SOCIAL INCLUSION IN TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING (TEVT) IN NEPAL

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted for the candidature
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DEDICATION

"This thesis is dedicated to those who are excluded from what they need".

ABSTRACT

This thesis proceeds with the question that why inequality and injustice prevail in the Technical Education and Vocational Training (TEVT) sector despite the social inclusion efforts at different levels as a national agenda. With the major purpose of analyzing the existing situation of social inclusion in the TEVT and associated challenges and opportunities, this study specifically explore the current policy provisions, practices and gaps between policy and practice as well as the perception of beneficiaries on practices of social inclusion in the TEVT field.

The study basically applies qualitative research methods under the interpretive paradigm. It also uses a small portion of quantitative data to analyze the phenomena in detail to reach to the closer reality. The analysis was thus based on textual description of people's perception, a few numerical data, and the synthesized essence of the social inclusion facts in the TEVT sector.

This study ascertains that social inclusion in the TEVT is conceived as a mere political concept rather than an analytic concept. Further, it is perceived as a response to social exclusion and more emphasis is given to the process than the outcome. The social exclusion has been explained as outcome of deprivation based on gender, caste, ethnicity, regional belongingness, and income-poverty. Where as the social inclusion is often taken as a remedy to social exclusion, meaning the mere inclusion of the excluded groups. Such positivistic notion is too generic to account for individual experiences of social exclusion and ignore the contextual and relational factors that increase or decrease the level of exclusion. Further, the policies and practices of social inclusion in the TEVT are found to be emerged with top—down approach, not reflecting the mutual understanding and experiences of

socially excluded group, implementers and policy makers, and then limiting the efforts in addressing the social inclusion in day-to-day practices.

Similarly, the study has found that in everyday discourse of social inclusion in the TEVT, the terms like, participation, equity, equality, access, sustainability, scholarships, quota are quite frequently used idioms that are associated with social inclusion. However, in reality these terms are not addressed adequately as there are ingrained cultural practices, patriarchal thinking and deeply rooted social taboos as obstacle to social inclusion at institutional level. These factors are further perpetuating exclusion at institutional level, necessitating the social inclusion efforts beyond integration of socially excluded groups, rather focus on social change.

In addition, the study point out that social inclusion is identified as vibrant force to bring changes at individual level and in community level. Changes on people's perception, attitude and the thinking pattern in terms of attainment of the basic level of wellbeing through the participation, equal opportunities, and increased life chances are identified as some of the outcomes of social inclusion in the TEVT.

The study concludes that social inclusion in the TEVT is an attractive concept for policy makers. Using this concept without the analytical perspectives and coherent theoretical core has led to limited benefits for the larger society. There is a need of devising context specific strategy; namely, the need of rethinking of social inclusion policy and practices in the TEVT.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vii
ACRONYMS	ix
PROLOGUE	xi
CHAPTER I	15
CONTEXT AND RATIONALE	15
The Context	17
Statement of the Problem	20
Research Purpose	22
Research Questions	23
Significance of the Study	23
Organization of Thesis	24
Chapter Essence	25
CHAPTER II	26
THE TEVT DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL INCLUSION IN NEPAL	26
Social Inclusion Agenda in Nepal	27
Evolution of TEVT and Social Inclusion Priorities	32
Before 1951: The Early Phase of the TEVT Initiation	34
1951-1971: Continuing the Efforts to Increase Access	36
1971-1990: The Planned Development Initiatives	37
1991 to Date: Quality and Relevance to Advancement of Policies	38
Social Inclusion Priorities in the TEVT: National and International Studies	44
Chapter Essence	47
CHAPTER III	49
SOCIAL INCLUSION/EXCLUSION: A THEORETICAL REVIEW	49
Social Inclusion/Exclusion- A Concept	51
Class, Status and Power and Theory of Social Closure	59

The Theory of Social Capital	63
The Theory of Social Justice	67
Development of Conceptual Framework	69
Reflection of Theoretical and Empirical Reviews	71
CHAPTER IV	73
METHODOLOGY	73
Journey through Research	73
Research Philosophy, My Position and Research Paradigm	77
Research Design and Research Methods	79
Working Procedure	80
Selection of Study Area: Setting (Field area)	81
Selection of Study Participants	83
Data Collection Procedure	88
In-depth Interview	90
Complimentary Conversations	91
Transect Walk	91
Field Notes	92
Study of Policy Documents and Statistics	92
Data Analysis Procedure	92
Quality, Rigor and Reflexivity	96
Ethical Considerations	99
Chapter Essence	101
CHAPTER V	102
POLICY DISCOURSE ON SOCIAL INCLUSION IN TEVT	102
Equality of Opportunity vs. Recognition of Diversity	103
Social Obligations vs. Social Rights	109
Social Inclusion vs. Social Exclusion	114
Access vs. Deliberate Inclusion	115
Opportunities vs. Equity	116

Inclusion vs. Powerlessness	118
Chapter Essence	120
CHAPTER VI	121
EQUAL ACCESS TO WIDENING PARTICIPATION	121
Equitable Access and Widening Participation Initiatives	122
Participation Trend in the TEVT	123
Issues of Equitable Access and Widening Participation	134
Spatial Issues	135
Access to Information	146
Affordability Issues	153
Chapter Essence	160
CHAPTER VII	161
BEING A STUDENT OF TEVT: FEELING OF INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	N 161
What Supports or Restricts the Entry into TEVT Courses?	161
My Participation in the Course: My Choice, My Decision	165
Scholarship, Quota and Participation	166
Social Stigma and Participation	168
Whose Decision?	172
My School, My Identity and My Space	172
Experiencing Social Cohesion and Bonding: A Positive Experience	174
Identity, Identification and Marginalization	176
The World, Me and My Skill	183
Aspiration for Better Life Chances	183
TEVT Bring Changes in Our Life	185
Chapter Essence	189
CHAPTER VIII	191
REFLECTION, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION	191
Research Overview	191
Major Findings	194
Study Outcome: A Social Inclusion Framework in the TEVT	204

Conclusion: Rethinking Social Inclusion in the TEVT	7
Continuation: The Implications and the Future Research	1
Final Words	3
REFERENCES	4
APPENDIXES	6
Appendix 1: Interview Guidelines: TEVT Actors at Policy Level	6
Appendix 2: Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussions with Students 23	7
Appendix 3: Interview Guidelines: Currently Enrolled Students	8
Appendix 4: Interview Guidelines: Passed out Ex-students	0
Appendix 5: Interview guidelines: Drop out ex-student	-1
Appendix 6: Interview guidelines: Principal or Training Centre Chief 24	2
Appendix 7: Categories of Dalit as Recognized by GON, National Dalit	
Commission Nepal	.3
Appendix 8: Categorization of Indigenous People Based on Development 24	.5

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Details of the Respondents	.87
LIST OF FIGURES	
Figure 1. Chapter Outline	25
Figure 2. Conceptual Framework	.71
Figure 3. Interactive Model of Qualitative Research	.79
Figure 4. Study Location	.82
Figure 5. Layered Sampling	.84
Figure 6. Framework of Data Analysis and Interpretation	.94
Figure 7. Funnel Model of Chapter Outlines	.95
Figure 8. Equitable Access and Widening Participation Initiatives in the TEVT	123
Figure 9. Trainees' Enrollment by Ethnicity in the Last Five Years (2004 to 2008)	
in Dolakha District	125
Figure 10. Trainees' Enrollment by Ethnicity in the Last Five Years (2004 to 2008))
in Banke District	126
Figure 11. Enrollment Trend by Ethnic Group in the Last Five Years (2004-2008) in Dolakha District	127
Figure 12. Enrollment Trend by Ethnic Group in the Last Five Years (2004-2008)	
in Banke District	
Figure 13. Location Wise Enrollment Trend in the Last Five Years (2004-2008) in	
Banke District	129
Figure 14. Location wise enrollment trend in the last five years (2004-2008) in	
Dolakha district	130
Figure 15. Trainees Enrollment by Location in the Last Five Years (2004-2008)1	131
Figure 16. Trainees Enrollment by Gender in the Last Five Years (2004-2008)1	132

Figure 17. Gender	r Wise Enrollment Trend in the Last Five Years (2004)	2008) in
Dolakha District		133
Figure 18. Gender	r Wise Enrollment Trend in the Last Five Years (2004	2008 in
Banke District		134
Figure 19. Distric	t Coverage from the Technical Schools in Dolakha Di	strict136
Figure 20. Distric	t Coverage from the Technical Schools in Banke Dist	rict136
Figure 21. Percen	tage of Students' Enrollment in Technical Schools in	Dolakha
District from Othe	er Districts as Compare to Dolakha District in the Last	Five Years
(2004-2008)		137
Figure 22. Percen	tage of Students' Enrollment in Technical Schools in	Banke
District from Othe	er Districts as Compare to Banke District in the Last F	ive Years
(2004-2008)		138
Figure 23. A Soci	al Inclusion Framework in the TEVT in Nepal	206

ACRONYMS

ADB Asian Development Bank

DCSI Department of Cottage and Small Industries

DFID Department for International Development

DOLEP Department of Labor and Employment Promotion

DTVE Directorate of Technical and Vocational Education

EF Employment Fund

EFA Education for All

GON Government of Nepal

ILO International Labour Organization

INGO International Non-governmental Organization

KUSOED Kathmandu University School of Education

MDGs Millennium Development Goals

MOE Ministry of Education

MOES Ministry of Education and Sports

NEC Nepal Educational Commission

NESP National Educational System Plan

NGO Non-governmental Organization

NPC National Planning Commission

NTF National Training Fund

NSTB National Skill Testing Board

NVQF National Vocational Qualification Framework

NVQA National Vocational Qualification Authority

ODA Overseas Development Association

OECD Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PRSP Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

RRRSDP Rural Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Sector Development

Program

SDC Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation

SfE Skill for Employment

TEVC Technical and Vocational Education Committee

TEVT Technical Education and Vocational Training

TITI Training Institute for Technical Instruction

TSLC Technical School leaving Certificate

UMN United Mission to Nepal

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Program

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

VDC Village Development Committee

VET Vocational Education and Training

VTCD Vocational Training and Community Development

WHO World Health Organization

PROLOGUE

"Thought gives rise to desire" ~ Rig Veda

The world is mysterious. Nothing is distributed equally, even nature's free gift as water, sun, rain and even pain and sorrow. This is what I always think of, since the very beginning of my childhood. I would always wonder why Mr. Achhami (a shoemaker) could not enter our house although he was a very nice person. Why my best friends, daughters of my immediate neighbors were married so early, when their elder brothers were not married? I grew up with all these thinking.

I was born in Kathmandu, a capital city of Nepal. We were five children and I was the eldest and a single daughter in the family. Being an elder sister, I always wished to have more than my brothers. However, everything that I wanted for myself only was not available. I came to know that my family had limited resources and it had to be distributed among all of us, no matter, elder or younger. This childhood learning led me to see the worlds differently.

In addition, many questions came to my mind and these remained unsolved mysteries. These were further heightened by my experience as a nursing student at the Institute of Medicine, Nursing Campus. I had friends from different districts of Nepal, from rural to urban, from different ethnic groups and mostly from lower middle class. There, I could see the difference among my friends about their level of understanding, and limitations to buy things which they wanted and more importantly their ignorance of many things.

All these experiences aggravated my curiosity to learn about society which pushed me to study Masters in Sociology at Tribhuvan University, Nepal. During

the period, learning different social theories were part of the study. Among many theories, theory of structuralism impressed me a lot. I could learn how society was structured and created with a certain hierarchy. Again, few more questions added to the list of my unanswered questions. These were: Who is behind this force? Is this us, ourselves? Is structure less society possible? How equality is possible in society? These questions were somehow answered when I went to Australia to do Masters in Public Health (MPH) in University of Melbourne. The difference I could see in Australia was the strategies they had adopted to bring inclusion of different layers of society in the developmental activities. Here, the subject "Gender Issues in Health" in MPH further encouraged me to understand the world from the inclusion perspective.

Apart from what I studied, it is noteworthy to mention my long involvement as a teacher/trainer/master trainer and more importantly a practitioner in Technical Education and Vocational Training (TEVT) sector. After working as an instructor in Nursing Campus Maharajgunj for eight years, I joined Training Institute for Technical Instruction, Sanothimi Bhaktapur in 1995 as a Master Trainer. Since then, I'm continuously involved in providing trainings to instructors, managers and curriculum developers in TEVT sector. In the course of my job, I had to visit different technical schools and training centers in Nepal. On one hand, I could see the students from the different segment of society (caste wise, region wise, gender wise and economy wise) obtaining education in TEVT sectors. On the other, I could see children working in tea shops, as a street vendor and so on. Often, I asked these children about their schools and education, and also the skills and means for their livelihood. I also suggested them to obtain skills from the nearby training centers or technical schools. While making such suggestions, I had no idea who would guide

them to reach the relevant centers and who pays for them. It already raises few questions in my mind regarding whose responsibility to pay for them. Is it themselves? Their families? The society? Or the state?

Upon returning from Australia, I found my country's situation even worse than what I experienced before. The numbers of jobless youth had increased significantly, and the rate of unskilled migration had heightened. In addition, I saw a new scenario with conflict affected people scattered in Kathmandu and many other urban centers. I became aware that the context point out the problems and raised the issues and voices from the different segment of society such as academia, political and social sectors advocating for inclusion in all aspects of development. As a result, my interest and thinking continuously advanced and it led me to join Kathmandu University School of Education for PhD with specialization in development studies, leaving behind my initial plan to continue PhD in Public Health in University of Melbourne.

Over the past few years, this social inclusion issue has become a prime agenda in the TEVT sector in Nepal. Many activities are planned to obtain best possible social inclusion in the sector and few reports from government and non-government organizations demonstrate the efforts of social inclusion in the TEVT. However, these mere assumptions and reports are not really answering my unsolved questions. For me social inclusion is not merely a numerical equality rather the phenomena that ensure social justice. As such, I embarked on this project with the purpose of making substantial contribution in understanding social inequality and exclusion in order to facilitate and support more meaningful transformation towards realizing a just society. Accordingly, after discussion with my professors, I chose this research issue for my PhD study.

In addition, while my reasons for choosing this topic vary, ranging from lifelong curiosity to contribute to social justice, these are however combined by my belief that there is an enormous value in understanding the phenomena of social inclusion thus deserve careful attention and public discussion

CHAPTER I

CONTEXT AND RATIONALE

In writing the introduction to this thesis, I paid attention to elaborate the contexts that justify the need of this study. Throughout this chapter, I have highlighted the context of Technical Education and Vocational Training (TEVT) in Nepal and also touched upon the concept of social inclusion and exclusion to establish the basis of my argument. Finally, I have highlighted the purpose and research questions of this thesis including my commitment for the contribution of knowledge.

With its strong emphasis on social justice, the recent literature on education and social sciences increasingly advocate the issues of social inclusion. Assuming growing importance, the issue of inclusion has been taken as a policy metaphor crystallizing the desired goals and directions in almost all sectors. In recent years, this topic has become a key feature of discussion in the development of education policy and practice around the world, including Nepal. One of the central insights of social inclusion agenda internationally is that interventions have to be developed to respond specifically to the needs of particular groups (Hayes, Gray, & Edwards, 2008). As such, the kind of interventions that is undertaken in TEVT should address the needs and challenges of disadvantaged groups, specific to the Nepalese context. For instance, educational policy-makers have consistently recognized that investment into human resources contributes to both the economic growth and social inclusion.

Social inclusion is a widely shared social experience and active participation, by a broad equality of opportunities and life chances for individuals and by the

achievement of a basic level of well-being for all citizens (Sen, 2001, p. 74). It is also described as the complementary approach to bring system-level change to remove inequities in access to assets, capabilities and opportunity (Bennet, 2002). When education in general is perceived to impart skills, knowledge, autonomy and freedom to marginalized and disadvantaged people (Sen, 2001); the TEVT has a comparative advantage for a developing country like Nepal. It has been considered as crucial in the modern world for the livelihood of an individual as well as it has an instrumental role to reduce unemployment rate in the country (UNESCO, 2004). Although the main goal of the TEVT is to produce capable human resources with increased employability and socio-economic potentials, also it has been defined as one of the main keys which open the doors to poverty alleviation, greater equity and justice (Smith, 2006).

Considering its importance, social inclusion has become a challenging agenda in the TEVT sector in Nepal. It has been understood that when the TEVT contributes to human resources development and training that also underpins the fundamental values of society – equity, justice, gender equality, nondiscrimination, social responsibility, and participation (Usman & Pascal, 2010). This concern is reflected in several policies developed in Nepal in different times and programs and projects currently in the action, which are contributing to address the socioeconomic challenges of the country. However, despite constant policy emphasis, the TEVT sector in Nepal is yet to be able to address and explore the core need that is required for the cohesion, harmony and social justice.

The situation raises several concerns; including the need for exploring the challenges and constraints the sector is facing being among the most critical ones. Such exploration has become an urgent need considering the reality that there is a

serious lack of the empirical studies in the sector to analyze weaknesses and opportunities from the perspectives of social inclusion. Although, the issues of social inclusion in the TEVT have been highlighted in several reports (Ministry of Education, 2009a; Sharma, 2010), they lack adequate explanation of philosophical foundation of inclusion. Moreover, they are not based on comprehensive fieldwork. All these have made inclusion in the TEVT a very urgent area of research- more importantly to explain the details of existing practices, modality and the phenomena of social inclusion in the TEVT.

This thesis mainly derives from interpretive research paradigm and is largely based upon the qualitative information collected during field work in two different districts of Nepal: Banke in the mid-western terai region and Dolakha in the central hill region. Although, this study is qualitative in nature and it demands an in-depth understanding of the phenomena, some elements of quantitative data are also collected for the purpose of trend analysis.

The Context

In many developing countries, the importance of the TEVT has been perceived with three main roles. First, the TEVT provides education and learning opportunities to everyone. Second, it contributes to economic development by meeting skills need of enterprises through skilled human resources. Third, it is viewed as an instrument to overcome the social exclusion resulted due to societal inequality as well as due to low performance of formal general education. It provides an alternative route for those who are drop outs from general schools and cannot continue into higher education. The TEVT thus contributes to escape from poverty and marginalization by promoting social inclusion (UNESCO, 1999; 2012).

Further, it is said that over 80% of the world's work requires TEVT education. An even larger percentage is needed in some countries to adequately skill their population. If the TEVT is available to all who require it, there will be a reduction in poverty, a movement towards equity and fairness, and disadvantage will diminish (Maclean, 2009). The importance of TEVT is not only limited for the livelihood of those who are academically, geographically and socio-economically back warded, but also for its vibrant role in developing a new generation of individuals who will face the challenges of achieving sustainable socio-economic development for the nation.

Further, Nepal is the country of diversity. Women, dalits, indigenous people, madhesi, people living in the remote areas, ultra poor and small farmers are deprived and excluded from the mainstream of development due to the socioeconomic, political and cultural reasons. Realizing the importance of the agenda of social inclusion in the national development, this has been prioritized even in national constitution. The present interim constitution of Nepal-2007 has highlighted the rights of women, dalit and discriminated groups as well as rights to equality, justice and employment (UNDP, 2008). The previous constitution of 1991 had also emphasized the need for adopting social inclusion in national policies. Accordingly, targeted programs are conducted for socially deprived groups to ensure their inclusion in the national development process.

The TEVT has been considered as one of the important means for promoting social inclusion. It has been considered as an anti-dote to urban biased elite education and an equity measure that promote equity and serve the needs of relatively poor people (Tilak, 2002). Further, since the very beginning of TEVT's evolution in Nepal, it has focused on access, equity and integration which are basic

tenets of social inclusion. Several initiatives of establishing technical schools in the rural areas of Nepal, providing scholarships, quota based admissions, initiating annex schools for the purpose of imparting relevant skills and knowledge to school dropouts and non-college bound youths including economically poor population were some of these examples (Sharma, 1999; Sharma, 2010).

The concerns regarding social inclusion are continuously reflected in several policies developed in different times and programs and projects currently in the action. Sustainable development agenda for Nepal states the government's objective to make vocational training accessible to everyone (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2003b, pp. 18-19). The Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-07) of Nepal has highlighted the importance of vocational training as a means of addressing the skill development needs of the marginalized and socially excluded (NPC, 2003a). Similarly, TEVT policy documents (TEVT policy 1999; 2007 & 2012) have emphasized a need to make TEVT accessible to general public by emphasizing "inclusion of" and "access for" as one of the key policy areas that advocate the social inclusion process (MOE, 2007a; 2007b; 2012).

Accordingly, the Three Year Plan Approach Paper (2010/11- 2012/13) recognizes the importance of promoting skills development as a key instrument to facilitate the economic and social integration of excluded groups to contribute to the social inclusion agenda of development (MOE, 2004; MOE, 2007b). Further, these policies have advocated for the massive expansion of the TEVT and for the removal of existing inequalities and promote inclusion of all those who were deprived of the opportunities of entering into labor market.

All these notable policy and provisions are acknowledged as noteworthy efforts to promote social inclusion in the TEVT sector in Nepal. However, equitable

access to skills development is a critical problem as these efforts do not explicitly address the social inclusion need of all youth. Available information from several sources (ADB, 2003; Council for Technical Education and Vocational Training [CTEVT], 2005a; 2005b; ILO, 2000) quite frequently reveal that despite significant efforts to develop the TEVT services for preparing youth for employment, success has been limited in terms of social inclusion efforts. A vast number of youth have either not been to school or not received any training that would impart them with employable skills (Sharma & Kohleyer, 2005). The majority of these out-of-school youth comprise of underprivileged groups such as dalit, ex-kamaiyas, haliyas, badis, ethnic minorities and girls from the remote and isolated rural areas (Kathmandu University School of Education [KUSOED], 2009). Although all these policies and provisions have helped to increase the TEVT opportunities for the wider segment of the population, equitable access and inclusion in the education and training opportunity remains to be a question yet to be answered.

Statement of the Problem

Following the several policies and practices for promoting social inclusion efforts in the TEVT, for more than three decades or so Nepal has embarked upon a range of efforts to address the challenges of promoting employability, productivity and social inclusion. However, such efforts are/were not adequate to address the need of those who are/were in need rather it remained with those only who have better access to resources. Although the idea of increasing access and equity in the TEVT was the central focus since the very beginning, it was largely benefitting the male, people from urban area and from so called higher castes as well as those who can afford. People from wider segment of population specially excluded groups are/were away from these benefits indicating that the efforts made from the

government and from non-government sectors to address the issue of access and inclusion in the TEVT is in limbo. This raises the serious question of why inclusiveness in the TEVT system in Nepal is not promising when there is a significant investment in the sector.

Several genuine attempts were made to widen the opportunities for participation in the TEVT courses, including that of poor, women, and disadvantaged people by establishing the technical schools in the rural area and increasing the number of technical schools and training centers in the country. However, such efforts have been inadequate to reach to the wider segment of population. According to CTEVT (2008), more than 60 % of the programs running in the private sector are concentrated in the Kathmandu valley, which is beyond the reach of many youth residing in the remote area. In addition, there are very few provisions for the people from economically backward mid western and far western regions (The World Bank, 2011, p. 3).

Furthermore, the situation is not only limiting to the issue of geographical coverage but also about the gender imbalance. Females are under-represented in the Nepalese TEVT system (UNESCO, 2004). According to Lamichhane (2006), female's participation in the TEVT programs is far less than male which count for 21 percent female as compared to 79 percent male. This raises the question that why there is a persistent gap between male and female participation in the TEVT courses. Is it due to the lack of access or due to the too expensive nature of private technical school or due to logistically difficult to access (ADB, 2002) or are there any other reasons that restrict female to obtain the TEVT services.

The problem is also related with the lack of proper analysis and the understanding of the situation. At time the situation has been understood only from

the top down perspectives. So, very little attempts have been made to understand the ground reality that could portray the existing phenomena of social inclusion/exclusion in the TEVT sector in Nepal. I would further argue that the TEVT is the sidelined agenda and has got less priority compared to other development efforts. Very few studies conducted in TEVT in the past have explored the information on the status of progress but did not adequately address the agenda of social inclusion.

All these have raised further questions: To what extent the TEVT sector (private and public) is providing services in line with the fundamental concepts of social inclusion? Who are benefited more and who are still excluded? What have been prohibiting social inclusion in the TEVT? Is this the outcome of systemic or structural deficiency or is this simply the result of procedural weaknesses? Deriving from these questions, I arrived at main problem statement that it is crucial to explore the answers in these lines that indicated the inadequacy of the TEVT sector in Nepal that could not actualize the national agenda of social inclusion.

In addition, one fundamental question that prompted me to conduct this study was: what promotes social inclusion and what can be done to ensure that the TEVT services address this concern. All these have made inclusion in the TEVT a more robust area of research- more importantly to explain the details of existing practices, modality and the phenomena of social inclusion in the TEVT.

Research Purpose

The major purpose of this study was to analyze the existing situation of social inclusion in the TEVT and associated challenges and opportunities.

Specifically, the study aim to explore the policy provisions, practices and any gaps

between policy and practice as well as the perception of the TEVT beneficiaries on practices of social inclusion in this field.

Research Questions

The focus of the thesis was framed by the following research questions:

- How do the TEVT policy makers and implementers perceive and explain social inclusion in the TEVT?
- 2. What explains the current status of social inclusion in the TEVT policies, programs and activities?
 - a. What opportunities and barriers are there to promote social inclusion in the TEVT?
 - b. What gaps are there, if any, between the TEVT policy/program provisions regarding social inclusion and their implementation?
- 3. How do beneficiaries of the TEVT practices perceive and explain social inclusion in the TEVT?

Significance of the Study

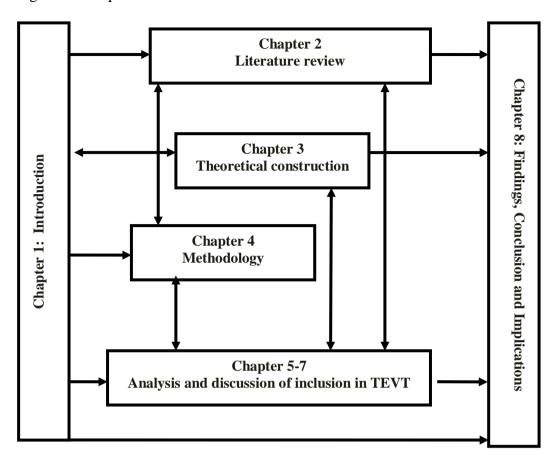
This study attempts to explore the existing reality in detail. The contribution of this research could be categorized in terms of three aspects. First, the study outcome is significant input for the policy makers to redefine/revisit the policy. Second, the study has highlighted few important aspects of equity and access which would help program designers to modify and update the existing programs. Third, as this study has addressed the ground reality from the service receivers' perspective, the meanings of such perspectives can be considered by institutions to rethink the process and develop additional strategies for delivering contextualized services. Nevertheless, the outcome of this study will have a significant value to donors and could also be used for the general public awareness.

Organization of Thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters. First four chapters focus on the establishment of context, rationale, logic of study and seeking out theoretical and methodological support to carry out the study. Other three chapters are the discussions from empirical materials that are directly derived from the fieldwork. The last chapter is the reflection of overall process and the discussions of outcomes. The chapter one is the establishing context and rationale of the study. This includes study background, research problem, research purpose and research questions, contribution to knowledge and the conclusion. Chapter two is the comprehensive literature review basically focuses on evolution and the current status of the TEVT in Nepal, social inclusion agenda and the priorities of social inclusion in the TEVT.

Chapter three elaborates the theoretical construction of the study. Here, relevant theories that were used to base my arguments of research and research findings are discussed. Chapter four discusses the methodological aspects of the study. In this chapter, research philosophy, research design, tools and procedures are discussed in detail with justification. Chapter five to seven are the presentation of main empirical findings and the eighth chapter is the summary of the study along with findings, conclusions and recommendations. A diagram below is an attempt to present the interconnections and linkages between different chapters of thesis.

Figure 1. Chapter Outline



Chapter Essence

This chapter reflects my belief about the issues that could be addressed through this study. It has outlined the rationale and context of my research and has revealed those issues. Highlighting the importance of the TEVT and social inclusion, it has acknowledged the efforts delivered by Nepal government and international organizations that deserve special mention for their efforts in addressing social inclusion in the TEVT. However, there lies a gap between policies, programs provisions and at implementation, thus less achievement has been

made so far. It has focused on overall context of emergence of social inclusion issues in the TEVT sector, its importance, approaches taken as well as the problems and issues. Overall, the chapter has attempted to clarify the appropriateness of the research questions that are addressed in the study.

CHAPTER II

THE TEVT DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL INCLUSION IN NEPAL

When there is an increased understanding around the globe that education is the fundamental rights of everyone (World Education Report, 2000), it includes the general education as well as the TEVT. Education opportunity available to all individuals and communities can contribute to, and benefit from the country's economic and social opportunities. These are the issues of discussion in many countries. When the parts of the community are disadvantaged and not able to fully participate in social, educational and economic life, it undermines our social cohesion. Thus, inclusion of everyone in the education no matter general or TEVT has been a major area of government priority over recent years (MOE, 2007b). As a result, we see increase in policies and practices at national, regional and institutional level.

This chapter mainly focuses on the emergence of social inclusion agenda in Nepal and the development of the TEVT amid overall national education priorities in Nepal. In addition, it has attempted to discuss the TEVT development in Nepal in relation to social inclusion agenda of Nepal. While reviewing all these, several aspects of the TEVT and social inclusion have been analyzed, focusing on why TEVT opportunity is not available to all those who aspire to enter to the sector despite the continuous emphasis on policy documents.

Social Inclusion Agenda in Nepal

The notion of diversity is normally inherent in social inclusion and recognized as an alternative provision and measure of success of social inclusion (Robson, 2005). Nepal has a diverse yet hierarchical society (Bista, 1991). There are more than hundred of caste and ethnic communities in the country who speak about the same numbers of languages. Among these different groups, many are in deprived situation because of systemic inequalities and exclusion they have been facing for generations. Indigenous people, women, madhesis, dalits and other religious minorities are normally excluded from the mainstream national political life and deprived of the socio-economic opportunities (Gurung, 2010).

When spatial diversity and state ideology contributed to significant level of social inequality in Nepal, the caste discrimination nurtured by the state has been the foundation of social exclusion (Gurung, 2007, p.15). Social exclusion continues to be a major hindrance in Nepal's development. One of the reasons behind this is that dominant caste and ethnic groups took hold of most of the shares of the achievement through past development process in Nepal (NPC, 2008). Further, people's access to public facilities and resources is highly dependent on social identity: caste, ethnicity and gender, economic status: landowner, sharecropper or business person and physical location: urban, rural or remote rural (The World Bank & DFID, 2006).

Despite economic development and poverty alleviation as the primary objective of government, the poverty, lack of social services (health, education, water and sanitation, etc.) remain pressing problems for rural, lower castes and indigenous peoples in Nepal (Gurung, 2007). In addition, the lower castes and minority ethnic groups are disproportionately affected by widespread social and economic problems aggravated by poverty. Further, on the basis of dominant Hindu

philosophy, the Nepalese society has been categorized into four groups of people namely i) Dalits or lower caste people, ii) Indigenous people or Janajati iii) Madeshi or terai inhabitants and iv) Women from the contemporary development processes (Gurung, 2007, p. 29).

However, in Nepal, neither there is a single agreeable understanding of social exclusion nor there are set of indicators of socially excluded group to explain the form of exclusion. Thapa (2009) points out that there is no uniform understanding among the institutions, professionals and academics about the term socially excluded groups. Excess use of several words that refers to excluded such as disadvantaged, marginalized, discriminated, downtrodden, oppressed made these understandings even complicated (Thapa, 2009). According to NPC (2008), in Nepal excluded group comprises of women, dalits, indigenous nationalities, madhesis, Muslim communities, who have consistently been excluded from mainstream development. Excluded group also includes people with disability; street children and children from displaced/conflict affected families and people of remote regions especially of Karnali region (NPC, 2008).

Nepal has thus considered social inclusion agenda as important to eliminate all forms of discrimination and exclusion based on caste, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, geographical origin and gender hence to create just society with rightful sharing of power and resources (NPC, 2008). Since mid-1990's social inclusion efforts turned out to be the political agenda in Nepal and have been mainstreamed into developmental policies (Manandhar, 2008). Rawal (2006) has further indicated that the social inclusion agenda was overtly incorporated in the official policy discourse since 2003. After the people's movement of 2006, social inclusion agenda has been strongly put forwarded to build a just and equitable society eliminating the

disparities against the gender, caste, class, and regional. It is further legitimized and provisioned in the Interim Constitution 2007 (NPC, 2008).

In addition, the state also received pressure after 1990 as excluded groups began to organize for the advocacy against social exclusion and discrimination (Yadava, 2006). People from rural and urban area demanded rightful representation and inclusion suggesting that Nepali citizens were excluded from exercising their rights on the basis of their social identity in terms of caste, ethnicity, race and gender (Manandhar, 2010). Social inclusion thus became an agenda for state transformation (Gurung, 2006).

The social inclusion term is used to describe the complementary approach that seeks to bring about system-level institutional reform and policy change to remove inequalities in the external environment (Bennet, 2005, p. 8). In the context of Nepal, the Tenth Five Year Plan of Nepal is the first national plan to have social inclusion as one of its four pillars which identifies inclusive education as a central approach to reduce gender, ethnic and caste related disparities (The World Bank and DFID, 2006). The Tenth Plan hence aimed to address gender and ethnic/caste-related disparities and facilitate social inclusion by mainstreaming such efforts instead of simply relying on targeted programs (NPC, 2008). To materialize these proposals, several programs and provisions were made such as training on gender, scholarship for girls and dalits, hostel facilities for girls in the rural areas, partnering with NGOs, inclusive education, and assessment centers for the special need children, text book preparation in various languages etc. (Acharya, 2007, p. 22).

Similarly, recognizing that the participation from the different layers of the society is the important asset of the social inclusion, three year interim plan (2007/08-2009/010) put forward this agenda. It has indicated that there will be

unhindered access to basic social services such as education, health services, food, water and sanitation, social protection and gainful employment to the disempowered or excluded groups. It further highlights the strategies to achieve social inclusion. Such strategies include 1) mainstreaming the excluded communities to the whole development process and outcomes, 2) access to the resources of the excluded communities, 3) proportional representation of the excluded community in all decision making process and the structure of the state, 4) special targeted programs will be launched to the excluded communities, 5) the policy of positive discrimination will be adopted in the economic, education and health sectors, 6) strategy of promotion, protection of all religious and cultural heritage and language of the country will be adopted (NPC, 2007, p. 79).

The plan also highlights the fact that the efforts to address social inclusion agenda through the tenth five year plan of Nepal were not successful. The plan further highlights several issues regarding lack of any significant improvement in the participation of adibasi, janjati in the policy formulation and decision making processes (NPC, 2007, p. 10). Such issues are the lack of concrete works in the protection and the promotion of culture and languages of the minority groups, limited methods and process for mainstreaming the communities and caste group from the terai, and the limited benefits provided to the people from the hill and remote area.

