

Deconstructing the Adult Education for Livelihood Transformation of Indigenous People in Nepal

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Abstract: The conventional way of thinking about adult education, literacy program, has not properly influenced the life-sustaining and life-giving practices of indigenous people in developing countries like Nepal. However, the classical paradigm of adult education, literacy for illiterate, one size fits all approach, has still been a dominating mode of educating indigenous people in Nepal. The National Population Census 2011 identified 126 caste/ethnicity and indigenous people in Nepal, but the present adult education has not yet adequately corresponded to livelihood realities of these indigenous communities. This paper aims to illuminate the way by which classical paradigm of adult education can be deconstructed to the livelihood skills and strategies of indigenous people at local level. The paper utilizes the both data: field based and review of documents. The paper highlights that the form of adult education can locally be deconstructed to revive and restore the skills of every indigenous community for their better livelihood. The concern is to tailor the adult education according to the context, and the contents of indigenous skills that sustainably gear up the livelihood of indigenous people. Deconstruction of adult education is expected to energize the livelihood skills and strategies of indigenous people to transform the communities into a sustainably empowered one. A need to deconstruct the ways, the government and non-government institutions are supporting, is to provide adult education being more context-dependent that communicates subjective realities of indigenous community for their better livelihood.

Keywords: Adult Education, Deconstruction, Livelihood Transformation, Indigenous People

1. Introduction

Adult education can play a pivotal role for livelihood transformation of rural people. It is an essential means of building people's capabilities to cope with evolving challenges and complexities of life, culture, economy and society at local level. Although it is hard to define adult education because of its nature, target groups and recipients [1], it has been a common practice around the world for working with rural people in their transformation. Some literatures [1] [2] indicate that theoretically, the common practice of adult education ranges from literacy programs to livelihood enhancement. But in practice, the current adult education program has not well connected to the livelihood of rural indigenous people in developing countries like Nepal. Rather, much emphasis is placed on literacy and numeracy program for educating vast number of youths and

adults by 2030 [3]. This accentuation is clearly seen in the UNESCO's document as it states that by 2030, ensure that all youth and substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy. This third global report on adult education highlights that 70 percent of countries view that they have improved their policies on adult education; 60 percent of countries remark that they have tailored adult education relying on learner's need; and participation rate is claimed to have increased, but accepts the exclusion of many adults in participation [3].

Therefore, the paper focuses on adult education for livelihood transformation of indigenous people at rural area. The specific objective of this paper is to explore the perception of indigenous people towards existing adult education; and deconstruct the adult education for livelihood

transformation of indigenous people living in rural area of Nepal.

2. Nepalese Context in Adult Education

Nepal is a small land-locked and culturally, linguistically and ethnically diverse country having 27.5 million populations [4]. According to the report of UNDP (2016), the human development index is 0.558 in 2015 [5]. The trend of Nepalese HDI is seemingly getting better than the previous years, as it was 0.555 in 2014, 0.551 in 2013 and 0.309 in 1980. On the other hand, 25.2 per cent population is living under the poverty line and 28.6 percent of Nepal's population is multidimensionally poor [6] [7]. The unemployment rate is 2.1 in 2008 and it was 3.8 per cent in 2004 down from 4.9 per cent of 1996. However, underemployment remained as high as 50 per cent [4] [8]. Inequality index of the country in education is 43.9 per cent and this inequality in income is also 13.9 per cent in the year 2015 as recorded by UNDP (2016) [5]. The country has 65 per cent literacy rate in total, in which male records 75.1 per cent, whereas female has 57.4 per cent literacy [9]. Even the rural community is getting into urban; the more than 80 percent of Nepalese population still resides in rural areas, with 68 per cent of population relies on agriculture for its livelihood [10] and contributes 28.9 percent of GDP in fiscal year 2016/17 [11]. The remittance receipts in Nepal reached 31.5 per cent of their respective GDP with top position in Asia in 2015 [12].

