

IN SEARCH OF BETTER OPTIONS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF  
MIGRANTS FROM BHARSE, NEPAL

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A Thesis

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## ABSTRACT

Lal Bahadur Pun for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education (Development Studies) presented on February 17, 2022. Title: IN SEARCH OF BETTER OPTIONS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF MIGRANTS FROM BHARSE, NEPAL.

Abstract Approved

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In this study, I envisaged how migrants search for better options of the community structure of origin within and outside the country. I specifically explored migrants' experiences and opinions vis-à-vis their socio-cultural premises in search of better options. The bigger questions of the study were: why migrants detached from the community structure of origin and how they built the networks with the recipient community structures, how migrants created their positionalities in the recipient community structures, how migrants embodied the opportunities and constraints that they experienced, and how migrants tailored their strategies for the future. Fetching the ideas from the relevant literatures, I employed structuration and social capital theories to interpret the stories of migrants. I also explored the subjective experiences of migrants from multi-locations following the principles of ethnography. I trusted interviews, observation, virtual conversations, and other field notes to inscribe the stories of migrants.

From the vivid stories of migrants, I understood migration occurred in both unfavourable and favourable conditions of the community structures of origin. While migrants experienced a series of challenges in their everyday life, they strived for better options on the one hand, and on the other, the better conditions of migrants in the community structures of origin also propelled them in search of better options. For this, the migrants received information from their relatives, friends, and acquaintances by building social networks about the recipient community structures to make a migration decision. Being settled in the new community structures, they also contrived new social, economic/professional, and residential positions which were the better options. In addition, migrants experienced new opportunities and challenges in the new community structures. The bliss and plight were the binary opposites for migrants. The migrants contemplated new strategies which helped them explore better options further within and outside the current community structures. This study largely answered the questions of how migrants aspired in search of better options in the myriad socio-cultural premises.

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Lal Bahadur Pun

February 17, 2022

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Lila Pun, and mother-in-law, Ganga Magar who already passed away without seeing this deed. I could never step up to this level of an academic degree without their inspiration and support.

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## DECLARATION

I, hereby, declare that this thesis was composed by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree.

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I understand that my thesis will become a part of the permanent collection of Kathmandu University libraries. My signature below authorizes the release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Anti Meridian
APA	American Psychological Association
BNO	British Overseas Nationals
BTI	Butwal Technical Institute
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CESLAM	Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility
COVID-19	Conorna Virus Disease-2019
Dr.	Doctor
ESS	Employment and Social Security
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FEA	Foreign Employment Act
ID	Identity
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRL	Indefinite Remain to Live
MoL	Ministry of Labour
MPhil	Master of Philosophy
MPPM	Master of Public Policy Management
NAFEA	Nepal Association of Foreign Employment Agencies
NIDS	Nepal Institute of Development Studies
NTUC	Nepal Trade Union Congress

OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PM	Post Meridian
Rs	Reflection, Reflexivity, and Representation
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SLC	School Leaving Certificate
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNRCHCO	United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator's Office
USA	United States of America
VHF	Very High Frequency

## CHAPTER I

### THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION RESEARCH

To begin with, I attempt to reverberate how I strive towards migration research. I start with my own story of migration. After the completion of the lower secondary school education, for the first time, I left Sagdi<sup>1</sup> of Baglung District<sup>2</sup> of Western Nepal for a neighbouring district in the decades of the late 1980s. At that time, for secondary-level education, I had to walk on foot for about two hours from home to school. After some months' up and down from home to school and vice versa, I began to live in the school hostel. I remember it was the first migration in life as a student migrant. I spent two years in Shantipur<sup>3</sup> of Gulmi District<sup>4</sup> from where I completed 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> grades. After the completion of the two grades there, I went to Bharse<sup>5</sup> of the same district for the 10<sup>th</sup> grade. Then, for campus-level education, I had a keen interest to go to Kathmandu<sup>6</sup>. With my parents' consent, a dream of going to Kathmandu was materialized. It was also a migration as a student. It gave me a new insight to understand the diverse cultural practices of both native village and new

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<sup>1</sup> Sagdi is a hilly village of Baglung District of Nepal.

<sup>2</sup> Baglung District is an administrative unit which is located in the Gandaki Province of Nepal.

<sup>3</sup> Shantipur is a small town of Gulmi District of Nepal.

<sup>4</sup> Gulmi District is an administrative unit which is located in the Lumbini Province of Nepal.

<sup>5</sup> Bharse is a hilly village of Gulmi District of Nepal.

<sup>6</sup> Kathmandu is the capital city of Nepal.



community structure of Kathmandu along with educational attainment but, in my family, migration was not a new phenomenon.

By profession, my father was a *laure*<sup>7</sup>. I knew the *laure* tradition and the story of migration from him. Notably, among the villagers of Nepal, the *laure* culture is very popular (Pun, 2020; Shrees, 2013). At the fireside, after dinner, my father used to share his stories of the *laure* migration. After completing more than two decades' service, he came home as a returnee *laure* migrant. Father's story became one of the sources of inspiration to delve into migration research. Like other villages, my village is known as a village of *laure* which cultivated a sense of migration in me. I also had heard the stories of migration from the *laure* migrants of next-door neighbours because they used to share the stories which they had experienced. Time and again, I had eye-witnessed some of my villagers' migration that nurtured me to germinate the ideas of migration.

In the journey of my academic studies, while I entered university for a masters' degree, I heard about the term migration but this could not be the field of my study at that time. However, I saw some articles, books, and reports which were written on the issues of migration. After the completion of the master's degree, I

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<sup>7</sup> *Laure/s* is/are known as wanderer/s. According to Dahal (1983), Gurung (2010), and Kansakar (1984), some Nepali young chaps used to serve in the contingent of Ranjit Singh who was the king of *Lahore*, Panjab. At the moment, *lahore* is located in Pakistan. Those young chaps who used to serve in the contingent of Ranjit Singh used to call *laure* in the public overtone. After the Sugauli Treaty between Nepal and British-Indian Government, young boys of Nepal formally began to join British-Indian contingents who are known as *laure* even today. Being a member of the *laure* community, I also eye-witnessed that youths who commonly serve/served in the Indian, British, and Singapore Contingents, are called *laure*. The term *laure* is very popular in the rural community of Nepal.

joined a development organization from which I got the opportunities to visit different parts of Nepal and observed people's movements, particularly from the mountain and hilly villages to cities and Tarai. Conceiving the ideas from these annotations, I understood I am also a migrant. And I have been living in Kathmandu for more than two decades. This is another facet of my migration that congruently motivated me to do migration research in postgraduate studies. In this regard, I quoted a view of Chan (2020) as he opined, some migration research is carried out by migrants themselves and so am I. At this moment, I realized both educational and professional careers escorted me from one community to another in search of better options because even migration pushed me up to the PhD level. Up to this stage of life, I am embracing the moving culture.

With this, I specifically focus on why migrants dare to detach and build their social networks from the community structure of origin and what prompted them to move away from there. I also deliberate how migrants construct their social positions and enlarge their new networks after the settlement in the recipient community structures. I further echo the experiences of migrants about the opportunities and challenges in the new community structures. Lastly, I present migrants' contemplation about their future strategies. I believe all these happen in search of better options. To support these accounts, I inscribe the stories of migrants from Bharse who have been living in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. In such a way, I built the context of my research as Rodman (2013) viewed, "the context is not an objective phenomenon that is simply out there, somewhere, waiting to be recognized for what it is by the savvy researcher. Instead, the context has to be actively constructed by the researcher" (p. 350). Fetching the idea from this account, I set a context of this

ethnographic research on the whole. Presenting the research context, I herewith explicate migration and migrants' tropes.

### **Magnifying Migration and Migrants' Tropes**

In this section, I have attempted to conceptualize migration and migrants' tropes, and what these terms mean in this research. Initially, I have discussed migration, and later on, the migrants sequentially in the whole text. To signify migration, I linked the idea of Bloemraad (2018) as he opined, migration is a diffusion from the native land leaving the original culture. It informed me that migration is a social process because of which people depart from the native land and its culture to reside in the new community structure and cultural context. To support this extract, I borrowed a view of de Haas (2021) as he mentioned, migration is also the aspiration and capability of moving and setting up residency in another place but the purpose of migration varies depending on needs and social connections. Assertively, the ethnographic definition of 'migration' is detachment from culture to be part of another culture of the recipient community structures.

The migration tendency in Nepal is that a large number of people from the mountain, hilly regions, and small towns in Nepal have been leaving the community structure of origin to live in the cities for their prosperities. To this extent, I cited a view of Klager and Stierstorfer (2015) as they articulated, migration has shaped the globalized world because many individuals and groups are usually on the move because they search for better options in other places. As Oldac and Fancourt (2021) paralleled their idea ahead as they expressed, in today's globalizing society, the movement of people has become a defining feature. In such a condition, moving a bit further up from the geographical lens, I concentrate on a socio-cultural process of

migration. I attempt to signify it from the stories of migrants. For migration, people make connections at personal, familial, and societal levels from one community to another. Thus migration is a human activity that is an inseparable part of life. The other way around, it also is a condition of being detached from ‘the socio-cultural construct of the native community’ (Gartaula et al., 2014). It is largely guided by the societal systems in line with the family and individual interests. In other words, migration is a ‘cultural expression’ (Hedberg & Kepsu, 2003) because it is also a behavioural disposition. From this account, I understood migration is an inseparable part of the socio-cultural activities of humankind. As Schewel (2019) deemed, all people move in their everyday lives. Thus migration is no other than the everyday activity of mankind.

Largely, the migration of individuals, families, and groups begins from a community structure and ends in another, and it is associated with the family, clans, relatives, acquaintances, and neighbours because it does not stand alone at the individual level only. Scholars (e.g., Bauloz et al., 2020; Fielding, 2020; Schewel, 2019) enunciated, migration is a socio-cultural process on the whole that is broadly an inseparable part of human activities. And it usually happens at personal, familial, and group levels because of social ties. To this end, I glued a view of Cohen and Sirkeci (2011) as they claimed, migration decision largely echoes communal traditions, village practices, national, and even international waves. It is a shapeless notion because it is unpredictable. As Townsend and Omen (2015) urged, migration itself is a ‘fluid notion’. The movement of migrants is always a regular process over life that cannot be solidified in a specific shape. Stemming the ideas from this account, I knit the ethnographic stories of migrants as ‘subjects appear in stories within

ethnographies' (Coutin & Voge, 2016) on the basis of both community structure of origin and recipient community structures.

Additionally, in this research, I present migration as a moving culture and a process because it is not anything else other than societal as well as human activities on the whole. To support this view, I cemented an idea of Frilund (2017) as he asserted, migration processes with relatives, friends, and acquaintances encourage to move onwards new community structures that describe dynamic migration via one place or several towards migrants' possible recipient community structures. This view cultivated a sense in me that migration is linked with culture and society in addition to the place. On this note, I linked a view of Kok and Rogers (2016) as they uttered, migration is a dynamic process of movers which crosses many national and global geographies, cultures, political networks, and opportunity structures. It is also an activity of humankind to explore better options in the new community structures because human intentions, dreams, and plans always revolve around better life, better options, and better results. I believe migration must be there for prosperity because being affluent is the main goal of migrants in life.

With the elucidation of migration, I submit the migrants as goers who decide to go away from the native land detaching from the customary laws and practices. To explicate this statement, I fetched a view of Inchley (2014) as she illuminated, migrants are those people who are on the move as human beings innately are mobile creatures. Overtly or covertly, people divulge the moving culture for the betterment of life. According to Fovlets et al. (2018), mobility is inherent in human experience and people are moving to seek a better life. This excerpt nurtured me that the migrants are individuals, families, or groups who change their locations and modify socio-cultural

activities, and are ready to accept the new ones, especially in the cities. In the view of Sharma et al. (2014), migrants mostly concentrate in the cities within the country for better living. For this process, the migrants build ties with relatives, friends, and acquaintances because of which they build confidence to settle in the alien lands and cultural contexts. With this view, they think to move further. Once settled in intermediate locations, the migrants build confidence to move to new places and cultural contexts (Bloemraad, 2013). From this extract, I noticed that migrants usually move ahead for better options. Regarding migrants, the United Nations illustrated a statement, more people ever live in countries in which they weren't born (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2020). Thus the migrants go to live in other countries other than their native countries in search of better options. I, hereby, cemented a view of Oldac and Fancourt (2021) as they claimed, "individuals move from the community structure of origin for a variety of reasons" (p. 621) because of myriad needs, wants, and choices as they want to liberate themselves from the current conditions.

In this conjunction, I took a reference to a study which was conducted by Thuno and Li (2020) as they mentioned, migrants are no longer simply settlers in a destination community forever. With the emergence of new communication, transportation, and technologies, it becomes easier for migrants to get closely connected to relatives, friends, other community structures, and people. Therefore, modern technology is one of the connectors of people which supports to induce migration. And 'where do people come from, where do they pause, live, and what routes they travelled' (Michael, 2003; Shukla, 2001) are some crucial questions regarding migrants because they can change their movement where they see better

options as they certainly go there. Such feelings occur in migrants within the social whole. To support this account, I derived a view of Venturini (2017) which revealed, the migration process of people starts in the community structure of origin, whereas the recipient community structure generally becomes the end but, over time, it goes beyond the endpoint for better options. Besides this, the migrants are those who leave their birthplace and native ethos to live outside from there. They are the ones who are indispensably a part of society and its customary practices within and outside the current place (IOM, 2020). There is another view about migrants as they commonly are those individuals, families, or groups of people who change their 'usual places of residence over a given period, i.e., a month, a year, 5 years, and a lifetime' (Bodvarson & Van den Berg, 2013). The duration of stay elucidates the meaning of migrants, or who they are.

Besides this, I, hereby, thought to discuss migrants' categorization to derive ideas. Simply, migrants are classified into rural-urban, voluntary, forced, temporary, permanent, returnee, occupational, and marriage migrants. In addition, Gartaula and Niehof (2013) also categorized migrants in the forms of labour, students, emigrants, marriage, and professional migrants. In this research, I present migrants as individuals and families from Bharse who trade-off their life experiences in both community structures of origin viz. Bharse and recipient community structures viz. Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. I specifically focus on an array of rural-urban migrants who have been living in urban settings permanently.

In addition, the migrants are those individuals, families, and groups of people who could enlarge social networks with the recipient community structures from the current community structure. To substantiate this account, I also fetched an idea from

Williams et al. (2020) as they indicated, the social network of individuals and families from the community structure of origin with relatives and friends in the recipient community structures prompts migration. The social network helps migrants search for better options. In the view of Wilder et al. (2017), migration helps individuals germinate new ideas in search of material culture. The migrants mostly are fond of searching the material benefits in the recipient community structures as they find ‘material opportunities’ (de Haas, 2014a), conversely, they face ‘the mental challenges or cultural lag’ in the new community structures (Shrestha, 2017), because they have to deal with the new groups of people and their social activities in the new cultural contexts.

With these appealing ideas, I felt illuminated migration is a socio-cultural process, whereas the migrants are those individuals who deal with the processes to connect individuals, families, and groups within and outside the community structure of origin in search of better options. In other words, I present migrants as searchers of better options. To substantiate this notion, I inscribe the stories of migrants from Bharse who have been living in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. I also discuss the perceptions of migrants in the community structure of origin and recipient community structures through this research. Presenting these accounts, I have discussed the rationale of this research in the subsequent section.

### **Rationale of the Study**

In this section, I have discussed the novelty of doing ethnographic research on the issue of migration/migrants. In the inception period of migration studies, economics became a mother subject of migration studies because economic doldrums, resource scarcities, and dearth of incomes at the current communities become hurdles



of people (e.g., Amin, 1977; Ravenstein, 1889; Lee, 1966; Wallerstein, 1974). This became a field of migration studies globally. In such a situation, Nepal could not remain aloof from the global trend of migration studies because large numbers of labour migrants even today go abroad mainly for better earnings. Scholars (e.g., Bhattarai & Paudel, 2020; Gartaula, 2009; Gartaula & Niehof, 2013; Shrestha, 2017) contributed to studying labour migration in Nepal. Not only this but also, some organizations, such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), Centre for the Study of Labour and Mobility (CESLAM), Paurakhi, IOM, Nepal Institute of Development Studies (NIDS), Helvetas, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), Ministry of Labour (MoL), Employment and Social Security (ESS), Nepal Trade Union Congress (NTUC), Nepal Association of Foreign Employment Agencies (NAFEA), and universities also conducted migration researches putting the economic vantage in the centre. From this extract, I understood more focus is laid on the economic premises of migration. Thus I turn my attention to socio-cultural avenues of migration studies.

Apart from this account, scholars (e.g., Bauloz et al., 2020; Huot, 2017; Ptashnick & Zuberi, 2018) attempted to analyze migration from the socio-cultural lenses. These scholars contributed to interpreting migration using qualitative methods on the whole. I also studied the academic contributions of Bhattarai and Paudel (2020), Paudel (2017), and Subedi (1993) to conceive the ideas of socio-cultural studies of migration. Still, the socio-cultural premises of migration studies are relatively less in the academic field. Knowing this reality, I attempt to scan the socio-cultural dimension of Bharseli migrants from the ethnographic premise which is a virgin field of research. To substantiate this account, I fetched an idea of Pisarevskaya

et al. (2019) as they urged, migration studies developed rapidly as a research field in recent years. I believe this research can contribute to a wide spectrum of migration studies. More specifically, I see a space to explore why and how migrants move away from the community structure of origin building the network further and how they embody their experiences about the recipient community structures. Previous research was not conducted with a special focus on the migrants from Bharse who have been living in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. And I did not see previous research of Bharseli migrants specifically using structuration and social capital theories to interpret their stories. Thus it is pioneering research in this field. On this note, I have presented the statement of the problem in the section below.

### **Statement of the Problem**

In this section, I have discussed the statement of the problem of this research. To patch up an idea, for many years, some migrants from Bharse have been leaving the village, and some of them have been living in Butwal and Kathmandu within the country, and some of them are shifted to Hong Kong and London. Others have fled to different places. And many of them have been living in different parts of the country, and quite a few have been living outside the country in search of better options. To substantiate this view, I instilled the idea of Coutin and Voge (2016) as they elucidated, ethnographers of migration studies inscribe about those people who are stuck within borders or cross them. In this regard, I also have attempted to devise the ethnographic accounts of migrants who have been living within and outside the country in a single string of this research because there is no ethnographic study of Bharseli migrants in the past.

People's movement intends to liberate material and resource scarcities of the current places and make a prosperous living in other places. A traditional belief is that where there is an economic problem, people think to leave that place. Scholars (e.g., Kansakar, 1984; Shrees, 2013; Shrees Magar, 2018) described the challenges as the push factors from the community structure of origin. Thus the poor conditions of people knocked them from the village. This notion is largely steered by the push and pull features of migration that are the economic dimensions (Acharya, 2012; Lee, 1966; Shrestha, 2017). The meaning is that migration research is mostly directed by positivistic and post-positivistic paradigms. I, hereby, inserted a view of Horvath et al. (2017) as they claimed, migration being a multi-dimensional issue, its research faces multiple challenges. From this excerpt, I realized migration studies from the non-positivistic paradigm are a growing field in Nepal. I again thought, could there be other facets of migration than the economic dimension? An idea emerged in my mind, what about the socio-cultural dimension of migration research in search of better options using qualitative methods, i.e. ethnography? This is the main issue in this research. And could better situation of people become push factors?

Additionally, the mountain and hilly migration of Nepal divulges that the village is the originator of problems. Such belief exists even in other countries as well. Some academic researchers (e.g., Acharya, 2012; Lee, 1966; Shrestha, 2017) focused their studies thinking the rural areas were tantamount to challenges. Nowadays, a new practice is emerging in migration studies which is a paradigm shift or a change in the belief system. While people improve their conditions, they think twice about their current places. Thus there is a dearth of comprehensive research with a special focus on both opportunities and challenges together. The existing notion is that the

challenges of the community structure of origin appear as a push factor, and the opportunities usually pull them towards the recipient community structures. Relatively, researchers (e.g., Camenisch & Muller, 2017; de Haas, 2021) made a special focus on both worse and better conditions as migration thrusts. Academically, less attention is paid to the agenda of what migrants feel in the new community structures and how they create their social spaces there (Broadhead, 2020; Greenwood, 2019; Harries et al., 2019; Linhard & Parsons, 2019). There is a dearth of research with a special focus on both opportunities and challenges in the recipient community structures comprehensively. Also, there is a lack of academic studies on how migrants devise their future strategies in the new community structures.

In the journey of this research, I reviewed some migration-related literature. From them, I noticed qualitative research of migration is an emerging field for researchers. Methodologically, less attention is paid to qualitative research on migration (Gartaula & Niehof, 2013). With this view, I create my positionality in the qualitative research method, i.e., ethnography. Globally and locally, there are only a few pieces of research on ethnographic studies of migration (Boccagni & Schrooten, 2018; Faist, 2012). In such a condition, I proceed with the ethnographic tropes of migration which is a growing field at large. To substantiate this excerpt, I injected a view of Gallo (2009) which he said, migration has compelled the ethnographic researcher to develop new sensibilities beyond the traditional imaginary people and their culture.

Fetching the ideas from the relevant literatures, I see policy on socio-cultural vantages of migrants is relatively a less considered field. In the same way, local organizations, bi-lateral, and multi-lateral organizations, including the government

agencies, merely thought about how socio-cultural avenues magnify migration as a process of searching for better options. In this regard, I saw a field of studies focusing on the socio-cultural dimensions of migration. And cultural traits of migrants have received little attention in the migration literature (Belinschi & Fidrmuc, 2018).

Borrowing the ideas from these views, I explore the answers to the questions within the socio-cultural premises of migration: Why and how do migrants detach and build their social networks from the community structure of origin? How do migrants feel about new positions in the recipient community structures? How do they enlarge their new social networks there? More specifically, what opportunities do they entertain, and what constraints do they face at the current places? What do they contemplate for the future in the recipient community structures? To answer these questions, I inscribe migrants' stories embodying their experiences and expressions in both community structure of origin and recipient community structures. In addition, I glue structuration and social capital theories to interpret the stories of migrants which are acquired based on these sets of questions. In the subsequent section, I have set the research purpose.

### **Research Purpose**

The overarching purpose of this research was to explore migrants' perceptions about the socio-cultural premises in the community structure of origin and recipient community structures in search of better options. On the basis of this research purpose, I have set the research questions.

### **Research Questions**

The main research question of this research is how migrants inscribe and describe their stories in the community structure of origin and recipient community structures, whereas the supplementary questions are:

- a. Why do migrants detach and develop social networks from the community structure of origin?
- b. How do migrants feel about their positions and enlarge their new social networks in the recipient community structures?
- c. How do migrants perceive their opportunities and constraints in the recipient community structures? and
- d. How do migrants contemplate their future strategies in the recipient community structures?

To solidify the research questions, I have instilled the significance of the study.

### **Significance of the Study**

In this section, I have discussed the importance of this migration research. Migration globally is a very critical, tough, and challenging human behaviour in society. Thus digging out, digging in, and digging deep to find the truth behind the phenomenon affirm the ethnographic study of migration. In line with this view, I fetched an idea of de Haas (2021) as he unfolded, migration is linked with the interests of groups, families, and individuals as those interests are shaped by societal values. On this note, I attempt to deconstruct a belief that ascertains problems only as push factors. On the contrary, I argue the worse situations are not always pushers for migrants but the better situation is also pushing them from the community structure of origin (Ptashnick & Zuberi, 2018). From this account, academia, professionals, policy-makers, and researchers can understand this reality. It can challenge the traditional notion which mostly focused on the

economic dimension of migration research. My intention in this research is not to falsify the economic perspective as it has its own stance. However, I attempt to look at the socio-cultural avenue of migration research using ethnographic methods which can be a contribution to academicians and professionals. I believe this can be an understanding for folks from the other way around. This piece of migration research helps folks understand the stories of migrants embedded into the socio-cultural premises (Varela et al., 2020). It is an avenue for audiences to understand the intersubjective dimensions of migration research. This study divulges an ethnographic flavour on the whole.

I believe, from this piece of research, researchers, apprentices, academia, government, and non-governmental agencies and policy-makers and planners can instill comprehensive ideas about national and international migration because I inscribe the stories of national and international migrants in a single thread together. This study can help the audiences grow a new perspective in the arena of migration studies. In addition, this study entails stories of national and international migrants dealing with why they move away from their community structure of origin in both favourable and unfavourable conditions (de Haas, 2014b). I again believe this can be an insight for other folks. In this research, I attempt to put together the stories of migrants from Bharse, primarily focusing on how they feel after the settlement in the new community structures. This account can offer new learning for researchers, academia, and professional organizations. It also can add value to migration research. Besides this, I weave the opportunities and challenges of migrants together. In this conjunction, I attempt to spell out a

view of ‘how migrants devise their strategies for the future after making their settlement in the new community structures’. These facets of migration can give policy-makers and concerned authorities ideas to formulate the new policy (Bylander, 2017; Fong et al., 2019). The migration policy at central, provincial, and local levels is an avenue to consider further.

This is academic research of the migrants from Bharse which is bound together in a thread, such as Bharse, Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. Thus this research product helps participants, other migrants from Bharse, and other audiences understand the migration issues and patterns. More specifically, it depicts the accounts of migrants from Bharse who have been living in multi-locations, such as Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. I have, hereby, delimited this research.

### **Delimitations**

To shape this research, I have delimited this research. In everyday living, I saw a huge overflow of rural migrants towards urban areas. Thus I delimited the studies on rural-urban migration with a special focus on the voluntary as well as formal migrants from Bharse who have been living in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London because I chose them as they tend to migrate according to their choices and wants.

In line with the research questions, I demarcated this research to why migrants detach from their community structure of origin in search of better options and how they made their networks from there as the decisions about what, why, and how to undertake research are both personal and contextual (Dwyer & Emerald, 2017) and



Rodman (2015) argued, for cultural studies, the focus goes on the question of why rather than what, how, when, where, and who but he does ignore them completely. To do this, I attempted to explore migration from a social-cultural view as the socio-cultural imagery of migration today is a field of study (Thapa, 2017; Varela et al., 2020). And I also wove the stories about how migrants have enlarged their social spaces after the settlement in the new community structures.

Additionally, I confined this research to how migrants accustom themselves to the opportunities and challenges in their recipient community structures. Specifically, I wanted to focus on the material facilities migrants acquire and the cultural shocks they faced in the new havens. I also wanted to see how migrants contemplate and devise strategies for other days in the new community structures. I adopted the interpretative paradigm to inscribe the stories of migrants and derive meanings from them. And I devised the stories of migrants from the ethnographic trope. With this, I have presented the limitations in the subsequent section.

### **Limitations**

In this research, some limitations are out of my control. At the time of the proposal defense, I promised to visit Hong Kong and London to collate ethnographic accounts of migrants from Bharse but, due to the earthquake disaster in Nepal, I had to engage in the response work to it from an organization in which I used to work. Thus I could not reach Hong Kong and London to meet and collect information from migrants. Talking with the supervisors, I found options for it. The first option was to meet migrants in Kathmandu while they come. Talking through Viber, I planned to meet them on their arrival. The other one was to

contact and talk with them through digital mode to collect their information. I used both techniques to collect their stories.

Another limitation was that I could not go for the studies of forced or involuntary, informal, dependent, marriage, labour, asylum/refugee, intergenerational, and seasonal/circular migration/migrants. It was impossible to cover up all these premises of migrants in single research because of the limitations of time and resources. In the following section, I have presented the organization of this thesis.

### **Organization of the Thesis**

To shape this research, I organize this research into nine chapters. Presenting my own accounts of migration, I attempt to conceptualize migration and migrants' tropes. Likewise, I discuss the rationale, the problem statement, purpose, and questions of this research. And I magnify the significance, delimitations, limitations, and organization of this research in the first chapter.

In the second chapter, I discuss the pathways of migration accounts and theories and their applications to find the pathway of interpretations. Similarly, I discuss the policy debates on migration, migration studies in the Nepali context, and a conceptual framework of this research that provides a roadmap for this research. And the third chapter, research methodology deals with the philosophical base which is the pathway of this research. I discuss the interpretative paradigm. In addition, I deliberate the avenue of ethnography in which I present conversational interviews, observations, and electronic methods. I also discuss the profile of research participants, the research fields, and

interpretations to engender the meanings. Under the quality concerns, I present the audit trail and the credibility of this research.

In the fourth chapter, I discuss migrants' detachment from the community structure of origin and their networks with the recipient community structures. In this chapter, I attempt to explore why migrants left their community structure of origin. There are negative and positive facets that played roles to push people from the community structure of origin. Thus people tend to leave their community structure of origin because of both favourable and unfavourable conditions. In the fifth chapter, I discuss migrants who they are in their own eyes, and how they made their new positions in the recipient community structures. After the settlement in the new contexts, the migrants form new social, economic, professional, and residential positions as living prerequisites. I discuss who they are and what they have been doing at the current places.

In the sixth chapter, I discuss the opportunities and constraints that the migrants experienced in the recipient community structures. The migrants particularly entertained material facilities in the recipient community structures because most of them settled in the cities, such as Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. On the contrary, the migrants also faced constraints in the new community structures. After receiving the physical facilities, the migrants feel dissatisfied because of cultural shock in the new contexts. Coming from the old cultural practices, living in the new contexts is a cultural hurdle for them which I attempt to present in this chapter. In the seventh chapter, I discuss migrants' strategies for the future in the recipient community structures and what they think

and plan about their future. They think of contemplating something for the upcoming day at the current places. I outline migrants' plans which they thought for other days.

In the eighth chapter, I deliberate the key insights of the research with discussions in connection with the research questions. And I present the local-global nexus of migration for a debate among academia and the scope of ethnography in social science and other disciplines. In the last or ninth chapter, I reiterate, enwrap, and implicate the research with concluding remarks and final echoes.

## CHAPTER II

### THE LITERATURE AND RESEARCH INSIGHTS

In the earlier chapter, I discussed how I strived to engage in migration research by presenting the background. I attempted to conceptualize what migration is and who migrants are in this research. Problematizing the research issue, I illustrated the importance of doing this research. I set the research purpose to explore the outcome which guided me to formulate the research questions. I also depicted the significance of the study to echo the academic value. Delimiting this research, I outlined the organization of the thesis. In this chapter, I have submitted migration as a process of searching for better options. Deriving the insights from the positivist, structural, and humanist theories, I have instilled structuration theory from which I derived the ideas to interpret how the structure plays a role in the migration process and its influence on individual activities. Additionally, I have used the social capital theory as a theory of interpretation from which I have derived the ideas of how migrants develop their networks from the community structure of origin and their initiatives of new networks. I have reviewed some policies and studies on migration in the Nepali context. Presenting the research gap, I have instilled the review insights. In the end, I have drawn the key ideas of the chapter.

#### **Migration: A Move for Better Options**

In the research journey, I have attempted to illustrate how migration had happened around the globe in search of better options. Assertively, migration history

which stems from the culture of the community structure of origin through the migration trajectory and migrants' agency to new belongings and embeddedness had a rich and varied past from which the present migration trope is evolved (Hoerder, 2015). Likewise, dating back to the very origin of species, human beings began to move here and there. To support the idea, I adhered to Rawat's (2012) view as he illuminated, human beings appeared in the African continent million years ago. From the lands of Africa, they gradually spread towards the Arab peninsula, southern parts of Eurasia, coastal areas of the Indian Ocean, and Central Asia for their survival. This story illuminated that the first humans began to move towards northern frontiers from the African continent to find new habitats. In this conjunction, Martin et al.'s (2006) remark is relevant to add as they said, initially, humankind just began wandering in search of food for their survival. It means one of the main purposes of migration was to ensure their better living. Most migrants seek a better way of life through their migration from their current places (Benson & O'Reilley, 2015). It is a belief that migration brings fortune to the recipient community structures. From this account, I noticed migration creates a new hope and home in people. Even, in the past, people used to migrate from the community structure of origin in search of better options as today's people do. The purpose of migration can vary. Thus searching for better options is a human culture for the betterment of life.

Likewise, human migration is one of the most ancient and global phenomena as Subba and Sinha (2017) viewed, on earth, millions of mankind have moved from one territory to another over the centuries in the course of searching for better options for livelihood. About four million years ago, ape-like creatures who were the *Australopithecus* used to walk upright on two feet. Their movement intended to

search for food. After this, about two million years ago, the first creatures of the human species are believed to be evolved in Africa (Rawat, 2012). Afterward, another anecdote is that humans tried to explore the northern part of African lands for their habitats about a million years ago. This was the first process that humankind began to colonize the planet. One of the motives for showing such behaviour was to make life sophisticated in the places (Losch, 2008). From this excerpt, I conceived an insight that migration had happened to find the resources in the new places. One of the better options was to search resources in the recipient community structures because where there were resources, the migrants used to make their better survival.

A historical anecdote of migration is one million years ago. By that time, the Homo Erectus migrated to Asia and Europe from the African continent. For about sixty thousand years ago, the Neanderthals and then modern humans had spread in the Asia region searching for habitable lands and resources (Subba & Sinha, 2017). This is believed to be the first step of modern migrants on earth. Thirty thousand years ago, humans made the shortcut but the challenging route from Northeast Asia to Northwest America. At an early age, the migrants used to tie up with both lands and sea routes. From these extracts, I understood almost all of them used to migrate to the groups for resource acquisition in the new lands because it was a time when people had the survival question but today's situation is different because along with the survival question migrants want to accumulate the resources for prosperity. Thus one of the purposes of migration is to have access to resources.

Scholars (e.g., de Haas, 2014a; Faist, 2012) claimed, after the first century onwards the movement of people became faster because they gradually invented new tools and technologies to make their life easier and more comfortable. As time passed,

colonial mentality appeared in the powerful groups of people and countries on earth. They migrated to other places and captured other's territories and resources. In a concluding remark of a study, Fuguitt and Heaton (1995) elucidated, many places on this planet are the habitats for newcomers who move there to find new ways of living. From the past years, the migrants used to change their locations for better survival. Nonetheless, the recipient community structure is an avenue of new options for migrants.