Social inclusion agenda has been used in several disciplines. While preparing Education for All (EFA), National Plan of Action (2001 -2015) with seven goals, three of them are prepared from the social inclusion perspective. These are spelled out as i) provision of primary education in mother tongue for those of non Nepali language students of diversified communities and language minorities, ii)

ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, will have access to complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality, and iii) eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girl's full and equal access to and achievement in, basic education of good quality (MOE, 2003, pp. 5-16). In line with this, seven thematic strategies and plan of action have also been developed among which two thematic strategies were formulated in line with ensuring the social inclusion in education. These were formulated as: i) ensuring social equity and gender parity and ii) ensuring the right of indigenous people and linguistics minorities to basic and primary education through mother tongue (MOE, 2003, pp. 46-58).

Social inclusion agenda is put forwarded by the government in every aspect of the development initiatives, indicating its immediate need for the overall development of the country. This tendency to develop policy decisions to address social exclusion issues indicates the understanding about social inclusion and activities to address the issues related to exclusion has improved within the system (Acharya, 2007). However, in the EFA analysis, Acharya (2007) argues that EFA goals are predominantly guided by a national developmental agenda rather than rights perspectives as the issue of the social exclusion are not approached holistically. So, an unbalanced approach to reform is applied (Acharya, 2007, pp. xii-xiii). She further stresses that the process of inclusion must operate both at institution and at system levels thus any intervention devised to address inequality requires a thorough review (Acharya, 2007, p. xv).

The recent three year plan approach paper (2010/11- 2012/13) has realized the ineffectiveness of the past efforts and come up with the plan to build an equitable society in Nepal by eliminating the regional, class-based, caste-based and other social discriminations (NPC, 2010). Similarly, the three year interim plan (2007/08-2009/10) has also highlighted the gap of prevailing discrimination in various regions, classes, castes and communities. The paper has highlighted the need of inclusion when it stated inclusion as:

to fulfill the physical, emotional and basic needs of all the people, groups or castes. It has to be achieved by respecting their dignity and their own culture and also reducing the disparities between excluded and advantaged groups and by reducing the gap in the existing opportunities and the access. In addition to this, it is to help to build a just society by ensuring rightful sharing of power and resources for their active participation as a citizen (NPC, 2007, p. 77).

Similarly, realizing the need of influencing even at system level, social inclusion has been central in the constitution writing process. The interim constitution of Nepal (2007) has stressed the equal right to public services as it stated that the fundamental rights of all citizens shall be equal before the law. It has highlighted the rights to equality, rights to justice, rights to employment, rights of women, and discriminated groups in its first, second and third amendments (UNDP, 2008).

Evolution of TEVT and Social Inclusion Priorities

Access and equity are the dimensions and integral part of social justice, inclusions and human rights. The principles of access and equity are encompassed within a hierarchy of models and philosophies ranging from social and moral

philosophy, economics, social and public policy, and politics (Ziyauddin, 2009). In this line, Considin, Watson and Hall (2005) describe access and equity as: promoting fairness in the distribution of resources; recognising and promoting people's rights and improve the accountability of decision makers; ensure that people have fairer access to the economic resources and services; giving people better opportunities for genuine participation and consultation about decisions affecting their lives. Further, the achievement of equity means to ensure participation of disadvantaged groups (Madsen, 2007) in the TEVT as guided by equity policies that is based on an understanding of group differences and their causes.

The government of Nepal is committed to eliminate inequality to ensure social inclusion and just state (NPC, 2007, p.78). In line with these political commitments, the TEVT sector in Nepal has recognized the need of inclusion since the early period of the TEVT development. Since the history, the initial concept of the TEVT was to provide livelihood skills to those youth who are poor, from difficult geographical territories, and who did not finish their school and have no access to formal education. Though the modern-time evolution of the TEVT could be traced back to 1937 (Thapa, 1977 as cited in Sharma, 1999), some efforts were initiated towards the development of this sector only after the initiation of democracy in 1951. Still the planned development of the TEVT sector began only in 1971 (Gajurel, 2010).

This section presents major changes and shifts in the TEVT development in Nepal and it identifies the major issues regarding access, equity and inclusion in course of TEVT development. The analysis has shown that the four distinct period of modern-time, the TEVT development could be identified on the basis of major

turning points focused on gradual advancement of the TEVT in the context of Nepal. Each phase had its specific characteristics. Such as the early phase (before 1951) was basically focused on mere expansion of the TEVT services which would produce skilled human resources to address the demand of growing number of industries opened in the country during that time. Similarly, the phase during 1951-1971 was focused on continuing the expansion of efforts. The period of 1971-1991 was focused on the planned development of the TEVT services that led the establishment of the Council for Technical Education and Vocational Training (CTEVT) in 1981 for the coordination and ensuring the quality of TEVT services offered in the country. The later phase is 1991 to date is focused on policy development that would also ensure the increasing access and equity as well as maintaining quality and relevance of the services.

Before 1951: The Early Phase of the TEVT Initiation

Before 1951, during the Rana regime (1846-1950), then rulers were not keen on expanding educational opportunities to the people. Due to existing caste structure, people were meant to take their occupation as per their caste. In the absence of formal training centers, youth would learn necessary skills to perform such occupational work through their seniors while working with them (Parajuli, 2002, p. 7). However, by establishing the first technical school and cottage industry center in 1937 in Kathmandu, the technical and vocational education was formally initiated in the country. Such efforts were continued by establishing few other technical training centers such as "Nepal Arts School" (MOE, 2009a), forest training center and veterinary training center (Sharma, 2006).

Such efforts were continued by opening vocational skill training with the first training cum production in spinning and hosiery in central jail, targeting to

inmates. Following this effort, leather processing and shoe making production center was established at Balaju, Kathmandu in 1929. It was expanded by establishing the Cottage Industry Promotion Office in 1939. Similar centers were opened in Dhankuta and in Palpa in 1942 and 1944 respectively, through which people were trained in spinning, weaving, cloth printing, and dyeing. Such expansion efforts were continued with the establishment of "Charkha Pracharak Phant" in 1943, which opened 35 training centers in 35 locations, targeting to train the students from villages (Sharma, 1999).

Further, the vocational education program was reinstated as a part of the basic education system in 1947, which was influenced by Gandhian philosophy. It emphasized self-reliance, enabling people to become economically independent and developing a system of universal, compulsory and free education for all children. In basic education, greater emphasis was given on the practice of vocational skill, expecting schools to offer one of the three basic crafts such as agriculture and horticulture, spinning and weaving, or metal and wood work together with other general subjects (MOE, 2009a). Basic education system further attempted to emphasize rural vocational training by initiating the schools in rural areas outside Kathmandu Valley (Belbase, 1981). The expansion efforts were remarkable that within ten years period, there exist thirteen basic schools in 1954. However, there emerged to be no concerted policy or practices addressing equity in basic education (MOE, 2009a).

With all these rapid expansion of the TEVT opportunities, at one hand, the general public was provided with the opportunities to obtain the TEVT education.

On the other hand, these can be the depoliticizing strategies of Rana rulers (informal discussion with Academia). Prior to 1950, Rana rulers systematically discouraged

the general people to obtain education which was coveted by the high castes and selected elites only (Mishra, 2003, p. 144). Opening vocational schools for general people can be taken as another step of education politics during Rana regime which continuously kept people away from obtaining general education (informal communication with Academia). During the period, India had achieved independence and recognized education as a fundamental rights. To gain the favor of Indian leadership, Rana also decided to spread basic education as it had been practiced in India (Sharma, 1990; Sharma, 2003).

1951-1971: Continuing the Efforts to Increase Access

1951-1971 can be traced as another period of the TEVT development which focused on providing the TEVT opportunities to wider segment of population. When Nepal National Education Planning Commission (NNEPC), also known as National Education Commission (NEC) was established on April 1954, it reemphasized the need of vocational education in schools that initiated the concept of Multi-purpose school (Wood, 1959). The major purposes of these schools were to provide practical and technical orientated courses in the school. In response to the recommendation of NNEPC, the Ministry of Education established a secondary level Multipurpose School in Pokhara in 1961 (MOE, 2009a). This school offered vocational courses in the fields of agriculture, industrial education, secretarial science, and home science in multi-purpose schools (Wood, 1995).

However, equity consideration was not distinct in Multi Purpose Education system which was initiated during 1960's (MOE, 2009a). Although National Planning Commission (NPC) sanctioned introduction of the multipurpose system step-by-step to all the districts of Nepal, by 1970, there were only twenty nine multipurpose schools with one hundred thirty one vocational teachers serving to about four thousands

students (Aryal, 1970 as cited in MOE, 2009a). These limited numbers of multipurpose school also point out the limited access to these schools for children from various parts of country. Further, these schools later encountered several problems such as irrelevant curricula, low employment outcomes and poor social image of vocational education (Belbase, 1981).

1971-1990: The Planned Development Initiatives

1971-1990 was the significant period of the TEVT development when the planned development of the TEVT was initiated in the country. It saw a dramatic increment in the number of vocational courses during later part of 1970's when the Government introduced a National Education System Plan (NESP) with strong political commitment and legal backup (MOE, 2009a). One of the priorities of NESP was the promotion of vocational education to make it accessible to majority of youths. NESP expressed its commitments toward equity and regional balance as the plan had scholarship provision to promote technical education through the help of economically and geographically deprived but talented students (UNESCO, 1995).

However, mid-term evaluation of the NESP showed several problems related to financing, quality and the curricula in its implementation (MOE, 2009a) due to which the program was discontinued and the TEVT was disintegrated from the general education system in 1980 leading to a new approach of Technical School System in the country. The new approach to Technical School System continued the efforts of access and equity which were envisioned in the past without the formal plan of the TEVT development. Such initiatives were made visible when National Education Committee prepared a Work Plan (1979) introduced a technical school program in some of the remote rural areas like Jumla, Jiri, and Dhankuta (Khati, 2003).

Further, since the achieving equitable outcome was one of the nationally agreed goals of the TEVT system, these technical schools were expected to address the learning needs of youths having no opportunity to complete secondary education, women, and people residing in remote areas. In addition, such technical schools were established in Butwal, Balaju, Pokhara, Jiri, Jumla, Lahan, Dang, Dhankuta, and Dipayal/Doti with the purpose of increasing access (MOE, 2009a).

Although, NESP was silently withdrawn, in 1982 a national level Technical and Vocational Education Committee (TEVC) and the Directorate of Technical and Vocational Education (DTVE) under the MOE were established for the purpose of formulating policies, and implementing and managing the technical school system (Gajurel, 2010). This DTVE was replaced by the Council for Technical Education and Vocational Training (CTEVT) by an act of the Nepali Parliament in 1988 (CTEVT, 2008). Since its establishment, CTEVT has received a mandate for developing national policies, coordinating TEVT, ensuring quality, and developing, expanding and strengthening country's TEVT.

1991 to Date: Quality and Relevance to Advancement of Policies

The major focus of the period of 1991 till date has been to expand the services to wider population as well as to increase the quality and relevance of the TEVT. The planned development initiative of the earlier period was continued by establishing more technical schools and vocational training centers. Quality assurance of the TEVT services has been carried out by systemic and organizational improvements, curricular improvements, teacher training, and supervision and monitoring.

Further, the comprehensive report prepared by NEC added energy for the development of the TEVT in Nepal. This led to gradual policy changes which were basically focused on expansion of services, improving relevancy of training programs,

operational and financial autonomy of the public training providers, empowering CTEVT for quality control and developing human resources and restructuring governance of the TEVT. Some of the noticeable implications of policy changes were changes in curricula and establishing different types of training centers such as diploma training centers, Vocational Training and Community Development (VTCD) and annex schools. The annex schools were initiated in the general school premises with the purpose of imparting skills, knowledge, and attitudes to school dropouts and noncollege bound youths including economically poor population that was unable to pursue further education. The implication of policy changes also initiated the public private partnership which led to open CTEVT affiliated private technical schools and training centers (Sharma, 2010) that would expand the opportunities of the TEVT services to more people.

This period is also marked by supports from several international agencies such as ADB, SDC/N to strengthen Nepal's TEVT system. Under these supports, the institutional capacity of the CTEVT system was upgraded and four additional technical schools and one technical instructor training institute were established (MOE, 2009a). The focus of foreign aid in the TEVT was to enhance the quality and relevance of the TEVT services in Nepal. Due to this support, there was remarkable improvement in curricula, teachers training and management improvement of technical schools. Not only limiting to quality enhancement, foreign aid in the TEVT is focused on access and equity thus to social inclusion of excluded groups through the TEVT. As a result, free training opportunities have been provided to the women, disadvantaged and conflict affected youth from different parts of the country (personal reflection).

All these contributed in the expansion of the TEVT services in Nepal.

Presently, there are 27 Government supported technical schools constituted under the

CTEVT, 45 annex school and 346 privately managed schools (affiliated to CTEVT). Together, these provide access to the TEVT services to the people in about 50 districts (out of 75) in the country (CTEVT, 2011). At present, four types of TEVT programs are available in Nepal. These are vocational training, technical training, livelihood training and technical education at tertiary level. Vocational training is the provision of providing needs based training in specific skills through non-formal means to the target population to help them to improve their livelihood. Similar to vocational training, technical training programs are employment-based to develop competencies in specific occupational or technological area (Bajracharya & Sharma, 2004). These two training are basically offered by CTEVT and its affiliated institutions.

Apart from CTEVT, there are other major vocational training providers at government level such as the Department of Cottage and Small Industries (DCSI) and the Department of Labor and Employment Promotion (DOLEP) who provides training to approximately 16,000 and 7,500 youth per year respectively (CTEVT, 2008; MOE, 2009a; NPC, 2007). Accordingly, in order to increase access to skill training of disadvantaged group and improve their earning potential, GON received loan assistance from ADB to train 80,000 people within 6 years time under "Skill for Employment Project" implemented by CTEVT since 2006. Skill for Employment project employs the norm of providing 50% quota to women and 25% quota to population (ADB, 2006).

Similarly, other providers (SDC, DFID, & The World Bank) have also employed the similar norms of encouraging the participation of women, and discriminated group and offer trainings to the people from whole nations by reaching to their door steps. Accordingly, Tribhuvan University and Kathmandu University offer programs in tertiary level education in the area of health, agriculture, engineering, and

forestry at intermediate level and above. It is estimated that every year more than 100,000 youth are trained with the Government, non-government and private training providers (CTEVT, 2011).

It is often realized that education and training are undoubtedly of great significance to developing countries (Cook, 2008), Nepal is no exception. Massive expansion of the TEVT services especially short term vocational training in the recent decade has been instrumental in improving the socio economic status of the people in Nepal. The TEVT provides individuals with the opportunity to enter to labour market, increasing their earning potentials. In connection to this, reports from various organizations such as CTEVT, Skill for Employment Project, Helvetas have revealed this fact in terms of employment rate which is recorded up to 80 %. Despite this achievement, it is often expressed that numerous Nepali leave school early, have no occupational skills, and are unemployed. So, to be more competitive and be employed either through self- employment or wage employment, greater access to relevant and effective skills training programs are required (CTEVT, 2009). Although policy guidelines are available these are not adequately implemented and not contributing much to address the socioeconomic challenges of the country. All these discussions significantly express the need of reform in the TEVT in Nepal.

Moreover, this pace of the TEVT development in Nepal is continued with the advancement of policies into current stage. A high level taskforce was constituted by the Government of Nepal in 2001 to develop a "Long-Term Policy Work Plan" to strengthen and reform Country's TEVT sub-system. The report has suggested for the massive expansion of services, restructuring and integrating the TEVT in its mainstream education and making it widely accessible. It has also suggested for quality improvement, trainers' training, standard-based skill testing, monitoring and

evaluation of programs, improvement in governance, management and financing of the TEVT system.

Following the extensive consultations and studies, CTEVT prepared a National TEVT policy framework in 2005 which was revised, refined and introduced a 'TEVT Skill Development Policy -2007'. This policy envisioned five key policy areas: quality, relevance, efficiency, access, inclusion and affordability and restructuring the TEVT governance (MOE, 2007). This policy was further revised considering the interim constitution of Nepal and School Sector Reform plan. Interim constitution of Nepal has guaranteed the right to employment, equal opportunity, and right to social justice and the School Sector Reform plan has addressed the need of the TEVT in the school education (MOE, 2009b).

However, equity in the TEVT has been affected due to the eight/tenth grade as entry qualification, unaffordable fees structure in the private sector for the disadvantaged, insufficient stipends and scholarships available and absence of recognition of prior learning and access to advance skill training or further education for vocational training completers (MOE, 2009a). There is a need for equitable expansion of entry level skill training with adequate funding; transferring out of school youths into high skill, high wage jobs (Sharma & Kohleyer, 2005).

In connection to this, the TEVT policy framework of 2007 has made "inclusion of" and "access for" as one of the key policy areas, advocating for the massive expansion of the TEVT; especially at the entry level, removing existing inequalities and including all those who are deprived of productive employment opportunity.

Further, it has included several strategies to address these issues such as provision of TEVT fund at national and at district level, developing National Vocational Qualification Framework (NVQF) and transforming National Skill Testing Board

(NSTB) into National Vocational Qualification Authority (NVQA). The system of NVQF is expected to create a system of bridge and ladder that bridges between all modes of learning (formal, non-formal or informal; in-school or on-the-job) and allow for progression and transition from one sub-sector of education to another.

Although these policy guidelines are available, it is to be noted that mere policies to improve VET provision will not engage young people or ensure their social inclusion unless there are sufficient, decent, adequately-paid jobs for them (Colley, Hoskins, Parvera, & Boetzelen, 2005). Despite these enormous efforts, social inclusion in the TEVT in Nepal still can be questioned as there are huge numbers of youth who are still deprived of the TEVT opportunities and are displaced in search of better job in abroad. Moreover, the TEVT sector in Nepal performs poorly in terms of access to training; particularly the poor and disadvantaged lack access to skills training because of high competition and less affordability, limiting their earning capacity (Sharma, 2010).

Moreover, inclusion does not occur mechanically by "putting" young people into education or work, but depends on their individual decisions to engage actively in constructing their biographies (MOE, 2004). However, gender stereotyped nature of skill training and setting quota for less popular training are some of the practices that limit the opportunities for young people especially from the excluded groups to decide on their career path (G. N. Jha, personal communication, July 17, 2011).

These discussions highlights the challenges and issues of social inclusion in the TEVT sector in Nepal that call for more broader understanding of the situations from the regional perspectives too. The relevant studies in the context of social inclusion and the TEVT in the region and in Nepal that are closely related to my study are also reviewed to build the insights and further understandings of the situation.

Social Inclusion Priorities in the TEVT: National and International Studies

Crowley (2005) identified three elements of equality challenges such as: i)

Non-discrimination ii) accommodating diversity and iii) a proactive pursuit of equality thus suggests equality objectives of social inclusion to be developed with a broader concern of a new access to resources for groups experiencing inequality (Crowley, 2005). Few studies conducted in the several parts of the world have also revealed the similar results.

On the basis of data analyzed from VET providers in Australia from the period of 2006 to 2010, Hargreaves (2011) writes that the training experience can be a useful stepping stone towards participation in the labour market. This study also found out that there was an indication of increment in the proportion of students from disadvantaged groups participating in and completing their training during that period. However, training is not the sole answer as some of the interventions only have contributed to widen participation and improve outcomes, whereas other interventions have further entrenched the problems facing the disadvantaged learner. In addition, this research consistently pointed out the importance of three areas that lead to a positive outcome of social inclusion. These were: an integrated partnerships approach, career guidance and retention strategies to overcome barriers to completion (Hargreaves, 2011).

Similarly, on the basis of cluster analysis result conducted in five countries (Norway, Poland, Portugal, Great Britain and the US), Preston & Green (2008) mention that the correspondence between VET and the societal features is not necessarily deterministic. They further elaborate that the VET cannot be considered to be a social panacea in combating problems of exclusion or lack of social cohesion (Preston & Green, 2008, p. 71). However, they have agreed that VET arguably has

a larger role in increasing labour-market participation (a narrow form of inclusion). They have considered the social exclusion as much broader than employment and that it is best defined by outcomes in terms of income or other social categories (Preston & Green, 2008, p. 71).

Accordingly, the working paper prepared by Niall (2002) on the basis of the study conducted in the context of several countries from Asia and the pacific (Australia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Vietnam) highlights the issues related to youth and unemployment problem. The paper indicates that although making the transition from education to employment is a problem for many young people, it is not true with everyone as the difficulties tend to be concentrated amongst specific groups: women, those with low levels of skill and/or education, ethnic minorities and the disabled.

In addition, a case study prepared by UNESCO/UNEVOC has analyzed and described policies and practices obtained by the selected institutions in Philippines to improve the participation of female in male-dominated TVET courses. The case study discusses the idea that human capital has an increasingly central role in the economic success of nations and individuals. Knowledge and skills embedded in human capital are acquired in the social process of learning, which takes place in families, schools, workplaces, local communities, and civil society networks. Individual affiliations to these entities are all typical expressions of social capital stock. Equal opportunity could be adequately reinforced by institutional support systems, community life and governmental measures, and programs that address social and human equality. Gender mainstreaming is the must across all initiatives in order to ensure women's equal participation (UNESCO, 2010).

In addition, a study conducted by Aslesha Sharma on "Female participation in technical *education in Nepal*" basically focuses on the promotion and barriers regarding women's participation in the TEVT in Nepal. Her research concludes that the participation of women in education, including technical education in Nepal is low. The barriers identified by this study are women's subordination, reluctance and fear of being the only one female in the program, family's inability to pay, not enough quotas for female students, and gender discrimination by parents and teachers (Sharma, 2000).

Similarly, the study conducted by Ram Hari Lamichane in 2006 also recognizes the low participation of women and disadvantaged groups in the TEVT courses in Nepal. The study highlights the factors that lead to low access. They include high cost of training, geographical difficulties, lack of provision for post-training support, limited access to relevant information about the TEVT programs, inadequate number of private schools offering trainer and trainee friendly vocational training programs, and lack of clear provision of employment. This study also highlights the factors of poor participation due to unfair distribution of stipends (which is supposed to be given to female, janajatis and dalits) and the restriction of entry to courses due to unfriendly entry criteria like minimum level of education. Further, it highlights the cause of low participation of women in the TEVT courses is due to heavy work load, the rigid training time and duration (Lamichane, 2006).

These studies reveal that addressing equality in TEVT is highly challenging in many countries. Equitable access to skills development, especially gender equity is the critical problem. Females tend to be seriously underrepresented in the TEVT and whoever enter tend to choose occupational streams that lead to jobs typically occupied by women, such as hairdressing, secretarial work, health care, garment

manufacture, and home economics due to the lower levels of educational attainment, and the lack of access to skills development (ADB, 2004). Further, inequalities is persistent in economic and geographical forms due to which children of farmers and from the rural areas are highly barred in gaining access to formal skills development (ADB, 2004).

Above studies have provided some insights that mere policies may not address the need of young people unless such policies support the regulation of the labour market, research and development of new pedagogical approaches, drawing on theories of situated learning and social participation in communities of practice, in order to create better quality and more inclusive forms of VET (Colley, Hoskins, Parvera, & Boetzelen, 2005). In line with this, it is often expressed in literatures that there are not many researchers who are participating in field research to learn about the subjective dimension of exclusion: the personal challenges young people face every day in dealing with the multifaceted effects of a risky life (Colley, Hoskins, Parvera, & Boetzelen, 2005)

Chapter Essence

With rapid transformation of societies in social, political, economic and education spheres, it is realized that the TEVT is of paramount importance for the social as well as economic emancipation of socially excluded groups. Several efforts from government and non government sectors have vigorously placed its efforts to expand the TEVT opportunities to the youth from the different segment of the society so well that they would be able to enter into labor market with full potentials to ensure their livelihood and better life. Yet access to obtaining such opportunities is often limited resulting for many youths to be in the state of social exclusion and in poverty as they are disadvantaged due to social, ethnic, political

and geographical factors. Mere policy and practices may not be enough to address the social inclusion issues. Such policies and practices must also address the systemic and structural causes of social exclusion.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL INCLUSION/EXCLUSION: A THEORETICAL REVIEW

"Theory helps us bear our ignorance of facts": George Santayana, The Sense of Beauty, 1896.

I was inspired to conduct this research because of my existing experience in the context of the Nepalese society, where inequality is persistent and many youth struggle for their basic needs and livelihoods. Why certain group is apparently losing out to the powerful actors in the TEVT sector? How do state respond to the broader theme of the social inclusion in TEVT to addresses both social justice and equality? These questions prompted me to elucidate my own ontological position as an interpretivist who are generally concerned with what constitutes good designs; how one describe the phenomena under study; and what kinds of standards for authenticity, rigor or trustworthiness might be acquired and judged with (Piantanida & Garman, 1999). For the purpose of explaining why something has occurred, the theoretical perspective has been very essential to my inquiry. This has become a guide throughout this research in focusing on certain phenomena of study as well as integrating multiple observations to create general meaning.

This chapter combines the previous chapter on development of social inclusion agenda in the TEVT, and seeks to establish a conceptual framework for approaching the issues, highlighted to clarify my own ontological position with respect to defining the problem statement, purpose and strategies of the research. It elaborates the key concepts for analysis and the relevant epistemological and theoretical frameworks, linking this research to the contemporary body of knowledge.

I ascertain that I am taking a critical position in the analysis with a view to challenging the established order of social phenomena and revealing the tacit and disguised beliefs and practices to ignite new possibilities of thoughts in the TEVT sector. This is possible only through supporting my attempts to reach to the closer reality by analyzing the existing phenomena with the relevant theories. Hence, I have referred three main theories. These are theory of social closure in relation to Weberian perspective of class, status and power; theory of social capital and Rawl's theory of social justice.

I referred these theories from the beginning while searching for the pertinent questions and issues of social inclusion in TEVT to gain insight about the total phenomena of the social inclusion/exclusion in the TEVT in Nepal. I was continuously referring to the spirit of these theories while selecting the field sites, research participants, and preparing tools. Further, I used these theories deliberately while analyzing the relevant documents, field data and finding out the themes and categories for the discussions of underlying phenomena.

In addition, I believed that there is a close association between these three theories. The notion of social inclusion is intertwined with the notion of social capital, social closure and social justice. While social exclusion focuses on the deficiencies and barriers, keeping members of disadvantaged groups away from the livelihood opportunities, social inclusion addresses these barriers that ultimately contribute to enhance the social capital. Social capital is a positive force and has societal and structural dimensions and is related to inherent power relations.

Moreover, social exclusion is a denial of opportunities that should be open to all thus leads to unequal educational and occupational opportunities. Where as, the notion of social justice contains a greater possibility of achieving equality for all and

failure to achieve this is the violation of social justice. In addition, social closure is the result of exclusionary status-group formation (Alexander, 2005, p.1) thus social justice outcome is only possible when there is a possibility of practices of inclusionary social closure. Consequently, these three theories provide better insights that assist for suggesting an effective policy and practice that enhance social inclusion.

More importantly, I have speculated the theory of social inclusion/exclusion first under which the whole study is situated. I have tried to examine this concept with the help of other theories that I mentioned before.

Social Inclusion/Exclusion- A Concept

As my study is set out in the premises of social inclusion/exclusion phenomena, without understanding the concepts of social inclusion and social exclusion, my journey would end nowhere. In my understanding, theory of social exclusion should be understood first to understand the social inclusion phenomena. The theory of social exclusion focuses on the shortcomings and barriers that prevent members of disadvantaged groups improving their life circumstances (Bradshaw, Kemp, Baldwin, & Rowe, 2004).

Although the word social inclusion/exclusion is not described formally as a discourse, the concept itself is not really new in the context of Nepal. The history of social exclusion can be traced back even in Vedic period as the Vedic texts describe the chaturvarna or the caste system. According to Vedic texts, caste system is supposed to have emerged from the sacrifice to the primal being, the Purusa Sukta which justifies the social stratification of society. Though the Vedic texts describe a stratified society, it was not yet a caste society. The first text to actually mention the four varnas is the Purush Sukta of the Rig Veda describes the Brahmin as being born

from the mouth of the primordial man, the Kshatriya from his shoulders, the Vaishya from his thighs, and the Sudra from his legs/feet. The inequality here is the feet being lower part of the body those born from the legs were considered as lower in the hierarchy (Omvedt, 2008).

In Nepal, the social order is exclusionary because it classifies all groups as distinct castes within the broad framework of the Hindu system of the four Varnas who are provided with different categories of duties as per their origin. Brahmins are considered as priest or scholars, Kshatriyas as political rulers and soldiers, Vaisyas as merchant and Sudras are supposed to have no any special abilities except for serving the above three. At the very bottom are those considered the "untouchables." These untouchable individuals performed occupations that were considered unclean and polluting, such as scavenging and skinning dead animals and are considered outcastes. As such, untouchability was thus a means of exclusion which was insisted by Hindu law books (Deshpandey, 2010; R. Bhandari, personal communication, February 4, 2012)

The concept of social exclusion has emerged relatively recently in discussions about poverty, inequality and justice in the context of social and economic changes in the north (Kabeer, 2010). In Nepal, Social exclusion is felt through the effects of marginality and inequity on people's opportunities to contribute and to participate economically and socially. It has gained prominence in public discourse only after it was included as one of four pillars of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), a tenth plan 2002-2007 (The World Bank & DFID, 2006).

While mapping out the historical trajectory of the "term" and concept of "Social Exclusion", the same is true in other parts of the world. Cappo (2002)

considers social exclusion as the process of being shut out from the social, economic, political and cultural systems which contribute to the integration of a person into the community. Where as, Sen (1999) interprets social exclusion as the deprivation of capability when a person loses substantive freedoms that lead to the kind of life that he or she has reason to value.

Further, De Venanzi (2004) has identified two reinforcing axes of power upon which the social exclusion proceeds through. The first axe is the discursive power which has hegemonic narratives and the second axe is social practices which create and strengthen exclusion and proceed either through internalized oppression or openly violent means. In line with this, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2000) in Australia has identified four dimensions of social exclusion:

- Social exclusion is defined as the opposite to social integration
- It is multidimensional concept. It refers to exclusion in the economic, social and political sphere.
- Social exclusion can refer to a state of situation.
- It is often refers to processes, to the mechanism by which people are excluded (Keleher & Armstrong, 2005).

It is also said that the condition of social exclusion exists and persists because of barriers to inclusion. Such barriers include social barriers-hindering social interaction; Economic barriers-lack of access to employment, education, skills and training; Financial barriers-hindering access to assets such as property and credit; Information barriers-hindering access to required information and Embedded barriers—cultural cycles of disadvantage (Levitas, Pantazis, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd, & Patsios, 2007).

The term social inclusion is chosen in preference to social exclusion. Social inclusion is often used as the opposite of social exclusion and while discussing social inclusion agenda, the related concept of social exclusion are always discussed. The concept of social inclusion is believed to be originated in France (Europe) in early seventies (The Roeher Institute, 2003). These concepts were first popularized in social policy discourse in Europe in response to the crises of the welfare state and then used in other regions, especially in developmental discourses. Although social inclusion has been defined by various individuals and organizations separately to match with their context, it is often noticed that these definitions share similar meanings and have some common philosophies. I have referred few definitions that have been highlighted from the organizations and individual writers which help us to examine the essence of social inclusion.

European Union (EU) has defined social inclusion as a "process which ensures that those at risk of poverty and social exclusion gain the opportunities and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of living and well-being that is considered normal in the society in which they live (Milcher & Ivanov, 2008, p. 1)." Centre for Economic & Social Inclusion (CESI) has defined social inclusion as the process by which efforts are made to ensure that everyone, regardless of their experiences and circumstances, can achieve their potential in life. To achieve inclusion, income and employment are necessary but not sufficient. An inclusive society is also characterized by a striving for reduced inequality, a balance between individuals' rights and duties and increased social cohesion (Centre for Economic & Social Inclusion, 2002).

Among the individual writers, Lynn has experienced social inclusion as "the removal of institutional barriers and the enhancement of incentives to increase the

access of diverse individuals and groups to development opportunities, change at system level and in the external institution environment or opportunity structure (Bennett, 2003, p. 18)." Similarly, for Cappo, social inclusion is the capacity and willingness of our society to keep all groups within reach of what we expect as a society, the social commitment and investments necessary to ensure that socially and economically vulnerable people are within reach of our common aspirations, common life and its common wealth (Cappo, 2002). He further describes socially inclusive society as one where all people feel valued, their differences are respected, and their basic needs are met so they can live in dignity (Cappo, 2002).

It gives the impression that social inclusion is a concept with no generally agreed understanding. However, the ideas of social inclusion outlined above suggest two broader concerns. First, social inclusion is understood as a process. Second, social inclusion is understood as an outcome or result. As a process, social inclusion seeks to ensure that everyone, regardless of their circumstances and background, has the possibility and means to participate more fully in society (e.g. commonplace economic, civic and cultural activities). As an outcome or result, designed social inclusion policies or strategies give a range of meaningful and respectful opportunities for individuals' involvement, expression and discovery, consistently and concurrently promoting their "being" and "becoming," as well as their "doing" and "acting" (Shookner, 2002).

However, Levitas (2003) argue on the idea of social inclusion as utopian which indicates social inclusion as more than the opposite of social exclusion. He suggests quoting Mannheim that ideologies and utopias share the characteristic of being 'incongruous with reality', that is they cannot be analysed in an absolute manner. Rather they have to be understood in terms of specific groups pursuing

particular projects in particular historical circumstances. In the same line, Cameroon (2009) has an argument that the nature and meaning of social inclusion is merely implied or asserted. According to him, due to an inadequate understanding of what is meant by inclusion, the attention has been focused on the problems and deficits of 'excluded" (Cameron, 2009).

Hence, social inclusion is not to be observed as the opposite of exclusion rather it is a distinct project with its own logic. Then what are the elements of social inclusion? Is it only tackling social exclusion by helping those who suffer from the results of inequality and disadvantage as a result of the circumstances an individual is born into or as a result of his/her own particular circumstances? Or promoting equality of opportunities? Or both? It might be possible that social inclusion work is carried out as a way of furthering the promotion of equality and diversity. However, promoting social inclusion is wider than just equality of opportunity and eliminating discrimination. It is usually also about addressing wider social needs. It also includes improving intangible qualities, such as valuing self.

For instance, the wider take-up of the concept in many aspects reflects the fact that social inclusion has a lot to offer. The Laidlaw Foundation in Canada has identified a number of useful aspects:

- social inclusion is grounded in the real life experiences of people
- social inclusion creates expectations for fundamental change at multiple levels of society, from public attitudes to policies to service delivery practices
- social inclusion promotes a multi-dimensional analysis of the causes of inequities

 social inclusion validates individuals' or groups' choices about how and on whose terms to be included (Wotherspoon, 2002).