The data exhibited above just provides some evidences of Nepalese developmental scenario that reflects the country is far behind the developmental index. Going back to the history, Nepal's development and progress is seemingly slow-moving in spite of quantitative achievement in student enrolment and school development, even after the establishment of democracy in 1951. After the fall of Rana regime, it had only 9,000 pupils in primary, 1,700 secondary schools and a little over hundred in two undergraduate colleges. Adult education stood at a bare 5 percent [13].

Formally, The Nepal National Education Planning Commission-NNEPC (1956) documented adult literacy program with an aim of reducing adult literacy of the country. Although the commission had committed to reducing adult literacy, it perceived many challenges such as costs, materials, human resources, and so on, for promoting literacy [14]. The NNEPC plan was so ambitious that most of the programs were not implemented effectively, because the plan was attempted to implement without assessing the grassroots reality of the country. Moreover, the Plan had been envisioned by the Western outlook and reality which could not be effectively adoptable in the recently freed state from the 104 years of despotic family rule. It was also criticised as an importation of ideology from the western society [15]. As a result, most of the programs were paralyzed without any outcomes.

On the other hand, National Education System Plan-NESP

(1971) had committed to launch the adult literacy program systematically. The Plan had recommended launching two kinds of programs, namely, literacy extension program and functional adult education program. The Plan further suggested to run literacy classes entrusted to the local level with a target of covering 100, 000 adults a year. It also provided the responsibility for managing materials needed for running those classes to the Ministry of Education [16]. Throughout the years of NESP implementation and till the introduction of National Education Commission-NEC (1992), adult education had faced several problems [17]. Particularly, problems and issues at stake were (a) political will at the part of the government (b) equity of opportunity and involvement (c) administrative structure (d) relevance of curriculum and text-books (e) development process of human resources, and (i) evaluation. A careful examination of these issues indicates that adult education under non-formal education is riddled with many problems.

Similarly, after the restoration of democracy in 1990, a massive change in all sectors was sought, as a result, NEC (1992) was formed to bring educational changes in the long-run monocratic educational sector [17]. For taking the future action, the commission perceived the existing literacy programs for two groups of persons: (a) Adult illiterates of the age group 15-45, and (b) Out of school children of the age group 8-14. Discussing the importance of the studies done in developing countries, the commission concluded the contribution of the non-formal education to the following: (a) to increase the level of income of the common man, (b) to open the chances of employment in urban areas, (c) to push up productivity in rural areas, (d) to bring down the birth rate, (e) to improve the health and nutrition status, and (i) to change the conventional outlook. Reviewing of the past developments and efforts done on the part of adult literacy, the commission recommended some future actions for adult literacy. Slightly reforming the NEC's recommendations, High Level National Education Commission (1999) bestowed the continuity of adult literacy program [18].

The Non-Formal Education-NFE (2016) shows that the total participation number of ethnic and indigenous people in different adult education programs run in the year 2015-2016 was 54, 529, in which females occupied the greater number (51, 931) than male. Similar trend is seen in other non-ethnic groups. This increased number of female participants indicates that there is a huge gender inequality and disparity results in women illiteracy in Nepalese rural communities. Less number of male participation in the program means males are either literate or they pretended to be learned on. But, one key issue is very clear that there is a gender disparity which is irrespective of caste and ethnicities, and geographical boundaries [19]. The disparity among different ecological belts in terms of literacy, as discussed by Department of Education DOE (2009) under MOE, is considerable, because highest enrolment rate is in the Kathmandu valley (127%) and the lowest in the mountain 56.9 percent as recorded [20].

In conclusion, the review of the adult literacy related

historical documents and several other scholarships' articles clearly manifests that all the literacy programs have given their due priorities to literate the illiterate adults. From the early years of establishment of democracy to the date, the state has been immensely prioritizing the adult literacy in its policies and programs. However, the implementation in real field is less effective and claimed to have not adequately reached the needy and targeted populace in rural areas [8] [17]. Documents reveal that all the literacy policies and programs are formulated centrally as a blanket approach i.e. one size fits all. This is, in Breidlid's (2013) word, the global architecture of education, to cover all with the same ideas and strategies without properly assessing diverse local needs and expectations of Nepalese indigenous community [21]. This centrally formed adult literacy education is criticised to have been influenced by Western hegemonic epistemology [10] that only objectifies the issue, but ignores the subjective and micro realities of the locally diverse communities [16]. As a result, adult literacy in Nepalese context has hardly touched or not properly impacted the livelihood skills and strategies of indigenous people. Very partially the policies and programs related documents have discussed the income-generation programs targeted to rural communities. Notwithstanding, what extent the rural communities have been able to lead their lives because of the top-to-bottom literacy approach is still not properly explored.