In addition, I quoted a view of Rawat (2012) as he asserted in a study, till the sixteenth century, the movement of people continued from one territory to another. Due to the political and religious upheaval in different territories, the mobility of people was intensified. One territory of a group was captured by another using coercion. And the conquerors used to send their people to the seized territories to sustain them. History shows migration was a by-product of war. In the same way, many explorers also discovered the new lands of the unreached places in the globe. Mostly, the Europeans were more prominent to explore the new territories by visiting across the world and making the habitable lands. And some chunks of territories were colonized and ruled over those places (Subba & Sinha, 2017). At that time, most of them migrated in groups because this was the only option for them. They used to make new habitats capturing the new territories.

After the seventeenth century, while the industrial revolution occurred in Europe, the trend of migration intensified (Rawat, 2012). The invention of ships, land vehicles and planes made migration faster with various purposes, such as economic or business, political, and educational interests. According to Gartaula and Niehof (2013), migration comes with the hope of acquiring new opportunities. The Great



Migration of the twentieth century is a historical anecdote in world migration history. The Europeans mostly fled to the USA, Canada, and Australia and lived there, occupying the territories. The pieces of evidence show that intercountry and inter-continental migration, as well as intra-country and intra-continental migration, were occurring over time. In a study, Subedi (2017) mentioned, a historical account shows that the migrants move from one place to another and most nations witness it from various periods. From these extracts, in the past years, migration was not a new phenomenon to search for new options but people's choices used to vary which I understood. The main purpose of migration was to survive and accumulate assets as the process was slow because of the lack of air, land transportation, and communication systems. In such a condition, Nepal could not remain separate. On this note, I have discussed a vignette of Nepali migration in which an account of better options is rendered.

### **A Vignette of Nepali Migration: An Account for Better Options**

In this section, I have discussed how Nepali migration had occurred. I have undertaken this research at a time when the movement of people from the hill to Madhesh/Tarai, village to towns or cities, from the country to neighbouring countries, and/or to far-off countries has been phenomenal in recent decades. The history of migration is indicative of how people make choices for a better life. To support this statement, I cited a view of Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan (2003) as they mentioned, the historical narrative of migration is instructive for further explorations. In this regard, I have described a vignette of Nepali migration. In some studies, scholars (e.g., Gautam & Thapa-Magar, 1994; Subedi, 1988) claimed, at a time, the people of Nepal were also immigrants. They entered the lands of Nepal at different intervals of

time. In a study, Subedi (1988) sketched an idea, Nepal is a place where people from the north and south, and east and west came together and settled here. However, Gartaula and Niehof (2013) came up with a bit different view as they concluded, the Nepali history of migration is complicated to scrutinize yet in a dearth of literature. From this, the insight is that it is difficult to construct a migration narrative linearly because of the lack of historical documents about migration history and the fluid nature of migration.

In line with the ancient historical legends, Shrestha and Singh (1972) claimed, Manjushree Buddha came to Nepal from China. Sometimes, in *Satya-yuga*, he cut the gorge at Chobhar using his *Khadga*<sup>8</sup> to let the accumulated water flow out of the Kathmandu Valley. By then, he made this land habitable. The other way around, a corner of history shows that Manjushree Buddha paid homage to Swayambhu in *Treta-yuga*<sup>9</sup>. From these historical anecdotes, I noticed a group of people from the northern frontiers came to Nepal in ancient times. Nepal became an option for them to come as religious migrants.

The Gopal Dynasty was the first ruler in Nepal as this band of people entered Nepal from the territory of India (Shrestha & Singh, 1972). The purpose of settling in Nepal was to rear cows because, in Kathmandu, grasses were available for grazing the cows. This group of people was called Gopal (cowherd). In a study, Shrestha and Singh (1972) asserted, after that, the Mahishpal Dynasty ruled over Nepal. This group of people came from the south of India. The purpose of coming to Kathmandu was to

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<sup>8</sup> *Khadga* is a sword like weapon.

<sup>9</sup> *Treta-yuga* means “the age of three or triads” where its length is three times that of *Kali-yuga*. The age of *Treta-yuga* is 3,600 divine years.

keep buffaloes. This group was called Mahishpal (buffalo herd). From this historical account, I noticed both Gopal and Mahishpal Dynasties came to Nepal from the southern frontiers because they saw better options in the lands of Nepal.

Entering the Kathmandu Valley from the northern borders, the Kirats became the rulers. There was a belief that the Soma Dynasty also came to the Kathmandu Valley from the western part of Nepal, particularly from the land of India. Then, the Lichhavi Dynasty entered the Nepal Valley from the southern part of Kathmandu that is Baisali of India. Scholars (e.g., Kansakar, 1974; Shrestha & Singh, 1972) mentioned, in the Lichhavi period, Arniko with eighty colleagues consisting of scholars, artisans, and traders went to Tibet and China to provide technical support. In line with this history, Kansakar (1974) claimed, a team of artists went to Tibet to design and construct temples and houses. The trend of going to Tibet continued until the nineteenth century because they found the options using their skills. This clearly shows that Nepal used to export its skills to other states. Then, scholars (e.g., Shrestha & Singh, 1972) and agencies (e.g., IOM, 2019) claimed, around the twelfth century the Malla Dynasty and around the fourteenth century, the Shah Dynasty entered into the Kathmandu Valley from the southern frontier. Still, this is a debatable issue among scholars. By and large, Nepal was a centre of concentration from time immemorial. From these excerpts, I noticed many groups of people saw better options in Kathmandu for their better living so they chose it.

In addition, the unification process of Nepal in 1769 was a notable historical phenomenon. At that time, the centre of expansion was Gorkha. After the annexation of the Kathmandu Valley, many people from the western hills went to the Kathmandu Valley. The annexation continued over time and the campaign was extended towards

Tista to the east and Kangara to the west. It was believed some Nepali people were sent to settle in the conquered territories. The historical shreds of evidence show that, after the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley, the dignitaries, the traders, the artisans, and high command personalities migrated to other parts of the country to regain their lost properties and prosperities, and protect their lives which I noticed this historical account.

In Nepal, another phenomenon was the Sugauli Treaty of 1816 which formally permitted the British Government to recruit Nepali youths in the British Army. According to Gartaula and Niehof (2013), the British Government recruited young hill men in its contingent. The treaty was the turning point of Nepali youth migration. Initially, the recruitment was confined to youths of Magar and Gurung ethnic groups, and later to the Limbu and Rai. In line with this view, Subedi (1988) elaborated, the Gorkha recruitment gave rise to the outflow of able-bodied males. Consequently, some Nepalis who took part in the First and Second World Wars settled in the neighbouring countries. From this account, I understood serving in the British Contingent was a better option for youths from which youngsters earn money, name, and fame.

A historical time was during the rule of Ranjit Singh who was the king of *lahore* which is located in the northern Punjab of Pakistan. The recruits who went to *lahore* as soldiers were popularly called *laure*. In the Nepali public overtone, those youths who serve in the Indian, Singapore, and British Contingents are called *laure*. The *laure* became the nickname that is given to the youths who joined the armed forces of India, Singapore, and the UK. In this regard, I found it relevant to add a view of Dahal (1983) and Gurung (2010) as they argued, such *laure* migration has

forced to lose human capital and national revenue through such kinds of migrants. I agree with this statement but, if they remain in Nepal, they could be unemployed. Thus becoming *laure* is a better option for youths of the hilly villages of Nepal.

In the migration history of Nepal, the abolition of the Rana Regime in 1951 was a notable event. Around that time, the malaria eradication and resettlement programs were carried out together which resulted in downward migration from the mountain and hilly areas towards the Tarai. After the settlement program in the Tarai, Indians were originally invited to settle there to engage them in business, construction, industrial, and agricultural sectors (Dahal, 1983). In 1951, after the installation of democracy in the country, many people returned from India who were exiled during the autocratic Rana Regime. From these points, I understood the political condition of the country also determines the positionality of migrants.

From 1950 to 1990, people from the hilly and mountain areas massively migrated in the eastern and western Tarai after the eradication of the malaria pandemic. In a study, Dahal et al. (1977) claimed, the downward movement of people has been a common feature in Nepal. At the same time, the resettlement program was launched for rehabilitating the landslide victims in different parts of the Tarai. People not only concentrated in the Tarai but also out-migrated from there over time. As Prabha (2011) mentioned, out-migration from the Tarai was rapidly increasing. After 1950, the Tarai was a place of concentration for the hilly and mountainous migrants but, nowadays, migration from the Tarai to cities and abroad is growing rapidly which I understood from this account.

An unforgettable part of the history of Nepal is the political change of 1990. After the restoration of democracy and the adoption of liberalism in Nepal, the pace

of migration intensified. To support this statement, I fetched a view of Gartaula and Niehof (2013) as they claimed, migrants are moving away after the restoration of democracy and liberalization in 1990. People took the benefits of democracy. To this end, Adhikari (2017) concluded, a higher number of active populations is migrating even today. In a historical moment, Nepal came through a difficult period during wartime between 1996 and 2006. This war resulted in huge migration from the rural areas to cities because of political strife. Some of them did not feel safe and fled out of the country as well. Even, the post-conflict and the new constitutional building period (2006-2015) could not be much joyful for people because regional, ethnic, and political groups created pressure for their rights. Now, the New Constitution 2015 has been promulgated and it has ensured federal states in Nepal but migration is continuing till today. The insight is that, one after another, many groups of people from the northern, southern, and western frontiers had come to settle in the lands of Nepal. Nowadays, rural-urban migration in Nepal is a serious issue, because of this, villages are becoming empty as a bigger number of people are moving from the village either to go abroad or cities or Tarai. This shows Nepal has experienced massive migration within and outside the country in both a politically better and worse situation.

Some groups of people left Nepal over time and went to other places within and outside the country searching for better options of living. Only a few officials, diplomats, and visitors come to Nepal for temporary work and go back to their countries but permanent settlers do not come to Nepal to live. However, out-migration from Nepal is becoming intensive in search of better options in other countries. An option of settling in other countries is considered a fortune. After a brief discussion

about an account of migration, I have presented theoretical pathways in the subsequent section.

### **Theoretical Pathways**

In the theoretical pathways, I have reviewed the positivist, structural, and humanist theories of migration which helped me tailor the structuration and social capital theories in this research. In the beginning, I have discussed the theory of structuration to interpret how the structure (system or belief) influences agencies (individuals), and the other way around, how individuals became influential in the migration process. I additionally have used the social capital theory to interpret how migrants develop the network from the community structure of origin first and how they have broadened their networks from their recipient community structures.

### **Positivist, Structural, and Humanist Theories of Migration Research**

In this sub-section, I have discussed the central tenets of the positivist approach which focus on individual interests or choices. These approaches mainly embrace economic loss and gain. From these approaches, I noted that migration happens because of economic loss in the community structure of origin, whereas the economic gain in the recipient community structures helps people fulfill the financial loss of the recipient community structures. Earning in the new community structure contributes to the old community. In support of this notion, I added a view of Adhikari (2017) as he affirmed, a remarkable number of migrants left their native land for economic benefits. From these theoretical premises, I took an insight that individuals move away from a labour surplus community to a labour deficit community because the unemployability of the community structure of origin is a reason for migration. Individuals who face scarcities move from their native lands

with the hope of getting new job opportunities. According to positivist approaches, the individuals are the prime deciders in the migration process. Additionally, I also took ideas from classical, neoclassical, and behavioural models which were: the laws of migration (Ravenstein, 1889), intervening opportunity (Stouffer, 1940), a behavioural model of decision making (Wolpert, 1965), theory of migration (Lee, 1966), the economic models (Todaro, 1969), the hypothesis of mobility transition (Zelinsky, 1971), model of family migration decision (Mincer, 1978), the gravity model (Reilly, 1931), and modelling migration (Greenwood, 2005). These models provided the foundations for migration studies. And they became a pathfinder for me to step up to other theories because these models could not serve the interests of this research.

In so doing, I attempted to derive some insights from the structural theories. These theories mainly believe in the structure of human society. These approaches emerged in the decades of 1960s and 1970s. In these approaches, the main focus goes to the political-economic structure of human society (Wallerstein, 1974). Also, the structure consists of the proletariat and the rich groups of people. In other words, the structure consists of 'haves' and 'have nots'. The 'haves' always enjoy the resources of their society. They are the resource holders. At the same time, the 'have nots' are the poor segment of people who do not have access to resources. The poor people are the ones who do not have any possession of the resources of their society. According to this approach, resource scarcity is one of the main pushers. Wherever the poor segments of people go and live, their situation does not significantly change. As Lewis (2004) claimed, the poor of one place becomes poor in other places as well. In line with this approach, the contributions of the core and periphery of Wallerstein



(1974) and Amin (1977), and Marx's dependency approach are also accounted for. I obviously conceived ideas from these models.

People of the periphery are considered subordinates and subservient. Thus migration occurs from the peripheral areas to core areas or small towns or cities. These approaches believe that the migration process is a result of exploitation in rural areas. Reviewing these theories, I noticed the content analysis from these theoretical tenets is influenced by the Western perspective which is a continuation of traditional ways. Even, the methodological rigour employed in the research tradition is mainly dominated by the quantitative genres. Studies largely in Nepal could not be aloof from these theoretical tenets. My argument is that migration occurs not only because of structure but also because of other dimensions, i.e., socio-cultural premises.

Likewise, I reviewed some humanist theories of migration studies as they are the youngest approaches. According to these approaches, people have the freedom to act and migration is a spontaneous process of movement (Bauder, 2017; de Haas, 2014a). In addition, the migrants interpret meaningful experiences that they exert in their lifetimes and wherever they go. Besides this, the network helps to build a relationship between the community structure of origin and recipient community structures because the relationship is a human trait that helps to entail migration. To this effect, I inserted a view of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) as they claimed, migration is a by-product of a network with kinship groups, relatives, and acquaintances. For this process, a humanistic sense is required. In a study, Subedi (1993) contributed to the human-centric approach of migration studies. Undoubtedly, the emergence of all these theories has contributed to academia and professionals. And they have their own relevancies in the research fields. Even today, these theories

are being used by researchers on the basis of their research paradigms. Fetching the ideas from these theoretical approaches, I have used the structuration and social capital theories to interpret the stories of migrants in this research.

### **Structuration Theory of Migration Research**

One of the theories I have used to interpret the research issue is the structuration theory of Giddens (1986) as this theory comes from the root of critical theory. This theory consists of structural features and individual interests in society. The structural features are the social systems and processes in which individuals devise their positions. In contrast, individual interests deal with their consciousness about the social systems in the conditions of acceptance and rejection. Thus this theory refers to the interaction of collectivities and individuals and their responses to physical and social environments. Because of this, I cemented this theoretical premise into my migration research. Using the attributes of this theory, I attempted to interpret how migrants interacted with the systems of the community structure of origin, and after migration, how they feel in the recipient community structures. Simply saying, migration does not stand alone. It is a part of structures or systems which is also collective culture at large. Individual responses appear in everyday living because individuals are a part of a broad society which I understood.

Regarding the structure, I took the references from the Sociological Theory of Ritzer (2011) in which the structures of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Emile Durkheim (1857-1917), Talcott Parsons (1903-1979), and Karl Marx (1818-1883) have deeply been explicated, however, the concepts of Spencer, Durkheim, and Parsons about the structure are different from the concept of Marx as they inscribe the ideas that the structure has many functions to harmonize the society. Within the

structure, there are many parts, i.e., social institutions that strengthen the structure in many ways. Conversely, the idea of Marx is quite different as he sees a structure in the society in which the division of rich and poor people is clearly rooted. Such a structure creates conflict in society. I just derived ideas from these theoretical perspectives but I used the notion of the structure of Giddens (1986) to interpret the stories of migrants from Bharse to reveal their perceptions in the community structure of origin and the recipient community structures. In this research, I used the community structure of origin and the recipient community structures to signify the structures on the whole in which migrants make their meanings in their everyday living at large.

In addition, I also have viewed Sen's (2011) concept of agency as he presented it as a capability or an ability to make valuable choices for economic benefits. I understood an individual or a family should have the confidence of living in the new community structure. And capability explicitly links to the ability to migrate (Schewel, 2019). On this note, personal as well as familial capacities largely foster migration. However, the notion of Bourdieu (1986) is a little bit different as he views the agency as habitus which deals with habits, skills, and dispositions of individual behaviours. Thus I used the notion of agencies to explain how migrants from Bharse used their consciousness about the community structure of origin and recipient community structures about the movement. To deal with the community structures and the agencies together, I attempted to interpret Bharse as the community structure of origin and Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London as the recipient community structures in this research. I analyzed how migrants as the agencies felt in both the community structure of the origin and recipient community structures.

Specifically, Bharse is the community structure of origin, whereas Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London are also the recipient community structures. In such a condition, I discussed how persons engage and experience in the different cultural contexts and systems. On the contrary, Goldscheider (1996) opined, an individual becomes weak at the cost of systems because the systems usually dictate individuals in many ways. Thus the community structure becomes influential to the individual or vice versa. “The relationship between structures and agencies is a dialectical relationship in which both structures and agencies interact with each other to influence change” (Wolfel, 2002, p. 13). The other way around, the structures and agencies become change-makers in the community through interactions.

From this theoretical account, I attempted to inscribe the stories of how migrants from Bharse became dynamic in creating the social space in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. In the same way, I discussed how they feel odd because of their behavioural rigidity. In this regard, Coleman (1988) argued, structuration has a dialectic relationship between structures and agencies as they are both enabling and constraining relations. In this ethnographic research, I also attempted to see how they created opportunities and faced constraints in the new structures of Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London and how they think about their strategies for the future. For me, migration means to leave the community structure of origin and settle in the recipient community structures. In the same vein, the migrants (agencies) are those individuals who leave the community structure of origin and settle in the recipient community structures. In addition to this theory, I have used the social capital theory to interpret the stories of migrants in the old and new social systems/structures.

### **Social Capital Theory of Migration Research**

In this research, I have discussed the social capital theory to interpret the migration issue as this theoretical model explains ‘migration as a by-product of the networks’ (Garip, 2008; Meeteren & Pereira, 2018). Hence, social capital is a connection with individuals, such as friends, relatives, and acquaintances. Regarding social capital, Bourdieu (1986) also opined, it is an instrument to exert power. Making social networks with different groups and individuals, a person holds power and applies it in society. As Faist (2012) mentioned, the network is a method to connect people. I certainly took ideas from this notion but have not used it to interpret the stories of migrants because I did not try to see how migrants held power through the social capital and exercised it but I just used it how migrants build networks.

I attempted to oversee how migrants use social capital as a resource to pursue in the new community structures and how they make their social ties further. For this, I considered it relevant to link the social capital theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). And social capital is a resource that helps migrants build a relationship from the community structure of origin to the recipient community structures. To this effect, I cemented a view of Tzanakis (2013) as he also claimed, social capital is a means of networks that is devised based on trust and shared values that are developed from weaving together between/among individuals. One of the processes of acquiring social capital is trust between two individuals or groups who remain in the distant community structures. On this note, I realized social capital is a medium for sharing information. This notion is supported by Garip (2008) as he further opined, migrants’ social capital is normally conceptualized as resources of information, and individuals obtain through their relationships or networks with prior

migrants who were also their relatives or clans, friends, and acquaintances. In such a context, the migrants feel the confidence of deciding departure. Even, after the settlement in the recipient community structures, they enlarge their social networks with the local people which is the only option for them.

From this account, I germinated an idea that social capital can be formed based on mutual trusts which are called ‘a trust network’ in the view of Tilly (2007) and, in the opinion of Moore (2010), social capital is taken as altruism. In this research, I used altruism as unconditional support to migrants from Bharse how they receive support from their relatives in the new community structures. Scholars (e.g., Aguilera & Douglas, 2003) claimed, migration itself is social capital. The social capital is forged through interactions with others who had engaged in ‘multi-stage trajectories’ (Paul, 2011). Deriving the ideas from these notions of social capital theory, I attempted to interpret how social capital becomes a powerful predictor of long-distance migration for migrants from Bharse who have been living in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. I tried to interpret how they developed the networks before the departure from Bharse and how they enlarged their spaces in the recipient community structures. I agreed with a quote, i.e., ‘theory travels’ by Rodman (2016) because I customized the ideas of structuration and social capital theories to explain migrants’ stories, devised connections with them, and interpreted this research for knowledge production.

To tailor the structuration and social capital theories in migration research, I acquired ideas from the root of cultural studies of the Chicago School of Thought. This school combined theory and fieldwork (ethnography) together for cultural studies. This school focused on human behaviour which is influenced by structures

and physical environments rather than genetic traits and personal choices. The contributions of this school are significantly notable to bridge theory and fieldwork for ethnographic studies on the whole. Presenting the theoretical roots, I have, hereby, explained the policy debates on migration.

### **Policy Debates on Migration**

In this section, I have largely discussed some pertinent policies on migration. Globally, almost all countries formulated laws to manage immigrants and internal migrants in their own ways. Moreover, bilateral and multilateral agreements and memorandums of understanding have also been signed based on their laws of the land. Studying the literatures related to migration policies, I understood, because of the increasing pace of migration, the formulation of migration policies has become a challenge. As scholars (e.g., Benton et al., 2015; Papademetriou, 2016; Sanderson & Kentor, 2009) elaborated, migration policy is challenging for policy-makers since the migration decision of people is unpredictable. And the nature of people is mobile in search of better options further.

Some evidences show that, before the Sugauli Treaty of 1816, many Nepali people from the lands used to go to other neighbouring countries to work in the military and non-military sectors (Subedi, 2016) but, officially, no one was permitted to go abroad and work there. The government of Nepal officially signed the Sugauli Treaty in 1816 AD with the British government which gave bilateral consensus to recruit Nepali youths in the British Contingent (Gartaula & Niehof, 2013). This was the first official agreement. Then, the British Government began to recruit the Nepali youths in their contingent formally. In the view of Sijapati and Limbu (2017), the formal migration of Nepali people out of the country was associated with the

induction of young males into enrollment in the British Contingent. Another tripartite agreement between Nepal, India, and the British Government was signed in 1950.

This treaty further strengthened the agreements to allow young people to enroll in the British and Indian Contingents. At the same time, the bilateral ties with India in 1950 allowed citizens of the two countries to travel and work freely across their joint border as Subedi (1991) added, people from the middle hills of Nepal also migrated to the northern hills of India for work and settlement. Until today, this policy exists.

In Nepal, the government has unveiled a plan to provide orientation and raise awareness in students and teachers at the community schools. This statement is supported by Shrestha (2014) as he remarked, the government plans to organize various programs on 'safer foreign employment' in twenty-five districts. It has considered expanding this program in other districts as well. From this plan, I understood Nepal had formulated some plans in light of foreign employment.

In addition, Nepal Government had formulated foreign employment policy by enacting the Foreign Employment Act (FEA) 1985. This Act was amended in 1992 after the restoration of democracy in 1990. In this regard, foreign labour migration has been governed by the Foreign Employment Act (FEA) 2007. Again this Act was re-amended in 2012 (Department of Labour [DOL], 2015). It governs the overall labour migration of Nepal. Assertively, Subedi's (2017) study concluded, the government of Nepal has identified 108 countries for foreign employment. And Nepal Government has passed Acts with the hope of receiving remittances from labour migrants. To substantiate this account, I quoted an extract of Bhattarai and Paudel (2020) as they articulated, labour migration has significantly contributed to the national economy of Nepal as migrant workers regularly send their remittances to their families which is



also supportive to generate the national revenue at large. Receiving the remittance by the families means they spend that money in different sectors, such as education, food, and non-food items.

These policies reminded me that Nepal Government has mostly focused on policies on labour migration. For which, bilateral and multilateral ties have been strengthened to send labourers to receiving countries, and policies related to the safety of labour migration have been formulated. However, the policy on internal migration is in a provisional stage. And policies have not much considered the effect for both community structure of origin and recipient community structures. Imperatively, Matsui and Raymer (2020) articulated, policies can be considered by thinking of both community structure of origin and recipient community structures at large. From this account, I attempted to interpret why social policy regarding migration is imperative for migrants from Bharse to settle in the new community structures. Broadly speaking, it also gave me the understanding to see an urgency of social policy in Nepal which is a pertinent issue to be raised to make authorities aware. Presenting the policy debates, I have discussed migration studies in Nepal in the subsequent section.

### **Migration Studies in Nepal**

In this research, I have discussed migration studies in the Nepali context in which I appraised some empirical studies which were carried out in Nepal. Relatively, studies of migration are quite a new initiative. Scholars, such as academia and professional researchers have untiringly been digging out the facts about migration. Huge research on migration was embedded in the avenues of geography, history, economics, and population disciplines. This had happened not only in Nepal but also around the globe. In addition, most of the migration studies were undertaken from the

economic dimensions. Scholars (e.g., de Haas, 2014b; Faist, 2012) viewed migration as a cross-cutting theme linked with other disciplines, such as history, geography, political science, economics, education, and so on. Most of our Nepali scholars have been influenced by Western theories, methods, and perspectives in migration studies. Nepali academic institutions opened, somewhat later, and many disciplines were designed from their support. Even, I am not away from this notion.

In this vein, I presented scholars' academic contributions to migration studies as scholars had begun to think and talk about migration studies from the decades of the 1950s in Nepal (Gartaula & Niehof, 2013). However, the migration history of Nepal seems older than this but most of them were foreign scholars and a few of them were Nepali scholars who took education in the foreign lands and did the academic research of migration after the decades of the 1970s (Kansakar, 1974). In the studies of migration literature, I also noticed it.

In the journey of migration studies of Nepal, I reviewed a study of scholars (e.g., Shrestha & Singh, 1972) who discussed a religious perspective of migration studies but this piece of work was not solely focused on migration. Anyway, it gave me the insight to see the ancient migration history of Nepal. It was written based on religious myths. However, this helped me germinate the ideas of migration. Likewise, an academic contribution to the field of migration studies was carried out by Kansakar (1974). In his academic work, he explored the migration history of Nepal systematically. In this intellectual product, he tailored the ancient artifacts as well as migration trends of today. He also has presented migration as a process of increasing the economic scales of the rural community structures of Nepal. In line with this view, Kansakar (1984) deliberated migration and its positive effects on the rural

development of Nepal. This academic contribution had focused on the economic facets of migrants how they supported the village from their earnings of foreign lands. Additionally, Kansakar (1984) wrote another academic work highlighting the problems and prospects of Indo-Nepal migration. In this work, he has explained open borders have become a challenge for Nepal and how Nepal has received opportunities from two-way migration. He primarily analyzed migration studies from a historical perspective. These academic products became a foundation for migration studies further. I took ideas from his academic deeds and glued them to enrich this research. From Kansakar's (1984) academic contributions, I specifically deepened my knowledge in the field of migration.

Additionally, highlighting the continuity and change in the population movement of Nepal, Subedi (1988) viewed, some groups entered into the lands of Nepal in intervals of time. In his piece of academic work, he claimed that migration is an unstoppable journey of people. The coming and going tendencies of people are a continuous process. In support of this extract, I cited a view of Subedi (1991) as he mentioned, a background on how the landmark decisions and political change has contributed to international migration in Nepal. Adding to this, Subedi (1993) further came up with empirical research on continuity and change of population movement in the context of eastern Nepal. From this academic research, he derived the meanings as the worldviews of migrants indicate that mobility in terms of time, space, and activity is a part of culture because collective considerations of meanings, social groupings, and lifecycle stages are the normal processes of migration.

In a study, Subedi (1993) additionally attempted to deconstruct the Western perspectives of migration. He has attempted to humanize migration at large because

there are many processes behind migration in which many people and agencies are directly or indirectly involved. From his interpretation of the migration process, I derived an insight that the root of the humanistic approach signifies the culture. Subedi additionally (1996) furthermore presented dominant approaches to population mobility. In this academic contribution, he attempted to appraise the approaches in migration studies. He discussed the common ground of these approaches on the whole. From this extract, I learned the way to be clear about my approach in this research. In a study, Subedi (2017) academically has contributed to changing paradigms of Nepali migration and the emerging diaspora. In this work, he claimed, along with the political change in the country, the volume of international migration has been increasing over time. In connection to this idea, I took a view of Koinova (2017) as he asserted, the socio-spatial positionality of the diaspora could be fluid depending on the pursuit of goals. From his academic contribution, I understood most of his interpretations were guided by the socio-cultural perspective that is the human-centric approach of migration. From the academic contributions of Subedi (1993), I felt inspired to choose the socio-cultural avenue of migration research so did I.

A few scholars (e.g., Kansakar, 1974; Shrestha, 1990) touched upon migration from the political-economy perspective. In a study, Shrestha (1990) specifically focused on landlessness and its effects on migration in Nepal. Using the Marxist approach, he has attempted to highlight how landlessness forced people to migrate from the community structure of origin. He also claimed that the structure in the society, one way or another, contributes to migration. The elite groups always attempt to hold resources that push poor segments of people to leave their places of origin. From this research, I derived the idea one of the reasons for migration is landlessness.

However, the main issue of fragmented lands is a push factor of migration. This academic endeavour helped me find the research gap in this research project.

Additionally, I appraised another empirical research on migration which was undertaken by Paudel (2017). In his research, he has claimed that migration is not an individualistic approach but a social and collective process. By and large, it is influenced by individuals, families, societal practices, and government policies. He concluded that hope usually drives people from their current places. This notion can be substantiated by the Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO], and United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] (2003) as these organizations stated, migration happens with the hope of making life better. Hope is one of the facets of migration but there are many other facets behind migration.

Likewise, I also have appraised the research which was commenced by other scholars (e.g., Gartaula & Niehof, 2013) as they focused on migration to and from the Tarai of Nepal highlighting the shifting movements and motives. These scholars concluded “poverty and lack of arable land are not the only push factors of the hilly areas but pursuing a better quality of life are gaining importance as a migration motive” (p. 30). I noticed these scholars attempted to deconstruct the traditional notion of migration (viz. push and pull theory) with a claim that migration is guided by collective decisions in which the family members engage to support or reject the migration process.

In the journey of this research, I viewed some migration studies which were carried out by organizations (e.g., ILO, CESLAM, Paurakhi, IOM, NIDS, Helvetas, SDC, MoL, ESS, NTUC, and NAFEA, and by individual researchers (e.g., academia, students, professional researchers, etc.). Both foreign and Nepali researchers studied

the myriad issues of migration. Most of them covered different themes in their studies. However, most of them focused on the economic factors of migration using quantitative research methods. They mostly engrossed their studies on labour migration as Nepal is a labour exporting country. Nowadays, some of their eyes concentrate on socio-cultural facets of migration. All these academic contributions which I reviewed inculcated me to deepen my knowledge in the field of migration studies and uncover the research gap to be filled from this research. Arguing migration studies in Nepal, I have presented the research gap in the following section.

### **Research Gap**

Enticing the ideas from the migration-related literature, I have presented the gap of this research. Most of the traditional theories and empirical studies of migration focused on the economic dimensions of migration because people's movement was intended to liberate from the material as well as resource scarcities of the current places and make living prosperous in other places. This notion is largely guided by the push and pull factors of migration (Lee, 1966; Shrestha, 2017). The economic facet of people remained dominant wherever they go and live. On the whole, the economic dimension of migration is steered by the loss and gain motives. However, Wolfel (2002) argued, "migration is more than just a cost-benefit analysis but is influenced by social issues" (p. 2). A strong belief is that the problems of the community structure of origin push people from there and the opportunities of the recipient community structures pull people to live there. Scholars (e.g., Lee, 1966; Shrestha, 2017) conceptualized migration from the continuum of push and pull factors as these factors are guided by the positivistic paradigm because the quantitative research genre is dominant almost everywhere. This excerpt helped me depart from

the positivistic paradigm to the non-positivistic paradigm, i.e., the qualitative method for migration research.

On the other side, organizations (e.g., IOM, ILO, etc.) concentrated their efforts on labour and refugees because this issue became a threat around the globe. And their safety and settlement are a major concern (Majidi et al., 2020). Almost all countries around the world also faced a challenge to track immigrants (e.g., students, business, etc.) in respect to their inland policy and international protocols (e.g., provisions of human rights, international conventions, etc.) (Papademetriou, 2016). In these fields, studies from the economic dimension were carried out using quantitative methods. However, there is a dearth of ethnographic research of migration under qualitative research (Pun, 2018a; Subedi, 1993). It is a new field of research. In Nepal, an ethnographic study is an unnoticed field of research. As Brettell and Hollifield (2014) claimed, migrants' lifeworld is less studied from the ethnographic view. Even, from this account, I realized it is one of the research gaps to be fulfilled.

Construing the theories, methods, and empirical research, I internalized qualitative research of migration is the less focused field globally and an undervalued field of research. In a study, Acharya (2012) added, academically, the qualitative or non-positivistic paradigm of migration studies is not much considered by academia. Taking an insight, I thought to contribute to the field of socio-cultural dimensions of migration research. Scholars (e.g., de Haas, 2014a; Bauloz et al., 2020) realized, only a few academic attempts have been made from the socio-cultural perspectives to the study of migration. I see a space to explore the socio-cultural premises of migration research using the ethnographic research genre which is a new field of migration studies. Besides, there are only a handful of ethnographic studies on migration not

only in Nepal but also around the globe. A few of them were conducted by Boccagni (2016), Camenisch and Muller (2017), Bonisch-Brednich (2018), Englund (2002), Brettell and Hollifield (2014), and Thapa (2017). The other way around, I believe migration is mainly guided by socio-cultural and collective procedures rather than personal choice (Bauloz et al., 2020). Given this view, I attempted to do comprehensive studies of Bharseli migrants. The earlier research was not conducted with a special focus on the socio-cultural avenue of migrants using the ethnographic tropes to derive the meanings. To fulfill this gap, I ventured for it. Elucidating the research gap, I have presented the review insights in the subsequent section.

### **Review Insights**

By and large, the review insight gives an avenue of this research. It guided me to sketch out the research strands. Besides this, the review insights provided me with multiple tools which have interlinkages with each other. I discussed avenues of migrants' stories from which I conceived the anticipated effects of this research. I also have adhered to the methodological and theoretical foundations from which I have attempted to acquire the stories of migrants and interpret them to make the meanings of this research.

