

LIVED EXPERIENCES OF SCHOOL DROPOUT DALIT BOYS

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is for the fulfillment of the requirements for Master of Philosophy in Education (Educational Leadership) of Kathmandu University.

Title: - “LIVED EXPERIENCES OF SCHOOL DROPOUT DALIT BOYS”

Abstract Approved: _____

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Dissertation Supervisor

My interest in lived experiences of School dropout Dalit boys was grown-up with the closed observation of Dalit community nearby my birth place. It helped me to generate the research issues and questions. And the epistemological position was started from the lived experience of educationally excluded Dalit boys. After excluded from the light of education, they had to work in difficult working circumstances to fulfill their basic needs. Similarly, non-Dalits or so-called people used to misbehave them in working circumstances even using non-honorific words.

This thesis explores the caste based hierarchy in relation to educational exclusionary practices on the basis of field experience and literatures. It also explores the underlying realities of educationally excluded Dalit boys. Similarly, this thesis tries to explore the barriers of School dropout Dalit youths (boys) to be excluded from the educational access. The analysis and interpretation in this thesis is based on the data from literature and documents, and the field experiences of two Dalit communities: West Village and East Village of Kathmandu District. This research study is an attempt to generate the meaning of lived experiences of school dropout Dalit boys observing their daily activities and their life experiences to address

the research question first, future life expectations and factors for affecting educational exclusion to make the meaning of the research question second and third. This representation of the issue of lived experiences of school dropout Dalit boys is tried to contextualize within the socio-cultural and economic context of Hindu societies in Nepal. As I understood, this research study is different from other studies because this thesis was conducted to make the meaning of the lived experiences of SD Dalit boys about their life worlds, future expectations and major barriers for their SD problem which are not discussed by other research studies, and most of the Dalit studies are conducted about their right based issues and their cased based discriminations. Actually, this thesis contributes to the literature concerned with understanding culturally legitimized issue of educational access in Nepal observing the educational inclusion and exclusion.

This thesis interprets how schooling in Dalit community has reproduced structural discrimination and inequality or symbolic violence. Similarly, this thesis explores the developing schooled identity to enhance the relationships between Dalit and non-Dalit children. Such relationships have been creating a kind of debate on their social power and relations.

To make the meaning of the research study, I applied mainly the paradigms of interpretive under the multi-paradigmatic research design. Under the multi-paradigmatic research design, I applied critical ethnographic research method as my methodological position.

This thesis provides the guidelines to think of again about the recent policy practices and to revise the policies and implement immediately to the concerned body to address the issues of school dropout Dalit boys who have been spending their productive age in bad activities like drug addiction and less productive activities.

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DEDICATION

For them who are searching their social identity and position in a Dalit community
after being the victim of school dropout problem

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation has not been submitted for the candidature for any other degree.

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A dissertation of *Master of Philosophy in Education* has been submitted by Yam Bahadur Kunwar and presented on December 6, 2013.

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ACRONYMS

AAN	Action Aid Nepal
ARNEC	All Round National Education Commission
ASIP	Annual Strategic Implementation Plan
BEP	Primary Education Project
BPEF	Basic and Primary Education Program
CA	Constituent Assembly
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights' of Child
CERID	Research Centre for Educational Innovations and Development
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DEIP	Dalit Empowerment and Inclusion Project
DEO	District Education Office
DNF	Dalit NGO Federation
DOE	Department of Education
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EDC	Equality Development Centre
EFA	Education for All
ES	Educational System
ESP	Enabling State Program
FEDO	Feminist Dalit Organization

FY	Fiscal Year
HLNEC	High Level National Education Commission
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Form's of Racial Discrimination
ICESCR	International Convention on Economic, Social and cultural Rights'
IDSSN	International Dalit Solitary Network
ILO	International Labor Organization
INGO	International Non-government Organization
JAICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JMC	Jagaran Media Centre
JUP	Jana Utthan Pratisthan
LW	Life World
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOE	Ministry of Education
NCSEP	Nepal Children's Scholarship Endowment Program
NDC	National Dalit Commission
NEC	National Education Commission
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NESP	National Education System Plan
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NNDSWO	National Nepal Dalit Social Welfare Organization
NNEPC	Nepal National Education Planning Commission
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NPC	National Planning Commission
PA	Pedagogic Action

PAu	Pedagogic Authority
PW	Pedagogic Work
SAu	School Authority
SC	Save the Children
SDDY	School Dropout Dalit Youths
SFAFDB	Student's Financial Assistance Fund Development Board
SIP	School Improvement Plan
SMC	School Management Committee
SSRP	School Sector Reform Program
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations' Development Program
UNESCO	United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nation Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VDC	Village Development Committee
WCAR	World Conference against Racism
WFP	World Food Program

GLOSSARY

Achhut	Untouchable
Anna	Food item
Aran	The place of manufacturing and renewing the agricultural instruments conducted by Dalit caste ' <i>Bishowkarma</i> '.
Arni	Breakfast, cultural word of Nepali language, spoken in western part of Nepal
Asram	Hermitage, four stage of life according to Hindu scriptures
Bali	It is a cultural system of collecting some amount of food items from the house of non-Dalit clients by Dalits as wage in the western part of Nepal
Bheti	Gift for God and Goddess
Bista	The cultural word which is used by Dalits to call the non-Dalit clients in western part of Nepal
Brahma	The first man, one of the three main Gods in Hindu mythology
Brahmanic	Hinduism that follows Brahmanic ideology
Dachhina	Offering of some money and materials
Dharma	Piety, divine order, law and morality, rituals and social norms
Guna	Attribute
Jat/jati	Caste/ethnicity
Kalika	Goddess of power
Karma	Action, duty
Karmakanda	Ritual process in Hinduism

Moksha	Salvation, free from re-birth or re-incarnation
Nicha Jati	Lower caste in Hindu mythology
Pandit/purohit	Person who performs and interprets the ritual Hindu mythological texts
Puja	Method of respecting the power of God
Pujari	Priest
Rajya	State, kingdom
Rishi	Ancient saint at the time of pre-Vedic and Vedic Hindu society
Saraswoti	Hindu Goddess of education
Sukumbasi	Squatter
Tan, Timi	Non-honorific words in Nepali language
Tapai, Hajur	Honorific words in Nepali language
Uchha Jati	Higher caste according to Hindu mythology
Varna	Color, hierarchical division of society into four strata
Varnasram	Rooted cultural system on the basis of Varna in Hindu mythology.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Chapter Overview

This chapter presents the general background of the research study. This chapter also presents the position and lived experiences of researcher on research issues before mentioning the problem statement and research issues of the study. Similarly, this chapter mentions the research purpose, questions, rationale, delimitations and thesis structure of the study.

Entering into the Research Issues

Nepal is a multi-cultural country having diversities in religion, caste, language, climate, natural vegetation and topography inhabited by various caste/ethnic groups. However, there are inequalities in social, cultural, economic, and education, based on the caste/ethnicity in relation to their power relation. The society is also stratified and discriminative due to the practice of caste hierarchy. Practice of caste based discrimination and untouchable system has forced the Dalits' to live in a hatred environment subject to all kinds of deprivations like social, political, economical, educational (NNDSWO Report, 2006). In Nepal, people are categorized into strata's like 'pure' and 'impure', 'rich' and 'poor', 'Aryan' and 'non-Aryan', and caste based professional identity (Bhattachan & Bhattachan, 2008). In addition, Caste based disparity is found in educational participation (Aryal, 2010). It was also found in Hindu 'Vedic' education in the past and it was found even after the establishment of formal schooling system in Nepal (Poudel, 2007).

Formal schooling in Nepal, which mostly commenced after 1951, created unpredictable environment to educational participation. Before 1951, there were few and limited schools and a huge chunk of society, including Dalits, had no access to schooling (Aryal, 2010). There was a general prohibition for Dalits to participate in education. After the political change of 1951, both the number of schools and school enrolment rate was increased rapidly. Anyway, there was no formal prohibition for Dalits to take part in educational main stream, but due to the caste based hierarchical system and the practice of untouchable system, very few Dalit children could participate in education. Similarly, economically very poor people, and the people speaking other languages than Nepali had difficulty in participating in education. Besides, in Nepalese society, Dalits are still suffering from several discriminatory and exclusionary practices (Bhattachan et al., 2002; Kisan, 2002; Bishwokarma, 2003; Poudel, 2003).

Therefore, considering the above mentioned caste based realities, this research study tried to explore the lived experiences, school and societal barriers, and future life expectations of school dropout Dalit boys. Regarding educational right, the government of Nepal has been committed to achieve the goals of EFA by 2015 and it has focused on the universal participation of children, youths and adults in the education sector, especially in basic education (Dakar framework for Action on EFA, 2000). And large numbers of children are still out of school and they are deprived from the light of education in Nepal. The data show that participation, retention and success in education of Dalits and economically weak people are still very low (MOES, 2003; CERID, 1997; Poudel, 2002, 2003; NPC, 2002, CBS Report, 2012). Similarly, low literacy and school enrolment rates, high school dropout rate in the early years of schooling and a large number of unschooled children and youths from

the Dalit community show the continued exclusion of Dalits from education. The high dropout rates of Dalits in early years of schooling indicate that among school-enrolled Dalit children, the majority of school enrolled Dalit children leave school within the first three years of their schooling (Bhattachan & Bhattachaan, 2008).

Moreover, the dropout rate at primary level is more than 40 percent and only eight percent of Dalit girls enrolled in Grade 1 (Literacy Watch Bulletin no.11, 2010). Considering such exclusionary realities, I tried to make the meaning even the smallest social and cultural issues related to the drop out problem of Dalit community in Nepal. And, about 50% school dropout students are belonged to Dalits in the total dropout rate of Nepal (Bhattachan & Bhattachan, 2008). Only 15% of the total Dalit population in Nepal has educational attainment, which is almost half of the national average percentage. School dropout rates, especially in the first grade, are high (Arnold, Bartlet, & Shallwani, 2011). Similarly, the completion rate is equally low in primary schools. From such reality, I have tried to explore the underlying realities of school dropout problem of Dalit communities by looking at the lived experiences of school dropout Dalit boys.

The inequality in school comes in variety of forms (Ballantine & Spade, 2004). Some of them are curricular context, school environment, behaviors of teachers, peers, management, parents, etc. Similarly, inequalities are found outside the school among the different groups of people within its hierarchical system (Dahal, D.R., Gurung, Y.B., & Swamakar, D., 2002).

Each hierarchy has different socio-economic and cultural position along with education; no matter they belong to Tibeto- Burma and Indo- Aryan linguistic families (ADB Report, 2005). But the Dalits of Nepal became the last to join in education. In this regard, in the past, the schooling system was based on the

‘varnashram’ model during the Vedic and post Vedic periods and there was restriction in access to schooling to ‘Shudra’ (Dalits), especially, ‘pani nachalne’ groups in ‘vernashram’ system of education because their prescribed duty was to serve to people of other caste (Dahal et al., 2002, p. 29).

After the political change of 1951, both the number of schools and schools enrolment increased rapidly. There was no formal prohibition for Dalits participation in education but sociology of education literature which indicates that disadvantaged /Dalits in general did not participate in or benefit from schooling compared to other caste due to the hierarchical caste system and the practice of untouchable in the schooling (Dahal et al., 2002, p. 1). Despite the efforts to make access education to all groups of people, Dalit children faced a number of problems while getting admission, in the school, sitting and eating together with other students at school (NNDSWO Report, 2009, p. 27). Even they are worried on getting social position after getting the education. Likewise, educationally excluded Dalit youths couldn't get inspirational behaviors from others in the society (Bhattachan & Bhattachan, 2008).

My Experiences on Research Issues

I was born in a village of western hilly district, Baglung of Nepal and grew up with a joint family: grandparents, uncles and their wives and my parents. They were not fully literate because my father and uncles passed up to seven classes and my uncles' wives didn't get formal education. But the interesting thing was that they always used to encourage me and my brother to go to school regularly. During my childhood, literacy was not common to all families. In our family, it was generally limited to boys. Though, my uncles and my brother could not get higher education except me.

My village diversified in caste, culture and tradition. Different castes people have been living there for centuries, and they have their own peculiar cultural identity and tradition. There were 14 houses of Dalits in my village. Among them, the house of Kishan 'Sarki' is situated nearby my house. There were seven family members: husband and wife, two sons and three daughters. They used to come to my house and they were not allowed to enter my house as being a Dalit, but I didn't know why Dalits were not permitted to enter the house of 'Bista' Brahmin and Chhetri. They used to sit just nearby my house and they used to speak only limited words to us from far distance. In addition, they were not permitted to touch us if they did so, our parents used to provide to drink drops of '*Sun Pani*' (water drops touching with gold). At that time, I used to ask questions to my grandparents and parents about why Dalits were not permitted to touch water and enter our home. And my grandparents and parents used to reply me as only they were Dalits without saying satisfactory justifications. But, I could not understand the meanings of that word 'Dalit' during that period.

Similarly, other caste based discriminations were prevailed in my community i.e. non-Dalit people could not eat and drink with Dalits. Though I could not find any justification for such practice of untouchable system, it was a kind of culturally legitimized practice. During my childhood, I used to play within non-Dalits boys and sons of Kishan couple. There was not such discrimination between Dalit and non-dalits boys while playing games. But, my parents did not allow entering house without drinking the drops of '*Sunpani*', because most of the social practices on caste hierarchy were taken for granted. Therefore, people generally did not question on causes and practices of caste hierarchy. But, I unknowingly questioned my grandfather several times about caste hierarchy. And I couldn't get unsatisfactory

responses from my grandfather. He always said me like ‘God made it’; ‘it was the practice’; ‘caste came from their actions (karma)’ and so on.

Although the practice of caste hierarchy was taken for granted, I was not fully satisfied with the justifications of such caste-based hierarchy. I questioned myself about the role and power dynamics of ‘God’ because I thought that if God made such an injustice system of promoting caste-based discrimination and untouchable, the role and function of God is questionable. There were various social factors about caste hierarchy in terms of social behaviors. Similarly, I got chance to observe the caste based discrimination while speaking between Dalits and non-Dalits. Non-Dalits used to utter non-honorific words to Dalits i.e. ‘*Tan*’ and ‘*Timi*’. In contrast, Dalits used to utter honorific words while speaking to non-dalits i.e. ‘*Hajur*’, ‘*Tapain*’, ‘*Bakshiwos*’ and so on.

Dalits used to work in the field of non-Dalits in a low wage, and food ‘*Anna*’. But interesting thing was that they used to sit few meter far from non-Dalits during the breakfast even in the field. They themselves were ready to sit far from the members of non-Dalits because they were habituated with that orthodox culture. But, that kind of culture wasn’t found while doing the work. The family members of Kishan (Dalit) used to come in my house very often. They were very much closed with the family members of mine. But, my grandfather used to call them with non-honorific words to them, and sometimes, he used to show bad behaviors with them. And, I also used to study in same school with Dalit children, and we used to play in a same group but they didn’t feel free while playing with the sons of non-Dalits because the sons of non-Dalits used to humiliate them even in minor mistakes.

I found lots of confusing caste hierarchies during my childhood such as untouchable, social disparity, use of language, class disparity and so on. But I

couldn't find reasonable justifications for caste based discrimination. Similarly, with regard to religious practices, there were discriminations towards Dalits. For example, at the temple (temple of Kalika), which was about 5 km far from my house, there was a tradition that a Dalit could not have the opportunity to worship the God. Likewise, the priest used to play ritual role to set the rules and settled the issue within the village. The rules and decisions were generally based on Hindu mythology as interpreted by the '*Pandit*' (Priest). Caste hierarchy, untouchable and other social practices were generally legitimized in the name of traditional 'Hindu Orthodox' rules usually known as Hindu mythology. Social practices were based on those mythological rules, and people usually considered violations of such rules as taboos. The violators of such rules had to face social punishments such as social boycott and degradation from the existing caste position. Similarly, cultural feast and festivals, wedding ceremony, birthday and 'Bratan' were celebrated in Hindu mythology. Caste hierarchy and untouchable systems were found even in these ceremonies

My Relation to Research Topic

This study is related to the issue of the school dropout problem of Dalit community in Nepal. The communities that I studied have a very low participation in education. They are still facing caste-based discriminations, and they are economically deprived. My reflections are the output of my reflexive and critical understanding of social practices considering the understanding of various socio-cultural theories and literature. People may find a contradiction on my understanding and reflective writing with my present social position and identity. Dalits may perceive me as a so-called high caste, privileged, and well educated having social position. Sometimes, it is difficult to balance the paradoxical nature of my identity.

However, I have experiences of cultural observations and local narratives regarding the exclusionary practices in relation to caste hierarchy. My understanding and value position have encouraged me to think critically on caste based exclusionary practices in relation to education. In this context, I was aware of these positions and identities while working on and talking about social problems. Hence, I was always reflexive and critical about my identity, social position and perceptions while doing this research.

When I reviewed the national report of Nepal government what I felt that the exclusion of Dalit pupils from education and society was more than that I had understood before. In this case, I felt that there was a need to analyze the effects of power and knowledge that shaped educational practices and discourses of inclusion and exclusion. This might enable me to see some alternative discourses about educational and social exclusion which may not have matched the prevailing discourse of truth. The search for such alternative knowledge, power and voices was a kind of questioning of the subjugation and domination of certain ideologies and practices.

However, I have further developed my research questions with some reformulation during the first two months of my study. Initially, I was interested in analyzing the school dropout problem of Dalits in relation to their power and politics. After reformulation, I also included the question to make the meaning of lived experiences and future life expectations of school dropout Dalit children and youths. Thus, by analyzing life world, future life expectations and barriers for being the victim of educational exclusion of Dalit youths may draw the perspectives and visions to increase their participation and inclusion.

Constructing the Research Problem/Issue

As discussed in the research context above, Dalit boys of Nepal have been facing with the problems like caste based discrimination and the opportunities like social and educational inclusion (NNDSWO Report, 2011). Similarly, today's youths represent a group with serious vulnerabilities in the world of work, they are in great problems like unemployment, underemployment and disillusionment (ILO Report, 2007). And, it is found that 29% youths of south Asia engage in labor market in difficult circumstances (FAO Report, 2009, p. 7). Likewise, it is estimated that about 300 million youths live on less than US \$ 2 income a day (ILO Report, 2007, as cited in Bennell, 2011, p. 7).

Educational exclusion like school dropout is a big headache in Dalit communities of Nepal and 43% in hilly and 76% tarai school aged Dalit children are out of school and 77% Dalits are below the poverty line (Pyakurel, 2012). 46% Dalits are illiterate and 38% Dalits are forced to work as child labor and 2 out of 5 fail to complete primary education (Nepali, 2011). Moreover, 75% Dalit school enrolled children discontinue the school education before grade five (Bartlett, et al., 2011). And, 50% school dropout students are belonged to Dalits of the total dropout rate of Nepal.

Similarly, illiteracy and drop-out rates' among Dalits are very high due to the number of social and physical factors (Bishowkarma, 2010). Large numbers of school dropout Dalit youths have been spending their lives in less productive activities even in difficult working circumstances in national and international labor market (Parajuli, 2006). Likewise, they have been living in a hatred environment subject to deprivation of social, political, economical and educational (NNDSWO Report, 2006).

The involvement of the school dropout youths is not so productive in the society (Parajuli, 2006). They just spend their lives without taking the social responsibility and they are discriminated as being Dalits and uneducated. As being the uneducated citizens in the society, they could not get even their already established rights. Likewise, even their families do not behave them positively and they just try to involve in their caste related works i.e. cobbler, making pots, tailoring and so on. Actually, they have an opportunity to earn money by engaging in caste based profession before getting school education. But, they took such kinds of profession as a humiliated profession in the society (Gupta, 2000). And they are compelled to do hard labor in elite or 'Bista' families in a low wage or even like slavery. Similarly, they could not get conducive support from the society and state. They could not feel self-esteem and self-actualization in their lives (NNDSWO Report, 2011), even they are deprived from the physiological needs which the Maslow has mentioned these things as basic needs for every citizens. Therefore, my research study tried to make a meaning of the lived experiences of school dropout Dalit boys on the basis of daily activities and their future lives expectations in a natural setting.

To figure-out the problem of this study the following questions played vital role. They are: Why school dropout Dalit boys have been spending their lives in difficult circumstances? How they see to achieve their future life expectation? Why Dalit children and youths become the victims of school dropout? And why the school dropout boys have low social and economic status in the society?

Actually, caste based discrimination is found in every aspects in Nepalese Hindu society but this study tried to draw the meaning of caste based discrimination in education and how the educationally excluded Dalit youths perceive their lives in the society through the socio-cultural lens. For this research issue, the readers may

raise the question on researcher how the non-Dalit individual can explore the Dalit issues in natural setting? For such readers' query, I have tried to explore my experiences, dilemmas, understanding and position on research issues.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to interpret the meaning of the lived experiences in relation to educational exclusion of SD Dalit boys on the basis of their lives experiences, daily activities, expectations with the close observations of the research sites and participants.

Research Questions

To address the purpose and problem statement of the study, I developed three research questions. Similarly, I also made the thematic questions to develop the theme of the research issues (See Appendix A).

1. How school dropout Dalit boys perceive and explain their lived experiences in relation to educational exclusion?
2. How have been the future expectations of School dropout Dalit boys? And how they see to achieve their expectations?
3. What kinds of underlying barriers (factors) are affecting the Dalit boys to be the victim of school dropout problem?

Rationale of the Study

This study is significant in various aspects. First, this study tried to explore the new area of knowledge even having the limited literatures on the research issues. Some available literature in relation to the general issue of Nepalese Dalits has created the structure of discriminatory discourses and practices in society and education. But, such general literature does not help to make the meaning of educational exclusion and barriers of Dalits in Hindu orthodox society. The literature

simply represents an ideology that constructs Dalits' inferiority in relation to maintain their existing social power and relation. On the other hand, the literature, based on statistics or surveys of the cases of exclusion try to unveil discriminatory and exclusionary practices of the state and society. Moreover, some literature has explored to suggest some ways of altering the present power relations so that non-discrimination and inclusion could be possible (Jha, 2002; Kisan, 2002; Bishwakarma, 2003; Bishwokarma, 2001; Tamrakar, 2000, 2004; NDC, 2003; Jha, 2000, 2003, as cited in Bishwokarma, 2007, p. 79).

However, there is still further needed to analyze the diverse conditions and voices of Dalits, so that their voices and perspectives can be addressed. Moreover, there is some literature on the issue of the education of Dalits in general, but it is hard to find any research or literature that relates the lived experiences of school dropout Dalit boys in the Dalit community. Recently, the growing concerns in opposition to caste-based discrimination and the practice of untouchable system have been publicized in various newspapers and in the publications of Dalit related organizations, national and international NGOs, research institutes and the government (Bennett, 2005, p. 36). These studies also suggest the strategies for Dalit empowerment and development to certain institutions or organizations who are working with Dalit issue (Rana et al. 2001; Dahal et al. 2003; as cited in Bhattachan et al., 2008). However, very few these studies have focused on the issue of the educational exclusion and inclusion of Dalit youths and life world of educational exclusionary Dalit youths. Regarding educational inclusion and exclusion, there are problems in policy making level and the practices of policies (Poudel, 2007). For the further clarification, I have explored some of the literature regarding Dalit rights and protection in Chapter II.

Moreover, available literatures couldn't fully address the voices and their life world regarding their educational exclusion and barriers. These literatures, indeed, have not answered the following questions adequately. Why are Dalits not participating in education? How is the school dropout problem of Dalits interpreted? How are the lived experiences and their future life expectations of school dropout Dalits youths explained? How are national policies and practices not contributing for inclusion of Dalits in education? But this thesis tried to address the answer of the above mentioned questions to some extent in a context.

In addition, the knowledge reproduced by this thesis is significant because it tried to address the alternative discourses and voices of Dalits. Such knowledge could help to create some inclusive discourses in education. In other words, these discourses support the struggle of Dalits for their inclusion and recognition in the society.

Similarly, this thesis tried to address the lived experiences of school dropout Dalit boys using the critical ethnographic research method with social stratifications approaches mainly 'cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu' to understanding the exclusion of Dalit gives an appropriate space for analyzing the multiplicity of perspectives and voices in the presence of constraints and opportunities from societal structures. The methodology I applied in this research has made me to construct contextual meanings by acknowledging multiple perspectives.

Delimitations of the Study

This thesis was conducted only to make the meanings of lived experiences, future life expectations and major barriers for being the victim of school dropout problem of Dalit boys on the basis of two Dalit communities of Kathmandu district. Similarly, this research study is prepared on the basis of given topic, research issues, purpose and the research questions which I mentioned above. For this research study,

I have applied the interpretive paradigm of qualitative research methodology, under which I adopted the basic research processes of critical ethnography which I have tried to discuss in chapter III. Similarly, to make the meaning of the raw data, I applied theoretical perspectives, particularly 'cultural reproduction theory' and I also applied partially other theories related to social stratifications.

I conducted this research study in two Dalit communities of Kathmandu district because of self motivation and easy accessibilities. I selected one Dalit community from western part of Kathmandu district 'West Village' (metaphoric name) and another from eastern part of Kathmandu 'East Village' (metaphoric name). I selected two key participants from west village and two from east village. I also gave metaphoric name to the key participants i.e. Salman, Romeo, Rohan and Madan. Similarly, I collected the data of research issue from other respondents like parents, guardians, social workers, Dalit leaders, DEO officer and educationists. Therefore, this study was prepared on the basis of given research sites, participants and the researchers' experiences. And, this study only explores the meaning of lived experiences, future life expectations and factors for affecting the SD Problems of SD Dalit boys.

Thesis Structure

This study comprises altogether seven chapters. The chapter first presents the general background of the research issues considering the researcher understanding and experiences. This chapter also presents the statement of the research problem, research questions, purpose of the study, rationale of the study and delimitation. Similarly, the chapter- II presents the conceptual and theoretical discussion with defining the terms and terminologies. This chapter is broadly categorized into three

parts; literature review, policy practices on educational issues of Dalits and theoretical position of the study.

Chapter III presents the research methodology of the study. This chapter is also categorized into three main parts; methodological discussion, description of the research sites and research methods and process into practice. Similarly, Chapter IV deals the main research issues incorporating the narratives of participants and research sites through the theoretical position of cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu and stratification perspectives. Moreover, chapter V and chapter VI deal the research question no. two and three on the basis of field experiences incorporating the lived experiences and daily activities of SD Dalit youths. Likewise, the chapter VII presents the conclusion and summary of the research study by revisiting the research questions on the basis of overall research experiences. This chapter also presents the researchers' dilemmas and learnings from the research study, suggestions for further research, concluding remarks and researcher learnings from the research study.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the glimpse of research study with research issues, purpose, research questions and rationale of the study. Similarly, I have tried to explore the research issues or problems in practical manner. This chapter helps to create road map of the research study. Similarly, I have tried to answer why I selected this topic exploring my experiences, understanding and position on research issues.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Chapter Overview

This chapter reviews earlier literatures and theories. The purpose of this chapter is to conceptualize basic terms and concepts regarding the school dropout problem of Dalit youths which is discussed under the part I. Another purpose is to explore the various ways of interpreting the caste system, social conflict of Dalit and educational bitter realities in relation to school dropout problem of Dalit youths. It also gives the glimpse of school dropout scenario of Dalit 'Shudra' of Nepalese communities. For this, I have reviewed the related books, sociological theories and perspectives, previous research studies regarding caste system, and Dalit education. To locate the position of Dalits, I have reviewed the national and international policy practices which is discussed under the part II. Similarly, I have reviewed the social theories for the theoretical lens of this research study i.e. social stratification theories, particularly 'cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu', which is discussed under the part III.

Part I: Exploration of Literature

The main aim of this part is to explore the available literature on the research topic and issue. Under this part, I have tried to explore my childhood dilemmas regarding caste based issue before discussing the literatures. Similarly, I have tried to explore the educational right based issue of Dalits reviewing the inclusionary and exclusionary practices in Nepal. Likewise, I have tried to explore the literature on the

position of Dalits in Nepalese societies. This section also discusses the literature on school dropout realities of Dalits, caste system in Nepal, youths' global and national realities on different sectors and previous research studies on lived experiences of Dalit youths.

Initiating From Myself: My Childhood Dilemmas

Before discussing the literature review, I want to explore my childhood dilemmas and lived experiences which present my position with my observation. As my understanding, caste based hierarchies have been prevailed there for centuries where I born and spent my childhood days. Still, we can observe the caste hierarchies and supremacy there to some extent. I have got the chance to observe the caste hierarchies in my locality which is explained earlier. Similarly, Dalits: Kishan 'Sarki', Bishowkarma 'Kami', Sunar and Nepali 'Damai' also have been living there for centuries. Dalits and non-Dalits have mutual relationship. But, there is still a kind of cold war on caste based hierarchies for the caste based identity.

In my village, Dalits were dominated by non-Dalits in different social activities. Dalits were involved in their caste based works: tailoring, making pot, sewing the leathers' items and making the ornaments. Similarly, I could observe the caste hierarchies during my school time. I had friends of Dalits in my school time. During my schooling, Dalits also had an opportunity to study at school, but the numbers of Dalit students were very limited. There was not an obstacles' on caste hierarchies to go to school, but the problem was in human behaviors. Still I remember a case on caste hierarchies in my school age;

When I studied in class nine, I and Dalit student (Dhan) were going to school, a non-Dalit asked to Dalit students, " in which class do you study?" Then he replied as class eight. Then that non-Dalit said him, who would tailor our

clothes if you go to school? (timi haru school jana thale pachi kaste hamro luga silaune?) and he further explained that Dalit also became clever.

The above mentioned narrative reflects the caste based discrimination in my village. Similarly, there was a practice of untouchable system, which is still found to some extent. Still I remember a case of untouchable when I studied in class eight.

One of the younger educated non-Dalit men used to teach adult education to my mother and other women in my locality. There was a Dalit woman, who studied adult education to non-Dalits women. One day, in the evening, I also went with my mother, where adult women were taught in an old cow-shed.

The teacher started to teach Nepali letters: ka, kha, ga, gha etc. I saw a Dalit woman, sitting on her own mat quite far from the others. I also found interesting case related to untouchable. A non-Dalit woman said her, ye, be seated very far from us? (Ye, ta ali para bas chhoielani?) by hearing such a voice, she became quite nervous without saying anything.

The above mentioned narrative shows that untouchable system was rooted in my locality as guided by Hindu mythology. From this Dalits reality, what we can say that Dalits were suppressed and dominated by non-Dalits. Untouchable system was practiced in almost all the activities in my locality. It was found in water tap, taking dinner, wedding ceremony, feast and festivals and so on. Besides it, other caste based discriminations were prevailed in my locality. In addition, Hindu society treated them as 'nimukha', 'garib', 'pani nachalne', 'tallo jatka' and so on. But, I also could get chance to observe the changing behaviors of non-Dalits to Dalits in my locality. Still I remember a case related to changing perspective on Dalits.

Sante, one of the first SLC passed Dalit person in my village. Luckily, he got chance to be a primary school teacher where I studied up to class ten. When

he became a teacher at school, his name and fame gradually grown-up and non-Dalits changed their behaviors to him rather something different from other Dalit. Even he used to be invited in the wedding ceremony of the non-Dalit. Gradually, non-Dalit young individuals used to have breakfast in a same table. Similarly, non-Dalit students and parents started to say Namaste when they met him.

From this reality, I understood that he was respected by non-Dalits for his power and position in the society. Moreover, what I understood that non-Dalits used to behave to Dalits on the basis of their parental occupation, financial status and level of awareness and education. But, my Hindu society couldn't create praiseworthy role to incorporate them in educational access. Therefore, very few Dalits children could get educational opportunity in my locality.

In addition, I had got a chance to observe the educational barriers to the Dalit students due to the poverty. In my locality, many Dalit children could not get education due to the low economic status. The economic status of the parents plays vital role in capitalist country (Boudieu, 1977, p. 38). In Hindu Nepalese society, Dalits were treated as low prestigious people in comparison with non-Dalits. Moreover, I observed the school irregularity problem of Dalit students. After the completion of my SLC examination, I had leisure time about three months. During that period, I used to support to my parents working in the fields and supporting in the household activities.

One day early in the morning, my mother told me to go the Bishowkarma's 'Arans' to renew the instruments of digging, ploughing and cutting grass. As instructed my mother, I went to the 'Aran' (the place of manufacturing agricultural instruments) about 9:30AM. When I reached the house of

Bishowkarma, I saw one of the younger sons of our Bishowkarma was refining the instruments for farming of 'Bista'. Then I immediately asked him, "Why didn't you go to school today?" Then he replied me his father instructed him to support in 'Arans' instead of going to school. Actually, he was studying in class seven.

From such reality, what I understood that parents' role plays crucial role for continuing their children's education. Similarly, the profession of the parent's directly and indirectly influences their children's schooling and education.

School Dropout Realities of Dalits

When I reviewed literatures, I found the considerable realities on educational access of Dalit children and youths. The enrollment rate of Dalit children is 21.5% in Primary level, 14.6% in lower secondary level and 10.5% in secondary level (DEO, Flash Report- I: 2011/2012). There are still 6.6% primary school aged (6-10) children, who are not able to join the school, and 7.3% of 10-14 years aged population and 29.7% of 15-19 years aged group population are out of educational access (CBS Report, 2011: See Appendix: G).

The literacy rate of Dalit was 17% in the census of 1991, 33.8% was in the census of 2001 and 41.3% was in the census report of 2011 whereas 74.9% literacy rate of Brahamin and 60.1% of Chhetri in the Census of 2001 whereas national literacy rate of Nepal was 54.1% in the census of 2001 (Sherpa, 2006), and 65.9% was in the census of 2011 (CBS Report, 2011: See Appendix- J). And 75% Dalit children become the victim of school dropout even after the enrollment before grade five (Bartlet et al, 2011). Similarly, 78% Dalits are below the poverty line, 80% Dalits are landless 'Sukumbasi' and 38% Dalit children became the victim of child labor (Bhattachan & Bhattachan, 2008). From the above mentioned educational realities of

Dalits what I understood that Dalit communities of Nepal are still deprived from the light of education.

Similarly, about 40% do not complete the primary education cycle. There is a large proportion of drop-out at grade one. The grade repetition rate is very high. The children who belong to disadvantaged and deprived communities constitute a large proportion of this group (SSRP, 2009).

