

 <p>ISSN 2631-2131</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Private (institutional) schools: bridging social gaps in urban cities in Nepal?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Devendra Adhikari* and Rajan Binayek Pasa**</p>
<p>Author(s)</p>	<p>Devendra Adhikari* Rajan Binayek Pasa**</p>
<p>Association</p>	<p>*School of Education (Development Studies), Kathmandu University **Corresponding author, Central Department of Rural Development, Tribhuvan University</p>
<p>Received Date</p>	<p>20th November 2021</p>
<p>Accepted Date</p>	<p>1st December 2021</p>
<p>Email</p>	<p>rajan.pasa@cdrd.tu.edu.np</p>

Abstract

The interest of parents in the urban cities in Nepal is tending towards enrolling their children in paid private (institutional) schools, rather than free public schools. This paper aimed at exploring the reasons behind growing craziness of the parents towards the private education system in Nepal. We adopted a critical paradigm, case study approach using in-depth interviews, and observation techniques to gather field information. This study has signaled that institutional schools are facilitating to homogenize the education system between haves and have nots groups in society. Different categories of private education systems, with accountable management team have facilitated in bridging the social gaps in Nepal. At the same time, public schools urgently need to revisit their management model, pedagogical system, and publicize their services and strengths, so that they could regain their trust from the urban parents. The explorations of this research could be helpful to outline the positive aspects of private schools and buildup the public education system along in Nepal.

Keywords: haves and have not, institutional schools, public schools, social class

Background

Public Education System in Nepal

In 2006, I (the first author) began my first professional job as a public-school teacher. I had always envisioned working towards developing the public education system and the entering the school was a way forward to materialize my dream. The school was situated in an urban settlement, in the then Lalitpur sub-metropolitan city, where the majority of the people were migrants and living on

rented accommodations. Before joining the school, I had presumed that the school was providing service to the children of nearby settlements, but on my first day in the school, I realized that the case was different. I found that the students were children from the families of the migrated people who have less income, the domestic child laborers, and those funded by the Non-Government Organizations. The locals, the people living on rented accommodations but engaged in prestigious earning activities, and even the public-school teachers had enrolled their children in the nearby institutional schools. Then, I gradually noticed that the public schools in the city areas were for the unprivileged groups only, who were struggling for hand-to-mouth existence.

Education is the main driver of development that is why the Government of Nepal has signed in various international policy instruments related to educational right and well-being of the individuals (Pasa, 2019). Even the constitution of Federal Republic Nepal mentions that education is the fundamental right of every citizen in Nepal (Nepal Ministry of Law, 2015). There is a huge state's investment in maintaining good quality education in Nepal. Nepal Ministry of Finance (2019) data shows that at least one-tenth of the annual budget is allocated to the education sector. There are 29035 government-supported public schools and only 6566 private sectors established institutional schools across the country. More than 80% of the students are still enrolled in the primary grades in public schools (Nepal Ministry of Education, 2017). Despite these facts, over a decade, I have been witnessing the gradual decrement in the choice of parents to admit their children in the nearby public schools in urban cities. People, either well-off or from the struggling classes chose the paid institutional schools for their children.

Increasing Influence of Institutional Schools

The 2015 Constitution of Nepal has guaranteed the rights of free and compulsory education of citizens until the basic level and free at the secondary level. Although not mentioned in the constitution, these facilities are available in government schools only. In recent years, the privatization of school education has become rapid in Nepal. The various reports from the Ministry of Education, Nepal also supports that the percentage of students enrolling in public schools is gradually reducing, while the annual budget in the public education has rapidly increased (Nepal Ministry of Education, 2014, 2015, 2016a, 2017). Even in 2007, Dr. Pasa (corresponding author) was migrated in capital city for enrolling his children in institutional school and also for developing his own academic career (Pasa, 2018).

The institutional schools do not teach the students free of cost, while education is free at government schools. These institutional schools, “are owned and operated by the private sector under the Companies Act and are profit-oriented entities [...] are regulated by the Ministry of Education” (Nepal Ministry of Education, 2016b, p. 112). The notion of growth of private schools is guided by the neo-liberalism theory of development, where the control of the private sector influences the market economy. In neo-liberalism, the “free market is extended to every part of our public and personal world. The transformation of the state from a provider of public welfare to a promoter of markets and competition helps to enable this shift” (Birch, 2017, para. 4). In Nepal, large portion of family earning from remittance and ecotourism is investing in child education, who are studying in English boarding school and private colleges located nearby hinterland and urban centers (Pasa & Bishwokarma, 2020b; Pasa, 2020).