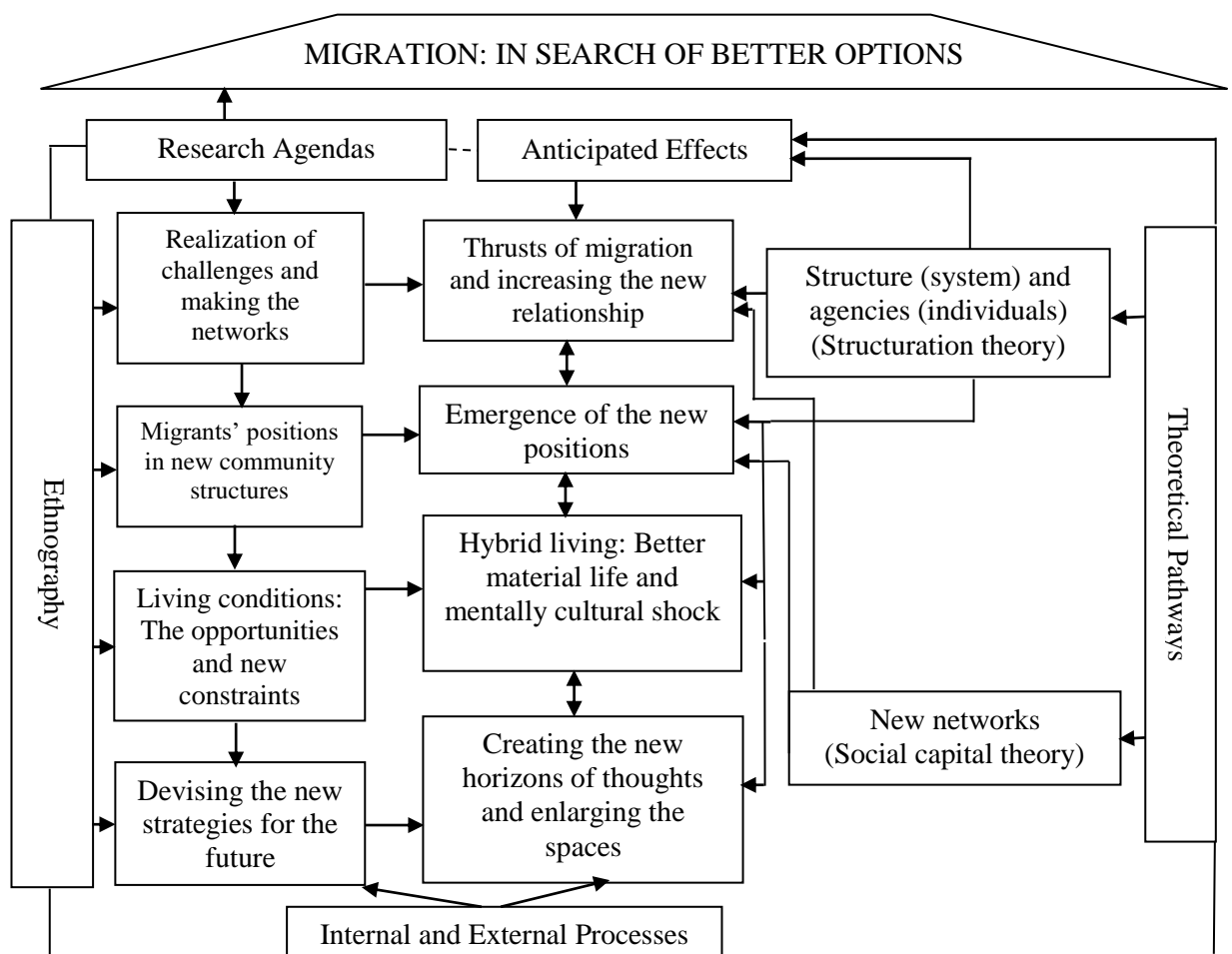
Behind migration, there were personal, familial, and societal issues. In the community structure of origin, while people and their families began to realize the problems, they build social networks from the community structure of origin before the migration decision. The social network helped migrants go and live in the new community structures. In other words, "the social networks provide a set of information that helps migrants decide so that migration would improve their opportunities which would be associated with the move" (Wolfel, 2002, p. 19). After



the settlement in the recipient community structures, the migrants created new social, economic, professional, and residential positions. Culturally, the migrants lived up in dual states because of memorization of old customary practices and engagement in the new systems.

**Figure 1**

**Review Insights of the Research**



Additionally, the migrants felt a better materialistic life in the new community structures but they socially experienced pessimistic life. To substantiate this extract, Pun (2018b) paralleled a view, “migrants materialistically

translate their excitements in the recipient community structures but, culturally, they feel alienated because of new cultural contexts” (p. 7). In this regard, the migrants devised new strategies for better adjustment to change. To acquire the strands of migrants’ stories, I used the ethnographic method in this research.

Besides this, stemming the ideas from the classical theories, I used some social theories, such as structuration and social capital theories as theoretical pathways to interpret the research issue. The internal processes at large became influential in migration which influenced individuals, families, and society in search of better options. Explaining the review insights, I have drawn the key ideas of the chapter in the following section.

### **Chapter Conclusion**

Before arguing the theoretical traditions, I appraised how humankind initiated migration for their better survival. I also tailored an account of Nepali migration for better living. Besides this, I echoed the theoretical approaches, such as positivistic, structural, and cultural perspectives of migration which helped me hop into the social theories of migration. To interpret the research issue, I harmonized the structuration and social capital theories to interpret the research issue. The structuration theory deals with the structure (system or belief) and its influences on individual migrants in searching for better options. This theory also reveals the structural embodiments and individual features. Likewise, I used the social capital theory from which I derived the ideas of how migrants develop their networks outside the community structure of origin and within the recipient community structures. In addition, I discussed policy debates on migration and

migration studies in the Nepali context. I presented the research gap tailoring with the past studies. I also presented the research insights. In the subsequent chapter, I began with the interpretative paradigm and the research design accordingly. The method I applied was the ethnographic method for the study of multi-locational migrants.

## CHAPTER III

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY OF MIGRATION RESEARCH

In the earlier chapter, I echoed migration as a process of searching for better options and also reviewed the theoretical traditions of migration studies. After this, I proposed some theories to interpret the migration issue. I attempted to appraise the policy debates on migration. I discussed migration studies in the Nepali context based on empirical research. I presented the research gap. In this chapter, I have begun with interpretivism as the research paradigm. I also have presented the methodological approach to inscribe the narrative of migrants for which I have selected the research fields and participants. The methods I used were interviews, observations, and electronic methods to pile up migrants' experiences. I have presented the quality standards to ensure credibility from which audiences could be convinced from this research.

#### **Research Paradigm: Interpretivism**

In this research, I have employed the interpretative research paradigm as this paradigm invokes reflexivity (Blaxter et al., 2010; Lincoln, 2010). It helped me unfold my paradigmatic positionality in this ethnographic research. To support this account, I quoted a view of Timseena (2013) as he articulated, the interpretative paradigm is an in-depth description of social reality which people perform in everyday living. From this extract, I noticed it is also an expression of the social activities of a specific context and people. About the interpretive approach, Cooper and White (2012)

argued, “it is lined up based on the concept that humans cannot know how the world is, regardless of the research methods used, i.e., ethnography” (p. 18). I, hereby, noted the experiences and practices of migrants could be understood using ethnographic methods.

Thus the appropriateness of methodology makes sense to understand sociability. In a study, Taylor et al. (2012) mentioned, “the interpretative paradigm is concerned primarily with generating context-based understanding of people’s thoughts, beliefs, values, and associated social actions” (p. 377). So far, migrants’ perceptions about the community structure of origin and the recipient community structures are the main crux of this research. Understanding the cultural construction is a matter of fact in an ethnographic study which are the basic assumptions that each paradigm holds (Kivunja & Kuvini, 2017). On this note, I have knitted the stories of migrants focusing on how they became able to construct their cultures after the settlement in the new contexts. What migrants thought and performed derives meaning in everyday living. As Uprety (2009) asserted, “the interpretative approach emphasizes the search for meanings in human culture” (p. 92). It helped me understand the migrants’ cultures that they experienced at their current places. To this argument, I added a view of Denzin and Lincoln (2018) as they defined, “paradigms represent belief systems that attach the user to a particular worldview” (p. 45). It became a pathfinder to make my positionality clear. In addition, Jones (2010) urged, “interpretivism demands that the researcher embraces subjectivity, build relationships with field subjects, and become immersed in the field” (p. 17). In this way, it provided me with a methodological pathway to explore the stories of migrants.

In this vein, I have discussed bricoleur and bricolage in this research. To support this account, I took the idea of Denzin and Lincoln (2018) as they categorized bricoleurs into the interpretive, the methodological, the theoretical, the political, and the narrative bricoleurs. With this idea, I presented myself as the interpretative bricoleur. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2018), “the interpretive bricoleur understands that research is an interactive process” (p. 45). They further claimed a bricoleur works between and within competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms. In addition, I also agree with an extract of Rogers (2012) as he articulated “knowledge is never free from subjective positioning” (p. 4) as it comes from the feelings of people. On this note, I became ‘a maker of quilts’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Lincoln et al., 2011) in this research because I collated the stories of migrants from Bharse who have been living in different cultural contexts, such as Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. To carve the stories of migrants, I followed the interactive process on the whole. Linking this view, I collected the stories of migrants who had multiple reflections and experiences after the movement from the community structure of origin. And the interpretive structure is like a quilt in which parts are connected to the whole (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Along with the stories of migrants, bringing the information from various sources, such as books, journals, and field diaries, I organized and interpreted them in the form of the thesis to devise meanings.

In addition, a bricolage that was pieced together with interconnected representations was a set of the relevant stories of migrants which was produced. To substantiate this extract, I glued a view of Rogers (2012) as he claimed, “bricolage research can be considered a critical, multi-perspectival, multi-theoretical, and multi-

methodological approach to inquiry” (p. 2). I critically appraised the literature and theories to understand the multiple perspectives and theories and cemented the methods to guide the research. To support it, I further cemented a view of Rogers (2012) as he claimed, the researchers use the bricolage metaphor to articulate how they embrace plurality by amalgamating multiple disciplines, methodologies, and theories together. In this assertion, I attempted to weave literature, migrants’ stories, experts' ideas, and my personal experiences together to solidify the meanings. In the words of Denzin and Lincoln (2018), a bricolage is referred to as inter-and cross-disciplinary moves with a key innovation. I garnered information from vivid sources to devise the stories and attempted to create meanings for the community of practice.

Notably, I discussed the socio-cultural behaviours of migrants who have been living in different places other than their community structure of origin. Diligently, I magnified migrants’ behaviours, practices, and perceptions together in a descriptive style. To produce bricolage, I considered the following features, such as Bharse (community structure of origin); Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London (recipient community structures); multiple methods (interviews, observations, and electric conversations), socio-cultural diversities of the community structure of origin and recipient community structures; multiple theories (structuration and social capital theories), historical vignettes (history of global and Nepali migration); migration policies on Nepal; and multiple views of research participants. I dealt with these sources to shape this research as an interpretative bricoleur.

Additionally, I attempted to amplify how research participants (migrants) feel about migration in association with their cultural practices. The historical evidence shows that a long time back the forefathers of present generations had a different

understanding of migration because they had migrated to Bharse with the purpose of mine-digging and farming. They mostly thought about their survival means. As Shrestha (1990) supported this view, simply saying migration happens to survive but today's understanding of migration is different because the present generations migrate to engage in vivid professions viz. non-farming professions. Based on the time and context, migrants' perspectives and ways of living also vary.

In such a condition, I echoed the nature of reality in this research. To support this account, I borrowed a view of Noonan (2008) as he articulated the nature of understanding that is ontology. It renders the belief of people about migration what it is. From this account, I tried to understand the truthfulness for migrants which they felt. Hence, ontology is often referred to as the study of truthfulness for people that they feel (McCaslin, 2008). I also discussed the ontology to reveal the nature of the belief system (e.g., multiple perceptions or views). According to Long (2001), social life is composed of 'multiple beliefs'. Stemming the ideas from this, I heeded the understanding is contextual and it divulges subjective realities depending on the contexts and persons. Thus ontology helps researchers understand the nature of knowledge, interpreting multiple perceptions, opinions, knowledge, and understanding of research participants in the whole process of the research (Creswell, 2013). Thus my ontology was how migrants from Bharse feel about migration culture. In this research, I tailor culture to signify migrants' stories about their detachment from the community structure of origin and attachment with the recipient community structures from those stories they express their knowledge.

Moreover, I constructed knowledge from people's experiences and practices who migrated from Bharse to other recipient community structures in the world. The



construction of knowledge is possible through the relationship between the knower (researcher) and the known (research participants) that is what epistemology is all about. This idea is supported by Mertens (2007) who indicated, epistemology brings up the notion of the dialogical relationship between researchers and participants in their context. In devising the stories, I had a series of conversations with the research participants/migrants to weave their migrational experiences. Hence, one of the processes of knowledge construction is to interact between researcher and researched (hereby, migrants) which helped me derive meanings. In addition, Kempny (2012) argued, “the dialectics at work carried out an ethnographic study among the members of the same culture but away from home as well as possible epistemological issues emerging from that” (p. 40). Pulling the ideas, I dug out the experiences and expressions of the migrants in particular.

In collating the stories of migrants, I initiated manifold conversations with the research participants to acquire migrants’ experiences. As Long’s (2001) view also supported this idea as he affirmed, knowledge emerges through the reflexivity of people and contextual meaning. Mainly, face-to-face meetings, observations, and electric conversations gave me ideas to construct knowledge from migrants’ reflections on what they feel in their real-life practices about migration in the post-migration period. According to Pun (2018a), migrants’ experiences are also an epistemic avenue to make and remake the knowledge. I attempted to understand migrants’ behaviours through meaningful engagement from which the knowledge is constructed and experience is being acquired. In parallel with this view, Kahn (2011) mentioned, ethnographers focus on the relationships with people studied to acquire knowledge from the field. In this respect, I used the field guidelines (see Annex A) to

assemble the story of migrants who had migrated from Bharse and settled in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London in search of better options. To do this, ethnographer engages in reciprocal transactions of granting access to each other's social world and cultural practices (Otto, 2013). On the basis of the stories, I attempted to construct knowledge.

Additionally, this research is not value-free. My study of the migrants from Bharse has an academic and professional value viz. axiology. To substantiate this account, I drew a view of Hiles (2008) as he affirmed, the study of value is axiology. I believe the knowledge I produced from this migration research can add value in the academic as well as professional fields. To support this account, I fetched an account of Hiles (2008) as he claimed, axiology embodies value that entails truth, right conduct, and obligation in the research. Being an insider as well as an outsider researcher, I engaged with some migrants and their activities. I fully respected them and their personal, familial, and communal behaviours and practices. This research product has value to migrants and non-migrants of Bharse because, from this research, they can understand their perceptions which they have experienced in their lifetime. The value echoes knowledge, wisdom, and integrity in the research field. I believe this product adds value to the field of migration research. The value of this research largely is to foster the scope of migration studies.

In respect to rhetorical consideration, I started with 'I' in the role of the narrator as I am the builder of this text. To this extract, I paved a view of Creswell (2013) as he mentioned, the researcher uses an engaging story style using the first-person pronoun and employs qualitative language. Even, for migrants, I used 'I', 'He', 'She', and 'They' to knit the stories based on the nature of stories. In addition, I used

'I' for a single place or a community, whereas, for multiple sites or community structures, I used 'They'. Thus I used these pronouns repeatedly in the whole text for 'descriptive scene-setting' (Humphreys & Watson, 2009). Rhetorically, I used different pronouns to knit the stories of migrants. Conferring the research paradigm, I have explained the research approach, i.e., an ethnography in the subsequent section.

### **Research Approach: Ethnography**

In this research, I have described an ethnographic approach. Nonetheless, ethnography is a description of peoples or cultures (Denscombe, 1998; Graeber, 2009). I have inscribed and described the stories of migrants herewith. In other words, ethnography is a detailed study of the life and activities of people (Parks, 2007). In the words of Hulst et al. (2015), ethnography is detailed descriptions that have to be contextualized to make sense. I studied the life and the activities of migrants which they performed in search of better options. Ethnography additionally engrosses the stories of people (Merlijn, 2020), and "better stories create more space" (Behrenshausen, 2019, p. 69). This ethnographic research is full of stories. Within the ethnographic premise, I have, hereby, explained why and how I used ethnography as an approach as this is an approach that inscribes and describes migrants' everyday living experiences (Dwyer & Emerald, 2017; Malcolm, 2016; O'Reilly, 2012). To embody migrants' stories, I chose this approach because this approach provides the ideal guidelines to investigate the diversities, heterogeneous manifestations, and embodiment (Lapegna, 2009; Maxwell, 2013). Also, I wove the stories of migration from the embodiment of migrants' stories. Moving a little bit further up from the studies of internal

structure to draw the meanings, ethnography, particularly narrative ethnography widens its focus to examine stories (Tutenges, 2019) that are being performed on specific social conditions. Thus social conditions are the avenues of ethnographic stories.

In a study, Merlijn (2020) elaborated, the stories emerge based on context, time, and space. Hence, the broadened focus requires ethnographic attention to an array of situational factors, primarily the cultural context from which the story emerges, the locations in which stories are performed, and the expressive means used during story performances (Tutenges, 2019). In this connection, I assembled the stories of migrants from multi-localities of both community structure of origin and recipient community structures in which they have performed their activities and expressed their experiences. In support of this statement, I inserted a view of Boccagni and Schrooten (2018) as they articulated, “the multi-sited ethnographer literally follows people and their connections and relationships across space” (p. 230). In this research, I chose migrants from different locations as this research participants. I found it relevant to add an idea of FitzGerald (2004) as he said, multi-sited fieldwork offers real benefits to build social networks with nodes in diverse locations which I did in this research.

Ethnography additionally is a constant attempt to place specific meetings or phenomena, events, and understandings into more meaningful contexts to be studied (Tedlock, 2011). In this regard, I attempted to uncover migrants’ expressions that they experienced. As Wilder et al. (2017) disclosed a view, ethnography is a powerful means to translate life events into rich text defining

how past experiences in people occurred and exploring what their emotions surface set within a particular community to be studied. Stemming an idea from this excerpt, I understood ethnography also uncovers migrants' stories which are coined as the ethnographic text.

Likewise, I presented myself as a knitter of migrants' stories because I piled up the migrants' voices and knit them as their stories. Simply, the purpose of ethnography is to devise detailed and in-depth information of everyday life of the people to be studied, including norms, values, actions, behaviours, and ways of interpreting their life-world within the cosmological construct (Gille & Sean, 2002; Rai, 2020). From this account, I conceived the idea that ethnographic researchers focus on some people but they delve deeply into those individuals hoping to embody experiences of how and why people perceive and interpret (Baker & Edwards, 2012; Duvell, 2012). In doing this, I focused on migrants' feelings how they expressed their experiences. An ethnography is informed and guided by an emergent stock of concepts (experiences) that describe the practices of the studied people (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008; Tutenges, 2019). Internalizing this account, I have inscribed the stories of migrants in this research.

Nonetheless, this is a multi-locational study. I took ideas from the multi-sited ethnographic genre as multi-sitedness justifies migrants' movement, engagement in diverse cultural contexts, spatially dispersed field, and hybrid experiences of migrants because of the dual life (Amelina & Faist, 2013; Boccagni, 2010; Kok & Rogers, 2016; Foley, 2010; Marcus, 1995; Marcus, 2003; Marcus, 2009; Xiang, 2013). It also helped me explore migrants' experiences who have been living in Butwal,

Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London leaving Bharse. As Guha (2015) and Ostermann (2011) argued, the image of a single site which is bounded space through participant observation initiated by Bronislaw Malinowski, even today is dominant to collect, describe, and interpret people's stories but he ignored mobile people. For the study of migrants, a new trend has emerged to tackle the changing contexts of a multi-sited genre. To support this quote, I pasted a view of Kian and beach (2019) as they mentioned, participant observation shifts from observability to sympathetic and incisive understanding.

In building the story of migrants, I collected information from the distance mode using internet technology. Most of the time, I used Viber to talk with my research participants who have been living in Hong Kong and London in particular. And I somehow used this approach to gather some information about migrants who have been living in Butwal and Kathmandu as well. The choice to communicate virtually reflects how technology has affected the connection with migrants to cross borders (Bunkenborg & Pedersen, 2012; Freidenberg, 2011; Gatt, 2009; Leurs & Prabhakar, 2018; Markham, 2018; Yalaz & Zapata-Barrero, 2017). For the study of long-distant migrants, the digital mode became a connector between the research participants and me (researcher) to understand their lived experiences and practices as migrants. I took the support of digital techniques. Thus I used these techniques to collate the stories of migrants of distant locations within the broader scope of the ethnographic study.

In the process of this research, I piled up stories of migrants from multi-layered locations, such as community structure of origin and recipient community structures. In support of this view, Gubrium, and Holstein (2008) mentioned,

ethnography analyzes multi-layered stories. I have inscribed and described the experiences of migrants who have been expressing themselves about everyday living. To support this account, I fetched an idea of Boccagni (2016) as he articulated, migrants' life experiences are a characteristic of social phenomena. To reveal migrants' multiple experiences, I employed the ethnographic genre. I assembled stories of migrants which entail the personal views, experiences, and expressions of migrants. Explaining the ethnographic approach, I have illustrated the research fields in the following section.

### **Locating the Research Fields**

In this research, I have proposed the research fields from where I collected the stories of migrants. The research fields are those sites or places where my research participants are being settled as migrants. Ethnographically speaking, a field corresponds to one or more defined places from where stories of people are inscribed (Boccagni & Schrooten, 2018). I purposefully selected Bharse, Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London as my research fields. To support this statement, I fastened a view of Grusendorf (2016) as he stated research fields as 'social spaces' where a researcher interacts with her/his research participants and gets insights into their lives and perceptions. Like this idea, Anzul et al. (1997) viewed the field as a specific area of academic study. I planned multi-localities as research fields for the ethnographic inquiry of migrants. In other words, Panteleou (2017) remarked, the fieldwork among mobile groups is a practice that unfolds into spaces which entails participation from the digital site. Being an ethnographic researcher, my role was to define the research site from where I could gather the stories of migrants. Additionally, Zichner et al. (2014) claimed, ethnographers create a thing called a field. As Piacenti et al. (2014)

came up with a view, the research fields exist in a house, an office, a coffee shop, or anywhere which can be accessible for both researcher and research participants. I used different places, such as residences, tea shops, and open spaces to collate the stories of migrants.

For me, Bharse was the field that is migrants' community structure of origin. And Butwal and Kathmandu were the fields within the country, whereas Hong Kong and London were the fields outside the country. The other way around, Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London are the fields that are the recipient community structures in this research. In support of this view, I pasted an idea of Hannerz (2003) as he remarked, the relationship connects the fields with clans and relatives. My research fields had a connection to each other because of the migration stream. To substantiate this statement, I cemented a view of Lapegna (2009) who elucidated the 'field' in the sense of research. In this research, I knitted the stories from some migration protagonists who have made voluntary moves from Bharse to several destinations-Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. With this extract, in the subsequent sub-section, I have discussed Bharse which is the community structure of origin.

### **Community Structure of Origin: Bharse**

In this research, I have proposed Bharse as the community structure of origin. From the field visit, I noticed Bharse is a village of Ward No. 2 in the Satyawati Rural Municipality. This village is located in the eastern part of Gulmi District in the Lumbini Province and is at a distance of 12 kilometres right straight towards the north of the municipality office, Khaireni. And I witnessed this village



is a hilly area with steep and forest lands, and terraces agricultural fields. The Chandrakot Rural Municipality borders this village to the north and west, the Ruru Rural Municipality to the south, and the Kaligandaki Rural Municipality and the Kaligandaki River to the east. The village can be identified as a remote village. “Traditionally, the Bharse Village is known as a *laure ko gaon*<sup>10</sup> (a village of *laure*)” (Pun, 2018a, p. 4). The families prepare their sons for *laure* from which the money, name, and fame could be earned.

The *laure* culture is prevalent in Bharse as some youth migrants have been serving in the Indian, Singaporean, and British Contingents even today. To this idea, Pun (2018a) and Shrees (2013) furthermore mentioned, quite a few youths have migrated to other destinations, such as Hong Kong, Malaysia, Gulf countries, Japan, Europe, America, and other countries seeing better options there. Thus international migration from Bharse has been a continuous phenomenon. To support this idea, Kansakar (1982) explained, because of the *laure* culture, international migration from Bharse was rapid in the past but, nowadays, internal migration has been intensifying from this village. In the past years, almost all *laure* migrants used to go to Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, and Hong Kong through the seaport of India. Nowadays, they have access to airplanes. From this statement, I understood Bharse is a migrants’ village.

In the research journey, I noted the bilateral agreement between Nepal and the British-India of 1816 triggered youths of Bharse to be *laure*. Then, the *laure* culture formally emerged in this village as well. The British-India Contingents became one of

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<sup>10</sup> *Laure ko gaon* means a village of *laure*.

the lucrative jobs for the youths of Bharse which opened the way for international migration. The moving culture of the people of Bharse turned towards another direction. In a study, Kapur (2011) remarked, the nature of international migration has changed today than in earlier centuries. The movement of people is becoming faster today because of the access to transportation facilities.

Historically, the British Government deployed its military contingents in Hong Kong signing it as a lease land. This gave a privilege to Nepali youths to stay there. During their services in Hong Kong, the *laure* took their families with them as some of them gave birth to their children. Those Nepali people who were born in Hong Kong got the ID (identity) card of Hong Kong. Ultimately, this became a means of international migration. The family relationship one after another supported them to further link. After 1998, many Nepali migrants got the opportunity to settle in Hong Kong. On this note, all kids of the *laure* migrants from Bharse and their dependents began to migrate from Bharse to Hong Kong. Many of them have been living in Hong Kong for the last three decades.

After the decision of the British authority, those people who were born in Hong Kong got BNO (British Overseas Nationals) certificate. As a result, they got the opportunity to go to the UK from Hong Kong. However, they had choices either to live in Hong Kong or go to London. I also injected a statement of Fielding (2020) as he claimed, migrants choose different locations as per their comfort. In addition, some *ex-laure* of the British army go to the UK and live there in the status of IRL (Indefinite Remain to Live). The IRL policy was a British Government strategy to allow other countries' immigrants to live in the UK.

To demonstrate the migration trend of Bharse, I presented the information of the previous Bharse Village Development Committee (VDC)<sup>11</sup>. As per the Central Bureau of Statistics ([CBS], 1992), there were 549 households with 2,819 population, whereas the census report of 2002 showed there were 481 households with 2,171 people. And the census report of 2012 revealed there were 420 households with 1,621 people. The figures informed me that the census data of 1992, 2002, and 2012 revealed the decreasing trend of populations in the last three censuses. While I was in the field, I verified it with the local people in Bharse. The local people also said the intensity of migration has been increasing over the years. Presenting Bharse as the community structure of origin and its migrational situation, in the subsequent sub-sections, I have discussed the recipient community structures by categorizing them into A, B, C, and D groups:

### **Recipient Community Structure A: Butwal**

In this research, I have proposed Butwal as the nearest recipient community structure A as Butwal is a rapidly growing urban agglomeration of Nepal which lies in the Lumbini Province of Nepal. It is located below the Siwalik Hills on the west side of the *Tinau River* and the northern frontier of Siddharthanagar Bhairahawa. Geographically, Butwal is the intersection of Mahendra and Siddhartha Highways. The Mahendra Highway is stretched from Mechi in the east to Mahakali in the west, whereas Siddhartha Highway connects Pokhara to the north and Bhairahawa to the south.

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<sup>11</sup> In Nepal, Village Development Committee (VDC) used to be an administrative system which consisted of nine wards.

In addition, Butwal is also a business hub and one of the main cities of Lumbini Province. It is a strategic location from where vehicles leave for different parts of the country and vice-versa. People from the northern part mostly come down to Butwal for business, jobs, education, health, and prosperity. People from Palpa, Gulmi, Syangja, Argakhanchi, Baglung, and Parbat come to live there. Some of them live in the core parts of Butwal and many of them live in the peripheral areas. Because of this, Butwal has become a mixed community. In this assertion, the migrants from Bharse come to Butwal and its surrounding areas to live because it is the closest destination from the place of origin and is an example of in-migration geographically with a lesser degree of problems, such as acculturation and adjustment. After selecting Butwal, I have proposed Kathmandu as the recipient community structure B.

#### **Recipient community Structure B: Kathmandu**

In this research, Kathmandu is the capital city of Nepal where migrants from Bharse settled along with migrants from other parts of the country. In this research, I proposed Kathmandu Valley as the second recipient community structure. I used the term 'Kathmandu' in the research process across the whole text as it lies in the Bagmati Province of Nepal. In this sense, I selected research participants who migrated from Bharse to Kathmandu. Thus Kathmandu a spot for migration is the capital of Nepal with some degree of adjustment problem for the new settlers like the migrants from Bharse but a dreamland of some sort. After selecting Kathmandu, I proposed Hong Kong as the recipient community structure C. I furthermore briefly presented the introduction of the out-country recipient community structures. Initially, I have introduced to Hong Kong and then London. In this research, Hong Kong is the recipient community structure C.

### **Recipient Community Structure C: Hong Kong**

Nonetheless, Hong Kong is the autonomous state of the People's Republic of China. In 1898, a 99-year lease agreement was signed between the British and Chinese Governments for Hong Kong. In this leased land, the British Government used to deploy its military force in Hong Kong. In that period, the *laure* migrants from Bharse also served there on behalf of the British Contingent. The families of the *laure* migrants used to go there and live for a certain period. At that time, the families gave birth to their children. Those children who were born in Hong Kong were given an ID (Identity) card. The Hong Kong ID holders got the opportunities to bring their dependents, such as spouses, children, and parents. This became an instrument of migrating to Hong Kong from Bharse.

Some families gave birth to their children in Hong Kong. In such a way, Hong Kong became a recipient community structure for migrants from Bharse because Hong Kong is a fast-growing international economy where China meets the West squarely but, for the migrants, the place is still liveable, workable, and adjustable. I talked with some migrants but I selected a few of them as my research participants. After selecting Hong Kong, I have proposed London as the recipient community structure D because some Bharseli migrants went there to live and work.

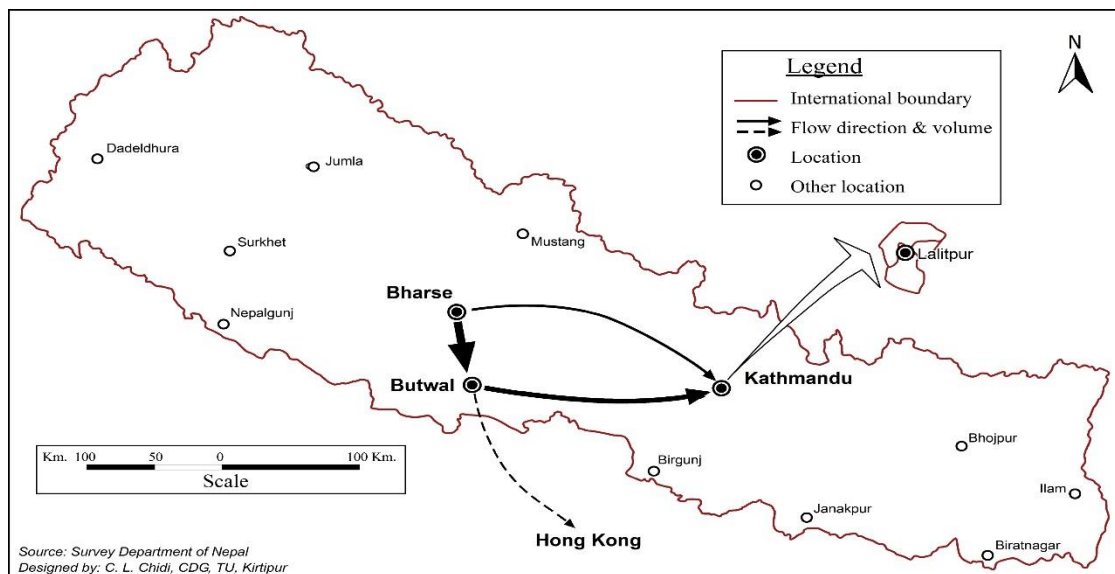
### **Recipient Community Structure D: London**

For this research, the last recipient community structure I selected is London as London is the capital city of the UK. As a colonial power, the British Government came to India and ruled over there. History shows British-India and Nepal had both bitter and sweet relationships resulting in negative and positive consequences. Consequently, the British-India and Nepal Government signed the Sugauli Treaty in

1816 for a reciprocal exchange of support which permitted Nepali youths to serve in the British Contingents. As a result, those migrants who were born in Hong Kong and served in the British Army were allowed to go and live in London. London is the peak of the choice places. Some of the migrants have been living in London. In addition, to track the migration flow, I depicted all these research fields from the maps.

**Figure 2**

**Map of Migration**



The figures indicated that, for migrants from Bharse, Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London are the ideal places to live. To support this statement, I paved a view of Adamson and Tsourapas (2020) as they affirmed, the concepts of sending and recipient community structures are ideal types. I noticed where there are ideal places, the migrants think to settle there.

In the beginning, for some months and years, the migrants from Bharse went to Butwal, Kathmandu, and other places to step up to Hong Kong and London because of the inaccessibility of transportation and communication systems between Bharse and, Hong Kong and London. Because of this, it was almost impossible to contact relatives, friends, and acquaintances in Hong Kong and London. From Bharse, the migrants had to walk on foot up to Palpa during their migration to catch up with vehicle services. In addition, it used to take many days or months to receive the hand-written letters containing the information. Thus it became easy for migrants from Bharse to receive information about Hong Kong and London from Butwal and Kathmandu before the departure which I also noticed. Presenting the research fields, I have explained the profile of research participants.

### **Knowing the Research Participants**

In this section, I have figured out the research participants. At the beginning of this process, I talked with ten local people of Bharse, fifteen migrants each in Butwal and Kathmandu, and three migrants each in Hong Kong and London. However, all of them could not be the research participants anymore till the end because I developed some criteria to select them, such as knowledgeability of the community structure of origin and recipient community contexts, years or duration of migration, professions, decision-maker of migration (household head), accessibility, availability, and location

as Feduyuk and Zentai (2018) revealed, the selection process simply helps ethnographic researchers decide the where? (research site), the what? (unit analysis), and the who? (participants). The criteria I set helped me select my research participants. To substantiate this statement, I added a view of Creswell (2013) as he asserted, criterion sampling is workable when all people studied represent individuals who have experienced the phenomenon. In line with this note, I selected migrants from Bharse as my research participants from different community structures to reveal their experiences. Based on the criteria, from all total, I selected two persons from Bharse, two persons each from Butwal and Kathmandu, and one person each from Hong Kong and London. To substantiate this account, I borrowed the idea of Alam (2005) as he mentioned, identifying the right person for the interview is a major work in ethnographic research. For interviews, I was mindful to choose the right research participants which could provide me with their real stories regarding migration.