According to the UNESCO Report (2007), educational status of Dalit caste groups by sex, educational status of women is too pathetic in comparison between men. Similarly, some of the Dalit castes like Badi, Chamar, Dom, chidimar and Halkar have no attainment in higher education above the bachelors' degree (DEO, Flash Report-I, 2011/2012). Therefore, Dalit sub-castes can be categorized into deprived and least deprived in Nepalese communities.

Regarding national school dropout reality, 8.5 % school aged 6-24 children and youths are out of educational access in Himalayan region. Similarly, 4.7% and 12.2% similar groups' children and youths are out of educational access in Hilly and Terai regions (CBS Report, 2011). In addition, there are 7.9% in class one, 4.3% in class two, 3.9 in class three, 3.7 % in class four, 6.2 % in class five, 6.5% in class 6 to 8, 5.9% in class nine and 8.1 in class 10 students are out of school (DEO, Flash Report-I, 2011/2012). Among them, about 47.6% school dropout children are belonged to different sub-castes children of Dalit (CBS Report, 2011). Similarly, grade repetition is also another headache of Nepal, 11.4% in primary level, 6.5% in lower secondary level, and 3.7% in secondary level children are the victim of class repetition problem (DEO, Flash Report-I, 2011/2012).

The educational enrolment reality of Dalit was varied from one geographical region of Nepal to another region such as 7.2 % children were out of school from

9.0% children of 5 to 9 years in Mountain region. Similarly, 6.8% children were out of school from 14.1 % in Hilly region whereas, 1.9% children were out of school from 2.4% in Terai region of Nepal. Similarly, there were 8.0% Dalit children of 10-12 year age in Nepal. Among them, only 6.8% were enrolled and 1.2% was out of school (DEO, Flash Report, 2010).

From the above mentioned educational reality of Dalit, Still, large numbers of school aged Dalit children are out of school and their educational enrollment rate isn't also satisfactory in comparison with non-Dalits.

Global Perspectives: Dalit and Non-dalit Youths

The population of the global youths aged between 12-24 is about 1.3 billion (World Development Bank Report, 2007, as cited in Bennell, 2012, p. 8). And they are in great problems like unemployment, underemployment and disillusionment (ILO Report, 2005). Similarly, youths are defined as a key target group in MD Goals and its' target is to develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youths. But 29% youths of South Asia have been doing hard labor in difficult physical circumstances (Bennell, 2010, p. 7). Similarly, ILO Report (2010) found that nearly three times more likely to be unemployed youths globally than adults. Similarly, 10.7% youths of South Asia are unemployed (ILO. Global Employment Trends, 2012, as cited in Bennell: 2012 p. 9). And about 300 million youths live on less than 2 US \$ a day. Moreover, FAO estimates that about 55% of youths reside in rural areas without having proper facilities and opportunities.

The above mentioned brief reality of youths draws the pathetic pictures of youths in the world. Considering such youths reality, I have tried to sketch the future life expectations of school dropout youths on the basis of field experiences and primary data. Actually, I found ambitious future life expectations of SD Dalit youths

as the non-Dalit youths. But their efforts, initiations environment were not as their expectations. To make the every one life bright, 'social, cultural, economic, education and life experience' (Gupta, 2010, p. 68) play crucial role. Actually, Dalits have very much pathetic historical background. They were socially, culturally, economically and politically discriminated by the non-Dalits (Sharma, 2010, p. 60). Similarly, they were treated as low caste in Hindu Religion. In '*Puran*' and '*Manusmriti*' (as cited by Mehrotra; 2006, p. 2), 'Brahamana Varna' represented the mouth of the 'Prusha', which word may be translated as "the metaphoric universal man" referring perhaps to man-kind as whole and Rajaya (Kshatriya) his arms, the 'Vaisya' his thigh and the 'Sudra' his feet. From this interpretation of castes status in Hindu holy book '*Puran*' what we claimed that how much the Dalits or Sudras were dominated by Hindu orthodox community. Considering their past to present social and cultural status, I have tried to explore the future life expectations of SD youths through the perspectives of social stratification theories considering caste based issues of the research fields.

Dalit Castes System in Nepal

Caste is the very negation of the human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination. It condemns individuals from birth and their communities to a life of exploitation, violence, social exclusion and segregation. Caste-discrimination is not only a human rights violation, but also explores those affected to other abuses of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. (Pillay, 2010 as cited in Nepali; 2011, p. 91)

Historically, there is no any authentic record of the origin of caste system in Nepal. One can guess that Hindu tradition based on Hindu religious text books like Mahabharata, Purans and Manusmriti named to untouchable groups such as "Chamar"

(cobbler), Chandal (who cremated the dead body), and “Rajaka” (washer-man). This shows that the influence of specific and contemporary caste behavior in Nepal cannot be simply assessed from that source of the Vedic and Mahabharata period. Bista (1991) mentioned, caste system has marginally penetrated in its society to the particular classes (Shudras/Chandal).

Implying that caste concepts entered in Nepal for the first time in the beginning of the Lichhavi era (1200-879), Lichhavi dynasty enforced social rules based on Hindu varna system scripture, texts and treaties (Prashit, 2006). If one did not follow the prevailing norms of social system the person would be considered as lower caste (Vaidya et al., 1985). It was widespread in Malla period (879- 1768) as well. Similarly, Cast Based Discrimination and untouchable system was developed and reached to saturation in east Terai i.e. Karnatbanshi State (1097-1325) and there was separate government office to record and determine the caste (Prashit, 2006). The genesis caste system accurately traced from the reign of King Jayasthiti Malla (1360-1395) in Kathmandu valley. The king invited five Brahmins from Banaras and restructured the Newari peoples into four *Varnas* and sixty caste groups based on occupational division of labor (manusmriti) under social reform program and which was legitimated the caste division and practice of untouchable system in Nepal.

The social reform activities of Jayasthiti Malla planted deep roots of the caste discrimination and untouchable system in the Nepalese society. All castes occupations, ritual, culture, limitation and social mobility were fixed. If the people did oppose the socio- cultural norms and values, they would liable for the punishment. King Ram Shah (1606-1633) used to rule in the kingdom of Gorkhas, a small kingdom close to Kathmandu. He also followed the Jayasthiti Malla’s social reform program and Gorkhali people were structured into four castes and thirty *Varnas*. So,

he legitimated the caste discrimination and untouchability in the kingdom of Gorkha and strictly implemented (Kisan, 2005).

The groups who are identified as historically and economically discriminated and also who have been denied opportunities of and access to resources including education are disadvantaged groups. They lead a life of poverty and exploitation (CARE, 1996). In Nepalese context, Dalit castes people are identified as disadvantaged groups. They are also identified as water polluting (Pani nachalne), untouchable (Achhoot), lower caste (Tallo Jat), ignored (Hepiyeka), down trodden (Bipanna), poor (Garib), helpless (Nimukha), marginalized (Simantakrit), disadvantaged (Subidha bat banchit), excluded (Banchitikaranma pareka), minorities (Alpasankhyak), lagging behind (Pachhadi pareka) and non-derogatory (Poudel, 2007).

The term 'Dalit' represents the struggle for quality and equity. According to the national census (2001), Dalit population comprises of 12.8% of the total population 22.3 million and 14.3% of the total population of 26494504 Nepal (CBS Report, 2011). According to this report, Hill Dalit caste 'Kami' is in the highest position in population (12, 58, 554) in comparison with other Dalit castes whereas Tarai Dalit 'Kalahaar' is in the lowest position on the basis of population (1,077). Unfortunately, Dalits have received most inhuman treatment from the high castes - even untouchable (Bhattachan, 2009). It challenges all values of human dignity, democracy, equality and social justice.

The caste system is associated with Hinduism in South Asia, mainly found in India and Nepal. It was started during the medieval period by the king Jayasthiti Malla, and the Rana Prime minister: Janga Bdr. Rana formalized the caste system by introducing the '*Muluki Ain 1853*'. In the *Muluki Ain*, the Brahmins, holding highest

position in Hindu caste hierarchy (Pyakurel, 2007). Similarly, National Code had made four-fold caste hierarchy i.e. landowner '*Jagadhari*', liquor drinking '*Matawali*'- indigenous groups, castes from whom water is not acceptable but contact with whom does not require purification by sprinkling of water '*Pani nachalne chhoi chhito halnu naparne*' and castes from whom water is not acceptable and contact with whom requires purification by sprinkling of water '*Pani nachalne chhoi chhito halnu parne*' i.e. *Sarki, Damai, Kami, Gaine, Sunar, Badi, chunara, Pode, hurke and chyame Khalak* (MacDonald, 1984, p. 282).

Similarly, National Dalit Commission (NDC) identifies tentatively 22 Dalit castes: five from the Hill origin of Nepal i.e. Gandharva (Gaine), Pariyar (Damai, Darji, Suchikar, Nagarchi, Dholi, Hoodke), Badi, Viswakarma (Kami, Lohar, Sunar, Wod, Chunara, Parki, Tamta) and Sarki (Mijar, Charmakar, Bhool) and seventeen from the Tarai origin of Nepal i.e. Kalar, Kakaihiya, Kori, Khatik, Khatbe (Mandal, Khanka), Chamar (Rom, Mochee, Harijan, Rabidas), Chidimar, Dom (Marik), Tatma (Tanti, Das), Dushadh (Paswan, Hajara), Dhobi (Hundu, Rajak), Pattharkatta, Pasi, Bantar, Mushar, Mestar (Halkhor) and Sarvanga (Sarbaraiya).

Regarding caste based hierarchy, there is another belief of 'Karma', according to which every human being passes through a process of reincarnation, and the next life of human being is either a reward or punishment depending on the deeds or action in the earlier life. From this perspective, Dalits '*Shudra*' are supposed to be suffering from the punishment for their deeds in previous lives and non-Dalits like '*Brahmin*', '*Kshatriya*' and '*Viashia*' are supposed to be twice born groups as a reward of their deeds of previous lives (Malley, 1975, cited in Majid, 2012, p. 268).

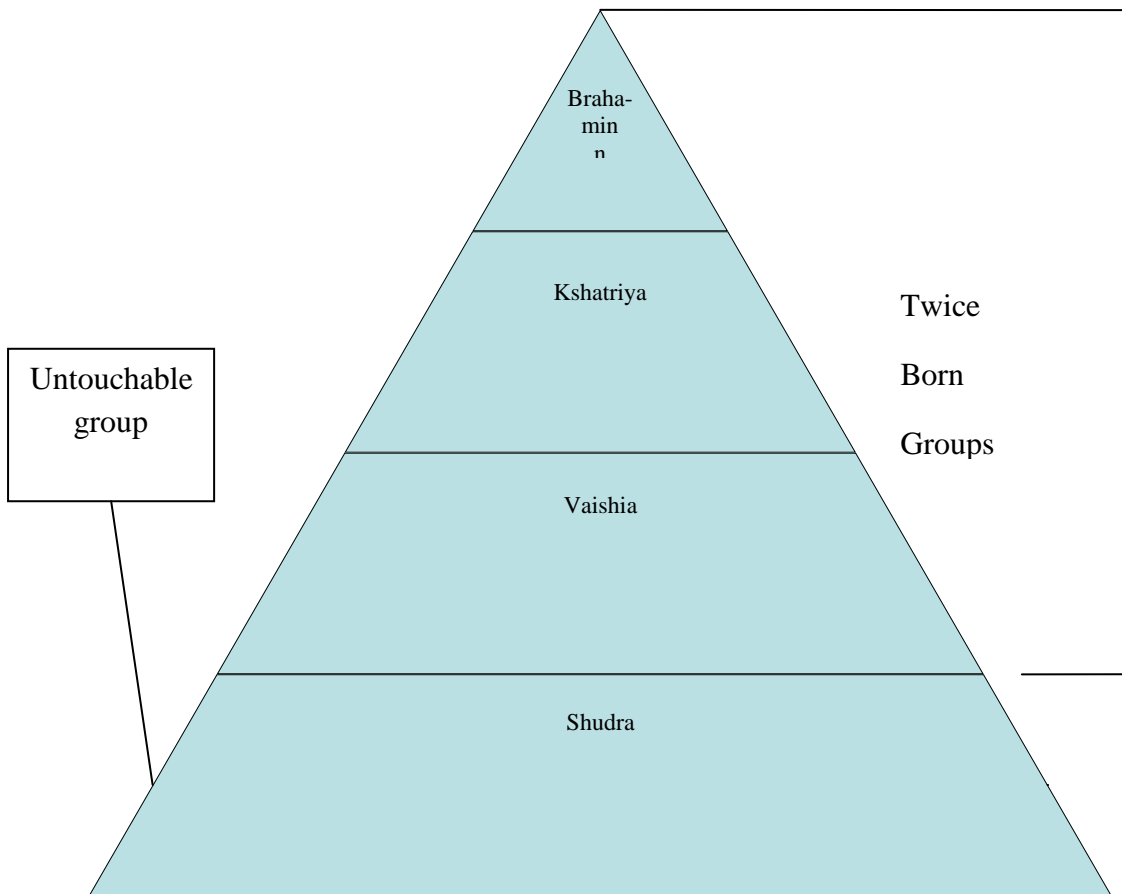


Figure 1. Caste Hierarchy on the Basis of 'Karma' (Source: Majid, 2012, p. 268).

The above mentioned figure shows the caste hierarchy from top to bottom. According to Hindu mythology, four Varnas of caste are further interpreted in top down approach i.e. Brahmin is taken as the mouth of the universal man, Kshatriya as arms, Vaishia as thigh and Shudra as foot (Sharma, 2010). Similarly, castes are seen as non-antagonist whereas class is seen as competitive phenomenon and sometimes these terms 'caste' and 'class' are taken as interchangeably (Gupta, 2000). Mainly regarding caste system, *Sanskritization* creates tension and contradiction latently in India and Nepal which is explained by Srinivas (Parvathamma, 1978, p. 91). In addition, Dalits are denied by higher castes people in drinking water resources, using

community forests, inter-caste marriage, feasts, and marriage and funeral ceremonies and so on (Majid, 2012, p.267). Similarly, very limited numbers of Dalits are participated in policy making of the nation (Bishwokarma, 2010). Dalit castes have their own identity from one caste to another and they have also power and politics regarding superiority among the different Dalit castes. The Dalit caste like 'Kami' occupies higher position among the Dalit caste hierarchy, but they are not treated as untouchables by other Dalit sub-castes. Similarly, Dalit caste 'Doms' are at the bottom of the internal caste hierarchy of Dalits (Pyakurel, 2007).

Besides Nepal and India, caste based discrimination is still prevailed in Japan and Kenya. Similarly, it was also found in Ijrayal (Mehrrora, 2006). But the nature of caste based discrimination is different from Nepal (Tamrakar, 2000). In Japan and Kenya, caste based discrimination has not been taken as the major social problem as Nepal.

Empirical Review on Dalit Issues

Various qualitative and quantitative research studies have been conducted regarding Dalits' status, rights, equity, power relations, realities, educational access, and educational barriers and so on. I have reviewed some of the related literatures to figure-out the foundation of my research study, which I have tried to mention briefly below:

Nepal National Dalit Social Welfare Organization (NNDSWO) has done an *'Ethnographic Study of Terai Dalits in Nepal'* (2006). This study is focused on the Terai Dalits with emphasis on their ethnography. The study also explores the ethnography of Musahar community. It shows that adult literacy rate of Musahar community is the lowest (6.9 percent) among all groups in Nepal. The dropout rate among the children belonging to this community is very high and is more so among

the girls. But this study doesn't focus on the causes or affecting factors for the low educational participation.

Pokharel in his study '*An Ethnographic Study of the Musahar of Kharji Kovara of Morang District*' (1997) focused on the ethnography of the Musahar community. This study concluded that Musahars are socially under-privileged people. They all live in lower standard of life. They have been neglected in all aspects of social life. Economically, they are also poor, and their social lives are too pathetic.

NNDSWO has done a '*Demographic and Socio-economic Survey of Dalits*' (2006) in which the researcher selected six districts which covers all development regions of the country. The survey report focused on the demographic and socio-economic status. The report shows that more than 72 percent of the Dalits are illiterate in Saptari. Finding of the report indicates that low economic condition is the main cause of not attending school.

Similarly, a book written by Madhu Sudhan Pandey entitled '*Nepalka Dalitharu (Dalits of Nepal)*' (2002) has explained about their ethnography of Musahar which simply includes introduction, occupation, population, surnames, tradition, culture, and educational status. He further explained that Musahar community has the perception that to study is the main function of the elite group who has well economic condition. Due to such perception to education, most of the Musahar are still illiterate as well as representation in the state machinery is almost zero and they are limited to the peon, guard, sweeper etc. level. He has revealed that landlessness, unemployed, low income, etc. are the main cause of poverty among the Musahars.

National Dalit Confederation-Nepal (2007) has published a research report on '*Tarai Dalit Women*'. The study focused on the Terai Dalit women's issues related to citizenship, political participation and good governance.

Koirala has completed his Ph.D. dissertation in the subject '*Schooling and the Dalits of Nepal: A Case Study of Bungkot Dalit Community*'. His study shows that the caste system as the major structural problem in Nepali society, not the economy or the political system or even the educational system. Besides, this research study concluded that a lot of intellectual work related to Hindu teachings about caste and the cosmogony relations of the world are one to the main ways to address this problem, as well as some specific change in schooling.

Poudel has completed his Ph.D. dissertation in the subject '*Power, Knowledge and pedagogy: An Analysis of the Educational Exclusion of Dalits in Nepal*' (2007). His study shows that perceiving Dalits as backward and pitiable, and blaming those for their non-inclusion is problematic construction, which do not acknowledge the perspectives and struggles of Dalits. This study has also shown that such pathological construction and blame are no more than a way of discouraging the self-confidence of Dalits. His study also shows that educational exclusion of Dalits is prevailed due to the ineffective government policies and formal setting of school without considering the socio-cultural factors, economic situations and power relations in society and school.

Tharu in his study '*Educational Status of Tharu women in Nepal*' (2001) focused on the educational status of Kamaiya and labor Tharu women. This study shows that the educational attainment of Tharu females in level-wise high disparity whereas, educated female is found more in primary level than other levels. The school dropped out rate of Tharu women is higher than men. Due to poor economic condition, the females of Kamaiya and labor families have been found deprived from formal education. The dropout rate before completing the grade is also high in these families. More concentration of literate females are in the age group of less than 15

years but more number of informal literate females are in the age group of more than 26 years. Dropout situation in these VDCs seems to be a major problem of educational development in the Tharu community. A large numbers of students go to school but rarely very few of them complete their education. With increasing the level, dropout rate also increases. Out of total dropout students, more than 50 percent students dropped in secondary level. Poor economic condition and engagement of children in the farm are the major responsible causes for dropout. As per the responses of dropout students, due to the heavy load of household work, they do not get enough time to study at home. So, they become weak in the study and fail in the examination. Apart from this, ignorance of parents in education, early marriage and interest of students are the other contributing causes of dropout.

Parajuli in his study *'Educational Status of Women in Nepal'* (2005) focused on the educational status of Tharu women. This study shows the education status of women is general lag far behind men which cause women had low status occupations, health, nutrition, political participation, ownership of assets, decision making etc. Not sending girls to school or keeping girls at home is common practice in Nepal. Very few Nepalese women continue school beyond the age of ten because of their value of the household work or female domestic and agriculture. Even among those who have the opportunity to go to school, the dropout rate is very high. Girls have a heavy work burden starting from the early age which includes sibling care, animal grazing, fuel collection, and domestic work and farm activities. These activities prevent young women from attending school. Strong son preference is another important that keeps women out of school and also leads to high dropped out rate.

Similarly, Dhakal's (2013) study shows that many Dalit children feel that they were poorly treated and discriminated in schools even after the policy practices, and

the situation of exclusion has not been improved. This thesis further discusses that poor communication of policy has hindered its effective implementation, and incentive-based inclusion policy contributed only for immediate results.

To address the above mentioned Dalits realities, various struggles, efforts and movements have been done in policy making and implementation levels. But, still these efforts are not enough to make the equitable social behaviors between Dalits and non-Dalits.

Efforts for Dalit Enhancement

Untouchable system was the big headache of Dalit and later on it became the problem of country. A number of people and organizations opposed and raised the voice on this issue in the name of anti-caste movement. It was started even from the ancient period. Gautam Buddha (563-483 BC) revolted against caste discrimination (Bishwokarma et al, 2006). He was the profounder of Buddhist philosophy where no caste hierarchy. Similarly, during the Prithivi Narayan Shah's campaign for the unification of Nepal, Kalu Sarki, Mani Ram Gaine and Bise Nagarchi played a significant role. Similarly, Joshmani saint culture gave the norms and beliefs of this culture were to oppose caste hierarchy, Hindu ritual and idol worship (Sharma, 1995). Saint of Joshmani Shashidhar Das (1747-1749) and Gyandil Das (1835-1897) strictly opposed caste discrimination and untouchable system, ritual and idol worshipping and they extended their campaign basically in Kathmandu, Ridi, Okhaldhunga, Ilam, Darjeeling and Sikkim (Sharma, 1993; Bishwokarma et al., 2006).

The late king Ran Bahadur Shah (1775-1806) was the student of *Joshmani* saint culture. He dared for opposing caste hierarchy and idol worship. Once he arranged and public feast program and distributed "*Khichadi*" to all in *Jaganath* temple. He broke temple and took Birta system back from Brahmins. Similarly,

“*Manish thulo dilale hunchha jatale hudain*” (in his popular book *Munamadan*) was revolutionary poem written by Great poet Laxmi Prasad Devkota (1906-1959). It also lessoned to all Nepali that person becomes great by his work not by caste. Besides, a number of Dalit leaders, activists, representatives, social workers contributed for Dalit movement. The movement was done individually, collectively and organizationally. Main purpose of the Dalit movement was to eliminate ideology, legal provisions, cultural beliefs, Brahmanism and all forms of caste discrimination and untouchable system prevailing in the society.

In addition, secularism, positive discrimination or reservation of seats in politics, employment and education, citizenship award by family to that Dalit through act are some of the legal efforts to reduce discrimination (Bhattachan et al., 2001, p. 72). Dalit leaders and activists identified that main enemies and opposition of Dalit community is feudalism and Brahmanism.

Election of constituent assembly was held in 2007. In constituent assembly (CA), there were 50 members (out of 601) from Dalit community from different political parties (JUP, 2008). It was the proud for Dalit community that 8.32% Dalit representatives are in CA but it is not enough as per 13% of Dalit population. Similarly, NGOs of Dalits are playing an important role in Dalit movement. A number of NGOs along with Dalit NGO federation have been established in order to assist to Dalit movement. Their major activities are enhancement of politics, education, health, job training, sanitation, cultural awareness, women empowerment, legal and advocacy, income generation, etc.

National Human Right Commission (NHRC) is the institution to monitor the inhuman activities and protection of human rights of all people. It went against the denial of Dalits utilization of public tap/well, eating in hotel and inter-caste marriage.

This campaign against caste discrimination and human rights of Dalits could change the caste status of the Dalits of Nepal (NHRC, 2009 p.37).

The government has established '*Upeckchhit, Utpidit, Ra Dalitbarga Utthan Vikas Samity* (UUDUVS)' in 2005. The main purpose of this was related to education, health, employment training and orientation, communication, sanitation, awareness, financial assistance and research studies. Its major focus is in education in terms of scholarship (UUDUVS, 2066). National Dalit Commission (NDC) was established by Government in March 2002. The sole purpose of this NDC was to increase active participation of socially, politically, educationally and economically backward Dalit community in the mainstream of national development by preserving their fundamental rights provisioned in the present laws and constitution (NDC, 2001). It is the institution which attempts to protect human right of Dalit and resolves the caste discrimination and exclusion.

Furthermore, various acts and bills have been prepared to safeguard the Dalits rights i.e. Nepal Dalit Association prepared the Dalit Upliftment and Protection Bill 2002, National Dalit Commission made an act in 2003, Dalit NGO Federation (DNF) prepared reservation act bill of 2005 and Lawyers National Campaign Against Untouchability (LANCAU) prepared Caste Based Untouchability Crime Act of 2006.

Part II: Policy Practices on Educational Issues of Dalits

The aim of this part is to review the national and international laws and policies on caste system particularly in relation to right to education for Dalits, and I have also tried to observe the application of already established caste based educational laws on the basis of my research fields. Similarly, I have tried to explore the policy practices in the fields. In addition, this section provides the real picture of caste based educational policies in the human world.

Educational Right Based Policies for Dalits

“Caste is the very negation of the human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination. It condemns individual from birth and their communities to a life of exploitation, violence, social exclusion and segregation. Caste discrimination is not only a human rights violation, but also exposes those affected to other abuses of their civil, political, economic, social, educational and cultural rights” (Pillay, 2010 as cited in Nepali; 2011, p. 8). This definition presents caste discrimination is a serious social problem, therefore, it needs to be eliminated from the society. National and international laws have been made to eliminate all kinds of caste based discriminations and preserve fundamental human rights. Here, I have tried to mention the policies regarding educational rights of Dalits, which have been included in national and international level policies.

National Policies

Nepal has made the educational policies to incorporate the Dalit students in educational access for last few years. In Nepal, public education was begun after the political change in 1951. But the Dalits weren't allowed to get education due to the Hindu orthodox society during that period (conversation, Layer of Dalit commission, 12 Jan, 2013). After three years, Nepal National Education Planning Commission was established in 1954 (NNEPC-1954). This planning commission could not address the right to education of Dalits. After few years, first five years plan (1956-1961) was built, and this plan made the policy of universal primary education and national education based on individual needs. But, regarding universal education and education based on individuals need, educationists claimed that it as contradictory objectives, and they further claimed that the terms ‘Universal education’ and ‘education based on individuals need’ give contradictory meanings .

All Round National Education Committee (ARNEC) was established in 1962. The aim of that committee was to develop the education system that could produce citizens who were expected to be loyal to the party-less *Panchayat* system.

In 1965, National Planning Council was established, and this council made the policy of compulsory primary education, but this council made the policy of cost recovery system in education therefore, it was beyond the access of Dalits children. Likewise, fourth five years plan (1970-1975), fifth five years plan (1975-1980) and sixth five years plan (1980-1985) gave priority on free primary education up to class five. In 1971, National Education System Plan was introduced in which school system was controlled by the government bureaucracy. After the 8th amendment of “Education Act-1971”, it was declared that free primary education to Dalit children and Janajati girls, and free textbooks by the government. Similarly, seventh five years plan (1980-1985) encouraged to establish secondary schools privately on the basis of peoples’ participation (NPC, 1985, Chap. 39, as cited in Poudel, 2007, p. 189). In 1990, great discussion was started for ensuring right to education for Dalits in Nepal. But, that discussion could not make sufficient laws related to education, and it was difficult to implement the policies related to educational rights for Dalits due to the complex socio-culture and local power dynamics (Bhattachan, 2008).

Jomtien Conference 1990 brought world-wide understanding on 'Education for All', and Dakar Education (2000) included the issue of EFA. Nepal has also committed to reach the goal of EFA by 2015 ensuring the educational rights of all children, particularly girls, the disabled, children in difficult circumstances and children belonging to ethnic minorities and Dalits, have access to get free and compulsory good quality education (MOE, 2003 as cited in Poudel, 2007. p.186). Similarly, Nepal has planned to achieve 50% improvement in the level of adult

literacy by 2015, and to achieve an equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults (MOE, 2003). Similarly, Nepal has also made policy to achieve the EFA goal "the rights of indigenous people and linguistic minorities to basic and primary education through the mother tongue" (MOE, 2003 as cited in Poudel, 2007, p.186).

But, I could not find such policy practices in my fields. There were some of the school age Dalit children out of the school. The government of Nepal didn't try to incorporate them in the main stream of educational rights (conversation, Sanker, 12 August, 2012). They were spending their valuable time involving in bad activities and less productive activities (Conversation, Santosh, 11 August, 2012).

The interim constitution of Nepal, 2007 has provided Nepalese people with right to equality and for the first time right against untouchable system and discrimination, in which no one will be discriminated on the basis of origin, heredity, community, profession and castes. (Article no. 14). Such kinds of discrimination will be punishable and victimize people will get compensation as given in the laws. This constitution has made the policy of participation of Dalits in all organs of state structure on the basis of proportional inclusion (Article no. 21). Similarly, this constitution has mentioned the policy of uplifting Dalits by making a provision of reservation for them in education, health, housing, food, sovereignty and employment. In addition, Dalits have been ensured to take part in Nepal Army in the principle of equality and inclusion. This constitution has mentioned that 45% reservation quota to the back warded groups like Dalits, Janajati, Madhesi, Women, people from remote areas, disabled in security task force sector of government, in which 10% reservation quota is given to the Dalits. Likewise, 9% reservation seats of quota for Dalits in beaureocracy. Regarding right to education of Dalits, this constitution has made the policy ensuring the free education to the Dalits students

from the government up to secondary level. Similarly, the provision of scholarship scheme has been made to the deserving and needy Dalit candidates even in higher education. Moreover, 15% scholarship quota is given to Dalit students in studying MBBS level.

Regarding Dalits rights and its protection, National Dalit Commission (NDC) has made strategic planning (2009-2014) in which altogether 10 strategic objectives are prepared. They are as follows;

- To support the constitution-making process through active engagement with the constituent Assembly (CA) and CA members to ensure the individual dignity of the dalit community at all levels of society and for constitutional guarantees of their rights, as well as their equal and meaningful representation in state organs.
- To advocate for an independent and autonomous NDC through securing institutional status in the new constitution, and lobby for the promulgation of the NDC Act and its regulations in order to ensure the NDC's effectiveness.
- To conduct in-depth research and analysis regarding the status of the Dalit community and their protection in state mechanisms.
- To establish the NDC as an effective and proactive institution that aims to ensure the rights and dignity of the Dalit community.
- To launch programs and activities that ensure the rights of the dalit community promote their enhancement, assist in developing state policies, outline special campaign activities for social upliftment of Dalit community.
- To initiate an action-oriented campaign and activities that help to eliminate existing caste based discrimination in society.

- To establish friendly and working relations with international organizations and agencies working in the areas of human rights, particularly dalit and minority rights.
- To create conducive atmosphere for cooperation and partnership towards implementation of programs and policies in collaboration with nationally recognized organizations.
- To initiate an action-oriented programs for the empowerment of dalit women, and marginalized groups within the dalit community.
- To effectively monitor the status of the dalit community, as well as violations of their rights and caste based discrimination and carry out special initiatives regarding social enhancement and empowerment of the dalit community at-large.

International Policies and Conventions

Practice of racial discrimination or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous and that there is no justification for racial discrimination either in theory or practice..... All forms of racial discrimination based on the prejudice of racial superiority or on racial hatred, besides constituting a violation of fundamental human rights, tend to jeopardize friendly relations among peoples, co-operations between nations and international peace and security..... Racial discrimination harms not only those who are its objects but also those who practice it. (UN Declaration on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination, as cited in Nepali, 2011, p. 90)

The above mentioned lines show the voice and reality against the racial discrimination in which Nepal had already signed in 1971 but still Nepal is failed to

address successfully the above mentioned principle of caste based discrimination in practice. Similarly, UN charter (1945) and Universal Declaration of human rights (1948) also decided to preserve the human rights like all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and they are endowed with reason and conscience and should have acted towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood. These declarations states that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the declaration without considering the any kinds of discriminations like race, color, caste, sex, language, religion, politics, social origin, property, birth, status and so on. Similarly, ILO discrimination convention (1958) states that right to employment, occupation and education should not be obstructed on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, political opinion, social origin etc.

UNESCO convention against Discrimination in Education (1960) states that there is no discrimination in the admissions of pupils to educational institutions; preventions of differences of treatment by the public authorities between nationals, except on the basis of merit or need, in the matter of school fees and the grant of scholarships or other forms of assistance to pupils and necessary permits and facilities for the pursuit of studies in foreign countries; prohibition of any form of assistance granted by public authorities to educational institutions without considering any kinds of discriminations like race, caste, origin, politics, identity and so on. Similarly, UNESCO Convention on the protection and promotion of diversity of cultural expression (2005) adopted the principle of equal dignity of and respect for all cultures including the cultures of persons belonging to minorities and indigenous people. According to this convention, Dalits of Nepal have their own cultural identity.

International convention on economic, social and cultural rights (1996) states that right to education with agreement and education shall be directed to the full

development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and with agreement that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. In addition, Durban Declaration and Program of Action of the World Conferences against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related intolerance (2001) states that equality is a basic human right and victims of discrimination are right-holders and the states duty bearers. This convention has also demanded to address discrimination in employment, health, policing, media coverage and education and to create equal opportunities for victims of discrimination.

To sum up, most of the international policies and conventions have given priority on right to education as basic and fundamental rights to everyone. Moreover, right to education is also treated as means to preserve the other human rights.

Part III: Theoretical Position of the Study

To make the meaning of the research study theoretically, I have applied different social and cultural theories particularly ‘Cultural Reproduction Theory of Pierre Bourdieu’. Similarly, I have also applied the social stratifications perspectives and theories to some extent in relation to class and caste systems.

Social Stratification Perspectives

In general, social stratification is a societal phenomenon focuses on general issues relating to structuring of social inequalities. It denotes the specificities of its historical and contextual dimensions. In structuring of social stratification, a multiplicity of forces and factors operate including ideology, achievement, ascription and economic development (Sharma, 2010). It also refers to unequal social relations

and their management. According to these perspectives, there are two main groups in the society, first: those who have occupied lower position in this order of relations have often resented their underprivileged status i.e. Dalits and scheduled castes in the context of Nepal and second: those who have enjoyed a privileged status have averse to concede any change in the existing society i.e. Brahmins in the context of Nepal.

In capitalist countries, opportunities are imparted on the basis of socio-economic access. Therefore, I have tried to interpret the life world of school dropout Dalit youths through the theoretical lens of Social stratification perspectives because castes based issues also can be explained through these theoretical perspectives. Actually, social stratification is a horizontal division of each society into higher and lower social units (Murray, 2001 as cited in Bhushan and Sachdev, 2004, p.101). Unstratified society with real equality of its members is myth which has never been realized in the history of humankind. Stratification makes differentiation of population into hierarchical social position whose occupants are treated differently. Disparities are seen in even basic rights i.e. educational access, health facility and so on.