3. Conceptual Understanding and Theoretical Underpinning

This part conceptualizes the adult education in relation to literacy, numeracy, lifelong learning, livelihood and indigenous people. On the other hand, some theoretical underpinnings that deal with adult education have been discussed hereafter.

Conceptual understanding: There is no uniformity in perceiving the concept of adult education in scholarships. As Adetuyi (2016) mentions that the examination of the concept of adult education has revealed diversity in scholars' perception of the rationale, goals and aims of the forms of the program [1]. This refers to the meaning that varies from place to place, context to context, scholars to scholars, which is a complexity and multifaceted nature [22]. For an example, the term 'adult education' carries specific connotation in United Kingdom, which implies that it is specifically liberal education, which has stereotyped as a middle class leisure time pursuit [23]. This understanding shows adult education is carried out for the adults who have a leisure time, and who want to broaden their existing knowledge, skills and hobbies.

On the other hand, Adetuyi (2016) presents that the earlier education is not sufficient to make individual prepare for the later period of life professionally and culturally [1]. Any set of the instructions given to the adults would constitute adult education. Adult education, in the broad senses any type of education for the people who are old enough to work, vote, fight, and marry. One of the classical definitions frames adult

education as non-vocational education for person aged 18 and over [24] which takes place outside the formal educational system and manifests the characteristics of voluntarism and local character [3]. According to Adetuyi (2016), adult education is defined in terms of vocational or industrial education, the education that encourages the use of 3h-the head, the hand, and the heart [1].

English (2013) highlights that in 1976, the UNESCO general conference approved the recommendation on the development of adult education confirming, "access of adults to education, in the context of lifelong education, is a fundamental aspect of the right to education, and facilitates the exercise of the right to participate in political, cultural, artistic and scientific life" [25].

On the other hand, adult literacy program is seen to emerge from the concept of adult education [1] [3] [23] [25]. Literacy is, in fact, an indispensable foundation that enables young people and adults to engage in learning opportunities at all stages of the learning continuum [25]. He further mentions that the concept of literacy has evolved over the time, and there is no global consensus on the definition emerged. Literacy is usually understood as the ability to read and to write. To Adetuyi (2016), adult education is a type of education that deals with adult literacy. Numeracy and literacy are often discussed in literatures simultaneously [1]. However, numeracy is more often measured than thoroughly analysed and defined as a concept within adult education [3].

Equally, lifelong learning is often discussed under the adult learning and education, as one of the concepts emerging from the shift of paradigm in education. Discussing lifelong learning, Tushling and Christoph (2006) argue that the 'whole development of lifelong learning can be, in fact, described as a formalization of non-formal education and non-formalization of formal education' [26]. In Nepal, lifelong learning means literacy development, improved self-sufficiency, social well-being and income generation and government should aim to offer these provisions to its citizen [22]. NFE (2016) has stated that literacy and lifelong learning program is implemented as a complementary intervention to the national literacy campaign and aimed at attaining the EFA and MDG goals on literacy [9]. Similarly, the concept of adult education perceives literacy as a basic element of lifelong learning-an essential pre-requirement and starting point for learning. In Nepalese context, there is not any officially defined concept of lifelong learning; however, post-literacy and continuing education programs are major focus of the discussion of lifelong learning [22].

As part of the adult education, another focus is given to the livelihood of rural community people. The concept of livelihood has gained momentum in recent years through debates about rural development, poverty reduction and social protection [27].

