
capital is interconnected with various social norms and values. Neither society nor social
capital is independent. "... as social capital, made up of social obligations
('connection'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital [...] (Bourdieu 1997: 47). Because of this, social capital is a very important resource that plays
a vital role in creating a prosperous society. The Nepalese government has considered
lifelong learning as one of the elements of social service and social security. Preece (2001:
176) writes:

Learning therefore is also potentially a mechanism for generating broad social
values, defined as social capital. Social capital is said to complement the human
capital of employability skills and is becoming the rationale for developing learning
opportunities that may not have immediate functional goals or economic value.
Social capital is seen as a means for regenerating citizenship attitudes and
behaviours by stimulating a sense of community.

Therefore, here, I am focusing mainly on 'social policy', its concept and practice. Many
sociologists have expressed their views on difficulties in defining 'social policy', as Hill
and Bramley (1986: 17) also acknowledged that "the definition of social policy in a
theoretically coherent way is a more difficult task than might have been expected". Further, Hill and Bramley (1986: 8) write:

[... ] the social administration tradition offers us the following criteria to help define
and distinguish social policy: 1) positive attempts to promote the well-being of
individuals/society, including compensation for 'diswelfares' imposed by the
economic system; 2) the diversion of resources to and promotion of the care of
dependent groups subject to specific contingencies of life; 3) more general
redistribution of resources according to moral criteria; 4) the promotion of
altruism, through giving wider opportunities for its expression; 5) similarly, the
promotion of community.

In my assumption, 'social policy' is a proper plan and action to provide social services to
the members of society. Due to this obvious reason, it is important to find out the current
state of social service and security of Nepal. The current economic, social and political
climate poses many challenges to the country. There are a number of key factors having an
impact on the lifelong learning process. Seven years of civil war has destroyed most of the
key infrastructure of the country. It has increased poverty and illiteracy across the nation
as institutions have been paralysed. The social services such as healthcare, education and welfare are in a deteriorating state, beyond imagination. The gap between the rich and poor has dramatically increased. On the one hand, the country's socio-economic and political situation is unstable whilst on the other; it has recently joined the WTO, which is one of the powerful forces of globalisation. Annan (2002: 2) states:

[...] many poor countries need financial and technical help – to build up their infrastructure and capacities before they can take advantage of market opportunities. Even when a door is opened, you cannot walk through it without leg muscles (in italic is original).

Thus, to address its current economic, political and social problems, Nepal needs to formulate a more progressive lifelong learning policy because “learning plays a prominent role in creating patriotism, discipline and productive manpower” (NPC 1998: 605). In order to achieve its policy goals, the Nepalese government needs to formulate a lifelong learning policy in accordance with the ground realities, followed by an unbiased budget allocation to put into operation and stabilise the practice. Lifelong learning is becoming too multifaceted and diverse to cope with the inequalities of the 21st century. According to Griffin (2001: 41):

Strategies for lifelong learning or the learning society are beginning to supersede traditional forms of education policy making, both at the national and the international level.

It is my assumption that lifelong learning helps in updating the knowledge and skills required by global competition. The requirement of new forms of knowledge and skills can even change in a matter of minutes in today's technologically advanced countries and in contrast it is much slower in rural parts of the world. However, people have now started to realise that lifelong learning is an integral part of their life, regardless of where they reside. Lifelong learning plays a vital role in helping people to get decent jobs; in the development of creative thinking for society; in the liberation of the oppressed and the creation of a democratic society where human beings get their rights and equal opportunities. Holford et al. (1998: vii) have expressed lifelong learning in the following way:
It seems today that everyone believes in 'lifelong learning'. Managers, gurus, teachers, counselors, television presenters and trades union leaders all tell us that schooling is not enough: change is so fast, we must continue to learn throughout our lives.

Thus, industry, society and nations have realised and recognised that lifelong learning policy is crucial in achieving their goals. Today’s modern global society is more interested in learning that creates knowledge, economy, employability, active citizenship, social inclusion, personal fulfilment, community development and effective human resources for both local to global levels. Hence, the concept of learning culture, strategy and policy need to change with the times and pace of local global changes and requirements. However, these types of “broad aims of lifelong learning policy statements are [...] could only be attempted through public policy [...]” (Griffin 2000: 11). Nevertheless, as discussed earlier, “in the normative dimension, lifelong learning is a concept that operates as a guiding principle for the development of educational policy” (Schugurensky and Myers 2003: 325). But, Griffin (2000: 11) highlights some of the issues for debate in the following way:

[...] lifelong learning policies are only partly addressed to quantifiable outcomes such as employability, human resource development, technological accreditation and global competition. They are also addressed to outcomes which are by no means measurable in the same way, such as social inclusion, or active citizenship, or even the quality of life itself. There are also the various sites of learning associated with lifelong learning, such as the family, the community or the workplace, which clearly lie beyond the scope of policy in the conventional sense.

Although some questionable issues persist with the lifelong learning policy, it is still effective in extenuating the negative impacts of globalisation and also in ensuring the social inclusion of marginalised groups contributing social cohesion and strengthening of democratic structures. In regard to this, Griffin (2000: 11) writes:

As we have seen, there is evidence of the abandonment of the policy function of nation-states in the face of the global market in education and economy. This calls into question some of the expressed aims of lifelong learning such as social justice, equality of opportunity, social inclusion, social progress, and so on. In fact, these
are traditional objects of social democratic or welfare policy, as expressed in public education systems amongst other welfare provisions. Policies for lifelong learning are therefore deeply implicated in the fate of welfare provision, the role of the state in respect of policy formation, and in the ways in which meaning is attributed to lifelong learning itself.

Thus, the nation-states are to play the main role in executing lifelong learning policy according to their country’s needs. Transnational organisations and countries such as: “the EU (1995), the OECD (1996), UNESCO (1996), Norway (1997), UK (1998)” (McKenzie 2003: 1) and so on have taken lifelong learning as the key concept in education and training. McKenzie (ibid: 1) further states “lifelong learning is clearly an idea whose time has come”. Jarvis and Parker (2002a: 2) write: “we also do need to see policies emerge from governments which really are about a lifelong learning – from the womb to the tomb – and not only about limited work life learning”. Many educationists such as: Dewey (1916), Yeaxlee (1929), Freire (1970), (Faure, 1972), Lengrand (1975), Illich and Verne (1976), and Jarvis (1986) claimed that traditional education conducted within the schools, colleges and universities could never be education for all and, also that it never fulfils the knowledge and skills required by the dynamic world. Taking account of this, the Jomtien Conference adopted the ‘the World Declaration on EFA’ in 1990 followed by the Hamburg Declaration (CONFINTEA V 1997); Mumbai Statement (CONFINTEA V 1998); the Dakar Framework for Action - EFA, World Education Forum 2000 and the UN Literacy Decade – EFA (2003-2012). These progressive programmes have adopted lifelong learning strategies, policies, culture and action plans for practices; however, these are still controlled from above.

As discussed in the previous chapter the process and the context of lifelong learning can vary from one place to another, and similarly, policy and practice also differ. This is mainly based on the socio-economic setting, the local needs and the standard of education of the nation-states. For example: the OECD countries are using lifelong learning policy to generate ‘knowledge economy’; the EU has implemented it with the aim of creating ‘knowledge economy, employability/adaptability, active citizenship, personal fulfillment and social inclusion’; the ASEM has implemented lifelong learning policy for social and economic development and the UN has recently opted lifelong learning policy for the
'Literacy Decade – Education for All (2003 – 2012)' where UNESCO is playing a major role in the policy process and practice (more detail in chapter seven). In this context, "lifelong learning is precisely such a 'policy ensemble' or collection of related policies" (Griffin 1998: 28).

Under the UN literacy decade programme, Nepal is establishing one Community Learning Centre (CLC) in each constituency, in total 205 CLCs within the Tenth Five-year Plan (2002 – 2007). The state has adopted "lifelong learning policy and culture to improve literacy rate and promote all aspects of life – social, cultural, economic and so on" (NPC 2002: 385). The main aim of CLCs is to conduct literacy classes in the framework of lifelong learning. Community participation and ownership are the most crucial aspects for the long term sustainability of the CLC project. However, it is not realistic to assume that CLCs will run well once the people of the community have ownership. In order to operate effectively, CLCs require adequate human/material/financial resources, sound policy and effective practice. This has been covered in more detail in chapter seven.

Conclusion

One of the strengths of Marxist social theory is its comprehensive scope and transdisciplinary nature. It transcends the conventional boundaries of philosophy, history, economics, political science, sociology and psychology, and this makes it a powerful tool for comprehending the complexities of adult education (Youngman 2000: 9).

As Youngman stated above, Marxist social theory is one of the most effective analytical tools to analyse the issues of lifelong learning policy and practice, since adult education is depoliticised and manipulated in the form of lifelong learning and has been made an integral part of globalisation by capitalists.

Lifelong learning, especially the non-formal and formal education of Nepal, is controlled from above with its socio-political circumstances based on dependency phenomenon as different powers have different interests in influencing and manipulating policy and practice. As mentioned in chapter two, on the one hand, 60% of the country's
development budget comes from the forces of globalisation (global donor agencies such as the World Bank, IMF and ADB) with their special agendas. On the other hand, the country’s social elites (Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar) who control the resources and knowledge have ‘acceptance and dependency mentality’\textsuperscript{13}. Therefore, the country’s social elites and the forces of globalisation have strongly influenced and manipulated the country’s policy and practice, including lifelong learning, in accordance with their own agendas and mentality.

Economic globalisation is a money-making tool for rich countries and corporations and, at the same time, poses a risk and threat for the poor and Third World countries. For example; Nepal was a fairly poor country of the world in the 1970s, but is currently the second poorest country; this despite aid and loans from the rich global countries and agencies. Instead of seeing the improvement of the socio-economic and political situation, the nation-state has been suffering from the civil war since 1996. Hence, the question can be raised here: which of the following is making Nepal poorer, dependency on aid and the descent into civil war: the Hindu religion or globalisation? In order to solve this question, it is important to understand globalisation, the Hindu religion, and the social structure of Nepal. Thus, globalisation, the Hindu religion and social structure and civil war have become important issues for this thesis and will be discussed in chapters four, five and six respectively.

\textsuperscript{13} According to the Hindu religion, the Brahmins’ caste occupation is to read the Hindu religious scriptures, become priests and advise and guide the ruler of the nation in religious matters. They do not indulge in trade or commerce, or any physical work including farming. Brahmins are supposed to survive by ‘dan and dakshina’ (donation) given by others. Because of the nature of their caste occupation, they came to dominate the intellectual spheres in the state. Currently they act as the King’s advisors, top bureaucrats, leaders of the major political parties - including the CPN (Maoist) - and control knowledge and resources. Thus, Brahmins reproduce this ‘donation acceptance culture’ at all levels throughout the country.

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CHAPTER FOUR

GLOBALISATION/GLOCALISATION AND NEPAL

In previous chapters, I discussed current political, socio-economic and educational problems and the global influence on Nepal. The explorative and analytical discussion of chapters one and two has unearthed issues such as: globalisation, civil war, social structures, the Hindu religion and donor agencies' strong influence on lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal. As mentioned in chapter three, in order to underpin the above listed issues theoretically and philosophically, I have used neo-Marxist social theory in general and dependency theory in particular. Prior to underpinning the thesis theoretically and philosophically, it is important to understand the cumulative effects of these issues in depth. Thus chapter four aims to clarify the concepts of globalisation and glocalisation, to highlight the way these terms are value laden and relate the value interpretation to the Nepalese context.

As we all live in a one-world society, “no country or group can shut itself off from others” (Beck 1997: 10). There is no power yet invented to isolate people through man-made illusory boundaries, walls or curtains. The radical changes within the former communist countries may be seen as an example of why this is so. The Berlin Wall crumbled in 1990; China and other communist countries are now in the process of globalisation. Hence, “[...] globalisation is not incidental to our lives today. It is a shift in our life circumstances. It is the way we now live” (Giddens 2002: 19). Nepal is already globalised in various ways. Its education sector is the one which is most heavily influenced by international agencies. Urban areas are more or less in the ‘global village’ (but not free from poverty). However, the rest of Nepal - mostly villages and rural areas - is still at a primitive stage and experiences profound levels of poverty. This is a very important discussion point aimed at determining why Nepalese rural areas and villages are passively resisting the global changes owing to traditional values and beliefs. Why even after fifty years of western and international aid does the condition of Nepal remain unchanged? Why could artificial knowledge not bring changes to rural Nepalese society as it has in developed countries?
Why does the knowledge gap persist in the era of Information Communication Technology (ITC)? Why are people suffering from hunger, malnutrition and disease? Why people rising up and what has caused the civil war? Why have more than 10,000 Nepalese (mostly women, Dalit and poor people), sacrificed their lives in the name of the people’s war? Why is the war being so successful in winning the hearts and minds of the general public? For these reasons, it is of the utmost importance to explore globalisation and its impact on Nepalese society. In order to deal with the globalisation issue, I have presented my discussion in the following order: Global/local relation, the concept of globalisation and its negative and positive impact, glocalisation and its weaknesses, social change and stability, individualisation and standardisation, followed by localisation and conclusion.

**Global/local relation**

As discussed in the previous chapter, the international players have influenced the Nepalese education sector for a long time. Post-1951, post-Rana rule, the country implemented a more open foreign policy. As a result, since 1951, the donor countries and transnational organisations have been working, investing money and supervising the development of the country’s infrastructure, including education. A few top-level educationists have benefited from this process such as Dr Trailokya Nath Upraity who was awarded a doctoral degree in the early 1960s from the University of Oregon and Gopi Nath Sharma gained his postgraduate degree from the same university in the mid 1960s. Thus, we cannot completely ignore western influence, particularly British and American, in the education system of Nepal. In 1971, the country introduced the ‘New Education System Plan (NESP)’, something completely new to Nepal, whereby college and university curricula were based on the semester system and degrees offered certificate level, diploma level and so on. This alien system did not last long and finally collapsed. We can take the NESP as a classic example of how global influences on the Nepalese education system have failed.

As part of the process of importing foreign systems of learning into the country, in 1990, Nepal implemented UNESCO’s ‘Education for All (EFA)’ in the state, with the target of achieving its goal by the year 2000, but this, too, ended up with unsatisfactory results. The scheme has been extended until 2015. This project involves global donor agencies, such as the World Bank, the IMF and UNSECO, who have taken overall responsibility for
administering the EFA project. Therefore, truly, the Nepalese learning system (education sector) has in some ways been globalised since the early 1950s.

In the latest context, the majority of the members of the country's think-tanks have been trained in other parts of the world. The country's major cities such as Kathmandu, Pokhara, Biratnagar, Dharan, Birgunj and renowned places like the base camp of Mount Everest are already part of the global village. In addition, transnational organisations have been playing a major role since the 1950s in the country's social, economic and political development processes. Because of this, we can find examples of both good and bad global influence all over the country. The processes of globalisation have accelerated since 1990 when democracy was restored in Nepal. The country has adopted a more liberal policy in trade, business and education. The government-owned industries and corporations have been privatised. In the education sector, this process has also accelerated since 1990, following which many changes have taken place in the Nepalese civil society. There is no doubt that the global changes of the 1990s have had a clear effect on Nepal; however it is debatable whether the changes were peripheral or central.

Transnational organisations such as the World Bank, OECD, UNESCO, UNDP, DFID, DENIDA, FINIDA, NORAD, GTZ and SDC have been actively involved for more than fifty years in economic and social development programmes, including education, in Nepal. Currently, the World Bank and the OECD countries are investing a large amount of money for EFA in Nepal.

In reality, these international assistance and development programmes have given very little to the Nepalese people. "Nepal's campaign for development has been a halting effort and an unfulfilling experience" (Panday 1999: 1). Foreign aid and loans from the transnational agencies are a new form of imperialism. In the process of dealing with the aid and loans, these agencies require the recipient to buy goods and supplies from the donating country and to adhere to certain economic and political policies.

As mentioned earlier, only a few cities of the country such as Kathmandu, Pokhara, Birgunj, Dharan and Biratnagar are connected to the 'global village'. "Rural Nepal is a different world and there is little communication," (Philipson 2002: 6). There are health posts without a doctor, widespread poverty, a disparity in the distribution of resources,
caste and class discrimination. Fifty years of foreign aid and investment has not brought any meaningful change in socio-economic factors or in the livelihood of the poor people. The majority of the population is devoid of basic education, food, shelter, clothing, and suffers from hunger and disease. Thus, it is important to examine why there are no significant changes and achievements in Nepal despite five decades of contributions by donor organisations to social and economic development programmes. Why has the Maoist insurgency blossomed and is now in full swing in Nepal in the 21st century’s globalised world, when it was declared a failure in Eastern Europe from the end of 20th century onwards? Regmi (2001: 480) writes:

Some dependency theories argue that the ‘help’ provided by the First World to the Third World is either disguised benefits for its own international corporations or political blackmail used to force Third-World countries to support First-World political goals.

Thus, Nepal’s development programme is “failed development” (Panday 1999: 1), the negative impact of globalisation.

Despite this; the USA, UK, Japan and developed countries are in favour of globalisation. Those who favour globalisation are economically powerful. For this reason, no one can stop the process of globalisation but the question is whether we can stop the world from becoming a global society full of risk14. It is in our responsibility to keep the world safe from the knock-on effect of globalisation.

Globalisation

Globalisation is a wave that is pulsing throughout the world carrying messages of democratisation, privatisation, liberalisation, marketisation, hybridisation and individualisation and at the same time imparting risk and fear to the poorer countries like Nepal, where social exclusion, the caste system, inequality and poverty are getting worse day-by-day because of political instability, civil war and international intervention in Nepal’s domestic matters. In regards to this, Jarvis (2002b: 8) writes, “in the light of globalisation [...] we can see that we are no longer living in a single country [...].”

14 “Risk may be defined as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself” (Beck 1986: 21).
Sooner or later, "the world will become a global village" Beck (1997: 20). According to Bauman (1998: 1) "globalisation is on everybody's lips". It is spreading like a fever throughout the whole world, especially in intellectual circles and policy-making bodies. However, "[...] globalization is the intractable fate of the world, an irreversible process [...]" (ibid: 1). Although globalisation is a global integrating process that helps to incorporate local products and economies into capital markets on a global scale: however, the tariff and non-tariff barriers that the developed countries have been imposing with a view to preventing the entry of the Least Developed Countries’ (LDCs) products to their market have already created economic instability and dependency in the LDCs. Directly or indirectly, politics and economic infrastructures of the LDCs are under the control of the developed countries such as the USA and UK and their organisations such as the World Bank and the IMF. Hence, such a political and economic control over the poor countries is called globalisation by the developed countries and corporates. Thus, Beck (1997: 11) writes, “globalization [...] denotes the processes through which sovereign national states are [...] undermined by transnational actors with varying prospects of power, orientations, identities and networks.” In this sense, globalisation is not a new subject, it is a modified form of imperialism i.e. blended with modern technologies, artificial knowledge and redesigned in order to make more effective tool to drain out resources form peripheral (poor countries) to centre (rich countries). Therefore, globalisation is a new form of imperialism, profit making tool for the developed countries and full of risk and hazard for the LDCs.

According to Jarvis (2002b: 3) “the process of globalisation, as we know it today, began in the West (USA followed by Western Europe) in the early 1970s” and “globalization has become an increasingly influential paradigm in the human sciences since the beginning of the 1990s” (Featherstone and Lash 1995: 1). It has blossomed since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in 1990. Globalisation is “the ascendancy of capitalism after the collapse of communism” (Rana 2001: 4). The resources of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) became vulnerable to attacks from the capitalist world, chiefly the monetary institutions, to reap benefits that the Union had so far abhorred. The abundant resources and colossal markets in the former USSR attracted thousands of giant corporate and financial institutions that accelerated the on
going process of globalisation in the early nineties within the former ‘Warsaw Pact’ members.

In addition, globalisation is a process, enabling countries to conduct free trade and create open markets, assisted by powerful partners such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO, where international borders become ineffective. It also means that borders become meaningless and unequal trade can be conducted, creating chaos in a vulnerable society. Bauman (1998: 3) writes; “an integral part of the globalizing processes is progressive spatial segregation, separation and exclusion”. Because of such unequal trading practices, globalisation has created lots of risks in the global society. Beck appropriately calls this the ‘risk society’. He views globalisation as capitalistic and only beneficial for rich countries and rich individuals who are backed up by international powerhouses and think-tanks. Beck’ (1997: 6) explains in the following terms:

It is an irony of history that the very *losers* of globalization will in future have to pay for everything – from the welfare state to a functioning democracy – while the *winners* of globalization post dream profits and steal away from their responsibility for future democracy. It follows that, in the age of globalization, the major issue of social justice will have to be handled in a new way, both theoretically and politically.

Bauman (1998: 1) writes, “for some, ‘globalization’ is what we are bound to do if we wish to be happy; for others ‘globalization’ is the cause of our unhappiness”. There are ongoing arguments and debates on the pros and cons of globalisation; nevertheless, globalisation has the potential to offer opportunities to both the rich and poor countries, if implemented properly. It is obvious that, for the least developed and developing countries there is a great fear that globalisation could marginalise their societies and people because of their weak internal infrastructure, unstable socio-economic status and political conditions compounded by their inability to stay upright in the powerful currents of globalisation. Countries that join the global process require at least a minimum required standard of resources, skills and technology to survive in a global system. Barber (2003: xii, 229) sees globalisation as:

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15 Warsaw Pact: a treaty of mutual defence and military aid signed in Warsaw on 14th May 1955 by communist states of Eastern Europe under the Soviet Leadership.
the collision between the forces of disintegral tribalism and reactionary fundamentalism [...] and the forces of integrative modernization and aggressive economic and cultural globalization [...] where the forces of commerce and the forces of reacting to commerce are locked in struggle.

In the process of social development, human beings have divided the world into different sectors for self-interest. They are creative by nature, developing ideologies and systems of thought. Society has benefited from both capitalist and communist ideologies, while at the same time it has also created conflict and complication within individual societies and the across the entire world. Since the communist-led revolution succeeded in assuming power in 1917 in the former USSR, the world was ideologically divided into two - capitalist and communist - until 1990. This great ideological division has more or less been erased from the international scenario. Now the world is taking another direction, with globalisation becoming a major element in the creation of a global village where information, technology, knowledge, ideas, etc. can flow without any restriction as highlighted earlier. Pieterse (1995: 45) cites, “globalization, according to Albrow, ‘refers to all those processes by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society’ (1990: 9)” and he further expresses “since these processes are plural we may as well conceive of globalizations in the plural” (ibid: 45) such as economic internationalisation, Americanisation, McDonaldization and so on. Pieterse emphasises that globalisation with result in hybridisation, homogenisation, and the westernisation of societies that will shape themselves as alike, homogeneous and flat social order.

In the present context of globalisation, economic globalisation is a controversial issue. Liberal economic thought or economic globalisation initially emerged in Europe towards the end of the 16th century (this issue has been elaborated later in this chapter). “Since the end of the Cold War, globalization has been the most outstanding characteristic of international economic affairs” (Gilpin 2001: 3). The radical left, centre left and even liberals argue that overall control of economic production is in the hands of a few groups of actors “with vast wealth and resources” (Acharya 1996: 26). Dahal (1996: 48) considered globalisation as “the process of consolidating wealth and power by the rapid integration and structuring of national economies into one global economy”. There are more chances that the global economy and resources can be absorbed by the economically sound and developed countries because their economic infrastructure is strong and mature. The saying ‘money attracts money’ is already a reality, a situation that may worsen. For
example, “Africa has been turned into a nation of the hungry by the international capitalist through excessive exploitation of its resources and the politics of divide-and-rule” (Achrya 1996: 26). Nepal could be the next victim of this process now that it has entered the WTO without proper and effective readiness. Globalisation not only destroys economic infrastructure, it destroys social norms and values, including the local learning system.

The entry of Nepal in the WTO needs considerable thought. It is certain that business and trade is beneficial to a nation, especially one with a weak economy. However, the question of acquiring the cutting edge of specialisation needed to excel in the competitive world market depends on given national resources, the efficiency of their allocation and the most efficient combination of economic resources achievable in the macro-level of economics. The skills of innovation and entrepreneurship of the public become the most important factors of production, as the implemented depend on the success or failure of the production unit in either the long or short term. Thus, it is important to create social energy with growing capability and empowerment to counter the unforeseen challenges that have been perpetuated by the process of globalisation. Unless this realisation materialises, societies will experience a phase of complete deculturisation, individualisation and corporatisation; equal to flatness – an end product of globalisation. Thus, for the poor countries, whose internal development mechanisms are uneven and weak with human skills and resources not up to the required standard for global processes, the impact of globalisation will be both immense and negative. This issue is crucial for Nepal. As discussed in chapter two, even five decades of development plans have not fulfilled the basic human needs, something which was the main goal of donors, planners and policy makers. Instead, it has only made the poor socio-economic situation worse, which fuelled and caused the Maoist-led civil war in the country. In the last two centuries, authoritarian political rule negated any significant progress while, ironically, the last twelve years of democratisation and the multiparty system failed to deliver the progress expected. Hence, the nation-state has, economically, ended up as one of the poorest countries in the world.

In spite of this, Nepal remains ethnically diverse and culturally rich. There are many languages, religions and cultures still unrecorded or documented and only preserved through oral history and cultural practices, including myths and legends such as the
‘Mundhum’\textsuperscript{16} of the Limbus. This orally transmitted theology has been handed down from generation to generation. Indigenous peoples of Nepal, besides speaking their own language, practising their own religion and culture, have their own local economic and learning systems, which remain strongly resistant to the process of globalisation.

It is clear that globalisation is a complex issue, debated by two different ideological groups, the liberals and neo-liberals on the one hand and the radical and moderate left on the other. The liberals and neo-liberals, who support globalisation, perceive its benefits. They view globalisation as a means of investment and consequent profits at any cost, even human life. They utilise globalisation agendas to benefit, achieve and maintain their goals; such as promoting economic liberalisation, a market-oriented economy, deregulation of trade and tariffs and so on.

Liberalisation and liberalism are a set of economic policies that have become widespread during the last 25 years. Liberalism can refer to political, economic, or even religious ideas. The liberal school of economics became famous in Europe when Adam Smith, a British economist, published a book in 1776 called ‘The Wealth of Nations’. He and others advocated the abolition of government intervention in economic matters: no restrictions on manufacturing, no barriers to commerce, no tariffs, maintaining that ‘free trade was the best way for a nation’s economy to develop’. Such ideas were “liberal” in the sense of no control. Application of this individualism encouraged free enterprise and free competition, which meant freedom for the capitalists to reap huge profits.

The neo-liberal view is more involved with modern ideas of liberating private enterprise from any constraints imposed by the government, no matter how much social damage this may cause. Around the world, powerful financial institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank and Regional Development Banks, WTO, etc., have imposed a neo-liberalism theory under the umbrella of globalisation. Information Communication Technology (ICT) is the latest powerful tool speeding the spreading of neo-liberalism. According to neo-liberal theory, an unregulated market is the best way to increase economic growth. This theory claims it will ultimately benefit everyone, by cutting public expenditure for social services in areas like education, public transportation and health care. It reduces government

\textsuperscript{16} Mundhum is an oral theology equivalent to Gospel.
regulation on everything that could diminish profits, including the protection of the environment and workplace safety. It entails privatisation and the promotion of the concept of individual responsibility. Questions can be raised as to how a poor and illiterate individual would be able to find out about health care, education and social security. Who is going to help this person in providing the basic knowledge to understand what health care and social security are? Poor, oppressed and marginalized people are forced away from their communities, to become cheap labourers and factory-hands in the cities or to join the armed forces as Gurkhas.

On the other hand, the radical and moderate left, including some liberals, oppose globalisation. From their point of view, globalisation creates poverty, neglects and excludes the poor and destroys local traditions, cultures and religions. They argue that the bulk of the world’s population have nothing to gain from globalisation, as the vehicles for globalisation such as the World Bank, IMF and the WTO are controlled by rich and developed countries. In view of this, Bhattachan (1996: 86) expressed his opinion on globalisation with the view of other Nepalese intellectuals as:

Non-communists treat globalization as liberalization/marketisation but the communists and many intellectuals of underdeveloped countries treat it as a powerful force of imperialism” (Panday and Arya, 1997; Bajrachrya and Sharma, 1996; Baral, 1998; Dahal, 1997; Guru-Gharana, 1996; Mishra, 2053 (1996), and 1997; Mulyankan, 2053 (1996) a; 2053 (1996) b; and 2053 (1996) c; Rimal, 1995; and Sharma, 1995)

Beck (1997: 57) writes of Bauman’s important argument that globalisation is leading to polarisation of the rich and poor on a universal scale. Many intellectuals agree with this statement and support the notion that ‘the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer’ because of globalisation. Jarvis (2002b: 5) has also reflected his views in a similar way i.e. “the global market always favours the rich – since the market is never free”. The process of “[...] globalization splits the world’s population into the globalized rich, who overcome space and never have enough time, and the localized poor, who are chained to the spot and can only ‘kill’ time” (Beck 1997: 57). Thus, the globalisation process has expanded and is continuing to widen the gap between the rich and poor and has created more social exclusion. Bauman (2001: 114) expresses this in the following way:
the fast globalizing and increasingly exterritorial economy is known to produce
the ever deepening wealth-and-income gaps between the better off and the worse
off sections of the world population, and inside every single society. It is also
known for laying off ever wider chunks of the population as not just living in
poverty, misery and destitution, but also permanently evicted from whatever has
been socially recognized as economically rational and socially useful work, and so
made economically and socially redundant.

Despite the ideological debate, globalisation has already succeeded in penetrating the
whole world, with its impressive slogans of liberalisation, democratisation, privatisation,
individualisation and marketisation. Globalisation is now claiming that liberalisation is
suitable for any country, including Nepal, providing all-round social, economic and
political development by means of competition, given that it is free and fair. It is obvious
that there will be both winners and losers in the competition. Jarvis (2001c: 23) writes:

For Marx, the market was the mechanism of wealth production and power but in
globalization, the competitive market becomes the mechanism for corporate growth
and dominance, as well as individual wealth. The market mechanism produces
winners and losers – but so does every form of competition.

Developed and the rich countries favour globalisation and, directly or indirectly, operate
the main tools of globalisation such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO. Most of the
developing and the least developed countries like Nepal may not be supportive of
globalisation but have no choice as 60% of the country’s budget come from the multi-
national rich countries and various agencies. Disagreement with capitalism and the process
of globalisation are likely to inflict isolation and conformity, leading to massive negative
impact. To avoid the negative effects, LDCs and developing countries need careful
groundwork such as local reforms or localisation prior to joining the globalisation process.
Guru-Gharana (2001: 29-46) expressed the view that globalisation, instead of reducing the
marginalisation of countries and the poor, concentrates on income, resources, wealth and
power among the few global elites and economic superpowers. He further writes that
globalisation and liberalisation are unable to solve the fundamental problems of the LDCs,
but recommended that the WTO membership was a “must” for Nepal. Guru-Gharana was
right to some extent in saying this: Nepal must be a WTO member sooner rather than later,
otherwise it will be isolated from the rest of the world and excluded from engaging in the
opportunities and facilities created by globalisation. But this might be a myth. Nepal also
needs to consider that globalisation is a process of liberalisation and democratisation;
however, there are equal chances of power centralisation, imperialism and colonisation. It is important to filter out all harmful elements during the process of globalisation.

Thus, globalisation could create both positive and negative impacts as it progresses. Some of these examples are discussed further in the following paragraphs.

Positive and Negative impacts of globalisation

Positive impacts. The process of globalisation has augmented the industry-based economy and the knowledge-based economy (knowledge economy) where economy (capital) is based on human knowledge (knowledge – production – capital). However, not all countries have productive knowledge within society. This knowledge-based production of capital is known as ‘knowledge economy’, “it [...] is money” (Jarvis 2001c: 50) and “[...] an essential feature of our society [...]” (Foucault 1991: 165). The Department for Trade and Industry (DTI), UK (1998: para 1.5) states “a knowledge driven economy is one in which the generation and the exploitation of knowledge has come to play the predominant part in the creation of wealth”. We can take Information Communication Technologies (ICT) as an example of knowledge economy. ICT has created a booming economy in the global market and at the same time turned the world into a borderless global village. This is worth counting as a positive impact of globalisation. The developed countries’ economies are increasingly based on knowledge and information technology. The knowledge economy and information technology are now taking a major role in productivity and economic growth. ICT is one of the main tools and an integral part of globalisation and knowledge economy. There is no argument that ICT has definitely accelerated the speed of globalisation. Thus, Jarvis (2001c: 72) writes “at the heart of globalization lies information technology, enabling knowledge that (factual knowledge) to be disseminated around the world”. Just a decade ago the world was totally different in terms of communications, business, learning, etc. People were only able to send telegraphic message from certain places, but today we are at any time able to communicate through laptops or desktop computers. We can communicate and view images on the screen and conduct international conferences by means of ICT from our own rooms. Professors from one corner of the world are able to give lectures to students in another corner of the world by means of ICT digital images. Doctors from the USA can receive typed patient notes from Nepal instantly, again by means of ICT. So, on the one hand, it has created
employment in Nepal and Nepalese people are now able to earn dollars without physically going to the USA. On the other hand, doctors from the USA can obtain cheaper manpower assistance without physical recruitment from Nepal. ICT has opened doors, boundaries, time zone and work practices until yesterday unimaginable. Beck (1997:18) has given the following classic example of the relationship between ICT, knowledge and globalisation:

A Berlin-California airport announcement It is ten o’clock in the evening. At Berlin’s Tegel Airport a slick-friendly voice informs the weary passengers that their flight to Hamburg is ready for boarding. The voice belongs to Angelika B., who is sitting in front of a console in California – for after six p.m. Berlin time Tegels’s announcement service is provided online from California. The reasons are as simple as they are understandable: in California, no extra payment has to be made for late working as it is still daytime; and indirect labour costs for the same activity are considerably lower than in Germany (in italic is original).

But currently this trend is shifting towards India. In regards to this (Monbiot 2003: 1) writes:

[...] the National Rail Enquiries service is likely to move to Bangalore, in southwest India. [...] British Telecom (BT), British Airways, Lloyds TSB, Prudential, Standard Chartered, Norwich Union, [...] have already begun to move their call centres to India (in italic is original).

We can find this type of activity in all sectors i.e. education, business, industry, health, environment, agriculture, etc. where ICT plays the key role in making this a reality. ICT has made the whole world’s information accessible to one and all. This success of capitalisation and “ICT [...] has become an important commodity on the global market” (Jarvis 2001c: 72). In addition, ICT has accelerated the global process, which is necessary for the post-modern world of the 21st century. Further, knowledge workers keep developing the knowledge economy, which is essential for today’s competitive world and the process of globalisation. This is an on-going process that keeps changing according to the requirements of global development and encourages people to continuously develop their knowledge and thinking. This is a benefit even for poor countries like Nepal.

Furthermore, those who favour globalisation claim that it is liberalisation and marketisation that creates jobs and competition at local and international level. Nowadays job offers can usually be found on the internet and are open to all. Consequently, those who have the ability can get the job regardless of their nationality. However, there are still some
obligations for citizens from certain countries with favourable policies for the local people. For example, in the European countries; European citizens get first priority over applicants from other nationalities. However, people from other countries can still apply for the job and, if they have better qualifications, the opportunities are open to them. We can take for example the Indian city of Bangalore which is far advanced in producing Information Technology (IT) manpower; the Philippines for nursing and Nepal for soldiers (Gurkhas). People from these countries are able to compete with the whole world in these areas because they have better employability, adaptability and capability than others. In today's era of globalisation, knowledge counts more than nationality, so "[...] labour must be re-valued or reshaped by knowledge" Beck (1997: 137). He further writes:

One of the main political responses to globalization is therefore to build and develop the education and knowledge society; to make its training longer rather than shorter to loosen or do away with its link to a particular job or occupation, gearing it instead to key qualifications that can be widely used in practice. (Beck 1997: 137).

Negative impacts. Globalisation has created more opportunities and fewer problems for the rich people, large multinationals and stronger nations. People like Bill Gates and powerful countries like the USA have successfully reaped the benefit while the people of a poor and mountainous country like Nepal are apt to be victims of the process. The rich earn more profit, and the poor less, to the extent that at times they do not get any and even lose all they possess. In reality, globalisation only widens the gap between rich and poor, as in the 19th century when Britain, France and Germany had a wide gap between their factory owners and workers. It seems that history is repeating itself. Even in the rich countries, only the rich people are able to take advantage of globalisation and get richer, while at the other extreme, the poor get poorer because they do not have the means to participate in the fierce competition and are therefore excluded. "In advanced modernity the social production of wealth is systematically accompanied by the social production of risks" (Beck 1986: 19). According to Jarvis (2001c: 25) "this situation has created both opportunities and problems [...] opportunities include global cooperation [...]" and problems such as risk in society. To exemplify this further, I have listed a few opinions, given by an educationist respectively, a sociologist and an economist giving clearer clarification of the negative impacts of globalisation. Jarvis (2001c: 28) cites Bauman's (1999: 175 – 76) summary of a United Nations' Development report:
• consumption has multiplied by a factor of six since 1950, but one billion people cannot even satisfy their most elementary needs;

• 60% of residents in developing countries have no basic social infrastructures, 33% no access to drinking water, 25% no accommodation worthy of the name and 20% no sanitary or medical services;

• the average income of 120 million people is less than $1 per day;

• in the world’s richest country (USA), 16.5% live in poverty, 20% of the adult population are illiterate; 13% have a life expectancy of shorter than 60 years;

• the world’s three richest men have private assets greater than the combined national products of the 48 poorest countries;

• the fortunes of the 15 richest men exceed the total product of the whole of sub-Saharan African;

• 4% of the wealth of the world’s richest 225 men would offer the poor of the world access to elementary medical and educational amenities as well as adequate nutrition.

Thus, Jarvis (2001c: 5 - 6) states “[…] there is no global welfare and the poor of the world have no social rights as such by virtue of their humanity […]” in this new economy it is not only poverty that leads to social exclusion. According to Panday (1999: 366):

Under GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), generally the developing countries found that free trade did not necessarily mean ‘fair trade’, because scant regard was paid to the structural constraints of the developing countries, a problem, which has now been further reinforced in the WTO.

Guru-Gharana (2001: 29 – 30) writes:

Globalisation, instead of reducing or reversing the marginalization of poor countries and people, has perhaps reinforced this process by concentrating income, resources, wealth and power among few people, few mega-multinational and few economic superpower countries, the so called global elite. […].

From the experiences of the 1980s and the 1990s, it is clear that liberalisation and globalisation are unable to solve the fundamental problems of the LDCs including massive, pervasive and chronic poverty, increasing unemployment and underemployment, lack of social and economic overheads; widespread, multidimensional human deprivation, hunger, social tension, increasing inequality and the dislocation of millions of people - because of
natural and manmade crises - and environmental degradation and cultural erosions. There is no doubt that the negative impacts of globalisation on poverty-stricken third world countries such as Nepal could be devastating to the economy, the development process, and tradition, cultures, religions and learning processes. In regard to this, Giddens (2002: xxiv) writes: “a country which opens up its economy to free trade without other social and economic reforms is likely to experience economic deterioration rather than growth”.

In the context of Nepal, globalisation is modernisation. Giddens (1994: 91) writes, "modernity destroys tradition“. This is true. Globalisation is a process of modernisation and can erase tradition, culture, religion and language from a society if preventive measures are not initiated in sufficient time. Negative impacts may be seen on unskilled manpower, small-scale business and local raw materials. We can see a reduction in the income of local workers, investors and entrepreneurs due to the influx of foreign skilled labourers and investment of capital in the country by the international entrepreneurs. In the current state, local investors and entrepreneurs are not in a position to compete with the international sector. This will cause the collapse of local initiatives, small level production and resource management while exacerbating poverty in the country. Prostitution and gambling are increasing in Nepal as a result of modernisation and globalisation. Globalisation and privatisation has already created a gap between the rich and the poor throughout the country. Elements of globalisation such as privatisation have made the life of the poor working class more vulnerable and economically insecure.

On the one hand, urban areas are in danger of losing local customs and traditions because of their close links with the 'global society', while, on the other hand, remote areas are in danger of becoming even more isolated. The state is in chaos and unable to provide social security to all those who are suffering from the negative impact of globalisation. In addition, the government is under pressure from the USA, the European Union, India and transnational organisations, as it is asked to harmonize its economic, social and politically related policies in accordance with their wishes. The extended family system is being replaced by individualism and has been dissociated from the traditional social security networking. People from urban areas, especially the three cities (Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur) of the Kathmandu valley and Pokhara are transforming into what might be termed ‘the lonely crowd’. Thus, Dahal and Bhattachan expressed the negative impact of globalisation in Nepal in the following terms:

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Most of the facilities brought by these (*globalisation*) processes were beyond the reach of the rural poor. [...] it has also increased corruption in Nepal including political parties. [...] politics in Nepal has become a quick but safe money earning business (Dahal 1996: 56, 63; in italic is original).

The main socio-cultural impacts of the process of globalization on Nepalese society are the development of ‘West is the best’ psyche, *pacification*, increasing the rich-poor divide, sandwiched indigenous institutions and culture, rising individualism, brain drain and muscle exchange, marginalization of women and children, exploitation of biodiversity, loss of sovereignty and criminalization of politics, cargo-cult view of ‘about to arrive development’, and guerrilla warfare and insurgency [...] (Bhattachan 1996: 80 – 102, in italic is original).

In summary, though the basic principles of globalisation and global economy are based on equal opportunities and open competition, in reality there is always discrimination against the poor and weaker countries; equal opportunities rarely prevail and competition is never fair. In the context of globalisation, the countries in the world can be divided into three groups as such: centre core (USA, Japan, Germany, UK, France); semi-peripheral (India, Mexico, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Philippine and so on) and peripheral (Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives, Cambodia, Malawi, Ethiopia, etc.). Centre core countries control the process of globalisation and reap almost all the benefits. Semi-peripheral countries where skills and knowledge is of global standard have benefited from the process of globalisation while the peripheral countries have been marginalised. However, the process of globalisation may provide: the benefits of open trade and transit facilities; certain social movements such as gender equality; the benefit of modern science and technology; macro-economy; investment by international companies; transnational employment opportunities and so on to a landlocked country like Nepal.

Globalisation has introduced, and continues to introduce, problems such as: Americanisation and westernisation; great risk of the disappearance of indigenous culture and tradition; brain drain and movement to the west; privatisation and marketisation widen the gap between the rich and poor in society; globalisation weakens the feeling of nationalism, increases the urban and rural divide and so on and so forth. However, in Nepal, the situation is slightly different. On the one hand, the negative effects of globalisations such as the urban and rural divide, individualisation, deculturisation, spread of Christianity and foreign languages (English, French, Germany, Japanese, etc.) can be
seen throughout the country. On the other hand, the indigenous nationalities’ strong feeling of indigenous cultures, religions, traditions and languages and the state’s practice of the Hindu religion is resisting globalisation. In order to address the above highlighted issues, Robertson coined the concept of ‘glocalisation’.

Glocalisation

As defined in chapter two, glocalisation is a blend of global and local. Robertson (1995:28) writes:

[... the notion of glocalization [...] from my own analytic and interpretative standpoint the concept of globalization has involved the simultaneity and the interpenetration of what are conventionally called the global and the local, or — in more abstract vein — the universal and the particular.

Robertson (ibid: 40) further writes:

My emphasis upon the significance of the concept of glocalization has arisen mainly from what I perceive to be major weakness in much of the employment of the term ‘globalization’. I have tried to transcend the tendency to cast the idea of globalization as inevitably in tension with the idea of localization.

Society is dynamic; people borrow ideas and practices from one place or another according to their requirements. Local social norms and values are constantly being reconstructed. Furthermore information technology has made the world more interdependent with glocalisation becoming a significant social phenomenon. Jarvis (2001c: 33) referring to, [... “this social process which Robertson (1995) calls ‘glocalization,’” writes:

[... the global will affect the local in a variety of ways [...]. In the same way, the local affects the global since local projects, for instance, may gain global recognition, and so on - there is an interrelationship between them. However, it is not an equal relationship (in italic is original).

Currently, developing countries are integrating with the world economy where the process of glocalisation is very important because, as mentioned earlier, globalisation can create both opportunities and risks. There will be more chances of globalisation having a negative impact in poor countries such as Nepal where socio-economic and political situations are not stable and resources are limited. Hence, there is a real challenge ahead of us: how can we tackle and minimise the distance between the rich and poor resulting from
globalisation? It is crucial to address this problem prior to commencing with the process of
globalisation, but how can this achieved? Robertson (1995: 40) writes, “even though we are, for various reasons, likely to continue to use the concept of globalization, it might well be preferable to replace it for certain purposes with the concept of glocalization.” However, it is important to acknowledge that glocalisation is the other side of globalisation or is intertwined with it. Robertson (1995: 28) writes, “the idea of glocalization in its business sense is closely related to what in some contexts is called, in more straightforwardly economic terms, micro-marketing”. Thus, the process of glocalisation can protect small firms and business, such as independent butchers, bakers, fishmongers and greengrocers, from negative global impacts. “[...] tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global or near-global basis to increasingly differentiated local and particular markets” (ibid: 28), however, it does not cover culture, religion, tradition and language. Hence, this concept is best designed for economic glocalisation rather than culture, religion, tradition and language. Therefore, glocalisation is no different to globalisation in the field of social science where culture, religion, tradition and language are involved. This is the main weakness of glocalisation.

There are global level organizations such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organisation (WHO) and various UN bodies who are supposed to protect the weaker states, the disabled, women and children from global crises, but the arrangements made by these organisations are not sufficiently adequate and are always under the control of developed and powerful countries. Thus, Panday (1999: 362) writes:

[…] globalisation and glocalisation cannot help us in the most important battles that we may have to fight in the coming decades: the problematic of ethnicity and other expressions of (sub-) national identity, the universe of poverty, the eruption of corruption, and the psychology of dependence. We have to find our own vision and the methods to address these human issues (in italic is original).

Therefore, Panday (1999: 373) suggests:

What can we do? […] surrender to what we must, we do the best we can to minimise the damages and maximise the benefits as we tap into the globalisation process. For this, we have to reform ourselves, not just the economy. We have to think and, and plan, not simply react according to the expectations of the
protagonists and managers of the global economy. Most importantly, local institutions have to work for the people […] (in italic is original).

The central government has to transfer power to the grass roots level i.e. to communities and indigenous nationalities with authority and resources for the process of localisation, social change and stability.

Social change and stability

Social change and its main factors are contact, diffusion and innovation in society. The main causes and inhibitors of social change are: globalisation, conflict, religion, traditions, culture, population, the environment and so on.

According to Marx, rich people control the wealth and power and always suppress the poor. Bourdieu further argues that the social dominant group, i.e. social elites, not only control wealth and power, they also control the production of knowledge according to their interests. Marx saw only conflict as a means to overcome this oppression and change the socio-political situation as a whole. On the other hand, Freire emerged in the early 1970s with the ideology of the development of ‘adult education and consciousness’ to liberate people from oppression. Freire’s idea of the development of ‘consciousness’ is a form of standardisation of understanding and thinking of the oppressed people, so the oppressed people are able to see the facts and understand why and by whom they are being oppressed. The Freireian approach is very effective in the development of people’s consciousness and desire for social change.

In contrast to Marx, Durkheim focused on the forces that hold society together and bind its members in a common interest; and these forces change as a society evolves from a traditional, rural, agrarian society into a complex, independent and individualised urban society. Human society is naturally made up of human beings. It has a vast and complex network, pattern and relationships in which all human beings participate. Whatever alteration of behaviour between individuals takes place is a sign of social change. Thus, social change is the change in society such as the behaviour any individual and changing social relationships and structures over a period of time.
For example, the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe in 1990 was the victory of the process of globalisation that can be regarded as the manifestation of social change. In the context of Nepal, we can take 1951 (which saw the collapse of 104 years of the Rana oligarchy), 1990 (the restoration of democracy in the country) and the current Maoist uprising as examples of social changes.

Social change engendered by globalisation will be more of a risk for a country like Nepal where there is a vacuum in place of a structured civil society. Almost the whole population has been antagonistically divided into political segments. In addition, 72% (according to the CPN (Maoist)) and 38% (according to the Government) of the Nepalese population live below the poverty line, working for the rich and earning not enough for their daily ‘dal and bhat’ (bread and butter).

It is quite clear from our past experience that society can never remain static because the actors (human beings) are dynamic. It undergoes constant variation and the process of social change may lead society into independence and individualisation or may create chaos. To address these problems in society, 'standardisation' is most essential. 'Standardisation' is a mass market, leading to the 'global village', something 'localisation' tends to resists. I will now discuss 'individualisation and standardisation' at greater length.

**Individualisation and standardisation**

Individualisation and standardisation are not new topics. Durkheim had discussed about these issues in 1893 in his book ‘The Division of Labour in Society’ which Jary and Jary (2000: 168) interpreted in the following terms:

Durkheim rejected any suggestion [...] that society could operate effectively on principles of self-interest. On the other hand, he was equally opposed to a strongly centralized state. He suggested, instead, that the organization of society into occupationally-based, intermediate groupings, standing between the state and the individual, might prove the best way to organize a modern society based on the division of labour.

However, in the long run, Durkheim’s concept of individualisation and standardisation ‘based on the division of labour’ can generate egoism which perpetuates conflict in society.
In regards to individualisation and standardisation, Beck (2001: 202) writes, 
"individualisation is a concept which describes a structural, sociological transformation of 
social institutions and the relationship of the individual to society". The process of 
globalisation, glocalisation and modernisation creates individualisation in society as these 
provisions are value-laden. Individualisation makes individual people more independent 
and teaches them how to manage their own lives by means of standardisation and this 
process leads each individual to build his or her own biography and identity. For example, 
housewives freed from routine housework have an equal share of what with their husbands 
(I would add 'in theory'). Hence, the main function of individualisation is to generate open 
society i.e. freedom from social oppression, cultural and traditional bonds. But at the same 
time, individualisation also generates dependent individuals and a risk society. As 
discussed earlier, the forces of globalisation tend to drive the society towards 
individualisation where standardisation of individual is so important to cope with 
constantly changing society. Therefore, in order to maintain sustainability after 
individualisation is standardisation through lifelong learning where the willingness in 
learning of every individual is vital and institution support is essential. Thus, Beck (2001: 
202) has expressed this in the following way:

Alongside the freeing of individuals from traditional constraints, a new 
standardization occurs through the individual's dependency upon the employment 
market. This simultaneous individualization and standardization of our lives is not 
simply a private experience. It is institutional and structural. The liberated 
individual becomes dependent upon the labour market and because of that, 
dependent on, for example, education, consumption, welfare state regulations and 
support; possibilities and fashions in medical, psychological and pedagogical care.

The market dependency is in every sphere of life, institutional dependency and its 
pertaining boundaries make individuals independent, standardised and liberalised. 
Standardisation progresses in all the spheres of market, money, law, mobility, education 
and so on.

However, individualisation and freedom of individuals sounds very odd for an eastern 
society for example in Nepal where the majority of people live in an extended family 
system. Even in the western countries "freedom is so often regarded much more as a 
burden than a privilege [...]" (Bauman 2002: 59), hence we see extreme conflict here. But, 
individualisation and standardisation by means of lifelong learning is necessary for the fast
moving modern world because it is not possible to maintain and support family life on the income generated only by the husband’s work.

In summary, individualisation and standardisation means change in the relationship between social structures and social agents that permit social actors more independence from the persisting social structure, restrictions and bonds. In the sense, individualisation and standardisation would be ideal for women of Nepal to liberate from male domination where the patriarchal system has excluded as well as dominated all class and strata of women. However, the process of individualisation may weaken the unity of poor (which is in contrast to Marx’s theory of ‘workers of the world unite’) and disintegrate the extended family system. Therefore, individualisation is not always beneficial for society as “this daily culture of freedom also has socio-political implications [...]“ (Beck 2001: xiii, in italic is original). Despite individualisation and standardisation, on some occasions, it is important to preserve social cultures and traditions which is still possible using the principle of ‘localisation’ where individualisation and standardisation can be localised in accordance with local needs, customs and values.

**Localisation**

As discussed earlier, the mechanisms of globalisation are extremely powerful. Regardless of the status of a country, whether rich or poor, the implementation of any global programme needs to be localised. People from all over the world have seen the negative impact of globalisation on local cultures, religions, traditions and languages. Negativity is more likely to result in the extinction of cultures, religions, traditions and languages. If we do not take early precautionary measures to stop this trend, it may lead to a McDonaldisation culture and the use of Americanised English across the globe, which is clearly not desirable. We want to protect our cultures, traditions, values and languages, but how can this be achieved? To what extent can this be done? Educators, intellectuals and other key actors, in particular, need to deal actively with this as a major problem. Forces at local and national level need to be strong enough to withstand global forces. To achieve this, localisation is essential and policy makers, bureaucrats, intellectuals and educators need to play the main role. Localisation is the standardisation of the local forces where a localised form of lifelong learning can play a vital role.
Why is localisation important? It is very important, because if the foundation is not strong enough then the main structure can collapse at any time under the impact of external forces. Localisation is a process to build up a grass roots level force using local resources, in order to assist the build-up of national level force to resist the negative impact of external forces such as the WTO and IMF. If local forces are strong then the damaging impacts of globalisation will be minimised. Panday (1999: 368) highlighted this issue in the following way:

The poor countries fought hard to keep them out or at least dilute their damaging provisions to the extent possible. Not surprisingly, they lost the battle in many respects. The developing countries may now be required to surrender many of their traditional rights to the productions and use of indigenous materials to the demand of capitalist development in the North.

Therefore, prior to introducing any new programme, the nation-state must be well prepared to take on the challenges and implications inherent in these programmes. Modern lifelong learning is capitalist oriented, global and developed in the West and based on liberal theory. It is quite obvious any country introducing lifelong learning will be affected by the West. There is no doubt that this process will affect the local cultures, traditions and religions. Now the key point is to what extent can Nepal introduce a lifelong learning programme that emphasises its internal needs rather than global? To what extent can it be possible to preserve local systems? To do this, what major precautions need to be taken? Can localisation address this problem? Jarvis (1987: 15) writes, "[...] learning always occurs within a social context and that the learner is also to some extent a social construct, so that learning should be regarded as a social phenomenon as well as an individualistic one." Therefore, Beck's 'individualisation' theory will be ideal and effective for lifelong learning in changing Nepalese society, altering its culture, language, tradition and religion to the extent of the reform of the social evils. We have to understand that "people hold beliefs, ideologies, an understanding of the world, a familiarity with culture and language that enable them to function meaningfully in their world" (Jarvis 2001a: 101). Thus, localisation is very important prior to involvement in globalisation. However much of the essential reform in phase with individualisation and standardisation can be achieved within the process of globalisation. In the context of Nepal, localisation can be achieved in the way outlined in the following paragraph.
In this paragraph, I am mainly focusing on the learning sector of Nepal as my research is a socio-political study of policy and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal. Thus, in the context of learning, localisation at local level can be undertaken in various ways i.e. village and community level using local resources by formal, non-formal and informal learning and at the same time preserving local cultures, traditions, religions and languages. As mentioned earlier in chapter two, formal learning can be carried out in schools, colleges and other learning organisations addressing the current local and global issues. Non-formal learning can be achieved by means of literacy programmes, adult education and child education. Informal learning is the art of learning what exists in the society passed down from one generation to the other, a form of lifelong learning, which I class as indigenous lifelong learning and social learning. The main aim of learning at local level is to address both local and global issues and produce active citizens and create a knowledge economy, employability and a learning society by means of local reform. It is important to be employable, to acquire new knowledge to become an active citizen, a member of a learning society and to create a knowledge economy at both local and global level. Educators and ‘organic intellectuals’ can play the main role in educating people and also build the lifelong learning habits necessary for locals to address the skills and knowledge that are required by the rapidly changing world. ‘Learning generates knowledge and power’ and that power enables the people able to understand the changing world. According to Jarvis (2001c: 131) “the world of business and industry had been changed by the forces of globalization, and the knowledge society had been born.” It is true; however, the changes that take place because of globalisation need to be transformed according to local requirements, not for the benefit of the powerful mechanisms of globalisation. “The corporations are powerful only because we have allowed them to be. [...] Their power is an artefact of our acquiescence” (Monbiot 2001: 356). If we do accept all changes brought in by globalisation then the whole world will be Americanised, Westernised, Japanised and so on. “Democracy and open society cannot be imposed from the outside [...] It can be promoted only by strengthening civil society and offering incentives to governments to move towards economic and political reforms” (Soros 2002: 19-20). The political and economical reforms must be oriented towards imparting knowledge economy rather than the dictates of the neo-liberal forces. Thus, the knowledge society has to produce a

\footnote{According to Gramsci (1891 – 1937, Italian revolutionary Marxist and political theorist) ‘organic intellectuals’ are intellectuals, including technical specialists, who acknowledge a functional relation, however different to dominant or oppositional classes and groups within a given socio-economic formation.}
knowledge economy and active citizens who understand globalisation and localisation according to local needs in order for the nation to be protected from the direct impact of the negative aspects of globalisation. The important point is that the country’s policy makers; planners and academicians need to carry out localisation prior to taking any part in globalisation. Localisation minimises and tackles the direct negative impact of globalisation.

**Conclusion**

Although developed countries advocate that globalisation is democratisation, liberalisation and decentralisation of power, in reality, it centralises the power in the hand of the rich while marginalising the poor. Globalisation is powerful and dynamic; its impact is inevitable but can be negative as demonstrated by the brain drain of bright intellectuals, professionals and educators, especially from the poor countries migrating to developed countries. Rich countries and corporates may argue that they are moving their business to the Third World countries such as India, China and Brazil creating greater employment opportunities this is in fact further exploits the poor and their labour. As a result globalisation only benefits the rich.

Regardless of whoever -in whatever fashion- advocates globalisation, or speaks out against it, in reality cannot ignore what has become the major social, economic and political issue of our times. Thus, localisation to shape globalisation and make it suitable and sustainable for all could be the alternative solution.

However, the situation in Nepal is different; on the one hand, global donor agencies manipulate the learning policy and on the other hand, knowledge is controlled by the Brahmins and learning has been designed to benefit only the Brahmins. A classic example is the Mahendra Sanskrit University, which has marginalised and excluded 61 indigenous nationalities, the indigenous nationalities who have their own cultures, traditions, religions and languages that are older than the Hindu religion, culture and Sanskrit language. Hence, the learning policy and practice of Nepal only generates social inequalities rather than challenging or transforming the status quo. In addition to this, social elites - mainly Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars (bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes) - have been facilitating global donor agencies and monopolising financial aid for their personal and
communal benefit since the early 1950s. As a result, the global donor agencies' fifty years of aid has not changed the face of poor Nepal. On the contrary, it has made it poorer. These three castes (so called social elites of Nepal) and the agents of global capitalist corporate bodies such as the World Bank, IMF, ADB, etc and the globalisation process (imperialism) are the 'chronic disease' of Nepal that politically, economically, culturally and religiously have ruined the nation-state, making Nepalese people poorer day-by-day, pushing the country into a civil war. Thus, it is important to explore the Nepalese social structure, Hindu religion, caste and class stratification and civil war following globalisation/glocalisation which will be dealt with in chapters five and six respectively.
I briefly discussed Nepalese social structure, Hindu religion, caste and class stratification in chapter two. In this chapter, I am carrying out in-depth discussions on these issues as these affect and influence the lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal. In order to carry out in-depth discussion on these issues, it is important to explore and understand the background and pervasive influence of the Hindu religion, its role in the creation of the caste system and of social exclusion and gender disparity in society. Thus, I have initiated my argument with the socio-political structure of the state that covers ancient, mediaeval and modern Nepal followed by issues concerning the Hindu kingdom, the Hindu religion and the social stratification (castes, indigenous nationalities, gender disparity and class system) as these are historically, socially and politically interlinked. Throughout this discussion I have highlighted how the Hindu religion has created the varnashram (caste and occupation system), gender disparity and the class system or social stratification in Nepalese society that has affected and influenced the processes of lifelong learning. Further, this chapter also covers the socio-political alienation of indigenous nationalities and that of the Sudras. Finally, this chapter concludes by indicating the necessity for further exploration into the Maoist-led civil war.

Nepalese socio-political structure and its background

The socio-political history of Nepal can be studied under three main headings: ancient, medieval and modern Nepal. All three time sequences have been described in brief below:
Ancient Nepal. Though the ancient history of Nepal lacks historical documents and reliable information, it has been described on the basis of tales, fables and orally transmitted legends. It is observed that history bears authenticity only after the 5th century A.D. However, it is believed that the Gopal dynasty provided the first of the rulers of Nepal and maintained their reign for 505 years. They were then defeated by Birsingh, the first king of the Mahishapal dynasty. It is seen that the society of ancient Nepal during these two dynastical rules can be categorised as ranging from nomadic to agrarian in its form.

The Kirat dynasty, that ruled Nepal for “1,963 years and 8 months” (Panday B.S. 2055/1998: 56), rose to power with Yalambar as the first ruler. The areas under this kingdom correspond to the current districts adjoining the Koshi River. It is believed that Yalambar assumed power “around 700 B.C.” (ibid: 56). Gautama Buddha was born during this time and it is believed this took place in “563 B.C” (ibid: 56) during the rule of the Kirats. The social structure during the Kirat era was mainly based on agriculture.

The Lichhivies who migrated from the south into the Kathmandu valley during the “1st - 2nd century A. D.”(ibid: 57) succeeded in taking over the state power from the Kiratis. Jayadev was the first king of the Lichhivi dynasty that ruled ancient Nepal for about one thousand years. The state authority and bureaucracy were well established and foreign policy was also initiated for the first time in Nepal during the Lichhivi rule.

Medieval Nepal. “If we look into the mainstream of history of Nepal, the medieval era started on “20 October 880” (Panday B.S. 2055/1998: 61). The initial stage of medieval Nepal is not that clear, however, the rule of Thakuri dynasty ended in the 12th century A.D. and the Malla dynasty emerged in the country in the early 13th century and ruled until the end of 18th century. The size of medieval Nepal was more or less equal in size to that of ‘greater Nepal’, where the country’s eastern and western borders were demarked by Sutlej River to the west and the Tista River in the east. The first king of medieval Nepal was Raghadev who was also the founder of ‘Nepal Sambat’ (Nepal calendar year). At that time, Patan, Bhadgaun (Bhaktapur) and Kathmandu, the three cities of Kathmandu valley

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were well developed and advanced. Decentralised policy was introduced in the state giving power to local landlords. Business settlements with Tibet were established in the Koshi, Gandaki and Karnali regions. During the time of Malla rule, the sectors of education and art were considerably developed. Nepal, as a state, also helped Tibet in its development efforts in the fields of education and arts. Women were included as advisors in the governing body. Despite this, the country’s political situation became weaker day-by-day. The Malla dynasty, chiefly owing to its extended-family rule, created many conflicts in the inner circle of the family. It was during this time that local landlords started to create separate states marking a new event in the reorganisation of the power structure and later this led into a new phase in which three powers emerged that divided the country into three states i.e. Khas, Doya (Tirhuta) and Malla in the twelve century. The Khas, Doya and Malla power struggle continued for more than two hundred years.

The Khas state disintegrated into more petty states in the west. The Doya kingdom developed ‘Maithali and Bhojpuri (tribes of southern part of Nepal) culture and arts during the time of their reign. Both of these kingdoms had strong military power. Nevertheless, the Doya kingdom was later defeated by an Indian Muslim king from the south called “Gayasuddin Tugalkal in 1324 A.D.” (Panday B. S. 2055/1998: 64). The Malla dynasty mainly ruled the Kathmandu valley in separate kingdoms that were divided into Patan, Bhaktapur and Kathmandu in “1481 A.D.” (ibid: 64). The Ranipokhari (lake) and the Hanuman Dhoka palace (both existing today) were built by Pratap Malla, king of Kathmandu. Bhupatindra Malla (1575 A.D.), king of Bhadgaun, built the present Nyatpola temple of Bhaktapur, which indicates the existence of advanced art, religion and culture.

The other parts of the country further disintegrated during the sixteenth – seventeenth centuries. The country was divided into more than 50 minor states and kingdoms. A few examples are Palpa in the west which was ruled by Mukunda Sen and Bijayapur, Dharan in the east by Buddhikarna Rai (Budha Subba) and Baise, Chaubise who ruled in the west and far west of Nepal.
Unification. In 1559, son of the king of Lamjung, Drabya Shah, took over the kingship of the state of Gorkha. This was the starting point of the unification of today’s modern Nepal, which later was completed by King Prithivi Narayan Shah (1742 - 1775).

Modern Nepal. As mentioned earlier in chapter two, King Prithivi Narayan Shah united several minor states after a lifetime of hard fighting and laid the foundation of modern Nepal. The political unification process commenced by Prithivi Narayan Shah extended the political map of the country. The process however failed to integrate the rural economy with the national economy. The process disrupted the existing and successfully functioning micro-economies and laid the foundation for a dependency model. Examples of social exclusion in the modern era were observed during the unification process where the army was exclusively composed of Chhetris (especially during the time of Bahadur Shah and thereafter) and the courtiers were chiefly Newars and Brahmins. The inclusion of Newars was the result of a compromise among the ruling class. This composition still holds true. With the power structure within the palace and the social system of castes and power stratification being seen as sanctioned by Hindu scripture, the ideology of inclusion cannot be implemented. This is the reason why the present socio-political structure has been unable to address this issue. In fact social alienation and exclusion, as has been argued here, will remain as long as the mode of production and super-structure protecting the status quo remain as the dominant power structure. It was only when the king was forced into his ‘royal cocoon’ of constitutional monarchy by the people’s movement of 1990 that some traces of social inclusion became apparent and voices became heard that were strong enough to support the cause. In the political practice of absolute monarchy, it is only the superstructure that possesses the decisive role, thus the 250 years of ‘King Raj’ has resulted exclusion and marginalisation to poor, landless labourer, women and indigenous nationalities in Nepal.

In 1846, army commander Janga Bahadur Kunwar seized power after the Armoury Massacre (Kot Parba) and declared himself the prime minister of the country, immediately removing all power from the King. After 1846, the Rana family ruled Nepal for 104 years until February 1951. The movement against the Rana oligarchy was aborted into a tri-
lateral (King, India and Rana) agreement in 1951. At this time, the British colonies were gaining independence and sentimental nationalism was at its peak, with inward-looking policies predominating. On 8 January 1951, Prime Minister Mohan Shamsher Janaga Bahadur Rana promised to restore power to the monarchy, amnesty for all political prisoners and elections based on adult suffrage by no later than 1952. The Rana oligarchy officially came to an end on 17 February 1951 and the country’s power was handed back to King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah (1911 - 1955). But, after only eight years, in 1959, the country held its first democratic election and the Nepali Congress Party were elected to office after a landslide victory. This was the period during which the country first experienced democracy but it did not last long. At the end of 1960, King Mahendra (1955 - 1972) forcibly replaced democracy by a political system called ‘the partyless Panchayat polity’ and he banned all political parties. Being well aware of the global trend towards what King Mahendra succeeded in assuming state authority and sovereignty for his own ends and continued the rule of absolute monarchy as depicted in the Hindu scriptures. This phenomenon was simply the result of a greed for power and gave nothing to the people, encouraging besides social, political and economic alienation and estrangement. As the spirit of sentimental nationalism faded away, the process of globalisation, market competition and specialisation woke the nation into a renewed energy, giving birth to the movement of 1990 which grew and advanced, finally removing the king from absolute power. Thus democracy was established in the country for the second time following the people’s pro-democracy movement in 1990. King Birendra (1972 - 2001) announced the end of the partyless Panchayat system and the beginning of democracy on 8 April 1990. The Constitution Recommendation Commission drafted a new democratic constitution, which was promulgated in 1990. According to the constitution, ‘people are the ultimate source of power and the king is a constitutional monarch’. ‘Democratic governance and respect of human rights and values is the cornerstone of the system’. The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal, Article 11, Right to Equality (1990: 3), has clearly stated that:

(1) All citizens shall be equal before the law. No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws.
(2) No discrimination shall be made against any citizen in the application of general laws on grounds of religion (dharma), race (varya), sex (linga), caste (jat), tribe (jati) or ideological conviction (vaicharik) or any of these.

(3) The State shall not discriminate among citizens on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, tribe, or ideological conviction or any of these. Provided that special provisions may be made by law for the protection and advancement of the interests of women, children, the aged or those who are physically or mentally incapacitated or those who belong to a class which is economically, socially or educationally backward.

(4) No person shall, on the basis of caste, be discriminated against as untouchable, be denied access to any public place, or be deprived of the use of public utilities. Any contravention of this provision shall be punishable by law.

(5) No discrimination in regard to remuneration shall be made between men and women for the same work.

However, the concept of ‘Hindu Kingdom’, one of the most controversial aspects of the constitution, has been retained. And it is quite clear that the above-mentioned ‘Right to Equality’ is not in practice in day-to-day life in civil society in Nepal. Furthermore, the aspects of social inclusion have not been seriously expressed. In addition, since the constitution of 1990 does not address the secularity of the state, these twelve years of democracy have actually been influenced by the Hindu scriptures. The result has been the marginalisation of communities, social exclusion and political dominance to indigenous nationalities, the lower castes and women. In the process of global change, these forces are also undergoing transformations within the context of the country that is, to a certain extent, following the trend of the global forces.

Hinduism and Nepal

Parrinder (1972: 1) writes; “what exactly is Hinduism?” The Hindu religion is so complex and diverse. It is a religion of many beliefs and many philosophies. In regards to this Chaudhari (1979: 1) states, “Hinduism is a human phenomenon of immense magnitude and overpowering not only by reason of that, but also owing to its bewildering diversity”. Further, Chaudhari (ibid: 154) writes, “the religious practices of the Hindus are even more various than their beliefs”. According to Regmi (2001: 428 - 429):
Hinduism, a polytheistic religion, is recognized as the religion of India and Nepal, where it originated thousands of years ago. Although most of the basic beliefs of Hinduism solidified about 2,000 years ago, some of the Vedas (sacred writings), as well as the gods whom Hindus worship today, date back 4,000 years. Unlike other religions, Hinduism claims no founder [...]. Hindus acknowledge the existence of hundreds of gods, [...], Brahman as the greatest deity, the creator of all who, as an over lasting spirit contains all the lesser gods. [...]. Central to this belief is Karma, the idea that a person's behaviour in this life will determine his or her position in the next life.

The Hindu scriptures have indicated that the Hindu religion originated in the Indus Valley along the side of the 'Indus Valley civilisation' where Aryan tribes used to live. However, there is not sufficient evidence since "[...] the Indus script cannot be read and, apart from the bath at Mohenjo-Daro [...]" (Weaver 1972: 9), which, the Hindu priests interpreted as the "[...] early Hinduism, it is possible that ancient purification rites took place [...]" (ibid: 9, in italic is original). Later, in the process of human migration and population movements, the Aryan tribes migrated into India and Nepal taking the Hindu religion with them. Weaver and Hinnells (1972: 12) described this in the following way:

In the middle of the second millennium B.C., sometime between 1,750 and 1,200 B.C., the Aryan-speaking tribes who entered India from the north-west established themselves in the Punjab and gradually advanced eastwards. This movement was not an organised invasion of India; it was rather part of a whole series of ethnic waves or movements that affected both Europe and Asia.

The long-term knock-on effect of the Aryan-speaking tribes' migration into India and subsequently into Nepal was to create Nepal as the only Hindu state in the world. Consequently the ruler is elevated as the incarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu. The country's constitution has declared the Hindu religion as the national religion: in doing so they choose to ignore 60% of the population's true religion. "With the 'unification' of Nepal, Hindunization was promoted actively by the state [...]" (Lawoti 2001: 3). Nepal is a country of 61 indigenous nationalities where more than 61 religions, traditions and cultures exist: despite this, indigenous nationalities have been openly marginalised. Therefore, in this chapter, I am mainly focusing on how Hinduism is creating social
exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity in Nepalese society in general and lifelong learning policy and practice in particular.

Social stratification: caste, gender disparity and class system in Nepal

Social stratification. Collins English Dictionary (1998: 1648) defined stratification as "[...] the division of [...] especially society, into different classes or layers." Regmi (2001: 257) described stratification in the following term:

In all societies, at least some scarce resources are distributed unequally. Thus, it could be said that some form of social stratification exists in all societies. In a sense, these patterns of stratification can be thought of as ranking systems within societies. People can be ranked on the basis of how much of the society's scarce resources they own and control. Those with a large share of scarce resources rank high; those with a small share rank low.