The social phenomenon's like castes and class systems, power relations and culture are the key terminologies to understand the concepts of social stratification theories. Caste is viewed as an overarching ideological system which pervades over all aspects of social life of Hindu in particular and of other communities in general. It refers to inequality in theory and practice. Dumont considers inequality based on the caste system as a special type of inequality. He further claimed that social power is legitimized on the basis of Caste identity in Hindu society. So, then, I wanted to observe this theoretical position in my research study whether it is socially meaningful or not. In addition, the idea of pure and impure is basic to the

understanding of caste (Sharma, 2010, p. 79-80). Similarly, Namboodiripad (1979) defined caste system as a mechanism of exploitation in the hands of the upper castes. Likewise, Sharma (2010) categorized the social stratification theories into two ways: caste stratification and multi-dimensional studies. The caste stratification is further explained by Gupta, Shama, Hutton, Ghurye, Hocast, Mayer et al. as the sole institution of social ranking whereas multi-dimensional studies do not consider caste as an all inclusion basis of social stratification. This studies also talks about the economic position, style of life, education, occupation and personality attributes for assessing the person's rank in community.

Social stratification assumes the form of class division in society and it tends to restrict interaction between strata. In all stratified societies, there are two major social groups, a ruling class and a subject class. The class exploits and oppresses the subject class as result there is basic conflict of interest between two classes (Taneja, 2001). There are several theories on social stratification propounded at different periods. Their strata are made up of class, socio-culture, political and religious classification. One of the reasons of social stratification is the access to the means of production (Bhushan and Sachdev, 2004). Weber added power and property as the force to dominate a class group because the dominating group always reserves the power and economy that results clear discrimination in society. Therefore, I have applied these theories as the theoretical lens of this study. Similarly, through the perspective of these theories, I have made a meaning of educational exclusion as being a Dalits in the Nepalese societies. In addition, it helped to analyze the Dalits educational status and social realities.

In practice, both caste and class stratifications are found in Hindu society, sometimes these two terms are found interchangeably (Sharma, 2010, p. 233). Caste

system is understood as cultural phenomenon of Hindu community and class is understood as structural social phenomenon on the basis of ruling and oppressed groups. And, both groups have never ending conflict to hold their position in the society. Theoretically speaking, to understand the principle of social stratification in Hindu society, both terms like 'caste' and 'class' come together. Therefore, I applied the theories of both caste and class system while interpreting the data in this study.

For caste based theoretical position of the study, I applied the concept of Dumont and Namboodiripad. Dumont (1981) defined that caste as a special type of inequality in the Hindu society, and social power is legitimized in people on the basis of their caste based identity. Similarly, Namboodiripad (1971) explained that caste system as a kind of mechanism of exploitation to the lower castes from the hands of upper castes or so-called people. Hence, I interpreted the raw data through theoretical position of Dumont and Namboodiripad on caste based issues. Similarly, I applied the 'cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu' to interpret the raw data related to education and class.

Cultural Reproduction Theory

Cultural Reproduction Theory is a part of social stratification theories, developed by Pierre Bourdieu, French sociologist. In this study, I have applied the Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capitals: cultural, economic, intellectual and social. Bourdieu talked about the habitus as system of durable and transposable dispositions through which we perceive, judge, and set act in the world. It means that they are shared by people subjected to similar experiences even as each person has unique individual variant of the common matrix. It is also a principle of both social continuity and discontinuity (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 238).

Similarly, Bourdieu (1979) defined the term capital in three major species: economic (materials and financial assets), cultural (scarce symbolic goods, skills and titles) and social (resources accrued by virtue of membership in a group). And, he also added another 'symbolic capital' as forth capital. Similarly, Bourdieu talked about the field as a 'scientific capital'. According to him, fields are historical constellations that arise, grow, change shape, sometimes wave or perish over time. Bourdieu believed that hierarchies are found in the field. So, every field is thus the site of an ongoing clash between those who defend autonomous principles of judgment proper to that field. And, Bourdieu defined the terms; habitus, field and capital as interrelated terms to each other.

This theory 'Cultural Reproduction' claims that social inequalities are reinforced, reproduced and legitimated by school (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990). Bourdieu (1990) believes that the societies are stratified in different hierarchical problem which shows societal discrimination. According to this, a society is stratified by class, race, ethnic-groups and gender, and school helps to reproduce their position by providing class and groups based on knowledge and skills of pupils. The cultural reproduction in education tells the function of school as reproducer of the dominant cultural groups (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990).

As per this theory, a school distributes legitimized, knowledge, values, language and models of style and represents the dominant culture and their interest (Poudel, 2007). Bourdieu also accepts that school is not a direct mirror image of societal power but it works indirectly as symbolic institution to reproduce existing unequal power relation. One of the major functions of school is the reproduction of the social and cultural inequalities from one generation to the next (Harker, 1990). Bourdieu also explains the relations between society and school and takes school as

an institutional mechanism which reproduces and legitimates an unequal social structure and culture. So, school for him is a mechanism for reproducing the structure of relations between the classes and unequal class distribution of cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990).

In reproduction theory, dominant habitus is transferred into a form of cultural capital that the schools take for granted and acts as most effective filter in the reproduction process of a hierarchical society. Sadovnik (2001) further writes about cultural capital that, cultural capital suggests that in understanding the transmission of inequalities we ought to recognize that the cultural characteristics of individual and groups are significant indicators of status and class position and human culture cannot be understood as an isolated and self contained object of study must be examined as part of large social and cultural structure (p. 20). Because of the cultural capital, the dominant group controls the economic, social and political resources which are embodied in the schools (Harker, 1990) and that embodiment works as reproduction strategy for the dominant group. Such strategy leads to form hierarchy, inequalities and difference (Ghimire, 2008) and school legitimates and reproduces this hierarchy.

The reproduction model of Bourdieu is 'cultural reproduction' in education that sees a school's function as the reproducer of the dominant culture through 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu, 1977a). According to this theory, a school distributes legitimate knowledge, values, languages and models of style, and represents the dominant culture and their interests. Bourdieu accepts that school is not a direct image of societal power relations. However, it works indirectly as a symbolic institution that reproduces existing power relations by producing and distributing the dominant culture. Bourdieu calls such pedagogical functions of

indirect reproduction of domination as ‘symbolic violence’, and he argues that the school legitimizes such reproduction through ‘misrecognition’.

Bourdieu explains relations between society and schools and takes school as an institutional mechanism, which reproduces and legitimizes an unequal social structure and culture. The school mechanism functions towards “reproducing the structure of relations between the classes by reproducing the unequal class distribution of cultural capital” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p 188). Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) further argue that, in the name of technical function, a school conceals this social function, and it conserves and reproduces power and prestige to socially advantaged groups.

The hierarchical mindset ignores the lower habits and culture of disadvantaged groups like Dalits in the context of Nepal and hence they are discriminated even in the schools. As a result they are compelled to be the victims of school dropout problem. The theory is silent about the productive role of school that school is advantageous for the elite and dominant groups and not favors to disadvantaged group like Dalit. Disadvantaged group like Dalit always accepts the cultural capital of higher caste.

Conceptual/Theoretical Framework

To generate the meaning of the research issue ‘lived experiences of SD Dalit boys’, I selected ‘Cultural Reproduction Theory of Pierre Bourdieu’ focusing on the theoretical positions like field, habitus, power and relation, cultural arbitrary, pedagogy and capitals: cultural, social and intellectual. Similarly, I adopted the social stratification perspectives partially wherever necessary. After making the theoretical position, I selected ‘Critical Ethnography’ as my research methodology. Similarly, I applied the research processes considering the different stages of critical ethnography

as explained by Carspecken (1996). Similarly, I applied my criticality and reflections while interpreting data. I located my position in this research study as bricoleur.

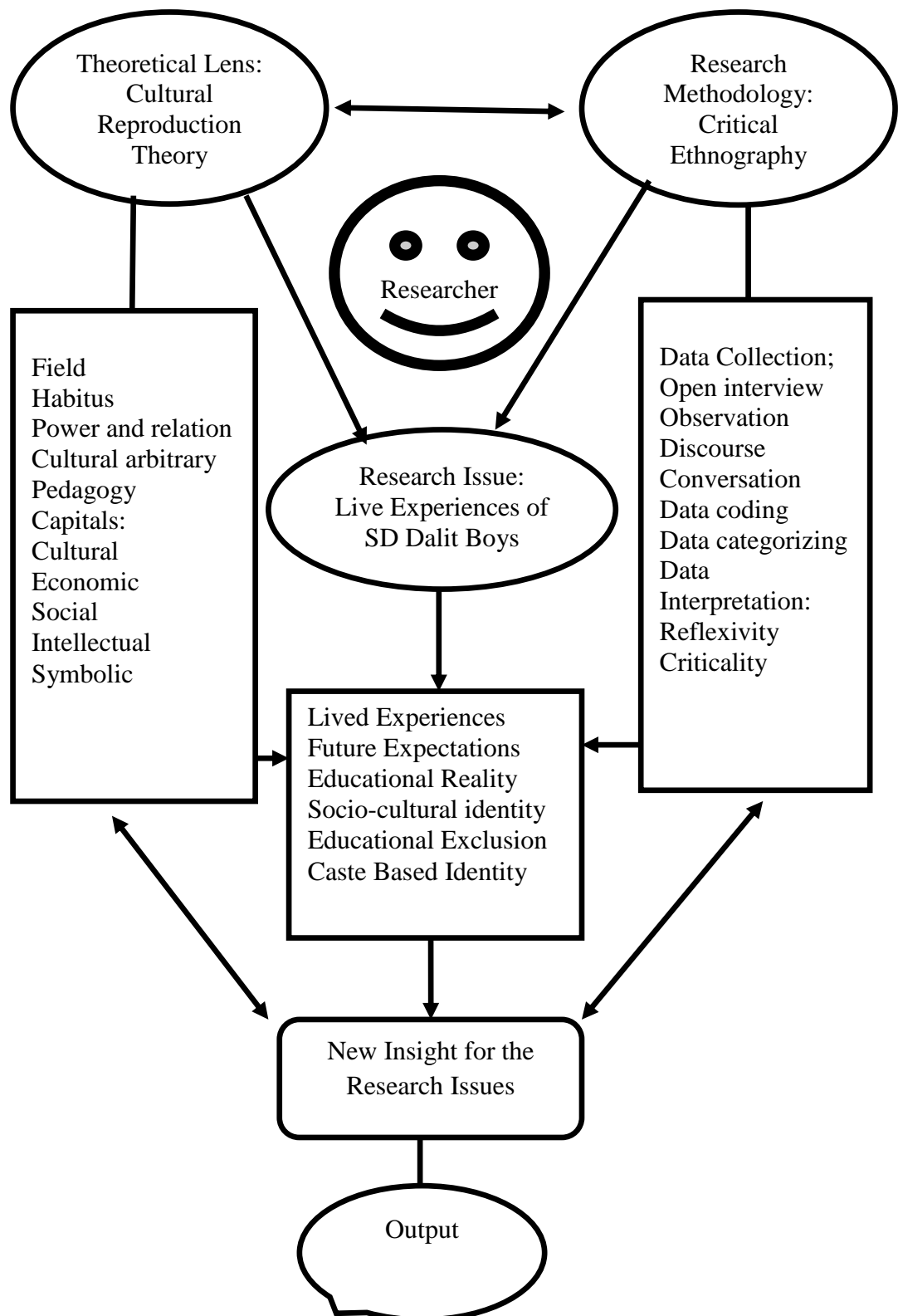


Figure 2. Conceptual and theoretical framework.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have explored the Dalits realities in relation to education and social status. There is a heart less satisfactory reality of Dalits in educational access and educational exclusion is the major problem of Dalits community. In this chapter, I have reviewed the legal provisions and exercises for Dalit enhancement and protection. To ensure the Dalits rights, various laws have been made but the problem is found in implementation aspect. And social organizations: INGOs and NGOs and Dalits organizations play inevitable role to enhance the Dalits status in the society. Similarly, I also reviewed the literatures related to educational and social status of Dalits.

This chapter also explores the legal aspect in relation to right based issue like education. From this chapter, I have tried to review the national and international laws and policies related to educational access. Moreover, I have tried to explore the step-wise formulation of new laws related to the right to education of back warded ethnic groups like Dalits. In essence, this chapter gives the glimpse of legal part of the Dalit educational access.

Finally, I have reviewed the social theories: social stratification perspectives and 'cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu' in relation to the social and educational issues of disadvantaged groups like Dalits in Nepalese society.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter Overview

The chapter has two interrelated aims. The first aim is to explore philosophical and theoretical framework for this research study. The second aim is to describe research methods, tools and processes used for this research. My methodological and epistemological assumptions guided me to select research methods, tools and processes. Considering the relationship between methodological exploration, and research methods, tools and processes, I have made this chapter into three parts. The first part discusses the methodological issues of the research and locates me within these philosophical premises. The second part describes the description of my research sites mentioning my field experiences, access and position. Similarly, the third part describes the research methods and processes used for this research study in practice.

I used a critical ethnographic method for the field research and applied social stratification perspectives and cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu for the analysis. My methodological assumption and philosophical premises have given me insight to analyze the issue by taking into consideration people's perceptions, voices and struggles, social phenomenon, as well as related social and structural factors on my research issues. I have tried to conceptualize and interpret the multiple voices and meanings associated with the issue. In this way, I have co-constructed meaning and knowledge with the research participants. Among multiple voices and perspectives, I

have tried to address the voices, perspectives and struggles, which are directed against hierarchical, discriminatory and exclusionary discourses in favor of non-hierarchical, non-discriminatory and inclusive values and practices.

My research design was a flexible plan considering the interpretive paradigm of qualitative research for the research study. The flexibility I applied during the research study which made my research process recursive. Using observation: field and participants, open ended interviews, discourses and conversations, I collected raw data from the research sites. Similarly, I applied my autobiographical exploration to analyze the research issues. Likewise, I reviewed several documents: research journals, papers, books, and reports etc. as sources of data collection. Moreover, during the analysis and interpretation, I focused on the field data that supported me to make the meaning of voices, perspectives, struggles and socio-cultural phenomenon of Dalits on research issues.

Part: I Methodological Discussion

Under this section, I have tried to explore the philosophical and theoretical discussion of my research study. Philosophical discussion talks about the ontology, epistemology and axiology of my research study. Similarly, I have used critical ethnography as my research method. I have explored the theoretical foundation of critical ethnography focusing its salient features, research processes and stages. Moreover, I have explored the role of researchers' reflexivity in critical ethnography.

Exploring Philosophical Premises

Research methods include all the procedures and techniques of collecting, analyzing and interpreting the data. There is a relationship between the uses of methodology: researchers' philosophical and theoretical consideration and research methods. Brewer (2000) conceptualizes the distinction between method and

methodology by defining methods as the procedural rules; methodology is the broad theoretical and philosophical frameworks into which these procedural rules fit. It is similar to Hughes' (1990) concept of 'philosophy of research', which includes epistemological assumptions as research methods and techniques. Thus, methodology, more than providing research techniques, justifies the use of research method to the particular research context (Griffiths, 1998; Holmes, 2005). Therefore, there is an inseparable link between philosophical premises: ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology. I have tried to connect the philosophical premises considering the theoretical background of these premises which is mentioned briefly below:

Ontological premises. Ontology is the study of being or existence and form which is known as the basic subject matters and it is theory of being general part of the metaphysic and theoretical philosophy. Ontology regards how philosophy defines the nature of the reality differently. The nature of reality is interpreted as something that has shaped in the history by the chain of social, political, cultural and economical elements (Mauther, 1996).

As a critical ethnographer, I have adopted the subjective ontological category rather objective and normative-evaluation truths. Claims of subjectivity are structured by the distinction between self-knowledge and performance (Carspecken, 1996, p. 70). For further clarification, subjective ontology involves the notion of my world, her world and your world rather than the world (McCarthy, 1978). Hence, only a self-report can approach validation of any claim that is subjective referenced. Subjectivity is interpreted accurately or inaccurately through cultural interpretive schemes.

The major contribution of ontology in my research is that it provides the multi-perspectives in the time of interpreting the data. As a qualitative researcher, I

have applied critical ethnographic research method in which the cultural, social, political and economic realities of school dropout lived experiences of Dalit boys are analyzed through the lens of political power and relation in my research study. In sociological and educational research, critical qualitative researchers have been by far the best explaining their social ontology (Hammersely, 1989). In essence, my ontological premise is based on the school dropout problem of youths in the Hindu dominated society. Therefore, ontology of this research study is multiple realities which are particularly based on peoples' socio-cultural perspective towards the school dropout problem of Dalit youths.

Epistemological premises. Epistemology is related with the theory of knowledge (Patton, 2002) and how it is perceived keeps importance. It is concerned with the process of understanding and learning the social world and how we perceive realities. Methodological and epistemological consideration depends upon a researcher's position and perception about either value-explicit or value-free research (Griffiths, 1998; Carspecken, 1996). There are a number of contrasting views and practices within the academic field about neutral and value explicit research. Griffiths (1998), discusses that facts are value free, so that a researcher has to work to find the facts in order to get objective knowledge. Social researchers, who have been distancing themselves from value-free knowledge, have been relying on a number of other viewpoints about neutrality, value-laden knowledge, and partisanship in research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). These viewpoints can roughly be categorized into two distinct traditions. The first viewpoint suggests value-neutral research (Weber, 1949; cited in Hammersley, 1992). Another view point advocates value driven and personally committed social research. However, recently there are other positions

between the value-neutral and the value-driven epistemology as given by (Becker 1967; Goulder, 1962, as cited in Hammersley, 2000).

But, I do not claim that research can be neutral, objective and value-free, because my epistemological and methodological positions adopt alternative way of thinking and doing research. My methodological consideration is based on the assumption that is no knowledge is independent of the knower; facts are not value free. It means research is not only adopted with facts; it is an interpretation of meanings, reproduced by a researcher and research participants (Poudel, 2007). Therefore, the researcher's presence is explicit in the research process as well as writing. Similarly, this research is guided by my experiences and ideology that may differ from the authority of power and knowledge as well as hierarchies and differences based on caste.

Similarly, I disagree with the concept of single and universal way of defining the research issue. Therefore, it is 'epistemological value' based research (Carspecken, 1996). As in Gewirtz and Cribb's (2006) terms, it is 'ethically reflexive' research because it involves both reflexivity and ethical considerations. Likewise, my research study demands a reflexivity on my position and values, situation of the research setting, and critically observed the socio-cultural phenomenon's while doing the research and interpreting research data. Critical paradigm assumes understanding and perception of knowledge and reality is transactional and subjective whereas constructivist paradigm assumes knowledge can be perceived and understood differently (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

As a critical ethnographer, I believe that realities are subjective and that can be constructed. In the society, each individual interprets the school dropped out sucks of Dalit youths according to their knowledge and experience, practice, social realities.

Hence, based on the constructivists approach, I have explored the subjective meaning of lived experiences of School dropout Dalit boys through reproduction and legitimating and its effect on the education of Dalits students and youths

As Creswell (2007) has argued that researchers attempt to lessen the distance between them and the being researched; they collaborate, spend the time with participants and become insiders. In addition, researcher believes that knowledge is subjective, contextual and knowing process is flexible and perceptions of the people create their own phenomena from their prior experiences an existing socio-cultural and eco-political context.

Knowledge is softer, changeable and subjective in experience and insight in the personal nature which is being created by the interaction between the world and individual (Richard, 2003). Thus, epistemological belief adopts that subjective knowledge is created by interaction or discourse between the world and individuals which subjective way of throughout the local understanding. Hence, my epistemological belief is that life world of school dropout Dalit youths through the multiple perspectives.

Axiology of my study. All researchers bring values to a study, but qualitative researchers like to make explicit those values. The axiological assumption characterizes the qualitative research. In a qualitative study, the inquirers admit the value-laden nature of the study and actively report their values and biases as well as the value-laden nature of information gathered from the field in which researcher's presence is apparent in the text, and author admits that the stories voiced represent an interpretation and presentation of the author much as the subject of the study (Denzin, 1989).

In my research, the axiology of the research can be meaningful in a similar context. I explored the life world of school dropout Dalit youths considering their daily activities and future life expectations. I have tried to make a meaning of my research study by collecting the real data from the field especially by applying the research tools: long observation, creating discourse and taking informal interviews. But, being a critical ethnographer, I don't believe on interview so much because longevity is the key concern of the ethnographic research. Similarly, I have applied the critical perspective while analyzing the data to conceptualize life world of school dropout Dalits youths through the lens of the power and relation.

Critical Ethnography as a Research Method

'Critical Ethnography' is a qualitative research methodology that enables the researcher not only to study and understand society, but also to critique and potentially change that society through his or her work. It is a methodology that is well suited to health and educational research, given the contemporary perspective of educational access as a socio-political phenomenon influenced by issues of power and dominance (Cook, 2005). It has grown out of the dissatisfaction with social accounts of structures like class, patriarchy, racism, caste system, in which real human actors never appear (Anderson, 1989). It owes a great debt to interpret movements in the fields of anthropology and sociology, and it is the outcome of debate on social theory and epistemology (Malinowski, 1922). It was emerged after the movements like American War of Independent, racial discrimination in America, gender issues, casticism and so on. Use of a critical qualitative research method that emphasizes holistic human experience and its relationship to power and truth offers the opportunity to closely examine the educational challenges from the perspective of those who live with them daily.

Critical qualitative research is one of several genres of inquiry into non-quantifiable features of social life. Carspecken (1996) described critical ethnography as an understanding of the relationship between power and truth claims. Small numbers of social researchers have been calling themselves critical for about twenty years (Carspecken, 1992). Critical ethnographer deals the social inequalities through the lens of social structure, culture, position, power and human agency, and they are identified as criticalists. Finn (1994) developed the critical theory focusing on three research outlines: people, power and praxis. According to him, people need to be critical inquiry to change the society. Similarly, power supports the empowerment through the development of common knowledge and critical awareness whereas praxis recognizes the inseparability of theory and practice and the commitment to improve both, and it needs to do thick description of the existing context.

We use our research, in fact, to refine social theory rather than merely to describe social life. In addition, qualitative research is directed at the discovery of meaning, rather than cause and effect, and typically focuses on process and context. In this research method, the study is usually conducted in a natural setting and analysis is inductive, with the researcher paying particular attention to discourse and behavior of participants. In addition, the researcher is the data collection instrument and makes no attempt to avoid, in fact generally is dependent upon, relationships with the participants in an attempt to gain the emic or insider, perspective (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Similarly, critical ethnographer examines the culture through the lens of power, prestige, privilege, right, identity and authority (Creswell, 2007) in response to an ethical responsibility to address unfairness or injustices and attempts to achieve positive social change (Carspecken, 1996; Hammersley, 1992; Madison, 2005).

Despite the increasing popularity of critical ethnography as a research methodology, there is limited description of it in the literature. Carspecken (1996) offers an approach to critical ethnography in educational settings that has been noted as useful for educational researchers. However, most of the published research using Carspecken's method has been conducted in Australia by nurses from that country or other high-income countries (as defined by The World Bank, 2010) in clinical settings such as renal dialysis and intensive care that utilize complex technologies, or in health promotion practice (Cook, 2005; Hardcastle, Usher, & Holmes, 2006; Smyth & Holmes, 2005). There is no reported research in which nurses from high-income countries conducted studies using this approach in low- and middle-income countries with colleagues who face severe resource constraints.

Qualitative research using Carspecken (1996) method is intended to facilitate the explanation of social action that takes place in particular social sites. Its purpose is to reveal oppression and inequality to support efforts for change, and to avoid contributing to oppression in the conduct of the study. Carspecken noted that meaning is constituted within action and that agents are influenced by cultural conditions and resources or constraints. Cultural power is the influence wielded by certain members of the social group regarding the behaviors of other members. Carspecken suggested that cultural power intersects economic and political power to render some groups dominant over others. However, culture can be created by group members as they resist the structures that constrain them in the enactment of their values. Thus, cultural structure may determine action in some cases, but it may also be changed through opposition to that structure. It is through the analysis of these systemic power sources and relationships that critical qualitative research findings are fully understood and utilized to create change.

An important aspect of Carspecken (1996) approach is the interpretation of meaning and the importance of communicative structures used during interaction. He described critical epistemology as an understanding of the relationships among power, thought, and truth claims. A truth claim defined as “an assertion that something is right or wrong, good or bad, correct or incorrect” (p. 56), is validated by consensus from the group and is fallible over time. The researcher understands the significance of social interactions by first observing behavior and verbal discourse, followed by the generation of meaning through researcher-participant dialogue. In this way, knowledge is created, and validity and trustworthiness are enhanced. Considering the above mentioned theoretical positions, I have selected the critical ethnographic research method to make the meaning of the life world and future life expectations of school dropout Dalit youths critically thinking their socio-political power, position, relation and cultural barriers in the Nepalese society. I have also adopted the basic features of Carspecken five stages of critical qualitative research methods.

Stages of Critical Ethnographic Research

Carspecken (1996) developed the stages of critical qualitative research in which overall processes of research study are mentioned i.e. description of the study, data collection procedures and data analysis. For this study, I have applied the concept of Carspecken’s five stages of critical qualitative research method. They are briefly mentioned below:

Stage 1: Building a primary record- Etic perspective. Ethnography starts with a conscious attitude of almost complete ignorance (Spradley, 1979, p. 4). And, this level of ignorance can be maintained by using researchers compile thick description to sharpen one’s awareness of events that may occur routinely (Carspecken, 1996, p. 49). He also mentioned the qualities of thick description i.e.

speech acts, body movements, and body postures, a low-inference vocabulary is used, time is recorded quite frequently, occasional use of brackets, context information is recorded, verbatim speech acts are put in italics, the record is typed into a word processor and a simple diagram is entered into the record. Similarly, he also mentioned the doing passive observation, field journal entries, collecting data through monologue way and close interaction is needed as building a primary records. Doing passive observation means use of a flexible observation schedule to disrupt the tendency for unnoticed biases to guide composition of the primary record (Carspecken, 1996, p. 48).

Stage 2: Preliminary reconstruction analysis. Carpecken's (1996) developed the primary reconstruction analysis through defining the terms like initial meaning reconstruction and meaning fields, the hermeneutic inference, concept of pragmatic horizons, semantic and pragmatic meaning structures, validity reconstructions, back grounding and fore grounding, setting negotiations and shifts and applying implicit theories.

Initial meaning reconstruction is taken place mentally before the real research begins. Meaning is first understood in holistic and tacit ways during everyday life, and this holds for getting impressions of meaning from field notes as well. The basic process involved in human understanding is hermeneutic. Hermeneutic processes involve a movement from initial holistic modes of understanding toward more explicit, and modify one's holistic grasp of meaning (Palmer, 1996). Carspecken's also mentioned the features of hermeneutic to analyze preliminary reconstruction. According to him, hermeneutics involve the inter-subjective quality, recognition of meaning through position taking employing cultural typifications, normative reflection, normative circle and personality factors.

Meaning construction is begun by reading through the primary record and mentally noting possible underlying meanings. And after reading through the primary record, the coding process begins, and making new word processing files to preserve the primary in its original form.

After coding the data, pragmatic horizon analysis meaning construction is carried forth new levels of precision. I have applied the phrase 'pragmatic horizon analyses by borrowing the term 'horizon' from phenomenology and relocating it within the pragmatic theory of meaning associated with Hebermas work.

Phenomenologist, however, note the relationship of object and horizon in many diverse experiences, including purely mental ones (Caputo, 1987). The idea of pragmatic horizon comes from regarding action, rather than perception, to be most primary in experience. This portion of the horizon has to do with pragmatics in the linguistics sense (Gumperz, 1982; Seung, 1982a; Brown, 1983; Carspecken, 1992).

Similarly, preliminary reconstruction analysis is also applied with implicit theories. Implicit theory is based on self. The self is distinct from behavior and it is intrinsically valid aside from feelings and behaviors (Apple, 1979). In qualitative research study, implicit theories can only be reconstructed in a convincing manner through the analysis of many interactions and through conducting and analyzing interviews. Validity is the main challenges in critical ethnography but I have tried to maintain validity through critical technique closest to the critical epistemological framework.

Stage 3: Dialogical data generation through interviews, group discussion and interpersonal process recall (IPR) - Emic perspective. Dialogical data generation involves an engagement of a dialogical approach to gain an emic or an insiders' position with respect to culture (Georgious & Carspecken, 2002, p. 690). It

also incorporates the interactive data collection methods including interviews, and integrity of the study (Georgious, 1996, p. 320). Carspecken (2002) referred to the emic position as performative attitude (p. 690). He also mentioned the triangulation via the use of multiple recording devices and bodily senses during data collection. Triangulation is the explanation of research methods that are applied to study the same phenomenon. It means using different devices while collecting data in the field i.e. researcher can use a tape recorder and his assistance may note in a diary (Magga & Rapport, 2006). Similarly, prolonged engagement in the field, member checks, researcher integrity and sincerity are used in dialogical data generation (Fontana & Frey, 1998). Member checking is used to validate the primary data.

Carspecken (1996) mentioned in-depth interview, interview protocol and researchers' reflexivity are used for data generation. Reflexivity is used for emancipator intent not only for the researched but also for the researcher (Carspecken, 1996). In addition, self reflection assists in the maintenance of critical theory principles (Alexander, 1996).

In this stage, the researcher ceases to be the only voice allowed in building up a primary record. Here, the idea is to begin conversing intensively with the subjects of one's study through special techniques of interviewing and the use of discussion groups. This stage generates data with people rather than records information about them. It is crucial to critical qualitative research because, if used properly, it democratizes the research process.

Stage 4: Discovering system relations. In this stage, the researcher looks for relationship between specific social sites studied empirically. The site and cultural, rather than non-cultural social groupings like class.

In stage four, the idea is to discover particular system relations by examining several related sites. Here, the researcher observes the relationship between specific social sites empirically. Similarly, the researcher revisits the origin of different cultural themes (Willis, 1977). The researcher should perform reconstructive analysis on the new data and then compare with it with reconstruction already produced. Cultural themes are also analyzed with the new findings having evidences (Carspecken, 1996). Evidences are used to support the researchers' claim on topic. Observation, interviews, member checking, focus group discussion, discourse with respondents, conversation etc. help to claim the researchers' arguments. But the researchers' emic perspectives, reflexivity, creative innovative idea etc. are always welcomed in this stage.

In this stage, Carspecken (1996) developed the four primary conditions required to validate the data analysis i.e. prior fidelity to the validity to requirements of stage 1-3, match between researcher's comparative analysis and subject's commentary, match between researcher's reconstructions and those produced and published by other researchers, and use of peer debriefers and member checks.

Stage 5: Using system relations to explain findings. In this stage, findings of the research study are theorized with the existing macro-levels of theories: genealogy, social stratifications and cultural reproduction through critical perspective. In this stage, there is no single way to perform it, the researchers' creativity also can be adopted (Carpecken, 1996). This stage is also defined as a level of theorizing. But the mechanistic aspects of social theories are avoided in critical qualitative research method.

Here, the researcher needs to note the relationship between cultural reconstruction and the physical environments, in which the researcher subjects live,

learn and work. People produce culture to cope with daily conditions of life. Similarly, the researcher needs to ask and think why this kind of culture, environment and people found there. In this stage, I have critically interpreted the findings of the life world and future life expectations of school dropout Dalits youths with the existing theories: Social stratification approaches, particularly ‘Theory Cultural Reproduction’ in which, I have tried to link the macro-level theoretical positions to make the meanings of findings.

Besides the above mentioned stages of Critical Ethnography, I have adopted some of the new concepts and directions of critical ethnographic research method and interpretive inquiry. Similarly, I have applied different theoretical and philosophical perspectives: concept of power and relation, and social stratifications while interpreting the research data.

New Directions in Critical Ethnography

Interpretive movements in anthropology and sociology have recently merged with neo-Marxist and feminist theory to produce a unique genre of research in the field of education known as ‘critical ethnography’ (Carspecken, 1996). Critical ethnographers seek research accounts sensitive to the dialectical relationship between the social structural constraints on human actors and the relative autonomy of human agency. Unlike other interpretive research methodologies, the overriding goal of critical ethnography is to free individuals from sources of domination and repression. This review traces the development of critical ethnography in education, including a brief discussion of its view of credibility, discusses its current status as a research genre; and describes criticisms and suggests new directions

Lather (1999a) divided critical research into three overlapping traditions: feminist research, neo-Marxist critical ethnography, and Freirian empowering

research. I have combined these under the critical ethnography rubric to emphasize the commonalities in their research programs and to highlight those areas where they can learn from each other. The largely phallogocentric, distancing tendencies of much neo-Marxist ethnography are increasingly challenged by the merging, collaborative tendencies of feminist research. Likewise, critical feminists, drawing on neo-Marxist theory, are struggling with the ways patriarchy intersects with social class and race in women's oppression. Issues of gender equity and social equality become inseparable in critical feminist research. Freire's work has inspired critical pedagogists', if not critical ethnographers, to explore the relevance of emancipator approaches to educational settings in the U.S. (Finlay & Faith, 1980; Fiore & Elsasser, 1982).

Straus (1967) explained that critical ethnographer brings 'self-reflection' into different processes: the researchers construct, common sense constructs, the research data, researcher's ideology and the structural and historical forces that informed the social construction under the study. Self-reflection drives from social and symbolic interaction (Nablit, 1989 p.14). Likewise, subjective analysis is based on researchers' experiences, reflections and meaning (Newmahr, 2008). Symbolic relationship plays vital role between subjective and critical knowledge (Lerum, 2001, p. 480). In addition, the postmodern view on ethnography claims that ethnographic writing is defined as jointly constructed narrative rather accurate objective depiction of social reality. But post modern ethnography cannot rely on the authorial practice of narrative realism (Gittin, 1993).

Although there is a growing body of epistemological and methodological analysis in the writing on critical ethnography, there is as yet little practical advice. Critical ethnographers need to begin sharing insights from their research on such concepts as how to write a reflective journal, how to negotiate outcomes with

informants, how to gain and maintains its access when doing controversial research, and how to systematize reflexivity. I have tried to capture some of the tensions in this marriage of critical social theory and ethnographic methods. The future of the marriage will depend on an ongoing dialogue between social theory and the day-to-day experience of the critical ethnographer in the field. In addition, critical ethnography is very much reliable to study the educational right and equity especially for the subalterns who are deprived from the light of education.