World Bank (2002) states, livelihood needs to be understood more than one set of knowledge, skills and methods [28]. As discussed by WB (2002) in its report, there are five approaches suggested by Rogers, in which the forth approach is very close to the concept of this study. This forth

approach is “livelihood and income-generation activities integrated with literacy. In this sub-category, training in a livelihood and instruction in literacy and numeracy begin simultaneously, with the content of the literacy derived from or influenced by the livelihood”.

The above discussed different conceptions under the nature of adult literacy education, even the policy documents have claimed to have focused on the livelihood and income generation program in rural areas [9], is one size fits all approach. However, this is centrally formed as a blanket approach that hardly communicates the need of indigenous people. This is therefore essentials to deconstruct the current literacy program into the indigenous literacy program linking it with the nature and practice of livelihood skills and strategies for better transformation of indigenous communities. The integration of literacy, livelihood and income generation program having of decentralized nature, which fits the nature and practice of indigenous livelihood, is expected to meet the needs and aspiration of indigenous people for better livelihood is our concern.

Theoretical underpinning: Behaviourists believe that the more the connection between the stimulus and response the better the learning there will be [29]. In this connection, behaviouristic theories give high emphasis on skill learning, since behaviouristic learning theories are effective in learning skills through the practice, repetition and drill [30]. In adult learning, particular skills can be learned by practice and repetition by introducing the reward, reinforcement, and feedback to develop the autonomous habit in the skill development.

Cognitive learning theories give priority to cognitive processes in which learner's understanding, perception, insight and other cognitive processes play role in learning [29]. So, adult learning and education requires promoting the learners' understanding, perception, and insight in skill and problem solving.

Constructivism is a learning theory that highly requires learner active participation in the knowledge construction process [31] [32]. The Vygotskyian constructivism which emphasizes the collaboration, dialogue, interaction, scaffolding and zone of proximal development (ZOPD) are important to promote learners' learning [32]. The adult education highly requires the concepts as discussed by Vygotsky, for gaining skills and strategies to enhance livelihood of the people.

Another type of learning is experiential learning as a part of informal learning which comes from the experiences of learners, rather than formal school system [33]. According to Jarvis (2004) it is ‘a teaching technique, in which tutors provide students with an episodic experience of what they have been learning in the classroom or what they are about to experience when they enter the world of work’[23]. Amongst aforementioned theories, the social constructivism introduced by Vygotsky has been a theoretical connection for this paper.

4. Methods and Materials

The study has used mixed methods to collect both

qualitative and quantitative data. The field based data were generated from interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) as primary sources. The discussions and arguments were supported by review of relevant documents as secondary sources. Among Dhimal indigenous population, the 52 respondents were selected purposively for the interviews; who were already participated in adult education program. The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information rich cases for study in depth [34]. Two focus group discussions (one male group: 6 persons) and one female group: 8 persons) were used for generating qualitative information. The application of focus group discussions is that the shared or diversity of views can be quickly assessed amongst the participants.

As a case study, the study was limited to Dhimal indigenous people, residing in Uurlabari Municipality of Morang District, Nepal. The respondent's perceptions were measured in strongly disagree to strongly agree (1-5) Likert scale format [35].

5. Results and Discussions

The Study Setting: Nepal is a rich country in terms of language, culture, religion, biodiversity and socio-cultural diversity. Most of indigenous people reside in remote rural areas and make a living out of subsistence farming. The indigenous peoples in Nepal have distinct cultures, languages and belief systems. They live across the country; the mountains, the hills and the plains. The indigenous people or nationalities are defined as those ethnic groups and communities that have their own mother tongue and traditional customs, distinct cultural identity, distinct social structure and their own written or oral history.

The National Population Census 2011 identified 126 caste/ethnicity and indigenous people in Nepal. Among them, Dhimal is one of the caste of Indigenous People that the total number of Dhimal population is 26, 298. Among them, the number by ecological belt is found 30 in mountain, 1, 693 in hill and 24, 575 in Terai. Similarly, by region, 25, 074 in eastern, 1, 092 in central, 80 western, 22 in mid-westerns, and 30 in far- western have been pointed out. On the other hand, most of Dhimal population are residing in rural area than urban in Nepal, i.e. 19, 736 in rural and 6, 572 in urban areas [36].