The hierarchically organised social structures such as caste, class, ranks, status and groups is called social stratification which promotes segmentation, contradictions and opposition, antagonism, etc, in society. The caste (varna) system plays a vital role in the creation of a hierarchical social system in Hindu society. Koirala (1998: 2) writes, "a rich Dalit feels inferior to all caste groups: Brahman, Chhetri, Vaishya, and ‘touchable’ Sudra." According to (Sharma 1994: vii) "social stratification being a societal phenomenon focuses on general issues relating to structuring of social inequalities in human societies.” In regards to social structure, Regmi (2001: 114) states, “social structure refers to the organization of society - its social positions and the ongoing relationships among these social positions.” Classical Marxist approach advocates that the ‘social structure is defined by the mode of economic production and by the relationships which individuals have to the means of production’. Every society, whether it is small or large, has a structure and culture. Culture is “[...] shared knowledge, beliefs, values and rules about behaviour that exist within a society” (ibid: 114). Marx investigated these social phenomena by means of historical and dialectical materialism. In addition, Marx examined the nature and determinants of social organization with the fact of work. This is the beginning of Marxist analysis that is based
Men may be distinguished from animals by consciousness, religion or anything else. They begin to differentiate themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organisation. By producing their means of existence men indirectly produce their material life itself.

In Nepal, the Hindu religion has divided peoples into different ‘castes-occupation (varnashram)’ and the roles played by them in the production, distribution, exchange and consumption systems has created inequality, marginalisation and social exclusion in society. The country’s lifelong learning policy and practice is not free from this problem. Hence, one of the objectives of my research is to explore the problem in order to determine some solutions.

The most common social divisions in Nepal are caste (varna/varnashram) and class. Within these two strata there is gender disparity/oppression of women where male and female roles are divided. In addition, there is a separate identity of indigenous nationalities. Thus, the people are divided into different caste, class, gender and ethnic groups (indigenous nationalities) in society which has strongly affected and influenced the policy and practice of lifelong learning. Therefore, it is important to discuss indigenous nationalities, caste, gender, class and their social status which I cover in the following paragraphs.

**Indigenous nationalities.** Originally, Nepal was a nation of indigenous nationalities. Even today, each has its own unique culture, tradition, religion, language and dialects. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in around 1,750 and 1,200 B.C., Aryan people from the Indus valley migrated into Nepal via the North West bringing with them the Hindu religion, culture and tradition. They not only migrated into the country; but slowly they succeeded in wrestling power and land from the local people. Caplan (1970/2000: 2) writes:
the country of the Limbus in east Nepal – when the Hindus came as immigrant settlers. Ever since, the latter have tried, by fair means and foul, and with conspicuous success, to ‘eat’ Limbu land.

Further, Caplan (ibid: 2) stated “a Hindu-tribal land struggle is not unique to Nepal” and cited (Furer-Haimendorf 1967: 184) how “in India Hindu settlers entered tribal areas and often succeeded in acquiring large stretches of the aboriginals’ land.” When land - and consequently power - became theirs, these incomers commenced cultural invasion of indigenous nationalities. Once modern Nepal was established, this policy was implemented by King Prithivi Narayan Shah using his famous slogan i.e. ‘Nepal is a country of four castes and thirtysix varnas’. Indigenous nationalities were slotted into the Hindu caste system, as touchable Sudras, which is the lowest caste in the Hindu caste hierarchy. Furthermore, during the time of the Partyless Panchayat system (1960 – 1990), the concept of ‘one country; one language/culture/tradition/religion and dress policy’ was introduced, effectively sidelining all other religions, languages etc. Despite of these restrictions, indigenous nationalities never gave up their culture, tradition and religion. Instead they continued to practise them and never became Hindu. Since 1990, the existence of indigenous nationalities has been recognised. However, the declaration of Hindu Kingdom and the Hindu religion as a national religion has excluded and marginalised the 61 indigenous nationalities from the main stream of social processes. Lawoti (2001: 4) writes:

By declaring Nepal a Hindu state, the Constitution discriminates against other native religions. The Constitution itself is, hence, communal. Hindu norms and values have become the norms and values of the state. Many of the festivals and traditions have been interpreted as Hindu cultures. It has been used as the basis for formulating policies that favour the dominant group.

Since the unification of modern Nepal, indigenous nationalities have been mainly excluded from the mainstream of learning processes. The Hindus, mainly Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar, destroyed indigenous scriptures and sources of learning and indigenous people are also barred from reading the Vedic scriptures. In the long run, the learning culture is more or less diminished in indigenous communities.
Caste system. Caste, incorporating colour and occupation (varnashram), is one of the main systems of the Hindu religion (a brief discussion on varnashram has been carried out in chapter two). In regards to this, Sharpe (1972: 128) writes:

A Hindu is a Hindu not because he accepts certain doctrines or philosophies, but because he is a member of a caste (varna). Hence it is strictly speaking impossible to become a Hindu, other than by being born into a caste.

In Nepal, caste plays a vital role as the caste system is institutionalised within the socio-political system of the country. According to the Hindu religion there are four main castes which are based on occupation. The diagram given below has shown the Hindu religion, caste hierarchy and mobility in between castes:

**Diagram: 3 Hindu religion and caste hierarchy**

![Diagram](image)

**Brahmin**: The top caste: they perform priestly tasks, and carry out religious functions i.e. reading and writing of the Vedas. Brahmins are state ruler’s advisors in policy-making and participate in logical debate. Brahmins form the ‘think tank’ in the Hindu society. In the context of Nepal, Brahmins control the nation-state’s knowledge, politics and resources. The major political parties such as: Nepalese Congress (NC) and United Marxist Leninist (UML) leaders are Brahmins. Even the supreme commander of the CPN (Maoist) is from this caste.

**Chhetri**: The warrior and ruling caste. Since the foundation of the modern Nepal, the post of the Chief of the Army Staff (highest post of the Armed Forces) has been always occupied by a Chhetri. Although the constitution advocates equal opportunities, the real situation is different. Policy is never transformed into practice by these so-called
upper caste Hindu elites. In 250 years of modern Nepal’s history only one non-Brahmin/Chhetri, a Vaishya became Prime Minister in 1989-90. Whether it was the partyless or the multiparty system, it did not make any difference; lower castes have always been excluded and marginalised from the learning processes and the country’s posts of responsibility.

**Vaishya:** The caste of trade, craftsmen and farmers. Vaishyas are marginalised and excluded from becoming the country’s prime minister or the Chief of the Armed Forces. Apart from this, Vaishyas share equally the nation-state’s resources and privileges with Brahmins and Chhetris.

**Sudra:** The caste of servants and slaves also known as untouchable (as highlighted earlier, after unification of modern Nepal indigenous nationalities has been included into the Hindu caste system as a touchable Sudras). People from this caste are socially excluded, politically marginalised, kept away from resources, landless, labourers, poor, slaves, and are occasionally even barred from reading and writing.

Sharpe (1972: 128-29) citied Manu (I, 88-91) who described the varnashram (caste occupation) in the following way:

To Brahmanas he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (of alms). The Kshtriya he commanded to protect the people, to bestow sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures; the Vaishya to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land. One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the Shudra, to serve meekly even these other three castes, not allowed to study (the Veda). (Manu I, 88-91, in italic is original).

Caste and power may be treated as subjects of economic and political dimensions of social relations rather than merely as a system of ritual hierarchy for better reasons. The evolution of the caste system is the product of economic relations. The caste system signifies contradictions within the society and perhaps the potential source of transition of
the society. However, the class contradictions are occasionally weakened by the ideology of religion and caste.

**Gender disparity.** According to the Hindu religion and culture, women are not equal to men. Women are expected to be dependent: housewives are unable to carry out leadership and make decisions. As a result, in Hindu society a women’s status is often seen as a product of husband to whom she is married. Thus, women are always known by their husband’s identity and are less valued than men in Nepal. ‘Human Rights Features’ (HRF 2001: 3) writes:

Girls are less valued in Nepali culture than boys. They receive less medical care and education, and chauvinistic attitudes preclude vital opportunities. Female literacy and female foeticide rates are alarming. Girls are married early, despite the government’s official minimum age requirements. The lack of education perpetuates the problem of child marriage and the problem of child marriage perpetuates the lack of education.

In the Hindu religion, a son is required in various ritual ceremonies, especially death rites. Women are normally treated badly and inhumanly by husband and family if they are unable to give birth to a baby boy. If a woman is unable to give birth to a son, her husband will normally marry another woman in the hope of securing a son. A family without a son can be seen as unclean and unholy. In Hindu society there are many jobs only men can do and women are not allowed even to touch. Parvati (2003: 167) writes:

In Hindu tradition, women are looked upon as mere ‘daughters’ before they become ‘wives’ and until they die as ‘mothers’ of children (particularly sons). Because of the strength of patriarchy and of patrilineal inheritance law, Nepal has one of the highest indices of son preference in the world. Thus females (girls and women) face discrimination from the womb to the tomb.

Hinduism, feudalism and inequality are strongly embedded in Nepalese society. Onesto (2003: 168) expressed this in the following way:

*Under feudalism a daughter is ‘useful’ and ‘valuable’ in her childhood years, when she can do chores and serve the household. But according to such feudal thinking,
it is not worth it to ‘invest’ in a girl by giving her an education because she will just end up marrying and going off to live in – and serve – another household.

Onesto (ibid: 168) further writes:

In the countryside in Nepal, there is a saying: ‘To get a girl is like watering a neighbour’s tree. You have the trouble and expense of nurturing the plant but the fruits are taken by somebody else.’ I did meet a number of women who had been allowed to go to school, at least up until high school. But when I visited colleges in the cities, almost all of the students were men.

Women are discriminated against in many ways in Nepal; for example: in far-western Nepal during menstruation, women are segregated and kept outside the family home, in poorly made makeshifts huts. Women have to endure four miserable days every month until the time of menopause. Daughters are not entitled to hereditary assets: to this day, women are treated as second class citizens in Nepal, especially in villages and rural areas. In regards to this, Parvati (2003: 168) writes:

The caste system makes women belonging to the scheduled (or ‘untouchable’) castes even more vulnerable economically, socially and sexually. In fact, the imposition of Hindu culture on Nepali society is so strong that it has even affected women who belong to less feudalistic non-Hindu groups.

In summary, the Hindu religion is the basis of caste hierarchy and varnashram is a tool of exploitation. The government passed a law against caste and untouchability in 1963 but it has remained only in the policy paper because that was against the wish of the upper castes. In Nepalese society, the upper castes make policy and control knowledge and resources. Thus, the untouchability law has never been strongly enforced. Even today, lower castes cannot enter temples for worship. Upper castes, i.e. Brahmin and Chhetri, have controlled and monopolised the political and social processes in the country, such as: “[...] the Brahmin represents the ‘religious’ authority and the Chhetri enjoys ‘political’ power” (Sharma 1994: 58). Indigenous nationalities and Sudras have been marginalised and excluded from the mainstream of socio-politics including in the processes of learning since the foundation of the modern Nepal. Youngman (2000: 137) states:
Although the social relations of production are the major determinant of social inequality, there are other significant divisions in society whose origins are independent of class, particularly those of gender, ethnicity and race. These divisions interact with those of class within the capitalist mode of production, and form a complex system of inequality.

These are the root causes of social exclusion and gender disparity in Hindu society in general and Nepalese society, where the Hindu religion has been declared as the state religion in particular. It is unlawful and inhuman, excluding and marginalising the majority of the population by declaring the Hindu kingdom and the Hindu religion as a national religion in a country where 60% of the population are non-Hindus. Among them, approx 35% indigenous people practise their own religions and a third of the population practice Buddhism. There are also Muslims and Christians\(^\text{18}\) in the country. Further, the Hindu religion and caste system have promoted the class system in Nepali society, which is discussed in the following paragraphs.

**Class structure.** No society is the world is free from social division. In western countries, society is mainly divided in accordance with wealth and the educational qualifications that normally generate wealth. In places like Nepal and India, we can find both caste and class division in society. Can it be possible? Can caste and class exist together? Class refers to a group of people who are similar in terms of level of income. As mentioned above, inequalities in income or wealth is called class stratification and the position within that system of inequality is called social class structure. Thus, Youngman (2000: 137) writes:

> From the perspective of political economy, the most fundamental divisions relate to the economic organisation of society. Inequality is a structural feature of capitalist society, because class differences in the ownership and control of productive resources constitute the basis of social domination and subordination.

Marx made the most important contribution on social class structure. According to him, there are two types of class in any type of society: “freeman and slave, patrician and

\(^{18}\) Currently, the Christian religion is spreading very rapidly especially among the poor and lower caste people.
plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed" (Marx and Engles 1848/1935: 23). Hence, the ruling class, who owned the means of production, and the proletarian class, who work for the ruling class. In this type of mode of production, whatever production is made by the working class, a certain portion will remain as a surplus even after deducting labour wages, rent of land, machines, etc, and investment in raw materials. The remaining surplus which is net profit is appropriated by land and factory owners as being rightfully theirs. Engles (1969: 24) described this in the following terms:

The wage-worker sells to the capitalist his labour-force for a certain daily sum. After a few hours work he has reproduced the value of that sum, but the substance of his contract is, that he has to work another series of hours to complete his working day; and the value he produces during those additional hours of surplus labour is surplus value, which costs the capitalist nothing, but *surplus value* […] goes into his pocket (in italic is original).

This process creates two distinct classes in society i.e. owners and workers. Because of wealth, the owners get power or become powerful, superior and dominant in society. They try their best to control knowledge, resources and key posts and policies. In the long term, this unequal practice creates conflict in society which Marx called class struggle. Both owners and workers "[…] stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, […]" (Marx and Engles 1848/1935: 23).

The current Nepalese civil war comes under this framework which will be dealt in chapter six. However, the class structure of Nepal is different to what Marx saw in 1840s in England, due to the Hindu religion and the caste system. Classes are found in Hindu societies, such as that in Nepal, in the frame of the caste system. About this issue, Sharma (1994: 93-94) has expressed his views in the following terms:

(1) The caste system functions as an extremely effective method of economic exploitation. The dominant class also acquires political power and social prestige which further perpetuates and consolidates caste hierarchy. Thus, caste hierarchy reflects ownership of land; economic hierarchy is closely linked with social hierarchy.
(2) Caste determines a definite relation to the means of production and subsistence especially in rural areas.

(3) Caste also refers to the relations of production as it controls the access of groups and individuals to the conditions of production and to resources and provides the social framework for politico-ritual activity.

(4) [...] the caste system was not merely division of labour, but also a division of labourers. However, caste prevents labourers from being a class-for-itself, hence caste as an ideology.

(5) Caste and religion are used to perpetuate a particular class structure.

(6) Caste persists as a part of feudal ideology.

Therefore, Sharma (1994: 96) writes, “classes function within the context of castes” in Hindu society, for instance, in Nepal. More about this issue will be discussed later in chapter nine of this thesis. Thus, a Marxist explanation is quite suitable in analysing the socio-political structure of Nepal. By this I mean, caste should be analysed in regard to its historical material basis and its role in politics i.e. which castes are the ruling ones, and which ones own land and capital? Who employs wage-labourers and take surplus monies? In contrast to the Marxist explanation, on some occasions, caste divisions slow down the progress and unity among the oppressed classes. For example, an oppressed Brahmin feels superior to an oppressed Sudra. In addition to this, Nepal is still a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country which is suffering from the monopoly, exploitation and oppression of bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes and transnational donor agencies. According to this perspective, all classes are defined by the relations in which the various sections of society are found related to the means of production. Castes are a legacy of feudal class divisions. Function of class is based on castes and caste conflict is also class conflict.

Untouchable Sudras of the Hindu caste system are equivalent to Marx’s working class and Brahmin, Chhetri and Vaishya equate to owner/ruling class and middle class. Caste refers to inequality in Nepalese society in theory as well as in practice. The caste system is stronger in rural Nepal than urban, but the class (khandan/gharan) system and its effect in society can be found across the country. Thus, in the context of Nepal caste and class are synonymous, and inseparable. Sharma (1994: 239) stated:
Caste-class congruence and/or incongruence have been examined in several studies of social movements. 'Caste feudalism' refers to class relations, or caste relations encapsulate class relations, or that caste relations are another name for class relations - are some of the recent expressions based on several studies conducted by social scientists in India.

The diagram given below highlights the relationship between class and caste system and the socio-political structure of Nepal, which are described in the following paragraphs:

**Diagram: 4 Class and socio-political structure of Nepal: Marxist perspective:**

Monarch (God Vishnu) - Chhetri

Feudal class, social elites and domestic reactionary forces - Brahmins, Chhetris and Vaishyas

Middle class (urban and rural bourgeois) - Brahmins, Chhetris, Vaishyas and Sudras (-very few)

Poor farmers, Peasants and Landless labourers - Brahmins (-very few), Chhetris (-very few), Vaishya (-very few) and Sudra (+majority)

**Monarch (God Vishnu), head of the feudal society and feudalism.** Since ancient Nepal to date, the monarchical institutions always remain as the power house of the country. The monarch is an incarnation of the God Vishnu, Chhetri by caste, and the ruler of the only Hindu state of the world. Even after the restoration of democracy in 1990, the monarch did remain above the country’s constitution. For this very reason, the present king was able to dismantle the democratic (partial democracy) system and remove the executive power on the 4th of October 2002. Since then, the king again assumed absolute power over the nation-state. Currently, there are two parallel powers in the country, i.e. the monarch and the Maoist. The former is the leader of the feudal class, the latter is fighting to overthrow the feudal leader, feudal society and create a 'New Democratic' society led by the
proletarian class. Because of this conflict; the country’s lifelong learning policy and practice has been disrupted across the country.

Feudalism is a type of agrarian society where the predominant occupation is farming. Land is normally controlled by the society’s feudal class and the present system of Nepal is no exception. In Nepal, 80% of population is dependent on agriculture and related jobs. More than 67% of the population have less than two hectares of land, which is not enough to maintain day-to-day life. Finally 1.7% of the population are landless. Hence, the majority of population either have to rent land from landlords, or commit their whole family to toil in bonded labour. Thus, feudalism or feudal society is a “hierarchy of political power based usually with a monarch at the head, and in which bonded peasants work the land as serfs” (Jary and Jary 2000: 214, in italic is original).

Feudal class, social elites and domestic reactionary forces. According to the Marxist perspective, feudal class equals land owner with the rest of the population working for them. In the context of Nepal, the majority of the feudal class are from the Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar, castes, while a few from Madhesi (people form the southern region of Nepal except Brahmins and Chhetris; according to Neupane (2000: 82) “9% of the madhesi are Indigenous Peoples”) and indigenous nationalities. They occupy the top bureaucratic posts with national policy formulated by them. As highlighted in table 1 below; Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar, especially, have very close association with the palace and control knowledge, resources and facilitate the foreign donor agencies. Almost all the king’s advisors belong to these three castes. The country’s fertile lands are owned by these three castes. The nation-state’s armed forces belong to them and the major political parties’ leaders - including the CPN (Maoist) - are from these three castes. Thus, Brahmins, Chhetris and Newar are the social elite of Nepal. As per the Marxist view, the feudal class of Nepal (majority of Brahmins, Chhetris and Newar, a few from Madhesi and indigenous nationalities) are domestic reactionary forces who have been playing a vital role in facilitating the maintenance of the foreign monopoly in the state. Therefore, “presently, the Nepalese society is suffering from the exploitation and suppression of feudalism,
bureaucratic comprador capitalism and imperialism" (CPN UML 1998: 7). The following table has illustrated the points argued above:

Table 1: Integrated National Index of Governance, 1999:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Bahuns (Brahmi-Chhetri)</th>
<th>Newar</th>
<th>Madhesi</th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
<th>Dalit</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitutional bodies</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>265</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>245</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties leadership</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDC chair/vice chair, mayor/deputy mayor of municipality</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry/commerce leadership</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational ass'n leadership</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture: academic &amp; professional leadership</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science/Technology</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil society leadership</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1011</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1520</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population %</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference %</td>
<td>+34.9</td>
<td>+9.6</td>
<td>-19.7</td>
<td>-15.1</td>
<td>-8.4</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 9% of the madhesi are Indigenous Peoples.

Middle class (urban and rural bourgeois). The middle class includes all classes and castes. There is no exact statistical data available for the country. However, the majority of middle class are from Brahmins, Chhetris and Vaishyas, a reasonable percentage from Madhesis and indigenous nationalities and very few from Sudras. This class consists of the highly educated, intellectuals and academics, etc. The highest degree of mobility is found in this class. They also have a good relationship with both feudal class and working class. Thus, the middle class is known as a very sensitive but unstable class. Normally, the middle class produces leadership for both the feudal and working classes. Classical Marxist approach only talks about ruling and oppressed class; however, the middle class always plays an important role in the process of social change. In Nepal since 1949, on the establishment of the Communist party of Nepal, many educated young people went underground to educate and mobilise downtrodden people to overcome their oppression.
As a consequence, educated middle-class people and the oppressed united to rebel in 1950 against the Rana oligarchy; in the Jhapa uprising in 1971; in the 1990's people's democratic movement and in the current Maoist-led civil war. Although two top Maoist leaders are Brahmins -the upper Hindu caste- they are both from the middle class. If we look into world history, the majority of leaders of either capitalists or communists are from the middle classes. History has also proved that usually middle class people are opportunists and more ambitious than the working class.

**Poor farmer, peasants and landless labourers: working class.** Most of the Indigenous Nationalities and Madhesi come under this classification. The majority of these people are poor farmers and some of them are landless labourers, excluded and marginalised from mainly non-formal and formal learning. The majority of Sudras do not possess more than a tiny piece of land and many are poor and landless labourers. Only a few Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars are poor farmers, peasants and landless labourers. In comparison, the higher caste people are reasonably rich whereas the lower caste people are poor and landless labourers and thus come under the Marxist classification of working class.

**Socio-political alienation of indigenous nationalities, others and Sudras**

Since the unification of modern Nepal, indigenous nationalities and Sudras are alienated and excluded from the mainstream of socio-political processes and discriminated against in various ways, one of which is in the field of education. Brahmin and Chhetri -a minority in terms of population- dominate and discriminate against the majority of people in Nepal. The combined number of Brahmin and Chhetri totals only 31.6% of population. Despite this minority status, they dominate the rest of the society by controlling the socio-political apparatus by constitutional and legal manipulation and historic and current imposition of Hindu ideology, a process which severely disadvantages other communities in society. For instance, by declaring the state to be Hindu in the Constitution and imposing Hindu norms and values in society, they automatically create and generate discriminating activities towards Sudras, Madhesi, female groups and non-Hindu indigenous nationalities. Social hierarchy, following the Hindu norms, designate the indigenous peoples and Sudras as...
lower than the upper caste Hindus, and such norms in society have discriminated against indigenous peoples, Sudras and others in their daily encounter with the caste Hindu elite group members. Imposition of dominant cultural values on indigenous peoples has threatened their culture and traditions and has rendered other religious groups and customs vulnerable.

The Khas language has been treated as the 'Nepali' language and other indigenous languages, such as Kirat, Magar, Tamu and so on, are not considered Nepali. Similarly, only the 'Devanagiri' script has been treated as the Nepali script, whereas other scripts such as 'Kirat Sirijunga'\(^\text{19}\), Newari and many others are not even considered as national assets.

The indigenous nationalities are facing cultural invasion because the nation and society promote only Hindu culture while these others are marginalised and excluded. The Constitution and state laws do not give equal status to non-Hindu lifestyles and practices. There is even discrimination in the allocation of the budget, in that it is only allocated for the development of the Hindu religion. The irony of this phenomenon is that egalitarian practices, including learning, of the indigenous peoples have been destroyed and replaced by globalisation, Hindunisation and Christianisation in Nepal.

**Conclusion**

Stratification is social inequality in society, for example the caste system of Nepal where the Brahmins are the religious authority and the Chhetris are the political players. Brahmins and Chhetris have mutually beneficial ties. The king is a Chhetri, and is thus the centre of political and socio-religious power, one promoting the other in the aim of maximising the institution's interests. All of social activity including associations, and many socio-political and economic interrelationships are determined by both the caste and class system. At present, Nepalese society is suffering from the exploitation and oppression of feudalism, bureaucratic comprador capitalism and imperialism. Due to these various reasons, Indigenous Nationalities, Sudras, working class Brahmin, Chhetri,

\(^{19}\) The original script of 'Kirat Sirijunga' is in the British Museum in London.
Newars, Madhesi and others -those who are oppressed by global, national and local reactionary forces- are determined to overthrow the oppression. In regard to this present situation, Prachand\textsuperscript{20} (2003: i) writes:

For the last eight years, a great Peoples' War against feudalism and imperialism is marching ahead in a rapid pace under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist), an inseparable wing of the international proletariat and a glorious vanguard of the proletariat in Nepal. The old feudal state has been wiped out from the entire rural areas extending from the southern plains to the northern high Himalayas, and the process of building new peoples’ power is advancing rapidly. This great process of the Peoples’ War is now preparing militarily for a strategic offensive from the stage of strategic equilibrium.

Taking account of all these issues, the CPN (Maoist)-led civil war and the current socio-political situation in Nepal are explored in chapter six.

\textsuperscript{20} Prachanda (Chairman, CPN - Maoist).
CHAPTER SIX

THE MAOISTS-LED CIVIL WAR AND LIFELONG LEARNING IN THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIO-POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

In previous chapters I have covered Nepalese social structure and the Hindu religion and their influence on lifelong learning policy and practice. As highlighted in chapter five, it is necessary to explore the Maoist-led civil war and its effects on lifelong learning policy and practice in the state. According to Muni (2003: 12), “at the time of their first attacks on the army in November 2001, it was estimated that the Maoists had strong support in about 44 of the 75 districts, particularly in the rural areas.” At present, the Maoists control almost all villages of the country. I have briefly discussed the issue in chapter two and my aim in this chapter is to explore and expand upon this issue. In order to do this, I will examine the how, why and when the current civil war and the communist movement which started in Nepal and how the CPN (Maoist) emerged on the Nepalese political scene. Also for discussion will be the legacy of the communist movement in Nepal, followed by discussion of lifelong learning policy and practice in the contemporary socio-political environment.

The root causes of the CPN (Maoist) led civil war

The current CPN (Maoist)-led civil war of Nepal has been viewed from different perspectives. The majority of people perceive that it is because of failed development, while others see it as an indigenous uprising and a few, especially the royalists, including the present king, have concluded that it is an outcome of bad governance and failed democracy. According to Upreti (2002: 23), the root causes of the civil war are:

Rampant poverty, structural inequality, political oppression, social discrimination against certain groups like Kamaya, women, Dalit, etc., failure of the public administration, widespread corruption and continuous failure of the successive
governments to address these structural problems are root causes of the current conflict in Nepal. The Maoist insurgency is only the manifestation or intermediate result of these problems. Feudal legacy, political instability, dependency syndromes, lack of transparency and the social exclusion are further contributing to fuel conflict. In addition [...] the growing awareness of the Nepalese people. [...] aware about the poverty, inequality [...] destruction of indigenous social networks in Nepal.

Academicians and think-tanks of the country argue that it is a socio-economic and political problem that has been building up since the foundation of the modern Nepal.

Social causes. Since the unification of modern Nepal, Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars have been consolidating the privileges of the state for their own benefit. Almost all political and bureaucratic positions are occupied by people from these castes and they are very close to the royal power. Thus, Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars form the social elite of Nepal. They act as advisors to the king, the country’s policy makers, controllers of knowledge and facilitators to global powers. The Maoist and communist parties of Nepal called them ‘social elites and bureaucratic comprador classes’. According to Marxist classification, the majority of these castes form the feudal class. The above three groups succeeded in settling down in a place like Kathmandu which is commercially and politically important, being the international access point of Nepal, and “[...] those inhabiting the backward and oppressed regions are often indigenous peoples” (Bhattarai 2003: 150).

As explained in chapter five, originally Nepal was a country of ‘Indigenous Nationalities’ and the majority of indigenous nationalities are socially, economically and politically excluded and marginalised by the dominant class such as Brahmins, Chhetris and Newar. Thus, Thapa and Sijapati (2003: 74-75) write:

[...] many of Nepal’s socio-cultural groups have never had access to the state apparatus. The presence of Dalit (so-called untouchable), Madhesi (people of Terai origin) and Janjati (indigenous nationalities), in the state has been negligible. Because of this polarisation, Nepali civil servants operate from Kathmandu, are oriented to the Kathmandu valley – seen to be the real hub of national life – and the welfare of ethnic villagers in remote places is completely ignored. As a result, the
incidence of poverty is higher among ethnic groups [...] while the other hardest-hit have always been Dalits (in italic is original).

This situation has remained unchanged in the country regardless of political changes. Taking account of this, the Maoists started their revolution from the Magar-occupied areas called Rukum and Rolpa where people have been socially, politically and economically marginalised since the unification of Nepal. The Magar is the largest of the indigenous nationalities groups which forms “7.2%” (Shaha 2003: 50) of the total population of Nepal. Rukum and Rolpa are the springboards of the current civil war and the Maoist heartland.

Economic causes. Nepal is “[...] the second poorest country in the world [...]” (Bhattarai 2003: 117). The government statistics shows that ‘38% of Nepal’s population live under the poverty line’. According to Prachanda, the General Secretary of the CPN (Maoist) (2003c: 82) says, “more than 72% of the Nepalese people live below the poverty line” and annual per-capita income is only “US$210” (CBS 2000: 252). However, “per capita income is less than US$100 in the Maoist stronghold of Rolpa” (Thapa and Sijapati 2003: 58). Nepal is a country of bias. As mentioned above, the feudal class and the social elite are policy makers and the way such policy is made is always biased in various ways e.g. donor bias, class bias, urban bias, caste bias, etc. As a consequence of which bias, policy never matches with reality, never fully transforms into practice and ends up without achieving its objectives. Nepal has suffered from this ‘bias syndrome’ for a long time. The ‘bias syndrome’ has created the gap between rich and poor, urban and rural, upper caste and lower caste and finally the state has been converted into a puppet, dependent on donor agencies. In regards to this, Thapa and Sijapati (ibid: 60) have stated, “[...] the economy has worked in favour of the urban and rural rich and a handful of elites.” Bhattarai (2003: 120) describes this in the following way:

The present era is one of imperialism or monopoly capitalism. Because of the nature of unequal and uneven development inherent in capitalism, most of the world’s capital and wealth has become concentrated in the hands of the few imperialist countries of the West and the North, whereas most of the countries of the East and South [...] are suffering from underdevelopment and poverty. That the gap between the rich and the poor has never been so wide in the history of mankind and that this gap is growing ever wider [...]
These structural inequalities created by the local and global elites and the Hindu religion have made an environment conducive to the Maoist revolution.

**Political causes.** The state rulers since the establishment of the modern Nepal never became open, efficient and people-oriented. After the restoration of democracy, both ruling and opposition parties did not take the socio-economic and political issues seriously, rather spending their time on corruption and personal gain. The situation of the major political parties became particularly serious and had got worse by 1995. One way or another, the Panchayat politicians again ruled, spoiled and destroyed the country. Thus Shaha (2003: 51) writes, “it is the dismal performance of these mainstream national political groupings so far that has strengthen the Maoist appeal to the people in some areas.” Thapa and Sijapati (2003: 62-63) expressed this in the following way:

Even with the coming of multiparty democracy the prospects for socio-economic transformation in Nepal remained dim because of the lack of adequate focus by government and development agencies on rural areas and the unchanged character of Nepal as society in which pre-capitalist relations of production dominate.

Although there was only a partial democracy in the state, people were allowed to organise and express their views openly. There is no doubt that the Maoists took full advantage of those political privileges in different areas of their revolutionary work. At the same time, under the instruction of the multi-party government of 1995, the police forces carried out Operation code named 'Romeo' to suppress the leftist mass of Rukum and Rolpa. Police killed many poor farmers and peasants and raped their mothers, wives and daughters. Karki and Seddon (2003: 23) stated:

*During Operation Romeo in 1995 […], the police was particularly violent and even barbaric in operations in the mid western hills. They treated everyone as a potential Maoist and many innocent people were arrested, ill-treated, tortured and killed almost randomly (in italic is original).*

Many poor farmers and peasants left their villages and migrated to India and those young boys and girls who remained joined the CPN Maoist, while their fathers and mothers
became supporters and sheltered the Maoist fighters. Thus, the local people become more politically aware because of police oppression, rather than the Maoists' education, and joined the CPN (Maoist).

In summary, the root causes of the current civil war are socio-economic and political. In local terms, it is true to say that people are suffering from 'gans, bas kapas, samajik asamanta and dahtshya sarkar' (food, housing, social discrimination and an ineffective government) since the foundation of the modern Nepal. The Shah and Rana autocratic rule of 250 years, twelve years of democratic rules and fifty years of foreign loans and donation did not bring any changes; instead the state went from poor to poorer.

The state's position before the civil war. Since the founding of modern Nepal by King Prithivi Narayan Shah in 1769, the state fought only one major war (1814-16) with the British East India Company, which concluded with the Treaty of Sugauli (1816), with Nepal losing a large tract of land stretching all the way from the Tista to the Sutlej rivers and granting access of Gurkha manpower to the British. The only other brief (minor) war was fought with Tibet in 1856. The only recent action Nepal has seen was the minor battle the Nepalese army fought with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and India-backed Tibetan Khampa guerillas around the northwestern (Mustang) and eastern (Ghunsa Jaritar, Taplejung) frontiers of the country in the early 1970s.

Writings on the present civil war of Nepal have reflected that though Nepal was recognised as a 'zone of peace' in the late eighties, the Maoists and the Narayanhiti palace have converted the country into a war zone. For example:

Between its founding as a modern state in 1768-69 and the year 1996, only one event had posed a serious threat to Nepal’s integrity: the 1814-16 war with the English East India Company. Since then the country had been more or less at peace with the world outside and with itself. This was broken when the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) launched its janayuddha, a 'people's war', in 1996, to start a conflict that has led to the gravest internal crisis Nepal has faced since the standoff against the British nearly two centuries ago. (Thapa and Sijapati 2003: v).
Although the country was seen enjoying some peace from the outside, it was in fact a melting pot of discontented and oppressed people. The oppressed people tried to revolt on many occasions e.g. Lakhan Thapa and Prachanda Gorkha’s revolt against the Rana regime, “the revolt in Rukum led by Kami Buda in 1952, peasants’ movements [...] of the eastern Terai in 1953 and Dang district in 1958-59” (Nepal 2003: 406, in italic is original).

Nepalese people’s movements against the oppression have been aborted many times, for instance the revolution of 1950/51 against the Rana rule that aimed to establish a broad based democracy was terminated with an agreement between the king, the Ranas and India. The people’s movement to overthrow the Panchyat regime in 1979/80 ended in a referendum in which the government used all available means to retain the status quo. The peoples’ uprisings of 1990 were aborted by granting the system of partial democracy which was rescinded by the king on 4th October 2004. Thus, all these movements have ended without achieving the goals of the Nepalese people.

In addition to the above, there have been many other movements launched by different political parties and indigenous nationalities. For example, the Nepalese Congress party launched several armed actions in different parts of the country such as bombings at Haripur in 1972 and at Biratnagar and Malangawa in 1973 and the attempted assassination of King Birendra at Biratnagar in 1973, among others continuing till 1990. Indigenous nationalities started movements demanding indigenous land rights and language and culture rights, because both the Shah and the Rana rulers had banned all indigenous languages and cultures and had also curtailed indigenous land rights. Left-wing groups actively took part in every major movement in the country from the movement against the Rana rule to the anti-Panchayat movement of 1990.

Communist movement in Nepal. Apart from the joint movement with other political parties, communist parties carried out so-called underground movements in preparation for armed struggle to overthrow the semi-feudal and semi colonial reactionary state and establish a new democratic state across the country regardless of their size.
For the first time in the history of the communist movement of Nepal, factory workers struck, at the Biratnagar jute and cloth mills in 1947 under the leadership of Man Mohan Adhikari. At that time Adhikari was a member of the Communist Party of India. In 1994, he became prime minister of Nepal when CPN (UML) formed the government. Gupta (1993: 199) writes:

[...] when India became free, some India-trained Communists were reported to have become active in certain parts of Nepal in organising revolts and strikes among peasants and workers. Though these Communists were working on purely individual initiative, its seems that among a section of the Nepalese youth, then studying in India, a conviction was growing that only communist methods were suitable in the Nepalese conditions to solve her outstanding political, social and economic problems. Inspired by the Indian Communists, these young intellectuals soon came to believe that a class struggle in Nepal was imminent [...].

In the 1970s and 1980s, young and educated people from colleges and schools went underground into circles of the poor peasants and workers. They used to conduct socio-political lessons and activities, including adult literacy, using the Freireian approach i.e. highlighting the root causes of oppression and poverty. In the process of learning, communist cadres would deal with questions of production and surplus values and elaborate class differences in local contexts, so that the peasants and workers could understand why and how they become poor and the causes behind it. At the same time they gave lessons on ‘Marxism, Leninism and Mao-Tse Tung thought’, highlighting the importance of their thinking in the process of class struggle and liberation. From these lessons, peasants and workers were able to understand their rights and started to revolt in many places such as: the Jhapa uprising of 1971 and the Chhintang uprising of late 1970s and early 1980s. The Panchayat government executed a dozen of Jhapa activists and massacred nearly the whole male population of Chhintang village and killed many underground communist cadres in Chhintang and different parts of the country. Ratna Kumar Bantawa and Hari Nepal were the most prominent leaders of the party among the hundreds massacred in the government oppression.

Hence, it is quite clear that, in reality, the country was never at peace from the establishment of modern Nepal. Nepalese people were in search of strong and unselfish
leadership and guidance to get freedom from the feudal oppression and foreign exploitation which has always existed. Thus, people were driven to opt for civil war in order to achieve social change. The people’s determination for civil war was not a spur of the moment decision and not confined to the CPN (Maoist) contribution. It was a combined effort carried out by all leftists from 1949 in different parts of the country. Almost all communist parties regardless of their size have played an important role in the development of awareness of oppression of peasants and workers. Finally, the CPN (Maoist) having been able to absorb the maximum number of grass-root level cadres of all left parties -especially from the CPN (UML)- have given guidance and leadership and initiated the civil war on 13 February 1996.

However, this task is not straightforward as Nepal is a landlocked semi-colonial country where global powers have been embedded deep into the socio-economic and political system. This can be illustrated in the following diagram:

Diagram 5: Globalisation, social structure and civil war: Marxist perspective

Although Nepal is a small state in size, it is strategically very important for various reasons. On the one hand, taking advantage of Nepal’s geographical situation, India always wants to keep Nepal under her grip. On the other hand, the USA, as the lone superpower, wants to be a major player in Nepalese internal politics, while at the same time, Nepal is an ideal place from which the USA can monitor closely the three Asian nuclear powers i.e. China,
India and Pakistan. The UK, claiming to be the oldest and closest friend, is the major
donor country for Nepal, and always takes an interest in Nepal’s internal politics as well.
In this type of political scenario, both the feudal and elite classes of Nepal have been
playing the role of facilitators for foreign players for a long time. Because of this very
reason, the CPN (Maoist) declared they have to face both internal reactionary forces and
external global imperialist forces in this war.

Emergence of the CPN (Maoist). Initially, there was only one communist party in Nepal,
which was founded in 1949 in Calcutta, India, by Pushpa Lal Shrestha. The party played a
major role in overthrowing the Rana rule in 1951. Since its formation, the Communist
Party of Nepal (CPN) faced many ups and downs; there have been clashes of ideology and
personality resulting in splits, reunions and mergers. This process is continuing untill now.
The historical records of splits, reunions and mergers can be found in appendix 4.

On the one hand, over the years of ideological exercises, the CPN (UML) emerged in 1990.
In 1993 the party adopted the ‘People’s Multi-party Democracy programme of Nepalese
Revolution’ and ‘accepted as Principle of Nepalese Revolution’ by the 6th National
Congress in 1998 as a way to liberate oppressed people from the oppression of “feudal,
bureaucratic comprador capitalist classes and imperialist exploitations” (CPN (UML)
1993/1998: 2). At present, the CPN (UML) is the largest communist party that believes in
democratic norms and values and was an opposition party until the recent royal coup.

The CPN (UML) is a political party of the Nepalese proletarian working class. This
party wants to build a progressive, developed, rich and prosperous country by
bringing to end poverty, scarcities and all forms of exploitations and inequalities.
For this it firmly believes that the scientific socialism and communism constitute its
ultimate goal. Accepting socialism and communism as its final and optimum goal,
the party expresses its firm determination to continue to make efforts to achieve
them.

Apart from the CPN (UML), there are at least eight small left parties that believe in a
multi-party parliamentary system.
On the other hand, the CPN (Maoist) emerged in 1995 after many splits and mergers just like CPN (UML) from the original CPN that was founded in 1949. In regards to this, Sharma (2003: 1) writes, "the roots of the Maoists can be traced to the Communist movement in Nepal, which took birth in India in 1949." According to Prachanda, the General Secretary of the CPN (Maoist) (2003a: 182) states, "in 1949 when the Nepali Communist Party was established, it was a great and far-reaching historical event." The series of splits and mergers that took place from 1949 to 1995 have been highlighted in appendix 4. After the third split from the 'CPN 1949' the CPN (Fourth Congress 1974) was formed. Still further, the splits and mergers that followed from the 'CPN Fourth Congress 1974' has given the organisational history of the birth of the current CPN (Maoist). There is a distinct demarcation line that can be drawn in the history of the Nepalese communist parties from 1974 onwards. On the one hand, the ideological evolvement of CPN (UML) has been from armed struggle (Jhapa uprising of 1971) to becoming what it is at present, a strong advocate and a believer in multi-party politics, while accepting 'Marxism-Leninism' as the guiding principle for Nepalese revolution and social construction. On the other hand, CPN (Maoist) has developed the ideology of armed struggle taking 'Marxism-Leninism and Maoism and right to rebel' as a guiding principle for the liberation of the oppressed class and social reconstruction. A faction of the current CPN (Maoist) became one of the founding members of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), a global grouping of Maoist parties in 1984. This membership is carried on by the CPN (Maoist).

As mentioned above, the history of all communist parties of Nepal began in 1949. Therefore, here I am only going to cover the history of the CPN (Maoist) post-1995. In 1995, Prachand was the general secretary of a communist party (a comparatively small party) called CPN (Unity Centre). The party accepted 'Mao-Tse Tung thought' as 'Maoism' and the CPN (Unity Centre) was renamed as the CPN (Maoist). The 'Central Committee of the Party' announced that the Party would be based on the principle of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism regarding revolutionary violence. It meant a protracted people's war, where a city is normally encircled from the countryside. This is the theory of
people's war that developed by Mao which is based on Marxist theory of war, and was used in the liberation of China.

The political goal of the CPN (Maoist) led civil war. The CPN (Maoist) has a clear political goal which is to overthrow the present 'semi-feudal and semi-colonial' system led by the king and establish the 'New Democracy' where oppressed, poor, landless and backward indigenous nationalities are able to exercise the power. In regards to this, the CPN (Maoist) (1995: 1) document called 'Plan for the Historic Initiation of the People's War' stated:

This plan would be based on the aim of completing the new democratic revolution after the destruction of feudalism and imperialism, then immediately moving towards socialism, and, by way of cultural revolutions based on the theory of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, marching to communism - the golden future of the whole humanity. We are firm that it is a crime against the proletariat and the general masses of the people to start an armed struggle without the firm conviction of carrying it out to the end. We shall never allow this struggle to become a mere instrument for introducing partial reforms in the condition of the people, or terminating in a simple compromise by exerting pressure on the reactionary classes. Thus, our armed struggle will be totally free of all sorts of petty bourgeois, narrow nationalist, religion-communal and casteist illusions.

But, an important point is that the power is not that easy to capture. On the one hand, the present king and social elites have a strong association with global powers and capitalists such as the USA and the UK. On the other hand, India does not like to see Nepal as a stable country and always plays a game of divide and rule. After the Al-Qaeda's 11 September 2001 attack, the King has now been successful in convincing the USA and UK to give military aid to fight against the Maoists. The USA also included the Maoists in international terrorist lists. There is already considerable USA and UK aid appearing in Nepal. They have been supplying arms, ammunition, intelligence, logistic support and money to Nepal for war. However, in 1995, in the initial stage of 'People's War', the Maoists have clearly highlighted the difficulties and obstacles that they might face during the course of the war and how to overcome those complications in the following way:
The war will develop according to its own laws, not in a straight line but in a complex zigzag path. It is necessary to acknowledge the importance of Lenin's saying that the revolution always creates in its course of development an unusual and complex situation. The People's War will triumph after going through cycles of victory and defeat and gain and loss. We shall be able to lead the People's War only by correctly grasping the law of contradiction of transformation of wrong into right.

In the processes of initiating the 'People's War', the newly formed CPN (Maoist) declared an armed struggle and condemned ballot box politics. Since then, the Maoists systematically developed the processes of People's War such as: on 4th February 1996, the party submitted the 40 point demands (appendix 1) to the government with the warning of armed struggle if the government ignored it. Their demands are mainly based on socio-economic reforms, while a few of them are political. But, the government did not take seriously the Maoist demands and the Prime Minister left for India on a state visit. In consequence of this, on 13th of February 1996, the CPN (Maoist) declared 'people's war' and launched attacks with knives and homemade guns, in Sindhuli (eastern Nepal), Gorkha (central Nepal) and Rukum and Rolpa (western Nepal). They attacked the agriculture bank in Gorkha; seized the loan papers signed by the farmers and the land registration certificates (lalpurja) and returned the latter to the respective farmers. The Maoist attacked police posts in Rukum, Rolpa and Sindhuli.

In the periods of 1996 to 1999, the Maoist carried out many small-scale operations throughout the country. Initially they began the 'people's war' with the slogan of 'let's move ahead on the path of the people's war to establish the new people's democratic state by destroying the reactionary state'. According to the Nepal National Intellectuals' Organisation (NNIO) (1997/2054 B. S.: 28) "the Maoist carried out 80% publicity, 15% destruction and 5% other activities." This phase lasted for one month. In the second phase; their objective was 'to develop the people's war in an organised way', which was achieved by capturing weapons from the Nepalese police forces and developing guerrilla zones. The Maoists started the third plan with the objective of 'raising the development of guerrilla warfare to new heights'. This phase commenced in June 1997 and lasted for one year. During this phase, the party declared the existence of the central military commission. As the Maoists accelerated the revolution, the government carried out the
operation called ‘Kilo Sierra Two’ across all the Maoist-affected areas of the country. The main objective of the operation was a ‘search and kill’ and “around 500 people were killed [...] many of them may have been Maoists or their supporters, some of the casualties were definitely innocents” (Thapa and Sijapati 2003: 92). According to DFID (2003: 25) “hundreds of innocent civilians were reported killed, tortured and raped by police during operations.”

The fourth plan put forward with the objective of ‘creating based areas’. The fifth plan set in motion in August 1999 was the continuation of the fourth plan. Sharma (2003: 374) writes, “[...] the Maoists demonstrated their strength by carrying out simultaneous attacks in twenty-five districts on the night of 22 September 1999”. The government realised that the Maoist problem was not as simple as the incumbent prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba had initially thought, when on 4 February 1996 Dr Bhattarai handed over the 40-point agenda to him. Thus, the Deuba government of 2003, set up a ‘High Level Committee’ to provide suggestions to solve the Maoist problem under Sher Bahadur Deuba in early 2003, who had considered the Maoist’s 40-point agenda as meaningless back in 1996 and to which he had given no attention at all.

In accordance to their sixth plan, the Maoists stepped up in the scale of attack from the year 2000. For example, they overran the headquarters of Dolpa district on the 25th of September 2000. This was the first historic large-scale attack carried out since the declaration of the people’s war in 1996. Immediately after this attack, for the first time there was direct contact between the government and the Maoists. “Much had changed in the Nepalese political situation since the Dolpa operations of the Maoists [...]” (Sharma 2003: 32). In early 2001, i.e. on the 25th of February, the CPN (Maoist) announced its new doctrine, ‘Prachanda Path’, a distinctive Maoist ideology adapted for the context of Nepal. Sharma (2003: 375) explains ‘Prachanda Path’ in the following way:

‘Prachanda Path’ has the flexibility to provide the CPN (Maoist) with an avenue to escape becoming mired in communist fundamentalism. [...] Keeping in mind the new changes the world is experiencing, none of the proletarian revolutions of the past was deemed to be as appropriate as ‘Prachanda Path’ in the Nepali context.
Since the adaptation of 'Prachanda Path', their guiding philosophy has been modified from 'Marxism-Leninism-Maoism' into 'Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path'. It is a blend of Mao's model of a protracted people's war and the Marx and Lenin theory of general armed revolution. They also adopted their objective in accordance to their new guiding line which is 'to consolidate and expand base areas and move forward and toward a people's government in the centre'. The Maoist demonstrated their power carrying out a half dozen attacks in April 2001 at Rukum, Rukum Kot, Naumule, Dailekh and killed 70 policemen. They abducted 69 police from Holeri, Rolpa on 12 July 2001. The government and the Maoist declared a ceasefire on 22 July 2001. First round peace talks took place between the government and the Maoists on 30 August 2001, followed by second and third rounds on 14 and 13 November 2001 respectively. The Maoists were dissatisfied with the government and ended a four month long ceasefire with well coordinated attacks by the Maoists throughout the country including on the Royal Nepalese Army (RNA) on 23 and 25 November 2001 and the result was a total success. The government declared a 'state of emergency', denounced the CPN (Maoist) as a 'terrorist organisation' and proclaimed the entry of the RNA into the conflict on 26 November 2001. That meant the Maoist armed force -the so called 'People Liberation Army (PLA)'- had to fight with three different types of government armed forces i.e. RNA, Combat or Armed Police Forces (APF) and ordinary Police Forces (PF). Most of the government development budgets had been channelled into the armed forces for the purpose of arms and ancillaries. Both government and Maoists are committed to war. The development process of the nation-state is completely at a standstill. More than 10,000 people have already lost their lives. Because of these very reasons, the current battle between the Nepalese Armed Forces and CPN (Maoist) PLA has gone beyond the stage of conflict and entered into the stage of war i.e. 'Civil War'. In this war, the PLA is carrying out offensive manoeuvres and the government armed forces are in defensive action. The following war report illustrates the major operations that have been carried out by the PLA since the entry of the RNA into the battle:

- On 7 and 8 December 2001 – Maoists attacked two telecommunication security camps; Ratmate and Kaprukot respectively, only partial success.
• On 5 February 2002 – attacked an Area Police Office (APO), Bhakundebeshi – total success.


• On 11 April 2002, the Maoist attacked Satbaria APF and Lamahi APO and Barpak APO on 17 April 2002. All operations successfully carried out.

• In the month of May 2002, the Maoists carried out five attacks, all attacks on army camps namely: Gam, Lisne, Khara, Damachaur and Chainpur. Out of the five operations, they achieved success in three and partial success in two.

• The Maoists carried out two attacks in September, one in October, two in November and one in December 2002. Their targets were police posts to army garrisons and domestic airports to district headquarters. They achieved their goals in all operations except one which was Rumjatar airport assault on 27 October 2002.

• The Inspector General of the Armed Police Force, his wife and bodyguard were shot dead in the capital city, Kathmandu in beginning of the year 2003. Apart from this, 2003 was mainly occupied by the process of negotiation and was less violent. In the end, negotiation failed. However, only minor battles took place.

• In March 2004, two consecutive large-scale successful attacks were carried out by the Maoists in Bhojpur and Myagdi. In addition, dozens of small scale attacks and ambushes were carried out by the Maoists in different parts of the country.

These recent attacks have given a clear indication of the Maoist combat superiority over that of the Nepalese Armed Forces, despite the USA and UK’s direct combat logistic and fire power support to the Nepalese Armed Forces.

Legacy of communist movement in Nepal

Nepal has always been a reservoir of radical forces since the historic past. During the British Raj in India, Nepalese societies were tightly knit, always ready to fight
expansionists to protect their national identity and sovereignty. With a strong feeling of nationalism, the population had always defended itself against foreign intervention. Thus, willingness to fight for national causes has been part of their daily lives and the issue has always been treated with prime importance at personal levels.

With the introduction of democracy in 1951, the majority of the individuals promoting national interests have identified themselves with the communist movement. During the times of national crisis, the leftist force has always played the key role in socio-political affairs. Characteristically, almost all of the socio-political movements since the national unification have been left-oriented with communist leadership at the helm.

During the movement of 1990 that ushered democracy for the second time, the communist force played a major role alongside the Nepali Congress. In the context of the anti-monarchy movements, the communist force was always in front of the other political parties of Nepal. However, due to the divisions within the communists, the left force has since been the major opposition in the Parliament, rather than forming a government, even though more than 48% of the votes have favoured this school of thought.

Thus Nepal has retained the culture of left ideology and therefore this forms the legacy of the socio-political movement in the country. The Maoist movement has been groomed within the framework of this legacy demonstrating cumulative socio-political causes that had been crystallising from the past.

**Lifelong learning policy and practice in the contemporary socio-political environment**

As highlighted in previous chapters, currently there are two sets of power fronts in Nepal, which are: Monarch and Democratic Parties, or old regime, and the CPN (Maoist)'s self-declared new regime. Thus, ideologically, the nation-state has split up into two parts with two sets of policies and two sets of conflicting ideas. In regards to this Jarvis (1986: 111) expressed his view in the following way:
The significance of this conclusion is clear since learners may, therefore, be agents who can act back upon the social structures and change them. However, if the structures that they seek to change are the creations of those who exercise power in society, then the possibility, and even the probability, that conflict will ensue exists.

It is quite normal in all countries that the ruling elite will seek agents in disguise that in reality act to maintain a structure rather than seek to change it. Thus it becomes a dilemma as to whether the subject in reality is an independent advocate of social change or inwardly maintains the position of 'knowledge in disguise'. Whatever may be the conclusion, I can strongly argue that after the gain of critical consciousness the people's involvement, as a result of developmental concept in personal terms, or deriving from an acceptance of radical concepts will result in social conflict. The civil war of Nepal can be viewed from this perspective. The supporters of status quo and the forces of change come into direct conflict after informal learning to oppressed groups conducted throughout the country by various activists i.e. leftists, rightists, indigenous nationalities and so on.

Day-by-day, people are finding informal learning (an integral component of lifelong learning) to be more effective and useful. Anyone can carry out informal learning at any time, anywhere, whenever it is necessary. For instance, Nepal has experienced a period of rapid learning as a result of social upheaval and social conflict, following which, the level of consciousness has been significantly elevated and eagerness for identification of new values and a new social order has increased since the democratic movement of 1951. The subsequent movements of 1979 and 1989 have given the essential thrust to the current civil war.

Information technology has made informal learning easier than before. There may be some difficulties in rural areas, with no electricity and telephone facilities, to be able to access other parts of the world and retrieve the latest information and knowledge. However, informal learning still takes place even in rural areas without the help of modern facilities.

As mentioned in chapter two, the First to Third Plans were mainly aimed at promoting and publicising non-formal and formal learning. From the Fourth Plan, learning policy and
practice took a different form and the ‘National Education System Plan (NESP)’ was introduced in 1971. During the period from 1971 to 1989, a number of commissions were formed and many changes were introduced, however, a genuinely significant change took place in 1990 when the country endorsed the 1990, the declaration of ‘Education for All (EFA)’, and introduced it into the learning policy and practice of the state. EFA was first implemented in 1990 with the aim of achieving its goals by the year 2000, but the country failed to achieve its goals. Thus, the country has set up another deadline in accordance with the World Education Forum 2000, which will expire in 2015. This issue has been dealt in chapters seven and eight.

In the context of the CPN (Maoist)’s learning policy (see appendix 1), the party is seeking to generate a policy that stresses the characteristics of affordability and accessibility into their learning strategy. This interpretation, however, has been used since 1949 by all the communist parties and radical student organisations in an attempt to formulate their policies of learning during the maturity phase of their organisations.

The interpretation however is broad and to a certain degree vague in regard to the specifications and allocation of the resources available. At present more than 60% of the education budget is managed from donations and grant assistance funnelled in by the partner organisations and donor countries. Whether, such a policy as that pursued by the CPN (Maoist) will be sustainable with respect to the availability of resources is the question at hand.

The party further has stressed the availability of learning in the mother tongues of ethnic groups (nationalities). With the ethnic groups exceeding 61 and local languages 125, the learning policy is apt to be confronted by enormous constraints especially because the ethnic groups remain more or less scattered and population numbers small.

Further, the Maoists have demanded the complete closure of the business-oriented private schools. The government looks at this attitude as an agenda contrary to the fundamentals of privatisation and to the issue of rights.
Conclusion

The Maoist movement has been spawned for social, political and economical reasons. The social stratification, immobility, discrimination and disparity in the social sector have strongly contributed to the ongoing people’s war. Poverty and backwardness are further strong factors.

Economic factors play a strong hand in social events. The failure of the transformation of the economy on the one hand and non-growth of the agriculture sector on the other has led the productivity of the labour force is increasingly being reduced despite the population growth. Thus, the poverty has been increasing at a quick pace instead of decreasing.

The failure of government in the exercise of democracy especially with respect to governance has also been responsible for the outbreak of the insurgency. The failure of the consolidation of democratic processes along with the incapability of leadership to spur the country towards the direction desired by the people, in addition to the failure of the development incentives as efforts, have all contributed to the people’s war.

The lifelong learning process is regarded as an efficient tool to consolidate and mobilise the people towards achievement of knowledge economy, active citizenship, social inclusion, employability/adaptability and personal fulfilment. The participatory processes are not feasible without the correct policy approaches that address the needs at local level. Transparency, ownership and participation can be achieved with the practice of lifelong learning. Similarly, the voice of the people can be strengthened with sound policy approaches. The lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal, briefly covered in chapter two, will be discussed in depth in chapter seven.
Chapter six has indicated the requirements of lifelong learning to address the issues that have been created by globalisation, Nepalese social structure, Hindu religion, caste/class stratification and the current civil war. There is a universal assumption that lifelong learning facilitates the generation of knowledge that could address the social issues mentioned above. Hence, the aim of this chapter is to explore the policy and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal and demonstrate the role of lifelong learning in generating knowledge and skills. In order to do this, I highlight fundamental differences in lifelong education and lifelong learning. Further, I discuss the role of lifelong learning in generating knowledge, its types, mobility and function in society. I also cover ‘Education for All’ as a part of lifelong learning followed by an in-depth discussion of Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice.

**Lifelong education and lifelong learning**

Prior to describing lifelong learning, it is worth highlighting the differences between lifelong education and lifelong learning. Because “it is not only conceptually important, it is sociologically very significant since learning concentrates upon agency and education upon structure” Jarvis (1986: 23).

**Lifelong education**

Lifelong education is structured and controlled by the government or any authorised organisations. It is mainly carried out at schools, colleges and universities. Jarvis (1986: 13) writes:
Lifelong education is any planned series of incidents, having a humanistic basis, directed towards the participants learning and understanding at any time during their lifespan.

In 1916, Dewey (1916: 51) stated, "[...] education should not cease when one leaves school." Yeaxlee (1929: 164) expressed, "when does a man become fully adult? When is his education complete? The only true answer is 'never while he lives'" (in italic is original). Collins (1998: 44) cites (Faure 1972: 117) that "the transfer from the idea of initial training to that of continual education is the mark of modern pedagogy." Jarvis (2002b: 110) writes, lifelong education is "[...] initial education and continued it throughout life [...]" Avoseh (2001: 482) explains in a similar way such as "lifelong educational system that stretches from the womb and touches up with the grave." Yeaxlee (1929) further wrote:

*Then* all the distinctive notes of lifelong education are struck - knowledge, experience, wisdom, harmony, the giving of self in of ordinary men and women. Each of them reaches out into the infinite (ibid: 165, in italic is original).

The concept of lifelong education has been elaborated by educationists since early times. However, people noticed the continued advancement of technology, industry and commerce throughout the world and started to realise the importance of lifelong education to cope with these changes. This concept was mainly developed after the Second World War but it became more prominent in 1970s when the UNESCO adopted the concept into its programmes. "Learning to be (Faure, 1972) was the UNESCO report that proposed lifelong education as a master concept (Boshier 1998: 4). Taking account of this, Lengrand (1975: 50) explained the significance of lifelong education in the following terms:

First, the setting into place of structures and methods that will assist a human being throughout his life span to maintain the continuity of his apprenticeship and training. Second, to equip each individual to become in the highest and truest degree both the object and the instrument of his own development through the many forms of self-education.

But, Jarvis (1995: 23) opines that "lifelong education as an ideal has recently been adopted by the UNESCO [...] is not really a new concept". It had been clarified by the academic works of Dewey (1916) and Yeaxlee (1929) quoted above.
In the process of lifelong education, the behaviour of an individual becomes patterned, standardised and typologised. This whole process can be referred to as institutionalisation.

Therefore, lifelong education is "education from above" (Jarvis 1986: 35). As the higher authority of the government controls the education, the planned discourse contains the element of exclusion. Scheler (1924/1980: 70) wrote:

[... ] knowledge filters downward from the top of society (the knowledge of the elite) [... ] such as secrets, indexes, censorship, and prohibitions that forbid particular castes, estates, or classes to acquire certain kinds of knowledge.

Because of this, Illich and Verne (1976: 12) came up with the idea of "deschooling [...] education without schools and schools without walls [...] to promote permanent education."

However, there are three noted strategies of lifelong education, which are "continuing education, recurrent education and continuous education" (Jarvis (1986: 14). Further, (Jarvis 1986: 15-18) defined these three strategies in the following way:

**Continuing education:** continuing education is a facet of lifelong education; one that focuses upon that part of education, which commences after initial education has been completed.

**Recurrent education:** recurrent education, at least in one of its manifestations, claims that all people should have equal rights to education full-time and that they should be able to take up that opportunity at a time which suits them best, so that those who do not have a university education in their youth have the right to more education later in their lives, etc.

**Continuous education:** unlike continuing education, this form is based upon the idea of learning in the work experience rather than in the educational situation. It is, therefore, a non-formal approach to education provision, employing distance teaching techniques and seeking to assist professional practitioners learn "on the job".

Both 'continuing' and 'recurrent' education are formal and 'continuous' is non-formal. It is not possible to address the knowledge and skills demanded by the rapidly changing world only by rigidly structured educational organisations and the systems of formal and non-formal education. Williamson (1998: 4) writes, "as a new century dawns, no one can predict how the dynamics of this world order will develop. We cannot know, therefore,
what kind of education will equip people to meet its challenges. It has to be lifelong [...]” as today’s rapidly changing world requires a new form of knowledge and skills in a matter of seconds and minutes. Anything we learn within the educational organisations or from work-based or distance education is now becoming insufficient for the demands of global competition and the process of globalisation. The knowledge and skills that are gained from the experiences (informal learning) also need to be valued and integrated with the formal and non-formal learning, which is considered one of the main components of learning process in lifelong learning. According to Jarvis et al. (1998: 16) “the word ‘education’ has virtually disappeared from the literature of policy, to be replaced by ‘learning’.” In regard to this, Williamson (1998: 1) writes, “at the end of the twentieth century, the idea of lifelong learning dominates all contemporary discussions about the continuing education of adults.” Further, Jarvis et al. (1998: 1) states “like every other social institution, education has undergone many changes over the past few years. The emergence of lifelong learning has been one of them.” It is conceptually distinct, a broader, more diverse and “highly complex process” (Jarvis 2002a: para 2.2.1.) than lifelong education.

**Lifelong learning**

As defined in chapter two, lifelong learning is learning throughout life by means of informal, non-formal and formal learning. It is a ‘womb to tomb’ learning process. Lifelong learning is the process that keeps knowledge that we have learned alive for use as and when required. Jarvis (2001a: 101) writes “lifelong learning is a symbol of the way meaning unfolds with new experiences throughout life; it shows that people can keep seeking and finding meaning, but always there is new or deeper meaning that lies beyond it” and that makes us keep learning throughout life. According to Williamson (1998: 1) “it is an idea central to the search for economic prosperity and social justice, though the two goals are often contradictory”. Further, Williamson (ibid: 1) explains, “lifelong learning is meant to close the gap, which exists both within and between all societies in the modern world, between the ‘learning-rich’ and the ‘learning-poor’. “Collins (1998: 45) writes, “in somewhat stricter usage, lifelong learning refers to the actual experience of the individual learner or that of groups of learners.” Therefore, learning is a lifelong process where members of a learning society are routinely expected to learn and upgrade their skills throughout their lives. If we do not process our knowledge in the system of lifelong
learning then our knowledge erodes and competency will be lost. In this aspect people will not be able to carry out their jobs effectively. There is, therefore, the need to update knowledge continuously throughout life. According to European Commission (COM 2001, 678 final: 3) lifelong learning is “all learning activity undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective.” Longworth and Davies (1996: 155) state:

Lifelong learning is a continuously supportive process, which stimulates and empowers individuals to acquire all the knowledge, values, skills and understanding they will require throughout their lifetimes and to apply them with confidence, creativity and enjoyment in all roles, circumstances and environments.

Continuous skills training by means of lifelong learning is becoming a central concern in developed countries, such as the United Kingdom (UK), to promote employment. For example, the University for Industry (Ufi) Limited was a major UK government initiative which aims to make lifelong learning a reality for business and individuals by encouraging them to take advantage of new opportunities for learning that are provided by the Internet and web-based technologies, interactive learning materials and a network of learning centres throughout the UK. Ufi’s learn-direct services are making it easier for people to fit learning into their lives, raising skill levels, the employability of individuals and the profitability of businesses. These concerns are equally important in developing countries like Nepal, as they help to transform the learning environment and further build human resources. At an individual level, lifelong learning provides an avenue to develop confidence, skills and motivation to explore all the avenues of an individual’s career.

According to Schugurensky and Myers (2003: 325) there are two different dimensions of lifelong learning such as normative and ontological that should be distinguished in order to avoid confusion:

[... ] ontological dimension of lifelong learning is a concept that describes that simple fact that people learn many things in a variety of spaces throughout their lives, both inside and outside educational institutions. In general terms, normative discourses focus on the ways reality ‘should be’ whereas the ontological dimension is more concerned with exploring the ways reality ‘is’ (in italic is original).

The ontological dimension of lifelong learning is more open, so ‘agents’ gain more knowledge and skills; people use knowledge and skills for living, earning, social
development, and liberation from oppression. Lifelong learning should be radical, accessible and free from structural restriction. It helps people to understand their rights and values and enables oppressed people to shake off oppression. Thus, lifelong learning is an important means of all-round development of individuals and society. Learning is a lifelong process that can be done in urban and rural areas, at home, work and school and in the community, wherever it is possible and whenever appropriate. "Lifelong learning can thus take place in many locations and not only in institutions [...]" (Jarvis and Parker 2002b: 77). It is important for all age groups and "[...] not limited to a purely economic outlook or just to learning for adults" (COM 2001, 678 final; 3).

In summary, explicitly the responsibility of education is rest with the state but not the learning or responsibility of learning no longer rest with the state. Therefore, lifelong learning plays a vital role in development of the hidden human potential into knowledge and skills as and when it is essential. It is apparent that our society and nation is in need of quality human resources with new skills and knowledge. Williamson (1998: 21-22) writes:

Learning is continuous; it builds on lived experience. It is part of the structure of the lifeworlds itself. It has a history – both in the content of what people think they know and in the ways in which they acquired their knowledge.

Knowledge. The concept of knowledge is vast and complex. Knowledge is information and understanding about people, society, religion, caste, class, custom, traditions and culture and so on. According to Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus (1998) - knowledge n. is facts or experiences known by a person; state of knowing; specific information on a subject. "All human knowledge [...] is not empirical but 'a priori' knowledge. The genesis of such knowledge shows that it precedes levels of self-consciousness and consciousness of one's self-value" (Scheler 1924/1980: 67). Jarvis (2001b: 40) cites, "in A Dictionary of Philosophy (Flew 1976) three types of knowledge are discussed: 1) knowledge that (factual knowledge); 2) knowledge how (practical); 3) knowledge of (people and place)." Further Jarvis (2001b: 41) states:

We need to ask, what makes these different types of knowledge true? Scheffler (1965) has suggested that knowledge can be legitimated in at least three different ways: rationalistically, empirically and pragmatically. Rationalist: this form of knowledge is legitimated by reason. Empirical: empirical knowledge relies on the sense experiences; knowledge is true if it can be shown to an empirical
phenomenon. *Pragmatic:* pragmatic knowledge is also scientific knowledge since its validity rests on experimentation.


Scheler [...] did offer [...] three distinct types of knowledge: [...] knowledge of salvation, [...] cultural knowledge, or knowledge of pure essence, and knowledge that produces effects. Knowledge of salvation is that belonging to the community of the Church; within such a community the only things worth knowing are those that lead to salvation (e.g. knowledge of revelation); all other concerns appear trivial. Knowledge of pure essences is that found within a cultural community: it is knowledge of truth, Beauty, and Justice, knowledge that is ‘unbiased’ by individual perspectives and concerns and that transcends particular historical and social circumstances, viz. knowledge of what is eternal. Knowledge of effects is societal knowledge: it is knowledge that can be used for practical purposes, knowledge that leads to control and manipulation of things, i.e. the knowledge of technology.

All these types of knowledge play a vital role in our day-to-day life. They help human beings in understanding the value of their lives, morale, ethics and rights. Scheler (1924/1980: 80) further highlighted the three different roots of the three types of knowledge can also demonstrate clearly the following six states of affairs:

1. the different ideal types of leaders in these three types of knowledge (homo religious, sage, researcher and technologist);

2. the different sources and methods of their acquisition of knowledge (the charismatic leaders contact with God- idea thinking – inductive and deductive inferences);

3. different forms of movement belonging to their development;

4. the different fundamental social forms in which acquisition and preservation of knowledge are represented;

5. their different functions in human society; and

6. the different sociological origins in classes, occupations and estates.

Further, Scheler highlighted that the function, motion and the advancement of knowledge always depends on the mobility of society and social norms and values i.e. culture which Jarvis (2001b: 42) further expressed in the following terms:
Scheler ([1926] 1980) had many years before when he began to raise questions about the relativity of knowledge within the context of a sociological study of culture. From a phenomenological perspective he located knowledge in language and he then tried to distinguish different forms of knowledge by what he regarded as their artificiality, that is their lack of 'embeddedness' in their culture.

As Jarvis mentioned above, Scheler (1924/1980: 76) stated seven types of sociology of knowledge in accordance to 'relative natural views of the world' which are listed below in the order starting with less artificiality:

1. Myth and legend, as undifferentiated, preliminary forms of religious, metaphysical, natural, and historical knowledge.
2. The knowledge of implicit in everyday natural language.
3. The religious knowledge in its various levels of fixation, ranging from pious, emotive, and vague intuition up to the fixated dogmas of a priestly church.
4. The basic forms of mystical knowledge.
5. Philosophic-metaphysical knowledge.
6. The positive knowledge of mathematics and of the natural sciences and the humanities.
7. Technological knowledge.

According to Scheler, above numbers one to five are less artificial than the last two. Knowledge with less artificiality is slower in movement, which is the case in Nepal where the Hindu religion, caste system, culture and tradition plays a major role in social structure. Scheler (1924/1980: 76) stated this in the following terms:

[…] the movement of knowledge seems to increase with increased artificiality. It is obvious, for example, that positive religions move essentially much more slowly […] the positive sciences, whose results change from hour to hour.

We human beings are the most knowledgeable and intelligent living beings. We have already invented Information Communication Technologies, "the positive sciences" (ibid: 76) which have been leading the world in a new direction, creating lots of requirements and learning opportunities and at the same time creating risk and instability in society. ICT has therefore created both the positive and negative impacts. It is obvious that negative issues
always push a good society towards becoming a risk society. In regards to this Jarvis (2001b: 43) writes:

Scheler regarded his final two forms of knowledge as artificial. There are two reasons for their artificiality – their speed of change and their special, abstract language, which meant that people had to learn a special language in order to master the knowledge. [...] it is the knowledge of globalization.

It is obvious that knowledge facilitates the ongoing global changes. In the process of globalisation the mode of knowledge keeps changing constantly in line with circumstances. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the process of globalisation is changing the mode of the knowledge in a matter of seconds, minutes and hours. Jarvis (2002b: 6) writes, "[...] the knowledge that is most relevant to the world in which we live is changing; now the global market requires practical and pragmatic knowledge [...]" We have to change our existing learning systems to produce knowledge as required by a global market, society and globalisation, which we can do by lifelong learning. “Knowledge is best acquired not by passive rote memorization but by the active involvement of the learner. Learning is by doing, not by watching or memorizing” (Stiglitz 1999: 6) and it needs to be a lifelong process. “Our understanding of knowledge and its uses has changed, mainly as a result of globalization, and pressures that have been created” (Jarvis 2001b: 139).

There is no doubt; knowledge is an important means of all-round development of people and society including globalisation. “[...] for Scheler in particular the fundamental principle of the sociology of knowledge is that ‘the forms [...] of mental acts, through which knowledge is gained, are always, by necessity, conditioned sociologically, i.e. by the structure of society’” (Stikkers 1978/1980: 23). Further, Stikkers (1978/1980: 30) writes:

*The Sociology of knowledge*, then, is itself an expression of the World-Age Adjustment: it provides a broad framework in which the various forms of human knowledge might come together in global understanding.