Reflexivity in Critical Ethnography

Bringing the reflexivity in qualitative research is to adopt the features of critical ethnography. It plays vital role to make the meaning of debatable issues without taking any kinds of biases in critical ethnography (Carspecken, 1996). Researchers' self conscious (emic perspectives) helps to bring reflexivity considering the methodological and theoretical in ethnographic research. It means reflexivity has two meanings: methodological and theoretical. Methodological reflexivity is a process of self-critique of the field, data and data collection process (Carspecken, 1996, p. 129). The interpretation of data through theoretical reflection is theoretical reflexivity. Marcus (1998, as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) named the first as 'essential reflexivity' and the second as 'derived reflexivity'. Stanley's (1996, as cited in Brewer, 2000) two forms of reflexivity, 'descriptive' and 'analytical' are similar to that of Marcus' above-discussed 'essential' and 'derived reflexivity'. Similarly, self-reflexivity comes from the lens of power relations perspectives on research issues (Mills, 2007, p. 27).

There are various ways of using reflexivity in research. As described by Calas and Smircich (1992, as cited in Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000, p. 5), reflexivity, constantly assesses the relationship between knowledge and the way of doing

knowledge. Reflexivity, in Davies' terms, "expresses researchers' awareness of their necessary connection to the research situation and hence their effects upon it" (Davies, 1999, p. 7). A reflexive researcher involves maintaining reflexivity in both senses, personal as well as epistemological. Personal reflexivity includes reflection on how the researcher's values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, and social identities influence the research (Mills, 2007).

Epistemological reflexivity reflects the assumptions about the world and knowledge and their implications for research and findings. Mills (2007) suggests the 'sociological imagination' as the process of reflexivity, which considers both history and biography and avoids 'any rigid set of procedures' in research (p. 245). The nature of reflexivity shows that being reflexive means being more critical about research methods, process, settings, data, result, and researcher's own identity, position and values.

In other words, reflexivity is a process of being critical and doing ethnography more critically. Luttrell (2000) suggests that reflexivity means that something is to be learned in degrees rather than as an absolute; sustaining multiple as well as opposing situations; and expanding rather than narrowing psychic, social, cultural and political fields of analysis. On the other hand, reflexivity for Bourdieu is an examination of the 'epistemological unconscious' (Kenway & McLeod, 2004, p. 528). As described by Wacquant, reflexivity according to Bourdieu is an examination of the limitations and biases in three sources: the social origin and relations of the researcher, the researchers' position within the field, and the 'intellectualist' point of view-which sees the world through certain spectacles (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 39). Among these three aspects of reflexivity, the interrogation of intellectual bias or the scholastic point of view is Bourdieu's most original contribution to understand

reflexivity in research practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, as cited in McLeod, 2004).

Therefore, the function of reflexivity in this context is to interrogate the scholastic viewpoint in relation to recent practice and history. Thus, reflexivity ‘can help free intellectuals from their illusions’ about themselves and about their ‘passive and unconscious contribution to symbolic domination’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 195). In this way, one of the main tasks of reflexivity is to interrogate intellectual or theoretical bias in research; in other words, it is a process of minimizing theoretical domination and subjection in the research practice. Thus, reflexivity in research is not only the way to maintain methodological rigor, but also a commitment to the implication of research with some valued perspectives of change. In other words, reflexivity is not a bracketing of the researcher’s values during the research process, and it is not the way of maintaining value-neutrality. It involves disclosing and understanding the researcher’s values in relation to the implications of research. This makes research ethically reflexive (Gewirtz & Cribb, 2006, as cited in Mills, 2007).

Part II: Description of My Research Sites

I was very much interested to make the meaning of educational realities of Dalit communities of Kathmandu valley focusing on educational exclusion and access of Dalits. Initially, I selected some of the Dalit communities of Kathmandu district i.e. Tushal and Gamchha villages of Kirtipur, Pharping, Tokha, Bhangal and Budhnilkantha. After selecting the six Dalit communities of Kathmandu district, I visited all the selected Dalit communities as a piloting. Then I talked with some of the local people of these Dalit communities. Similarly, I discussed with my colleagues, friends and some of local inhabitants about the situation of different Dalit communities. After getting feedbacks and suggestions from my colleagues and

friends, I selected 'West Village' (symbolic name), situated in western part of Kathmandu and 'East village' (symbolic name), situated in the eastern part of Kathmandu district as my research sites. Likewise, cooperative behaviors of the community people and my own temporary settlements about three years in the research sites guided me to select these research sites.

The social and cultural practices of Dalit communities: 'West village and 'East Village' of Kathmandu District provided me bounded social setting with interconnected data (Halliday, 2002, cited in Poudel, 2007, p. 128), thick description to sharpen one's awareness of events that may occur routinely (Carspecken, 1996, p. 46), emancipator and hermeneutic concerns which help to create political interest (Hebermas, 1971), and representation of actual field experience (Lerum, 2001, p. 480). I obtained data by observations, interviews, discourse and conversations. My research sites were very limited, but I could get data in social settings.

Along with the observation and identification of the culture of research sites, I tried to make a meaning of it with the wider cultural context of the caste hierarchy in relation to power and relation, social awareness and educational development. Therefore, I tried to link my research field with district education policies, national policies, activities of NGOs and social organizations.

Research Sites: Some Realities

Under this topic, I tried to describe the physical location, demographic status, social and cultural practices of the research sites. Similarly, it also presents the educational realities of research sites (East Village and West Village) on the basis of the grand narratives of inhabitants of the sites. Moreover, I tried to explore the social and cultural difficulties while conducting the research study.

East village. This village is situated in the eastern part of Kathmandu district about 4 KM far from the ring road of Kathmandu valley. This Dalit community is surrounded by the houses of non-Dalits i.e. Brahamins, Kchetri, Rai, Sherpa and Tamang. In this village, Dalits are belonged to the caste of ‘Sarki’, one of the major casts of Hill Dalits (as mentioned in the annual report of Dalit Commission, 2011). The sarki people are further categorized into the sub-caste of Dalits, i.e. 25 houses of ‘Prukuti’, 8 houses of ‘Makrati’, 1 house of ‘Achhamee’ and 1 house of ‘Rokaya’ (Conversation, Gyan, 16 July, 2012). Among them, three houses of the Dalits are built in public land, and they are known as a squatter ‘*Sukumbasi*’ people (conversations, Sankar, 17 July, 2012). The total population of the Dalits is 257 (as surveyed by a member of Dalit Ama Samuha). The main profession of Sarki people was to produce the leather items i.e. shoes, belt, Madal, Damaha and so on. And still at present, most of the males of Dalits have been continuing their own profession, but some Dalits of that locality have been trying to change their old profession. Similarly, young people of Dalits have been motivating to other professions like driving, business, army, police, painting etc. During my research study, I found 5 Dalits were known as business men, five foreign employees, but interesting thing was that no one was belonged to government jobholder (Conversations, Sanker, 19 July, 2012).

In this village, Dalits and non-Dalits speak Nepali language, but very few newly settled people speak Rai, Sherpa and Tamang languages only with the people of same castes. Except Sherpa and Tamang others castes people are identified as Hindu (Conversation, Sanker, 17 July, 2012). Caste based discrimination is still prevailed to some extend even at present (conversation, Santosh, 26 July, 2012). Non-Dalits call this Dalit community as ‘*Sarki Tole*’, and they define the Dalit people as uneducated, uncivilized, poor and back warded (conversation, Sudip, 17 July, 2012).

Besides, caste based discrimination there was an internal conflict between old inhabitants and the newly settled inhabitant, and old inhabitants had negativity towards the newly settled inhabitants (conversation, Shanker, 17 July, 2012).

In this community, Kalika Guthi, in the name of temple was established by the contribution of Dalit community. It was established to support and enhance the Dalits. This Guthi has been providing services to the members of Guthi like catering items in the wedding ceremonies and cultural feast and festivals in a low rent (Conversation, Gyan, 16 July, 2012). Similarly, Dalit women established the organization 'Dalit Ama Samuha' to address the problem of them. This organization collects the monthly membership charges from the Dalit women.

There were the tendencies of arranged, love, re-marriage and inter caste marriage. Earlier, inter caste marriage was not accepted by the community, but at present it is hardly accepted in this village. Three Dalit boys got married with non-Dalits and five Dalit girls got married with non-Dalits (conversations, Sanker, 17 July, 2012). There were some cases of polygamy in Dalit community (conversations, Maya, 29 July, 2012). Dalit invites the non-Dalit in the wedding ceremonies of Dalits and vice versa (Observation, 12 Nov, 2012). Similarly, the tradition of untouchable was prevailed in the past. Dalits had a compulsion to clean the pots even at tea shop after taking tea, but it is not found at present (Conversation with a Dalit woman, 23 July, 2012).

The adult literacy rate of Dalits is less than 15%. Only 12 Dalit individuals from community have passed the School Leaving Certificate (SLC) examination, four Dalits have passed 10+2, two Dalit girls have passed PCL staff nursing and no one has passed the bachelors' degree. But, most of Dalit children enrolled in school education. Children from rich Dalits studied in private boarding schools and children

of poor Dalits studied in public school (conversation, Sundar, 21 July, 2012).

Therefore, I found also a class based discrimination even within the same caste (Reflective note, 24 July, 2012).

Regarding Educational barriers of Dalit children, absenteeism and school dropout were the main problems in this Dalit community (conversation, Santosh, 27 July, 2012). Some Dalit students (boys) engaged in bad activities like drug addiction and gambling instead of going to school regularly (conversation, Santosh, 21 July, 2012). Similarly, Orphan and Sudip became the victim of school dropout in grade seven, Madan, Kanchha and Sanjaya became the victim of School dropout in grade eight, and Suresh dropped out in grade five (As interviewed with a social worker, 24 July, 2012). Likewise, Dalit girls also became the victim of school dropout, but interesting thing was that, the completion rate of school education was higher of girls rather than boys (Conversation, Gyan, 18 July, 2012)

West village. This community is situated in the western part of Kathmandu district, about four kilometers far from Kirtipur municipality. In this village, some non-Dalits are newly settled. Similarly, this community is surrounded by non-Dalit communities. In this community, Dalit castes like Sarki (Basyal, Makrati, Ramtel, Bogati and Rokaya) and Pode (Deula) have been living for many years having their cultural identity (Conversation, Golchhe, 22 May, 2012). Similarly, non-Dalits like Newar, Brahmin, Kchhetri and Tamang have been living there for many years. In this village, there are 50 houses of Sarki, three houses of Pode, 25 houses of Newar, 10 houses of Brahmin, 12 houses of Kchhetri and 4 houses of Tamang. Total population of the village is 749 as surveyed by youth club. Among them, total population of the Dalit is 459 (as surveyed by the members of Dalit Ama Samuha). The main

profession of Dalit caste like 'Sarki' is producing leather items and the income sources of the other castes like job, business, agriculture, poultry farming etc.

In this village, various organizations are established having its distinct purposes i.e. Youth Club, Ama Samuha of Dalits, Ama Samuha of non-Dalits and women awareness center. All the Dalits and non-Dalits speak Nepali language. Similarly, all Dalits and non-Dalits identify as Hindu, but they have diverse cultures on the basis of castes system (conversation, Golchhe, 25May, 2012). Temples of Shiva and Ganesh are established there, and both the Dalits and non-Dalits are allowed to worship the Gods. In this village, caste based discrimination is still prevailed; especially old non-Dalits could not deny it (Conversation, Mangala, 17 May, 2012). But, both the tendencies of caste based discrimination and untouchable, are avoiding day by day (Conversation, Mangala, 26 May, 2012). Anyway, there was internal caste based struggle to conceptualize their identity, prestige and honors (conversation, Saraswoti, 24 May, 2012).

In this village, the tendencies of arranged, self arranged, re-marriage, love and inter caste marriage were found, but inter caste marriage was rarely found (conversation, Bimal, 23 May, 2012). Similarly, there was the culture to invite the Non-Dalits in the wedding ceremonies and other cultural feasts and festivals of Dalits and vice versa, but the two houses of Brahmin didn't accept that kind of culture (Conversation, Golchhe, 26 May, 2012).

The adult literacy rate of Dalits is less than 12%. Only 16 Dalits from community have passed the School Leaving Certificate (SLC) examination, five Dalits have passed 10+2, two Dalits have passed the Bachelor's degree and one Dalit has passed the masters' degree (as surveyed by the youth club). But, the children enrollment rate was higher than the past. Children from rich Dalits enroll in private

boarding schools and children of poor Dalits enroll in public school (conversation, Raj, 18 May, 2012).

School dropout and education exclusion were the main problems of Dalit community (conversation, Mangala, 13 May, 2012). Some Dalit students spent their valuable time involving in illegal activities like drug addiction and gambling instead of going to school regularly (Conversation, Golchhe, 25 May, 2012). Similarly, Salman, Chiran and Deepak became the victim of school dropout in grade 8. And, Romeo, Rabi, and Rajes became the victim of school dropout in grade 10 (conversation, Mangala, 26 May, 2012). Likewise, many girls and boys from Dalits were deprived from the light of education due to poverty, lack of motivation and lack of parental awareness (conversation, Raj, 10 May, 2012).

Social and Cultural Dilemmas in Research Fields

Both the 'East Village' and 'West Village' were the mixture of disagreements and conflicts between Dalits and non-Dalits even having the similar language and religion. Dalits felt sense of exclusion and discrimination in the society. Most of the non- Dalits were not happy with the Dalits' voices of opposition and alliance. There was a competition for holding power and relation among the various non-Dalit and Dalit groups. Similarly, there was internal smell of confrontation between Dalits and non-Dalits. Very few examples of co-operation between Dalits and non-Dalits were found. Cultural programs conducted by youth club and participation in developmental activities were the examples of cooperation between Dalits and non-Dalits.

Dalits were very much interested to get the identity as non-Dalits in the society, but non-Dalits felt hesitation to provide the space to the Dalits like them. They were not ready to establish equal relationship with non-Dalits. In spite of such conflicts, contradictions and competitions, people from my research sites have the

feeling of their own village and their own community. For examples, inter caste marriage between Dalit and non-Dalits were found very rarely, but the non-Dalits hardly accepted without having full delights from the soul and mind. But, Dalits took the inter caste marriage with non-Dalits as a victory over enemies. Similarly, old people from non-Dalits felt uneasy to take dinner in a same place with Dalits. But, young generation from non-Dalits didn't feel uneasy to take dinner with Dalits in a same place (conversation, Santosh, 19 July, 2012)

Getting Field Access

Entering into the field and establishing the first contact in impressive manner played vital role while getting the access to the research fields. Actually, I selected my research fields where I had temporarily lived about three years nearby the fields. I lived nearby 'West Village' when I studied masters' degree in TU, Kirtipur. Similarly, I have been living nearby the 'East Village' for four years.

Anyway, I gained entry into the 'East Village' by the help of cobbler, Gyan, who have been running his shoe shop for three years nearby my present settlement. He was the inhabitants' of 'East Village'. I went his shoe shop to repair my shoes in the evening of 29 June 2012. After entering into the shop I had to wait about half an hour. During that leisure time, I remembered my research respondents because I was searching for right field: Dalit community to conduct my research. Then, I shared my research study to him because he himself was a man from the Dalit castes. After getting simple narration about my research study on the issues of subaltern, he advised me to visit his community. I asked him about the description of Dalit community like number of houses, population of the Dalits, situation of the right based issues: education, health and their social and cultural identity. Then I requested him to help me for the first meeting in his community. And he suggested me to visit

his community next day in the evening. Then, I planned to visit his community as suggested by him, and he helped me to meet with school dropout Dalit youths, social workers, parents and political leaders of that community. I also introduced with them sharing my research study in an impressive manner, and then they promised to help me whenever it was required. From that day onwards, I started to conduct my research study after the permission of the locality.

Similarly, I selected another research field: 'West Village'. At first, I and my friend Tika went to my research field to obtain overall narration of that community. It was the day of 8 May, 2012. Initially, we felt very difficult to identify the right person to us. Then, we planned to go to the tea shop making dual purpose: drinking tea and asking about that community. We went to the tea shop, a lecturer of TU, Kirtipur, was also taking tea. Actually, he was already introduced with my friend Tika. My friend Tika introduced him with me. Then, I shared about the research study of Dalit community. He promised that to support my research study.

He requested us to go to his house, then we went to his house and we also introduced with his wife, chairman of the NGO 'Women Awareness Program'. Then she promised us to meet with the chairman of the youth club, social workers, school dropout Dalit youths, parents and members of 'Dalit Ama Samuha'. Then, by the help of her and her husband, I could visit the concerned people and respondents from that Dalit community for my research. And then, I introduced with the people of that community sharing my research purpose, and they also promised to help me as they can. Then, I started to take the proper time of the respondents and concerned people. In this way, I got fields access and started to conduct my research study.

I have taken rapport as the situation of 'trust and co-operation' between people of the field and the researcher (Jorgenson, 1989 as cited in Poudel, 2007, p. 229), so

that it was more than establishment of communication between researcher and the people or the research participants. Similarly, I was examining educational access particularly focusing on educational exclusion of the Dalit communities, which was also the major concern of these communities. As in DeWalt and DeWalt (2002), this was a kind of unannounced 'shared goal' between the research participants from the Dalit community and me as a researcher, which contributed a lot in increasing trust and co-operation. The establishment of trust and co-operation was a continuous process, which I developed and maintained during my fieldwork. However, initial fieldwork and contacts in the field helped me to find a way to establishing a rapport with the community. My first entry played vital role for establishing trust and cooperation with the respondents and people of these communities. Similarly, I was flexible and reflexive on getting access and establishing trust worthiness with the community.

Maintaining Rapport in the Fields

After getting the fields access, I started to establish trust, cooperation, rapport and honesty (Brewer, 2005; Creswell, 2007) to the respondents and people of the research fields. It was equally important to enhance the relations continuously throughout the field research. Without establishing field relationship, it was not possible to collect data in natural setting from the people. As a critical ethnographer, convincing individuals to participate in the study, building trust and credibility at the field site, and getting people from a site to respond are important access challenges (Creswell, 2007, p. 138). In this way, maintaining relationship was the matter of mutual trust and cooperation between the people from the research site and the researcher.

I tried to make meaning of the local culture, social practices and power relations focusing the educational realities of the fields by establishing ‘rapport with the participants’ (Creswell, 2007, p. 125). Initially, a member of Dalit Ama Samuha (Mangala), social worker (Shanker), an old man (Golchhe) and chairman of the Kalika Guthi (Gyan) supported me to understand the cultural practices and power relations of the Dalits, and I built up confidence to perform my role as a researcher. Similarly, I tried to perform my role as an emic perspective.

Initially, I tried to introduce myself as a friend to them, and people started to speak and share their ideas about their culture, power relations and educational issues in the community. Gradually, they started to share their emotions and feeling without any kinds of hesitations. Similarly, I established formal and informal relations with the people of the fields. I also performed my role as participant observer, interviewer and sometimes counselor. However, I felt somehow difficulty as being a person from different culture.

I was conscious about the situation that trust once gained might be withdrawn at any time, so I continuously maintained and developed trust and cooperation (Wolcott, 1995; Brewer, 2000 as mentioned by Poudel, 2007). To minimize the bracketing between me and my participants, I shared my personal life experiences to the participants to construct the meaning of Participants in ethnographies (Creswell, 2007, p. 142). Similarly, I explained the research objectives and research process very frankly from the people of my fields, such activities helped me to establish trust and cooperation with the people, therefore they became ready to support me as voluntary basis. Similarly, I was flexible, friendly, tolerance for ambiguity and negotiable (Wolcott, 1995) while maintaining relationships with the people of my fields.

Moreover, I gave priority to the ‘tacit understanding shared by actors’ that makes their interactions possible (Carspecken, 1996 p. 35).

Part III: Describing Research Methods and Processes into Practice

The first part explored the general methodological: philosophical and theoretical guidelines. It was difficult to determine the steps and processes of research methods and activities prior to the research. Holliday (2002) rightly notes, “Decisions about what sort of data to collect will depend on what the researcher encounters in the research setting” (p. 96). Moreover, “A careful, objective, step-by-step model of the research process is actually a fraud...” and any step-by-step model of research is in fact no more than a ‘myth of objectivity’ (Walford, 1991, as cited in Holliday, 2002, p 7). However, the first part of this chapter helped to locate me with some methodological approaches to this research, and thereby it has provided an important basis for selecting the methods and techniques for this research. Here, I have discussed the research methods and processes as applied in this research.

Similarly, I conducted the field research into two phases. The ‘preliminary fieldwork’ was about five weeks long (April-may 2012). During that period, I collected documents and literature related to caste hierarchies, educational policies and practices, the inclusion and exclusion of Dalits in education, and I selected and got access to the research site. Before selecting the research site, I conducted discourse with concerned people who were involved in Dalit related programs in Kathmandu. I had conversations with two people working with Dalit-focused NGOs regarding the issue of Dalits, informal interviews with two members of the National Dalit Commission. These conversations, discourse, discussions and interviews provided me with some useful information about the situation of Dalits in relation to

educational access. It also helped to find documents and literature. From those conversations, I got some input for the selection of the research site.

After completing the preliminary fieldwork, I wrote my experiences, understanding and reflection on research issues (Chapter 1), and methodological discussions (first part of this chapter). Moreover, fieldwork experiences helped me to prepare a research design. The second phase of the fieldwork (May-August, 2012) the 'main fieldwork', was about four months long. This part begins with discussing the research design applied to this research. It includes description about the selection and use of methods, tools and techniques for the field research. In addition, it includes the processes and techniques of data interpretation. Finally, it discusses ethical issues and considerations which were applied during this research.

Research Design

Due to the human subjectivities and multiplicity associated with the research site, it was difficult to prepare detailed activities and processes prior to working in the research field. However, I applied some general procedures and a plan for my fieldwork. An important question here is whether the pre-planned procedures are compatible with work in natural settings. I got really difficult to work in the field without proper procedures, but it doesn't mean that my research is scientifically designed.

Therefore, I developed a "careful research design" (Brewer, 2000, p. 57). Brewer (2000) further defines research design as the strategic plan that sets out the broad structure of the research. Similarly, research design is defined as bricolage or an art, a process, with phases connected to different forms of problematic experience, and its' reinterpretation and representation (Jenesick, 1994, as cited in by Denzin and Lincoln, 1989). An ethnographic research design is a flexible plan, so that

researcher can apply it according to the nature and demand of the field, issues and methodological bases. The research design is the basic plan of a research, which includes basic strategy, conceptual framework, who or what will be studied, and what will be the tools and procedures for collecting and analyzing materials (Punch, 2004). Besides, the research design locates me in the empirical world' and 'connects research questions to data. Based on my methodological position, I prepared a research design for my research.

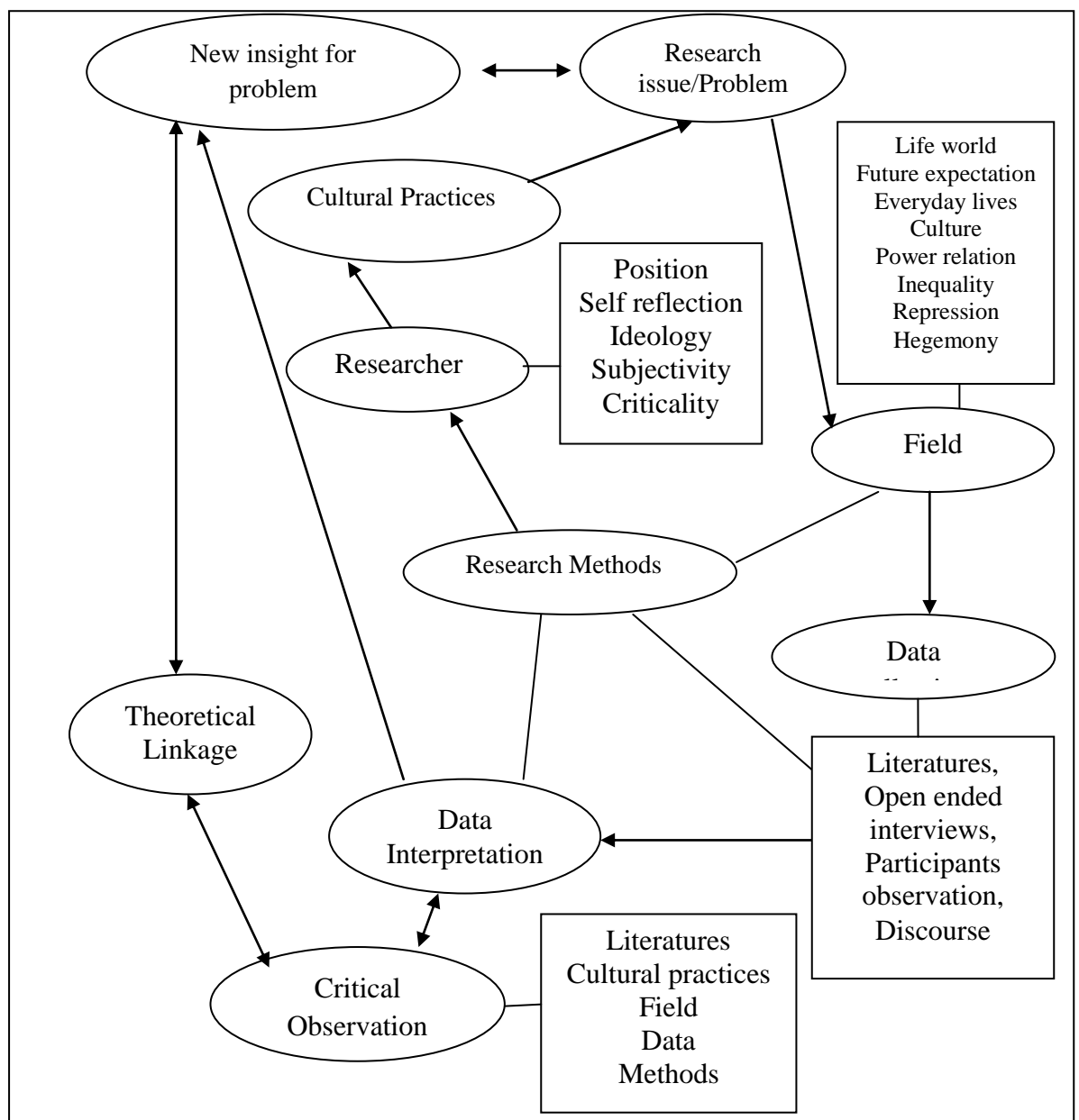


Figure 3. Research design of the study (Adopted from Wolcott, 1994).

Figure 3 shows the research design which I developed and used in this research. The research process started with the selection of the problem, which I formulated based on the history, social phenomenon and practice. The research questions were the elaboration of the issue and problem. After formulating the research questions (Chapter 1), I selected the research field. My research fields were two Dalit communities of Kathmandu district; 'West village' and 'East village' where Dalits have been living there for centuries. I took the research field in relation to a specific place, space, and power dynamics addressing the issue, problem and time. To address the three dimensions, the research field consists of various sub-fields like culture, social institutions and power relations, and the everyday lives of the people.

My concern was to make the meaning of school dropout boys in Dalit community. Therefore, I tried to understand the socio-cultural practices, power relations and everyday lived experiences of the school dropout Dalit boys in the study fields. After defining the field, I got access to the field and got some information about its physical and social situation. Simultaneously, I made a plan to obtain data from mainly three data sources: documents and literature, autobiography, and community or field. I reviewed literatures related to the history and practice of caste hierarchies, and educational history and practices in relation to the Dalit community. Based on the collected literature and data, I prepared a draft of field descriptions about caste hierarchies in relation to the life world of school dropout Dalit youths (Chapter 3). My experiences on the issue (Chapter 1) also provided some important data highlighting my personal experiences.

The main data source of this study was the Dalit community. I applied particularly open ended interviews, discourse, conversation with participants and field observation, and as the methods for data collection. However, I also conducted

interviews mainly guided by research questions and problem. Similarly, data were analyzed during the data collection process and after the data collection. A description of the field provided reference and grounds for analysis and interpretation. During the data analysis, I took position as insider and outsider in relation to value system, subjectivity and ideology on research problem, research field and data helped to balance the analysis and interpretation. After the draft of analysis and interpretation, I reviewed the process; that is, I reviewed the research questions, field, data and my analysis and interpretation.

Moreover, the research design presents that it was a flexible plan incorporating the features of interpretive paradigm, which I incorporated according to the situation of the research site. The research, indeed, was a cyclic process, as I looked, interacted and restarted previous stages several times before going to the next stage. The research design presented in figure 2, for example, shows that when I was in the stage of data collection I interacted with my methods, processes and activities of data collection. I judged not only their appropriateness against my field and the problem, but also revisited the analysis, time and resources. Similarly, I rethought my personal character, position and identity. Therefore, this research was recursive in nature (Holmes, 2005). Figure 3 shows the cyclic process and recursive nature of this research.

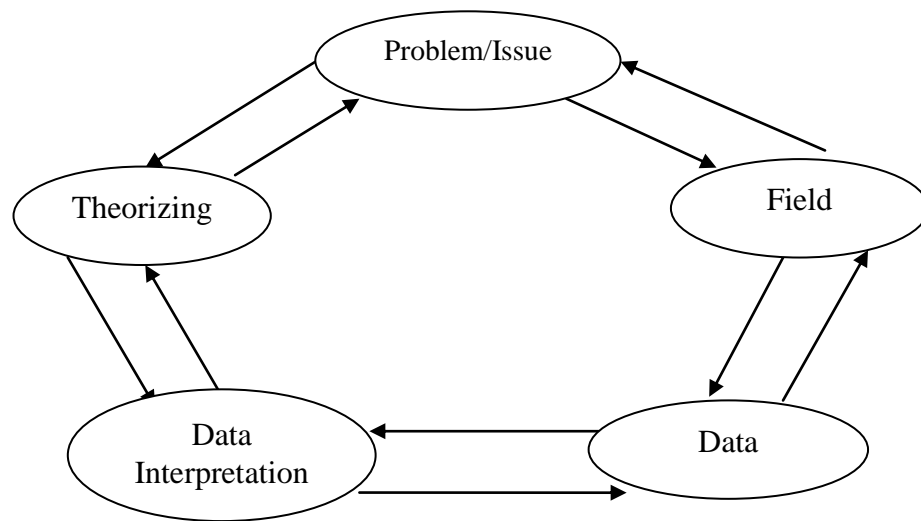


Figure 4. Cyclic process of the research.

Data Collection Procedures

In the ethnographic study, observation is vital tool of data collection in which the ethnographer observes the minute activities or interaction, culture, values, behaviors, of the participants in natural setting and understands the behind motive of these activities in relating with the cotemporary socio-cultural and eco- political values and norms (Flick, 2006). I involved in the participation in the daily life of informants' in their natural settings by watching, observing, seeing, listening, speaking and talking with them in order to discover their interpretation in cultural meanings and activities (Brewer, 2005).

Similarly, as a critical ethnographer, I collected the data by using in-depth interview to understand the meaning of the underlying phenomena of school dropout case (Brewer, 2005). Moreover, the three activities of 'experiencing', 'enquiring' and 'examining' as discussed by Wolcott (1999, pp 44-61), are important in collecting field data. 'Experiencing' is related to hearing, seeing and studying, which can be obtained through participant observation, whereas 'enquiring' is a process of asking about the situation which is generally proceeds through conversations and interviews.

‘Examining’ is the study of documents and archives, which are generally based on the views of other people.

In this study, it was difficult to separate participant observations and interviews, as both of them were closely related and employed side-by-side. Likewise, I used the qualities of thick description: speech acts, body movements and body postures, frequently time recorded, context information is recorded and low-inference vocabulary is used (Carspecken, 1996, p. 47). Moreover, those methods not only provided multiple, alternative and supplementary ways of accessing data, but also assisted me to become reflexive.

Participant Observations

During my field work, I applied participant observation while collecting the data. I prepared reflective note of field experiences on the basis of participant activities. It is the process of gathering open-ended, first hand information by observing participants and places at a research site. As a form of data collection, observation has both advantages and disadvantages. Advantages include the opportunity to record information as it occurs in a setting, to study actual behavior, and to study individuals who have difficulty verbalizing their ideas. Some of the disadvantages of observations are that the researcher is limited to those sites and situations where the researcher can gain access, and in those sites, the researcher has difficulty developing rapport with individuals (Creswell, 2011, p. 214).

Participant observation is different from both ‘pure observation’ and ‘pure participation’ (Bernard, 1995, cited in DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). In pure observation, to minimize the influences from the actions and behaviors of the researched, researchers try to maintain a distance from their actions and behaviors. I was not interested in pure observation because it was difficult to understand a complex social

setting without participating and interacting with the community in natural setting. In pure participation, during the field research a researcher himself/herself adopts the culture and identity of the community. I did not use pure participation in my fieldwork because I was participating in order to make my observations without concealing my identity as a researcher. By this means, my fieldwork and participant observation lay between two extreme cases-pure observation and pure participation. However, there are various levels of participation and membership roles between two extremes of pure observation and pure participation.

The nature of my participant observation in the community was a moderate level of participant observation among five continuums 4 of participation as described by Spardley (1980). Moderate participation maintains a balance between being an insider and an outsider, and between participation and observation. Such participant observation involves data gathering in a natural setting: watching, observing and talking to people in order to Spardley's (1980) five continuums of participation, according to the level of participation of researcher, are nonparticipation, passive participation, moderate participation, active participation and complete participation discover their interpretations, social meanings and activities (Brewer, 2000, p. 59).

Initially, I tried to understand everything that went on in the research field: community and I got very difficult to identify the respondents. I visited my field time and again and I told my research objective then the people supported me and then I found my respondents. Firstly, I used 'descriptive observation' (Spardley, 1980) which helped me to get some general and wider information about the practices and their meanings. As part of the descriptive observation, I tried to identify and define the physical place and people's involvement and related activities (Spardley, 1980; Adler & Adler, 1998). For the descriptive observation, I began with observing as much

as possible to understand ‘what was going on there?’ After the general descriptive observation, I focused on the interactions and activities of people from the community.

Finally, I selected some places, actors and activities to get an in-depth understanding. The focus of my observations was people’s activities, social relations, interactions and the responses regarding educational exclusion in Dalit community. I used these three forms of observation starting from descriptive and moving to the focused and selective. However, there was more than one focused or selective observation within the same descriptive settings. Again, this was not a rule as every observation proceeds through these three stages, but awareness about these three forms of observation generally provided a good understanding of the situation.