This has become a huge challenge for the government of Nepal to implement the provision of free

education as scripted in the constitution. Even though government schools get huge resources from the state, and they offer free education to all students, the attraction of the parents and students towards public schools is lowering in cities. Is neoliberalism only the cause for the increased enrollment of the students in institutional schools in urban cities? Thus, I am unfolding these realities through critical qualitative research to explore the reasons behind the enthusiasm of the parents to admit their children in the paid institutional schools, rather than the free public schools in Nepal.

Research Question

Why do the parents at an urban settlement in Lalitpur Metropolitan City, Nepal, wish to enroll their children in paid private schools, rather than free public schools?

Selection of Schools by Parents: Economically or Socially Driven?

We have noticed that urban dwellers are more attracted to enrolling their children in the institutional schools in Lalitpur, Nepal. Due to the lesser students, most of the public schools in city areas are either at a nearly closed situation or government is making plans to merge these (Shrestha, 2014). Some scholars view that, the private schools are presenting good academic outcomes in Nepal because of these schools have substantive resources such as good managers, educated teachers, and infrastructures. Thapa (2015) argues that insufficient resource is the main reason behind the less performance of public schools. Further, he recommends that the government should bring policies to support the underprivileged groups to get out of poverty, which positively correlates with their poor academic results.

The competitive management systems in enrolling more students annually, providing good education to the learners, and achieving targeted results have positively influenced the teaching-learning process of private schools in Nepal (Thapa, 2013). Joshi (2014) also demonstrates that Nepalese parents select the schools for their children, as per their economic status. Further, he claims that the parents who choose private schools have been found quite aware of the needs of good education in shaping the future of their children. Regmi (2017) believes that the better functioning of the institutional schools in Nepal is due to the engagement of rich families, fee collection and profit maximization interest, situated in the compact settlements, and make teaching-learning process alive through modern pedagogical approaches such as laboratories, libraries, and computer technologies. He claimed that the lower-income families in the city do not have access to the institutional schools and it is further enlarging the social gap between upper-class and lower-class families (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, as cited in Regmi, 2017). These literatures indicate that the economic status determines the choice of good schools by parents in Nepal. Also, these signaled that the public schools lack resources, good teachers, and educational materials, so the parents rely on private schools for the better future of their children in the country.

The perspective of the increased interest of the parents to enroll their children in paid institutional schools could be witnessed from the Theory of Social Class in the urban societies in Nepal. Weber believes that the stratification of a society is determined by three factors, economic, social, and political. Pyakuryal (2008) mentions that “the economic, represented by the income and the goods and services which an individual pose: the social, represented by the prestige and honor he enjoys: and the political, represented by the power he exercises” (p. 14). These domains of social stratification

are creating the wide demarcation line between haves and have-nots groups in society. However, we argue that the increased craze towards the institutional schools is gradually homogenizing the modern (English) education system in Nepal, which is helpful to reduce the social or economic gaps. We have noticed that this aspect has not been discussed in the literature yet.

Research Methodology

Our research study has ejected the perceptions of the different social classes about their choices in the selection of schools for their children in an urban society in Lalitpur. We have adopted a critical paradigm in this research study, as it has helped us to view the phenomena of the inequalities in the Nepalese society, regarding the choice of schools (Willis, 2007). Regarding our ontological assumption, we believe that every parent has different viewpoints, regarding the choice of schools. For us, the reality is no single, it differs from parents to parents. To get closer to that subjective reality, our epistemological assumptions begin from developing the trust with the parents, asking them to provide their life stories and experiences, and observing of the management systems in public and institutional schools.

We have taken an urban settlement in Lalitpur Metropolitan city as a case. The parents and who are sending their children in institutional schools and an institutional school head teacher are the unit of analysis. We have used the case study inquiry approach, “an empirical inquiry which investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in depth and within its real-world context” (Yin, 2011, p. 16 as cited in Adhikari & Pasa, 2019).

