
Roles of Key Actors in Intergenerational Transmission of Indigenous Knowledge within Tharu Community

Dhruba Prasad Niure

Central Department of Education, Tribhuvan University

Email: dhrubapn@gmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-3651-8333>

<https://doi.org/10.3126/oas.v3i1.78101>

Abstract

This study investigates roles of key actors in intergenerational transmission of indigenous knowledge (IK) within the Tharu community in Nepal. Employing basic qualitative research design within an interpretive paradigm, in-depth interviews were conducted with six Tharu teachers from three secondary schools in Jitpur-Simara sub-metropolitan city and focus group discussions with ten Tharu students chosen by using purposive sampling techniques, who were studying at Central Department of Education, Tribhuvan University. Findings reveal that parents, relatives, peers, priests, and journalists all play significant roles in imparting both indigenous knowledge within Tharu youngsters. Parents play crucial role for transferring practical skills, cultural traditions, and various roles to be executed in the community. Relatives provide supplementary knowledge, while peer interaction is crucial for socialization. Priests serve as keepers of spiritual and cultural knowledge, and journalists increasingly influence knowledge dissemination. The study concludes that IK transmission in the Tharu community is a multifaceted process involving various key actors.

Keywords: Tharu, key actor, intergeneration, transmission, indigenous knowledge

Introduction

Indigenous knowledge (IK), encompassing a wide range of traditional practices from agriculture to environmental conservation, is a vital body of wisdom accumulated and transmitted through generations within indigenous communities (Havemann, 2015; Magni, 2017), including Tharu in Nepal. Though, IK is conveyed through storytelling, demonstrations, and cultural expressions (Owuor, 2007; Stevens, 2008), it holds profound significance for marginalized communities. However, IK has been excluded from formal education system (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; UNESCO, 2016). These days, national and international efforts are ongoing to decolonize education by integrating indigenous knowledge and pedagogies with an intention of creating more equitable and inclusive learning environments (Ewulley et al., 2023; Silva et al., 2023). Tharus, second largest indigenous community resides in Nepal, comprise 6.6% of total population (National Statistics Office, 2023) with their rich cultural heritage. While IK of Tharus is deeply connected to their lands and resources, a growing preference for Western knowledge among Tharu youth has contributed to

a decline in the preservation of their language, knowledge, and cultural practices (Niure et al., 2024). Decolonizing education requires recognizing and valuing diverse forms of knowledge, including indigenous perspectives (Saeed, 2023). Overemphasizing on modern knowledge in formal curricula can create a sense of exclusion and alienation within students from indigenous communities, which ultimately limits their access to quality education and negatively impacts on their academic performance (Poudel et al., 2022; UNESCO, 2016). Indigenization of formal education can be beneficial to a significant number of students to be independent in their lives.

The modern education system gives more priority to Western values, which contribute to the erosion of cultural heritage of indigenous communities (Stevens, 2008; UNESCO, 2016), including Tharu. While formal education has potential to preserve and promote indigenous knowledge (Lukong, 2016; UNESCO, 2009), it has not been working as an intended manner for the cause (Jacob et al., 2015; Stavenhagen, 2015). Consequently, a significant number of indigenous children, including Tharu, do not find their history, culture and knowledge in school curricula (Niure, 2014), and feel difficult in conceptualizing contents encompassed. Despite the efforts made by government to support the community, the formal education system does not properly reflect their aboriginal culture, language, and knowledge (Champange, 2009). This ultimately cause educational disparities, including lower enrollment, higher dropout rates, and poorer academic outcomes among indigenous children (Stavenhagen, 2015; UNESCO, 2016). Inclusive education policies that incorporate indigenous knowledge and utilize mother tongue instruction can work as an elevator to bridge the gap between formal education and Tharu traditions.

Storytelling, observation, and hands on experience are key pedagogical approaches used to transfer indigenous knowledge of Tharus (Niure, 2014, 2019; Niure et al., 2024). Children in the community learn by actively involving in community activities, observing skilled individuals, and listening to stories shared by seniors. Apprenticeships and hands-on practice are also crucial for enabling children to acquire specific skills like hunting, fishing, building, and farming through direct involvement (Stevens, 2008; UNESCO, 2010). These methods emphasize experiential learning within a context-specific environment. Indigenous knowledge, skills, and values rooted in indigenous community are functional and directly applicable to daily life (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Batibo, 2009). While formal education often devalues indigenous knowledge and traditional teaching strategies, Tharu education emphasizes hands-on experiences within the natural environment through learning by doing.