In summary, the key social systems of society i.e. health, education and community services are changing rapidly due to the advancement of technologies. According to Jarvis (2001a: 77) “[...] society is changing so rapidly and generating vast volumes of new knowledge [...]” in society. The rapidly changing processes are not balanced and distribution of knowledge is not equal in Nepal. The poor, lower caste and lower class
people, indigenous nationalities and women have been excluded since the unification of modern Nepal as mentioned in Chapter Five. According to Jarvis (2001c: 45):

The [...] socially excluded also have their discourses excluded from the universal knowledge. Even their language is regarded as irrelevant by those who frame the discourse of transnational corporations (in italic is original).

In order to address these issues, the government of Nepal introduced Education for All (EFA) in 1990.

**Education for All.** The first World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) was held on 5 - 9 March 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand. Its main theme was “to universalise primary education and massively reduce illiteracy before the end of the decade” (EFA 2002b: 1). It was followed by the Mid-Decade Meeting on EFA in Amman, Jordan on 16 – 19 June 1996. The aim of this meeting was “to assess the advances made since the Jomtien Conference” (ibid: 1).

The EFA approach, which emerged in 1990 after the WCEFA in Jomtien, was more revolutionary, being based on realities and trying to address the basic needs and transform society by giving basic education to all. UNESCO took the main responsibility to put the project into operation. It adopted and expanded the vision of basic education. In addition, it set goals and targets, which were “to meet the basic learning needs for all children, youth and adults” (EFA 2002a: 1) by the year 2000. Chapter eight will cover more about the World Education Forum 2000.

The Jomtien EFA conference also set out a framework for basic learning needs that was called the ‘framework for action to basic learning needs’. The main aim of this framework was to establish the cooperation and participation of local, national and international organisations, donors and aid agencies in the development of basic learning needs. These needs were diverse and complex. It needed help and cooperation from all walks of life to convert aspiration into reality. Nepal as a state fully endorsed the Jomtien 1990 declaration and made full commitments towards achieving its goals i.e. to generate knowledge and skills in the country. At first, EFA stated ‘basic education’ as a springboard for lifelong learning but later in September 2003, UNESCO held a conference in Thailand and came up with the policy of lifelong learning for literacy by means of Community Learning Centre
In the OECD and EU countries, lifelong learning is being used to generate knowledge economy, employability/adaptability, active citizenship, personal fulfilment and social inclusion. Lifelong learning by means of CLC was first introduced in Nepal as a pilot project in 1999. This is dealt within the later part of this chapter.

In conclusion, lifelong learning is becoming an integral part of our life, especially in the era of Information Communication Technology and globalisation. Everything is changing rapidly and, to keep up with the speed of these global changes, we need to keep learning, otherwise we will become a burden to our society and we will end up unemployed and dependent on state benefits (if such a system exists). Directly or indirectly, unemployment breeds many social crimes in society. The creation of employability potential in individuals plays a major role in minimising social crimes, poverty alleviation and liberation of the oppressed from oppressors. Lifelong learning generates knowledge for employability, changes learners’ living conditions and enables them to solve problems and accept responsibilities. It enhances development, but lifelong learning alone does not automatically lead to development. Development is like a vehicle, and lifelong learning the wheels. Lifelong learning is a set of ‘wheels’ for individuals, society and the country’s development process. Therefore lifelong learning is a creative continuous learning process that keeps human resources in parallel and in-phase with the rapidly changing world. In regard to globalisation, the rapidly changing world and lifelong learning, Jarvis (2002a: para 2.2.1.) presented his argument in the following way:

[...] the importance of seeing Lifelong Learning in the context of the international globalisation process, where globalisation is seen as the process through which sovereign national states are criss-crossed and undermined by trans-national actors/enterprises with varying prospects of power, orientation, identities and networks. This globalisation process also implies that often externally initiated – changes are affecting states and that these therefore nationally have to transform into a learning society in order to successfully cope with these changes. Jarvis further, highlighted in this context that learning is a highly complex process and that there frequently is common confusion between on one hand learning seen from the prospective of the individual citizen, which are often oriented towards personal objectives, and on the other hand learning strategies undertaken by Governments, which are often seeking to institutionalise learning in order to serve common, national purposes. In conclusion Jarvis highlighted 3 aspects, namely:

1) that corporations need Lifelong Learning in order to have access to a highly qualified labour forces so that they can continue to grow;
2) that the populace needs access to Lifelong Learning in order to grow and develop as people and to be employable to sustain their livelihood;

3) that states need Lifelong Learning, so that they can have an employable population to sustain economic development but also ones, which is capable of participating in democratic processes as to sustain the social aspects of the nations (in italic is original).

Modern lifelong learning as developed in the west is based on capitalist thinking. It is also an element of globalisation and is becoming an important aspect of rapid global development. Societies and nations that distance themselves from lifelong learning and the process of globalisation will lag behind and suffer from isolation; however, societies need to be ready to minimise the negative impact of globalisation. It is quite clear that lifelong learning is already playing a major part in the process of globalisation. If there is proper implementation of globalisation and lifelong learning, there will be more chances of establishing a knowledge economy, leading to increased employment prospects for a nation’s citizens and more opportunities for them to become active at both a local and national level. In order to find out the situation in the learning system of Nepal, I have carried out a Nepalese lifelong learning policy review in the following paragraphs.

Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice

The concept of lifelong learning is not new to Nepal. In the era of ancient Nepal, Gautama Buddha was a classic example of someone who used lifelong learning to achieve and preach knowledge throughout his life. In the eras of mediaeval and modern Nepal, many noble people carried out remarkable work for lifelong learning such as Bhanu Bhakta who translated 'the Ramayana' into Nepali from Sanskrit. Bir Shamsher (1885) who made the Darbar (Palace) school open to all; and Sadananda Brahmachari opened the Dingla Pathashala (school) in 1875, in Bhojpur, East Nepal. Since the fall of the Rana rule in 1951, the government have launched nine Five-year plans and one Three-year plan where formal and non-formal learning institutions were established and learning programmes were run in different parts of the country to develop knowledge and skills.

As stated in chapter two, Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice has been divided into two main stages: pre- and post-1990. It is important to look into this, because the Five-year Plans within the groups are politically and technically entwined and complement
each other. At the end of 1960, King Mahendra forcibly replaced democracy by a political system called the partyless Panchayat system banning all political parties. Following the people’s pro-democracy movement in 1990, King Birendra relented, legalising political parties and granting democracy on 8 April 1990. The democratic environment, besides achieving its political needs, gave birth to a left-wing radical movement, inspired from Mao’s ideology, in early 1996 that evolved into a protracted civil uprising in western Nepal that has escalated to the current situation. Since then, the nation-state has endured casualties, physical abuses and psychological trauma resulting from the civil war. Amidst the rising socio-political confusion and civil war, the present king snatched power from the democratic forces on 4 October 2002. However, democratic political parties have not been banned as they were in 1960 after the king’s ‘royal move’.

During the Panchayat period, in early 1970s, the government introduced a functional literacy programme to develop skills in the adult population and literacy programmes that were integrated with health, agriculture, forestry and so on. The country launched the New Education System Plan (NESP) in 1971 which was a more skills-based programme.

After the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1990, the Government formed the National Education Commission 1990, the High Level National Education Commission 1997 and the Education Related High Level Action Committee 2001 to improve the country’s education system in accordance with the current circumstances. Further, Nepal endorsed the Jomtien 1990 declaration ‘Education for All (EFA)’ in 1990.

These are all in their respective ways forms of lifelong learning as lifelong learning per se is formal, non-formal and informal learning. However, ‘lifelong learning’ as a topic only emerged in the government’s education policy in late 1990s i.e. in the Ninth Five-year Plan (1998 – 2002) solely to promote literacy.

Taking account of the above issues, the First to the Seventh Five-year Plans (pre 1990 - the era of the partyless Panchayat system) have been discussed in stage one and the Eighth to the Tenth Five-year Plans (post 1990 – the era of democratic system and the civil war) have been discussed in stage two.
Stage one


The First Five-year Plan (1956 – 1961). The First Five-year Plan mainly concentrated on promoting and publicising the importance of education in the nation’s development process. Within the time frame of the First Five-year Plan, the educational promotion plan aimed to achieve a target of “630 primary schools, 126 secondary schools and 10 high schools” (NPC 1956: 81). To run these schools in a proper way, the plan aimed to train “1,890 primary school teachers, 504 middle school teachers and 100 high school teachers” (ibid: 81). The First Plan also aimed to “establish 3,150 Non-formal Education Centres and make 100,000 people literate” (NPC 1962: 255): instead only “1,838 centres were opened and only 46,000 people” (ibid: 255) were made literate. The National Planning Commission (NPC) (1956: 80) stated: “due to the lack of finance, transportation, and communication, coupled with widespread poverty, the country is not able to promote and publicise the importance of education.”

The Education Commission of 1954, the country’s first education commission, followed by the First Five-year plan had also recommended the establishment of a university in the country. It also recommended that the university’s curriculum must be in accordance with the country’s needs and that must be based on Nepali culture and society so that the national identity could be retained. However, the First Plan was very basic and came to an end in 1961 without achieving all its goals.

The Second Plan (1962 – 1965). The Second Three-year Plan (1962 – 1965) was exceptional, despite being only of three-year duration. Technically, the Second Plan was more mature, with clearer aims and objectives than the First Five-year Plan. As mentioned in chapter two, it not only aimed to promote and publicise education, as in the First Five-year Plan, it also tried to address formal and non-formal education problems and challenges.

The main aim of the Second Plan was to “develop the organisation and management effectiveness of education […] for economic development” (NPC 1962: 252). On the education side, the Second Plan concentrated mainly on the development of vocational and
skills education, primary and secondary schools and the construction of the recently established Tribhuvan University (TU).

The Second Plan was aiming to modify normal secondary education by introducing vocational and technical education. Within that period, the government plan was to open “10 multi purpose schools from both new and existing secondary schools and produce 1,000 skilled workers” (NPC 1962: 254 – 55), so that the skilled manpower could be used in the country’s development process. At the end of the plan, “16 secondary schools had been converted into multipurpose schools” (NPC 1966: 126) where “agriculture, home science, industries, business and secretarial science” (ibid: 126) had been taught. In addition, the Second Plan was also aiming to establish “50 new secondary schools, so more than 16,000 extra” (NPC 1962: 255) students gained the chance to experience secondary education. The NPC (1965: 125) states, “in 1950 only 0.7%” of primary school age children had facilities for primary education and at the end of the Second Plan, a total of “27%” (NPC 1965: 125) of primary school age children had access to these facilities.

In the Second Plan, non-formal education was revised with the aim that it should be implemented in 75 districts in a phased process. In the first year it was implemented in 13 districts, in the second year in 18 districts and in the last year, 23 districts. It aimed to open “4,050 non-formal classes” (ibid: 256) and make literate “more than 100,000 people” (ibid: 256). The duration of non-formal education was extended from six to nine months, which was good in the sense of providing continuity and stability of learning and knowledge. The plan’s adopted policy was to train “about 2,000 teachers” (ibid: 256) on an in-service basis. In addition, the government decided to employ “75 Non-Formal Education Supervisors” (ibid: 256) at district level, to run non-formal education efficiently and effectively.

The Second Plan concluded in 1965 with some achievements, but not as many as expected. The education policy of the Second Plan was more advanced and tried to cover more than the First Plan. It was however, still too narrow and basic. The country’s education policy needed to cover as a minimum the social, political, economic, ethnic, cultural and national development issues. These were missing in the Second Plan. However, there was a gradual improvement in the country’s policy and planning.
The Third Five-year Plan (1965 – 1970). The Third Plan saw a gradual improvement in education policy. The Third Plan had adopted the policy to provide education to all children by 1980 and to develop quality education in the country. The following is the list of the Third Five-year Plan’s aims and objectives:

1) to make arrangements for primary education for 40% of children age 6 to 11 years;

2) to develop secondary and vocational education as per the national requirement of skilled and semi-skilled manpower;

3) to improve the quality of education in secondary and higher educational institutes;

4) to arrange provision of the necessary books and educational materials for educational institutes;

5) to bring improvement in the statistics and plans used by the Ministry of Education for future educational planning and development.

Source: (NPC 1965: 125).

To make a success of the above listed aims and objectives, the Third Five-year Plan implemented the ‘Education Development Programmes’ that consisted of primary education, secondary education, and adult education, provision of education materials, higher education and Tribhuvan University.

Most of the primary schools, especially in rural areas, had only one teacher. For that reason, students were normally not able to continue after standard two. According to the government statement, this was a waste of time and resources. To address this problem, the government had aimed to create “5,000 trained teachers” (NPC 1965: 125) during the Third Five-year Plan. The government had chosen a decentralised system in the process of establishing and running new schools. Despite of all these intentions, the government did not achieve its target of 40% primary education facilities for children age six to eleven years old. It only achieved “32%” (NPC 1970: 278). According to the NPC (1965: 126), “since 1950, there has been progress in the secondary school field but not satisfactory as in primary education.”
The Third Plan was designed to up-grade "115 primary schools to middle school and 36 middle schools to high schools" (ibid: 126). There were "40,000" (ibid: 126) secondary students in 1966 and the government had an aim to achieve "68,000" (ibid: 126) by the end of the plan. During the period of the Third Plan, one technical school with a capacity to accommodate "600 students" (ibid: 126) and one "multipurpose model school with the capacity of 500 students was under construction" (ibid: 126). The NPC (ibid: 126) stated, every year, there was an arrangement of eight weeks in-service vocational training for vocational teachers. The Third Five-year Plan had also aimed to expand from existing "120 vocational classes to 320 classes" (ibid: 126) in which "5,000 students received multipurpose education" (ibid: 126). In addition ten more high schools were planned to convert into multipurpose schools to provide vocational education for 2,500 more students. During the period of the plan, the government aimed to create more than sixty workshops around the country. On top of these the government had a plan to provide clear direction and supervision to multipurpose and vocational education.

In the field of adult education, the aim of the Third Plan was to make another 100,000 adults literate. The Plan had a policy of continued evaluation of adult education and kept regular contact with literate adults in order to prevent their knowledge from stagnating. Although, the policy was vague, the process, however, was more or less a reflection of continuous learning.

The NPC (1965: 127) stated, "a rapid development of higher education had taken place since 1954" though, "there is no satisfactory improvement in the situation of colleges" (ibid: 127). It further wrote, "currently there are 29 arts and science colleges in 11 out of 14 zones" (ibid: 127) and "14 colleges are concentrated in the Bagmati zone alone where the capital of the country is situated" (ibid: 127). The Third Plan highlighted the fact that "eighteen colleges have less than 100 students and only five colleges have more than 300" (ibid: 127). Taking account of all these, the Third Plan had aimed to improve the quality of education by improving the situation of the colleges and curriculum. In order to do this, the Third plan had four different programmes. These were: 1) improvement of existing colleges; 2) secondary school teacher training; 3) primary school teacher training and 4) the further development of Tribhuvan University.
We can find some degree of improvement in the Third Five-year Plan but the final achievement was still not fully satisfactory. There were many projects that carried forward into the next plan. This indicates that there was some degree of dissociation between policy and practice. With regard to this, the New Education System Plan (HMGN, MOE 1971: 4) noted:

1) The emphasis of the current education system is centred on an academics rather than a vocational basis. This is of little help to most students as they pursue careers in the world of work.

2) The current education system's aim is not targeted to produce middle level manpower. Due to this, vocational and skilled-based workers get less pay and respect with the result that students are attracted towards degree courses.

3) The current education system is not developing into an effective knowledge-earning medium and at the same time the examination system has encouraged students in rote learning as opposed to developing a genuine understanding of their subjects.

4) The current education system does not meet the needs of most students. This type of education cannot address the problems, which the country is failing. The main reason being is the current education system is only giving theoretical knowledge instead of the practical and skills needed by the bulk of the population.

Taking accounts of the above points, the government implemented NESP in 1971 in order to improve and produce the manpower as required by the nation-state and its all-round development programmes.

The Fourth Five-year Plan (1970 – 1975). The Fourth plan had incorporated the National Education System Plan (NESP) (1971). It was the first time in the history of education that Nepal had introduced a skills-based education system and tried to change the whole mechanism of education. For example, the NESP had introduced 34 vocational subjects at the secondary level of education in order to address the social, economic and political problems of Nepal:

Agronomy, Animal husbandry and Dairy industry, Horticulture, Poultry, Fisheries, Tourism and Hotel management, Handicraft and Wood craft, Ceramics and pottery, Metal work, Clothing, Tailoring and Knitting, Tanning and Leather work, Masonry, Brick building & Architecture, Forestry, Auto-mechanics, Bee-culture, Music and Dance, Shorthand and Typing, Drawing and Photography, Radio mechanics, Nursing, Health workers, Printing trades technology, Electrical installation, Watch
and Clock repair, Plumbing, Furniture and Cabinet making, Industrial design and Commercial art, Stationery making, Food technology & Catering, textile technology, Office management, Accounting, Cane and Bamboo works, Mountaineering.


In addition, the Fourth Plan had changed the education structure in the following mode:

**Table: 2. School education:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The education system (1956-70)</th>
<th>The NESP (1971)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary 1, 2, 3, 4, 5</td>
<td>Primary 1, 2, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle 6, 7, 8</td>
<td>Lower secondary 4, 5, 6, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High 9, 10</td>
<td>Secondary 8, 9, 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table: 3. Higher education:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The education system (1956-70)</th>
<th>The NESP (1971)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate – two years</td>
<td>Certificate level – two years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor Degree – two years</td>
<td>Diploma level – two years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master Degree – two years</td>
<td>Degree level – two years plus one year National Development Service (field work)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD Research</td>
<td>Research</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scheme that was implemented in the Fourth Five-year Plan was a long-term project which it was not possible to complete within the time frame of the Fourth Five-year plan.

As would be expected at this stage, the Fourth Plan consisted of primary, secondary, higher, and adult education, teacher training, physical education development, examination reform and general science education development programmes.

Although there was some progress in primary education it was not up to a satisfactory level. Student numbers fell in the upper classes beyond class one, a problem which still exists in Nepal. When children are able to do the minor jobs such as baby-sitting, cow-tending and so on, which helps to generates income for the family, then parents normally stop their children from going to school.
The NPC (1970: 279) stated that average 82.5% (it varies from school to school i.e. minimum 17% to maximum 98%) of the education budget was found to have been spent on teachers’ pay rather than education development and quality educational promotion programmes. Clearly the budget allocated for education was not enough for quality schooling and education development programmes. Because of the limited resources, there was little chance of fulfilling the government’s free primary education project, even in 10 to 12 years time. The Fourth Plan aimed to provide a 45% increase in primary education facilities for primary age children. In order to do this, the government had to “add a minimum of 7,000 classes and equal numbers of teachers” (NPC 1970: 279). In the case of rural areas, it was not practicable to open schools “proportionate to population; it was decided they should be based on the distance from one village to another” (ibid: 279). The government plan was to open “250 new classes” (ibid: 279) for rural areas. In addition, in the Fourth Plan, the government was more interested in the creation of quality secondary education than in quantity, because most students cease full-time education at this level.

Until the time of the Fourth Five–year Plan, 80% of total expenditure on schools was borne by the public. The government thought that one of the factors affecting the quality of education could be the effect of less government investment in this sector.

Further, the Fourth Plan had a programme of subject-specific teacher training for 1,500 teachers in science, mathematics, English, Nepali and social science, to improve the quality of secondary education. According to the Fourth Plan there were about 20% secondary schools without proper buildings and classrooms. The Plan aimed to provide 50% grants to the local authorities to construct 30 schools and 30 hostels throughout the country. In addition to this, the government had a plan to provide furniture for 500 schools.

The Fourth Plan also aimed to open a model secondary school. This school would be opened in a place called Budhanilkantha with the help of the United Kingdom. A total of 470 students were to be accommodated in this school. Certain quotas would be reserved for children from outside the Kathmandu valley.

In the time period of the Fourth Plan, there were a total of 29 multi-purpose secondary schools in the country. The government found it very expensive to run multi-purpose
schools, so it made a plan to introduce one vocational subject into a maximum number of secondary schools throughout the country.

To eradicate illiteracy, Nepal has opted for a programme of adult education throughout the country. The Fourth Plan had aimed to increase the literacy rate by 11.8% by the end of the Plan. At the starting time of the Fourth Plan, there were 37 permanent adult education centres in the country and the Fourth Plan had a scheme to establish 38 more centres. In addition to this, the Fourth Plan had a programme of functional literacy pilot projects that were carried out in Chitwan with the help of UNESCO. "The government’s plan was to multiply the functional literacy programme throughout the country based on the results of the Chitwan pilot project" (NPC 1970: 282).

The Fourth Plan stated students were more attracted to arts subjects than the vocational topics, so the government planned to stop this flow and divert more of them to vocational subjects. To do this the government included the following policies in the Fourth Five-year Plan:

1) The government has to develop a concrete policy of higher education studies for the Tribhuvan University.

2) Establish a mechanism to control the opening of new colleges during the timeframe of the plan.

3) To establish vocational diploma and degree institutes to provide progression after the School Leaving Certificate qualification (S.L.C.).

4) An effective science education policy to be put in place and teaching and learning facilities in colleges extended.


The establishment of the National Vocational Training Centre was something important for the nation. The centre gives training in agriculture, education, home science and industrial education. The Fourth Plan aimed to provide a two year Diploma course to "500 young people with School Leaving Certificate qualification and ‘in service’ vocational training to 500 personnel" (NPC 1970: 284).
The Fourth Five-year Plan was more advanced than the previous plans. It introduced the NESP into the country in five phases. Two districts in the first phase, 13 districts in the second phase, 16 districts in the third phase, 20 districts in the fourth phase and 24 districts in the fifth phase. At the end of the Fourth Five-year Plan, the NESP had been introduced in 51 districts of the country. The rest were completed in the first year of the Fifth Five-year plan.

The Fifth Five-year Plan (1975 – 1980). The Fifth Plan was mainly engaged in completing the whole process of the NESP. The main aim of the NESP was “to create a legitimate, progressive and corruption free society in accordance with the Partyless Democratic Panchayat System” (NPC 1975: 461).

The Fifth Plan was “aiming to facilitate 302,300 more children attending primary education” (NPC 1975: 462) in addition to the existing numbers. Thus, by the end of the plan the total number of primary school age children in the country would reach “1,151,851” (ibid: 462). In the context of secondary education, the Fifth Plan aimed to provide “lower secondary education to 368,500 students” (NPC 1975: 462) and “secondary education to 147,400” (NPC 1975: 464) students by the end of the Fifth Plan. It further stated, “students’ proportion rate of general secondary schools and vocational secondary schools will be made 40 and 60 % respectively” (ibid: 464). In order to achieve this aim, the Fifth Plan had a scheme to add more schools, teachers and equipment. It also had a plan to add more vocational subjects to the curriculum in schools. The plan aimed to use local expertise to teach vocational and skill-based subjects to “fulfil regional and local demands” (NPC 1975: 462). It also highlighted that “the Fifth Plan will carry out extra curricular activities” (ibid: 462) and other good character-building programmes in the lower secondary schools to develop citizens who will be “patriotic and loyal to the crown” (ibid: 462).

The NPC (1975: 465) stated that “there was only a 14 % literacy rate in the country. The Fifth Plan aimed to make 600,000 people literate, especially in the backward areas” and “to achieve success, in the programme; educational institutions, local bodies of the political system and vocational organisations will be used” (NPC 1975: 465). The National
Development Service (NDS)\textsuperscript{21} students were also to be involved in this programme. The other main aim of the Fifth Plan was to design and write books on culture and nationality, health, agriculture, industries and family planning for the adult literacy programme.

In the field of higher education, the Fifth Plan centralised all colleges of the country under the Tribhuvan University as such: Institutes of Engineering, Medicine, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Science, Technology, Education, Business, Commerce and Public Administration, Humanities and Social Science.

In summary, as mentioned earlier, the Fifth Plan aimed to provide primary education to 64% of the country’s children, 50% of these to go to lower secondary and 40% of lower secondary students to progress to secondary school. However, the lower secondary and secondary schools “did not achieve their targets because parents have to pay the tuition fees” (ibid: 35). In addition, other factors affected admission rates: the unavailability of lower secondary and secondary schools within a reachable distance and poverty. Parents simply do not wish to send children of secondary school age to school because youngsters of that age normally support their parents, helping in cultivation and other income-generating jobs that help to boost the family economy. To poverty-stricken families, immediate earnings are obviously better than education. On the issue of adult education, the Fifth plan only achieved 50% of the set target. However, overall, the Fifth Five-year Plan was more scientific and tried to change the country’s education system by providing a continuation of the NESP.

The Sixth Five-year Plan (1980 – 1985). The Plan mainly concentrated on the continuation of the NESP implemented in 1971, during the period of the Fourth Five-year Plan. It accepted the importance of education in the overall development of the nation. The Sixth Plan gave priority to the following areas:

1) To publicise and improve the quality of primary education.

\textsuperscript{21} The NDS was a one-year compulsory field programme for the Masters Degree courses that had been introduced by the NESP (1971). In this programme, postgraduate students who successfully completed the first year used to be sent to rural areas to teach education, health, agriculture and development to secondary school students and villagers.
2) To develop lower secondary and secondary education in relation to primary education.

3) To produce the necessary professional and technical manpower for the nation’s development process.

4) To increase literacy by means of Functional Non-formal education.

5) To try to make a regional balance in education facilities so the general public might have equal access to higher education.


In the Fifth Plan, the aim of primary school was to make students literate; however, the programme did not work well, especially in rural areas. Taking into account these learning problems in class 1 - 3 type of primary education, the Sixth Plan aimed to re-arrange primary education from class 1 - 3 to class 1 - 5 and to implement this throughout the country and fulfil the need for teachers in remote districts. The plan also introduced four key subjects: English, science and mathematics, from class four.

The Sixth Plan also aimed to establish sufficient vocational schools from the existing range of schools, in 14 zones and to run a technical programme in order to meet the vital manpower need for the nation-building programme. It also allowed groups or individuals interested in opening private colleges, other than technical colleges, delivering subjects such as medicine and engineering, to do so if the set provisions were met.

In order to achieve the national goals such as a legitimate, dynamic and corruption free society, the Sixth Plan adopted policies along with action plans which are shown in appendix 5. Under the guidance of the policies and action plans, the Sixth Plan ran different programmes within the primary, lower secondary, secondary, and higher education and adult literacy groups. Within these programmes, an education project was launched in the Seti zone with a view to bringing about a qualitative improvement in education by adopting new techniques for various aspects of education, such as teacher training and supervision, curriculum design, preparation of text books and education materials. Science education projects were also started to improve the teaching and learning in science, mathematics and English. Similarly, a primary education project was implemented to improve the quality of primary education.
The Plan also had other programmes such as increasing the number of trained teachers; improving the curriculum, quality of educational materials and the examination system; establishing the process of developing new education programmes, methods and techniques on the basis of studies and research; reducing educational losses; making arrangements for sufficient educational materials; to consider populations while establishing schools and to improve other physical facilities in order to achieve the goals of the Sixth Five-year Plan.

In order to increase the supply of lower level and middle level technicians during the Sixth Plan period, existing campuses were maintained as usual and courses were started in some additional campuses. Trade courses in construction and electrical and mechanical subjects were started in the Engineering Institute Eastern Region Campus at Dharan. Physical training facilities were constructed in the Western Region Campus in Pokhara.

Apart from the above, the Sixth Plan had another major objective, which was to establish trade schools in Lahan, Dhankuta, Dharan, Sanothimi, Mustang, Kaski, Solukhumbu, Jiri, and Jumla and to start secondary level technical schools and lower secondary level technical schools in Siphal (Kathmandu). In addition to this, Butwal Technical Institute and Balaju Mechanical Training Centre were converted into technical schools.

In addition, the policy of the Sixth Plan was to produce high-level technical manpower for the country. Accordingly, courses were created leading to the creation of MBBS doctors from the medical campus in Maharajganj, BE engineers from the Engineering Campus in Pulchowk, Agriculture diploma holders from the Agriculture and Livestock Campus in Rampur and Forest diploma holders from the Forestry Campus in Pokhara.

In summary, many fundamental subjects of the NESP were fully incorporated in the Sixth Five-year Plan. Some changes in the NESP policy were implemented in the Sixth Plan such as the liberal policy of allowing the opening of colleges by the private sector. It was completely opposite to the situation in 1971, when all colleges including private ones had been centralised under the administrative umbrella of Tribhuvan University. On the side of achievement, there is no doubt that there were some improvements in the field of education. There was also an increase in female enrolment in school. The NPC (1985: 741-42) stated, “in FY (Financial Year) 1979/80, female enrolment was 26.7% of total
student body [...] the figure rose to 28.8% by the fourth year of the Sixth Plan” (in italic is original). There were similar types of improvement in lower secondary and secondary schools. The other objective of the Sixth Plan was to make adult education vocational and functional. It was targeted to make 900,000 adults literate but only “276,710 adults” (NPC 1985: 742) were made literate by the end of the plan. Teacher training was not considered necessary for permanent appointment. The numbers of trained teachers could not be increased according to target. The supervision system also could not be made effective. For the formulation of the education plan, reliable statistics were not available on schools, teachers and students. The dropout problem had been the main hurdle to primary education. Although the number of female students had increased to some extent, the increase had not been substantial. There had been no progress in meeting targets in adult education. The main reason for this was that implementation could not be effective because of the lack of proper supervision of the programmes that were under way.

The Seventh Five-year Plan (1985 –1990). In view of the performance of the Sixth Plan described above, it was necessary to bring improvement in the educational sector in the Seventh Five-year Plan. The Seventh Plan also faced difficulties in finding actual statistics on education, which are very important and vital for any planning. Despite various difficulties, this Plan aimed to provide: a) free education up to standard five; b) primary education facilities to 87% of the total primary age children; c) 1,000 primary schools and 12,838 teachers; d) lower secondary education facilities for 43% of the total lower secondary school age children; e) and for 36% of the total secondary school age children. The Seventh Plan came up with the policy of privatisation and had a plan to encourage the private sector to open schools. According to the NPC (1985: 750-51) the Seventh Plan had a plan to “give approval to 450 schools at lower secondary level and 900 schools at secondary level.” It further stated, “if such schools run successfully with people’s participation for a specific period of time, grants will be provided by His Majesty’s Government” (ibid: 751).

The Seventh Plan aimed to make literate 750,000 people under the literacy and functional literacy programme during the plan period. In order to achieve this target, the Seventh Plan had a scheme to open vocational adult education centres in various parts of the country. In regard to this, the NPC (1985: 751) made matters clearer by giving the following statement:
During the Sixth plan period, there were shortcomings in the implementation of the adult education programme. Therefore achievement lagged far behind target. In the Seventh Plan, adult education programme will be implemented under district development plan according to the system of decentralization. Effective improvements will be made in the programme implementation process accordingly.

The Seventh Plan aimed to carry out a thorough study of and make necessary improvements to the curriculum. The NPC (1985: 751) stated, “in order to make the curriculum more effective, its pattern will be changed.” In addition to the above, the Seventh Five-year Plan conducted the following programmes to achieve its goals:

School supervision; teacher training; radio education teachers training; school broadcasting and audio-visual programme; physical education and extra-curricular activity; examination reform, scholarship; educational statistics and survey; model school; development of educational materials; technical schools; girls hostels; female education projects; primary education project; science education project; rural development education projects; integrated rural development projects; nutrition programmes; sports development, literature, arts and culture development; higher education and miscellaneous education programmes (Nepal scout activities).


The Seventh Plan had given emphasis to increasing the middle level and higher-level work force within the country for agriculture, engineering and forestry and on improving the qualitative standard of education. The higher education sector had conducted different programmes, research work, seminars and so on, to improve and maintain a qualitative standard in higher education and at the same time to enable international recognition to be obtained. Taking account of the country’s demand, the Seventh Plan set out the educational objectives, policy and working policy, which is in appendix 6.

At the end of the Seventh Plan, total enrolment in the primary schools reached a “gross enrolment ratio of 107 % […] and the gross enrolment ratio of 34.2% at the secondary level” (NPC 1992: 462 - 63 in italic is original). And “the proportion of girl students in total secondary enrolment was 29 %” (ibid: 463). Within the plan period “the 150 hr. training was imparted to 11,554 persons and the in-service training to 394 teachers” (ibid: 463). In addition to this, “2,239 teachers” (ibid: 463) were trained through the Radio Education Teacher Training Programme and “988 teachers” (ibid: 463) through the Women’s Education Project” (ibid: 463). On the adult education side, “a total of 280,450 adults were made literate” (ibid: 463).
In summary, the Seventh Plan laid emphasis on qualitative improvements in education in order to maintain high educational standards. In addition, several policy measures were adopted for upgrading the instructional system. The Plan included the improvement of curricula and textbooks, provision of trained teachers, reforms in the supervision and examination systems, the creation of a competitive atmosphere in the education sector, establishment of model schools for the regional centres and arrangements for training and educational materials for upgrading the standard of teaching of science, mathematics and English.

Stage two


The Eighth Five-year Plan (1992 –1997). The Eighth Plan was based on the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990. It gave special emphasis to the development and expansion of “basic and primary education in view of the national goal of universalisation of primary education, and the attainment of literacy rate of 67% by the year 2000 [...]” (NPC 1992: 468). In view of the fact that qualitative improvements had lagged behind quantitative expansion in the education sector in the past, emphasis was given to improving the quality of education. To address this open challenge in education, the Eighth Plan aimed to increase trained teachers, improve the physical facilities of schools, develop curricula in accordance with the needs of the country, provide textbooks, ensure regular and effective supervision of schools and maximise the participation of the oppressed, disadvantaged and marginalised groups of people, including women. The government had realised that the existing “government resources were inadequate to meet the growing demand and aspirations of the people for acquiring education” (NPC 1992: 468). In addition, the Plan aimed to encourage people to participate in the opening of private universities and campuses. Taking account of all these points, the Eighth Plan set out objectives, policy and programmes to achieve the goals that can be found in appendix 7. According to NPC (1992: 475) the Plan put into operation the following programmes to achieve its goals:

primary education; basic and primary education project; primary education development project; secondary education; higher secondary education; adult education/non-formal education; teacher training; curriculum and textbook
development; radio education teacher training; women's education; scholarships; special education; educational statistics; population education; physical education and extra curricular activities; technical education; development of educational materials and higher education.

The achievement of the Eighth Plan, as shown in the government statistics, was satisfactory. According to the NPC (1992: 23 - 24), on primary education, it was targeted to achieve net enrolment in the 6-10 age group of 90%, to further increase the number of primary schools to 2,025 and to provide an additional 8,000 primary school teachers. In 1996, the number of schools reached 22,218, and of teachers 89,378, with the number of students reaching 3.45 million. Net enrolment of children reached 69.4%. During the period of the plan, 3,524 schools and 14,883 teachers were created. At lower secondary level, the number of schools reached 5,506, teachers 19,704, and students 791,502, with student enrolment at 50.30%. Likewise, at secondary level, the numbers of schools, teachers and students reached 2,903, 16,423 and 329,833 respectively. Student enrolment at this level rose to 34.7%. Regarding the higher education the 1996/97 target to establish 125 higher secondary schools was exceeded as 213 higher secondary schools were established. In pursuance of the target of achieving a literacy percentage to 67 % by year 2000, the programme had been launched as a national campaign to achieve a 60% literacy rate during the Plan period. However, literacy figures reached 48%, with the increase of 1.36 million literates from the literacy programmes run by the government and non-government sectors. During the Eighth Plan, the basic and primary education project was implemented in 41 districts of the country. As per the policy of giving priority to female teachers, 4,150 female teachers were appointed with the objective of appointing at least one female teacher in each primary school. Primary teachers training centres were established according to the target of establishing such centres in nine different places of the kingdom; 17,265 teachers were trained.

As per target, technical schools were established in Doti, Banke, Dang and Mustang districts and provided regular training to 2,595 people and short-term training to 2,034 people, a total of 2,274 and 6,709 people received regular and short-term training respectively.

On the higher education side, the Kathmandu and Eastern Universities were established and put into operation. Likewise it was announced that the Pokhara University was to be
established. Thus, the number of universities, including Tribhuvan University and Mahendra Sanskrit University, reached five with 196 campuses, 61 under the aegis of Tribhuvan University and 135 run by the private sector.

Since the restoration of democracy in 1990, various attempts have been made to move educational programmes forward and make them comprehensive in a planned way, in line with democratic norms and values, based on the demands of time and the aspiration of the people. That was what had been attempted in the Eighth Plan and, furthermore, the government was looking towards education as an effective means to alleviate poverty and all-round development, which was included in the Ninth Plan.

**The Ninth Five-year Plan (1997 – 2002).** As mentioned above, policies that were adopted in the Ninth Plan were to:

> [...] develop education as a fundamental means for alleviating poverty and bringing substantial improvement in the standard of living through socio-economic well-being, and achieve national progress through the proper development of human resources [...]. (NPC 1998: 613).

Thus, the education sector policies aimed to prepare “patriotic citizens, conscious and loyal to democratic values, capable, productive, disciplined, and responsible to human rights and social values” (NPC 1998: 613). In order to achieve this aim, the Ninth Plan set out to make primary education gradually compulsory; implement a literacy programme as a national campaign; develop quality in learning; improve vocational training facilities; produce of highly skilled manpower; minimise social exclusion by increasing women’s participation in education; make education accessible to the disabled, backward and weaker sections of society.

According to the NPC (1998: 613), the Ninth Plan had been formulated in the light of achievements made in the education sector; existing problems; provisions about education in the constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 1990; and the national long-term objective of education to make primary education easily available to all children of primary school age and to make all people literate by the end of the Twelfth Plan period (2015). The NPC (1998: 613) stated, “[...] special emphasis will be given to the development and extension of basic and primary education.” The Ninth Plan also recognises the substantial progress
made by the education sector in the past. "[...] however, the quality of education (learning) had not been developed as expected" (ibid: 613, in italic is original). Therefore, it was essential to enhance the quality of learning in order to help in alleviating poverty. In order to achieve this goal, the Ninth Plan had certain objectives. (See appendix 8). However, the Plan ended without achieving most of its major objectives. For example; the literacy rate for the population of six years and above only reached 54%, when it was supposed to be 70% by the end of the Ninth Plan, and the objective of setting up an Open University and additional sector universities for higher education had not been developed, even planned. "Primary school age children of the very backward community, particularly female children have not enrolled at schools yet" (NPC 2002 final draft). The curriculum improvement programme had improved the curriculum in some respects but had not been designed with respect to the local context and the same thing was repeated in the Ninth Plan. The management of learning was still centralised, particularly the primary level of learning. The main weakness of the current learning system of Nepal is not being able to produce the human resources required by the nation.

The Tenth Five-year Plan (2002 – 2007). The main strategy of the Tenth Plan is to expand and develop primary learning to meet the national commitment of 'Education for All (EFA)'. Nepal has committed to EFA in the international arena. At the same time it is also aiming to improve the quality of learning and gender equality. In addition, the Tenth Plan is aiming for employment-oriented technical and vocational learning. This is not a new topic; all previous five-year plans came up with this aim but never transformed the aim into reality. To achieve this, the state needs to improve teaching in schools and to develop higher education, technical education and education for adults in a balanced manner so that learning will be employment - skill - and production-oriented. Continuation of a non-formal literacy programme creates knowledge, skills and the ability to use current information. It is important to develop literacy programmes to eradicate illiteracy and to provide adults with knowledge and skills that will help them to alleviate poverty and strengthen social cohesion. In addition, the Tenth Plan aimed to make the role of the private sector in education more effective and competitive, and to increase people's participation in policy-making and the planning, management, implementation, monitoring and quality control of learning, with the aim making learning right and proper for society and the nation. The other target of the Tenth Plan is to decentralize the administration of education to local village and community level. In order to achieve these aims, the Tenth
Plan has prepared the long-term concept which is in Appendix 9. The NPC (2002) stated that the main objectives, policies and programmes of the education sector are set out in the Tenth Plan in view of the long-term concept of the learning sector and the progress made in the learning sector during the Ninth Plan, as follows:

**Main objectives:**

1. To implement programmes for literacy, post-literacy and income generation and for other - non-formal – education aimed at assisting, in particular, the backward community and women, in order to increase their standard of living.

2. To expand and develop quality education required for development of the country, and to make easily available quality primary education for all.

3. To supply the basic and medium skilled technical human power required by the country.

4. To develop human resources for the production of internationally competitive skilled human power that supports the national economy for the all-round development of the country; and to use education as a strong vehicle for economic and social development, and for the alleviation of poverty.

5. To promote the development of sports and youth mobilization programmes aimed at producing capable, effective and disciplined human power required for the country.


The Tenth Plan has the following programmes to achieve the above listed objectives:

**Early child development programme.** To increase the number of early Childhood Development Centres to “13,000 for ensuring the 40%” (NPC 2002: 385) of the pupils enrolling in grade one come from early Childhood Development Centres and Pre-primary Schools. To orientate all head teachers of primary schools to this objective, and to “train 266,000 guardians” (ibid: 385) on this matter.

**Non-formal education.** To make “1,866,000 adults” (NPC 2002: 385), particularly the women, literate, thus achieving the target of the literacy rate set in the plan; to provide the “newly literate 933,000 persons with the post-literacy education; to provide 10% of them (93,300) with skill training” (ibid: 385). To provide “200,000 boys and girls of school age” (ibid: 385) with basic primary education under the non-formal primary
education and to set up "205 Community Learning Centres (CLCs)" (ibid: 385) for testing the continuous learning process; to entrust the running of these CLCs to local bodies.

**Primary education.** According to the NPC (2002: 385), the aims of primary education is to achieve 90% enrolment into primary education and also increase the proportion of female teachers to 30%. This programme also aims to provide 450,000 boys and girls with nutritious food and to award scholarships to students from backward communities (that is, underprivileged, ethnic minorities, the disabled, women and economically deprived boys and girls).

**Secondary education.** In secondary education, the Tenth Plan aims to achieve a 65% rate of enrolment of students to Lower Secondary Education and a rate of 45% to Secondary Education; also to provide 50,000 students with scholarships.

**Higher secondary education.** The NPC (2002: 385) states that the Tenth Plan intends to develop an integrated curriculum for Grades 1 to 12 and to set up one community Higher Secondary School in each election constituency, thus raising "the total number of such schools to 205" (NPC 2002: 385).

**Technical education and vocational training.** The Tenth Plan aims to set up two additional Technical schools and two Multi-technology colleges to provide "regular training to 7,100 trainees and short-term training to 23,555 trainees" (NPC 2002: 386) and to run an Annex Programme at 75 community schools - at least one school in each district" (ibid: 386).

**Higher education.** One of the objectives of the Tenth Plan is to open an "Open University and regional universities for achieving an enrolment rate of 6% into higher education, and to provide the poor and intelligent students with scholarships and loans for study” (NPC 2002: 386).

**Youth and sports.** The Plan also aims to provide one teacher for each secondary school with sports qualifications, and to mobilise “3,000 youth volunteers, and to set up
The Tenth Five-year Plan has set out the main priority programmes, strategies, policies and action policies to achieve the goals within the set time frame (see appendix 9). The NPC (2000) has anticipated that the learning sector will contribute to the increase of Gross Domestic Production, assist in poverty alleviation and human development, create additional employment and support balanced development.

Although, the Tenth Plan is ambitious in its aims to achieve so many objectives within its time frames, it is, however, difficult to ‘eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005’ which is one of the objectives of EFA and the Tenth Plan, because, in reality, a quarter of Nepal’s primary school-age girls face a bleak prospect for their education, as they never attend school. Nepal was one of the 180 countries represented at the World Education Forum in Dakar in April 2000, which promised to put equal numbers of girls and boys into school by 2005. The UN in Dakar has recognised that every head of government must put an equal number of girls and boys in schools by the year 2005. It has also recognised that education is one of the most powerful weapons against poverty. At the time of writing, we are in the year 2005, but more than 55% of the total primary age girls still remain deprived of their right to basic and primary education in Nepal. The government has created incentive packages, such scholarships and free school uniforms for attracting girls to school, but it is not making much difference. The latest statistics on adult literacy show that women lag far behind their male counterparts in literacy - by almost 23% - illustrating that the gender-gap in education has only marginally narrowed from what it was a decade ago. As against “65.5% male literacy, there is only 42.8% female literacy” (2001 census). Poverty, a patriarchal culture, tradition and religion are the most important barriers against girls’ education in Nepal. The EFA in Nepal is struggling against heavy odds to bridge this gender disparity in education, although the ‘Women Education Section’ provides incentives and scholarships for girls. In addition, there are regional and ethnic disparities among the districts and between the lowlands and the mountains. According to the recent data published by the Non-Formal Education (NFE) centre, Marwadi, Brahmins and Newar communities comprise the largest literate groups with a literacy rate of 80.0%, 74.90% and 71.22% respectively. Mushahar, followed by Chhamar, Khatway and Chepang do not have even the most basic skills to
break out of poverty. Mushahar has a literacy rate of only 5%, while the latter three communities have 14.6%, 12.4% and 10.8% respectively. The urban literacy is many times higher than that of the countryside. For instance, Kathmandu has the highest literacy rate with “77.11%” (2001 census) while Humla, a remote mid-western district, has a miserable “26%” (ibid). However, the administrators of the Tenth Plan and the government education officials are optimistic that Nepal is within reach to ‘eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and EFA by 2015!\n
Nepalese lifelong learning policy: an analysis

This analysis has been divided into two parts: “1956 – 1990 Panchayat era” and “1990 – 2007 democracy and conflict era.” There is no doubt that the country made some progress in the field of learning between “1956 – 1990”. However, this progress was only limited to quantitative increase. The learning policy and practice of the First to the Seventh Five-year Plans remained very weak and poorly institutionalised. Projects were chosen on an ad hoc basis without due consideration to any social or economic criteria, while the government investment in projects was not based on any long-term sustainability. As a consequence, there was always a scarcity of resources at the phase of implementation and practice phase. Political decisions were often autocratic and feudalistic. As a result, the planning process lacked accountability and was unable to induce genuine popular participation. While the weak planning system increased external dependence, local programmes became centrally directed, in addition to being donor driven. This led Nepalese people into the movement which restored democracy in the country in 1990.

Since the restoration of democracy in 1990, various attempts have been made to advance educational programmes and make them comprehensive in a planned way, in line with democratic norms and values, based on the demands of time and the aspiration of the people. However, the “education sector faces various problems. Basic education is still not available to all the people. More than half of the population is illiterate” (NPC 1998: 607). The national goal of universalisation of primary education requires a significant increase in girls’ enrolment. The lack of progress in this direction remains a serious problem. Similarly, in view of the fact that as many as 44.5% people are illiterate, the present efforts to raise the literacy rate are most inadequate. For example, in the case of non-formal learning and the literacy rate of 15 years and above was 39% in 1992.
(NPC 1992: 463), the government target to achieve "63% by the year 2002" (NPC 2002: 399) in fact only achieved "49.2%" (ibid: 29). The literacy rate for the population of six years and above only reached 55.5% (ibid: 399), when it was planned to reach 70% by the end of the Ninth Plan i.e. 2002. Hence, the rate of progress is approximately 1% per year; there is no difference from that of the Panchayat era (pre 1990), which clearly is not a satisfactory result. The present efforts made to raise the literacy rate are very inadequate. Male and female literacy rate is "65.8% and 35.4%" (ibid: 31) respectively. The literacy rate in areas "urban is 63.50% and rural 34.50%" (ibid: 29). It thus is apparent that there is a higher percentage of male literacy than the female and a higher literacy rate in urban areas as opposed to rural districts. The literacy rate in the Eastern region is "41.90%, Central 35.10% and Western 34.60 %" (NPC 2002: 92). In the current context, ignorance and illiteracy, the caste system and feudalism, religion and oppression are very strong in the western part of Nepal but gradually decrease eastwards. Against such a background, it may be observed that the Maoist movement is more violent in the west as compared to the east. The movement based on awareness against socio-political oppression has emerged as the anti-thesis to the "feudal state". This trend indicates that literacy and knowledge is required to promote differences in human behaviour, social change and understanding of social norms and values. The literacy programme is very important in providing adults with the knowledge and skills that will help them to alleviate poverty and strengthen social cohesion as well.

In reality, the literacy rate of the nation-state is decreasing because of the current civil war. In order to address this issue, the Tenth Plan intends to set up 205 CLCs "to make 1,866,000 adults particularly women literate" (NPC 2002: 385). In addition, the Plan has set a target providing basic primary education to "200,000 boys and girls of school age" (ibid: 385) via non-formal primary education. The government's long-term plan is to hand over the responsibility of the running CLCs to the local bodies. The government has started implementing one CLC in each constituency, which does not seem practicable considering the size of the constituencies. The majority of the constituencies are so huge that it takes two to three days to walk from one end to the other as walking is the only means of travel. Therefore, when and how the sparsely distributed CLCs will maintain the process of literacy education and lifelong learning remains unclear in the policy document. Directly or indirectly, this programme will benefit the Maoists, as most of the constituencies are under their control.
In addition; class, rural-urban divide, ethnicity, gender and religious issues functions within the framework of the caste system in Nepal. This is based in Hindu religious norms and values which has created inequality and a feudal system where indigenous nationalities, the lower caste, women and people from rural areas (the majority of rural people are poor) are marginalised from even utilising their basic democratic rights such as learning. Thus it is important to address these issues by the policy and practice of lifelong learning. However, lifelong learning can only prosper in open and democratic society which currently is totally lacking in Nepal. At the same time, policy of localisation in lifelong learning is crucial for both deconstruction of social evils propagated by Hinduism such as the caste system and the preclusion of beneficial social norms and values i.e. the extended family system from the negative impact of globalisation.

Conclusion

The First to the Tenth Plans have given very clear learning policies according to the time and space and put many plans, projects and incentives into practice. A number of educational commissions have been formed, many foreign experts have constantly been involved since 1954 and much research has been carried out into formulation and implementation. UNESCO is working very closely with the Ministry of Education in the processes of policy making and practice. The World Bank, the EU, OECD, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and other national and international donor agencies have been heavily involved since the early sixties in the field of learning. Despite the contribution of the above listed agencies, almost all Plans did not achieve or are not achieving their aims. In this sense, it is important to explore donor agencies' lifelong learning policies of the donor agencies. Therefore I will review the lifelong learning policy of the major donor agencies of Nepal in chapter eight.
CHAPTER EIGHT


As highlighted in chapter seven, in this chapter and in chapters to follow I show the structuring of many of the policy statements related to donor perceptions of Nepal. 60% of the country’s total budget comes from donor countries and international donor agencies. Similarly there is no exception in the education sector. Currently the OECD, the EU and the World Bank invest money in policy processes and practice of ‘Education for All’ (EFA) in Nepal. Thus it is a fair assumption that the country’s learning policy has been heavily influenced by these organisations. Therefore, in this chapter I will explore the lifelong learning policies of the above-listed transnational organisations in order to determine their influence on the Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice. To do this, I will first review the UNESCO’s ‘EFA’ policy followed by the lifelong learning policies of the World Bank, the OECD, the EU, the ASEM and the ADB.

UNESCO’s EFA and lifelong learning

UNESCO’s education programme called ‘Education for All (EFA)’ was first introduced in March 1990 after the World Education Conference, which was held in Jomtien, Thailand. The conference was sponsored by five international agencies: the UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank. Its main aim was to provide ‘basic education to all’ and particularly reduce illiteracy in the least developed and developing countries by the end of the year 2000. But it did not achieve its aim and another world education forum was convened in April 2000, in Dakar, Senegal. The forum’s main aim was again to provide basic education to all by the year 2015.

In addition, the UN Headquarters launched the ‘UN Literacy Decade – Education for All (2003 – 2012)’ on 13 February 2003. “It is spearheaded by UNESCO, as the lead agency for the decade. ‘Literacy as freedom’ is the theme of the decade” (UN 2003a: 1) and
'literacy for all' is one of the strategies of UNESCO that comes under the EFA, something which was reaffirmed at the World Education Forum at Dakar in 2000. "The proposal for a literacy decade came from the countries themselves. Thus [...] the programme is country driven – bottom up rather than top down" (UN 2003b: para 5, in italic is original). Globally, there are at least "860 million illiterate adults and 100 million children have no access to school" (UN 2003a: 1). This is a classic example of unfairness, social exclusion and marginalisation. Literacy is the key to basic education, the foundation for lifelong learning and a tool for empowering people in civil society.

**EFA 1990: its vision, policy and strategy.** The 'World Education Conference 1990' set out a framework for basic learning needs, calling it the 'framework for action to basic learning needs'. This framework aimed to establish the cooperation and participation of local, national and international organisations, donors and aid agencies in the development of basic learning needs. These basic learning needs were diverse and complex. Help and cooperation from diverse group was needed to convert aspiration into reality. The EFA programme introduced in 1990 was flexible and adopted an open door policy, which is clarified by the following statement:

Individual countries and groups of countries, as well as international, regional and national organisations, may use the Framework to develop their own specific plans of action and programmes in line with their particular objectives, mandates and constituencies. (EFA 1990a: 2).

The EFA framework also clearly highlighted "countries with low literacy and school enrolment rates, and very limited national resources, they will need to make hard choices, in establishing national targets within a realistic timeframe" (ibid: 3), which is directly applicable to a country such as Nepal. Thus, the framework allowed countries to set their own targets within the following proposed dimensions:

- Expansion of early childhood care and developmental activities, including family and community interventions, especially for poor, disadvantaged and disabled children.

- Universal access to, and completion of primary education (or whatever higher level of education is considered as 'basic') by the year 2000.
- Improvement in learning achievement such as that an agreed percentage of an appropriate age cohort (e.g. 80% of 14 year-olds) attain or surpass a defined level of necessary learning achievement.

- Reduction of the adult illiteracy rate (the appropriate age group to be determined in each country) to, say, one-half its 1990 level by the year 2000, with sufficient emphasis on female literacy to significantly reduce the current disparity between male and female illiteracy rates.

- Expansion of provision of basic education and training in other essential skills required by youth and adults, with programme effectiveness assessed in terms of behavioural changes and impact on health, employment and productivity.

- Increased acquisition by individuals and families of the knowledge, skills and values required for better living and sound and sustainable development, made available through all education channels including the mass media, other forms of modern and traditional communication, and social action, with effectiveness assessed in terms of behavioural change.

Source: EFA (1990a: 3).

The above-listed proposed targets were designed to address social exclusion in learning, giving especial attention to poor, disadvantaged and disabled children and universal access to, and completion of primary education. This was a good step, which in the long term, could play a vital role in creating social inclusion in society. Learning achievement creates personal fulfilment, which is an important element of learning that included in ‘EFA’ targets. As mentioned in the framework, basic learning and training in essential skill generate employment and productivity, which is known as knowledge economy and forms an integral element of globalisation. Article I of the Jomtien declaration, ‘Meeting Basic Learning Needs’ states, “basic education is more than an end in itself” (ibid 1990a: 3). In fact, ‘basic education’ per se is an aspect of lifelong learning. It will not be an end itself; rather it is a foundation for the ongoing learning process. It is important to advance and keep up to date the knowledge that is gained from ‘basic education’ by means of lifelong learning otherwise it will fade away. The world is moving fast, with global distances having been shrunk by modern technology. Information technology is taking over the whole world’s activities. There is no excuse for the least developed and developing countries to claim that their learning process is very basic and not up to the standard for the process of globalisation. They have to compete with the global competition. Otherwise, powerful elements of globalisation can damage the growing infrastructure of both the least developed and developing countries. Therefore, these countries have to embrace lifelong
learning in order to catch up with the speed of the changing world and be able to compete using the up to date knowledge and skills that are required.

The Jomtien declaration also prioritised action at national, regional and world levels. The prioritisation of action at different levels was supposed to help policy makers, planners and implementers in carrying out their respective jobs effectively. However, it did not make any difference to country level policy makers. The Jomtien declaration was never fully transferred into practice in Nepal.

Another aim of EFA 1990 was to "provide sustained long-term support for national and regional programmes" (EFA 1990b: 13). The World Bank, UNDP, UNESCO and UNICEF supported this, providing both financial and technical support, but end results were unsatisfactory.

Thus, there are both advantages and disadvantages to the project being funded by the international organisations. On the credit side: it is good to have a sufficient budget to make the project a success. On the debit side: international donor agencies such as the World Bank, UNDP, UNESCO and UNICEF can manipulate policy. In order to avoid these biases, UNESCO asked the host countries to take the lead role in ensuring that funds were allocated and used in accordance with their priorities. Each country was given full responsibility in determining its own goals and targets and designing its plan of action for achieving them. Nepal’s policy again failed to achieve its goals.

In summary, ‘EFA 1990’ was a campaign to provide primary education for all and reduce adult illiteracy by the year 2000. In policy, it was more flexible than previous programmes and tried to cooperate with parents, community, and government bodies at a local level. At the national and international level, the same principals had been adopted and the UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank were fully committed to making a success of this campaign and to achieve the set targets and goals. The campaign was based on a partnership. Despite all these efforts, Nepal and many other least developed and developing countries did not achieve their goals and targets as set by the ‘World Conference on Education for All, Jomtien, Thailand, 1990. Therefore, the World Education Forum (WEF) 2000 was convened.
EFA 2000: its vision, policy and strategy. The World Education Forum was held in Dakar on 26 – 28 April 2000 to review the progress of the EFA that was implemented in 1990. The forum re-affirmed its vision, and adopted a fresh framework for action that emphasised the need for quality in basic education as well as access to it. The forum clarified the responsibility of national governments towards learning. The Dakar Framework clearly stated the commitment to create the right conditions for EFA in each country. It recognised that some countries would need help in so doing, help which would be also made available. In order to achieve its objectives by 2015, the WEF 2000 set the following six goals:

1. expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;
2. ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and completely free and compulsory primary education of good quality;
3. ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes;
4. achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;
5. eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with focus on ensuring girls’ full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality; and
6. improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence for all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.


As a whole, those six goals set up by the WEF to achieve EFA targets by 2015 appear very promising; however it is very difficult to transfer them into reality. The results of the Jomtien 1990 declaration for EFA were an indication of that. The overall results of the Jomtien declaration were at an acceptable level but not all states were up to that standard. Some countries did not even achieve the minimum level of their targets. We can take Nepal as an example where one of the country’s targets was to achieve an increase in the literacy rate, from 38% to 70% in ten years (1990 – 2000); instead the country was only able to achieve 54%. It could be lower in reality because there is no effective and scientific
way to collect data in the country. As EFA (2002a: 52) states “a country needs data of good quality to accurately measure and monitor progress.” The WEF 2000 has claimed success in achieving ‘Education for All’ targets on the basis of in-country reports but the situation on the ground is completely different especially in Nepal. No wonder that the country report has shown a marginal success from the programmes that were implemented as per the Jomtien declaration of EFA 1990–2000. In reality, the learning system of Nepal is like a ‘headless chicken’. There is no quality control in both government and privately funded learning organisations. Learning is not creating employability/adaptability, social inclusion, active citizenship, knowledge economy, community development and personal fulfilment. There is reasonable progress in quantity but not in quality. We have already seen that the Jomtien declaration was not effectively practised in Nepal and that no effective steps have been taken to achieve those six goals set by the WEF 2000. Some negative indications have already started to emerge in Nepal e.g. there is no prospect of ‘eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005’ which is one of the goals of the WEF 2000. Consequently we can assume that there is little prospect of achieving the goals set by the WEF 2000. In the 21st century, it is unacceptable to allow a learning system of double standards, i.e. ‘haves and have-nots’ to persist in relation to accessibility for any society.

There is no doubt that the WEF 2000 has set up various working groups at global and regional levels and the countries involved have been asked to do the same at national and local levels, to achieve the goals and targets set by 2015. It has called for cooperation and participation with international and national donor agencies to make a success of this campaign. In addition, the WEF has set out a twelve point strategy called ‘International EFA Strategy (IEFAS) April 2002’ to make this programme a success. Those points are listed below:

1 Mobilize strong national and international political commitment for Education for All, develop national action plans and enhance significantly investment in basic education.

2 Promote EFA policies within a sustainable and well-integrated sector framework clearly linked to poverty elimination and development strategies.

3 Ensure the engagement and participation of civil society in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of strategies for educational development.
4 Develop responsive, participatory and accountable systems of educational governance and management.

5 Meet the needs of educational systems affected by conflict, natural calamities and instability, and conduct educational programmes in ways that promote mutual understanding, peace and tolerance, and that help to prevent violence and conflict.

6 Implement integrated strategies for gender equality in education that recognize the need for change in attitudes, values and practices.

7 Implement education programmes and action to combat the HIV/AIDS pandemic as a matter of urgency.

8 Create safe, healthy, inclusive and equitably resourced educational environments conducive to excellence in learning, with clearly defined levels of achievement for all.

9 Enhance the status, morale and professionalism of teachers.

10 Harness the new information and communication technologies to help achieve EFA goals.

11 Systematically monitor progress towards EFA goals and strategies at the national, regional and international levels.

12 Build on existing mechanisms to accelerate progress towards Education.


The above-listed strategies covered learning designed to combat HIV/AIDS as a matter of urgency; and is crystal clear on paper as a policy. If it is properly applied into the system it can develop and change society, which is what the EFA aims to achieve. But policy on paper does not necessarily work in practice at ground level. In the case of Nepal, the government has implemented many plans and policies into the Nepalese learning system since 1956 (First Five-year Plan). However, up to this time there is no record of success, including the Jomtien 1990 declaration. It is important to find out what is preventing the success of plans and policies in Nepal. It could be economic, political, social, cultural or religious factors or corruption. In addition, it could be a global factor, seeing as 60% of its development budget comes from global agencies and as a consequence the country’s policies are strongly influenced by the interests of these agencies without considering local realities. If we look into the current Nepalese context, there are various factors that are stopping plans and projects and preventing goals and targets being achieved. The first one
is corruption: it is everywhere, from policy process to practice. According to Panday (2001: 84-85):

Corruption works in Nepal in many ways. It works as a part of an exploitative system where the more powerful divert income and wealth generated by community efforts to private benefit. It works as a part of a patronage network where a patron has to look after many clients at the expense of public resources, directly or indirectly. This network exists at all levels and across the society. [...] Above all, it works as an element that provides opportunity to an authority to abuse power for the sake of personal enrichment and aggrandisement.

The corruption problem in Nepal is beyond morality and ethics. Here, I shall highlight a few examples of corruption that have taken place in the learning sector (more examples of corruption in Nepal are in Appendix ten). Many science laboratories for secondary schools built under the EFA 1990 programme have infrastructure damaged or washed away by landslides and swollen rivers. Sites by river banks, landslide-effected, sloping or non-arable land are cheaper than good building land. Corrupt authorities and local powerholders purchase these categories of land at a cheap price and register them at a higher value. Whatever profit they make goes into their own pockets. It seems a policy problem but in fact it is also associated with corruption and an attitude problem at policy level. Similar incidents took place in the 1970s when the NESP was implemented in Nepal. Most of the vocational and science laboratories were abandoned unfinished and those finished ended up without the necessary laboratory instruments. No one took care of infrastructure and equipment and within a few years whatever was left disappeared, including the buildings themselves. So, in the end the plan failed to achieve its objective. As a results, up to the present time, the learning system of Nepal seems disjointed. As Panday (2001) said above, ‘corruption works in many ways in Nepal’.

It is obvious we need sound policies to “[...] translate the vision and strategy of a robust education system into development outcomes [...]” (EFA 2002a: 52) and at the same time we also need actors who participate in key tasks and possess good corruption free attitudes. So, we at least need sound policies, a clear strategy, sufficient resources and actors who are highly motivated and incorruptible to implement the learning programmes and achieve set goals and targets. The government and policy makers assume policies and strategies are everything, but in fact these are only a part of the whole project. This is what is happening in Nepal. The government and policy makers rely on policies rather than practice. Effective practice and long term caring is necessary to make a success of any policy and
plan. The eighth and ninth Five-year Plans implemented the ‘Education for All (Jomtien 1990)’. As mentioned in chapter seven, the learning policies of the eighth and ninth Five-year Plans were in accordance with the EFA 1990. The learning policies of the eighth and ninth Five-year Plans were clear and transparent; even so, they did not achieve their goals due to the lack of effectiveness in practice. Regarding this the NPC (1998: 607) writes, “educational programmes lack equal gender participation. Internal and external capacity of education systems from basic to higher level are not encouraging.” In consequence EFA 1990 ended with “unsatisfactory results” (NPC 2002: 383). If the practice is ineffective and far from ground reality, then the outcome is always very poor, such as happened to the ‘NESP 1971’, ‘EFA 1990’ and the same thing is happening to the ‘EFA 2000’.

EFA (2002a: 14) states, “the strategy is a living document which will be modified as circumstances and priorities evolve.” Thus, in order to inject the effectiveness into the practice, International EFA April 2002 has proposed the following strategy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Occasion</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 2002</td>
<td>Second anniversary of Dakar</td>
<td>Launch of the first version of strategy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2002</td>
<td>Preparation for EFA Working Group</td>
<td>UNESCO to network with partners to develop a matrix showing who will do what in relation to the commitments of the international community proposed in the strategy, with time-lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2002</td>
<td>EFA Working Group</td>
<td>Present, discuss, modify and have matrix approved for assigning roles and responsibilities identified in the strategy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2002</td>
<td>EFA High Level Group</td>
<td>Make commitments to roles/responsibilities as per output of Working Group, followed by financing meeting to put resources together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 2002</td>
<td>following the High Level Group</td>
<td>UNESCO to process input from HLG and adjust strategy – new version and updated time-line.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: 5 Targets and timelines of twelve Dakar strategies are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Target/Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 2002</td>
<td>EFA Financing Framework to be in place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 2002</td>
<td>Financing for ‘fast-track’ initiative in place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2002</td>
<td>EFA plans in place at national level, as part of education sector plan, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), or other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2003</td>
<td>Start of UN Literacy Decade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Regional EFA evaluation conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>International EFA evaluation conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>ensuring that all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>achieving gender equality in education, with a focus on ensuring girls’ full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>International EFA assessment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (EFA 2002a: 3).

According to International Education for All Strategy (2002a: 52):

Achieving EFA goals by 2015 presents daunting challenges but the prospects of achieving the goal are much better today than they have ever been since the formal launching of the EFA movement in 1990.

There is no doubt, the above listed target dates are really challenging for the least developed and developing countries, although the IEFAS 2002 considers that the situation is better today than it was in 1990 as regarding our ability to achieve the goals by 2015. In the context of Nepal, it is very difficult to achieve the targets. As mentioned earlier, the first target ‘eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education’ by 2005 is impossible. At the global level there are “some 35 countries that are unlikely to meet the goal of eliminating gender disparities at the primary level by 2005 […]” (EFA 2002a: 52). If the country’s situation remains as it is, then the EFA goal for Nepal by 2015 will be very difficult to achieve. At the international level, there are “29 countries lagging farthest behind and they will not reach the goal without historically unprecedented rates of progress” (ibid: 52). Those countries that are lagging behind the given timescales are all
the least developed countries, and their economic and political conditions can be correlated to that of Nepal.

In addition to achieving the goals and targets, the EFA 2000 has integrated with other sectors such as Millennium Declaration goals, Poverty Reduction Strategies and related frameworks (PRSPs), Sector-wide approaches (SWAps) and regional planning process.

Two of the Millennium Declaration goals of the World Bank overlap with the EFA 2000 objectives, which are: “to achieve universal completion of primary schooling and to achieve gender equality in access to education” (EFA 2002a: 9). These goals will be automatically achieved if the state achieves EFA objectives. The PRSP is the programme that was initiated by the World Bank to reduce poverty in the least developed countries by various ways, one of them being learning. The IEFAS (EFA 2002a: 46) has stated “[...] PRSP covers all sectors of development in which a country should invest, including education which is seen as a key component.” So, ‘EFA 2000’ has been and is trying to integrate with this World Bank initiative to achieve its aim by 2015. It is important, and a good idea, to coordinate all similar plans and resources to achieve the main goal. Furthermore, the ‘Regional planning processes’ are part of the main process that is also becoming an effective way to achieve the EFA 2000’s goals by 2015. The following is an example:

[…] internationally driven planning processes, some regional frameworks exist in which EFA planning must have a proper place. The New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) is one such framework. In basic education, NEPAD refers only to the Millennium Goal of Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2015, and curriculum, quality and the use of ICTs. In view of the huge EFA needs in Africa in area of each of the six Dakar objectives, planning for basic education needs special attention wherever the NEPAD is as a framework for planning specific initiatives of allocating new funding. It should be used in conjunction with other planning processes mentioned above, in countries where they pertain (EFA 2002: 47).

To implement and practise strategies effectively and achieve EFA by 2015, two bodies have been established which are: the Working Group EFA (WGEFA) and the High level Group (HLG). Regarding this EFA (2002a: 24) states the WGEFA “[...] brings together partners to discuss task-oriented EFA issues.” It monitors relations and progress of international strategies, “[...] strengthens collaboration at the international level, providing
a forum for exchange of experiences among the different players in EFA (ibid: 24). The HLG "[…] serves as a lever for political commitment and technical and financial resource mobilization" (ibid: 24).

In addition, EFA 2000 is collaborating with multilateral bodies, groups, networks, and educational bodies at international, regional, national and local levels to achieve EFA by 2015. The international EFA partners are assisting in the development of EFA plans. Some standard criteria have been set up for the assessment of national EFA plans and the EFA plans must qualify as credible through the assessment process. There are two phases in this process: the first one is that the plan must be in line with the Dakar Framework for Action and that it must be agreed by all stakeholders; the second is an assessment by donors for funding purposes. According to EFA (2002a: 54), the following list is a minimum set of criteria for the overall assessment of plans:

1) political commitment by government as a whole; 2) engagement of all stakeholders in its preparation, particularly civil society representatives, and resulting collective ownership of plan; 3) attention to all six Dakar goals; 4) sustainable monitoring and evaluation procedures, including performance indicators; 5) a thorough analysis of the present situation (recent data and studies); 6) links to other development planning processes; 7) sector-wide planning, linking EFA to all levels of education; 8) an appropriate policy framework; 9) building a sustainable institutional framework; 10) detailed budgeting of financial resources, and resulting identification of gaps.

The EFA (2002a: 54) has stated, "the international EFA partners actively assist in the development of EFA plans [...]". In this sense, the IEFAS April 2002 seems more international than local. If plans and projects are not based on the local context then there is more chance of failure. Nepal has experienced this kind of problem many times. The dilemma of the poor countries is whether or not to adopt the donor countries’ and agencies’ policies into their countries’ main policy in order, primarily, to get funding from them. Nepal’s learning policy is also suffering from this syndrome. In the context of Nepal, the World Bank, the OECD and the EU are the main donors and they always influence the country’s policy. Thus, this chapter discusses their learning policy in further detail.
The World Bank: lifelong learning policy for the least developed and developing countries

The World Bank's learning policy has claimed that the Bank is mainly committed to help the least developed and developing countries in eradicating illiteracy, and in the development of a knowledge-based society and sustainable economy. Its main aim is to help the poor, socially excluded and marginalised people all over the world. The Bank emphasises the need for investing in people, particularly through basic health, learning, and other social sectors. During the period of 1990 - 2000, the Bank was committed to the development of learning resources in order to develop basic learning, mainly in the least developed and developing countries. We can take an example of EFA (2002a: 20), which states:

At a meeting of EFA partners in Amsterdam in April 2002 the World Bank presented an action plan with a proposal for a financing framework; the plan was endorsed by the WB Development Committee. It is the most significant initiative to date and promises to result in major new funds for the Dakar goal of primary education, including the gender and quality issues [...].

The World Bank has been spending quite a large amount of money in the learning sector of Nepal since the 1950s, for example, the Bank loaned "US $ 50 millions for basic and primary education project phase II" (World Bank 2003: 32). Despite this, Nepal never achieved its learning objectives. The World Bank never gave any consideration as to why Nepal has not achieved its learning aim; it oddly never tries to determine the causes of failures prior to embarking on another lending spree. In this sense, the World Bank in its dealings assumes the mantle of the fraudulent feudal money lenders of Nepal. It seems that the World Bank is only interested in doing business with Nepal and other poor countries using well-orchestrated radical slogans and pushing them into the debt after debt. For example; the World Bank states, "improvements in upper secondary and tertiary education must move forward along with progress in basic education" (World Bank 2002: 8). The World Bank further states:

[...] the goal of education as nothing less than to ensure that everyone completes a basic education of adequate quality, acquire foundational skills — literacy, numeracy, reasoning and social skills such as teamwork- and further opportunities to learn advanced skills throughout life in a range of post basic education settings. (ibid: vii).
The Bank has shown its commitment to work within individual countries’ definitions of basic education. In addition, the concept of ‘lifelong learning’ brings into the discussion non-formal and formal modes of learning that help out-of-school children, youths and adults. Nevertheless, this is not new for Nepal. More than a dozen policies have been formulated in the past in the name of learning, in order to get loans from the World Bank and, once the loan is in the hands of the Nepalese top level actors (social elites), it disappears like ships used to disappear into the Bermuda Triangle. Every year, Nepalese think-tanks and social elites under the supervision of the World Bank’s experts come up with new ideas and produce radical policies that are full of slogans. The World Bank’s delegates from New York come to Nepal and have seminars in Nepalese nice five-star hotels followed by sight-seeing; jungle safari and elephant polo matches at the Tiger Tops in Chitwan National Park. Normally the seminars conclude by granting loans but as in the past, policy normally remains unchanged and is formulated to the mutual benefit of Nepalese social elites and global money lenders such as the World Bank.