5.1. Perception of Indigenous People towards Existing Adult Education

The existing status of adult education of indigenous people can be discussed in the following sub-titles.

Age-sex Structure of the Respondents

Figure 1 shows that the respondents were of different age groups, ranging from 15 to 45 and above. The number of female respondents was almost two and half times more (73%) than male among the respondents. Among male, aged 15 to 24 and 25 to 34 groups were slightly more than other aged groups; female from those age groups, including age

group 35-44, constituted higher number of participants in the program. The aged 45 and above from both male and female

age groups participated in the program is very nominal, male (3.8%) and female (13.2%) respectively.

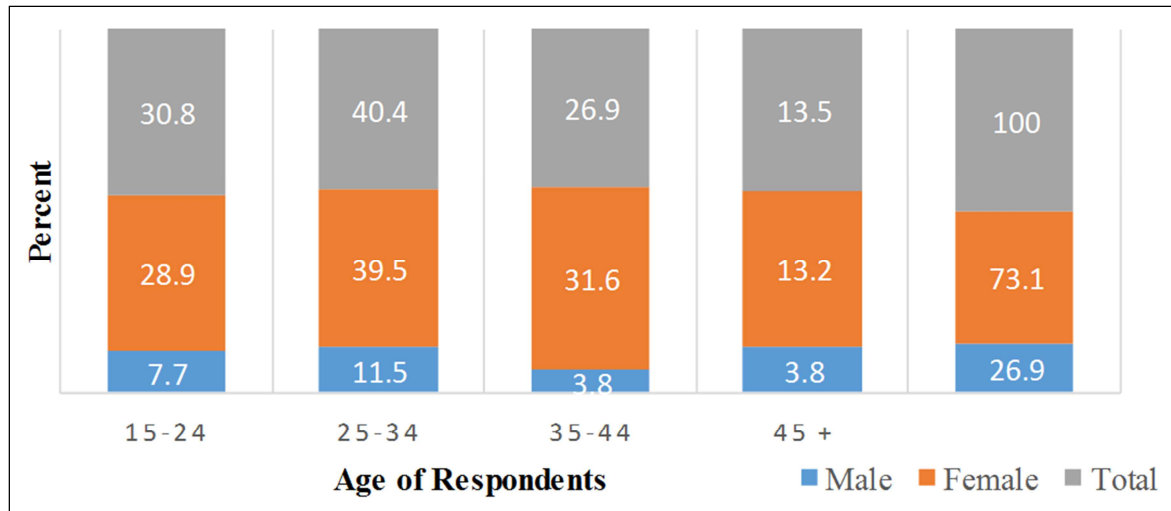


Figure 1. Distribution of the Respondents by Age and Sex (N = 52).

Data reflects that female respondents are remarkably greater than male, which has also correlated the findings of status report published by Non-Formal Education [9]. The NFE has shown the number of participants participated in the adult education in the years 2015 and 2016 was largely dominated by the female compared with male; as indicated 51, 931 were female participants, whereas male participants were 2,598 in number.

The question as to why male participation in the adult program remained poorer is to be answered here. The focus group discussions (FGDs) with male and female participants revealed that particularly male perceived the program less relevant and useful to the context and life situation, and nature of the program also excluded them from the participation. A participant argued, "Adult literacy program is less relevant to our context; taking part into the program means getting literate and empowered to cope with everyday life problem. This program is, therefore, less effective to meet the life problems and no logic to participate in the program". Here, social constructivist perspective [31] is consistent with this idea that emphasizes the context for learners to make the learning contextual for gaining and acquiring skills and knowledge. This also indicates that the adult learning and education has not been adequately contextualized as per the indigenous people and community, and detached from their contextual realities might have excluded the adults from participation.