Existing curricula, instructional processes, and assessment procedures need to be assessed critically to create a space for indigenous histories, knowledge, practices, and perspectives in an educational program (Hermans, 2024).

Recruiting culturally responsive staff is also crucial for fostering equitable and inclusive learning environments (McDowell, 2024). The pedagogy rooted in indigenous culture (Carol, 2012; Kovach, 2010; UNESCO, 2010) offers a powerful option to promote culturally relevant practices through indigenous knowledge, language, and ways of knowing. Indigenous pedagogies such as storytelling, demonstration, and experiential learning (Niure et al., 2024) empowers learners, strengthens their cultural identity (Biermann & Townsend-Cross, 2008; Niure et al., 2024), and revitalizes land-based knowledge (Barnhardt, 2007; Smith, 2012). Therefore, indigenous knowledge needs to be transferred from one generation to another by community members.

Tharus employ various methods to pass on IK to new generations through active involvement of elders, experienced community members, and teachers of the community. Elders and experienced individuals are considered as primary keepers and transmitters of traditional skills, crafts, and oral traditions (Smith, 2012; Stevens, 2008). They share stories, songs, dances, cultural knowledge, histories, and spiritual beliefs (Bruchac, 2014; Magni, 2017). The IK is primarily transmitted by elders, knowledge holders, and community leaders (Owuor, 2007). These individuals are main protectors of medicinal practices, agricultural knowledge, and indigenous crafts through oral narratives, practical demonstrations, and apprenticeships (Carol, 2012; Stevens, 2008). Families also play a crucial role in imparting cultural values, traditions, and practical skills to younger generations. This intergenerational exchange ensures the continuity of cultural heritage and the preservation of IK for coming generations.

Beyond individual and familial efforts, communities themselves contribute to knowledge transfer through various institutions and practices. Community-level performances, such as songs, storytelling, dances, art, etc. are used in this process (Owuor, 2007). Formal and informal educational settings, cultural centers, and traditional gatherings provide spaces for intergenerational learning and reinforcement of cultural identity (Hari, 2020; Ho et al., 2014). These practices and institutions contribute to accumulate and transmit cultural capital (knowledge, skills, and dispositions that individuals acquire through their socialization) as indicated by Pierre Bourdieu (Huang, 2019). In the Tharu community, this cultural capital encompasses indigenous knowledge (IK), traditions, and practices. Nevertheless, intergenerational transmission of indigenous knowledge (IK) within the Tharu community faces numerous challenges. Formal education, often disconnected from Tharu culture, language, and knowledge, which cause lower enrollment and poor academic outcomes (Niure, 2019; Niure et al., 2024). Such situation alienates indigenous learners from curriculum, classroom, and instructional activities (Ornstein et al., 2015). Furthermore, the increasing influence of Western values (Barnhardt, 2007) and the pull of modern scientific knowledge (Poudel et al., 2022) pose a threat to the continuity of indigenous practices, potentially leading to a loss of valuable cultural capital (Huang,

2019). Despite these challenges, various people from Tharu community actively engage in knowledge transfer through storytelling, observation, demonstration, and apprenticeships (Niure et al., 2024). In this regard, this article aims at identifying the prominent people involved in intergenerational transmission of indigenous knowledge within Tharu community.

Methodology

This study applied a basic qualitative research design (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) within an interpretive paradigm (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Bryman, 2016; Chilisa & Kawulich, 2012) to explore people who have been playing crucial role in transferring indigenous knowledge to new generations in Tharu community. The sample comprised three secondary-level schools in Jitpur-Simara sub-metropolitan city, six Tharu teachers (two from each school), and ten Tharu students (five boys and five girls) studying at the Central Department of Education. All of these samples were chosen by using purposive sampling method. In-depth interviews with teachers and focus group discussions with students from Tharu community were conducted to identify key persons who have been playing crucial role in passing down indigenous knowledge to younger generations.