Further to this, there is a programme called ‘Education for the Knowledge Economy (EKE)’, which is a three year analytical programme, initiated by the Human Development Network of the World Bank. The programme is:

[...] to understand and articulate how education and training systems need to change in order to meet the challenges of the knowledge economy, and to offer practical and sustainable policy options for developing countries. (World Bank 2002: http://www1.worldbank.org/education/PDF/Education for the knowledge Economy write-up.pdf).

The initiation of this programme is an indication of the requirement of lifelong learning and knowledge economy in the least developed and developing countries as well. The World Bank has explained this in the following way:

The World Bank has started to address the implications of the knowledge economy and lifelong learning for developing countries. The conceptual framework for analyzing the knowledge economy is being further developed by the World Bank Institute. As part of its analytical work, the Human Development Network has prepared a new report entitled Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education, and has also prepared two draft reports – the first is entitled Strategic Approaches to Science and Technology in Development, and the second is entitled Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy: Challenges for
As I argued in previous chapters, the concept of lifelong learning is not a new topic and it is therefore not new for Nepal. The Nepalese people’s way of life is entirely guided by the practice of lifelong learning. The local Nepalese lifelong learning is mainly based on informal learning that can take place at any time and anywhere in the course of a life span. It has been helping the local people in the development of ‘social capital’, ‘cultural capital’ and ‘knowledge capital’. Despite this the World Bank has only focused on ‘knowledge capital’ which is only one aspect of lifelong learning. Therefore it is very important for the World Bank to recognise that lifelong learning is not a new subject even for the poor countries.

Lifelong learning that is integrated with globalisation normally requires funding in order to develop skills. It is in this area that the World Bank could help by contributing money for learning resources. However, the World Bank funding is not always beneficial for the poor countries. There are more chances to influence and damage local culture and tradition by the international funding and activities if it is not localised.

The OECD and its lifelong learning policy

The OECD is a forum created after World War II. It was first created as the organisation for European Economic Cooperation to coordinate the Marshal Plan. It was developed at global level in 1961. It has “30 member countries and more than 70 developing and transition economies” (OECD 2003b: 1, in italic is original) working with the OECD. The OECD’s mission and social cohesion are listed below:

**Mission:**

1. To promote policies designed to achieve sustainable economic growth and employment and rising standards of living in member countries while maintaining financial stability, so contributing to the development of the world economy.

2. To assist sound economic expansion in member of countries and other countries in the process of economic development.
To contribute to growth in world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis.

Social cohesion:

1. Helping to ensure equal access to education for all.
2. Promoting an effective and accessible health system.
3. Fighting social exclusion and unemployment.
4. Bridging the "digital divide" between rich and poor.

Source: OECD (2003b: 1)

It is quite clear that the OECD's mission is based on a global concept. The points listed at social cohesion such as 'equal access', 'social exclusion' and 'bridging the gap between rich and poor' are sometimes not compatible with the process of globalisation. As I highlighted in chapter four (page: 94), the neo-Marxist school of thought believes that the process of globalisation creates more social exclusion in society and widens the gap between rich and poor. Jarvis (2002a: 5) writes, "the global market always favours the rich - since the market is never free", never in favour of the poor and thus the poor will be excluded. "[...] there is no global welfare and the poor of the world have no social rights as such by virtue of their humanity. [...] in this new globalised economy it is not only poverty that leads to social exclusion" (ibid: 5 - 6, in italic is original). To avoid all this, the local concept needs to be developed in the framework of global thinking as a preventive measure. As mentioned in chapters two and four, this process can be called 'glocalisation', which is according to Robertson (1995: 28) "global and local to make a blend." However, Robertson's concept of 'glocalisation' is only concerned with financial capital i.e. trade and business, but missed out key elements such as social and cultural capital that play a vital role in day-to-day life. Globalisation and information communication technology have not only increased the demand for lifelong learning, but also presented challenges, such as social exclusion in a global society. OECD countries' Education Policy Analysis 2002 reviewed the latest international experience on ways to meet these challenges:

1. Eight key strategies for improving access to quality early childhood education and care are identified.

2. The characteristics of countries and schools that achieve both high - level and equitable performance in reading literacy skills are analysed.
3 Evidence on teacher shortage is reviewed, and policy options for overcoming shortage explored.

4 The growth of education across national borders is documented and its challenges for national policy making discussed.

5 A broadened concept of "human capital" is developed that helps bridge the gap between education's economic mission, and its wider social and personal benefits.


The OECD countries are aware of the importance of early child education. They have a concept of "high-quality early childhood programmes giving young children a strong start in lifelong learning" (OECD 2002b: 10). In addition, the OECD countries are trying to ensure that resources and opportunities provided for the most disadvantaged are used efficiently to help strengthen social equality.

In 1996, the OECD Ministers for Education "adopted 'lifelong learning for all' as a guiding framework for their education policy" (OECD 2001a: 1). This is very interesting and raises several questions as to why the OECD Ministers for Education have chosen to adopt "lifelong learning for all" in their education policy. As mentioned in earlier chapters, the world is becoming a global village and international boundaries are becoming meaningless due to Information Communication Technology (ICT). The job market is open to all and competition is very fierce. Day-by-day new and advanced skills and knowledge are required in the job markets. ICT is inventing new things by the hour. These inventions require human resources who possess new knowledge and skills. The knowledge and skills that were learned yesterday may not be able to address today's demands. So, there appears only one way to deal with this problem, lifelong learning. It develops the individual's competencies and strengthens abilities that are required by knowledge-based societies. Therefore "in 1996, OECD Ministers for Education saw these needs emerging and adopted the common goal of 'lifelong learning for all'" (OECD 2001b: 2). Further, their statement says:

Now we have met to review progress since 1996 in developing and implementing policies to make lifelong learning a reality for all and to set new priorities for further work (ibid: 2).
The meeting of the OECD Education Ministers found that "the lifelong learning perspective has proved helpful for policy development" (OECD 2001b: 2) for all forms of learning: "from the pre-school years, through primary and secondary schooling and tertiary education to adult learning" (ibid: 2). This is further explained in the following way:

This view places competencies in a more coherent perspective and it focuses more clearly on the learner, and the possibility of individuals engaging in learning, regardless of age, place or even time. It encourages people to set higher expectations [...] to build strong foundations for learning; and to continue building on them, in part by developing people's motivation and competence to manage their own learning. (OECD 2001b: 2, in italic is original).

Although, the current concept of lifelong learning began in the 1970s, initially it was mainly applied to the provision of education for adults as an access to higher formal education. "In choosing the goal of 'lifelong learning for all' in 1996, OECD Education Ministers signalled a major departure by adopting a more comprehensive view" OECD (2001a: 1). According to the OECD Education Policy Analysis:

This goal covers all purposeful learning activity, from the cradle to the grave that aims to improve knowledge and competencies for all individuals who wish to participate in learning activities. International organisations such as UNESCO and the European Commission have also have adopted the more comprehensive approach. OECD (2001a: 1)

As defined in chapters two and seven, lifelong learning means that learning occurs throughout life. It can occur in formal, non-formal and informal settings at schools, work places in communities, in societies and in homes. In addition, the OECD Education Policy Analysis has listed the following key features of the lifelong learning approach:

First, it offers a systemic view of learning. The lifelong learning framework examines the demand for, as part of a connected system covering the whole lifecycle and comprising all forms of formal and informal learning.

Second, the centrality of the learner. The learner, and initiatives to cater for the diversity of learner needs, form the core of lifelong learning strategies. This signals a shift from educational policies that focus on formal institutional arrangements for learning. It represents a shift of attention from the supply of learning to the demand side.
Third, the approach emphasises the motivation to learn, and draws attention to self-paced and self-directed learning.

Fourth, it takes a balanced view of the multiple objectives of education policy. Those objectives relate to economic, social or cultural outcomes; to personal development; to citizenship and so on. The lifelong approach recognises that among these objectives may change over the course of an individual’s lifetime, and that each objective has to be taken into consideration in policy development.

Source: OECD (2001a: 2).

The features listed above are important to promote lifelong learning effectively. All features are necessary “to enable individuals to make the transition and progress through various learning stages” (OECD 2001a: 2) to achieve competence. “Developing an individual’s competence is a shared responsibility” (OECD 2001b: 2, in italic is original).

Employer, employee and trade unions have an equal responsibility. Therefore, the ‘Meeting of the OECD Education Ministers, investing in Competencies for All Communiqué 2001’, invited the OECDs to: “1) enhancing the development of competencies throughout life; 2) building [...] communities; and 3) reforming teaching and learning” (OECD 2001b: 5 – 6, in italic is original). Human competency is the demand of knowledge-based society and lifelong learning is the means to achieve this. Therefore, the OECD (2001a: 2) states:

Thus, the 1990s ‘cradle-to-grave’ vision of lifelong learning is substantially broader than the notions of adult education or recurrent education that previously shaped the debate on education policy.

The OECD’s concept of lifelong learning is more relevant to address the skills and knowledge gap being created by globalisation. However, the lifelong learning policy formulated by the OECD is biased towards globalisation and it is directed more towards the knowledge economy than community development, which results in increasing the gap between the rich and poor in communities across the world.

The EU and its lifelong learning policy

The majority of the EU countries are economically, socially and politically sound and developed. Because of their saturated economic condition, their vision and mission will always be in advance of the under developed and developing countries. Hence, the Lisbon EU Council in March 2000 set the “the strategic goal, reaffirmed at the Stockholm
European Council in March 2001" (EC 2001: 6), to become "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based society in the world" (ibid: 6). In order to do this, the EU adopted lifelong learning to promote employability, minimise social exclusion and develop knowledge-based society.

The EU has defined lifelong learning as an "all learning activity undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspective" (EC 2001: 9). Its aims according to EC (2001: 3) are:

[...] the aims of which are both to empower citizens to move freely between learning settings, jobs, regions, and countries, making the most of their knowledge and competences, and to meet the goals and ambitions of the European Union and the candidate countries to be more prosperous, inclusive, tolerant and democratic.

This development will be facilitated by bringing together within a lifelong learning framework education and training, and important elements of existing European level processes, strategies and plans concerned with youth, employment, social inclusion, and research policy [...].

And its objectives are: "active citizenship, personal fulfilment and social inclusion as well as employment-related aspects" (EC 2001: 9). The EU (EC 2001: 32 - 34) has defined its each objective in the following terms:

**Active citizenship:** The cultural, economic, political/democratic and/or social participation of citizens in society as a whole and in their community.

**Personal fulfilment:** *This is not clearly defined and explained in the document.* "[...] personal fulfilment is not greatly emphasized in this document" Jarvis and Parker (2002: 195, in italic is in original).

**Social inclusion:** When people can participate fully in economic, social and civil life, when their access to income and other resources (personal, family, social and cultural) is sufficient to enable them to enjoy a standard of living and quality of life that is regarded as acceptable by the society in which they live and when they are able fully to access their fundamental rights.

**Employment-related aspects:** Employability - the capacity for people to be employed: it relates not only to the adequacy of their knowledge and competences but also to the incentives and opportunities offered to individuals to seek employment. Adaptability - the capacity to adapt to new technologies, new market conditions and new work.
The EU has taken "coherent and comprehensive lifelong learning strategies" (EC 2001: 4). To implement these strategies into the system, the EU has adopted the European Employment Strategy that "features a horizontal objective of lifelong learning and specific guidelines, which focus on the employment and labour market related aspects of lifelong learning" (ibid: 8 in italic is original). The next one is a 'partnership approach', which is an open door policy or collaboration with all outdoor actors such as INGOs and NGOs. An early identification of the 'needs of the learner' by employers, society and trade unions is the strategy of the EU. If learning needs arise then authorities have to provide 'adequate resources' for learners. The other important strategy is access to learning from anywhere and at any time. The EU has included the development of a 'culture of learning', which is to make clear the demand of learning, increase learning opportunities and participation in learning. Another important aspect of learning is evaluation and monitoring "with a view to striving for excellence on an ongoing basis" (EC 2001: 4) which is also one of the strategies of the EU lifelong learning. In addition, the EU lifelong learning strategies have stated, "[...] traditional systems must be transformed to become much more open and flexible, so that learners can have individual learning pathways" (ibid: 4). Further to these, the EU lifelong learning policy has six "priorities for action" (EC 2001: 15) that relate closely to the strategies mentioned above:

Valuing learning; information, guidance and counselling; investing time and money in learning; bringing together learners and learning opportunities; basic skills; innovative pedagogy.

Source: (EC 2001: 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23).

To implement lifelong learning successfully in the EU countries, it has set out a framework, which contains the following guidelines:

1 the identification of shared problems, ideas and priorities, through the exchange of knowledge, good practice and experience and through peer review, to enable actions to be developed across all or certain Members States and/or by European instruments and processes;

2 increasing the transparency of policies and systems, enabling citizens to access and make full use of the institutions and services at their disposal;

3 ensuring complementarity and synergy at European level between the various processes, strategies and plans involved in implementing lifelong learning;
4 developing synergy between Member States' policy in the field of lifelong learning.


Taking accounts of the above points, the EU lifelong learning has missed out the issue of community development. Apart from that, the EU lifelong learning documents have clearly reflected their major role in the promotion and application of lifelong learning, especially in Europe. However, as a major donor agency, its influence in Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice is unavoidable. Currently a joint project has been extended to Asia and Africa. The Asian European Meeting (ASEM) lifelong learning is included here with its perspectives and interpretation of lifelong learning.

The ASEM and its lifelong learning policy

As mentioned earlier, currently, the EU and ten Asian countries (Brunei, China, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam) are jointly working on lifelong learning. This idea first originated in 1999 after the conference on 'State and markets', which was held in Copenhagen, Denmark. "[...] one of the main conclusions of that conference was that lifelong learning should be seen as a measure required for complementing social and economic developments caused by globalisation" (ASEM 2002: para 0.1.). Globalisation and its powerful driving force such as the WTO and the World Bank create new structures and demands. These new structures need new skills and knowledge. The whole world including Europe and Asia are facing rapid changes in social and economic life. "Globalisation and the on-going development of the knowledge-based society require new skills and competences" (ASEM 2002: para 2.1). This is an ongoing process in the field of globalisation. Lifelong learning is the only means that can address the ongoing demand of skills and knowledge. Lifelong learning must be seen as prerequisite for ensuring economic development and social inclusion. The ASEM (2002: para 2.1) further stated:

Lifelong Learning is recognised as being of vital importance to enterprises in order to improve productivity and competitiveness as well as for individuals to maintain employability and ensure social inclusion.
However, it is important to convert global thinking into local concept prior to its implementation into the local context; otherwise it will create more social exclusion in society than inclusion. Social and cultural capitals are as important as knowledge capital and it is worth developing them all by means of lifelong learning. As per the EU, the ASEM has its own interpretation and objectives on lifelong learning, which are listed below:

**ASEM Interpretation:** Globalisation and the fast-moving development of the information society lead to increasingly rapid changes in societal and economic structures and thereby in the demand for a labour force equipped with adequate qualifications allowing participation in the ever changing labour market. Access to lifelong learning and continued upgrading of qualifications of the labour force is of mutual benefit to:

*Employers* - as lifelong learning facilitates productivity and competitiveness of the labour force and thereby the continued participation in the national as well as global economy;

*Employees* - as lifelong learning supports the continued employability and thereby safeguarding the livelihood of the families of the employees; and

*Society at large* – as lifelong learning prevents segments of the population becoming unemployable and marginalized and [...] is therefore contributing to social cohesion and strengthening of democratic structures.

The specific objectives of the ASEM are to:

1. Create a framework between ASEM countries for dialogue and exchange of lifelong learning experience.
2. Contribute to the promotion of lifelong learning in ASEM member countries.
3. Develop and strengthen co-operation between ASEM countries in the field of lifelong learning.

In addition to the above, the ASEM 2002 stated the positive concepts such as knowledge economy and integrated approaches, the tackling of social exclusion etc. At the same time, the ASEM 2002 has pointed out the following constraints as well:

With regard to ‘Ensuring basic skills for all’ there is currently a high level of uncertainty regarding the definition of basic skills, competencies and qualifications
as well as conflicting perception of life skills required for participating in a learning society and functional skills required for participating on the labour market in a knowledge economy.

In relation to ‘Integrated approaches to Lifelong Learning and recognition of skills acquired in different learning settings’ it has been found difficult to appropriately identify and apply:

1) approaches stimulating horizontal as well as vertical Lifelong Learning;
2) approaches linking formal, non-formal, informal learning settings;
3) approaches recognising learning acquired in different settings.

With regard to ‘Policies and incentives supporting access to Lifelong Learning’ there is presently considerable uncertainty about the actual roles to be performed by various stakeholders and on how adequate incentives for ensuring the continued involvement of stakeholders can be developed and applied as well as on how policies supporting development of national system (formal/non-formal/informal) can be implemented.

Source: (ASEM 2002: paras 0.1, 1.1, 2.2.3).

In summary, the AESM’s learning policy is mainly aimed towards ensuring basic skills, integrated approaches in lifelong learning, recognition of skills acquired in different learning settings, policies and incentives to promote access to lifelong learning to achieve employability/adaptability, knowledge economy, social inclusion, active citizenship and personal fulfilment in society or knowledge-based society. Thus, the AESM’s planning and purpose of lifelong learning is far clearer than the UNESCO’s EFA, the World Bank, the OECD and the EU’s vision and mission of lifelong learning. Among the main investors the Asian Development Bank (ADB) also plays a vital role in the AESM’s lifelong learning policy processes and practice. There is no exception in Nepal; the ADB is one of the main investors in the learning sector of Nepal.

The ADB and its contribution to the Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice

"The [...] (ADB) is a multilateral development bank dedicated to reducing poverty in Asia and the Pacific" (ADB 2002: 1). Initially, the ADB supported only technical, vocational and science education in Nepal. Later, the Bank also included basic education into its agenda. Currently, the ADB is mainly concentrating on agriculture and it has invested “41.5%” (ADB 2002: 3) of its total investment in this sector. In addition, in the time period of 1969 – 2001, the ADB provided loans to Nepal in different sectors i.e. 20.8% for
energy development, 14.2% for transport & communication, 3.7% for industry and 19.8% for social information and others (ibid: 3). Despite this, as highlighted in chapter two, Nepal was the thirteenth poorest country in the 1970s and at present it is the second poorest country in the world. Thus, the loans and donations from the organisations such as the World Bank, ADB, WTO, IMF, etc. are not alleviating poverty. Instead they are plunging poor countries like Nepal into a deeper state of poverty.

On a regional basis, the ADB has a policy to provide "[…] resources to basic education, particularly for girls and the poor" (ADB 2001: 10). In the long term, the Bank has the following strategies namely; "(i) 100 percent enrolment in primary schools by 2015, and (ii) elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005" (ibid: 10). As mentioned earlier, these are the global goals of EFA. Hence, already the ADB’s commitment has been seen in the development of lifelong learning.

Conclusion

Since 1990, “Nepal has fully endorsed the Jomtien Declaration (1990) ‘EFA’ and has made commitments towards achieving its goal” (EFA 2000d: 6). EFA is a project full of slogans, which have emerged and been in existence since 1990 after the World Conference on Education that was held in Jomtien. This conference “promised to provide all of the world’s children with access to good quality basic education by 2000” (EFA 2000a: 1) but that promise was not fulfilled. As mentioned earlier, there are more than 100 million school age children who have never seen a school classroom. Two thirds of them are girls. More than 860 million people around the world are illiterate. Another fifteen years has been added from the year 2000 to make this dream true, by creating a new deadline to achieve these goals of 2015. The World Education Forum 2000, held in Senegal, Dakar, came up with the revised vision, mission, goals and strategies. As mentioned earlier, it has six major goals and twelve strategies. The world’s most powerful and rich donor agencies are working together on a partnership basis. Despite this, “out of the 88 countries at risk […]” (EFA 2002: 52), as mentioned earlier in this chapter, “29 are lagging […] behind” (ibid: 52) and Nepal is one of them.

The lifelong learning policies of the OECD, the EU and the AESM are predominantly concentrated on the application of lifelong learning to address the lack of knowledge and
skills that are required by modernisation and globalisation. If the lifelong learning policy and practice is only for modernisation and globalisation, then the future society will be morale and ethic less, without culture and religion i.e. completely flat. Husband and wife relationships will depend on money earning capacity; there will be no real family ties, love and affection.

The lifelong learning policies of the World Bank and the ADB have claimed that the Banks are primarily committed to alleviating poverty in poor countries. In the case of Nepal, the World Bank and the ADB's policies have never been transformed into reality. In the long run, the country has been plunged into civil war.

Thus I have examined globalisation, glocalisation and localisation; Nepalese social structure, Hindu religion and caste and class stratification; the Maoist-led civil war and lifelong learning in the contemporary socio-political environment; the policy and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal and lifelong learning policy of UNESCO's EFA, the World Bank, OECD, EU ASEM and the ADB in chapters four, five, six seven and eight respectively through the lenses of neo-Marxist perspective that have evolved (in chapter two, page 56: research model). Document analysis i.e. literatures review, examination and discussion carried out in the above listed chapters have placed the requirement for the model evolved in chapter two to be further restructured in order to explore and underpin the socio-political issues of Nepal in community and society where class, ethnicity, and gender including globalisation and donor agencies functions in the framework of the Hindu norms and values. Hence, further restructuring of the model will be dealt in chapter nine.
RE-STRUCTURED RESEARCH MODEL

As stated in chapter eight, the main aim of this chapter is to further re-structure the model that evolved in page 56 of chapter two (diagram 1), in order to examine the lifelong learning practice of Nepal through a neo-Marxist perspective. However, the preceding chapters have clearly indicated that the neo-Marxist ideology based solely on class, mode of production and centre-periphery (dependency theory) is too narrow to explore a society where class, caste, race, ethnicity and gender issues are entwined and deeply embedded. On the one hand, "ethnic and racial hierarchies have an impact in terms of differential access to economic resources, political power and social status" (Youngman 2000: 153). On the other hand "ethnicity and race are important explanatory variables of the social inequality in peripheral capitalist societies" (ibid: 153). For these reasons, a theory based solely on class, mode of production and centre-periphery is not an ideal theoretical framework from which to answer the research questions of chapter two, as these have stemmed from the above variables. Nevertheless, towards the end of the 20th century, these issues and their fundamental role in society have been recognised by many Marxist social theorists and educationists, such as Frank Youngman and the Christian Marxian and educationist, Paulo Freire. In order to make this notion more transparent, I will first re-structure the model. Then I will describe social actors and their current role in society, such as the king, his socio-political position and power; social elites, the feudal class, domestic reactionary forces; the middle class (urban and rural bourgeois); poor farmers, peasants and landless labourers; socially oppressed and marginalised groups i.e. women of all classes, castes, race, and ethnicity; the influence of Hinduism on indigenous religions, cultures and traditions; bias towards the urban rather than the rural; donor countries/agencies, structural adjustment and their role in policy processes; the Maoist-led
civil war and learning and finally, a brief discussion on the historical and theoretical context of lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal.

The re-structured model: based on wider neo-Marxist perspective

As discussed in chapter five, the feudal political superstructure, based on Hinduism is the manifestation of the social structure in Nepal. Society in Nepal is predominantly feudal system, derived from Hinduism, in which the rich landowner class, that is, the Hindu higher castes, such as Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars have always collaborated with the state and global powers, extending the king’s rule over the centuries. Though the forces of production -such as poor Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars and the lower castes Hindus, Indigenous Nationalities and socially marginalised groups i.e. women of all class and castes- have many times risen to bring about change in the socio-political structure, they have remained relatively weak. However, currently in Nepal, the Maoist insurgency has once again challenged these social inequalities after contextualisation of the Marxist ideology in accordance with the Nepalese social context (as discussed in chapters two and six) where the Maoists have included all social issues that have stemmed from class, castes, race, ethnicity and gender. As a result, the people’s war waged by the Maoists at present is gaining ground and causing a shift in the power balance at local and national level. Regarding this, Youngman (ibid: 152 – 53) writes:

Marxism has traditionally been opposed to social theories such as cultural pluralism, which see ethnicity and race as the main factors in social organisation and political conflict, because of its own emphasis on materialist rather than culturalist explanations. Recent Marxist modes of analysis, however, have recognised that the casual variables of ethnic inequality and domination can not be reduced to class. It is clear that in a range of circumstances people do exhibit a strong ethnic consciousness and identification, and that ethnic constituencies are mobilised for various kinds of social political action. There are also processes of ethnic categorisation and labelling which are used by dominant groups to rationalise and facilitate the subordination and oppression of other groups. In both cases, a collective identity is defined in cultural terms, which transcends the social divisions of class.
In the case of Freire, he applied the word “oppressed” for all socially excluded and marginalised people (women, working class people, poor and landless farmers, marginalised race and ethnicity and socially excluded lower castes). “It was distinctive because Freire was from Latin America, and ideas were related to his experiences of adult literacy and agricultural extension in peripheral capitalist countries of the South” (Youngman 2000: 37). Further, Youngman (2000: 36) writes:

Freire’s […] position as voice of the Third World and his philosophical-political stance resonated with the anti-imperialist and New Left ideas which characterised the radicalism […]. In […] the early 1970s he gave new impetus to the key idea of the radical tradition that adult education should contribute to social change in favour of the poor and oppressed by means of […] ‘conscientisation’, however he did not use the word in his last years (in italic is original).

The word ‘conscientisation’ is based on the Brazilian ‘conscientizacao’ which means “the process, by which human beings participate critically in a transforming act, […] thus, involves a constant clarification of what remains hidden […]” (Freire 1985: 106, 107). Freire explained this in the following terms:

The person who has reached conscientization is able to connect facts and problems and to understand the connections between hunger and food production, food production and agrarian reform, agrarian reform and reactions against it, hunger and economic policy, hunger and violence and hunger as violence, hunger and the conscious vote for progressive politicians and parties, hunger and voting against reactionary politicians and parties, whose discourse may be deceptively progressive (Freire 1996: 183).

This process helped oppressed people in their understanding of the real world and unites for “revolutionary project” (Freire 1985: 84) which Freire (ibid: 86) called “cultural action for freedom.” Hence, there is “an explicit relationship has been established between cultural action for freedom, conscientization as its chief enterprise, […]” (ibid: 87). In reference to Freire’s concept of ‘culture’, Giroux (1985: xxi) writes:

For Freire, culture is the representation of lived experiences, material artefacts, and practices forged within the unequal and dialectical relations that different groups establish within a given society at a particular point in historical time. Culture is a form of production whose processes are intimately connected with the structuring of
different social formations, particularly those that are related to gender, age, race, and class.

In the late 1970s, Freire triangulated his works into the conceptual framework of Marxist political economy. In his book, "[...] Pedagogy in Process (Freire, 1978), he did show a new concern with the structural determinants of adult education, and utilised concepts such as the mode of production [...]" (Youngman 2000: 37) with class, ethnicity, race, age, religion and gender. This is because, "although the social relations of production are the major determinant of social inequality, there are other significant divisions in society whose origins are independent of class, particularly those of gender, ethnicity and race" (ibid: 137). Further, Youngman (ibid: 137) says, "these divisions interact with those of class within the capitalist mode of production, and form a complex system of inequality."

In the context of Nepal, the unification of modern Nepal, the constitutionization of the Hindu religion and the declaration of the country as a Hindu kingdom have perpetuated similar social inequalities in the nation i.e. people suffering from hunger, disease, marginalisation and exclusion. Thus, at the present time, the 'oppressed' people of Nepal have risen against the king, who is the head of the feudal classes, the incarnation of the god, Vishnu, as well as against the social elites, feudal classes and other reactionary forces. Hence, Youngman (2000: 203-204) states "[…] there are numerous sources of oppression in society, and social conflict arises in many areas which can lead to opposition to the capitalist status quo. Thus all social relations are important, not just the social relations of production."

In summary, Marx did not consider ethnicity, race, castes and gender as important as class in the context of 18th century Europe in general and England in particular because at that time Marx saw class as the main factor in generating the political and economic gap in society. His hypothesis of political economy was mainly based on industry, production, surplus value and class i.e. owners and workers. According to his theory, it is the rich and upper class who normally own factories. Thus, on the one hand, as owners, the rich and upper class take the surplus value of production and become richer. On the other hand, factory workers, employed by the owner/upper class, are poor. Such people are known as working class and get less than they produce.
Diagram 6: The re-structured research model in wider neo-Marxist perspective based on Frank Youngman and Paulo Freire's concept:

Lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal.

The current Nepalese social structure (class, caste, race, ethnicity, gender) and the Maoist-led civil war.

Donor agencies/ countries (WTO, IMF, the World Bank, EU, etc/USA, UK, Japan and so on)

Non bias donor agencies

Status quo supporter donor agencies

Direct Intervention

Indirect Intervention (Hegemony)

Lifelong Learning Policy

Lifelong Learning Policy

PRACTICE

Local resistance

Urban-rural bias

Better facilities and more programmes in urban areas

Less in rural areas

King (God/Lord Vishnu, the Field Marshal of RNA and Head of the Nepalese feudal class)

Hindu religion, culture and tradition

Social elites, feudal class and domestic reactionary forces (the majority are Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars; only a handful of people in the Maoists)

Middle class (urban and rural bourgeois – the majority are Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars and a few Indigenous Nationalities and Dalits. The majority of the Maoist’s leaders are from this class)

Poor farmers, peasants and Landless labourers (the majority are Indigenous Nationalities and Dalits; a few Brahmis, Newars and Chhetris. Both PLA and RNA come from this class)

Socially oppressed and marginalised group: women of all classes, castes, race, and ethnicity (30% of the PLA combatant s come from this particular group)

Royalists

Power from above

Civil War

Power from below

Maoists

Indigenous religions, cultures and traditions

Power from above

Socially oppressed and marginalised group: women of all classes, castes, race, and ethnicity (30% of the PLA combatant s come from this particular group)
This inequality between owner and worker is the root cause of contradiction between the rich and poor classes leading to conflict and social change. However, in the current environment of globalisation, Marx's theory of political economy based on class cannot address fully all the social issues of a multicultural society, such as ethnicity, race, caste and gender. To remedy this deficiency, Youngman and Freire have put these variables into the Marxist ideology and highlighted their role in perpetuating inequality in society in general and adult education in particular. Youngman and Freire generated a new and wider awareness of the relevance of applying Marxist theory to the study of adult education, including all forms of learning i.e. informal, non-formal and formal, in order to "understand its nature, effects and potential" (Youngman 2000: 37). Taking account of these, I have categorised Youngman and Freire's new concept as a 'wider neo-Marxist perspective'. Thus, I have re-structured my research model (diagram 6: at page 222) within the theoretical framework of Youngman and Freire's concept. As mentioned above, this new model has covered the existing Nepalese social structure and issues such as king, social elites/feudal class, castes, gender, ethnicity, race, religion, donor countries and agencies, centre and periphery, the nature of lifelong learning policy and practice, including the Maoist-led civil war, which I have discussed in the following paragraphs.

The king, his socio-political position and power

"Nepal is a Hindu kingdom" (Constitution of the kingdom of Nepal 1990: 2). Panday (B.S. 2055/1998: 26) writes, "Nepal is the only Hindu kingdom in the world." The king is the head of the state and the supreme commander of the Royal Nepalese Army (RNA) and is thus most one of the powerful persons in Nepal. His palace, the Narayanhatti Royal Palace, is still known as the powerhouse of the country. In addition, Hindu fanatics and the social elite regard the king as an incarnation of the god Vishnu. As I stated in chapters two and five, Hindu extremists and the social elite have succeeded in establishing such a belief in the wider society. Thus, the king of Nepal is not only head of the state and the armed forces, he is also the leader of the Hindus and the feudal class. He successfully seized the power from unarmed democratic political parties and crushed the democratic system by means of a well-orchestrated coup carried out on 4 October 2002. However, it is not easy
to marginalise the Maoists who have multi-division armed forces equipped with modern weapons, and control 87% of the land. In May 2003, during the second round of peace talks between the Government and the CPN (Maoist), the Maoist’s spokesman, Krishna Bahadur Mahara announced that ‘the CPN (Maoist) is the new regime of Nepal’. He branded the existing Government as ‘an old regime’. The King, the major political parties and international bodies, such as the EU and the UN, adopted a ‘wait and see policy’ towards the Maoists’ claim by not making any comment on this important and sensitive issue. The Government accepts the truth of power equilibrium and has agreed on negotiation in order to bring peace in the country. Despite this, in the last peace talks, the Government failed to produce any creative programmes for peace. Neither did the government come to the negotiation table with a concrete agenda nor did it accept the agenda of the CPN (Maoist) i.e. the election of a ‘Constitutional Assembly’. The peace talks ended without any achievement or future direction. Local, national and international think-tanks still believe in negotiation and the election of the Constitutional Assembly as the best way to defuse the current conflict thus paving the way for a solution. However, the king, his courtiers and the chief of the armed forces are requesting international aid and buying sophisticated weapons to fight against the Maoists. This kind of mentality only escalates the conflict in the country and generates more disarray in society, including in the formal, non-formal and informal learning environment.

In conclusion, the Nepalese people have been suffering from feudalistic despotism since the time of the unification of modern Nepal. The lower castes, indigenous nationalities and women have been marginalised, excluded and suffocated by the system operated by the ruler of the Hindu kingdom, the feudal class and social elite. Power, knowledge, all forms of learning and resources are in the hands of the king and elites. The king and these elites have been misusing and manipulating power, knowledge, learning and resources for more than 235 years. Reforms made so far have ended as unworkable and miserable failures.

**Social elites, feudal class and domestic reactionary forces**

The rich upper castes (the majority are Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars) are the ruling elite
of Nepal. The layout of the social structures of the country has been misused by the ruling elites in favour of their own interests. In addition, since the Sugaudi treaty of 1816, between Nepal and Great Britain, capitalists and global donor agencies have been constantly providing economic support and political protection to the rulers. In the eyes of the Maoists, the ruling elites are the domestic reactionaries who take surplus value from poor farmers, workers and landless people. Almost 235 years of such practice has generated the current civil war in the nation. The rich upper castes and the ruling class have been utilising lifelong learning as a tool in meeting their social and political ends. Thus the rich upper castes filter knowledge as it passes down the social hierarchy of the caste system according to their wishes. They will censor and restrict the flow of knowledge in order to make upper ruling class and castes' social, economic and political position stronger. Thus, Scheler (1926/80: 70) wrote:

[...] knowledge filters downward from the top of society [...] regulates such distribution of knowledge - partially through institutions that disseminate it, such as schools and press, and partially through restrictions, such as secrets, indexes, censorship, and prohibitions that forbid particular castes, estates, or classes to acquire certain kinds of knowledge.

In Nepal, only the rich upper class and castes gain the powerful policy-making posts, thus determining the country's policies including those of lifelong learning. Consequently the policies are never representative of society as a whole: therefore it will promote their interests rather than those of the lower castes, indigenous nationalities, poor farmers and labourers. Normally the ruling class of the capitalist society indulges in these unequal practices especially in the learning sector where knowledge is imparted. This kind of practice exclusively consolidates power, creates divisions in society and subjugates the weakest. Youngman (1985: 21) has given the following example:

In contemporary capitalist social formations the education system continues to serve the interests of the ruling class, and acts to legitimate its rule and to train people to fit into the socio-economic hierarchy. [...] in England in 1950s, the different kinds of secondary school clearly reflected different roles in the production process – secondary modern schools for manual workers, technical schools for skilled workers and technicians, grammar schools for managers and professionals, and public schools for owners.
What Bourdieu (1977) calls ‘cultural reproduction, dominant culture and symbolic violence’, means in regard to education, “[…] the educational system with respect to the interests of the dominant classes/castes must always take into account the specific services […]” (Bourdieu 1977: 199 in italic is original) of knowledge, resources and power: all these three vital aspects of the nation are under their control. Youngman (2000:35) writes:

[…] the state is a site of struggle between the different classes and groups in society. Thus while the capitalist class seeks to ensure that schools reproduce workers for unequal division of labour, this is resisted by subordinated classes and groups who seek greater equality of opportunity through education.

In a similar way, the causes of the current civil war of Nepal are the long period of exclusion and marginalisation of the lower castes, indigenous nationalities, poor people and women of all classes in society, including in the learning sector, by the upper castes and class.

Middle class (urban and rural bourgeois)

In the context of Nepal, the middle class (urban and rural bourgeois) is an intermediate social class between the upper class/castes and the lower castes, peasantry and working class. In Nepal, the ‘middle class’ mostly comprises upper Hindu castes i.e. Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars. A few indigenous people and negligible number of lower castes (untouchables/Dalits) also qualify as middle class. However, the middle class Dalits are socially excluded i.e. barred from entering into the houses of the upper castes and public places, such as Hindu temples, despite their wealth, academic qualifications, professions and government jobs. The upper castes do not even drink water or eat food that has been touched by the lower castes. Thus, the rich untouchable holds a lower social status than that of the poor Brahmin, Chhetri or Newar in Nepal. The amount of wealth, knowledge and power possessed by the lower castes does not upgrade their social status in Hindu society, which is in contrast to western countries where wealth and academic qualifications upgrade the social status of individuals and their families. As I highlighted in chapters two
and five, in Hindu society, wealth, power, social and government position do not really make any difference where caste, ethnicity and religious issues play such a vital role in daily life. Because of that, the knowledge filtered down in the caste hierarchy in Nepal such as the middle class Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar are by caste very close to the social elite and feudal classes who have in turn a strong tie with global donor agencies and imperialists. In the process of knowledge transmission and restriction, Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar upper class transmit the capitalist and imperialist ideology of the donor agencies to the middle class Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar. In this sense, Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar middle class get more privileges than the other Hindu lower castes and indigenous nationalities. Consequently, in Nepal, more middle class Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar people are academics, professionals and government employees than other castes. This is a perfect example of how class functions within the framework of the caste system in Nepal.

The middle class people of Nepal are active in both the old and the new regimes. Under the old regime, they are intellectual tools for the king and social elites. In the new regime, they are leaders, ideologues and think tanks. The majority of professors, lawyers, doctors, engineers and businessman are from the middle class and are non-political, but they are the great assets of the nation. In this sense, the country is driven by the middle class including the teaching and learning system. However, the people from this class are more flexible but not stable. They float between both directions of the social hierarchy i.e. they work as a tool of social elites and feudal class/castes as well as advisors and leaders of the poor farmers, workers, peasants and landless labourers.

**Poor farmers, peasants and landless labourers**

The majority of the population are assessed as poor. Fertile lands have been appropriated largely by the upper Hindu castes/class and the poor peasants have been marginalised. Those of the indigenous nationalities who used to be landowners are now landless labourers while “[…] Hindu landlords and moneylenders who had established themselves in tribal land […]” (Furer-Haimendorf 1967: 184, in italic is original) have become land owners. They control the flow of power, resources and knowledge in the country. Hence,
the "[…] tribal groups have generally been rendered landless and powerless, and have come to be dominated by the descendants of the original Hindu immigrants" (Caplan 1970/2000: 3). Further, Caplan 1970/2000: 2) writes:

The cleavage between the Limbus (one of the indigenous tribal people of Nepal) and their Hindu neighbours arises not only or primarily out of racial and cultural differences between them. Rather, this aspect of their relationship can best be understood in the context of a confrontation over land (in italic is original).

As I highlighted in previous chapters, the Hindu colonisers converted the country into the Hindu Kingdom and constitutionalised the Hindu religion as a National religion and suppressed and barred indigenous nationalities from practising their own religions, culture and traditions. According to Freire (1978: 14):

The culture of the colonized was a reflection of their barbaric way of seeing the world. Culture belonged only to the colonizers. The music of the colonized, their rhythm, their dance, the delicacy of their body movements, their general creativity—none of these had any value for the colonizers.

The process of political, economic and cultural invasion mainly started in the country post-unification of modern Nepal. In the process of unification, Brahmin and Chhetri appropriated the lands of indigenous nationalities and destroyed cultural assets such as scripts, religious monuments, prominent features, etc. Since the unification of modern Nepal, indigenous nationalities have been forced to follow the Hindu religion, culture and tradition. Those unfortunate Brahmin and Chhetri who were not able to obtain land and make profitable trade with indigenous people are nowadays either poor peasants or landless labourers. However, the poor Brahmin and Chhetri get more chances than others in the country because of their caste status. In the field of learning, they can learn better than others as the national language is their mother tongue, while the indigenous nationalities, have to learn the national language after learning their own language in order to read and write, which is an extra burden for them. It also lessens the learners’ learning capacity. In the long run, indigenous people have been left behind, being unable to compete with Brahmin and Chhetri; such a practice has also perpetuated inequalities in society.
The literature review and analysis of policy documents carried out in previous chapters clearly indicated that the majority of indigenous nationalities and the Hindu lower castes/untouchables are poor farmers and landless labourers. However, not all Hindu higher castes are upper class, rich and social elites. Some of them are also poor and oppressed, but their number is fewer than the lower castes/untouchables and indigenous nationalities. In addition, women of all class and castes are oppressed and marginalised in Nepal. In the field of learning it is far worse. In consequence the nation-state is suffering from civil war as poor farmers, peasants and landless labourers realised (i.e. conscientizacao) that “freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift” (Freire 1970: 29). Thus “the conflicts within society that arise from class differences and other social inequalities are reflected in the state [...]” (Youngman 2000: 47).

Women of all class, castes, race and ethnicity

[...] the public area must be accessible to all. In particular, the traditional belief that while men can operate in both the public and private domains, women are confined to the private, is unacceptable” (Heater 2004: 327).

As highlighted in chapters two, five and six; in Hindu society, women are socially, economically and politically marginalised in Nepal regardless of their class and caste status. The situation is worst in the western region of Nepal. The main causes are that the literacy rate is low and the influence of the Hindu religion is very much stronger in the west.

Socially, women are treated as being inferior to men in Nepal. There is discrimination between son and daughter from birth onwards. According to the Hindu religion, a woman’s main responsibility is to cook and clean for all male members of the family. Regardless of their professions –this affects particularly women in urban areas- they are purely women at home, bounded by the Hindu norms and values. They have to cook, feed the whole family and clean the house before going to bed in the evening and leaving for the office in the morning. Once she gets married, the women’s prime task is to serve and make her husband happy. In addition, to become a good wife, her first child must be a son and
she is expected to produce a few more later on. Otherwise, she is to produce a number of babies until the arrival of the son. If there are only daughters then she must accept her husband’s second marriage. This is gravely unfair and insulting to women in Nepal. The condition of urban women is little better than that of village women. Even in the field of learning, a son gets first priority for schooling whilst a daughter ends up at home looking after younger brothers and sisters. Regarding this, Youngman (2000: 47) writes, besides the relations of class, there are other important social inequalities, especially those based on gender, ethnicity and race. It is assumed that these inequalities have profound influences on lifelong learning and adult education and its outcomes [...] (in italic is original).

In the context of economy, a woman’s contribution is more than that of a man on a day-to-day basis of micro level economic production and sustainability of family life i.e. women work in the farm, house and village. In a similar way women work in both office and house in urban areas. Despites this, only sons have right of ownership of property and land in Nepal. That means women are directly excluded from the main source of production and other economic-related facilities. It is quite clear that the economic oppression of women in Nepal is generated by the social norms and values of Hindu religion and the feudal and semi-capitalist mode of production. This is legalised by the Hindu kingdom, its constitution and its autocratic rulers.

Nepalese women are not only socially and economically oppressed: they are also politically marginalised and excluded. Political oppression mainly stems from the patriarchal socio-economic structure generated by the Hindu religion, culture and tradition which empowers Nepalese males. Thus, males in Hindu society are more powerful than females. The king of Nepal is believed to be an incarnation of the god Vishnu. The heir to the royal throne must be male. There are only a few female politicians in Nepal, most of whom have strong links with male politicians i.e. daughters, wives and widows of male politicians. The above listed are only a few examples of the domination of women by men and the male political power play in Nepal. Taking account of these issues, and the oppression of Nepalese women, it is no surprise that women support, participate in and sacrifice themselves for the
current Maoist-led civil war (30% of the Maoists combatant fighters are women: diagram 6). In reference to this, Parvati (2003: 169) writes:

Women in Nepal have reasons to fight for the New Democratic revolution as it addresses their economic, social and political oppression in totality. [...] Since the New Democratic system is anti-feudal, it will at once remove any religious tint given to the state, making it a secular state. With the end of feudal Brahminical Hindu rule, women will become culturally independent from men. This will gradually remove the bias against daughters, making them important as sons within the household. Under the New Democratic system, there is no question of accommodating the feudal monarchy, which is the symbol of patriarchal rule over women.

As Parvati stated above, to break the social inequalities and oppression in Nepal, the oppressed are fighting against oppressor and the system. That means the oppressed such as women are fighting against the feudal leader and the entire system, the semi-capital mode of production and the Hindu religion, culture and tradition which have marginalised Nepalese women. Youngman (1985: 131) writes, to “[...] challenge [...] capitalist hegemony requires theory and practice. It has to confront questions of power in society, and involve both education to unmask reality and political struggle to change reality”. To this end, the Maoists of Nepal are using the ‘Prachand Path’, that is the contextualised version of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism in accordance with the Nepalese context that includes class, caste, gender, ethnicity and race as the conceptual and theoretical guidance of the revolution. In the progression of revolution, the processes of conscientisation are also taking place from whence oppressed women “[...] develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world [...]” (Freire 1970: 64).

Influence of Hinduism on indigenous religions, cultures and traditions

I have already described and defined the Hindu religion so that here I am only carrying out a brief discussion on the influence of the Hindu religion on indigenous religion, cultures and traditions and its overall impact on lifelong learning. As the Hindu religion is both a religion and a culture, it is the oldest and most profound philosophy of life that guides a Hindu society. There is no exception in Nepal. The Hindu religion is the main player,
guide and the philosophy of life in Nepal. It has a great influence on the day-to-day life of Nepalese people, including that of indigenous nationalities and their own religions, cultures and traditions. Whatever Nepalese people learn on a daily basis in society and at home with parents and elders i.e. suggestions, advice and religious discourse (arti and upadesh) is based on Hindu philosophy. Thus, the learning system of Nepal in general and informal learning in particular, is deeply influenced by the Hindu norms and values. Hence, there is no doubt that Nepalese people’s life is guided by Hindu philosophy even though by no means all Nepalese people are Hindus.

In the context of the Hindu caste system, initially it was only the representation of an efficient human society. However, in later years, the caste system based on Hinduism was much abused and misused by Brahmin priests, gurus, Hindu philosophers and rulers. For example, in Nepal, the king’s advisors who are Brahmins and his priests, also Brahmins established that the king of Nepal is an incarnation of the god Vishnu, but not until just 235 years ago. This happened after the unification of modern Nepal in order to strengthen the king’s position by declaring him to be semi-divine. A later king and his Brahmin advisors declared the country to be a Hindu kingdom, with Hinduism as a national religion and the language spoken by Brahmin and Chhetri (i.e. Nepali) as the national language, thus discriminating against and excluding all indigenous nationalities. Even the country’s first democratic constitution of 1990 endorsed this and marginalised indigenous nationalities’ religions, cultures and traditions. This has created multiple obstacles to indigenous nationalities’ lifelong learning processes as they have to learn Nepali language first in order to participate in formal and non-formal learning. Since the Hindu religion and the caste system only promote stratification and encourage discrimination in society, including lifelong learning policy and practice, it is one of the main causes of the current civil war of Nepal.

**Biases between the urban and rural areas and the rich and poor people**

It is now widely recognised that an economic imbalance with bias between urban and rural areas, and rich and poor people exists. To reduce this imbalance and bias, a balanced and
mutually supportive approach is called for. The rural-urban and rich-poor balanced development perspective exists only in policy papers: it has not been transformed into practice. The nation’s development programmes and projects are mainly concentrated in urban areas and only benefit the upper class and rich people. The rural areas are neglected by both the government and donor agencies. It is vital to create a flow of learning, ideas, information, development programmes and projects in rural areas and among the urban poor, in order to elevate the mobility, employment and improvement in income of the rural population and urban poor people, something which is not happening in Nepal. The rural areas are marginalised and excluded from the main stream of development plans, as are the urban poor. Hence, the majority of the rural population and the marginalised urban poor are illiterate. In regards to these biases, Youngman (2000: 66) writes:

Thus there is a need to oppose both the comprador bourgeoisie (the ‘power elites’) and the metropolis. The political thrust of Freire’s approach to adult literacy, based on ‘conscientisation’, was to develop in marginalised rural and urban classes a critical consciousness that would question the dominant socioeconomic structures. Hence the topics (‘generative’ words’) in the adult literacy groups (‘cultural circles’) were chosen not only for their linguistic usefulness but because they were aspects of people’s lives which would stimulate discussion of the prevailing development situation.

In addition, these urban-rural and the rich-poor biases are currently escalated by globalisation and global open trade. The forces of globalisation consider urban areas with a little bit of information technology are a more useful ground than the undeveloped and isolated rural areas for their profit-making business. Thus, the forces of globalisation only invest where they can make a profit, however small. For instance, the cyber net connected urban areas rather than the poor, inaccessible and unprofitable backward rural areas of Nepal and this did nothing to remedy the knowledge vacuum. Thus, on the one hand, this kind of practice has barred rural areas from getting modern facilities, projects and learning programmes, which are only concentrated in the urban areas. On the other hand, both urban and rural poor are marginalised and excluded. As a result, the gaps between ‘rich and poor’ and ‘urban and rural’ become ever wider. This is one of the fundamental political, economic and social factors of the current conflict in Nepal.
Donor countries/agencies, structural adjustment and the lifelong learning policy and practice

In recent years, donor agencies have raised their voices and consequently they have increased awareness of social problems in Third World countries such as poverty, shelter, health and learning services. In addition, donor agencies have also highlighted the way social problems are often worse in rural than in urban areas of poor countries. Donor countries and agencies contribute 60% of the total budget of Nepal. Although such donations appear good policy, in practice, they have multiple negative knock-on effects on the socio-political and economic position of poor countries. For example, as a consequence of large donations into the development budget of Nepal, its development policies - including the learning policy - are manipulated and influenced by donor agencies and countries. As illustrated in diagram 6 above, there is both direct and indirect intervention in the education policy and practice of Nepal. Since the introduction of the policy of 'loan with the structural adjustment programmes' by the World Bank and the IMF in 1980s in the Third World countries, this practice has been increased three-fold in Nepal. Negative issues arising from structural adjustment programmes have started to surface since the country adopted the tailored prescription from the World Bank and the IMF. The policies have weakened the heart of the national economy, rendering it extremely vulnerable and thus playing into the hands of global forces.

The restructuring of credit, followed by the chain of devaluation over the past twenty five years, have had reverse outcomes. The short-term actions taken to curb inflation have failed while the balance-of-payments remains unchanged. Rather the debt trap continues to grow and tighten as the budget for the provision of vital services has to be set aside for the payment of the foreign debt. With the failure of short term actions, the long term policy changes as part of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) cannot be viewed as beneficial for the Nepalese people.
Currently donor nations and agencies in general and the World Bank and IMF in particular have been openly manipulating the nation’s development and social related policies including lifelong learning. On this issue, Youngman (2000: 68) writes:

Since the early 1980s lending has been made ‘conditional’ on prescribed changes in economic policies. The possibilities for this prescriptiveness lay in the debt crisis in the Third World which emerged at this time, making countries more reliant on aid and vulnerable to external ‘conditions’. In this context they turned increasingly to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for assistance to meet their foreign debts. These bodies have given loans on condition that governments undertake ‘structural adjustment programmes’ that would alter their economic policies.

One important point to note is that international organisations such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO are operated by the advanced capitalist countries who believe in a neoliberal theory of free trade and globalisation. Their main aim is to do business globally and openly with all countries of the world, from which profit can be channelled into the centre from the periphery. “Thus capitalist accumulation took on the new form of a world-level process, which Marxist political economy defines as imperialism” (ibid 2000: 91) and capitalists called this process “globalisation” (ibid 2000: 94) a new name for the old system. In order to create a conducive environment for business, they have implemented the policy of ‘conditional aid’ from which they can control the poor nation-states’ policy according to their wishes. This kind of policy of the World Bank, IMF and WTO “[…] has significantly reduced the sovereignty of many countries of the South (Third World countries), limiting their autonomy over economic and social policy and political affairs” (ibid 2000: 69, in italic is original). Further, Youngman stated that “the prescriptions of the neoliberal approach have affected the orientation of many adult education policies and programmes in the South” (ibid 2000: 71). As stated by Youngman above, the overall effect of structural adjustments are immense.

The Structural Adjustment Programmes being the fundamental policy tool of the World Bank, the IMF and Multi-lateral Development Banks (MDBs), the bilateral aid agencies have also participated in these programmes especially with regard to the opening up of the national economy to increased foreign investment. The process has undermined the
development of its own local productive capacity as the trend of foreign capital flow is allotted undue advantage at policy levels. Privatisation and deregulation have given the major thrust to the promotion of concentration of income and wealth destroying the domestic market. The idea of interdependency at global level has in fact promoted dependency to a level never realised before in the history of Nepal. The reduction of government spending has had an immense impact on the vital service sectors such as the health and education services, in addition to the agriculture and production sectors. The liberalisation of trade regimes and deregulation of markets have choked off the government revenue wage restructuring and establishment of high interest rates and encouragements towards export-oriented investment have upset the national economy.

Despite the rhetoric, Nepal has a meagre growth rate of 5% on average, almost matched by its population growth, and those sectors demonstrating some changes have inherited unbalanced and fundamentally unsustainable patterns of growth. The suppression of wages has exacerbated income-related poverty, further polarising the social structure. Nepal has borne witness to declining wages since the 1990s, while experiencing a 400% rise in inflation. The actual figure of poverty is shocking about half of the population has been subjected to man-made hunger and deprivation.

The poor farmers, peasants and women in particular, and the majority of the population in general, have been dramatically affected by the corrosive policies. The withdrawal of subsidy from the agricultural sector has intensified vulnerability. At the same time trade-liberalisation and restrictive-credit policies are destroying the infant industrialisation process and the agriculture sector. As a consequence, two thirds of small-sized industries have been closed down, owing to the crisis. The privatisation of government-owned agricultural input institutions in the 1990s has created inflation, reduced accountability and increased unemployment. The total effect has been observed as a phenomenon of dependency in agro-economy, paving a way towards widespread poverty. The privatisation of service sectors such as the drinking water system in Kathmandu, central hospitals etc. and heavy charges tagged to transportation and the power sector are further examples that are having profound social and economic effects.
Cutting public funding has resulted in the collapse of the health and nutrition situation for the vast majority of the population. The mushrooming of health clinics in urban areas for curative service is expensive and inaccessible to the majority. On another front, the high infant mortality rates, malnutrition and death from simple curable diseases, such as diarrhoea, that 50% of the deaths of young children may be accounted for by these factors.

In the field of learning in Nepal, it has affected the overall education services as part of general cutbacks in government expenditure. In turn, the government has been implementing a cost-recovery fees programme in the government-run schools. In addition, the government has introduced a policy of privatisation in the learning sectors. The policy of privatisation has marginalised the urban poor and the whole rural population. Only the rich can afford the expensive private learning institutions for their children and it is not possible for the poor who are struggling to find enough food. This is another example of the children of the poor being marginalised in the field of education.

The above discussion mainly covered the socio-economic role of donor agencies. In the context of politics, the international powers and donor agencies normally support the status quo rather than the Maoists, as they are supportive of capitalism rather than communism. There are principle differences such as capitalism and communism. For example, capitalist countries like the USA and UK consider that a monarchy is ideologically closer to them than the communist Maoists. However, not all donor countries are thus biased. There are many international donor agencies who are willing to work on the socio-economic issues raised by the Maoists since the issues are genuine. This does not mean to say that donor agencies are supporting the Maoists but their willingness clearly reflects their lack of bias. This is highly commendable thinking that can play a vital role in defusing the current civil war. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, there is always a hidden agenda attached to the donor agencies’ initiatives which manipulate and influence the policy and practice of the state, including that of lifelong learning.
Power from above and power from below: the Maoist-led civil war in Nepal

Since the introduction of multiparty democracy in the country, power relations have undergone peripheral rearrangements, without structural changes in production relations. Although the people's movement of 1990 ushered in multiparty polity in the country, it neither changed the pre-existing power relations nor intended to reduce exploitation of the productive forces. The productive relations remained unchanged, despite the fact that the system employed its rhetoric of democracy and participation.

Agriculture, being the backbone of the economy, contributed to 60% of total GDP a decade ago. However, at present, it contributes only 30%. The decreasing share of agriculture is an indicator that Nepal's socio-economic pattern is slowly shifting towards some other direction! If this is the assumption then it is quite important to answer the following questions: which mode of production has displaced the feudal production relations? If peasants are no longer the major forces of production, then what is the nature of and what are the forms of class struggle? Does a class society as indicated by Marx exist in Nepal and, if so, what is its form? Who then composes the forces of revolution and with which socio-economic structure does its major contradiction lie? Who is the king and which socio-economic structure does he represent? What is the class base of modern political forces and which socio-economic structure do they represent? Who are Maoists and what do they represent? Is their movement class-based, and if not, in what form of contradiction are they engaged? Do they represent the major form of class struggle or are they derailed?

Most of the questions I have asked above, in the context of power in Nepal, have been answered in the re-structured model at page 222 of this chapter. In addition, the concept of power in Nepal and in Nepalese society relates mainly to the control over the nation-state and access to the resources of state and society. Thus, it is vital to know who controls the state power and society. At present, the King, Gyanendra, leader of feudal Nepal, his army and close associates i.e. the so-called social elite and the senior civil servants control the old state power (13% of land) and the Maoist High Command - the so-called new regime -
is the new state power that controls 87% of the land. Its combatant forces are composed of ethnic minorities, untouchable castes, women from all castes and the oppressed and poor class, as class functions within the framework of caste, ethnicity and gender in Nepal. Hence, power lies at two extremes i.e. with the oppressors and the oppressed. If the status quo uses the power to suppress, there will be equal chances to counter the suppression by means of conflict. For example; the oppressed, socially excluded and marginalised people want to change inequalities, so large-scale contradiction and conflict erupts, such as is seen by the Maoist-led civil war in Nepal. Thus, power that currently functions in Nepalese society is ‘three-dimensional power’ as it has been discussed in detail in chapter three. In addition to that, Lukes (2005: 150) writes:

[...] three-dimensional power does not and cannot produce one-dimensional man. Power’s third dimension is always focused on particular domains of experience and is never, except in fictional dystopias, more than partially effective. It would be simplistic to suppose that ‘willing’ and ‘unwilling’ compliance to domination are mutually exclusive: one can consent to power and resent the mode of its exercise.

Hence, power does not always come from the top: it also comes from the bottom in order to survive in society as a social being that normally ends up in conflict or civil war.

The Maoist-led civil war

The Maoist-led civil war has affected the whole of Nepal’s society, economy and politics. On the one hand, the present government has labelled the CPN (Maoist) as a terrorist organisation that is working against the public law and order. On the other hand, the Maoists consider themselves as freedom fighters. They have claimed that the CPN (Maoist) is the country’s new regime that rules 87% of the country. The present government for them is an old regime; they view the RNA as ‘Royal American terrorists’ because the USA has been providing military aid that includes money, weapons, logistics and military experts. The Maoists have proved capable of mobilising hundreds of thousands of oppressed people i.e. indigenous nationalities, ethnic minorities, untouchable lower caste people, poor and women in a cause that benefits them. Their party has created a new concept called ‘Prachand Path’, a version of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism in a
Nepalese context. In just nine years, the rebels have gone from a small band of unarmed militants to multi-division armed forces that run much of Nepal's countryside. In the process, already 11,000 people have died. In view of the nature of the fighting, arms and ammunition used and the numbers of people killed in this uprising, it is more than a conflict i.e. it is a fully fledged civil war. This war is orchestrated and led by the CPN (Maoist).

In the context of lifelong learning; on the one hand the Maoists are using all forms of learning i.e. formal, non-formal and informal learning in order to generate ‘conscientisation’ in oppressed people for their liberation. On the other hand, it causes disruption to day-to-day teaching and learning processes in the country. In regard to the issue, Youngman (2000: 47) writes:

Different classes have different interests, and conflicts arise as they pursue these interests. It is assumed that these conflicts have effects on the nature and consequences of adult education including lifelong learning at every level, including policies, organisation and curricula (in italic is original).

At the initial stage, when a territory is not under their full control, the Maoists accept and utilise the government learning institutions even though they are based on the western concept of education. Once they fully control the area, then their own system of learning is introduced rejecting the western concept of lifelong learning as they regard it as another form of imperialism.

Lifelong learning policy and practice

According to the history and policy literatures, the lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal has been influenced by both the eastern and western philosophies and systems of learning. As mentioned in chapter one, formal education based on the British education system was introduced to the country in the 1850s and it remained in the country’s education system until the end of 1960s. During the 1960s, the USA played the major role in the reconstruction of the Nepalese formal education system and put the British education
system to one side. In 1971, the nation implemented a formal education system called the ‘New Education System Plan (NESP),’ based on liberal ideas of welfare state. It was the duplicate of the American system. Within a few years, the system lost its momentum. Things got worse towards the end of the 1980s.

In early 1990s, great changes had taken place throughout the world. The process of globalisation, democratisation, de-regularisation, marketisation and privatisation resulted in the demolition of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the former USSR reverting to previous individual countries. Nepal was also affected by the global changes i.e. in 1990, democracy was restored in the country (unfortunately the king of Nepal again abolished democracy on 4 October 2002 and taken the country’s executive power). In the period of 1990 - 2002, the nation-state tried to follow the process of globalisation, democratisation, de-regularisation, marketisation and privatisation. Nepal succeeded in securing membership of the WTO. The great impact of neo-liberal theory i.e. de-regularisation, marketisation and privatisation had taken place in the formal learning sector, as well as in business and trade in Nepal.

The same goes for non-formal learning. In 1950s – 1960s, the main objective of non-formal learning/adult education was simply to enable people to read, write and count. In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, the Freireian radical concept of adult education, such as adult education for liberation from the oppression, emerged. Freire’s concept and approach became very popular throughout the world in general and Third World countries in particular. This approach of teaching was mainly carried out in Nepal by INGOs and NGOs based in the country. “Hence […] Freire […] was one of the intellectual influences on thinking about adult education and development in the 1970s” (Youngman 2000: 66). Directly or indirectly, the Freireian concept of adult education has made a huge contribution to the current Maoist-led civil war. At the same time i.e. in the 1970s, UNESCO, in collaboration with the government, introduced the liberal/welfare state concept of adult education to the country. Later, UNESCO renamed adult education ‘lifelong education and lifelong learning.’ The capitalist countries renamed adult education as lifelong education and lifelong learning in order to depoliticise the radicalness of adult
education and destabilise the welfare state, since the welfare state has created multiple social problems in society, such as the way people can live on various benefits provided by the government. In consequence, people may avoid economically productive work. Thus the welfare state currently has become a burden for the developed countries. In addition, the deconstruction of radical adult education will reduce the political engagement of poor and oppressed people. "The prescriptions of the neoliberal approach have affected the orientation of many adult education policies and programmes [...]" (Youngman 2000: 71).

Currently, UNESCO has introduced lifelong learning for 'EFA and Basic Education' in Nepal. The government has a plan to open 205 community learning centres across the country in order to run lifelong learning for 'EFA and Basic Education'. However, adult education based on the concept of Freire is still popular in Nepal.

Informal learning of Nepal is mainly based on the Hindu and indigenous religions, culture, traditions and philosophies. Thus, the knowledge gained through the informal learning is profoundly philosophical. It takes place at home, at social gatherings and temples. It is deeply embedded in individuals' thinking and way of life. Therefore, Nepalese people find it very difficult to internalise the knowledge acquired through the formal and non-formal learning into real life practice. As a result, Nepalese people quite often reject or resist western thinking and concepts. This is one of the reasons why formal and non-formal learning, mainly developed along western lines, are not achieving their expected aims and objectives in Nepal.

Conclusion

According to Marx and his theory of political economy, class and the system of production are strongly interlinked. The upper class is a group of people who normally own the resources, control production and keep surplus value. On the one hand, accumulation of surplus value makes the owner richer, powerful and dominant. On the other hand, the working class becomes poorer and unable to sustain normal life. The workers and labourers are in the true sense the forces of production but are always subjected to extreme exploitation by the upper class. However, as highlighted in chapter five, class functions
within the framework of social structure such as caste, ethnicity, race and gender in Nepal. Thus besides the class order, the caste system, ethnicity, race and gender have also perpetuated inequalities and domination in Nepalese society. This situation is also fuelled by globalisation/donor agencies as they drain peripheral resources to the centre in the name of aid and loan. As highlighted in chapter two, fifty years of foreign aid and loan has not brought any changes. Nepal was the thirteenth poorest country in the 1970s and is currently the second poorest on the list of the world's poorest countries. In consequence, the nation is currently facing the situation of civil war. In that sense, globalisation and donor agencies, social stratification and the civil war are the major factors affecting the process of lifelong learning policy and practice in the country. The review of policy and the theoretical literatures and discussions carried out in preceding chapters (i.e. four, five, six, seven and eight) have reflected these realities. Thus, it is crucial to explore extensively the specific research questions using the wider perspective of a neo-Marxist theoretical framework that includes the local social inequalities -in addition to class- such as caste, ethnicity and gender. The specific research questions that I have raised in chapter two are listed below:

**Specific research questions:**

1. Who controls the lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal and how?

2. How and why do globalisation (donor countries and agencies) and Nepalese social elites/policy makers manipulate the lifelong learning policy and practice?

3. How has the foreign lifelong learning policy and practice affected the local indigenous lifelong learning, knowledge, culture, tradition and religion?

4. How does the lifelong learning policy and practice generate knowledge and skills at local level and how do they contribute to the socio-political construction?

5. How does the lifelong learning policy and practice address the issues of social exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity?

6. How and why does the Hindu religion and the civil war affect the lifelong learning policy and practice?
7 How and why are local knowledge, culture, tradition and religion resisting and rejecting the western policy and practice of lifelong learning?

8 Why have the lifelong learning initiatives and trials failed?

The above-listed specific research questions have evolved through the socio-political realities of Nepal and have been influenced by the knowledge and experience that I gathered from the local facts as well as more than twenty years of exposure to western countries.

Taking account of the socio-political realities of Nepal, in this chapter, I have re-structured the research model that evolved in chapter two into the wider neo-Marxist perspective to explore and examine the specific research questions listed above across the country in various socio-economic and political environments in anthropological and ethnographical settings. Hence, in the next chapter, I will cover anthropological and ethnographical research methodology.
CHAPTER TEN

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to test the model re-structured in chapter nine, a methodology and methods of data collection are required which facilitate collective analysis of behaviour, perceptions, causes, interrelations and interactions among the participants involved in policy-making and those involved in practice. The basic criteria in choosing the research approach, methodologies, techniques, methods of data collection and sites are based on suitability, effectiveness and representation for lifelong learning policy and practice research so that research findings would be of a high quality, valid, reliable and generalisable. In the field of social research, 'quantitative and qualitative' are two types of research methodologies widely used. Both quantitative and qualitative have specific areas of effectiveness. Thus the choice between qualitative and quantitative method depends on the nature of the research. Therefore, in this chapter, I will describe the process by which I wish to approach this research, my motives and choices concerning the research methodology and methods of data collection best designed to explore and examine the research questions and test the re-structured research model of chapter nine. Hence, I will discuss quantitative methodology in general and qualitative methodology -particularly anthropology/ethnography- in detail followed by methods of data collection i.e. document analysis, interviews, focus group discussion, participation, observation and methods of data analysis. In addition, I will also discuss qualitative comparative methodology and its usages in the research.

Quantitative methodology

As mentioned above, quantitative research is a type of social science research that is mainly based on a quantifiable data focus on "what is happening [...]" (Black 2002: 3) and how
many [...], etc. Silverman (2000: 2) cites Halfpenny (1979: 799) that quantitative research is “hard, fixed, objective, value-free, survey, hypothesis testing and abstract (in italic is original). It “[...] can present findings in the form of graphs and tables, it conveys a sense of solid, objective research” (Denscombe 1998: 177). In this sense, quantitative methodology is ideal and effective in figurative comparison, identifiable and measurable variables such as caste, class, intelligence test, etc. In quantitative research, data is mainly collected by means of questionnaires and structured interviews. According to Bryman (1988: 1) “quantitative research is typically taken to be exemplified by the social survey and by experimental investigations.” The logical structure of the quantitative research process mainly consists of “theory, hypothesis, observations/data collection, data analysis and finding” (ibid: 20). However, “[...] quantitative methodology provides breadth but not depth [...]” (Mason (1996: 169, in italic is original). In addition, to carry out this process smoothly, areas targeted for research must have a reasonable standard of transportation and communication systems, so the researcher can send questionnaires by post, or can make person-to-person telephone interviews in a set time and space. In experimental quantitative research, time and space play a vital role in obtaining quality research results. In addition, respondents must have some degree of knowledge and be able to read and write; otherwise it is difficult to carry out research mainly based on questionnaires. Two things must be borne in mind in regards to this. Firstly, Nepal is one of the world’s poorest countries and is getting poorer because of civil war. The Maoist’s strikes and activities are significantly affecting the continuity of basic learning and the economic, political and social settings of Nepal. The state’s basic infrastructures have almost been destroyed as a result of the civil war. Almost all villages are cut off from communication, postal services and transportation. Secondly, lifelong learning per se is a complex topic and very difficult to measure, as it is subjective in nature, cultural, social and political in origin and thus in-depth exploration is necessary. If the nature of research is subjective -for example love, encouragement, reasoning ability, culture, behaviour and everyday activities- such things are very difficult to measure and quantify as these are descriptive and inductive. When the research is subjective then the qualitative research methodology will be more appropriate and effective. According to Silverman (2000: 1):
For instance, if you want to discover how people intend to vote, then a quantitative method, like a social survey, may seem the most appropriate choice. On the other hand, if you are concerned with exploring people’s life histories or everyday behaviour, then qualitative methods may be favoured (in italic is original).

In addition, qualitative technique is ideal for a country such as Nepal where 50% of the population are illiterate. So, if we carry out quantitative research with random sampling and questionnaires, there is a 50% chance of questionnaires falling into the hands of illiterate people. As mentioned above, at the same time rural areas of the country do not even have a postal service. Transport and other forms of communication are almost nonexistent. In such circumstances, the quantitative research technique could become ineffective and non-pragmatic and the research could end up with unsound results. Instead the qualitative research technique becomes more appropriate and effective because the researcher is the main tool of data collection and interpretation.

The aims of the research are highlighted in chapters one, two and at the end of chapter nine; this research is more subjective in nature and requires a descriptive interpretation of natural settings to generate more reliable, valid and generalisable results. For this kind of research, the qualitative research technique is more appropriate and effective. In order to adhere to these realities and avoid research biases, I decided to carry out both field research and data analysis without manipulating human origins, beliefs, and institutions, cultural and social activities. Therefore, for this research I have chosen anthropology/ethnography or qualitative research methodology.

Qualitative methodology

I used qualitative research methodology for this research as qualitative methods focus and uncover the truth by means of participation, observation, open-ended interviews and interpret the information in simple words, which are easily understood by the general public. Bryman (1988: 1) writes, “qualitative research tends to be associated with participant observation and unstructured, in-depth interviewing.” This methodology is mainly used to understand human behaviour, perceptions, causes, interrelations and
interactions among the participants, motivation and attitude, etc. It is an effective measure to explore the human activity and response that cannot be captured by the quantitative approach. Qualitative research usually is carried out in a natural setting without manipulating the researched artefacts, documents, participants, environments and sites. The researcher who plays a major role in collecting data using eyes, ears, knowledge, senses and other additional resources. Qualitative research is strong in long description, which is necessary for ethnography, anthropology, biography, discourse analysis, policy, practice and socio-political oriented research and analysis. Silverman (2000: 2) has cited (Halfpenny 1979: 799) that qualitative research is “soft, flexible, subjective, political, case study, speculative and grounded.” The qualitative research method is becoming more successful and effective in discovering the truth. To substantiate this opinion, I have listed a few definitions given by the following social scientists:

Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts - that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals’ lives. (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 2).