Also, case study research is used to study the contemporary issues by the application of more than one method to gather evidence like “direct observation of the events being studied and interviews of the persons involved in the event”(p. 12). Additionally, we have reflected our observation of the student activities of the public and the institutional schools in the settlement, where we have been engaging for a long time. We have taken the in-depth interviews with the four parents who have enrolled their children in institutional schools and an institutional school head teacher. They are Mrs. Mila (a house owner), Mrs. Kristi (a migrant and living on rent), Mr. Magar (a migrant and living on rent), Mrs. Ika (a house owner), and Mrs. Nara (a private school head teacher). We have visited their settlements frequently and inquired about their interest in the institutional schools. Their experiences and our field observation have been used to make out the meaning through thematic analysis.

Regarding the trustworthiness of this research, we have done in-depth interviews through probing techniques, prolonged engagement, and member checking to learn the experiences and stories of the parents (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). We have taken the interviews until we get rich information such as the social status of the parents, their viewpoints about the public and institutional school, their reasons for choosing schools, and so on. We have observed the school’s activities from outside the compounds for many days while passing by the schools. We have abided the ethical considerations by taking the verbal consent from the parents and the head teacher, keeping the name of the parents, head teacher and the schools anonymous, and not involved in doing any kind of psychological and physical harm or influence to the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). We have discussed the field explorations in two broader themes *management matters*, and *social perceptions*. Finally, we have presented discussion under the theme *Homogenization in the education system*.

Discussions

Management Matters: Quality Education with Services

We conducted the field study of this research, in the month of January 2020 in Lalitpur Metropolitan city. In the study area, we could see a well-developed settlement and educated societies. People lived in big houses, they walked on black-topped roads with underground sanitation and drinking water system, big sports hall for youths and children, a green park for senior citizens, and newly renovated temples and stupas for devotees. There are two public and half dozens of institutional schools in the area. In every morning, we could witness children dressed in blue shirts, pants, and skirts going to public schools in hurry. We could see neatly dressed children, going to the institutional schools, in motorbikes or school van, sometimes with the caretakers carrying their bags and water bottle. Alternatively, children from poor families mainly migrated, were enrolled in public schools.

We began interacting with our participants, regarding their choice in the public or institutional education system. Mrs. Mila, a local resident explained that she enrolled her son in an institutional school because the education was good there. She commented that *“All subjects are taught in Nepalese language in public schools and alternatively it is done in English medium in Institutional schools. I wish to see good English language skill in my children.”* There are also some management related issues with public schools, with which Mila is not satisfied. She pointed out that, *“I see the public schools at our place give more holidays than the institutional schools. I am happy with the school of my son because the school van comes at 9:00 A.M and to receive my child and bring back to home at 4:00 P.M.”* She further shared that, *“I am planning to enroll my younger daughter, when she reaches 2 years old, in the same school where my son is studying. Because the school enrolls the toddlers at any time in a year and it offers a special discount during the Shree Panchami festival”*. During our observations, in the institutional schools in the study area, we also saw child-friendly playing equipment at the playground. We observed the teachers looking after the child at the playground. The teachers were encouraging the children to speak in English, play turn by turn, and maintain discipline. Inside the compound, there was a small school van for carrying small children. One day, we also heard a small girl giving her speech in English on the topic “My aim” during the morning assembly.

We met another participant Mrs. Kristi at 4:00 PM in her rented room upon her consent She worked as a maid in other people’s houses and was recently arrived from Ramechhap. We saw satisfaction on her face regarding the institutional school where her son was studying, although it was less popular and cheaper than the institutional school where her house owner’s son was enrolled. She uttered that her son’s school organizes many extracurricular activities which was making him intelligent. She shared, *“My son has got chances to visit the zoo, swimming pools, parks, and museums. He becomes very happy to see new things and visit new places. Even my son gets chances to learn different life-learning skills such as sports, music, dance, drama, drawing, and public speaking. I work hard and do not hesitate in paying his school fee for the sake of his happiness and future”*. As our discussion continued, her sister brought her son from the school at 4:30 PM. Mrs. Kristi further expressed that the school responsibly took care of her child for the whole day, and she could go to work to earn money. Thus, she believed that the institutional schools are the blessings for the working mothers. This is also verified by our field observation in the schools. We saw that

the institutional school was opened until 5:00 P.M and some of the teachers were mobilized on a rotation basis to look after the children. Alternatively, the public school, which we observed was closed at 3:30 P.M every day. The guard of these public schools would ask the students to leave the school after 3.30 PM and padlocked the main gate.