Social inclusion can cover nearly all aspects not only limiting to the process or outcome only and so a clear understanding is required to ensure appropriate actions. It is a multifaceted approach and is based on the belief that we all are better when no one is left to fall too far behind and the economy works for everyone. Social inclusion simultaneously incorporates multiple dimensions of well-being. It is achieved when all have the opportunity and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social, and cultural activities which are considered the societal norm (Boushey, Branosky, Fremstad, Gragg, & Margy, 2007).

Shookner (2000) also describes eight dimensions of social inclusion as cultural, economic, functional, participatory, physical, political, relational and structural. In addition, Social inclusion is a normative (value based) concept - a way of understanding where we want to be and how to get there. It reflects a proactive, human development approach to social wellbeing that calls for closing physical, social and economic distances separating people more than the removal of barriers or risks (Mitchell & Shillington, 2002).

As the focus of the present study is to analyze the social inclusion attempts, phenomena and experiences of those who are involved in TEVT, all these aspects are directly associated with the present study. In addition, this study also considers five additional values such as: social justice (fair distribution of inclusion and resources); valuing diversity (recognition and respect; valuing all contributions); opportunities for choice; entitlement to rights and services and working together (common interests and relations = basis for action) (Shookner, 2000).

Thus, at one level, social inclusion can be viewed as the extent to which various practices/activities/mechanisms promote or limit cultural and economic integration and the meaningful participatory access of social groups and individuals into mainstream society. At another level, it can also mean the way that different individuals and groups are given recognition for whom and what they are. These various foci of analysis therefore suggest a need to examine the process of social inclusion at different levels including the social inclusion outcome. Hence, as this study is focused on process and outcome both, designed social inclusion policies and strategies serve as the guidelines to analyze these processes whereas the perspectives and experiences of the target group serve as assessment means of the social inclusion outcome.

The above discussions were about my conceptualization of social inclusion/exclusion in relation to several literatures. I believe that the question of inclusion and exclusion is the result of power differentiations. Weber has argued that the different forms of power can be shown in the social order through his or her status, in the economic order through his or her class, and in the political order through his or her party (Hurst, 2004).

Given this, class, status and party are each aspects of the distribution of power in the community, to deepen the understanding about this complexity of power relations and to be able to analyze the phenomena from this perspective; I have conceived the theory of social exclusion in terms of Max Weber's concepts of status groups and social closure. The theory of social closure is analytically complemented with the premises of an asymmetrical distribution of power in the community. From this theoretical perspective, inclusion and exclusion may be seen

as resulting from various types of strategies of action that manifest themselves in struggles for closure.

Class, Status and Power and Theory of Social Closure

In the perspective of Max Weber, the society has several layers and the structure of every layer directly influence the distribution of power within its respective community (Weber, 1946, p. 64). He considers classes, status groups and parties as the phenomena of the distribution of the power in the community (Weber, 1946, p. 64). Weber's concept of power is as, "In general, we understand by 'power' the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the same action (Weber, 1946, p. 64)."

This definition is broad and that could include political or economic power exercised at the level of community, or it could refer to smaller actions taken by small groups in communities. However, the examples provided by Weber are quite specific and considered economic sources of power as more important sources. But he claimed that power emerged from other economic sources i.e. not only from class but from status groups and parties (Weber, 1946, p. 64). Hence, he goes on explaining the intrinsic properties of class and how class, status groups and political parties make up the structure of our society.

Weber's analysis of class is rooted in the market sphere and he does not consider classes to be communities rather he consider them the representatives or basis of communal action. Weber defines class situation as the relationship of number of people to a particular market that has an important effect on the lives of these people. For Weber, the 'class' is any group of people that is found in the same class situation. Further, he describes class as:

the typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences, in so far as this chance is determined by the amount and kind of power, or lack of such, to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order (Weber, 1946, p. 64).

From this approach, it is evident that Weber considers life chances as one of the features of classes when two other features are economic interest and markets. Further, the ownership or non-ownership of property is one factor that affects life chances. Weber notes how the power of those with property, compared to those without property gets more advantages. For example, with the difference in wealth, income and property, people with the same life chances may end up in different positions (Weber, 1946, p. 65). While Weber considers classes to be important, especially for life chances, he develops the classification for different possible types of classes such as: The propertied upper class, the property less white colors workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the manual working class (Haralombos & Holborn, 2004, p. 45).

The second form of power differentiation Weber describes is the status groups. For Weber, status refers to differences between social groups in the social honor or prestige that is accorded to an individual by others. Social honour is expressed in social relationships, in how we interact with each other. It is linked to social evaluations, whereas class is related to the economic or market situation. Weber considers status honour to be a more important basis for people to represent in groups or communities. It can form the basis for power, affecting the life chances of individuals and groups. Weber identifies three bases that a status group could be formed. These are status group on the basis of property, status group on the basis of styles of life and status groups unrelated to property. In the Weberian sense,

property and income are the source of funds required for consumption. What makes status group is associated with group interaction in terms of how one lives his/her lifestyles. Those with considerable property or wealth have the means to develop a certain style of life, and those without property are not able to exercise this style (Weber, 1946, p. 72). However, status group unrelated to property could also be formed. These could be ethnic groups, religious groups, sex groups and the various groups which form around common sets of interests. Each of these groups likes to preserve their existence and identity through social closure (Marshall, 1998).

The party is the third element in the Weber scheme of power differentiation. In Weberian sense, parties are associations of people that attempt to influence social action. They are concerned with achieving some goal and are in the sphere of power. In Weber's words,

whereas the genuine place of 'classes' is within the economic order, the place of 'status groups' is within the social order, that is, within the sphere of the distribution of 'honour'. From within these spheres, classes and status groups influence one another and they influence the legal order and are in turn influenced by it. But 'parties' live in a hose of 'power.' Their action is oriented toward the acquisition of social 'power,' that is to say, toward influencing a communal action no matter what its content may be (Weber, 1946, p. 74).

From the above paragraph, it is understandable that classes are in the economic order, status groups in the social order, and parties in the sphere of power. However, in some senses, power is not a separate order because classes and status groups are concerned with power. Parties may be political parties, or any associations that aimed at achieving other goals.

From the Weber's discussion of class, status and party one can get an idea of how status groups would appear using the means of power they have at their disposal. For Weber there are a number of major status groups and parties, not necessarily determined by the same factors as are classes. One may take example of the major styles of life as those of upper class, middle class, and lower class where the working class does not fit. For instance, groups of people with similar life chances as a result of close ranks mark themselves out from other groups. This can lead to a situation where access to life chances is better for some than the rest of society and consequently worse for those not included. This can lead to social exclusion which is easily visualized as social closure.

Parkin (1979), a Neo-Weberian theorist describes the central concept of social closure and develops its principles beyond the point that Weber had done. Social closure is defined as, the process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligible's (as cited in Alexander, 2005). Social closure is a concept that embraces elements of process — exclusion — and outcomes — social inequality (Alexander, 2005). Moreover, social exclusion, inequality and disadvantage are usually discussed as outcomes of power relations.

Further, attempts has been made to examine the notion of power from the Foucault's and Freire's perspectives to deepen my understanding about how these powers and power relations are relevant to the social exclusion/inclusion practices. Foucault considers power as a device to influence other people. His concept of capillary power deals with the explicit connection between knowledge and power. Further, he states power as positive and productive for many (De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006).

Where as, Freire views power as dialectical in character and it is both negative and positive force. Power works both on and through people. Freire's discourse on power indicates the way in which domination is subjectively experienced through its internalization and sedimentation in the very needs of the personality. For him, education is an ideal and a referent for social change and it represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations (Freire, 1985, pp. xi-xx).

In addition, while coming across the power and power relations, quite frequently, several authors have emphasized the role played by different forms of social capital in the reproduction of unequal power relations in the society. Social capital has societal and structural dimensions and I find it important to capture the essence that how power is dispersed between individuals and structures; how social capital is related to inherent power relations or in other sense how it actually perpetuate inequality. Further, the notions of social inclusion and social capital are tightly intertwined and not easy to isolate them individually as social capital is regarded as a certain type of 'capability' that precondition the process of social inclusion (Sirovatka & Mares, 2008).

The social inclusion/exclusion literature have also emphasized the mutual benefit, trustful relationships, networking when collaborating around important issues in society which are the important assets of social capital. Hence, to understand how these aspects are influencing the social inclusion efforts in TEVT sector in Nepal, I came across to the theory of social capital.

The Theory of Social Capital

The concept of social capital has become increasingly popular in recent years. In fact, it has been used extensively in a variety of contexts that it has become

difficult to grasp what social capital really is. The numerous definitions and understandings of social capital that exist have resulted in a certain amount of confusion and controversy. Several authors with differing opinion on the concept appeared unable to arrive at a consensus. However, the theory of social capital explained by different theorists are analyzed carefully and tried to see the relevance in interpreting the phenomena under this study.

The concept of social capital has been a useful tool for the understanding of social relations. It is useful for governments and policy makers as an agenda to tackle social exclusion by promoting active citizenship (Blaxter & Hughes, 2000). For instance, I have conceptualize that the social capital has the potential to be a purposeful framework for the examination of complex practices that can contribute to social inclusion and exclusion in the TEVT sector.

I have referred three main theorists: Robert Putnam, Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman who are associated with the development of the concept of social capital. Coleman linked social capital to social structure and relationships, and to the achievement of goals that could not be gained in its absence. For him, social capital is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common. All these concepts consist of some aspect of social structure and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure (O' Brien, 2005).

In particular, for Coleman, social capital facilitates certain actions of actors within the [social] structure (Coleman, 1988). According to him, social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors, and comes about through changes in the relations among persons that facilitate action (Coleman, 1988).

Where as, Putnam defines social capital as "the features of social organisation, such as networks, norms and trust that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1993 as cited in O'Brien, 2005)." He considers social capital as productive and expansive as other forms of capital. For him, the development of networks, solidarity, equality, trust and participation are not ends in themselves, but can be built on to offer new opportunities for economic development (Putnam, 1993 as cited in O'Brien, 2005).

On the other side, Bourdieu's concept of social capital is connected with his theoretical ideas on class. He identifies three dimensions of capital each with its own relationship to class: economic, cultural and social capital (O'Brien, 2005). Bourdieu's concept of social capital puts the emphasis on conflicts and the power function. From the Bourdieuian perspective, social capital becomes a resource in the social struggles that are carried out in different social arenas or fields. Further, he concentrates on the importance of social networks as a source of social capital, stating that:

social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership of a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986 as cited in Bexley, Marginson. & Wheelahan, 2007).

Putnam and Coleman approach has strong functionalist-structuralist view (O'Brien, 2005). Unlike Coleman and Putnam, Bourdieu's theory has strong socio-

cultural roots and this theory challenges deficit thinking about underachievement and differentiates resources from their distribution within the social structure (O'Brien, 2005). Moreover, Bourdieu gives due regard to individuals and their mediated actions, as well as to the concept of conflict as an expression of this subjectivity which render his perspective on social capital the most rigorous and constructive approach in the study of disadvantaged learners (O'Brien, 2005). Specifically, as a conceptual discourse, Bourdieu's theory provides socio-cultural explanations for why under-represented groups remain excluded from the educational process by analysing the socio cultural barriers to participation.

These two theories may provide an invaluable conceptual lens to entire specific enquiry of the study in understanding the social inclusion phenomena. However, it may not be sufficient to gain the deeper understanding of the existing approaches and practices of social inclusion/exclusion in TEVT without analyzing the terms equity/equality. Approach to social inclusion is always found to be equating with the access and equity/equality as mantra. This raises the questions. Which types of equality? The equality of outcome? Or the equality of opportunity? Or both? Why and how?

Notwithstanding the importance of these issues, the most significant framework within which the research is based is that of social justice. My conception of social justice is of a principle that values all people and recognizes the fairness and equal treatment as the right of all. The importance of the realization of social justice as an active force in TEVT sector could help to promote equality.

Based on this understanding that social justice contains a greater possibility of achieving equality for all and believing that this basics guide me through underlying

phenomena and social inclusion/exclusion practices and approaches in TEVT more closely, the next theory discussed here is the theory of social justice by John Rawls.

The Theory of Social Justice

Rawl's theory of justice emphasizes the rules needed to form and maintain a society. He offers a liberal account of justice and emphasizes the value of equality. Rawls' acknowledgement of the value of equality and the need for a strong redistribution system in free societies presents an element to the understanding of social justice. Rawl's theory of justice gives absolute priority to justice and understands it as the first virtue of social institutions and does not give a major value to institutions by being ordered, stable or efficient. He indicates the fairness of these and if not being so, they must adhere to be reformed or invalidated. Rawls describes social justice in three specific ways.

First, Rawls' account of justice is on the account of social institution and impartiality. According to him, the 'primary subject of justice', is 'the basic structure of society'. For him, society is not a structure to which human beings are prearranged by nature but it is a created structure into which individual contract voluntarily (Rawls, 1971, p. 12). His proposal conceives an idea of society defined as an association of people who recognize certain rules or public patterns of behaviour, of obligatory nature. He believes that such norms specify a certain system of cooperation that allows promoting the welfare of those who participate in it.

Second, Rawls considers justice as fairness. He reflects upon two fundamental principles of justice. First principle: each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others. Second principle: social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they

are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offices open to all (Rawls, 1971, p. 302). Rawls conceptualizes these two principles of justice in his following quote:

all social primary goods liberty and opportunity, income and wealth and the basics of self respect are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to the advantage of least favored (Rawls, 1971, p. 303).

The first principle demands equality in the distribution of basic rights and duties and through second principle, he recognizes the creation of inequalities between people which is certainly not justified in the merit or unworthiness but will undoubtedly influence the life expectancy of people (Rawls, 1971, p. 13).

Third, as he understands justice as 'the first virtue of social institutions (Rawls, 1971, p. 87), he also discusses about the process of deliberation which takes place in what he calls the original position (Rawls, 1971, p. 136). The Original position is hypothetical situation, the idea of which is to establish a fair procedure in which people are to choose principles of justice for their own society. Rawls' called it the contract situation that is constructed to reflect the fundamental points of agreement, in particular, the conception of the persons as free and equal. Where certain of our characteristics are not relevant in deciding what we are entitled to as a matter of justice.

However, since under the conditions of the original position, the parties have a difficulty therefore in knowing which principles will advance their interests. He pointed out that the principles of justice would be chosen in the veil of ignorance in which parties are assumed to be unaware of the irrelevant features. Behind the veil, they are unaware that whether or not they are blessed by natural chance, or whether

the contingencies of social circumstance are favorable or unfavorable. This would insure them against disadvantage if their positions in society should turn out to be among the less well off (Rawls, 1971, p. 138). He conceptualized it as, "nobody knows which is his place in society, his position, class or social status, nor which is his fate regarding the distribution of advantages and natural abilities, his intelligence, his strength......(Rawls, 1971, p. 138)."

Above all, Rawls' theory of justice aids my quest as he elaborates the general concept of justice as fairness, focus on primary social goods to be distributed equally for everyone's advantages and further his 'difference principle' would entail a redistribution of benefits and burdens in societies.

Development of Conceptual Framework

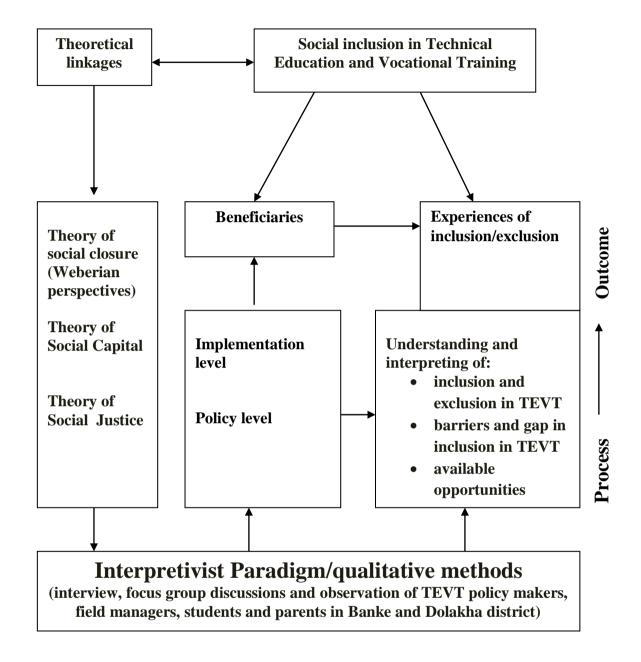
Continuously referring to the various literatures in relation to social inclusion and relevant theories, the conceptual framework has been developed (figure 2). This conceptual framework is the overall guide for the study which illustrates the interlinking relationships of several theories, my beliefs and philosophy, phenomena under study and methods and approaches that I have adopted in course of this study.

As there is a need of understanding social inclusion as the process and outcome both, to develop the better understanding of the underlying phenomena of social inclusion in the TEVT, these three theories are believed to be helpful. The theory of social closure in relation to class, status and power is supportive to understand how person becomes a victim of social exclusion in the context of Nepal. As class, status and power are the dimensions of social stratification, these concepts are also helpful to uncover the reality of how social inclusion efforts are affected due to the stratified society like ours where unequal power relations persist.

Further, theory of social capital aids in understanding the essence of this unequal power relation in society that may further perpetuate inequality. As the essence of social inclusion is always equated with the principle of social justice, the theory of social justice is important to understand the social inclusion efforts in terms of social justice principles that focus on fairness and equal opportunity for all. Hence, these three theories assist to explain how TEVT policies and practices are framed around the principle of social justice, whether these policies and practices are adequate to address the need of the socially excluded group

Moreover, I believe that reaching to the closer reality is possible only when one can interpret the multiple realities and lived experiences of the actors, for which qualitative methodology has been chosen as the foundation of this study. In this study, the social inclusion is considered as a process and outcome both. As a process, social inclusion is facilitated from both levels (policy level and institutional or operational level). Specifically, this study has tried to explore a few key practices required to facilitate social inclusion at different levels. Also, this study has acknowledged the experiences of students either included/excluded in the social inclusion process considered as the social inclusion outcome.

Figure 2. Conceptual Framework



Reflection of Theoretical and Empirical Reviews

During these reviews, I was rather overwhelming facing difficulties in developing a consistent framework useful to my study. First, it was difficult as there were almost no scientific study found on the TEVT that were addressing the inclusion/exclusion issues especially in the context of Nepal. Second, for the theoretical review, it was difficult to access the original texts of theorists directly, so

I had to rely primarily on the work of others. Reflecting upon the review that I conducted in the chapter two on the TEVT and the emergence of social inclusion agenda, where I referred to few empirical studies conducted in Nepal and in other parts of the world. These studies were more concentrating on the role of the TEVT to address the social exclusion and lack concentration on the analysis of the important aspects of social inclusion in the TEVT.

The mere addressing of social exclusion issues is not enough and may not be justifiable for social inclusion as it limits the perspectives from one aspect only.

Also, the mere policy provisions and trial and error approaches of social inclusion practices in Nepal may not address the real need of social inclusion in TEVT. For instance, this research is in the immense need to fulfill this gap by exploring the understandings of the underlying phenomena of the social inclusion/ exclusion in the TEVT.

Despite some challenges to create a continuous dialogue between the theoretical and the empirical as well as to arrive at a cut-off point in the theoretical expansion of the research, constant dialogue with professors and enormous discussions with some of colleagues engaged in similar study has been very helpful in establishing connections between the theoretical and the empirical. Overall, these reviews have been a crucial part of the research process with significant implications for philosophy and methodological practices.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces a several issues of methodology and methods as pertinent to my study and, in particular explaining congruence with my ontological beliefs which surrounded the need for participants to have their voice heard. The philosophy behind this study is rooted in excavating deeply into what people think, perceive and believe rather than presenting simply a collection of anecdotes or list ambiguous "facts". This thesis is to be offered as a piece of work which is thorough analysis of a small snapshot of the true world.

Journey through Research

While my interest and curiosity provoked me to start with my research proposal, I was a bit ambitious. I wanted to do everything as such I would solve a worlds problem with my small attempts. That led me to develop too many research questions and roaming around searching all possible literatures. The challenges were to find out relevant literatures in social inclusion and in the TEVT. There were very few literatures found in social inclusion and TEVT from Nepalese perspectives. Here, I should confess that my research journey began with a deep feeling of inadequacy and some degree of frustration and fear. However, I continued my journey, acknowledging the emergent themes in the research field and continuously modifying, adding or deleting my research questions until I completed my analysis chapters. Hence, the three research questions which I came up with, were not my beginning rather these were the result of my continuous efforts of bringing together different empirical, theoretical, conceptual, and methodological issues.

In the meantime, I visited few districts to get some snapshot and get sense for more specific research design. After visiting Sankhuwasabha in the eastern region and Dolpa and Humla in the mid-western region of Nepal, I tried to figure out some information as related to the purpose of study. I realized that looking from the superficial level and thinking of remoteness only won't be helpful to answer my queries. Then on the basis of set criteria with reference to Human Development Report (HDR) 2009 (which depicts the human development rate in different region) and Geographical Information System (GIS) developed by CTEVT (which shows the location of technical schools and training centers in the districts), I selected Banke district from mid-western region with lower human development rate and Dolakha district from the central region with the comparatively high human development rate as my study location.

On embarking on the study, I was contented to use mix method paradigm. With this approach in mind, I prepared my research design and necessary tools. While aiming at exploring the underlying phenomena to understand the in-depth reality, I realized that in the continuum of research paradigm, I'm more towards interpretivist paradigm and not in between the positivist and interpretivist ground. I believe that all research is interpretive; it is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Further, qualitative research is a form of interpretive inquiry in which researcher make interpretation of what they hear, see and understand as such interpretations are not separable from their own history, background and context (Creswell, 2011, p. 175). Following this belief, and referring to my own background, history, and context as a TEVT practitioner, I designed the study under

interpretivist paradigm. In addition, given my research purpose and questions, such design would be the most appropriate design.

When I framed research questions, I moved between literature to identify concepts and the relevant theories to base my arguments. My intention was never to test the theory rather to justify my argument with the help of theoretical underpinnings. Although, my investigation was not completely driven by theories, I used these theories as a framework for data production, analysis, and writing. I drew on three different theories such as theory of social justice, theory of social capital and theory of social closure. Nevertheless, I relate these theories with the theory of social exclusion as well. These theories informed me about the aspects that I have to consider to understand the possible phenomena.

Considering my research philosophy, research questions, and the paradigm I adopted, I developed research strategies and relevant tools. To maintain the rigour and credibility of the study, these tools were verified by experts. While I was in the process of data collection, I was still with mixed method exploratory design; hence, I collected information first from the key informants (my first set of respondents). These respondents were policy makers, donor representatives, representatives from Ministry of Education. During this interview, I gathered their opinion through informal discussions and was inspired by their thoughts, leading to improve my methodology again. Given these experiences, I discussed my feelings with the professors and decided to conduct this study, using qualitative methodology, locating myself in the interpretive paradigm. After this, I started collecting data first from Banke then from Dolakha. I used interview as a main method for which interview guidelines were used. Such interviews were conducted with current students and ex-students who represented socially excluded group (criteria of

explanation from government was used to select this group). Then school/training centers chief were also interviewed. This data set was then complemented with secondary information that was collected from the respective schools for the purpose of trend analysis.

In course of data collection and data analysis, I thought upon the ethical implications of my research practice and one major issue was my position as the TEVT practitioner. As an academic, I had to be clear about my role and be aware of not influencing to anyone specifically to my respondents from my previous position and experiences. Although, I was working in the TEVT sector, my involvement was not primarily in decision making of the TEVT practices. I was basically involved in training and development of instructors, managers and curriculum developers working in the sector. Hence, this position was not as in "power" position, thus no reasons that respondents would feel influenced by me or biased towards me. However, to bring clarity on this aspect, I introduced myself to each participant as a university researcher. I also made clear that my research was being done primarily for my PhD.

Further, while analyzing the information and during writing, I continuously 'modified' my theoretical approach and tried to relate my data with more relevant theories that would help to unpack the grounded reality of social inclusion in the TEVT. For this, my own belief about the search for knowledge with no preemptive idea guided me to reach to the underlying reality as far as possible.

In the following sections, I have explained my research position, the details of research methodology that mainly includes research design, strategies of enquiry and description of the research area. I have also highlighted the strategies for

credibility and ethical considerations that were adopted to maintain the rigor and quality of the study.

Research Philosophy, My Position and Research Paradigm

Philosophically, qualitative researchers typically locate themselves within constructivists and interpretivists tradition and quantitative research is by contrast associated with positivism. Both of these paradigms have different worldviews as described by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) which is a whole framework of beliefs, values and methods within which research takes place. Positivists see and interpret the social reality differently. Positivist point of view is based on the philosophy that phenomena can be studied from an external point of view in an objective manner as the reality is static and can be captured whenever required. However, the interpretivist considers knowledge as personal, subjective and unique, and deals with the direct experience of people in the specific context (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000, p. 19). For the interpretivist, the world is constructed by each knower and observer and is concerned with symbolic meanings and various forms of representations that help to understand the phenomenon under study (Piantanida & Garman, 1999).

Philosophically, my ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions are consistent with an interpretive approach to social science (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). The ontological position of the interpretive paradigm which is based on an assumption of existed multiple social realities was an important element of my research approach. In addition, my personal and professional experiences shaped my beliefs, interest, and approach to the study. To acquire an emic perspective and to understand the phenomenon investigated in its natural context, my assumption is that there is a need

to explore the ground reality from the individuals involved in the research situation. For my epistemological assumption, I accept my role as the researcher who must interact with those in the study. Further, I understand that the notion of interpretivism does not only imply the researcher interpreting the social world of the researched, but also the participant's interpretation of that world. Hence, I was fundamentally concerned with understanding and interpreting the personal definitions, perceptions, experiences and interpretations of those who were involved in this research situation.

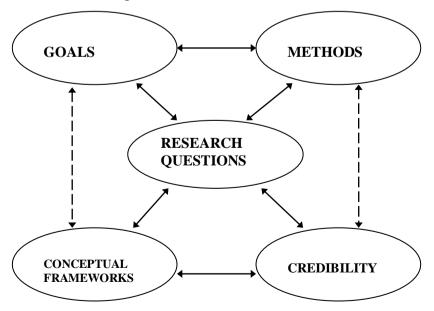
The research questions of this study reflect the need of studying social phenomena not only limiting to educational efforts that have an impact on social life of people. Social, political, cultural, gender, and geographical are some of the complexities that need to be addressed in relation to social inclusion process in the TEVT. More importantly, the perspectives and experiences of those who are served must be grasped, interpreted, and understood (Denzin, 1989, p.12). Hence, I had had a challenge to develop comprehensive but innovative ways of conducting research that embraces these complexities.

Based on my worldview and the research questions, qualitative research method is best suited to my research. The qualitative method is often useful to reach to ground reality by exploring peoples' individual experiences. Qualitative methods allow researcher to study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Creswell, 2003, p. 181; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3).

Research Design and Research Methods

The research design represents a structure that guides the execution of a research method and the analysis of the subsequent data (Bryman, 2006). It is the arrangement of elements governing the functioning of a study (Maxwell, 2004). Considering these notions, I adopted my research design, arranging all the basic elements of the study such as data collection, methods, tools, sources of information and data analysis techniques. As this study was qualitative in nature, design wise, it was not preemptive (Richards, 2006), not linear and did not begin with a predetermined starting point but was recursive and circular and involved cycles of reflection and refinement (Maxwell, 2004). I have used an interactive model of qualitative research as suggested by Maxwell (2004). Following him, major components of my research study were goals, conceptual framework, research questions, methodology and credibility. Each of these components was interrelated and addressed the different sets of issues, essential for the consistency of the study (figure 3).

Figure 3. Interactive Model of Qualitative Research



(Adopted from Maxwell, 2004)

Being a qualitative researcher, I was aware of my role as bricoleur who use the aesthetic and material tools of their craft, deploying whatever strategies, methods and empirical materials at hand (Becker, 1998, p. 2 as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005 p. 4). In addition, qualitative study is naturally multi method in focus (Flick, 2002 as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5). It is indicative that the differences in epistemological stance associated with certain methods should not prevent a qualitative researcher from utilizing data collection methods more typically associated with quantitative research, and vice versa but rather the use of the methods should be based on the logic of justification of the use of the methods in the study (Bryman, 1988; Johnson & Onwuegbuziem, 2004). Considering these notions, I collected data through multiple sources.

Although the study design was primarily qualitative, a small quantitative element was also included. This quantitative element comprised of trend analysis of past three to five years data that were available in the respective training centre and in technical schools. I intend to use this set of information to understand the situation more closely from two perspectives. One is to observe the pattern of data in terms of access and participation of the socially excluded group in the TEVT courses (as it is claimed that there is a significant representation of socially excluded group). Other is to rebuild the past data on access and participation to further explain the phenomena.

Working Procedure

Working procedure includes the information on selection of the research site, research participants, data collection, and data analysis depicts the overall development of total study.

Selection of Study Area: Setting (Field area)

Geographically, Nepal is divided into three geographical regions.

Administratively, it is divided into five developmental regions. It is assumed that these regions may have different levels of exclusion as the inhabitants are from different cultural, social and economical background. As a researcher, it placed me into a dilemma for selecting the appropriate research field. I was drawing several pictures in mind. One time, I was thinking to collect information from all five regions and other time, I was thinking the fieldwork in three districts in three different regions. Considering my limitations interms of time, budget and other resources and after having series of discussions with the professor, I decided that region wise this study will be conducted in two regions and from where, further two districts will be chosen. These two regions were selected on the basis of human development rate and the availability of the training centre and technical school from both public and private sector in the study area.

As per the Human Development Report (HDR), 2009, mid-western region has the lower human development rate and the central region has comparatively high human development rate as compared to other regions. Similarly, terai has low human development rate and hill has comparatively high human development rate (UNDP, 2009). Thus, Banke district from the mid-western terai region and Dolakha district from the central hill region were chosen for the study. These districts also qualify as per the second criteria of availability of technical schools/training centre.

Figure 4. Study Location



A brief introduction of Banke district. Banke is one of the districts of Bheri zone located in the mid-western development region of Nepal. This is one of the fast emerging urban centers across the highway. This district is terai/plain area which is bordering with India in the south. Banke holds diversity in terms of language and ethnicity as it comprises of the ethnic groups of Muslim, Tharu, Newar, Thakali, Gurung, Tamang and Magar who speak diverse languages such Abadhi, Hindi, Magar, Maithili, Newari, Tharu and Urdu. Another important factor in Banke is the fast growing technical schools and training centers as well as it is the hub of far-western region for the education, market and job prospects.

A brief introduction of Dolakha district. Dolakha is one of the districts of Janakpur zone in the central development region of Nepal. This district is located at 132 km east of Kathmandu. Geographically, it has hill and mountainous area and is bordered with the Tibetan Autonomous Region of People's Republic of China in the north. Dolakha is a multicultural, multiethnic district where indigenous people like

Jirel, Surel, Thami and several ethnic groups like Tamang, Magar, Rai, Newar are living. One of the oldest technical schools is also located in Dolakha district.

Selection of Study Participants

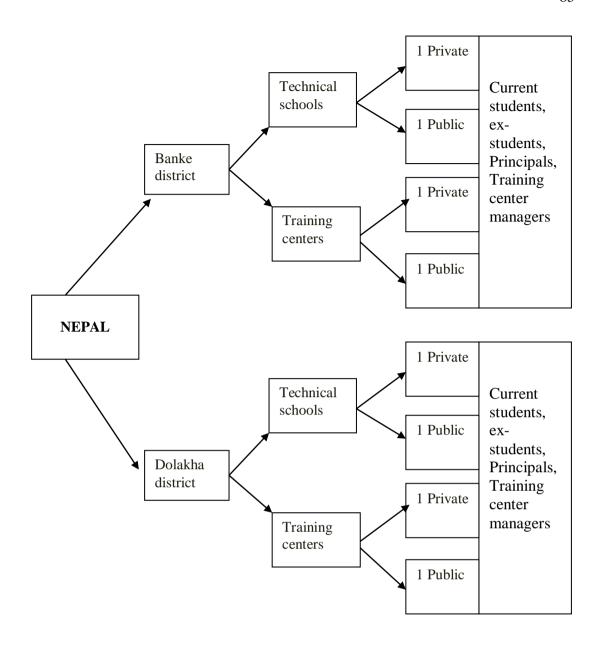
Since I position myself in an interpretive paradigm, attention was on understanding the meaning of phenomena from participants' perspectives. Thus, it was important to select participants who could provide rich information and meaningful data to answer research questions and address the purpose of the study. As this research was intended to explore complex reality rather than complete reality, it was necessary to select my respondents to fulfill this purpose. For this, I used purposive sampling technique. Purposeful sampling is a strategy where researcher selects the particular settings, persons, or events deliberately for the important information they can provide (Maxwell, 2005). Hence, considering the purpose and conceptual framework of the study, research relationship with study participants, the feasibility of data collection and analysis, and the credibility of the information gathered, this sampling technique has been followed.

Given the purpose of the study as exploring underlying reality of inclusion in the TEVT, I collected data from different sources and levels making the sampling design as a layered sampling. In addition, sampling decision can fluctuate between the aims of covering as wide a field as possible (Flick, 2006). Thus, considering the possibilities of sampling at two levels (Bryman, 2008), I decided to select the study site first then the participants. With this, I selected districts and technical schools and training centers at first level and participants at second level.

Selection of study sites. After identifying regions and districts, at first, I visited those districts to select technical schools and training centers that could match with my criteria. There was only one major criterion for selection. That was:

the technical school offering Technical School Leaving Certificate (TSLC) level training and has current students. Similarly, training centers offering short courses and have current students. These institutes can be either public or private. In addition, keeping in mind the limitation about time and budget, I selected only two technical schools (1 public and 1 private) and 2 training centers (1 public and 1 private) from each districts. The diagram below represents the selection result.

Figure 5. Layered Sampling



Selection of participants. At the second stage, I chose those participants/respondents who have a direct stake in TEVT program. Here, I referred

my conceptual framework and research questions again and again that directed me to collect information from different level of respondents. I had three levels of informants. Respondents from policy level, from implementation level and students from excluded group at beneficiary level.

I developed few sets of criteria to select these respondents purposefully. First set of criteria was for the selection of respondents from policy level. These were set in reference to Tashakkori and Teddle, (1998, p. 126) thus, while selecting these respondents, the general inclusion criteria such as their eagerness to participate, efficiency to share experiences and works, enthusiasm to participate in interviews, readiness to share thoughts and emotions, experiences/knowledge and keenness to reflect on the reality of related field were considered. There were five respondents at policy level. They were representing policy makers, donor representatives and the government (Ministry of Education).

Other sets of respondents were students enrolled in technical school and in training centers. These students were selected on the basis of criteria set by Nepal government. As per the criteria, student from excluded group, female students and students from remote area were selected purposefully. They were initially identified on the basis of their details in the school register and information obtained from school instructors. Then they were asked whether they would like to participate in the study. Those who agreed to participate were briefed about the study in more detail. My third sets of respondents were principals, training center chief from the respective school and/or training centre. They were purposefully selected because their practical experiences of implementing the program would provide a great insight in this study.