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting. (Creswell 1998: 15).

Mason (1996: 4) writes, qualitative research is:

grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly ‘interpretivist’ in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced. Whilst different versions of qualitative research might understand or approach these elements in different ways (for example, focusing on social meanings, or interpretations, or practices, or discourses, or processes, or constructions) all will see at least some of these as meaningful elements in a complex – possibly multi-layered – social world.

based on methods of data generation which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced (rather than rigidly standardized or structured,
or removed from ‘real life’ or ‘natural’ social context, as in some forms of experimental method).

based on methods of analysis and explanation building, which involve understandings of complexity, detail and context. Qualitative research aims to produce rounded understandings on the basis of rich, contextual, and detailed data. There is more emphasis on ‘holistic’ forms of analysis and explanation in this sense, than on charting surface patterns, trends and correlations. Qualitative research usually does use some form of quantification, but statistical forms of analysis are not seen as central.

Hence, qualitative research requires a natural setting for data collection, long hours in the field, and in data analysis. In qualitative research “[…] the researcher’s role will be an active learner who can tell the story from the participants’ point of view rather than as an ‘expert’ […] (Creswell 1998: 18, in italic is original). ‘How’ and ‘what’ questions are the main characteristics of qualitative research that normally lead to long and descriptive answers. ‘Outsider’ and ‘insider’ perspective also plays a vital role in the process of qualitative data collection because “[…] the researcher is an instrument of data collection” (ibid: 14).

In addition, the qualitative research method is easy to understand as it is normally presented in “words rather than numbers, a rejection of natural science as a model” (Silverman 2000: 8). It is based on participant observation (full involvement of the researcher), interviewing (open-ended), and documents analysis (analysis of policy documents and files, etc.). Qualitative research method favours an inductive approach and hypothesis generating rather than deductive and hypothesis testing. Silverman (2000: 89) has claimed that qualitative research “can provide a ‘deeper’ understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data.

Below, I summarise the strengths and weakness of qualitative research methodology, which form very important guidelines for researchers.

**Strengths.** Qualitative research is easy to understand as it is written in narrative form. It is ideal for the least developed countries where the majority of the population are illiterate;
for example Nepal. As the researcher is the main instrument of data collection; it is effective in exploring the hidden social facts, strong in in-depth social research, e.g. research on human behaviour, relations, etc by participation and observation, which is not possible by quantitative methodology.

**Weakness.** Qualitative research involves long and extensive field work. Thus it can be expensive. Research findings are not always generalisable and the research reports are lengthy and time-consuming to read.

Taking into consideration the above factors, for this particular research, the qualitative research methodology is considered more effective and suitable. But it does not mean that one methodology is better than other.

There are different types of qualitative research methodologies such as phenomenology, biography, anthropology, ethnography, case studies and so on. Among those, I have chosen an anthropology/ethnography methodology as discussed below.

**Anthropology/Ethnographic research**

Anthropology is known as the study of humanity since it explains human origins, beliefs and institutions and ethnography methodology describes and interprets cultural and social activities in natural settings. “Social and cultural anthropology investigates the structures and cultures that are produced by Homo Sapiens” (Jary & Jary 2000: 21). Ethnography is a basic methodology in social and cultural anthropology. It requires lengthy field research, and detailed description/interpretation of collected data. This methodology favours observation, interviews using open-ended questions, artefacts and documents for data collection. It describes and interprets cultural and social activities in natural settings. During the phase of data analysis, the ethnographer can only interpret and describe informers’ views in narrative form, but must never manipulate or interfere with them. In addition to my understanding of ethnography, I have included the following social scientists’ views on ethnography:
Creswell (1998: 65) writes that ethnography mainly focuses on describing and interpreting a cultural and social group. Its discipline of origin is cultural anthropology, sociology. Methods of data collection will consist of primarily observations and interviews with additional artefacts during extended time in the field (e.g., 6 months to year). Mode of data analysis will be description, analysis and interpretation. Narrative form will be description of the cultural behaviour of a group or an individual (in italic is original).

Silverman (2000: 37) states, ethnographies are based on observational work in particular settings. The initial thrust in favour of ethnography was anthropological. Anthropologists argue that, if one is really to understand a group of people, one must engage in an extended period of observation. Anthropological fieldwork routinely involves immersion in a culture over a period of years, based on learning the language and participating in social events with the people of that culture (in italic is original).

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 1) the strength of ethnography lies in the fact of [...] the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research.

As mentioned in previous chapters, lifelong learning is a complex subject, strongly interrelated with culture, religion and social norms and values. Hence, in order to carry out effective research on lifelong learning policy and practice, it is necessary to do research in natural settings for a prolonged period of field research as well as document analysis, observations, open-ended interviews and descriptive, interpretative and narrative form of data analysis. Therefore, the anthropology/ethnography methodology is ideal for the socio-political study of the Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice.

In ethnography research, the research problem and objective will be identified, and then research questions will be generated. Extensive literature review, theoretical framework and research methodology will be worked out. Usually the following stages will take place in ethnography research:

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<th>Stage</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Locating a field of study.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Addressing ethical issues.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Deciding the sampling.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Finding a role and managing entry.</td>
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Locating a field of study: research sites and settings. Ethnography field research can be carried out in all settings. It entirely depends on the nature of the research. Ethnography research can be carried out in a village, a town, an organisation, in the community, in schools and so on. However, locating the right field of study is very important because it will influence the research outcome, and care must be taken to avoid a biased population sample to find the right research location is the sole responsibility of the researcher. The research sites and settings for this research will be covered in chapter eleven.

Addressing ethical issues and plan. Ethical issues in social research are very critical and need to be cleared prior to commencing the research project. Thus, social researchers need to deal with ethical issues very carefully. Sometimes, with or without the researcher’s intention, certain research activities could create negative impacts such as risk to certain individuals’ career, family, morale, principles, etc. Sometimes it may affect a whole society. In this sense, one of the main responsibilities of the researcher is to maintain confidentiality of research participants and actors before, during and after the research project. Hence, in this research, the ethical issues have been treated as an important issue for both the researcher and respondents and strict confidentiality has been maintained.

Therefore, prior to carrying out the field research, attempts were made to clear all ethical issues with the government authorities and the Maoists. However, due to the civil war in the country and for security reasons, the secretary of the Ministry of Education refused to issue written clearance. Instead he verbally stated the following which is transcribed from audio-tape and translated into English:
The first thing, I rely on you because you are a PhD student and you are also Nepali. In this sense, I assume that you know well about our ethical issues and the way of tackling them in the research context. The second thing, a letter of authority could become a dangerous piece of paper for both of us, especially in the current conflict situation. The Maoists might interpret a clearance letter in a different way. To play it safe, your university’s letters are more than sufficient to authenticate yourself as a researcher with district and local level authorities.

As per the above suggestions, I used my supervisor’s and university’s letters to authenticate myself and sought clearance from the district and local authorities prior to carrying out any research-related activities. All clearance was issued in verbal terms.

As only the district headquarters are under the control of the present government and most of the villages -i.e. my rural research sites- are under the control of the Maoists, I also had to get ethical and political issues clearance from the local Maoists. Instead of finding or searching for the Maoists in charge, they would track me down within a half an hour of my arrival at the rural research sites. I was normally met and interviewed by the Maoists, the simple reason being that the Maoists monitor and guard their territories very strictly. After giving my introduction, showing my university’s letters and holding a brief conversation, I was always permitted to carry out the research without any difficulties. However, the Maoists also refused to issue written authority due to security reasons. Their interview and verbal authority of clearance at all times used to conclude with saying that “we need people like you to build our nation; we hope you will input your knowledge for this country.” My activities were constantly and closely monitored by the Maoists. Nevertheless, they were friendly and helpful.

Once authority of clearance was received from either the government or the Maoists, quite often, I used to carry out research, especially participation and observation without informing the research respondents just to avoid biases and artificiality.

Deciding the sampling. In simple terms, sampling means how to choose research respondents, sites, research documents and texts etc that required for the research in order
to generate data. According to Mason (1996: 83) "in the broadest definition, sampling and selection are principles and procedures used to identify, choose, and gain access to relevant units which will be used for data generation by any method." Thus, for this research I have used purposive sampling methods: "in purposive sampling, researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgment of their typicality" (Cohen et al. 2000: 102).

Managing entry. Managing entry in social research is not that easy and may be controlled by gatekeepers. Most of the time the researcher faces difficulties in finding access; for example access into the buildings, organisations, communities, religious places, etc. "Access is not simply a matter of physical presence or absence. It is far more than the granting or withholding of permission for research to be conducted" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 62). Prior to carrying out the field research, I have obtained the necessary permissions.

Finding informants. As mentioned above, I have used purposive sampling to find informants for this research.

Relations in the field. Relations in the field is another key aspect of the whole research. To become an insider and make the environment conducive for research is very important. Informants and villagers are always suspicious of outsiders and not willing to provide the real information that the researcher is looking for. As the country is currently in a state of civil war and the political situation is not stable, I found it very difficult to obtain access to different policymakers in the government, non-governmental organisation offices and in both urban and rural areas during my first and second visits. Then and now, there was no public security. Anyone can be killed at any time by the government forces or the Maoists. More innocent people have been killed in the name of the war than among the government forces and the Maoist rebels. Nepalese researchers are more vulnerable than foreigners because the government forces suspect Nepalese researchers as a Maoist activist and the Maoists suspect them as a government spy. Local people think in the same way and they did not like to participate in discussions and interviews openly in many places. I noticed
that the process of discussions and interviews made the government forces, the Maoists and local people more suspicious. I experienced extreme difficulty in conducting research especially in the western parts of Nepal where people and places are greatly affected by the civil war. Regarding this, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 80) write, "field researchers are frequently suspected, initially at least, of being spies, tax inspectors, missionaries, etc. [...]."

**Data collection: field work.** The field research has been divided into three stages:

**Stage one.** Policy document collection, review, reconnaissance of research sites, rapport building with local people, especially with gate keepers and key informants, was the first stage of the field research. Thus, in this stage, I reviewed the government policy documents (First to Ten Five-year Plans) at the same time establishing relationships with local people and the main gate keepers and informants of both sites. I mainly carried out observation and occasional held discussions with local parents, women’s groups and school inspectors. I also visited local learning resource centres, literacy classes, students, lower caste people, ethnic groups, local intellectuals and power holders etc. Finally I met Maoist student activists, local commanders and discussed their learning policies. I spent in from the last week of December 2002 to the second week of February 2003 in research sites.

**Stage two.** In the second stage, I used open-ended questions to interview main actors from the Planning Commission and Ministry of Education of Nepal. I interviewed policy makers, planners, the country’s top-level educationists and the Country Representatives and Heads of the Organisations of the main donor agencies in Kathmandu. I was also able to interview one of the ‘Central Committee’ members of the CPN (Maoist) who, being one of the negotiators from the party, was available during the on-going peace talks with the Government of Nepal.

During my second field research, I spent three weeks each in both research sites and carried out observation, discussion and interviews with local people on lifelong learning policy and
practice related issues. Stage two of my field studies commenced on 28th of May 2003 and finished on the 30th July 2003.

Stage three. This time, I spent two weeks each in both research sites at the beginning, followed by test studies across the country (chapter eleven covers the research sites and settings). The stage three commenced in early November 2003 and finished at the end of March 2004. In stage three, I mainly tested the model that evolved in chapter two and restructured in chapter nine using interviews, discussions, focus group discussions and participation and observations methods. These methods are collectively called the methods of data collection.

Methods of data collection. Qualitative methods of data collection provide a sound means of inquiry to understand the dynamics of human behaviour, motivation, casual relationship and interaction in everyday life. There are several methods of data collection such as interviews, observation, focus group discussion, archival study, case study, questionnaires, sampling, content analysis, document analysis, etc. For this research, purposefully I have used the most pertinent methods of data collection, namely policy document analysis, interview, focus group discussion and observation.

Document analysis. "The analysis of documentary sources is a major method of social research, and one which many qualitative researchers see as meaningful and appropriate in the context of their research strategy" (Mason 1996: 71). Some documents are text based such as policy letters, acts, rules and regulations, files, statements, wills, reports, government policy, etc. Some other documents are non-text-based, "examples of these are film, video and television, displays, graphic representation [...]" (ibid: 71) and so on. Cohen et al. (2000: 161) writes "all these are, intentionally or unintentionally, capable of transmitting a first-hand account of an event and are therefore considered as sources of primary data." Thus, with this method, data was collected from documents and analysed. Document analysis was the first step of my field research. It played a vital role in giving shape, structure and direction to my research.
Interviews. An interview is the exchanged information between people. In the process of research, the role of researcher will be the interviewer and the respondent will be the interviewee. According to Cannell and Kahn (1968: 527) the research interview is usually “a two person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information […]” cited in Cohen et al. (2000: 269). Interviews are one of the most effective research methods by which the researcher will be able to explore and extract the vital information from respondents. “Interviews are one of the most commonly recognized forms of qualitative research method” (Mason 1996: 39). Cohen et al. (2000: 268) writes the purposes of the interviews are many and varied, namely: “to evaluate or assess a person in some respect, […], to test or develop hypotheses, to test models, to gather data, […]” (in italic is original). However, there are some unavoidable features of the interview situation that would normally be regarded as problematic, for example, “the respondent may well feel uneasy and adopt avoidance tactics if the questioning is too deep” Cicourel (1964) cited in Cohen et al. (2000:267 - 68).

There are several types of interviews in use in the field of research, which are: structural, semi-structural, non-structural, directive, non-directive, focused, one to one, group and informal conversational interviews. “The term ‘qualitative interviewing’ is usually intended to refer to in-depth, semi-structured or loosely structured forms of interviewing” (Mason 1996: 38). However, the choice depends on the aim of the research. Thus, for this research I mainly used an open-ended, unstructured interview which was completely informal and free of any restriction. The researcher's role was “[…] to start the ball rolling by introducing a theme or topic and then letting the interviewee develop his or her ideas and pursue his or her train of thought” Denscombe (1998: 113). I carried out open-ended interviews on two different occasions, first interviews with policy-making bodies and donor agencies. To be able to explore specific information, the government policy-makers were chosen purposefully. The second interviews were also conducted with purposefully selected samples at grass root level.

In conclusion, the interview method of data collection can provide in-depth insights and valid data. It is flexible because researchers can adjust their instrument without any difficulty. Researchers and respondents can explain and expand their views if it is
necessary. It requires only simple equipment, such as a tape recorder, and conversation skills. Another advantage of this method is the high response rate because of prearrangement of interviews. There are some disadvantages: the interview process is time consuming, people raise questions on validity and reliability, a pre-arranged interview is always on artificial situation, some people think that it is invasion of privacy, data generated by interview is based on what people say and not necessarily what they believe and could be construed as a false reflection of their opinion. It should also be considered that in Nepal the researcher may have to walk for a few days between one respondent to another; this is time consuming and expensive.

Focus group discussion. Focus group discussion is becoming ever more popular, especially in social and lifelong learning research. It is a form of group interview but not in the sense of questions and answers between the researcher and the group. The focus group is a targeted group of people (not more than nine) with groups of six to nine being the ideal for discussion on given topics by the researcher. In this interview process, the participants discuss and interact with each other and come to the conclusion “it is from the interaction of the group that data emerge” (Cohen et al. 2000: 288). According to Denscombe (1998: 115) there are three distinctive and vital points about focus groups:

1. the sessions usually revolve around a prompt, a trigger, some stimulus introduced by the moderator in order to ‘focus’ the discussion;

2. there is less emphasis on the need for the moderator to adopt a neutral role in the proceedings than is normally the case with other interview techniques;

3. they place particular value on the interaction within the group as a means for eliciting information, rather than just collecting each individual’s point of view – there is a special value placed on the collective view, rather than the aggregate view.

There are both strengths and weaknesses in focus groups. The strengths are economical, in that a large amount of data can be gathered in a short period of time and subjects discussed in a depth not possible in straightforward interviews. However, this process produces less information than the one-to-one interview, which is one of the main weaknesses of focus
group discussion. In summary, I found this method particularly useful in order to generate valid and generalisable data from a group of people in a short period of time in a natural setting.

**Observation.** Observation is one of the methods of data collection that comes within the ethnographic tradition. "There is a long tradition of observational research in the social sciences [...]" (Mason 1996: 60). In this method, the researcher looks at the events physically and gathers data from live activities and situations. "Observation methods are powerful tools for gaining insight into situations" (Cohen et al. 2000: 315). According to Denscombe (1998: 139):

Observation offers the social researcher a distinct way of collecting data. It does not rely on what people say they do, or what they think. It is more direct than that. Instead, it draws on the direct evidence of the eye to witness events first hand.

There are different types of observations such as the highly structured, the semi structured and the unstructured. Observation can be carried out by a complete participant with "[...] researcher immersing herself or himself in a research setting, and systematically observing dimensions of that setting, interactions, relationships, actions, events and so on, within it" (Mason 1996: 60). For this research, I used both the participant's observation and observation only methods in order to maintain natural setting for data collection. In regards to participant observation, Cohen et al. (2000: 187) cited Bailey (1978) in the following terms:

Observation studies are superior to experiments and survey when data are being collected on non-verbal behaviour.

In observation studies, investigators are able to discern ongoing behaviour as it occurs and are able to make appropriate notes about its salient features.

Because [...] observations take place over an extended period of time, researchers can develop more intimate and informal relationships with those they are observing, generally in more natural environments than those in which experiments and surveys are conducted.
observations are less reactive than other types of data gathering methods. For example, in laboratory-based experiments and in surveys that depend upon verbal responses to structured questions, bias can be introduced in the very data that researchers are attempting to study.

There is some degree of threat to the validity and reliability of observation. Cohen et al. (2000: 129) have listed the following threats that cast doubts on the validity and reliability in observation method of data collection:

- the researcher, in exploring the present, may be unwary of important antecedent events;
- informants may be unrepresentative of the sample in the study;
- the presence of the observer might bring about different behaviours (reactivity and ecological validity);
- the researcher might 'go native', becoming too attached to the group to see it sufficiently dispassionately.

During my data collection in 2002, 2003 and 2004, I tried to minimise the above problems as far as possible by the following way:

- thorough understanding of local events, culture, traditions and religions;
- representation of wider population in the process of purposive sampling;
- avoiding artificiality in appearance and behaviour and
- minimising in going into native.

However, full control of the above highlighted problem is not possible in social research.

Data analysis. Creswell (1998: 152) recommended the three aspects of data transformations, which are: description, analysis and interpretation of the culture-sharing group. In ethnography research, the process of data analysis starts prior to the commencement of the actual field research. "In many ways it begins in the pre-fieldwork phase, [...] formulation and clarification of research problems, [...] writing reports, articles and books" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 205). My research is no exception: an initial
data analysis was commenced prior to my field research, in fact, even before starting my PhD course, as highlighted in chapter one. In this research, I have used descriptive and interpretative models of data analysis on information collected, presenting in a narrative way with illustrative quotes. Analysis has focused on the socio-political role of lifelong learning policy and practice, and socio-political causes and relationships in the processes. Throughout the field research, I maintained a constant interaction between information collected and analysed information as an interactive process. The daily processing of information and interaction and subsequent action helped in the process of analysis. In addition, interpretation and analysis of the information by the stakeholders themselves became an important part of the method of information analysis.

Leaving the field. This is another important stage of the research. The process of field research and information gathered to answer the research questions would indicate when to leave the research field. For this research, my field work came to end officially on 31 March 2004. Therefore, all data that I have used in this thesis were collected before the cut off date.

Writing the report/thesis. There is no difference in writing an ethnography report than in other writing. Good written work always requires extensive information, a wide range of reading, good interpretation, description and analytical skills. A good ethnographic written report requires all these elements because an ethnography report is an “intellectual work” (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 240). In this type of written report “a writer uses an impersonal point of view, conveying a ‘scientific and ‘objective’ perspective” (Creswell 1998: 182). Thus, I have tried as far as possible to make this thesis unbiased and impersonal, although I must admit to having my own view based on my background and personal experience.

Validity and reliability. Throughout the research process, strict steps were taken to maintain validity and reliability. Validity and reliability are both very important for any research. If the research is invalid then it is waste of time, money and manpower.
“Validity is an important key to effective research. If a piece of research is invalid then it is worthless” (Cohen et al. 2000: 105) and becomes unreliable.

Thus, an unreliable piece of research is both invalid and worthless. “Reliability is essentially a synonym for consistency and replicability over time, over instruments and over groups of respondents” (ibid: 117). There are no straightforward tests for reliability and validity especially in social science. However, if a reliability test can “[...] be carried on a similar group of respondents in a similar context then similar results would be found” (ibid: 117). Hence, the research process needs to be designed and carried out in a proper way to maintain validity and reliability; otherwise the whole research can become invalid, unreliable and worthless. In this research, the research process has been designed in accordance with ethnography methodology and the research findings have been tested at different test sites across the country to confirm their validity and reliability.

In addition to the research methodology discussed above, I have added qualitative comparative methodology into anthropology/ethnography in order to draw comparisons between the rich and poor, the Hindu upper castes and the lower castes, male and female in Hindu society, Hindus and indigenous nationalities, urban and rural, centre and periphery, globalisation and localisation. I have used this methodology throughout my thesis as and when comparison was required. Comparative data have been narrated, interpreted, analysed and theoretically/philosophically underpinned as “comparative sociology is based upon the interaction between theory and data [...]” (Lane 1990: 187). Then, the comparative research process has been linked with the main research methodology i.e. anthropology/ethnography, since, “in anthropology and in at least a part of the sociological tradition, the term comparative refers not to a substantive field, but to a method of research and analysis” (Holt and Turner 1970: 5) although, comparative methodology has its own specific research designs, data collecting and processing disciplines, interpretation and explanation as any other social research methodologies.
Qualitative comparative methodology

In general, comparison of two or more research variables followed by narration, interpretation, analysis and theoretical/philosophical underpinning is known as qualitative comparative methodology. There are multiple goals of the comparative research methodology among them, "[...] one of the primary goals of comparative social science is to make general statements about relationship" (Ragin 1991: 1) between two variables such as in the context of Nepal urban and rural, upper castes and lower castes, etc. Thus, Janoski (1991: 60) writes, "all comparative research explicitly or implicitly involves two different kinds of analysis" which is quite effective in "an attempt to develop concepts and generalizations at a level between what is true of all societies and what is true of one society at one point in time and space" (Bendix 1963: 532, cited in Grimshaw 1973: 6). In social science in general, to develop a new 'concept, theory, etc.', it is crucial to compare it with other existing concepts, ideas and thoughts in order to make 'concept, theory, etc'. reliable, measurable and replicable. For example; in chapter three, I compared the concepts of classical Marxist and neo-Marxist theoretical perspectives to choose the theoretical framework for my research. By comparison, I found neo-Marxist theoretical framework is more relevant than classical Marxist to answer my research questions. In the process of research, I carried out literature review, comparative studies and analysis through neo-Marxist perspective in chapters: four, five, six, seven and eight from where the concept of 'wider neo-Marxist perspective' emerged which I covered in chapter nine. Further, with the aim of comparison and generalisation of the concept that developed in chapter nine, I also used comparative methodology to test the module across the country in a diverse social context of Nepal since the "[...] developing and testing theories that would be applicable beyond the boundaries of a single society, the comparative method came into use in the social science" (Holt and Turner 1970: 6).

In addition, by means of comparative method and the careful selection of research sites, social researchers can compare multiple variables and interpret, narrate and analyse within the framework of natural settings without manipulation of social variables as in anthropology/ethnography. Regarding this, Hill (1973: 459) writes, "the comparativist
[...] investigates a given substantive problem over a set of societies in order to evaluate the importance of cultural or societal heterogeneity as an explanatory variable". Thus, there is no doubt, more or less; comparison methodology takes place in all kinds of social research including testing concepts and theories. Regarding this Grimshaw (1973: 3) stated, "there are many senses in which it can be said that all good sociology is comparative - that, as a matter of fact, sociology cannot be done without making comparisons". Further Oyen (1990: 4) stated:

Actually, no social phenomenon can be isolated and studied without comparing it to other social phenomena. Sociologists engage actively in the process of comparative work whenever concepts are chosen, operationalised or fitted into theoretical structures.

Hence, without the comparison, it is difficult to generalise social research findings. The neo-Marxist perspective strongly believes in the theory of compare and contrast in order to highlight the issues of social inequalities such as the gap between the rich and poor, centre and periphery, urban and rural and so on.

Conclusion

For this research, I used the anthropology/ethnography and comparative qualitative research methodologies. In methods of data collection: document analysis (policy documents), interviews, purposive sampling, focus group discussions, participation and observations have been used. The basic criteria in choosing the research methodology, methods of data collection are based on suitability and effectiveness for socio-political study of lifelong learning policy and practice so that research findings would be of high quality, valid, reliable and replicable. In addition, selection of the right research site is very important as the research site is the source of field data without which particularly this research would not be completed. Therefore, research sites/settings for this research will be covered in chapter eleven.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

RESEARCH SITES AND SETTINGS

The previous chapter covered research methodology and methods of data collection. In this chapter I will describe the research and test sites and their importance in the research process. Selection of the correct research site is very important as it plays a vital role in influencing the overall result. For this research, I have used policy representation, socio-economic, socio-politics, geographical, regional, urban and rural criteria to select the research sites. Taking this into account, I have chosen purposefully two research sites i.e. urban and rural in order to test the "model" that has been developed in chapter two and re-structured in chapter nine in the framework of neo-Marxist perspective which has been covered in chapter nine. Firstly, Ward\textsuperscript{22} 18 of the Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC), the capital city of Nepal for urban research site where a 'Community Learning Centre' (CLC) programme was implemented in 1999 in collaboration with UNESCO Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific (PROAP), Bangkok, Thailand. This particular project has been operational through the CLC programme of the Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All (APPEAL). Secondly, Ward 4 Kunjari of the Sikaicha VDC, of Taplejung District (North East Nepal), as a rural site as it is one of the remotest villages of the country, totally excluded from the government and donor agencies projects. The main research studies have therefore been carried out in these two research sites.

I tested the findings of the research in nine test sites across the country, namely; Khokling and Phungling VDCs of Taplejung District (North East Nepal), Pathri VDC of Morang District and Dharan Municipality of Sunsari District (both South East Nepal), Naubise VDC of Dhading District and Koteswor, Ward 35 of KMC (both Central Nepal). Banethop Deorali VDC of Syangja District (Western Nepal), Bijouri VDC of Dang District (Mid Western Nepal) and Gaura Gaon village, ward number 3 of Chandika VDC of Achham District (Far Western Nepal) in December 2003 to March 2004. The Village Development

\textsuperscript{22} Ward is a unit of administration.
Committees (VDCs) and Municipalities for the test studies were chosen on the basis of the above mentioned criteria with the assistance from key informants, the District Education Officers (DEOs), local NGOs working in this area, local people and review of available documents. In order to make the chapter transparent, I will first describe the two main research sites followed by test sites. Actual research and test sites (districts) have been illustrated in the map given below.

As mentioned in the methodology chapter (chapter ten), I have conducted my field research in three stages. In stage one and two, I mainly remained engaged in the Kathmandu valley and Kunjari carrying out policy document review and interviews with policy makers and only at stage three I did look into practice in the various parts of the country.

Research sites

Urban research site: KMC, Ward Number 18. Mythically, the Kathmandu valley was a lake only made habitable by Manjushree\textsuperscript{23}, who cut open the hill Chovar to allow the lake

\textsuperscript{23} “Manjushree was a great human who made Kathmandu valley suitable to live” (Panday B.S. 2055/1998: 455)
to flow out. There are three cities as well as districts within the valley, namely; Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. Kathmandu is the capital city of Nepal, and a district in its own right. Kathmandu city is experiencing a very fast population growth; made worse by the CPN (Maoist) led civil war with insecurity in villages leading to an influx of villagers migrating into the cities, especially the three cities of the Kathmandu valley. This population growth is however not accompanied by a related increase in infrastructure and facilities, such as water supply and solid waste management. This has resulted in a deterioration of the quality of life in Kathmandu. Furthermore, the heavy involvement of international donor agencies in the city threatens its unique cultural and religious heritage.

It has been estimated that there has been a huge influx of immigrants (the government has estimated at 60,000 in 2003) from the rural sectors into the valley, displaced as the consequence of the violence and human rights abuses by the security forces and the Maoists. This was an obvious strategic movement envisaged by the 'protracted war'.

Map 4: Map of Kathmandu valley and Kathmandu Metropolitan city

Source: KMC (2001)

KMC comes under the Kathmandu district that is situated in the west part of the valley. Within the boundary of the city, there are famous sites, ancient temples and shrines. There are nearly as many temples as there are houses. People celebrate more festivals than the number of days in a year. It is a city depicting the confluence of inexhaustible historic, artistic and cultural interests.
KMC is divided into 35 Wards where Ward number 18 is my urban research site. It is situated at the centre of Kathmandu city. The ward is no different from any other part of major cities of the third world regarding their efforts to modernise and westernise, leaving a wide gap between the 'perceived' and 'achieved'. It is almost westernised and globalised in many ways and closely linked to the process of globalisation. The European Commission (EC) has provided support to KMC in the planning capability and in dealing with the city’s divergent issues.

Map 5: the sector map of KMC

Source: KMC (2001)

Ward 18 is one of the smallest wards in terms of size i.e. the area of the ward is only “189105.800 sqm or 0.189 sqkm” KMC (2001: 18_1 – 18_8). The total population is “11,906 where 6,138 are male and 5,768 female” and “male literacy rate is 95.92% and female 94.80%” (ibid: 18_1 – 18_8). There are five secondary schools and three primary schools, among which four of the secondary schools are private. For further and higher education there is an Aryuvedic Medical College and Teaching Hospital. The ward has
been conducting CLC in Tamshipakha since 1999 under the joint arrangement and collaboration of Ward 18 and UNESCO.

Ward number 18: The map given below has shown the detail layout of urban research site.

Source: KMC (2001)

As a city centre, ward 18 is multicultural, however, in essence it remains a pure Newari community. “Newars are the indigenous peoples of the Kathmandu Valley” (Ukyab and Adhikari 2000: 48). The majority of Newars practise both Hinduism and Buddhism while their culture is close to both Mongol and Aryan cultures. The strong influence of Hinduism and its caste system can be noticed in the Newari community. They have a hierarchical
caste system within the Newars closely linked to occupation similar to that of the Hindus, with the lower castes i.e. ‘cleaners, barbers and cremators’ remaining untouchable. As a result social exclusion and marginalisation within the Newar community is very prominent. However, the Newari culture is well preserved even though the community is directly influenced by globalisation. In this respect, the Newar community maintains a strong resistance to the process of globalisation. Newars have their own language, ‘Nepal Bhasa’, which is of Tibeto-Burman origin and is included in the university course. This is a classic indication of their influence in policy decisions and understanding of the values of culture and language. As mentioned earlier in chapter five, Newars are third in rank in the Nepalese social hierarchy after Brahmin and Chhetri.

As in any other city, there is a widening gap between the rich and poor, further stretching as the city relentlessly moves into ‘becoming the periphery’ of a global village. As I mentioned above, though the main streets of the Ward may resemble the streets of London or New York, behind the streets, there is a different world normally occupied by the lower caste Newars such as Jyapu (Newar farmer), Pode (Newar cremator), Chyame (Newar – dead animal disposer/cleaner) and so forth. On the one hand, these people are poor, illiterate, oppressed, marginalised and excluded; while on the other, as inhabitants of the capital city and of the higher castes, they are quite successful in reaping the benefits of modernity and securing higher positions in the country. Newar communities have mixed in well with the process of globalisation in the field of business and education that is basically derived from the Anglo-Saxon school of thought. However their religion and culture remain absolutely intact. They prefer to use ‘Newari Bhasa’, the mother tongue of the community. As mentioned earlier, the Kathmandu valley is the home of the Newar people and the majority of these communities have been under the strong influence of communism and their beliefs since 1949, after the inception of the Communist Party of Nepal. This fact has been demonstrated through the successive elections since the restoration of democracy in 1990, where communist candidates have swept all the seats in national elections. Furthermore, communist-supported candidates in the local elections in this ward have won 85% of the local seats. Thus, socio-economic and socio-political circumstances of Newar communities and Ward 18 of Kathmandu Metropolitan City are unique and the very reason why I chose it as an urban research site.
Rural research site: Sikaicha VDC, Ward 4 Kunjari, Taplejung. Taplejung district is situated at an altitude of 777-8,586m in the north east of Nepal. It is bounded on the north by China, east by India, while to the west and south lie the districts of Sankhuwasabha, Tehrathum and Panchthar. Taplejung encompasses an area of 3,646 sqkm. The area is mainly hilly and the soil is poor for cultivation. People grow rice, millet and maize on terraces along the mountain slopes. Taplejung is famous for its cardamom farming but this has not made any impact in the local economy (discussed in chapter thirteen). People are still suffering from hunger, disease and poverty. This could be the reason why the CPN (Maoist) movement has been highly successful in this district. The Maoists control almost all parts of the district except the headquarters.

Map 6: map of Taplejung

Source: DDC Taplejung (2003)

Rural Research Site:
Ward number 4 of Sikaicha VDC

Test Sites:
Ward number 5 of Khokling VDC and Ward numbers 4, 5 and 7 of Phungling VDC

The total population of Taplejung district is “120,053 with male 58774 and female 61279” (CBS 2000: 7). The majority of the population is Limbu and Taplejung is a part of the

24 Mt. Kanchanjunga, the third highest peak of the world.

There are two constituencies and 50 VDCs in Taplejung district. I have conducted rural area research in Kunjari, ward number 4 of Sikaicha VDC. This VDC is situated 10 hours walking distance towards north east from the district headquarters. Kunjari is a small village, mainly occupied by Limbus. There are 91 houses, among them 78 Limbus, 9 Dalits (untouchables), 2 Brahmins and 2 Chhetris and the total population is 600 (data extracted from the CPN (Maoist) village unit’s statistical records). There is one higher secondary school.

As I mentioned in chapter one, there has been no significant change in the village for the last forty years. The village has been excluded from development and learning projects.
even by the Limbu elites and politicians. This poor and backward village has never been able to produce a leader to represent them at district and national level. Limbu boys from this village who are mentally and physically fit normally join either the British or Indian Armies when they reach 16 – 18 years of age. Then on retirement they prefer the towns and cities as their retirement home. My father, who is ex-Gurkha, is a classic example of this. He chose to settle in a town called Dharan. I am another example; I was brought up in Kunjari, attended university and later joined the British Army. Thus two generations from one family followed the same path.

Those remaining in the village are however always happy and content with what they have for living. In addition, people from this village do not realise or see the need for further and higher education and its importance to progress, as Grade Ten is sufficient qualification to join either the British or Indian Armies.

The level of human mobility is very high due to the British and Indian Armies. The process of recruitment in the foreign armies means that the village loses the cream of its talented youth every year. This has had a long-term effect with serious consequences as already reflected in Kunjari where the people are getting poorer, with development process at a standstill. Thus the village and nation are losing capable manpower every year, while at the same time, those that remain in the village have been marginalised and excluded from resources.

Currently, Kunjari is under total control of the Maoists, effecting control of development processes, education, literacy, law and order. This has brought a peaceful change; there is no marginalisation, exclusion or discrimination. People are encouraged to practise their own religions, cultures and traditions.

In addition, the Maoists are trying to introduce Limbu language into the school curriculum; they have ceased the domination of Hindu culture under the pretext of Hindu religion and allowed no polygamy, gambling, and caste or gender discrimination. The ‘People’s Court’ judges all cases and with open verdicts which local people find transparent and balanced. Villagers are thus happy with the Maoist system. The Maoist leaders at village level are all local and remain committed to building their own village. Those very close to national
elites have left the village and migrated into cities and district headquarters in fear of being punished by the new regime.

Urban test sites:

Koteswor. Koteswor is ward number 35 (shown on the map at page 268) and is the youngest and the least developed ward of Kathmandu Metropolitan City. Some parts of the ward used to come under a separate village development committee that merged with KMC in 1991. The population of Koteswor was “10639 in 2001 where male population is 5405 and female 5234” (KMC 2001: 35_1). This is a multicultural ward in which people from all over the country are settling. There are diverse religions, cultures, traditions and languages.

There is no record of the literacy rate in the ward office, but the majority of population are highly educated professional. This ward is emerging as a new power in the field of trade and business in the whole of Kathmandu valley. The living standard of this ward is above average in comparison to the rest of the Nepalese living standard. This is another Marxist ward of KMC and the Maoist impact is no different to that on the other cities in the valley. Koteswor is in the process of modernisation and individualisation with minimum resistance to globalisation.

Dharan. Sunsari district has 49 Village Development Committees and 3 Municipalities; one of them is Dharan, the main urban centre of Sunsari district. Its population according to Dharan Municipality is 102,800. Dharan is situated in the 'Eastern Region' of Nepal that stretches from the edge of northern hills range to the south forest (Char Koshe Jhadi)
that divides the plain land of Terai. Dharan city is no different to any modern cities of the third world. The city grew after the British set up the 'Gurkha Recruitment Depot' in 1953, which helped many Nepalese, earn employment. The majority of the population of Dharan are ex-British Gurkha soldiers and their families, who settled after 1953. They are drawn mainly from two ethnic groups namely, Limbus and Rais, originally from the eastern hilly regions of Nepal. Dharan is a multicultural and multiracial city where Limbu and Rai practise the Kirat religion; Brahmin, Chhetri, Newar, Kami, Damai are Hindus and the Gurung practise Buddhism. There are a few Muslims in the town area with a Mosque at a place called Purano Bazaar.

Dharan has a tropical monsoon climate and was once classed a malaria-infested area, not suitable for human habitation. But now Dharan is known as one of the cleaner, better organised and more western-centric cities of Nepal. In 1960s – 80s, Dharan camp replicated the British Raj. It enclosed all sorts of elements enjoyed by the British aristocratic class such as; a golf course, horse riding and polo fields, a cricket pitch, an airfield, swimming pools, football pitches, clubs, servants, amahs, etc.

Dharan is also known as the major trading centre and business outlet for the eastern hilly regions of Nepal. In addition, it is also known as one of the major knowledge societies of Nepal with more than dozen higher level learning institutions.

Although the majority of population are former British Gurkhas -the CPN (UML), the Marxist Leninist Communist Party- that supports the multiparty democratic system, always wins the local and national level elections. The impact of the Maoist movement in Dharan is very low in comparison to other cities of the country.

Rural test sites:

Khokling. Khokling, Ward 5 is another poor rural Limbu village, situated in the north west of Taplejung district, where I first tested my rural research findings. I have chosen
this particular village as one of my test sites because of its similarities with my rural research site Kunjari. The total population of this village is approx 400. There are 67 dwellings housing among them 27 Limbu, 22 Chhetri and 20 Kami and Damai (Dalit, untouchable castes: metal smiths and tailors) families. As mentioned in chapter five, the Limbu community practises its own religion while the Chhetri, Kami and Damai follow the Hindu religion. There is one higher secondary school. This village is as poor as Kunjari but less marginalised or excluded from the centre as this village has succeeded in producing leaders at local, district and national level. The majority of population are Limbu but Limbus from this village are better educated and the trend to join the British and Indian Armies is less marked than in the other Limbu villages of the district.

This village is also under the Maoists’ control. School are runs as per their direction with teachers paying monthly tax to the CPN (Maoist) local body. The local body of the CPN (Maoist) has asked the Headmaster of the school to start teaching the Limbu language within six months. From time to time, the ‘People Liberation Army’ performs cultural programmes at the local school’s playground for the surrounding areas. All multi-party leaders from this village have been forced away either to Phungling Bazaar (district headquarters) or Biratnagar and Kathmandu cities.

Phungling. Phungling is a village bazaar where the district headquarters of Taplejung is located. The bazaar is made up of 4, 5 and 7 wards and approximate population is 4,000 (it fluctuates due to the temporary settlement in the event of the current civil war). Population mobility is very high. In the district, this is the only place that comes under control of the government forces. The government armed forces that are stationed in different parts of the district have been withdrawn and concentrated in this location. The bazaar area is shielded up and curfew starts from 7 pm every evening. The atmosphere is tense and it seems that the war can break out any moment. It is also

DEO Taplejung, Researcher and five secondary school Headmasters
apparent that the government forces are under pressure and suffer from “combat stress” as a result of prolonged exposure to battle conditions. This affects the government armed forces’ behaviour that is beyond the normal. I also encountered their unnecessary harassment many times. However, the scenario in villages remains totally opposite to district headquarters i.e. no curfew, peace and quiet. However, the displaced people from villages have gathered in and around the district capital as refugees from their own land creating overstress in the environment, resources, employment opportunity, schools, sanitation and so forth.

The political situation of district headquarters is different from the villages. All those displaced politicians are in this bazaar with the government armed forces. Currently their value in civil society has been degraded.

Pathri. This is one of the remote Village Development Committee of Morang district (south east Nepal) in a way it is far from the district headquarters but not isolated, as the East-West Highway runs through this village. Pathari is a multicultural village where people from all walks of life live together. Although it is a Terai village, the majority of people are migrants from hilly regions. There is a small bazaar where people sell local products and buy basic needs such as clothes, oil, salt, sugar and so on.

INGOs and NGOs are relatively active in providing literacy and functional literacy classes in Pathri VDC. In the context of formal learning, private schools are functioning better than the Government schools. This trend can be found more or less across the country. The economic position of this village is slightly better and the socio-political situation is somewhat different from the other hilly regions. Both the government and the Maoists are active in this village.

Naubise. Naubise is one of the Village Development Committee of Dhading district. It lies immediately west of Kathmandu and can be reached by bus. The trip takes 1-2 hours,
depending on the traffic and road conditions. Total population of this VDC is 4500. Naubise, like Nepal as a whole, is marked by cultural plurality. The majority of population are Brahmin and Chhetri with sizeable groups of Tamang, Magar, Gurung and Newar.

One of the five primary schools of Naubise VDC Ward number 5

7 years old boy busy helping his parents instead of doing his school work

One in eleven only reaches class ten

Labour-intensive subsistence agriculture remains the main occupation. This in turn has meant that larger, traditional family groups are still the rulers. Wheat and potatoes are among the main crops. The economic condition of local people is better than other rural parts of the country. Naubise has a considerable potential for trekking tourism, which could benefit the local communities and raise the standard of living. As yet, however, very little exists in the way of tourism infrastructure, nor is there any overall management, as elsewhere with Nepal's national parks and conservation areas.

In the field of education, there are five primary schools in Ward 5 of Naubise VDC which is quite unusual for the Nepalese rural context. However, all primary age children are not in position to use these facilities due to the socio-economic problems i.e. wide spread poverty.
This village is a suitable test site for all donor-driven NGOs where dozens of pilot projects are always in progress. It is mainly because of proximity to Kathmandu and easy access where NGOs can display the progress of pilot projects without any logistical difficulties for the donor agencies.

Dhading is one of the districts where the Maoists carried out their initial attacks. As I mentioned in chapter six, the CPN (Maoist) has a strong grip in this district although the district is near to the capital city, close to police and military garrisons.

Banethop Deorali, Ward 7. Banethop Deorali is a Village Development Committee (VDC) which is in Syangja district (western Nepal). There are 60 VDCs in the district and Syangja Bazaar is the District Headquarter. Total population of Syangja district is 371,794; the female population is higher than the male. The literacy rate is 62%, with male 73% and female 52%. Syangja district has the highest average literacy rate in the country; however, female literacy rate remains lower although the female population is higher. Banethop Deorali, Ward 7; is a mixed village of Brahmin, Chhetri, Gurung and Magar. People from this village mainly practise Hindu and Buddhist religions. The caste system and domination on female is far stronger than in eastern Nepal. Once the whole district used to be the strong hold of Nepali Congress Party but this is slowly being taking over by the CPN (Maoist) with the exception of district headquarters.

Bijouri. This VDC is situated in Dang valley in Dang district, Mid Western Nepal. Indigenous people of this valley are Tharus with later migration by Brahmans and Chhetris from the west and Magars from the north. There are Damai and Kami Sharki (tailors, metal smiths, shoe makers - untouchable castes), Muslims and
other peoples also reside in this valley. Total population of Dang district is 80,321 with male 44,000 and female 46,321. The valley itself is extremely fertile and suitable for cultivation. People normally grow rice, maize and mustard. Although Tharus are the indigenous people of this valley, land, wealth and knowledge is fully controlled mainly by Brahmans and Chhetris, and the rest, especially Tharus, are marginalised.

In Bijouri VDC there are a total of 18 primary schools and 6 secondary schools. According to the local sources literacy rate of this VDC is approx 53% (male 65% and female 41%). The males are breadwinners while the women work at home or take part in agricultural activities, without any significant roles in the decision-making processes. Among the Tharu community, gender discrimination is weaker than in most of Nepal, as more equality prevails in gender relations. However, owing to pervasive poverty and lack of education, this community has lagged behind in the development processes. Furthermore, the deprival of the ownership of productive resources has been the main cause of poverty. The Magar community of the VDC is well off as the youths of most families are employed in foreign armies or employed in India. The gender discrimination within this community is relatively low. However, this community lags behind in education and literacy, though it is well off in terms of finance.

Because of the Maoist conflict, the last three and half years have been very difficult for the people living in Bijouri. Communal peace has been disrupted and it has been exceptionally difficult to do ones daily chores as the risk factors to livelihoods continue to mount up, due to which the way of life in rural areas has undergone profound alterations and seeking security has become the central strategy. Due of the erosion of social fabric and social cohesion, social interaction and social communication have rapidly become extremely low. Thus there exists no social life as suspicion overrules the trust that was once enjoyed by the different communities living in harmony.

The women have been victims of the conflict as well. According to the VDC’s chairman, 27 young married men have died leaving their children fatherless. The women are now shouldering the burden of large families. With little land for cultivation and many mouths to feed, the women are naturally exhausted. Many young men have fled the VDC as well in fear of both the Government Armed Forces and the Maoist rebels.
The recent liberation of Kamayas (280 families of Tharu community within the VDC) has been a milestone in the eradication of bonded labour. However the absence of supportive programmes to bring the community into the main stream is promoting the likely chances of this community being involved in the conflict.

Furthermore the demographic composition of the district population in these villages demonstrates susceptible conditions, as this VDC is shared by Tharus, Magars, Chhetris, Brahmins and Kamis etc. A congenial environment is necessary for the peaceful coexistence of all. The low rate of literacy, unemployment, lack of productive resources, especially the land, has made the population more discontented. The absolute poverty and the problem of food security that persists in Rapti zone, along with social alienation and disharmony of social hierarchy, religious beliefs and dominating upper caste chauvinism have fuelled possible tendencies for the conflict to grow further.

**Gaura Gaon.** Gaura Gaon village, Ward 3 of Chandika VDC, Achham district, is one of my rural research test site. It is situated in Far Western Nepal. The District headquarters of Achham is called Mangalsen and it has 75 VDCs including Chandika VDC. Total population of Achham district is “235,507 (male 113,512 and female 122,095)” (CBS 2000: 49) and its ethnic compositions are: Chhetri approx 45%, Brahmin 20% and other lower castes (untouchables) such as Kami, Damai, Bhul, Sarki, Tamata, Badi and Patar, etc, approx 35%.

Main economic sources of this district are agricultural/forest products including medicinal herbs and migrant labour remittance from India and the Gulf countries. Achham is remote
and hilly, one of the poorest and most deprived districts of Nepal. It takes a day’s walk to reach the district headquarters Mangalsen from the nearest airstrip, Sanphebagar and road head. It is difficult to calculate the travel time from Kathmandu to Achham. The flights from Nepalgunj to Sanphebagar are rare and unreliable. The trip from Kathmandu to Mangalsen can take from 4 to 7 days depending on the time of year and the weather. In the field of education, Achham district has 218 primary schools, 31 secondary, 3 higher secondary and 4 private boarding schools and 2 colleges. The literacy rate of this district is 24.8% where male literacy rate is 41% and female 8%.

Politics in Achham is a bit confusing. The CPN (UML) is the leading democratic political party in Achham district; however, in the context of the current conflict, the Maoist influence seems to be very strong. In the major Maoist attacks of 2002 on Sanphebagar Airport and District headquarters, Mangalsen claimed the lives of at least 148 security forces. Due to this conflict, people are suffering difficulties in Achham district from both the government forces and the Maoist rebels. Security forces harass those they suspect to be supporting the Maoists. The Maoists demand food and lodgings and sometimes pressurise young men or women to join in the rebel forces or provide other forms of support including funding.

Conclusion

Research site is one of the vital components of any research project and there is no exception to this research. Choice of the research site is mainly based on the nature of research questions. It plays a crucial role in producing valid, reliable and generalisable research results. Therefore, I have chosen two research sites and nine test sites considering all these facts to explore and investigate the main research questions that established in chapter one and evolved further into specific research questions and research model in chapter two. The model that was developed in chapter two needed to re-structure in chapter nine in order to underpin the issues that I raised in the specific questions in the socio-political context of Nepal. Then, I carried out main field studies in Ward 18 of KMC (urban) and Ward 4 of Kunjari, Sikaicha, Taplejung (rural) where I explored and examined the issues and tested/compared the findings across the country in nine test sites (covered both in urban and rural areas) namely; Ward 35 of KMC, Dharan, Khokling, Phungling,
Pathri, Naubise, Banethop Deorali, Bijouri and Gaura Gaon. The research findings and its analysis have been covered in chapters twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen. Globalisation at local level in Nepal has been dealt with in the next chapter.
CHAPTER TWELVE

GLOBALISATION AT LOCAL LEVEL IN NEPAL

In the previous chapter, I described the research site and settings where I carried out the field research in order to investigate the practice of lifelong learning. As I mentioned in chapter two and seven, lifelong learning practice is not a new phenomenon, it is as old as human existence, and extremely important to our daily life. Without doubt, lifelong learning played a vital role in the process of human evolution to modernisation and currently, it has become an integral part of globalisation, whose agents, such as the World Bank, the WTO, the EU and the ADB, have been playing an active part in Nepal for more than fifty years. I stated in chapters two and nine, globalisation is one of the variables of my research model and that has a major role in the process of socio-politics, economic and lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal. I also highlighted in chapters four, seven and eight, that globalisation is another form of imperialism and lifelong learning as developed in the west is an integral part of it. In this chapter, I will mainly discuss globalisation at a local level based on research findings. In order to evolve my argument, I have divided this chapter into three stages. Stage one deals with global influence on Nepal and stages two and three cover urban and rural research respectively.

Stage one: global influence on Nepal

On the one hand, the policy decisions have been influenced by the donor agencies. It is important to emphasise here that the tendency of the government towards dependency on foreign aid has been increasing, which is an unfavourable indicator. As dependency grows, the aid programmes insist on 'conditions' and 'bindings' that service the loan rather than the programmes for which they have been granted. In reference to this, one of the Members of the Planning Commission (an MPC from Brahmin caste whose personal
identity is not given for reasons of confidentiality) and who is responsible for education policy expressed the following when I interviewed him at his office.

**Researcher:** Do we get any assistance from donor agencies to run our Five-year Plan?

**MPC:** Yes (pause 5 seconds) approx 60% (pause 6 seconds), I mean 60% of the total budget come from donor agencies.

**Researcher:** As an MPC: have you noticed donor agencies' influence any part of the process of policy making?

**MPC:** Yes (took 6 seconds to complete the word 'yes') this is what I called poor country's dilemma. Donor agencies always advocate that they are unbiased but in reality they influence quite a lot in both policy and practice.

**Researcher:** Can we not avoid donor agencies influence?

**MPC:** If you avoid their influence it means you are also avoiding their assistance as well. I have already told you that this is a poor country's dilemma.

Thus, the donor-driven agenda of lifelong learning and the policy decisions have long been serving the interests of those in the planning process and the ruling elites. The centralised planning systems have failed to identify the needs of the poor and those for whom the policy action has been sought.

On the other hand, the decisions made at the top level of an echelon involve the top segment of the society; the aristocratic classes and the representatives of the donor agencies such as the World Bank or the IMF. The ruling classes possess complete access to the resources and thus are free to agree any policy decision as long as the budget is funnelled in. There is obviously no discussion at the decision-making level because there has already been a broad agreement between the donor agencies and the ruling elites in all the issues regarding the global and regional political economy. In this process, the ruling elites are compelled to strictly promote and protect the interest of the international elites through the global chain of networks shaping the globalisation process. Regarding these issues, a
Initially, I came here for two years as an advisor to the Ministry of Education (6 seconds pause), and this has been extended by another year (he shakes his head 3 seconds) and I am returning to my country on completion of these three years without understanding the system. One thing that I found is (he takes a deep breath), Nepalese experts spend most of their time writing policies and reports, I mean, very long, 300 to 400 pages long reports for donor agencies. When I asked them what they were writing? Their answer was always the same i.e. they are not sure what they are writing. It is evident that the Nepalese education policy has not been addressing the local issues, since the government make policy for donor agencies but not for the local issues and implementation. I think, because of that there is no relationship between policy and practice in Nepal.

As highlighted above, there appears to be no true policy that addresses the need. This is apparently due to the donor driven initiatives. Various models have been introduced in the education chapter. For example, the New Education Plan implemented in 1971 was designed in the USA, and an exclusively centralised plan controlled and operated from the above. The plan was forcefully operated by the King and the so-called ‘Partyless Panchyat System’ for a period of more than fifteen years and was not only a failure but is estimated to have pushed the country back by many years. It was a politically driven plan with the aim of strengthening the ruling elites and protecting the Panchayat autocracy. The subjects of social sciences were ignored and undue stress was laid on to science and technical subjects, which, because of inefficiency and mismanagement, was a complete failure. In regards to this issue, two of my respondents (one from the Ministry of Education -Joint-Secretary and other from the Centre for Educational Research and Development- ) Professor) (both from Brahmin caste) said that:

**Joint-Secretary:** The Ministry of Education has been trying to improve the country’s learning processes since 1951. During these
processes, the state introduced the New Education Plan in 1971. Unfortunately, it did not achieve its goal. In 1990, the nation endorsed the project 'Education for All'. It was supposed to achieve its aims by the year 2000, but it also ended up without achieving its aim. The second phase of EFA has been operationalised since 2000 targeting to achieve goals by 2015. The government and donor agencies i.e. UNESCO, the World Bank, IMF and ADB and other various agencies are actively working to achieve the EFA goals.

Professor: There is no education expert in the Planning Commission and never any intention for inclusion. Those who are responsible for education policy are not only incapable but easily manipulated and influenced by donor agencies. This is the reason why our education policy is always far away from the local reality and will always fail to achieve its objectives. I do not think that EFA will be successful. But, this time government has a face-saving ground i.e. the civil war.

Throughout the history of Nepal, people's participation and ownership has been absent at every level from local and regional to national level. Though the importance of participation from planning to practice has been stressed in the policy documents, the donor-driven programmes have never attained the objectives as the planning phase is always completed with development partners rather than with a participatory approach. The 'well tailored' programmes do not respond to the ground necessities and reality. The people have always been treated as passive objects rather than active participants. Thus stages two and three will explore the truth at local level.
Stage two: urban Nepal and globalisation

Ward 18, Kathmandu Metropolitan city and globalisation. As mentioned in chapter eleven; Ward 18 is my urban research site which is situated in the centre of the Kathmandu city where there are few chances to avoid the impact of globalisation. During the course of my field research I have observed quite a strong influence of globalisation and westernisation in all sectors, i.e. learning, culture, religion etc. It seems that western culture such as individualisation, disco, pop-music, language, styles, food etc. are becoming an integral part of the city life. People from Ward 18 find London, New York and Tokyo nearer and more accessible than 80% of their own country’s land. People from this ward can exchange messages with any cities of the world in a matter of seconds while it takes days and months to send and receive messages in their own country. There is no doubt, as a city centre of the capital city of Nepal, Ward 18 of KMC is already part of the global village. According to local people, the process of globalisation is constantly destroying the local culture and tradition. A focus group discussion conducted at the Ward office expressed the following views:

This city was completely different as little as ten years ago. The process of globalisation is swallowing all existing local cultures and traditions. Local artists used to perform street cultural programme (Dabali) every week. These have now been taken over by disco halls and Rap music. Local foods and drinks are constantly disappearing from the local scene. People drink beer and Scotch whisky instead of home made alcohols (Jad and rakshi).

The process of globalisation superseding the remaining traces of the indigenous knowledge systems is having a profound impact on the socio-cultural aspects. In regards to this, the Ward Chairman of Ward 18 said:

To get a decent job in Kathmandu, candidate must have a high standard of English and in addition French, German and Japanese instead of Nepali language. (Long pause). There is no more local and national identity left. Because of that I am
encouraging local people to learn the local language, culture, tradition and religion and its importance in our day to day life. The ward has been conducting ‘Community Learning Centre (CLC)’ in Tamshipakha since 1999 under the joint arrangement and collaboration of Ward 18 and UNSECO. Since the beginning of year 2003, Centre is solely operationalised by the local resources and we are facing some financial difficulties to run the whole programmes smoothly.

Nepal has been a donor-dependent country since the early 1950s. Within these fifty years, Nepalese people have firmly developed a “dependency trend.” This dependency disposition was also reflected by the Ward Chairman during our conversation. According to him, UNESCO’s two years collaboration package ended in 2002, since, when the centre being fully dependent on local resources, its financial situation is not as good as it was. However, the centre is running efficiently up to this time, but they have to find donor agencies as soon as possible to keep the centre up to the current level. He also stated that it is quite difficult to raise funding locally; consequently instead he is looking for global donor agencies. This is what the Nepalese people have developed in their mentality. It is the effect of the donor-driven economy and a kind of ‘dependency syndrome’ that has been created by First World countries in Third World countries by means of globalisation, a new form of imperialism.

Currently, the Nepal government, in collaboration with UNESCO, is implementing 205 CLCs throughout the country aimed at promoting lifelong learning in the field of literacy. However, as indicated above by the pilot project; it is likely this project will end in a similar manner i.e. financial crisis within a few years. Nepal has experienced and suffered many times from the same crisis in the past five decades. People have failed to find local solutions because of this ‘dependency syndrome’. Currently, the Maoist rebels are determined to tear apart this illusion, but there are a thousands obstacles and imperialist powers in the way of their movement that are not easy to conquer.

Further, I found, the impact of globalisation is strongly embedded in local schools, colleges and shops. For instance, students wear western style of uniforms, while almost 90% of
local shops and restaurants have been set up in western and Indian styles. Even the only Aryuvedic Medical College of Nepal, which is in Ward 18, is more or less Indianised. The Government has given very little emphasis to the promotion of local Aryuvedic medicines; as a result, most of the Aryuvedic medicines currently in use in Nepal in general, and the Aryuvedic College in particular, are from India. In addition, almost all school text books used in class 4 and above are in American English (e.g. program instead of programme). I noticed that the influence of American English is very strong in all sectors of Nepal. I found that most of the young generation from Ward 18 are very keen to learn American English, culture, music and so on and have a dream to emigrate to America. The young generation is giving everything up, including respect for their parents and the extended family lifestyle. The trend to individualisation is rapidly increasing. This is the direct impact of American television and citizenship lottery programmes.

**Individualisation.** Already the process of individualisation is taking place in the capital city of Kathmandu. Women's Organisations of different political parties are fighting for equal rights and demanding an end to the patriarchal system. One way or other, all these processes encourage the progression of individualisation. On the one hand, individualisation is rapidly increasing and the extended family system and its values are slowly diminishing in the city of Kathmandu. This trend is stronger in people who migrated to Kathmandu valley from other parts of Nepal. On the other hand, Newari communities, originally from Kathmandu, are resisting the process of individualisation. They are educated and modern but they are very serious about their language, culture, tradition and religion. They prefer to use Newari language, instead of Nepali and English, in their community, even though Kathmandu, their home city, is already a global village.

**Standardisation.** Individualisation in society requires all societal norms and values to be standardised. Standardisation is an integral part of individualisation. Individualisation without standardisation can create more problems in society. In the context of Ward 18 of KMC, there is only individualisation taking place. No one has thought about the process of standardisation. The CLC programme that is currently running in Ward 18 has been trying to address this issue, but with only one CLC in Ward 18, this is not working.
Individualisation is a part of globalisation and to underpin this issue, it is important to localise the process of globalisation. In order to do this, Ward 18 needs more community learning centres and localised versions of lifelong learning to promote local knowledge and the process of standardisation.

Localisation. As discussed above, the donor agencies have been involved in the development process of the country, including education, for the last fifty years. However, very little has been achieved considering the amount of resource that has been used. The donor agencies, with their western notion of lifelong learning, have also been failing to grasp the needs at local levels. Furthermore, the agencies have sought to collaborate with the state in their programmes of lifelong learning. This has aided the central authority to further consolidate its sphere and degree of dominance. Thus, lifelong learning programmes designed by the donor agency and the state remain biased and superficial. It can be clearly seen that there is an agreement between the international elites and the ruling domestic elites in the process of planning, executing, transmitting and filtering knowledge at different levels to meet their own ends. For example; as discussed in chapters two, seven and eight, Nepal is implementing 205 ‘Community Learning Centre (CLC)’, ‘one CLC in each constituency’ on a phased basis, mainly targeting the eradication of illiteracy by means of lifelong learning. The project has been designed by Nepalese experts under the supervision of UNESCO, which UNESCO has considered as ‘bottom up’ and based on ground reality. In fact, this programme is far from the so-called ‘ground reality’. ‘One CLC in each constituency’ policy does not make any sense because in urban areas like Ward 18 of Kathmandu Metropolitan City, one CLC will not be able to take all the illiterates, while in rural areas such as Taplejung, one CLC will not cover the whole area of the constituency. Simply to reach the centre of a constituency on foot takes one to three days. This clearly highlights how the Nepalese policymakers plan policies and how donor agencies blindly accept them without any verification whatsoever. This is convenient, because there are always deals behind the scenes between donor agencies and the country’s social elites (Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar). In reference to this I have interviewed the following level of people and their responses are given below:
Respondent from UNESCO Office Nepal:

Q. What do you think of the CLC policy?
A. The policy is designed by the Nepalese experts and is 'bottom up'. We are fully confident that this project will achieve its aim.

Respondent (Brahmin) from the Ministry of Education – Non-Formal Section:

Q. What do you think of the CLC policy?
A. This policy is based on local needs and designed in accordance with geopolitical situation of the state. There are 205 election constituencies in the country and one CLC will be allocated to each constituency.

KMC Mayor (Newar):

Q. What do you think of the CLC policy?
A. The Government and UNESCO’s initiation of CLC and lifelong learning is really a positive step, but there are some complications both at national and local levels. The first thing, one CLC per constituency does not make any sense. The second problem is the question of long term sustainability; I mean we have donor dependent mentality. I am sure that CLC will only function with UNESCO’s presence. This type of incident is not new for Nepal.

The rulers and social elites of Nepal have a donor-dependent mentality and the donor agencies have been under the influence of the forces of globalisation, thus the lifelong learning policies designed by them seek to open up every sphere of social, economic and political life to the international markets. Localisation is the only possible alternative for the growth of capitalism where the productive resources in developed countries have
declined while the vast raw wealth and cheap labour of the developing and least developed countries remain to be exploited.

The CLC programme that was conducted in Tamshipakha is one of the pilot projects of Nepal. According to the Ward Chairman, they tried to localise this pilot project as far as possible. The project mainly covered adult literacy and income-generating skills such as tailoring, literacy and functional literacy classes for street beggars and the preservation and development of traditional Newari music. The centre is also conducting further and advanced level classes on the above topics. However, these steps are not enough to localise the concept of globalisation that is spreading as like wildfire throughout the ward.

Positive and negative impacts of globalisation in urban Nepal

Positive impacts of globalisation. Ward 18 as situated in the middle of the capital city, Kathmandu. It has all modern facilities and is well connected with other cities of the world. London, New York, Tokyo and other major cities of the world are only a matter of a day’s journey away. There are dozens of cyber cafes and private computer-training centres. Currently, there are two computer centres in Ward 18 quite successfully carrying out website based jobs such as website construction business at international level and typing jobs from the USA and UK. Local people can watch CNN and BBC news round the clock. In this respect I found no differences between Kathmandu and London.

Negative impacts of globalisation. As mentioned above, people are enjoying their daily life in a global environment, but it is important to find out what percentage of local people are using the facilities that are created by globalisation. How many people of Ward 18 are computer-literate and can afford to buy computers? Can all people of Ward 18 afford to buy television sets, and do they understand CNN and BBC news? These are the questions which I tried to explore during my field research.

In reality, the process of globalisation has created more problems in society. It has distinctly divided the rich and poor. Those who are rich take full advantage of information
technologies and globalisation and get richer but the poor people are getting poorer and are marginalised and excluded from the mainstream. I observed the local cyber café for five days, two hours everyday in different time settings i.e. morning, late morning, early afternoon, late afternoon and evening. During my observation, I found 60% of the clientele were foreigners (tourists), and the rest were sons and daughters of rich people who came to have fun. However, I never saw a Jyapu (Newar farmer), Kuchikar (Newar cleaner) or porters and their children in the so-called cyber café. Thus, globalisation is only for rich but not for the poor. It has created and is continuing to create divisions in community and society.

On the surface, Ward 18 appears to be deeply influenced by globalisation. However, fundamentally, it remains a pure Newari community which has strongly resisted the process of globalisation. But for how long? This question will be examined in chapter thirteen. In addition, I have tested my urban research findings in two research test sites, i.e. Ward 35, Koteswor, KMC and Dharan, which are given below.

Koteswor is another urbanised ward of Kathmandu Metropolitan City, and globalisation has affected almost all its social norms and values as in Ward 18. People have started to accept individualisation as a part of their life and there is no plan of standardisation in the ward. However, the majority of the population are standardised, educated professionals who have migrated from different parts of the country. According to neo-Marxist classification, these are middle class people and they can adapt to any circumstances. During my field research, I conducted two sessions of group discussion, with 10 people on the first occasion and 15 people on the second. Some important points that were highlighted in discussions are listed below:

- *We are quite aware of our society, people, culture, tradition and religion but because of our nature of work we do not have time for all these things.*
- *We know we have been driven by the forces of globalisation but we have to follow the trend otherwise we will be jobless and useless.*
• *We have to change according to global trend otherwise we will be isolated.*
  *That is why we are educated.*

There is no strong resistance to globalisation by this particular group of people. They are coping well with the process of individualisation. Those who are poor are getting poorer while these middle class professional and educated people are getting richer day-by-day. If this trend continues then sooner or later our society will be without ethics and morale, sterile. Even husband-and-wife relationships will pivot on money rather than love and trust.

Dharan is another urban research site where I have further tested my research findings. This city is also well connected with other global cities; however accessibility to other countries is less than in Kathmandu. As mentioned in chapter ten, the majority of the population of this city are ex-British Gurkha soldiers who are mainly from indigenous nationalities. Their lifestyle is very much influenced by westernisation. Local schools and colleges are especially westernised. The influence of western pop and 'Rap' music and the evidence of drug addiction are very high in the younger generation. Dharan has the worst record for teenage drug addiction and most of the addicts are sons and daughters of ex-British Gurkhas. This is one of the negative impacts of westernisation and globalisation because the children of ex-British Gurkhas have developed in a western environment rather than their own. One of my ex-Gurkha respondents told me that "*there is no learning culture in ex-British Gurkha community.*" Adultery is another burning issue of this city in general and the ex-British Gurkha community in particular. "*This is because of long separation of husband and wife*" (this is a view expressed by a British Gurkha soldier who was on leave during my research time). A Gurkha soldier gets only three years accompanied service in his fifteen years career. He also gets less pay and pension than his British counterparts. This is a classic example of the exploitation of the poor by a rich country and this is also a typical example of the negative impact of globalisation. In order to emerge from this type of exploitation, the recruitment of Nepalese people into the British Armed Forces needs to be seriously reviewed. The process is only creating a dependency.
mentality in Nepalese people in general and Limbu, Rai, Gurung and Magars etc. who tend to think of the British Army as their profession, in particular.

Although there is a great impact of globalisation, people from this city, including ex-British Gurkhas, are very keen to preserve and promote their language, religion, culture and tradition.

Stage three: rural Nepal and globalisation

Ward 4, Kunjari of Sikaicha VDC and globalisation. As mentioned in chapter eleven, Kunjari is a Limbu village and Limbu boys from this village normally join the British and Indian Armies at the age of 18 years. They consider the British and Indian Armies as their main profession and farming as an alternative. Brahmin, Kami and Damai are fully dependent on farming, and their traditional professions based on the Hindu castes, i.e. priest for Brahmin, metalworkers for Kami and tailoring for Damai. They normally do not join the British and Indian Armies. So far, the Brahmin, Chhetri, Kami and Damai ways of life are not affected by the process of globalisation in Kunjari.

Around the late 1980s, villagers discovered that their lands were more suitable for growing cardamom than maize and paddy. Since then they have switched from their traditional paddy and maize cultivation to cardamom farming. Cardamom is a cash crop and its exchange value is better than that of rice and maize. However, despite foreign employment and the cash crop farming, socio-economic conditions in Kunjari are no different to what they were thirty years ago. On the one hand, people -especially Limbus from this village- have been exploited by foreign employers since 1815. On the other, national and international traders have been exploiting the local cardamom farmers by fixing the price of raw cardamom.

Many Limbus from Kunjari were killed in the First and Second World Wars and in other conflicts, such as the Borneo Confrontation, the Falklands and the Gulf. All showed immense courage at all time and many earned high honours including the highest British
bravery medal the Victoria Cross (VC). In return, however they get inferior treatment, lower pay, pension and facilities than their British counterparts. If this was not so, they would become expensive and the British government would cease to benefit financially: a good example of market forces at work. Until today they are serving in the British Army as cheap soldiers. In addition, 99% ex-Gurkhas never return to their native village because they want to settle in cities and towns where at least they can enjoy the facilities they became used to while in the British and Indian Armies. Hence, Kunjari has never benefited from the British and Indian soldiers; instead, a few physically and mentally fit boys disappear from the village every year. This is a classic example of 'brain drain' and one of the negative impacts of globalisation. In regards to this one of my respondents told me that “one of the main factors of underdevelopment of Kunjari is the British and Indian armies.” He further explained “the British and India drain out our intelligent and physically fit boys every year and once they join the army they never return just like you and your father”. He added “because of this we suffer a lack of educated people, political leaders and so on in our community. We do not have a voice at the district headquarters. Consequently we are always marginalised and excluded from plans and projects. He has expressed here what I have noticed, observed and expressed in chapter one. No major changes have taken place in Kunjari, which remains very static. The one major change that has taken place in this village is cardamom farming which has replaced traditional farming. Boys and girls from Kunjari used to go to the neighbouring Indian state of Sikkim a few months every year to work as labourers in cardamom farming. They noticed a similar type of land and climatic condition where cardamom farming is flourishing. They tried it in Kunjari and got promising results. In a few years time, cardamom farming spread all over the region. However, national level traders -mainly from Illam- and international traders (from India) always exploit the local cardamom farmers by setting their own price for raw cardamom. It results in farmers having to sell their product below their investment levels: another classic example of the negative impact of globalisation at local level. Thus, Kunjari has been victimised by the forces of globalisation in various ways for a long time. For example, the people of Kunjari perceive higher and further education as irrelevant to their priority career, i.e. the ‘British and Indian Armed Forces’, so the majority of young boys stop learning after secondary school.
Individualisation. In Kunjari, I found the value of the extended family system strongly embedded in the whole village. Even those British and Indian ex-Gurkhas take their parents wherever they have settled and look after them until their deaths. In addition, Kunjari is a purely patriarchal village. Daughters normally get married and join their husband's family. In Kunjari, daughters are not expected to look after their parents and they do not have the right to inherit family property. There are some indications of modernisation in the younger generation, but until this occurs, there is no individualisation in Kunjari. It is quite clear that the Limbu and the Hindu culture, religion and tradition have so far prohibited the process of individualisation in Kunjari.

Standardisation. Even though there is no individualisation in Kunjari, people of this village have been exploited, marginalised and excluded by both domestic (Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar) and foreign (India and OECD countries) exploiters. Therefore, it is vital to standardise the individual and the local community to prevent exploitation. On the one hand, as I highlighted in chapter one, I found no government standardisation programmes had taken place in the past and nor at present. There is no plan for the future either. On the other hand, the CPN (Maoist) is conducting various standardisation programmes based on their party's line. They run programmes to educate local children, women, men and school teachers. They are standardising the local welfare system and social norms and values as well. One of my respondents (from an indigenous nationality) at local level told me:

*I think (5 seconds pause) the Jungali (Maoist) are doing well. There is law and order in our village. No corruption; no alcoholism; no gambling, no discrimination, no exclusion and so on. Villagers will only be in trouble when the Nepal Army patrols in the villages. Jungali people conduct literacy programmes and help villagers in farming. They eat what is available and do not demand for goats and chicken as the Nepalese Army do. (Long silence) Jungali are doing well.*
Localisation. As highlighted in chapter one, Kunjari is marginalised and excluded from the main stream of the country’s development process. There is no record of INGOs and NGOs investment in this village for development activities. Despite this, the village is not totally free from the positive and negative impacts of globalisation. Kunjari is mainly disadvantaged by two major global activities i.e.: Gurkha recruitment in the British and Indian Armies and cardamom trading. It is very important to localise the local people’s concept towards the Gurkha recruitment. At present, Limbu people assume that the British and Indian Armies are their traditional profession, which in reality drains away local human resources for foreign countries’ benefit. Localisation of the current concept is not that easy, but it can be done by educating people at local level. The second one, the localisation of cardamom trading is very difficult; it is under the control of global traders. Nevertheless, the impact can be limited by educating farmers, although, the process of learning itself must be localised and contextualised.