In the selection process, I considered particularly professional diversities. To support this idea, I took a view of Creswell (2013) as he explained, all cases meet some criteria in participant selection so I implored the stories from those migrants to whom I sampled as my research participants. In collating the stories, I talked till the stage while it was saturated. In other words, Flick (2010) also mentioned, theoretical sampling is important until saturation comes. I also engaged with the research participants to explore the full information. Conversely, Creswell and Poth (2018) put forward their view as they asserted, in the ethnographic studies, there are not any specific criteria of research participants to be studied. To collate the stories, the number of research participants depends on the research approach. Thus I largely



selected the research participants to serve the demand of the research purpose. In line with this statement, I drew an idea of Creswell and Creswell (2018) as they viewed, ethnography includes one single culture sharing group from whom ethnographic researchers could generate detailed stories. On this note, I have introduced each research participant.

**Figure 3**

***Research Participants' Profile***

#	Name	Gender	Age	Professions	Community
a.	Sahayogi Thapa	Male	64	Retired teacher	Bharse
b.	Mukhkhya Baje	Male	91	Former chieftain	Bharse
c.	Himal Kanchhaba	Male	66	Entrepreneur/social worker	Butwal
d.	Maila Guru	Male	44	Teacher	Butwal
e.	Asal Hakim	Male	53	Government officer	Kathmandu
f.	Shristi Didi	Female	64	Retired teacher	Kathmandu
g.	Khusi Saap	Male	61	Manager in a company	Hong Kong
h.	Ujjwal Saap	Male	64	Retired army	London

As per the research ethics, I used 'the pseudonyms' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) of all research participants in the whole text.

In this conjunction, after meeting and talking with some local people of Bharse, I first selected Sahayogi Thapa<sup>12</sup> (male, 64). He was a well-known person of Bharse as Sahayogi Thapa was a retired school teacher. At the moment, he has been spending his retired life in the village. Based on the initial conversation, I requested him to be a research participant in this research. After accepting the proposal of being

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<sup>12</sup> In the Nepali language, Sahayogi denotes helpful. Thapa is his family title. Thus I gave him pseudonym viz. Sahayogi Thapa because he helped me a lot during the research.

a research participant, he made me familiar with the Bharse Village. In addition, I stayed three nights at his home. During this stay, I collected a lot of information from him in the morning and evening about the migration situation of Bharse because I planned to meet him according to his time. Likewise, I wanted to select an older adult as a research participant from the village for this research. In this process, Sahayogi Thapa facilitated me to do that. He gave the names of some elderly people in the village. On the basis of his information, I met a few of them. One of them was Mukhkhiya Baje<sup>13</sup> (male, 91). During the stay in Bharse, I went to meet him at his home in the morning. After the formal exchange of greetings, according to our social etiquette, I gave him my introduction. He asked me to sit on a mat on the house premise. Sitting on the mat, I began to talk about the agenda. While I did this, Mukhkhiya Baje shared the migration history of his village. Now, I became confident with his knowledge about the migration of the village. At least, being familiar with Mukhkhiya Baje, I wanted to collect a lot of information from him.

Thus I purposively confirmed Mukhkhiya Baje as a research participant from Bharse who was a ninety years old man. The main purpose of selecting him was that he was the reservoir of information about the village. The selection for qualitative research is much more purposive (Barglowski, 2018). With this idea, Mukhkhiya Baje became a research participant for this research. In addition, during the visit to Bharse, many other villagers suggested me contact Mukhkhiya Baje and take information from him about the village. During the stay, I knew he was the former chieftain of

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<sup>13</sup> I knew in the past, he was a chieftain of the Bharse Village and, in the public overtone, a chieftain is called as a Mukhkhiya, whereas grandfather is called as a Baje. He is ninety one years old so I gave him the title of Mukhkhiya Baje.

Bharse as well so he became a source of information. While I met him, I found him a straightforward and bold person in speaking with other people. At such an elderly age, he shared the information which I required. While I visited Bharse, I met him two times at his residence to explore migrants' stories from an insider's perspective.

After that, in Butwal, I first contacted fifteen migrants from Bharse, visited them at their convenience, and talked with them. All of them were living in and around Butwal. I used my mobile phone to contact them. I had collected their contact number while I visited Bharse. Upon calling them, I first introduced myself, told them about the research, and requested for their time. As all invited me warmly, I met all of them reaching their localities. I mostly met them at their homes but I met some of them in tea shops and other public places, such as open spaces or parks and roadside. The purpose of these meetings was to identify research participants for the study. With these initial meetings, I was also trying to get the ideas around which I should be focusing my interviews with the identified research participants. Upon meeting them, I shared a research agenda and tried to see if they were interested in sharing their stories from Bharse. All of them accepted me and gave their words to help me.

From this list of fifteen Bharseli migrants in Butwal, I selected seven only based on criteria, such as knowledgeability of the contexts, years of migration, gender, professions, household head, accessibility of location, interests of the support, and locations. On the basis of these criteria, I selected only two research participants from Butwal in the end. One of them was Himal Kanchhaba<sup>14</sup> (male, 66) and another

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<sup>14</sup> In the Nepali culture, Himal is a common name, and an uncle is called as a Kanchhaba and relatively, he is quite older than other migrants.

was Maila Guru<sup>15</sup> (male, 44). Among them, Himal Kanchhaba was the main research participant because of his convenience and willingness to support me.

Himal Kanchhaba has been living in different community structures of Butwal for more than forty-five years. After the failure of his dream of joining the Indian Contingent, he planned to settle in Butwal doing something there. Based on the years of his settlement in Butwal, I selected him to share his stories as a migrant from Bharse. For about twenty years, Himal Kanchhaba worked in different private companies. His occupational engagement in business crossed more than thirty-three years. It is plausible as occupations are too broadly defined based on professional sectors. Defining it broadly, composite technologies of occupations differ across countries in the world, whereas occupation technologies may be too specific for migrants. Approximating tasks across countries around the world based on rank may be inconsistent (Gibbons & Mukhopadhyaya, 2020). I met three times in Butwal to listen to and collect his stories. For the visit, I met him in a tea stall. In the second and third visits, I met him at his residence.

Another research participant from Butwal was Maila Guru who migrated to Butwal three years before. He has been a permanent settler there for more than three years. Professionally, Maila Guru was a school teacher for more than twenty years in different places. After talking with all the total fifteen migrants, I proposed him as a research participant. He respectfully accepted my proposal. Based on his acceptance, I confirmed him as a research participant from Butwal. I met him three times at his residence to collect his information. Likewise, in Kathmandu, after talking with more

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<sup>15</sup> In rural part of Nepal, the second son in the family called as a Maila. I knew he is the second son of the family. By profession, Maila is a school teacher. Thus I gave him the title of Maila Guru.

than fifteen migrants, I requested Asal Hakim<sup>16</sup> (male, 53) to be a research participant. I anticipated him to be a research participant. He courteously accepted it. Based on his consent, I confirmed him as one of my research participants in Kathmandu. His supportive behaviours helped me access and search for information. His stories became an academic asset for me. I met him three times at his residence for collating information. He has been residing in Kathmandu for more than twelve years. For more than twenty-five years, he had worked in a government office. During his tenure of work, he worked in many parts of the country which I noticed.

In this research, another research participant from Kathmandu was Shristi Didi<sup>17</sup> (female, 64). After talking with more than fifteen migrants, I requested her to be a research participant. She accepted my proposal of becoming a research participant. After that, I confirmed it. At present, Shristi Didi has been residing in Kathmandu for more than twenty-five years. In the past, her professional engagement was in Hong Kong and Brunei. She taught for three years in a school in Hong Kong and nineteen years in Brunei as a school teacher. At the moment, she is a social worker.

In Hong Kong, after talking with three migrants, I proposed Khusi Saap<sup>18</sup> (male, 61) to be a research participant. He cordially accepted it. After his consent, I

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<sup>16</sup> In the Nepali language, Asal signifies a person who has a good conduct. In the Nepali public overtone, the government officer is called as a Hakim. As a government official, I gave him this pseudonym.

<sup>17</sup> In the Nepali culture, Shristi is a common name of Nepali women, and elder sister is called as a Didi. By age, she is older than me. So, I gave the title of Shristi Didi.

<sup>18</sup> In the Nepali language, Khusi signifies happy and Saap is a social title that is given to an ex-army man who took a rank in the platoon.

confirmed him as a research participant. Professionally, Khushi Saap is a retired Gorkha Lieutenant of the British Contingent. He served for twenty-four years in the British Army and, at present, he has been living in Hong Kong Island for more than twenty years in the role of the Security Manager for a business tycoon. I talked with him three times to collect his stories. While he came to Nepal, I met him in Kathmandu which became helpful for me to gather his stories.

In addition, talking with three migrants, I proposed Ujjwal Saap<sup>19</sup> (male, 64) from London as a research participant. He agreed to my proposal. I chose only one research participant from London. He is a retired Gorkha Captain of the British Army as he served for twenty-four years in the British Contingent. After serving in the British Contingents, Ujjwal Saap returned to Nepal and made his station in Kathmandu for some years. Over time, he went to work in Hong Kong, Iraq, and Afghanistan from 1994 to 2007. From 2007 to date, he has been living at Tonbridge Kent in London. I talked with him three times. While he came to Nepal, I met him in Kathmandu and also collated his stories through face-to-face conversation. Presenting the profile of research participants, I have discussed how I engendered the stories of migrants in the subsequent section.

### **Engendering the Stories of Migrants**

In this research, I have explained the ways of producing the stories of migrants. Within the premises of the ethnographic research methods, I gathered migrants' stories. In qualitative research, the relevant stories need to be derived from field-based activities, i.e., interviews and observations (Clark & Thomson, 2016; Yin,

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<sup>19</sup> Especially in rural parts of western Nepal, Ujjwal signifies bright and Saap is a social title that is given to an ex-army man who took a rank in the platoon.

2011). In the process of imploring stories, I used interview, observation, and electric conversation techniques. An ethnographic researcher focuses wholeheartedly on the sayings, doings, and thinking of the people to be studied (Van Maanen, 2011). In many cases, I attempted to coin people's stories in an informal setting. As Perakyla and Ruusuvuori (2018) argued, an informal conversation undoubtedly is a part of ethnographic fieldwork to implore the stories. For doing this, I used the social spaces of Bharse, Butwal, Kathmandu, and London to implore migrants' stories. To support this idea, I cited a view of McKechnie (2008) and Petersen (2013) as they mentioned, social space is constructed from observation, participation, and self-reflection. I synchronized the interviews, observations, and electronic ethnographic techniques but the dominant process of story collection are interviews followed by observations and electric conversations. Nonetheless, I also have spelled out my experiences in the text. To affirm it, I derived an idea of Creswell (2013) as he asserted, "through interviews, observations, and other eliciting procedures, the native view of reality is obtained" (281). I gathered information mostly from in-person conversations.

In the field visits of Bharse, Butwal, and Kathmandu, I observed their migrational activities. To substantiate this idea, I borrowed a view of Gubrium and Holstein (2008) as they explained, in constructing the story, combined interviews and observations can be synchronized. In addition, I also used digital techniques while gathering the stories of migrants from Bharse who have been living in Hong Kong and London. I crafted ethnographic tropes in contours in this research. In the subsequent sub-section, I have discussed how I have used the interview method to collect the stories of migrants.

### **Generating Migrants' Stories by Interviews**

In this ethnographic research, an open interactions-based interview was a method of collecting stories from the research participants. And interviews may manufacture stories (Baker & Edwards, 2012; Duvell, 2012). I used this method to understand the broader experiences of migrants from Bharse. For this, the mutual trust between the researcher and the researched people is a facet of the interview. To support this view, I drew a statement of Tutenges (2019) as he remarked, one of the essentials of ethnography is establishing trust by which research participants could open up their lives and tell their stories. I engaged the key and knowledgeable persons in the interview so that they could express their subjective realities about migration as 'interviews are essential techniques of qualitative research' (Yalaz & Zapata-Barrero, 2017). I used this technique to gather stories from the research participants.

In addition, interviews provided me with a platform to open up understandings, consciousness, experiences, and descriptions for a specific phenomenon. Similarly, a close personal relationship with 'a client-centred manner is maintained where people disclose their worlds' (Kvale, 2005). Considering these realities, I conducted interviews with migrants who have been living in different cultural contexts, such as Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London to knit their stories. As Erel (2010) revealed, for migrants, culture acquires different meanings in different contexts. On the basis of cultural contexts, I engaged myself through face-to-face conversations and electronic modes to collate the stories of migrants. To assert this, I drew an idea of Pelto and Pelto (1997) as they embodied, new ethnography believes in intensive interviews of a few key informants or people. I knitted the stories interviewing some migrants which were in a way '*kura-kani* (informal chit-chat)'



(Rai, 2013). For me, it was a conversational interview in collating the stories of migrants. Discussing the interview method, I have discussed the observation method to collect the stories of migrants in the subsequent sub-section.

### **Creating Migrants' Stories by Observations**

In this research, I have inscribed the text from my observations as well. As observations, from December 2015 to January 2017, I repeatedly took part in the social life of migrants from Bharse in Butwal and Kathmandu. As Nason and Golding (1998) claimed, observation in the ethnographic study is basically an act of sense and meaning-making by the researcher as they focus upon how people interact and collaborate in daily life. In the same way, I met research participants of Hong Kong and London in Kathmandu while they had come to Kathmandu. According to Nowickay and Cieslikz (2014), the researcher becomes a part of a social group with the research participants. In this regard, I engaged with research participants in an informal setting to explore their experiences.

Regarding observations, Silverman and Marvasti (2008) uttered their view, ethnographic research involves observing the persons and groups to be studied. In this connection, I observed the living conditions and social activities of the migrants in Butwal and Kathmandu. As Uprety (2014) mentioned, observation in social settings helps ethnographers verify the reality of what people say, what they do, and what people do in their daily lives. I tried to know migrants' everyday living during the research journey. On the contrary, Boccagni and Schrooten (2018) expressed little bit different views, nowadays, the pace of people is increasing so it is not easy to find them in an original setting. Thus the nature of observation changed its shape. Hence, I attempted to use informal observation to study migrants who have been living in

Butwal and Kathmandu leaving Bharse. To substantiate this statement, I took a view of Rai (2020) as he claimed, “informal observation becomes helpful for researchers to make overall images of the research context” (p. 49). I also tried to understand dual residents which have been maintained in Hong Kong and Kathmandu, in Kathmandu, and London. Thus I met the research participants (migrants) and talked with them while they came to Kathmandu. I observed them and their situation in Kathmandu. In recent days, scholars (e.g., Boccagni & Schrooten, 2018; Falzon, 2009; Marcus, 1995) came up with new ideas as they remarked, observation is the identity-giving method for ethnographic study on the whole. Certainly, it is not the only method that can be used by ethnographers because of migration it is sometimes quite challenging to meet people in their original setting. Explaining the observation technique, I have discussed the electric conversation technique to inscribe the stories of migrants.

### **Engendering Migrants’ Stories by Electric Conversations**

In this research, I have used electronic methods to collect the stories of research participants (migrants) who have been living in Hong Kong and London in particular. I mostly used Viber and Messenger to take the information. To substantiate this statement, I quoted an idea from Caliandro (2017) and Vannini (2008) as they mentioned, a digital ethnographic method is appropriate for studying people/migrants who live in a distant community. To implore the stories of those mobile people, I thought one of the ways out is to use the technology (internet) to capture the essence of multi-locations and cultural premises. Hence, technology generates meanings in ethnographic research (Hine, 2001; Hine, 2007; Leurs & Prabhakar, 2018). In this research, I also used technology to gather information from multi-vocal stories of migrants. Using the technology, I pulled the information in an amicable environment.

In addition, using the electric technique, I attempted to derive the meanings of migrants' everyday living. For an ethnographic study, "digital technologies that show a presence over space and time are linked with the ethnographic study of migrants, i.e., digital or virtual ethnography" (Kok & Rogers, 2016, p. 220; Markham, 2018). In other words, it is commonly known as online ethnography. It extends traditional ethnography to settings where interactions and conversations or interactions between/among people are technologically connected (Boccagni & Schrooten, 2018). The digitalized world has helped me explore the stories of migrants who have been living in distant community structures. To this end, Gibson (2009), Sunderland (1999), and Fetterman (2010) revealed, with the remarkable rise of the internet globally, researchers from distant locations have been investigating the social practice of migrants. With the help of the electronic method, I talked with my research participants from which I collated the stories of migrants who have been living in multi-locations. Nonetheless, ethnographic researchers can engage in multi-locations to collect the stories of migrants that they experienced (Kozinets, 2010) which I also did. Describing the digital technique, I have discussed how I analyzed and interpreted the stories of migrants to draw the meanings in the subsequent section.

### **Analysis and Interpretation of Migrants' Stories**

In this research, I have analyzed and interpreted the stories of migrants to derive the meanings. In analyzing and interpreting the stories of migrants, I systematically gathered and compiled their stories. After collecting the stories and field notes, I transcribed them in making representations of the realities of stories. I edited, processed, and winnowed those transcribed stories to bring them into the right shape of thematic meaning. After editing the stories, I categorized them into vivid

themes and sub-themes in association with the research questions making them easier to analyze and interpret. I have explained the behavioural expressions of migrants that were conceived from their stories. Then, I transformed, translated, documented, and represented stories in the form of chapters and then thesis.

I made myself fully engaged in collating the information from Bharseli migrants in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. While crafting the stories, I reviewed, refined, and systematized them as per the research themes. Time and again, I verified the gathered accounts of stories through cross-verifications and cross-checks from the stories and research participants. And I made the research process more readable for audiences and writable for me. I gathered, coded, and decoded the stories of migrants as per the nature of the stories. I did all these activities manually.

In the process of interpretation, I trussed literatures, theories, methods, and migrants' stories together to analyze the stories systematically in connection to the themes of the study. I inculcated theoretical pathways to interpret and derive the meaning of migrants' stories. I attempted to maintain coherence in designing the chapters, sections, sub-sections, and paragraphs of the thesis. Additionally, I wove the stories in the form of a thesis from the worldviews of migrants that they experienced and expressed after their settlement in the new community structures as worldviews are the sets of beliefs (Wilder et al., 2017). This research consists of migrants' worldviews in which they believe. On the basis of migrants' worldviews, I became a creator of migrants' stories as an ethnographic researcher.

I herewith agree with the views of Humpreys and Watson (2009) as they claimed, "the ethnographic study is not something one does out in the field only" (p. 40) but it is also a write-up and a presentation systematically. Bearing this view in

mind, I have described the stories of migrants from Bharse. To support this idea, I acquired a view of Geertz (1973) as he unfolded, an ethnographer describes the stories. I have described the story of migrants to draw the meanings of the text. In this connection, Anzul et al. (1997) mentioned, an ethnographer becomes a part of the search and produces the stories of studied people. In contriving the stories of migrants, I became an inseparable part of this research. In support of this view, I pasted a view of Humpreys and Watson (2009) as they further contemplated, the researcher considers descriptive scene-setting as a character of the story. Being a part of the research, I elicited and knitted migrants' stories. I attempted to conceive the stories of migrants from Bharse in a descriptive way to provoke their feelings in their recipient community structures. This idea can be substantiated by a view of Stake (2010) and Tracy (2010) as they claimed, an event does not have the true meaning as there is only the event as experienced and interpreted by people. It requires evocation through better presentation. I adopted the "enhanced style of ethnographic writing" (Humpreys & Watson, 2009, p. 45) because I knitted the text of life experiences of migrants. To support this account, I took a view of Watt (2010) as he mentioned, "writing an ethnography involves producing a narrative where presentation, interpretation, discussion, and contextualization are seamlessly interwoven" (p. 181). In doing this, I blended the stories of migrants to devise the meanings. To this end, I attempted to bind the themes interweaving the story of migrants.

Based on the research paradigm, the purpose, and questions, I constructed the stories of migrants to draw the meanings. Viewing migrants' experiences and expressions of different cultural contexts, I made multiple interpretations of the truth of ethnographic research. To support this view, I took the support of Stake's (2010)

statement as he remarked, readers sometimes can see more depth of interpretations of event reports, however, Willing (2014) opined differently, the ethical challenges are acute in qualitative research which is associated with an interpretation where researchers seek to generate suspicious interpretations that participants themselves would not agree with the story. Notwithstanding these views, while crafting the ethnographic text, I equally paid attention to link theory, methods, and migrants' stories to construct the meanings. Presenting the process of analysis and interpretation, I have explained the credibility of the research in the following section.

### **Credibility of the Research**

In this research, I have described how I attempted to ensure the credibility of this research. Being a researcher, I garnered the stories of Bharseli migrants in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. To ensure the quality concerns, I paid considerable attention to the trustfulness of this research. To support this view, I acquired a view of Denzin and Lincoln (2018) as they substantially unpacked the idea, credibility, dependability, and confirmability are the main attributes of quality standards in the research world. Fetching the idea from these traits, I attempted to maintain the quality of this research. I further added a view of Watt (2010) as he unfolded, "ethnographies need to be taken on trust and at face value with the hope that the ethnographer was both a sensitive and good listener" (p.188). With this, I became conscious of it.

In the ethnographic research, I repeatedly talked with the research participants in an informal way to garner the stories of migrants and for the thick descriptions of these stories. To support this account, I borrowed a view of Geertz (1973) as he stemmed an idea, ethnography itself is a thick description. I attempted to inscribe and

describe the detailed stories of migrants which were created from the composite characters. As Sharma and Sarkar (2019) revealed, ethnography believes in an open and flexible process in gathering the stories. In connection to the ontological pathway, I tried to unfold the multiple voices of migrants what they experienced after the settlement in Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London. I took notes of the conversations. Richly describing the activities of migrants, I tried to make it credible for readers because ‘the text should be believable for others’ (Loh, 2013; Wibren, 2007). The text I devised is a representation of migrants’ voices as well as worldviews on the whole. Binding the stories of migrants together, I have described and presented them systematically from which I drew the research findings to which readers could trust it. To this end, Tracy (2010) expressed, credibility refers to the trustworthiness of the research findings. I also believe the research product becomes reader-friendly.

In the research journey, I tried to make this research trustworthy. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2018), credibility is a strategy to increase trust. For this work, I engaged with research participants and observed their behaviours. In the same way, I melded the sources, methods, and stories of migrants to draw the meanings. To ensure the quality of this research, time and again, I took support from my peers from whom I enriched this research. I heard both positive and negative experiences as the migrants received the material benefits in the new community structures but they faced the cultural lag there. To substantiate the stories of migrants, I referred to the required literatures. Calling from Viber and Messenger, I also verified the stories of the research participants for authenticity.

Furthermore, I persistently paid attention to its consistency. As Denzin and Lincoln (2018) also claimed, dependability refers to the consistency of the research

processes over time. For me, it helped me to correct the mistake and carelessness in crafting the migration research, gathering the stories, drawing the meanings, interpreting the findings, and presenting the thesis in the end. As Bonisch-Brednich (2018) viewed, ethnographers construct stories focusing on the questions of how, what, and how. It questions how listening is turned into text. In doing this, I selected people and events of the migration process to talk and observe. Dependability is a process of ensuring the consistency of the research from the beginning to the end which I did. This research is verified by migrants who are research participants.

In so doing, I considered a point how other researchers perceive this research. To support this idea, I took a view of Denzin and Lincoln (2018) as they claimed, the confirmability is to confirm the research by other researchers. I believe the stories of migrants from Bharse are true and meet the standards, and other researchers recognize them. According to Given and Saumure (2008), the stories are linked with the interpretations and findings of the research. In such a way, I interpreted migrants' stories. Taking Denzin and Lincoln's (2018) guidance on credibility, dependability, and confirmability, I attempted to bind theories, methods, and stories of migrants together to draw the meanings that readers, researchers, and research participants could trust. I aptly tried to make this research transparent for readers. I have ensured it from the audit trail as well.

### **Audit Trail**

In this sub-section, I have, hereby, discussed an audit trail of the research. Simply, "an audit trail is a transparent description of the research steps taken from the start of research to the presentation of findings" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 319). From the very beginning to the end, I verified the information to be transparent in



front of audiences. To this end, Denzin and Lincoln (2018) claimed, the verification strategy of information is an audit trail (see Annex B). Throughout the research journey, I followed multiple steps and processes to maintain the credibility of this research. An audit trail helped me ensure the time of research, formulating the sampling criterion, verifications of information or stories, theoretical formulations, reflective processes, and transformative perspective for this research.

To make my research trustworthy, I took support from supervisors, colleagues or peers, and research participants regularly. Mainly, I consulted with my supervisors about the research agenda, the method to be employed, theories to be used, issues to be analyzed, the process to be facilitated, and ways to be fine-tuned in this research. The university colleagues also provided me with comments at various stages of writing. The research is audited by third persons or external experts which helps the researcher earn credibility. I frequently talked with the research participants of Bharse, Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, and London to unfold rich information and verify them. In this regard, I added a statement of Elliot (2005) who argued, “how a sense of social order is created through talk and interaction” (p. 18). Chatting with research participants became supportive to understand their social activities so that this research became transparent in front of audiences which I did.

In this assertion, I simultaneously shared the research accounts with research participants from whom I devised their stories. According to Elliot (2005), it is essential to disseminate the research with the participants involved. I shared the main gist of the study with research participants. Additionally, regular information sharing, meetings, and dialogues with supervisors and colleagues

helped me ensure credibility. Thus I used multiple ways to ensure an audit trail that could build trust among the audiences. On this note, in the subsequent section, I have described the ethical concerns.

### **Ethical Concerns**

In this research, the ethical concerns are the genuine points for consideration. I was fully conscious about it. In this line, I am fully respectful of the socio-cultural values and norms of studied people. It was the first and foremost condition for me. In the research journey, I approached colleagues, seniors, and professors for necessary support and guidance. As Udo-Akang (2013) urged, a researcher must ensure honesty, trustworthiness, and respect for others, such as research participants and researched community. I was fully aware of what I should do or should not do during the research process. In this process, I took consent from research participants and committed not to disclose their secrets because I was fully aware of the research ethics. Supporting this account, I took a view of Davies (2002) and Flick (2010) as they articulated, the researcher has to have a clear understanding of ethics. In contrast, the ethical practice is informed consent and confidentiality. I fully respected the research ethics in the whole process of research. To support this view, I borrowed the idea of Bhattarai (2015) as he remarked, consensus identifies the contextual ethics of the professionals. Agreeing with this account, in the research journey, I made a consensus with the research participants. To this end, I cemented a view of Tutenges (2019) as he claimed, researchers should establish trust through the assurance of confidentiality and by obeying the local traditions of the people being studied. I was fully

conscious of the cultural values and norms of migrants that were being studied. Conversely, Piacenti et al. (2014) argued, the ethical responsibilities of the researcher remain blurred during the research work as an ethnographic researcher and the people to be researched join together at times while at other times they both change and combine their roles in the research process.

I additionally became fully cognizant about the anonymity of the people studied for confidentiality. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), to protect the privacy of research participants, using pseudonyms is a requirement in a research project but Tolich (2010) argued, “pseudonyms are ethically weak solutions for qualitative researchers and might be reckless” (p. 1606). Even, after knowing these critical views, I used the pseudonyms of all research participants across the text because, social research needs to meet ethical standards (Iosifides, 2003; Pawluch et al., 2005). I consciously showed my respect for the researched community who were engaged in all the research processes. I greeted them in the beginning according to our customary laws, such as face-to-face conversations, observations, and Viber conversations. I did not use harsh words during the meetings and conversations which could make them insulted. At the time of exit from the conversations, I extended my greetings saying ‘namaste’ which is our cultural value. However, Hampshire et al. (2014) raised a question about the self-disclosure of researchers as to what information is to be disclosed, and how and how much with the research participant. In line with this view, I also did not find any demarcations to be unveiled with my research participants. In such a condition, I sat with them, listened to them, and talked with them considering the cultural values and norms.

Personally and professionally, I did not harm anyone using meaningless words and statements during the research process. I equally respected the systems and requirements of the university following the Kathmandu University ethical guidelines. On this note, I have drawn the key ideas of the chapter in the subsequent section.

### **Chapter Conclusion**

Positioning on the interpretative paradigm, I applied a qualitative research method that believes in multiple realities as the ethnographic style is the key analytical approach of the text. To probe the multiple realities, I believed in the dialectical relationship to construct the stories of migrants which was the epistemic position. In addition, I engendered the stories using interviews, observations, and electronic techniques. And I used the electronic method to collect migrants' stories of distant locations. I inscribed the stories based on migrants' experiences and expressions in everyday living which is a scope of ethnography. After that, I interpreted the stories of migrants to draw the meanings. To fulfill the academic standards, I considered quality concerns and the credibility of this research. Ensuring the audit trail is to maintain integrity. In the subsequent chapter, I have discussed the stories of migrants to explore how and why they detached and made their networks from the community structure of origin further.

## CHAPTER IV

### MIGRANTS' DETACHMENT AND NETWORKS FROM THE COMMUNITY STRUCTURE OF ORIGIN

In the earlier chapter, I described the methodological rigour which I used in this research. Notably, positioning on interpretative paradigm, I explicitly used an ethnographic approach. I took the support of a multi-sited genre as well. I used interview, observation, and electric conversation techniques to inscribe the stories of migrants. In this chapter, I have discussed why migrants detached and how they made networks. And I have knitted the stories of migrants about the embodiment of multiple challenges in their community structure of origin which they had experienced. I have presented how migrants received information about other places from the social networks with relatives, friends, and acquaintances making them realize their community structure of origin. I have explained while migrants realized the problems, they tried to find the options of the community structure of origin. I also have presented the better condition of migrants which pertinently became push factors because, through the social network and exposure visit, they thought to move away from their current habitats to acquire more options in the new community structures.

#### **Evoking the Hardship Life: Experiencing the Problems**

For migration, the hardship life of the community structure of origin separated people from there. Experiencing the difficulties in the current community became a story of migration because the human tendency was to exit from the current hardship

of life. In the rural vicinities of Nepal, people have been experiencing hardship in life because of the rough geo-structure. I noticed this from the stories of migrants. To substantiate this extract, I cemented the experiences of Bharseli migrants and, to support this idea, I arrived in Butwal and checked in December 2015, however, Butwal was not a new place for me because I was already familiar with this place. This visit was special for me because I went there for research purposes. Staying in a hotel allowed me independence for the research work. I would need for the timely completion of my work. I also utilized my stay there for regularly organizing the interview records so that it would become easier for me to retrieve those resources later when I began analyzing the stories. At this time, I decided to approach Himlal Kanchhaba (male, 66) in the beginning. It became easy for me to talk with him because I had already taken his consent to be my research participant. We could trust each other since trust-building is a key to the ethnographic study (Tutenges, 2019). I brought Himlal Kanchhaba in confidence from whom I collected his experiences.

In the afternoon of the same day, I called Himlal Kanchhaba on his mobile and requested him to allocate time for the conversation. In this way, he graciously asked me to come to his residence the next day. At this moment, I used technology to talk with him. At that time, I felt the change of conversational culture because, in my previous research (researches in the master of philosophy and master's degree), I did not have the privilege to use a mobile phone to talk. The next morning, I searched for a rickshaw and went to Devinagar<sup>20</sup> in the morning where he has been residing nowadays. It took about ten minutes to reach there by rickshaw. I got off in the main street where he was waiting for me. From there, he escorted me to his residence which

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<sup>20</sup> Devinagar is a small town in the Butwal City of the Lumbini Province.

was quite closer. Reaching his residence, both of us shared about the family conditions at the beginning of the conversation.

In the beginning, I shared with him how I found his phone number. I told him that one of his fellow migrants gave his address. Then, I shared the purpose of coming to meet him. This made it easier to be open with me and share his experiences as a migrant. I unknowingly encouraged him to be open in the conversation. I gradually entered into the subject matter of discussions. In an opening conversation, it became quite difficult for us to be focused on the subject matter but, over time, both tilted towards the agendas smoothly. I requested him to recall the story of challenges that he faced in the community structure of origin.

Sitting together, both of us began to talk. I proactively requested Himlal Kanchhaba to share his past situation while he was in Bharse. In the very beginning, he expressed his story in such a way;

*I had owned about twenty-seven ropani<sup>21</sup> of farmlands where I could cultivate maize and millet but that was not enough to sustain the family need for the whole year. I also had forestlands to manage grasses for domestic animals and firewood for cooking. In the morning and daytime, I could go to public forests to collect fodders and firewood. Despite these strenuous efforts for living, the unfertile arable lands, and the depressing lives made me fed up.*

To substantiate this piece of the story, I herewith have glued a view of Gartaula and Niehof (2013) as they articulated, “the uneven topography, lack of arable and fertile land, and the miserable lives in the hills were the push factors” (p. 31). The difficult geophysical structure became a pusher for Himlal Kanchhaba

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<sup>21</sup> *Ropani* is 5,476 sq. ft. land.

because, in such a structure, he had less chance for agro-products. And one of the difficulties of Himal Kanchhaba was food insufficiency in his village. To substantiate this extract, I fetched a statement of the United Nations Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator's Office [UNRCHCO] (2013) as it claimed, migration is linked to food insecurity in rural areas. In line with this view, Himal Kanchhaba's story can be linked because he felt the challenge of food insufficiency for the whole year making him unhappy in the village.