The question then remains unanswered as to why there is a larger number of female in the adult education program may have several reasons, but one is they want to literate who were literate because of deeply seated gender disparity and inequality. In the female FGD, a participant 'F' clarified the reasons, "although the adult education program is less contextual and compatible with our indigenous skills and knowledge, the program at least literate us to read and write, and we manage our free time for the program as well as it provides a space for meeting colleagues". The remark reflects the greater number of female participation in the program: getting benefited from literacy program, utilization of leisure time for gaining literacy, and interacting and discussing any other issues with friends. The participant's view here also signals that adult education created a social space for discussion and interaction, even though the aim of program might not be designed for that intent. Thus, the adult program has not adequately addressed the real needs and expectation of needy that how a social space, as Vygotsky believes [32], could maximize the benefit of the participants.

Effectiveness of Curriculum and Its Practice Regarding Indigenous Communities

Interview with the adults about curriculum and its practices with regard to indigenous communities that promote better livelihood are presented and discussed. The following Table 1 exhibits the field results.

Table 1. Perception of Respondents towards Curriculum Contents for Indigenous Communities (N=52).

Statements	St. Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	St. agree
Learning contents includes the livelihood skills and knowledge of indigenous communities.	45 (86.5)	2 (3.84)	4 (7.7)	1 (1.9)	-
Instruction practices, medium of instruction and use of materials address the indigenous skills and strategies.	20 (38.5)	25 (48.1)	2 3.8	5 (9.6)	-
Reading materials are useful to enhance indigeneity.	30 (57.7)	17 (32.7)	3 (5.7)	2 (3.8)	-
Adult education can inspire to attach and utilize indigenous skills and strategies.	18 (34.6)	23 (44.2)	7 (13.5)	3 (5.8)	1 (1.9)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage.

The data in the above Table 1 demonstrates the perception of respondents towards curriculum and its practices. Most of the respondents (86.5%) strongly disagreed with the learning contents included in the curriculum. Data revealed that very few of the respondents (9.6%) had agreed with medium of instruction was based on indigenous language. The respondents (57.7%) disagreed with materials that were useful to enhance indigeneity. The 5.8 percent of the respondents had agreed with the statement about 'adult education can inspire to attach and utilize indigenous skills and strategies'. The most of the respondents in each statement disagreed that the adult education program had disconnected curriculum content, monolingual mode of instruction and irrelevant teaching learning materials that ignore the indigenous skills and strategies.

The FGDs with participants have well reflected on the issues of medium of instruction, curriculum and learning materials in view of indigenous livelihood. One of the participants 'B' asserts:

The adult education has a curriculum (teaching and learning guide) that deals with literacy and numeracy for the participants. The curriculum therefore is common to all in spite of distinct indigenous characteristics. The teaching practices hardly represent the materials available in the indigenous communities. The medium of instruction is not

connected with the indigenous language. If participants get a chance to interact and discuss curriculum content in their language, this will be expectedly supportive for them to be familiar with livelihood skills and strategies.

The remark provides several clues that present adult education is generic in nature to cover all and ignores indigeneity, caste and ethnicity, language of the people. This kind of adult education may not go beyond the generic model, like "global architecture of education" discussed by Breidlid (2013) which can not sufficiently serve the very distinct pattern of indigenous livelihood skills and strategies [21]. The participant's view is consistent with the idea of the reciprocal dialogue to learn and share the knowledge for constructing their own realities and values [32]. This process helps the participant build on the knowledge and skills for better livelihood distinctly different from each other.

Compatibility of Adult Education with Better Livelihood

Unless the education is locally constructed, there will be no hope for better rural transformation. Focusing on the indigenous skills and knowledge for better livelihood in rural communities is only possible if the adult education is adequately based on needs and expectation indigenous people. The following Table 2 shows the relevance of adult education to Indigenous people's livelihood.

Table 2. Perception of Respondents Towards Adult Education for Better Livelihood (N = 52).

Statements	St. Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	St. agree
Adult education can connect experiences and skills of indigenous people with livelihood.	48 (92.3)	2 (3.8)	2 (3.8)	-	-
Adult education inspires for better livelihood of indigenous people.	20 (38.4)	26 (50)	6 (11.5)	-	-
Adult education can support the life sustaining activities.	37 (71.1)	12 (23)	-	3 (5.7)	-
Adult education provides a space for collaboration, reciprocal dialogue for literacy and income generation.	26 (50)	23 (44.2)	-	3 (5.7)	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage.