Interviews with sampled teachers were ranged from 35 to 50 minutes, while focus group discussions with students were lasted between 55 and 80 minutes. All interviews and focus group discussions were then transcribed, five themes were generated, and a number of verbatim were used to analyze qualitative information. To ensure credibility and authenticity of study findings, different methods namely triangulation and thick description were used. Information collected from different sources was triangulated and various verbatim were also used to ensure the credibility and authenticity of study findings. Ethical considerations were also taken into account. Informed consent was obtained from all participants during information collection process. Anonymity of informants was also ensured by assigning pseudonyms (Teacher-A, Teacher-B... Teacher-F; Focus Group-A, Focus Group-B) to protect their individual and organizational identities.

Results

A learner cannot acquire all knowledge, skills, and values from various subject areas on their own. Therefore, support of different individuals is crucial, particularly for getting mastery in a specific subject area. Knowledgeable individuals provide assistance to those with less knowledgeable in learning process. In Tharu community, primarily parents, relatives, peers, priests, and journalists play crucial role in imparting indigenous to new generations. However, the knowledge provided by these individuals is not similar. Additionally, individuals of different ages, genders, and occupations from Tharu community

convey diverse indigenous knowledge, values, and skills to the youngsters. Research findings indicate that the followings are the individuals who usually involve in transferring indigenous knowledge, skills, and values to learners in the community.

Parents: Catalysts for Inculcating Role and Responsibilities

Study results reveal that all of the individuals, participated in the research, indicated that they acquired a significant portion of knowledge and skills related to household chores, agriculture, family culture, social norms, and values from their parents, including grandparents, elder siblings, and other family members. *Parents usually taught us about our roles and responsibilities in family and community...*, Teacher-F answered. They generally used storytelling, role-playing, demonstration, problem-solving, and discussion methods to provide their aboriginal knowledge. However, it was found that the learning experiences of subordinates varied depending on their gender. It means; mothers tend to teach their daughters to enable them to play their gender roles in the family and community. They usually learn cooking, washing, dress-up, sweeping, cleaning, decorating houses, and other responsibilities related to family life from their grandmothers, mothers, sisters, and the like. The ideas shared by informants below also support this fact.

We learned many things from our parents. Our mother taught us how to cook, clean, decorate, and take care of home...We also learn from our father, he taught us how to harvest vegetable in our farmland...Our grandparents would also tell us stories to teach moral behaviors... [Focus Group-B].

My grandparents used to tell us stories about our culture and values in past...they also informed how our indigenous knowledge been changed over time. They inculcated social values by clarifying what was right and wrong, and how we should behave in the community... [Teacher-C].

Fathers in Tharu community tend to teach various knowledge, skills, and values to their sons. They usually teach the ways of cultivating, managing resources, and finding jobs outside the community. Elder brothers play an important role in teaching younger members of the family about their responsibilities towards family and ancestors, making houses, bedstead, and other skills specific to males. In this regard, an informant shared,

I learned various skills rooted in our culture from my elder brother since my father died early. He taught me how to make small houses and bedsteads...Not only this, he also taught me about our ancestors and what we should do to honor them [Teacher-A].

Despite these gender-based differences, family members of both sexes teach children a variety of knowledge, skills, and values necessary to lead a successful life. Family members also help learners understand their roles and responsibilities, moral behavior, family culture, and social norms and values. Overall, there are different teachers for different gender-based knowledge, skills, and values required to conduct a successful life in Tharu community.

Relatives: Complementary Role in Knowledge Transfer

Study findings also reveal that relatives (*Apan* in Tharu language) play a complementary role in conveying indigenous knowledge in Tharu community. It is found that uncles, aunts, maternal uncles, maternal aunts, cousin brothers, and cousin sisters are typically the ones who play an important role to convey their aboriginal contents. *My uncle taught me the way of fishing, trapping rabbits, climbing on a tree...It was easier to ask questions with my uncle because we were from the same roof*, Teacher-C informed. Nevertheless, their role in providing knowledge is not considered significant because they only teach to some extent, except for a few areas that are generally taught by immediate family members. In this regard, an informant answered,

Though we learn many things from our family; our relatives, especially those close in age, also play a crucial role in learning...We learn from each other through playing, working together, and spend time together. The learning is more informal but still important... [Teacher-E].

Cousin Sisters and brothers may have more opportunities to teach and learn due to their similar age. They share ideas more freely and openly with each other, making it easier for learners to ask questions and find clarification without hesitation. *I and my cousins were closer in age, so we would share many things with each other that we learned...*, Teacher-B replied. Scholars have also argued that horizontal communication, with cousins of the same age for example, is more effective than vertical communication, with elder relatives for example. Thus, relatives in the Tharu community are responsible for transferring certain knowledge, skills, and values necessary for effective day-to-day living.