In the sitting with me, Himal Kanchhaba continued telling his story, *I had reared domestic animals, such as three oxen, five buffaloes, eleven sheep, goats, and some chickens*. Keeping animals was an obligation for him because, for his agro-farming, those animals had significant contributions. The oxen were used to pull the yoke to plough the field and farming lands. The buffaloes used to give dung and milk. The cow and buffalo dung was used to raise crops in the farmlands, whereas milk was produced to make ghee and whey. The milk, ghee, and whey were nutritious food items for the family. The ghee is one of the most important food ingredients of each family in Bharse. And the purpose of keeping sheep, goats, and chickens was to produce meats. As he expressed, *almost everyday, early in the morning, I used to go to the public and private forests for the fodder and syaula<sup>22</sup> collection. Such work did not support me to increase productivity in the village which made my living painful there.*

Himal Kanchhaba shared the story about the patchy landscape of his village as well. Topographically, Bharse is a top hill. Because of this, Himal Kanchhaba had to

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<sup>22</sup> In the village, *syaula* is dry leaf of trees which is collected by the villagers and it is mixed with the urine and dung to make fertilizer.



walk up and down through foot treks. Even, he had to walk a long distance on foot and work in his fields and farms. As he expressed, *I had to carry backpacks of animal fertilizers in the basket while going to my fields and farms. While returning home, I had to come home carrying crops, vegetables, and grasses.* He further said, *walking about two to three hours, I had to go to grasslands and forests. And I had to walk on straight up and down vertical treks along with less horizontal and sloppy treks.* To substantiate this version, I quoted a view of Nowickay and Cieslikz (2014) as they articulated, spatial context is not only relational in migration but also a processual attribute. The bumpy geographical feature hardened Himel Kanchhaba's life as the hardship life of the existing community is a challenge for migrants (Inchley, 2014; UNRCHCO, 2013). The physical difficulty made Himel Kanchhaba's life painful in Bharse which prompted him to move from there. In a study, Greenwood (2019) shared, basic features of geography condition the structure of the response of migration to such spatial differentials. While Himel Kanchhaba knew the difficult landform of Bharse, he decided to leave it.

In the research journey, I further beseeched Himel Kanchhaba to share his experiences about his past life in the village. As he expressed, *when I was in Bharse, I never experienced transportation because of the unavailability of motorable roads there.* To substantiate this piece of the story, I took the support of Yu et al.'s (2019) view who asserted, in transportation services, the availability of bus service and access to roads are associated with migration. This view can be linked with Himel Kanchhaba's story as he couldn't see and experience vehicles in his village while he was in the village. Because of this, he had to carry loads on his back. Especially in the winter season, he had to carry both food and non-food items for household

consumption and animal feeds because, at his time, there were no transportation facilities in the village. Still, while he went to Butwal to bring *nun tel*<sup>23</sup>, he had seen some vehicles there. Even, in the village, he had heard about it from his relatives and villagers who had been deported to India, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Hong Kong, and the UK in the military contingents. Besides walking on foot, Himal Kanchhaba did not have other options other than carrying the backpack in *doko*<sup>24</sup>.

During the conversation, Himal Kanchhaba evoked, after the construction of the East-West Highway, he came to Palpa<sup>25</sup> to carry those food items because of the road access in Palpa. He reminded me that his forefathers used to walk up to Nautuna<sup>26</sup> of India to bring those items. From his forefather's time, until his time, all generations of Bharse had to put their physical stamina to carry loads. Till his youth age, in the village, such a situation could not significantly be changed. Hence, I linked this piece of the story with a view of Lewis (2004) as he claimed, the hardship and painful life pass down from one generation to another because of remoteness from the central zone. In this connection, Himal Kanchhaba also had surpassed the similar situation which his forefather had come through. Living in the village, he couldn't overcome the difficulties that he had faced.

In the same way, Himal Kanchhaba flashed back his story with me further. When he was only eighteen years old, he went to Gorakhpur to join the Indian

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<sup>23</sup> In the winter season, in the villages of western Nepal, in the past, the villagers used to go to Butwal to bring salt, kerosene, spices, clothes, food items, and utensils for the whole year which is known as *nun tel* in the public overtone.

<sup>24</sup> *Doko* is a basket made of bamboo in the village of Nepal.

<sup>25</sup> Palpa is the district headquarters of Palpa District of Lumbini Province of Nepal.

<sup>26</sup> Nautuna is a small city of Uttar Pradesh in India.

Contingent. At that time, he saw many different types of vehicles, such as buses, motorcycles, rickshaws, cycles, and jeeps there. On the way, he saw them. After seeing these things, he changed his mindset as Himal Kanchhaba began to think about why not leave the village. As he embodied, *after all, I felt I should liberate myself from the painful life of Bharse*. Liberating from the difficult life is the spirit of Himal Kanchhaba. Let me add the push theory of Lee (1966) as he claimed, one of the push factors of migration is the inaccessibility of physical facilities. The story of Himal Kanchhaba reminded me to understand that the inaccessibility of the transportation facility forced him to think twice about his village and pushed him from there. The difficult situation is a pusher of the community structure of origin (Gurung, 2001). Also, Himal Kanchhaba realized how difficult life was in the village.

Himal Kanchhaba equally said that Bharse was a remote village from Tamghas<sup>27</sup> and Butwal, the business centre (currently the headquarters of the Lumbini Province) because of the unavailability of a transportation facility. He had to walk almost the whole day to reach the administrative office of the district headquarters. In his time, he could not overcome these challenges. In the absence of addressing such challenges, Himal Kanchhaba thought to overcome the challenges he had faced.

I further insisted Himal Kanchhaba share his experiences about the communication system he had practised at that time. About forty-five years before, he either had to send verbal messages through a person or the post office. He was aware of the telephone services of the district headquarters, Tamghas. To use this or for a call, he had to walk almost the whole day and, in using this service, the government offices were given high priority. However, some people provided trunk calls and Very

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<sup>27</sup> Tamghas is the district headquarters of Gulmi District in Lumbini Province of Nepal.

High Frequency (VHF) services buying lines from the telecommunication office. In addition to Tamghas, he had to go to Palpa to send messages to the family members and relatives who used to live in Butwal, Pokhara, Kathmandu, India, Malaysia, Brunei, Hong Kong, and the UK. From distant places, it used to take some days, weeks, and months to receive the message or letters. He mostly was dependent on the radio for national and international news. At the local level, he fully had to depend on persons' verbal messages. To receive the messages and drop them, it used to take many hours and days depending on the distance. The unavailability of communication services in the village is one of the push factors (Gill, 2003 & de Haas, 2010). Like this view, Himal Kanchhaba's story is similar. The challenges of chatting with distant relatives and not receiving information about them became a hurdle for him. As he recalled, *the only hand-written letter was the means of communication at that time*. At youth age, he did not have chances to chat with relatives of distant locations within and outside the country.

Continuing the conversation, Himal Kanchhaba also shared his experiences related to health facilities and practices of Bharse as well. As he said;

*While I became sick, I would either eat local herbs and shrubs as medicines or consult a lama jhakri<sup>28</sup>. Sometimes, the cow dung used to be mixed and melted into the water to make medicine. And the melted water could be filtered with a thin and clean piece of cloth. This refined water could be drunk by the sick person which I also did there.*

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<sup>28</sup> *Lama jhakri* is a faith healer or shamanist who provides traditional ways of treatment services to sick people in the villages of Nepal.

This piece of the story informed that Himal Kanchhaba used to take treatment from traditional healers in the village. He further emphasized fever, flu, cough, headache, diarrhea, stomach pain, and small injuries used to be cured by traditional healers in the village. It was a common belief system of villagers. I also noted some elderly people depend on this practice in Bharse even today. While the *lama jhakri* cannot cure, Himal Kanchhaba used to go to the local health post of the village. Besides this, he had eye-witnessed, for the treatment of the major health problems, his family members, neighbours, and villagers had gone to Palpa, Butwal, Pokhara, Kathmandu, and Gorakhpur of India sometimes. He was also aware of it, out of the village, he had to walk on foot and spend many days and much money. As a result, he was unwilling to live in Bharse. In addition, he added he had to work long hours. He used to work from the early morning to late evening everyday which is a continuation of his forefather's tradition. He could not change his predecessor's occupations which did not support him to improve his living. Even, after the hard work, he faced hand-to-mouth problems. The families facing less access to food evince higher rates of movement from the community structure of origin (Massey et al., 2007). The story of Himal Kanchhaba revealed, because of insufficient food items in his village, he had to collect food items from Palpa and Butwal, and sometimes from other villages on backpack spending about one week. Such work was tiresome.

In this research journey, after crafting an account of Himal Kanchhaba, I managed to talk with Maila Guru (male, 44) in January 2016 in Butwal. While I was approaching him, it was winter cold days. In this sitting with him, I understood the story of Maila Guru is quite similar to Himal Kanchhaba because he also had faced the hardship life in his community structure of origin but some of his stories were

different. From the conversation, I noticed, in the daytime, Maila Guru used to engage in school everyday as a teacher. In the evening, morning, and holidays, he had to engage in a farming-based activity. Other than this, he did not have other options for living.

As the conversation continued, Maila Guru added he had to put toils and pour sweats because, after stepping out from the door of his house, he had to walk on foot. And most of the activities he had to do were menial work. He had to do the tedious work at home and, in the field and farmlands which were transferred from the past generation to him. As he said, *at least, it used to half an hour to reach the nearest farm and forestlands and about two hours to reach the farthest grasslands and forests on foot*. For him, spending huge chunks of time on the way was also a challenge to get the farmlands. He additionally had to go there carrying fertilizers and seeds of grains. In his farmlands in the village, he used to grow maize, millets, beans, wheat, and vegetables. Along with these items, he used to produce crops, collect, and bring them from there. Likewise, he used to collect grasses from the grasslands for his domestic cattle and firewood for cooking purposes. And, to cut and bring fodders and firewood, he used to go to the public forests in the winter and summer seasons. All of them were farm-related activities. For doing this, he invested his physical efforts. Walking and working were monotonous work for him. Engaging in the traditional practices and spending hours walking in the long-distance creates fatigue in people which becomes a pusher (Massey et al., 2007). This view is relevant to substantiate the story of Maila Guru as walking long distances for work became a challenge for him in his native village.

After imploring the story of Himal Kanchhaba and Maila Guru in Butwal, I went to Kathmandu. I delved into research around late January 2016 in Kathmandu. Since then, I attempted to beseech the stories of migrants from Bharse. In this course, I engaged with Asal Hakim (male, 53). In this engagement, I pleaded with his experiences. While I opened the agenda, he straightforwardly raised the counter-question because I was also familiar with the condition. As he shared, *I remember, till youth age, I did not see and experience any means of transportation in my village.* This means he had to walk on foot. Before his migration, there were not any means of transportation in the village. Walking on foot was the only way to travel within and outside the village. From him, one of the challenges in his village was the lack of transportation as others had experienced in the village.

After talking with him and presenting his account, I became curious to understand the view of another migrant of Kathmandu. Confirming the time beforehand, I talked with Shristi Didi (female, 64) in Kathmandu. It was a cold afternoon in January month. This meeting was confirmed based on a telephonic conversation of the previous day. I reached her home the next day. In the beginning, I gave my short introduction. Hearing me, Shristi Didi accepted and assured me to give necessary support throughout the research journey. Taking the verbal consent from her, I opened up the agenda of the conversation. The agenda I unpacked with her was why she left Bharse. At the beginning of the conversation, she shared life was difficult in the village;

*Before deciding to leave the village, I had visited cities, such as Palpa,*

*Butwal, Bhairahawa, Pokhara, and Kathmandu. Then, I realized the life of*

*the village was difficult because I had to walk on foot in which I faced physical pains everyday.*

This story informed me that the new context gave Shristi Didi a sense of the hardship life because of the unavailability of transportation as she felt difficulties in her village. Additionally, going out of the village was also a similar condition because there were no road tracks for the movement of vehicular means. She had to walk on foot whether she liked it or not. Walking long distances was time taking which she felt over time, as other migrants also had faced a similar challenge.

In this vein, knitting the stories of migrants, I unfastened my observational impressions. I noticed Bharse was a hilly village which was a remote place from the municipality, district, and provincial headquarters. Though I saw the gravelled road which was constructed to link Bharse with other places, such as Khaireni<sup>29</sup>, Butwal, Tamghas, and nearby locations, people did not find vehicles regularly because there were only a few vehicles which moved from the village in the morning and some vehicles entered into the village in the afternoon or evening. Mainly, the transportation system was used to carry passengers and goods from Butwal. In the rainy season, this road did not work because of monsoonal floods and landslides. Within the village, the local people walked on foot which I saw during the observational visit of Bharse. To support this account, I added an excerpt of Ellis (2008) as he uncovered reflexive and ethnographies on the same footing as authors use their cultural experiences on self-other interactions reflexively. I saw people of Bharse have given their physical efforts in everyday living because of steep lands.

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<sup>29</sup> Khaireni is the municipality headquarters of the Satyawati Municipality in Gulmi District.



In the village, I saw the mobility of people from the early morning to the late evening which was guided by their working culture. As time passed, some people knew the difficult situation of their village. Nonetheless, almost all of them engaged in the traditional farming system from which they could not afford their food for the whole year. The rough geographical terrain did not support people to produce desirable amounts of food items. In the same way, new technologies could not be introduced to modernize the farming system in the village.

In Bharse, I also saw the electricity supply there for light and mobile charge but people have been facing the problem of the regularity of it. And the local people have not used it in productive work. They neither have knowledge and skills nor do they have technologies to use them. Mobile service was available there in the name of communication service but the internet was still elusive. Some households have installed television to be updated about the news and make entertainment.

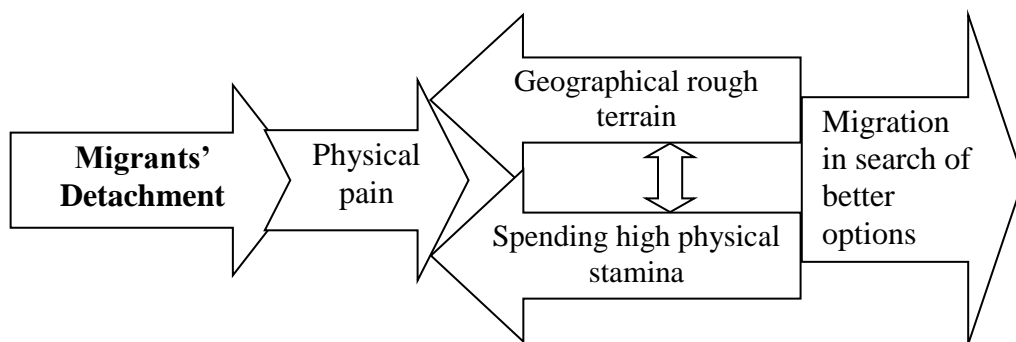
From the stories of migrants and my field observations, I understood some of the push factors of migrants' detachment are similar and few are dissimilar. Scholars (e.g., Terrazas, 2011; Townsend & Oomen, 2015) claimed, there is no single facet of migration. The families and individuals faced problems in their community structure of origin. Such multiple problems they faced there became push factors of migration. I linked this condition with the structuration theory of Giddens (1986). According to him, the structure embodies systems in which individuals hold their positions. Within the same social systems, some people's problems may not be the problems of others, in contrast, others' opportunities may not be the opportunities for them. Thus it depends on the beholders' experiences. Some migrants from Bharse saw challenges in their community, but not all because many Bharseli have been living in their village

even today. Those people who saw various problems wanted to eliminate the existing difficulties (Lee, 1966). In this conjunction, I took an insight that some migrants who had exposure to other places knew the problematic life of their community structure of origin because they took the opportunities to compare the conditions of their community structures of origin and new community structures.

From all these stories, I noticed one of the push factors of migrants from Bharse was a difficult life as it was a remote village but they did not realize it before their exposures to other places. Such exposures became helpful for people to make social networks, understand the conditions of other places, and compare the conditions of other places with the current community which facilitated them to move from there. For me, facing the problems was not a pusher in reality but knowing about the new contexts of other places helped migrants realize the problems of the community structure of origin which inspired migrants to move from there. In the figure below, I have depicted how migrants detach from their community structure of origin because of hardship life.

**Figure 4**

***Realization of Hardship Life***



The figure indicated that the detachment process of migrants began because of the physical hardship of the community structure of origin. Due to rough geographical

terrain, people used their high stamina which makes them fed up. To overcome such a problem, people made the decisions of migration. The stories of migrants taught me, before making the decisions of migration, one way or another, the migrants either visited some places or took ideas about them through social networks. Thus a relationship was a tool that helped migrants to be familiar with the new community structures. On this note, I have discussed social networks which helped migrants to move from the community structure of origin in the section below.

### **Building the Social Network: Relationship for Better Options**

The social network was a push factor of migration from the current community structure of origin. In other words, migration was a by-product of social networks. Simply saying, the network with relatives and acquaintances facilitated leaving the current places. To this piece of the story, I linked a view of Christine Ostermann (2011) and Ciobanu (2013) as they mentioned, migrant networks build ties between present and past migrants which supports transitioning from the community structure of origin to recipient community structures. To understand the view, curiosity drove me to listen to Himel Kanchhaba (male, 66) during the field visit in Butwal in December 2015. I did not have to exchange our introduction between us because we were already familiar with each other. Getting there, we began our conversations. I ignited him to express his experiences about how he was influenced by others (relatives, neighbours/villagers, and acquaintances). To support this idea, I quoted a statement of Amaral (2018) as he explained, migration is influenced by localities of both community structure of origin and recipient community structures. In the same sitting, Himel Kanchhaba expressed society influenced him to migrate from his village. For him, migration is a kind of public provocation because public

provocation created a wave of migration for Himal Kanchhaba's departure. While he was in the village, he one after another had heard positive aspects or benefits of migration from his relatives, villagers, and acquaintances of the next-door neighbours and previous migrants. They gradually influenced him to change the mindset of leaving the village. To substantiate this account, I appropriated a statement of Kurmangaliyeva and Abdrakhmanova (2013) as they viewed, the village's unattractive working conditions compel it to expand social networks to find alternative ways. I linked this view with the story of Himal Kanchhaba.

Some family members, relatives, and villagers of Himal Kanchhaba had already served in the British, Singapore, and Indian Contingents. He had heard about the new places, lifestyles, cultural contexts, and livelihood patterns from them which he could not entertain in the village. To substantiate this piece of the story, I linked a view of KC (2014) as he remarked, economic and cultural factors also trigger people to migrate from the community structure of origin. The motives of Himal Kanchhaba for earning and his villagers' influences upon him forced him to leave the village so that he could enjoy the new amenities. This idea is also authenticated by Gidwani and Sivaramkrishna's (2003) view as they revealed the importance of group networks on migration between the community structure of origin and recipient community structures. The network with kins influenced Himal Kanchhaba to decide for migration. The kinship network also encourages migration (Lyons & Mandaville, 2010; Robertson, 1989; Winkels, 2012). From this account, I understood the relationship is a means to prompt migration.

The story of Himal Kanchhaba revealed that he had seen the material cultures/facilities of other places as he had visited Palpa, Butwal, Bhairahawa, and

Gorakhpur<sup>30</sup> before he departed from Bharse. His villagers and close relatives motivated him to give good aspects of the new community structures where he could enjoy his living. As he shared his experiences, *I had seen some of the next-door neighbours had left the village every year. Many of them migrated permanently, and few of them had gone for a few months and years which became an influential feature for me.* From this account of the story, I noticed neighbours' migration became a mind-blowing matter for Himel Kanchhaba. It was not otherwise for him to think twice about his birthplace.

Spreading such a message evolved a migration motivation in Himel Kanchhaba. It created a migration wave in reality. The previous migrants who were relatives, acquaintances, and neighbours played a role in spreading the positive message in the village that also influenced Himel Kanchhaba. In this connection, de Haas (2014b) remarked, many migrants had become virtually obsessed to leave the community structure of origin because they at least knew something about the new community structure before their departure. As Himel Kanchhaba articulated, *I heard some of my next-door neighbours were chatting with each other about migration from the village and settlement in the new community structures.* From this account of the story, I derived an insight that listening to the decent conditions of the recipient community structure from his relatives, a temptation culminated in Himel Kanchhaba as well because, every year, he regularly had noticed his villagers' departures. Seeing the migration of other relatives and villages, his relatives also encouraged him to leave Bharse and settle in Butwal. To support this idea, I glued a statement of Ritzer

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<sup>30</sup> Palpa, Butwal, Bhairahawa, and Gorakhpur are the places in which many Bharseli migrants are familiar.

(2011) as he viewed, people with strong ties have greater motivation to migrate. In addition, Himal Kanchhaba expressed, *I had witnessed other migrants from my village who had already left the village and some of the villagers were thinking and planning to leave their village on other days*. From this description of the story, I understood, overtly and covertly, seeing his villagers' movement from their community structure of origin and receiving the information from the recipient community structures, he made up his mind to move from the village.

Nonetheless, the information of previous migrants inspired Himal Kanchhaba. To support this extract, I quoted a view of Massey et al. (1993) as they urged, networks simply are interpersonal ties of migrants, previous migrants, and non-migrants in the community structure of origin and recipient community structures through kinship, friendship, and shared community ties together as the message from relatives, neighbours, and villagers gave Himal Kanchhaba confidence in leaving Bharse to live in Butwal. Such a network facilitated him in his migration. This view can be supported by a statement of Ciobanu (2013) and Tilly (2007) as they explained, the trusted networks create confidence to live in the new community structures. Hence, social networks are characterized by the mutual trust that can be shared among the members as they create a latent resource from which migrants assure the benefits of living in the new community structures.

Himal Kanchhaba's social network with relatives and acquaintances of the distant community motivated him to leave the village because his relatives mostly described the good things of Butwal which helped him decide. The social network deals with migration. Hence, migration occurs in response to social change (IOM, 2014). Based on social networks, relatives helped Himal Kanchhaba exaggerating

more about the new contexts of Butwal, such as local community or locations, people and their behaviours, markets, and transportation system. They motivated Himal Kanchhaba to come and live there. Building the confidence, he developed social networks with the recipient community structure in Butwal.

In the initial days, Himal Kanchhaba began to live in Butwal temporarily from where he attempted to be familiar with the local systems. In a concluding remark, Fong et al. (2019) remarked, migrants preferably want to move to community structures that are close to their community structure of origin because proximity enables them to find information about opportunities there and they can maintain ties with their friends and relatives promptly. They asserted proximity matters a lot for migration flows for smooth settlement in the new community structures. After spending some years in Butwal, Himal Kanchhaba thought to leave his village and settle there permanently because he felt confident and comfortable living in the recipient community structure, Butwal. Having seen the transportation, communication, health, education, and employment opportunities in Butwal, he decided to freeze there on other days.

After crafting the story of Himal Kanchhaba, a curiosity arose in my mind which pushed me to talk with another migrant in Butwal. In the cold days of early January 2016, while I was in Butwal, I thought to talk with Maila Guru (male, 44). However, we (He and I) were already familiar with each other. He was a professional person as he has been engaging in school. I always paid attention to his busy schedule. I did not talk much about familial conditions. We informally began our conversations. Though he knew me as a researcher, we did not show our formality. In the course of the conversation, I pushed him towards the agenda of how he thought to

leave the village. As he recalled his memory and said, *I spent two years in Palpa as a student. From there, I had opportunities to visit Butwal, Bhairahawa, and other places. Such visits cultivated new ideas about these new places.* He further continued the story, *I had to go to Palpa, Butwal, or Kathmandu for medical treatment. Rather than frequent travel for this, I decided to migrate to Butwal.* This piece of the story informed me that, considering health conditions, Maila Guru made his network with his relatives in Butwal and knew the information and other facilities. Thus he decided to leave his village and settle in Butwal permanently.

After crafting the story of Maila Guru, in the journey of fieldwork, I attempted to note the stories of migrants in Kathmandu. It was around late January 2016 as I approached Asal Hakim (male, 53) in Kathmandu. It also was a cold morning of a day while I talked with him. At this stage, we were already familiar with each other. We did not have to share the nitty-gritty condition of our families because of our familiarity. In this sitting, he shared that he migrated from the village for higher education which was a temporary migration in the beginning. As he stressed, *for about seven years, I lived out of my village as a student migrant. I did not have any alternatives in the village as I did not have further opportunities to grow in education.* After obtaining his education, he joined the government office. Even, as a government service-holder, he became a temporary migrant because he had to leave the village and work in different parts of Nepal. As he said, *I left the native village for the government service. During my tenure, I learned the new socio-cultural, professional, and economic practices of other sites and people from which I made myself compatible living in Kathmandu.* From this account of the story, I understood, while Asal Hakim became confident of living in Kathmandu, he decided to leave his village.



In Kathmandu, I further appealed to Shristi Didi (female, 64) to share her experiences of how she detached from the village and how it became possible to live in Kathmandu at the moment. I talked with her on a cold day in late January 2016. In this sitting, I requested her to share her life experiences, after the completion of her higher educational degree, she went to Hong Kong first and then Brunei as a teacher. During her tenure in these places, she made a lucrative income from her job. About on and off to Hong Kong and Brunei from Bharse, she shared, *I became familiar with some relatives and acquaintances. I took information from them about the condition of Kathmandu which made it easier to settle here today.* From the verbatim of Shristi Didi, I understood, while she made a network with her relatives and acquaintances of Kathmandu, she decided to leave her original home and live in the recipient community structure, Kathmandu. After talking with Shristi Didi, an interest came into my mind to know the stories of other migrants who have been living in Hong Kong and London.

After doing this, I tried to ascertain the perceptions of international migrants, such as Khusi Saap (male, 61) in Hong Kong and Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) in London. On those days of February 2016, I tried to talk with them through Viber to understand how they had decided to leave their community structure of origin. Till that time, those migrants whose relatives had been living in Hong Kong gave me the contact addresses of their relatives in Hong Kong because they were in regular contact. I also requested them to inform them about me while they chatted with their relatives in Hong Kong. This helped me take information about the Bharseli migrants in Hong Kong. This information became helpful to track migrants in Hong Kong. As a result, I contacted them in Hong Kong. I sent my requests through social media (Facebook) to

those Bharseli migrants who added me to their Facebook friends. All of them received my request. Three of them accepted me on their Messenger sites which made it easier to talk with them.

In the beginning, I talked with Khusi Saap, and then Ujjwal Saap. I understood both of them left Bharse to join the British Contingent which was a temporary migration. The working opportunity in the British Contingent gave them new ideas of the new places, such as Hong Kong and London. Being familiar with the recipient community structures, they later decided to leave their village because they were motivated and became confident to live in Hong Kong and London respectively. So far, temporary residing in the recipient community structures has helped them acquire better opportunities. They permanently decided to leave their community structure of origin and live in the new community structures. Over time, temporary migrants want to live in the recipient community structures permanently (IOM, 2015). In my understanding, Khusi Saap and Ujjwal Saap first went to serve in the British Contingents as temporary migrants. They then became familiar with the new contexts because they made networks with relatives and acquaintances which pulled them there. Finally, they decided to leave Bharse and settle in Hong Kong and London respectively.

In addition, during the field observations of Butwal and Kathmandu, I noted almost all migrants developed their networks with relatives, friends, and acquaintances who helped them by giving the necessary information about the local contexts. In the field, I listened to the conversations of some migrants from Bharse whose relatives and friends had come to Butwal and Kathmandu before they come to their current places. In a study, Castles et al. (2014) argued, more people want to

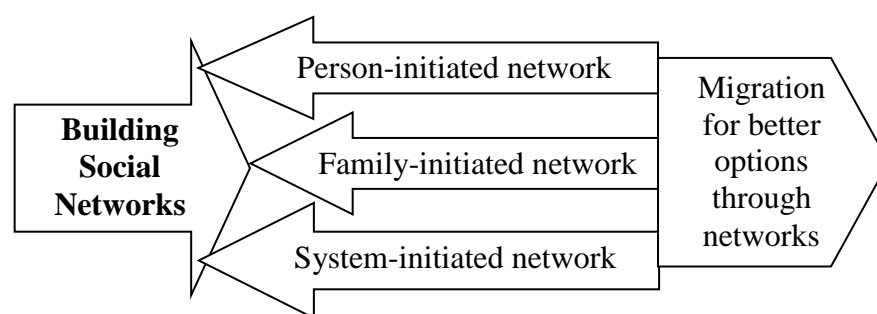
migrate than actual migrants as they see migration as an instrument of researching better options.

Heeding the stories of research participants and observing the fields, I derived some insights that, in the beginning, most of them left their community structure of origin for temporary work, such as service in foreign countries, government service, a private company, etc. which were not available in their home community structure. And their temporary work became helpful for them to understand the new cultural contexts of the potential recipient community structures. This became possible from the networks with relatives and acquaintances. While they became financially and socially confident to live up to the new community structures, they decided to leave their community structure of origin. The social networks between/among relatives and friends fascinated migrants to leave the village. I understood some migrants were motivated to move from the community structure of origin because of the availability of information, relationship with other people, and motivation and encouragement of relatives. Thus the social network also matters somehow in migration. In support of this idea, I quoted a view of Fitzgerald (2012) as he urged, the social networks of migrants establish rapport with other groups of people. Before the temporary settlement in the new community structures, some migrants had strengthened the economic scales in their community structure of origin and they became affluent which became a push factor from their village because they wanted to invest their resources and earn more. The other way around, a few scholars (e.g., Bhagat, 2015; Hossain, 2011) revealed, better opportunities of the recipient community structures attract migrants. Relatively, the better situation of the recipient becomes a centre of attraction for migrants.

The stories of migrants nurtured me that those people who felt both problems, as well as decent living, created a network with the relatives and acquaintances of the recipient community structures. The migration pattern world widely reflects the rapidly changing cultural ties among people (Giddens et al., 2018). From the social network, the migrants built a relationship from which they received information about the conditions of the recipient community structures. I related this issue with the social capital theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). According to them, the social network is a means of migration because it helps people build a relationship with the new community structure. On the basis of social networks, the migrants had visited new places before they departed from Bharse and saw the new opportunities there which helped them decide on migration. After that, the migrants became able to differentiate both challenges and opportunities of their community structure of origin and recipient community structures. The information was supportive for migrants to make the decision of departure from the community structure of origin and build the confidence of living in the new community structure. Consequently, some migrants decided to depart from the village. In the figure below, I have depicted how migrants made their networks before deciding to leave the community structure of origin.

**Figure 5**

***Migrants' Social Networks***



This figure indicated migration is a result of multiple networks. More specifically, the person, family, and system-initiated networks are developed from the community structure of origin. To support this view, I glued an idea of Morad and Sacchetto (2019) as they articulated, social networks facilitate multiple migrations. Such networks become helpful for migrants to decide whether to leave the community structure of origin or not. Explaining this, in the subsequent section, I have presented migrants' experiences about the educational stagnation which they experienced.

### **Experiencing the Educational Stagnation: A Challenge for Empowerment**

The educational stagnation of the current community structure was one of the push factors of some migrants. While they did not feel satisfied with the existing educational activities, they thought to depart from their current community structure. On those days of January 2016, while I was doing the ethnographic research in Butwal, I talked with Maila Guru (male, 44) in Butwal to understand his experiences about the educational stagnation. Reaching there, we sat outside his house. Then, we began to talk about the educational situation of his children. I was already familiar with his village so it became easy for me to talk with him about the agenda. In this sitting, he shared that he did not have expectations to further enhance his academic qualifications but he was thinking of giving his children a better education. To support this idea, I glued a view of Thieme et al. (2005) as they claimed, some migrants tend to leave their community structure of origin for the sake of educational attainment in other places. From this portion of the story, I learned one of the pushers for him was poor education of his birthplace.

From the views of Maila Guru, I understood Bharse could not be a better place for his children's education. He added, being a teacher, he was aware of it. And he

eye-witnessed the educational conditions. In addition, the passiveness of parents and the school management committee could not improve the situation desirably. In the village, the demotivated school personnel neither could deliver desirable educations to their students nor could they fulfill the parents' expectations of education. He also shared that the SLC pass-out rate of the school was becoming lower. Being aware of the poor education of the local school, he began to think of options in other places. The better educated the family is the more mobile it is packing up everything (Lowrey, 2014; Massey, 1999). In addition, the richer people or the capable ones are more prone to migrate which I understood from the story of Maila Guru. Additionally, Gurung (2012) argued, the poor are less likely to migrate because they cannot afford for it. He elaborated further affluent households migrate more. Such a situation occurred in the case of Maila Guru too as he could not see the possibilities of better education for his children in his village. Because of this, he could not be sure of making his children's better future. In this vein, Parajuli (2002) illustrated, out-migration from the village has been an area where we can see the impact of schooling. In the village, Maila Guru did not see both qualities as well as higher education for his children. For him, education has become an instrument for enrichment and is a life-giving asset but the existing educational system and practices could not support him to retain in the community structure of origin. As he expressed his experience in such a way;

*I was somehow aware of the educational system of Ridi, Palpa, Butwal, Bhairahawa, Pokhara, and Kathmandu which helped me compare the educational situation of local schools with other places. I had studied campus in Palpa which gave me educational exposure to the new place. I did not see*

*further opportunities for my children's educational growth and other opportunities associated with education in the village.*

From this account of the story, I noticed exposure to other places gave him some knowledge about better education which compelled Maila Guru to think twice.

In this assertion, I thought to add my memories and reflections of the field observation of Bharse. On my visit there, I went to Janasahayog Secondary School which is the only secondary school in the village. This school was running from one to ten grades. It was a cold afternoon in December month in 2015 while I went there. While I reached there in the break time of the afternoon, all teachers were sitting on their chairs on the ground. They were taking the warmth of the sunshine of the winter days. I reached the school in the daytime but I had not informed the school and teachers, however, all of them accepted me and became eager to listen to me. It was an opportunity to talk with them. Just after exchanging the formal greetings with each other, I tried to be familiar with them and they also gave their introduction with their teaching background. At the same time, they gave me a chair to sit on. After sitting on the chair, I shared the purpose of my visit. I furthermore discussed with the teacher about the educational situation of the school.

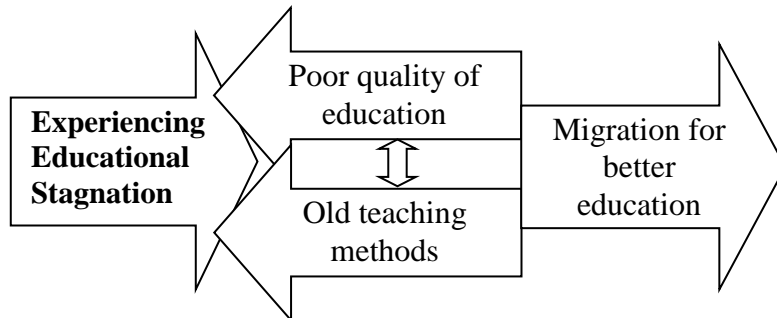
Sitting together, our conversation began. I requested them to share the educational situation of the school. The headmaster spoke about his school. He expressed that the number of students has been decreasing every year because of migration as people from Bharse have been migrating. From this account, I noticed the low number of students in the school signified migration. During the conversation, other teachers also added migration from the village has perennially been happening which resulted in fewer students there. To sort out this problem, the community was

not much proactive to upgrade the school anymore rather than leaving the village, however, they rather became more proactive to leave the village for their children's better education because they were aware of the better education of other places. In connection to this view, McClain et al. (2020) also urged, knowing the recipient community structure's better education is a motivating factor of migration. And teachers alone could not improve the educational situation without the support of the community. After spending about one hour with school teachers, I exited from there.