In addition to these, in consultation with technical schools and training centers personals and the trainees, I identified also ex-students to take part in my study. The Table below provides the details of my respondents by group, location and by nature of school (private or public).

Table 1

Details of the Respondents

S.	Category of respondents	No.	Remarks
No.			
TEVT actors			
1.	Policy level	5	Government officials (CTEVT, MOE),
			donor representatives
2.	Implementation level	8	Principals from technical schools: 4
			Training center manager: 4
TEVT recipients			
3	Current students from		Banke: private: 6, public:19
	excluded group in	66	Dolakha: private: 7, public: 34
	technical schools		
4	Current students from		Banke: private:6, public: 10
	excluded group in training	33	Dolakha: private: 8, public: 9
	centers		
5	Ex-students ¹ from		Dolakha: private: 0, public: 9
	technical schools	13	Banke: private: 2, public: 2
6	Ex students from training		Dolakha: private: 0, public: 6
	centers	18	(interview), 6 (focus group discussion)
			Banke: private: 6, public: 0
	Total respondents	144	

¹ It was very difficult to track ex-students as there were no records in the school except the public technical school/Dolakha which was comparatively maintaining the record of their ex-students.

Data Collection Procedure

Since I was situating myself in the interpretive paradigm and adopting the strategy of qualitative methods, my approaches to data collection involved direct interaction with individuals on a one to one basis and in a group setting. I took the data collection activity as an iterative process that included series of interrelated activities aimed at gathering information, so that I could answer my research questions (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddle, 1998). Some interactions were brief and one shot; in most cases I made several rounds of interactions with my respondents.

Considering myself as the primary instrument of data collection, I began my journey. My sources of data included my respondents, available relevant documents and statistics as well as field notes and records of informal conversations. First, I interviewed with policy makers, school administrators, and collected information from schools/training centers (for trend analysis) in the pattern of enrolment. This data set was then complemented with interviews with students in technical schools or training centers. As this study employed different levels of respondents, I prepared various sets of guiding questions for the interview. These questions were then discussed with my professors as well as consulted with the social inclusion expert for further verification.

As I had already mentioned in the beginning of this chapter (journey through research), when I began my data collection, I was still with mixed method exploratory approach. With this approach in mind, I started collecting information from policy makers. Although, some of them welcomed me and responded quickly, few respondents however postponed the agreed interview dates delaying data collection. These initial discussions with my respondents; at this level imply that

there is a perfect practice of social inclusion in TEVT, meaning it has been addressed at different levels carefully. This was against my argument that made me think about changing the approach from mixed method to qualitative approach to explore this issue in detail reaching to the ground reality. Hence, discussing with professors, I reviewed my approach and changed my methodology.

As students from technical schools and training centers were my prime focus, I had to be aware of their availability in the school. I obtained the school calendar and noted their time of availability avoiding their exams, holidays etc. In reference to school calendar, I collected my field data first from Banke then from Dolakha in several rounds. In my first visit to Banke in the month of May/June, 2010, I did most of the interviews with students and with principal and training center chief. Although, I stayed there for about a month only, I worked in the morning, evening and in weekend to have more interaction with students. Again, I made a short visit to Banke in November, 2010. This time, I basically followed up with the principals, training center managers and ex students. I also did few telephone conversations with my respondents as and when I needed to verify their opinion.

After my first visit to Banke, I went to Dolakha in August 2010 for 17 days. Here also I worked in the morning, evening and in weekends. In addition, I had an opportunity to have further interactions with students of Dolakha here at Kathmandu as well because these students were placed in one of the Maternity hospitals at Kathmandu for their practicum. I had an opportunity also to meet both principals of public and private technical schools of Dolakha here at Kathmandu and I took the opportunity to have further interactions with them. In each district, I obtained the support from one research assistant, who would help me to reach the technical

school/training centre, make notes during interview and collect existing information for trend analysis.

In-depth Interview

As the purpose of interview is to gather information from the individual's experiences and knowledge, their opinion, beliefs and feelings and demographic data (Best & Kahn, 2003), my concern was to adopt the best type of interview that suited my research questions. I referred to the types of qualitative interviews as suggested by Patton (2002). According to him, there are three types of interviews which are: a) informal conversational interview which is completely unstructured and questions may emerge during fieldwork, b) interview guide approach where list of topics are pre specified and interviewer can reword or restate to cover these topics during interview c) third is standardized open ended interview which is based upon standard open ended questions and interviewer cannot change the order or wording of the questions.

I chose interview guide approach for the study as I wanted to ask specific items to different nature of respondents and wanted to be sure that they expressed their opinion and experiences in a natural way rather than gathering information in order. I used a series of qualitative questions to guide these interviews (see Appendix). As my aim was to obtain the types of information that would enable me to reflect on subjective meanings and interpretations, I rather used the interview guide as my starting point of discussion but did not completely float on it. Hence, despite this approach, my interview was conversational, informal and natural that allowed emerging several new ideas and issues in their natural flow.

Further, interpretive research is about subjectivity and complexity that seeks not necessarily to count or reduce, but to represent rich, subjective experience in

such a way as to reflect on consistencies and parallels, while retaining the various nuances of the data (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Keeping this in mind, before conversation, I provided some background information and context to help the interviewee to be open and share their opinions and feelings. I maintained empathetic relation with them. I also used probing, clarifying, paraphrasing techniques to dig out in-depth information from my respondents.

In an average, the interviews lasted for an hour for each respondent. In addition, whenever, I felt, I needed to dig out more information from the particular respondent then I took second or third opportunity to conduct another interview with the same respondents in the different time interval to get their further ideas, opinion and different perspectives of the issues. In addition to these, I have had complimentary conversations with respondents to dig out further to elucidate the information in its natural meaning.

Complimentary Conversations

Complimentary conversations via emails, telephone and in few cases face to face were conducted informally with the respondents. This was done especially with key informants, technical school principals, training centre chiefs and the current students. This information added value to their earlier responses.

Transect Walk

For the purpose of complementing/supplementing the information collected from the students and from TEVT actors at policy level and implementation level from the perspectives of community people, I visited one nearby village in each district. While walking to village, I interacted with the people whoever I found on the way and dug out their knowledge and opinion about TEVT education, the availability, and the access.

Field Notes

Every evening, I recorded details of what happened with the respondents as well as my feelings and intuitive hunches, further questions raised and the work progress in the field diary. I also recorded testimonies, stories, and illustrations emerged during informal conversations with respondents. These field notes were kept separate from the main data and reviewed time and again to supplement the analysis.

Study of Policy Documents and Statistics

In addition to the interviews, I have studied several documents such as previous research, reports as well as relevant statistics. Example documents were: the TEVT policy, five year development plan of different periods, school sector reform plan, three years plan, activity reports from CTEVT, private technical training providers, training institutions under government, and donor policy about TEVT and social inclusion etc. Similarly inclusion policies, relevant study reports from the international contexts were also reviewed. In addition, available statistics obtained from the schools and training centers were reviewed and used for trend analysis. Furthermore, Human Development Report (HDR) and other statistics in GIS report prepared by CTEVT were also reviewed and referred as applicable to the study.

Data Analysis Procedure

Data analysis is an important step to see whether and to what extent research questions are answered by those collected or gathered data (Blaike, 2003). I took data analysis as an opportunity to relate the field data to the larger frame of reference for describing the social phenomena and to understand, explain, and predict patterns

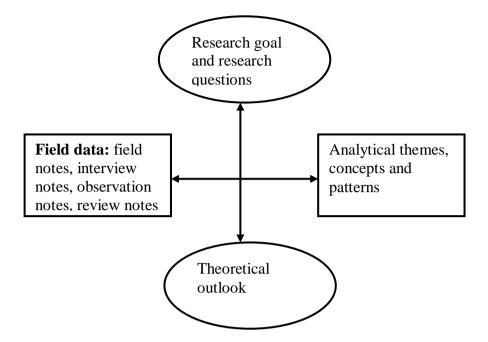
in social life. More importantly, I was concerned to develop insights into the wider question of social inclusion in the TEVT by using empirical data.

Qualitative data analysis is not a discrete procedure carried out at the final stages of research rather it is iterative that includes encompassing activities continuously throughout the research period (Basit, 2003; Suter, 2006). Considering this fact, I engaged myself in the data analysis even during my field work and continued till I finalized my chapters. Hence, in the process of data analysis, I started with a research question, and then continuously referred the raw data and relevant literature to identify concepts, themes, patterns which I could continue to explore.

Coding has a crucial role in the analyses of qualitative data (Basit, 2003). I also did coding to differentiate relevant data and develop related themes and categories. As my intention was to uncover the grounded reality of the social phenomena, I did not look for the exact structure of qualitative data analysis as prescribed; rather I went for the best possible way that would help me to develop insights on the existing reality. However, upon reflection, I could identify my engagement in data analysis and interpretation, tentatively in three stages. Within these stages, I undertook several strategies for data analysis and interpretations.

These were reviewing field notes and journal at the beginning of each chapter to map out the possible relation of data with the theory, preparing chapter outlines and discussing them with supervisors and conducting chapter specific analysis to forging dialogue between the data and theory (figure 6).

Figure 6. Framework of Data Analysis and Interpretation



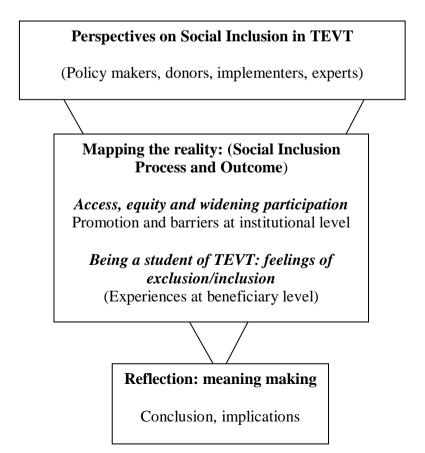
At first, I conducted early analysis while taking notes, reviewing my raw data from the field and formulated the categories in order to explore the phenomena. Referring to the research question, I moved between literature and data to identify concepts, themes and patterns, basically to identify additional related dimensions that had to be explored further. Second, I involved in creating a moderate form of dialogue between the empirical and the theoretical information. This allowed me to outline the thesis chapter for analysis part. At the third stage, I involved myself in more focused dialogue between theory and empirical materials and the draft chapters were prepared. At this stage, I received comments from supervisors and colleagues on my chapters which helped me to fine-tuning of the flow of writing and the

connections of the text. Apart from receiving comments from my supervisors, I was involved in a constant dialogue with some of my respondents who could provide further inputs to enrich my understanding and interpretation of the phenomena.

Further, as I was using a bit of quantitative data as well to establish further support to my interpretation. I used SPSS software as well as Microsoft Excels to analyze these data to see the trend of social inclusion practice in schools and training centers offering TEVT services.

At this point of time, I admit that the current structure of the thesis is the result of a complex trajectory involving several drafts outlines. My major concern always was not to lose the essence of data hence I had to prepare several different outlines to decide what to present in each of my analysis chapters. Using funnel model, I have come up with three chapters separately each covering the different themes and perspectives from the different level of stakeholders (figure 7).

Figure 7. Funnel Model of Chapter Outlines



Quality, Rigor and Reflexivity

Measurement is not a major preoccupation in qualitative research (Bryman, 2008). The qualitative research is considered to be a worthwhile when it has truth value, applicability, consistency and neutrality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Keeping this in mind, I was concerned about whether or not I was telling a truthful story as possible as per my positioning and the perspectives from which I viewed the subject matter. I was aware about the challenge to qualitative approaches of research to produce plausible, robust research and to demonstrate rigor. Rigor is the means of demonstrating the plausibility, credibility and integrity of the qualitative research process. The rigor or trustworthiness of a study may be established if the reader is able to audit the actions and developments of the researcher (Koch, 2006). The important feature of this study is the use of rigorous methods of data collection and analysis to enhance the trustworthiness of the findings.

Since I believe that the truth accommodates the evidences, arguments and personal beliefs, I used all possible strategies to address these. Such strategies were: working in a natural setting, interacting and capturing the multiple voices of the respondents, using reflective journal, developing fresh understanding of the context, honoring emergent patterns, and performing layers of interpretation.

As qualitative researchers engaged in contemporary practice, the researcher is a central figure who is involved in construction, collection, selection and interpretation of data (Finlay, 2002). I became concerned about what was said by Finlay (2002) about the personal reasons of researchers to carry out a study, their

subjective motives which will have important consequences for the trustworthiness of a project (Finlay, 2002). As a TEVT practitioner and with my past experience, I believed that there is much to be learned such as differentials, unheard voices and my study will be helpful to excavate all these multiple realities. My own engagement in this research was thus to capture the all possible essence of the notions from my participants as far as possible and know the ground reality at first hand.

This study is the result of my full time involvement in the study periphery that is demanded by my position as a researcher. Starting from the concept note to proposal development and conducting fieldwork and analysis, I spent almost four years. Upon reflection, my prolonged engagement in this study assured me for the in-depth information to answer the research questions. Especially, during these years, my engagement in the real field, have active interaction with my respondents; probe for hidden messages as well as trace out the emerging patterns of information became noteworthy that allowed me to get the depth of information with rich accounts of details (thick description) rather than breadth (Bryman, 2008). Further, I was concerned about the sensitivity of the topic and my effort was for giving voices to the multiple perspectives of the researched. Hence, it was important for me that I understand the phenomena in their natural setting. Considering this, I took note of every information, feelings and expressions expressed by my participants. For me all the information was equally important and there were no any negative cases that I encountered with.

The research is co-constituted, a joint product of the participants, researcher and their relationship (Finlay, 2002). I allowed my respondents to share their feelings openly and freely that they think is important to share with me. However,

when I faced with a concrete interview situation, during first few interviews, I was worried about whether I could capture all the feelings and experiences of my participant. I decided interviews would be informal and conversational; exploratory, flexible and not guided by questions as such. I used interview guide that was open to any level of feelings and experiences from the participants.

In addition, my experienced use of interview techniques, interactive and empathetic relation with respondents helped me to conduct interview several times with the same respondents and also confirming with them whether I understood them correctly. I began interview first with the contextualizing the personal and family matter so well that I could establish rapport with my participant. During these interviews, I focused on observing not only what the respondents said but also on intonation, language pattern, emotions and non-verbal reactions. Observation also included the capturing of respondents' physical dimensions (age, sex, dress, facial expressions). This helped me understand the degree of each respondent's emotional, psychological and social engagement with the issue under discussion.

Finlay (2002) mentions that the genre of reflexivity as intersubjective reflection has a significant value in the qualitative research. Here, researcher explores the mutual meanings emerging within the research relationship. My conscious and deliberate record keeping (field notes) and everyday reflection (reflective journal) of what happened during the fieldwork helped me further capture the view of respondents without missing their originality. Reflective journal helped me understand better what my participant know and how they think they came to know it. Reflective writings allowed me to meaningfully construct my own sense of what it means to become a qualitative researcher.

In addition, being in an interpretive paradigm, to me participants' ideas were always important. Although my journal had records of my feelings, observations, and served as a memory, when I reviewed my reflective journal retrospectively, I frequently questioned my epistemological and ontological assumptions. I was concerned about how could I make my participants' voice heard and how could I be sure that I was interpreting the reality.

While analyzing and writing my chapters, I decided to include my field notes and my reflexive notes to draw the line and connections to interpret the reality better. Drawing on excerpts from the journal, I made links between the literature on methodology, decisions taken during the study, the process of reflexivity and my evolving understanding of the issues under study. Further, I was more concerned about presenting an insider's perspective on the subject being studied. The significant blocks of narrative data were quoted from the original data to convey a vivid picture to demonstrate authenticity.

In addition, audiences should have the opportunity to see the researcher's involvement in the deliberate construction of knowledge during a particular study (Finlay, 2002). When I almost finished my chapters, I shared my key findings with some of my respondents for their additional views, supplementing to reach to the deeper ground of information. In addition, I used the multiple sources of data and data analysis techniques to align interpretations and maintain consistency across the data sets. Accordingly, I used multiple theoretical and conceptual lenses to examine the issues and parameters involved before beginning the study and during analysis.

Ethical Considerations

Patton (1999; 2002) identifies ten key ethical issues that need to be addressed in research projects. These include explaining purposes, promises and reciprocity,

freedom to withdraw, risk assessment, confidentiality, informed consent, data access and ownership, interviewers' mental health, advice, data collection boundaries and ethical versus legal. I addressed each of these ethical issues carefully.

In examining these ethics, I had had a responsibility of moral integrity in the conducting and presenting this research. For instance, I asked myself many rhetorical questions throughout the research process, in fact underpinned in the total study. Such questions were:

- Is my methodology relevant to my research questions?
- Am I showing regards to the people (whom I'm interacting with) with human touch?
- Are my language and behavior acknowledging their humanity?
- Am I being manipulative?
- Am I honest and sincere?

Although the Kathmandu University does not have a specific ethical clearance procedure, the study was conducted only after receiving direction and guidance from the supervisors from Kathmandu University School of Education. I received continuous advice in the form of input and feedback from the supervisors and experts which were also noteworthy to maintain the ethical track of the study.

I obtained the verbal consent from all level of respondents. At first, I obtained consent from the organizational contact to enter the organization and then from each respondent for the interview, taking notes and using their opinions and expressions of ideas. Before each interview or other form of data collection, I clearly explained the purpose of the study to the organizational contact (in this case, first point contact) and all the individuals involved in the study. I invited all students within the target group for participation and assured them for their freedom

of withdrawal from the research at any time and without any form of punishment. All my respondents were assured for anonymity and throughout the whole research process. I was aware of maintaining the confidentiality of the information and I did not compel respondents to provide their names. Also I used pseudonyms in my analysis chapter to maintain the anonymity. Further, I did not give any undue pressure to my participants for any reason; rather, I assisted them by clarifying their questions and concerns if they were unable to give answer.

Besides these, no any false promises were made to individuals. It was also made clear to individual and organization that the status report or the final report might be shared with interested individuals and organization if required. Ethical and practical issues were also maintained in storing information. All hard copy of data were stored securely.

Chapter Essence

In this chapter, I presented a detail account of the research philosophy, strategy and methodology according to which I shall conduct this research. I further presented that how this whole process of research demanded very engaged thinking, imagination and reflection, beyond a positivist conception of research. I also presented how my philosophy guided me to take a dominant paradigm of qualitative research and how it provided me various grounds for data collection, analysis and interpretation and raised my awareness regarding credibility and rigor of the study. I also explained my experiences through research journey in terms of data collection, data analysis and ethical principles.

CHAPTER V

POLICY DISCOURSE ON SOCIAL INCLUSION IN TEVT

In the everyday political discourse, a number of different expressions are used regarding social inclusion. These expressions express a certain typology which is of course debatable and full of distortions and contradictions, and hitherto addressing to some of its differences can help us deepen our own thinking about social inclusion and its desired/undesired presence in the TEVT in Nepal. Guided by the different school of thoughts and the personal experiences, people tend to understand and interpret the meaning of social inclusion. These include the understanding of social inclusion in terms of inclusion of excluded groups or a mere political strategy to bring equality in all aspects of development. Quite often, I apprehend that the inclusion is taken as the solution hence incorporated in the policy direction, whereas exclusion is the problem and starting point for the discussion and analysis.

The idea of social inclusion/exclusion is an effective framing tool that helps experts and policy makers to make sense of the social world and design policies aimed at solving the social problems that they deem important (Beland, 2007). As a researcher, I was concerned about the expressions of those respondents who are leaders, pioneers and most importantly the influencers in guiding the TEVT approaches, modality, and the systems in this country. I believe that their expressions are their viewpoint about the current society, understanding of the need of TEVT, social inclusion and the changes they want to foresee for the future of this country. In particular, these viewpoints highlight the critical concern regarding how notions of social inclusion/exclusion are conceived and utilized within the Nepalese

policy context. Hence, theoretically, this chapter draws on the perspectives of the policy makers (TEVT actors at policy level²). Further, this chapter is more than the mere analysis of meaning making of social inclusion. It also makes search of the relationship of these meanings in the every day practices of social inclusion in the TEVT. For instance, this chapter presents the opinion, ideas, concerns and issues that are expressed by policy makers under several sections and subsections.

Equality of Opportunity vs. Recognition of Diversity

Social inclusion is a debatable concept and at times confusing too. However, the greater clarity within the field would lead to better progress in respect to policy and practice (Farrel, 2004, p. 9). In this section, I have discussed how there is a difference of understanding among people while conceptualizing the term social inclusion. I observed that the interpretation from people regarding social inclusion at one point is to emphasize equality of the opportunity, at the same time indicating the need of recognition of diversity. Mostly, people representing from high level government position³ refer to the necessities of equal access and equal opportunity for everyone. From their understanding, poverty and exclusion arise primarily as a result of individual and group behavior determined through social structures, so provision of equal access and equal opportunities is the most for everyone to be included in the TEVT opportunities. Their understandings reflect the concept of social integration which is an inclusionary goal implying equal opportunities and rights for all human beings that implies improving life chances (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development [UNRISD], 1999). Where as other

² In course of this study, the draft TEVT policy was in the discussion and in debate about how it has to be elaborated for the better implementation

³ Government organization includes Ministry of Education and Council for Technical Education and Vocational Training (CTEVT)

groups of respondents (of course Nepalese) working in development organizations accorded to need of recognizing diversity too.

The differing opinion of these two groups may be due to the different level of experiences: the first being at policy level has less experience of the field whereas the second may have the experience of direct interface with the diverse groups.

Further, I observed that there is an experience of twofold classification of the society as viewed by Weber (1946). Weber considers that every society is divided into groupings and strata with distinctive life-styles and views of the world, just as it is divided into distinctive classes (Weber, 1946). I observed that depending upon the different socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts people create their meanings regarding social inclusion and exclusion. My personal reflection from the field also illustrates this reality.

Today, I had an opportunity to interact with high level government official (Mr. Dhakal, working in National Planning Commission, responsible for the TEVT policy). During the interview, he was conveying his intention as giving everyone an opportunity to obtain skills regardless of color, creed and ethnicity is important. For him, a skill is the first priority whereas social inclusion is the second priority. He recognizes that, Nepalese people are poor, not having opportunity to create their livelihood thus skill is the first priority for them. He further recognizes that if opportunity is for everyone then social inclusion is automatic. He said "there should be an equal opportunity to everyone. His concern was if there are many poor and backwarded Brahmins in this country, why these opportunities are only for the ethnic groups and why not for Brahmins too." (Field notes: 29 June, 2010)

Nevertheless, Mr. Nepali working in development organization⁴, responsible for the special agenda of social inclusion perceives social inclusion as the need of addressing the diversity of the population. He perceives that every individual is different in his/her abilities, values and capabilities due to the persistent exclusion that is experienced by the people other than so called elitist. His opinion indicates that the "otherness" of the excluded groups is the result of continual exclusion. So, social inclusion should work as a way of addressing diversity that place equal value to all diverse groups.

Further, his statement focuses on the meaning of social inclusion which he considers as the inclusion of excluded in the developmental mainstream. He said, "I agree that there is a difference among people which is natural. But the difference that is created by society which puts people in different strata of society is intolerable. Our country is diverse in many ways such as language, religion, space etc. but it does not mean that only few people who are closer to center of the state should get more benefits. State should be giving special attention to weak instead our more priority is given to elits, ignoring the weaker section. Unless and otherwise state becomes aware of these facts and acknowledges these differences with special treatment, equality will not be achieved in the country."

Above statement, to some extent has mirrored to what was pointed out by Naila (2010) that the inequality is the entry point of the discussion of social exclusion that takes disadvantages as products of social hierarchies which define certain groups as inferior to others on the basis of their identity. Such hierarchies are created through cultural norms and practices which exclude certain social groups denying them for equal rights to participate in the economic, social and political life

⁴ Development organization include donor agency, INGO and donor funded projects

of their society (Kabeer, 2010). However, Mr. Nepali being responsible for the social inclusion agenda by his position and with raised awareness seemed to be accepting the social differentiations. At the same time, he also advocated for the rights of the excluded groups through the state intervention. This I understood as the right awareness of Mr. Nepali who himself was the victim of past deed of the hierarchical society.

Accordingly, Mr. Sharma, a government official also stresses that there is a differentiation among people due to existed social hierarchies and it is the responsibility of state that these differences have to be addressed differently. His opinion coincide with the remarks of De Venanzi (2004) who says that the processes of differentiation entail the creation of social categories where states as agents actively engage in constructing systems of social classification with the aim of allocating or withholding social, political and economic resources.

Further, De Venanji (2004) has considered these differences as states of chaos which must be removed if a sense of order is to be maintained. In line with this, Mr. Sharma further emphasized that *unless there is a differential treatment for the excluded groups, the real meaning of social inclusion cannot be achieved*. He provided various examples such as how people from Karnali district (far western region) are different from eastern side in dialects, religion, and culture, and even in thinking patterns. Further, he insisted upon his opinion when he said, "only access is not enough rather participation must be enhanced by giving them special treatment."

Usually, the common understanding among the people is that social inclusion is possible if programs are targeted to the disadvantaged layer of the society. However, targeting in my understanding is the superficial notion of social

inclusion which rather creates two poles of giver and receiver meaning that the excluded groups are seen as beneficiaries not as the active agents of the social inclusion process.

In line with this, Ms. Shrestha, working in development organization, expresses her experiences about the situation where many people are not able to participate in the organized programs targeted for them. She explains that people often consider culture or caste as the major reasons that differentiate people, ignoring the fact that it is also geographical diversity which place people in different orders of society. As a result these people are always excluded and overlooked by policy makers. Ms. Shrestha highlights her understanding about diversity in the following words. "It is not easy to talk about social inclusion although it is our one of the development agendas. We organize different types of program targeting to disadvantaged groups, but they rarely reach to the program. Normally disadvantaged groups are living far from the district center. Although we organize programs to the nearby town it takes them few hours to few days to reach the program. Even if they reach the program, what next? Will they be continuing the program till the completion and will they get work in their own place?"

Her experiences raised few major concerns regarding the possible need of alternative mode of training and learning provision for those living far. Coming from the TEVT sector and seeing the training situations from the very near, I appreciate the remarks from Ms. Shrestha, her concern about the hidden reality in the TEVT context. Quite often, training is offered to the people, but it completely ignored the conditions that are obstacles for them to receive opportunities. Ms. Shrestha had some doubt about the job opportunity available in the TEVT sector; hence she was quite open to express her doubt. She further remarked that many

times these people were hopeless and even did not try to get the work. The reason was due to the less job opportunities for them as well as the mistrust in their community about their capability.

While almost all of these opinions emphasized at some point the equality and equal opportunity including the need of recognition of diversity in the social inclusion agenda, there was a contrasting opinion from one of the government officials (Mr. Poudel) who was also a project manager in one of the donor funded TEVT related projects. He expressed his dissatisfaction regarding the way the government and the policy papers have highlighted the meaning of social inclusion. He expressed his dissatisfaction regarding the social inclusion practice in Nepal. He opined it as non relevant practice in the present context when he said, "I agree that there exist social exclusion in our country. Many people are poor and back warded including ethnic minorities. Many other caste groups are in worse condition, not only limiting to dalits and minority groups. Social inclusion concept is irrelevant, unclear, narrowly defined, and does not address the need of the real people. It has allowed only "tathabatha" (smart) and janajatis to be benefitted."

This statement depicts the current knowledge that Mr. Poudel has about the social inclusion practices in the TEVT. Mr. Poudel disapproves the notion of caste and ethnicity as the cause of social exclusion and considers the cause of exclusion is due to the poverty, ignorance and geographical variations that make people excluded from the developmental efforts. His opinion has reflected that consideration of only one side of the scenario may narrow down the understanding and implementation of social inclusion in practice. While, this statement to some extent highlights the need of further work towards new social contracts between states and their citizens (Kabeer, 2010), however, I felt this as the unitary notions of power in which the

included are powerful and excluded are powerless (Jackson, 1992). Moreover, I took it as a pertinent feeling of one of the TEVT practitioners who has indicated the drawbacks on the current practices.

Social inclusion is understood in terms of integration (Farrell, 2004).

Negating this opinion, the above concerns and remarks exemplify that social inclusion in the context of Nepal's TEVT is also perceived in terms of differentiation and the diversity for bringing more challenging options to decrease the gaps. In line with this, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (1994) pointed out that if social integration is used only as an inclusionary goal then, it is sought without giving sufficient attention to the need for cultural diversity leading to an imposition of uniformity (UNRISD, 1994).

Social Obligations vs. Social Rights

In this section, I intend to analyze two concepts: social obligations and social rights that are frequently raised by the TEVT actors at policy level during the interactions. When social inclusion is about rights and responsibilities (Saloojee, 2001), social exclusion is a situation when people are deprived of their social rights due to some barriers (Robson, 2005). In this context, my respondents interpreted social inclusion not only in terms of rights but also in terms of social obligations. Obligations in the sense that they understood social inclusion as their responsibility as they are obliged to act to benefit society at large when directed by the state norms to provide equal access and opportunity to everyone regardless of their age, sex and caste. Hence, it is meaningful to discuss that how these interpretations of social obligations and social rights are linked with the social inclusion.

Quite frequently, I sensed these expressions are towards the meaning of social obligation. Mr. Poudel said, 'it is our responsibility to understand the

situation of social exclusion which is obviously there and we cannot avoid this but how to address this is important. We are aware of it and it is included in government's as well as donors' agenda." From his interpretation, exclusion is unavoidable thus people are continuously excluded from the mainstream. His additional remark has further supported the idea that these excluded groups are powerless, ignorant and not aware of the usefulness of the opportunities provided to them hence they always remain in the lower segment of the society (These are further discussed in the chapter six and seven). He said, "We are doing our best to include disadvantaged group in training opportunities. We offer them training with specific criteria, allowing them to participate in the program with less competition. But the problem lies on them. They are not interested and do not participate in the offered program. They don't' understand the value of training. Who to blame for this? From the outsider's perspective, projects/programs are not addressing the need of the disadvantaged group but this is not true. Without social awareness, inclusion practices will not benefit the real target groups."

The above statement reveals that Mr. Poudel did not consider social inclusion from the receivers' perspective rather understood it from the delivery perspective. This has supported the notion of Jackson (1992) as it points out the 'obligations' at the delivery end whereas 'rights' at the receiver's end. Jackson (1992) argues that such binary and polarized formulation of inclusion and exclusion is problematic. As mentioned by Bourdieu (1994), this is the feudalistic doxa which is a particular point of view that presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view. This notion of 'I'm serving the poor' is the dominant point of view of Mr. Poudel that can be considered as the feudalistic doxa.

Further, this statement has blamed the excluded groups for not being able to receive the given opportunities of training and education due to lack of courage. Further, it has indicated that there should be some external support to remind them for these opportunities. It also implies that when people are not at the conscious level to realize their right, the state's responsibility is to ensure that their rights are protected. When I reflected upon the expression of Mr. Poudel, I found his intonation and the excitement during the conversation as the verse of a person in power, position, and status. This made him feel as a giver when socially excluded as receivers. This is due to the already existed societal hierarchical structure which has imposed the notion of power relations in the society. This has allowed Mr. Poudel to explain his position of how he is obliged to perform his duty towards socially excluded people who themselves are the reasons of exclusions not receiving the given opportunities. In this context, I understood this as a dualist discourse which is already a structure of control and deserves to be questioned and decentered.

Moreover, it reminded me of those days when I happened to had a discussion with my colleagues about the discontinuation of training by the participants from the excluded groups. They always blamed the participants for not continuing the training and completely ignored the situation whether it was due to the strict rule imposed by the institute. In line with this, the expression of Mr. Poudel was the expression of powerful people who had learned to behave powerfully, to control other people, and to take decision. Where as socially excluded people had also learned to behave submissively, to be quite and to accept the situation created by powerful people. The power is thus centered on the policy makers and providers that lead them to analyze the situation from their perspectives and observe social inclusion more of social obligations rather than social rights.

Further, social exclusion is a consequence of power relationship that places a person or group at a disadvantaged position relating to the lack of ability and opportunity to access resources and take part in decision making (Sen, 2001). But who are excluded ones and who is responsible for the inclusion initiative is itself a questionable issue. One of my respondents during the interaction asked me this question and struck my mind to think carefully when analyzing these issues. While reflecting upon my notes, I stopped for a while and thought how genuine this question was. But who has the answer for this? The other day when I met Mr. Nepali for the second time (as we agreed before), I started further discussion from this point onward.

While other respondents working in the government sector considered social inclusion as the state responsibility, Mr. Nepali objected to this belief. He believes human being as socially constituted individuals and the products of culture and social environment. He questions that how can people themselves be the agents of own marginalization? Instead he believes that these are due to the pre-existing norms and culture of the society which categorizes people into poor and rich ultimately excludes them from the access to the available resources. The following excerpts from my field note illustrate these expressions.

Today, I interviewed Mr. Nepali, working in developmental organization and responsible for social inclusion issues in his sector. His repeated remarks was advocating the social inclusion/exclusion, occurring due to social norms and values as he stated, .it is all due to the social norms and values that society put on us because of which there is a certain groups who became ruler and others are ruled by them". Every human being has a right to enjoy the resources available in this world. But due to the rule of the game set and made legalized and authenticated by

these rulers, the ability of one group is always weaker against the other group". He further stressed his opinion by saying "I never accept that people are self-excluded, it is another rule of the game plotted by them to be on safe side." (Field note, 27 June, 2010)

From the above reflection, I sensed that the people who are not agreeing with exclusion as a result of stratification are guided by right-based approach. They consider social exclusion as the result of denial or non realization of rights of people. Their opinion safeguarded the excluded groups and charged the state, social norms and practices by which people are prevented from exercising their rights. Further, Mr. Nepali highlights his opinion regarding social exclusion which he understood as persistent phenomena that made socially excluded groups to suffer for many years. For instance, he opines social inclusion as the social rights of socially excluded groups that allow them to claim the compensations. Further, he considers social inclusion is more than the equal rights. He said, "Social exclusion is a phenomenon of past and present and if not addressed seriously it will be there forever in the worst form. Millions of Nepalese people are suffering and struggling to survive. It is not an easy task; however, if addressed properly, it will bring multiple benefits at the regional and national levels. Thus, socially excluded groups have a right to obtain benefits in the form of affirmative action to bring them into the mainstream. But such benefits should not be prolonged as it will increase the dependency among them."

From the above analysis, I derived the essence of social inclusion as the social rights and can be obtained only if there is a commitment for affirmative action from the state. Further, I found a sensitization that if people are only receiver then it keeps them further behind. For instance, to make socially excluded group a

competitive in the social sphere to compete with other groups, the capability development of them is a must. This has a great affinity with the capability approach developed by Amartya Sen which calls for efforts to ensure that people have equal access to basic capabilities and enjoy social bases of self-respect (Sen, 2001).