As being a critical ethnographer, to observe the social power relations of the respondents I used the qualities of passive observation (Carspecken, 1996). I used it here without repeating much of what already has been published on this topic (Spradly 1980; LeCompte, 1984). I used flexible observation schedule to disrupt the tendency for unnoticed biases to guide composition of the primary record. I continued observational data gathering until the theoretical saturation (Straus, 1967). I did participants observation and data interpretation side by side for theorizing or more formal theory building. Finally, the following table shows the summary of observations in this study:

Table 1

Summary of Observation

Place	Activities/Events of Observations
West Village of Kathmandu Village	Daily activities of key participants about 10 days each of them. Informal gathering of community people (several) Interaction with NGO and community people (3). Meeting of Youths Club (1) Daily activities of Key participants (Several) Wedding ceremony (1)
East Village of Kathmandu District	Gathering of Aama Samuha (1). Daily activities of key partipants (Several) Informal gathering of community people and guardians (several) Daily activities of community people (several) Informal gathering with parents (5) Interaction with teachers of Bhadrakali secondary school (2)
Outside Kathmandu Valley, where I was born	Several informal gatherings with community people. Informal interaction with community people (5). Wedding ceremony (1) Daily activities of Dalit neighbors (several) Observing Dashain Festival of Dalit and non-Dalits
Out of research field	Interaction of the members of Dalit Sewa Sangh (2) Caste-based movements (3)

Note: the numbers which are mentioned within the brackets () indicate the number of researchers' involvement.

Open-ended Interviewing

Besides participant observation, I used unstructured interviews to collect the data from the field. Unstructured interviewing provides a greater breadth than the other types, given its qualitative nature. It is also defined as the open ended ethnographic interview (Malinowski's, 1989 p. 145). He has some general topics he wishes to know about, but he does not use close-ended questions or a formal approach to interviewing. Spradly (1979) rightly describes the interviewer-respondent interaction, which would be unthinkable in traditional sociological circles yet is the very essence of unstructured interviewing- the establishment of human to human relation with the respondent and the desire to understand rather than to explain.

In addition, interviews involved a "joint production of 'accounts' or 'versions' of experiences, emotions, identities, knowledge, opinions, truths, etc" (Rapley, 2004, as cited in Mills, 2007). The nature of the interviews I used in this study was 'non-directive', 'unstructured', 'non-standardized' and 'open ended' (Davies, 1999). These unstructured interviews were close to naturally occurring conversations. For the interviews and conversations, I did not have any predetermined lists of participants. A number of interviews and conversations were situational encounters and some were context bound. Moreover, the suggestions of Shanta (32), Dhamala (41), Maya (49) and Gyan Bdr. (42) helped me to identify the respondents in the field.

Besides this, willingness to participate in an interview or conversation was one of the most important criteria for the selection of participants. However, in the interviews, I tried to include people from different ages, different educational backgrounds, school dropout Dalit youths and different working backgrounds. Some

interviews were contextual, some were issues based, and some were general. I conducted four detailed interviews of school dropout Dalit youths. Similarly, I conducted general interviews with parents, guardians, community people, educationists and members of Dalit commission regarding the research issue and questions in natural setting as far as possible. Table: 2 shows the lists of the people who participated in interviews and conversations in this research.

For the interviews, I did not use any research assistant. I conducted all the interviews myself. There was no language difficulty between the research participants and me, as they could speak the Nepali language and I could understand their natural voices in Nepali language. There was no fixed sequence to questions, as the sequence was situational and differed from one individual to another. Most interview questions were open-ended, and I did not try to limit their answers. Such flexibility demanded sufficient time and patience that I had tried to maintain by giving more than one session to the same interview. I managed flexibility not only in the use of questions, but also in time and place; that is, there was no fixed time and place for an interview. I set the time, place and dates by consultation with the participants. I tried to set a time and place in such a way that the participants would be able to express their views without hesitation and in a relaxed way. I conducted most of the conversations with school dropout Dalit youths and their parents and guardians.

I followed the situational encountering nature of unstructured interviews (Brewer, 2000, p. 67) while conducting the interviews. I tried to allow research participants to express freely their voices, with less control by me as the researcher (Brewer, 2000; Denzin, 1989). In other words, the research participants were encouraged to answer in their 'own terms' (May, 1993, cited in Pole and Morrison, 2003). As a result, such interviews provided context bound and situational data

(Brewer, 2000) and thereby produced contextual and situational knowledge. However, I tried to conduct interviews within a 'big theme or issue' (Wolcott, 1995) but my research questions tried to limit the content of interview, therefore, I also several situational techniques. For instance, I tried to note the verbal as well as non-verbal communication of the respondents, facilitated conversations using various probes and prompts, and respected participants' ideas even when I had reservations about them. Such activities involved becoming a 'good listener' (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002), which contributed to the smooth running of interviews and conversations. During the interviews I tried to understand the caste-based educational disparity in relation of power and relation. Similarly, sometimes, I asked critical questions to understand their internal understanding on research questions. In this way, interviews were the product of 'cooperative work' (Rapley, 2004, p. 20) or 'reciprocity' (Johnson, 2002, p. 109) between interviewees and interviewer.

Reviewing Documents

Besides participants' observation, unstructured-interviews, conversations and discourse, I reviewed number of documents collected from various sources. I collected and used mainly two types of documents. The documents were related to history and practices of caste hierarchies, educational exclusion of Dalits, history of educational policies and present practices. The analysis of such documents helped me to understand the issue of exclusion of Dalits in relation to wider social, cultural and political practices.

I used the different websites, research papers and report of different agencies i.e. Ministries and other agencies of the Government of Nepal, census report: 2011, Flash Reports of DOE, World Bank, USAID, UNICEF, DfID, UNESCO, UNDP and

so on. The following mentioned documents were reviewed to achieve the reliable data for this research:

- Government's circulars to the school
- DEP and annual planning from DEO
- DOE Flash Reports
- Programs of Dalits Sewa Sangh, some statistics and records
- Various documents related to education policies and planning
- Historic documents and literature on caste hierarchies and educational practices
- Dalit related activities, studies, publications of MOES, DOE, NGOs, Dalit Organisations, CBS, NPC, NDC, WDB, ADB, DfID Kathmandu.
- Various websites, including MOES, NPC, Janautthan Pratisthan, DNF, Kantipur Publication, WB, ADB, DfID, UNESCO.

Interpretation of Data

Interpreting qualitative data requires understanding how to make sense of text and images so that the researcher can form answers of the research questions (Creswell, 2011, p. 237). Madison (2005) presents a perspective taken from critical ethnography, Huberman and Miles (1994) adopt a systematic approach to analysis, and Wolcott (1994b) uses a more traditional approach to research from ethnography analysis. In addition, Huberman and Miles (1994), provide more detailed steps in the process, such as writing marginal notes, drafting summaries of field notes, and noting relationships among the categories. Madison (2005) introduces the need to create a point of view- a stance that signals the theoretical perspectives. The field data were about lives experiences, understandings and practices in relation to school dropout problem of Dalits. The data analysis includes how Dalit people act and react with

social and school practices. It also revealed how Dalits have been struggling to get equitable access of education. To draw the cultural themes of the data, my analysis and interpretation of data had a direct link with the field and my understandings. Therefore, the analysis and interpretation was a process of making meaning and knowledge by reflecting and balancing the field data, and the perspectives of the researcher and research participants. As described in Fetterman (1998), analyses of the data began with the beginning of the fieldwork and continued throughout the fieldwork and up to the final writing of the thesis.

I described the field, the process, and activities of the fieldwork. The description of the field included physical, social and cultural aspects in relation to societal power relations and the everyday life of Dalits people. The research description also mentioned the background of the research participants. Analysis is the process of understanding the meaning, which also includes sequencing and categorizing the data. I categorized the data under various themes and grouped them into four broad sections: lives world of school dropout Dalits youths, future lives expectations, reasons for educational exclusion: society and school and education policy practices in relation to Dalits.

There were a number of sub-themes for each main theme. The data analysis also included interpretations and summarizing. Interpretations are the process by which an ethnographer attributes meaning to data (Brewer, 2000, p 122). Moreover, “thinking about how to represent our data also forces us to think about the meanings and understandings, voices, and experiences present in the data”(Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 109). Postmodernism argues that the character of qualitative research implies that there can be no criteria for judging its product (Hammersley, 1991, p. 58). Thinking such argumentation, I interpreted the research data in my own

understanding. During the interpretation of data, I applied critical theories considering the action, praxis and the historical situations of findings (Lincon & Denzin, 1994, p. 480).

Similarly, I applied the theoretical lenses i.e. social stratification theories; cultural reproduction theory. I found supportive and disagreement about the research findings through theoretical perspectives. Thus, it was difficult to separate analysis and interpretation, as they went hand in hand. Description of the field provided a context and background for the analysis and interpretation, even though there was no clear sequence or order of these tasks. Analysis was built upon the description as well as various data obtained from the community and school, including relationships, agreements and disagreements. Anyway, theories helped to draw the meaning through raw data. To sum up, I interpreted the field data to draw meaning through the philosophical background of critical ethnographic research method: social, cultural and political power relation of the data (Carspecken, 1996).

Categorizing and Coding the Data

I made reflective field notes after returning from field. Categorization and coding began with these extensive field notes that included interview transcriptions and observational notes with comments and reflections. I also had documents and data recorded in my research diary. I read all the data time and again and wrote lists of related 'main words' separately in alphabetical order. I did not have any pre-planned categories so that I derived categories from the data. Similarly, I highlighted the key words and data with coloring. I reviewed this again after completing assigning these elementary conceptual categories. These conceptual categories are the same as what Punch (2004) called 'first order concepts'. As second order concepts, I tried to categorize these conceptual categories into some more common categories of

meanings. For this, I made several categories that gave some common theme with combination of these elementary categories.

Moreover, I grouped these second order concepts into different broader groups related to life world and future life expectations of school dropout Dalit youths, and policies and practices of Dalits. Then, I developed the different sub-headings in the name of broad concepts of data. I gave three codes: C, S and P for the third order concepts related to exclusion from community, school, policy and practices and used C1, C2, C3....., S1, S2, S3 and P1, P2, P3 for concerned second order concepts. Such categorizing and coding of data helped in 'data reduction' and 'data display' (Miles & Haberman, 1994, p. 12) without losing the main ideas and concepts of the data. Coding is a "mixture of data reduction and data compilation" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 30). After this categorization and coding, I selected and accumulated pieces of data according to the categories and then I left repetitive data.

Finally, I developed the links between sub-headings and between chapters during the writing process and added more sub-headings in various sub-chapters. During writing, I also included some additional descriptions reflexivity and analyses as well as some interpretation of data. These processes were also part of the data analysis because more than classifying, categorizing, coding, or collecting of data, analysis was 'the representation or reconstruction of social phenomena' (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 108). The knowledge, which was constructed, is an interpretation in relation to the research context and my own understandings. I interpreted ethnographic data within the macro context of society to explore the micro context. Therefore, I gave emphasis on local narratives while interpreting the data.

Maintaining Research Standards

As a critical ethnographer, I faced great challenge for the issue of maintaining quality, but I tried to maintain the quality of the research study by considering consistency checks on recorded interview, if the research design allows, interview the same subjects repeatedly, conducting consistency checks between observed activity and what is in interviews, using non-leading interview techniques, using peer debriefers for checks on possible leading, using member checks and encouraging subjects to use and explain the terms they employ in natural contexts (Carspecken, 1996, p. 166). Being a qualitative researcher I gave much attention to the local narratives based on the lived experiences of respondents. Moreover, I tried to make the meaning of raw data through interpretive paradigm. Similarly, I defined the situation of research field on the basis of the members who lived in specific historical, social, and cultural context, and faced numerous practical challenges and limitations (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 486).

The main purpose of trustworthiness or maintaining quality standard in a qualitative inquiry is to support the argument that the inquiry's findings are "worth paying attention to" (Lincoln & Guba 1985, p.290). This is quite different from the conventional experimental precedent of attempting to show validity, soundness, and significance. In any qualitative research work, four issues of trustworthiness demand attention: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability.

Credibility is an evaluation of whether or not the research findings represent a "credible" conceptual interpretation of the data drawn from the participants' original data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 296). Credibility (Krefting, 1999) explains, is based on in which the researcher is confident that he or she has reconstructed and represented the multiple realities revealed by the study's informants. Lincoln and

Guba (1985) point out that those reconstructions must also be credible to the constructors themselves. Credibility must be subject-oriented. Credibility is a qualitative study which is credible when it presents such accurate descriptions or interpretations of human experience that people who also share that experience would immediately recognize the descriptions. Truth value is perhaps the most important criterion for the assessment of qualitative research. (Krefting, 1991, p. 216) In the designing the research procedure, at first, I included three experiential learning initiatives rather than just one or two.

My intention here is to generate three layers of data from each participant. This technique provides a richer, more multilayered and more credible data set than one or two initiatives would have generated. During my regular progress reports of the project, and posed questions regarding the research question, methodology, ethics, trustworthiness, and other research issues. I made pointed observations, and suggestions, and posed questions throughout the process. In the process of checking, each of the research participants reviewed a summary of the data analysis procedure and a summary of the final results of the inquiry. In addition, I tried to maintain the research quality by using the member checks, process of documentation, protocol chain, journaling, reflexivity, natural scene setting and prolonged interaction with participants.

Being a critical ethnographer, I maintained quality standard through the cultural aspects of the society. I tried to reflect, impose, reproduce, write and then read his/her cultural point of view for the 'others' (Lather, 1993; Wolcott, 1991). Similarly, I maintained the quality standard through the advocacy giving emphasis on empowerment of research to be benefit and uplift those groups often studied-relatively powerless people (Atkinson, 1992, p. 34) like Dalits in the context of Nepal.

Ethical Considerations

The major duty of qualitative researcher is to maintain the ethic of respondents while conducting the research or collecting data in the field. The researcher has to constantly in touch with his own values regarding trust and confidentiality. To me, the ethic has to be understood in terms of lifelong obligations to the respondents who touched and provided meaningful information in the research process.

Agreeing with this statement, I maintained fully and honestly the ethics of my informants who provided rich and depth information in my research. The involvement of participants in this study was voluntary and autonomous. I ensured them to preserve their information to others.

The terms 'ethics' and 'values' are interlinked. Maintaining informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, the exposition of values was an important aspect of the ethics of my research. In the beginning of my research, I felt difficulty to maintain ethics because I was unable to persuade the respondents to take part in interview and conversation. My position with research issues (Chapter 1) also helped to disclose my understanding and value commitments. Similarly, in the research field, I explained the aims and processes of the research to the research participants, which also indirectly explained my commitment and values to the research participants.

As a critical ethnographer, I included the position of analytic realism, based on the view that the social world is interpreted world, not a literal world, always understood symbolic construction and destruction (Dingwall, 1992). It is based on the value of trying to represent faithfully and accurately the social world or phenomenon studied. Similarly, my research study did not incorporate the dichotomy of realism/idealism, and other conceptual dualisms, as being incompatible with the nature of lived experiences and its interpretation (Dezin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 489).

To maintain the research ethics, I preserved the participants' rights, and I explained the research objectives, methods, processes and activities as far as possible. Similarly, for new participants I explained the purpose of my conversation or interview to confirm his/her voluntary participation. Initially, in some cases, in order to respect the participants' interests, I postponed interview schedules, but due to a long-term engagement in the field, such a problematic situation was solved gradually. Right to privacy of the participants was another important ethical issue enacted in my research. For this purpose, I have maintained anonymity so that participants won't be identified in the data. Except in special cases, when permission was granted to use real names, the participants' names and their locations that identify the participants have been replaced with pseudonyms.

Moreover, being an ethnographer, the ethnographer perspective was specified by exploring the reflexivity on the basis of cultural practices (Diamond, 1964). In addition, I gave much attention to the long observation of key participants, open-ended interviews, discourse and conversation which are the key methods of collecting primary data in ethnographic research method.

Chapter Summary

The first part of this chapter has explored the methodological considerations: philosophical and theoretical assumptions of this study and has reflected upon my assumption of the interrelation between facts and values. In other words, facts and values are inseparable, so that there is hardly any possibility of independent existence. The aim of my research was not only to find out the local narratives, but also critically analyze the facts and values together. I explored the methodology of this research on interpretive paradigm considering the nature of qualitative research method. Under the methodological premises, I tried to draw the meaning of lived experiences of

school dropout Dalit boys. Simultaneously, I have been opposing caste-based hierarchies and discrimination, so my implicit aim was to improve inclusiveness and justice in society in general and in education and schooling in particular. In doing so, the first part of this chapter has explored critical ethnography as the method of researching the issue along with social stratification and genealogy as an approach to analyze the research issues. As a critical ethnographer, I tried to reproduce knowledge related to caste based issue regarding educational access in Nepalese context through the perspectives of power-relation in the society.

The second part of this chapter has explored the fields' description considering the geographical location, demographic survey, socio-cultural dilemmas, caste based power dynamics and getting field access. Similarly, this part describes the researcher rapport in the field while conducting the research.

The third part of this chapter has described the research methods and processes I used in this research. It was really difficult to set a fixed rule or any formula for the fieldwork, as I was working in a complex social setting of an unpredictable nature. Burgess (2005) rightly said, "Field research involves the researcher in relationships with those studied; it is a social process in which the researcher plays a major part" (pp. 28-29).

However, my research design was a useful guideline for my critical ethnographic fieldwork in which criticality, creativity and reflexivity were essential in each step of the research process. I obtained raw data from ethnographic fieldwork in 'East Village' and 'West Village' of Kathmandu district. I used participant observations and unstructured interviews as the methods for data collection. I also collected and used document and literatures related to the issues of education policy and practice as well as educational exclusion of Dalits.

CHAPTER IV

EXPLORING LIVED EXPERIENCES OF SD DALIT BOYS

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I have tried to address the main research issue and question by interpreting the primary and secondary data through the theoretical lens particularly ‘cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu’ and I have also tried to adopt other caste based theories related to social stratifications partially. To interpret the data critically, I applied the critical ethnographic research method. Similarly, to make the meaning of the lived experiences of the SD Dalit boys, I have tried to explore the educational exclusionary realities in relation to school, home, parents, caste culture and overall behaviors of SD Dalit boys. Actually, this chapter tries to make the realities of research sites and the participants’ lived experiences in contextual settings in relation to educational exclusion and inclusion.

Educational Exclusion: Some Examples in the Fields

When I visited the research sites, I found complexities to identify the contextual realities on the issue of educational exclusion in the very beginning. Gradually, I maintained my field relations with the participants and community, and I started to get the socio-cultural behaviors and participants’ lived experiences in relation to educational exclusionary problem of Dalit boys. After observing the behaviors of Dalit communities and experiences of SD Dalit boys, I found unfolding lived experiences on the the issue of educational exclusion. I found, educational exclusion was one of the serious problems in the fields. Similarly, I found social

structures, power relations and hierarchies in the field in relation to educational inclusion and exclusion (Reflective note, 17 July, 2012). Regarding field, Bourdieu also discussed it as a social hierarchy. Similarly, Bourdieu further defined field as a social arena within which struggles and maneuvers take place over specific resources, where social structures and hierarchies are found (Bourdieu, 1990, as cited in Jenkins: 2002, p. 85).

As like the idea of Bourdieu, I also found social structures and hierarchies in my research fields; where Dalit children were deprived from their right based issues like education but social structures and hierarchies were not similar to the idea of Bourdieu. Bourdieu defined the social structures on the basis of class whereas in my research sites social structures also were related to caste-culture, right based issues and class. Due to the struggles of caste cultures, oppressed castes people could not get their rights. And some of the Dalit children were excluded from the light of education even making the national and international policies on right to education. After observing the research sites, I found different narratives on educational exclusionary realities related to school, home, society and culture (Reflective note, 21 June, 2012), which I have tried to discuss with literature, theories and researchers' observation;

School Related Examples

School is an academic place where students can learn knowledge with cultural identity and increase their qualifications. And academic qualifications help to maintain social position, power and relations. The same academic qualifications receive very variable values and functions according to the economic and social capital which those who hold these qualifications have at their disposal (Bourdieu, 1997a, p. 508). He further claims that school reproduces the new culture which helps to create social hierarchy into two groups: elite and oppressed.

As like the concept of Bourdieu, people of my research sites and participants also knew that school imparts knowledge and helps to increase students' educational qualifications. Even knowing the importance of academic capital in human life, Dalit children and youths were compelled to exclude from the school in my research sites, and they were also found as the oppressed group as explained by Bourdieu. And, they had some sorts of dissatisfaction on school culture regarding teachers' behaviors, administrative behaviors and students' attitudes. Actually, there was a kind of conflict between school culture and perception of school dropout Dalit boys. Regarding school culture, Rohan, research participant argued;

I and my younger brother studied in same school, and I was very weak in mathematics and my brother was good in mathematics and our math teacher used to humiliate me as being poor in his subject. Then, I became nervous and I and my brother started smoking and drinking alcohol, and we used to wander Chapali village instead of going to school. The school principal and teachers used to punish very badly by saying bad words. Sometimes, they used to provide us physical and mental tortures. As a result both we failed in class seven and we planned to discontinue school education (conversation, 16 July, 2012).

After discontinuing the school, Rohan started to spend his valuable days wandering in village with friends. From the above mentioned narrative, what I realized that there might be big question in front of the teachers about teaching methods, child psychology, classroom behaviors and student motivation. Regarding teachers role, William Aurther Thomos defined the role of teacher as inspirer not dictator. Actually, his school discontinuation problem brought great shock in his family, and Rohan's brother and mother suggested him several times to continue his

schooling (Conversation, Rohan brother, 17 July, 2012). After being the victim of SD problem, Rohan started to spend his days as his wishes and take drugs with friends and involve in unproductive activities. Knowing such activities of Rohan, his family members could not motivate him not to engage in such activities and continue to go to school because they were busy in labor market doing hard labor (Conversation, Rohan's Mother, 21 July, 2012). His guardians also involved in working class group, and he also had chance to involve in working group like his parents. All the parents of my respondents have been involving in labor market because they didn't have educational qualifications. Regarding class culture, Bourdieu argued;

Those who leave school immediately have a better chance of entry into the working class than the service class. This may or may not be the case among who remain at school and fail though, if it is, their odds of entering the working class are no greater than for those who leave school immediately. And staying on at school and passing the examinations make entry to the service class more likely than entry to the working class. (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 282)

The above mentioned idea of Bourdieu is related to the consequences of the school dropout problem. His idea is generated on the basis of capitalistic perspectives, but my understanding, my research participants had dissatisfactions in relation to human behaviors or school cultures which helped them to be the victim of school dropout problem. Similarly, I found, participants and their parents had grievances and dissatisfactions on educational service of the school. Regarding school behaviors, Rohan's brother explained;

The school principal and teachers have negativity towards the Dalit students and guardians. They silently tell us as poor and backwarded people, and not

unable to pay school fees on time. Similarly, they do not show good behaviors to our children as like non-Dalit children. They just compare us with non-Dalit on the basis of class and power politics (Conversation, 19 July, 2012).

The above mentioned data shows the perception of Dalit guardians towards the overall school behaviors to Dalit students and guardians. This data shows the caste and class conflict between Dalit and non-Dalit. Similarly, this data shows that school culture is fully influenced by the non-Dalits. Regarding school culture, Bourdeui (1997) explained that there might be high possibility of establishing school culture on the basis of so-called people's culture. According to him, they can continue school education even by paying expensive school fees and managing learning materials.

Similarly, another participant 'Salman' had also dissatisfaction on the behaviors of vice principal of the school. According to him, vice principal used to show the behavior like lions in front of him because he was born in higher class and castes having social and cultural identities. If he did minor mistake, the vice principal used to scold him very badly without considering the sense of humanity, interest of child and internal realities of doing mistake (Conversation, Salman, 21 May, 2012). Moreover, regarding the punishment system of the school vice-principal, Salman explained;

I used to be scolded very badly by the vice-principal of the school, and he used to threaten me even if i did minor mistake within the school premiership. And he used to blame me as weak student and bad doers'; such behaviors of vice-principal discouraged me to go to school (Conversation, 21 May, 2012).

Actually, the above mentioned narrative symbolizes the dictatorship of the vice principal of the school. As my understanding, there might be gentle ways to convince to the students if they did mistake. Behind such dictatorship behaviors of the

vice-principal, there might be underlying issues like poor competence on motivating the students in school activities, feeling of biasness among the students, caste-based hegemony, impression of the students etc. Similarly, it can be predicted that there was lack of providing inspiration to the students by the management. Besides the cruelty behaviors of vice principal, there was discrimination among the students on the basis of educational performance. But, it was not like the structural discrimination (NNDSWO Report, 2011, p. 20). According to this report, structural discrimination is defined that caste based discrimination while delivering educational service in the school. But the teachers and administrative personnel treated to the Dalit students on the basis of power and relation in the school (conversation, Mangal, guardians' of Salman, 26 July, 2012). Mangal further claimed that school shows the discriminatory behaviors on the basis of economic status and caste based identity while delivering service. Regarding power relations, Bourdeu and Passerson explained;

Every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e. every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its' own specifically symbolic force to those power relations. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 4)

Similarly, another participant, Rohan had also dissatisfactions to the behaviors of the principal and math teacher of the school (Interview, 20 July. 2012). According to him, Principal and math teacher always underestimated his educational performance as being a weak Dalit student. They used to discourage him by using non-honorific words instead of inspiring him to do better (Conversation, 18 July, 2012). Actually, he was very weak in Mathematics and he never passed in this subject. The teacher underestimated him just on the basis of weak performance but he could not consider the keen interest of the student in his subject. Similarly, they didn't

think how much the pedagogic works affect the students' perception and progression. Actually, the specific productivity of pedagogic work is objectively measured by the degree in which it produces its essential effect of inculcation, i.e. its effect of reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 34).

By contrast, 'Rohan', liked the behaviors of science teacher because science teacher behaved equally to the students without considering either weak or intelligent students or ethnic groups. But, 'Rohan' also had good performance in science subject in comparison between other subjects. Moreover, discrimination was found among the students in relation to their power and relation at school (Upadhya, 2012, p. 5). The daughters and relatives of the principal showed the voice of discrimination in the involvement of ECA (Interview, Rohan, 15 July, 2012). The behaviors of the daughter and relatives of school principal showed the 'class conflict among the students' (Dyson, 1999). They got much more institutional power in comparison with others. Actually, the school principal was born in so-called family with high class social position, and his social position influences their relatives as well. Regarding parental role, Bourdieu argued that Parental cultural capital is inherited by children, children's cultural capital is converted into educational credentials and educational credentials are a major mechanism of social reproduction in advanced capitalist countries (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 153).

Finally, from the above mentioned lived experiences of SD Dalit boys, what I concluded that various kinds of discriminations and hierarchies were existed within the school premiership i.e. school culture, teachers behaviors, behaviors of administrations, and caste and class based identities which heped to exclude the students from the light of education.

Home Related Examples

After observing the lived experiences of SD Dalit boys, I found some of the Dalit children became the victim of school dropout because of the home related reasons or influential factors. Here, home related reasons were lack of economic support of the parents, sorrowful incidents at home, bad home culture and low levels of parental awareness. Regarding the role of family educational success of the children, Bourdieu and Passeron argued;

Cultural capital is transmitted by the different family pedagogic actions, whose values vary with the distance between the cultural arbitrary inculcated by the family pedagogic actions within the different groups or classes. And, school success is possible by the amount and type of cultural capital inherited from the family milieu rather than by measures of individual talent or achievement. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 30)

The above mentioned ideas of Bourdieu and Passeron present the importance of family pedagogic actions to get success at school, and parents have the major role for their children educational right and success. But, in my research sites, participants had some sorts of dissatisfaction on their parents and guardians about the problem of educational exclusion. Actually, problems of family were related to home environment, economic and management of learning resources (Conversation, Romeo, 18 June, 2012). Regarding family problems, Romeo further argued:

When I studied in grade nine I had to do lots of homework but I had a compulsion to do my homework in common room where my parents and other family members used to make noise which directly affected on my homework. Similarly, I had to buy reference books for the preparation of Examination but my parents could not provide me those learning materials. Then my

educational performace became poor and it made me frustrated and planned to discontinue my school education. (Conversation, Salman, 14 June, 2012)

The above mentioned lived experiences of the ‘Salman’ present the less supportive role of family members for the educational success of Salman. Actually, Saman’s home problem was not related to only economy but there were other problems like home culture, parental level of awareness and parental professional identity (Levinson, Fox & Berman, 2001). Similarly, the above mentioned data shows the Salman’s dissatisfaction to the home culture and his parental attitudes regarding his education. Likewise, another participant, Rohan’s father death brought unhappiness in his life and family. After the death of his father, he could not get enough financial support from his other family members, and then he could not feel the guardianship in his life in the absence of his father. Actually, he was shocked from the death of his father (Conversation, Rohan, 17, July, 2012). Gradually, he started to spend his valuable days with the druggist groups and he planned to discontinue his school education. Regarding his father, Rohan explained:

Actually, my father’s death brought full of unhappiness in my family. My father used to monitor my activities and he used to guide me and family. And, I used to feel comfortable by the fathers’ presence. Sometimes, he used to threaten us after drinking wine. (Conversation, 21 July, 2012)

From the above mentioned data, what I understood that father’s role is inevitable for the overall success of his children educational success and family success as a whole. But, after his fathers’ death, he could not get favorable environment at home. Similarly, another participant ‘Salman’ became so shocked with his home culture and his home culture influenced him to discontinue his school education. His father got second marriage with 19 years young lady when he was 13

years old. Then his fathers' second marriage created conflict between his mother and his step mother. They used to engage most of the time in quarrelling in the matter of second marriage. Such kinds of home culture made him frustrated and he decided to discontinue school education (Salman, interview, 6th Oct, 2012). Actually, Salman's home culture became worse due to his parental attitudes. Regarding home culture, Bourdieu argued;

.....everything happens as if parental attitudes towards their children's education were primarily the exteriorization of the fate objectively allotted as a whole to the school category to which they belong. (Bourdieu, 1974, p. 33)

In addition, Madan, another participant from 'East Village' also became the victim of educational exclusion because of his fathers' absence. His father went to India to get job when he was seven years old then his father never came back to his home. No one knew where was his father spent his days. Therefore, the missing case of his father brought sorrowful days in his life. Then the sole effort of his mother could not maintain his school expenses and house hold expenses (Conversation, Madan's mother, 19 August, 2012). In the past, most of the Dalit guardian's used to engage in their caste based profession but at present they are also intending to engage in other professions like non-Dalits. Such interest of Dalit guardians show that they are trying to hold professional identity like non-Dalits. Anyway, Madan's father missing case created problematic situation in his family and gradually it created Madan's educational exclusionary problem (Reflective note, 21 June, 2012).

Similarly, another participant 'Romeo' had also home related reasons, and which influenced on his educational inclusion. While he studied in class seven, his parents used to quarrel to each other in the case of money (Conversation, 24 June, 2012). And his parents quarrelling frustration in his life, and they couldn't motivate

him to study like doing homework. He had to do lots of homework when he studied in class nine in the evening but his parents used to make noise around him because he didn't have separate study room (conversation, Romeo, 25 June, 2012). Therefore, bad home environment and culture create frustration and discouragement in students mind (Patterson & Stessma, 2001) and such students' frustration influences students' success. And educational failure and unsuccessful de-motivate the students on educational continuation. Here, the great concern is that, who can be the responsible of children on school discontinuation due to the home and parents related problems? And school discontinuation or educational exclusion brings obstacles to get social opportunities (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 73).

From the above mentioned lived experiences of SD Dalit boys, what I concluded that home environment plays crucial role for the continuation and progression of children education, and home environment is established on the basis of the behaviors and attitudes of family members. Similarly, what I found that parental role and attitudes play inevitable role to create the home environment whether it is good or bad.

Culture Related Examples

Culture is the identity of the human beings. Everyone is born in this world with social and cultural identity. In my fields, I found peculiar culture which signals the participants' reality in the society. There was a cultural struggle between the people of Dalits and non-Dalits. Culture of Non-Dalits accepted the superiority and inferiority on the basis of caste system (conversation, Hari, non-Dalit social worker, 17 July, 2012) whereas culture of Dalits opposed the caste based superiority and inferiority (Conversation, Sanker, Dalit social worker, 7 July, 2012). From these to opposite cultural understanding, what I understood that Dalit and non-Dalits had

cultural contradiction and competition. Similarly, in my research fields most of the Dalits and non-Dalits belong to same religion 'Hindu' but they have cultural diversity (conversation, Bimal, 16 December, 2012). Therefore, what I claimed that culture is also legitimized on the basis of caste system instead of religion. Regarding caste competition, Leach argued;

Wherever caste groups are seen to be acting as corporation in competition against like- groups of different castes, then they are acting in defiance of caste principle. (Leach, 1960 as cited in Sharma, 2010, p. 52)

All the castes have their own unique cultural identity. Here, regarding educational culture, Dalits and non-Dalits have different understanding. Non-Dalits have been accepted education as a first priority whereas Dalits could not take it as a first priority (Conversation, Raj, 9 August, 2012). In Dalit community, there was cultural flexibility in comparison with the culture of non-Dalits because Dalits were easily accepted the habit of drinking wine, smoking and playing cards even in public places and their children also motivated to follow that kind of culture (Conversation, Gyan, 8 July, 2012). Such activities are neglected in school culture. And, Dalit school going children also persuaded to adopt that kind of culture therefore they remembered the glimpse of their local culture even at school. Culture of Dalit was motivating to the children engaging in bad activities whereas school culture was persuading not to engage in that kind of culture (interview, Ram, Dec 10, 2012). Therefore, there was a big gap between the culture of Dalits and non-Dalits. Regarding cultural capital, Bourdieu and Passerson argued;

Cultural capital is important to acknowledge that while different forms of cultural capital may be valued within a particular ethnic community, it is the cultural capital that is legitimized by the dominant group and thus the school

that the various forms of capital must be measured against. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 149)

Similarly, parents and guardians of Dalits children have been persuading to continue their traditional caste based profession instead of continuing the school education (Conversation, Golchhe, 27 August, 2012). But the parents of non-Dalits have been persuading their children to continue school education instead of engaging any kinds of professions (Conversation, Raj, 23 July, 2012). By contrast, one Dalit parents, Sanker was trying his son to study forcefully but his son hadn't keen interest on studying the books of school curriculum. Actually, Sanker and his son had debate on this issue. However, Sanker was influenced by the profession of educated non-Dalits but his son was trying to adopt his local culture like engaging in drinking wine and smoking (Reflective note, 27 July, 2012). It was not the case of all the Dalit parents. Actually, he was a local political leader and he had high level of social and political awareness in comparison between other parents. He could understand the importance of education in everyone's life and he wanted to educate his son to take the position of serving class in the society (Bourdieu, 1990, p.76). From such reality what I understood, social and political identities helped the people to be involved in serving class people.