While I visited Bharse for the ethnographic fieldwork, I saw the numbers of students in the schools were decreasing because of people's migration. However, some efforts have been put to improve the educational system but it could not satisfy all people so they tend to migrate. I noticed one of the facets of migration was to search for better educational institutions where they could admit their children. In this sense, "migration is seen as a process of improving one's condition" (Wolfel, 2002, p. 3). And some migrants who left their village for their children's education had already received information about the modern education of the recipient community structures.

From the conversations with Maila Guru in Butwal and my field observations of the Bharse Village, I noticed migration caused the lower number of students in the local school. Thus the degrading educational condition also contributed to the migration of people. However, the school, community, and local leaders have made efforts untiringly to improve it which could not be sufficient to change the educational condition. In the figure below, I have illustrated how poor education pushes people to migrate from the community structure of origin.



**Figure 6*****Feelings of Educational Stagnations***

From this figure, I accounted for the idea of how the educational stagnation of the community structure of origin pushes migrants. Particularly, the poor quality of education and, old methods of teaching and learning processes elicit migrants to move from the community structure of origin with the hope of finding better options of education in the new community structure. Explaining migrants' stories of educational stagnation, in the subsequent section, I have discussed the inadequate health services which migrants experienced.

### **Experiencing the Inadequate Health Services**

The inadequate health service was one of the push factors of migrants from the community structure of origin. While people of the rural areas feel the challenges of health issues at the current place, they decide to leave their current location. To substantiate this extract, I linked the story of Maila Guru (male, 44) in Butwal in January 2016. Approaching him there, I listened to his story about the health issue whether it is also a pusher or not. He unhesitatingly showed his generosity to tell his stories openly in this conversation. From his story, like other villagers, he used to take local herbal medicines for minor types of illnesses in the

village which I noticed. Herbal medicines used to be prepared by his parents, elders, and sometimes, by faith healers.

Maila Guru furthermore shared his story as he was suffering from chronic heart disease for many years. Before some years, he had done heart surgery so he regularly had to consult with doctors that were not possible in his village. The available health services of the local health institution were not enough for him. The local health centre could provide only first aid services and basic treatment. For his treatment, he either had to go to Palpa and Butwal or Kathmandu. His poor health condition, unavailability of good health services in his village, and therefore, frequent travel to other places for health services frustrated him. This shows the health problem pushes people from the community structure of origin.

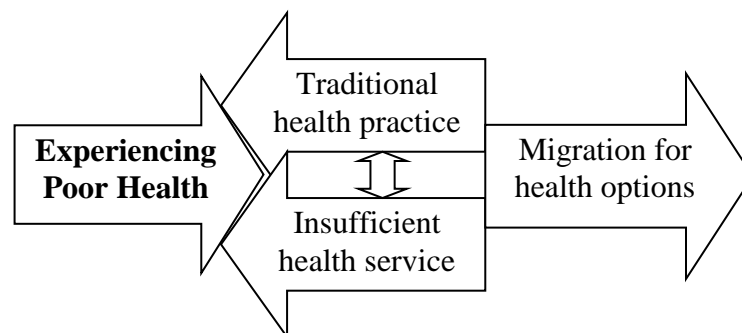
For the treatment, Maila Guru neither met health experts nor could he find equipment in the home village. Because of this, available health workers and apparatuses were not enough for his treatment. As he articulated, *to keep my health intact, I regularly had to buy medicines but those medicines were not available in the village. To buy those medicines, I either had to go to Butwal, or I had to reach Kathmandu.* This piece of the story instilled an insight that going to other places or distant locations to buy medicines was troublesome for Maila Guru. The health problem made him conscious of thinking to leave the village. So far, the health issue of a person becomes a push factor (Papademetriou & Newland, 2014). Maila Guru was unsure of getting service in critical health conditions from which he was suffering.

From the field engagement of Bharse, I noticed the unavailability of a better health facility became a reason for moving away from the community structure of

origin. While I visited Bharse in December 2015, I went to the local health post and talked with the health workers there who had been providing services from their office. At the same time, I had talked with the health post-in-charge. According to him, the health post provides basic services, such as first aid service, child delivery, vaccinations, oral drops, etc. Thus they can provide minor health services from their office. Especially major health complications cannot be cured in the local health institution because the local health post neither has sufficient human resources with technical skills nor has its equipment and medicines. Without these capacities, it was impossible to provide services to people because the technical capacity of health posts is poor. Such a situation has been contributing to migration from the village. From this account, I knew the unavailability of health services was also a pusher of some migrants. In the figure below, I have discussed how the poor health of the community structure of origin becomes a push factor.

**Figure 7**

***Inadequacy of Health Services***



From this figure, I derived the idea that the poor health condition of the community structure of origin could not be helpful for migrants. Most of them used to practise the traditional health systems which were not enough for them. Not only this but also, insufficient health service of the current place could not support them. In the

end, migrants from the current place tried to find better health services in other places. Elucidating it, in the section below, I have discussed the repetitive work which migrants experienced in the community structure of origin.

### **Repetitive Work of Everyday Life**

The repetitive work of the village played a role to detach migrants from the community structure of origin. So far stereotypic work of the current place is concerned, some migrants felt redundancy which facilitates them to make migration decisions. I understood this from the expressions of Asal Hakim (male, 53) and Shristi Didi (female, 64). On those cold days of January 2016, I talked with Asal Hakim in Kathmandu first and then Shristi Didi.

It became easy for me to harness the relationship with Asal Hakim because he was quite familiar with me before. To collect the information, I reached his home at the stipulated time. Sitting in an open space, I requested him to express his experiences about the work he used to do in the village. In this sitting, he flashed back his memories as he shared, in the village, he experienced repetitive work, i.e., farm-related activities which were transferred from his forefathers to him. And a working pattern repeats everyday, month, and year. The work pattern refers to regularity and routine which leads people to repeat the same behaviours and activities without constantly making conscious, rational choices, and options (de Haas, 2014b). To this account, Asal Hakim had been doing similar types of work that his parents used to do while he was in Bharse. The younger generations always adopt the forefather's practices, and they apply them in their everyday living (Lewis, 2004). Like this, Asal Hakim did not have other options of traditional work. As he said;

*Waking up from the bed in the morning, I had to go to cow and buffalo sheds to give them grasses and clean up their dungs and urines. This was regular work that was assigned by parents. After that, I used to have breakfast. More often, I had to go to grasslands to collect grasses to feed domestic animals, such as buffaloes, cows, sheep, and goats. In the afternoon, I had to go to farmlands to uproot weeds of the farms, dig out the lands, plants, and harvest crops. Farmlands were located in different places but the everyday work was almost similar to what I had to do in the village.*

From the piece of the story of Asal Hakim, I learned, everyday, month, and year, he also did a similar type of work applying the traditional working methods, knowledge, skills, and local technologies in Bharse. In a way, not updating the knowledge and skills lead to migration (FAO & UNESCO, 2003; Hugo et al., 2015). In addition, walking up and down hills was the regular activity for Asal Hakim in his village. Besides this, he witnessed some of his family members used to engage in household chores. Cleaning the house, cooking food for the family, and fetching water was the major work. He was fed up with the repeated chores of his village. As he narrated his story in such a way;

*Apart from schooling, everyday, I played with sickles, hays, plows, yokes, and spades as these implements were used for farm-related activities. These tools and instruments assisted me in doing farming-based activities. I also used bamboo baskets, daamlo<sup>31</sup>, naamlo<sup>32</sup>, dori<sup>33</sup>, and khurpeto<sup>34</sup>. These tools and instruments were a part of everyday life.*

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<sup>31</sup> *Daamlo* is a rope of bamboo prepared to tie domestic cattles, such as buffalo, cows, etc. at sheds, especially in the villages of Nepal.

From this account of the story, I understood Asal Hakim's everyday living was of a traditional type. To support this excerpt, I quoted a view of Brown (2002) as he concluded, the conventional way of living leads to migration. Asal Hakim used to work regularly in the same pattern. Such work did not support him in addressing his food, clothes, health, education, and housing. The traditional way of working and living made him think twice about his village because he could not change the ways of living there. As such, traditional ways and systems do not transform the ways of living (Brown, 2002). From this account, I took an insight that the rustic life became tedious for Asal Hakim.

After weaving the story of Asal Hakim, a curiosity arose in my mind to understand the experiences of another research participant (migrant) in Kathmandu. Then, I managed to talk with Shristi Didi (female, 64) on those cold days of January 2016. It became easy for me to speak with her because we were already familiar with each other. Most of the time, Shristi Didi shared that she was involved in the household chores and traditional farming activities in her home village. As Shristi Didi evoked, *as a female member of the family, I usually used to wash and clean the house premises in the morning. Likewise, fetching water from the water tape was another major work in the village.* From her expression, I understood some tasks were culturally defined for women from which she was not obsolete. At her time, the

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<sup>32</sup> *Naamlo* is a rope of aloo or jute or plastic to carry a backpack. In the villages of Nepal, almost farmers use it to pick up and carry loads.

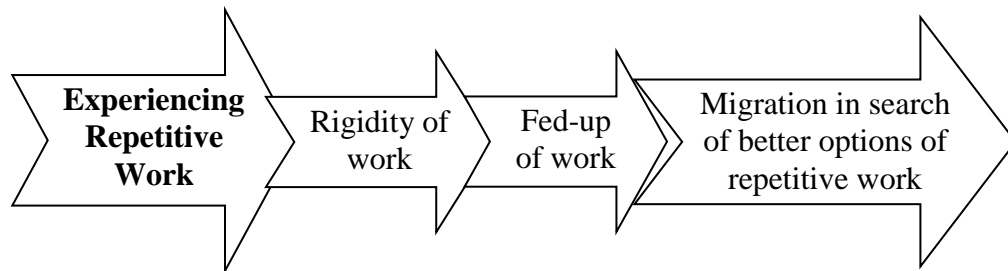
<sup>33</sup> *Dori* is a rope prepared to tie grass and other materials in bundles.

<sup>34</sup> *Khurpeto* is a wooden material with a hole in which sickle is put and tied around waist by farmers of the villages of Nepal.

whitewash of the house and cleaning of the surroundings were also the main tasks of women. Occasionally, she used to distribute grasses to her cattle, such as buffaloes and cows. As Shristi Didi added, *I sometimes used to prepare foods for the family. Besides this, I usually washed dishes/utensils after having breakfast, lunch, snacks, and dinner. And I prepared breakfast and snacks for the family members.* This piece of the story taught me that she was a multi-task holder in the village as she had to do these tasks regularly.

Likewise, Shristi Didi had to involve in traditional farm-related activities because that was the only way of living. The working pattern of Shristi Didi was not much different from other villagers in Bharse. As he said, *I used to engage in digging the farmlands to produce crops. I had to involve in chopping and collecting the grasses from the forests. And I also had to uproot the weeds from the farmlands to protect crops.* Even, putting her high efforts into the village, she could not bring change in her life. Gradually, she felt tiresome with the repetitive work.

Besides this, during the field observation of Bharse, I noted redundancy of work had created a weariness in people because of which some migrants decided to leave the village. They mostly had engaged in traditional agro-farm-related activities which could not be supportive of addressing the daily needs. From the story of Asal Hakim and Shristi Didi and my field observations, I understood the repetitive work of the community structure of origin made them frustrated which ultimately became a pusher for them. For them, migration became an option to overcome it. In this figure, I have depicted an idea of how the repetitive work of the community structure of origin pushed migrants there.

**Figure 8****Experiences of Stereotypic Work**

As the figure depicted, in everyday living, the migrants had to engage in repetitive work in the community structure of origin. Such works were mostly rigid works because it became difficult for migrants to change such activities. Because of such nature of work, they were fed up with it. For them, migration became the only option. Explaining this story, in the following section, I have described the *laure* culture which was induced by the system.

### **The *Laure* Culture: System-Induced Migration**

The *laure* migration was a push factor of the community structure of origin, Bharse. The youths' physical and mental abilities also became a source of migration. In line with this extract, I acquired the experiences of Khusi Saap (male, 61) of Hong Kong and Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) of London. Around February 2016, one day, I called Khusi Saap through Messenger and requested him to allocate time for me. He received the call but he was driving towards his office so he promised to call me later. After about an hour, he called me back on the mobile. We both were already familiar with each other which made me easier to open the agenda straightforward. In this conversation, I tried to understand why and how Khusi Saap migrated from Bharse to Kathmandu and then to Hong Kong. Now, he became open to sharing his story of migration.



At the beginning of the conversation, Khushi Saap recalled a phenomenon of about forty years before. At that time, in Bharse, the *galla*<sup>35</sup> used to come to his village, and the person used to select youths on behalf of the British Contingent. Knowing this reality, he also was motivated to join the British Contingent.

Bharse traditionally is a *laure* village. From the next-door beighbours and villagers, Khushi Saap had heard about the *laure* culture. His family and community always used to encourage him to be *laure* in the British, Singapore, and Indian Contingents because of ‘cultural beliefs’ (Kian & Beach, 2019) which could bring fortune in his life. For this, the first choice was the British Contingent. The second choice used to be Singapore Contingent, and the third choice used to be the Indian Contingent. Even today, many Nepali youths have been working in the British, Singapore, and Indian Contingents, and other countries (Shrestha, 2017; Subedi, 2017). Following this tradition, the preference of parents and youths was to know the date of *galla*’s arrival in the village. Khushi Saap was also conscious of this from his predecessors, relatives, villagers, and acquaintances. As a continuation of the conversation, he added, *I had heard the date of galla’s arrival in my village. At that time, the galla was the one who used to measure the height and chest particularly.* This version cultivated a sagacity in me that, before coming to a particular place, the *galla* would send the location name, date, and time indicating specific villages of the surrounding areas. On that particular day, youths from different villages used to come to show their physical bodies. On the same day, he went there to show his height and chest. At the same time, his basic physical fitness was examined. This was the first

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<sup>35</sup> *Galla* is an agent formally appointed to select able-bodied youths in the British and Singapore Contingents.

level of selection. Fortunately, he became fit for this. As a result, he was nominated in the preliminary selection.

Not only in the first selection but also, in all other subsequent selections, Khushi Saap was selected. Finally, he was taken to Hong Kong for recruitment training. After the selection in the British Contingent, he moved to Hong Kong. To substantiate this piece of the story, I quoted an interpretation of Kansakar (1982) as he stated, Bharse is a village of *laure* migrants. In the past, many youths from this village joined the British-India Contingent. In this conjunction, I cited a view of Shrees (2013) as he said, the *bharti*<sup>36</sup> system motivated youths to join the British Contingent. Even today, this tradition is continuously in practice. As Khushi Saap said, *my physical and mental abilities became a pusher because I was selected to serve in the British Contingent. For this, migration was the only option for me.* In a way, the physical fitness of youths becomes a trigger for migration. For this, Khushi Saap was an able-bodied youth who supported him to move from his birthplace. He moved to different places in Nepal during the selection process and visited many different places or countries of the world after his recruitment in the British Contingent. For this process, his physical fitness became supportive.

During his service in the British Contingent, Khushi Saap brought his spouse and children (family) to Kathmandu. He began to do his ups and downs in Kathmandu. Later, he built a house in Kathmandu. After that, rather than going back to Bharse, he spent leave days there. As time passed, he left Bharse and settled in Kathmandu permanently. His movement continued further and, at the time of this study, he was in Hong Kong.

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<sup>36</sup> *Bharti* means to join the contingent formally.

Khusi Saap's moving to Hong Kong was made possible with the landmark decision of the British Government as the Hong Kong Id (Identity) was enacted providing the opportunity of living to those individuals in Hong Kong who were born there. Even, the dependents were also given privileges to settle there. In such a condition, being an ex-serviceman of the British Army, Khusi Saap got the opportunity to live in Hong Kong. After that, he left Kathmandu.

After creating the story of Khusi Saap in Hong Kong, I thought and planned to talk with Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) in April 2016 who has been living in London. He has a similar story of migration to the story of Khusi Saap because he also was a *laure* of the British Contingent. In the recruitment process in the contingent, he followed the process which he had observed and known from his villages and colleagues. Before the departure of Bharse, he contacted his relatives and acquaintances in Kathmandu. After knowing the situation of Kathmandu, he left the village. The story of living in London is similar to Khusi Saap because he also had gone to Hong Kong in the status of Hong Kong ID. After spending some years, he moved to London because the British Government announced IRL law under which the Hong Kong ID could go to the United Kingdom (UK) and live there. From the story of Khusi Saap in Hong Kong and Ujjwal Saap in London, I drew the idea that they were able-bodied youths of the village because of which they tend to migrate from the village.

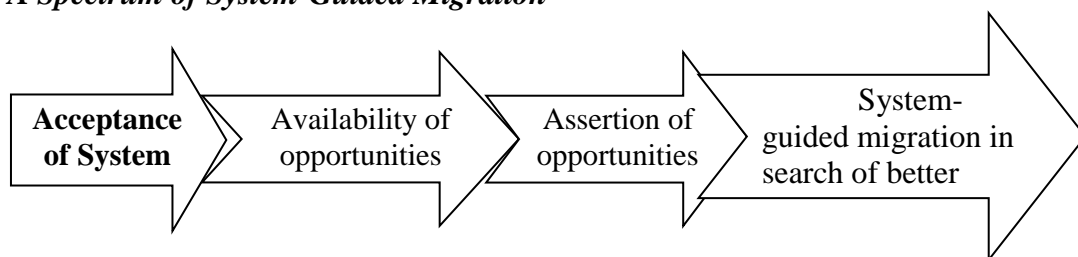
In the journey of this research, I noticed some migrants' social, economic, and educational conditions were relatively better in their village. The *laure* migrants, especially youths left their village because of their physical strengths

and mental abilities to serve in the military contingent. In sum, both problems migrants faced and the opportunities they acquired in the village pushed them from there. In other words, both challenges and opportunities were the push factors for migrants.

From the story of Khusi Saap (male, 61) of Hong Kong and Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) of London, I noticed some of them have similar types of problems, and others have dissimilar types of challenges. The other way around, the problems differ from person to person or family to family, whereas the opportunities also vary from person to person or family to family. Thus the problems of a person/household can be different from the problems of another person/family. However, all of them became pushers for them from the community structure of origin. In the following figure, I have depicted how the system pushes people to migrate from the community structure of origin.

**Figure 9**

***A Spectrum of System-Guided Migration***



From this figure, I derived the idea of how a system and landmark decision prompted migration. While new opportunities for migrants are created, it is a human tendency that people always wanted to receive the opportunities. One way or another, the opportunities of the recipient community structures attracted migrants from the community structure of origin. Knitting the story of *laure* culture, in the section

below, I have described the insufficiency of resources that the migrants experienced in the community structure of origin.

### **Experiencing the Insufficiency of Resources**

The inadequacy of land resources detached some people from the community structure of origin because it could not support the growing needs of some migrants. Along with the increment of family size, the fragmentation of land size also began. Such fragmented land size did not support them to live a smooth life. In this connection, I linked this view with the story of Ujjwal Saap (male, 64). In the journey of ethnographic research, it was the month of April 2016 as I called Ujjwal Saap on his Viber to seek how he felt about his land resource. Listening to my ring, he received the call but I could not talk much because he was on the way to his office but he promised me to call back. After an hour, he called me back and our conversation began. I appealed to him to share his view. He explained to me why he left his village.

In line with this note, Ujjwal Saap shared the laws of the land of the country and the traditional system in Nepal allowed dividing the parental properties into sons and unmarried daughters. The sons and unmarried daughters were the inheritors of the forefather's movable and immovable properties but the married daughters may not inherit those properties. The traditional belief system is that the sons take care of their parents at old age. The sons take the shares of those properties. This was a tradition of Bharse that also applied to Ujjwal Saap too. As he added, *the fragmented pieces of land could not meet the growing personal and familial needs. The partitioned properties neither supported him to fulfill the wants nor could they be modernized easily.* To substantiate this piece of the story,

I took the support of Myers' (1999) idea as he unfolded, migration is usually a response to housing, personal, and family needs. Borrowing this idea, I understood Ujjwal Saap's fragmented lands could serve his needs which pushed him from the community structure of origin.

In addition, Ujjwal Saap added the demand was increasing in his family in the village but the income from the available land was not enough to make his living better. The landmasses were smaller and fragmented in which it was challenging to produce crops better on the one hand, and on the other, he could not commercialize these pieces of land because he neither could give his lands on lease nor could he grow crops for cash. In such a situation, he did not hope to improve the situation.

The other way around, Ujjwal Saap added his knowledge and skills were not enough to buy and use new agricultural tools and implements which could support him in making the existing lands profitable and addressing the growing needs of the family. Additionally, he recalled, *even, I could not hire technical persons who have the new knowledge and skills to better use small pieces of land for desirable income.* Ujjwal Saap was aware of the fact that neither technical persons could be found in the village itself nor could they be hired from other places to utilize the lands. Moreover, he added, *the sub-division of my ancestral lands and other properties did not support maintaining the living in the village.* From this trope of the story, the idea I drew is that, while the properties are divided into shares for sons and daughters, they cannot meet their growing needs. To this end, I linked a statement of Chase-Dunn (2006) as he expressed, the

consequences of population pressure on available lands led to migration because the share of lands becomes insufficient for succeeding generations. The Nepali system and culture of dividing the lands of predecessors into small shares to younger generations do not support fulfilling the needs.

Besides this, the buy and sale of land were almost stopped in Bharse because of which the value of land was decreasing over time. As Ujjwal Saap added, *I tried to sell the lands but the price was very low because many of my villagers also wanted to sell their lands. And those persons who wanted to live in the village were reluctant to buy other's lands.* While the value of properties decreased, knowing this fact, Ujjwal Saap felt desperate to live in the village. As he expressed;

*I was ready to give my lands and house to relatives and villagers to live and work in free of monetary and non-monetary costs or fees but local people who had been living in the village did not want to take those pieces of land because they had their lands on the one hand, and on the other, like me, other migrants also wanted to give their lands to other people in the same way.*

From this account of the story, I understood Ujjwal Saap wanted to sell all pieces of land at once but he could not do that. Thus he sold some pieces of land which were far from his house but the rest could remain unsold because the following heredities could remember it as a piece of ancestral land. According to Aubriot (2010), migration is affected by the land-owning of people. Despite Ujjwal Saap's relocation from Bharse, he still thinks about his birthplace as a symbol of ancestral land.

After noticing the story of Ujjwal Saap, I thought to instill my field experiences of Bharse. While I was there, I saw some houses and buffalo sheds were empty because of the villagers' migration. There were some empty houses in all *toles*<sup>37</sup> of Bharse because the house owners had left them. Most of them were old and were not repaired. Some houses and sheds were cracked in the exterior parts. A few of them were crumbled as well.

In the visit, I saw the huge chunks of terraces of lands were barren as they gradually converted into forestlands. While land resources become less productive and give few products, people over time are likely to leave their community structure of origin (Massey et al., 2007). Nowadays, it is visible that the volume of forests has been increasing in Bharse. Because of this, the number of wild animals has also been increasing which I heard from some villagers. Monkeys, birds, porcupines, boars, and bears sometimes eat and destroy the crops of villagers. In addition, leopards occasionally eat goats stealing from the sheds at night and they steal them from the forest at the time of grazing. Because of migration, the volume of forests has been increasing and so is the situation of wild animals. From all these realities, I drew the idea that the one-way flow of migration has been stirring over the years. The notable point is that migration is not only happening in a year but it has been happening every year.

While talking with Khusi Saap in Hong Kong in February 2016, I understood the similar stories of other migrants. Like the story of Ujjwal Saap, Khusi Saap had small pieces of land in Bharse and those chunks of land were scattered. Some of them

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<sup>37</sup> *Toles* are small clusters of settlement which are smaller than villages.

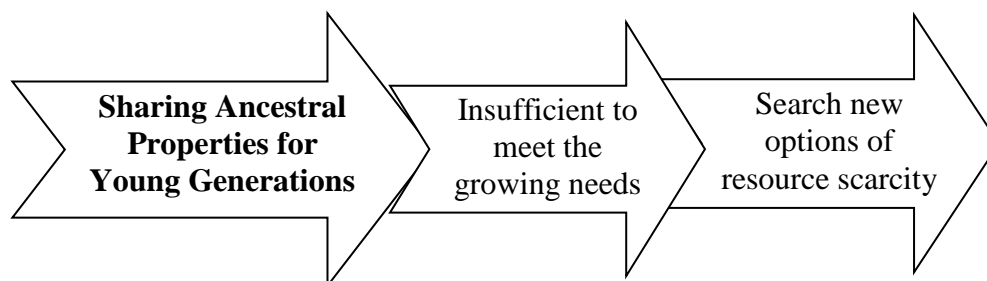


were quite near the house and many of them were far from the residence. As an ancestral property, he also had received small chunks of land which were not enough for the family's subsistence and to meet other wants, such as material and non-material needs. The resource-poor is a condition which compels people to migrate (Gurung, 1988). The story of Ujjwal Saap revealed that he was dissatisfied with the available resources of his village. On the contrary, Bylander (2017) concluded with a different view, the poorest people are unlikely to migrate. Again I thought to add the field memories of Bharse hereby. While I reached there, I saw farmlands have been decreasing but forest lands have been increasing in the village.

Nonetheless, the migrants did not have more options without engaging in the traditional systems, such as farming practices, animal husbandry, working patterns, etc. And parental properties could not meet the growing needs of migrants. This became one of the issues of migration for Bharseli migrants. In the following figure, I have depicted how insufficient resources thrust migrants from the community structure of origin.

**Figure 10**

***Experiencing Inadequate Resources***



From this figure, I drew the ideas of how migrants leave their community structure of origin. It had happened because of insufficient resources, such as land resources, family assets, and ancestral properties because these assets had to be

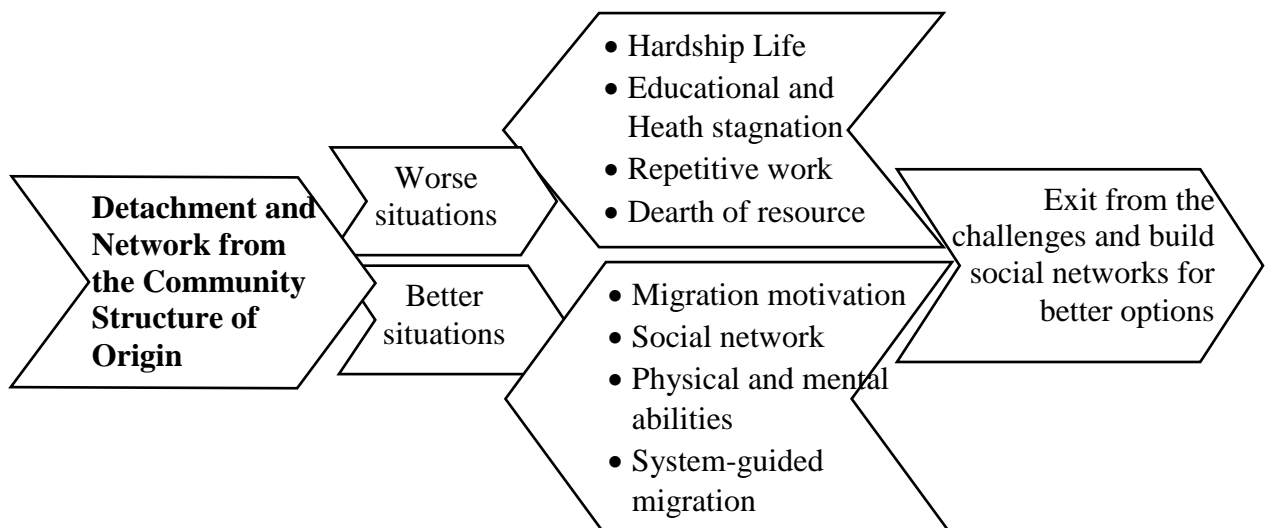
partitioned into small shares for sons and daughters. While these assets were divided into small shares, these assets could not be sufficient for the younger generations anymore. Consequently, the migrants began to search for more resources in the new community structures which could be possible after migration from Bharse. In the section below, I have drawn the key ideas of the chapter.

### Chapter Conclusion

From the conversations with some migrants and my field observation, I concluded with a focus on how migrants detach and make their networks from the community structure of origin. The embodiment of migrants' life experiences taught me that not only the negative facets of the community structure of origin are the facets of migration but the positive facets also facilitate them to leave their current places. Those migrants who left their current places because of problems wanted to change their ways of living and other migrants who left their places because of better conditions also wanted to transform their living better. In sum, the downward migration from Bharse became a pertinent issue which I substantiated from the stories of migrants, literature, conversations, and observations.

**Figure 11**

#### *A Detachment Process and Network Initiative*



From the figure, I conceived how migrants detach and make social networks from the community structure of origin. These strands of figure revealed both worse and better situations of the community structure of origin as these features were the pushers. In other words, both challenges and opportunities pushed people from their current places. In summary, the migrants embodied the worse and better situations in the community structure of origin while they knew about the recipient community structures through the social network. In the subsequent chapter, I discussed how migrants experience their social, economic, professional, and residential positions in the recipient community structures.

CHAPTER V  
MIGRANTS' POSITIONALITY AND NEW NETWORKS IN THE RECIPIENT  
COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

In the earlier chapter, I discussed why and how migrants left their community structure of origin. I wove the stories of migrants who narrated their stories of detachment from the community structure of origin and the network with the recipient community structures. The migrants have varied experiences of detachment and network because of different personal desires and household needs. They desired a life that does not demand hard physical work and provides materialistic wealth. Likewise, the migrants were the ones who could take information about the new community structures from the mediums of social networks. In this chapter, I have discussed how they create new social, economic, professional, and residential positions. I also have knitted the stories of how they changed their behaviour for their adaptation and experienced dual behaviours and practices in the recipient community structures. Similarly, I have elaborated on how they made the network at the current places. In the end, I have attempted to draw the meanings.

**Building the Social Space: Possessing the New Positionality**

The social space was a prerequisite for migrants after the settlement in the new community structures because, in everyday living, the engagement of migrants in social activities and systems was a requirement. To this effect, I linked the stories of migrants from Bharse. On those days of December 2015, I met Himal Kanchhaba (male, 66) to acquire his story. For this, I had an informal conversation as he shared

his experiences about expanding the social space in Butwal. He has been living there for more than four decades. In the initial days, reaching Butwal, he took shelter in his relative's house. On other days, with the help of his relatives, he became familiar with the local people and their behaviours, the other new migrants, and locations. Being familiar with the local people and their everyday activities made him compatible with living in the new context. In this way, he got the opportunities to have new experiences. As a new migrant, he needed to know new migrants in the new place. For better adjustment, he had to engage in the cultural practices, customary laws, and systems of the new community structure as well. In line with this idea, Pun (2018b) claimed, it is an essential condition for migrants to be familiar with the local systems of the new community structure. As time passed, Kanchhaba learned a new way to interact from which it became easier for him to adjust to the new context. As he stressed;

*I speak the Nepali language and the locals also speak the same language but the way of expression was a bit different between them and me in Butwal. As a newcomer, I attempted to be familiar with the local way of conversation so that both of us could feel comfortable for interactions. It became easier for me to broaden the social space in Butwal.*

This piece of the story instilled an idea that, as a migrant, he had an obligation to be familiar with the local context and adjust himself accordingly but it was unlikely for local people to be familiar with the cultural behaviours and practices because the local people were already familiar with them but it was a must for him. To support this idea, I quoted a view of Linhard and Parsons (2019) as they expressed, local people's influence remains relatively high in migrants. It is not desirable for a migrant

to influence local people. In the course of hearing Himel Kanchhaba, I noted how he built his network in Butwal. Living in the new community structure, he had developed a new network with the local and new groups of people which was also a condition. In this way, his relatives helped him link with the new people of Butwal. This network consists of interpersonal connections with the local people so that the migrant and the local people share the same set of values. Such activity became helpful to Himel Kanchhaba. To substantiate this extract, I fetched an idea of de Haas (2014b) as he viewed migrants' networks of interpersonal connections and ties with the recipient community structures as such behaviours help migrants create social and professional spaces. In this line, Himel Kanchhaba became an inseparable part of the recipient community structure. Such a network enabled him to adjust to the new social systems and practices of the new context and became instrumental in interacting with the local people. So far, he aptly changed the ways of everyday interactions in Butwal. As a migrant, he had to change his ways of living which became possible from his network. As he said;

*The new social network I built advanced my interactions with the local people as well as the new groups of people to engage in their social activities. In everyday living, I had to be familiar with the local people and their activities which became supportive of enlarging my social space in the new community structure. From this process, I strengthened my social ties with other groups of people.*

Culturally, it was a need for Himel Kanchhaba to be familiar with the local people's attitudes in Butwal. He had to be ready to change his behaviours to adjust there. Some aspects of daily living and dealings in Butwal were similar to his place of

origin while many others were quite different. To substantiate this excerpt, I quoted Tutenges' (2019) idea as he unfolded, the way people speak, gesticulate, and listen differs cross-culturally. And the meaning of a story can vary in the new context. It was not difficult to understand the language in Butwal because the Nepali language is the national symbol but the socio-cultural behaviours and practices of Butwal were new for him. It was difficult for Himal Kanchhaba to find ways to know and be familiar with the new context as Erdal (2014) and Suarez-Orozco (2008) mentioned, the new context of the recipient community structures demands the local ways of living for migrants. The old behaviours and practices do not apply in the new community structure. In such a condition, it was a must for Himal Kanchhaba to be familiar and develop relationships with other people in Butwal. Once he established relationships with local people, it became easy to understand their social values, norms, and cultural behaviours. According to Docquier et al. (2019), cultural norms, values, and beliefs support people to make adjustment decisions.