It is contended that Nepal is being influenced by western approach and philosophy in almost all developmental aspects including social exclusion/inclusion issues. However, one can sense that these aspects must not be the same as what we see in the developed world. In the developed world, such right-based approach to understanding exclusion/inclusion has informed much in social policy formation (Robson, 2005). Negating this opinion, in the TEVT context of Nepal, more emphasis has been given on social obligations as the state responsibilities resulting into mere targeting of the excluded groups for TEVT trainings. However, rights and needs of the excluded groups are not taken into considerations as they are viewed as mere receivers of the services.

Social Inclusion vs. Social Exclusion

While there is a realization of the presence of social exclusion in the hierarchical society of Nepal, at the same time there is an optimistic view of social inclusion too. Social inclusion is considered as a process that reduces the effects of social exclusion and also addresses the multiple concerns such as inequality, lack of access, poverty, discrimination, marginalization, disempowerment etc. Although having different understandings, the term social inclusion and all these facets were very popular among my respondents and have been taken as development jargons. In principle, almost all of my respondents at policy level have used these terms in

one or other sense. In this section, I have discussed these terms and concepts in relation to social inclusion as perceived by the TEVT actors at policy level.

Access vs. Deliberate Inclusion

Social inclusion highlights the fact that few actors have limited or no access to the available social resources, thus social inclusion attempts to reduce the barriers to their access to such resources (Bennet, 2003). My experiences also suggest that, in the context of TEVT in Nepal, access and inclusion have been used so frequently even without knowing their meaning. These words became popular as the divine mantra among people once it is put forward by the Nepal TEVT policy- 2007.

While discussing with my respondents, I took an opportunity to bring TEVT policy in discussion. Almost all of my respondents encouragingly highlighted the access dimension as one of the success paradigms of the TEVT policy in Nepal. According to my respondents, there are several ways in practice to increase access of the TEVT services to socially excluded groups such as scholarship provision, free ship to get entry level skill training, and quota system for poor and disadvantaged. My respondents from government were aware of the policy provision, so they repeatedly mentioned about the access and inclusion dimensions. However, respondents from the donor based organizations were not aware of government policy in the TEVT sector and their expressions about these issues were different than the people at government level.

This has indicated the possible gaps, misunderstanding and irrelevance between the policy and practices. The statement from Mr. Nepali is the indication of this misunderstanding as he thought that the term access is incomplete as the word itself is very confusing. His understanding of access was more than limited opening up of the avenue for the excluded groups. He was indicative towards the

redistribution of the resources. His response raised the concern of whose access when he said, "the access is there and will be there in upcoming policy but how to ensure whether the opportunities will reach to the target groups. This is never discussed by any policy papers. Policy makers should not limit themselves to be aware on these issues only and not thinking from the bottom of the heart that Nepal does not represent the capital city only. It is also the residence of very poor, illiterate, ignorant people, far away from the center, and they are unaware of what is offered to them for free. Hence, mere access does not guarantee the success of social inclusion; there must be equitable distribution even redistribution of available resources and opportunities."

Ms. Shrestha was also raising similar concern as she was pointing out by saying "it is not guaranteed that those deserving are getting the opportunities.

Quite often the opportunities are beyond the reach of the real poor and socially excluded as these facilities are centrally located. In addition, although training is free for the excluded group, they are still not able to pay the opportunity costs such as living costs, travel costs etc." It has indicated that social inclusion being a multifaceted approach should be considered as an interactive model that treats all individuals as social actors (Luxton, 2002). Thus, it has focused on equitable access which is beyond the mere access. The goal of the social inclusion must address these disparities across and within the countries to promote equitable access to the benefits of all individuals.

Opportunities vs. Equity

There is a clear link between promoting social inclusion and promoting equality. Promoting social inclusion usually includes promoting equal opportunities for those who are excluded and also is eliminating discrimination. In other words, it

is the effort of recognizing the inequality. But the question is how this inequality can be reduced and equality could be promoted. This question calls for a more intricate analysis. Upon discussion, almost all respondents observed that Nepalese society is unequal in many aspects, including unequal distribution of resources. Although there are provisions of distribution of resources, the questions always come how these are distributed, who get these opportunities and who are benefitted. Are there any efforts of promoting equality? Are there fair practices that ensure equitable distributions?

I tried to explore these issues further from my respondents, bringing the policy issue in front where National Training Fund (NTF) is mentioned. Those who knew about the recent policy paper remarked as 'This we have to see. The further discussion is going on. The better modality will come'. However, reflecting upon my own experiences, it is not that everything will come after this new TEVT policy, rather many things are already practiced in the past. In the context of policy paper focusing on district level fund, efforts directed towards the central level NTF were beyond comprehension. How can NTF ensure the equitable distribution in the remote districts of the country? When I raised this concern to my respondents specially to the member of planning commission and the authority from CTEVT, they did not have answer for this, rather, they asked me to wait for the final policy paper which will be finalized soon (reflection note: 28 May, 2010).

In addition to these, my respondents elucidated about "fair practice" as eliminating discrimination, unfairness, bias and prejudice, important to promote equality. Their understandings of fairness coincided with the fairness as opined by John Rawls. For Rawls, fairness is the matter of social justice which refers to giving all individuals and groups a just share of the advantages and benefits of a society

without prejudice (Rawls, 1971). Equal distribution should not be conceived as giving same share to those who have been excluded and who were not excluded. According to Kabeer (2010), this is the judgment on the basis of social justice which in fact is the process that seeks to maintain the just society. However, there is an unequal distribution as well as unfair practices in the Nepalese TEVT system that is why socially excluded groups are not benefitting much.

My experiences suggest that this situation is known to everyone at policy level but it is simply ignored or less addressed issue. Mr. Nepali confirmed this when he said, "All those who are at policy level or holding higher position in donor agencies are aware of unequal distribution. These people have written many reports of such issues but do not care about the reality of inequality? The current practice of equal distribution does not guarantee to demolish inequality. Poor are always poor and rich are always rich, thus no use of equal distribution. Poor and excluded must be given different share then only something can happen. Otherwise social inclusion is just a matter of discussion and will not change at impact level."

He emphasized that there is faulty mechanism of distribution of resources and opportunities. He further advocated for the redistribution of resources that would help move towards the just society. Further, he stressed upon the need of welfare society where distribution and redistribution take place through state and private sectors. From the above discussion, it can be reasoned that the goal of the social inclusion implies that the practice of equal distribution in TEVT must be reconfigured to encompass the social justice and fairness.

Inclusion vs. Powerlessness

The goal of the social inclusion should be targeted to bring intended change.

Hence, when the term social inclusion came to imply more than the solution of

social exclusion, any significant attempt to reduce social exclusion will thus involve changing power relations. Empowerment incorporates the idea of social change.

According to Stein (1997), empowerment is a social action process that promotes participation of people, organizations, and communities in gaining control over their lives, in their communities and their society (Stein, 1997).

Further, empowerment has been understood as the voices of the voiceless. Mr. Nepali mentioned that "the social inclusion process if designed carefully helps to break the silence of the excluded." The term 'breaking the silence' has indicated the individuals' ability to raise the voice which is only possible if the individual is empowered. Further, empowerment is taken as an approach of making movement from inability to make choices (Kabeer, 2000). For instance, empowerment is a process aimed at changing the nature and direction of systemic forces that marginalize disadvantaged sectors in a given context. Ms. Shrestha also commented in the same line when she said "social inclusion in the TEVT should ensure the inclusion of women in the TEVT programs as well as change their socio-economic, cultural and even political status. If designed carefully, the TEVT programs surely bring changes in their lives leading to the achievement of real inclusion." Her opinion has indicated that there is a fault in design of the TEVT which needs to be fixed to ensure socially excluded people are empowered to make their voices heard.

While dissecting the term empowerment, the word power is in the center which is often related to our ability to influence others regardless of their own wishes or interests (Weber, 1946). As Weber (1946) pointed out power does not exist in isolation nor is it inherent in individuals. It is created in relationships which can be changed. Hence, the empowerment as a process of change becomes a meaningful concept in the context of social inclusion in the TEVT.

Chapter Essence

The debate in political philosophy about the conception of social inclusion/exclusion varied from person to person thus it needs to be understood from the different perspectives. Social inclusion in the context of TEVT has been understood as the process and outcome both. From the process point of view, at one point, it is understood as the social obligations and considered as the state responsibility. At the same time, it is understood as the social right meaning it is the right of the people.

Similarly, increasing access and equitable distributions are considered as important dimensions of social inclusion in the TEVT. From the outcome perspective social inclusion has been taken as the means of empowerment. In other sense, it is the voice of the voiceless. Further, it is understood that there cannot be prescribed way out for the social inclusion in the TEVT, although it is the responsibility of everyone.

All these expressions, explanations and phenomena, which I have discussed here, have highlighted the complexities of the everyday discourse of social inclusion/exclusion issue in relation to the TEVT approaches, modality and system. All these illustrations are my attempt to show that this discourse highlights at least three different key questions of social inclusion in the TEVT, and that each of these questions can be addressed at different levels. These questions are: how to respond to the different understandings of inclusion/exclusion in the TEVT? What alternative model best describes the social inclusion in the TEVT? What impact does the social inclusion in the TEVT brings in the lives of those who are included? Along with these information and discussions, I have tried to explore the answers for these questions in upcoming chapters.

CHAPTER VI

EQUAL ACCESS TO WIDENING PARTICIPATION

The previous chapter was my attempt to grasp the perception of the TEVT actors at policy level and of those representing the donor with the agenda of social inclusion. In this chapter, I have outlined the understandings of social inclusion/exclusion in the TEVT and examined against the possible theoretical information.

This chapter aims to draw the picture of the reality in terms of social inclusion practices in the TEVT subsector in Nepal. The discussion is basically focused on social inclusion practices at implementation level. Access, equity, participation, discriminations, marginalization etc. are common terminologies that come across to social inclusion/exclusion (Ziyauddin, 2009). Some of these terms are considered as the aspects of social inclusion practices. Considering these terminologies, this chapter analyzes the opportunities as well as barriers of social inclusion at institutional level. The information derived from the current students, principals and training center managers are analyzed for this purpose. In order to develop better understanding of the inclusion at the local institutional level, three to five years enrolment data were also analyzed to observe the recent trends in inclusion practices.

This chapter is divided mainly into three sections. Access, equity and widening participation initiatives are discussed in the first section, whereas information derived from the tracer study data are discussed in the second section. The issues of equitable access and widening participation are analyzed and discussed in the third section.

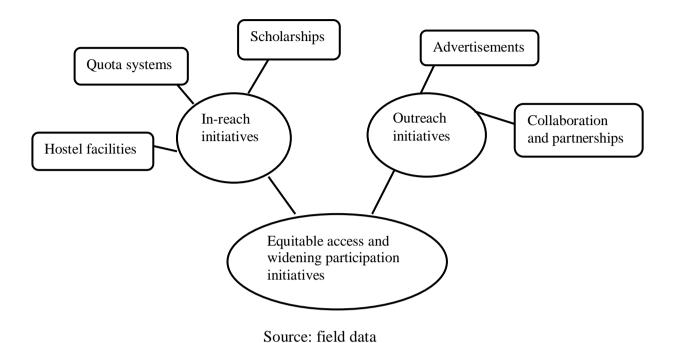
Equitable Access and Widening Participation Initiatives

Achieving equitable outcomes in the TEVT is one of the nationally agreed goals of the Nepal's TEVT system. The experience of equity issues may include the people who are also considered as a national priority groups. They are women, ethnic minorities and indigenous people, madhesi and people in rural and remote areas (Thapa, 2009). Although, not spelled out clearly, I observed that there has been a greater thrust to widen participation and improve access for disadvantaged groups.

Widening participation are those activities and interventions aimed at creating a system that includes all who can benefit from it (Allen & Storan, 2005). It is thus different from the increasing participation as it is often discussed in terms of particular groups that are under-represented. It is about developing a system where participation during different stages of the student lifecycle like pre-entry, transition, curriculum, student support, and employability become possible. Given that policies developed at different level, in the present context of TEVT, it is unsurprising that a range of intervention strategies have been developed to ensure equitable access and widen participation. These are affirmative action (quota systems), scholarships, advertisements through different media, provision of hostel for students and expansion of services through collaboration and privatization.

Overall, intervention strategies adopted at implementation level can be categorized into two as in-reach and outreach initiatives. The figure below portrays the several intervention strategies adopted by technical schools and training centers in public and private sector.

Figure 8. Equitable Access and Widening Participation Initiatives in the TEVT



However, widening participation in the TEVT context in Nepal is about far more than simply recruiting a wider range of school-leavers to existing TEVT "on campus" programs. I found out several issues that were hindrances to address the need of those who were in real need. These issues are discussed in the third section of this chapter. The next section is about the analyzed information derived on the basis of recorded data of three to five years period that were available at schools and training centers.

Participation Trend in the TEVT

This study is not primarily focused on quantitative information; however, the trend analysis was done to make sense of contribution of the past initiatives from different level to enhance access and participation. For the purpose of trend analysis, enrolment data of the past five years available from the technical schools in two study districts were used. In the case of training centers, among the four

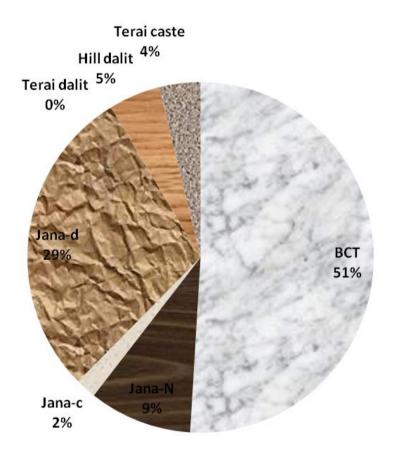
training centers, only one training center in Banke district provided the details of enrolment information from the past five years whereas other training centers did not provide the complete record of information. These training centers either did not have record or had incomplete information. The available data were used to analyze the student's participation trend by gender, ethnicity and geographical region in the study districts.

Hence, for the trend analysis, I analyzed data only from technical schools (two from Banke district and two from Dolakha district). However, I used few data received from training centers to trace the overall picture. While analyzing the data by ethnic group, I took the reference of the list of ethnic groups developed as per the basis of Human Development Index 2001 (Nepali date: B.S.2058) and approved by Federal Council (Sanghiya Parisad) in 2003 (Nepali date: 2060 B.S.) (See appendix 8). The CTEVT affiliated technical schools also use this reference. On the basis of this reference, I used category A, B, C, D and E where category 'A' is the Endangered group, 'B' is "Highly marginalized group", 'C' is Marginalized group, 'D' is "Disadvantaged group and 'E' is Advanced group.

In addition, for the analysis purpose, among these groups, I categorized hill and terai as separate as this is the criteria used most frequently by technical schools and training centers. Further, I divided category 'E' into two for the easy understanding. From category 'E', Newar is categorized under Jana-N and Brahmin/Chetri/Thakuri are placed under BCT. Category 'C' is placed under Jana-C and category 'D' under Jana-D. Similarly, category 'A' and 'B', placed together as the representation from this group in both districts was quite low in the last five years.

As per the data, both districts have more than fifty percent students representing from the Brahmin/Chetri/Thakuri Group. The figures below provide the details of information separately from each district.

Figure 9. Trainees' Enrollment by Ethnicity in the Last Five Years (2004 to 2008) in Dolakha District



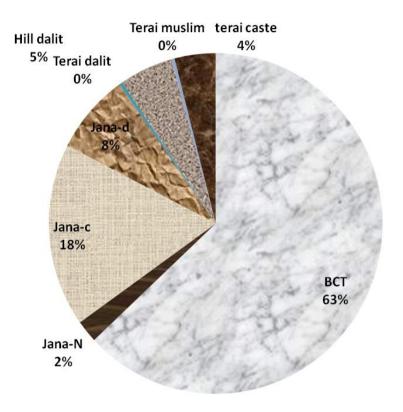
Note: Jana-N: Newar, BCT: Brahmin/Chetri/Thakuri, Jana-C: Marginalized group, Jana-D: Disadvantaged group and Jana-AB: Endangered group and High marginalized group.

From the above figure, it is evident that the majority of participants were from advanced group (Brahmin, Chetri and Thakuri), whereas the second major group was from Disadvantaged group (Gurung, Magar, Rai, Limbu.......Hyolmo)

There was only 5% participation from the hill dalit group and no participation from

the terai dalit. Similarly, while analyzing the last five years data on ethnicity in Banke district (Figure 10), it was almost similar to Dolakha district.

Figure 10. Trainees' Enrollment by Ethnicity in the Last Five Years (2004 to 2008) in Banke District



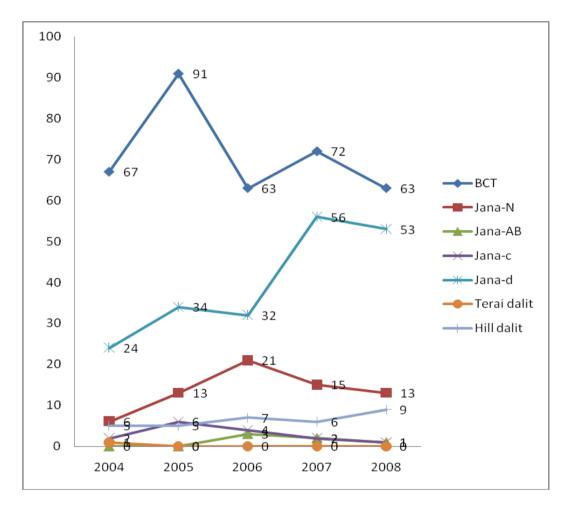
Note: Jana-N: Newar, BCT: Brahmin/Chetri/Thakuri, Jana-C: Marginalized group, Jana-D: Disadvantaged group and Jana-AB: Endangered group and High marginalized group.

The above figure reveals that in Banke district, majority of participants were from advanced group (Brahmin, Chetri and Thakuri). However, unlike Dolakha district, the second major group was from Marginalized group (Sunuwar, Tharu, Tamang, Bhujel......Walung). In addition, there was no any terai dalit enrolled in

the last five years, however, 6% of the total participants in the last five years were hill dalits.

Accordingly, I also analyzed the participation trend. These two figures (figure 11 and figure 12) depict the trend in two different districts separately.

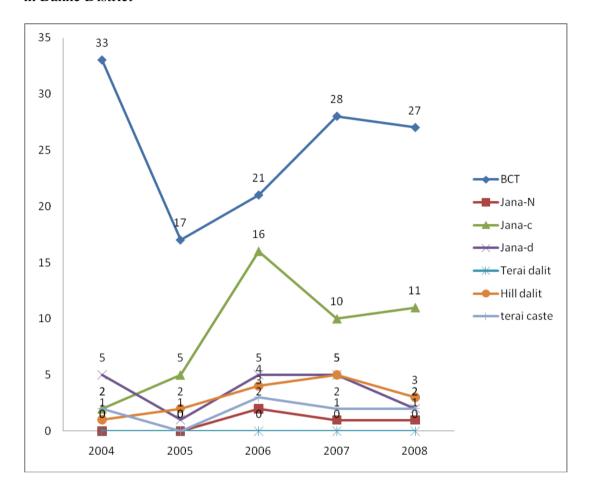
Figure 11. Enrollment Trend by Ethnic Group in the Last Five Years (2004-2008) in Dolakha District



Note: Jana-N: Newar, BCT: Brahmin/Chetri/Thakuri, Jan-C: Marginalized group, Jana-D: Disadvantaged group and Jana-AB: Endangered group and High marginalized group.

While analyzing the participation trend in Dolakha district, it is evident from the above figure that there was no significant pattern of participation. However, it is important to note that there was a slight increment in participation of hill dalit during 2006 and 2008. While analyzing the enrollment trend by ethnic group in Banke district, the case was slightly different as seen in figure 12.

Figure 12. Enrollment Trend by Ethnic Group in the Last Five Years (2004-2008) in Banke District

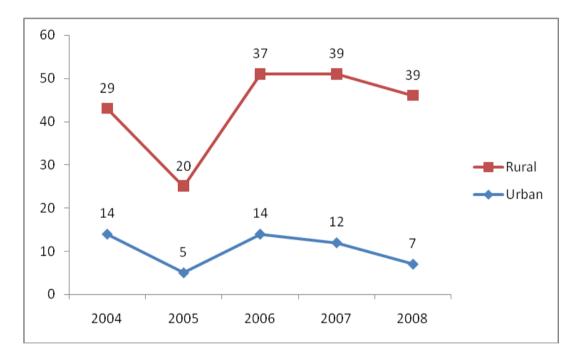


Note: Jana-N: Newar, BCT: Brahmin/Chetri/Thakuri, Jan-C: Marginalized group, Jana-D: Disadvantaged group and Jana-AB: Endangered group and High marginalized group.

It is evident from the above figure that to some extent Banke district was successful in attracting hill, and Janajati (category C and D) in the technical school. There was a slight increment trend of participation in these groups during 2005 to 2007 whereas, in 2008, the trend was decreasing. During 2007, the rate of participation from Janajati (category C) slightly declined. Similarly, participation of hill also slightly declined.

Further, if this increased trend was due to the initiatives taken by technical schools such as quota systems, scholarship etc, despite these initiatives, why there was no significant change. This issue has been further explored and elaborated in the next section in this chapter. Further, I analyzed the enrollment trend on the basis of location (urban/rural). The figure 13 and figure 14 below indicate these trends.

Figure 13. Location Wise Enrollment Trend in the Last Five Years (2004-2008) in Banke District



The above data indicates no significant difference in the patterns of participation from rural and urban region in Banke district. It is evident from the above data that there was a decreasing trend of participation in 2004 and increasing trend in 2006 from both regions. A decreasing trend of participation is evident since 2006 from the urban region whereas the participation from the rural region maintained the same pace. However, a different pattern is noticed in Dolakha district (Figure 14).

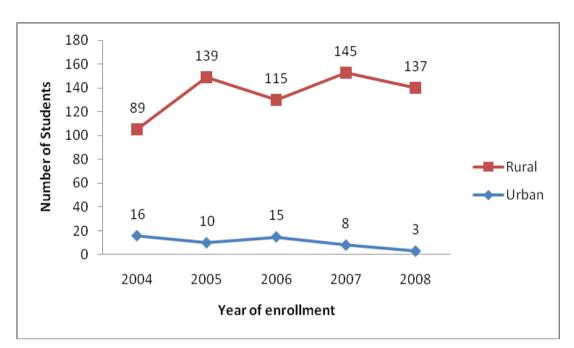
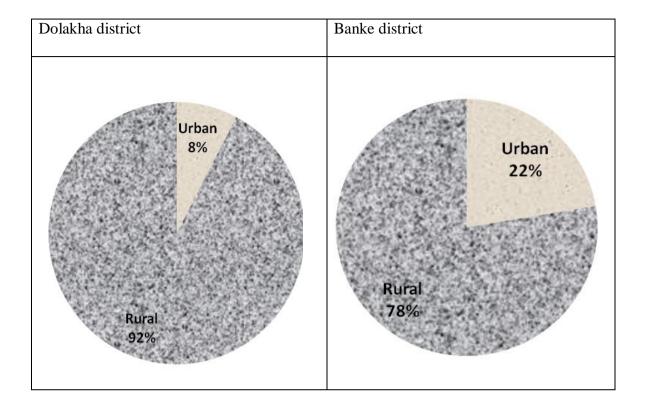


Figure 14. Location wise enrollment trend in the last five years (2004-2008) in Dolakha district

The above data shows that there was an intermittent participation trend from rural region in Dolakha district in the last five years, which is an opposite of participation trend from urban region. It is also evident that overall participation rate from the rural area in both districts was significant.

Further to these, the participation rate from the rural area was four times higher than urban region in Banke district and thirteen times higher than urban region in Dolakha district, evidenced by figure 15.

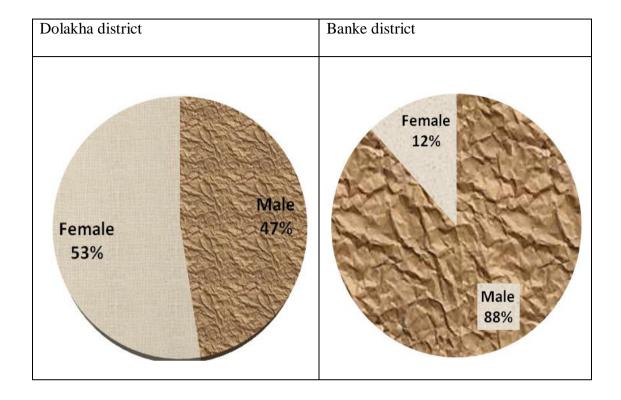
Figure 15. Trainees Enrollment by Location in the Last Five Years (2004-2008)



In my experience, Nepali society often considers TEVT as the education of poor, disadvantaged, and not for the elite in urban area. The above graphs and figures are in line with the TEVT policy of the access and inclusion of the geographically backward people. However, this set of data raise questions that whether this was the effort of technical schools that attracted people from rural segment of the society (by purpose). Or this could be due to the lack of interest among the youth residing in the urban society towards TEVT courses.

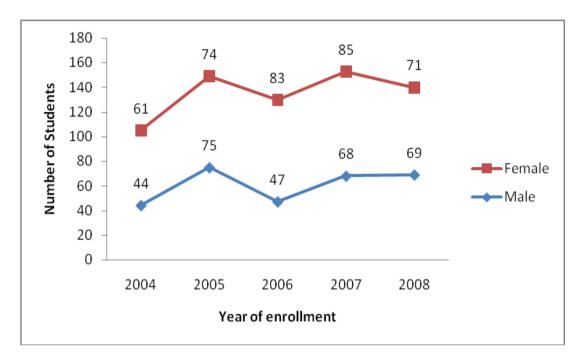
In line with this, I further analyzed the data to see the gender wise participation in both districts in the last five years. The figure 16 illustrates the details of participation ratio.

Figure 16. Trainees Enrollment by Gender in the Last Five Years (2004-2008)



The above figures reveal that the overall participation of female compared to male in the last five years in Banke district was much lower. Where as, with slightly higher rate of female participation, the ratio of male/female participation in Dolakha district was almost equal. However, I believe that the mere statistics cannot provide definite indicators of discrimination (Hawkesworth, 2006, p. 183). I have explained these data further by analyzing the gender wise participation trend. The figures 17 and 18 depict the trends in both districts separately.

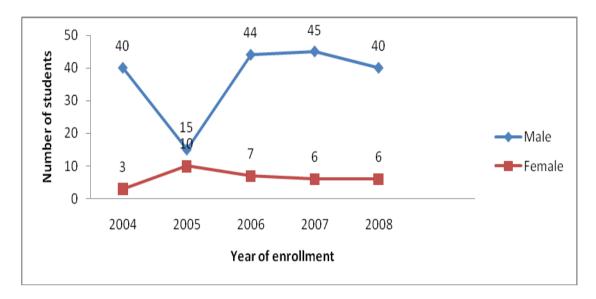
Figure 17. Gender Wise Enrollment Trend in the Last Five Years (2004-2008) in Dolakha District



While analyzing the above data, it reveals that there was an almost equal participation of male and female and maintained the similar participation trend till 2007 in the Dolakha district. After 2007, the participation trend was increased in male whereas there was a slight decline in female participation.

However, in Banke district, the participation pattern was comparatively significant as it revealed the opposite trend in male female participation in 2004 and 2005. After this period, the participation from both gender remained almost same except the slight downfall in male participation in 2007.

Figure 18. Gender Wise Enrollment Trend in the Last Five Years (2004-2008 in Banke District



From this data set from Banke district, it can be observed that it is not in line with the TEVT policy that focuses on access and equity and encourages the participation of all regardless of their age, sex, caste, ethnicity and geographical variations. Although the geographical (rural area) coverage was good in both districts, it was not that promising as it could not significantly attract the socially excluded groups in technical education. This further raises the question that whether the initiatives taken at different level comply with the norms of equitable distribution.

Issues of Equitable Access and Widening Participation

What determines equitable access in TEVT is often complex. However, interrelated list of factors such as spatial issues, affordability and access to information that determine the equitable access and widen participation are analyzed and discussed in terms of both promotion and barriers of social inclusion. For the purpose of understanding and analysis, I have explored these factors separately, whilst attempting to demonstrate how each influences the other.

Spatial Issues

Nepal is a country of geographical variations. There are urban/rural differences in access to markets, services and information (Bennet, 2003). Quite often, the regional disparity relates to the pace of economic development in different regions in our country. Regions that are better developed economically may also achieve a higher proportion of educated population. This implies that the regions far-away from the centers are more deprived in education provision in general which we can term as matter of "center and periphery". The concept of center and periphery assumes asymmetric power relations. It views the center as the socioeconomic nucleus and the periphery as a marginal area that indicates neglect, inferiority and poverty (Zarycki, 2002). In the access and equity of TEVT, matter of center and periphery is easily observed in terms of regional differences.

Nepal's centralized approach to development in the past resulted into establishing technical schools and training centers in the development regions and in urban areas. This is taken for granted that these institutes could cover the nearby districts. Somehow, it became true when we referred the last five years data taken from technical schools in Banke and Dolakha district for the purpose of trend analysis. Altogether students from seventy one districts have enrolled in technical schools in Dolakha and Banke. It has indicated the wider coverage of students from the study districts. The shaded area in the map indicates the coverage districts separately from each study district.

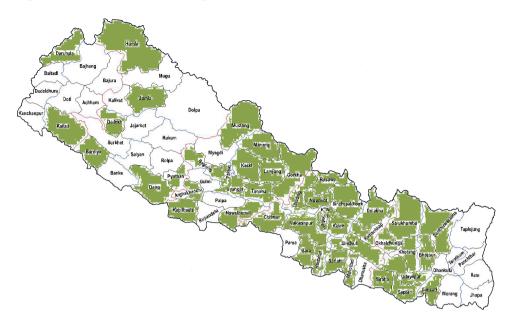


Figure 1919. District Coverage from the Technical Schools in Dolakha District

Source: five years data (2004-2008) from technical schools record in Dolakha

It is observed that in the last five years students from forty eight different districts have enrolled in technical schools in Dolakha district only. Similarly students from thirty nine districts have enrolled in Banke district. The figure below shows this evidence.

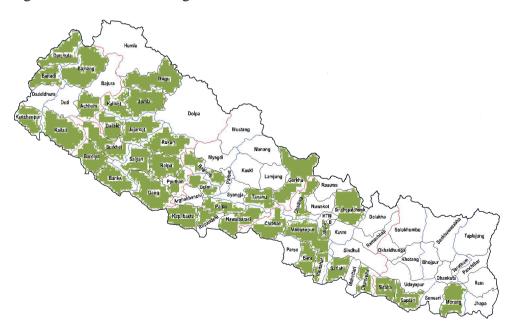


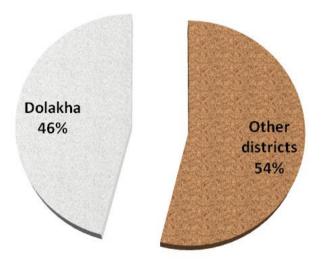
Figure 20. District Coverage from the Technical Schools in Banke District

Source: five years (2004-2008) data from technical schools record in Banke district

These two maps portray the positive figure regarding access and coverage no matter whether there was a student only once in five years or students were continuously participating in a similar ratio from the different districts. Further, how did these students reach the technical school? Did they feel easy or difficult? Was it their choice? Would it be more comfortable if there was another alternative closer to their place? These questions are further discussed in this chapter.

In this context, I noticed that there were more students who come from periphery to central institute compared to the number of students participating from the same district.

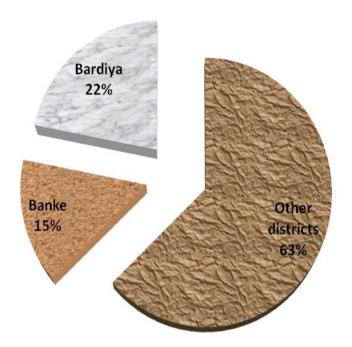
Figure 21. Percentage of Students' Enrollment in Technical Schools in Dolakha District from Other Districts as Compare to Dolakha District in the Last Five Years (2004-2008)



The above picture reveals that there was more than 50% students' participation from other than Dolakha district. This scenario was different in Banke district, where student from second nearby district (Bardiya) participated more as

compared to Banke district. In addition, a big percentage of students participated from other districts. The figure below depicts this fact.

Figure 22. Percentage of Students' Enrollment in Technical Schools in Banke
District from Other Districts as Compare to Banke District in the Last Five Years
(2004-2008)



All these data raised the question about why there was a low participation of the people from the same district where technical schools are located and why there was low participation of people from the excluded backgrounds. Is it because of demand side factors or the supply side factors? Tilak (2002) mentioned that the social attitudes to vocational education are not encouraging in many Asian countries. The negative attitude to manual work and the conception of VET as a system of education for the poor and educationally backward has created the poor social image of VET among people (Tilak, 2002). However, my concern here is different. There

is a gap in supply side thus it could not promote inclusive participation in the TEVT sector.

However, while discussing about such scenario of lower participation from the same district where the technical school is located as compare to other districts, principal of public technical school in Bheri proudly expresses it as a positive sign of increased and open access to the students from many districts. He said, "we include everyone from every corner of the country." However, it is one of the indications that access to TEVT in rural and remote area is problematic. The students who come from periphery normally spend few hours to few days to reach the center. Many rural people do not have easy access to TEVT courses because of the distance between where they live and the location of TEVT institution. It is not only time consuming to reach the training center, but students coming from remote places often face series of problems until they get admission. Sometimes, they have to enroll in another course with less job opportunity, although it is not their interest. One can argue, whether it is the deliberate discrimination created by the state by establishing technical schools only in limited areas. Is it due to the stereotyped administrative thinking that established technical schools in the centers without expanding logically to increase the access of all? As a result, this has become the cause of further suffering to those who are residing in the remote.

In line with this, Ram Singh Budha Chetri from Mugu district, currently studying Technical School Leaving Certificate (TSLC)/Mechanical/1st year in the public technical school, Nepalgunj said, "I came from rural village of Mugu. To reach to this place, it takes five to six days by walking. There is no road access. By flight, it takes 45 minutes. But it is difficult to get flights in rainy seasons. Even there is no flight in such seasons because of bad weather. Unfortunately, I did not

get admission in the trade which I wanted to be although I came from remote area. I got upset and wanted to go back home but I couldn't' do that because I already spent money to come to Nepalgunj. So, one of my friends told me about the quota on this trade and he suggested me not to waste my travel fare and time rather I apply for this trade. But I would be happy, if I would have joined electrical trade. There is a plan of installing electricity plant in my village in 5 VDCs soon. If I had done electricity trade then I would get job easier there in my own village."

This expression of one of the students from the remote district has revealed the reality that the mere access to TEVT courses is not necessarily benefitting the students, coming from rural area rather it becomes the factor of exclusion to entry the right course which they have aspired for. In the complex dynamics of social exclusion, I would call it as double exclusion, if not addressed this issue seriously, may hamper the efforts of promoting social inclusion. Further, this boy was forced to choose the course because of available quota, although this was not of his interest. This is not only in the case of this boy rather there are many evidences like this which I as a practitioner have experienced in the past. My concern was always about the set quota in specific courses that I term as 'inactive' courses. My experience suggests that the quota is set only for those courses which are less popular. If analyzed from the inclusion perspective, then the question comes, what are we promoting, the course or the inclusiveness?