Moreover, three respondents (Salman, Romeo and Rohan) had the habit of smoking and drug addiction. Actually, that kind of culture was legitimized by the help of their local culture. They spent most of their leisure time with their friends and engaged in bad culture which they learnt from their local culture. But their parents wanted to save from such culture but they didn't have strategy to overcome their children problem. And their parents also involved in such a culture like drinking wine and smoking at home. Actually, they learnt that culture from home and society.

Drinking wine and smoking was common in Dalit community and that culture influenced in young generation, and young generation also adopted that culture but that culture influenced their life world. Generally speaking, there was debate between school culture and local culture of the Dalit community. Local culture of Dalit community was quite different from school culture. Actually, there was a cultural contradiction between school and students (Patterson, 2008). And very few Dalits could understand the school culture because very few Dalit children could get the educational access (field observation, 17 July, 2012).

Lived Experiences of SD Dalit Boys

The term “Lived Experience” was first time used by Merleau Ponty (1962) and Husserl (1970) intending to explore the direct originary or prereflective dimensions of human existence. It was also used to describe the first-hand accounts and impressions of living as a member of a minority or oppressed group. Similarly, at present, it is also understood as reflections on experience and recollections of experiences. Keeping the above mentioned meanings of the lived experience, I have tried to make the meaning of the lived experiences of SD Dalit boys. I have taken the SD Dalit boys as oppressed group in my research study. From my overall research experience, I found their unfolding lived experiences which are mentioned into different headings on the basis of their experiences. They are briefly discussed below;

Story of Struggling Lived Experiences

After observing the research sites and daily activities of my key participants, what I concluded that school dropout Dalit boys have struggling and pathetic lived experiences. They have been humiliated as being the school dropout Dalit boys in Hindu community (Field observation, 8 August, 2012). Particularly, Madan, participant, has been spending very struggling life from his childhood (Conversation,

10 August, 2012). Madan is a 20 years old young boy from 'East Village' who has been living with his mother and brother as the identity of squatter 'Sukumbasi'. He has been working as a security guard at college for four years. But his life world was started from the Gobardiya VDC, Dang because he was born there (conversation, Madan, 5 August, 2012). Inside his struggling lived experiences, there were numerous unfolding inspirational lived experiences because of his individual valued characteristics, intelligence, ability and scientific talent (Pratto & Sidanius, 2001, p. 32). From his valued characteristics, what I realized that every one is born with his/her distinct characteristics which are rarely found in others.

Madan became the victim of school dropout problem at the age of 11 years old in class seven when his mother decided not to live in his fathers' house and planned to go to Kathmandu to get opportunity. Actually, his mother planned to leave her husbands' house due to the family and social dominance. And, his main cause of the school dropout was due to his family background (Interview, Madan, 13 August, 2012). Actually, Madans' father went to India 'Delhi' to earn money when he was six years old, but he could not come back his house for 16 years. No one knew where his father was. After the absence of his father, his mother was heavily criticized and mentally tortured by the society and his grandparents, and her mother could not bear the social and family dominance (Conversation, Madan's mother, 19 August, 2012). Actually, she could not get 'social position, honor and prestige' (Tumin, 2005, pp. 65-68). Therefore, to get family and social freedom she came to Kathmandu. Regarding family dominance, Madan's mother argued;

People used to blame me as witch doctor to kill my husband myself, and they planned me not providing to stay in my husband house, then I decided not

staying there because I could not get sense of humanity from the whole society (Conversation, 19 August, 2012).

The above mentioned voice of family dominance interrupts her personal rights and freedom in the family and society, such voice of social dominance doesn't have any intellectual reasons. In Hindu society, widow women are known as husband killers and the creator of hurdles in the society (Interview, Madans' mother, 19 August, 2012). In this way, Hindu widow women are stratified on the basis of 'cultural myths' (Tumin, 2003, p. 35). In Hindu patriarchal society, father is defined as supporter, counselor, path maker to other family members, but he could not get any kinds of support from his father. Similarly, Bourdieu (1976) claimed the parental role is inevitable in their children educational success and achievements.

Therefore, I found that he was thinking his fathers' role if his father was with him. He hoped that if his father was living with him, his social power and relation would be high what he has at present (conversation, Madan, 11 August, 2012). After the absence of his father, his mother decided to go to Kathmandu to make her sons' lives better. But, his family has been underprivileged into two ways; caste and class system. Similarly, such caste and class based discrimination directly affect the 'Madans' educational rights. Educational system promotes the unequal levels of academic performance and attainment (Swartz, 1977, p. 53). Similarly, educational access creates privileged to the social group with professional identity (Haker, 1992, p. 9). But the 'Madan' could maintain his professional identity as a security guard, and he would be further benefitted to continue his further education, if his professional identity is compatible with the particular level of educational curriculum.

Madan's family shifted from Dang to Kathmandu to get opportunities. But they faced difficulties in Kathmandu. In Kathmandu, their pathetic life world was

started from Syambhu as the identification of stone breaker 'Gitti Kutne' and her mother could not solve the problem of hand to mouth with the income source of the hard work 'stone breaking'. Actually, their pathetic life world was created due to the poverty (class) and lower caste. And social power and authority was made on the basis of caste system, and higher caste people got power and authority to rule the society, but it is not determined legally (Johnkinson & Karlberg, 2005, p. 13). As being Dalits in Hindu society, they were always dominated by the non-Dalits even in Kathmandu while getting opportunities in the labor market (Conversation, Laxmi, 16 August, 2012). Similarly, from the critical perspective, his life world was not only influenced by class and caste system but also due to the family and parental role, particularly the in active role of his father. In this regard, Bourdieu (1976) claimed that parental professional identity also influences their children role dynamics in the society.

Getting difficulties with the identification of stone breaker, his mother started to work in hotel in Balaju with the help of her relative. But, she was blamed and evaluated negatively by the hotel owner as being poor and Dalit woman rather her work (interview with Madans' mother, 19 August, 2012). Besides her identity of working in hotel, she had the identity of caste and class. Both are interrelated to each other. Regarding the behaviors of hotel owner, Madan's mother argued;

The hotel owner always used to blame me about not doing properly and sometimes he used to threaten me by using non-honorific words. With such kinds of behavior of the owner I became quite frustrated with my life and I always thought about my sons' life. (Conversation, 19 August, 2012)

Regarding academic qualification, if she was educated, her 'position and status would be high in her working circumstances' as well (Bourdieu, 1997, p.93).

Bourdieu also claimed that educational attainment and qualifications enhance the people status and identity in the society, and educational qualifications and experiences directly and indirectly influence the human life world. Actually, she was deprived from the light of education due to class and caste system in her society (Conversation, Madans' Mother, 23 August, 2012). Being uneducated, she didn't know the school culture and what kinds of home culture is needed to her sons at home to ensure the educational access. Actually, as being a poor and socially hatred woman, she could not tackle with the local legitimized or rooted culture.

Fortunately, she met police personnel as a supporter in her family in Kathmandu (Conversation, Madans' mother, 23 August, 2012). One day in the evening, he came to the hotel to take dinner and he saw her serving dinner to the customers. In the mean time, he asked her to be introduced with him and she told her reality very briefly. He asked her lots of questions to get her reality curiously. After getting her reality, he offered her to work in his house. Then she easily believed him because she was facing with lots of troubles and tortures at hotel. And, she started to work in his house and he enrolled her younger son at private school in class 1 and he sent Madan her elder son to work his friends' hotel, Sundhara. But, Madan could not get good environment at hotel. He was physically, mentally and psychologically exploited by the hotel owner (interview, Madan, 13 August, 2012). Regarding cruelty behaviors of hotel owner, Madan explained;

Madans' Story as Dishwasher

One night, I could not clean all the kitchen dishes of that hotel due to high fever, and hotel owner punished me very cruelly: beating very badly and throwing through the window, and I was compelled to stay whole night under the sky. I cried for a long time, but, noone couldn't understand my voice of agony. After crying till midnight, I didn't know how I spent that night. When I wake up next morning I found myself just under the open sky (conversation, 12 August, 2012).

The above mentioned story presents the exploitation of child rights which has been made by the convention on the rights of the child (1989, as cited in Nepali, 2011, p. 12). Actually, the hotel owner exploited him on the basis of his social and parental power and relation. And power and relation are made on the basis of class (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 89). Similarly, class system directly affects on educational attainment and getting facilities in the society. Facing with the above mentioned bitter reality, Madan came back to the police personnel house where his mother used to work as a supporter of the house hold activities. And, Madan said all the reality to his mother and his mother cried by hearing his voice of exploitation. Actually, Madan was shocked as being a victim of school dropped out problem, sometimes, he used to share his feeling of agony about not getting chance to get education. Regrding educational agony, Madan argued;

I might have good life and I mightn't be exploited by other if I become educated. And I might get good opportunity if I passed the SLC examination (conversation, 16 August, 2012).

Madan believed that his life world and daily activities are not praiseworthy because of being educationally excluded. In this regard, Bourdieu (1997) claims that educational attainment and qualifications bring positive changes in human life, and it helps to get more opportunity in the society as well.

Madan's mother shared his reality to the 'police personnel' and he also became quite nervous and suggested to take security training and enrolled at Kantipur security training centre, Dhapasi. He successfully completed security training and got job in Surti Company, Goldhunga. In this regard, Bourdieu (1976) claimed that skill-oriented education and trainings help to get professional identity in the society. After working six months in Surti Company as a security guard, the company provided him rooms to live him and his family. Then he requested to his mother to stay in the company and then his mother accepted to his voice and all his family members started to live there. Actually, professional identity helps to maintain class and social power (Bourdieu, 1976 as cited in Knorr, 1997, p. 697), and political power (Weber, 1976 as cited in Saunders; 1990 p. 37).

Surprisingly, one of the staff of the company, advised him to build temporary house nearby his community, East village. Then he built the temporary house by collecting his and his mother little amount of money. Then they got the new identity in the Dalit community as a landless '*Sukumbasi*'. After working two years in that company, the company was shut down by the internal conflict of the stakeholders. And, security company shifted him at college as a security guard and his mother also got job there as a cleaner. At the last moment of their lives they could survive in Kathmandu by their own profession. But, he was not satisfied with his profession, and to make his life bright he got three months mobile service training and worked as mobile mechanic in a mobile service centre as a part time job. Hence, he was trying to

enhance his life career by using his valued personal characteristic and ability.

Actually, his life world from Dang to Kathmandu is really having full of struggles and hurdles but it may be inspiration to the people who have been living in difficult life circumstances.

In essence, school dropout Dalit boys have been spending life with full of struggles and they are searching good opportunity and platform to enhance their social and economic status. And they are in great dilemma in the city life, and they wanted to get social identity having all kinds of basic needs.

Story of Unsuccessful Lived Experiences

All the human beings have a desire of becoming successful individuals having name and fame with social identity. But, I found school dropout Dalit boys have sorrowful and unsuccessful lived experiences with their local narratives in this competitive world. Particularly, Rohan is an eighteen years old school dropout Dalit boy from 'East Village'. He became the victim of school dropout problem at the age of fifteen years old in class seven. Regarding his SD Problem, Rohan argued;

I discontinued going to school at the age of 15 in class seven. I spent about three years of my life in my own way after leaving the school. Within these three years, I could not bring any changes in my life. (Interview, 15 July, 2012)

Behind his school dropout case, there were numerous factors in his life. And he had the experiences of the moment of happiness and unhappiness. Actually, school dropout problem created his struggling life world to some extent (Reflective note, 17 July, 2012). From the above mentioned data what I understood, he was worried about his own activities, and he was not fully satisfied with his own role dynamics. But, he

had very good childhood days and his sorrowful days started just after his fathers' death. Regarding his fathers' untimely demise, Rohan explained;

My fathers' death brought unhappiness in my family and my life. Before the death of my father, I was afraid with my father and I used to go to school regularly. And after his death I felt more freedom in my life and I started to spend my days as my wish (Interview, 20 July, 2012).

The above mentioned data shows the value of fathers' in his children educational success and continuation. In Hindu patriarchal society, father is taken as counselor, advisor and head of the family (conversation, Bimal, 10 Oct., 2012). But he was unlucky boy because he missed his father in small age. His mother and elder brother tried to fill up the space of his fathers' role in his life (Conversation, Rohan's mother, 12 Oct., 2012). Actually, Rohan's mother was uneducated and she spent her life as a house wife. In this regard, Bourdieu (1976 as cited in Swartz, 1977, p. 546) claimed that children academic performance is more strongly related to parents educational history than to parents' occupational status. It means, if Rohan mother was educated, she could understand educational performance of his son and she further could inspire him to continuing the school education. Actually, he was not controlled and guided properly by others after his fathers' death. But Rohan's mother and brother wanted to make him skilled instead of sending school because they had observed the life world of the skilled people in their community (Conversation, Rohans' Brother, 27 July, 2012). They just liked to make him independent very soon.

To make him skilled, they sent him training centers of electricity, plumbing and painting but all strategies became worthless because they could not understand his keen interest. He wanted to be skilled driver and went to foreign employment (interview, Rohan, 20 July, 2012). Regarding his interest, Rohan further argued;

I wanted to be skilled bus driver but my brother sent me to take plumbing and wiring training centre. My brother and mother could not understand my desire. Therefore, sometimes, I don't obey their instruction (Conversation, 15 July, 2012).

From the above mentioned data what I understood, there might be high possibility of presenting the childrens' destructive behaviors if their parents showed unsupportive behaviors to their children interest. Actually, Rohan's mother and brother couldn't understand his interest of life, and they just forced him to learn skill and work to get social identity. Anyway, he tried to create his space and value in his society. According to Pyakurel (2003, p. 13), everyone has the desire of having social status and political power.

Having such bitter life experiences, he was also weak in school performance because the school result showed that he was failed in grade five and six. To be failed in the examinations, there were underlying realities related to school, teachers, friends, family and society (interview, Rohan, 25 July, 2012). Regarding the school related narratives, Rohan further argued;

School principal and teachers used to give much more priority to intelligence students, particularly those students who were belonged to their relatives. And the students were categorized into two groups (Groupism between those students who shifted from Kathmandu Valley School and Tokha Valley School). Moreover, daughter of the school principal used to humiliate us while playing game in a group. (Interview, 20 July, 2012)

The above mentioned data shows the teachers discriminatory behaviors to their student, and students groupism on the basis of their past school identity. Similarly, the data shows the overall school culture. Actually, as my understanding,

there was a problem in school culture. From such discriminatory school behaviors, his educational performance was gradually deteriorated. And, he was failed in class five and six. Then, he missed his classmates. Firstly, he felt humiliation in front of his class mates because his class mates studied in grade eight and he was in seven. Similarly, his class mates in grade seven were younger than him and he himself felt nervous and his educational confidence gradually became weak day after day (interview, Rohan, 20 July, 2012). When he was in class seven, he felt uneasy because his class mates were younger than him. Hence, age variation also made him uneasy to re-continue his school education (Reflective note, 19 July, 2012).

He had dissatisfactions with teachers, principal and students. He did not like to Math and Nepali teacher, but he liked very much to science teacher because math and Nepali teachers always used to humiliate for his school performance and attitudes but he likes the behavior of science teacher because science teacher always used to inspire him not doing bad works. Similarly, he did not like to the behaviors of principal because he always humiliated on his school performance (interview, Rohan, 25 July, 2012). Regarding teachers behaviors, he further explained;

Rohan: The environment of the school was not good. The math teacher used to give priority to the talented students and girls, but science teacher always used to encourage us and he behaved equally to all the students. (Interview, July 21, 2012)

Likewise, he was dissatisfied with behaviors of students because students were classified into two groups, one group who were shifted from Tokha valley school and another group was shifted from Kathmandu valley public school. Actually, there was a 'group-based domination' (Pratto, 2001, p. 33) between two groups of students. There was conflict between two groups to get identity and position. Hence, after his

school dropout case 'school related factors' (NNDSWO: Report, 2011, p. 10) also played major role. Similarly, there was class (Marx) caste (Gupta, 1991) based discrimination between students, those who were relatives of stakeholders and directors they tried to be superior in the school and they behaved with the lower caste students as inferior (interview, Orphan, 25 July, 2012). In this regard, Rohan further argued;

The daughter of the principal used to show superiority during the ECA and CCA, and she sometimes called us using non-honorific words. (Conversation, 17 July, 2012)

Actually, the above mentioned voice was produced by the 'power and position' (Carspecken, 1996) of the students. And, power and position is legitimized on the basis of 'class, gender, ethnic groups, relation and culture' (Tumin, 2003, p. 79). Similarly, Rohan behavior and habits were influenced by culture. Regarding his habitus, he explained;

Rohan: I and my younger brother used to take smoking while we studied in class seven. We learnt this from our home culture, my father and mother had a habit of smoking. Sometimes, we used to take smoking very separately at home. And we made it our friend when we became failed in class seven. (Conversation, 23 July, 2012)

Actually, there might be numerous factors like home culture, frustration with their educational performance (Bourdieu, 1997), domination at home and school (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001) behind their habit of smoking and changing behaviors. Similarly, Rohan fathers' death brought unhappiness in his life. With the absence of his father, he felt lack of guardianship at home. And he felt freedom to do whatever he liked because no one was there in his life to control and monitor his behaviors.

Rohan: I used to be badly scolded when I did mistake, therefore, I really used to frighten with him, and I used to go to school regularly before his death. But I felt much more freedom after his death. (Conversation, 26 July, 2012)

Regarding the educational success of the children Bourdieu (1976 as cited in Swartz, 1977, p. 551) talked about the significant role of parents, and he further claimed that children academic performance is more strongly related to parents' educational history than to parents' occupational status. But orphans' brother and mother tried to control and direct his behaviors, and his educational performance was gradually worsen, then he knew his educational performance and decided not to go to school (Interview, Rohan, 17 Nov, 2012). After leaving school, Rohan started to spend his days at home and support in household activities. Gradually, he started to involve in bad habit with his friends like smoking and taking drugs. Regarding habits after leaving school, Rohan argued;

After leaving the school, I started to support at home, and I used to spend most of my time with my friends, and they started to encourage me to take drugs. Then, gradually, I had a habit of taking drugs. Similarly, it was known by brother and surprisingly he admitted me at rehabilitation centre of Thankot. (Conversation, 16 July, 2012)

Actually, Rophans' habit of taking smoking and drugs affects his family and social position. Even his mother and brother could not believe on him. In reality, individual power and position is legitimized on the basis of his or her role play in the society (Tumin, 2003, p. 556). Similarly, individual power and position is based on his or her contribution for the society and sometimes it is legitimized on the basis of cultural practices (Weber, As cited in Tumin, 2003, p. 553). The case of taking drugs of Rohan was not the sole case of Kathmandu valley. UNDP Survey Report of

Kathmandu Valley: 2012 showed that about 60 % students of grade 8 to 12 have been using drug addiction. Rohan was enrolled at rehabilitation centre to get new life by his elder brother surprisingly. But, Rohan was not motivated by culture of rehabilitation centre, and he left rehabilitation centre after one month. About his experiences of rehabilitation centre, he explained;

Rohans' Story of Rehabilitation Centre

My elder brother enrolled me at rehabilitation centre surprisingly without informing me, and I found very boring life there because the father of the centre always used to teach about the Christianity, especially about the Bible. But my Dalit community has been following the principles of Hinduism for centuries. During that period I became so shocked and I just used to sleep all the time without having food. Then, Rehabilitation centre informed to my brother about my behaviors, and my brother visited me I requested to my brother about not living at rehabilitation centre. And, my brother couldn't deny my requesting and I came to my home with my brother (Interview, 15 July, 2012).

The above mentioned Rohan's story of rehabilitation centre shows the cultural contradiction between rehabilitation centre and Rohan. He was not satisfied with culture of rehabilitation centre. Similarly, he could perceive and judge the culture of rehabilitation centre even being the victim of SD problem. As my understading, there was a cultural contradiction between two religions; Hindu and Christianity. In Hindu community, all the people are bounded with any religious principle having their local culture (Gupta, 1991, p. 123). Similarly, people aren't ready to avoid their traditional religion without the great influence of other religions (Risley, 1891, as cited in Gupta,

1991p. 127). Likewise, Rohan was also influenced and bounded by the Hindu religious ideology as explained by Gupta and Risley.

After leaving the rehabilitation centre, Rohan life world again was started at home. In the beginning, he spent his days at home, and gradually he started to spend his time with friends like before going to rehabilitation centre. To safe from his friends, his brother used to send training centers like painting, plumbing and cook but he was not satisfied with these skills.

Rohan: I wanted to be the skilled bus driver, but my brother forced me to learn skills other than driving. (Interview, 20 July, 2012)

Actually, Rohan was influenced by the life style of drivers, who were his relative at his locality. And he couldn't learn skill about driving due to the lack of supportiveness of his family, and he again started to spend his days with friends and involve in bad habits. With this reality, what I found that people involve in bad habits if they couldn't get environment as their wish (Reflective note, 27 July, 2012). Hence, Rohan also has been spending his life freely without any kinds of timetable, and his behaviors have been changed what he had earlier. Regarding his behaviors, His elder brother explained;

Now days, his behaviors are changed, and he doesn't follow our instruction.

Sometimes, he misbehaves even with us if we give instructions to do work.

Before two days in the evening, he discussed with me for simple reason.

(Conversation, 27 July, 2012)

Having such evidence, his behaviors were changing day by day. Actually, he had lots of experiences of unsuccessful story. He faced with so many bitter realities after leaving the school. And he lost his name and fame after leaving school and involving in bad habits. Similarly, his unsuccessful life world was created due to the

numerous factors related to local culture, home culture, school culture, class and caste (Reflective note, 21 July, 2012).

Story of Incurable Lived Experiences

I found dreamy life with bitter realities of 'Salman', seventeen years old, school dropout Dalit boy from 'West village'. Salman had also bitter reality about his schooling. He discontinued school education in class seven when he was 15. He had peculiar experiences in his life, and he had ambitious life world without having such supportive efforts to make ambitious life (Reflective note, 21 May, 2012). Regarding his dreary life, Salman argued;

I want to be a film actor but my mother and grandmother forcing me to continue school education. And I don't like to study in grade eight because I have studied in class seven, but I was restricted in class eight. Now, I want to study in class nine but the school administration is not ready to enroll me in grade nine. (Interview, 10 May, 2012)

From the abovementioned data what I understood that they had a kind of contradiction regarding his life and schooling. Actually, Salman had keen interest to be the film actor but his efforts and activities were not related as his desire. In addition, he could not get such a school curriculum to address his interest. Actually, he questioned on the effectiveness of school education system in Nepal. But, it is not meant that only lack of effective school curriculum played major role in his school dropout case, because educational attainment and aspirations are fundamentally based on larger social forces; these socio-economic backgrounds of the family, access to social capital at home and community, and structural support and caring relationships with teachers and counselors at school (Lew, 2004, p. 318). Even being Dalits, his family economic status was not so bad before he studied in class seven, and his family

had good social status because his grandfather was famous national singer, but his other family member could not continue that profession (interview with Salmans' grandmother, 16 May, 2012). Salman could not get success in education even having good social and economic status of his family. Regarding his schooling, he further explained;

I changed three schools in my school age. I studied up to class three at Tara Sadan, four to six at Green Valley and seven and eight at Bagh Bhirav Higher Secondary School. But, I was not satisfied with any school cultures in my school days. (Conversation, 21 May, 2012)

The above mentioned data shows the cultural contradiction or gap between school and student. In this regard, Bourdieu (1997) explained that the school should incorporate the local culture and every student's culture should be respected by the school, otherwise, students have a high chance to leave the school. From this Bourdieus' concept what I understood that Salman could not get his cultural identity at school, and he was treated as only weak student by the teachers. Likewise, the teachers of three schools could not read his behaviors and attitudes with cultural identity. Regarding teachers behaviors, Salman argued;

Teachers used to treat me a bad doers and weak students. And they never thought my interest and identity at school. Sometimes, they used to evaluate me as a son of Dalit. The vice-principal of the Bagh Bhairav school used to scold me very badly even if I did minor mistake (Interview, 14 May, 2012).

Actually, there was a 'cultural contradiction' (Patterson, 2008, p. 132) among the different castes pupils and teachers at school. And, the culture of Dalit students was dominated by so-called caste culture even in educational institution (Gupta, 1992, p. 377). Similarly, what I realized that there was a system of giving punishment to the

weak students cruelly without considering their hidden realities, and there was lack of students motivation at school. Likewise, it challenges on the evaluation system of Nepalese school. Furthermore, the students who could secure high marks in the examination, they are ranked as good students and those students who couldn't secure high marks in examination; they are identified as weak students. According to the examination system of school education, Salman was identified as a weak student at school and family. But, no one tried to identify his hidden realities on his low educational performance, even family could not provide good environment for his education. Bourdieu (1997, p. 173) claimed that parents educational background plays vital role rather their profession on their children educational improvement. Actually, Salmans' parents were not well educated, they just completed education up to class five, and they have been identifying as 'working class group' (Bourdieu, 1976, p. 49). And he further claimed that there might be high chance to leave the school of working class children. Besides the school culture, his father second marriage brought unhappiness in his family and his schooling was directly influenced. Regarding his parental attitudes, he explained;

Story of Salmans' Father Second Marriage

My father got second marriage at the age of 35 even having I and my sister and, actually, it created our bad home culture. After his second marriage, my father and mother used to quarrel all the time in the name of marriage. His second marriage influenced my educational performance, and I was shocked with that incident. Then I became mentally frustrated and I decided not going to school. And, after leaving school, I started to spend my days with my friends. Then, they started to inspire to take drugs. Gradually, I was habituated. Actually, I used to take drugs to forget my educational exclusionary problem (Interview, 14 May, 2012).

The above mentioned story shows the clear picture of bad home culture of Salman's home. From this data what I realized that how the parents behaviors affect to their children educational success. Similarly, the data shows that parents' role is inevitable to their children educational continuation. In this regard, DEO officer of Kathmandu district argued that to get educational success of the student, home culture and environment play vital role (Interview, 29 May, 2012). But, Salman could not get good home environment at home because his parents hadn't good relationship to each other and they used to quarrel in the name of Salman's father second marriage. Anyway Salman's grandmother tried to convince them not to create bad homely environment but her sole effort could not maintain it (Conversation Salmans' grandmother, 15 May, 2012). Similarly, his school dropout case and his behaviors made his mother nervous, she tried to motivate to continue his education but he asked different demands with her. About the SD problem of Salman, his mother argued;

I always tried to continue his school education but he could be convinced with me. Actually, he didn't like to study in class eight, and he said me to study in grade nine but the school management is not ready for providing chance to study in grade nine. Then I visited private institution in Kalimati for education, but that institution demanded for huge amount of money.

(Conversation, 15 May, 2012)

Anyway, Salman could not restart his schooling due to the barriers of educational system. In Nepalese education system, students are permitted to enroll in higher class only after passing annual exam of respective class. If he could get chance to study in grade nine, he might improve his educational performance and his life career might be bright. And there might be less chance in involving in bad activities like drug addiction, if he enrolled at school (Reflective note, 26 May, 2012). After

being educationally excluded, his life world became worsen day by day. In this regard, he further argued;

After leaving school, I was mentally shocked and started to take drugs with friends, and started to wander different places for getting entertainment. And, I have been insulted by family and society. Now, I like to spend my time alone and I don't like to talk with my parents and neighbors. (Interview, 23 May, 2012)

Actually, Salmans' bad habits influenced on his 'class power, social power and political power' (Weber, as cited in Sauders; 1990, p. 12). Salman has been spending his valuable time doing unproductive activities, it made him economically poor. And he has been negatively interpreted by the society as being a druggist and it made problem in his social relation. Similarly, his socio-economic factors influence his political power' (Tumin, 2010, p. 27) because he was not accountable with family and society. From such situation, what I percieved social, economic and political powers are interrelated to each other. About his life world, his grandmother argued;

He is not accountable with the home activities, he only comes at home to take lunch and dinner, and he spends his time out of home with his friends. We don't know where he has to go and what he has to do. Actually, he has been giving mental pressure at home. And his mother is very much worried about his daily activities. He tries to misbehave with us if we tried to instruct him about life lesions. (Conversation, 29 May, 2012)

From the narrative of his grand mother, I understood that SD problem of children brought a kind of unhappiness in the family. Actually, school dropout problem made him mentally frustrated, and he couldn't share his desire to others, and gradually, it helped him to take drugs to minimize his mental trouble. And his dropout

problem made unhappiness not only in his life but also his whole family. Bourdieu (1997) claimed that children educational failure and absenteeism make unhappiness in parents.

Hence, therefore, the above mentioned his educational realities show the incorrigible life world because his all the educational efforts and activities are meaningless and it made his life dark, and it also forced him to take drugs to minimize his mental shocked. After the long observation of his daily activities, what I found that he was introvert, it means he didn't like to share his lived experiences of agony to others. And, he was intending to forget his life realities but he could not get such kinds of environment in his locality. Similarly, he wasn't thinking to change his bad activities even at the last stage of my observation.

Story of Diverse Lived Experiences

I found inconsistency or diverse lived experiences of 'Romeo', 18 years old young school dropout Dalit boy having peculiar life experiences from 'west village'. Romeo became the victim of school dropout problem in grade 10. And, educational exclusion made his life world much more problematic. In this regard, Romeo added;

My school dropout problem made me shocked. Still I remember my school days and my friends. I myself become quite nervous when I see my class-mates are going to college in the college bus. (Interview, 4 June, 2012)

Actually, he became the victim of school dropout having keen interest to get education. After leaving the school, Romeo started to spend his days with friends taking drugs and involving in bad activities in the society. And his activities brought unhappiness in his family, especially his mother became mentally sick (Romeo's mother, conversation, 6 June, 2012). Similarly, such activities influenced on his

'social-political status' (Weber, 1947 as cited in Tumin, p.37). Romeo spent about one year in his own way. He further explained about his days;

I used to spend most of the time with my friends. We used to go to separate place and take drugs, and after taking drugs we used to go to village and tease to the girls. And sometimes we used to go to jungle to spend the time. (Romeo, Conversation, 21 June, 2012)

Actually, Romeo utilized his leisure time taking drugs with friends. And, he used to lose his consciousness, and he used to do whatever he liked. According to the Microbiologist, Prof. Dr. Rai, if the people have much leisure time, they like to make their leisure time much more pleasant, and they might have high chance to take drugs, alcohol and others in the name of getting pleasure and these things lose the peoples' consciousness (Conversation, August 22, 2012). As a result, they might have high chance to involve in illegal activities or their favorite activities (Reflective note, 22 June, 2012). Romeo again enrolled in class 10 in same school after getting one year experiences after leaving school due to the effort of his mother. In the beginning, he got happiness at school. After two months, he could not get identity at school.

Regarding his new school life, Romeo argued;

Students used to blame me as smokers and showing bad activities in the class room. I was also humiliated by the teachers as having weak educational performance and not coming school regularly. Similarly, principal sir used to punish me without considering my voice. Sometimes, he told me not to come school. (Interview, 18 June, 2012)

From the above mentioned narrative of the Romeo shows that school and its culture produce inequality rather reducing disparity in the society (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 551). Then Romeo was humiliated at school, and he could not get his position and

prestige at school. After getting inequality at school, and he discontinued school and again he started to spend his days with friends. After few days, his mother went to school requesting principal to provide academic environment at school, but the principal suggested her to send the Romeo at rehabilitation centre to get his new life rather sending school. In this regard, his mother added;

As the suggestion of the school principal, I sent my son 'Romeo' at rehabilitation centre of Sankhu with the advice of my relatives. He spent about three months there. I paid 36 thousands fees for three months getting loan with my relative. But, I am very happy because my son got new life, now he doesn't take any drugs. At present, he teaches others about disadvantages of taking drugs in human life. (conversation, 12 Oct., 2012)

The above mentioned narrative shows that how much the Romeo's mother was worried about his life and future life career. And this data also shows the responsibility of parents towards their children. After getting the basic information about his new life world in rehabilitation centre, I planned to get in-depth reality about it. I took two interviews regarding his new experiences. After conducting interviews, I found his new improving life world with great happiness in his face. Actually, he got new life with the three months settlement at rehabilitation centre. Regarding his new experiences at rehabilitation centre, he mentioned;

I got new life. Whatever I did in my life, it was really bad. In rehabilitation centre, I was cruelly punished by the teachers. Regarding punishment, I spent two whole nights under the tap during the winter season, but that punishment helped me to open my eyes. And my senior friends used to deliver long speech with their lived realities. I used to share my experiences of my life, and they used to inspire me to give up bad habits. After living three months, my feeling

was completely changed, and I realized that we should take satisfaction even with a small activities. If I got chance to get lesson in my life whatever I learnt from the rehabilitation, I would not discontinue my school life. Anyway, I will continue my education again, and I'm thinking of writing my autobiography with my lived experiences which helps to learn others about not to take drug addiction and learn inspiration from my life. (Interview, 13 Oct., 2012)

Actually, rehabilitation centre brought positive changes in Romeos' mind. He learnt life lesson within a three months from that centre. Krishnamurti (1983, p. 101) claimed that even small incident of life may bring insights for making pleasant human lives. Hence, from the above mentioned data what I conclude that special session of life lessons with lived experiences by expert is needed in school curriculum, which may inspire the students to move forward in a right direction. Only, curriculum of general education may not change the overall behaviors and attitudes of students.