Himal Kanchhaba gradually accustomed himself to the new community structure. He had some familiar friends there and, with their support, he joined BTI (Butwal Technical Institute)<sup>38</sup> which was his professional engagement. Through his engagement, he extended his network further with other colleagues or professionals of the same institute. As he added, *I made linkage with the new professionals and colleagues who had held different roles, responsibilities, and capacities. This helped me create another level of social space.* This network enabled him to make new networks further. With the help of the new network at BTI, Himal Kanchhaba

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<sup>38</sup> BTI (Butwal Technical Institute) is an institute which provides technical knowledge and skills to apprentices.

developed his professional space. Now, he had a new job. He had to rearrange his lifestyle and ways of living to fit the socio-cultural and economic contexts of the recipient community structure. This situation parallels the findings of Muller-Boker (2017) as she mentioned, migrants have to rearrange a part of their life paths after their settlement in the recipient community structures. It was a condition for Himal Kanchhaba to acquire new experiences in the new community structure.

With the job at a new location and rearrangement of lifeways, the recipient community structure for Himal Kanchhaba became the social world of everyday living and he made a new social position from his professional engagement. It was a better social position which became possible only because he was a quality migrant. An earlier study by IOM (2020) revealed, very high-quality migrants have better social positions. This story has linkage with the experiences of Himal Kanchhaba. In addition, along with a new social position, the economic condition became relatively better than that of his native place. It helped him establish a new identity as a 'migrant' in the local community by then. A study by Brambilla (2010) also revealed, identities reproduced new areas of overlap in the new community structures. This is an overlap between the new and old cultural practices. This situation can be linked with the study findings devised by Xiang and Toyota (2013) as they remarked, migrants embody multiple identities, flexible accumulation of new cultural practices, and experiences in other places than their community structure of origin. Hence, migration provides an opportunity to be familiar with the new activities of the arrival community.

In addition, Himal Kanchhaba's migration case can be interpreted as one of the well-managed migration cases where he revealed his courage to manage to live in the



new context. The newness of Butwal and its people functioned as a prerequisite for Himal Kanchhaba to deal with local reality in the initial days. Not only he was able to strengthen his ties through a friendship but also he obtained a job. He utilized his ability to restructure the ways of living in the new community structure. After all, he demonstrated a well-managed migration which is beneficial for him in the recipient community structure because people have an enigmatic ability as Bourdieu (1986) claimed. And in the words of de Haas (2021), it is intrinsic value. Hence, Himal Kanchhaba was conscious of the new context and adjustment to social and economic life. Somehow, migration is beneficial for those who tend to engage in this process as is reported in OECD (2017). There are many ways of creating positionalities in the recipient community structures.

Engaging with Himal Kanchhaba, I was interested to understand the view of another migrant in Butwal. During the field visit, I talked with Maila Guru (male, 44) in January 2016. I called him on the phone beforehand and took his consent for the meeting. On a cold day, I reached his home. I waited for him for about an hour there but it was worth doing that. And I utilized the waiting time to observe his ways of living. While he came home, we proceeded to talk. From this description, I understood Maila Guru's entry to Butwal was relatively new. He just had spent a few years there. Being a new migrant, he learned and adjusted to the new cultural practices and social behaviours. It was a precondition for him to be familiar with the new societal values and norms.

In the same way, Maila Guru had to learn the new rules and regulations, and customary laws of the new community structure. In this way, he created a new space to become a part of that community in recognition of the local people. According to him;

*As a newcomer, I put my best efforts to amalgam myself in Butwal because I adjusted to the new cultural context and customary practices. For this, I changed my behavioural patterns and daily living somehow. And my professional title got social recognition. I got the recognition of guru<sup>39</sup> from the local people which became a social position.*

This piece of the story instilled an insight that being a migrant is a social position for Maila Guru. Apart from this account, along with his professional engagement, he made his connections with the local people. He was involved in social activities and became a member of the community where he had come and lived. The relationship with the next-door neighbours became supportive for him to adjust.

After weaving the story of Maila Guru, I instilled my reflection of the field observation of Butwal and Kathmandu. Almost all migrants usually made their social space in their respective community structures. In the journey of the field study, I had an opportunity to engage myself in a New Year celebration of Bharseli migrants in Kathmandu. On the first of Baisakh, the Bhaseli migrants marked the New Year of 2016. It was an event in which almost all migrants participated this event for celebration. In the event, some of them came up with their traditional attires. Few of them were singing the traditional song and quite a few were dancing. Others had prepared traditional food items, such as *roti*<sup>40</sup>,

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<sup>39</sup> *Guru* is a person who gives knowledge, and fills people with virtues in life.

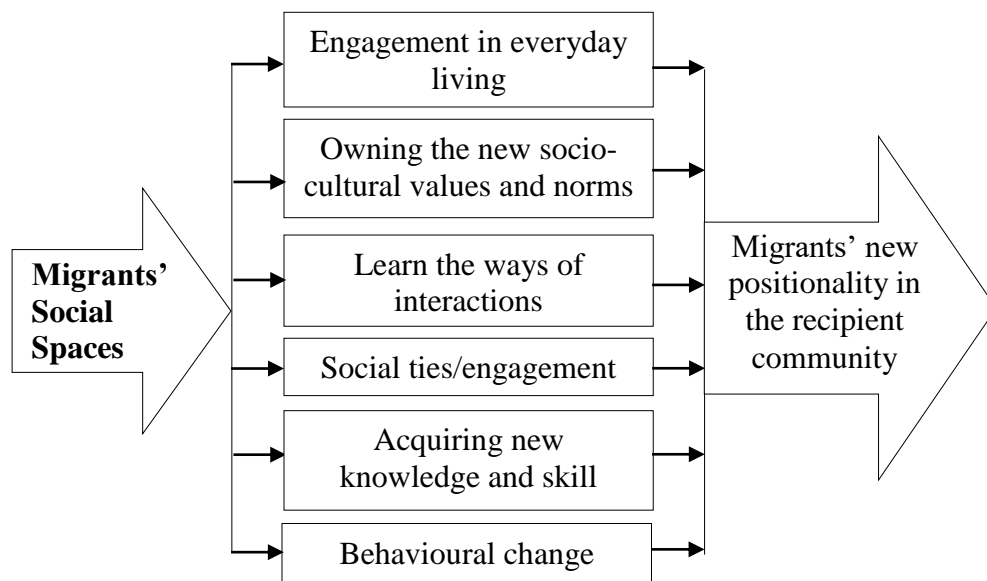
<sup>40</sup> *Roti* is a popular food item which is prepared using millet, wheat, maize, and corn flour.

*tarkari*<sup>41</sup>, etc. Especially the local liquor was prepared and brought for distribution for a drink. It was an event in which Bharseli migrants celebrated the New Year. This was a cultural space of migrants from Bharse at large.

After the settlement in the new community structures, the migrants built new avenues. Being newcomers, it was a precondition for migrants to engage in the everyday living of the recipient community structures. Nonetheless, the migrants accepted and adopted the socio-cultural values and norms that the local people practise. They also learned the new ways of interactions to adjust to the new cultural context. In addition, the migrants expanded their social ties with the local people which supported them to adapt there. It was imperative for migrants to acquire new knowledge and skills to adapt to a new location as well. And the migrants attempted to change their old behaviours as per the demand of the local context. Deriving the insights from the stories of migrants, I have rendered a figure.

**Figure 12**

***Creation of New Social Spaces***



<sup>41</sup> *Tarkari* is a kind of curry which is the local name of curry in Nepal.

This figure hinted that the migrants adopted the new ways of living and practices which helped them devise their new spaces. They somehow built relationships with the local people for adaptation to the new socio-cultural context. In the words of Vinke et al. (2020), in the process of adaptation, households assess all available options after the settlement in the new community structures. The migrants moved to the new community structures with their old ideas, knowledge, and skills from their places of origin. These could be the assets for the new community structures. Changing the behavioural patterns supported migrants to build new positions and acclimatize in the new community structures. Thus the social space for migrants was a prerequisite to adjust to the new community structure. Inscribing migrants' stories about social spaces, in the subsequent section, I have described the stories of how migrants enlarged their new networks in the recipient community structures.

### **Enlarging the New Network: Amplifying the Relationship**

The new network in the recipient community structure was a resource for migrants to build the new positionality there because it helped them to be familiar with the local people and institutions for better living. It also created a conducive environment to understand the local values, norms, rules, and regulations of the current place. And it widened the scope of relationships to undertake everyday activities. I attempted to substantiate this extract with the stories of migrants. It was the month of January 2016 when I had an opportunity to talk with Asal Hakim (male, 53) at his residence in Kathmandu. Sitting with him, I attempted to understand how he enlarged the new network. He expressed that, after his settlement there, he made another level of the new network further. For him, the new network was a process of

occupying a position in the new community structure. As he uncovered, *after the settlement in Kathmandu, I made the new social network to be a member of the recipient community structure. Being a migrant, I became a member where I am living today.* At the beginning of settlement in Kathmandu, he took support from his relatives and close neighbours to be familiar with the local community and its social practices. This extract can be substantiated with a statement of Barbora et al. (2008) and Bilgili (2014) as they explained, migration facilitates people to create social space through the networks within the recipient community structure. Nonetheless, the networks usually supported migrants to develop new avenues.

In the new social setting, it became easier for Asal Hakim to be familiar with the new groups of people and the social practices because of the new networks with them. Thus, to make the social positions, the new network became instrumental for him. From this process, he became familiar with the context. The new network worked to make his professional and social positions there. As he added, *the new network supported me in receiving the information about the local context because, from this process, I got the opportunities to know the other members and interact with them in Kathmandu which made my life easier.* In the recipient community structure, to make the social position in the new community structure, the local people supported him to be familiar with the local context of Kathmandu. It became possible because of the new network. Hence, the movement led to social transformations in the current community (Ozden et al., 2011). As a migrant, the new network in Kathmandu became supportive for him to transform his life. Receiving the information from the local people, Asal Hakim became familiar with the government systems and processes. In compliance with the government rules and regulations, he

approached the offices, such as a ward, electric, drinking water, telephone communication, tax, and other offices. He also became familiar with the local marketplaces and things that are available for shopping. In this way, he fulfilled his personal and household needs, such as food and non-food items.

In addition, the new network was an attribute that helped Asal Hakim to interact with the diverse groups of people in Kathmandu. This created an avenue to understand social diversities and live in a new context. As such, migration has helped people understand much more about the diversity of the recipient community structure (Camenisch & Muller, 2017). He furthermore acquired contextual knowledge which became possible from the new network. According to de Haas (2021) and, Epstein and Gang (2010), dynamic personalities are the assets of migrants to ensure interactions with people of the new community structure. The insight from this statement was that the new network accelerated the pace of Asal Hakim's life. Besides this, as a government servant, he had the privilege to make professional relationships with seniors, colleagues, and co-workers within the office which was a new network for him. He also got the opportunities to enlarge relationships with the other groups of people outside the office because, as an expert, he had broader scope to expand his relationship further. As he added;

*In the office, I engaged with other officials. A professional position helped me know other officials which means I got an opportunity to make a new network in the office. This became a means to acquire new knowledge and skills. From which I made the professional as well as social position in the new context.*

This piece of the story informed me that Asal Hakim enhanced his professional calibre in the new community structure and the social position grew

gradually. His profession helped him make the new network which became supportive to adjust to the new social and cultural contexts of Kathmandu. This piece of the story is substantiated by a view of Broadhead (2020) and Chhetri (1986) who unpacked an idea, migrations are usually associated with social and cultural changes to which migrants adjust to the new contexts. The new network became a process of acquiring a social position in the new community structure on the whole. Additionally, he expressed;

*From the medium of the network with relatives and acquaintances, in the initial days, I also received information about the economic activities of the recipient community structure. From the job, I received a salary. I spent some chunks of my salary on my household usage. And I deposited the rest amount in the bank. This helped me collect money there. I received this information because of my relationship with colleagues and relatives.*

This piece of the story cultivated a sense that the relationship with relatives, acquaintances, and local people became fruitful for Asal Hakim to understand the financial activity in the new community structure. For him, the new community structure was a place where he expanded his relationships with other people for his economic activities. I further noticed he sometimes borrowed some amounts from his relatives and friends to address his financial needs and, many times, he also helped his friends and relatives. Such activity is possible from the trust relationship between/among family friends and others. In support of this idea, I fetched a view of de Haas (2014b) and Tilly (2007) as they mentioned, the trusted network entails interpersonal connections of migrants for the ties with local

people. The trust network between Asal Hakim and local people became supportive of managing the economic needs. Thus the network helped him make a financial position in the new community structure.

After that, I became curious to talk with another migrant, i.e., Shristi Didi (female, 64) who was one of the migrants from Bharse and currently has been living in Kathmandu. At this research juncture, it was the month of January 2016 as I talked with her at her residence. Informally, I requested her to share how she has made the new network in Kathmandu. As she shared, *I took support from relatives and family friends to make the new network which was a must for me. As she added, after the settlement in Kathmandu, I made another level of the new network with the local people.* For her everyday activities, the new network was inevitable in the new context. This helped her maintain a daily living. Not only this but also, it became possible to be a community member. In this way, she mostly makes her social engagement with neighbours of the new community structure.

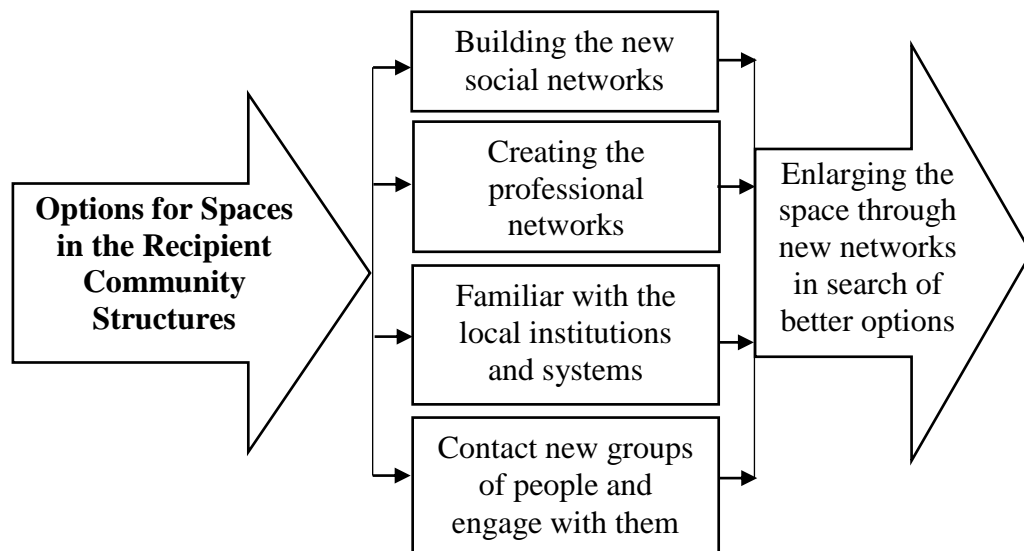
On the basis of the stories of migrants and reflections of the field observation in Butwal and Kathmandu, I noticed almost all migrants built new networks in the recipient community structures after the settlement in the new community structures. The new network facilitated them to engage in social, economic, and professional activities. To support this view, I cemented a statement of Piacenti et al. (2014) as they asserted, “the dynamic fluidity should be maintained in social networks” (p. 233). It is a simple tendency of migrants to build a new network to accomplish everyday activities. I noticed all migrants from



Bharse fostered their new networks to adjust to the new community structures from which they expanded their spaces. Drawing the ideas from the stories of migrants, I have described a figure which gives an outline of migrants' networks.

**Figure 13**

***Enlargement of New Networks***



This figure hinted that, after reaching the current places, it was a condition for migrants to expand the social networks with the local and other groups of people. Likewise, the migrants built professional relationships at the current places. In everyday living, they became familiar with the local institutions. Thus the migrants' networks widened the scope of the position. Knitting the stories of migrants about their new networks, I have described migrants' stories of dual behaviours in the following section.

**Experiencing the Dual Behaviours: Old Memories in New Contexts**

The dual behaviours in the recipient community structures were the common characteristics of migrants because of the old memory of the community structure of origin and engagement in the new activities of the new community structures. In

support of this extract, I connected a view of FitzGerald (2014) as he claimed, migrants live in the recipient community structure even putting old cultural baggage on their heads. And the revelation of dual behaviours remained profound in migrants after the settlement in the new community structures, though, the migrants were unconditionally involved in the new activities where they settled. I, hereby, linked the story of Shristi Didi (female, 64) listening to her experiences about her dual behaviours. At the time of the conversations, it was the month of March 2016. Sitting informally, she shared her story. From her sharing, I knew she has been living in Kathmandu for some years which was a new place for her. As she added;

*As a migrant, I had to engage with the local people who performed different social behaviours and practices from mine. After the settlement in Butwal, I had an obligation to understand them and their social behaviours. For better living, I unconditionally had to accept and adopt the new behaviours of the recipient community structures but old memories keep coming into my mind. I could not delete these memories at once easily. Thus I am performing dual behavioural practices in Butwal.*

This piece of the story ingrained a sense that Shristi Didi has been standing at the crossroad of cultural practices of both community structure of origin and recipient community structures. As a migrant, it was a condition for her in which she neither could fully practice her native culture nor could she fully adopt the behavioural practices of the local context. She has to deal with both behaviours of recipient community structures and community structure of origin. The way she expresses her manners usually comes from her native community. On some

occasions, she expresses the characters which she used to demonstrate in the community structure of origin.

Along with the conversations, I had an opportunity to observe her activities. At home, I saw she had been wearing attires which she used to wear in her birthplace. This attire was comfortable to wear because she was habituated with this. Out of her house, she usually wears the local attires in the urban context of Kathmandu. As she added, *I feel it is easy to wear the traditional attires but it is impossible to do this because, to fit in the local context of Kathmandu, I should accept the local attires which the local people wear.* This piece of the story made me understand that Shristi Didi performs dual characteristics in wearing her dress. On some special occasions, she wears her traditional dresses, such as *lungi*<sup>42</sup>, *choli*<sup>43</sup>, *patuka*<sup>44</sup>, or *kannani*, and traditional ornaments but she usually wears casual dresses in her everyday living. To support this idea, I linked a view of Verkaik (2005) who remarked, it is a rite de passage into primordial attachments of migrants that proved one's willpower and love of community structure of origin, and workplaces or recipient community structures over time.

Shristi Didi tends to her traditional practices of the community structure of origin and. in the same way, she has been using the new ones which are commonly used in Kathmandu. On this note, I linked a story of Erdal (2014) and Hickman (2005) who claimed, the old culture is being ingrained in the heart and mind which

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<sup>42</sup> *Lungi* is a sari like dress that is to be worn by women below the waist.

<sup>43</sup> *Choli* is blouse like dress.

<sup>44</sup> *Patuka* or *kannani* is a sheet of cloth to be worn by women in their waist.

implicitly transfers along with the movement. Carrying the old cultural baggage, Shristi Didi has no longer a chance to practice in everyday living. To substantiate this idea, I took the support of Pailey's (2017) view as he claimed, "the passport can change but the heart cannot" (p. 13). Shristi Didi came up with the old cultural baggage in the new community structure. To this end, Broadhead (2020) and Fong (2012) said, migrants carry forward their in-born culture and their movement even at the time of engagement in the new cultural practices.

Shristi Didi also embodied that, in the initial days of arrival in Kathmandu, she used to try to prepare the food items which she used to prepare and eat in her village because she was not familiar with the local recipes for preparing food items and varieties. And she had to buy every food item from the market. Despite her reluctance, it was her obligation to accept and eat the local food items of Kathmandu. She gradually began to learn the new skills of preparing or cooking the food items according to the local menu over time because she did not have the option of buying and cooking the food items. Gradually, she also became familiar to eat them. As she added exemplified;

*In the early days in Kathmandu, I was unfamiliar with the local recipe and food items. Even though I did not like the taste of those items, I gradually became familiar with them. And I learned the new knowledge and skills to prepare the varieties of food items and eat them. Nowadays, I became familiar with the taste but still I memorize the food items that I ate in the village.*

This piece of the story nurtured me that, despite Shristi Didi's interest in eating traditional food items of her community structure of origin, she gradually

learned the new knowledge and skills to prepare and eat the new food items of the new community structure. It is a common nature of migrants. As she shared, *traditionally, I come from the pork-eating community and I came up with that habit but I had less chance of eating it in the village because of the unavailability of pork everyday. However, in Kathmandu, it is always available in the meat shop. So, I can buy it any time and eat it.* Living in the new community structure, she has access to some food items and she gradually became familiar with the local food items of Kathmandu which was a condition for her adaptation. This piece of the story of Shristi Did can be substantiated by a view of Pun (2018b) as he mentioned, migrants have an obligation to change the ways of everyday life after the settlement in the new community structures. The context demands new sets of habits. Even today, Shristi Didi prepares the local types of food items but, occasionally, she prepares the food items that she used to prepare and eat in her village which is a carried forward habit. As a migrant, she performs both old and new behaviours at the current place. I linked this piece of the story with the opinion of Nogle (1994) and Erdal (2014) who rendered an idea, migration remains within an individual's realm of conceivable behaviours. The traditional food culture of the village was ingrained in her mind but, as a newcomer, she had to accept the local items which helped her adjust to the new context.

Even today, Shristi Didi has occasionally been echoing her old ritual practices on special events, such as family and social gatherings in the festivals and ritual celebrations. As she memorized, *even, in Kathmandu, I invite relatives and acquaintances to perform the rituals to celebrate the birth and marriage*

*ceremony. In the death rituals, relatives and acquaintances also come to express the solidarity of grief because I perform them according to traditions that used to be performed in the community structure of origin.* From her story, I noticed, despite the different cultural contexts of Kathmandu, she follows her old ritual practices. However, she performs the festivals, such as Dashain, Tihar, and Nepali New Year together with relatives and local people because these celebrations are performed in both native villages and Kathmandu. To substantiate this statement, I herewith linked a view of Rivera and Brena (2007) and Robertson (2014) as they remarked, migrants do not make any concern about modernity. They still poise their identity of valued parts of the past at present pushing migrants to the current places. The past cultural practices also came into practice along with the settlement in the new community structure which was ingrained in the mind of Shristi Didi as well. In the conversation, she unfolded her view;

*Even, after the settlement in Kathmandu, I occasionally flashback the behavioural practices of the village because I was brought up there. These behaviours were cultivated in me which were shaped there. However, for my adaptation, I am engaging in the local systems as well as cultural practices. I unconditionally accept them. Without this, I cannot expect to make my living smooth.*

The story of Shristi Didi nurtured me that she has been dealing with a dual life. To substantiate this piece of the story, I cemented Olwig's (2010) view, migrants sentimentally and motivationally remain in a two-way street after separating from their community structure of origin and living in the new

community structures. Thus the demonstration of dual behaviours in the new community structure is an attribute of migrants. As Shristi Didi unhesitatingly said, *even today, the tone of expression is the same as I used to do in the community structure of origin but I learned the new ways of expression over time which the local people do. I felt that it was a must for me to do this as a migrant.* At the time of the conversation, I also observed her gestures and expressions that she speaks in such a way as she has been using some words and expressions which were carried forward from her native village. In the same way, she tries to mimic the local ways of expression. As an ethnographic researcher, it became easier for me to understand this because I come from a nearby village. On this note, I linked Castles' (2008) view, migrants recall behaviours of both community structure of origin and recipient community structures. Simply, the migrants express dual behaviours in the new community structure.

Coming with the old behaviours and living in the new cultural setting, it was necessary for Shristi Didi to make a new position in Kathmandu. For that, a change in behaviours is required in the recipient community structure. Scholars (e.g., de Haas, 2021; Li et al., 1995) viewed, migrants' movement from one place to another occurs a shift in identifying through the adjustment of cultural essentials. To make a new identity, knowing the fresh cultural ingredients became a must for her. She gradually depended on how she had to respond and deal with the current situation of the new setting. Herewith, I linked a statement of Tikly (2005) in which he elaborated, migration transformed the cultures of migrants around the world. Thus the change in the behaviours of migrants is inevitable at

the current place. From this statement, I understood migration is a cultural transition as well. From the field observation, I noted culturally, the separation and attachment of migrants are like two sides of a coin which is prevailed from the behaviour of Shristi Didi.

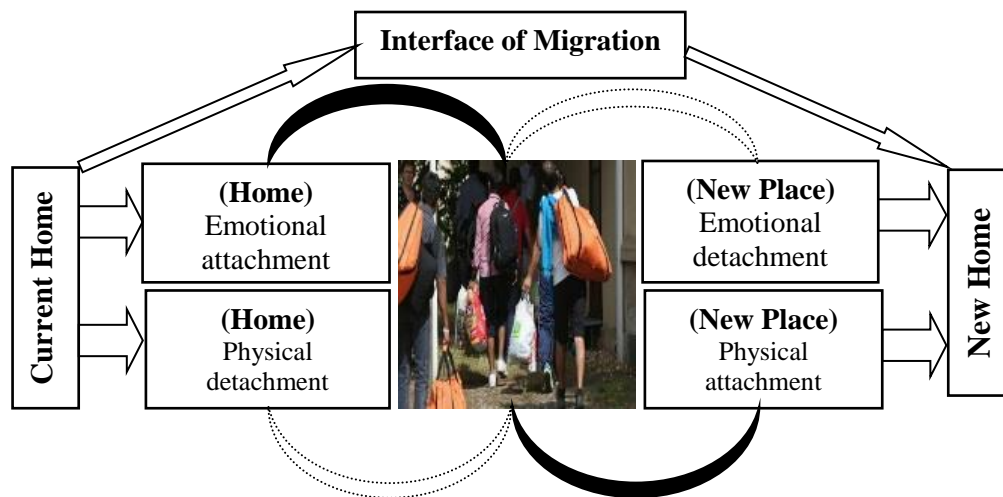
Being a new migrant, Shristi Didi was not familiar with the new community structure because of which she felt excluded there. To verify it, I linked a view of Misra (2017) as he embodied, local people usually dominate the identities of migrants. After arriving in the new community structure, the local people influence migrants. In the alien land of Kathmandu, Shristi Didi felt uncomfortable adjusting because of the stronghold influence of the local people and their cultures but, over time it became an obligation for her to be amalgamated in the new cultural setting. In this regard, I fetched a view of Fong (2012) as he claimed, migrants gradually make their attachment to the new cultural practices. Such a condition is inevitable for Shristi Didi too. In the process of adjustment, a change in behavioural patterns is a requirement for her. Assertively, one of the prerequisites of migrants is to accept and engage in the new systems, values, and everyday practices of the recipient community structures. I also linked this piece of the story with a view of Suarez-Orozco (2008) and Bilgili (2014) as they revealed, because of dynamic behaviours, migrants are creative to blend cultural practices of the parental tradition and the new cultures overtime after the migration. Blending with the new culture became a requirement for Shristi Didi. On the basis of Shristi Didi's story and the views of Lee (1966), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (2000), I devised this figure which deals with the initial attachment of



migrants to the native community and its cultural practices. And it signifies detachment from the native community and gradual attachment with the new community structure. Hence, it is a condition of migrants.

**Figure 14**

***Migrants' Detachment and Attachment Process***



Source: Coleman, 1988; Lee, 1966; Putnam, 2000.

From this figure, I derived the insight that there is an interface of migration between the old and new homes. To substantiate an idea of home, I took a view of Erdal (2014) as he urged, not only the notion of migrants' home is presented as an emotional part "but also something about which rational decisions are made" (p. 364). Simply, the home was constructed with a possibility of return on other days. It was an avenue to live for migrants. Hence, the thick curve arrow signified the emotional attachment of any individuals with the native place, whereas the thin curve arrow indicated gradual detachment. Therefore, moving from native ethos to a new culture does not mean a clean break from the past (Pierides, 2010). In addition, in the community structure of origin, the level of mental attachment was deeper, whereas the physical detachment was thinner but, in the new community structure, the level of

physical attachment was deeper. These attributes were endured in Shristi Didi. Her story revealed that she had performed deep attachment with the birthplace while she was in her community structure of origin. Still, after her settlement in Kathmandu, her physical attachment was deeper with the recipient community structure, whereas emotional attachment with the new place was thinner. This piece of the story is linked with a view of Lee (1966), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (2000) as they claimed, migrants tend to detach from the community structure of origin and attach to the new ones.

In her everyday living, Shristi Didi accepted, adopted, and practised the new cultural practices of the new community structures where she went to work and settle. Whether she liked or disliked it, she translated her old cultural behaviours into new ones which was an imperative attribute. Such behaviours put her into a dual condition. This was just a modification of her behaviour but the old behaviour remained in her mind and heart at a latent state. As she said, *as a migrant, I had an obligation to adopt and perform the new behaviours of the local people but I keep echoing old behavioural practices. In such a condition, I prevailed the dual behaviours of the native community and the current place.* As a migrant, it was a must for Shristi Didi to accept the new behavioural patterns of the recipient community structure but it was a condition to delete her old behaviours. As Kang (2015) uttered, the cultural root of migrants is depleting globally. In new places, it is almost impossible for migrants to perform the original culture. Performing the dual behaviours is a common characteristic of Shristi Didi as a migrant. In such a condition, city life was a combination of diverse cultural practices. Today is becoming a society of the diversity of migrants and their cultures (Joppke, 2018; Portes & Yiu, 2013). Hence, migration

is a contributor to making society diverse. In support of this statement, I mentioned the idea of King and Lulle (2016) as they opined, migration brings cultural diversity because of both cultural practices of the local people and migrants. The migrants mostly contribute to diversifying the culture in the recipient community structures as Shristi Didi also did it. On this note, I took the support of Harries et al. (2019) as they claimed, notions of diversity and super-diversity are assumed primarily within the migration frame. It is noteworthy to reveal that migration deals with the diversification of society at large.

I, hereby, thought to impart the reflections of the field observation. In this research journey, I had an opportunity to observe migrants' activities in Kathmandu who had migrated from Bharse. By and large, most of them performed dual behaviours because they neither could delete their traditional behaviours from their minds nor could they reject the local customary practices. The migrants mostly were the grown-up people in their community structure of origin as they carried forward their behaviours along with their physical movement.

In the same way, the migrants accepted the local socio-cultural, economic, and systems of the new community structures which were the new options for them. Moreover, migrants' stories cultivated a sense in me that they could neither delete their old behaviours nor could they fully adopt the new ones so they lived the dual life in the recipient community structures. To this end, I linked a view of Zohdi (2018) as he urged, migrants make their merged identity in the new community structure and live a dual life. I again add my experiences of Butwal. During the interactions with some migrants, I noticed, along with their change of locations, they carried forward their old behaviours which were imprinted in their minds. They time and again

recalled it in their everyday living of the recipient community structures as they engaged in the new behaviours of the local people and were obliged to accept them. Thus the migrants lived up to the dual behaviours wherever they went and resided. Weaving the stories of migrants about the dual behaviours, in the subsequent section, I have explained the new pathway of life from which migrants acquired the new knowledge and skills.

### **New Pathway of Life: Acquiring the New Knowledge and Skill**

Shaping the new pathways of life was a prerequisite for migrants in the new context. It helped migrants adapt to the new values and norms in the recipient community structure. And the new pathways also inculcated migrants to make their living prosperous. In this assertion, I became curious to understand the story of Khusi Saap (male, 61) who has been living in Hong Kong at the moment. While I thought to talk with him, it was the month of April 2016. In the beginning, I requested him to share his story about how he searched for a new pathway to shape his living there. From the conversation with him, I understood one of the purposes of migration was to search for tangible (knowledge and skills) and intangible (assets, such as new mobile, computer, clothes, markets, earnings, etc.) resources. For him, living in Hong Kong has become a new opportunity so far. To this opinion, I linked a view of Shrees (2013) as he articulated, for Bharseli migrants, going abroad for lucrative jobs is an alternative to traditional farming systems. Going abroad was a tradition of Bharse. The *laure* culture facilitated him to find a new pathway. To substantiate this idea, I quoted a statement of de Haas (2014a) as he articulated, migration is an alternative strategy giving new pathways to migrants in the new community structure. In search of better options, migration gives a way out.

In a study of migration history, Shrees Magar (2018) remarked, before the re-establishment of democracy in 1990, some Bharseli migrants left their village but this became a turning point for them to know more about other places. This political change opened an opportunity for them to have exposure to different places which became supportive of migration. In this phenomenon, Khusi Saap also was an inseparable part. As he shared his story in such a way, *during the service in the British Contingent, I planned to shift the whole family to Kathmandu first and then decided to settle in Hong Kong. At the moment, Hong Kong became the last resort for my living.* This piece of excerpt helped me understand that, for Khusi Saap, the new job became a pathway of migration and settlement in the new community structure. As he embodied, *the decision of migration became supportive to get a better professional position in a company for more than two decades from which I made a pathway of career.* In this profession, he has been utilizing his best capacities and qualifications. Migration made it possible. So far, he has been making his life productive. The new place gave him a new professional pathway as migration became a pathfinder. The professional pathway made his living better.

Khusi Saap additionally kept saying as he explored the opportunities to make earnings, name, and fame. Again he revealed, *in the initial days, my family lived in the rented house in Kathmandu. I bought a plot of land and then built a house in Kathmandu over time.* After Bharse, building a house in Kathmandu became the second station. He owned a house there in which he began to live. As he added, *I also bought a car.* For timely and comfortable travels, he began to use his vehicle. In addition, the British Contingent's earnings helped him make

economic strength in buying the vehicle. He made a gradual change in his living style. Arranging a house and car with other accessories made his living comfortable.

Khusi Saap gradually began to change his food habits in the new community structure over time. Being an ex-British army, he was familiar with the new food items which he could eat. The food items he used to eat in the village were not available in Kathmandu. And the food items which are available in Kathmandu were not available in Hong Kong. In his native place, his family used to buy some items but, in Kathmandu and Hong Kong, he has to buy every food item which is easily available there. About food items, he changed his pathways because of different systems. As he expressed;

*At the moment, I can buy food items in the supermarket where I can buy everything which I need. Based on my preference and interests, I collect those food items from there. Not only this but also, I can access restaurants easily where I can go and choose the items that I like. I can demand the items to eat. Even, I have an opportunity for takeaway from the restaurants.*

From the traditions of totally homemade food items, Khusi Saap began to eat the food items bought from the restaurants of the market. And he has many different options and choices in the new places. This is a change in his living in Hong Kong. Thus he amused multiple opportunities in the new community structure. In this regard, I linked this piece of the story with a view of de Haas (2014b) as he claimed, people have no fixed sets of attributes and items as they

vary across contexts and change over time. Finding the new pathway in the new community structure is the intention of migrants. It is an obligation for migrants to follow and accept the new systems of the recipient community structures.