Positive and negative impacts of globalisation in rural Nepal

Positive impacts of globalisation. Kunjari has benefited from globalisation by the opportunity to join the British and Indian Armies. At present, there are nine persons serving in the British and Indian Armies (four in the British and five in the Indian Army). There are five British and Indian ex-Gurkha soldiers currently living in the village who draw an army pension, with the rest having migrated to other towns and cities, mainly to Sunsari, Jhapa, Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Darjeeling (India) and one (this Researcher himself) settled in the UK permanently. People are earning money, knowledge, skills and so on while they are in the army and on retirement they will at least able to settle in cities and towns where their offspring derive advantages from modern technologies and facilities. In addition, on the 30th of September 2004, the UK government granted the right to settle in the British Isles to ex-Gurkha soldiers, another positive benefit of globalisation. In addition, although there is exploitation in cardamom trading, nonetheless, the people of Kunjari also benefit from its cash values.
Negative impacts of globalisation. Every year a few numbers of young boys join the British and Indian Armies from Kunjari and do not return to their village. Because of this, Kunjari is suffering considerable socio-political and economic setback. People are not interested in learning especially at further and higher education levels, because a low-level military profession does not require any higher level of qualification. Thus, it has created very little learning culture in society. A low level of learning environment means there are less creative activities and less development taking place in society. That is what is happening in Kunjari. It does not make any difference to those who leave the village for good but its impact on remaining villagers has been negative. In addition, local farmers are not making satisfactory income from cardamom farming because of the direct exploitation and manipulation of the price of raw cardamom by national and global traders. Most of the time, farmers have to sell their product for less than their total investment. Neither the government nor farmers have a policy to prevent this monopoly. In particular Kunjari’s farmers do not have sufficient knowledge, or skills, to deal with the exploitation.

In conclusion, although Kunjari is one of the least developed rural villages, totally marginalised from the main stream of the government and donor agencies development plans and projects, the village is nevertheless touched by the negative and positive impacts of globalisation. Despite that, there is no such influence of globalisation in local culture, tradition and religion. These findings have been tested in seven different rural test sites and settings across the country.

I first tested my rural research findings in Ward 5 of Khokling village, constituency two of Taplejung district. As stated in chapter eleven, Khokling is more or less similar to Kunjari where the majority of population are Limbu, followed by Chhetri, Brahmin, Kami and Damai. Limbus of Khokling have mixed views on joining the British and Indian Armies. A few rich and educated Limbu of this village do not consider the British and Indian Armies as their traditional profession. I found the essential reason for this is that they are rich, educated and quite active in politics. For example, Mr Ambika Sanba, a Limbu from Khokling 5, held the District Chairman post in 1960s and was the Member of Parliament in 1990s for 12 years and also became the Minister of Environment and Population in the late
Despite that, the majority of Limbu, Kami and Damai are poor and some of them even do not have land for farming, thus the only alternative for them is to join the British and Indian Armies. Brahmins and Chhetris are mainly dependent on farming, low-level government jobs and teaching in local schools. Cardamom farming is quite popular in Khokling as well. However, the surplus value is systematically channelled into the pockets of local rich, national and international traders. Thus, on the one hand, poor Limbus are exploited by the British and Indian masters; on the other, poor farmers of the village are oppressed by the local rich farmers, national and global traders. Because of these two major impacts of globalisation, Khokling is getting poorer and the Maoists are becoming successful in influencing the local poor people. However, individualisation still has not arrived in the village. The extended family system is the main way of life in Khokling until today.

As mentioned above, on the one hand, currently, taking full advantage of this exploitation, the CPN (Maoist) has been conducting various programmes and learning processes i.e. basic literacy to advanced level political classes at grassroots level to break the local, national and global oppression. On the other hand, I did not find any government incentive to protect it from the negative impacts of globalisation.

My second rural test site comprised wards 4, 5 and 7 of Phungling VDC, district headquarters of Taplejung, which is also known as Phungling Bazaar. This is the only place in Taplejung where the government has overall control. These three wards are mainly occupied by local rich, business persons, government employees and rich farmers recently displaced by the Maoist movement from different parts of the district. The combination of these three wards, Phungling Bazaar, is the focal point of the district where all government offices and businesses are located. Poor farmers from all over the district come to sort out their problems and sell their farm products in Phungling Bazaar where they normally get exploited and oppressed. The profit of their labour is snatched by these rich farmers, traders and government employees by means of cheating, trading and corruption respectively. In comparison with other villages, Phungling Bazaar is more modern, western and globalised. This is because of the modern facilities such as
electricity, television and telephones. People from Phungling Bazaar do not consider the British and Indian Armies as their profession like the Limbu people of Kunjari and Khokling.

Pathri village is my third rural research site, which was almost a jungle in 1970s, with a few inhabitants scattered over a wide area. The jungle was dense and the people poor and mostly illiterate. They live in cowsheds and makeshift mud huts with a few wooden houses. Sending children to school meant fewer hands for the daily round of grinding and toiling in the paddy fields, herding buffaloes, cows and goats or chopping firewood to be sold at the local bazaar about two miles away. But the current situation is different because of the east-west highway that runs through the Pathri village. The small village soon began to swell with migrants arriving from all corners of eastern Nepal in search of free land. One of my respondents told me that "electricity finally arrived in the village in 1988, opening a new chapter in Pathri's development." Another villager said:

A primary school was built by a teacher from a nearby village (long pause) who had the foresight to perceive it as a profitable mission. Village children finally had the benefit of a school and it was a delight to see barefooted children in tatty clothes gingerly clutching their books running to and fro.

Three decades later, Pathri now boasts numerous English schools and a proper high school with boarding and other amenities. Small business, menial labour and farming are the main stay of the inhabitants. I found very few people, especially Limbu and Rai, interested in joining the British and Indian Armies. There are dozens of INGOs and NGOs are conducting various projects. The village is already in the process of globalisation.

I have further tested globalisation and its impacts in Naubise. As Naubise village is next to the capital city of Kathmandu, it is directly exposed to the process of globalisation. This village is quite popular for pilot projects of INGOs, NGOs and donor agencies but not for the British and Indian Armies. On the one hand, globalisation and individualisation are rapidly spreading in this area because of the direct influence of Kathmandu. On the other
hand, Maoists are also very active and strong in this area. They are standardising the local people’s understanding and thinking by various means i.e. literacy classes, person to person and door to door programmes. Two conflicting sets of ideas are growing simultaneously; however, Maoists are more active and systematic than the government. INGOs, NGOs and donor agencies are only interested in their own hidden agendas. As with other parts of the country, poor people and small-scale vegetable farmers of Naubise are exploited by rich farmers and traders who import low-quality Indian vegetables into the Kathmandu valley. But, there is no government plan for standardisation of people’s understanding and thinking to tackle the negative and positive impacts of globalisation. Instead, the CPN (Maoist) is making these issues as the springboard for the current revolution. (This will be dealt with in chapter fifteen).

Banethop Deorali Ward 7, mid-western Nepal is one of my test sites where I have tested my rural research findings. On the one hand, the Brahmin and Chhetri of this village are well educated. They consider learning an integral part of their lives. Quite a few Brahmin and Chhetri from this village hold high-level government posts and are thus in a position from where they can control knowledge and are able to facilitate the process of globalisation. On the other hand, Gurung and Magar communities do not consider learning as important for their life. Boys from these two castes rather join the British and Indian Armies after attending secondary level education. Poor families from all castes are exploited by rich farmers taking all surplus value of their labour and are marginalised from resources. For these reasons, a handful of rich people are getting richer and the majority of people are getting poorer. This is an indication of the negative impact of globalisation that has affected the social, political and economic situation of Banethop Deorali Ward 7 in particular and the whole country in general.

Bijouri VDC of Dang district, western Nepal is another research test site. As mentioned in chapter eleven, Tharus are the indigenous people of this valley with later migration by Brahmins and Chhetris from the west and Magars from north. There are Damai, Kami Sharki (tailor, metal smith, shoe maker – all untouchable castes), Muslims as well as other peoples also residing in this valley.
There has been quite some impact of globalisation, as the southern border of the district is connected to the Indian district of Gonda. Modern consumer goods are within easy excess and there is no shortage of such goods in the market. Since the source of knowledge has been the south, Indian culture is accepted to a large extent within the communities of the VDC. The process of globalisation has been Indo-centric. The financial attachment of Magars to India is and the cultural similarity existing between the Brahmins and Chhetri of Nepal and the Hindu society of neighbouring India has been the major cause in the erosion of resistance to Indo-centric dependency and globalisation. Thus, there has been the tendency to accept rather than resist to the globalisation process.

Gaura Gaon village, ward number 3 of Chandika VDC, Achham district, is my last rural research test site. It is situated in far-western Nepal. Geographically, this district is far away from the capital city and considered as one of the most rural places of Nepal. Currently, Achham district is also known as one of the strongholds of the Maoist forces. Despite that, dozens of global donor agencies have been inducing the capitalistic mode of production in the local areas. Thus, on the one hand, INGOs, NGOs and donor agencies are vigorously working to bring social change by means of the capitalistic mode of development processes. On the other hand, forces of the CPN (Maoist) are fighting to uproot the capitalist mode of production and seeking to establish of communism in society. (Chapter fifteen will cover this more fully). This is a classic example of conflict between the forces of communism and globalisation which are ideologically antagonistic.

In addition to Maoinisation and globalisation, Achham also suffers from Indianisation or the Indo-centric syndrome. As mentioned in chapter eleven, young people of Gaura Gaon are more interested to work in Indian cities as labourers, security guards (chaukidar), and waiters and so on, rather than continuing further and higher education. They believe that to work in India as a labourer, chaukidar, etc, is their culture and profession. Boys of sixteen years and above normally disappear from the villages into Indian cities. Because of this there is a great distortion in the learning environment and development processes. This is an example of the negative impacts of globalisation. The process of individualisation is
still at primary stage in Gaura Gaon. INGOs' and NGOs' development programmes can be taken as the process of standardisation but it has proved a failure as a result of the Maoist uprising. Standardisation can be found in the Maoists' programmes but the process of standardisation is more specific to their goals.

Conclusion

Globalisation is another name for imperialism and dependency; in that sense, it is not a new topic for a semi-colonial country like Nepal. Almost 200 years of semi-colonialism has converted self-dependent Nepal into a fully donor-dependent country and with no exception when it come to the country's learning system. As mentioned in chapter two, Nepal depends for 60% of its budget from global donor countries and agencies. However, Nepalese people have been resisting the process of globalisation ever since it started. The above research findings have also clearly reflected that the extended family system has rejected the process of individualisation in Nepalese communities across the country. The majority of Nepalese people just follow their culture, tradition, religion and way of learning as the local social norms and values are strongly embedded in society. Hence, in chapter thirteen, I will discuss the lifelong learning practice in Nepal based on my field research.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

LIFELONG LEARNING PRACTICE IN NEPAL

The practice of lifelong learning can be varied in accordance with the local context and needs. In the context of Nepal, most of the people whom I came across during my field research were fully aware of the importance of lifelong learning practice. However, every single person I met was dissatisfied with the Government’s current strategy in this area. Their main complaint was that the way it is practised in Nepal is not generating the knowledge to address the wide spread oppression, social exclusion and marginalisation of the poor, the lower castes and women. Thus, in this chapter, I mainly present the lifelong learning practice of Nepal which is divided into two parts namely; urban and rural. The later chapters of the thesis will cover the issues of oppression, social exclusion and marginalisation of poor, lower castes and women.

Lifelong learning practice in urban Nepal

Ward 18, Kathmandu Metropolitan City (KMC). Lifelong learning is not a new subject for Ward 18 of KMC. Informal, non-formal and formal; all three components of lifelong learning exist in the ward as an integral part of daily life.

Informal lifelong learning in Ward 18 of KMC is mainly guided by Hindu and Buddhist religions with the addition of the Newar ethnic culture and tradition. As mentioned in chapter eleven, the Kathmandu valley is known as the home of the Newar ethnic group. The Newar community is a mixture of both Hindu and Buddhist as they practise both religions. The Newar people’s way of life and day-to-day learning is hence mainly guided by these two religions and their philosophies. Their trust of religion, culture and tradition is absolute. In addition, every community in Nepal has its own ethnic values that play a
galvanising role in lifelong learning; this fact can be seen in Kathmandu. For example, the Ward 18 of KMC is a part of the Kathmandu city, globalised like Bombay, London and Tokyo, but its inhabitants i.e. Newar people and their customs and their informal lifelong learning have not yet bear affected. An old local woman from ward 18 told me that “she learned how to live, deal and lead life from her elders based on their ‘suggestions and sayings’ (Arti and Upadesh). She practised and still is practising these ‘Arti and Upadesh’ in day-to-day life. She further, expressed, “learning never ends and it is lifelong process. ‘Arti and Upadesh’ that are passed down from generation to generation and guide you on the do’s and don’ts within the processes of lifelong learning.” I also discussed these issues with class nine and ten students of the local schools. According to them, everyday they learn something important from their parental ‘Arti and Upadesh’. In the long run, parental ‘Arti and Upadesh’ is highly influential and plays a vital role in their lives. This varies from one caste to another and according to to their traditional occupations. When I asked a Newar Kuchikar (cleaner by caste) about this, his answer was “I am still not allowed to learn and gain knowledge which is wholly based on a need to know by the higher caste.” He further added that “because of this attitude and levels of understanding are different to those of upper castes people.” This is simply because he is a cleaner by caste. All forms of learning and knowledge in Hindu society are controlled and filtered by the upper caste and the above expression of opinion from a Newar cleaner by caste is an example of it. The social structure based on caste system and division of labour functions according to ancient values when it comes to informal learning in Nepal. This has maintained the closed characteristics of the society, as I highlighted in the previous chapters. Following which, the framework of social structure, social stratification and its learning values can be held to be accountable as the cause of resisting the forces of globalisation. These issues will be dealt with separately in chapters fourteen, fifteen and sixteen of this thesis.

In the context of non-formal lifelong learning, the ward has been operating CLC in Tamshipakha since 1999 run jointly by Ward 18 and UNSECO. Nepal and UNESCO are applying non-formal lifelong learning specifically to address the needs of ‘basic and functional literacy’. In order to practice non-formal lifelong learning and achieve its goal
the government plans to establish 205 CLCs, one in each constituency. The CLC of Tamshipakha, Ward 18 is one of the pilot projects of UNESCO. Since the establishment of the centre, its staff and the ward chairman have given their full effort to make the project a success. According to them, the centre is achieving all its goals without any hindrance.

During my research time, the centre was conducting programmes such as: Education and Communication (Literacy: awareness/civic sense and Post Literacy: continuing education—both 9-month courses) and Awareness, Vocational and Skill Training (capacity networking, health and sanitation, stone carving and Bansuri/Dhime/Pachhima\textsuperscript{25}: skill development training). In addition, a few external long term technical courses such as computer and TV/Radio maintenance were also provided. This is another example of learning and knowledge controlled from above where the government and donor agencies are implementing learning according to their wish and need but not in the interest of grassroots level people.

Nevertheless, literacy and post literacy programmes of CLC Tamshipakha were found to be very impressive, but an interesting aspect I noticed was that all learners were female. Regarding this, the programme coordinator and facilitator explained that the centre is still not fully successful in imparting literacy education to male illiterates because they refuse to attend the literacy class with the womenfolk. They think it is humiliating and insulting to learn along with the opposite gender. This is strongly influenced by the Hindu religion which implies it is not proper to treat the male and female equally. I, along with a CLC staff member, visited a local Newar farmer’s (Jyapu)'s house to find out why he had refused to attend the literacy class. His wife was attending the literacy class while I was on my field research. According to her he (her husband) is illiterate but refuses to attend the literacy class to avoid humiliation. The first time I only spent a short period of time, during which I asked him whether he could read or not. He pretended that he could read and write and therefore did not see any need of literacy class for him. I could sense a feeling in his expression so I intentionally diverted the topic to prevent him from any embarrassment. We talked over a few other subjects such as his vegetable farming and his children’s

\textsuperscript{25} Newari traditional musical instruments.
education. I enquired whether he could sell me a few fresh cauliflowers. He told me that "they are not yet ready", I would have to wait at least a week to buy a good standard of cauliflower. I agreed with his proposal and arranged timing for our next meeting. On this next meeting I went alone and bought some vegetables. He also gave me a cauliflower as a gift and told me that it is good I came alone this time. His reasons were as follows:

I cannot stand in front of the lady who came with you last week. Two years ago she came to our house to find out our literacy standard and enrolment for the literacy class. I pretended that I was literate and all the males from this village did the same. During our discussion, she gave me a piece of paper to read out loud. I was so nervous. I looked at my wife and she was also in the same state. Suddenly, she said, "to read it, you first have to hold it the other way round". That meant I was holding the piece of paper upside down. I was so embarrassed by my activity; she did not embarrass me further. Instead, she encouraged me to attend the literacy class but I refused. My wife joined the class and she can now read and write, which is good. However, (he further expressed) according to my religion (Hindu), it is a sin to be inferior in front of women. There is no way, I am going to attend the literacy class at the CLC where all learners are female and even the teacher is female. They are not equal.

He meant the male gender is more important than female. To learn to read and write at his age with the local women in the same class with a lady teacher would be humiliating and insulting - to him and all the men-folk. He has a strong belief in the Hindu religion and its norms and values, such as a man being able to marry a thousand women and it being a sin to be lower than woman. It has clearly reflected how strongly the Hindu religion, culture and tradition have affected the human thinking and learning process. In this aspect, the Hindu religion is resisting and rejecting the western form of lifelong learning practice in Nepal.

In addition, the Hindu religion also developed ‘acceptance and dependency mentality’ that has created a lack of confidence in Nepalese people, especially in the Brahmin caste. If
donor agencies hand over the project to the government or local authorities then they start to panic and look for another donor agency instead of generating local resources as an alternative. This is due to Hinduism and the principles of Brahmins. As I highlighted in chapters two and five, according to the Hindu caste system, the main occupation of Brahmins is to read the Hindu scriptures, become priests, advisors to the rulers and live on donation (dan) money. Thus, Brahmins have developed a mentality of acceptance of dan and depend on it. In Nepal, advisors to the King, top bureaucrats and political leaders are all Brahmins and their donation 'acceptance and dependency' culture have strongly influenced the country's budget planning (as 60% of the country's budget comes from donor agencies) while also affecting the lifelong learning practice.

In the long run, an 'acceptance and dependency mentality' has evolved in every citizen's mind in Nepal. As a consequence, the country is suffering from 'acceptance and dependency' syndrome. For example: the CLC of Tamshipakha where UNESCO played a major role in the initial stage and currently the sole responsibility of the centre has been handed over to the local body. The programme coordinator told me that the centre is already suffering from financial problems and are looking for more from donor agencies. Furthermore, she highlighted that the standard of teaching and learning is also going down due to the shortage of resources. The same CLC was doing well and generating resources from local sources as well while UNESCO was a partner. Now however, it is suffering from both management and financial difficulties since being taken over by the local body.

This is not a new topic in the Nepalese context. Donor agencies have coordinated many projects and programmes including lifelong learning institutions such as the Jiri, Jumla and Uttar Pani vocational colleges and a few other technical colleges across the country. These learning institutions did very well while the management and finance remained in the hands of donor agencies. Once handed over to the Nepalese government, the institutions failed to function well. Both management and financial problems have arisen. This is because of the Nepalese 'acceptance and dependency mentality' generated by the Hindu religion, culture and tradition which is very strong in Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars who hold the top posts (royal priest, advisors to the king, heads of the army and police, policy makers,
etc.) in the country. Thus, the 'acceptance and dependency' tendencies are the major factors among others that prevent the western mode of lifelong learning practice from being successful in Nepal. The following is the expression of one of the learning facilitators of the Tamshipakha CLC which clarifies why the Nepalese authorities are interested in western aid rather than the local resources:

*This CLC was handed over to the local authority last year. Since then the management team is not feeling comfortable. They are desperately looking for a donor agency. I do not know why? We have to learn how to sustain ourselves using local resources. It is not always possible to get aid from donor agencies. I think dependency on donor agencies at all times is a bad habit. We can run this CLC without the help of outsiders, but our management team is accustomed to spending western money, so they are not interested in running the project with the local resources.*

Until this time, Tamshipakha CLC is functioning well; however the 'acceptance and dependency mentality' of the local management team, which is seen to be normal in the Nepal context, could lead it to collapse.

On the other hand, traditional Newari music skill development training is doing well at Tamshipakha CLC. Both old and young generations were developing musical skills and preserving their local culture. At the same time, they were generating money by performing traditional music at wedding parties and other traditional functions. This is a classic example of a local resource-generating process directly attributable to the development of learning and skills. This can be done more effectively by means of lifelong learning which is UNESCO's main interest and its principal objective in the context of Nepal.

In the case of formal lifelong learning in Ward 18 KMC, there are five secondary and five primary schools and an Ayurvedic Medical College with Teaching Hospital. This Ayurvedic medicine practice is based on the Hindu religion, culture, scripture and
philosophy and until today its practice is controlled by the Brahmins. Regarding this, I asked a few questions with one of the practitioners who is also Brahmin and his answer is given below:

**Researcher:** Why the majority of practitioners are Brahmins?

**Respondent:** Because, the Ayurvedic medicine is one of the disciplines of the Hindu religion. Names of the medicines and the ways of the treatments are listed in the Hindu scriptures. These are in Sanskrit which is initially only Brahmin could read. This is the main reason why the majority of practitioners are Brahmins.

The above answer has clearly highlighted how the learning and knowledge is controlled from the above, by the Brahmins in the formal learning sector.

The Government introduced the NESP into the formal learning sector in 1971 and EFA in 1990 into the country’s education system and Ward 18 of KMC have been affected by these processes. Unlike the NESP, the EFA 1990 was based on the framework of lifelong learning where it covered formal, non-formal and informal learning. Although both programmes were based on the western learning concept, the Government did not face any setback during the implementation phase. However, the former project completely failed while the latter ended without any satisfactory achievement. Hence, the follow up programme of EFA 2000 introduced in the country in 2000 is currently in practice. Its first target is to ‘eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005’ the prospect for which already looks bleak. There is no difficulty in achieving this aim in urban areas like Ward No 18 of the KMC, Koteswor and Dharan, but is impossible in rural settings like Kunjari, Taplejung (my rural research site) by the year 2005. According to one of the Headmaster of the local school, there is no problem in “eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 in Ward 18 of KMC as targeted by the EFA 2000.” However, teachers and students were dissatisfied with the distortion caused by the current political turmoil (this will be discussed further in chapter fifteen). I do agree with the teachers and students as I too noticed that the learning practice was quite
heavily disrupted by frequent school closures and general strikes instigated both by the Maoists and the Parliamentary Parties (more on this in chapter fifteen) in the formal learning sector.

My discussions with the local teachers of Ward 18 KMC has highlighted that the NESP has only distorted the smooth flow of the country’s learning system. For this reason, the country is still suffering from the NESP trauma. According to them, “the nation tried to improve primary and secondary learning system by introducing many of the programmes offered by the donor countries. But, until today, the formal learning system of the nation-state is in the doldrums.” The discussion group suggested that it is important to find out the root causes of these failures. As they said, “the way we practise Hindu religion is the main factor preventing the western concept of lifelong learning practice from achieving any degree of success in Nepal.” I also presented similar ideas in chapters two and five. The discussion group further hypothesised that the “Hindu religion, culture and tradition develops a kind of social exclusion of thought to lower castes, and marginalisation indigenous nationalities and women which is perpetuated the current civil war.” Thus it emerges as another factor that prevents and rejects the western concept of lifelong learning in the country. In the context of policy and practice, they said “policy makers make policy to make donors happy not for implementation, practice and to achieve the aim.”

In regard to the formal and non-formal lifelong learning policy and practice, a central level Maoist leader said to me, “the Maoists considered the western concept of formal and non-formal lifelong learning to be an integral part of globalisation, in other words a new form of imperialism and capitalist form of learning that contains capitalist culture and tradition which is a danger to their movement.” These issues will be covered in chapter fifteen.

Koteswor, Ward 35, KMC. I have tested my urban research findings in Koteswor, Ward 35 of KMC. As described in chapter eleven, ward 35 is slightly different to Ward 18, KMC. Even though, it is a part of the Kathmandu city, Koteswor is not so heavily populated by the Newari ethnic group as Ward 18. It is a multicultural ward where people from across the country with different religions have settled. Even so, informal lifelong
learning practice is based on the philosophy of Hindu religion. Although the people deny and do not practise Hinduism, the Hindu philosophical influence is evident in all strata of Nepalese society. My discussions with both male and female groups have highlighted this as follows:

Informal learning is as important as formal and non-formal. In the extended family system in Nepal, family ties are very strong where learning continues at all times. Elders verbally pass down knowledge gathered from various sources mainly from Hindu and Buddhist philosophies. Informal learning mainly takes place in the evenings when the whole family gathers at home after a day’s work. This type of learning is an on-going process within the Nepalese extended family system. In the Nepalese context informal learning guides the daily life. Consciously or unconsciously we do practise what our elders normally preach.

At present, there is no non-formal learning in Ward 35. According to the ward chairman, he plans to run a few literacy classes but his own future is not certain because of the current political instability. He is not elected but appointed by the political party that is currently in power, hand-picked by the King. His comments that he “could be replaced by another chairman any moment and his plans may differ to mine. This is the great dilemma we are facing currently because of the ongoing civil war in the country.” I informed him of Ward 18’s CLC project and its success amid the civil war. In response, he said, “that CLC project could collapse any time, currently it is not a success and certainty in this country, even the nation is on the verge of collapse.” He further expressed that as a local he has realised that there is a need of literacy classes in the ward, especially in carpet factories where almost all labourers are from the hills and are illiterate. According to him, he is exploring the availability of foreign resources, but foreign donor agencies are not interested in investing money due to the current political unpredictability.

In the field of formal learning, there are two private nursery schools, one government and seven private primary, one government and ten private secondary, and two private higher secondary schools and a degree level college. I visited all the schools and observed five
classes randomly from each school. The practice of formal learning is no different to Ward 18 i.e. control from the above, narrow and mainly focused on economic aspects of learning only. I also found the boys and girls almost equal in numbers, thus indicating that EFA 2000's target of elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary schools by 2005 in Kathmandu valley possible. However the situation in rural areas is just the opposite, as will shown later in this chapter.

**Dharan Municipality.** As mentioned in chapter eleven, Dharan Municipality is situated in the ‘Eastern Region’ of Nepal. In the economic and information technology sense it is not different to any modern cities of the third world. It is also a multicultural and multiracial city where people practice the Kirat, Hindu, Buddhist and Moslem religions. As mentioned earlier, informal learning is mainly carried out as in any extended family system, communities and societies and is mainly based on religion. However, in comparison to other religions, the Hindu religion still retains a predominant influence in informal lifelong learning practice in Nepal.

Non-formal learning in Dharan is regarded as a low priority both by the Government and the local people. Dharan Municipality authorities were also found to be unaware of the importance of non-formal learning in their localities. The appointed Mayor was strongly vociferous; "I do not see non-formal/adult education as that important for Dharan. Currently, drug addiction is the burning issue among us." Also there is no government provision of CLC for Dharan. The Government and the Mayor of Dharan did not realise that they can diffuse the burning issues of drug addiction among young generation by means of non-formal/adult education and lifelong learning. The District Education Officer (DEO) said "we have not allocated CLC for Dharan as the majority of population are literate. Instead CLC programmes have been allocated to educationally more deprived areas." The DEO's idea I found was very genuine. However, the Government Officers are very good in telling things to people regardless of the realities. In the case of local people, they are not even aware of non-formal education. As stated in chapter eleven, the majority of local people are ex-British Gurkha soldiers. There are many records of ex-Gurkha soldiers' contribution in informal, non-formal and formal learning in the past. But, in
Dharan it is totally different. Gurkha soldiers settled in Dharan normally end up working abroad within a few months of their retirement from the British Army. Skills they learned while in the British Army are more oriented for a developed western country and, of equal importance to them are that they get the pay they expect, which is definitely more than they would ever get in Nepal. Because of the global impact, today's ex-Gurkhas have a different mentality to that of their forefathers. Despite this, I found non-formal learning conducted by organisations and associations such as the 'Women Skills Arts Centre (Nari Silpakala Kendra)', Women’s Association, ex-British Gurkhas' Wives Association and Trade Unions, etc. Among them, only the Women Skills Arts Centre conduct regular learning sessions and the rest carry out non-formal learning once in while i.e. when they get funding. However, non-formal learning as conducted by the local organisations, are structured and controlled from above. It is only predetermined on economic grounds thus neglecting the vital social issues such as gender disparity and indigenous religions and cultures.

Dharan is also excellent in the field of formal learning. There are some well renowned educational institutions, such as degree level colleges in Arts, Humanities, Law, Science and Engineering. There is an independent university medical college with a modern and sophisticated teaching hospital. There are more than two dozen government and privately run schools within the perimeter of Dharan Municipality. Disruption in formal learning practice is similar to Wards 18 and 35 KMC due to the current political uncertainty.

In the course of my field research, I conducted a series of talk programmes and discussions with the local school teachers and students. In the processes, I found formal learning in Dharan was no different to those Wards in 18 and 35 of Kathmandu Municipality City. Male and female in all formal learning institutions are almost equal. Thus, there is no difficulty in achieving EFA 2000’s target of ‘the elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005’. However, teachers of Dharan in general believe that “the government policy is not for implementation: it is only for show and remains in the office of the Planning Commission.” One of the teachers said “On the one hand, Nepalese policies including learning policy are not for practice; they are only foreign aid begging
"On the other hand, there is no control and measure. For example, the private boarding schools do whatever they like: the government policy does not affect them." The other main weakness of the government is that there is no consistency in policy; it fluctuates according to the donor agencies' interest.

Lifelong learning practice in rural Nepal

Ward 4 Kunjari, Sikaicha Village Development Committee (VDC). Kunjari is the rural research site where I conducted my research. It is one of the most remote villages of Nepal, mainly occupied by Limbus. Even though Kunjari is a Limbu village and their religion is Kirat, they are not completely free from the influence of the Hindu religion, although it must be said it is not as much or as strong as in Ward 18 KMC. However, the Limbu communities' informal teaching and learning processes are based on both Kirat and Hindu philosophies. Informal learning mainly takes place in extended family system and communities. As I mentioned above, their way of life is guided by the Hindu norms and values; nevertheless, their inner feeling about their Kirat religion, culture and tradition has not been affected by the Hindu religion. It is absolute and has not been able to be influenced by the strong forces of globalisation. The knowledge gained in such an environment by means of informal learning is the main resistance to the western concept of lifelong learning. For example, Limbu boys join the British Army and learn the English language and culture and spend a minimum of 15 years with British people; however their cultural feelings and beliefs never change, whereas their children brought up in a completely western environment are totally different. They prefer western culture and modern western music to Nepalese. This is highly noticeable in Dharan where the majority ex-British Gurkhas are settled. This is due to the simple fact that these Gurkha children were deprived of the communal environment in which their parents grew up. We can take a classic example from Ward 18 KMC where Newar children are totally different although the ward is already within a global village. Hence, informal lifelong learning that Nepalese people practise in daily life plays a great role in their lives.
For example, until today, the main stream of Kunjari's life style is fully guided by informal learning as practised from cradle to grave. Their knowledge of farming to management of the extended family is all based on informal learning handed down from generation to generation. Whatever they learn they practise throughout their life and pass the accreted knowledge to the youngsters by means of informal learning. As I mentioned in chapter one, until recently Kunjari depended totally on informal learning to gain any form of knowledge. Neither the government nor any donor agencies foresaw any necessity to implement any learning projects in this village. Kunjari is one of the villages that has been totally marginalised and excluded from the centre because the majority of people from this village are Limbus, an indigenous nationality with no voice at the centre where the power lies. In order to explore this issue, I carried out interviews and discussions with local people and an interview with Ward Chairman as follows:

Researcher: When I wanted to know even a simple issue about this village; the people directed me to see you. Is there any reason behind that?

Chairman: There is no particular reason. You know, they know and everybody knows how much I know about this village. You, I and all grew up in this village.

Researcher: Yes, but, I left this village more than twenty years ago while you spent a longer time in this village and are older than me. There was not even a school when you reached school age. Hence, can you please tell me how you gained all this knowledge without attending any formal education?

Chairman: It is not necessary to attend formal education to gain knowledge. You can learn by work, experience, mistakes, difficulties, pain, sorrow, parents, senior citizens, juniors, friends, wife, and children, religions, etc. There are many more ways to gain knowledge. You only need to go to school to earn certificates. People from this village survived many hundred years without any schooling. Even now older generations like me are illiterate. Some people can hardly write their name even but we know how to cultivate, cure diseases using local
herbal medicines and live, bring up children and manage the whole village.

As highlighted above, cultural knowledge and school certificates based knowledge are two different things. On the one hand, cultural knowledge can be gained in a community and society at any time in the course of one's life span. On the other hand, people go to schools, colleges and universities in order to earn degrees and certificates. It could be either formal or non-formal, but it is structured by the promoter, introducing artificiality in accordance to their interest. Thus it is also called artificial knowledge. For example, lifelong learning has been artificialised in order to promote a knowledge economy by OECD countries.

According to the villagers, Kunjari is virtually neglected by the Government especially in the field of non-formal learning. The village was only allocated a short term literacy course last year (2002) because there were no takers from other villages. In this regards, the local teacher who has spent twenty years in the village said "I was surprised to see the literacy programme in the village. I personally applied many times for the funding for adult education and a literacy programme but results were always negative because this village had no voice at the headquarters. There is no voice since almost all youths join the British and Indian Armies. The government bureaucrats have a tendency to neglect the voiceless villages."

Two local students who have passed Grade 10 conducted a four week long literacy course. During my interaction with local people, they told me that they learned the Devanagari alphabet (Ka, Kha ...), the numerals 1 to 100 and how to write their name. Some then told me that they have forgotten all that they had learned because they do not need modern writing and counting in the field. Most of the time villagers use a traditional way of counting which they learned through informal learning. One of the villagers even told me that signing a name is more time-consuming than a simple thumbprint, so he always uses the latter. Thus, on the one hand, the policy and practice of non-formal learning of Nepal is inadequate and on the other, traditional informal lifelong learning is rejecting and resisting.
modern forms of lifelong learning. In this sense, the government's non-formal learning policy is non-directional and out of context. Whatever the local people learned through the non-formal session could not be used anywhere. In the end, they learned and forgot, according to the local Maoist cadre:

The government spends only leftover money after corruption in the field of development, including learning, just to create an illusion for people. There are no aims and objectives. The Maoists have also started non-formal classes in Kunjari. The main aim and objective of their non-formal learning is to liberate the oppressed people from the oppression. He further added their programme is bottom up not controlled from the above.

Normally the Maoists conduct their non-formal lessons during the door-to-door programme. This will be covered in chapter fifteen.

Formal learning was introduced in Kunjari in 1967 in a bamboo makeshift hut by an ex-British Gurkha soldier. Initially, he was the only teacher to more than 150 students. On the first day the villagers constructed a bamboo makeshift hut as a school while the teacher was registering the students' names in an attendance record book in the far corner of the field. My grandfather took me to this teacher and registered my name. There was neither curriculum nor books. We had to take a wooden plank and chalk stones with us to read and write. In this manner, the practice of formal learning started in Kunjari. Since that time, 37 years ago, the school has been upgraded to secondary level. Until recently the local people, despite their meagre income, funded it. This also means that it is less affected by the 'acceptance and dependency mentality'. This is because of the lesser influence of Hindu religion in Limbu communities. On the one hand people from this village are dedicated to formal education i.e. contributing resources in order to run the local school at their own expense. On the other hand, due to the poor economic condition, people from this village are not in a position to send their children for formal learning. In regard to this issue, one of my respondents, a local school teacher, told me that:
Parents are not cooperating and supporting their children in learning. Parents are happy to send their children in class one, but after class two onwards parents stop sending their children to school. This is because, children of age eight and nine are able to do minor chores i.e. baby sitting, cow tending, collection of fallen tree branches for cooking and so on.

These are the practical issues that are more important for parents than learning and are highly influenced by their poverty. Older children tend to be seen as economic units, contributing to the family income. Once parents are conscious of and understand the importance of learning, things will start to change in society with the student dropout rate hopefully minimised. There is no doubt that lifelong learning plays a vital role in changing human behaviour, understanding and thinking. It also generates power and knowledge, which are important elements for human beings in the search for success in society.

As mentioned in chapter one, the literacy rate among adults and children is below the national average level. However, there is no official record showing the literacy rate in the VDC office, which was transferred to the district headquarters in 2001 in the fear of the Maoists. There are only 20 people who have passed high school exams, 4 intermediate and only one (this Researcher) that has completed the bachelor's level. Although there is a secondary school in the village, no one passes the government examinations (SLC exams). The last record reveals that not a single candidate had passed the tenth grade exam.

Despite the government's literacy promise to educate everybody in Nepal, 95% of girls from this village (Kunjari) do not have the time for school. Formal education for girls is not a priority in this village, owing to the general mentality of a population that perceives educating boys as being important and a priority which will ultimately be of more profit compared to the education of girls. Thus, it is unlikely to achieve EFA 2000's target of 'eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary schools by 2005'. Regarding this issue I interviewed the local secondary school Headmaster which is given below:
Researcher: Your briefing on education policy and practice of Nepal was very comprehensive. As you said that there is no relationship between education policy and practice. Can you give me an example of it?

Headmaster: There are thousands; the current one is 'the elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary schools by 2005' which is impossible in rural Nepal where 87% of the country comprises rural areas. This is only possible in urban areas i.e. in Kathmandu city. Now we can clearly see the gap between policy and practice in this example. The Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education formulated the policy and practice just to make donors happy and get money. They never ever explored the ground realities. This is why the Nepalese people are suffering from the current conflict.

Researcher: Very interesting.

Headmaster: If you don't mind I would like to give you two more examples which we are currently facing.

Researcher: Please go ahead.

Headmaster: The Ministry of Education and UNESCO came up with the policy of ethnic language to be taught in schools about five years ago. But this is not happening in practice. A few weeks ago, the local Maoists have asked us to teach and promote ethnic languages within six months. We do not have the necessary resources. I don't believe that the Maoists will provide necessary resources either.

Researcher: So, what is the other one?

Headmaster: The Ministry of Education has implemented a policy of using English to teach sociology in schools six months ago in mid 2003, but already by February 2004; there is neither sign of the English copy of the single version sociology book nor any suggestion as to when this might appear. Students were supposed to be learning sociology from mid 2003 as per the government policy. In six months time students have to sit their examinations. They will get questions in English and their answer must be in English. Look ... (pause) where
is policy and where is practice. Those who are in Kathmandu make policy only taking into consideration Kathmandu city, and completely forget the rural Nepal and its difficulties. They think only Kathmandu is their Nepal.

In addition, formal learning practice in Kunjari is affected by various factors such as economics, religion, globalisation and the current civil war. These issues will be dealt later in this thesis.

**Ward 5, Khokling VDC.** I have tested my rural research findings in Ward 5 of Khokling. People from this village are practising all forms of learning i.e. informal, non-formal and formal. As in Kunjari, informal learning is mainly guided by religions and local culture and tradition. The practice of informal learning is stronger in the wider society than the formal and non-formal learning practice. There was no single record of non-formal practice being carried out in the past. The literacy rate in Khokling village is approx 30% however; there is no reliable data available. In the field of formal learning as at 2003, there were in total 43 SLC examinations passed by persons in the village, of whom 20 were Limbus (3 female), 20 Chhetris (5 female) and 3 from Dalits (all male). Three people have passed the Certificate Level exams, and 3 students were undergoing BA courses. There is one secondary school where the ratio of boy to girl is more or less equal. This is an unusual phenomenon in any patriarchal Nepalese society and in a rural village such as Khokling. This is what I found different to Kunjari. The main reason for this difference seems to be that all the boys attend private schools in district headquarters and girls the local government schools, closer to home and cheaper. They can attend school at convenient hours of the day and for shorter periods. I have discussed the issue with two local schoolgirls very informally. The following is an account our discussions:

I was heading towards the nearest village to meet my childhood friend after spending the whole day with school teachers and students. On the way to my friend's house, I met two schoolgirls, about 13 or 14 years old, who were also from the same village. During our walk and talk, I asked them about their village,
school, parents, brothers and sisters. In the meantime, I highlighted how lucky they were in comparison to forty years ago when schooling was beyond the imagination of girls: they were not even allowed reading and writing at home. As a result, almost all women of my age are illiterate throughout the Nepal. They immediately expressed their views, such as, “we are luckier than your generation’s girls but you know sir, our brothers are in better schools i.e. English boarding schools in the district headquarters and we are in the local school because we are daughters. The government (sarkar) only makes policy (niti) but never transform into practice. Therefore, the current situation is no different than 40 years back if you compare in this way sir.”

On the one hand, throughout the country, parents treat their daughters as second class and give them less priority, while sons get first priority and the parents are willing to pay expensive tuition fees to the extent of selling their property to meet private education fees, in some cases. This is a new issue added into a patriarchal society and is the very reason the Maoist opposes the private school system and has closed down many such private schools throughout the country (this issue will be dealt in chapter fifteen). On the other hand, the government has formulated one policy after another on the equal rights of sons and daughters; however, those policies were not for implementation, instead they were written only to get foreign aid and start another phase of corruption in the country.

The policy of teaching ethnic language in primary schools was announced in Nepal immediately after the world education forum 2000 which was held in Dakar, but the government never brought it into practice. The Headmaster said “recently, the Maoists demanded to start teaching the local ethnic language within six months time”. In addition, “they demanded not to teach sociology in English because the English language is another form of imperialism. Anyway we are not teaching sociology in English, because we do not have books in English or qualified teachers to teach sociology in English.” Thus, the above data has clearly indicated that the Nepalese government makes policies in order to get funds but not for implementation.
Wards 4, 5 and 7, Phungling VDC. As mentioned in previous chapter, Phungling is the district headquarters of Taplejung and wards 4, 5 and 7 where the bazaar (town) is located. People from these three wards are more exposed to modern technologies than rest of the people in the district. There are a few private English boarding schools and government schools. The government schools within the perimeter of district headquarters are better facilitated than those in villages. However, these schools are also not able to start teaching ethnic languages because there are no books and teachers. In addition, the government’s recent policy of teaching sociology in English has created another problem in schools i.e. no text books in English. One of the secondary school headmasters of Phungling bazaar said “no one really knows about the government policy. The policy makers never thought about the realities of the whole Nepal. As a consequence, currently students are suffering. In the long run both people and nation will suffer.” Regarding this issue, the DEO expressed his views in the following terms:

These policy makers always bring problems not policy, with middle level employees sandwiched from both sides. I have spent quite a long time in the teaching field and I know exactly how the practitioners are facing difficulties.

At present, all formal learning institutions within the periphery of district headquarters are overcrowded because of the civil war, social mobility and patriarchal system. In consequent, there is a fair amount of disruption in formal learning sectors. The children of military and police personnel along with the children of the displaced people overcrowd the government schools. Similarly, male students from different parts of the district overcrowd private schools in the search of quality education. In rural Nepal girls are mainly marginalised in formal learning. Therefore the Government target of ‘elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005,’ especially in rural areas is almost impossible. Regarding this, I carried out a discussion session with a group of parents and their answers are listed below:
Researcher: Why are only your sons in private English school while your daughters are not even in the Government school where they can get cheap education?

Group: Why are you asking this question of us? You know the answer why our sons are in English private schools and daughters are not even in the cheap Government school. If you want us to answer then these are our reasons. Sons look after parents, property and they have to keep the family name up in society. Where as in the case of daughters, they will get married and become another person’s property. It is waste of money to invest in a daughter’s education.

Researcher: I thought things had changed since I left this place. As I assumed, nowadays, there was no difference between sons and daughters.

Group: Yes, you are right, things have changed since you left this place, but no one can change our mind, religion, culture and tradition. It will remain the same forever.

Researcher: However, your sons currently in English private schools learn everything in English language. One important thing is language that always carries culture. In this sense, when your sons come out from school they could become Anglophiles.

Group: This is impossible (strong resistance from the floor). Whenever, our sons are on school holiday, they normally learn and practise our religion, culture and tradition. (One person from the group further added): I am a parent as well as teacher of one of the local private English schools. I was educated at the Christian mission school but I and other students never became Christian and we also never forgot our religion, culture and tradition. For your information, our religion, culture and tradition get first priority over foreign religion, culture and tradition in local private English schools.

In addition, the local NGOs are also running some non-formal learning that is mainly based on donor agencies’ and UNESCO’s concept in bazaar area. But, these activities neither
affect nor lessen the practice of informal learning that based on local culture, religion and tradition in Phungling bazaar. Instead, business, farming, etc. are guided by the practice of informal learning.

**Ward 5, Pathri VDC.** Pathri village is easily accessible because of the East-West Highway and many INGOs and NGOs have been providing a range of programmes there, including non-formal learning such as literacy and functional literacy. According to the local people, the literacy rate of Ward 5 Pathri is around 50% on average. The female literacy rate however, is not more than 30% and in the age group above 40 years it is far lower. In order to explore this issue, I talked with a few older women of this village and the following is the extract of our discussion:

*Researcher:* I have been told that the women of this village are very active and the majority of women attend the government's and NGOs' adult literacy programme. Is that true?

*Group:* We do not know all about this, but we married women get very little chances for the other activities. We women are always busy looking after house, husband, children and farm. None of us here can read and write; our husbands and sons do reading and writing. When we were young, our parents used tell us that reading and writing is not women's job. It is for men.

*Researcher:* Do you like to read and write?

*Group:* Yes (pause), we still like to read and write (pause), but when we were young; on the one hand, there were only a few schools and on the other hand, girls were not allowed to go to school. This is simply people still believing that reading and writing is only for men, with looking after husband, children, house and farm the main role for women. Nowadays, things have changed and we also send our daughters to schools, but (pause) sons get first priority over daughters. In our case, firstly, we do not have time for literacy classes and secondly, it is time for our children to learn. We believe we have to
support our children's education rather than our own. How many years do we have to live and what is the use of learning literacy at this age? We think it is too late for us.

Researcher: You are right, but learning never ends. You can learn literacy now if you wish and read about the world yourselves, which is definitely different than what you hear from other people.

Group: Yes (pause), we also wish to learn, but who is going to do our job if we start to attend reading and writing classes. Adult education as conducted in this village is not for illiterate women like us. They do whatever they like to do. They come and go [...] (pause), they never encouraged us to learn.

Researcher: You do not have to work full time on learning to read and write. One or two hours of evening time is more than enough.

Group: The evening and morning times are very difficult for us. We have to cook and feed the whole family and day time is for farming and fieldwork. In reality, we do not have time.

The above discussion has indicated various social issues such as the negative impact of religion, culture and traditions that are strongly imbedded in Hindu society. It has also indicated that non-formal learning conducted by both the government and non-government organisations are controlled from above either by social elites and bureaucrats who control the flow of knowledge in the country or donor agencies and their satellite organisations.

In Pathri, school attendance in primary school age children is approx 80%. The level of school attendance in secondary school is lower than the primary level. As mentioned earlier, secondary age children normally spend their formal learning time helping their parents in the paddy fields instead of in school. In the case of informal learning in Pathri, there is no difference to other places where I carried out and tested research. The informal learning practice is totally based on the Hindu and local religions, cultures and traditions that play such a pivotal role in the Nepalese extended family system.
Ward 5, Naubise VDC. Naubise is a rural village situated near the capital city. With its easy access, it is cheaper to take donor agencies for demonstration of pilot projects. These are the main reasons why INGs' and NGOs' pilot projects have been concentrated in Naubise since the early 1980s. Although, Naubise seems to be a rural village in various respects, it is not necessarily place representative of the whole country's rural areas. On the one hand, it is difficult to predict whether the pilot project that worked well in Naubise can be duplicated and replicated in other parts of the country since the social norms and values of one place is totally different to other places in Nepal. On the other hand, I found an absurdly artificial situation there because too many INGs and NGOs are conducting pilot projects in the village. An example of this is, when I started to talk with one of the middle-aged men, he suddenly asked me, “Are you researcher?” When I said yes, he said “you have to pay me money at hourly basis if you want information from me.” He further briefed me in the following terms:

In a single day, more than a dozen researchers come to this village from Kathmandu to gather information for their research and if I would not charge money [...] I and my family end up without food, because sometimes they come one after another and I spend at least one hour with each researcher.

He also told me that “he can give any information the way researchers want.” During my stay in Naubise, I approached so many villagers both male and female from different strata but they were all reluctant to spend time without giving me them money. At the same time I found they know exactly how to answer and please researchers. In this sense, I found observation more effective than interviews for collecting data, particularly in Naubise. It clearly indicates various things such as that villagers are disenchanted with NGOs and INGs pilot projects and researchers. I found that of donor agencies' money was being manipulated and there was a high degree of artificiality i.e. informer fabricates replies to the researcher in order to earn money.
In the case of formal learning, there are no higher learning institutions but sufficient schools within reasonable distances. However, Ward 5 of Naubise VDC has 5 primary schools. This is different from the whole of hilly rural Nepal. Barely one primary school in between two wards can be found in other hill areas. Regarding this, one of the local people told me that with "both dedication of the local people and the help of donor agencies, we were able to build five primary schools in this surrounding." However, students' attendance rate and pattern are no better than in other parts of the country. For example, the best school of the village has 40 students in class one, 25 in class two, 17 in class three, 14 in class four and 11 in class five. Thus, despite the local peoples' interest in learning, the school dropout rate is very high. In addition, the adult literacy rate is also very low, approx 40% an average. Notwithstanding the INGOs' and NGOs' intense activities in Naubise, the influence of formal and non-formal learning among local adults is inconspicuous. Similar to other parts of Nepal, people from Ward 5 of Naubise learn more by informal learning than formal and non-formal. Informal learning as usual emanates from local religion, culture and tradition. It is mainly guided by the Hindu religion.

**Ward 7, Banethop Deorali VDC.** In this village, on the one hand, the school drop out rate is higher among Gurung and Magar tribes because young boys from these two tribes are more interested in joining the British and Indian Armies, than pursuing further and higher education. This is similar among the Limbu, Rai and Sunuwar in the east: a negative impact of globalisation. On the other hand, school drop out rate for Brahmins and Chhetris is very low. One of the main reasons is Brahmins and Chhetris are Hindus and the majority of British people are Christian. They eat beef which is sin for the upper caste Hindu Brahmins and Chhetris as they worship cow, bull and ox. That was the reason why Brahmins and Chhetris did not join in the British Army at the beginning. Hence, in order to get jobs and sustain themselves within the country they had have to gain academic qualifications. In consequence, these two castes have benefited well from formal and non-formal learning.

In Ward 7 of Banethop Deorali, the literacy rate is above average in comparison with other parts of the country. However, the female literacy rate is far lower than male. People from
this village mainly practise the Hindu and Buddhist religions and informal learning is based on these. Despite formal and non-formal learning practice in the village, people’s daily ritual i.e. farming, business and management of extended family, etc. is entirely based on the knowledge that generated by informal lifelong learning which has evolved from the Hindu and local ethnic norms and values. This is because the Rana rulers and social elites of the country did not allow the teaching of English to ordinary people, including poor Brahmins and Chhetris despite their caste status. An extraction of my discussion with the local Brahmins and Chhetris is given below:

*We Brahmins and Chhetris are only allowed to read and write Hindu scriptures. Our parents and gurus used to tell us that English language is beef eaters’ language and it is an offence to learn by Hindus in general and Brahmins in particular.*

In addition, one of the old man from the village told me that Janga Bahadur Rana brought two water pumps from Belayat (the Nepali name for Britain) with British technicians. They installed one in Kathmandu and another one in Pokhara but no one else used the water because beef eaters touched the pumps and they thought it is sin to drink water that came through that pump.

**Ward 5, Bijouri VDC.** Informal learning in Ward 5 Bijouri is mainly guided by the Hindu religion, and the Tharu and Magar culture. Even Brahmins of this ward practise some aspects of Tharu culture and tradition. As a whole, the Hindu religion plays a dominant role in day-to-day learning processes. According to the local people, the literacy rate is approx 70% on average; however, the female literacy rate is far lower than the male. The Magars are in general better off than the Tharus in terms of literacy. The lower castes (Dalits) are worst hit by poverty incidence and illiteracy. Their caste occupation and the way of learning are totally based on informal learning normally passed down from generation to generation. Especially, in the Hindu caste occupational system, informal lifelong learning practice takes place everyday in Nepalese society in order to improve skills. For examples: Brahmins use lifelong learning to keep alive priestly skills.
Blacksmiths (Kami) use it to improve weapons and metallic-instrument making skills. Tailor (Damai) for tailoring and Sarki (shoe makers) apply lifelong learning to advance shoemaking skills. Therefore, lifelong learning plays a vital role in the Hindu caste occupational system (Varnashram) throughout the country including Ward 5 of Bijouri.

At present, non-formal learning in the ward is not taking place due to the civil war. INGOs and NGOs who normally used to conduct non-formal learning left the village for security reasons.

In the field of formal learning, Ward 5 Bijouri has seven primary and two secondary schools. According to the local teacher, “80% of the school age children have been admitted in the schools. The remaining 20% are usually the children of poor and Dalits”. One of the local school teachers told me “The male enrolment is 54% while the female is 46%. Dropout population is again higher among the poor and Dalits.” One of the interesting reasons for drop out from formal learning is because of early marriage among the girls and frequently the case of eloping among the ethnic population and Dalits.

One of the two secondary schools is a Sanskrit school. Currently, the population is mixed in terms of ethnicity and Dalits are also enrolled and educated in Sanskrit school but are always discriminated against by Brahmins. All teachers and 99.9% of students are Brahmins. Students from other castes enrol in such schools because Sanskrit schools are free in Nepal and the students also get a stipend so students other than those of the Brahmin caste enrol in Sanskrit school just to draw money. I found English is also taught there besides other subjects.

Gender discrimination and domination in learning is a part of the culture in this ward as in the rest of the country. This practice is more common among the women of Brahmin and Chhetri communities. However, in the recent years the gender gap between sons and daughters among this community is almost nonexistent with respect to primary school enrolment.
As a whole, the Dang valley is far ahead in the mid-western region in formal and non-formal learning. The country’s only Sanskrit University is in this valley. Until today Brahmins thought Sanskrit education was especially designed only for Brahmins. In 1980s, the Education Minister, who was Kami (untouchable), was barred from inaugurating the Sanskrit College. Brahmins from this district had complained directly to the Royal Head Priest to cancel the programme. The Brahmin prime minister later inaugurated the Sanskrit College instead of the Dalit (untouchable) education minister. This is a classic indication of how Brahmins play a major role in marginalisation and exclusion in the country, including in the learning environment.

In addition, the formal learning has been disturbed and the children are staying at home all day long and have begun to undergo psychological stress resulting from witnessing the frequent violence in their neighbourhoods. According to the local teachers and parents:

*The teaching-learning environment has ceased to exist, as schools are no more the temples of knowledge. Furthermore, the incidence of abduction of schoolchildren and participation of the children in violent conflict is a serious issue. The mass abduction of teachers and students of the VDC have left long-term impacts in the minds of the children.*

Dang valley is one of the most heavily affected by the Maoist movement. This will be dealt in chapter fifteen separately.

**Ward 3, Gaura Gaon, Chandika VDC.** As in the rest of the country, informal learning is the main source of gaining knowledge in this village which guides the local people’s daily life. In the context of policy and practice of formal education, one of the local teachers has expressed his views in the following terms:

*On the one hand, policy makers live in Kathmandu. For them Kathmandu is Nepal and Nepal is Kathmandu. They do not care about the rest of the country. Aa...a...*  
(long pause) *Nepal’s policy including education policy is at one place and practice*
is at another place. There is no relation between policy and practice in Nepal. On the other hand, parents do not send their children to school especially daughters i.e. girls excluded from getting even a basic education. Throughout the district, there is a big gap between girls and boys in the school attendance rate. People here still believe formal learning is not important for girls. Even boys, after SLC (taking the School Leaving Certificate) go to India to earn money rather than continue on to further and higher education. He further added the literacy rate of Gaura Gaon is approx 15% in total and female literacy rate is only around 5%. This is the reality but the government makes propaganda at national and international level giving false data in order to get more loan and donation from donor agencies.

Despite this remoteness, there are dozens of INGOs and NGOs conducting various projects; however, at present their programmes are restricted to within the perimeter of the district headquarters. As in Bijouri Dang, this district is also very much affected by the Maoist-led civil war.

Conclusion

On the one hand, the Hindu and Indigenous religions, cultures and traditions have been the sources of informal learning in Nepal since the very beginning. The knowledge generated through informal learning has been increasingly dominated by religion and culture. On the other hand, the non-formal and formal learning within the framework of ‘development model’ is western and orchestrated by the ruling elites and international institutions to suit their goal of power consolidation. Hence the non-formal and formal learning practice based on ‘development model’ (an integral part of globalisation) though articulating the need of modern times has been conflicting with socio-religious dominant Nepalese informal lifelong learning practice. Therefore, in Nepal, the knowledge generated by the informal lifelong learning practice has been resisting and rejecting the western concept of non-formal and formal lifelong learning practice. Thus, chapter fourteen will deal with the
Nepalese social structure, the Hindu religion and its impact on lifelong learning practice based on field research.
CHAPTER FOURTEEN

NEPALESE SOCIAL STRUCTURE, THE HINDU RELIGION AND ITS IMPACT ON LIFELONG LEARNING PRACTICE

In chapter five, I have discussed the Nepalese social structure and its manifestation in society in general. In this chapter I will cover Nepalese social structure and its impact on lifelong learning practice in particular. In order to do so I will discuss the Hindu religion and social inequalities and lifelong learning practice based on my field research.

Hindu religion, social inequalities and lifelong learning

As highlighted in chapters two and five, the Hindu religion is the declared national religion of the country and practised by approx 40% of the total population. According to the Hindu religion, the king of Nepal is regarded as an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. The caste system and the monarchy are based on the Hindu scriptures. The king therefore is not only the political centre but also the religious nucleus. He is the absolute power in all social, religious and political fronts and has been the basis for the centralisation of every activity and the promotion of a state-centric approach.

As described in earlier chapters, the Hindu religion became the national religion after the unification of modern Nepal, undermining all other religions and indigenous nationalities. This has been a classic example of religious domination over more than 61 indigenous nationalities. In the long run, the Hindu religion and its practitioners have created social evils such as the concepts of purity (pani chalne) and impurity (pani nachalne) the idea of women as second class citizens, etc: which fuelled the evolution of social inequalities in society. The upper caste people such as Brahmins, Chhetris and the upper caste Newars are pani chalne. There are no restrictions for them in society. The lower castes i.e. Kami,
Damai, Sarki, etc. and women during their menstruation are \textit{pani nachalne}. The \textit{pani nachalne} are not allowed into the Hindu temples, public places and functions, especially where cooked foods are served. However, the upper caste women during their monthly period are still purer than the lower caste people. This is one of the variables of the research model that affected the whole processes of lifelong learning policy and practice. Thus, in this chapter, I present field research data and discussions on this particular issue.

\textbf{Hindu religion, social inequalities and lifelong learning in urban Nepal.} As mentioned in chapter eleven, I have carried out field research in Ward 18 of KMC and the research findings have been tested in Ward 35 Koteswor, KMC and Dharan. As a city centre, Ward18 of KMC is a multicultural area where people from all over the country can be found; however, originally this was Newar territory. Consequently, Newar people and culture have become predominant. Newar people are both Hindu and Buddhist, but the Hindu tradition is widely practised in the community. Within the Newar community there is a complete caste system just like the Hindu religion’s castes, based on occupation (\textit{Varnashram}). People from lower castes such as Pode and Chyame are untouchable and have been socially excluded and economically marginalised, so they are poor. As a consequence of being poor, they are also excluded and marginalised in the learning system.

One of my respondents, a lower caste Newar cleaner (by caste-occupation), told me “\textit{I cannot read and write because my father did not send me to school. Instead he used to tell me that our traditional job is to clean streets, not read and write.}” He further told me that “\textit{my children are in school and I do not like to see my children cleaning streets like me.}” A Jyapu woman (farmer by caste-occupation) told me a similar story recounted below:

\begin{quote}
There were no problems with schools in Kathmandu when I was a school aged girl but my parents did not send me to school and now I am illiterate. First thing we are Jyapu and our traditional occupation is farming where people give education less priority. The second reason for being illiterate is I am a female. In our culture a woman’s job is to give birth, look after children, house and farming. People still hold these beliefs, but the situation is slightly different. My children can read and write and they go to school. Even so, women get only second class treatment in our
\end{quote}
community and throughout the country. This is because of our religion, culture and tradition. According to my religion, my husband is my god.

I conducted two further group discussions, one with local people and the other with students from the local community centre: they highlighted the same problems. Taking account of all these facts, it is legitimate to say that the Hindu religion and caste system have created inequalities in Nepalese society. The social inequalities stem directly from the caste hierarchy in the social structure and are normally practised along the principle of *pani chalne* and *pani nachalne*. The upper castes are purer *pani chalne* and superior to lower castes. The untouchables do not possess any political or religious rights; they are prohibited from entering temples even though they belong to the same religion. They are denied access to worship and are socially, religiously and politically deprived. The extreme alienation is tantamount to dehumanisation and has deprived them of self-esteem. This sorrowful scenario basically arises from the religious ‘values’ of the upper castes. Owing to their degrading social status, these communities and groups are in extreme poverty. They do not possess access to education and the polity decisions rarely address their needs. The upper caste people do not mix with inferior castes, either at community levels or in particular events. Thus the Hindu religion has marginalised the lower castes. This human exploitation has been a serious and painful matter throughout the course of Nepalese history since the unification of modern Nepal.

The social elites in Nepal are usually those who belong to the upper caste or are from higher class. They usually form the force backing the feudal class and the landowners. Their political interest and social supremacy benefits them as they form the basic local force backing the feudal system. These elites form the chain of connection from local, regional to national level. This section of society has benefited from the intervention policies and practices and the lifelong learning policy and practice whereas the targeted groups, the poor, and women, have so far been excluded.

As I investigated these issues in Ward 35 Koteswor of KMC, I found parallel conditions i.e. lower castes have been socially excluded and women are oppressed and marginalised.
Although this ward is multicultural, with people from all over the country, the majority of them are professionals and highly educated. I have conducted focus group discussions, individual interviews and observations. One of my lower caste respondents told me that they are not allowed into the local temple (Kotesworthan) for worship. I also interviewed the priest and he told me that lower castes are not allowed to enter into the temple: it is a great sin according to the Hindu religion.

I conducted a ‘women only group discussion’ in Koteswor where the participants were all educated professionals. According to them, they are professionals only at work. At home, they have to follow the culture created by the Hindu religion. Even in the government offices, women do not get equal respect to that enjoyed by their male counterparts. With regard to their promotion, women do not get equal opportunities although the government policy says there is no sexual discrimination. As mentioned in chapter thirteen, in the field of learning, daughters get only second class treatment from parents. These educated and professional women are no exception: they are also victims of this practice. But, as parents, they are repeating the same thing even though they know what is right and what is wrong. For example, sons even today get first priority for good education and daughters usually end up at the government-run schools where parents do not have to pay fees something that was highlighted by female respondents in chapter thirteen. In the long run, women can not compete with men after getting a lower standard of education, because the performance of the government schools is not up to the standard of private schools. This has been clearly reflected in the national level examinations results. In addition, daughters have to do all sorts of household work that detracts from their study time at home, whereas sons have no such chores and consequently have much more time for their school work. According to them, it is far from simple to change the patriarchal system that has been created by the Hindu religion.

The situation is no different in Dharan: the social structure created by the Hindu religion is deeply embedded in society. I conducted group discussions with the local people, participated in social functions and observed the pattern of their daily lives. I found that
the lower castes have been excluded and women are marginalised in both day-to-day life and in the field of learning.

**Hindu religion, social inequalities and lifelong learning in rural Nepal.** The social context of urban and rural Nepal is totally different. The influence of Hindu religion, social inequalities and its impact on lifelong learning varies from one place to another, and has been explored in the following research site and test sites across the country:

**Sikaicha VDC, Ward 4 Kunjari, Taplejung.** As described in chapter eleven, Kunjari is my rural research site. It is a Limbu village, Limbus are non-Hindus. However, the influence of the Hindu religion is very strong in this village and much of life style is guided by the Hindu religion and culture. This is because of the Hindunisation policy that imposed by the Shaha and Rana rulers for more than 235 years in the country. In regard to this the local Limbu Community Chief has expressed his views in the following way:

*During the Panchyat era, life was very difficult for those who wanted to preserve their religion, culture, tradition and language. One of the objectives of the Panchyat system was to convert the country into a country of one language (Nepali), culture (Hindu) and religion (Hindu) that destroyed most of our Kirat culture, religion and language.*

It is quite clear that Indigenous societies have been Hindunised after the unification of modern Nepal. Indigenous people were not Hindu but the rulers forcibly made them convert to and practise Hinduism. Thus, Kunjari is a non-Hindu village; however, local people have adopted the Hindu culture as a part of their daily life. There is no difference between Hindu society and the indigenous community: their way of life, the domination of women, the exclusion of the lower castes and the marginalisation of girls in learning is normal practice. If there is exclusion and marginalisation in society and in the system of learning, it is very unlikely to bring about social change in society.
One of the main tasks of the learning process is to bring about changes in society in an effort to bring about equity and equality. It must be empowering where the members of the society seek to establish their belonging and identify their responsibility as participants in social change. The lifelong learning process is an energising tool that adds vigour to a vibrant society, establishing the fundamental belief in the necessary for changes. However, the social structure and the Hindu religion have become one of the barriers for the lifelong learning practices in Kunjari since knowledge and financial plans are controlled by the Hindu higher castes i.e. Brahmin and Chhetri. As mentioned in chapter eleven, Kunjari is a village of non-Hindu indigenous nationalities i.e. Limbu and the lower castes such as Kami and Damai. As I highlighted in chapter one, Kunjari is one of the more marginalised and excluded villages of Nepal. Therefore the people have failed to gain in terms of equality and equity within the social structure, yet still the environment of social exclusion is reinforced. The lack of change in the religious and feudal values and value systems has made people of Kunjari more passive. When I asked a Kami (metal smith by caste system profession and untouchable in society) about social exclusion, he expressed the realities in the following way:

*We have a high school in our village. There are educated teachers in our school who teach students that the caste system no longer exists in our society and we are all equal. That is only in theory but not in practice.*

He further expressed:

*Our children are not allowed to touch cooked food even in the school complex. We are not allowed to enter temples. We do not have even the right to pray in public places including temples because we are untouchables. Untouchables are strictly prohibited to go into the cooked food stalls on village social events. I do not know what type of learning the government implements that never is able to change the thinking in people.*
In addition, gender disparity is acute in Kunjari: women by habit accept the system created by the Hindu religion. The long existing hierarchical powers and the culture of silence have confined women in subordination, with males accepted as being superior. Thus, in Kunjari, the Hindu religion has played a major role in creating gender disparity where women have been greatly exploited and sidelined from the mainstream of social life including learning. Often it is the fact that gender issues are more crucial among the Hindus in general and, furthermore, the rural situation is worse than the urban. Women normally go to bed after finishing household work at around 11 pm to wake up at 4 am in the morning while men go early to bed (because in a Hindu society men do not do help with the cleaning and washing) and only get out of bed around 7 am in the morning. In Nepal, women receive second class treatment. A lady from Kunjari has revealed this in the following way:

*Men think that God created women as a service provider. They even do not consider women as human beings. They do not mind to make a dozen babies in the search for a baby boy. Men even marry a second wife just for a son. About five years back, a man from this village married a second wife because his first wife gave birth only to daughters. The first wife could not tolerate it and jumped off the suspension bridge of the Phawakhola (river) and killed herself. She was such a dedicated wife and mother (long pause). Currently, the practice of polygamy is strictly banned by the Maoist. However, things like male domination, marginalisation of daughters from education, etc, are still in practice. Men from this village think that girls do not need to be educated because they don't have to join the British and Indian Armies. Neither do they have to manage the farm and family. I used to think that these are all God's wishes, but according to the Maoists these are all superstitions created by the Hindu religion.*

Thus, the patriarchal system and the influence of the Hindu religion have marginalised women of Kunjari in most of the social activities including learning.
I have tested my findings in Khokling. The only difference I found from Kunjari related to girls' education. People of Khokling considered that education is important for both sons and daughters. However, there is no equality between son and daughter. For example, in a local school, I found more girl students than boys. This was quite surprising, and when I asked one of the teachers about this, his answer was; “parents send their sons to private schools even by selling their last piece of land, while daughters are sent to local schools where they do not have to spend money.” In order to confirm this statement, I had further discussion with a group of the girl students. My question to them was: why are there many girls and only a few boys in this school? The group gave me more than a dozen answers but I have chosen the following which are more relevant to my research:

On the one hand, parents think it is useless to educate daughters because once they get married they will become another person's property. They do not have to look after their parents instead they will look after their father-and mother-in-laws. So, parents give less importance to daughter's education. That is why we girls are at the local school run by the government.

On the other hand, parents give top priority to son's education because in our society a son's responsibility is to carry out family tradition, perpetuate the name, and look after parents. Because of this, most of the boys from this village are in private schools at the district headquarters, where people think the standard of education is better than in the government-run schools.

The above data directed me to the district headquarters where private schools are operated by the local corporates. Thus I further tested my research findings in Phungling Bazaar, the district headquarters of Taplejung. Practices established by the Hindu religion in society in general and lifelong learning in particular were no different to Kunjari and Khokling. As pinpointed by my respondents of Khokling, the majority of private school students are boys. I interviewed three private school headmasters of Phungling and their answer was the same as the government school teacher of Khokling. I also held three group discussions with the students of three private schools. According to them, they have to take
more responsibility than their sisters and it the end they have to look after their parents and carry on their traditional family names. I found the boys from three private schools take for granted that they are more important than their sisters for their family and the nation. This is what they learned from their parents, religion and culture.

I tested my research findings further in Pathri, by means of observation, informal discussions, and also conducted interviews and focus group discussion in the local area. There are no differences between Kunjari, Khokling and Phungling. It is quite clear that the Hindu religion has perpetuated inequalities in society and lifelong learning practices. In the context of lifelong learning, the lower castes are excluded, women are oppressed and girls are marginalised. One young married woman (17 years old with one baby son) told me that she got married last year when she was only 16 years of age and started to carry out the duty of daughter in-law. As a daughter in-law of an extended family, she has to wake up early in the morning (not later than 4 am). Her daily jobs are cooking, cleaning, looking after chickens, goats and working in the field. Her daily routine only ends around 11 pm in the evening. Every night she will be the last person to retire. There is no time for learning. She further told me that there were literacy and potato farming lessons conducted in Pathri by a local NGO, but she could not create time to attend the programme. Her parents did not send her to school when she was of school age. This dilemma for girls and women in the Hindu society is not a new topic. Currently, the majority of girls are in the government schools and sons are in so called ‘Private English Boarding Schools’. This is normal practice in Pathri and throughout the country.

The Hindu religion and its impact on lifelong learning practice that I found in Naubise were no different to what I found in Kunjari, Khokling, Phungling and Pathri. The impact of the Kathmandu city and globalisation can be seen distinctly in village people. As mentioned in previous chapters, Naubise is one of the ideal places for INGOs’ and NGOs’ pilot projects. Because of this, people are more knowledgeable than in Kunjari but, in the context of gender disparity, social exclusion to lower castes and marginalisation to indigenous nationalities in society including in lifelong learning, there is no difference to Kunjari. Women are treated as second class citizens and service providers, and are expected to be
loyal to their husband. The lower caste people are excluded from society; they are poor and illiterate, and their children are uneducated. This is because of the Hindu religion and its norms and values. In addition, indigenous nationalities are also poor and marginalised. One of my respondents (primary teacher, Koirala, caste: Brahmin) has highlighted this in the following way:

*Researcher:* Why are lower caste and indigenous people poor in this village?

*Teacher:* People of this area mainly earn their living by vegetable farming but vegetable farming is controlled by the rich, especially Brahmins and Chhetris. Similarly fertile fields are under the control of these rich people.