I found, Romeo had various factors related to school, home, class, caste, love affair and friends for being the victim of school dropout problem and these factors made his life world diverse. Romeo had dissatisfaction with his family about not providing good environment at home and not paying school fees on time. In this regard, he added;

When I studied in class ten, I had to do homework regularly in the evening but I hadn't separate room for my study. I had to do my homework sitting with all the family members, and others used to talk to each other and sometimes they used to quarrel in their own way but they could not understand my problem. Similarly, I used to be financially tortured by the school management because my parents didn't pay school dues timely. (Interview, 23 June, 2012)

From the above mentioned data, I perceived that home environment plays vital role for the educational success and achievements in every one's life, from where we learn the culture and manner with identity (Jenkinson, 2002, p. 117). And parents' educational background plays crucial role for the educational success of their children and creating educational environment at home and school (Swartz, 1997, p. 556). Similarly, Codd (1991, p. 178) claimed that education is a privilege not a right, and it benefits the individuals and therefore should be paid for at least in part, by the individual. He further tried to define the education as a commodity not service. But in public educational institutions of Nepal, it is tried to define as service rather than commodity, and they didn't care about, it has been paying by the government. In contrast, Educational service is defined as commodity in privately managed educational institutions in Nepal in practice. Therefore, Romeo needed to pay school fees timely but his parents could not pay timely. But, Romeos' mother talked about the poverty of family in which Karl Marx defined it (Class) as a main source of social stratification. According to them, class directly affects on social power, political power and prestige of the people. Similarly, Tumin (2003) talks on unequal distribution of property, prestige and power are the sources of social stratification. Hence, class was also one of the influencing factors for his school dropout. Similarly, he wasn't satisfied with the overall school culture in relation to teachers behaviors, management system and students role. Regarding school culture, Romeo added;

I could not get inspirational environment at school. The school principal gave priority to money rather quality education. He used to deliver speech for paying fees timely rather educational quality. Similarly, teachers used to show their dictatorship in the class room. If someone did mistake, that pupil would be cruelly punished by them. I thought it as a supremacy or Brahminness

because all the secondary level teachers were belonged to Brahamins.

Similarly, I was always teased by my classmates in the name of my love affair with the ' Brahamin Lady'. She was my class mate, and we used to love very much. And we used to meet every evening to share our desire of love but her brother wanted to break our relation. Actually, that love affair made me like a mad (Interview, 23 June, 2012).

From the above mentioned data, I perceived that school culture was not effective and school culture couldn't address the local culture. Similarly, there was not implementing effective teaching learning methods. Hence, bad school culture and ineffective teaching method create school dropout problem of the students. Actually, there was a 'cultural contradiction' (Patterson, 2008) between the dominants and suppressed castes in the school. But Bourdieu (1997, p. 147) claimed that culture of the students should be respected by the school, and it should be adopted in school culture. Similarly, Romeo was worried about his identity of school because he felt that to be humiliated by the principal, teachers and students at schools. In this regard, Weber (1947 as cited in Tumin; 2033 p. 38) claimed that all the people think about their identity and respect wherever they stay or work. Similarly, Romeo's love affair with Brahamin lady made him problematic because he was in the dilemma of teenagers' love, and it took his valuable time and mind (Reflective note, 28 June, 2012). Likewise, he was humiliated by his class mates because his class mates used to name him with linking the name of his lover. Actually, he used to spend his time of study at home just remembering the behaviors and attitudes of that lady. Actually, tragic ending of the teenagers' love affair also creates the mental disorder of the lovers and that mental shocked may create bad result in the life. Besides such

teenagers' love affair of Salman with non-Dalit lady, he had the problem of money to buy learning materials for his study. Romeo added;

I could not buy enough materials for my study due to the crisis of money in my family. I used to be tortured by the school management regarding my school dues. Similarly, my teachers and friends used to show caste based disparity silently by saying typical words. Sometimes, my friends used to call me in the name of my caste. Similarly, I found caste based hierarchy in my society especially in wedding ceremony and religious gatherings (Conversation, 22 June, 2012).

Regarding class system, Bourdieu (1997, p.134) explained that children of working class parents could not get all the facilities at school, and they have high chance to be excluded from the school. Parents of Romeo belong to the working class, and they work in the labor market as they found. In this regard, Bouedieu further said that children of the working parents are dominated by the children of elite parents. Similarly, Caste based hierarchy is prevailed visibly or sometimes invisibly in Hindu society and that kind of influence also exists even in public place (Gupta, 1992, p. 13). Therefore, what I concluded that class and caste system directly influences the life world of people especially in Hindu society. It also affects the identity, power and position of the people and it also influences for getting opportunities and facilities in practice.

Chapter Summary

From this chapter, I have tried to interpret the meaning of the lived experiences of SD Dalit boys considering their life experiences with the theoretical positions. I have found that problematic and sorrowful life world of the school dropout Dalit boys in relation to educational exclusion. Similarly, what I found that

educational exclusion created problematic situations of Dalit boys. Actually, they were dilemma in their lives. Similarly, I found that educational exclusionary problem created the bitter lived experiences of SD Dalit boys. Moreover, what I found that, school and home cultures, class and caste culture, parental attitudes and local culture etc. played vital role for determining the lived experiences of SD Dalit boys.

CHAPTER V

FUTURE LIFE EXPECTATIONS OF SD DALIT BOYS

Chapter Overview

“Kalpana Saroj is a school dropout, child bride, slum inhabitant, suicide survivor, now; this feisty Dalit business woman is trying to revive a sick company”. (Source: Karunakaran, N., 2009, Dalit in the Board Room)

The above mentioned life story is about the school dropout Dalit woman, and it might be the inspirational life story to the socially and educationally excluded Dalit children and youths. But in practice, I could not find such kinds of inspirational life story of SD Dalit boys in my research sites. Anyway, to make the meaning of the future life expectations of school dropout Dalit boys (research question no. 2), and from this chapter, I have tried to critically interpret the primary data and my field experiences in relation to future life expectations of SD Dalit boys with different layers of stratification perspectives in relation to educational inclusion and exclusion. Similarly, I have applied the socio-cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu in relation to education. From the overall field experiences, I found the future life expectations of school dropout SD boys in relation to material or money, power or position, and prestige and honor. They are discussed briefly below on the basis of field data and field experiences.

Materialistic Expectations

All the key participants of my research study, they were fond of generating money to manage basic needs in the future. They had ambitious future life

expectations as having all sorts of facilities in relation to money with materials (class), but their efforts and activities were not similar to get their ambitions. Among them, only one participant, Madan, had taken the trainings to enhance his skills and sub-skills for his profession. In this regard, Madan argued;

I took about three month's security guard training. And I also have been taking trainings of mobile service. I hope, I will get good opportunity in the future than at present. And I have a responsibility of providing financial support to my whole family. (Interview, 13 August, 2012)

From this above mentioned data what I understood that he was taking the market oriented trainings to get opportunities in the market. Actually, Madan wanted to get social position with money, and he also has been observing the life style of high class people in his working environment. Sometimes, he frightens with the present materialistic society (Reflective note, 18 August, 2012).

By contrast, other key participants (Romeo, Salman, and Rohan), also had future life expectations to be economically sound with social identity. Similarly, they believed that class system and social identity influence the 'individual power and relation' (Weber, 1947, as cited in Tumin, 2003, p. 41). Likewise, they realized that 'class system influences the educational access' (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 149). All the respondents have future life expectations with social identity but no one did such activities related to their expectations (Reflective note, 19 June, 2012). In this regard, my participants added;

Rohan: I want to be the skilled bus driver, and went abroad to earn money.

Then I can earn money easily, and after earning money I will have name and fame in my locality. (Interview, 20 July, 2012)

Salman: I'm very much fond of being the national film star but I could not get environment. If I became the film star, I would earn name and fame easily. But my mother forced me to continue school education by any means.

(Conversation, 19 July, 2012)

Romeo: I want to continue my education, after getting higher education, I will get job in the market, and I will have money with social identity. I'm also very much fond of writing my auto-biography, in which others will learn my life reality. (Interview, 14 May, 2012)

From the above mentioned data what I realized that all the participants had their future life expectations in relation to money with materials, but the great concern was that they didn't have their efforts, activities and environment for getting their expectations. Actually, they were very much fond of earning money in life, but they could not get such environment for achieving their expectations due to the economic barriers because their parents were belonged to working class. Bourdieu (1977) explained that the children of working class have high chance to be excluded from the education, and after educational exclusion, they can't achieve their life expectations. Similarly, I was very much interested to find their hidden reality on why they didn't make their future life expectations of being doctors, engineers, pilot, scientist, politicians, social workers etc. I found that they understood these subjects are studied only by mentally sound high class people (Reflective note, 24 July, 2012). In this regard, my participants explained;

Researcher: Why don't you like to be doctors, engineers, politicians, pilots and so on in the future?

Rohan: Such professions are beyond my imagination because it requires large amount of money to study such discipline, if yes who will pay my educational

*expenses? Only talented high class people can be such persons in the future.
(Conversation, 16 July, 2012)*

*Romeo: It is impossible in my life because my family is poor, therefore they
can't afford the expenses of such education. And I still could not continue my
education (Interview, 13 June, 2012)*

*Salman: I don't like to be other than film actor in my life. (Conversation, 21
May, 2012)*

According to the above mentioned data, what I realized that money and mind play vital role to achieve the future expectations of the people. But, Bourdieu (1977) gave much more attention to the class or money rather than the mind of the students. He further claimed that there is chance to be involved the children of working class group as their parents. And, Bourdieu (1997) compared the educational access of the children with their parental economic and educational status. Similarly, economic status influences the individuals' social power and position (Weber, 1947).

According to Karl Marx and Max Weber (as cited in Tumin; 2003, p. 43) power could arise on the basis of unequal access of class power. But the conclusion of the Marx and Weber on class is different. According to Weber, class is related to 'market power' whereas Marx defines the class as 'ownership and non-ownership' of the means of production. Similarly, Marx claimed that class power may help to achieve the political and social power but Weber doesn't believe on it (as cited in Souders' 1990, p. 23). Similarly, he claims that conditions of the working class would worsen over time and individual mobility would be virtually impossible. And he believed that working classes have become increasingly indistinguishable from the bourgeoisie or middle class. Similarly, he claims that class based social strata can be

eliminated only by the political revolution, emancipation and hermeneutic strategies (as cited in Sharma, 2010, p. 11).

Weberian and Marxian perspectives on class could be partially related to the economic issue and problems of 'Shudras' or Dalits in Nepal. According to this perspective, so-called people are defined as rich or owner and lower '*Sudra*' as poor or workers of non-Dalits. According to the Hindu mythology, 'Sudras' were treated as the laborers and workers of Brahmins. Similarly, class based struggle related to caste based issues also found in my fields. In Hindu Religion, 'Sudras' are called as their indeed like 'Sarki' as cobbler, 'Kami' as pot maker, 'Damai' as tailor and 'Gaine' as folk singer and so on (Bhattachan & Sunar, 2008). But no one of respondents hadn't dream to continue their traditional profession. Actually, they liked to make their social and class identity as non-Dalits. Only about 2% Dalit people have professional identity and rest of them involved in labor market whatever they found carrying loads, digging and sweepers (as surveyed by Dalit Guthi).

With the above mentioned realities, school dropout Dalit boys had their future life expectations of being economically sound but what I found that they hadn't chance to achieve their expectations because their activities and efforts were not similar to their expectations. Here, the meaning of the traditional proverb of Hindu agricultural society "Ghokante Bidya and Dhaunte Kheti" was not found in their life because their efforts and activities were not related to their expectations.

Power and Position Based Expectations

I found future life expectations of SD Dalit boys in relation to social power and prestige on the basis of class and personal characteristics within the Dalit communities in my research fields. I found inter caste power struggle particularly Dalits and non-Dalit' (Pariyar & Bishowkarma, 2010, p. 72). Similarly, school

dropout Dalit youths had desire of being socially and politically powerful in the future but they didn't know about strategies to be needed to get power in the future (field observations, July 18, 2012).

The term 'power' defines as the ability to secure ones' ends or desire even against the position of others. In general, power is distributed unequally far more often than the equally and it is crucial feature of virtually all relationships everywhere (Tumin, 2003, p. 74). Such unequal power creates different groups of strata in the society. Similarly, I found certain kinds of dominances in the name of power in my research fields such as males over females, old people over young people, non-Dalits over Dalits, parents over children, owners of land over the landless 'Sukumbasi' and educated people over uneducated (NNDSWO Reort, 2006). Among them I gave much priority to caste based issues in relation to educational access. I found caste based hierarchy in my research fields not as during the medieval period (Reflective note, 12 June, 2012).

According to Bourdieu (1997) claimed that class, social and political powers are interrelated to each other. He further talked about class power influences the educational attainment and success (p, 139). In my research site, the respondents have their future life expectations, but they have barriers to get their expectations related to class, society, and caste system. In this regard, Romeo explained;

I want to continue my school education. I'm thinking of getting higher education to earn money with social identity. But, I could not get enough support from family and society. Non-Dalits show their caste based supremacy in society. (Interview, 13 June, 2012)

The above mentioned data shows the clear future life expectations of SD Dalit boys. But he could not get favorable environment at home because to ensure the

educational access of the children, their parents should have commitment to provide all kinds of resources for education (Boudeiu, 1977) but the parents of Romeo had commitment for his educational continuation but their financial status is very low. Therefore, it is very difficult to achieve his expectations in future. Similarly, Romeo had very hard to get the social opportunities because educational qualification is needed to hold opportunity in the society (Bourdieu, 1997). Similarly, caste based power struggle was existed between Dalits and non-Dalits (Nepali, 2011, p. 28). Therefore, besides the class, social and political positions, caste based hierarchy also has been influencing on the future life expectations of SD Dalit youths, and knowingly or unknowingly what they thought that Dalits are economically and socially backwarded, therefore, we can't achieve the higher expectations in our life (Reflective note, 13 July, 2012). Similarly, in this regard, Rohan further explained;

My guardians don't give attention to my desire and expectations. And they have been encouraging me to learn the skills of painting and plumbing, but my interest is to be the driver. Similarly, they behave me as a bad doer and sometimes they used to threaten me if I did minor mistakes. Similarly, some of the local seniors humiliate me as a bad doer and involving in bad activities (conversation, 23 July, 2012).

Here, the above mentioned narrative shows that school dropout Dalit boys were neglected and humiliated by their parents and society as well. But, they had the desire of getting social position and power. From this data, what I concluded that educational attainment and qualification enhance the family and social status. In this regard, Bourdieu (1977) explained that those people who are excluded from the educational access, they might have high chance to be involved in working class group. Similarly, Bourdieu (1997) further mentioned that parental economic status

directly influences the educational attainment of their children, and educational attainment helps to involve in serving class group, and naturally serving class groups may have high chance to get social and political power in the society. But, Tumin (2003, p, 74) claimed that the sources of getting powers i.e. positional power, possession of goods and services, valued skills and abilities, personal qualities: charisma and personality and social and economic status.

Therefore, from the above mentioned data and discussion, what I found that school dropout Dalit boys have future life expectations, but their expectations are in dilemma due to the various factors like low economic status, oppressed caste, parental economic and educational status, engaging in bad activities, low level of social awareness, low status in the society and local culture. Moreover, to get their expectations in relation to social and political power, they shouldn't involve in bad activities, they should be supported from family and society, and they should be involved in educational attainment very soon.

Prestige or Honor Based Expectations

The term 'prestige' is defined by using the words of adjectives like high repute, fame and renown, reverence, esteem, veneration, regard, admiration, and having a high opinions of (Tumin, 2003, p.58). The individuals or groups seek and receive the honor in the society. But, religious identity, ethnicity, racial affiliation, caste supremacy, family origins, area of residence and even personal character and conduct help to be honored in the society. Similarly, educational background, social contribution, skills, occupation also help to get prestige of the individuals (Dumont, 1988 as cited in Gupta; 2010, p. 483-485). In addition, unequal distribution of honor also creates stratification in the society (Weber, 1947 as cited in Tumin; 2003, p. 13). Similarly, social and economic mobility also help to be honored in the society.

With the above mentioned ideas of prestige or honor, I found that school dropout boys have their future expectations in relation to prestige and honor. In this regard, my key participants added;

Romeo: Still, I hope to continue my education. If I got chance to continue my school education, I would study even higher education. After getting higher education, I will have name and fame in the society. Similarly, I'm thinking of writing my auto-ethnography which helps to introduce me to the readers (Conversation, 23 June, 2012).

Salman: My aim of life is to be a film actor which gives my identity throughout the world. If I became a film star, I would have chance to be awarded. (Conversation, 24 May, 2012)

Madan: I want to run the business of mobile. I have also taken the mobile service training which will help for my business. But, I don't have enough money to start that kind of business. If I got financial support from anywhere, I would start that business. After running business, I will have social identity and honor. (Conversation, 12 August, 2012)

Rohan: I want to be the bus driver. After being the driver, I will get opportunity in national and international market, and people will call me as 'Guruji'. Similarly, that profession will help to enhance my financial and social positions. (Conversation, 9 July, 2012)

According to the above mentioned narratives of my participants, Romeo believed that 'higher education' (Bourdieu, 1997) with academic writing help to achieve prestige or honor, and Salman made to get social honor as being a celebrity with 'award' (Tumin, 2003). Similarly, Madan and Orphan made to get social honor with 'professional identity' (Weber, 1947). But all of them have complexities to

achieve their expectations related to process of getting educational attainment, finance, required efforts for getting expectations, and family and social support. Likewise, from the above mentioned narratives, what I realized that socio-cultural factors were played vital role as the major barriers of their future life expectations in relation to their prestige and honor (Reflective note, 24 June & 22 July, 2012) .

Romeo, one of the participants from ‘West Village’, hoped to be honored after achieving the future life expectations but he was being humiliated on his educational and ethnic background (Interview, 13 Oct, 2012). Similarly, Madan from ‘East Village’ tried to enhance his professional skills and experiences by the help of trainings and he hoped to get prestige and social space in the future (interview, Madan 13 August, 2012). But, he was worried on his formal schooling and economic barrier.

From the above mentioned data with theoretical position, what I found that educational inclusion, professional identity, social name and fame, skills and economy may help to get the social honor and prestige. In this regard, Bourdeu (1976) believed that educational inclusion and continuation help to be involved in serving class, and serving class people have chance to get social position and power. Similarly, Booth (1995) claimed that educational inclusion helps to provide professional identity and professional identity creates the social position with prestige, and he further claimed that educational exclusion creates numerous problems and such problems decrease an individual prestige and honor as a whole.

Chapter Summary

From this chapter, I have tried to explore the future life expectations of SD boys on the basis of their lived experiences and narratives. I found that their future life expectations were related to money and materials, power and position, and prestige and honor. Similarly, what I found that their future life expectations were in

dilemma, and they had very low chance to achieve their expectations. Actually, their daily efforts and activities weren't similar to their future life expectations. Moreover, educational exclusionary problem of SD boys also influenced their future life expectations, and even they didn't have clear roadmap to achieve their expectations.

CHAPTER VI

SCHOOL DROPOUT BARRIERS: SOME NARRATIVES OF SD DALIT BOYS

Chapter Overview

Dropout is a colloquial term. It is understood that many of these youth have been thrown out, pushed out, or never allowed into the mainstreams of secondary education. (Fine & Rosenberg, 1983, p. 451)

School dropout and educational exclusion is a burning issue in Dalit communities of Nepal. 43% in Hilly and 76% Terai school aged children are out of school and 77% Dalits are below the poverty line (Pyakurel, 2012, p.7). School dropout and class repetition are the major problems in grade 1 and high dropout rate of Dalit girls (Bhattachan & Bhattachan, 2008). Similarly, about 46% Dalits are illiterate and 38% Dalit children are forced to work as child labor and 2 out of five children fail to complete the primary education (Nepali, 2011). Moreover, 72 million primary school aged children globally are out of school and 13% school enrolled students don't complete the primary education (UNESCO Report, 2007 as cited in Arnold et al., 2011). And 75% Dalit school enrolled children discontinue the school education before grade five (Bartlet et al., 2011).

Considering the above mentioned facts, I conducted the research study to find out the major barriers of Dalit boys to be the victim of school dropout problem (research question no.3). And I found some of the underlying realities on this issue which I have tried to broadly categorize into different aspects. They are briefly discussed below;

Student Centric Barriers

I found barrier of factors for affecting school dropout problem of Dalit children. From my field study, I found problems of students related to readiness, commitment, absenteeism, discipline, behaviors, performance, love affair, involving bad activities, low interest of students on learning process and doing work. Regarding student centric barriers, my key participants argued;

Rohan: I was very weak in mathematics; therefore, I often didn't do my homework of that subject. And our math teacher used to punish me and I sometimes misbehaved him. Similarly, I had a problem of absenteeism, I and my younger brother used to go to the Chapali village instead of going school. Then, we used to be scolded very badly by our teacher and principal. To be safe from such punishment, we both planned to discontinue the school education. After leaving school, I started to take drugs with my friends. (Conversation, 18 July, 2012)

Salman: Sometimes, I and my friends used to go to city instead of going to school. And we used to take drugs and smoking. Then the teachers used to ask regarding our absenteeism. They used to inform to my mother, and my mother used to punish me. For this case, the school principal punished me very badly and restricted from the school. Then my mother tried to convince him but the principal didn't change his decision. After that case, my life world of school dropout was started and I again started to spend my time with friends taking drugs. (Conversation, 20 May, 2012)

Romeo: I had a problem of absenteeism; I used to spend my time at home and sometimes with my friends instead of going to school. Similarly, I had a love affair with a classmate; Brahmin girl when I studied in grade ten. Then, my

friends used to tease us pointing our love affair. And that love affair killed my time and mind. As a result, my educational performance was deteriorated and I decided to discontinue my school education. (Interview, 13 Oct., 2012)

According to the above mentioned data, all the three participants have the problem of 'absenteeism' and their activities were not related to educational activities (Arnold et al, 2011). For this regard, Bourdieu (1997) also talked that the activities of the students at home and school play vital role to get the educational success and completion. Similarly, they had the problems related to discipline and educational performance (Charez, Lauro et al., 1991). Likewise, school dropout problem of the 'Romeo' had his teenager love affair with the non-Dalits girl of same class. His love affair took valuable time and mind instead of preparing examination. In this regard, Bourdeu and other scholars didn't talk. Anyway, what I realized that teenager love affair also affects the students' educational succession and achievements because teenagers give much more attention to love affair rather doing home work and assignments (Reflective note, 21 June, 2012)

Moreover, they had the problem of motivation in relation to actively participation in class room activities, doing regular homework, accountability with teachers and parents, obeying the instruction of teachers and parents (Reflective note).Furthermore, what I claimed that the school curriculum might be something different from the interest of the students. If they got chance to study related to their future life expectations, they wouldn't discontinue the school education. But, Bourdieu (1997) gave much attention to cultural capital rather school curriculum.

Teacher Centric Barriers

A poor teacher tells a mediocre teacher explains, an average teacher demonstrates and the best teacher inspires the students during the teaching learning process.

(William Arthur Thomas, Educationist and literary critics')

From the voice of my key participants, what I realized that teacher centric barriers also played vital role to be the victim school dropout problem of Dalit boys. They were not fully satisfied with the behaviors of teachers within the school premiership. They had dissatisfaction with teachers' behaviors in the class room. According to the participants, what I found that teachers used to discriminate to the students on the basis of educational performance, gender, castes, punishment system, and relatives. Regarding teacher centric barriers, my key participants argued;

Rohan: Our math teacher used to punish very cruelly those who didn't homework regularly. Similarly, the teachers used to behave us on the basis of the parental status, class and caste. Sometimes, they used to give attention to the students who are belonged to the stake holders and relatives. Likewise, math teacher and the principal used to humiliate or discourage me as weak students in the class room. Similarly, the teacher gave much attention to girls rather boys. (Interview, 20 July, 2012)

Salman: I was very badly scolded by the principal in the name of taking drugs and showing misbehaves in the class room. And he restricted me for those cases. Similarly, the teachers used to humiliate me if I did minor mistake.

(Conversation, 23 May, 2012)

Romeo: I had very good educational performance up to class five. And I was very good in ECA also. Gradually, my educational performance was weak, and my teachers started to humiliate me. Similarly, they used to blame me as bad

doers' in the class room. Once, I was very cruelly scolded by the math teacher about not doing home work. Similarly, teachers used to punish if I became absent at school. (Interview, 4 June, 2012)

As the above mentioned data, what I found that, giving punishment system to the students was wrong. The teachers should create such an environment where students can feel much more comfortable while learning process rather getting mental and physical torture (Gorder, 1980, p. 356). He further explained that teacher should inspire and motivate to do homework those who aren't accountable with their homework. Bourdieu (1990, p. 74) talked about the teacher, who are born in middle class, and they might have chance to share the culture of middle class rather working class group. Like a class system, I found that teachers share their experiences as their caste system. In Nepal, most of the teachers are belonged to non-Dalits, and there might be high chance to adopt their cultural myths even in pedagogic activities (Upadhya, 2012).

From the above mentioned data with theoretical background what I concluded that to motivate the students in teaching learning process, the teacher should respect the cultural background of the students, and the teacher should have the knowledge of child psychological and teaching methods and process. And, the teacher should change the teaching method what the teachers apply at present. It means, the teacher should up date his or her knowledge according to the time of demand. Similarly, the teacher shouldn't discriminate to the students on the basis of educational performance, caste, class, social identity, gender etc. Likewise, teachers' role should be inspirer or supporter to all the students instead of giving mental and physical punishment or torture. Similarly, from the participant's expression towards their teachers, what I

perceived teachers' unequal behaviors and cruel punishment system may create SD problem.

Parents Centric Barriers

I found, the parents' played vital role to include and exclude the educational access of their children. Supportiveness of parents, level of awareness, socio-economic background of the parents, guidance and counseling and direct supervision played vital role for ensuring the educational access of their children. Regarding parents centric barriers, my key participants argued;

Rohan: My fathers' death brought unhappiness and sorrowful days in my family. I used to go to school regularly when my father was alive because he used to punish me when I didn't go to the school. Similarly, my parents could not afford my educational expenses. (Interview, 15 July, 2012)

Salman: My fathers' second marriage created bad culture in my home. My father and mother used to quarrel to each other regarding the second marriage. After the great discussion, my father started to live in pokhara with another wife. And, after his lack of direct support, economic crisis was seen in my family. Actually, my mother couldn't afford my educational expenses. (Interview, 10 May, 2012)

Romeo: My parents could not pay my school fees on time and the principal used to give mental torture to me for economic matter. Similarly, my father and mother used to talk nearby my study place. Actually, I hadn't separate study room for my study, and I had to study and do my homework by sitting with other family members. Sometimes, my parents used to quarrel to each other for economic matter while I was studying. By hearing such kinds of debate about money, I used to become nervous and frustrated. (Interview, 13 June, 2012)

Madan: My father went to Delhi to earn money, but he never came back to home, and his missing case brought socio-economic problems. And my mothers' sole effort couldn't bear all the expenses of home. Hence, my mother planned to come to Kathmandu to get opportunity. But, we couldn't get such environment at Kathmandu what we thought before. (Conversation, 20 May, 2012)

According to the above mentioned narratives of the SD Dalit boys, parents were responsible for their educational exclusion to some extent. The parents' low economic status played vital role on not getting enough educational resources at home and school. All the parents of the respondents were belonged to working class group, and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) claimed that the children of working class parents have chance to be excluded from the educational access, and after discontinuing the school, they have high chance to be involved in a working class group. Similarly, Bourdieu (1997) claimed that parents' educational background plays vital role for the educational success of their children rather socio-economic positions. Similarly, Bourdieu (1990, p. 153) talked about the parental cultural capital is inherited by children, and childrens' cultural capital is converted into educational credentials. Moreover, Bourdieu (1977) also talked that parents' economic status determines the utilization of teaching learning materials of their children. He further claimed that the children of poor parents couldn't get all kinds of facilities at school in capitalistic countries.

From the above mentioned data, what I perceived that the parents of Dalits children are economically and socially backgrounds, it created obstruction on their children educational inclusion. And children of Dalit parents couldn't get support from their parents as non-Dalits parents. Similarly, economic status of Dalit Family was based on the profession and activities of the fathers. And their parents' death,

missing case and involvement in working class group created low economic status of the Dalit families.

School Centric Barriers

School environment plays vital role to inspire, motivate and de-motivate to the learners. The physical infrastructure and administrative system or school culture can change the pupils thinking. I found some of the school related barriers to the Dalit students. Similarly, inappropriate school curriculum, lack of child friendly school environment, lack of school facilities and lack of respecting the local culture also played major role for being the victim of SD problem. Regarding school centric barriers, my key participants added;

Rohan: There was a conflict among the students those who were shifted from Kathmandu valley school and Bhadrakali School. Similarly, students from higher class group students used to humiliate us. And, I didn't like the school culture of that school because there were system of punishment to the students those who couldn't do their homework. (Interview, 25 July, 2012)

Romeo: The school administration used to provide mental torture me for the school fees. Whenever they saw me, they immediately used to ask for my fees. And school principal didn't allow me to fill the examination form of SLC due to my absenteeism and not paying school dues on time. (Interview, 13 June, 2012)

Salman: I found partiality of school family to the students' i.e. talented and less talented students, girls and boys, and local students and newly settle students. (Conversation, 13 May, 2012)

From the above mentioned narratives, what I realized that lack of cooperation among the students, rude administration system, and disparities in terms of

educational performance, class, gender, and caste also encouraged the Dalit students to be excluded from the school education. Similarly, Bourdieu (1977), claims that school culture creates the social inequality. He also claimed that elite social group get educational access by paying expensive school expenses and others economically deprived group could not afford the expenses of education. Then there may be chance to be inequality as educated and uneducated. Sidnanius & Pratto (2001) mentioned that educated social group dominants to those groups who are deprived from the light of education. From such realities, what I perceived that class and caste contradiction, students and teachers' contradiction create SD problem.

Caste and Culture Centric Barriers

In Hindu mythology, Dalits were defined as inferior or untouchable caste. They weren't permitted to get Sanskrit education. I found, caste and culture based barriers on school dropout problem of Dalit youths. In Dalit communities, only few parents were educated. Therefore, they couldn't create environment to their children for education. Similarly, what I found that, school dropout Dalit boys were influenced by local community culture rather school culture. In this regard, my key participants argued;

Rohan: my uncles and seniors in my community had a habit of smoking and drinking wine and they used to spend their leisure time with playing cards. And that culture influenced me rather the culture of school where I had to do homework regularly. By seeing the local culture, I and my senior brother started smoking when we studied in class six. Then we started drinking wine and taking drugs (Interview, 20 July, 2012).

Romeo: My senior brothers had the habit of smoking and drinking wine, and they used to encourage me to take these things. Slowly, I also started to take

smoking and drinking wine. Gradually, I was habituated, and I used to spend my time with brothers having these things instead of going to school. Then, I became absent lots of days, and due to my absenteeism, I could not fill my registration form of SLC examination. And I started to spend my time with taking drugs. (Interview, 23 July, 2012)

The above mentioned narratives of the respondents show the 'cultural contradiction' (Patterson, 2008) between the school and local cultures. But, what I found that local culture is much stronger than the school culture, therefore, local culture could dominate the school dropout Dalit youths. In this regard, Bourdieu (1997) claimed that educational institution should respect the culture of students. But, the culture of smoking and drinking wine is restricted in the school of Hindu community, and that culture is common in Dalit community (Gupta, 1991, p. 234). Moreover, Bourdieu (1997) didn't talk about what kinds of local culture should be incorporated in educational institution. Therefore, it is necessary to make the criteria's for adopting the culture of students and parents. No doubt, Bourdieu (1997) talked about the significant of parents and students role within the school. The culture of Hindu community is based on caste and class system, and sometimes both are casual as well as consequences of one another (Sharma, 2012, p. 81). He further claimed that there is a caste basis of class and class basis of caste. But, it is defined as a caste contradiction (Mukharjee, 2008, as cited in Sharma, 2010, p. 92).

Similarly, local culture like involving in bad activities; smoking and drinking wine created main barrier for learning process at school and home. Furthermore, it created the problem of absenteeism and it directly influenced on the involvement of pedagogic activities at school. Likewise, pedagogic works and activities are objectively measured by the degree to which it produces its essential effects of

inculcation, i.e. its effects of reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 34). Furthermore, they claimed that school or educational institution produce the inequality as stratification in the society.

Chapter Summary

This chapter explores the narratives of SD boys in relation to their school dropout barriers on the basis of their lived experiences. Actually, they were compelled to be excluded from the school education due to their own weaknesses, parental reasons, school reasons, and caste and culture centric reasons. Regarding student centric barriers, teenagers' emotional behaviors and attitudes, lack of commitment to education, lack of responsibilities on educational activities, irregularities, low educational performance etc. played vital to exclude them from the school education. Similarly, de motivated school culture, autocratic and less supportive behaviors of the teachers and school staffs, lack of inspirational environment at school and hard punishment system of school were also played vital role to them to be the victim of SD problem.

Regarding parents centric barriers, not able to create academic environment at home, lack of understanding school culture, low level of parental awareness, not paying school fees timely, not providing educational materials timely, less supportive behaviors etc. played influential factors for their education exclusion. Similarly, caste and culture centric barriers also created educational barriers to the Dalit children to some extent. I found that, Dalit community gave less emphasis of getting education in comparison to non-Dalits. Similarly, Dalit parents inspired to their children to be skilled to get opportunity to generate money instead of going to school. More importantly, low economic status played vital role to exclude them from the light of education.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

Chapter Overview

The aim of this chapter is to summarize the findings of the research study on the basis of research questions and issues. From this chapter, I have tried to generate the meaning of the lived experiences of school dropout Dalit boys on the basis of their activities and narratives. Actually, their lived experiences had full of bitter realities (Chapter IV), and their future life expectations are also in great dilemmas due to the socio-cultural practices (Chapter V). And socio-cultural practices were not supportive for the overall success of SD Dalit boys. Similarly, it also discusses on how I responded to my research questions. And, it also discusses the theoretical positions connecting with the research issues. Likewise, it also discusses the strengths, complexities and distinctiveness of this thesis.

Addressing Research Question No. 1

The main issue of this thesis was to make the contextual meaning of the lived experiences of SD Dalit boys in relation to their educational exclusion, which is related to the main research question (Question No. 1). After conducting this research, what I claimed that lived experience of SD Dalit boys was in full of bitter realities but I didn't think SD Dalit boys have such bitter lived experiences before conducting this research study. And, they had unsuccessful lived experiences, struggling lived experiences, incorrigible lived experiences and diverse lived experiences (chapter 4). In general, they were humiliated or hatred mainly three ways; low economic status

(class system), so-called lower caste position in the society (Caste system) and educational and social exclusion. Life world of the SD boys have been greatly influenced by the local culture. It is not like the cultural reproduction theory of Bourdieu (1977). He claimed that culture of the school or society may establish as the culture of elite people. But, I found that local culture of the Dalit community was influenced by mainly Hindu caste system (Gupta, 2001), and very rarely it was found that class system and educational qualifications influenced the local cultural phenomenon. Similarly, their lived experiences were also greatly influenced by the problem of educational exclusion, and after leaving the school they had high possibility to involve in bad activities like drug addiction, drinking wine and playing cards which I have mentioned in chapter IV with the narratives of my key respondents. And, these activities also influenced on their life world. Involvement of such activities created problem in their social and political power relation. Actually, they learnt such activities from their own local culture. Very simply, such activities were culturally legitimized (Patterson et al., 2001), and they were dominated by the local culture instead of school culture. And, what I further realized that they didn't have cultural identity with class as discussed by Bourdieu (1976) but they had cultural identity with caste as mentioned by Sharma (2010).