However, the other sets of information that I collected and analyzed from training center revealed different scenario. I noticed that trainees' participation from the remote areas is excellent while following the record of students' participation in the courses. But while interacting face to face with the current students, there was a different reality. Although the record shows that there was a wider representation of

trainees from the rural area, in reality many of them were residing in the urban area since long. Mobility of people from rural to urban periphery is a common practice in Nepal. Such in-bound migration is further augmented due to armed conflict (Acharya, 2007). However, the practice and tendency to get citizenship from the district where their father/forefather resided has not been changed as this has been a mandatory government procedure. So the question might be raised regarding the access.

Further, while comparing the trainees from rural and urban areas, the picture of lack of affordability due to regional disparity is clearly seen. As indicated earlier, regional disparity influence the pace of economic development in different regions in the country. These students coming from remote places face problem not only once during their entry to the center but continuously during their living period. The statements given by Sarun Tamata, studying in electrical trade in private training center, Banke reveals the reality of such experiences of hardships due to geographical reason. He said, "I came from a remote village of Humla. It takes 6 days walk and 1 day 1 night in bus to reach to Nepalgunj. But in plane, 45 minutes and 2 days walk. When I knew that there is a free training, without knowing the nature of training, I collected 9000 rupees to come to Nepalgunj. It was my very first time, coming out of my place. Even I did not know the road and path. I had big blisters in my feet for which I received treatment in the hospital. I had phone number of the institutes given by one of the Member of Parliament from my district. I came to Nepalgunj and phoned this centre. But it was earlier than the entry date so I had to wait for 15 days. Later, I got admission, but did not have Citizenship because nobody told me about that which I submitted later only."

The above excerpt is indicative towards the weak recognition and implementation of the access agenda. It has indicated that mere explanation of the term in the policy document does not ensure the equitable access to TEVT course. Further, this can be termed as unintended discrimination. As Acharya⁵ (2007) pointed out, discrimination is not necessarily always open and deliberate but can be unofficial or subtle and unintended. It can be based on not only who you are but also on where you live.

In this context, I found few positive effects regarding equitable access and widening the participation of student. The in-reach initiatives taken by technical schools such as quota systems and the hostel facilities have somehow benefitted the students from remote places. I found that the quota system was in practice in all technical school and training center no matter whether these are under government scheme or under private. But there were several issues and concerns regarding quota system. First, due to the absence of uniform rules and stronger mechanism, there was no consistent understanding among the technical schools about the quota system. Second, the issue was the dissatisfaction from the students and trainees about the distribution of quota as they were blaming school administration for enrolling their own people rather than deserving candidates. Third issue was the sense of low acceptance or feeling of burden from the technical school itself while implementing a quota system. In line with these, when I was in Banke, I had an opportunity to observe the enrollment process for the new admission in public technical school. My field notes further add to this reality.

Today, I talk to few prospective students as well as with few instructors and principal involved in the selection process. The successful students were happy

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⁵ See Sushan Acharya's case study report on Social Inclusion: Gender and equality in education swaps in south Asia

whereas few unsuccessful students were blaming the school administration for their biasness. They were demanding school to tell them the rule of quota distribution. Even, I saw arguments between instructors and these applicants. I wanted to see the principal to know the further reality but I knew that principal was in the quarter and would not come out untill the selection process end. This made me further curious to know the reality (field note, 24 June, 2010).

The next day when I talked to the principal of public technical school, I was further surprised that he was pressurized to answer my query as he himself was not in favor of the quota system. He repeatedly said that "we must follow the quota system because it is the government rule. We cannot avoid it but in reality who does not want to bring their own caste group from their place." With this remark one can argue that the feeling of 'Afno Manche' (Bista, 1991) is deeply rooted in the TEVT system which is the hindering factor for the principle of equitable distribution. In other words, it is the indication of in-group/out-group behavior (Sumner, as cited in Rao, 2006, pp. 234-235) and as described by Max Weber, it is the social closure which is the tendency of certain groups to restrict entry to outsider in order to maximize their own benefit (Weber, 1946). It has indicated that the powerful groups with distinctive cultural identities and institutions restrict the access of outsiders to valued resources through a process of social closure (Silver, 1995, p. 76). Further, I asked myself, is it true when someone has power, one can always imagine taking it away from him (Riesman, 1951, p. 162). If so, is it the indication that in-group (the privileged) are afraid of giving away their power?

With the intention to excavate the reality, I checked with the principal of public technical school at Dolakha about how quota system was applied and how it was taken by students and general public. He indicated that the quota system was

well known to general public as they give explanation to the people while distributing forms and also during advertisement. He further remarked that they have never felt any arguments or misunderstanding about it. This information was further verified by the responses of the current students at public technical school at Dolakha who also indicated the same when they said, "we are aware of quota", "quota is for dalit and women" etc.

Being a TEVT practitioner, I would argue that the social inclusion cannot be substituted with the mere distribution of the training opportunity to those who are excluded. Social inclusion process must go beyond the head counting or increasing the number to fill the gap of underrepresentation. Assigning quotas in the form of affirmative action has been creating passive individuals rather than the active citizen. Further, the practice of quota distribution in TEVT sector has not been effective to address the need of a person rather facilitating the process of double exclusion. Assigning quotas in few courses only has limited the opportunities for women and disadvantaged groups as they forced to apply for only those courses which has quota, but not the course of their interest.

In addition, such notion of assigning quotas in the form of affirmative action is synonymous with the reverse discrimination as opined by conservative feminist (Hawkesworth, 2006, p. 181). Such affirmative action may overlook the need of the merit based and hardworking individuals as such reverse discrimination imposes the cost of compensation upon innocent individuals. At the same time, it may allow school administrators and employers in engaging these abuses to demonstrate their 'good faith' to the government (Hawkesworth, 2006, pp. 181-182). This situation at one hand may only increase the number of students and on the other hand it undermines the competitiveness due to government's subjective vision of the good

upon the society at large (Hawkesworth, 2006, p. 181). Further, focusing only on mere head counting may limit the notion of social inclusion as integration only. Social inclusion is more than the social integration and must be viewed in terms of differentiation and the cultural diversity (UNRISD, 1994).

Accordingly, hostel facility is another in-reach initiative available in few technical schools only. It appeared as an effective initiative to widen the participation. Public technical school in Dolakha provides full board facilities for its students that encourage them to participate in course with full enthusiasm.

However, public technical school in Banke provides hostel facility for girls only. While talking to girl students and principal of public technical school in Banke, I found that the girls were more encouraged and feel secured due to hostel facility. For instance, their participation was increased in several trades.

The reality was different with male students. As there was no hostel facility for them, they rented the house bearing the additional cost of rent. In Banke, almost all students from technical schools and training centers (except girl students in public technical school) whom I interviewed were residing in rented house. Similarly, majority of students from private technical school, Dolakha were also living in rented house which was shared among friends. In an average the rent was 400 rupees to 1000 rupees per month (source: current students in Dolakha), which is the extra cost for their study. Further, residing in rented house is already time consuming as they have to do cooking, cleaning and travel to school.

In my belief, knowing the reality but failing to respond to it is against the norm of social justice. While discussing with principals and training centre managers, I experienced that they were quite aware of the reality but pretended to be satisfied as they could provide information to the sponsor (if it is sponsored

program) or to the authority as ritual. They were more focused towards the achievement of the criteria set by the sponsor (may be CTEVT or the donor agency) as an outcome rather than showing concern about the process that facilitates the participation of socially excluded groups. It indicates that the numbers are more important than the reality of who have access to the services. Hence, the records of participation were highly valued whether this was the government body or the donor agency. I observed these cases in both districts. Following remarks from principals and training center managers in both districts exhibits the reality. "We are the best in fulfilling the coverage." "Please check our records; we have trainees from many districts, women, men, dalit, and janajati as per our criteria." "We cover everyone; even we have participants from terai."

The above analysis reveals that access is one of the dimensions of social inclusion. However, spatial issues is also there as the hindering factor for increasing access. Exploring the better means to address these spatial issues may help to achieve the principle of access. The situation already calls for the strengthening of the current practices of in-reach initiatives too.

Access to information is another factor that determines equitable access of TEVT which I have discussed in the next subsection.

Access to Information

Information is power. Information and individual advice and guidance services are essential to assist socially excluded groups in finding their way in the TEVT system. Advice is necessary to support them with choosing the right course and exploring options for financial support. The correct and right information obviously decrease the uncertainty or ambiguity. Ambiguity relates to a perceived or actual lack of information or knowledge on part of the agent (Voigt, 2007). In

this study, the qualitative data revealed a significant asymmetry in information about various aspects of the TEVT. I found that while some applicants had access to information through family, peers or schools, many applicants lacked access to such information. Although, technical school and training centre had claimed to use various means to disseminate information to the target groups, but the question was how these pieces of information were disseminated? Who gets and who misses such information?

Information through the radio and pamphlets were in use in both districts. However, in the remote area, students hardly got information about the course from the primary source especially from the school or school representative who could give true information. The potential students normally got information from the secondary sources such as DDC, VDC representatives or the political party's members. These people were informally used by technical schools and training centers as their message was received well by the public. It was found that community representatives, political parties are honored with different level of prestige in the society. Their saying and the information given by them was considered to be the truth that increased the believability of the message.

We tend to believe those who we regard the most. In line with this, one of the Students from Humla, studying in private training center, Nepalgunj, Banke attributed to this reality when he said, "I did not know about any training in my village. We are not informed about such things because our place is very remote.

One of the ex- Member of Parliament from United Marxist Leninist (UML) informed and suggested few of us to go to this training. He said that this training is free of cost. My other friends did not come because of Ropain (planting of seedling in the

paddy field) time. My mother was also restricting me to go but my father suggested me for this course."

The above excerpt reveals that if the information came from the trustful source only, then it was believable. The ex- Member of Parliament was respectful as well as powerful person in that community and information given by him was well regarded. Such social honor or prestige is expressed in social relationships, in how we interact with each other and at the same time indicates the form of power differentiation (Weber, 1946).

Similar situation was noted in Dolakha district as well. The lady working in District Development Committee (DDC) was influential in motivating trainees for the training. The lady having the connection or job in the government earned the due respect from the community and her message was well taken by them considering it as believable and influential. The following excerpt from the field notes (14 September, 2010) is the evidence for this.

Today, I had interactions with students from private training center,

Dolakha. According to them, Sunita from DDC while visiting village, shared about
the free course offered by private training center, Dolakha. They believed this lady
very much as she is a trusted person in the whole villages although she visits them
only on specific occasions. This time, she motivated three students from that village
for the course in private training center, Dolakha.

I asked students in private training center, in Dolakha, about the reason why they believe Sunita (the lady working in DDC). They said that Sunita knows many things about training, job and she was the well wisher of their village and they were sure that she never told lie. It indicated the believability of the message which was directly related to the person who delivers this message. All these examples were

the form of social relations that constituted social capital that provided information. An important form of social capital is the potential for information that inheres in social relations which facilitate actions (Coleman, 1988, p.104). Further, it was her trustworthiness and the established social networks which facilitated these actions. Trust relates to the "cognitive" side of social capital and social networks refer to the ties between individuals or groups and are the "structural" element of social capital (Baum & Ziersch, 2003, pp. 320–323).

There was a clear difference in the kind and quality of information provided by schools. Private technical schools and training centers provided a variety of information to their students, which contrast markedly with the situation at public technical schools and training centers. Public institutes normally use FM radio and pamphlets. The information is received by students either by themselves or the information is relayed from other sources before reaching them.

Relating it with my previous experiences, when I was curious about the usefulness of using FM radio and pamphlet as the mandatory practices in technical schools and asked the principals of technical schools, they always said that it was what they were doing and it was working. From the field experience, I found this as a stereotyped activity that had been practiced for years. Although the information did not reach through these sources, technical schools were repeatedly using this practice as it belonged to the set norm of the system. However, it is found out that using such blanket rules is not helpful to promote access rather it may go into wastes if people relied on other sources of information than these.

Further to add up, during my transect walk to one of the VDC in Dolakha, I found that the people were aware of technical education provided by public technical school in Dolakha and they were aware of emerging private technical

schools too. Some of them knew about the training centers also. However, many of them did not know about the nature of courses and the admission rules and other procedures. The excerpt from one of the villager was like this, "the public technical school in Dolakha is old one and we know it provides technical trainings to our children. Now a day there are other technical schools and training centers in Dolakha. I heard that they also provide trainings but I don't' know what types of training they provide and they charge fee also. Some of them provide free training but these are for dalit and Janajati only."

The other important aspects of information dissemination are the quality and relevance. How meaningful the information is and how it is disseminated is essential to judge while discussing access, equity and participation. I believe that the way information is communicated from the technical school and training centers definitely help to increase the access. Due to the information that described the relevance and the value of the course, one boy decided to join the vocational course. The same boy, receiving house wiring and building electrician course in private technical school, Banke said, "my cousin brothers are staying in Adarshnagar. They informed me about this free training so I left my study (I was studying in grade 11 in Surkhet) and came here to get this training. The reason I came to receive this training is to find a job after the course. This training provides us license which is very important for job."

However, I noticed that when information is not relevant of quality and value of training, then it is not helpful for the student to make an informed choice.

Further, the schools and training centers provide information only for the purpose of bringing trainees in the course rather than informing students about the courses itself and giving them an opportunity to choose the course. The principal of public

technical school in Banke equated with this reality when he said, "this time, we mobilized our staffs to bring students from different villages. We also informed nearby DDC, VDC for potential interested candidates." It is important to note that the communication in terms of course was not really relevant and important for the principal but more important was to fulfilling the quota. The same principal further described that "we normally provide information in pamphlet which covers the courses available, entrance date, course commencing date and the cost. Now a day we also quote that there is a priority to dalit, janajati and women."

Further, in many cases, students do not receive first hand information about the nature of course and its potential impact on their livelihood rather it is relayed from one source to another resulting into dissemination of the partial information about the course. For example, without an opportunity to interact with the providers, students get information about the course only in terms of free ship, certificate or license, job perspectives etc. This has created uncertainty for the student's side to choose or not to choose the course as well as confusion even after joining the course for continuing or discontinuing the course. This uncertainty is reflected in the students' experiences of their decision-making process too. One of the students in public technical school, Banke said, "Now I realize I chose this course without knowing much about it. I have almost spent a year and still not convinced that this course is really beneficial for my future. I would have asked questions during the admission. But who would answer my questions? I still remember the day when I came for admission, I wanted to ask few questions about the course, but I was not heard rather asked to choose this course or go back home. Other courses were already full and only this course had leftover seats. It was really difficult making sensible decisions, when I received only patches of

information. I realize now, even I didn't know what further questions to ask. It was terrible."

Further, lack of incomplete and inappropriate information is restricting to include real target group rather it is attracting those who may not require such courses. However, people think that the course may bring some benefit in future, so they spend some time for it when it is free of cost. The words from Kabita who was enrolled in computer course in public training center, Banke indicate this fact when she said, "I am married and have two children. I work in cooperatives. My husband is working in road department. We are living in a family quarter. My husband told me about this computer course which is free of cost. I'm learning this thinking that it might be useful in future."

It points that this course was not the immediate requirement for her. Further, it can be argued that increasing access of TEVT courses has been implied towards the increment of mere access rather it focused on increasing access to those who require it. This piece of data indicates that when the motto of training center is to bring people in the course to meet their criteria it is not their concern about who is receiving such courses. Because of such occurrence, the other person who would require this course had been excluded from this opportunity.

There was a more of "I think" rather than "we think" as highlighted by

Freire's version of knowledge. According to Freire, knowledge is a process which

presumes the dialectic situation not strictly the "I think" but the "we think". It is not

the "I think" that constitutes "we think" but it is just opposite (Freire, 1985, pp. 99
100). However, I sensed that there was a feeling of "what we know is known to

others" among the school principals. The school and training centers have a feeling

that information about their courses is known to general public. This led to the

situation in which much of what needs to be known by students and parents is taken for granted. The remarks from a principal from public technical school, Dolakha indicates this when he said "normally what we offer is known to many nearby districts. Still we send them pamphlets through post. We announce the course through Radio Nepal and national news daily Gorakhapatra too." I equate this statement with the persisted power dynamics due to which it ignored the facts that not all the people would have access to news through national media. Again, as the philosophy of Foucault, power is related with the knowledge and the knowledgeable person knows everything (De Fina, 2006). In this context even the knowledge of others is known.

This is the perception only from one perspective which may lead to restriction of the access to information to the excluded groups. However, when there is an attempt to increase access to information for equitable access and widening participation with the improved strategies, then it would be beneficial to many.

Affordability Issues

Economic factors play a crucial role in raising subjective chances of success. At one hand, the increasing demand for the TEVT seems likely to outpace the states involvement of present financing arrangements to pay for it. On the other hand, people's hardship to afford TEVT services rise broad question "who should pay? Although, this study was not aimed to identify the exact answer for this question, however, it has attempted to uncover the reality regarding the affordability of general public to get the TEVT services.

Nepal government with its past experience has already realized that one of the alternative measures to ensure access is the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the context of education for all and it is reflected in the framework outlined by the national plan of action: 2001-2015 (MOE, 2003). In the case of TEVT, no successive political promises regarding cost have been made so far to ensure that all who are in need will have access to the TEVT except the exemption of fee for deserving candidates as described by CTEVT rules applicable in CTEVT run technical schools only. This is important to note that there was no specific rule found to be applied in TSLC level which was my study category. As per the principal of the technical schools, they follow the criteria set for the specific trades such as Health, Engineering and Agriculture in diploma and certificate level.

The scholarships provision is also found to be varied from school to school. Public technical school, Banke provides 300 rupees per month to total thirteen students from dalit, madhesi, janajati, and women and students from remote area (source: school records, public technical school, Banke) whereas public technical school, Dolakha provides 365 rupees per month to total twelve students from dalit, madhesi, janajati, and women and students from remote area (source: school records, public technical school, Dolakha). Public technical school, Dolakha also provides 350 rupees per month to the 50% of its total students. It is also noted that few students in this school are also supported by local Non Government Organizations (NGO) and Community Based Organization (CBO) (Source: school records, public technical school, Dolakha).

Further, my experience during the interaction with my research participants indicated that even with a provision of small amount of scholarships, students are attracted to come to the TEVT programs. The field note also supports this. "To increase the access in the TEVT, even a small amount becomes the great contributing factor." (field note 27 June, 2010)

In addition, most of the students from training center and technical schools mentioned that if there is a scholarship for them at least to cover their fee, there will be more participation in future. One of the student said that "if there was a scholarship provision, a friend from my village would surely come. But what to do, she is poorer than us and paying fee is beyond the capacity of her mother. Even they do not have enough for feeding themselves."

When there is a direct link of access to information with several issues including information on scholarships, the quality and relevance of the information is also equally important. When information is clear and complete, it is easier for them to access to scholarship. Quite often, I noticed that students get improper and/or incomplete information about the scholarship provision as well as the requirement they have to fulfill such as certified papers from the VDC to prove that he or she belongs to poor family, they tend to lose the opportunity to be benefitted from the scholarship. The remarks from one of the students in public technical school in Banke illustrate this. "I did not know about the scholarship. Nobody told me about this. But when one of my friends knew and applied for it, I also did the same. But I don't know much on what basis the scholarship is distributed."

In addition, when there is no proper and/or convincing information given to students, it creates misunderstanding between students and school. I found that few students were not happy with the scholarship provision as they were repeatedly bringing up their experience of partiality in scholarship distribution. In line with this, Shiva Pun Magar, studying in public technical school in Banke, said, "I'm from Salyan Thapachaur, a remote village. My family is poor and relies on agriculture and small shop which is not enough for our livelihood so we do labour work too.

My fee is paid by my family either by borrowing from the neighbors or paid by my

married sister. I did not get scholarship although I belong to Janajati instead one of our Brahmin (Neupane) friend got it. Neupane is able to pay and he is from Kailali district (less remote than Salyan) got the scholarship. My family is poor and continuously facing problem to send my rent and food."

"It's not *what* you know, it's *who* you know" is related with the features of social capital which includes social network, ties and connections (Woolcock, 2002). The above situations have indicated the benefits of having social tie and negative impact of not having social tie. These remarks also advise us that we must not blind ourselves to the institutional context within which these networks are embedded (Woolcock, 2002).

In addition, these situations raised two specific questions: is the criteria exactly followed to distribute the scholarships? And were students well informed about the specific criteria for scholarships? Further, it was also noted that students who were studying in Banke most frequently shared their difficulties regarding finance but students studying in public technical school and private technical school in Dolakha did not explain any specific issues about the hardships of payment even their study cost was borne by their parents. This raised a further question, whether there was a relationship regarding the location and the financial hardship. Likewise, whether there should be a different scheme of scholarship as per the location for fair distribution of the scholarship to promote social justice. Fair distribution is one of the four key principles of social justice. These are: equal citizenship, the social minimum, equality of opportunity and the fair distribution (Miller, 2005 as cited in Christie, McLachlan & Swales, 2008)

While analyzing the information from training centers, the scenario was little satisfying. The training was provided at almost free of cost as there was no fee

charged by public training centers and the training centers with sponsored programs from donors. However, I'm not convinced that these courses are completely free. Of course, the course is free of cost, but it also incurs the indirect cost such as travel fare and cost of living which is quite often difficult for trainees to pay. Hence, as mentioned earlier, in analyzing equity and access to the TEVT, it is crucial to examine affordability in terms of ability to pay taking into account direct costs and indirect costs of training. This applied to both categories of students either studying in technical schools or in short courses where parents are responsible for bearing the indirect costs of training. It is to be noted that there were few trainees from excluded groups receiving support from specific donor organizations or CBOs, INGOs. Parents of such students were relieved from this burden. However, the short courses are for short duration, so burdens are not prolonged.

On the one hand, many have recognized that socially excluded groups are disadvantaged in many aspects including their economic status. On the other hand, it is often voiced that the TEVT courses while compared to general education are very expensive and beyond the reach of poor. This financing burden of the TEVT course is in the shoulder of general public. It is often parents who pay the fees and other indirect costs for their children. People perceive education in terms of return on investment considered as a means of earning (Parajuli, 2002, p.131). Hence the TEVT is directly associated with income and employability.

Despite the hardships to arrange money, parents were found to be financially supporting their children at any cost and with any means. Their intention to support their children was to assist them to obtain TEVT, thinking that once the course is completed, there will be an opportunity for work and income. Santosh B.K. studying in public technical school, Banke illustrates these realities when he said,

"I'm from Kailali, Durgauli, ward no 9, Jagatpur VDC. When I wanted to study this course, my father was restricting me, saying that the place is too distant from home. He said this because he would not be able to bear the cost of my study. Later, my father sold our cow to arrange money for my admission. Now he sends some money and cereals for my living. I know this is hard for him but he is assured that after this course, I will get job and payback to him."

In addition, as the TEVT education is always seen from the return on investment perspectives, students themselves are encouraged to take the course at any cost. The following remarks from Rani Chaudhari, student of public technical school, Banke illustrate the fact.

"We are nine members in our family. My parents are always upset because there is no son in my family. My father is very poor. We have only 15 kattha land which is not enough for our livelihood thus, we work in others land too (Bataiya Lagaune). When I came here to study, we did not have enough money. My father was not ready to send me to study as he could not offer. But my married sister, living in Nepalgunj insisted my father to send me to study. She herself gave me 2000 rupees. My father also borrowed money from "Gramin Bikash Mahila Samuha". He borrowed 10,000 rupees from there to pay my fee and some amount for my livelihood. It is not enough for one year. So whenever, there is a vacation, I go back to village and do labour work in the paddy field. I earn 130-150 rupees per day."

In this context, I observed that school also plays positive roles in facilitating the access to the course in terms of affordability by giving them opportunity to pay their due in installments. Durga Thapa (Chetri), studying in private technical school, Banke, said that, "I had to pay 20,000 rupees during admission to study this Amin

course. This amount is big for us because my father's income is only his pension (he is a retired postman). We also have small lands and cattle but we are thirteen members in family from two mothers. We never have savings to afford our study. My mother sold her gold ornaments and few goats for my course. But I was unable to pay these 20,000 rupees at once so I had to request school administration to accept it on installment. School administration was very positive and accepted my proposal."

I noted a similar case in private technical school in Dolakha when principal said, "The students from excluded groups cannot pay their fee and always keep the due. During the time of filling the form for exam, we ask them to clear the due and also warn them that they are not allowed to sit for exam. However, they do not pay rather they become ready to quit. We are forced to clear their fee, suggesting them to payback when they can. Otherwise, we cannot meet the target."

While relating these facts with the initiatives taken by schools and training centers, I found it questionable. Although, it appeared that the technical school was supporting the students either with the installment provision or by paying fee from the school itself, the question is: is it purposeful contribution in increasing access and widening participation, or is it the rule of the game that is played by the school to make money from students at any cost? Such lending, which should be paid later by student or their parents within the training period anyhow, will not reduce the financial burden of parents. On the other, these cases were noted only in private technical schools. It might be beneficial for the schools to fulfill the given admission quota, maintain the regularity of the students or retain the students (low dropouts) and enhance the capacity and image of the school.

However, whatever is the purpose, for the time being this is an excellent support for those students, not able to pay. However, this is a real challenge in the TEVT sector not to be mistaken that there is no financial problem among the students, otherwise the real financial burden in the TEVT might be overlooked.

Chapter Essence

Equitable distribution of the TEVT is imperative to ensure social justice as well as to enhance social inclusion. This chapter was my attempt to analyze the real phenomena of social inclusion/exclusion practices at institutional level. During these discussions, I observed that access and equity are relative terms which might confuse people with the mere data when the reality may be different. However, there are few promoting factors and also barriers to social inclusion. Although the terms like equity, justice, investment, financing etc. are used quite frequently in the everyday discussion, in reality these terms are not addressed adequately leading to confusion, possibility of bias and unfairness restricting the widening participation. The principle barriers to access, equity and widening participation are found in institutional funding arrangements, the admissions process and the quality of information disseminated to the public. Further, there are ranges of issues which are not addressed at institutional level. These are spatial barrier, financial barrier, information lacking etc.

CHAPTER VII

BEING A STUDENT OF TEVT: FEELING OF INCLUSION/EXCLUSION

In the previous chapters, I discussed the meaning of social inclusion in the political discourse as well as efforts of translating such meanings into the everyday practices. This chapter is the extended discussion of the previous chapters in which I intend to elaborate about how targeted people (in this case, socially excluded individual) perceive social inclusion, its relevance for bringing changes in their lives and in the society. Further, building on and drawing from conclusions that I have made in the previous chapters, this chapter continues with the discussion and analysis of the perceived outcome of social inclusion in relation to the critical parameters of analysis such as social justice, social rights, empowerment and transformation.

While analyzing these aspects, the chapter is developed into sections and subsections that describe the complete phenomena in terms of individuals' experiences regarding entry to course, during the course and after the course. This chapter has presented few specific cases that are relevant to describe these phenomena in details.

What Supports or Restricts the Entry into TEVT Courses?

I started this section with a story of a dalit girl from the remote village who struggled for the opportunity and life chances in the social spheres. The story depicts how the social forces restrict women to enter the TEVT and how her inner motive and the family support encourage her to enter the TEVT. Her story is like this:

Laxmi B.K is from Okhaldhunga, a rural village, which is one and half days far from the public technical school in Dolakha. She belongs to poor family. She is a first girl to join construction trade (civil sub overseer) from her village. Although she is SLC passed she thought that with the general education, she won't be able to get job in future. Where as, seeing that other people were employed after the course, she thought, with the technical education, she will be able to get job. When she heard about this course from Dolakha FM, she asked her father whether she should go for this. Her father supported this idea and accompanied her to come for entrance test. She proudly says that "although my parents are illiterate they always supported me to study." But she had experienced that how others were against their decision. Especially her relatives and neighbors tried to discourage them by saying that being a girl it might be difficult for her to go far away from home, she won't be successful in entrance, she should go to field with boys etc. etc. Even they were frightening her parents that if she goes out from home, then they better forget her. But her parents were determined that if she is enrolled in this trade then her life will be changed in many aspects. In her own words "hami garib bhayera mancheharule hepera teso bhaneka hun, ma paisa kamaune bhaya pachi ta tesai jhuki halchan ni." She was expressing her feelings that it is all due to their poverty, once she starts earning everyone pay regards to her.

The above story is the mirror of societal perception towards women as compared to men who stigmatize them as being incapable to compete in technical courses. These types of stigma are most formidable for the girls which restrict them to enter the TEVT course. In a patriarchal society like ours, where parents are always worried about the marriage of their daughters (Parajuli, 2002, p. 133), and do not expect economic return from them, educating a women is given a low priority. However, the above story is different in nature as it has shown that how parents value and recognize the need of educating daughters contrary to the existing norms of society.

Although all individuals and groups are competent and capable of bringing about changes that they deserve, there are individuals and groups whose human agencies are disabled by social structures and institutions. As pointed out by Giddens (1984), placing systematic and permanent limitations on one's ability to exert power is a negation of one's very humanity (as cited in Kumar, 2010). Hence, the need is the realization of one's very humanity to realize the innate human potential and slowly escaping away from the state of powerlessness. In line with this, the family support she received from her parents made Laxmi to be able to defeat the strong social forces as she was empowered with the family backstopping. This again enabled her to change mindset about her role as a mere women.

Further, I would like to relate this with the term micro power which is the intimate and private realm of power. The intimate realm has to do with one's sense of self, personal confidence, and relationship to body and health. The private realm refers to relationships and roles in families, friends (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). In this context, due to family support, Laxmi became able to realize her intimate and private realms of power in the power dynamics that led her to enter the TEVT course.

In addition, I perceived this as an indication of social inclusion which has a direct link with the positive social capital within the family. Although the financial capital of the family and the human capital of the parents were weak, the positive social capital in the family facilitated the creation of human capital for the next generation (Coleman, 1988, pp. 110-111). It also indicates that the TEVT is taken for granted for the economic achievement (creation of financial capital) as well as for the educational achievement (human capital) ultimately to attain social status. For instance, people are encouraged to obtain technical education is obvious for

these reasons. In the above case, Laxmi, although she is SLC pass, she chose TEVT course. Her remarks clearly show the reason of choosing the TEVT is nothing else but to broaden the scope of social capital.

While analyzing the aspects of social inclusion in the TEVT, this case has mirrored the role of the TEVT in social inclusion too. There is a positive sign that Laxmi's level of confidence and her forward looking approach would eventually contribute towards social transformation and social justice and in this aspect, it is not wrong to say that the TEVT has played a key role.

A little different story can be traced in relation to a dalit boy and the societal support that encouraged him to apply for the technical education in a mechanical trade.

Chandra Jung Sunar is from one of the village in Kailali. He is currently studying in mechanical trade in public technical school, Banke. He received full scholarship from CTEVT and is thankful to CTEVT that made him to enter to this course. He is from poor family and they wouldn't' be able to bear the cost has he not received scholarship. He was encouraged to apply for this course due to the employment potential that he saw few passed out students working in mechanical workshop and earning good. His family has an "Aaran" (traditional metal craft) and he wants to continue same work but with modern technology. He was encouraged by his family and one of his neighbors to join this course. This neighbor also informed him about the availability of the scholarship provision. He proudly says that he did very well by joining this course.

As previously mentioned, the picture is little different in this case. In this case the underlying idea of social exclusion implies a situation of low socioeconomic status of a person. The public policy to address the social exclusion with the provision of scholarship has made him choose the career in the TEVT. We had a

similar discussion regarding this scholarship provision in the chapter six. This case further elaborates that the scholarships provision is one of the encouraging forces to socially excluded group to enter the TEVT courses.

In addition, feeling of pride about own caste and own profession was also seen in this case as Mr. Sunar was encouraged to continue his forefathers' indigenous skill using the modern techniques. While interacting with him, I asked him further about what made him think in that way. His answer was relevant to quote here for further analysis. He said, "In the previous days, my forefathers were simply working for others as per their demand. What types of tools to develop and how much to charge was not at their control. Even with the great skills at hand, they became poorer and poorer but not because of them. It is because of others choice that forces them to work for the so called upper class people. I want to break this tradition by developing new tools and selling those in the market with the set price that includes my labour and creativity."

From the above quote, being a TEVT practitioner, it enlightens me that socially excluded people want to enter the TEVT course not only for the employment but for bringing changes and fighting against the injustice existed in the society. As per the Rawalsian approach, social inclusion is for social justice (Rawls, 1971); hence the encouraging force to enter the TEVT is to break the pattern of injustice. Considering that fairness as a social justice and what is fair in this case is the claimed wage and the value of the products prepared.

My Participation in the Course: My Choice, My Decision

"... to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others." — Nelson Mandela (1995)

Freedom is about the ability to decide, to choose. While our analysis describes about how an individual from socially excluded group experience his or her participation in the TEVT course, I find that the above quote is meaningful to relate with. Giving a mere opportunity to participate in the TEVT course may not necessarily address the need of socially excluded groups as per their capacity and interest. Amartya Sen has convincingly argued that the exercise of freedom is ensured only when there is a balance between an individual rights and capabilities (Sen, 1999). Then the issue that must be discussed is how far socially excluded groups enjoy the freedom of choice in the participation of the TEVT course.

I have analyzed their freedom of choice under different themes such as gender, quota system, poor guidance, mistrust and perceptual bias from the school and training center that may limit their capacity to participate in the chosen course. I have analyzed these factors as these are the positive factors for social exclusion process by which certain groups are systematically disadvantaged because of discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity, race, gender, religion, caste, age and the place where they live. Further, discrimination occurs in public institutions such as health or educational services, as well as social institutions such as household and in the community (DFID, 2005 as cited in Acharya, 2007).

Scholarship, Quota and Participation

Many students from excluded groups are forced to participate in the course offered to them rather than the course they desire to take. In the name of increasing participation of excluded groups, school set the quota and/or scholarship for those courses only which are not much preferred by other students. This is arguable that excluded groups get only left over courses from others meaning they are further excluded from receiving the better opportunity. It is evident from these two cases of

student studying in public technical school Banke and public technical school, Dolakha.

I came from Rolpa district a remote area thus, received 50% scholarship to study in this program. Actually, I came to join electrical trade, but I was not successful to get admission in that trade. So teachers at this school suggested me to apply in mechanical trade, if I'm applying for remote quota. So I did. Of course, I knew there were other courses but what to do there was no remote quota left. (a student from public technical school, Banke)

I'm Madan Thami from Dolakha. I'm receiving 350 rupees per month from the school. I joined this course from Janajati quota. I was interested to study construction trade as it has a high job potential. But teacher from public technical school, Dolakha suggested me to apply for agriculture trade as there was less competition and also quota was available. (a student from public technical school, Dolakha)

These two cases depicted the negative effects of scholarship and quota provision which was limiting the participation of students in their preferred course. It is evident that how unknowingly school promotes exclusion and creates class among students. In this regard, Amartya Sen draws distinctions between the situations where some people are being kept out, and where some people are being included in deeply unfavorable terms. He has described the two situations as "unfavorable exclusion" and "unfavorable inclusion." The "unfavorable inclusion", with unequal treatment may carry the same adverse effects as "unfavorable exclusion" (Sen, 2000). This case, I would consider, as "unfavorable inclusion" which is even worse than the "unfavorable exclusion". Even, I would argue with my experiences in the TEVT sector that such evidences have clearly revealed the picture

of persisted hypocrisy of the TEVT sector which is against the norm of social justice.