Another participant Mrs. Nara described that the teachers and management system are focused on other activities in public schools rather than teaching and learning. She said that *“The classrooms are in pathetic condition in many of the public schools. The basic requirements like drinking water, toilets, playgrounds, library, science labs are also lacked”*. This view of the Nara was observable from the outside the gates of both categories of schools. The institutional school had enough games and sports equipment, a safe drinking water system, a clean school environment, ventilated and bright classrooms, and secured school premises. Opposing, in the public school, the students were bringing the footballs and volleyballs from their own home, they had to bring the water bottle themselves, and the children were free to go outside the school’s premise to buy lunch.

Mrs. Ika expressed that most of the public-school teachers had the wrong perception that they got monthly salary, even if they did not work sincerely. She further revealed that there were rumors about the teaching quality, irresponsible teachers, undisciplined students at public schools in her settlement. She, herself completed her public school from a public school, shared a bitter truth that *“Institutional schools attract the students and parents in many ways. They are active to sell their products. But public schools do not follow these strategies.”* This view of Ika could be observed through the huge banners of institutional schools at the public places in the study area, with the photos of some of the students in different ethnic dresses, performing science experiments, toddlers enjoying at swimming pool, girls playing football, a small boy giving speech by holding a mike in his hands, and many more. We could rarely see such banners of any public schools in the study area.

Social Perceptions: Institutional Schools Leads to Secure Future

Mrs. Kristi expressed that she always saw the students going to institutional schools, being neat and tidy. She revealed, *“I want to make my son smart like others”*. She was happy to send her son to the institutional school because she could go to her work after dropping a small son to the school. She shared her dream that *“I wish my son may speak good English, get good grades, go abroad, and change our lives”*. She wanted her son to be able to compete with other children in society.

Mr. Magar remembered his past life said, *“I completed secondary education from a public school in Vimad Municipality. I did not get the chance to use computers and science equipment. There was no good facility for games and sports in my school. I now have realized that my knowledge was not enriched because the teaching and learning were just focused on the books. That’s why I did not get good jobs after high school. I went to Qatar for two years and worked as a laborer. I then returned to Nepal and at present, I am working as a painter in Kathmandu. My education system is not applicable to meet present-day needs. Thus, I do not wish that my children also live lives alike me. So, from early grades, I have enrolled both in an institutional school”*.

Mrs. Ika shared her experiences *“I also read in a government school. I used to think that my education was very good. I believed that I had learned many useful things for my life. But now, I have realized that my certificate is not saleable in the market. It is quite difficult for me to get jobs because I studied in a Nepali medium school and my English is not so good. I have seen that most*

of the employers offer the job to those, who have good English and efficient computer skills. Thus, I cannot trust in public schools". Mrs. Nara discussed that most of the people in our communities were struggling to enroll their children in institutional schools. She believed that "Parents think possibly only the poor families send their child to government schools. So, it is a matter of pride for some of them to admit children in private schools". We also could witness that people from different social backgrounds were happy to send their wards in the paid institutional schools. No matter, they were from the privileged class (those who have own houses) or from the working-class families (living on rent), they preferred the quality education which could be only achieved from the institutional schools.

Homogenization in Education System: Lowering the Social Gap

Urban residents perceive that their children can get good education only through institutional schools. They are happy with the trained teachers, good management, and the services of these schools. They view that the graduates of public schools have weak delivery in English and poor computer skills, due to which there is less chance for them to get jobs. The 2076 Educational Policy of Government of Nepal also points out that the numbers of literate unemployed youths are increasing in the country (Nepal Ministry of Education, 2019). The urban people also blame that the management system of public schools is unaccountable, due to which, these schools are shut down most of the time, the courses are not timely finished, and the students are not taught the things of the outside world. These beliefs in the so-called privileged class, signal that their choice about selection of schools for their children is due to their compulsion. They do not see the proper management in public school systems and believe that these schools are ruining the lives of innocent children. In Nepal, still, 8 out of 10 students are enrolled in public schools (Nepal Ministry of Education, 2017). The experiences, we gathered from a few urban parents indicate that majority of the children's future is not secured in Nepal because they are compelled to receive impractical and outdated mode of education. It seems contrary to the vision of School Sector Development Plan in Nepal which has aimed to, "contribute to the development of self-sustainable, competitive, innovative and value-oriented citizens for the socio-economic transformation of the nation"(Nepal Ministry of Education, 2016b, p. 15). It is even a big question mark to the community management school governance model in public schools in Nepal, which begun in 2003. School Management Committee's concept is blamed for its inability to uplift the academic standards of public education systems and transforming the schools to the political battlefields of local leaders (Khanal, 2013). This also raises a question: *Do the parents in rural villages are compelled to enroll their children in public schools because there are no private schools there?*