Peers: A Socializing Force

Study findings also depict that peer (*Sangatiya* in the Tharu language) play a crucial role in conveying various knowledge, skills, and values to individuals, particularly during childhood. Children spend a significant time with their peers during this period, engaging in intensive interactions especially while playing, which facilitate them for sharing ideas that they learn from their families. Tharu children learn a range of things from their peers, such as names of their aboriginal games, the rules of particular games, group norms and values, family roles and responsibilities, social behavior, and leadership skills. *We learned social norms,*

values, roles and responsibilities while playing games with same-aged peers...We also learn teamwork from our peers..., Focus Group-A concluded. Furthermore, Focus Group-B added, *...We learned about different plants, how to build small shelters, ways of playing games, etc. from our peers.* Homogeneous peer groups, especially those from the same sex, are more likely to interact and share ideas and feelings than heterogeneous groups. *I learned a technique of weaving little bracelets using grass from a friend of mine...I also learned fishing techniques, strengths of team work from my colleagues...*, Teacher-C proclaimed. Some informants mentioned that they learned secret topics, such as sex education, from their peers, which were not allowed by family, community, and other social institutions. Additionally, some informants reported that they acquired manual skills from playing games with their peers. *There was a small group of my colleagues, including me. We had our own rules and our own way of doing things. We learned how to lead, how to follow, how to solve problems together,* Teacher-F clarified. Overall, Tharu children learn a wide range of social behaviors from their peers, including important knowledge, skills, and values. Peer interactions offer a valuable opportunity for children to socialize and learn from each other, and this learning continues to be relevant throughout their lives.

Priests: Spiritual Knowledge Keepers

Study findings disclose that priest, known as *Guruba* or *Babaji* in local language, holds a crucial role in transferring specific knowledge in Tharu community. According to several informants, the priests are taken as primary source of knowledge related to social rituals, social norms and values, religion, moral education, roles and responsibilities of gods, creation of god, spiritual reality, and other related topics. *...Guruba knows everything about our traditions, teaches us about God and Goddess, culture that we have...*, Teacher-D claimed. Similarly, Focus Group-A added, *when we organize cultural ceremony...our Guruji supports us to complete these cultural rituals. He is the one who connects us to our spiritual world.*

Youngsters also learn such knowledge from their family, peer groups, and community members. But each member in the community usually trusts priests to make concept on spiritual things. The priest serves as a supportive and conducive figure in the Tharu community, who transfers specific knowledge that cannot be obtained from other sources. *Priest in our community always teaches our cultural tradition to use, its implications in our lives... He helps us understand the moral principles of our community...he is like our spiritual teacher,* Focus Group-B disclosed.

Likewise, Teacher-F informed, *I learned about the creation of this universe, according to our beliefs, from our Guruba. He told us stories of our gods and how everything came to be...* Thus, the priest is an important figure in passing on knowledge and traditions of Tharu community to new generations.

Thus, *Guruba* occupies a central role in the Tharu community to transfer indigenous rituals to new generations functioning as more than just a religious figure. ...*Our priest not only teaches rituals of Tharu community, he also makes aware of our responsibilities to our family and community*, Teacher-E replied. As the primary source of spiritual and long-rooted rituals, the *Guruba* connects the community people to their spiritual world, supports them in cultural ceremonies, and teaches the traditions and their practical applications.

Journalists: Facilitators of Intercultural Dialogue

Study results also depict that journalists in the Tharu community have an important role in disseminating their ancestral knowledge and values through mass media. They gather news about various social events, educational activities, political activities, and other topics, and communicate this information through newspapers, radio, television, and other social media. ...*Social media also plays important role in disseminating our indigenous knowledge to a broader community. Sometimes Tharu intellectuals are interviewed by journalists and they broadcast the interview through radio and television...*, Teacher-A informed.

In many cases, their work goes beyond simply reporting; it actively contributes to maintain and promote cultural identity and heritage of indigenous communities, including Tharus. *Sometimes, journalists write about our Tharu traditions...so that other people know about our culture...This activity helps us preserve and promote our culture...*, Teacher-C answered. As a whole, in the Tharu community; parents, relatives, peers, priests, and journalists all play significant role in assisting Tharu children in obtaining their indigenous knowledge, skills, and values.