Table 2 presents the perception of respondents towards adult education for the better livelihood of indigenous people. The significant number of respondents (92.3%) strongly disagreed with the statement 'Adult education can connect experiences and skills of indigenous people with livelihood'. The half of the respondents (50%) disagreed that adult education had inspired for better livelihood of indigenous people. Similarly, substantial number of respondents (71.1%) said that the present adult education had not supported the life sustaining activities. Very nominal number of respondents (5.7%) agreed that the adult education had provided a space for collaboration, reciprocal dialogue for literacy and income generation.

The data reflects that the adult education has not properly supported the people to appreciate indigenous experiences and skills for better livelihood. It shows that adult education is not able to respond to the livelihood of indigenous people.

In the FGDs, participant 'E' viewed, "I have hardly learned to read and write. However, the education is not sufficient for income generation based on livelihood skills and strategies. This kind of centrally designed education has an objective to literate and making people simply aware of

social being". However, participant 'C' argued, "To make the people empower in earning, they need adult education communicating their own indigenous skills and strategies, so that indigenous way of livelihood can be fostered."

In this sense, indigenous people do not see a particular relevance of the adult education to their livelihood. People perceive to make the adult education contextualize in terms of what indigenous people have really experienced their knowledge, skills, and strategy for enhancing their livelihood. Drawing upon the idea from the social constructivism, the knowledge, skills and strategy are socially and also locally constructed [31] [32]. Indigenous communities have their own distinct practices for livelihood strategies and skills that are constructed to and developed in their own ways which could contradict nationally designed framework of adult education, and also may contradict locally with other indigenous practices.

Teachers/Facilitators for Adult Education

The effectiveness of adult education relies on the management and provision of teachers/facilitators. Table 3 exhibits the perception of respondents on teachers for adult education.

Table 3. Perception of Respondents on Facilitators/Teachers for Adult Education (N=52).

Statements	St. Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	St. agree
Teachers should be from within the indigenous community.	-	-	3 (5.8)	7 (13.5)	42 (80.7)
Teachers should be from the school of local community.	34 (65.4)	13 (25)	1 (1.9)	4 (7.7)	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage.

Table 3 reveals that mostly respondents (80.7%) strongly agreed that teachers should be from within the indigenous community. The two-third of the respondents (65.4%) strongly disagreed that teachers should be from the school of local community. This reflects that teachers need to be managed from the indigenous community in order to enhance the participation of indigenous people.

In the FGDs, participant 'H' argued that teachers were not managed from the indigenous community; mostly they were from the mainstream society. Another participant 'K' viewed, "I have been participated in the program, but I have hardly completed the program; many of my friends have dropped the program, because they do not see any teachers and facilitators from indigenous community, nor are the contents and materials from indigenous community". The scaffolding concept of Vygotsky can work here to understand the need of

indigenous people in adult education [31]. The participants' existing knowledge on literacy, indigenous skills, and knowledge could be promoted by facilitators and teachers, as scaffolding tools, to the maximum if they are from the same community and indigenous background.

5.2. Adult Education for Livelihood Transformation

Changes of Adult Education in Skills and Strategies

The socio-economic activity of indigenous people is a basis for their better life, if it is properly enhanced by the adult education system. The following Table 4 shows the changes in livelihood skills and knowledge of indigenous people.

Table 4. Perception of Respondents Towards Changes in Skills and Strategies (N=52).

Statements	St. Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	St. Agree
Adult education can capacitate indigenous people to operate small shop and business.	24 (46.1)	2 (3.8)	4 (7.7)	18 (34.6)	4 (7.7)
Adult education enables indigenous people for household decision-making on economy.	21 (40.4)	5 (9.6)	3 (5.8)	20 (38.5)	1 (1.9)
Adult education enables indigenous people to use electronic devices for income generation and livelihood.	-	7 (32.7)	-	42 (80.8)	3 (5.7)
Adult education makes indigenous people able for reading and writing.	-	17 (32.7)	-	33 (73.1)	2 (3.8)
Adult education increases the participation of indigenous people in cooperative and local institutions.	21 (38.5)	18 (34.6)	7 (13.5)	6 (11.5)	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage.