However, the centrifugal force of the public school is amazingly contributing to minimize the social gap between haves and have not in the urban cities. People, who are migrated from their village, have seen the empathetic conditions of the public schools at their origins. Most of them are engaged in some jobs in urban cities, and institutional school is the right place for them to admit their children in a caring environment, from early morning until late evening. They also view their family's living conditions can be enhanced if their children get quality education through institutional schools (Badal, 2019). They have learned that, if their children have good command in English and in extracurricular activities such as sports, drawing, dancing, drama and public speaking, are smart, they can compete in today's modern society. Alternatively, they think that, if a child is graduated from a public school, the market doesn't trust his/her ability. So, most of them

become jobless and go to abroad for doing menial jobs. A child going to institutional school, being neat and tidy is a matter of social pride to the parents. Thus, the working-class people work hard, earn money, and invest a big part of it to educate their children. This might be reason majorities of the migrated family households temporarily living in Kirtipur are enrolling their children in private institutional schools for quality education (Pasa, 2018).

Weber has pointed out that social stratification is determined by three factors, economic, social, and, political, which are responsible for promoting inequalities in societies (Pyakuryal, 2008). Pasa and Bishwakarma (2020a) also argue that huge mass of Nepali people including Dalits (socially reconstructed lower caste group in Hindu caste structure) are still lagging behind in the process of national development. The government and its partner agencies (INGOs) tend to support monetarily but money is not enough in solving all problems created by socio-cultural beliefs, norms, and values. Hence, valuing to quality education, the authors developed 5Es (i.e. envisioning-educating-empowering-ensuring-encouraging) alternative approach for empowerment and eliminating social inequalities.

The target 10.3, of Sustainable development Goals, has mentioned too, “ensure equal opportunities and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies, and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies, and action in this regard” (Nepal National Planning Commission, 2015, p. 82). A report of Oxfam International indicates that the income inequality between the rich and the poor is maximum in Nepal (Oxfam International and HAMI, 2019). Thereby, it cannot be denied that there exists a wide social and economic gap in Nepalese societies, and the condition is more pitiful in urban cities. However, our field information has dug an unaccounted fact that the so-called urban poor have chosen to educate their children in paid institutional schools where they can afford. In Nepal, the 2002 Education Regulation has mentioned that there are A, B, C, and D categories of schools depending upon the service they provide and tuition fees they charge (Nepal Ministry of Law, 2002). Although poverty determines whether a child can receive quality education or not in Nepali societies (Adhikari, 2019), urban poor are admitting their children in private schools as they perceive as the gateway to liberate their miserable lives. They have envisioned to live lives like rich people in the cities, by making good future of their children through educating them in English medium schools. They believe that, although public schools are free, the poor management system, Nepali mode of teaching and learning, bookish pedagogy, politicized environment, and unaccountable teachers and management system in public schools, will ruin the lives of their children. Thus, they are working hard, saving little, and investing more in the education of their children. They have no concerns over, whether the education is free in public schools or not, they choose the paid institutional schools, which they can afford. For them, only quality education matters, which they believe to be possible through institutional schools, and they have accepted it as the only change-agent of their dreadful lives.

Conclusion

A lack of trust in public schools has been increasing in the urban cities in Nepal. People are more interested to in enrolling their children in paid institutional schools, rather than free public schools. The ‘haves’ group see it through the perspectives of the capability development of their child. On the other hand, the ‘haves not’ group perceives it differently, as a tool to minimize their social and economic gaps with the academic progress of their children. These progresses include opportunity

to learn other skills such as personality development, developing English language, computer skills, and other life skills such as dancing, drama, drawing, singing, public speaking, and sports.