Discussion

Indigenous communities, including Tharu, possess extensive knowledge systems deeply connected to their lands and surrounding nature. These invaluable assets have been transferred to new generations for centuries (Niure, 2014). Study findings indicate that different individuals namely parents, relatives, peers, priests, and journalists play crucial role for the transmission of deeply-rooted repertoire of IK in Tharu community. This aligns with broader discussions on IK transmission, particularly in the context of increasing influence from Westernized education systems (Ewulley et al., 2023; Poudel et al., 2022; Silva et al., 2023; UNESCO, 2016) from school to higher levels in Nepal. The parents, including grandparents, elder siblings, etc., were found as the primary source of foundational knowledge. They provide various knowledge, skills, and values that learners need to take family and social responsibilities in their adult life. Study results also emphasize the importance of observational learning, storytelling, demonstrations, and discussions within the family context. This reinforces the central role of families, elders, and experienced individuals in the intergenerational transmission of IK, as highlighted by other studies (Magni, 2017; Smith, 2012 for example). Parents are

the keepers and transmitters of this invaluable heritage, passing it down through oral traditions, hands-on learning, apprenticeships, and participation in cultural practices (Stevens, 2008). Study findings disclose that various gender roles to daughters were taught by grandmother, mother, and elder sister; and gender roles to son were taught by grandfather, father, and elder brother. Thus, the gendered division of labor in skill transmission reflects traditional Tharu societal roles (Niure, 2019). This reinforces the central role of families in intergenerational IK transmission, as noted in other studies (Bruchac, 2014; Magni, 2017; Smith, 2012; Stevens, 2008). Beyond the family, study results show that relatives also play supplementarily roles for intergenerational transmission of cultural heritage, language, and traditional practices, fostering a strong sense of identity, etc.

Peer learning, particularly in indigenous communities, plays a vital role in IK transmission, especially during childhood and adolescence (Niure, 2014; Niure et al., 2024). Developmental psychologists such as Hurlock, Piaget, and Erikson have emphasized the importance of this period in acquiring knowledge and skills from various fields (Niure, 2014). Unlike hierarchical knowledge transfer, peer learning often occurs horizontally (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2018), with individuals of similar ages sharing knowledge and experiences (UNESCO, 2016). This can involve practical skills, social norms, and sensitive topics like sex education. Study results reveal that peer interactions offer a safe space for exploration and learning, which contribute to social and cultural development. Informal settings, such as play and community gatherings, often facilitate this experiential learning and foster a sense of belongingness. Supporting the finding, Stevens (2008) indicates that peer learning in indigenous communities often takes place in informal settings, such as during play, community gatherings, or shared activities. Such experiential learning approach allows indigenous children, including Tharu, to learn by doing and observing. It also encourages them to learn together and support each other in the process. Children not only acquire valuable skills and information but also contribute to preserve and transmit IK within their community by sharing knowledge and experiences with their peer (Barnhardt, 2007). This reciprocal exchange of knowledge among peers is essential for transmission of indigenous cultures and socialization in broader context.

Priests also serve as vital repositories of cultural and spiritual knowledge, transmitting knowledge related to rituals, religious beliefs, spiritual entity, and moral codes. They play crucial role for spiritual and cultural education in the community to preserve IK for future generations (Niure, 2014). This is very important for maintaining cultural identity and continuity. Furthermore, journalists connect the Tharu community to local and global events by providing access to both indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge. Their contribution reflects the growing influence of mass media in shaping knowledge and perspectives, and introducing a new dynamic to traditional knowledge transmission. Moreover, they also play a role in disseminating and preserving

indigenous knowledge. Social media provide a new platform to transmit traditional knowledge and expand interconnectedness of communities in the modern world. Not only this, it has been playing a significant role in equipping indigenous and non-indigenous children with the skills and knowledge necessary to adjust in a rapidly changing world. Investigating the role of different people, therefore, to bridge the gap (Koehler, 2017; Niure, 2014) and identifying the implications of indigenous pedagogy (Carol, 2012; Kovach, 2010) in modern education system are essential for developing culturally responsive and equitable education policies that support the continuous transmission of IK to make independent to indigenous learners, including Tharu.