Table 4 demonstrates different kinds of changes among the respondents. More than 30 percent of respondents agreed that adult education capacitated people in operating shop and business. However, the 38.5 percent of the respondents agreed that they were able to make decision about household economy. Similarly, 80.8 percent of the respondents agreed that they were able to use electronic devices for income generation. About 73 percent of the respondents reported that they were capacitated in reading and writing. The one-third of the respondents viewed that adult education increased their participation in cooperatives and local institutions.

Drawing upon the above data, centrally designed adult education program has partially brought changes in skills and strategies of indigenous people. This argument is consistent with NFE (2016) data that the adult literacy program has partially succeeded in providing literacy education which has some of the changes in learners.

In the FGDs, the participant 'A' agreed with changes of the adult education and he was able to make decision, buy and sell the goods and keep the account, read and write the message to beloved one. Another participant 'E' remarked, "The program is good to bring surficial changes in

knowledge and skills, but not adequately teach us the contents and skills of the indigenous people in depth". This reveals that the program has a nature of blanket approach that fits all, but does not specifically focus on the livelihood skills and strategies of indigenous people. The participant 'G' asserted, "The centrally designed adult education has a unified nature and participants also do not expect much from such program; particularly they do not feel the ownership of the program, if not community ownership". The statement here reflects the nature of the program in which the participants do have the ownership of the program. If the adult education is based on the people livelihood, it could promote the ownership and maximize the learning and skill development. Therefore, the centrally designed adult education does not yield community ownership, unless the education is tailored with livelihood skills and strategies of indigenous people.

Adult Education for Livelihood

People are naturally doing their efforts for molding their livelihood into better life independently. In this context, adult education must be a significant component in making community people enable for socio-economic transformation.

In the FGDs, participant 'D' argued "Adult literacy is essential to read and write as an initial stage, and then there needs to link it with skills and strategies for livelihood". This view seems to be significant if the indigenous people are not fully literate, adult education may work as ZPD to build up knowledge and skills through scaffolding. In this case, a basic literacy and numeracy is good in the very beginning stage, but most of the adult education program in Nepal just to make people literate and finish. This nature of literacy is isolated and detached from the needs of the people, because after completion of the program, the participants do nothing, and very few of them join post-literacy. One of the participants 'G' views, "Only aiming to provide adult literacy is worthless and meaningless unless it is linked to people's income generation. To make it meaningful and interesting, it has to consistently prioritize the adult education for income generation, thus, brings a change in rural life of people".

A participant 'E' gave an emphasis to link the adult literacy, income generation and livelihood of indigenous people. He further remarked, "Basically adult literacy is important for the indigenous people, but it should go together with income generation and livelihood as a holistic education approach to the livelihood of people". This gives an insight to deconstruct the exiting adult education to bring a shift in livelihood transformation through amalgamating literacy, income generation and livelihood of indigenous people, as a holistic and integrated approach.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

The literatures and field data conclude that adult education has not been fully connected with indigenous people's livelihood and is not adequately supportive to transfer the knowledge and skills in better livelihood. The adult education has not considerably impacted on the skills and knowledge of indigenous community because of centrally designed nature that fits all sidelining the specific context and the contents of indigenous communities. Consequently, the indigenous community has not well realized the ownership of the adult education in Nepal.

The results reflect that there is a need to adapt a holistic and integrated approach to address the livelihood skills and strategies of indigenous people for the better transformation. The adult education program requires deconstructing the blanket approach to bring a change in indigenous livelihood. The prime effort is to focus on the key vital livelihood skills and strategies and to offer these to the indigenous community for livelihood transformation. The teachers/facilitators is demanded from the indigenous community could expectedly scaffold, as social constructivists believe, the participants for maximizing livelihood skills and strategies. Medium of instruction at least in indigenous language, and teaching practices should incorporate the learning materials from the indigenous community. If these are taken into action by deconstructing the adult education, this could be a watershed

in adult education for better livelihood transformation in Nepal.

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