*Researcher:* How did Brahmins and Chhetris become rich?

*Teacher:* According to the Hindu religion a Brahmin’s job is to read and write the Hindu religious scriptures. In this process, they became literate, educated and in the end they controlled the whole nation’s knowledge. They endorsed indigenous nationalities (native land owners) land in their own name. Until recently indigenous nationalities were illiterate: according to the Hindu religion, their traditional job was only farming not reading and writing. In the business of money lending, Brahmins and Chhetris lied and forged loan documents. For example, if the original loan was 100 Rupees\(^\text{26}\) they normally used to make this 1000 Rupees by adding one more zero. Monopoly of interest rates enabled them to earn more money and become richer. On the other hand, indigenous nationalities and the lower castes used everything i.e. land, cattle, money, valuable items, etc. to pay off the loan and at the end the native land owners and the lower castes became landless and poor.

*Researcher:* Being a Brahmin: do you not feel guilty?

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\(^{26}\) Nepalese currency.
Teacher: Yes I do, that is why I always oppose it. As a teacher I always highlight these issues to my students and I tell my students that this is bad practice and it needs to be eradicated from our society.

Researcher: You sound like a Maoist rebel. Do you support the Maoist ideology?

Teacher: I am not Maoist but I do oppose the social inequalities, injustice and oppression.

Researcher: The government has a plan to eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary schools by 2005. Do you think it is possible?

Teacher: No, this is only policy makers' and donor agencies' imagination but it is not possible in practice. You can take our school as an example. There are only four girls in class five and nine boys, five girls in class four and eleven boys and so on. To achieve the government's plan to eliminate gender disparity, first we have to eliminate the social evils created by the Hindu religion.

It is quite clear that the Hindu religion is the main player in Nepalese society, and has perpetuated inequalities between men and women. It has excluded the lower castes from the mainstream social activities and marginalised indigenous people. Lifelong learning is not free from these biases. There is no difference in Banethop Deorali, Bijouri and Gaura Gaon. The only difference I have noticed is that the influence and the practice of Hindu religion is stronger in the west than east vis-à-vis social exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity. For example, the social status of women in Gaura Gaon is very low. Superstitions and social evils created by the Hindu religion are strongly embedded in the society. Women suffer a lot of physical and mental hardship. During their menstruation, cycle called chhau in local dialect, the women have to spend four days in a small makeshift shed called Chhaupadi, away from the house. If there is no Chhaupadi in a village, the women have to go and find a cave, and will often get killed due to poisonous snakebites. During menstruation, women are not allowed to mix in the community or go into public places and schools. They even have to walk off the tracks and roads. In addition, for the duration of menstruation and the postnatal period, women are not allowed to eat vegetables and are only provided with salt and water because of their superstitious beliefs and fear of
the deities wrath. The local people strongly believe should a menstruating woman touch men or plants, the deity will be angered and cast a curse in the form of illness in the family, drought, hailstorm, or famine in the local villages. During thunderstorms, women inside the Chhaupadi have to run out from the shed, as there is a belief that lighting will strike the surrounding villages if menstrual women do not leave their shelters. Thus people from far-western Nepal are very strict on menstrual issues and other Hindu norms and values. For example, I was accompanied by my wife during my field research in Gaura Gaon. I was very lucky to have a friend from Gaura Gaon who provided me with accommodation during my one week stay; otherwise it would have been very difficult to find accommodation for my wife. Although we were accommodated by my friend, one of the villagers asked me so many questions in regard to my wife's monthly cycle and when she is going to have it and so on. He was a bit worried because outsiders do not follow the rules, which could make their life miserable. He also suggested to me about the village Chhaupadi in case my wife needed it. In regards to women's monthly period and the local practice I have interviewed four females, namely a housewife, a teacher, an INGO employee (outsider) and a class ten student:

Housewife:

Q. What do you think of the treatment that women normally get during their monthly period (Chhau)?

A. This is our religion. It is quite important to follow the rules otherwise the whole village will suffer from various types of disasters. Lots of educated people tried to ignore the rule and at the end they suffered quite a lot. I will tell you one incident that happened in last year: our village chairman stopped his wife following the ‘Chhau’ rules. Within a month, his buffalo fell off the cliff and died. His son broke his arm. The village chairman himself cut his foot by axe while he chopped fire wood. Finally, we all suffered from a hailstorm. It destroyed our maize harvest and we are now suffering from famine.

Q. The Maoist does not follow Chhau rules but they are doing all right are they not?
A. No, they are not, look, there is killing and war.

School teacher:

Q. What do you think of the treatment that women normally get during their monthly period (Chhau)?
A. This is based on superstition and is an unnecessary burden and torture to women. However, we can not ignore it: if we do, we will be expelled from the village. We are not allowed to use public places, talk with men or teach while we are having 'Chhau'. Thus, the Hindu religion and 'Chhau' ritual has created unnecessary inconvenience to society in general and women in particular including teaching and learning processes.

INGO employee:

Q. What do you think of the treatment that women normally get during their monthly period (Chhau)?
A. The first thing as an outsider I faced difficulties in finding accommodation because the local people do not trust outsiders especially women on 'Chhau' ritual. The second thing 'Chhau' ritual is an unnecessary harassment to women created by the Hindu religion. I am Gurung and we do not have such custom in our community. Brahmin and Chhetri women do not touch food and drinks and keep themselves separate from others but not totally out of the house. The 'Chhau' practice of far-western Nepal has fueled more in marginalisation of women. But this is not easy to eradicate from local scenario. Our INGO has been addressing this issue for a long time and the local people also anticipate that this is full of superstition but are afraid to abolish the system.

Q. Do you follow the 'Chhau' rules?
A. Yes I do while I am here. If I do not follow them they will not allow me to come and work in this village.
Student:

Q. What do you think of the treatment that women normally get during their monthly period (Chhau)?

A. It is unfair to banish women from the house (for four days and nights) and school just because of 'Chhau'. I am a final year school student who is sitting for the National Board Examination in two months time and now I am finding difficulties in coping with those lessons which I missed every time when I had my 'Chhau' (a long pause, she tried to express something but she did not). Finally, what I want to say is; I do not oppose the Hindu religion but we need to eradicate social evils it has created such as the 'Chhau' ritual where women are segregated for four days and nights and barred from activities which is a great loss for all.

Regardless of ethnic identities, communities and the practice of their own indigenous religions, still the influence of the Hindu religion is quite strong across the country. The influence of the Hindu religion and social inequalities are very strong in the far-western part of Nepal and gradually lessen in the east. The practice of lifelong learning is not free from the influence of the Hindu religion.

Conclusion

Nepal is a country where 60% of its population are marginalised and excluded by the country's social elites, namely Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars. They have used the King and the Hindu religion as tools for suppression and donor agencies as the resource provider. They misused foreign aid; marginalised indigenous nationalities, lower castes and women from the main stream of socio-economic and political life of Nepal, and pushed the country into civil war. They also introduced global monopoly in the country. These are the main
causes of failure of the nation-state, including the failure of lifelong learning policy and practice.

The relationship that exists between the different strata of the society reflects the social characteristics that are the cohesive forces of the social fabric. The degree of cohesiveness depends on various factors chiefly, centred on social, economic, or political phenomena. Nepalese society is mixture of both homogeneous and heterogeneous, as highlighted in chapter five. The different socio-cultural backgrounds within the members of a society and differing value systems have been further complicated by the caste system and social hierarchy. The society is dynamic and seeks changes over time. However, the forces of social retardation are strong in a closed society where the caste system plays the central role. This force resists internal changes and external relations. This is a feudal, religious society with an indigenous knowledge system that apparently dominates the forces forging change in society. The lifelong learning policy and practice within the last five decades have added very little energy to the processes required for social change. In order to bring about complete social change, the CPN (Maoist) has launched an arms movement that has reached the stage of civil war, which will be discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CIVIL WAR AND ITS IMPACT ON LIFELONG LEARNING PRACTICE

In the previous chapter, I described how the socio-political system and the Hindu norms and values of the patriarchal society have colluded to much of Nepal’s population. In addition, as highlighted in chapter five, it is also important to understand that the caste system is not the only the conspicuous social structure, as not all the rich belong to the upper Hindu castes and the lower castes are not the exclusive preserve of the poor. However, the majority of the rich are from the upper castes and the majority of the poor are from the lower castes and indigenous nationalities. The chain of hierarchy and the resulting nature of relationships that extends to every section of the social construction has been an oppressive tool. Hence, the sequence of oppression and exploitation encouraged the poor and the lower castes to revolt a rebellion which has currently reached the stage of civil war. This civil war has brought both positive and negative socio-economic and political impacts in society including in the country’s teaching and learning processes. Consequently, in this chapter, I explore the civil war and its impact on lifelong learning practice in both urban and rural Nepal.

Civil war and its impact on lifelong learning practice in urban Nepal

Civil war and its impact on lifelong learning practice in Ward 18 of Kathmandu Metropolitan city. Although the urban areas are under the control of the Nepal government, they are not completely isolated from the impacts of the current civil war. The Maoists can at any time suspend the teaching and learning processes. From time to time they conduct ‘brainstorming’ programmes in schools for both teachers and students. The Maoists call this an ‘induction and re-education programme’. According to local sources, they mainly denounce the current learning system designed by the national elites and international donor agencies which they deem ‘bourgeois’, claiming they are not suitable for Nepal and its people. Apart from this, the Maoists have not implemented any learning programme in Ward 18 of KMC. According to their party sources, they are
planning in the near future to implement their own learning system in their base areas, i.e. the Karnali region of western Nepal.

In addition, the student wing of the CPN (Maoist) quite frequently closes down schools for weeks or months at a time in an attempt to fulfil their political ambitions. The Maoists and democratic forces give first priority to politics rather than education. Consequently, the distortion of lifelong learning practice is commonplace throughout the country with no one interested in creating an environment conducive to learning. It is apparent that all factions involved (King, Maoists and Democratic forces) have politicised the whole environment, and the impact of political uncertainty and civil war on lifelong learning practice is immense. During my field research, there were a number of occasions when the Maoist and multiparty forces called for a ‘Nepal Bandha’ (a general strike, or closure of everything, and paralysed normal life i.e. learning organisations, government offices, shops, transportation, etc.). The longest one was the five day long valley closure initiated by the Maoists. This completely paralysed the Kathmandu valley including the Community Learning Centre of Tamshipakha. According to the local people they are tired of frequent valley closures. It affects all aspects of their lives particularly business, farming, and learning.

Those parents who can afford to send their children abroad are doing so, especially to India, for secondary and college education, but to the UK, USA, Australia, Canada, Singapore and Malaysia for university. This trend certainly is a drain on hard currency which has a detrimental affect on the economy of the country in the long run. In addition, it divides the younger generation educationally into two factions, the children of rich educated in foreign countries and locally educated children of poor parents. This rift is perpetuated by the current system. The Ward Chairman of the Ward 18 KMC told me that:

*Because of this unrest in the country, social mobility throughout the country is unpredictable. People of rural areas are moving into the cities and city people, mainly professionals and educated, are trying desperately to migrate to the USA and Australia. This process is speedily taking place especially in the Kathmandu valley including Ward 18. In addition, the rich people are sending their children to India for school and college education and to the UK, USA, Australia, Canada, Singapore or Malaysia for higher education. However obtaining a student visa for*
UK or USA is not easy. Students spend the whole night outside the visa section, just to submit application forms. This is because administration is unpredictable in the country, particularly in the education environment. On many occasions, students are not even allowed to sit their examinations. They have lost years and years of their hard work and parental investment without any tangible evidence of achievement.

I personally witnessed the long queue of students both at the US and British Embassies in Kathmandu for student visas. I interviewed one female student from the queue in regarding her intention to go abroad for higher education:

Q. How long have you been queuing up?
A. Since last night. I have spent the whole night in this line.
R. Why are you intending to go abroad for higher education?
A. I am fed up with the situation in this country educationally. The Maoists and political parties close down schools, colleges and universities for more than 15 days each month, and do not care about examinations.
Q. Why are your parents allowing a daughter to go abroad?
A. Because of the Maoists. They are recruiting manpower into their movement, leaving little choice. Either you have to go abroad or join the PLA or RNA. For this very reason at least a few dozens of young males and females leave the country every day.

The capital city is not safe from the Maoist movement, even though the city is under the control of the government. It is well infiltrated by the insurgents, making life unpredictable and very insecure. People can be killed at anytime and anywhere in the name of the conflict. We can take a few examples, such as the killing of the Inspector General of Armed Police Forces, his wife and body guard. The Brigadier General of the Royal Nepal Army and a dozen junior police and army officers were similarly despatched in broad daylight in front of their families and colleagues. In addition, learning institutions are victimised by all political parties including the Maoist revolutionaries, because it is easy for them to close schools, colleges and universities. The locking up of learning institutions is a more sensitive social issue than others in Nepal; consequently they use this course of action to show their anger and protest against the government regardless of the effect on students.
These activities have distorted the learning processes in Nepal for a long time, but the situation has worsened since the Maoists initiated the people's war in the country.

According to the ward chairman, the Maoists are quite active in local areas. They encourage local people in learning and development of their local cultures, traditions and religions. They even came many times to observe the teaching and learning processes of Tamshipakha Community Learning Centre. As I mentioned earlier, the CPN (Maoist) have their own education agenda, but they are also trying to utilise the current learning system, despite calling it imperialist.

The situation is paralleled in Koteswor, Ward No 35 of KMC where I tested my findings. The impacts of the civil war on lifelong learning processes are beyond the control of the local authority and people. However, the situation in Dharan is slightly different where the impact of the civil war is somewhat less and there are no daily killings as in Kathmandu. According to the local people, the Maoists have neither conducted re-education programmes openly nor have they abducted school teachers and students from Dharan. Despite this, while I was in Dharan, the Maoists abducted drug addicts and gang fighters for re-education and punishment. I later learned that the boys were released after a month-long re-education. In the process of re-education, they mainly made them carry their logistical support from one place to another and kept them away from the drugs and street fighting. The Maoist local authority has released them with a full written warning that, if they do not give up these bad habits, they will receive the maximum punishment from the Maoists which could range from hard labour to the death sentence. This type of action has created a kind of fear in drug addicts and street fighters. It could become an effective tool and educational process in the control of drug addiction and lawlessness in Dharan. Therefore, Dharan seems less affected by the civil war, but is not completely free from its impact. According to the local people, the processes of lifelong learning have been completely distorted by the current strife and, in this, Dharan is no different from other parts of the country.

In summary, as I mentioned earlier, cities are allegedly controlled by the government but in reality the civil war has greatly affected them and towns as well. The Maoists have been carrying out war in rural areas, with strikes and protest marches in urban areas. Similarly since the King's political coup and dissolution of the parliament on the 4th of October 2002,
the multiparty forces are also carrying out peace processions and rallies in cities in protest against the regression. All political movements in Nepal (including the Maoist movement) have always regarded the learning institutions and students as prime targets. This takes the form of closure of all educational establishments for an uncertain period of time and encourages students to enlist in their movement. In this sense, the education institutions of urban areas are deeply affected by the civil war and related activities.

Civil war and its impact on lifelong learning practice in rural Nepal

Civil war and its impact on lifelong learning practice in Kunjari, Ward 4 of Sikaicha VDC, Taplejung. As mentioned in chapter one and eleven, Kunjari is a Limbu village forgotten by the government, INGOs and NGOs. There is a school that is entirely established by the local people using their own local resources. However, the current environment is totally different, in that government presence is minimal. The occasional army patrols are having no effect on local people. Kunjari seems to be under the control of the local unit of the CPN (Maoist), whose cadres conduct door-to-door learning programmes. In these programmes, they cover basic literacy, functional literacy and politics, thereby helping local people to preserve their indigenous language, culture, tradition and religion. The local school is also under their control. They monitor school activities, learning timings, teachers' attendance and postings.

According to the school Headmaster, the local Maoists are asking him to introduce the Limbu language into the school curriculum. They are also urging him to teach sociology in Nepali, because English is the language of imperialists and implies imperialist culture. In this, the local Maoist leader’s argument is logical and correct, in that there is some truth in the theory that language is indicative of culture. However, as mentioned in earlier chapters, English is widely used in Nepal especially in the capital city Kathmandu. Even in Kunjari, local Limbu people prefer to learn English as they consider serving in the British Gurkhas to be their traditional job in which they have to use English as a working language. The recent British government’s policy of granting citizenship to British Gurkha soldiers after four years of Crown service increases the popularity of the English language in the hill regions of Nepal, including Kunjari from where recruitment for British Gurkha regiments takes place. Although, the Maoists have an agenda to cease the Gurkha recruiting practice, this would only be feasible if a communist system were to be established in the country.
The many tourists to the base camp of Mount Kanchanjanga normally pass through this village which is another good reason for the villagers to learn some English. Clearly the opportunity to use English is on the increase rather than the decline, making it more desirable to learn this language.

There is no disruption in the teaching and learning processes in the village except for the Maoist’s occasional re-education programme for teachers and students. On investigation, I found that there are various modes of lifelong learning taking place in the village under the supervision and initiative of the Maoists, as I mentioned earlier. In this regard my respondents (untouchable, lower caste and metal smith by profession) told me the following during our conversation:

Quite recently, two untouchable unmarried women became pregnant in the village and pointed to two upper caste males responsible. This was initially denied by the culprits but the verdict of the Maoist People’s Court made them accept responsibility and a wedding ceremony was arranged. At the wedding party, those two untouchable women served foods to upper caste people including Brahmins. Now they are living with their husbands’ family. This is only happening here because of the Maoists.

As I have argued above and in earlier chapters, the policies have always supported the vested interests of the ruling elites and feudal forces. Consequently they have acted against the best interests of the masses, particularly the filtering of knowledge by those in power. This control over knowledge is the central theme of all reactionary forces enabling them to shape the society and day to day learning according to their best interests: it seems that the Maoists are trying to initiate change. I interviewed the local school Headmaster regarding this issue and his answers are listed below:

Q. What do you think of the Maoist movement and their processes of social change?

A. First of all, there are no government representatives left in the villages of Taplejung District and Kunjari is no different than others. On the one hand, the Maoist cadres of this village have been implementing the CPN (Maoist) policy such as: door to door programmes where they conduct basic literacy, political
and social awareness education without Government resistance. In addition, they almost eradicated the social evils created by the Hindu and Indigenous religions in society. As a consequence of this, almost all of the younger generation of this village support the Maoists with rest of the population also satisfied with their activities.

Q. What about yourself? Are you satisfied with their activities and social reform?
A. Ah...(3 seconds pause), I find always difficult to answer this type of question. I spent almost 20 years in this village as a teacher. There is better law and order in Kunjari than eight years ago (the Maoists-led movement has started in the country eight years ago). No corruption or monopolies in the village. One of the corrupt persons of the village is also quiet. The Maoists encourage the local people to practise their religions, culture and traditions but they strongly oppose the social discriminations such as exclusion of lower castes and marginalisation of women in society. It seems that Kunjari is no more a part of Nepal.

Q. Do you mean there is no government control in Kunjari?
A. Once or twice a year, the Nepalese Army carries out a routine patrol, where they simply marched through, but never tried to search through the village.

Q. Is there any clash taken place between the Maoists and the Government forces in this village?
A. No, so far, the local people have not faced any conflict and its consequences.

Q. Who controls the school?
A. School is financed by the Government and controlled by the Maoists. All teachers contribute one day's pay every month to the Maoists and we also pay the government tax which is directly deducted from salary.

Q. Is there any disturbance in the learning environment created by the Maoist activities?
A. No, not really, rather they monitor students' attendance and encourage parents to send their children to schools. They also monitor teachers' activities and attendance rate. They take action against teachers if they are absent from school without any genuine reason. In the sense of disturbance, they conduct from time to time re-education programmes for teachers and students. Especially in that time we cannot carry out our normal teaching and learning sessions. However we all learn something about the communism, which I do
consider to be a part of learning. Another form of disturbance is that instead of advancing to further and higher education about a dozen young students from this school joined the PLA (People's Liberation Army) voluntarily (mainly Chhetris i.e. Paudel and Burathoki) and a few in Indian and British Armies (mainly Limbus). There are no disrupting strikes or rallies such as those occurring in large cities.

Next, I interviewed a middle aged woman and an old man about the current civil war, the Maoists, and day-to-day learning which are listed below:

**A middle aged woman:**

Q. What do you think of the Maoists and their activities in the village?

A. They are friendly and helpful. The majority of the Maoists working in our village are local boys and girls. They are quite active. They taught me how to read and write. They have brought quite a lot of changes to our village. The Maoists have completely eradicated the system of polygamy. Men from this village used to think drinking alcohol, gambling, polygamy and wife beating were men's prerogatives. However, these practices have been completely abolished by the Maoists. Our village is better than it used to be, as a result of their influence.

**An old man:**

Q. What do you think of the Maoists and their activities in the village?

A. The Maoists are dedicated to building this village and the whole country. I have seen Rana rule, Panchyat rule and the Multi Party system. In comparison, I found the Maoist is the best. They are doing well. They have changed the village quite a lot. Our village is functioning smoothly with the help of the Maoists.

Q. Have they changed any special thing in our school?

A. Yes, before, half of the teachers used to absent from school and also students. But, now, this is not possible. Teachers must teach from 10 am to 4 pm and students must learn. The Maoists monitor very strictly teachers' attendance.
They also conduct the door to door programmes for women and older men in the village.

Q. Have you seen arms clash between the Army and the Maoists?

A. I heard about it on radio news but it has never happened in our village. The Army patrols once or twice a year. They just come and go and the Maoists also keep quiet while the army is in the village.

In Kunjari, all types of learning are functioning smoothly. There is no distortion created by the civil war. One thing that is very clear is that all the benefits of learning are mainly taken by the Maoists. If this trend continues, then there will be very slim chances that the local Limbus will prefer to join the Indian and the British Armies. I have also discussed with the young Limbu boys on their perspective. I found they are different to myself and the older generation. Within a few years time, Limbus of Kunjari may not consider the Indian and British Armies as their traditional professions. These are all the results of the current Maoist-led civil war.

Khokling is a village more affected by Maoists than Kunjari. The only differences between these two villages are that Kunjari has become a Maoist village without any conflict whereas many people were killed in Khokling in the name of the civil war. The village is under the control of the Maoists, including the school. According to the local school Headmaster, the Maoists are very keen to introduce the Limbu language and to stop teaching sociology in English in school. The local Maoists inspect schools quite frequently as they want all teachers in school on time. They do not disturb the learning process instead they try to help by creating a conducive teaching and learning environment. They are keen to run the learning processes smoothly. Further, the Headmaster added, the only disturbance they create is once in a month while they conduct re-education sessions to students, teachers and villagers.

Phungling is one of my rural research sites where district level government offices are located and both army and police are very active. They carry out round-the-clock patrols. A curfew is imposed from 7 pm in the evening to until 5 am in the morning. It seems that the area is in crisis and the situation is extremely tense. I was stopped many times and interrogated by the plain-clothes police and army officers, which is totally different to the situation in Kunjari and Khokling. I found the Maoist-controlled areas are more relaxed.
and secure than the Government-controlled areas. According to the local people, there is no disruption to learning process by the current civil war. However schools are overcrowded by the children of displaced people. Quite a large numbers of displaced people have been temporarily settled in and around the district headquarters, where they can get close protection from the Government armed forces. In regards to these issues I interviewed the District Education Officer (DEO) and the Headmaster of Bhanu School. Their answers are given below:

**District Education Officer (Basnet, Chhetri):**

\[Q. \text{ Has the learning process of this District has been affected by the civil war?}\
\]
\[A. \text{ I say yes. First of all there is no security in the villages. The Government Armed Forces have been withdrawn to the District Headquarters. In the villages, the Maoists do what they wish to. Even they have introduced Identification Cards to enter into some villages of this District. School teachers are under the control of the Maoist while they are in the villages and they are under our control when they come to the District Headquarters.}\
\]

**Headmaster, Bhanu School, Phungling:**

\[Q. \text{ Is your school affected by the current civil war?}\
\]
\[A. \text{ Yes, those displaced by the Maoist movement are in the search of security and the District Headquarters is the only alternative place for them. Because of that people are pouring into the District Headquarters and their children overcrowd the local schools around the District Headquarters, creating disturbance in the learning process.}\
\]
\[Q. \text{ Is there any direct disturbance created by the Maoists on learning process?}\
\]
\[A. \text{ They will take a certain number of our students and teachers for their re-education programme, which normally last from two days to one week. This creates some degree of distortion in our learning process.}\
\]

I found Pathri is slightly different to hilly rural areas. As I mentioned in chapter eleven, Pathri is a rural village, but because of the East-West Highway that runs through the village it is linked with cities. As a result of this, Pathri is not under the total control of the
Maoists. Its situation is just like in the cities, where both insurgents and the government forces are active in their own capacity. Learning processes have been greatly affected by the rallies and strikes called mostly by the Maoists. Quite often the Maoists close the Highway as a part of their battle against the government, which directly affects Pathri’s everyday life including all forms of learning processes. I found the majority of local people, teachers and students were unhappy with the current situation. Group discussion with the local people had highlighted that they are not interested in the King, the Maoists and the multiparty forces; nevertheless, they are keen for peace and a stable government in the country.

Further, I explored the impacts of the civil war on the learning practice in Naubise, Banethop Deorali, Bijouri and Gaura Gaon. A summary of the conversations and interviews with the local people are given below:

Group discussion with villagers in Naubise:

The group expressed in various ways that their village is no safer place including teaching and learning. There are disturbances in schools and donor agencies are no longer interested in investing money in their village because of the conflict. They preferred to remain quiet rather than talk about issues because, anyone can be killed at any time and most of the time innocent people become victims of both the Nepal Armed Forces and the Maoists.

Banethop Deorali:

One of the villagers blamed the democratic politicians and political parties for the current conflict. According to him, people had expected quite a lot from democratically elected Members of Parliament and Ministers. But they did not do any creative work for the country and people; instead they transfer foreign aid into their personal bank accounts. They later built five/six storey buildings as their residential house in the capital city Kathmandu. On the one hand, the majority of people are dying without food, drinkable water and shelter. On the other hand, Members of Parliament and Ministers are enjoying a lavish life in Kathmandu. There is no doubt, these types of inequalities and corruptions have created today’s
conflict with the loss of more than ten thousand Nepalese people's lives. There is no security; with fear everywhere including in schools, temples and even in private houses. Therefore, the current conflict has brought great impacts on day-to-day life including teaching and learning. Most of the time, we cannot send our children to school because of the fear of the both Maoists and the Army. The Maoists take our teenage children to their 'Jana Sena' (Peoples' Army) and the 'Shahi Sena' (Royal Army) kill people without any concrete proof and they simply proclaim that they have killed so and so Maoists or suspected Maoists.

Bijouri:

A Brahmin social worker of Bijouri told me that society is no more secure. He elaborated further by saying "if there is no security then how can you expect teaching and learning to foster in society, sir."

A female politician sees political stability as the key issue to creating security in society which is very difficult in the current situation. According to her, on the one hand, the government Army terrorises the people and on the other hand so do the Maoists. "Without doubt the current conflict has perpetuated disruption in day-to-day life of the general public including all forms of learning; I mean learning at schools, colleges, universities, temples, social gatherings and within the family. The Maoists close schools whenever they like. It is quite dangerous to organise social gatherings, workshop, etc in village. Now you can tell me sir how people can learn and gain knowledge? (She finished all in one go, without any pauses).

Gaura Gaon:

My wife and I spent a week with my friend's family in Gaura Gaon. My wife and the mother of my friend had established a good friendship in a time-span of one week. She was so happy with us because the time when we were with her was not the time of my wife's monthly period. We used to discuss various things such as life in UK, my village in east Nepal compared to Gaura Gaon in western Nepal and the current situation i.e. comparing the Army to the Maoists. According to her, their village is at peace if there are only Maoists. There will be conflict if both the Army
and the Maoists are in the village at the same time. The Maoists normally spend their time in the village because most of them are from this village. They ask for food, money and manpower. They use school rooms and grounds for their indoor and outdoor training respectively. They take school teachers and class nine and ten students to unknown places for education. According to students who attended their programme, the Maoists take classes like schools. They teach about how the villages would be after they have taken over completely.

In this sense, I found more or less similarity between rural research site (Kunjari) and test sites (Khokling, Phungling, Pathri, Naubise, Banethop Deorali, Bijouri and Gaura Gaon) in the context of civil war and its impact on lifelong learning practice. Thus, in one way or another, learning institutions and the learning practice throughout the country are affected by the current civil war.

Conclusion

The nation today is ravaged by the armed conflict ongoing between the government security forces and Maoist rebels for the last ten years. Whatever traces of lifelong learning practice that may have reached the people have been severely disrupted by the insurgency. Links between the learning organisations and the District Education Office across the country have been completely paralysed. On the one hand, the Government finances teachers' pay and supplies necessary resources in order to run the schools. On the other hand, the Maoists control the entire norms and values of villages including learning institutions. They monitor teachers' regular attendance. Without the agreement of the Maoists, the District Education Office cannot make any recruitment and postings of teachers. School teachers have to contribute one day's pay every month towards the people's war, in addition to paying normal tax to the Government. The service delivery agencies such as NGOs have fled from the conflict areas. There is a vacuum even where there persists the legal presence of the government and constitutional institutions. Thus in the present conflict environment, government policies have been able to affect only the urban areas of the country. This represents a reduction to about 13% of the total area of the country. As mentioned in earlier chapters, the manipulation and influence of donor agencies in the process of policy making and practice, the improper use of resources including in learning practice and the Hindu religion, social exclusion, marginalisation and
gender disparity mainly perpetuated the current Maoist-led civil war in the country. I have presented the related field data on these issues in chapters twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen. Having presented four chapters of my own data based on ten months spent researching in Nepal and all the reading I have done it is now time to return to the question am I in a position to answer my questions? In chapter sixteen, I will carry out further discussion on these issues and further examine the research model that was re-structured in chapter nine.
DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

In the previous chapters, I covered the background of the research, the main and specific research questions, theoretical framework, relevant and related literature reviews, research methodology and empirical field data. As I stated in chapter nine, now it is time to find out whether have I answered the specific research questions that I raised in pages 58 and 59 of chapter two. If not, am I now in a position to answer them? Taking in account of these queries, first, I want to discuss each specific research question in this chapter. In order to make my discussion and analysis precise, I begin the chapter with the specific research questions i.e.: 1) who controls the lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal and how? 2) How and why do globalisation (donor countries and agencies) and Nepalese social elites/policy makers manipulate the lifelong learning policy and practice? 3) How has the foreign lifelong learning policy and practice affected the local indigenous lifelong learning, knowledge, culture, tradition and religion? 4) How does the lifelong learning policy and practice generate knowledge and skills at local level and how do they contribute to the socio-political construction? 5) How does the lifelong learning policy and practice address the issues of social exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity? 6) How and why does the Hindu religion and the civil war affect the lifelong learning policy and practice? 7) How and why are local knowledge, culture, tradition and religion resisting and rejecting the western policy and practice of lifelong learning? 8) Why have the lifelong learning initiatives and trials failed? The discussion and analysis will be triangulated with theories and data when it is necessary in order to make it valid, reliable and generalisable, bearing in mind that the specific questions have stemmed from the research model that evolved in chapter two and was later re-structured in page 222 of chapter nine. I will discuss and analyse my findings on the research model at the end of the chapter.

Who controls the lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal and how?

My research -i.e. literatures review, policy documents analysis and field work- indicates
that the policy and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal is controlled by the King, social elites (mainly Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars) and manipulated by global donor agencies such as the World Bank, the EU, the IMF, the ADB, UNESCO and the OECD countries.

Social elites may be distinguished as those assisting the centralised state and those opposing the central authority. The promoters of the centralised state would normally form the forces around the King and the leading national elites. The elites opposing the central authority would be pro the forces of the poor, professionals and democratic forces. The Maoists also fall within the forces against the autocratic centralised state. The role of elites in the lifelong learning process differs significantly from place to place and from one community to the next. The elites close to the state have been controlling the knowledge system and the lifelong learning processes. This is to ensure their privileged position and to maintain their stronghold in the productive resources; this group of elites has also been controlling the lifelong learning policy and practices of the nation-state. This is reflected by field data outlined in chapter thirteen.

The two fronts of the social elites also form clusters of different political beliefs. The division among the state supporters is insignificant, though inter-personal clashes are often seen between the king and his courtiers at higher levels and within the rich upper class at local level. However, the rift between those elites who are against the state is tremendous in terms of different ideologies of the groups and parties that are said to proclaim the future for the people. Despite the struggle between these broad categories of ideologies, the nation-state and the collaborative elites have been successful in suppressing their political opponents and maintain their control over the lifelong learning policy and practice and productive resources. As the research respondents at chapter thirteen have claimed, the government formulates policies, including lifelong learning policy for donor agencies/aid but not for the country and its people.

In summary, the position of the nation-state has always been repressive throughout the history of the modern Nepal. In such a non-participatory environment, lifelong learning policy and practice cannot be successful. The nation needs to undertake reforms and ensure the environment necessary for learning process i.e. an open society and participatory democracy should be made the goal of the democratisation process. At the same time, institutional reforms are necessary. The state-centred lifelong learning policy and practice
should not be promoted by any of the foreign partners by collaborating with the repressive state in any phase of the project cycle. A people-centred lifelong learning policy and practice should be made the working manifesto. Civil society needs to develop and those influencing market forces must stop collaborating with the state to meet their ends at the expense of the people. Thus, the intervention by the state and social elites (Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars) for control of knowledge should be avoided and the donors must not participate in such crucial agendas of the state.

How and why do globalisation (donor countries and agencies) and Nepalese social elites/policy makers manipulate the lifelong learning policy and practice?

As discussed above and in earlier chapters, lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal is mainly manipulated and influenced by global donor agencies and corporations that are facilitated by social elites, mainly Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars. These have occupied almost all the country's key posts and controlled Nepal's resources, marginalising the indigenous nationalities, lower castes, poor and landless class and women, as highlighted in theory chapters two, five, nine and data chapter fourteen. These three castes control the flow of knowledge, lifelong learning and its policy and practice for their own communities and individual benefit.

As I have argued earlier, the learning policies have always represented the interests of the ruling elites and the feudal forces and worked against the people, as knowledge is filtered by those in power. The control over knowledge is the central theme of national and international reactionary forces that enables them to shape the society according to their interests. Hence, here I am mainly connecting my discussion of the theoretical base of globalisation to ground realities as are found in the field research in general and the globalised concept of lifelong learning policy and practice to its influence on local knowledge, culture and religion in particular.

Theory, policy and data chapters i.e. chapters four, eight and thirteen have highlighted the western and globalised concept of lifelong learning has held its great influence in lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal in the recent years. The structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank and the IMF have made this worse. I will cover more about the structural adjustment programmes in a later part of this section. My theoretical
argument and discussion on this issue in chapter nine has surfaced in the data chapters i.e. the increment of the budget for social services, such as education and health has not increased in proportion to population growth and inflation. The way the government and global donor agencies have encouraged in privatisation and commercialisation of learning institutions and health services has marginalised the majority of population of the country. It has clearly widened the gap between the rich and poor. In addition, it has created an environment of conflict between the rich and poor in society which can only fuel further the current Maoist-led civil war. Thus, the structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank and the IMF, as discussed in chapter nine, have not succeeded in addressing the needs of local and social services and have not empowered local communities since, its motive is based on profit i.e. periphery to centre concept: a new version of imperialism initiated by the capitalists and corporations. As discussed in chapter four, “it is an irony of history that the very losers of globalization will in future have to pay for everything” (Beck 1997: 6) due to this very reason “globalization is the cause of our unhappiness” (Bauman 1998: 1). Even the “dominant culture and language” (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 23) at national level has remained under threat from the global forces in Nepal, where 60% of its development budget come from international donor agencies with their self-serving interests. To neutralise globalisation issues, Robertson (1995: 30) came up with “the notion of glocalisation i.e. blend global and local,” which is another side of the same coin: there is no real difference in the concept from that of globalisation. Thus it is important to preserve local knowledge from the forces of global imperialism by means of localisation. In order to do that, lifelong learning policy must focus and address issues at a local level. Lifelong learning policy should be designed to promote indigenous/local knowledge in the form of localisation rather than promoting globalisation and glocalisation. The policy should be designed with a participatory approach and interaction at all levels should be initiated. The compact between donors and rulers should be broken and replaced by policy that addresses local issues. Local knowledge should be taken into account in the formations of policy and links should be established between local knowledge and policy decisions. As research respondents expressed their views at chapter thirteen, local knowledge systems contain the spirit of a community or ethnic group. The understanding of local knowledge would help them to identify the key issues as to how local people are conducting their lives. Therefore, lifelong learning policy and practice must be localised to protect and promote indigenous knowledge. According to the data chapters (twelve, thirteen and fourteen), there is strong local resistance towards the globalised and
westernised concepts of lifelong learning; however, sooner or later, the force of globalisation will shatter this local resistance. It does not matter how strong this local resistance is; in the face of global forces, it is just like a thin and fragile glass that the forces of globalisation can break into pieces at any time.

In summary, to keep lifelong learning policy and practice for local issues and in the form of local context, on the one hand, the donor agencies need to be unbiased and free from the market forces i.e. globalisation and corporate power. In addition, the donor agencies must work with the people rather than empower a repressive state such as Nepal. On the other hand, the nation-state should be reformed in accordance with the beliefs of a true and fully fledged democracy. The state-centric approach needs to be abandoned and every aspect of domestic life and livelihood should be incorporated within the framework of policy, planning and practice. Efficiency and transparency must be ensured at every level of policy and practice. The process of lifelong learning should not be victimised and the flow of knowledge should be unbiased, unfiltered and liberated from being a tool of the ruling elites and the forces of globalisation.

**Structural adjustment and its effects in lifelong learning policy and practice.** As I highlighted in chapter nine, many developing nations, such as Nepal, are burdened with heavy debt and poverty. When the way Nepal has degenerated from being thirteenth poorest country in 1970s to being now the second poorest country of the world. One of the main causes is the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) of the World Bank and the IMF. These have served mainly to perpetuate dependency in the country’s economy in regard to social services such as health and education. This is an classic example of the draining out of wealth from periphery into the centre with a well-orchestrated system. In this process, poor nations become poorer day-by-day and the rich and the centre core countries become richer. Nepal can be taken as an example as its 60% development budget comes from donor agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF. Instead of economic progression, currently the country is at war. The SAPs have been imposed in a such a way to ensure debt repayment and economic restructuring. On the one hand, it has required poor countries to reduce spending on areas such as health, education and development, while debt repayment and other economic policies have been made the priority, something from which the rich countries have benefited. As a result, social services such as health and education are in chaos in poor countries like Nepal and the quality of social services
provided by the government has degenerated into a very poor state. On the other hand, just like in the health sector, the government has also given authority to professors, lecturers and teachers to run private learning institutions which has created two major problems in the country.

Firstly, professionals do not give their time to government funded learning institutions; instead, they give their full effort to their private businesses. In consequence, the quality of the government's social services such as education, have deteriorated from poor to abysmal. In this sense, the government-run learning institutions are not capable of producing the human resources that are required by the 21st century's competitive global market.

Secondly, only the rich and their children gain benefit from a good education and poor children end up attending poor quality government schools. This type of practice perpetuates the gap between the rich and the poor. The structural adjustment plan has also undermined the gender issue creating an environment of gender disparity rather than equality because it favours policies of market liberalisation. For example, increased school fees have forced parents to withdraw children -usually girls- from privately-run good schools. All these factors have helped to escalate the current civil war in Nepal.

In summary, the government's current policy of Education for All (EFA) and the western concept of lifelong learning that was discussed in chapters seven and eight and the data chapters are designed by global donor agencies according to their interest i.e. within the framework of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs). Policy papers have highlighted that UNESCO and various governments including Nepal are fully committed to 'Education for All' but I did not find this on the ground in reality especially in Nepal. However, it is quite interesting that the World Bank has been providing loans for education projects in Nepal. According to SAPs, if the World Bank provides a loan, the government has to reduce its budget for the learning sector in order to pay back the loan taken from the World Bank. In such a case how can the government and UNESCO achieve the aim of 'Education for All' after reducing the budget in education? The aims are conflicting, but one thing is definite: the World Bank insists on repayment of previous loans as per the SAPs which after push a current project into failure again, just as in 2000 where EFA Jomtien did not achieve its aim. According to the field data, again, EFA goals are unlikely to achieve by the year.
2015. In addition, lifelong learning policy and practice as manipulated by the foreign players and facilitated by social elites from Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar, directly or indirectly is only helping to develop the country’s elite religions i.e. Hinduism and Buddhism and their related knowledge, culture and tradition, something which has profoundly affected the local indigenous lifelong learning, knowledge, culture, tradition and religion in Nepal.

**How has the foreign lifelong learning policy and practice affected the local indigenous lifelong learning, knowledge, culture, tradition and religion?**

As mentioned in chapter five originally, Nepal was a country of ‘Indigenous Nationalities,’ where imparting of knowledge and acquiring of processes were based on indigenous norms and values. These societies possessed their own self-perpetuating socio-economic entities based on local knowledge systems. The indigenous knowledge systems were structured according to the traditions and values adhered to by the people. The system operated efficiently within this closed structure. Thus, the local knowledge system operated unifying religious values with social activities in communities.

Though the knowledge system remained uncontrolled in the broader context, it was however manipulated by the social elites at community levels. When the mode of production was characterised by the production modes of hunting and gathering the essence of control had minimum implications. However, as the society developed to semi-feudal, semi-colonial and the pre-capitalist mode of economy, the ruling elites, considered necessary it to control the learning process in order to consolidate their power over the social, economic and political spheres. Therefore lifelong learning reveals a history that is closely associated with the development of a political economy and the development of those communities with respect to their mode of production. In this process, societies are changed by the modification and reshaping of social structures, culture, tradition and religion. In the present circumstances, the nature of political structure has been to control the flow of knowledge and the knowledge economy. The ruling elites, rich land-owning class as and those from the upper castes have always been at the political apex and have been privileged to control lifelong learning policy and practice.
Thus, prior to the unification of modern Nepal, lifelong learning was the major tool for the generation of education and skills as well as the means of economic enhancement. Since the process was not controlled from above, it was open and participatory. The people possessed full ownership of the process and indigenous knowledge flowed through all levels of the community unhindered and unfiltered. The learning process was basically at community level. Furthermore, the process shaped the social, economic, religious, cultural and political beliefs and values and local system of knowledge.

Since the unification of modern Nepal, the country has been constantly influenced by the Hindu culture and religion. The conquerors stressed social and religious integration and called for social assimilation. It was during this period of adjustment that indigenous knowledge systems weakened while the invasion of wider societal knowledge continued to flourish. In this process, the Nepali language replaced ethnic dialects and languages while the values of the ruling society took precedence over the indigenous culture and traditions. Even during the Rana rule Sadananda Brahamachari\textsuperscript{27} was allowed to open a Sanskrit school in Dingla (Bhojpur) to impart Sanskrit language and Hindu knowledge to the Brahmins. The Government itself established similar schools in Kathmandu, Dang and Dharan for the same purpose. Thus, along with the process political unification, indigenous knowledge and skills gradually eroded. The teaching and learning processes were thus reshaped and modified by the dominant socio-religious faction transforming the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-lingual society into a Brahmin and Chhetri dominated Hindu society.

Therefore, the unification process of modern Nepal delocalised and Hindunised the indigenous lifelong learning system which was utilised in the process of unification to consolidate power. It became a necessary tool for expanding the states territory and deregularising the local indigenous socio-political system and its economy. The centralised state authority assumed that they needed the centralised control over knowledge systems in order to be in power in perpetuity. In the long run, this practice has increased the alienation and exclusion of ethnic minorities, dominating and exploiting indigenous religions and increasing gender disparity. The state, rather than developing policies to overcome these

\textsuperscript{27} Sadananda Brahamachari was a Hindu priest who opened Dingla Pathashala (school) in 1875, in Bhojpur.
problems, has adhered to the reactionary role of protecting the interest of the ruling elites and promoting the existing power structure.

**How does the lifelong learning policy and practice generate knowledge and skills at local level and how do they contribute to the socio-political construction?**

The sequence of oppression and mutual dependency within the hierarchical structure characterises the socio-political structure of Nepal. This binds the upper classes and castes to lower classes and the castes through activities of exploitation while the lower classes and castes are bound to the upper class and castes through subordination and bondage. One may wonder why, under such extreme conditions of exploitation, the lower segments of the society along with the upper class and castes cannot strive to change the structure and establish a new relationship of power. The caste system is extremely complicated, as the population is not only divided into castes, but, in addition, the castes are further divided into sub-caste systems. So, the question that needs be addressed would be: how does a person belonging to a high sub-stratification co-relate with a member of an upper caste? In the latter, case there is acceptance of subjugation and inflicting this on the members of one’s own community through the hierarchical structure. Thus the intermediate relationship of power has been one of the causes hindering the possibility of any change that might be possible in social structure.

As can be seen, it is obvious that the complete social structure has been based on the principle of the division of labour, and therefore a given caste or sub-caste has always had some other caste or sub-caste inferior to it in terms of labour, thus giving it comparative advantage in social standards. The relationship of subjugation and dependency among and within a given caste and sub-caste or among the four principal castes (as mentioned in chapter five) in the broader sense has been the cohesive force playing a centripetal role rather than the centrifuging action one might suppose. Along these lines, the 'inter-ethnic and inter-caste harmony' was advocated as a political objective during the *Panchayat* oligarchy, aimed at the likelihood of any communist uprising during the cold war era. The caste system has been extremely well engineered so as to serve those above and seek undue service from those below, thus a balance is struck, minimising any potential to revolt. Those in the lowest level of the caste and sub-caste system would end up serving all, being the lowest in the hierarchy. Their voice would not be heard as the immediate exploiters.
would hail from within their own caste system and the relative size of the population forming this category would be minuscule by any standard. Accompanying this complication would be economic class interests, religious, lingual and geographic imbalance and diversification.

The analysis of the social construction, based on class as defined by Marx which is discussed in chapter three, nevertheless being perhaps the best tool for the analysis remains short of untangling issues related to the caste system. Though the society can be divided into economic classes, the caste system does not allow a clear separation. Class interests may override a given period, but, at times, ethnic interests become the binding factor. This weakens the materialistic point of view on the one hand and strengthens the ideologist views on the other where the economic classes and the mode of production do not bear any significant weight in the socio-political construction in the social context of Nepal.

Thus, it is extremely difficult to explain the socio-political construction of Nepal through a single framework of class or caste systems, as both of these factors are active in defining the social structure. As a result, I have used the 'wider neo-Marxist perspective' in interpreting the socio-political construction of Nepal that includes the class, caste, ethnicity and gender which I have covered in chapter nine.

In the case of the government's lifelong learning policy, practice, and its role in socio-political construction, the policy frameworks designed have so far failed to meet the needs of the people. Chapters one to fifteen of this thesis have shown that there is lack of ownership, participation, equity, equality, transparency, accountability and efficiency in the Government's lifelong learning policy and practice. Peoples' ownership and participation play a vital role in making policy and practice success. The problem of equity and equality in the distribution of material and financial resources are the principle sources of vulnerability. The ownership of the productive resources and practice, such as lifelong learning, becomes the enabling factor in enhancing the capacity at local levels for socially excluded lower caste people and socially marginalised indigenous nationalities, women, landless and the poor. By means of ownership and participation, the weaker segments of the society gain strength. The poor are then empowered to pursue their rightful claims with the government, market and the civic society. It is within the process of empowerment and an enabling environment that the policy may acquire significant achievement at ground
level and the practice may bear fruit. However, the policy must identify the needs and necessities of the grass root levels; it must be included in the participatory process as the crucial exercise in the formation of policies where the idea of ownership is to be reflected; government should assure an environment of equity and equality as this promotes ownership and it needs to be benchmarked from the time of planning to practice. This will ensure a national level lifelong learning policy where ownership and participation become a reality that contributes in the socio-political construction of the nation-state.

Although the lifelong learning currently introduced in the education system of Nepal is capitalist and an integral part of globalisation, nonetheless the process of lifelong learning is a powerful tool for socio-political construction and social change if it is carried out in the correct manner. However, as stated by Youngman (1986: 21) and Bourdieu (1977: 199) "the ruling elites use all their resources to capture the learning process" and "filter the knowledge flow" (Scheler 1924/80: 70 in italic is original). Control of the regime of knowledge flow means also control over the productive forces and resources. This is the reason why lifelong learning bears such socio-political and economic importance. Thus, this is a highly sensitive issue misused and abused by the state authority and the forces of globalisation introducing their own concept of lifelong learning, which Freire said was 'cultural invasion by colonizers' ignoring and destroying the local culture and the learning processes i.e. adult education. According to Youngman (1986: 197) "[...] capitalist adult education in general serves to reinforce and legitimate the [...] capitalist mode of production" and is not for the benefits of local indigenous nationalities, untouchable caste, women, poor and landless class.

The data chapters in general and chapter thirteen in particular, have clearly indicated the gap between the policy makers and practitioners, something which has always been a serious problem in Nepal. Since learning is included in the public service sector, ultimately provision is regarded to be the state's responsibility. However, given the gap between the lifelong learning policy-makers and its practitioners; accountability has never been developed. Ownership and participation in the policy and practice creates transparency and accountability, which are important for the socio-political construction, but it is lacking in the lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal. This inefficiency in the institutions has arisen chiefly due to the lack of decentralisation in the process of policymaking and practice. Furthermore, the institutions currently operating have failed and are in need of
drastic reforms. Organisational failures are easy to remedy as they do not require major changes in the power structure. However, institutional reforms are associated with a change in power structure and relationships as a new set of paradigms needs to be drawn up.

The discussion presented above in conjunction with literatures and data have clearly highlighted that the state's policies are biased and have been mainly designed to safeguard the socio-political interests of the ruling elites. The lifelong learning policy and practice reveal inefficiency and lack of transparency. The absolute non-existence of peoples' participation and ownership hinders any positive outcome. In the absence of decentralisation and devolution of the process; the lifelong learning policy has remained alien to its clientele and practice has become a mere ritual. If the policies do not address the needs of those for whom they have been designed, the outcome will be an embarrassing failure. For example, policy documents that were reviewed in chapter seven say one thing while the field data that presented in chapter thirteen reveals other realities. Thus, there is no relationship between policy and practice on the ground. Policy is normally formulated in accordance with donor agencies' interests. In this process, on the one hand, achieving any substantive outcome in the learning sector becomes a complete failure, while on the other; the policymakers have increased their dependency on foreign aid and ideas. Because of that, the current Nepalese lifelong learning policy and practice is unable to contribute to the socio-political construction and has created merely social exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity.

How does the lifelong learning policy and practice address the issues of social exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity?

The foremost task of the learning process is to bring about changes in a society in an effort to bring about equity and equality. It must be empowering where the individuals in a society seek to establish their membership and identify their responsibility as participants in social change. The lifelong learning process is an energising tool that is supposed to add dynamism to a vibrant society establishing the fundamental beliefs for beneficial change. However, due to the failure of the lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal, there have been minimal gains from the efforts and trials of these last fifty years. People have never achieved ownership throughout the process. Therefore the people have failed to gain in
terms of equality and equity within the social structure, but, rather, the environment of social exclusion is reinforced. The lack of changes in the feudal values and value systems has made the society more passive and weakened the civil society perpetuating social exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity.

The society has become more vulnerable having lost the binding characteristics of social harmony and social cohesion, giving rise to various forms of conflict in the past and the civil war at present. The exclusion of various ethnic and religious minorities and women in the policy decisions has fuelled social conflicts. Lifelong learning should involve each and every one and in particular empower the lowest elements of the society. The process should establish an enabling environment of inclusion, one where participants are encouraged to become active citizens and improve their capabilities. The social evils of the Hindu religion and the caste system should be reformed in a society which mainly excludes the lower castes and women in all aspects of social activities, including formal and non-formal learning. At the same time, justice and equal rights for indigenous nationalities and poor and landless people should be the aim of non-formal and formal learning, something which is only in the policy and fails in actual practice, as highlighted by the field research data in chapter thirteen. Thus, the Nepalese policy is simply window-dressing to attract foreign aid but is not intended for practice in real life. Directly or indirectly, the King and his advisors and the Hindu social elites want to retain the system of social exclusion and marginalisation by simply failing to implement the policy into practice. Foreign aid, including that for social services such as health and education, also goes into the elites’ interests and benefits. In regard to this issue, Bourdieu (1977: 199) writes “[...] the relativity autonomy of the educational system with respect to the interests of the dominant classes must always take into account the specific services” as, by doing so, their continuity of the possession of the productive resources is assured. Further, Youngman (1986: 21) states “in contemporary capitalist social formations the education system continues to serve the interests of the ruling class, and acts to legitimate its rule and to train people to fit into the socio-economic hierarchy.” In the case of Nepal, the Sanskrit University of Dang can be taken as an example. It was designed and established only for male Brahmins and from where, so far, only Brahmins have benefited, while the rest of the Nepalese people, including Brahmin women are excluded, as my literature chapters have clearly highlighted and later data chapters have explored and revealed.
Hence, in Nepal, gender disparity is acute owing to the closed nature of the Hindu social structure, where social mobility is restricted. The Hindu religion confines women in subordination and males are accepted as being superior. As highlighted in chapter five, the Hindu scriptures play a major role in creating gender disparity within those practising the religion. However the scenario is no better in the rest of society. Thus women of Nepal have been extremely exploited and sidelined, including when it comes to lifelong learning policy and practice. The policy of lifelong learning has so far failed to reach the female population. This basically arises from the lack of any participatory approach in either planning or execution. The planners themselves are unaware of gender perspectives, especially where it comes to lifelong learning policy formations and practice.

Patriarchal family and social structures deny women any right in Nepalese society. In addition, women have only limited access to education and men control power and thus women have been kept out of decision-making in Nepalese society. The inequalities that we observe today are in fact the aggregation of inequality inherent in the individual as well as in the structural and behavioural forms within the wider perspectives of society. The more convincing fact has been that the innate qualities and characteristics differentiating sex have continuous historical exploitation, and so in due course women have been victims of marginalisation, and dominance by the 'male' mentality. Often it is the fact that gender issues are more crucial among the Hindus in general and, furthermore, the rural situation is worse than the urban practices. As per my field data, women are totally excluded from decision-making in family, community and society, and are also made to stay in makeshift isolation during their menstrual period. They are not even allowed to walk on public paths and talk with the general public and only “normally go to bed after finishing household work at around 11 pm to wake up at 4 am in the morning while men go early to bed (because in a Hindu society men do not help with the cleaning and washing) and only get out of bed around 7 am in the morning” (chapter fourteen: 342). In Nepal, women receive second class treatment. For example, in a village school I found more girl students than boys. This was quite surprising and when I asked one of the teachers about this, his answer was; “parents send their sons to private schools even by selling their last piece of land while daughters are sent to local schools where they do not have to spend money” (ibid: 343). This is reflection of the social structuralism and inherited bias at function. It is thus palpable that these must be removed, and the only way to achieve this in an open society is through the rigorous task of the reorganisation of power structure, as stated in chapter three.
i.e. “focus on: decision-making and control over political agenda, issues and potential issues, observable (overt or covert) and latent conflict, subjective and real interests” (Lukes 1974: 25). Therefore it is obvious that the social structure must undergo radical changes to create an environment to ensure equity and equality promoting ownership to both sexes and at all levels i.e. at local, regional and national level.

Furthermore, women in Nepal are conditioned to accept this system that has divided the society into male and female spheres with appropriate roles for each. The long existing hierarchical powers and the culture of silence of the oppressed, present the dehumanised socio-political environment. Freire stresses that “oppressed having internalised the image of the oppressors and adopted their guidelines, are fearful of freedom” (1970: 29). The power diffused through the complex network of social, economic, and political interactions and processes extending to every individual crushes women through ‘duties’, while liberating the men through ‘rights’. Patriarchy exists to absolute level in Nepalese societies where the female population at large demonstrates the internalisation of the ‘male values’. It is thus obvious that the only efficient tool to reverse the process of internalisation is the lifelong learning process. But the lifelong learning policy and practice so far have failed to serve this purpose as gender disparity continues to deepen and widen in Nepalese society.

In the global context in general, the division of labour between men and women throughout the course of history has been stigmatised, which renders them inferior, vulnerable and weak in comparison to their male counterparts. Feminism, a movement against the mainstream socio-political thought of female subordination, encompasses differing views representing an outlook stemming from radicalism, structuralism to post-structuralism. In the course of history and development, from the 16th century onwards, the movement representing feminism, has been undergoing constant adjustments and changes, within which it has redefined and reformed itself. With the growth of freedom, knowledge and female empowerment, the movement has developed in terms of its needs and strategy where different institutions, organisations, and social units have been playing an effective role in Nepal as elsewhere.

In summary, on the one hand, gender-biased practices such as access to resources, especially property rights and health and in education matters, have led to greater poverty and lack of self-confidence in women. On the other hand, gender disparity is one of the
main causes of the current civil war in Nepal which encourages fighting for equal rights. According to the field data that presented in chapters twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen, inequality is generally inherited and recognised by those who suffer from it, while discrimination is active and clearly characterised by those who practise it. It is well accepted that people who practise inequality in terms of gender or those who have been made its victims in a society may or may not acknowledge it in the rural and religious contexts and settings. Therefore, awareness campaigns and advocacy along with gender-sensitising programmes should be made the prime objective of lifelong learning policy and practice.

How and why does the Hindu religion and the civil war affect the lifelong learning policy and practice?

Power and practice go hand in hand. On the one hand, in Nepal, caste and class interests over social, economic and political dominance have exacerbated exclusion, marginalisation and gender disparity in society as required by the power regime. Russell (1986: 19, quoted in chapter three) expressed that “power may be defined as the production of intended effects [...] it is easy to say, roughly, that A has more power then B, if A achieves many intended effects and B only a few.” Thus the complex dynamics of power and interests have stemmed from rulers of the country, which I called ‘power from above,’ where alienation, marginalisation, exclusion and gender disparity including in lifelong learning policy and practice have been taking place. As Scheler (1924 quoted in earlier chapters) said “knowledge is controlled and filtered from above” in order to rule the country according to the will of ruling family and their advisors (in Nepal, the ruler is Chhetri and Brahmins are the advisors).

On the other hand, since 1990, the voices of marginalised and indigenous people are being heard and their actions observed, in different forms, ranging from small sensitising activities to powerful movements against inequality, discrimination and power. In the current Maoist-led civil war, socially excluded and marginalised group of people i.e. women, lower castes, poor and landless class and indigenous nationalities have raised weapons for justice and their rights. These actions represent universal movements for justice and right against the oppression of feudal rulers i.e. Brahmins and Chhetris, upper castes and class which I called ‘power from below’. According to Lukes (2005: 124)
whom I quoted in chapter three, "[…] the victims of domination are to be seen as tactical and strategic actors, who dissemble in order to survive […]" a phenomenon that is distinctly shown in the field data of my research which I have presented with analysis in chapter fifteen under the topic of 'civil war and its impact on lifelong learning practice'. The current Maoist-led civil war of Nepal is the classic example of it. However, neither the RNA nor the PLA is in position to win the current war: there is clear power equilibrium between the Royalists and the Maoists.

The Maoist-led civil war has resulted from the cumulative effect of social disharmony and exclusion, economic disparity and political inefficiency. The king, along with his army and the feudal class, constitute the traditional force. The Maoists form the radical left while the multiparty democratic forces are sandwiched between these two battling forces. The Maoists’ call for a republican state is in conflict with the system of monarchy. The state authority and extra-constitutional activities of the king and his suspension of democracy is in conflict with the constitutional parties. The three-pronged situation has been the cause of uncertainty in the Nepalese socio-economic and political situation and has become a major barrier to lifelong learning practice in Nepal. I have investigated these issues by carrying out field research across the country with the findings presented in chapters twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen.

Hence the Maoist-led civil war has reached this stage because of the socio-economic and political hardship created by the king and his handful of advisors, who are mainly Brahmins. There is no past record or immediate signs of a Nepalese economic recovery, even though the government has claimed a reduction of poverty level from 42% to 32%. Tourism, once known as one of the nation's main sources of foreign income, is almost dead. Population migration is rapidly taking place i.e. from village to city and city to foreign countries. In consequence, sooner or later, villages will be only occupied by the Maoist cadres and their supporters. There seems to be no improvement in socio-economic and political affairs including lifelong learning as there is power equilibrium between oppressors and oppressed.

Owing to the drastic cut-back in government expenditure on social provision, in order to finance the security sector, the learning programmes have suffered severely. It has been estimated that about eleven billion rupees was spent in the security sector during the year
The war, no doubt, has brought an unbearable cost to the limited national resources. The NGOs and other civil society organisations have also been incapable of delivering services, including learning, although some foreign organisations are willing to work within the framework of social issues raised by the Maoists. Intimidation and harassment from both government security forces and the Maoist rebels have, however, confined them within the urban areas. The nation is broadly divided into the national policy camp versus the rebellion camp and this has affected the policy and practice of lifelong learning processes and incentives. The rebels, however, on their own accord have used the scant resources reaching the districts, including Maoist-controlled areas. I found it interesting that the adult education/learning policy and practice implemented by the rebel camps has delivered extremely successful results. Thousands of people have been educated against the government and are continually organised through the adult education/lifelong learning processes. The adult learning process has once again proved its immense success as a tool for reaching political objectives.

Much of the achievements in the Maoists' camp may be put down to the failure of the government's policy. The oppressive tools of caste system, exclusion, gender disparity and Hindunisation are the chief factors for the growths of the insurgent forces while the adult education/lifelong learning process through education has proved to be a successful organisational tool. According to my observation during the course of my field work, the CPN (Maoist) have implemented adult education/lifelong learning through a Marxist approach as defined by Youngman (1986: 17, 242) such as "the Marxist approach thus locates adult education within the class structure of society and identifies how the different class interests influence its nature [...] thus help adult education to play its role in building the forces capable of undertaking the revolutionary transformation of society." According to the Maoists "the structural barriers is the main cause of poverty, injustice and inequality. The government and the institutions are illegitimate and thus must be destroyed through the people's power." The overall efficiency and service, in their view, shall increase with the restructuring of power structure achieved through a protracted people's war.

In summary, as mentioned earlier in such a situation of socio-economic and political inequality, the Maoists' insurgency has attained the stage of civil war. This movement being guided by the doctrine of classical Marxism in general and Mao's thought in particular has been the strongest of all the movements experienced by the country. The
movement, with its aim of liberating the exploited and the poor, has been popular among the deprived and poor elements of the society. The lower castes have been contributing significantly to the insurgency. More than 87% of the territory is controlled by this movement. The socio-economic and political spheres have experienced immense instability within the past ten years. On the one hand, although defence expenditure has soared beyond the government's economic capacity, the problem is outside the government's control. On the other hand, the Maoists have made use of all possible means to attract the population into the people's war. These range from regional autonomy to social equality, from political democracy to economic transformation and in addition they advocate the elimination of class, the caste system and gender disparity.

How and why are local knowledge, culture, tradition and religion resisting and rejecting the western policy and practice of lifelong learning?

The local concept of lifelong learning had been the major means of learning even during the ancient times among the various social settings in Nepal. It has been an exclusive tool for enhancing knowledge and skill throughout the ancient, medieval and modern societies of Nepal. In the ancient and during the Vedic times, learning was basically verbal. The skills were acquired through listening and practice, and the skills and knowledge passed down from generation to generation in the form of trade and occupation. As an example, the preaching of the Phedangba, (Limbu spiritual/religious teacher), Brahmin priest, Buddhist monks or any elderly member of community is based on lifelong learning.

Even in the hunting phase of the human evolution, lifelong learning played a vital role to gain knowledge and change in their mode of production. Further, with the sharing of knowledge and skills, humanity redefined itself into an agrarian structure. Similarly, human beings have reshaped their method of labour and relationship of production, inspired by the knowledge networks and information flow. Thus, new values and value systems along with fundamentally transformational characteristics within societies have developed through the process of lifelong learning.

\[28\] The ancient Hindu era.
As I stated in chapter two, for the first time in the Nepal's history, the western concept of learning was introduced in 1853 by Janga Bahadur Rana, the then prime minister and the founder of the Rana oligarchy. He introduced it simply because he was so impressed by the British education system when he visited that country in 1850. Initially, a school was opened in his palace to provide a western (English) education for his brothers and sons alone. Later on, it was opened to sons of social elites, but still not for the general public. Towards the end of the Rana regime, the Rana government also tried to open technical and vocational schools in Kathmandu as a part of formal education. These were all based on the Western, especially the British, concept of learning.

On the collapse of the Rana regime in 1951, Nepal adopted the Anglo-Indian format of learning as the country's learning system, which was replaced by the NESP in 1971. As covered in chapter two, the NESP was exclusively for formal learning. It was designed by American and Nepalese experts but failed to achieve its objectives. In 1990, the Government introduced the EFA that was coordinated and designed by UNESCO and approved by the ‘World Education Conference’ Jomtien 1990. EFA 1990 had been designed within the framework of the western lifelong learning concept. The project’s aim was to achieve its goals by the year 2000, but yet again it ended with unsatisfactory results (I discussed in chapter eight). The Government then introduced the EFA 2000 re-orchestrated by the ‘World Education Forum’ in Dakar, Senegal on 26 – 28 April 2000. It has six objectives, which have been listed in chapter eight. These six objectives are based on the western lifelong learning concept that covers formal, non-formal and informal learning.

Additionally, in order to achieve the goals of lifelong learning, the Government has also introduced different programmes and projects such as: Basic and Primary Education Project (BPEP), Secondary Education Development Project (SEDP), technical education and vocational training, special education, women's education, lower caste student scholarship programme for women's education, primary school nutrition programme and population and health education. Though these programmes and projects are operational, much of the nation is not convinced of their effectiveness. Thus my argument is that the western concept of lifelong learning practice has not been successful in Nepal. It failed to overtake the local lifelong learning practice, which incorporates the local religious beliefs.
and culture. This issue has been investigated and tested in various research sites across the nation-state and data is presented in chapters twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen.

Hindunisation, Sanskritisation and its learning practices have generated a form of thinking, attitude, belief and behaviour that resist and reject the western concept of lifelong learning practice in Nepal. Witness, for example, the failure of the NESP 1971 and the unsatisfactory results of EFA 1990. In addition, even though indigenous beliefs have been exploited and destroyed through the process of Hindunisation and Sanskritisation, Indigenous Nationalities’ lifelong learning practices within their own community still remain powerful. For example, many crafts and skills are restricted to certain definite ethnic communities and groups. Therefore the lifelong learning processes were based on local knowledge systems and were able to address the needs of the people and represented the people’s ownership of the whole process, which helped in resisting and rejecting the western concept of lifelong learning.

My observation, interaction with parents, students, teachers, intellectuals and the general public, in both urban and rural settings, has reflected the fact that lifelong learning practices based on the western concept have failed to achieve their goals. The main indicators are the high percentage of dropout, failures, exclusion and marginalisation in non-formal and formal learning. The main causative factors are: Hindunisation in the state, corruption, social exclusion, marginalisation, monopoly of social elites and political instability (the Maoist-led civil war, the King’s political move, dissolution of the parliament and democratic parties’ movement against the regression) and manipulation by donor agencies. Nepal’s lifelong learning policy and practice is highly influenced by donor countries’ interests and far removed from the local context and needs. The main reason behind this is that the country is fully dependent upon foreign aid and donations to run the country’s plan and projects. The western concept of lifelong learning practice has been resisted and rejected by the local form of lifelong learning practice that evolves with the local religions, cultures and traditions.

**Why have the lifelong learning initiatives and trials failed?**

The Government’s western concept of lifelong learning practice has not been effective enough in local context. Lifelong learning practice at the local level whether it is formal,
non-formal or informal must play an inclusive role in order to produce manpower that can provide the necessary knowledge and support in the local development process. At the same time teachers and facilitators are not dedicated to teaching and facilitating the learning practices. They are more politicised and like to spend most of their time in party politics and pursuing their own career interests. Nepal’s major political parties have used parents, teachers, students and the learning institutions for their own selfish political purposes making parents, teachers and students their tools. These are some major factors that have affected the process of lifelong learning practice. In addition, there are not enough trained teachers, and those that are trained do not use their teaching skills in teaching practice. In fact, most of the teaching and learning is based on outdated Hindunised rote learning. There is no proper academic supervision and no security for school supervisors, no effective staff development plan, lack of resources, and an outdated curriculum. Teachers are not getting proper training, nor any continuing personal development. There is no personal development programme and no in-house training either. In theory, there are resource centres allocated to between 16 to 20 schools and a person responsible for the resource centre is supposed to run eight teaching training and teaching-related workshops in addition to eight management-related courses in a one year training cycle. In reality, these are only paper exercises and hardly exist in practice, especially in rural areas. When I approached the concerned authorities, they blamed the current civil war. In urban areas, the government is conducting teacher training as per schedule; however, these training programmes and workshops are not creating any changes in teachers’ teaching and management skills. Distance learning and teacher training through the use of radio are also not achieving their aims and objectives because of lack of coordination, control and support by the responsible persons. The main reason behind the failure is the lack of dedication or interest on the part of programme conductors and participants in training. The programme conductor normally conducts this training just to appease formal requirements and earn training allowances. Participants too only attend the said training workshops and training just to receive the training allowances and, again, to fulfil the formal requirements. This type of corrupt behaviour, mentality and attitude has mainly developed from the learning practice that evolved within the norms and values of the Hindu religion.

Lifelong learning that is widely practised in Nepal is informal learning which is heavily influenced by the Hindu religion, social structures, and ethnic norms and values. Thus, the
western concept of lifelong learning is resisted in Nepal by the lifelong learning process evolved from Hinduism and the Nepalese social structure.

In the case of non-formal and formal learning, its vital aspects such as the curriculum, media of instruction, text books and location of the learning centres and schools have been extremely flawed by the manipulation and influence of donor agencies and the dominance of ruling elites and dominant social structure. As a result, the western concept of lifelong learning failed in the past for example, NESP 1971, the unsatisfactory achievement of adult literacy programmes and EFA 1990. In addition the capitalist concept of lifelong learning is strongly resisted by the Maoist-led civil war. Therefore, the future of the current learning project of EFA 2000 – 2015, coordinated and operated by UNESCO, already looks gloomy.

**Urban-rural bias in lifelong learning policy and practice**

In addition to the above discussion, every country has both urban and rural settings and this is no exception to Nepal. However, many developed countries have inclusive socio-economic policies that minimise the gap between the urban and rural areas have been minimised. In contrast, many Third World countries in general and Nepal in particular lack an inclusive socio-economic policy. The rural areas marginalised and excluded from the country’s main planning and projects, including in learning sectors. This is because of the corruption in the country and manipulation of policy by donor agencies in accordance with their interests as has been clearly highlighted by research respondents in the data chapters. Thus the rural areas of the Nepal are lagging behind in comparison to the urban areas. In addition, the current conflict has widened the gap between urban and rural areas as urban areas are under the control of the King and his armed forces and the rural areas are in the control of the Maoists which has worsened the socio-political and economic balance in the country. Hence, in many ways the gap is widening.

In addition, there is another trend developing in the global context where cities of the world are moving in one direction (it could be towards the so called ‘global village’) one after another leaving the poor and undeveloped rural areas far behind. For example, living in Kathmandu is no different from living in London. There are no difficulties to visit London from Kathmandu. It can be done in a day. If people want to make a telephone call or send
an electronic message, it takes only moments. By contrast, telephone calls and electronic mail to and from rural areas are only a dream in the current conflict situation where even the ordinary postal services are not in operation. It takes a few days to weeks and months to reach the rural areas of the country from the capital city Kathmandu. However, there is no guarantee of access, because of the conflict. There is always risk and threat to the innocent general public from both the Royalist and the Maoist armed forces. This has affected day-to-day life including all forms of lifelong learning practices (see data chapters). This has been made worse by the government's defective policy where rural areas have been excluded and marginalised in the mainstream of planning and projects since the First Five-year Plan i.e. 1956. Furthermore, the government's policy is always written for donor agencies but not for the Nepalese people and especially not for the rural areas. Thus, it is clear that policy is prepared in order to lure foreign aid but not seriously intended for implementation. Most of the learning aims and objectives which I found in the Nepalese education policy (chapter seven) of this thesis were not in active practice. This is one of the findings of my field research. Some of the objective that I found in practice such as 'gender equality in primary and secondary schools by 2005' is not possible to achieve within the targeted timeframe. The government's policy of Community Learning Centre (CLC) and implementation plan is totally unrealistic which I have argued in both literature and data chapters. In addition, whoever formulated this policy is either not from Nepal or is a Nepali without knowledge of Nepal. I even presented my opinion and findings to concerned authorities during the course of my field studies. My discussion with research respondents regarding these issues and their feelings are in my data chapters twelve, thirteen, fourteen and fifteen. Nevertheless, policy makers are used to this type of practice. Hence this is not new for Nepal: past policy literatures and policy makers' end-of-plan review and evaluation of every Five-year Plan have highlighted the weaknesses but never rectified them, as I have analysed and commented on in chapter seven.