A comment from one of our research participants provides some idea why institutional schools have become more popular than public school. Ika said that “*Institutional schools attract the students and parents in many ways. They are active to sell their products. But public schools do not follow these strategies*”. We perceived that the public schools have also failed in advertising their strengths such as teachers with long years of experiences, free education, government’s support in building the infrastructures, handsome salaries for teachers, and community-managed governance system. The declining attraction of urban parents to the public-school signals that the welfare model of the school management through SMCs has been ineffective in the public schools of urban cities in Nepal. The urban parents wish to have public schools, which have competitive and result-oriented management team instead of dull and dysfunctional ones. A basket approach of the philanthropic model of SMC in public schools across the country seems unsuccessful in attracting the urban students into entering the public education system. Also, it is a bitter reality that most high school graduates from Nepal are forced to go Arabian countries and Malaysia to do menial jobs. Most of them blame to the impractical education, which they get from the public school, which neither enables their capability nor relates to the needs of local market. In these regards, the 2020 Fifteenth plan by the Nepal National Planning Commission has also mentioned of initiating the accreditation system across all the schools to ensure the equitable quality education for all (Nepal National Planning Commission, 2020). Although largely criticized, Government of Nepal, on its annual budget for the fiscal year 2020 (2077/78), also mentioned that every secondary institutional schools should look after the educational infrastructural development and educational quality improvement of at least a public school, as a part of their social responsibilities (Nepal Ministry of Finance, 2020). Thus, it is the right time to revisit the aspects of curricula, pedagogy, management, and marketing strategy, to reform the public education system in Nepal so that it is equally owned by all the sections of people in the country, and it helps to improve their livelihoods of people. Of course, the contributing role of institutional schools in lowering the social gaps, as believed by urban poor in cities in Nepal, should not be undermined.

Funding:

This research study was conducted under the self-efforts of the researchers and not received grant support from any government and non-government agencies.

Ethical Approval for the Research:

Ethical approval for this study was granted by the participants during member checking.

Conflict of Interest:

The data collection for this article was done in pre-COVID context in Nepal. First author (Devendra Adhikari) has contributed to bringing personal reflexivity to enrich the qualitative research, doing field data collection, and meaning making works. Corresponding author (Rajan Binayek Pasa) has done literature review, theorization, thematization, and meaning making works. Hence, the researchers do not have any kind of conflict of interest.

Ethical Conduct of Research:

We declare that the research was conducted ethically.

References

- Adhikari, D. & Pasa, R. B. (2019). Consumer Committees in Tensions? A Interpretive Case of Lalitpur Metropolitan City, Nepal. *Nepalese Journal of Development and Rural Studies Volume 16*, doi: <https://doi.org/10.3126/njdrs.v16i0.31531>
- Adhikari, D. (2019). Cosmological orientation in promoting the enrollment in short-term mobile skill-trainings: *A narrative inquiry on women's lives in Nepal*. *Journal of Training and Development*, 4, 34-45. <https://doi.org/10.3126/jtd.v4i0.26835>
- Badal, B. P. (2019). Tourism: Visit Nepal 2020. *Research Nepal Journal of Development Studies*, 2(2), 12–32. <https://doi.org/10.3126/rnjds.v2i2.29274>
- Birch, K. (2017). What exactly is neoliberalism? <https://theconversation.com/what-exactly-is-neoliberalism-84755>
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2018). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research (5th ed.)*. SAGE Publications.
- Joshi, P. (2014). Parent decision-making when selecting schools: The case of Nepal. *Prospects*, 44(3), 411-428. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-014-9319-9>
- Khanal, P. (2013). Community participation in schooling in Nepal: A disjunction between policy intention and policy implementation? *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 33(3), 235-248. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188791.2012.756390>
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. SAGE.
- Nepal Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. (2017). *Education in figures 2017 (At a glance)*. https://moe.gov.np/assets/uploads/files/Education_in_Figures_2017.pdf
- Nepal Ministry of Education. (2014). *Nepal education in figures 2014 (At a glance)*. Author. <https://moe.gov.np/article/240/nepal-education-in-figures-2014.html>
- Nepal Ministry of Education. (2015). *Nepal education in figures 2015 (At a glance)*. Author. <https://moe.gov.np/article/520/nepal-education-in-figures-2015.html>
- Nepal Ministry of Education. (2016a). *Education in figures 2016 (At a glance)*. Author. <https://moe.gov.np/article/711/nepal-education-in-figure-2016.html>
- Nepal Ministry of Education. (2016b). *School sector development plan 2016/17-2022/23*. https://www.moe.gov.np/assets/uploads/files/MOE_SSDP_Final_Document_Oct_2016.pdf
- Nepal Ministry of Education. (2019). *Rastriya sikshya niti 2076 [National education policy*