The study findings show that social interaction and scaffolding have tremendous impact on children's learning as indicated by Vygotsky, and more knowledgeable other play imperative role in this process (Ornstein & Hunkins, 2018). The diverse individuals involved in providing indigenous knowledge in Tharu community also contribute to children's zone of proximal development. However, the study suggests a collaborative approach is necessary for holistic development, as no single source provides complete range of knowledge required for conducting modern life. Though IK has humongous influence on the life of indigenous people, including Tharu, the dominance of Western knowledge has been marginalizing IK and creating an intergenerational knowledge gap (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; UNESCO, 2016; Niure et al., 2024). In this regard, understanding how the community balances cultural heritage preservation with equipping children for a changing world is crucial. Investigating the role of Tharus, including priests and journalists, in bridging this gap (Koehler, 2017; Niure, 2014) and the potential of indigenous pedagogy (Carol, 2012; Kovach, 2010; UNESCO, 2010) will be essential for developing culturally responsive education policies that support IK transmission and preservation for future generations.

Conclusions

Different people play important role in transferring various knowledge, skills, and values to new generations in any community. Mainly parents, relatives, peers, priests, and journalists are involving in shaping learners' understanding of indigenous knowledge, skills, and values in Tharu community. Oral traditions, practical demonstrations, and social engagement are used to transfer the IK to new generations for centuries. In many cases, gender roles have also been taught to youngsters to enable them to bear their role and responsibilities in the community. While parents hold a primary role in knowledge transfer; relatives, peers, and priests help children and youths socialize, follow cultural practices, and learn spiritual knowledge. Finally, journalists contribute to disseminating both traditional and contemporary information in this technological era. Recognition of various sources of knowledge and the importance of social interaction suggests a need for educational approaches that integrate indigenous knowledge into formal education curricula. Integrating contributions of parents, elders, and community members for knowledge transmission into formal education system through culturally responsive pedagogy could indigenize the education system to some extent. Designing culturally responsive education policies, valuing the contributions of community members and bridging the gap between indigenous and modern education can be beneficial to preserve and promote indigenous knowledge of Tharus.

References

- Barnhardt, R. (2007). Creating a place for indigenous knowledge in education: The Alaska native knowledge network. In G. Smith & D. Gruenewald (Eds.), *Place-based education in the global age: Local diversity*, 1–17. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Barnhardt, R., & Kawagley, A. (2005). Indigenous knowledge systems and Alaska native ways of knowing. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 36(1), 8–23, ISSN 0161–7761. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.2005.36.1.008>
- Batibo, H. (2009). *Transmitting indigenous knowledge through the school curriculum in a diminishing bio-cultural environment: The case of Botswana*, 87-93. UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/in/documentViewer.xhtml?v=2.1.196&id=p::usmarcdef_
- Biermann, S., & Townsend-Cross, M. (2008). Indigenous pedagogy as a force for change. *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 37(1), 146–154. <https://doi.org/10.1375/S132601110000048X>
- Bruchac, M. (2014). Indigenous knowledge and traditional knowledge. In C. Smith (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of global archaeology*, 3814–3824. Springer.
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods* (5th ed.) Oxford University Press.
- Carol, B. (2012). *Occupy your brain: On power, knowledge, and the re-occupation of common sense*. <http://schoolingtheworld.org/blog/>
- Champange, D. (2009). *Contemporary education. State of the world's indigenous peoples*. United Nations. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP_web.pdf
- Chilisa, B., & Kawulich, B. (2012). *Selecting a research approach: Paradigm, methodology and methods*. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/257944787>
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). Sage.
- Ewulley, F., Anlimachie, M. A., Abreh, M. K., & Mills, E. E. (2023). Understanding the nexus of school types, school cultures, and educational outcomes and its implication for policy and practice. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 121, 102237. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2023.102237>
- Hari, C. A. (2020). The relevance of indigenous knowledge systems in local governance towards environmental management for development: A case of Bulawayo city council, Zimbabwe. *Quest Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, 2(1), 100–114. <https://doi.org/10.3126/qjmss.v2i1.29024>
- Havemann, P. (2015). *Lessons from indigenous knowledge and culture: Learning to live in harmony with nature in an age of ecocide*. Indian Environmental Network.
- Hermans, B. (2024). Decolonizing mindfulness centering liberation, 91-100. In R. Flynn & L. Malone (editors). *Decolonizing Classroom Management: A Critical Examination of the Cultural Assumptions and Norms in Traditional Practices*, 91-100. Roman and Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
- Ho, S., Le, S., Luu, T. T. G., & Hoa, H. (2014). *Guideline: Indigenous knowledge identification and use in community-based adaptation practices*. Agriculture and Forestry Research & Development Center for Mountainous Region.
- Huang, X. (2019). Understanding Bourdieu: Cultural capital and habitus. *Canadian Center of Science and Education*, 11(3), 45-49. <https://www.ccsenet.org/journal/index.php/res/article/view/0/40384>
- Jacob, W. J., Cheng, S. Y., & Porter, M. K. (2015). *Indigenous education: Language, culture, and identity*. Springer.
- Koehler, C. (2017). Crucial role of indigenous knowledge in formal education systems. In P. Ngulube (Ed.), *Handbook of research on social, cultural, and educational considerations of Indigenous knowledge in developing countries*, 60–79. <https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-5225-0838-0.ch004>