In summary, there are both good and bad points of not turning the policy into practice. The good point is that the country's rural areas can remain away from the process of globalisation, marketisation and individualisation. As always, informal lifelong learning continue to be the main sources of knowledge and guidance for the day-to-day peoples' life in rural areas. Local culture, tradition, religion and languages can be preserved for a little longer than in the urban areas, as stated in theory and data chapters. But on the minus side, rural areas are isolated, marginalised and excluded from the advantages of the modern
technologies and facilities. This is not only marginalisation and exclusions; this is also discrimination against rural areas and their inhabitants which is not acceptable in the current global context and contravenes human rights, norms and values. Thus it is necessary to minimise the gap between the rural and urban in order to minimise the gap between the rich and poor and social exclusion and inclusion and so on. To do this, unbiased lifelong learning policy and practice needs to be operationalised to generate a knowledge economy which can play a vital role in minimising urban-rural bias.

The re-structured research model in wider neo-Marxist perspective: an analysis

As I stated in the opening paragraph of this chapter, specific questions have stemmed from the model that evolved in chapter two and later it has been re-structured in chapter nine of this thesis. The diagram that was re-structured in chapter nine is the current socio-political picture of Nepal which I called 'the wider form of neo-Marxist perspective' which I applied to explore and examine the lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal. I found the model is effective to explore, examine and answer the specific research questions.

This wider form of neo-Marxist perspective is based in the concept of Frank Youngman and Paulo Freire which has been covered in chapters three and nine. I transformed their concept into the model and added the caste system and women into the division of class system of social theory of Marx to suit the Nepalese socio-political context. In Nepalese society, class functions within the framework of the caste system, ethnicity and gender. In consequence, it is a more complicated society than the purely class-based Europe analysed by Marx in the mid 19th century. Thus, it is important to understand that social norms, values and issues of one place may be different from those of other places. Hence, it is sometimes necessary to devise social theories in order to underpin the local issues. It is also essential to amend and change the social theories to cope with the social changes. Recently, the rate of social change has accelerated, owing globalisation, modern technologies and on-going conflicts around the world. Therefore, although the model I developed is effective to explore and examine the socio-political issues of lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal, in the current context it will not last long as the society is dynamic and keep changing. For example, due to the current conflict and upheavals, social change is imminent in Nepal, and this could bring great changes in society i.e. negotiation and peace, modification, deconstruction, etc. In that time, Nepalese society could become
The re-structured research model in wider neo-Marxist perspective based on Frank Youngman and Paulo Freire's concept:

The current Nepalese social structure (class, caste, race, ethnicity, gender) and the Maoist-led civil war.

Donor agencies/countries (WTO, IMF, the World Bank, EU, etc/USA, UK, Japan and so on)

- Non bias donor agencies
- Status quo supporter donor agencies

Direct Intervention

Indirect Intervention (Hegemony)

Lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal.

- King (God/Lord Vishnu, the Field Marshal of RNA and Head of the Nepalese feudal class)
- Hindu religion, culture and tradition

Social elites, feudal class and domestic reactionary forces (the majority are Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars: only a handful of people in the Maoists)

Middle class (urban and rural bourgeois – the majority are Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars and a few Indigenous Nationalities and Dalits. The majority of the Maoist's leaders are from this class)

Poor farmers, peasants and Landless labourers (the majority are Indigenous Nationalities and Dalits; a few Brahmins, Newars and Chhetris. Both PLA and RNA come from this class)

Socially oppressed and marginalised group: women of all classes, castes, race, and ethnicity (30% of the PLA combatant s come from this particular group)

Royalists

- Power from above
- Power from below

Civil War

Maoists

- Indigenous religions, cultures and traditions

Local resistance

Urban-rural bias

Better facilities and more programmes in urban areas

Less in rural areas

PRACTICE
any of these: casteless and equal to all or it could be globalised and individualised. In such social context, my model will not be effective to address the issues and changes may need to be made in accordance with circumstances.

Conclusion

Lifelong learning, as said earlier, is a powerful tool for national construction. If the policies are generated with participatory approach (bottom up) and are, translated into actual education practices in the day-to-day situations and the needs are addressed at local, regional, and national level, there will be far reaching results, capable of transforming of the society. Thus, lifelong learning could become a problem-solving tool for the nation. It strengthens the society against the negative impacts of globalisation, promoting the essence of localisation, efficiently mobilising local resources and resulting in quality production that can compete in the international markets.

In addition, lifelong learning has been one of the major means of communication and methods of imparting knowledge in the society from the very ancient times in Nepal. Along with the processes of civilisation, the indigenous knowledge system has been based on the method of lifelong learning. The basic religious and social values have not only been generated and preserved but additional modifications and reforms have been kept in phase with the processes of social diversification and development.

Even today, in the post-modern era, Nepal has one of the lowest human development records. The education sector is no exception where only 54% of the total population is literate. In such an environment, the lifelong learning process has continued to be the major tool for interaction and generation of skills and diversification. It has been the source for the continuity of indigenous and scientific knowledge systems and promotion of acquired skills.

However, with the rapid development in the growth of science and technology, the global society has changed enormously in terms of its value systems and capacity in production and productivity. The necessity of small societies in developing countries to keep up with the global productive forces has been a challenge. Therefore it is relevant that the lifelong
learning process must be made efficient to prepare the society for future challenges and at the same time must enable the country to be an active participant in global initiatives.

Though local and global challenges are paramount, with right policies and efficient practices, the obstacles can be met. Nepal, however possesses structural barriers that need to be addressed to make the process effective and efficient. Dependencies in policy formulation, inefficiency on part of the government, lack of transparency at all the stages of project cycles and centralised instead of decentralised and devolved systems are seen to be some of the outstanding hurdles. The preferences of foreign aid and lack mobilisation of national and local resources have contributed to the failure of the lifelong learning practice in Nepal.

Albeit the Maoist insurgency has impacted the process on all fronts in these last ten years, the root causes of the problem lie in the nature of governance before and after the insurgency. Structural barriers have existed for centuries and it is against these that the insurgency has been organised. If the results derived from policies and practices were of recordable success before the people's war, the Maoist insurgency would be accepted as being one of the major reasons for the failure. However this is not the case, thus it can be accepted that the failure of the development process in general and specifically the failure of lifelong learning policy and practice have been one of the outstanding reasons for the outbreak of the insurgency. I will present more conclusive discussion and recommendations for further research and points for the transparent workable policy and practice in chapter seventeen.
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE THESIS

In this chapter, I present my conclusion and recommendations for further and future research.

This research mainly stems from my twenty years of childhood and early adulthood spent in Nepal in general and my village in particular. In the process of the research issues that I raised in chapter one were evolved further in chapter two which I triangulated with literatures and data. The conclusion drawn from both literatures and empirical data is discussed below.

Nepal is the only Hindu state in the world. Its ruler is the King, the incarnation of the God Vishnu. His advisors are mainly Brahmins. Thus, the country’s power is in the hands of the King and Brahmins; even the top leaders and ideologues of the Maoists are Brahmins. The King and Brahmins control the economy, politics, and knowledge in the country. The lifelong learning policy and practice have also been ineffective due to control over the knowledge system and its directional flow, guided by Brahmins. In addition, Nepal is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal and semi-capitalist country. In this sense, the King is also the leader of the feudal society and has always been manipulated and influenced, initially by the colonial power (the British Raj) and later by regional and global powers (USA, UK, India and China) ever since unification in the eighteen century.

Although the country has been declared a Hindu state by the King and Brahmins, in reality Nepal is a multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi-religious nation. It was a country of indigenous nationalities until 235 years ago i.e. just before the unification under the Shah dynasty. Furthermore, Nepal is among the poorest and least developed countries in the world with 38% of its population living below the poverty line and where only 54% of the population are literate, with the female literacy rate far lower than the male and with urban people more literate than rural. There is a large gap between urban and rural Nepal.
international and regional political context, Nepal is geographically surrounded by three nuclear powers i.e. China, India and Pakistan. Hence Nepal could be a strategically vital ground for the western powers.

As a Hindu nation, the domination of the Brahmins' the social exclusion of lower castes and the marginalisation of women and indigenous nationalities are normal, even though the constitution proclaims equality for all. According to Hindu norms and values, equality is impossible in a Hindu society in general, and Nepal in particular, where class, ethnicity and gender function within the framework of the caste system. Many policies such as 'the abolition of the caste system and untouchability' that came into being in 1965 were never put into practice. Therefore Nepal makes policy not for implementation: it is only to make donor agencies and western worlds happy in order to get aid and moral sympathy. On the one hand, through foreign aid and donations some, elites became excessively rich. On the other hand, the majority of the population remained poor, with the result that the nation is engulfed by the current Maoist-led civil war. Thus Nepalese society clearly divided into the oppressed and the oppressor classes.

Taking account of the above socio-economic and political issues, the main research questions have been generated into specific questions by which I was able to explore the main issues. In order to explore the issues systematically and to underpin them theoretically, I used a neo-Marxist theoretical perspective, which I dealt with in chapter three. The main strength of neo-Marxist social theory is that it is comprehensively based in political economy, philosophy, history and psychology that make it a powerful tool to explore the complexities of adult education and lifelong learning. Lifelong learning is learning throughout life by means of informal, formal and non-formal learning for knowledge economy, personal fulfilment, active citizenship, employability/adaptability, social and gender inclusion and so on. Thus lifelong learning has been made an integral part of globalisation by capitalists. In the context of Nepal, lifelong learning, especially non-formal and formal learning, is controlled from above by Brahmins and manipulated by donor agencies and forces of globalisation according to their interests. Therefore, I reviewed the relevant literatures concerning globalisation, glocalisation and localisation in chapter four. The forces of globalisation advocate democratisation, liberalisation and decentralisation of power. In fact, globalisation is only a constructive tool for rich nations such as the USA and UK and is a destructive power or force like a tsunami for poor
nations. It has drained wealth and brain power from the poor countries into the rich countries. For example, there are two medical consultant doctors currently working and settled in the UK from a small rural village called Sinam of Taplejung District. Both gained scholarships, one to specialise as a gynaecologist, the other as a pathologist. On completion of their studies, they did not return to the country. However, Nepal paid money back to UK for this training by means of the World Bank’s ‘Structural Adjustment Policies’. At the end, Nepal lost both wealth and brain, a classic example of periphery to centre and dependency phenomenon and reveals the negative impact of globalisation to poor and dependent countries. In Nepal, globalisation is mainly promoted by the king and his advisors, suppressing poor and landless people, lower castes, indigenous nationalities and women politically, economically, culturally and religiously and ruining the country, making Nepalese people ever poorer and pushing the state into civil war. Thus I considered it was important to explore the Nepalese social structure, Hindu religion, caste and class stratification, which I covered in chapter five.

In Nepal, Brahmans, Chhetris and Newars are upper castes who control the power of the country. The King is a Chhetri and ruler of the country and Brahmans are political advisors and priests, including the Royal Palace Priest. Newar people are mainly occupied in trade and business and also in the government services. Nepalese society is exploited and suppressed by these castes using the Hindu religion as a tool and an umbrella. Indigenous nationalities, Sudras, working class Brahmin, Chhetri, Vaishya, Madhesi and many others are suffering from exclusion and marginalisation. The factors in the social sector that have strongly contributed to the people’s war I explored in chapter six.

For the last ten years, conflict against feudalism and imperialism is going ahead at a rapid pace under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist) in Nepal. Most of the country i.e. 87% land, especially the villages, are under the control of the Maoists and only cities and district headquarters are in the hands of the old regime. According to my observations and findings, the old feudal state has been wiped out from entire rural areas extending from the southern plains to the northern high Himalayas and encircling district headquarters and cities. The power from below as I mentioned in earlier chapters is advancing rapidly. This has currently reached the stage of power equilibrium as I have highlighted in my discussion chapter. The failures of the democratic processes along with development incentives and learning policy and practice have all contributed to the people’s war. The learning policy
and practice is regarded as an efficient tool to mobilise and empower the people towards achievement. Hence, I reviewed Nepalese policy and practice in chapter seven, as my research topic is based on a socio-political study of policy and practice of lifelong learning in Nepal.

There is no doubt, the First to the Tenth Plans have given very clear learning policies. There are a dozen commissions that have been formed and countless foreign experts have been involved continuously since 1954. Despite the contribution of their aid and expertise, almost all of these Plans did not achieve their aims and it is very unlikely that the current Tenth Plan will achieve its goals. The ongoing civil war is one of the factors in this. As my literature review and field research have clearly reflected, Nepalese policies in general and education (learning) policy in particular is not for implementation; it is only for donor agencies to get more aid. In this sense, it was very important to explore donor agencies’ lifelong learning policies, which I carried out in chapter eight.

The World Bank, IMF, the ADB, OECDs and the EU have claimed that they are primarily committed to poor countries in alleviating poverty and their learning policies are based on this principle. However, they never dissociated their political economic tool -the so-called ‘Structural Adjustment Policies’- from their loan packages. In consequence, only a handful of social elites and donor countries became rich and the majority of Nepalese people have suffered from hunger and disease and currently so-called good education is beyond the earning capacity of poor people. This is one of the main reasons why the country plunged into civil war.

In addition, since 1990, Nepal has fully endorsed the Jomtien Declaration (1990) ‘EFA’ and has made commitments towards achieving its goal. One of the objectives of EFA 1990 was to provide all children of the world with access to good quality basic education by 2000, but that objective was not achieved. Thus, the Dakar World Education Forum 2000 came up with a revised vision, mission, goals and strategies and added another 15 years from the year 2000 to 2015 to achieve those goals. The EFA policy has opted for the concept of lifelong learning in order to provide basic education to all i.e. by means of informal, non-formal and formal learning. However, I did not find this in practice, as I have highlighted in my data and discussion chapters. Therefore I argue that Nepalese policies in general and lifelong learning policy in particular are not for implementation and
practice: these are only to get aid from donor agencies. On the one hand donor agencies, especially the World Bank, influence the poor countries’ policies in order to make profit which is also known as peripheral to centre strategy. On the other hand, the ruler of the poor countries such as Nepal, its ruler and his advisors do not care about the implementation and practice as long as they can get and make money from donor agencies after the wheeling and dealing of the policy.

I reviewed literatures and policy documents related to my thesis including donor agencies learning policies through the perspective of neo-Marxist political economy. In Marxist political economy, class and production are interlinked as the upper class normally owns the production and retains its surplus value and workers are always exploited by the upper class. However, through my literatures review, discussions and documents analysis, I came to the conclusion that the neo-Marxist theoretical framework is not strong enough to explore the complexities of Nepalese society where on the one hand, donor agencies’ strong linkage with the upper castes and class exists in order to maintain their trading, while on the other, ‘class functions within the framework of caste, ethnicity and gender’ which is missing in neo-Marxist social theory. Therefore, in order to explore the complexity of Nepalese society, I re-constructed neo-Marxist theory into a ‘wider neo-Marxist perspective’ in chapter nine, where caste, ethnicity, gender and donor agencies’ hegemony have been included in addition to class. Then, I tested the model that evolved in chapter two into the ‘wider neo-Marxist perspective’ to examine the lifelong learning policy and practice across the country in various socio-economic and political environments in anthropological and ethnographical settings. I have chosen qualitative research methodology and interviews, focus group discussions, observation, participation and documents review as methods of data collection, since Nepal is one of poor nations of the world and the country’s literacy rate and socio-economic, political, and communication situation is weak and unstable. Further, purposive sampling has been used to select research sites and respondents for this research and I tested and re-tested the re-structured model across the country at different research and test sites.

The data and discussion of chapter thirteen mainly highlighted that the knowledge generated by informal learning has been resisting and rejecting the western concept of non-formal and formal lifelong learning practice, since the knowledge generated through informal learning has been increasingly dominated by various religions and cultures. The
chapter also revealed gender disparity in non-formal and formal learning. This mainly stemmed from the Hindu religion and culture where women are considered inequal to man. Thus women get less priority in learning; they have fewer rights and authority in society; and there is no property rights for daughters, a position constitutionally legalised in Nepal. Hence, the Nepalese constitution itself is biased as this is written by Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars for their betterment but not for all Nepalese people i.e. women, the lower castes (untouchables), indigenous nationalities and the poor and landless people. In the past, Brahmins and social elites enjoyed an extended close relationship with British colonial rulers enabling them to be more secure and powerful in the country. Gradually, Nepal developed into a semi-colonial country of Britain. Later Britain handed over this system to Indian rulers when the British left India in 1947. Thus, Nepal is a semi-colony, semi-feudal and semi-capitalist donor-dependent country including its learning policy and practice as its 60% of budget comes from global donor countries and agencies. Nepalese cities are more or less already in ‘the global village’ and the rest of the country seems to be not that far away from the wave of globalisation. However, I have noticed some degree of resistance to globalisation even in the city centres. For example, the extended family system has strongly rejected the process of individualisation even though the society is dynamic, and the forces of social norms and values are strong in a closed society where the caste system and ethnicity plays a central role. I reviewed this issue and related literatures in chapter five and gave data interpretation and discussion in chapter fourteen and further discussion in chapter sixteen. All these steps i.e. literature review data collection and discussion have indicated that it is very difficult to bring about social change in a complex society like Nepal. In order to bring complete social change, the CPN (Maoist) has launched an armed movement that has reached the stage of civil war.

The nation today is suffering from armed conflict. The Royal Nepal Army is operated by the power from above and the People’s Liberation Army is motivated by the power from below. In the name of war, many innocent people of all ages have been tortured and killed by both forces. For the last ten years, whatever traces of non-formal and formal lifelong learning practice that may have reached the people have been severely disrupted by the war. There is a big gap between the learning organisations and the District Education Office across the country. The way resources, including those in learning practice are controlled from above and misused for their personal benefit by social elites and Brahmins
and are manipulated and influenced by donor agencies in the process of policy making and practice had to a large extent fuelled the current Maoist-led civil war in the country.

In summary, the current civil war is not a permanent problem for Nepal. Sooner or later, it has to end and it will end. Whatever way the current civil war ends is not an issue of this research. The main issue of this research is how the lifelong learning policy and practice is operating in Nepal and at what levels and in what ways the current civil war and globalisation are affecting the policy and practice of Nepal. Thus, as suggested earlier, lifelong learning could become a powerful tool for building the nation if the policy is generated with participatory approach from the grass roots level and actually put into practice instead of remaining on paper. It would strengthen the local power against the negative impacts of globalisation by empowering local people. However, knowledge generated by informal learning remains a strong influence in people’s lives, as Nepal is economically not important for the forces of globalisation. In that sense, Nepal is still far from the epicenter of globalisation. Nevertheless, in the long run, even a weak influence of globalisation can create a great impact on local knowledge, cultures, and religions. The review of the lifelong learning policy of donor agencies in chapter eight has clearly indicated that donor organisations such as the EU and OECD are predominantly concentrated on the application of lifelong learning to address knowledge and skills that are required by modernisation and globalisation. A lifelong learning policy that results only in modernisation and globalisation will destroy the positive aspects of Nepalese life, such as its cultures, systems of morality and strong family ties. Therefore, it is very important to minimise the total dependency mentality of Nepal and at the same time reduce donor agencies’ influence and manipulation of policy and practice of lifelong learning in order to prevent the negative impacts of globalisation.

Therefore, my four years of research in lifelong learning policy and practice, research experience, literatures review, field research and findings have tempted me to give the following recommendations for further and future research in the lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal. Recommendations are the interpretation of my research findings seen from a in neo-Marxist perspective.
• Lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal must address the issues of class, caste, ethnicity and gender, as in Nepalese society 'class functions within the framework of caste, ethnicity and gender.'

• The multi-cultural nature of the society at large must be identified and recognised departing from the political agenda of monoculturisation of indigenous cultures.

• Policies must be formulated aimed at the protection and promotion of the different religions and cultures.

• The policy framework for the lifelong learning process and practice should be drawn from these cultures and indigenous systems.

• That the political outcomes are a result of structural features must be acknowledged, and therefore the lifelong learning process should focus on changing these structures.

• In the global context, the indigenous knowledge systems and cultures form the basic forces to battle against the negative trends of globalisation and thus it becomes necessary for a country like Nepal to preserve diversity within the broader aspects of unity.

• The centralised planning restricted to donor-ruler approach in planning and execution must be brought to an end, and be replaced by a participatory, bottom-up approach.

• The policies should identify the necessity of individual communities and work out policy frameworks to make the programmes most beneficial at the local level.

• The issues of gender disparity must be dealt with. One of the most conspicuous aspects of the Hindu religion is the way women are accepted as being subordinate to men. All forms of lifelong learning i.e. formal, non-formal and informal learning need to address this issue.
In order to address the above listed issues, lifelong learning policy needs to be inclusive, bottom up, participatory and contextualised with the local context to give protection from the negative impacts of globalisation. Thus, it is better to find an alternative solution suitable and sustainable for all such as localisation to shape globalisation. In order to do this, most development should be local in nature. Different plans for different places should be launched according to the resources available. Assessments and surveys of local resources, both material and human, should be made before launching a local level plan. Instead of taking in foreign models of development, the state should adopt its own models according to its requirements. Hence, local human resources should be tapped and the skills of local people should be upgraded to make them competent enough to take part in the development of their locality. Measures should be taken to encourage people to remain in their own neighbourhoods. The above points are only a few examples taken from my research. More research needs to done in the field of lifelong learning policy and practice in Nepal. My research is the first research in the field of lifelong learning in Nepal and has been able to only explore some of the issues. My research is not conclusive but it has I hope opened Pandora’s box for further and future research. Finally, I will highlight my research strengths, weaknesses and limitations in chapter eighteen
CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS, STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES AND REFLECTIONS

This is the concluding chapter of my thesis, where I will highlight the limitations of my research, discussed strengths and weaknesses and give my final reflections.

Research limitations

I have endeavoured to explore the lifelong learning policy and practice of Nepal. However, I could not overcome certain barriers, which limited my research in certain aspects. My field research was obstructed by the unexpected escalation of the civil war in Nepal, which has led to a complete breakdown in overall security. As a member of the general public, one might be shot by either the Royal Nepalese Army or the Maoists, while researchers are suspected of being spies by both factions.

Local people or government officials are naturally loath to participate in any form of open discussions or interviews, which made it very difficult to access government and non-government organisation offices. Field research in those areas of western Nepal worst affected by the civil war was a challenge. In addition, as a self-financed student, financial and logistical limitations directly or indirectly affected the outcome of the whole research.

Strengths

My PhD research is the first research into lifelong learning in Nepal and it could be the first of its kind in a conflict situation. Lifelong learning is very important subject in the context of developing Nepal. As with any developing country, it is the key to its progress. In Nepal, religious domination is not only omnipresent but remains the root obstacle to
progress including in the field of lifelong learning practice. I attempted to cover all the
issues, summarising the situation why adult education/lifelong learning is not only essential
as well as highlighting the influences that debar its progress.

Nepal is not only landlocked but its geographical structure limits internal communication.
Due to the mountainous terrain, there is a big divide between the urban and rural sectors;
walking remains the chief means of travel in many areas. Despite these difficulties and in
the midst of the civil war, I succeeding in carrying out my field research which is definitely
one of my research strengths.

Anyone pursuing Western idealism in the face of Eastern custom, particularly when that is
rooted in the tenets of Hindu religion and caste, is a difficult task. I also experienced these
difficulties during my research when I tried to underpin the Nepalese social issues, where
class functions within the framework of caste, ethnicity and gender, with class-based
classical Marxist and neo-Marxist social theories. Hence, during the course of my
research, a ‘wider neo-Marxist perspective’ had to be evolved in order to underpin the
Nepalese social issues. I consider this one of the main strengths of my thesis.

An additional strength of this thesis is its exploration of civil war and its impact on day-to-
day lifelong learning processes and its direct criticisms of the corrupt monarchy and ruling
elites who pushed the country into civil war. The world was given a lurid insight into the
corruption of royal power by the Palace Massacre: and even the Maoist insurgents appeared
to be too shocked to take advantage of the ensuing turmoil. A further strength of my thesis
is that what I have written in this thesis does spell a way forward, based on avoiding the
traps of failed schemes in the past.

In summary, this research has explored the current lifelong learning policy and practice in
Nepal and brought up the issues for discussion. It has also provided learning related socio-
political suggestions and recommendations for further research. In addition, although
English is only my second language, I have tried my best to interpret and narrate research
findings and express my opinion in English. I consider this an additional research strength
as my thesis at least will be read by more people and the reality of the Nepalese situation will be understood by more people across the world.

**Weaknesses**

It is unfair to discuss only the strengths of my thesis, because there are also weaknesses, as this research is the first academic research of my life. Thus, following paragraph will cover the weaknesses of my thesis.

Having browsed through my work, my data chapters are mainly based on interpretation, interviews and discussions and less on statistical data. In this sense, my research looks perhaps somewhat more story-telling and journalistic which may seen odd in the eyes of quantitative people who may raise questions.

In addition, I tried to be unbiased throughout the research work; however, as a member of the oppressed group and indigenous nationalities, my interpretation, narration, discussion and analysis of data sometimes seems to swerve from academic neutrality into the favour of oppressed group of people.

In summary, there is no doubt my research has loopholes and weaknesses since this is one-man research which I will definitely improve upon in my further academic career. If I were to start my thesis now, I would do better because I have learned quite a lot from my four years research experience.

**Reflection**

The Maoist-led civil war, unstable governance by the multi-party system and now the rule of the King alone has disrupted the processes of learning throughout the country.

As I mentioned in earlier chapters, Nepal is a country where the rulers have always ruled for themselves and the dominant Hindu religion and culture discriminate against the weak,
in particular the lower castes, indigenous nationalities and the women of all castes in all social activities including lifelong learning. In the long run, such practice has created a handful of people who are rich and knowledgeable while the majority of Nepalese have been pushed into marginalised, excluded and kept at poverty. Thus, grinding poverty is the norm for the majority of the population and lifelong learning is needed to stay alive in such a climate of political oppression and environmental hardship. Lifelong learning generates knowledge and skills and, like a multipurpose tool, can be used for different ends, be it globalisation or localisation, the achievement of economic prosperity or the attainment of justice and human rights.
Appendix 1

Maoist 40-point demands and covering letter presented to Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba by Dr Baburam Bhattrai on behalf of the United People’s Front Nepal on 4 February 1996.

4 February 1996

Right Honourable Prime Minister
Prime Minister’s Office, Singha Durbar, Kathmandu

Subject: Memorandum

Sir,

It has been six years since the autocratic monarchical partyless Panchyat system was ended by the 1990 People’s Movement and a constitutional monarchical multiparty parliamentary system established. During this period state control has been exercised by the tripartite interim government, the single-party government of the Nepali Congress, the minority of government of UML and the present Nepali Congress-RPP-Sadbhavana coalition. That, instead of making progress, the situation of the country and the people is going downhill is evident from the facts that Nepal has slid to being the second poorest country in the world; people living below the absolute poverty line has gone up (increase) to 71 per cent; the number of unemployed has reached more than 10 per cent while the number of people who are semi-employed or in disguised employment has crossed (exceeded) 60 per cent; the country is on the verge of bankruptcy due to soaring foreign loans and deficit trade; economic and cultural encroachment within the country by foreign, and especially Indian, expansionists is increasing by the day (daily); the gap between the rich and the poor and towns and villages is growing wider. On the other hand, parliamentary parties that have formed the government by various means have shown that they are more interested in remaining in power with the blessings of foreign imperialist and expansionist master than in the welfare of the country and the people. This is clear from their blindly adopting the so-called privatisation and liberalisation to fulfil the interests of all imperialists and from
the recent ‘national consensus’ reached in handing over the rights over Nepal’s water resources to Indian expansionists. Since 6 April, 1992, the United People’s Front has been involved in various struggles to fulfil relevant demands related to nationalism, democracy and livelihood either on its own or with others. But rather than fulfil those demands, the governments formed at different times have violently suppressed the agitators and taken the lives of hundreds; the most recent example of this is the armed police operation in Rolpa a few months back. In this context, we would like to once again present to the current coalition government the demand related to nationalism, democracy and livelihood, many of which have been raised in the past and many which have become relevant in the present context.

Our demands:

40 points demand: Extracted from (Karki and Seddon 2003: 183-87)

1. Regarding the 1950 Treaty between India and Nepal, all unequal stipulations and agreements should be removed.

2. HMGN should admit that the anti-nationalist Tanakpur agreement was wrong, and that it, together with the Mahakali Treaty, which incorporates the former, should be nullified.

3. The entire Nepal-Indian border should be systematically controlled. Vehicles with Indian number plates, which are today freely plying the roads of Nepal, should not be allowed free entry.

4. Gorkha recruiting centres should be closed and decent jobs should be arranged for the would-be recruits.

5. In several areas of Nepal, where foreign technicians are given precedence over Nepali technicians for certain local jobs, a system of work permits should be instituted for foreigners.

6. The monopoly of foreign capital over Nepal’s industry, trade and economic sector should be stopped.

7. Sufficient income should be generated from customs duties for the country’s economic development.

8. The cultural pollution of imperialists and expansionists should be stopped. Hindi video, cinema and all kinds of such newspapers and magazines should be completely
stopped. Inside Nepal, the importation and distribution of vulgar Hindi films, videoglacettes and magazines should be stopped.

9. Regarding NGOs and INGOs: Bribing by imperialists and expansionists in the name of NGOs and INGOs should be stopped.

Demands related to the public and its well-being:

10. A new constitution must be drafted by the people’s elected representatives.

11. All the special rights and privileges of the King and his family should be ended.

12. The army, police and administration should be under the people’s control.

13. The Security Act and all other repressive acts should be abolished.

14. All the false charges against the people of Rukum, Rolpa, Jajarkot, Gorkha, Kavre, Sindhupalchowk, Sindhuli, Dhanusha and Ramechhap should be withdrawn and all those people falsely charged should released.

15. Armed police operations in the different districts should immediately be stopped.

16. Regarding Dilip Chaudhary, Bhuvan Thapa Magar, Prabhakar Subedi and other people who disappeared from police custody at different times, the government should constitute a special investigating committee to look into these crimes; the culprits should be punished and appropriate compensation given to their families.

17. People, who died during the time of the Movement, should be declared martyrs and their families, and those who have been wounded and disabled as a result, should be given proper compensation. Strong action should be taken against their killers.

18. Nepal should be declared a secular state.

19. Girls should be given equal property rights to those of their brothers.

20. All kinds of exploitation and prejudice based on caste should be ended. In areas having a majority of one ethnic group, that group should have autonomy over that area.

21. The status of Dalits as ‘untouchables’ should be ended and the system of untouchability ended once and for all.

22. All languages should be given equal status. Up to middle-high school level (ucha madhyamic), arrangements should be made for education to be given in the children’s mother tongue.

23. There should be a guarantee of free speech and a free press. The communications media should be completely autonomous.
24. Intellectuals, historians, artists and academicians engaged in other cultural activities should be guaranteed intellectual freedom.

25. In both the terai and hilly regions there is prejudice and misunderstanding in backwards areas. This should be ended and the backward areas should be assisted. Good relations should be established between the villages and city.

26. Decentralisation in real terms should be applied to local areas, which should have local rights, autonomy and control over their own resources.

Demands related to people's livelihoods:

27. Those who cultivate the land should own it. The tiller should have the right to the soil he/she tills. The land of rich landlords should be confiscated and distributed to the homeless and others who have no land.

28. Brokers and commission agents should have their property confiscated and that money should be invested in industry.

29. All should be guaranteed work and should be given a stipend until jobs are found for them.

30. HMGN should pass strong laws ensuring that people involved in industry and agriculture should receive minimum wages.

31. The homeless should be given suitable accommodation. Until HMGN can provide such accommodation they should not be removed from where they are squatting.

32. Poor farmers should be completely freed from debt. Loans from the Agricultural Development Bank incurred by poor farmers should be completely written off. Small industries should be given loans.

33. Fertiliser and seeds should be easily and cheaply available, and farmers should be given a proper market price for their production.

34. Flood and draught victims should be given all necessary help.

35. All should be given free and scientific medical service and education; education for profit should be completely stopped.

36. Inflation should be controlled and labourers' wages and salaries raised in direct ratio to the rise in prices. Daily essential goods should be made cheap and easily available.

37. Arrangements should be made for the provision of drinking water, good roads and electricity in the villages.

38. Cottage and other small industries should be granted special facilities and protection.
39. Corruption, black marketing, smuggling, bribing, the taking of commissions etc. should all be stopped.

40. Orphans, disabled people, older people and children should be given special help and protection.

Letter: Extracted from (Thapa and Sijapati 2003: 189-90, in italic is original)
National and District non-formal education committee

District non-formal education committee:

The following officers will become member of the committee:

- Chairman of District Development Committee
- Deputy Chairman of District Development Committee
- 3 x persons (maximum) from NGO responsible for the programme
- Local Development Officer
- 1 x representative from local financial institutions nominated by the District Education Officer
- District Chief of the Women Development Branch
- District chief of the Public Health Branch
- Individual dedicated in education (nominated by the District Development Committee)
- Non-formal education co-ordinator, District Education Office
- 2 x school headmasters nominated by the District Education Officer
- Secretariat
The National Non-Formal Education Council:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Role</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education Minister</td>
<td>Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman, National Planning Commission</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP, Chairman of Population and Social Committee</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Vice-Chancellor – nominated by Ministry of Education</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary, Ministry of Finance</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary, Ministry of Health</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary, Ministry of Local Development</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary, Ministry of Education, Culture Social and Welfare</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary, Ministry of Population and Environment</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary, Social and Welfare Council</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Secretary, Ministry of Education</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Secretary, Education Administration Branch</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President of Commerce and Industrial Organisation</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chairman, Organisation of Journalists</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x teachers nominated by Ministry of Education</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 x members from NGO and INGO, nominated by Ministry of Education</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 x member from academicians (specialist in non-formal education)</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief, National non-formal education</td>
<td>Member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council</td>
<td>Secretariat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3

A list of donor countries and organisations

Asian Development Bank (ADB)
Danish Agency for Development Assistance (DANIDA)
Department for International Development (DFID)
European Union (EU)
Finish International Development Agency (FINIDA)
German Development Co-operation (GTZ)
International Monetary Fund (IMF)
Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD)
OECD countries (Australia, Canada, Japan and so on)
Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (SDC)
The World Bank
United Mission to Nepal (UMN)
United Nation (UN)
United Nations Development Project (UNDP)
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF)
World Health Organisation (WHO)
World Literacy Foundation (WLF)
Appendix 4

The Communist Parties of Nepal: diagram adopted from (Thapa and Sijapati 2003: 44)
Sixth Five-year Plan (1980 – 1985): education policy and action policy

Education policy

1. Existing education facilities were to be reformed, developed so that quality education as well as the retention problem would be improved.

2. Extension of additional education facilities to: a) primary education, b) Non-formal functional adult education, c) vocational and technical education.

3. Science and technology plays a vital role in modernisation of a country’s economic system. Thus more emphasis would be given to develop such education. However, knowledge and skills that are developed by means of science and technology must be based on a local context and able to use local resources to solve the country’s economic problems.

4. The traditional government grant system was to be slowly removed and the principle of more public participation and cooperation would be implemented in order to develop and extend the general education of the country.

5. During the time of curriculum design and text book writing, especial attention would be given to the skills and knowledge that is considered useful for the nation and society.

6. Special education programmes would be conducted and opportunities given to the women and educationally marginalised areas.

Action policy:

1. Curriculum and textbook writing as well as teacher training for nursery schools would
be arranged by the Ministry of Education and private and local Panchyat political bodies were to be given responsibility to run the said schools.

2. To make adult education more productive and effective, those experimental pilot projects of functional literacy would be used as a base and be integrated with Panchayat, agriculture, and health. In addition, free books and learning facilities were to be provided to learners.

3. In higher education, technical institutes were to be extended and general institutes reformed.

4. The Sixth Plan had aimed to open agriculture, medicine and engineering colleges in every development region to fulfil each areas skilled manpower requirements and minimise the regional capital imbalance.

5. To develop teacher training, curriculum inspection and examination systems as a whole in order to improve quality in education. To improve educational programme on the basis of research and to develop and establish this in real practice.

6. Trade schools were to be opened and developed to provide vocational training and job opportunities. Qualified candidates from trade schools would be given special preference in entering into government services.

7. The girls’ admission rate to school was far lower than the boys. To increase the girls’ admission to schools, special preference was to be given to females in teacher selection. And newly opened schools with the maximum number of girl students being given first priority for government’s authority.

8. The Sixth Plan’s aim was to minimise educational losses, increase the number of trained teachers and teaching support materials. It also gives emphasis to considering geographical conditions and population when opening new schools, so that the maximum number of people would be able to use the facilities. Special arrangements will be made to reduce the shortage of teachers in rural areas.

9. The country’s important, historic and archival places were to be protected and necessary maintenance would be carried out.

10. As far as possible, higher education would be combined with work opportunities to create employability.
11. The education system would be modified in accordance with the nation’s needs and its quality was improved to gain recognition in the international arena.

12. The Sixth Plan would encourage the private sector to open general and professional education institutes.

Source: NPC (1980: 587-89)
Seventh Five-year Plan (1985–1990): national objectives, plan policy, working policy, level wise education objectives, physical targets and priority projects

National objectives

- To provide; citizens loyal to the nation and the crown, dedicated to the system and preservation of national sovereignty, conscious of their duties and rights and have high moral character.
- To provide capable manpower by developing technical skills and knowledge necessary for various nation building works.
- To develop science and technology in order to fulfil the multi-dimensional need for development and national modernization.
- To support national development by preserving and promoting the glorious culture, art and literature of the kingdom of Nepal.

Plan Policy

1. To expand literacy rates rapidly by means of primary education and adult education, to emphasize the development of vocational education to establish and develop technical educational institutions at university and campus level, to prepare skilled manpower necessary for economic development of the country, and to emphasize the qualitative improvement of educational standards.
2. To build up the character of students by imparting moral education and emphasizing sports and extra-curricular activities.
3. To adopt the policy of making arrangements for primary education from 1-5 standard and secondary education from 6-10 standard and gradually develop the system accordingly.

4. To encourage private sector and people's participation in the establishment of lower secondary and secondary schools and campuses to impart higher education of vocational or general nature.

5. Special arrangements would be made for the development of female education. Emphasis would be placed on the development of culture, art and literature that could add new dimension to national development by eradicating superstition and malpractices from the society.

6. To emphasize the preservation and promotion of places and objects of archaeological importance and cultural monuments and arts.

Working Policy

a. In order to make primary education available to everybody, education at this level would be made free and textbooks would be freely distributed up to the three class.

b. Secondary schools that have been sanctioned by His Majesty's Government subject to specified conditions would be provided with grants only after they have run successfully with people's participation for a specified period. Necessary arrangements would be made for this purpose.

c. Primary education would be made compulsory on an experimental basis in some town Panchayats of the kingdom under the activity of the Panchayats themselves.

d. Special priority would be given to the establishment of vocation oriented adult education centres in various districts of the kingdom with the objective of imparting vocational skills to adults in education to making them literate.

e. The responsibility of establishing adult literacy centre would be entrusted to Panchayats concerned.

f. People's participation will be encouraged in the establishment and expansion of kindergartens.
g. Programmes like kindergartens and female education development would be conducted on an experimental basis with a view to reducing educational losses.

h. Technical schools would be expanded in various zones to fulfil the requirements of basic technical and vocational work force.

i. Incentive and reward system would be improved to attract good writers and make them prepare textbooks of good quality.

j. Scholarships and hostels would be arranged for the development of female education.

k. Programme for the preparation of good question papers and examination of answer papers in a scientific manner and for building up question paper bank would be conducted for improving the examination system.

l. Education projects for rural development would be started in order to provide educational opportunities for people in remote areas and those places that are backward from an educational point of view.

m. In order to create an atmosphere of competition to raise the standards of education, schools would be evaluated and worthy ones will be rewarded. Besides, model schools would also be established at regional level.

n. While adding primary schools, wards that have no such schools would be given priority. While adding lower secondary schools, Panchayats that have no such schools would be given priority. While adding secondary schools, areas that have no such schools would be given priority.

o. Extra curricular activity would be classified into compulsory desirable and optional groups for the mental, intellectual and physical development of students.

p. Research would be conducted on subjects of national need with an interdisciplinary approach. Such research works will be conducted in cooperation of government and non-government agencies.

q. People's participation would be mobilized for the physical facilities of schools. Panchayats would be activated for the purpose.

r. Additional equipment and suitable training would be arranged to bring about qualitative improvement in science, mathematics and English teaching.

s. Population education and environmental education would be integrated with formal and informal adult education.
t. The school management committee would be activated to run schools according to people's expectations. Participation of guardians would be obtained for making the teachers vigilant.

u. Experimental activities would be undertaken to attain high quality in science and technical education. For this purpose, emphasis would be placed on making arrangements for laboratories, equipment and appliances.

v. Campus autonomy and self-reliance would be emphasised for decentralizing university administration as far as possible.

w. Substantial measures would be taken to provide higher education through open media like radio and correspondence to reduce the administration pressure on campuses.

Level wise education objectives

• The objective of primary education is to make students literate and develop their habit of remaining healthy.

• The objective of lower secondary education is to build the character of students, develop in them the feeling of dignity of labour, and stimulate in them the habit of working and preparation for secondary education.

• The objective of secondary education is to prepare citizens capable of contributing for all-round development of the country and to impart basic knowledge for obtaining higher education.

• The objective of higher education is to bring about the intellectual development of students, to prepare capable citizens and to furnish a work force necessary for various nation building works.

Physical Targets

• Primary education facilities would be provided to 87% of primary school age of 6 – 10 years.

• Lower secondary education facilities would be provided to 43% of children of 11-12 years age group.
• Arrangements would be made for imparting secondary education to 36% of the children of 13–15 years age group.

• Illiterate adults would be made literate. About 750,000 would be made literate. They would also be taught vocational skills. Literacy programmes would be undertaken by local Panchayats. The Primary and adult education programme is expected to raise the literacy rate to 38.9% during the plan period.

• Training would be imparted to 2895 primary teachers, 1035 lower secondary teachers and 825 secondary teachers during the Seventh Plan period. Primary teachers training would be provided to 6000 persons under the radio-teaching programme and 1710 persons under the female educational training programme during the Seventh Plan period.

**National priority projects**

1. Expansion of primary education and vocational education.

2. Higher education would be provided on additional technical subjects and arrangements would be made to upgrade educational programmes as necessary.

3. In order to raise the qualitative standard of education, improvements would be brought about in teachers training programme, educational materials production programme and in the examination system.

Source: NPC (1985: 746-49)
Appendix 7

Eight Five-year Plan (1992 –1997): objectives, level wise objectives, policy, physical targets and priority

Objectives

1. To contribute towards the development of the inherent talents and personality of every individual.

2. To prepare citizens who are loyal to the nation and nationality, dedicated to the preservation of the country’s sovereignty and independence, conscious of their rights and duties, and have high moral character.

3. To help each individual in preparing himself/herself for life in the modern world, and to promote socialization of the individuals.

4. To develop science and technology, knowledge, technical skills and competence needed for economic development of the country, and thereby prepare capable manpower needed for various national development areas.

5. To enhance the spirit of nationality and strengthen social unity by preserving and promoting the glorious national culture, arts, music, national languages and by promoting creativity and research.

6. To contribute to the conservation and proper utilization of the natural environment and national resources.

7. To help in the integration of communities and groups that have lagged behind in society in the national main stream.
Level-wise objectives

1. The objective of primary education is to make students literate with the ability to read and write and do basic computations and to develop the habits of healthy living.

2. The objective of secondary education is to prepare self dependent citizens with the feeling of dignity of labour, loyalty to nation and democracy, awareness of environmental protection, strong moral character, and respect for culture, and social values and norms and to prepare students with necessary knowledge and skills for higher secondary education.

3. The objective of higher secondary education is preparing middle level manpower that are capable of contributing to all round development of the country, and also to prepare students with necessary knowledge required for studies at Bachelors level.

4. The objective of higher education is to promote intellectual development of the students and to prepare capable manpower and competent citizens needed for the country's development.

Policy

1. Basic and primary education will be developed and expanded keeping in view the national commitment to universalise primary education, and raise literacy rate to 67% by the year 2000 A.D.

2. People's participation will be encouraged for the establishment and expansion of pre-primary classes.

3. The feasibility of introducing compulsory primary education will be studied. In the event of free and compulsory primary education being found to be feasible, local bodies (district and village/municipality) will be provided with the necessary authority to implement free and compulsory education system.

4. The basic and Primary Education Project will be implemented in all districts of the country on a phased basis in order to promote primary school physical facilities and develop the quality of primary education.
5. Primary teacher training centres will be established in different parts of the country under the Primary Education Development Project in order to promote qualitative development of education by upgrading the performance level of the primary teachers.

6. Special emphasis will be placed on increasing the participation of girls in education. Special programmes such as the distribution of school uniforms, provision of scholarships, and awards to schools attaining high female enrolments will be extended in order to attract girls to be admitted into schools, and to develop the habit of regular school attendance without dropping out. The policy of giving priority to appointment of female teachers in primary schools will be pursued and the appointment of at least one female teacher in a primary school will be made mandatory.

7. Emphasis will be laid on raising the effectiveness of teaching through teacher training, curriculum development and introduction of improved textbooks. A reduction in drop out and repetition rate will be regarded as an indicator of the enhanced effectiveness.

8. Non-formal education programme will be launched on a campaign basis for promoting literacy in the country. The government will implement a policy whereby medium and large scale industries will be required to implement Non-formal education programmes for providing literacy to their illiterate workers on a compulsory basis. In such programmes, contents relating to raising awareness about environment, population, education, health and improved agricultural technology will be included besides literacy.

9. Non-formal education will be provided to out of school children of 6 to 14 years through programmes such as ‘Cheli –Beti’ and Sikshya Sadan.

10. Special education programmes being conducted for the helpless, disabled, and handicapped persons will be further extended. Appropriate skill oriented activities will be emphasized in carrying out special education programmes.

---

1 Sisters class
2 Education class
11. The participation of private sector and general public will be mobilized for operating additional secondary schools which will be determined on the basis of the number of students aspiring for secondary education and the ratio between primary and secondary schools. Secondary education will be made free on a phased basis.

12. Qualitative instruction at secondary education level will be ensured by developing curriculum and textbooks based on the real needs of the country’s economy and daily lives of the people, and by providing necessary educational materials and trained teachers.

13. Teacher training activities will be expanded for raising the quality of instruction in science, Mathematics and English Subjects.

14. The policy relating to school examination as well as examination management system will be reformed in order to make the examination system of high standard. Necessary measure will be taken for gradually decentralising the S.L.C. examination management. Appropriate measures will also be taken to standardize the examinations conducted at the end of the primary and secondary levels prior to the SLC examination.

15. Reforms will be introduced in the organisational structure of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and in the School Supervision System. The use of Resource Centre in the supervision system will be institutionalised.

16. A highly competitive environment among schools for attainment of qualitative development in education will be created and the system of rewarding schools accomplishing high standards of instruction on the basis of evaluation of performance of schools will be continued.

17. Appropriate measure will be taken for raising internal efficiency of school education.

18. The establishment of educational institutions in the private sector will be encouraged for the purpose of increasing opportunities of school education.

19. Necessary measure will be taken for developing distance education system in order to supplement the formal school education for meeting the growing demand for education.

20. Higher secondary schools will be established at local level to meet the growing social demand for higher education.
21. School Curriculum will be made relevant and more functional.

22. Appropriate basic and middle level manpower needed for rural and industrial development will be produced by establishing additional technical schools and vocational training centres in different parts of the country.

23. Manpower production activities will be carried out with a view to striking a balance between demand and supply by agencies producing and using the middle level technical manpower. The Technical Education and Vocational Training Council will perform the coordinating functions in this regard.

24. Policies aimed at making higher education institutions economically self-dependent will be pursued in order to reduce pressures on government resources for higher education.

25. The participation of private sector and non-governmental agencies will be encouraged in the establishment, and management of campuses providing higher education.

26. Necessary physical facilities will be developed for conducting practical works aimed at promoting the standards of science and technical education.

27. Research activities aimed at making education more relevant to country’s need, will be encouraged.

28. A policy of establishing medical and engineering colleges with involvement of private sector will be pursued in order to increase the supply of medical and engineering manpower in the country.

29. With a view to implementing the concept of multiple universities, encouragement will be given to establish universities in the private sector; and higher education campuses under Tribhuvan University located out side Kathmandu could be converted into universities with the participation of the private sector. At the same time, in view of the need for establishing an agricultural university, a feasibility study of such a university will be conducted.

30. His Majesty’s Government will carry out preservation and renovation of historical, archaeological, religious sites, areas, monuments of national and international importance. Local agencies and groups will be encouraged to carry out preservation and development of other historical monuments and religious sites.
31. Emphasis will be laid on the preservation and promotion of languages, literatures, scripts, art and cultures of different ethnic groups and communities residing in the country.

32. Dances, music, and festivals representing the cultures of all ethnic groups and communities as well as their languages and scripts will be promoted.

33. Sculptures, paintings, historical documents, stone engravings, hand written manuscripts and other archaeological materials will be preserved and the development of art will be emphasized.

34. As provided for in the constitution as a fundamental right, primary and basic education may be provided in national languages. Necessary measures will be taken to provide technical assistance in infrastructure development such as preparing educational materials and providing teacher training needed for the operation of primary schools in such national languages.

35. The establishment and development of libraries will be emphasized in order to develop reading habits for self development of persons of all ages, to help students in formal and non-formal education systems, to further enhance their knowledge through reading of text materials, and to promote the collection of information and skill development.

Physical Targets

Primary education. Primary education (grade I-V) facilities will be provided for 90% of actual primary school age group (6-10 years) children. The gross enrolment ratio at the primary level is expected to go up to 121%. In order to attain this goal 2025 additional primary schools will be established, and the provision of an additional 8000 teachers will be made.

Secondary education. Secondary education (grade VI-X) facilities will be provided to 45% of the 11 to 15 years age group.
Higher secondary Education. Higher secondary education (10+2 Education Programme) will be introduced in 125 secondary schools of the country.

Non-Formal Education. The goal is set at attaining a literacy rate of 60% by the end of the plan period. To attain this, 1.4 million illiterate persons will be made literate through non-formal education programmes.

Teacher Training. Teacher training facilities will be provided to 35,000 primary school teachers during the plan period. A further 6000 secondary school teachers will be provided in-service training in English, Mathematics and Science Subjects.

Technical education. A total of 2595 trained persons of basic and middle level will be produced in areas of agriculture, health and construction through the technical schools.

Higher education. Enrolments in higher education will be increased by increasing the number of universities and institutions of higher education in different parts of the country during the plan period. The involvement of the private sector and non-governmental agencies in higher education will be maximized in order to reduce the pressure on government resources.

Priority

1. To develop and extend basic and primary education.
2. To increase opportunities of technical education and vocational training.
3. To raise the quality of education by enhancing the effectiveness of instructional systems.
4. To extend the institutions by providing higher education and to expand facilities for study in technical subjects.

Appendix 8

The Nine Five-year Plan (1997 – 2002): objectives, educational level-wise objectives, policy and implementation strategy, and educational policy implementation arrangement

Objectives

1. To develop education as an effective means for human resource development. This is indispensable for overall national development and poverty alleviation.

2. To prepare citizens to be conscious of and devoted to democracy, individually capable, productive, disciplined, responsible to human right, social liability and sensible to nationality.

3. To make primary education easily accessible to people and conduct a programme so that primary education eventually becomes compulsory.

4. To gradually expand secondary and higher secondary education in line with the development need of the country.

5. To conduct a literacy programme as a national campaign by making it skilful, knowledgeable and information oriented.

6. To supply basic and medium level technical manpower by extending opportunities for technical education and vocational training.
7. To extend higher technical education for the supply of higher-level technical manpower.

8. To expand opportunities and accessibility for women's education, enhancing gender equality in education.

9. To provide educational opportunities for disabled, backward ethnic tribes and deprived sections of people living in remote areas and bringing them into the national mainstream.

**Educational level-wise target and objectives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target</th>
<th>Pre-primary education</th>
<th>Primary Education:</th>
<th>Lower secondary Education:</th>
<th>Secondary Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>To conduct Pre-primary 10,000 classes</td>
<td>Increase to 90</td>
<td>Increase to 55</td>
<td>Increase to 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pre-primary education</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Lower secondary school</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Net student enrolment percentage</td>
<td>Increase to 90</td>
<td>Add 1,500</td>
<td>Add 2,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Primary School</td>
<td>Add 3,000</td>
<td>Add 6,000</td>
<td>Add 8,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Primary Teacher</td>
<td>Add 15,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pre-primary Education**: To expand the opportunity of this level of education, to create an interest in education for the children of 4 – 5 years and preparing them educationally and socially for enrolment in the primary level, through the medium of educational and recreational activities.
Primary Education: To help primary-level students become capable of simple reading and writing, and handling ordinary daily accounts; help them to cultivate habits in health and hygiene; and generate a feeling of patriotism.

Secondary Education: To prepare students with the knowledge and skill necessary for study at the higher secondary level; to inculcate a positive feeling about work; to make them conscious and devoted to the nation and democracy, committed to productive work; make them aware of environmental conservation; to develop in them a sense of moral decency and social and cultural values and norms; and, finally, to discharge the duty of self dependent citizens.

Higher Education: To develop the academic sharpness required at this level by students and the quality and capacity needed for intellectual development for them to discharge social responsibility, perform the role of skilled manpower for the overall development of the country; and create the quality as possessed by conscious, self dependent, capable and patriotic citizens.

Technical and Vocational Education: To produce the basic, medium and higher-level technical manpower needed for the all-round development of the country.

Higher Secondary Education: To establish 758 higher secondary schools and raise the easily observable student enrolment percentage to 60%.

Training. To provide in service training to 5,000 primary teachers, 10,000 lower secondary teachers and 5,000 secondary teachers; and provide training for 2,000 higher secondary teachers.

Technical Education: To provide regular training for 4,995 people and short-term training for 20,000 people from the Technical Education and Vocational Training Centre.
Higher Education: To ascertain the structure of student participation in higher education in accordance with the pace of development of the country.

Informal Education: To help 70% of the currently illiterate people, age 6 years and above, to attain literacy.

Policy and Implementation Strategy

1. An emphasis will be given to increase equal participation in education by providing free access of education to deprived people inhabited in the remote areas and backward communities.

2. Pre-primary classes will be conducted by involving local elected bodies and members of the community.

3. Basic and primary education will be made available as per the need of gender equality, to weaker sections, ethnic tribe and community deprived of education opportunity. A specific emphasis will be given to develop the qualitative aspects of this education.

4. In the context of making the existing free primary education programme compulsory, it will be extended on the basis of the study on the experience of implemented areas.

5. Necessary steps will be taken to provide primary education in national languages.

6. A literacy programme will be conducted as a national campaign with the involvement of national and international non-government organisations, local elected bodies and the local community. Inter-relationship between literacy and basic primary education will be established; and access will be provided to literate children to enter into formal education.

7. Physical, human and educational infrastructures will be strengthened with the active participation of the community.

8. Accessibility of lower secondary and secondary education will be gradually extended; opportunities for education at these levels will be regionally balanced; quality of education will be upgraded; and an improvement in internal and external capability will be made.
9. Human right education will be gradually included into the syllabus from the lower secondary level. Materials, which increase social and ethnic harmony, will be incorporated in textbooks.

10. In order to make the teaching profession more respectable and responsible, reforms will be carried out in aspects such as appointment, evaluation, promotion and career development of teachers. Professional aspects of education will be strengthened through the medium of training; promotional programmes will be conducted to create motivation, commitment and self-confidence towards their profession.

11. Management, monitoring, supervision and an evaluation system will be strengthened at each level of education.

12. Syllabus, textbooks and education systems will be timely and appropriately reformed.

13. Secondary and higher secondary education will be integrated into a single management system. Local school management will be made capable of fulfilling effectively educational and economic responsibility and taking active leadership in school management through the use of necessary training and action-oriented strategy.

14. Higher secondary education will be accepted as school education, local needs and regional balance will be taken into account for its extension; and special emphasis will be given to the mobilisation of national and international resources for its strengthening and quality enhancement. Grant will be provided on the basis of student capability and the need for school operation.

15. Policy of conducting career-oriented education programme will be adopted to increase the participation of the weaker section and ethnic tribes in secondary and higher secondary education; gender equality will be maintained, technical/vocational/skill education and training programme will be made employment and income oriented. Policy will be adopted to formulate and implement such types of education from secondary to higher education level. For this purpose, polytechnic schools will be operated under short-term and long-term programmes in order to produce basic and medium level skilled manpower. To make a programme of private sector technical school useful, Technical Education and
Vocational Training Council will be strengthened for ensuring effectiveness in syllabus formulation, trainer's training and evaluation system.

16. During the Plan period, proficiency certificate level programme currently conducted at universities will be adjusted in a phase-wise manner in the structure of technical and higher secondary school; and education programme will be conducted in line with the objective of such institutions and schools.

17. Higher education will be made systematic, competitive and standard. Universities will be established in all five-development regions in accordance with multiple university concepts in order to fulfil national and regional needs. For this purpose, a University Establishment and Implementation Co-operation Committee will be constituted with the representation of NPC, Ministry of Education, Tribhuvan University and University Grant Commission.

18. With a view to supplying high-level technical manpower necessary for the country, Agriculture and Forestry Universities will be established and other technical universities will also be established on the basis of the feasibility study.

19. The Government cannot bear the full financial burden of higher education; therefore, policy will be adopted to share the cost by students of higher education; receive community contribution; and get co-operation from those concerned with higher education. Moreover, arrangements will be made to provide scholarship and education loan to the poor and talented students.

20. Preference will be given to academic, knowledgeable, scientific and basic technical research in higher education. Necessary mechanism will be developed to extend and utilise knowledge and skill gained from the study and research to the concerned sector.

21. The policy of providing co-operation to universities based on the capacity of government will be maintained in order to build physical, human and appropriate education infrastructures.

22. With a view to ensuring the quality of higher education, University Grant Commission will determine criteria for grant; steps will be taken to determine grants on the basis of whether universities comply with such criteria or not; His majesty's Government will adopt the policy of providing the amount of grant to University
Grant Commission; and the Commission will undertake the policy of allocating the amount of grant following the set criteria for grant.

23. A Policy of conducting Open University, open secondary and high secondary school will be adopted in order to extend the opportunity of secondary higher secondary and higher education, and to ensure cost effectiveness in higher education.

24. Special education programmes will be strengthened and conducted for providing opportunity of literacy and higher education to physically and mentally disabled and intellectually retarded groups. Policy will be adopted to encourage national and international non-government organisations and local community participation for the development of special education.

25. Education opportunity will be made easily available and scholarship will be provided to children of backward ethnic tribe and oppressed class.

26. Training will be provided to teachers through distance education and other appropriate means. All primary teachers will at least be provided with basic training opportunity. Short-term and refresher training programmes will be conducted to upgrade teacher's teaching capability.

27. Policy of balanced distribution of financial and other resources between school education and higher education will be adopted in practice by identifying appropriate balancing technique.

28. A clear policy will be adopted about cost bearing at different levels of education by all those concerned without obstructing the private sector to participate in education.

29. Policy of encouraging private sector will be adopted to make meaningful participation in education management by reevaluating the role of the private sector and formulating necessary regulations. Schools conducted by the private sector will be brought in the policy framework and policy will be adopted to inform all sectors concerned about the academic, financial and physical programme of private schools.

30. Policy of decentralising education management will be effectively undertaken in practice in order to increase the active local participation in management and operation of education institutes, and improve their capability.
31. The activities of the projects implemented in the process of developing education quality will be institutionally integrated with the structure of the Ministry, and the organisation structure of the Ministry will be improved to increase its capacity.

32. Policy of information management system and library development and strengthening will be formulated and implemented in a phase-wise manner for the development of educational communication and information.

33. Special emphasis will be given to formulation of appropriate education policy, selection and implementation of an appropriate education programme for formal and informal education.

34. Effective policy measures will be adopted to extend accessibility of women in education in order to increase equal gender participation in education.

35. Policy will be implemented to invest a certain share of gross domestic product in the education sector for making the sector durable, sustainable, continuous and unobstructed. The amount of investment capital will be determined on the basis of the identification of the education programmes and agencies that should receive priority within the education system.

36. Higher education policy will be formulated on the basis of the necessary manpower to agriculture, industry and commerce sectors. Education policy will be modified on the basis of the recommendations to be received from the High Level National Education Commission.

37. The existing anomalies and weakness in syllabi of school and higher education will be addressed; syllabus of one level will be made consistent with another level; and syllabus will be revised in line with the need of national and international changed context. Textbook distribution system will be made simple and efficient by resolving existing problems. Extensive study on the liberal promotion policy in primary level classes from level one to three will be made; and this policy will be a pilot test in some places.
Educational Policy Implementation Arrangement

1. Role of the Ministry of Education will be centred on policy making, plan formulation, monitoring, supervision and evaluation.

2. School education implementation will be made effective by establishing Department of Education.

3. Role of Regional Education Directorate will be more concentrated on monitoring, supervision and co-ordination of examination programme.

4. School inspection system will be made effective and district resource centre will be strengthened.

5. Local elected bodies will be involved in the formulation and implementation education programme in accordance with the principle of decentralisation.

6. Emphasis will be given to mobilise local resources for maintaining the quality of education.

7. Literacy programme will be implemented as a campaign by mobilising government and non-government agencies.

8. Compulsory primary education will be implemented gradually in 22 districts.

9. Secondary schools will be increased to a minimum number and emphasis will be given to strengthen existing schools.

10. Programmes will be conducted for bringing higher secondary education within the structure of secondary education.

11. Arrangements will be made to provide grants to universities through University Grant Commission on the basis of set criteria.

Appendix 9

Tenth Five-year Plan (2002 – 2007): strategy, policy and action policies, priority programmes and projects and investment implementation and long-term concept

Strategy

1. To place emphasis on child development programmes and pre-primary education, and to place emphasis on expansion and development of the primary education to achieve the national commitment to Education for All.
2. To increase the literacy rate by expanding the programmes on the non-formal education.
3. To run the programmes on education following the concept of decentralization placing emphasis on people's participation in the management of the entire school education starting at the local level.
4. To provide more opportunities for technical education and vocational training programmes for the production of skilled manpower.
5. To place emphasis on diversification, quality and the opportunity of higher education following the principles of cost recovery.
6. To place emphasis on the development of sports starting at the local level, and to mobilize youths for community development programs.

Policy and Action Policies

1. To launch a national campaign to make the primary education compulsory according to the policy of His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the commitment made by His Majesty's Government of Nepal at the international arena to the education for all
by 2015 A.D, and to improve institutions, management and physical facilities accordingly.

2. To set up child development centres with participation of the local bodies, and affiliate this program with the guardians' awareness programmes, and to encourage community schools in running one-year pre-primary classes using the local resources.

3. To effectively run programmes on adult literacy and child education inspiring the targeted community, particularly the women to education, and to run the programmes on literacy, post-literacy and continuous education in an integrated manner, and to run these programmes in coordination with other development programmes with the involvement of the local bodies, governmental and non-governmental organizations for achieving the objective of increasing the literacy rate.

4. To make education at all levels accessible to the people of all castes, genders and backward community based on their social and economic situation.

5. To develop transparent and systematic methods of providing the real poor and intelligent students with the scholarships at schools.

6. To introduce the compulsory teachers' training and teaching license systems for maintaining the quality of education at schools, and to involve all training agencies in teachers' training and to use the distant learning technique at all training levels for making these trainings accessible to all teachers.

7. To encourage the private sector in education for increasing competition in the education sector developing an effective system of coordinating all educational activities at all levels of the education system for making them disciplined and regular.

8. To define the quality of education at all level of schools, to make examination, monitoring and supervision systems effective based on the criteria that includes the indicators of subject matters of the teaching materials. To strengthen the current examination system that has been used to measure the teachers' job performance and the quality of education and to make use of this method until the above-mentioned system materializes.

9. To make clear the role of the local bodies in the education system and to entrust the power of responsibility for the school education to the local bodies, and to implement
the activities of the School Improvement Plan and the District Education Plan pursuant to the principles of decentralization.

10. To adopt the principles of the cost recovery in the education sector, so that the expenditure of His Majesty's Government of Nepal on education decreases while the number of educational institutions increase, and to introduce the block grant in place of the current grants made available to schools based on the number of teachers.

11. To establish the last grade of the higher secondary education as the final point of the school education system, and to arrange for institutional development accordingly, and to explore the possibilities of setting up infrastructures for introducing the grades from one to five as the primary education system and the grades from 6 to 12 as the secondary education system.

12. To make necessary arrangement for gradually removing the certificate level teaching system from the Tribhuvan University and include it in the higher Secondary Education in five years.

13. To expand the Annex Programme in order to increase the programmes on technical education and vocational training.

14. To encourage the educational institutions in running the programme on mobilizing the graduate students for community development services.

15. To introduce the Gender Auditing System in the entire education system preparing concrete gender indicators for learning, teaching, training policymaking and management.

16. To make use of the information literacy at all levels of education, and to assist in expanding the education system as required by the modern age, to run the subjects on information technology at schools according to the National Policy on Science and Technology.

17. To link up the programmes on sports and youth development with the school programmes and the higher education programmes, to produce sportsmen able to compete at the local and international arena.
Priority Programmes and Projects and Investment Implementation

Priority of Ministry of Education and Sports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Names of projects (Central and District)</th>
<th>Budget, Rs x 10 million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priority No. 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Basic and Primary Education</td>
<td>1683.344</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Child Development Program</td>
<td>00.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Free Text Book</td>
<td>141.590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Scholarship for children of martyrs</td>
<td>0.674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Scholarship for children of underprivileged people</td>
<td>19.485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Women's education</td>
<td>120.534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Teachers' Education Project</td>
<td>120.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Technical Education Special /Technical &amp; Vocational Training Council</td>
<td>69.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Primary Girl Student Scholarship</td>
<td>18.461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2173.130</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priority No. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Non-formal Education and Literacy Campaign</td>
<td>35.418</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Secondary Education Project</td>
<td>397.818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Public School Quality Improvement (including computer education)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Primary School Nutritious Food</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Population Education</td>
<td>3.931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Higher Secondary Education Project</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>789.948</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priority No. 3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>University Grant Commission</td>
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<td>Tribhuvan University</td>
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<td>S.No</td>
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<td>------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Priority No.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>3042.292</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to achieve the aims, the Tenth Plan has prepared the following long-term concept:

1. To empower the local bodies and communities for enabling them to shoulder the responsibility for educational policy making and for the management of schools pursuant to the Local Self-governance Act introduced according to the concept of decentralization.

2. To consider the education programme on from grade one to 12 as the school education, and strengthen curriculum, examination, management and financial system accordingly.
3. To improve and expand the standard and definition of quality education, to enable the educational agencies of all levels to take the leadership, and then entrust them the responsibility; to strengthen supervision, monitoring and evaluation systems and to set the minimum educational qualification of certificate level for the job of teachers of the primary schools, and to develop prerequisites for making training compulsory for the primary school teachers.

4. To develop Inclusive Education System integrating programmes on education according to the concept of Special Needs Education for the people including the disabled requiring special learning to materialize the education for all.

5. To apply the method of open learning and distant learning for expanding the accessibility of education to the people.

6. To formulate programmes on formal and non-formal technical and vocational education for producing human power as required by the country, and implement those programmes; and to place emphasis on using technology.

7. To place emphasis on the extra-curricular activities starting at schools for supporting the development of sports.

7. To mobilize the youths starting at schools for putting a stop to social abuses, and to place emphasis on their intellectual, social and emotional development.

The main quantitative targets for the coming 15 years are given below:

Region/Sub-region Main Quantitative Targets for Coming 15 Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>At the end of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9th Plan*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><strong>Literacy</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literacy Rate (6+ years)</td>
<td>55.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literacy Rate (15+ years)</td>
<td>49.2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pre-primary Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General Enrolment Rate</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Primary Education

| (a) Transfer from Pre-primary to Grade one | 21 | 40 | 65 | 80 |
| (b) General Enrolment Rate | 118 | 110 | 110 | 105 |
| (c) Net Enrolment Rate | 82 | 90 | 95 | 100 |
| (d) Percentage of Girl Students | 45 | 47 | 49 | 50 |
| (e) Trained Teachers (percentage) | 52 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| (f) Women Teachers (percentage) | 26 | 30 | 32 | 34 |
| (g) Licensed Teachers | - | - | - | - |

### Lower Secondary Education

| (a) General Enrolment Rate | 58 | 65 | 70 | 75 |
| (b) Percentage of Girl Students | 42 | 45 | 48 | 50 |
| (c) Trained Teachers | - | 100 | 100 | 100 |

### Secondary Education

| (a) General Enrolment Rate | 37 | 45 | 50 | 55 |
| (b) Percentage of Girl Students | 41 | 45 | 48 | 50 |
| (c) Trained Teachers | - | 100 | 100 | 100 |

### Higher Secondary Education

| (a) General Enrolment Rate (Incl. Certificate) | - | 23 | 28 | 33 |
| (b) No. of Govt. Higher Secondary Schools | - | 205 | 205 | 205 |

### Technical and Vocational Education

| (a) Regular Training | - | 7,100 | 7,100 | 7,400 |
| (b) Short-term Training | - | 23,55 | 23,55 | 27,39 |
| (c) Annex Programs | 15 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| (d) Skill Certification | - | 4,000 | 5,000 | 6,000 |

### Higher Education

| (a) General Enrolment Rate | 4.5 | 6 | 8 | 10 |
| (b) Open University | - | 1 | - | - |
| (c) Shift of Certificate Level | - | All | - | - |

### Youth and Sports

| (a) Mobilization of Youths for Community Development | 926 | 3,000 | 6,000 | 10,00 |
| (b) Youth Rehabilitation | - | 1,000 | 1,200 | 0 |
| (c) Youth & Sports Development | - | 70 | 70 | 1,500 |
| (d) National Awards | - | 1,750 | 2,000 | 65 |

*Estimated and + will be expanded based on the results of the pilot programmes. Source: NPC 2002 final draft.*
Examples of corruption in Nepal

Root of Corruption:

There are two agencies responsible for corruption:

- The first is Government itself.
- Non-government organizations.

I. Government:

According to a report from the Auditors General's Office of Nepal, 33 of these institutions have not settled RS. 6.17 billions. From a report published in a newspaper in Nepal are:

- Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority - RS. 3,000
- Ministry of Finance - Rs. 6,138,000
- Ministry of Supplies - Rs. 594,000
- Ministry of Housing and Physical Planning - Rs. 255,661,000
- Ministry of Industry - Rs. 4,290,000
- Ministry of Agriculture - Rs. 92,936,000
- Back to Village Campaign - Rs. 198,000
- Home Ministry - Rs. 481,643,000
- Ministry of Water Resources - Rs. 397,510,000
- Election Commission - Rs. 2,650,000
- Ministry of Works and Transport - Rs. 741,701,000
- Foreign Ministry - Rs. 129,811,000
- Tourism and Civil Aviation Ministry - Rs. 153,540,000
- Panchayat Policy and Investigation Committee - Rs. 3,754,000
- Land Reforms Ministry - Rs. 35,921,000
- Auditor General's Office - Rs. 40,000
- Chief Justice's Office - Rs. 1,982,000
- Defence Ministry - Rs. 46,039,000
- National Election Commission - Rs. 263,000
- National Planning Commission - Rs. 8,027,000
- Raj Parishad Secretariat - Rs. 14,000
- Public Service Commission - Rs. 838,000
- Ministry of Forest and Soil Conservation - Rs. 113,762,000
• Commerce Ministry - Rs. 105,000
• Supreme Court - Rs. 8,931,000
• Ministry of General Administration - Rs. 446,000
• Ministry of Information and Communications - Rs. 31,003,000
• Parliament Secretariat - Rs. 4,553,000
• Local Development Ministry - Rs. 191,846,000
• Health Ministry - Rs. 432,621,000
• Ministry of Labor - Rs. 1,363,000
• Ministry of Education - Rs. 457,957,000
• Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture - Rs. 3,750,000

Exchange rate as of 2nd of October 2003: NCRs 123 = Sterling pound 1.00

II. Non-Governmental Organization:

These are the consultancy or social firms, but they prefer to call themselves "non-governmental organizations". These organizations are involved in bringing foreign currency into Nepal in the name of social development. In this sector, some are doing quite good, but most are successful in convincing the donors by giving false reports about Nepal and Nepalese people to influence them. There are so many things mentioned in the report which are sensitive and can not be exposed to the foreign countries as they will make negative impact on the country's reputation. Such works have protected the irresponsibility, vulgarity etc. in the process of self-reliance and development of the country.

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