- 2019]. Author. <https://www.examsanjal.com/2019/national-education-policy-2076-published-by-ministry-of-education-shiksha-niti-2076/>
- Nepal Ministry of Finance. (2019). *Budget speech of fiscal year 2019/20*. https://mof.gov.np/uploads/document/file/budget_speech_website_20190619052055.pdf
- Nepal Ministry of Finance. (2020). *Budget speech of fiscal year 2020/21*. <https://bit.ly/2Yw2kTQ>
- Nepal Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs. (2002). *Sikshya niyamabali 2059 [Education regulation 2002]*. <https://bit.ly/3gfbH40>
- Nepal Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs. (2015). *Nepalko sambidhan 2072 [The constitution of Nepal 2015]*. <https://bit.ly/3ijmngm>
- Nepal National Planning Commission. (2015). *Sustainable development goals 2016-2030 : National preliminary report*. <https://www.undp.org/content/dam/nepal/docs/reports/SDG%20final%20report-nepal.pdf>
- Nepal National Planning Commission. (2020). *Fifteenth plan*. https://www.npc.gov.np/images/category/15th_Plan_Final1.pdf
- Oxfam International and HAMI. (2019). *Fighting inequality in Nepal: The road to prosperity*. <https://bit.ly/2Z0dLot>
- Pasa, R. B. & Bishwakarma, L. B. (2020a). Dalit Mainstreaming in Rural Development: An Alternative Approach for Combating Poverty. *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology Vol. 14, 2020, PP. 61-68*
- Pasa, R. B. & Bishwokarma, J. B. (2020b). Microeconomic analysis of remittance in Mulabari village of Galchhi, Nepal. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 25(3), 20-26. doi:10.9790/0837-2503042026
- Pasa, R. B. (2018). My Journey from a Waiter to a Lecturer. *NUTA Journal*, 6 (1&2), 47-56. Nepal University Teachers' Association. doi: <https://doi.org/10.3126/nutaj.v6i1-2.23228>
- Pasa, R. B. (2018). Social Capital and Local Development Activities: A Rural Development Perspective. *Research Nepal Journal of Development Studies*, 1(2), 96-115. doi: <https://doi.org/10.3126/rnjds.v1i2.22429>
- Pasa, R. B. (2019). Transformative Role of Education: An Autoethnographic Reflection. *Research Nepal Journal of Development Studies*, 2(1), 94-111. doi: <https://doi.org/10.3126/rnjds.v2i1.25271>
- Pasa, R. B. (2020). Tourism in Nepal: The Models for Assessing Performance of Amaltari Bufferzone Community Homestay in Nawalpur. *Nepalese Journal of Development and Rural studies*, 17, 51-64. doi:<https://doi.org./10.3126/njdrs.v17i0.34952>
- Pyakuryal, K. (2008). Weberian Model of Social Stratification: A Viewpoint. *Occasional papers*. 10.3126/opsa.v7i0.1108

- Regmi, K. D. (2017). World Bank in Nepal's education: Three decades of neoliberal reform. *Globalisation, Societies, and Education*, 15(2), 188-201. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2016.1169517>
- Shrestha, K. N. (2014). *Genuine efforts for quality in some community schools some case studies*. Department of Education, Nepal Ministry of Education. <https://www.doe.gov.np/assets/uploads/files/7e1a60ac9a066ee28116865e9aaf9f08.pdf>
- Thapa, A. (2013). Does private school competition improve public school performance? The case of Nepal. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 33(4), 358-366. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2012.07.004>
- Thapa, A. (2015). Public and private school performance in Nepal: an analysis using the SLC examination. *Education Economics*, 23(1), 47-62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09645292.2012.738809>
- Willis, J. W. (2007). *Foundations of qualitative research: Interpretive and critical approaches*. Sage Publications.