- Kovach, M. (2010). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts*. University of Toronto Press.
- Lukong, T. E. (2016). Indigenous people education: Priorities for inclusive education, the case of Cameroon. *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies* 2(3), 17-27. <https://www.arcjournals.org/pdfs/ijhcs/v2-i3/3.pdf>
- Magni, G. (2017). *Indigenous knowledge and implications for the sustainable development agenda*. International Bureau of Education.
- McDowell, E. (2024). Building belonging in classroom learning communities. In R. Flynn & L. Malone (editors). *Decolonizing Classroom Management: A Critical Examination of the Cultural Assumptions and Norms in Traditional Practices*, 39-47. Roman and Littlefield Publishing Group.
- Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2016). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation* (4th ed.). John Wiley & Sons.
- National Statistics Office (2023). *National population and housing census-2021: National report on cast/ethnicity, language, and religion*. Government of Nepal, Office of the Prime Minister and Council Ministers.
- Niure, D. P. (2014). *Indigenous knowledge of Tharus related to educational practices: Implications in formal schooling* [Unpublished M.Phil. Level Thesis]. Tribhuvan University.
- Niure, D. P. (2019). Converging and diverging points of indigenous education and formal education systems in Nepal: A case of Tharu community. *Interdisciplinary Research in Education*, 4(2), 111–122. <https://doi.org/10.3126/ire.v4i2.27931>
- Niure, D. P., Upadhyaya, I. R., Paudel, M., & Poudel, P. P. (2024). Embedding indigeneity in formal schooling: a case of Tharu teachers' indigenous pedagogy in Nepal. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2024.2365151>
- Ornstein, A. C. & Hunkins, F. P. (2018). *Curriculum: Foundations, principles and issues* (7th ed.). Pearson Education.
- Ornstein, A. C., Pajak, E. F., & Ornstein, S. B. (2015). *Contemporary issues in curriculum*. Pearson.
- Owuor, J. A. (2007). Integrating African indigenous knowledge in Kenya's formal education system: The potential for sustainable development. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, 2(2), 21–37. ISSN 1718-4770.
- Poudel, P. P., Jackson, L., & Choi, T. H. (2022). Decolonisation of curriculum: The case of language education policy in Nepal. *London Review of Education*, 20(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.14324/LRE.20.1.13>
- Saeed, T. (2023). Reimagining education: Student movements and the possibility of a critical pedagogy and feminist praxis. In Y. Hutchinson, A. A. C., Ochoa, J. Paulson, & L. Tikly (Eds.), *Decolonizing education for sustainable futures*, 65-100. Bristol University Press.
- Silva, C., Pereira, F., & Amorim, J. P. (2023). The integration of indigenous knowledge in school: A systematic review. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 7(3), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2023.2184200>
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). Zed Books Limited.
- Stavenghagen, R. (2015). Indigenous peoples' rights to education. *European Journal of Education*, 50(3), 254–257. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12136>
- Stevens, A. (2008). A different way of knowing: Tools and strategies for managing indigenous knowledge. *International Journal of Libraries and Information*, 58(1), 25–33. <https://doi.org/10.1515/libr.2008.003>
- UNESCO (2009). *Learning and knowing in indigenous societies today*. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000180754>
- UNESCO. (2010). *Indigenous knowledge in global policies and practice for education, science, and culture*. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SC/temp/LINKS/sc_LINKS-UNU-TKinGPP.pdf
- UNESCO. (2016). *Indigenous knowledge and implications for the sustainable development agenda*. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002456/245623E.pdf>