Similarly, what I found that social power relations and position influence the lived experience and future life expectations of the human beings, and to maintain power relations, social and educational inclusion play vital role which I have tried to discuss in chapter IV and V. Power is principally rooted in academic capital, control over positions and material resources inside academe (Bourdieu, 1988). And, he further claimed that power rests essentially on intellectual capital, that scientific capacities and achievements as evaluated by peers. Similarly, schooling represents

both a struggle for meaning and a struggle for power relations (McLaren, 2005, as cited in Poudel, 2007, p. 227). But, in my field, what I found that so-called people hold the power and authority in comparison with Dalits, but it is not determined legally (Johnkinson & Karberg, 2005, p. 13). Similarly, I found caste based competition and struggle among the different castes (Leach, 1960, as cited in Sharma, 2010, p. 52).

In addition, lived experiences of the SD Dalit boys vary from one field to another because field is known as the distribution of the appropriate forms of capital and it is also understood as the side of struggle on the basis of social, economic and cultural powers (Bourdieu, 1997). And their life world was also influenced by the social, educational and economic status of the parents. Similarly, parents' economic status plays vital role for the children educational attainment and success (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 134). The parents of the participants were belonged to working class group as mentioned by Bourdieu (1997), and he further claimed that working class children might have high possibility of leaving the school. Moreover, I found that lower caste parents and their children had the problem of hand to mouth and they are treated as lower position in the society as being Dalits, and such realities also influenced the life world of SD Dalit youths which I tried to mention in chapter IV.

Addressing Research Question No. 2

Another research question of this study was about the future life expectations of SD Dalit boys. From the overall field study and key participants observation, what I found that all the participants of this study had future life expectations. They had future life expectations in relation to class (enhancing economic status), social identity and power relations which I have discussed in chapter V. But, their efforts, activities and environment were not related to their expectations. Actually, their future life

expectations were greatly influenced by local culture, and socio-economic status of their parents.

From the overall observations of my participants, what I found that parents social and 'economic status' (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 134) play vital role for their children future life expectations. In this regard, Bourdieu (1997) further explained that children of working class parents may have high possibility to be involved in same class and excluded from the school. Besides it, what I found that their expectations were also influenced by the caste based local culture as mentioned by Pariyar and Bishowkarma (2010) but, which is not mentioned by the Bourdieu. It means, caste culture also influences for achieving the future life expectations of SD Dalit boys which I mentioned in chapter V.

Similarly, their future life expectations were greatly influenced by their daily activities; it means that their activities were not related to their expectations. In addition, there was a conflict between the parents and children regarding their future life expectations. Actually, parents were not supporting to their life expectations, and parents had different desire to make their children, because parents were influenced by their caste culture. Regarding this issue, parents and their children had contradiction because parents' understanding was different from their children. Likewise, their expectations were hindered by their problem of educational exclusion. In this regard, Bourdieu (1997) further claimed that educational qualifications and experiences support for achieving the every one life expectations, it also helps to maintain social, economic and political positions in the society.

Addressing Research Question No.3

Another, third research question of this thesis was related to the factors (Barriers) for affecting the SD problem of Dalit boys. For this research question, what

I found that there were various factors or barriers; student centric barriers, teacher centric barriers, school centric barriers, parents' centric barriers, culture and caste centric barriers, class centric barriers, pedagogic centric barriers and curriculum centric barriers which I have discussed in chapter VI. Regarding student centric barriers, absenteeism, involving in bad activities other than learning activities, disciplinary problem and educational low performance were the main barriers (Charez et al., 1991). And, they had the disciplinary problem like not obeying to the parents and teachers.

Regarding teacher centric barriers, what I found that problem in teaching methods and unequal relationship with the students. Actually, the teachers couldn't participate to all the students in classroom activities. They gave much attention to the talented and the students of their relatives. Teachers used to give less attention to Dalit and weak students in the class room (Bishowkarma, 2010). And, they had the problem of their behaviors, some teachers used to scold very badly to the students if they didn't do homework problem instead of encouraging them to do home work. Therefore, teacher needs to incorporate the students' classroom activities establishing equal good relation with students. Likewise, inspiration, motivation and encouragement are needed to the students. Similarly, the teacher needs to understand the socio-cultural background of the students.

Similarly, what I found that school itself played the role as barriers for Dalit boys. Actually, cultures of higher castes and class have been dominating the school culture which I discussed in chapte VI. And, due to such school culture, Dalit children felt some kinds of discrimination at school; therefore, they were not inspired by the school culture as their cultural position. There was a cultural contradiction among the pupils and teachers at school (Patterson, 2008, p. 377). Likewise, I found parent

centric barriers for their children educational exclusion. They couldn't create academic environment at home, and they couldn't provide enough financial support for their children educational expenses. Educational performance of the children is strongly related to parent's educational background than their occupational identity (Bourdieu, 1976, as cited in Swartz, 1977, p. 546). Similarly, I found their educational barriers related to 'caste culture' (Gupta, 1991, op. 139) and 'class based domination' (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001, p. 282). In my research fields, I found counter school culture between 'working and serving class' (Willis, 1997, as cited in Davies; 1999, p. 337) and 'higher and lower caste children' (Sharma, 2010, p.181). Regarding caste system, non-Dalits want to preserve historical believes on caste system whereas Dalits want to transform such historical believes on caste system (Poudel, 2007, p. 215).

Similarly, I found the school curriculum and educational system centric barriers. Actually, what I found that parents of the Dalit children wanted to have professional identity of their children in small age rather continuing general education at school. Therefore, I found that, our school curriculum could not provide such skill-oriented education offered by the parents of Dalit children and 'serving class parents' (Barton, 2003, p. 61). Similarly, Bourdieu (1976) also claimed that there is possibility of involving working class children in same class group as their parents. Likewise, I found technical problems to the Dalit children while enrolling at school and re-continuing their education after some time of discontinuation. For example, the participant 'Salman' was failed in grade eight and he leaved the school, and his parents are forcing to continue to go to school and he wanted to study in class nine not in eight. But, school suggested him to study in grade eight again (see Chapter VI).

Connecting the Theoretical Linkage

In this research study, I applied social and cultural reproduction theory of Pierre Bourdieu to interpret the raw data on lived experiences of SD Dalit boys, their future life expectations and barriers for affecting SD problem of them which I have mentioned in chapter- II, and I also applied partially the perspectives of Karl Marx and Max Weber on social stratification theories. In addition, I have also given attention on theoretical position on caste systems.

From the theoretical perspective of Bourdieu, human life world, expectations of human beings, and educational inclusion and exclusion are determined on the basis of class system. In this regard, Bourdieu explored:

Social and economic capital affect for receiving the education access (Bourdieu, 1997a, p. 508).

Staying at school and passing the examinations make entry to the service class more likely than entry to the working class (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 282).

Parents' economic status plays vital role for the children educational attainment and success. (Bourdieu, 1997, p.134)

School success by the amount and type of cultural capital inherited from the family milieu rather than by measures of individual talent or achievement.

(Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990, p. 49)

In essence, Bourdieu explained that parental economic and educational background play inevitable role for their children educational inclusion and exclusion, and success and failure. Besides the theoretical position of Bourdieu, I found that social and cultural reproduction is based on not only class system but caste system also greatly influencing in Hindu community. Similarly, Bourdieu didn't talk about the individual capacity for educational success and failure. Therefore, what I claimed

that cultural reproduction is based on class and caste system in Hindu community. Similarly, what I found that educational inclusion and exclusion isn't based on only class system, it is also based on caste-culture, educational policy practices, individual ability and interest, educational pedagogy, and school culture (Booth, 1995; Dyson, 1999; Desai & Kulkarni, 2008).

Karl Marx also claimed that class struggle in society as whole, and it also affects the educational inclusion and exclusion. Marx believed that it is the continuous process in the society. Similarly, Max Weber (1947) claimed that social stratification is found in terms of powers: class, social and political. Likewise, I found that local caste culture and caste based cultural practices have been greatly influencing the life world and future life expectations of human beings. Similarly, Dalits caste culture and its' priority influence the children of Dalit parents to be excluded from the educational access. I found, Dalit parents gave much more attention to establish their children working identity rather sending school to get general education. Therefore, what I realized that our school curriculum should incorporate the skill-oriented education which helps to generate income sources in their locality.

Coping with Dilemmas and Experiences from the Research Process

As a novice researcher for Dalit issues, I felt difficulty to capture the contextual meaning of the participants in the beginning in Dalit community. For myself, as being a non-Dalit researcher, I had dilemmas on Dalit issues like caste based hierarchy in the society. Similarly, I felt difficult to establish my reputation in the fields because I was quite new individual in the fields, and I could have much more comfortable if I was a Dalit individual. Actually, by born, all the Nepali people have caste based hegemony and ideology for their identity. And I felt too difficult to meet my participants in assigned time because of their unscheduled life world and lack of

accountability on their schedules. Anyway, I have tried to explore my field experiences and relations in chapter 3. In the beginning of the study, I faced challenges to link the voices of school dropout Dalits youths with appropriate theories. After reviewing some of the social theories, I decided to apply the 'Cultural Reproduction Theory of Bourdieu' but this theory does not talk about the caste based issues in education. Bourdieu explores his idea on the basis of Algerian and Western cultural background.

With the great challenges, I have tried to explore the multiple voices of school dropout Dalit boys in relation to their lived experiences, future life expectations and major barriers for being excluded from the educational access. But, my single effort may not be enough to the entire context. Anyway, I got a chance to learn some of the local narratives of Dalit boys even being a non-Dalit individual. Similarly, I could learn some of the socio-cultural practices of Dalit community. Moreover, I got a chance to learn how the caste system has been legitimizing in Nepalese communities.

The knowledge of this study might be useful only in the similar context. Similarly, by applying the ethnographic research methodology, the way of generating the knowledge might be different from other ordinary research methodologies. Anyway, I enjoyed while conducting this research study. In addition, I could conduct the research study on new topic in Dalit community even being non-Dalit novice researcher.

Implications of the Study

As my research experiences for this research study, this study may help mainly in three levels; policy, practice and further research study. Regarding policy making, this study may impart insight to the planners to realize the lived experiences of SD Dalit boys. Similarly, this study may provide some of the narratives of Dalit

community for making provision of caste based traditional professions in school curriculum and provision of special awareness programs to the Dalit community and parents.

Similarly, this study may provide some ideas in practice level like ignoring any kinds of discriminatory social behaviors to the SD Dalit children and youths. Likewise, it is equally significant in further research study regarding the lived experiences and local narratives of SD Dalits.

Suggestions for Further Research

In this research study, I have tried to explore the multiple voices of school dropout Dalits boys on their lived experiences, future life expectations and major barriers for their educational access. I have tried to capture multiple voices of school dropout Dalit youths from the particular villages of Kathmandu district. Therefore, knowledge construction of this study may not be contextualized in other Dalit communities.

Besides this study, other research studies can be conducted on the caste based issues in relation to educational inclusion and exclusion such as comparative study on Hilly and Tarai Dalits, School dropout problems of Dalit girls, Educational access of Dalits and non-Dalits, new direction for school dropout Dalit youths etc. Moreover, the issues of this study might be studied by applying other than ethnographic research methodology. Similarly, theoretical positions of these research studies might be Theory of Resistance (Giroux, 1983 a), Theory of cultural contradiction and school leaving (Patterson, Hale & Stessman, 2008) and right based perspectives.

To fill up the gap of my research study, I have tried to suggest to the researchers to conduct the research study as the following mentioned conceptual frame work and research questions because I could not maintain inclusive nature in

my research study. I only conducted my research study in urban areas which might not be appropriate in rural areas. Therefore, to make the contextual meaning of the research study in my research areas comparative research study is required as my understanding.

Research Questions:

1. How are the lived experiences and life worlds of SD urban and rural Dalit youths?
2. How the SD urban and rural Dalit youths have socio-cultural position?
3. How are the educational and social exclusionary problems of SD urban and rural Dalit youths?

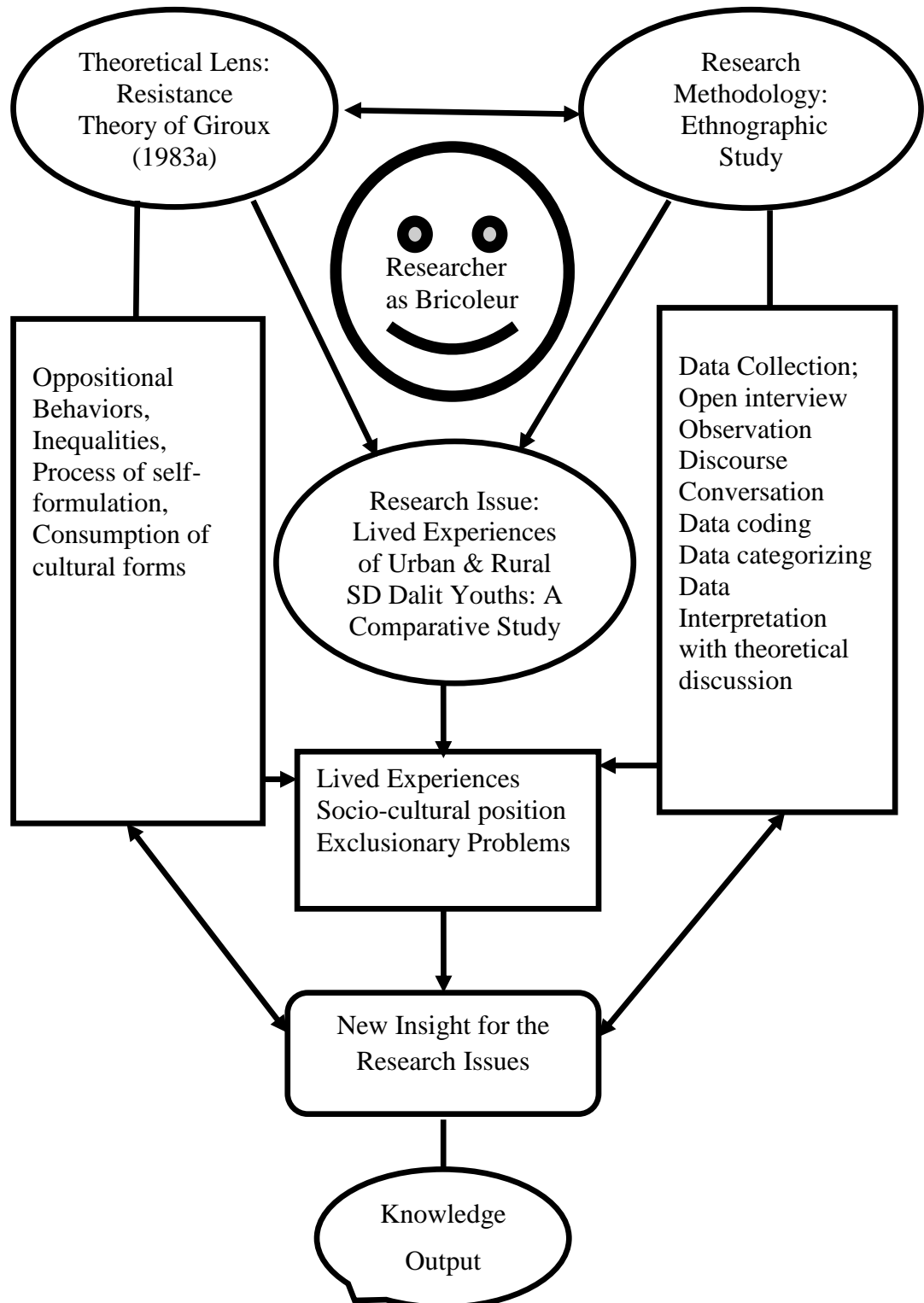


Figure 5. Suggesting conceptual framework for further research study.

Concluding Remarks

After completing this research study, what I claimed that the policies and practices related to school dropout issues of Dalits aren't appropriate. And caste based superiority and inferiority was found even in educational sector. Similarly, lived experiences of the school dropout Dalit boys are so pitiable and they are searching for the secured platform where they can get their identity and position, and their life worlds are being worsen day by day due to legitimizing the caste based hierarchy and class hierarchy . Similarly, they are deprived from the light of education due to the lack of supportiveness and encouragement from the whole society.

School dropout Dalit boys have their future life expectations, but they could not get well environment in the society. And the state and society didn't prioritize the dream and ambitions of school dropout Dalit youths. Due to the lack of effective policy practices, they were compelled to engage in bad and less productive activities like smoking, drug addiction and gambling. And involving such bad activities, their expectations all were vain. They have very low chance to get their future expectations rather than educationally included Dalit children and youths. And they are negatively interpreted by the people in the society, and they are identified as bad doers, drug abusers and so on. Therefore, what I conclude that lived experience of SD boys, their future life expectations and barriers for affecting SD problems were greatly influenced by caste and class system. And other factors like individual behaviors, interests, bad habits, teachers' behaviors, school culture, parental support, and local culture influenced them to be excluded from the school education.

My Research Learnings

After preparing this research, what I learnt or realized that present social and cultural behaviors on SD Dalit youths need to be revised and changed. And, from my

research experiences, what I realized that there were some problematic situations in policy practices on educational issues like educational participation or access in Dalit communities (Field Observation, 10 May to 25 August, 2012). Similarly, I also understood that it is an inevitable to provide awareness programs to the Dalit communities, Dalit parents and their children regarding the value of educational attainment and continuation. Likewise, I perceived that there were significant role of educational attainment and exclusion for SD Dalit boys from school, society, parents, teachers, peers, home environment and school culture

Similarly, what I realized that economic status of the parents of Dalit children was not the sole reason for their children educational attainment and exclusion (Reflective note, 25 May, 2012). Likewise, I found that value of value-based school curriculum for the Dalit children to minimize the school dropout problem of Dalit communities (Chapter, VI). I also realized about the value of skill-oriented and professional trainings to the school dropout Dalit boys for their professional identity (Field Observation, 2-10 August, 2012). Finally, what I understood that there was cultural contradiction between Dalit and non-Dalit communities (Field Observation).

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APPENDIX A

Thematic Questions

Research Questions	Thematic Questions
<p>1. How school dropout Dalit boys perceive and explain their lived experiences?</p>	<p>1.1 How do you spend days?</p> <p>1.2 How did you spend your childhood?</p> <p>1.3 What kinds of problems have you been facing in your life?</p> <p>1.4 Have you ever feeling the caste based discrimination in your life?</p> <p>1.5 What kinds of family and societal environments have you been getting?</p> <p>1.6 Are you getting worry as being the victim of school dropout?</p> <p>1.7 In which situations do you become an unhappy?</p> <p>1.8 How do you perceive your daily activities</p> <p>1.9 Are you satisfied with your daily activities?</p>
<p>2. How have been the future expectations of School dropout Dalit boys? And how they see to achieve their expectations?</p>	<p>2.1 What is your aim of life?</p> <p>2.2 What kinds of person do you like to be in the future?</p> <p>2.3 What kinds of activities have been doing to achieve your aim of life?</p> <p>2.4 What kinds of family and social support are you getting to achieve your future life expectations?</p> <p>2.5 What kinds of social identity do you like to have?</p>

	<p>2.6 What kinds of environments do you expecting to fulfill your future life expectations?</p> <p>2.7 Are you thinking on caste based discrimination may hinder to achieve your future life expectations?</p>
<p>3. What kinds of underlying barriers (factors) are affecting the Dalit children / youths to be the victim of school dropout problem?</p>	<p>3.1 How did you become the victim of school dropout problem?</p> <p>3.2 How do your parents and society perceive your school dropout problem?</p> <p>3.3 For what reasons did you discontinue your school education?</p> <p>3.4 In your understanding, who is the main responsible to discontinue your schooling?</p> <p>3.5 Were you satisfied with the school culture?</p> <p>3.6 What would you like to have to continue your schooling?</p> <p>3.7 What kinds of socio-cultural environments would you want to have to continue your schooling?</p> <p>3.8 Were you satisfied with the behaviors of your classmates, teachers and administrative staffs at school?</p>

APPENDIX B

Percentage of Education Status by Dalit Caste Groups by Sex

No.	Dalit Caste groups	6 yrs. and above of schooling			Bachelor and above		
		Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both
	Dalits	43.7	24.2	33.8	0.5	0.7	0.8
	Hill Dalits	52.9	31.4	41.9	0.5	0.4	0.5
1	Bishowkarma	53.0	31.4	41.6	0.5	0.1	0.4
2	Darji 'Damai'	55.4	35.0	44.6	0.4	0.1	0.3
3	Kishan 'Sarki'	49.9	28.8	38.9	0.3	0.1	0.2
4	Badi	47.1	32.0	39.2	0	0	0
5	Gandharva 'Gaine'	62.3	32.2	47.5	0	1.1	0.5
	Tarai Dalits	30.1	11.5	21.1	0.7	0.3	0.6
1	Chamar	27.9	9.0	18.9	0	0	0
2	Mushar	9.8	3.8	6.9	0.3	0.3	0.6
3	Dushad	28.5	8.6	19.1	0	0	0
4	Tatma	33	10.2	22.2	2	0	1.6
5	Khature	26.4	7.2	17.2	0.6	0	1.6
6	Bantar	35.9	10.2	23.4	0.2	0	0
7	Dom	14.9	5.2	10.3	0	0	0
8	Chidimar	34.0	14.9	25.1	0.2	0.6	0.3
9	Dhobi	46.5	19.1	33.6	2.1	0.9	1.8

10	Halkhor	38.1	21.7	30.1	0	0	0
11	Unidentified Dalits	47.6	23.9	35.5	0.7	0.2	0.6

(Source: UNESCO Report of Nepal, 2007)

APPENDIX C

Scheduled Castes of Dalit Community

Hill Dalits	Tarai Dalits
1. Gandharva (Gaine)	1. Kalahar
2. Pariyar (Damai, Darji, Suchikar, Nagarchi, Dholi, Hudke)	2. Kakaihiya
3. Badi	3. Kori
4. Bishowkarma (Kami, Lohar, Sunar, Oda, Chunara, Parki, Tampta)	4. Khatik
5. Mijar (Sarki, charmakar, Bhul, Ramtel, Bogati, Achhamee, Prukuti0)	5. Khatbe (Mandal, Khanga)
6. Pode (Deula, Pujari, Jalari)	6. Chamar (Ram, Mochi, Harijan, Rabidas)
7. Chayame (Kuchikar, Chaykhal)	7. Chidimar
	8. Dom (Marik)
	9. Tamta (Tanti, Das)
	10. Dushadh (Paswan, Hajara)
	11. Dhobi (Rajak hindu)
	12. Pashi
	13. Baatar
	14. Musahar
	15. Mestar (Halkhor)
	16. Sarbhanga (Sarbariya)
	17. Natuwa
	18. Dhandi
	19. Dharikarar dhankar

(Source: Nepali, S. B. (2011). *Human rights situation of Dalits in Nepal*. Lalitpur: NNDSWO, p.36).

APPENDIX D

Status of Nepalese Dalits and Higher Caste in different Sectors

Indicators	Category	Status in Percentage
Active population in finance	Higher Caste	34.4%
	Dalits	11.9%
Teacher/Technology	Higher Caste	62.2%
	Dalits	1.6%
Judiciary and administrations	Higher Caste	58.3%
	Dalits	1.3%
Clerk/office Assistance	Higher Caste	53.6%
	Dalits	3.9%
Business or service	Higher Caste	42.2%
	Dalits	4.0%
Agriculture and Fishery	Higher Caste	37.1%
	Dalits	10.9%
Productive labors	Higher Caste	21.2%
	Dalits	20.3%
Other Services	Higher Caste	19.1%
	Dalits	22.6%

(Source: Gurung, 2007, p. 86, as cited in Pyakurel, 2012, p. 5)

APPENDIX E

**Scholarship Distribution by USAID, Collaboration With Save the Children and
NNDSWO**

Academic Year (AY)	Annual Quotas of Scholarship Distributed			No. of Students Renewed	Actual No. of Scholarship Recipients'
	Girls	Boys	Total		
1992	137	181	318	0	318
1993	261	215	476	116	360
1994	294	243	537	289	248
1995	328	280	608	208	400
1996	338	262	600	358	242
1997	339	280	619	398	221
1998	385	224	609	354	255
1999/2000	452	277	729	429	300
2000/2001	453	284	737	477	260
2001/2002	463	306	769	417	352
2002/2003	412	303	715	479	236
2003/2004	409	308	717	415	302
2004/2005	380	320	700	497	203
2005/2006	363	284	647	467	180
2006/2007	419	316	735	415	320
2007/2008	446	324	770	535	233
2008/2009	446	312	758	582	176

2009/2010	476	270	746	560	186
2010/2011	385	243	628	437	191
2011/2012	337	205	542	488	54
Total	7523	5437	12960	7923	5037

(Source: 20 years journey of NCSEP. (2012, p. 20). NNDSWO)

APPENDIX F

Scholarship Distributions by Fiscal Years (2005-06 to 2008-09)

Scholarship Types	Progress in % (2005-2006)		Progress in % (2006-2007)		Progress in % (2007-2008)		Target (2008-2009)		Progress in % (2008-2009)	
	Physical	Financial	Physical	Financial	Physical	Financial	Number	Budget	Physical	Financial
Dalit Scholarship	624,89 6 105%	262,220 90%	689,72 5 96%	245,244 94%	772,92 3 99%	270,523 90%	861787	29549 3	818317 95	269648.1 8 91.3
50% Girls Scholarship	692,78 9 102%	297,669 89%	776,71 6 98%	284,920 91%	612,86 7 100%	316,540 88%	828837	30459 5	761939 92	259665.9 8 85.3
Boster Scholarship	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.				
Scholarship For Disabled Children Martyr Children Marginalized Children	9,549 88%	30,801 92%	10,177 94%	33,406 98%	9,916 102%	35,706 97%	18267	40968	17200 94.2	38888.23 94.88
							55	2872	55	1277
									100	44.5
							95000	71719	61425	33507.21
									64.6	46.7

(Source: EFA Status Report- 2009, p. 39)

APPENDIX G

Literacy Rates of Nepal by Different Age Groups in Percentage

Age Groups	Male	Female	Total
6-9	54.2	56.0	55.2
10-14	87.3	84.3	85.8
15-19	94.8	84.1	88.9
20-24	89.8	73.1	79.5
25-29	86.2	60.5	70.1
30-34	81.2	47.0	60.7
35-39	74.3	35.1	51.2
40-44	72.0	30.2	48.2
45-49	65.4	21.6	43.0
50-54	53.3	12.0	31.2
55-59	57.7	11.1	34.7
60 and +	38.7	5.3	22.1

(Source: CBS Report, 2011)

APPENDIX H

Distribution of Educational Status of Nepal by Age groups in Percentage

Age Group	Never attended School	Attended school in the Past	Currently in School
6-9	6.4	0.2	93.4
10-14	4.5	2.9	92.7
15-19	8.8	20.9	70.3
20-24	19.2	51.8	29.0
25-29	30.4	62.8	6.9
30-34	41.4	56.4	2.2
35-39	49.9	49.0	1.1
40-44	54.5	44.5	1.0
45-49	60.7	39.1	0.2
50-54	72.2	27.6	0.2
55-60	69.1	30.8	0.1
60+ above	85.4	14.6	0.0

(Source: Census Report of Nepal, 2011)

APPENDIX I

Literate Population aged 5 Years and Above by Educational Attainment (Level Passed)

Level	Total Population	Percentage
Educational Attainment	1,60,98,519	
Primary Level Passed	62,85,124	
Lower secondary Passed	32,66,513	
Secondary Level Passed	1837368	
SLC Passed	16,36,159	
Intermediate or +2	10,36,448	
Graduate passed	4,57,744	
Post Graduate Passed	1,58,432	
Non-Formal education	6,68,117	

(Source: CBS Report, 2011)

APPENDIX J

Comparative Literacy Rate of Nepal by Gender, Urban and Rural in Percentage

	Year 1991	Year 2001	Year 2011
National	25.0	54.1	65.9
Male	39.6	65.5	75.1
Female	54.5	42.8	57.4
Urban	66.9	71.9	82.2
Rural	36.8	51.0	62.5

(Source: CBS Report, 2011)

APPENDIX K

**Reasons for not Attending School for all Population 6-24 Years Who Have Never
Attended School**

Ecological Region Reasons	Mountain Region (8.5%)	Hilly Region (4.7%)	Tarai Region (12.2%)	
Due to young	3.1%	9.7%	6.7%	
Too Expensive	0.0%	3.7%	9.3%	
Too Far	9.4%	6.7%	1.1%	
Due to helping at home	49.7%	33.0%	20.4%	
Parents didn't want	27.3%	27.3%	31.2%	
No willing to attend	7.5%	9.4%	20.9%	
Disable	3.1%	4.6%	3.0%	

(Source: CBS Report, 2011)

APPENDIX L

A Sample of Reflective Field Note

Date: 20 May,

2012

On that day, I got up at 5:45 and I left my home at 9:45 and went to my research participant 'Salman' home after finishing my personal maintenance. I reached there right at 10:32 AM. When I reached his house, he was listening music in his own room and tried to recite the words and rhythm of the song. When he saw me, he immediately came out and said me Namaskar sir. After listening his voice of greeting 'Namaskar' I realized that he was influenced by the culture of Hindu community, and I also thought that he had a sense of respect to the seniors. And we started to talk to each other in an informal setting. I was just probing him on the basis of research circumstances. More importantly, I asked him about his daily activities, and he replied me very simple daily routine in the beginning. And I started to probe him, and I asked even the small event of the day. After talking about 35 minutes, salman said his real lived experiences. He said to me, "Sir, I spend most of the time with my friends". Then I again started to ask him questions like, how do you spend your time with friends? Where do you stay with your friends? What do you do in a group? Who are your friends? Are they educated? Then he replied me very gently;

"Sir, I and my three friends from another village spend our time in a same way. We go to the lonely place nearby the jungle and share our emotions. And my friends bring cigarettes and '*Gaja*' (a kind of locally made drug), and we

all have a habit of taking '*Gaja*'. After taking '*Gaja*' we spend our time privately wherever we like. We sleep there, and we watch video in a mobile and take entertainment. Sometimes, we take entertainment with dancing”.

After getting such narratives, I started to ask questions myself i.e. why and how these boys have been spending their days taking drugs like '*Gaja*'? Why they didn't like to continue their education? Can they be the good citizens in the future? Are their parents happy with their behaviors and activities? Is it the good way of spending their days? What are the main barriers for their educational exclusion? Taking these things in mind, I was interested to explore his realities in a natural setting. When we were talking to each other, his friend 'Sachin' phoned him and he was invited by him to meet in their separate spot. Then, he wanted to say good bye me and went to their separate place. Knowing his psychological interest, I requested him to go me with him. Initially, he could not say anything to me. After a few minutes, he said to me, “Sir, It is very far, it is really difficult to you?” And again that my friends would feel uneasy, therefore it was not better to go with me. After knowing his interest, I didn't force him to go with him. And, after few minutes, he left his house without getting permission with his guardians. After, his departure, I talked with his grandmother and mother about his life world, especially his daily activities. Actually, they became so tired with his behaviors and activities. They said to me, “Sir, Salman's life is getting worse”. And they further said me, “he spend his life as his wish, we don't know about his daily activities, just he takes lunch at home and leave the house without getting permission, and come at night and take dinner and sleep. When we tried to suggest him not to go out and help us, he becomes so angry with us”. Then we talked about one hour about his life world. Actually, I got his reality to some extent and I leaved his house getting permission to come next day.

APPENDIX M

A Part of Interviewing With Romeo

Date: 23 June, 2012

Researcher: Romeo, what are you doing?

Romeo: Just busy at home.

Researcher: How have you been spending these days, Salman?

Romeo: Sir, I spent about two months at rehabilitation centre in Sankhu (with nervous face)

Researcher: Why did you go there, Salman?

Romeo: I spent my days at rehabilitation centre as the suggestion of my school Principal because he agreed to provide me an opportunity to take part in SLC examination only after the special care of rehabilitation centre. Therefore, my mother sent me there, sir.

Researcher: Then, how did you spend your days at rehabilitation centre?

Romeo: Sir, in the beginning, I couldn't bear the cruel punishment system of rehabilitation centre. But, I learnt new life experiences from the lectures of my senior friends.

Researcher: What kinds of lessons learnt from the rehabilitation centre?

Romeo: Sir, actually, I got chance to understand the human life, to avoid my bad behaviors, and to learn new experiences.

Researcher: Salman, Did you avoid your habit of taking drugs after the life of rehab?

Romeo: (With nervous face), I left completely and I became clear at present.

Researcher: Now, then, what have you been planning to do?

Romeo: Sir, I'm planning to continue my school education, after passing SLC, I'm thinking of writing my auto-biography highlighting my lived experiences which helps to learn others not to take drugs.

APPENDIX N

Interviewing Participants

Place/People	Dalits	Non-Dalits
West Village of Kathmandu district	Parents/guardians and social workers; Mangala (57) Kopila (33) Shanti(39) Roj (22) Rekha (24) Ritu (20) School Dropout youths; Salman (18) (KR) Rabi(18) Romeo (18) (KR) Raj (19)	Guardians/social workers: Shant (32) Dhamala (41) Raj (32) Keshav (45) Bina (39)
East Village of Kathmandu District	Parents/guardians and social workers: Sukumaya (39) Laxmi (41) Maya (44) Gyan Bdr. (42) Sanker (35)	Guardians/social workers: Pratap (32) Krishna (24) Shiva (63) Satendra (42)

	<p>Santos (25)</p> <p>School Dropouts youths:</p> <p>Rohan (18) (KR)</p> <p>Sudip (17)</p> <p>Madan (23) (KR)</p>	
<p>Out of Valley, My Birth place</p>	<p>Social workers/Guardians; (conversation)</p> <p>Sashi(59)</p> <p>Kopila (2)</p> <p>School Dropouts Youths:</p> <p>Gumane (27)</p> <p>Nar (25)</p>	
<p>Kathmandu</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government officers from DOE and MOE (2) • Members of National Dalit Commission (2) • Dalit Activists (3) 	

Note: the numbers which are mentioned within the brackets () indicate the age of the participants. The names of participants are not real. KR means key respondents