Further, referring to what Amartya Sen has described about another type of exclusion in terms of active or passive. Active exclusion is due to the fostering of exclusion through the deliberate policy interventions by the government, or by any other willful agents (to exclude some people from some opportunity), whereas the passive exclusion works through the social process in which there are no deliberate attempts to exclude, but nevertheless, may result in exclusion from a set of circumstances (Sen, 2000). I found that this provision of quota and scholarship as the school's policy contributing to foster the active exclusion of excluded groups.

The reason of such happenings was due to the so called balancing the number of students in the courses and the equal distribution of quota in each course regardless of people's interest or the job provision of such courses. Nevertheless, it is also realized that the quota and scholarship systems are still motivating factors for them to come to TEVT courses.

Social Stigma and Participation

Another issue that I dealt with was the deeply ingrained taboo and stigma regarding girls and dalit. In the name of increasing participation of girls in the technical subjects, they are stigmatized as being weak, incapable and less intelligent as compared to boys.

Girl students from public technical school, Banke and public technical school, Dolakha frequently reported that they were forced to choose secretarial trade in public technical school, Banke and ANM or Agriculture trade in public technical school, Dolakha instead of other trades. One of the students from public technical school, Banke pointed out that "the teacher suggested girls to join secretarial or

civil trade and not the mechanical trade. Because girls cannot do metal works, it is tough for them. But secretarial and civil is easy and clean work for them." Similar statement was given by principal of public technical school, Banke when asked about why all the girls were asked to apply for the secretarial course? He said that "the secretarial course is easy and clean, they don't have to do heavy metal works like in other trades. After the course the job is easier for them. But boys when they complete the secretarial course, they don't prefer to work in the reception. Girls are demanded in reception so job is easily available."

It is an affirmative action to increase girls' participation by allowing them to choose secretarial course. However, I perceived this practice as the discriminatory one that has limited the opportunity of girls to apply to other trades. Being a woman, I relate this to my own case. Although I took decision in my life on many occasions independently, my family members very often suggested me to do this or that reflecting the patriarchal attitude.

While referring to the statements above, one can argue that it is the patriarchal attitude of male teachers that stigmatize girls for being weak and incapable. It is to note that such stigma is a form of deviance that leads others to judge individuals as illegitimate for participation in the decision making (Kurzban, 2001).

On the other side, girls in public technical school, Dolakha are found to be very happy for what they got as an opportunity to participate in the course. They did not care about the trade they are enrolled. One of the students in public technical school, Dolakha proudly mentioned that "this is the opportunity I got without the big hassle to get admission in this trade. I got this because I chose the agriculture trade. Last year, I was not successful as I applied for construction trade where all

boys had applied, leading to tough competition. Also, there was no quota for girls in the construction trade. This year there was a quota for girls in agricultural trade and not many boys had applied so I got it."

Girl students were happy as they got admission. While analyzing this statement further, I sensed that feminization of the agriculture is still continuing as this trade is considered as women domain whereas construction trade is for men. Further, it is the skepticism about girls' capability and the societal attitudes that plays a central role in the integration of women into the mainstream of all spheres of life (Rarieya, 2005). This is an oppressed reality as these girls have been the victim of oppression (Freire, 1985) when they do not have voice to choose for their preferred course. They are, rather, satisfied with what they get. However, these girls enrolled in the agriculture trade would at least get an opportunity to come out from their boundary which I consider a first step of the milestone of social inclusion. With my personal experience also, it is you who decide whether you want to cross the boundary or you want to remain in the four walls created by society for you. The girls at least coming out from their boundary of social norms would help them realize the hardships that they are facing because of their gender and prepare them to break the stereotyped biased rules towards them.

In the case of training centers, almost the similar cases were noted. They too show few trades as women friendly with less opportunity for gainful employment. In the public training center, Banke, there were many girls participating in tailoring trade and in computer trade, however, there were no any girls in house wiring training. Similar case was noted in the private training center, Banke, where no girl was found in house wiring course. However, a significant number of girls were found participating in the private training center, Dolakha. Most of the girls were

receiving housekeeping course and boys were involved in cooking baking course. It was also found that it was not their decision to choose the course, but it was the decision of the institute who suggested them to apply for the specific course considering them as female.

While talking to dalit students in technical schools, few of them frequently reported that while asking for the available course, the school personnel first asked their location and the caste. Then, they directly suggest the course rather than explaining the nature of available courses and giving them choices. One of the dalit boys, studying in mechanical trade, expressed the wish that he would go for electrical trade as there would be electricity in his village where he could open small shop for livelihood. But being a blacksmith, he was asked to choose mechanical trade whereas a Brahmin boy was enrolled in electrical trade easily. I found these caste based discriminations were due to the mindset of people. As mechanical trade is related with the metal works, traditional mindset of the people easily favoured blacksmith boys for mechanical trade whereas traditionally, Brahmin were considered for more sophisticated work like electrical trade.

Further, I consider such situations as the result of influence of the predominantly Hindu philosophy in Nepal, where caste hierarchy is deep rooted for many centuries. Caste is closely intertwined with an occupational hierarchy that assigns menial and ritually polluting occupations to the lowest 'untouchable' castes or dalits (Kabeer, 2010). I also feel that such discriminatory practices are the barriers of social inclusion in the TEVT as there are fewer opportunities for certain caste group to choose the appropriate course.

Whose Decision?

While being in the field and interacting with my research participants, I found that the participation by choice is blocked from the very first day when they come to fill the application form to enter the TEVT course. As discussed earlier in the previous chapter, information is the power that assists students to make correct choice. But I found that this remains only in slogan as there was no correct and detail information about the available course is provided to students. They are simply asked to choose this or that course as per the institute's wish.

There is a reluctance to recognize the competence of students from socially excluded groups to decide the right course for them. This can be compounded by attitudes of teachers, principal, training center manager who underestimate the ability of trainees to make decision while choosing the course. It represents a major challenge to prevailing attitudes and preconceptions of the providers, who unknowingly support further exclusion of the excluded groups from enjoying their right to participate in their chosen course. I observed that there is a dominancy of forced participation rather than participation by choice in the TEVT sector. Above analysis also elucidate that there are certain social forces that detain the participation of students from socially excluded groups in the TEVT course. In fact, at this level, the powerful groups with distinctive cultural identities and institutions have been found to be restricting the access of outsiders to valued resources (in this case

My School, My Identity and My Space

In this section, I have examined the perceived school experiences of students from disadvantaged groups. Unlike the cases during their entry to the TEVT courses when they felt discriminated and to some extent excluded (as discussed in previous

section), many students expressed their positive feelings about inclusionary practice while being at school/training centers. In the school they were heard, known and believed in by instructors, principals, friends and where they received personal attention academically, behaviorally, and emotionally. Students expressed optimism for the future and a belief that transformation is possible.

However, at the same time, few students shared some level of dissatisfactions, despair and frustration, and feeling of further exclusion while being at school. All these expressions are analyzed in relation to their identity. Identity is about how we perceive and make sense of each other and it is fundamental to all social interaction and to the construction of our society and culture. According to Foucault (1984), identity is a process that is always embedded in social practices (as cited in De Fina, 2006). A social identity is a labeling or a categorizing a group of people on the basis of some shared features. It is also about comparisons based on perceived similarities and differences which are experienced by people (Turner, 1999).

While interacting with targeted students, I pointed out few specific factors that determine the identity of these students. These factors are language, caste and ethnicity, gender, religion, geographical location, and their economic status.

Further, I observed that on the basis of their labeled identity, they are perceived by school community, they themselves produce knowledge about everyday experiences of being included or excluded. There were mixed feelings regarding their experience about social inclusion. Some strongly felt that there were no exclusionary practices at all but some of them had different experiences on exclusionary practices in school. I have discussed these issues in terms of their experiences as a TEVT student from excluded groups in the proceeding subsections.

Experiencing Social Cohesion and Bonding: A Positive Experience

In terms of inclusion, identity plays two broad roles. First, individuals who share an identity (and abide by the same behavioral prescriptions) view one another as "included" in the identifiable group (Oxoby, 2009). I discerned that students and trainees in almost all study schools and training centers have one way or other expressed their level of satisfaction for being at school/training center. It is further noticed that they also have a high level of confidence during conversation. For many of them, technical school or training center is the place for being open and enjoy their right and freedom. They have expressed their feelings regarding the technical school/ training center as a different place compared to their village where sometimes they were discriminated against by so called upper caste and rich. But while being at school they felt secured, comfortable and fearless as they remarked.

"I can feel the inclusionary practices in our school. Poor, dalit and students from remote are receiving scholarship; there is a quota system for such students. I have never felt or heard any discrimination because of our caste or geographical remoteness." (A dalit student in public technical school, Banke)

"We are living in a home away from home. Teachers and friends are very good and cooperative. I have never felt that I am a dalit. Nobody talk about caste in our school. Even, I have never heard about domination and/or discrimination due to caste. I have experienced such in my village but not in this school." (A dalit student, public technical school, Dolakha)

"I came from remote village of Rukum. I often experienced discrimination at village. It was more for women. Villagers regard women as useless and when you are dalit then this is even more. But when I came here, I never experienced this. All of us are similar here. Teachers and friends are good and supportive. I never felt

discriminated because of my caste and gender." (A girl student at private technical school, Banke)

"Teachers and friends are friendly and cooperative. We get an equal treatment. I am happy to be here." (A student at private technical school, Dolakha)

Similarly, almost all trainees studying in training centers express their happiness to be at training center. Positive from the societal point of view, it is also the cohesion that has developed among the students, between the students and the school personnel, resulting into how they treat and regard each others. According to them, they have rarely experienced their state of marginalization and exclusion.

Rather they have experienced a sense of belongingness and being together. With the above discussion, it is not mistaken if technical school and training centers are considered as the place to promote social inclusion. With limited practice of inclusive measures such as scholarship, quota and the positive behavior towards deprived students, school was helping students to be aware of their role, position and value themselves as citizens of the country.

Further, it can be considered that school is promoting institutional habitus which is a Bourdieuian phrase that speaks of the durable dispositions, values and attitudes that an institution (over time) has embedded in its own practices (O'Brien, 2005). For Bourdieu, individual thoughts, activities, perceptions are habitus whereas his/her objective world is the field. Further, it is the basic knowledge that people carry around in their heads as a result of living in particular cultures or subcultures (Parajuli, 2003, pp. 73-74). In this context, the students living in a school culture perceive school as a different world than their social world which is the result of their subjective experiences. Training institutes were not very successful to encourage participation and/or provide equitable access to the socially

excluded groups for the entry to the TEVT. However, once these students were in the school, the relationship with the school was established and deepened as education at school produced cultural capital (Parajuli, 2003, p. 76).

However, this is only one side of the coin which does not depict the picture of other side. It is not easy to assess social inclusion and exclusion without seeing the phenomena from multiple perspectives. As TEVT students come from different social, cultural and geographical background, it is obvious that they have different feelings and experiences. Individuals may experience social exclusion in terms of its consequences for their personal identity, while groups and communities may experience exclusion in terms of its consequences for the collective identity (Sullivan, 2002). Following subsections incorporate their experiences of discriminations as a result of their identity on the basis of their gender, caste, language, geographical and religion.

Identity, Identification and Marginalization

Gender identity. While the TEVT has utmost importance for gaining livelihood for the youth, the traditional forms of gender exploitation and the patriarchal values of the Nepali society become continuous inhibiting factors for the women's individual choice and opportunities. For instance, gender stereotyping continues to prevail in the TEVT. Gender discrimination is the most universal form of social exclusion (Acharya, 2007). Gender is a system of social practices that creates and maintains gender distinction and organizes relations of inequality on the basis of these distinctions (Wharton, 2005, p. 7). As mentioned earlier in this chapter in the sub section of social stigma and participation, even when women have open access to all trades, they are forced to choose the course, so called women friendly. This phenomenon is further continued while being at school as

experienced by female students. Their experiences suggest that disadvantages related to gender are further reinforced by socio-political, institutional, and other practices which discriminate against people of various castes and ethnicities.

In this context, I found that girls are ignored, disregarded or bullied by teachers and friends (both male and female friends). Many times, girls felt disturbed and frustrated and were found to be voiceless. They also had a strong feeling of fatalism as they said "its ok", "it's a normal practice", "and it's a tradition in our male dominated society". I found these statements are the example of being a passive victim of their own condemnation (Bennet, 2003). Further, in all cultures, women and girls are primarily brought up to consider the needs and an interest of others; however, it varies in degree, depending on ethnicity and other factors (Acharya, 2007). These girls are brought up in strong patriarchal culture and do not learn to complain, although they feel of being discriminated. Few expressions from girls further add on these believes.

"There is discrimination between girls and boys in our school. We girls are normally ignored may be due to our silence. This happens from teachers (male or female) and friends both. We feel sad but we keep quite." (A girl student at public technical school, Dolakha)

"In our school, boys are naughty. They tease chaudhary girls mostly. They do not allow us to play game with them. Even they push us back saying that you don't' know this. Even teacher discourage us to play. Mostly, bahun keta from pahad (hill Brahmin male) does this". (A girl student at private technical school, Banke)

"We girls are suffered at our school. Our teachers are biased. They think that our trade is easy and we are dumb compared to automobile and mechanical trade. In our trade only girls are studying that is why they think like this. Even boys tease us for no reason. We girls do not speak so they do this even more to us". (A girl student at private technical school, Banke)

Relating to my own personal experiences as a woman, I remember that few engineer colleagues in my workplace always thought that I knew less than them as I came from nursing background, considered a women friendly trade. In the TEVT sector in Nepal, women are discriminated against in terms of gender and also for their profession considering it as of low status.

Quite often, I observed that all these practices are taken as normal and accepted quietly. All these phenomena are normalized in a way as they are used to of such phenomena from their childhood experiences. Hence, the issue of such gender discrimination is the residual effect of our cultural practices that continuously persists even being away from home. This can be taken as an example of cultural reproduction as elaborated by Bourdieu (O'Brien, 2005). Although Bourdieu had explained such phenomena in the case of general education, I found TEVT is not much different in this aspect of cultural reproduction. However, these assertions are the evidences of girls' subordination and oppressions, which I perceive as barriers for the social inclusion, that need to be addressed.

Caste and ethnicity. The participation of dalit and janajati is a wide spread development slogan in the context of Nepal. People are becoming aware that the schools whether general or technical not only welcome all caste and ethnic groups but also encourage more participation of dalit and janajati. If technical school is the place to promote social inclusion, it is expected that there should be no bias and prejudice in terms of caste and ethnicity. Moreover, Nepal's new constitution (1990) declares that all citizens are equal 'irrespective of religion, race, gender, caste

or ideology', but inherited inequalities continue to affect the lives and life chances of those groups at the lower end of the hierarchy (Kabeer, 2010).

However, it is not a new practice in Nepali society that there is a tendency to label each other as per their caste and ethnicity. Specific caste and ethnic groups are always labeled for being sharp, dumb, brave, weak, intelligent, greedy etc. Frequent use of such idiomatic expressions to the students from marginalized group creates the feeling of further being hatred, abandoned and excluded. In addition, these feelings and experiences make students confused about the value of the course too. In both the study districts, such evidences were frequently reported. Specifically student from Brahmin, Chettri, Thakuri group found to be perpetrators who tease/dominate other students for their specific castes and even they link the trade with the particular caste, making them further confused about their study trade. These are the excerpts from the students' experiences, which explicate this information.

"Sometimes, I feel sad because my friends knowingly unknowingly say "tero jatai yesto ho (your caste is like that). Or sometime they say why should I study mechanical? Am I kami (Blacksmith) like you? It indicates that they dominate dalit."

(A dalit student at public technical school, Banke)

"Although there is no visible discrimination at our school but sometimes I think it is there. Quite often we chaudhari are teased for being dumb. Our friends frequently say "tharu" to us and even say that you people are not smart. May be this is the discrimination. But I don't care much about this because they are my friends." (A chaudhari student at private technical school, Banke)

"Although I am in quota and got support from sponsor, I feel that I am dominated by teacher due to my caste. Teachers sarcastically say that Janajati are

lucky. Even though you are not capable, sponsor are there to support you. I don't' feel like hearing this frequently from them. It keeps me in dilemma, whether I should quit the course and say that "ok then bring student from your caste". (A tamang student at public technical school, Dolakha).

Further, I noted that these are not only in technical schools but students in training centers also experience these practices. Although not reported frequently, few students were found to be expressing their dissatisfaction regarding the biaseness shown by instructors due to their caste. Some of them reported that they were ignored while asking any questions and when asked second time then instructor sarcastically said that "it is difficult to make you understand because you born like that." The indication here is the caste. As mentioned earlier, the caste and ethnic groups are compared as smart or dumb from each other due to the practice of labeling.

Further, I found out that these students were dealing with their adversity through submission which I understood as a socially constructed nature of exclusion, progressed in the school environment. Such socially constructed nature of exclusion is created as a consequence of repeated interaction between privileged groups who are very efficient at creating prejudiced social categories and the excluded who, in the face of limited rights and opportunities, deal with their adversity either through submission or by developing adversarial cultures and identities (De Venanji, 2004).

The next is the discussion of the experiences of social inclusion/exclusion by students as the consequence of their identity determined by their language and geographical region.

Language and geographical identity. Diversity is the recognized component in the process of social inclusion. It is already discussed in the previous

chapters that Nepal embraces diversity in many aspects such as geography, language, culture, caste, ethnicity, religion and so on. Language as means of communication is a social process which gives people an opportunity to interact with others for various purposes. However, language is often found as a barrier to social inclusion in many instances. The same is noted in the study schools and in the training centers. According to trainees, due to the different language they speak at home, first they find it difficult to understand what is said by teachers, second they are teased and/or dominated by other friends because of different accent or the words they use while communicating. These are few remarks from students which exemplify these phenomena:

.M language is the main barrier for me. We don't' speak Nepali at home.

We speak Tharu language. So listening to my words, my friends tease me a lot.

They often say that, you are Chaudhari so don't know what to speak. I'm still facing a problem of inability to explain clearly. What to do I tend to mix up with my native language and it is heard differently." (A student at public technical school, Banke)

My language is different than what is spoken here. We speak differently in far-western region. Sometimes even teacher laugh at me not only friends. Even my writing sometimes reflects my dialect. May be because of this I get less mark. After all we are from hilly region so we are dominated." (A student at public technical school, Banke)

These cases were from technical schools in Banke district only; however, there were no specific cases found in Dolakha district. From these two excerpts I sensed that it was not only the student from terai (specifically chaudhari) experienced differences due to their language, but also from hill too as their dialect was different. Thinking that this problem should be digging out more at institutional

level, I talked to few teachers in Banke. Surprisingly, their opinions were not very promising as they said "we can do nothing except explaining the topics twice or more. It is their problem and they should do extra labor to understand the concept." I understood this statement as the result of 'in-group' feelings that indicate those who know Nepali language, the official medium of teaching in the TEVT schools are benefitted and those who do not know Nepali language is their own fault. Further, I noticed that such 'in-group' feeling of teachers as hegemonic discourses was powerful to construct morally disempowered students as 'out-groups' (De Venanzi, 2004).

Treating language barrier at individual level doesn't solve the problems in the long run; however, specific strategies to address this issue at institutional level are necessary. These remarks from teachers forced me to think whose responsibility is this? Further, it is thought provoking whether there is a need of multilingual classroom as in the case of general education, a recent practice in Nepal.

Religious identity. Religion is also one of the aspects of recognizing the identity of the individual and can be an influential factor for enhancing social inclusion/exclusion. I had an opportunity to interact with students from three different religions (Hindu, Buddist, Muslims). Among the interviewed respondents, none of them shared any significant experiences of being included/excluded related to their religious identity.

All these explanations, experiences and discussions clearly reflected the everyday practices at the TEVT institutions. This shows the level of maintenance and reinforcing of cultural hegemony of a dominant group that tend to force the less powerful groups to adhere to the norms created by powerful groups without recognizing that they are being voluntarily coerced (Corson, 1998).

Upon reflection, these expressions notify that the ingrained cultural practices are still there at technical schools and training centers which may be hindering the success of obtaining social inclusion at technical schools and training centers.

However, it creates the picture that there is a mutual link between social inclusion at individual level and social inclusion at institutional level. It is not mistaken if I conclude that the individual experiences of being socially included/excluded at school are the byproduct of the social inclusion practices at school.

The current TEVT policy, under the subheading of inclusion, has broadly committed to address the training need of women, ethnic groups, Muslim, madhesi, disable, economically and geographically poor⁶. In line with this, the discussions above can serve as the basis while preparing implementation modality of upcoming TEVT policy.

Moreover, while this section was highlighting the experiences of socially excluded group being at school, the next section is the excavation of the reality of what they experienced when they complete their course and come to face the social world.

The World, Me and My Skill

This section highlights individual's feelings and experiences about their aspiration towards the skills they learnt in terms of its uses in the future. This section also highlights the feelings and experiences of ex-students about how their skills are perceived and recognized by the Nepali society.

Aspiration for Better Life Chances

As stated earlier, it is believed that technical education opens the windows of opportunities for the disadvantaged youth for their livelihood. I found this belief is

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⁶ TEVT policy 2012, submitted to cabinet for approval

further strengthened when almost all students studying either at technical school or at training center mentioned that the prime objective of entering to TEVT was getting better opportunities after the course. Although, students repeatedly expressed their confusion whether they would get a job, their level of confidence exhibited that to be employed was their major aspiration. In addition to this, quite frequently they expressed that the course they were obtaining would uplift their economic status and better life chances in the future. Further, they acknowledged TEVT as a positive social force that would induce changes not only in their life but in the society as a whole. All these expressions were indirectly linked with their hope for social inclusion at large because as stated by Sen (2001), "inclusion is characterized by a society's widely shared social experience and active participation, by a broad equality of opportunities and life chances for individuals and by the achievement of a basic level of well-being for all citizens" (Sen, 2001, p. 74).

Accordingly, while interacting with them, I noticed that some of them already had a heightened level of confidence. To back up my observation, I asked them about the changes they felt about themselves by being at technical school or training center? Their repeated remarks were "now I can speak proudly", "I learned not only technical subject, but to interact with people too", "Now, I have an increased level of confidence than before", "I can realize the differences that is happening around us". "Now I think I can do something for my future" and so on. All these accounts show that they have realizations about level of knowledge they have gained. To me ability to express or realize own changes are also the symptoms of social inclusion. Further, such expressions have offered the promise of certain level of emancipation from the existing social exclusionary practices that will help them to move towards social inclusion. However, I do not claim that these are only

due to the course they are in but it may be due to their exposure to friends, teachers and other people at institution.

Further, explaining the changes they have experienced about the perception of their friends, family, and neighbors after they came to the course, many of them excitedly shared that they found a changed perception compared to before joining the course. Their attitude towards them is changed as they regard them differently than before. They are now encouraged to send their children to such courses thus they have started asking them about the nature of the course, fee structure and so on. This is again the development of positive social capital as these students have gained trust from the society, regarded as a knowledgeable person capable of providing advice.

While analyzing all these changes the TEVT students have experienced and the changes in the perception of society, I would say that this is the indication of achieving social inclusion as it helps in building positive social capital (Sullivan, 2002). However, I will not claim this as a general outcome of TEVT courses; rather it is the mere experience of social inclusion practices at individual level. When inclusion is characterized by a society's widely shared social experience (Sen, 2000), it varies in meaning according to the particular cultural context, and the different paradigms or modes of thinking about society. For instance, whether the same societal perception is continued even after they complete the course and enter the labour market needs to be discussed to map out the reality.

TEVT Bring Changes in Our Life

As elaborated earlier, the TEVT is regarded as the doorway for the employment potentials. In two districts, I had an opportunity to interview altogether thirteen ex-students who graduated either from technical schools or from training

centers. All of them were employed, except two. Among those two, one lady who did Assistant Nurse Midwife (ANM) course was pregnant, so she did not work until her delivery. The other person was employed but not exactly as what he was trained for rather he was teaching in the same school where he studied (private technical school, Banke). This is the case of Bhabir Darji.

Bhabir Darji, a Muslim boy from Puraina VDC, Nepalgunj, Banke, completed TSLC/civil in 2005/2007. He was laborious student and received scholarships from school which covered his 60% of total cost. After completing the course, he got a job in public technical school, Banke as a teaching assistant. He rarely experienced discrimination while being at school because of being madhesi and Muslim. He also does consultancy as a side job. He is well regarded by his society as he experienced. In average, he earns per month 15,000 rupees. It is much more than what his brother with Bachelor degree earns.

In the above case of Bhabir, it is indicative that the boy who is working as a teacher is already the asset for the inclusion in social mainstreaming. In Nepalese society, teachers are valued and regarded as being a knowledgeable person. In his case, it is clearly depicted that he has earned honors and regards from the community, which is one of the outcomes of social inclusion.

Similarly, there were other ex-students who were working and satisfied too about their status and their job. Followings are few cases which reflect the positive changes brought in their life after the TEVT course.

Meena Giri is from Sangachowk VDC-9, Sindhupalchowk. She has graduated in 2006 in construction trade from public technical school, Dolakha. She is now working as a sub-overseer in RRRSDP, Charikot Dolakha. She was SLC failed and when she joined public technical school Dolakha to study construction course, her neighbors and relative thought that she eloped with a boy. But now the perception of same people is changed considerably. They regard her as a knowledgeable person. People ask her about many things not only about construction. It is all because of the TEVT which changed her life and made her confident to talk like this as she remarked.

Above case is the example of how the TEVT courses brought changes not only at personal level but also in the thinking pattern of society. Meena Giri had experienced a changed perception of society towards her and towards the TEVT courses. Other case of Indira B.K. has also revealed the similar reality.

Indira B.K. is from Jiri. She received three months course on off-season vegetable production from public technical school, Dolakha. She finds this course very useful to change her life. She accounts that she was desperately looking for an opportunity to do something that would change her situation and earn more income in order to support her family. After receiving this training, she started growing vegetables in her small garden. She is making regular money to support her family. She proudly said that land does not increase but mouth surely increase when there are many members in the family. Before this training, she was depending on her husband's rather small income to feed her family but now time has been changed, she is earning to feed them. People also regard her differently when she started earning.

With these two cases, I sensed the changes in role and shift in power relations too. Receiving social regards, being able to make earnings and taking care of families were some of the positive pictures of moving towards social

transformation as indicative for the social inclusion. Furthermore, it is found that these graduates have developed some level of awareness regarding social inclusion and the TEVT as they were frequently expressing the drawbacks of the practices adopted at school or in training center in the name of inclusion. While interacting with them, the voice of the voiceless was clearly observed when they were stating few specific points such as "information should be widely distributed", "it should reach to each corner of village", "the fair distribution must be there at school", "extra attention must be given to the people coming from remote and those who are disadvantaged by the state (Rajya bata pachadi pariyaka)" etc.

All these expressions were unique personal experience (Abery, 1997). Further, I understood these as a process of social transformation which does not follow the particular sequence as pointed out by Lynn (Bennet, 2005). But at some point, it indicates that what is required is an action from "within" the minds of those whom society has placed "below" – as well as action from "above", from those in a position to change the structure of access. It may not always be the "first step", but certainly one part of the process of change is the empowerment of marginalized groups (Bennet, 2005). Through empowerment, these people have gained awareness of their own agency or capacity to act and became able to raise their voice, an indication towards the social inclusion outcome.

However, these were not the complete reality expressed by these passed out students rather they were expressing how hard it was for them to find a job after the course. From their understanding, they were facing double exclusionary situation that restricted them to find a job. Due to their caste, ethnicity or gender, they were already stigmatized as being incapable for certain job. For example, a boy was not given a job in hotel. However, it was not only because of their caste and gender but

due to several other factors they had to struggle for getting job. Such factors were lack of social networking, family connections, recognitions etc. They stated that job was easily available only for those who had linkages with the organizations through their family background or so on. For those who did not have any linkages had to spend months and months on volunteer basis. Even finding volunteerism was difficult for some of them.

From these discussions, I identified two main reasons that reduced their opportunities to labor market entry. The first was the weak social capital which is based on weak ties and connections with the privileged groups (Woolcock, 2002); the second was the glass ceiling which is a unique form of inequality created by the society to degrade them undermining their capability (Jackson & Leon, 2010). For instance, at this level, the social exclusion is due to the social closure effects where, the in-group (privileged group) consolidates its identity as superior as providers to other groups as receivers. For instances, this power structures perpetuate inequality and work to continually undermine the empowerment attempts of disadvantaged groups (Alexander, 2005).

Chapter Essence

Social inclusion is about change: individual change as well as societal change. What is obvious is that the social inclusion is only sensed when there is a shared experience of an individual as well as society regarding the attainment of the basic level of wellbeing through the participation, equal opportunities and increased life chances. Hence, reflecting the shared experiences of different individuals, this chapter has highlighted some essentials of social inclusion in the TEVT.

At a fundamental level, it is noticed that social inclusion in the TEVT is not only for simply promoting the employability rather it is for empowerment and transformation. It is evident from the above discussions that the students and graduates enter the TEVT programs with a great aspiration of getting job. However, there are other things which ultimately they can experience as being included in the TEVT program. The program becomes beneficial to empower them to be able to raise their voice and realize own potential as well as valuing oneself. In addition, social inclusion practices serve as vibrant forces to bring changes in community in the perception, attitude and the thinking pattern.

However, persistent gap in cultural practices, patriarchal thinking and deeply rooted social taboos are some of the forces that become obstacle to social inclusion rather unknowingly facilitate the further exclusion. These factors are important to address, but they are not enough. Genuine attempts to promote social inclusion must go beyond helping people integrate into a system rather include a focus on social change which addresses the unique needs of members of diversity groups.

CHAPTER VIII

REFLECTION, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Research Overview

I began this research work by articulating my concern in relation to the dominant discourses of social inclusion in the TEVT which emphasized for increasing access, providing equal opportunities and using affirmative action in promoting the participation of excluded groups. I believe that there exist multiple realities which are responsible for such happenings, so uncovering such realities will contribute to further enhancement of social inclusion in the TEVT at a broader level. For instance, I attempted to disclose the existing phenomena that promotes or restricts the social inclusion in the TEVT. Although I started with enormous ambitions and broader thinking, as my study progressed, gradually I limited myself to be able to critically analyze the expressed reality of the key actors (policy makers, donor's representatives, principal, training centre managers, teachers, current students and ex-students from the excluded groups) who were directly or indirectly involved in the process of social inclusion in the TEVT which was also in line with one of my key research questions of the study.

Highlighting the work of several authors, I examined the linkages between the understandings of social inclusion and the efforts to promote it in the TEVT. I also discussed how deeply ingrained social taboos were built around explanatory frameworks that constrained the dominant discourses of social inclusion. Indeed, I stated that it was my personal experience of working in the area that had provoked my interest in those issues originally.

This final chapter outlines the key research findings and conclusions of the study in relation to the research questions posed at the beginning of the study as well as my theoretical constructs. In this chapter, I have presented brief reflections on my methodological supposition. It presents the synthesis of key findings along with discussion which is elaborated in relation to my research questions. My discussion also focuses on the relevance of findings to the TEVT policy and on-going efforts highlighted in the literature review. Finally, referring to the findings and discussions of this study, I have concluded this chapter. In addition to all these, I have attempted to explain the research implications of my study as well as express my final words.

As per my ontological belief, I relied mainly on qualitative research methods to reach the in-depth reality of the undertakings of social inclusion phenomena in the TEVT in Nepal. However, some quantitative information also became meaningful to sense the past efforts of social inclusion practices at schools. In the course of year long collection of information, I interacted with my respondents repeatedly.

Gathering information from the respondents at policy level first, I changed my initial thinking and became more focused on specific agendas of social inclusion in the TEVT that led me to reframe the research questions as well. As I focused my study on students from the excluded groups participating in the TEVT course, I purposively selected the study schools and training centers in the Banke (terai) and Dolakha (hill) districts.

By analyzing the information collected from the respondents at policy level, I mapped out the perception of policy makers who were the guiding actors for social inclusion methods and practices at different level. Further, this information allowed me to see the linkages between their understanding of social inclusion in the TEVT and practices at the implementation level. In addition, I have examined how training

centers and technical schools contribute to the social inclusion process through their efforts. I analyzed the different factors that promoted or restricted social inclusion at school. Finally, I listened to the voice of current students and ex-students to give a full shape to this thesis.

This thesis is the voice of the TEVT students from excluded groups who provided me the information required and also assisted to see the other side of the world, normally unnoticed and/or forgotten. Listening to these students, their feelings and expressions have revealed the true picture of the social inclusion attempts and practices in the TEVT as well as the importance of these unheard voices which became the main essence of the findings of this research.

I take this liberty to claim that the study findings are credible enough to reveal the true picture of the social inclusion attempts and practices in the TEVT. Since, the early in the research process, I became keenly aware of the importance of maintaining quality, rigor and trustworthiness of this research. For instance, I searched out data from multiple sources through multiple methods – in particular, interviews (supplemented with data from key informants), complimentary conversations, field notes, and document reviews. Although interviews were time-consuming, I took this as my main data-gathering method. My sole and prolonged engagement helped me conduct such interviews and understand and feel the reality as first hand information. I used complimentary interviews and cross checking of the accuracy of the facts. After the initial write-up of the study, feedback on some of the findings was sought in the field from some of my interview respondents. They were asked to comment on whether my interpretations were true and meaningful to them. I incorporated their feelings as further information while completing the final write up.

Major Findings

As this thesis is made within the periphery of three key research questions, in the previous chapters, I analyzed and discussed these research questions to arrive at better understanding and interpretation. My first research question was: *How do TEVT policy makers and implementers perceive and explain social inclusion in the TEVT?* One of the key finding of this study is that there is the realization of the immediate need and a strong desire for social inclusion in the TEVT which could be interpreted, in a policy context, as an agenda to facilitate, enrich and enhance individual and group capacity for equality, opportunity and participation. However, the understanding of the meaning of social inclusion in the TEVT varies from person to person. In line with what is said by different authors about the concept of social inclusion⁷, these differing perspectives in the context also indicates that the concepts of inclusion and exclusion involves more than one perspective.

Most frequently, social inclusion is taken as the solution to address the exclusion issue which is perceived as the problem and starting point for the discussion and analysis. Further, exclusion is taken as a residual effect of existing social structures (Peace, 2001); hence the provision of equal access and equal opportunities is a must for everyone to be included in the TEVT opportunities. However, this notion of including of excluded is the mere social integration where excluded groups are seen as beneficiaries, not as the active agents of the social inclusion process. It means the inclusion cannot be assured with the mere integration because even when society is highly integrated, people may experience large inequalities of power and status (Phillips, 2008).

⁷ There is no single way of understanding the concepts of social inclusion and exclusion as it depends upon our theoretical and methodological perspectives and our political learning (Levitas, SEN, Kabeer, De Hann etc.),

Further, social inclusion in the TEVT context is understood in terms of rights as well as social obligations. It is considered a fair practice which is the matter of social justice that provides equal share to each individual (Rawls, 1971). Further, it is perceived that the fair practice is a must which eliminates discrimination, unfairness, bias and prejudice, an important process to promote equality and the just society (Kabeer, 2010). However, there is a gap between understanding of the meaning and the current practice as there is an unequal distribution as well as unfair practice in Nepalese TEVT system. Further, it is also noted that due to the top down approach, the technical schools and training centers simply remain as the mere followers of the set criteria of quota system and scholarship as directed by the CTEVT or by other donor agencies without the realizations of their role as facilitators for the social inclusion process in the TEVT.

Moreover, while analyzing the perception of policy makers and implementers, it is realized that people make their own meaning which they understand better. It is obvious that understanding could be different from person to person but efforts to bring these understandings together to explore the realities of social inclusion at different levels are necessary. Further, I have found the tendency of people to give prescriptive definition of social inclusion, indicating the way people intended to use the prescribed concept and also how they would like it to be used by others. It testified that they did not want to use the descriptive definition which reports on the variety of ways 'inclusion' is used in practice (Ainscow, Booth & Dyson, 2006). The mere explanation of own perception rather than going into the details of the discourse reproduces the 'us and them' approach which paradoxically further excludes the disadvantaged people from obtaining opportunities when their need and opinion are less valued.

Nevertheless, one point is clear that under the rubrics of social inclusion, mostly individuals speak of policies which emphasize inclusion by opening institutional doors and allowing all individuals to participate in the TEVT. The role of TEVT in the social inclusion process, although not fully elucidated, is considered as the means of increasing productivity of individuals with skills and knowledge which make them enter into the labor market. This is particularly true for the excluded groups.

My second research question was: What explains the current status of the TEVT policies, programs and activities from the perspectives of social inclusion? This research question was extended into two operational research questions: What opportunities and barriers are there to promote social inclusion in the TEVT? And what gaps are there, if any, between the TEVT policy/program provisions regarding social inclusion and their implementation?

This study signaled that technical schools and training centers are gradually entering a new era of accountability for their performance in terms of the contribution they make to social inclusion. They are now expected to promote social inclusion by maximizing the participation of students from the excluded groups and communities and in closing the opportunity gap. Several initiatives such as quota and scholarship programs undoubtedly opened doors wider but are in limited capacity to change the social conditions.

As discussed earlier in the first research question, the social inclusion is taken as a mere social integration that led such initiatives to be based upon certain eligibility criteria to include the excluded. However, it is not always easy to assign such set criteria where individuals in the target groups are generally disadvantaged by multiple factors. For example, the Brahmin boy from an urban area may not be

eligible for the scholarship despite his poor economic status. Without understanding these deeper challenges, a blanket strategy and/or criteria developed and used is most likely to be less effective. Further, school personnel persisted in labeling disadvantaged trainees including girls and dalit as poor achievers and they were inclined to offer them those courses, considered to be easier one, rather than giving an opportunity to choose themselves. It seems that this is the positive feeling towards the excluded groups; however, it is indicative that the schools personnel are restricting the access of these girls and dalits to the TEVT opportunities through the process of social closure (Silver, 1995).

In addition to these, in the name of quota or reservations, trainees from excluded groups are provided with fewer options when limited seats in the specific trade are kept aside for them. Such provisions not only undermine the capabilities of the trainees from the excluded groups but also further exclude them from obtaining the wider opportunities to participate in their chosen courses. This is again the process of social closure by which certain groups maximize their opportunities by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligible (Parkin, 1979 as cited in Alexander, 2005).

It is also found out that major aspects of the TEVT policy, such as expansion of services and increasing access have been implemented with little or no involvement from the implementation level that resulted into more social obligations to fulfill the criteria and less concern towards individuals' rights and social justice. Further, as I mentioned earlier in the chapter six (under the subsection of spatial barrier), the focus of social inclusion was more on outcome in terms of fulfilling the criteria by head count rather than process. There was no any mechanism to have been developed that emphasize the stronger transparency and accountability

measures to monitor how effectively technical schools and training centers met the needs of socially disadvantaged students.

For instance, as I stated in the chapter six, lack of access to information, spatial and financial barriers for the wider participation from the excluded groups are some of the issues which have not been addressed properly by institutions. It is found out that the beneficiaries believe the message based on trust and reciprocity that also indicates the form of social relations that constitutes social capital (Coleman, 1988, p. 104). However, this sort of social capital is not recognized in practice. While announcing the courses rather they used FM radio and newspapers as established norms to advertise the courses which were found to be less effective. In addition, it is claimed that there is an increased access for the excluded groups; however, access alone does not ensure equal opportunity to participate in the course. The practices adopted by technical schools and training centers are found to be following a 'one-size-fits-all' approach which does not always work for socially excluded people.

Similarly, trainees from poor economical status normally are found to be excluded from the entry to course as fee for the TEVT course is found to be unaffordable as expressed by respondents. This was the indication for private technical schools affiliated to CTEVT. In majority of the cases, fee is paid by parents by borrowing money from different sources, which give extra burden for the family. Financial sustainability is expressed as one of the component in TEVT policy. However, there was no specific mechanism seen in practice to address this component. It indicates the persistent gap between the policy and implementation, due to which, excluded groups are further polarized, not being able to reach the opportunities. Hence, the question regarding social justice in the form of fair

practice (Rawls, 1971) is still unsolved issue in the Nepalese TEVT system, and it has encouraged the other side of the society to be benefitted more in the name of providing opportunities to excluded groups.

The above discussions have revealed that the social inclusion practice in the TEVT has not been effective yet. Rather, it has ignored the value of social justice, focusing more on mere implementation of criteria of inclusion provided from the top down.

My third and last research question was: *How do beneficiaries of the TEVT* practices perceive and explain social inclusion in the TEVT? I came up with two answers. One, trainees from excluded groups have mixed experiences of the social inclusion practices in the TEVT, secondly, the trainees from the excluded group are no more submissive and voiceless as they are aware of what is happening around them. They are able to raise their voice and concern regarding exclusion issues.

Inclusion does not mean simply included but it is more than that which includes feeling of valued at various process of social inclusion. As per the expression of my respondents, being excluded means being discriminated against, abandoned and undermined whereas being included means equal respect to all regardless of sex, caste, geographic region and economic status. Technical schools and training centers are the place for promoting social inclusion. It is also the place for creation of human capital for the second generation (Coleman, 1988, pp. 110-111) that helps broaden the scope of social capital. Further, respondents from the excluded groups experienced more exclusionary practices while being at their village than being at school. So, they have regarded technical school as the place for bringing social inclusion ultimately to bring social changes.

Almost all the trainees were aware about the social inclusion and exclusion. However, it cannot be claimed that it is due to their participation in the TEVT courses only as they were not ignorant or completely unaware of these terms and practices before joining the TEVT course. About the TEVT course itself, they were neither ignorant nor uninterested to receive these courses. Regarding their understanding, mostly they have understood social exclusion as the byproduct of poverty and social inclusion is understood as the changes in the behavior of people as a result of reduced poverty. They often expressed their view that people's behavior towards the socially excluded group will be automatically changed when excluded groups are capable. This capability is understood in terms of economic status (increased financial capital) as well as the increased level of education (increased human capital).

It is to be noted that social inclusion in the TEVT is influenced by societal taboos and stereotyped attitude of society towards socially excluded groups. During the entry to course, these taboos and stereotyped attitudes place restriction to girls, dalits and poor to move out from its cob web. Through the process of social closure (Silver, 1995); society often restricts socially excluded people not to move out from their place reminding them of their incapability to compete with others as they are weak, underprivileged or poor. It is the neighbors or close relatives who oppose the idea of entering the TEVT courses as indicated by respondents. However, as experienced by students from excluded groups, there is a gradual change in societal perception towards those who receive the TEVT courses. This gradual change can be related with the development of positive social capital as these students have gained a trust from the society due to the skills and knowledge they acquired

through the courses. In such case the trust relates to the "cognitive" side of social capital (Baum & Ziersch, 2003, pp. 320–323).

Although, it is found that students were happy and felt less excluded in the day to day practices while being at school, yet some of these students did not feel included rather they felt not equally treated. This inequality is related with their identity on the basis of gender, caste, ethnicity, religion and geographical coverage which define certain groups as inferior to others and exclude them from the equal rights to participate in the economic, social and political life of their society (Kabeer, 2010). This study found differences in the level of perceived inclusion along the lines of gender and geographic regions, with male feeling more sense of inclusion than female. Trainees from urban area feel more sense of inclusion than trainees from rural area. Similarly, trainees speaking Nepali language at home feel more inclusion than trainees speaking other languages or dialect at their home.

Recalling my interaction with students from socially excluded groups, I feel that they are no more disadvantaged in their thinking and courage rather they are empowered which I understood as the voices of the voiceless. Further, I noticed that they were moving towards the empowerment with the three progressive steps (conscientizing, inspiring and liberating) as stipulated by Freire (1972) (as cited in Hur, 2006). It was clearly seen that these students from socially excluded groups were empowered as they were aware about social inequality (i.e., conscientizing). They were inspiring others by making them feel confident about achieving social equality, and finally liberating them (Freire, 1972 as cited in Hur, 2006)

However, I do not acclaim that it is due to the TEVT course only rather several other factors such as their past experiences, friends circle, moving out from the territories, having exposed to different norms and rules other than stereotyped

society could be the reasons. Yet, few students did not speak for the first time and found to be shy and suspicious to talk about their experience regarding social inclusion in TEVT. Many students coming from different cultural background found to be less confident while talking to new person. Their hesitation to speak already indicates some level of social exclusion at school among the friends and with the teachers. Repeated interactions with such students revealed that they have a fear of making mistakes which is the learning from the childhood experience. Girls and so called low caste people are not supposed to speak in front of male and so called upper caste people. It indicates the persisted patriarchal thinking, gap in cultural practices and embedded social taboos are the symptoms of the slow progress in societal changes which are still the hindrance to social inclusion in TEVT. In addition, many people were found to be in dilemmatic state whether to raise their voice or keep quite as few of them believed in fate for all suffering in life.

Socially excluded groups are somehow bound fully by the stigma of societal thinking and perception towards them. Their participation in the course, personally, I felt, that it was associated with the struggle and contestations with existing societal system. However, the attractions towards the bright future with employment possibilities made them struggle very hard to be in the course. I found it challenging for the trainees from excluded group compared to other students as they continuously faced the challenges starting from the entry to the course and it did not end even during their efforts of job hunting. No matter how much they are included at the school, these students have to face challenges to get job as it was not easily available to them due to the embedded in-group and out-group feelings of society. It is found that many trainees who are from the excluded group have to remain without job few months or years on the volunteer basis. It is perceived that social inclusion

efforts in the TEVT is more focused on giving opportunities to receive course but completely ignoring the post training status of trainees. In other words, limited focus on the process of social inclusion by counting the number of people trained from excluded groups ignores the broader outcome of social inclusion in the TEVT which must be measured in terms of employment, individuals' change and change at societal perception too.

These findings traced out in relation to three research questions have highlighted that how do policy makers, implementers and beneficiaries perceive, understand and interpret the term social inclusion in TEVT. It is to note that the perception and interpretation of policy makers and implementers when not in line with the same belief or understandings certainly prevent beneficiaries to experience the social inclusion in the TEVT. However, it is not only them, there are other forces too that are influential for the inclusion of socially excluded groups into the TEVT. One way of explaining why there are such difficulties in perception between the policy makers, implementers and the socially excluded groups themselves is to see their experiences in terms of 'power' and 'discourse', closely linked to what is perceived, what goes on in educational institutions and how it is acknowledged by the larger society.

To understand this complexity, I referred to number of theories including theory of social justice, theory of social closure and theory of social capital. These theories helped me explain the current phenomena of social inclusion in the TEVT from the different theoretical perspectives. Deriving from the theory of social justice, I was able to understand the perception of policy makers and implementers as well as the perception of beneficiaries. As the theory of social justice is focused on impartiality, fairness and redistribution for the equality, it allowed me to see the

different perspectives of these three actors about how they understand and interpret social inclusion in the TEVT. Similarly, theory of social capital helped me to understand not only the role played by it in the reproduction of unequal power relations resulting into inequality in the TEVT sector but also helped me understand its other important aspects and consequences such as trustful relationships and networking, found to be beneficial for the access and inclusion of socially excluded group in the TEVT sector.

Other important theory which I referred was the theory of social closure which became an eye opener for me. I became clearer that when diversity and difference are socially constructed, power relationships and exclusion are maintained in the structure. In line with this, this theory helped me understand the phenomena of power structure in the TEVT due to which one group decides and others follow the decision without knowing much about why they are doing so as in the case of deciding at policy level and implementing from the school but no involvement at decision making level at all. Similarly, no consideration was given to what is required or demanded by the socially excluded group to be included in the TEVT rather everything is decided at top level regarding what is require for the beneficiaries. In addition, this theory also helped me to understand that how status groups create barriers in the form of in-group and out-group that restricts the socially excluded groups not only to enter the TEVT but also to be employed after the course leading to limited life chances for socially excluded groups.

Study Outcome: A Social Inclusion Framework in the TEVT

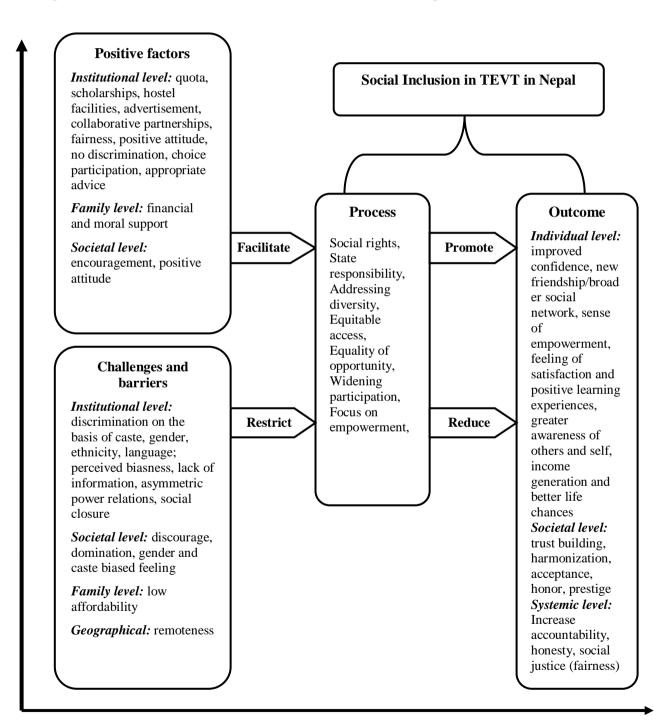
While this study has interwoven theories and empirical experiences, it has derived the framework (figure 23) as the study outcome, revealing the true picture of social inclusion in the TEVT, in the context of Nepal. Theoretically, this framework

has highlighted the understanding of social inclusion as the process and outcome. The process is the deliberate action of the state that acknowledges social inclusion as social rights. It focuses on addressing diversity, equitable access, opportunity, participation and empowerment. Social inclusion in the TEVT is facilitated by the positive factors at different levels: institutional, family, and societal. It is restricted by the existing challenges and barriers at different levels such as institutional, family, societal and geographical. Further, this framework signifies that the social capital and social justice are two important principles, having a positive relation with the social inclusion process and outcomes. The increasing trend of social capital and social justice indicates the availability of positive factors, facilitating the social inclusion process to promote the social inclusion outcome. Similarly, the increasing trend of social capital and social justice further indicate the achievement of social inclusion at process level and at outcome level. As this study is the beginning of such attempts, this framework could be applicable in conducting the further study around the theme of social inclusion in the TEVT sector in particular and in education in general.

Also, this study has elaborated that when analyzing the social inclusion phenomena in the TEVT context, analysis must establish and improve the in-depth understandings of the context, from all levels including, policy, implementation and beneficiary. Hence, the journeys to social inclusion should be understood as the destination not only limited to the process. Rather, it demands more deliberate actions and conscious efforts, helpful to understand the long-standing social, political, economic and cultural structures as well as practices that exclude and marginalize the people in different ways. So, social inclusion policy and practices in the TEVT is a key factor to deem bringing changes at individual level as well as at

societal level. Further, this study has elaborated that the perception of students on their learning experiences is the result of social inclusion process, whereas the employment opportunities and the changes in the life chances are counted as outcome.

Figure 23. A Social Inclusion Framework in the TEVT in Nepal



Conclusion: Rethinking Social Inclusion in the TEVT

Referring to the findings, reflection and reiteration, I arrived at the following conclusions which I will elaborate further in this section.

- In the context of TEVT in Nepal, the term social inclusion is not straight forward. It has not been defined or operationalized for analytical purposes; rather it is equated with mere inclusion of excluded groups.
- There exist multiple opinion and understanding about the concept of social inclusion. However, it has been understood as a process that acknowledges the efforts as social rights, state responsibility, addressing diversity, equitable access and opportunity, widening participation and focus on empowerment. Social inclusion is also understood as an outcome that is the visible change at different levels: individual, societal and at systemic level.
- The current policy and practices in the TEVT are created with top-down
 approaches and limiting the efforts towards targeting the disadvantaged layer of
 the society. As a result, the efforts are focused on mere integration rather than
 the active engagement of an individual.
- At the institutional level, the social inclusion efforts are more concentrated on
 the routine practice of social inclusion process. There is a lack of conscious
 efforts in addressing the social inclusion in day-to-day practices. It is limiting
 only to mere implementation of set criteria of including the excluded.
- Few initiatives such as quota, scholarship, hostel provision were used to promote social inclusion. Among which, quota system has been popular in Nepalese
 TEVT system which has limited the social inclusion efforts into the mere head counting practice.

- In the TEVT context, both at policy level and at implementation level, "fair
 practice" has been considered important to eliminate discrimination, unfairness,
 bias and prejudice. However, in reality, these terms are not addressed
 adequately leading to confusion, bias and unfairness that have limited the
 widening participation.
- There are ranges of known issues which are overlooked, including spatial barrier, financial barrier and lack of information that have created limitation for the social inclusion efforts.
- At the beneficiary level, family has been a promising factor. When there is a
 positive social capital within the family, it has been supportive either through
 financial or through moral that has encouraged their children to enter into the
 TEVT courses.
- The TEVT program has been beneficial for empowerment and transformation of the socially excluded groups to some extent. This made them able to raise their voice and realize own potential as well as valuing oneself.
- The TEVT has also been a vibrant force to bring changes in community in their perception, attitude and the thinking pattern.
- However, cultural practices, patriarchal thinking and deeply rooted social taboos
 are some of the forces that become obstacle to social inclusion and even these
 factors unknowingly facilitate the further exclusion.

Upon reflection of various literatures, social exclusion is understood as a process resulting into undesirable outcome. On the other, social inclusion is leading to some desirable outcome, calling for different analytical understandings.

However, upon completion of this study, I realized that the term is not very straightforward for defining or operationalizing for analytical purposes in the

context of TEVT in Nepal. The argument is that neither social exclusion, nor social inclusion has been used as analytical concepts. Both terms are used as mere political concepts. The exclusion was explained as outcome of deprivation based on gender, caste/ ethnicity, regional belongingness and income-poverty. Similarly, social inclusion concept was often equated with mere inclusion of excluded groups and is focused on class, ethnic, gender and geographical issues only. This meager conceptualization has increased the risk of mere entry of person in the TEVT program meaning either the person is 'out' or 'in'. This gives the notion of inclusion as static concept whereas the social inclusion is a dynamic process (Silver, 2006). It indicates that the multilayered relationship between the TEVT and the further dimensions of social inclusion so far has not systematically been realized.

Further, the causes of social exclusion are simply identified as "structural" indicating that there are factors or elements over which individuals have limited control (Peace, 2001). This positivist approach of exclusion is constructed and operationalised by comparing the positive levels of activity of and possession by people against a defined level of activity or possession that is considered socially inclusive (O'Reilly, 2005). The problem with this positivistic notion is that it is too generic to account for individual experiences of social exclusion and ignore the contextual and relational factors that increase or decrease the level of exclusion.

In addition, the TEVT policies and practices are found to have been created with the "top down" approach, limiting to including the 'excluded' as a ritual. This is referred as the macro sociological perspective that view exclusion as an employment crisis, or a crisis of ineffective social policies and crisis of integrative social institutions of the nation in the general terms (Silver, 1994). Hence, the current policy and practices in the TEVT have not been able to adequately address

the "grass-roots" perspective which is micro sociological perspective that considers exclusion as a crisis of community solidarity and social regulation (Silver, 1995, p. 71).

Further, the policies and practices of social inclusion in the TEVT emerge not through deliberative processes which represent the opinion of socially excluded group, implementers and policy makers to form a mutually agreed policy rather the policy is imposed from the top down. It is for this reason that there is a lack of conscious effort in addressing the social inclusion in day-to-day practices limiting only to mere implementation of inclusion criteria and not focusing on increasing of life chances of socially excluded groups. So far only social exclusion has been addressed. The concern of social inclusion is still there. Social inclusion implies justice, rights, equality and of course, egalitarianism whereas, the term 'exclusion' denotes simply the 'disadvantaged' or 'minority' groups. Moreover, in the name of participation, Nepalese TEVT policy and practices have promoted the mere integration rather than the active engagement of individuals who could decide themselves for their life chances. Integration is not the synonymous with 'inclusion' and even highly socially integrated societies can be marked by large inequalities of power and status (Phillips, 2008).

For instance, the mere headcount of number of people enrolled, continued or employed from the different segments of the society is not in line with the true notion of social inclusion; rather it is a meager effort of addressing social exclusion. The current practice of head count can only partly explain the degree of being socially excluded – the correlation is fair, but by no means can provide complete picture of degree of social inclusion.

Overall, while the concept of social inclusion may appear attractive to policy makers and others for its flexibility and inclusiveness, the concept has been used and reused as a mix bag without the analytical perspectives and coherent theoretical core. This has led to limited benefit for the broader society. This indicates the need of some specifications and modifications of the theoretical inventory and calls for devising context specific strategy that emerge the need of rethinking of social inclusion policy and practices in the TEVT.

Continuation: The Implications and the Future Research

While a great deal of responsibility lies with those in power, each of us has a responsibility for creating social inclusion in the TEVT. As social inclusion is not the static process, the current discourse about social inclusion in the TEVT invites us to think towards more dynamic approach that would minimize power relationships and boundaries and then create a stronger sense of a universal commitment to the inclusion of everyone. Given that the main thrust of research for social inclusion in the TEVT, the results set out in this thesis emphasize the implications in two aspects: the policy and the practice that ultimately address the issues of beneficiaries.

As stated earlier, the starting point of social inclusion in the TEVT is valuing the human being and move towards equity and social justice. This research has unfolded the deepened reality about the power games, struggles and the conflict, hidden behind the slogans of social inclusion unknowingly leaving the real beneficiaries in isle. It has thus indicated the essentials of rethinking of social inclusion policy and practices in establishing a just society where everyone has its own space to be respected and valued.

The TEVT policies and services therefore, require focusing on framing the words for including the excluded and more importantly on addressing the real need of excluded groups effectively. This would mean using the more analytical approach in policy framing, raising awareness among the service providers about the need of inclusion in the TEVT. It also mean having meaningful engagement with the socially excluded groups to influence the decisions and processes that affect the outcome, and more importantly, helping to remove attitudinal and behavioural constraints based on caste, gender, geographical disparity at a wider level. Further, beneficiaries have their own perspectives about inclusion which imply the need of bringing the voice of beneficiaries at the level of policy dialogue through mass media, by involving stakeholders at local level. There deems a necessary thinking from the government through which youth from excluded groups are encouraged to come forward, raise their voice and be aware of the TEVT opportunity as their right.

However, the TEVT sector, in isolation, cannot remove the cultural and social constraints which are linked to access, equity, and participation of socially excluded groups in the TEVT. So it demands an integrated approach to address these issues.

In addition, as stipulated by Nelson Mandela "After climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb", I have realized that there is a need to further deepen the reality of the social inclusion aspects and phenomena in the TEVT. Hence, this thesis encourages further researchers to contribute more towards disclosing the hidden reality about social inclusion in the TEVT. They are suggested to conduct further researches on "contribution of the TEVT in social inclusion", "innovations, ideas and efforts to ensure social inclusion in the TEVT",

"specific TEVT trades and courses and its effectiveness to reduce social exclusion", "role of the employers in the social inclusion/exclusion process in the TEVT".

Final Words

Beyond the primary purpose of the thesis, this has also been a study of the several concepts regarding social inclusion. These made me realize the importance of understanding the concept used for our own awareness of what we are talking about. Besides, I regard social inclusion in general as something meaningful and beneficial for everyone as all people are mutually responsible for it. This study has sharpened my worldview regarding the political striving for the social inclusion agenda that indicates its importance to account in every aspect of development. I understood that challenges lies in our way of thinking, so changing our way of thinking will influence our actions, strategies, initiatives and policies to combat social exclusion and other interrelated social problems. Further, I'm enlightened with the belief that the importance of treating people with respect is very important in social inclusion. The value of human being is central for the just society and it is a human duty to help create just society. If it is achieved then power-relations and hierarchy will be less important, and every human being will be valued despite varying gender, caste, origin or economic status.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Interview Guidelines: TEVT Actors at Policy Level

- 1. Need of TEVT in Nepal: perception
- 2. Concepts of social inclusion
- 3. Contribution of TEVT in Social Inclusion
- 4. TEVT Policy/ies: Difference of previous policies and current policies
- 5. Policy/ program match: Gap between policy and program
- 6. Inclusiveness of the policy, program, practice and budgeting
- 7. Promotion or prohibition of SI in/through TEVT
- 8. Further enhancement of SI through TEVT: Contribution from different level (of TEVT)
- 9. TEVT and inclusion in SSR

Appendix 2: Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussions with Students

Number of students:	Trade:
Venue/school:	District:
Facilitator:	Date:

Probing directions
Knowledge about availability of different
options other than this course
Family, community, friends support moral or
financial or any other
Anecdotes for any specific feeling during
admission and being at school
Anecdotes, examples, narration about the
reality, feelings, social inclusion/exclusion at
school, school policy/practices
Aspects of change, anecdotes

Appendix 3: Interview Guidelines: Currently Enrolled Students

Personal information:
Full name of the student:
Level/course/year
Permanent address:
Distance of school/training centre from the home district:
Temporary address:
Family income in NRS./year:
Income source:
Fee paying/free:
Sponsor (if any):
• Reasons for joining the course:
o motivating factors:

- o happiness/satisfaction about the course (Teachers, friends, others)
- Knowledge about availability of different options other than this course
- Payment of the course: (amount payment source, responsibility)
- Support mechanism (Family, community, friends support moral or financial or any other)
- Knowledge about someone in the village who did very well after receiving this course and their contribution to him/her in joining this course
- Restricting factors for joining the course

o support from....

• Perception of the community (change in perception after joining the course)

- Reaction (positive or negative) of family, friends/family members/community after joining the course
- Feeling of any sort of discriminations, form of discrimination, source of discrimination at school
- Admission process (special treatment, discrimination, difficulties, facilitation)
- Experience of the course (narration of the story: problems, realization of change in confidence level)
- Understanding and experiences of the social inclusion/exclusion at school (practical examples, evidences, anecdotes, feelings, changes in school's policy/practices)
- Expectation, future aspiration (changes in confidence level, income generation, societal perception, feeling of included)
- Experiences and sharing of the choice and participation in the course is the right decision

Appendix 4: Interview Guidelines: Passed out Ex-students

Full name of the student:
Level/course/year
Permanent address:
Distance of school/training centre from the home district:
Temporary address:
Family income in NRS./year:
Income source:
Fee paying/free:
Sponsor (if any):
• Reasons for joining the course:
o motivating factors:
o support from
o happiness/satisfaction about the course (Teachers, friends, others)
• Knowledge about availability of different options other than this course:
• Payment of the course: (amount payment source, responsibility)
Support mechanism (Family, community, friends support moral or financial
or any other)
• Restricting factors for joining the course
• Perception of the community (change in perception after completing the
course)

Changes that is brought in relation to social inclusion because of the training

entry and retaining)

o Current job (relevant/non-relevant, experience about the job search,

Appendix 5: Interview guidelines: Drop out ex-student

Personal information:
Full name of the student:
Level/course/year
Permanent address:
Distance of school/training centre from the home district:
Temporary address:
Family income in NRS./year:
Income source:
Fee paying/free:
Sponsor (if any):

- Reason for discontinuation of the course
- Note: the starting point is this. However, researcher needs to explore indepth to identify the reality and the phenomena.

Appendix 6: Interview guidelines: Principal or Training Centre Chief

Personal information:		
Name of the respondent:		
School/ training centre:		
Date:		

- Tell me about the selection procedure (probe for forceful participation or participation by choice)
 - o Getting participants from excluded groups (Difficulties/Easiness)
 - o Participation/non-participation of excluded groups in the program
 - o Geographical representation of participants
- Opinion about the representation of excluded groups
- Experience on the perception of students/teachers about the excluded group
- TEVT and social inclusion (Awareness (knowledge) of existing policies, procedures)
- Specific policy and day to day practices of social inclusion in school

Appendix 7: Categories of Dalit as Recognized by GON, National Dalit

Commission Nepal

A) Hill Dalit

- 1. Gandharba (Gaine)
- 2. Pariyar (Damai, Dargee, Suchikar, Nagarchee, Dholee, Hudke)
- 3. Badi
- 4. Bishwokarma (Kami, Lohar, Sunar, Od, Chunanra, Parki, Tamata)
- 5. Mijar (Sarki, Charmakar, Bhool)
- 6.Pode (Deula, Pujari, Jalari)
- 7. Chyame (Kuchikar, Chyamkhal)

B) Terai Dalit

- 8. Kalar
- 9. Kakaihiya
- 10. Kori
- 11. Khatik
- 12. Khatwe (Mandal, Khang)
- 13. Chamar (Ram, Mochi, Harijan, Ravidas)
- 14. Chidimar
- 15. Dom (Marik)
- 16. Tatma (Tanti, Das)
- 17. Dushadh (Paswan, Hajara)
- 18. Dhobi (Rajak) Hindu
- 19. Pasi
- 20. Bantar
- 21. Mushar
- 22. Mestar (Halkhor)
- 23. Sarbhang (Sarbariya)
- 24. Natuwa
- 25. Dhandi
- 26. Dharikar/ Dhankar

गन्धर्व (गाइने) 9. परियार (दमै, दर्जी, सूचीकार, नगर्ची, ढोली, हुड्के) 2. 3. विश्वकर्मा (कामी, लोहार, सुनार, उड, चुनारा, पार्की, टमाटा) 8. सार्की (मिजार, चर्मकार, भूल) X. तराई ٤. कलार ककैदिया 19 9. खातिक खत्वे (मण्डल, खड़ू) 90. चमार (राम, मोची, हरिजन, रविदास) 99. 92. चिडीमार डोम (मरिक) 93. तत्मां (तान्ती, दास) 98. दुसाध (पासवान, हजारा) 94. 98. धोवी (हिन्दुराजक) 919 पत्थरकट्टा 95. पासी 99. बाँतर मुसहर 20 29. मेस्तार (हलखोर) सरवङ्गा (सरवरइया) 22.

Appendix 8: Categorization of Indigenous People Based on Development

(MIZAUT		Mary state of the	नजातीको बर्गीकरण	
के वर्ग बोप्रोत्स्य समूह	खानम् । मातसीमान्तक्त समूह	ग्रा वर्ता सीमान्त्रकृत समृह	्य वर्ती सुविधावश्चित समूह	ङ वर्ग उत्तत समूह
१. कुसुण्डा	१.माभी	१. सुनुवार	१.गुरुङ	9. नेवार
२. बनकरिया	२.सियार	२. थारु	२.मगर	२.थकाली
३. राउटे	३.ल्होमी (शिङ्सावा)	३. तामाङ	३.राई	W MANNE
४. सुरेल	४.थुदाम	४. भुजेल	४.लिम्ब्	
४. हायू	४. धानुक	५. कुमाल	४. छैरोतन	
६. राजी	६. चेपाङ	६.राजबंशी	६.तांवे	
७. किसान	७. सन्तार (सन्थाल)	७. गन्गाई	७.तिनगाउँले थकाली	
न. लेप्चा	द. धामी	द. धिमाल	5. बाह्यगाउँले	
९ मेचे	९. भाँगड	९. भीटे	९.मार्फाली थकाली	
०,कुशवाडिया	१०. वोटे	१०. दराई	१०.शेर्पा	
2. **	११. दनुवार	११. ताजपुरिया	११. याक्खा	
	१२. बरामु	१२. पहरी	१२. छन्त्याल	
1, 1	* 4	१३. तोप्केगोला	.१३. जिरेल	
	**	१४. डोल्पो	१४. व्याँसी/	
	-6	१५. फी	१५. ह्योल्मो	
	2 9	१६. मुगाल	en 197	
	10 May 100	१७. लार्के		
	de-1	१५. ल्होपा		
	- 400	१९. दुरा		
		२०. वालुङ		

नोटः सरकारी मानवीय विकास सूचकाङ्ग २०५६ (साक्षरता दर, पक्की घर, भूमिको स्वामित्व, व्यवसाय, भाषा, जनसंख्या तथा स्नातक तह वा सोभन्दा माथिको शैक्षिक स्थिति। को आधारमा नेपाल आदिवासी जनजाति वर्गीकरण कार्यदलद्वारा वर्गीकृत नेपालका आदिवासी जनजातिहरूको सूची (२०६०।१९।१८ को संघीय परिषदद्वारा अनुमोदित):

Categorization of Indigenous People Based on Development

Advanced Group

Newar, Thakali

Disadvantaged Group

Tangbe, TeengaunleThakali, BarahgaunleThakali, MarphaliThakali, Gurung, Magar,

Rai, Limbu, Sherpa, Yakkha, Chhantyal, Jirel, Byansi, Yolmo

Marginalized Group

Sunuwar, Tharu, Tamang, Bhujel, Kumal, Rajbanshi, Gangaai, Dhimal, Bhote,

Darai, Tajpuriya, Pahari, Topkegola, Dolpo, Mugal, Larke, Lohpa, Dura, Walung

High Marginalized Group

Majhi, Siyar, Lhomi (Shinsaba), Thundam, Dhanuk, Chepang, Santhal, Jhagad,

Thami, Bote, Danuwar, Baramu

Endangered Group

Kusunda, Bankariya, Raute, Surel, Hayu, Raji, Kisan, Lepcha, Meche, Kuswadiya