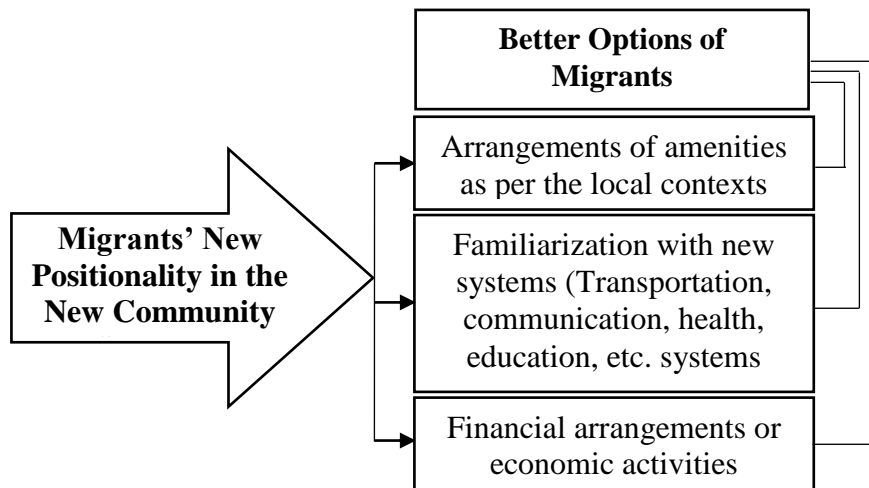
After presenting an account of Khusi Saap in Hong Kong, a curiosity again arose in me to talk with another migrant in London. On those days of April 2016, I decided to implore the story of Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) in London. For this, I contacted him through Viber. Sharing the personal conditions of both sides, we began to talk. In a conversation, he said, *I came to Kathmandu from Bharse but, later on, I moved to London from Kathmandu.* It was possible for him because of the IRL system of the British Government that created a pathway towards London. After receiving the permit, he accepted it and decided to live in London. As he described, *as a migrant, one of the new pathways I found was to engage in non-farming occupations. I made my income from work that is a non-farming profession.* This piece of the story can be substantiated in such a way as people want to derive non-farm income from migration to cities or abroad (de Haas, 2014b; FAO & UNESCO, 2003). Living in London, Ujjwal Saap was totally engaged in non-farming activities.

From the conversations with Khusi Saap in Hong Kong and Ujjwal Saap in London, I understood as migrants, they shaped their lifestyles differently in the new cultural contexts because they moved from the rural context to urban contexts. They also developed new pathways for better adjustment in their current community structures. Searching for better options and creating new pathways is a human tendency as it is a sagacity of progress on other days (de Haas, 2014a).

Changing the context brought new ways or avenues of living to migrants. Based on the stories of migrants, I have devised a figure.

*Figure 15*

*Migrants' New Pathways of Living*



From this figure, I learned, unconditionally, the migrants built a new positionality that provided a unique pathway of living in the recipient community structures. Within the new pathway, the migrants made arrangements for household amenities which were the requirements in the cities. Most of them became familiar with the new transportation and communication systems of the recipient community structures. And the migrants made the new financial arrangements in the new contexts which was a requirement.

In addition, I instilled an account of the field observation. I saw the activities of some migrants in Butwal and Kathmandu who used to go for rambling in the morning rather than going to their farmlands. In the daytime, they used to engage in their professions. I noticed the works they used to perform were totally different in Butwal and Kathmandu. The way of living was different because they experienced the new setup. Thus living in the cities became a new lifestyle which was a new pathway



of living genuinely. Imploring the stories of migrants about the new pathway of life, I have explained the double residences of migrants in the subsequent section.

### **Maintaining the Double Residences: Holding the Old and New Homes**

Nowadays, some migrants maintain dual residences. A few of them keep their houses in the community structure of origin and recipient community structures because they want to keep connections with their birth home and place. Even, after the settlement in the new community structures, some migrants maintained the dual residences because they wanted to keep connections with their birth homes and native places. In doing this, it has both emotional and economic values as most of them keep their attachments with birthplace and cultural practices. And they extend their respects to their native lands as the home is associated with the spatial, temporal, emotional, and rational dimensions (Erdal, 2014). Wherever migrants go, they plan for homes to live in. I linked this view with the story of a migrant. It was the month of April 2016. I inquired about Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) to knit the story about his residence. It was a time for me to meet him in Kathmandu because he had come to Nepal. From the meeting with him and my field observation, I noticed he had maintained two houses as he had one house in London and another in Kathmandu. He occasionally comes to Kathmandu for special work, such as marriage ceremonies, death rituals, and ancestral worships in conjunction with clan groups and relatives. And he comes to maintain and repair his house from time to time. In this face-to-face conversation, he said;

*In the beginning, I stepped down to Kathmandu. I settled there with the whole family. After the landmark decision of the British government, I went to London via Hong Kong and got a red passport which allowed me to live in London permanently. As a result, I bought a house here. However, I decided*

*not to sell the house in Kathmandu. Once a year, I come to see it, and sometimes, I come here twice a year but, other times, I come to Kathmandu at any time depending on urgency.*

This piece of the story cultivated an idea in me that, as a migrant from Nepal, he kept it a memory even in London. In case of urgency, he can come to Nepal within twenty-four hours because of the availability of a flight. In the same way, because of accessibility to communication service, he takes updates from London about the house of Kathmandu at any time. As he articulated, *I kept some assets in the house of Kathmandu which is taken care of by one of my relatives. Because of this house, it is easy for me to come and live here. I have maintained dual houses until today.* This piece of the story made me aware of the fact that maintaining dual houses has a cultural reason because the way of cultural expression and performance was much easy in the birthplace so he has been keeping connection with that.

For Ujjwal Saap, living in London is economically better but, culturally, he thinks it is better to live in Kathmandu. As he expressed his feelings, *till my time, maintaining a house in Kathmandu has been a submission to my native land because I feel comfortable interacting with people. I can understand them and they also do the same.* From this piece of the story, I understood, till today, he thinks to maintain his house in Kathmandu but he is not very sure about the future. Thus far, I substantiated this piece of the story of Ujjwal Saap with the view of Erdal (2014) as he mentioned, who belongs to what and where in terms of residences are the challenges for today because the situation of migrants remains fluid. Being a red passport holder in London, Ujjwal Saap has an attachment with his native land. In determining the dual residences, the family decision also matters because all should agree on where to live

or not. Living is determined by the economic situation and age factor as well. At the moment, his earnings in London are relatively better but, at an elderly age, earnings may be reduced because of overage. He thinks to live, where there are better facilities. Thus he has maintained dual residences till today.

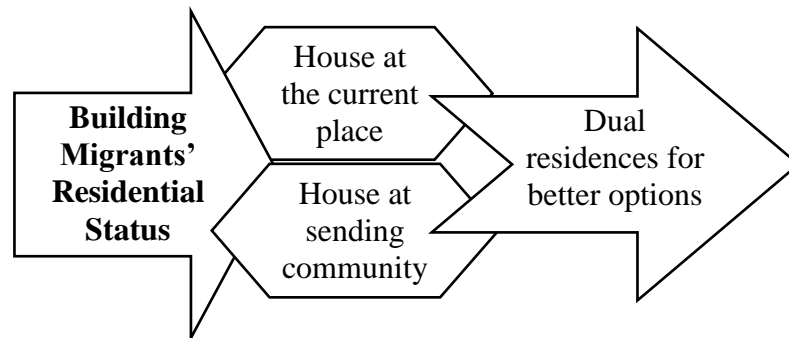
After knitting the story of Ujjwal Saap, I thought to knit the story of Khusi Saap (male, 61) in Hong Kong. On those days of April 2016, I contacted him through Viber. It was not necessary to make a formal introduction because we were already familiar with each other so we mainly focused on the agenda of dual residences. From the conversation, I noted he had maintained residences in both Hong Kong and Kathmandu. And he has kept a deep connection with the ancestral home of Bharse where he owns some pieces of ancestral lands. As he emphasized, *nowadays, I am living in Hong Kong for more than two decades but I have a house in Kathmandu. Every year, I go there. From Kathmandu, I usually go to Bharse which is the native place.* From this piece of the story, I noted in his lifetime, he wants to keep all of them.

The purpose of maintaining his houses in Nepal is to serve the village, i.e., Bharse because he wants to pay the birth price. He also wants to do something for his village. His house becomes a connector in this mission. For his ritual performances, it is easy for him to maintain the houses in multiple places. As he said, *it became better for me to pay homage to ancestors from my own house so I did not sell it.* This extract nurtured me that he has a mindset to protect his ancestral land. Doing this is to respect the ancestors. In a way, it is a sense of commemorating his predecessors as well. In other words, he wants to show his attachment to his birthplace. For these reasons, he wants to keep his residences in more than one place.

Hence, I have solidified migrants' stories about the dual houses in the figure which consists of one house at the current place and another house in the sending community.

**Figure 16**

***Migrants' Double Residences***



This figure hinted that the migrants have maintained dual residences because of emotional and cultural attachments. Almost all migrants have a love for their birthplaces and they want to keep their cultures alive.

From the stories of migrants and my field observation, I noticed, except for a few migrants, almost all migrants built their houses at the current place. Most of them have kept their ancestral homes intact. While I visited Bharse, I tried to know whether all migrants sold their houses and lands or not. The local people shared that only a few of them have sold the houses. I witnessed most of them kept their houses unsold because they were not sure of living permanently in other places. Love to their community structure of origin is alive and they can come and live on other days. In addition, most of them think about their children's future because their children can come up with new ideas to use their ancestral lands, properties, and heritages in the future. They also kept these assets for memory and emotional attachment with the native village as well. Many of them have been maintaining their dual residences even

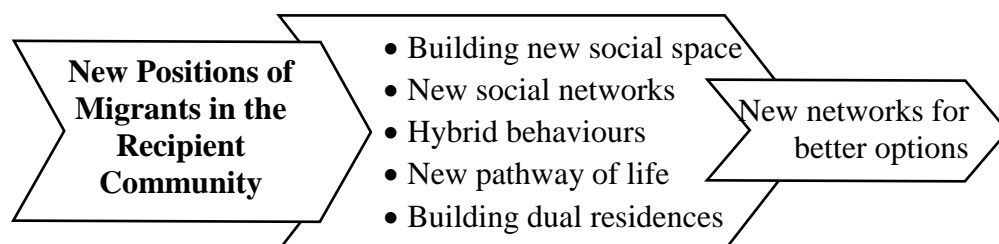
today. And few of them kept small chunks of ancestral land because they love and pay homage to their ancestral lands. Thus the migrants love to maintain their dual residences. On this note, I have drawn the key ideas of the chapter in the following section.

### Chapter Conclusion

Based on the conversations with some migrants and my field observation, I knitted the stories about who they are and how they build their positions where they went to live. It was inevitable for migrants to create new positions in the recipient community structures. The newcomers made new social, occupational, economic, and residential positions which were the prerequisites for their living. In addition, the old knowledge and skills acquired in the community structure of origin become a foundation for migrants but they also obtained the new knowledge and skills to adjust there. From this statement, it is noticed that such engagement in the new social practices made them liveable in the hybrid cultural contexts. Unsurprisingly, the migrants built local networks with people of both recipient community structures and community structure of origin because they memorized the customary practices and relatives of the birthplace. They were obliged to broaden the social and professional scope. I have concluded this chapter in the following figure.

*Figure 17*

#### *Migrants' New Positionality*



This figure hinted that each and every migrant built new positions in the recipient community structures. They enlarged their social space and network in the arrival community. Additionally, they performed the dual behaviours because they came up with the old behaviours and accepted new ones of the new community structure. Nonetheless, duality is the main characteristic of migrants. In the subsequent chapter, I have discussed migrants' stories about the opportunities and constraints they experienced at the current places.

## CHAPTER VI

### MIGRANTS' PERCEPTIONS ON OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES IN THE RECIPIENT COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

In the earlier chapter, I presented migrants' stories about conditions in the recipient community structures. I discussed who they are and what positions they created there. I also illustrated how migrants formed the new social, professional/economic, and residential positions to adjust to the current places. In this chapter, I have discussed the opportunities and constraints which migrants experienced in their respective recipient community structures. Almost all migrants enjoyed the material facilities but they faced a cultural lapse in the new community structures. Despite receiving the physical facilities, behavioural change was one of the main constraints of migrants to adapt to the new contexts because they could not apply their old behaviours in the alien lands.

#### **Experiencing Material Facilities against Cultural Shock**

Experiencing the material facilities was a condition of migrants in the recipient community structures which were also the sources of attraction for them. Those belongings could support migrants to enjoy their living. The migrants on the one hand got material facilities, and on the other, they faced new challenges, i.e., cultural shock in the new contexts because they mixed up with people's new behaviours of the recipient community structures. To substantiate this extract, I glued a view of Appadurai (2005) as he affirmed, culture shifts from being some sort of

sluggish in the new community structures, local substance to being a rather more volatile form of a difference over years. From this account, I noticed cultural modification of migrants is experienced after the settlement in the new community structures. Based on migrants' stories, in the beginning, I attempted to discuss the material facilities that the migrants experienced after the settlement in the recipient community structures, and later on, I discussed the cultural shock which migrants faced at the current places. I linked the story of Himel Kanchhaba to substantiate this account. It was around April 2016. While I was in Butwal, I met him to inquire about his living conditions from which I attempted to explore the opportunities and constraints that he had experienced there after the settlement as a migrant. Upon my request, he shared his story about how he tried to adjust himself to a new cultural and natural setting. In the beginning, he said;

*After the settlement in Butwal, I bought thick dresses for the winter, whereas I bought thin or plain dresses for the summer. To be protected from the heat of the summer season, I purchased ceiling and table fans. I also brought a fridge for the summer in which I put extra foods to keep cool. These material items helped me adapt there. The weather is too cold in the winter, whereas the summer is too hot.*

From this piece of the story of Himel Kanchhaba, I understood, in the new community structure, he learned the context-based knowledge of using them for his living because of geographical variation and different climatic conditions. The new material facilities he received became possible to buy and use in Butwal because he has access to them there. And he took an opportunity to buy and use the new utilities and household utensils, such as cooking stoves, cookers, and other items as he has



been using them in his everyday living. I also observed the weather in the winter is freezing and the summer is too hot because frequent visits from December 2015 to January 2017 gave me a chance to know this condition. I engaged in the fieldwork of Butwal in all seasons of the year. Acclimatizing to such a climatic condition, he has collected materials that could support him to be safe from adverse climatic conditions.

In addition, I saw Himal Kanchhaba has been enjoying the market access to buy rice, vegetables, and many types of soybeans. According to his needs, he at any time could collect such food items from the local markets as all these items were available there. As he said, *the availability of foodstuffs in the local market has made my life easy. Within a few minutes, I can collect them at the time of need.* The availability of resources has made life comfortable which became possible for him in Butwal. In addition, he has been consuming new food items, such as scented rice, *dal*, *roti*, the meat of broiler chicken, pork, and mutton, and green vegetables which he can buy them easily in the local market of Butwal. He finds these food items on all days, months, and seasons because they are available in the local market. A view of Gartaula and Niehof (2013) supported this piece of the story as they mentioned, the changing lifestyle of migrants had become a source of inspiration and aspiration from which migrants feel satisfied in the recipient community structures.

To some extent, Himal Kanchhaba materialistically made his dream visible in the new community structure. To support this statement, I quoted a view of Inchley (2014) as she argued, migration was facilitated by the opportunities for making lifeworld better. In this sense, one of the main intentions of Himal Kanchhaba was to have access to material benefits. From this piece of the story, I noticed he also saw better material opportunities in Butwal than in the community structure of origin.

In this connection, I echoed the field observation account. I saw the material conditions of migrants that they experienced in Butwal. In the visit, I noticed the lives of migrants who had access to material facilities there. Almost all of them had received new amenities, such as vehicular, communication, health, education, and market services. From these material services, they made their living easier there. Most of the time, I saw almost all migrants use private and public vehicles to travel from which they save time and accomplish the work on time. They also had the opportunities to have access to a landline and mobile phones from which they could talk with their relatives and acquaintances of distant community structures or foreign countries. Nowadays, they have access to internet services to frequently contact family members and other persons of distant locations. In addition, almost all migrants could receive health services in nearby locations from their homes. I noticed they could reach within less than an hour. Relatively, better schools and colleges are available for migrants' children in Butwal. And, to buy food and non-food items, the migrants could go to nearby markets where goods and services are available there. From this interpretation, I understood the migrants feel satisfied with the material culture which they experienced. Based on stories, I noticed the migrants enjoyed the material life in the recipient community structures which were the sources of attraction.

On the other side of the material opportunities, the migrants experienced challenges in the recipient community structures. One of them is Himlal Kanchhaba who faced some challenges in Butwal which I listened from his story. Culturally, it was difficult for him to live there because he engaged in the new socio-cultural practices on the one hand, and on the other, his old habits, behaviours, and attitudes

did not fit in the new cultural context. To substantiate this note, I glued a view of de Haas (2014b) as he urged, change is apparent in migrants for adaptation. In the new community structure, it is a prerequisite for migrants to accept change. In such a condition, Himal Kanchhaba did not have any choices without accepting the new behaviours and practices. As he said, *it was quite difficult for me to prepare the new recipes because I did not have ideas for this as the previous behaviours did not apply which I had in my memory*. In line with this story, Levin's (2013) remark instilled an idea, migrants usually bring all sorts of memories with them to their recipient community structures which do not apply fully in everyday living. As Himal Kanchhaba also brought the old memories but those memories and habits did not harmonize with the local practices. On this note, Akand's (2005) claim is relevant to add, cultural practices have been modified after the settlement in the recipient community structure but do not lose their original forms which, in the initial days, create challenges to adjust to the new cultural contexts. After the settlement in Butwal, the pattern of Himal Kanchhaba's living changes over time but he usually exposed his previous behaviours of the birthplace. For him, it was a difficult moment to adjust to the new community structures as a migrant.

From a piece of the story of Himal Kanchhaba, I understood he has been living with plight and bliss in Butwal. In line with this account, in a study, Shrestha (2017) concluded, migration is always an overlapping world facing new constraints and contending with the new subject positions after the settlement in the recipient community structures. The reality is that the new haven is not always a better place for all migrants. Engaging in the new behaviours became a challenge

for Himal Kanchhaba in Butwal. Also, he had to change his thinking level but it was not easy for him to do this. And he came up with the old ideas which did not have an application in the new context. To substantiate this idea further, I quoted a view of Nicolas and Agubias (2014) as they remarked, there are challenges to shaping the priorities on migration given the wide range of issues that demand attention in the changing context. As a migrant, it was not easy for Himal Kanchhaba to prioritize the new community structure. Expressing one of his challenges, he said;

*I felt my way of thinking did not work in the initial days after the settlement in Butwal because I demonstrated how I used to practise in Bharse.*

*Besides this, the thinking level of local people was different from mine. And the behavioural patterns of local people also was different. It was a challenge for me to amalgam these extremes.*

Himal Kanchhaba came from a community structure where he experienced and practised strong social ties but he could not find similar social ties at the current places. And he was fed up with the inattentiveness of the local people. No one cares about another without any special purpose or work. As he shared his experiences, *even today, my expression was not alike the local people do. I could not delete the old memories from my mind.* From this account, I noticed it was not easy for him to change the ways of living in the new community structure. During the field observation in Butwal, I saw the way Himal Kanchhaba expresses is different from the local people even if both of them speak the same language. I noticed other migrants from Bharse also have similar ways of expression which Himal Kanchhaba does.

In Butwal, I noticed it was not difficult for Himal Kanchhaba to change the profession in the new community structure because he was familiar with the traditional farm-related activities of his community structure of origin and he also had possessed his knowledge and skills related to agro-farming activities from which he had developed his calibre but, once he came to Butwal, he had to engage in non-farming activities. He had to develop a new set of knowledge, skills, and information. In such a state, he found it difficult to adjust to the new profession which had a connection with his earning and living. As he put forward his views in such a way, *in the initial days I faced constraints with acquiring the professional knowledge and skills because I came up with the old ones of the native community which did not apply in the recipient community structure, Butwal. I had to receive the new ones.* This account shows he in the initial days became an incompetent person in the new place because he had to engage in the new profession. To assert it, I instilled a view of Hussain (2018) as he claimed, migrants' skills in one place do not apply in another place. The knowledge and skills Himal Kanchhaba had acquired in Bharse could not be applicable to boost his professional career. To support this view, I glued a statement of Naujoks (2013) as he emphasized, migrants face the challenge of naturalization in the recipient community structures as the migrants find the food and non-food items, and cultural practices with which they are not familiar.

In addition, I also attempted to understand the experiences of Himal Kanchhaba about the ritual practices in Butwal that he has been performing. For him, it was difficult to perform the customary practices which he used to do in the community structure of origin. And it was almost impossible to find the original items in the new place. As he expressed;

*Despite the efforts, I could not make thanan<sup>45</sup> to please the gods and goddesses happy so that they could support to bring fortunes to the family. It was impossible to worship sime puja<sup>46</sup>, bhume puja<sup>47</sup>, gothako puja<sup>48</sup>, kulan or pitri puja<sup>49</sup>, siddhako puja<sup>50</sup>, simbaiko puja<sup>51</sup>, and other deities in the original setting or form because items that used to be available in the village are not in the new community structure.*

Himal Kanchhaba further expressed, *I could not find the materials which could be used to worship the gods. Thus I did not have any other options of using the local items in the new place.* It was an obligation for Himal Kanchhaba to find alternative ways to perform the ancestral worship or ritual functions in Butwal. As he shared his story;

*Obviously, some of my clans have been living in Butwal. I collectively worship the ancestral gods with them. However, the challenge for me is finding offerings, such as milk, ghee, and dung of cow and buffalo, green leaf, local rice, and pure water for worship.*

This piece of the story unfastened the idea that, being a migrant, he felt it was a challenge to find pure items to mark the ritual functions as he expressed the rooted

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<sup>45</sup> *Thaan* is a statue of stone erected to worship the deities in which animals are sacrificed to make them happy so that people could receive fortune in life.

<sup>46</sup> *Sime* is the god of water.

<sup>47</sup> *Bhume puja* is a worship of the God of land.

<sup>48</sup> *Gothako puja* is a worship of the God of cow/buffalo shed.

<sup>49</sup> *Kulan or pitri puja* is a worship of the ancestral God.

<sup>50</sup> *Siddhako puja* is a worship of God of the top hill.

<sup>51</sup> *Simbaiko puja* is a worship of God of wind.

customary practices of the community structure of origin which did not have appropriation in the new context. In other words, migrants feel the pressure of cultural fabric (IOM, 2015). It is not otherwise for a migrant to face the new cultural shocks of the new community structures.

In line with the story of Himal Kanchhaba, I have, hereby, instilled reflections of the field observation which I did in Butwal. In an evening, one of the migrants from Bharse invited me to have dinner in his house. Walking on foot from the hotel, I reached there around seven o'clock in the winter evening. While I reached there, I saw other two people who were invited to this gathering. It was an informal gathering and I also did not think of noting any information about this gathering but while pre-dinner food items were placed on the table, I realized it would be better to memorize and reflect on this event. When sitting on the chair, the family offered fried maize mixed with soybeans and liquor (liquor of millet is very popular because it is known as a pure) to me and other guests. Requesting me to eat, the household head shared, as much as it is possible, he loves to eat the food items that are grown in his birthplace. Occasionally, some of his relatives bring those local items for him from the village but it is impossible to find and buy those items in Butwal. From this excerpt, I understood changing the habit is not easy for migrants which is a challenge for them in the new community structure. And he could not find the food items which he loves.

Having knitted the story of Himal Kanchhaba and presented the revelation of the field observation, it was the month of May 2016 as I approached Khusi Saap (male, 53) in Hong Kong through Viber to know his experiences about the cultural shock which he could have faced there. The cultural context of Hong Kong also differs. Most of the ritual practices of Hong Kong are different for which he was a

stranger. The way people of Hong Kong perform is not easy for him to adopt. As he stressed, *even today, I felt unaccustomed to the festivals, customary practices, cultural values and norms, and everyday activities of Hong Kong. In Chinese festivals<sup>52</sup>, I do not know how I should perform them.* As he added, *in the initial days, I am unfamiliar with how people exchange their greetings.* As a migrant, he felt obdurate with the local people's practices in Hong Kong. He further articulated his story by giving an example, *I found myself unfamiliar with food items and people's food habits. There are meat items that I culturally do not eat.* This account inculcated that he at least had to be familiar with the new items whether he likes to eat or not as it became a challenge for him.

After manufacturing the story of Khusi Saap, on those days of June 2016, I managed to talk with Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) in London to know his view about the cultural challenges. From his story, I understood, before deciding on permanent settlement in London, he was quite familiar with the socio-cultural context of the UK as he worked there in the British Contingent for a long. So, it was easy for him to reach and live there but it was a new habitat and it was essential to learn the new social systems. Being a newcomer in London, he had to interact with the local people and their everyday activities but it was not easy for him to perform as the local people do. In the beginning, he neither could perform his behaviours well nor could he fully accept the new ones there. In connection to this account, he recalled in a conversation;

*After the settlement in London, I found difficulties dealing with the local people because the behaviour I performed did not fit with the local people,*

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<sup>52</sup> One of the main Chinese festivals is the Chinese New Year which is marked on 12<sup>th</sup> February of each year.

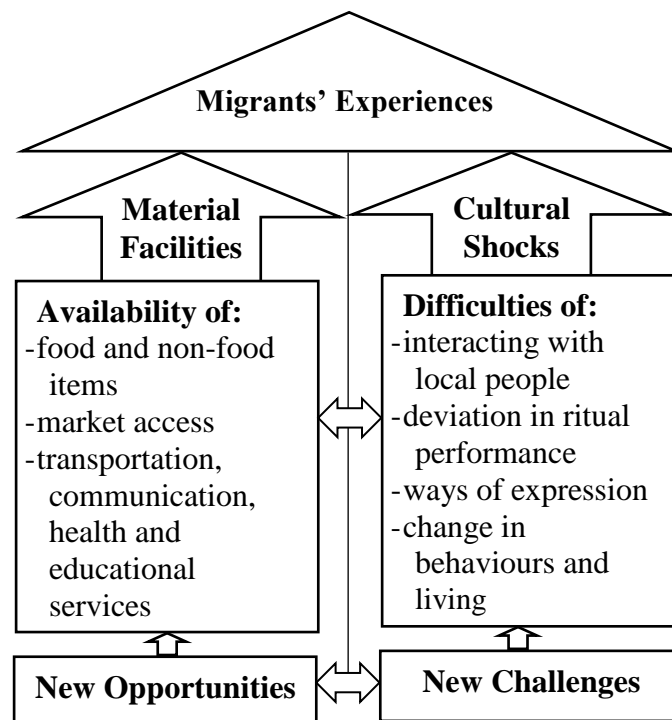


*whereas the cultural practices they performed also did not sound good to me. As a retiree of the British Contingent, I did not have a problem speaking the English language but the other performances, such as food items and recipes, dresses, festivals, mores, values and norms, and ritual performances (birth, marriage, and death ceremonies) were different in which I was unfamiliar.*

From this piece of the story, I noticed it became difficult for Ujjwal Saap to adjust to London because of his unfamiliarity with the new context and culture. To substantiate this account, I fetched a view of de Haas (2021) as he opined, the recipient community structure, one way or another, includes migrants as they become unfamiliar with the new socio-cultural practices.

**Figure 18**

***Experiences of Material Facilities but Non-Material Cultural Emptiness***



The figure hinted that the migrants experienced material opportunities and cultural shocks after the settlement in the new community structures. Almost all

migrants enjoyed the physical facilities, whereas they faced cultural panic. In a conclusion, Jakubiak (2020) also noted, migrants are on welfare less often than natives. This has been a situation that I understood from the stories of migrants. To support this account, I derived a view of Paoletti et al. (2014) as they unfolded their idea, migrants were exposed to social vulnerabilities in the alien lands. From the stories of migrants and my field observation, I noticed almost all migrants experienced physical facilities at the current places, whereas they faced the challenges of cultural lag because of the new cultural contexts, such as different behaviours of people, belief systems, and new patterns of living. This statement is paralleled with a view of Belinschi and Fidrmuc (2018) as they mentioned, cultural values may be more complex than one would expect. Such a situation occurs because of non-material cultural voids between the community structure of origin and recipient community structures. The new context demands new ways of living for migrants. Knitting the stories of migrants about material facilities but cultural shocks, in the section below, I have described the engagement of migrants in the new professions but they faced the challenges of adaptation.

### **Engaging in the New Professions but Facing the Adaptive Challenges**

Acquiring the new professional experience was a prerequisite for migrants because the new context required it but the migrants faced adaptive challenges in the cultural contexts. Along with the change of location, the migrants had obligations of engaging in the new earnings. Despite the opportunity of migrants' involvement in the new work, they also experienced the different forms of challenges that they did not face in their community structure of origin. To understand this account, I approached Himal Kanchhaba (male, 66) in Butwal to understand his perceptions in January 2016.

From his story, I attempted to dig out how he has acquired new occupational experiences there as he shared, living in a relative's house in Butwal, he searched for the job with the support of his acquaintances. In the beginning, he became successful to find a job in a wood factory but he was appointed as an apprentice carpenter. As an employee, he spent there for more than three years. This was the first job in his life. As he said, *I got a job in the wood factory from which I started my professional career in my life.* This piece of the story instilled a sense that, from this job, he saved some money and learned technical knowledge and skills which became a pathfinder in his professional life. The job he had engaged in made him change the working pattern on the whole. And his life became more routinized and systematic in Butwal. As he articulated, *I started getting up in the late morning because I felt exhausted working in a factory. Most of the time, I worked from 10 am to 5 pm but, sometimes, I used to work from the early morning to late evening and I had to work on holidays as per the need of the office.* In this way, his living style became better in Butwal which I understood in this piece of the story.

Spending some years in a wood factory in Butwal, based on Himal Kanchhaba's professional experiences, he was searching for the options of the old profession. He, fortunately, found a job in a company, i.e., BTI in which he worked for about fifteen years. In this organization, he learned the sets of knowledge and skills and earned money for a livelihood. As he said, *the new job was better than the previous one.* As he added, *earning from this job supported me to manage food items, clothes, utensils, and shelter. And it helped me maintain the household expenses in the family.* Along with the professional change, Himal Kanchhaba's lifestyle became better because he received a relatively higher position and remuneration as well. In

this way, his life became comfortable. He felt the rise of his professional and social status. He not only made the earning but also found an opportunity of acquiring experience from his profession. Basically, he learned to manage the time because he had to follow the official schedule in the office. Being a technical person, he found an opportunity to enhance his technical knowledge and skills in the BTI. Strengthening his knowledge and skills became supportive for him to build confidence at work and in social life. This piece of the story can be substantiated by a view of Tiwari (2008) as he articulated, a big number of people choose to live in the cities because they can grab more opportunities to acquire up-to-date knowledge and skills for better living. Nonetheless, cities are the centre of concentration for people.

After knitting the story of Himal Kanchhaba in Butwal, in April 2016, I became interested in understanding the view of another migrant, i.e., Maila Guru (male, 44). In an informal meeting, I drew his attention and asked him to share his feelings about occupational experiences after the settlement in the recipient community structure. To support this view, I took an idea of Hulst et al. (2015) as they mentioned, ethnography studies subjective views. Accepting my request, Maila Guru again agreed to share his story of a new occupational position that he had experienced in the new context. By profession, Maila Guru was a teacher. After the settlement in Butwal, he continued the same occupation of a school teacher in the government school which he used to do in the previous village but the context was different. His qualification and professional experience met the requirements to hold the same profession in the new school. To support this idea, I instilled a view of Afsar et al. (2021) as they urged, the ability of someone can be applied in different contexts as Maila Guru's qualification supported to adjust there. In the new school, he began to

teach the new groups of students and has been dealing with the new administrative and management system there. As he shared;

*Even, after my settlement in Butwal, I did not have to change the professional position after changing the location because I was just transferred from Bharse to Butwal in the same position but the methods and processes of teaching-learning are more practical and student-centric activities because of the availability of resources.*

In the new school setup, Maila Guru experienced new teaching instruments and materials with which it was easier for him to teach in the classroom. As a teacher, a change in teaching style was a precondition in the new school. According to de Haas (2014a), education mostly helps migrants instill a belief that encourages them to search for new experiences which also can be seen in Maila Guru as well. Thus the professional experiences became supportive for him to settle in Butwal. To this end, I connected a view of Giddens et al. (2018) as they claimed, migration changes the cultural dynamics of migrants in the recipient community structures. Change in cultural practices is a condition of migrants.

Having accessed the new teaching materials in the school, Maila Guru faced some challenges because he was not familiar with how to use those materials. He had to obtain the basic knowledge and skills about how to use them in proper ways. He also was unfamiliar with the students, their parents, and teachers in the new school. Even, holding the same occupation in the new school, he had to change occupational performance. Being a migrant, he said, *in the initial days, being a new teacher for the school system, it took time for me to understand the context because I was unfamiliar with the new system of the current school.* This shows, despite holding the same

profession in Butwal, the teaching activities, methods, and materials were different for him which he felt was a challenge.

After crafting the story of Maila Guru in Butwal, I furthermore became curious to approach Asal Hakim (male, 53) in Kathmandu in May 2016 and discuss the recipe of occupational experiences. Sitting together, we began our conversation informally. He shared, after the completion of his graduation, he became interested in joining the government service so he decided to apply for this. Fortunately, he passed the examination of the public service commission. Then, he became a government servant. It became possible for him to hold this job after he migrated from Bharse and settled in Kathmandu. As he expressed his story, *after coming to Kathmandu, it became easier to join a government job. It became possible for me to find the job vacancy and apply for this position.* This was an opportunity for him to create an occupational space in Kathmandu because of migration. It was a new occupational position for him. As he added, *along with the professional and earning, I learned not only technical knowledge and skills but also administrative systems.* From this piece of the story, I know he had to work in a new setup to enhance his occupational competencies which were the requirements for him to get the job done efficiently. He had the opportunity to acquire personal learning in the organization. The life he made was a little bit systematic.

After knitting the story of Asal Hakim, I moved to weave the story of Shristi Didi (female, 64) who has been living in Kathmandu. Those were the days of May 2016 when I thought to sit and talk with her again as she had got long experiences as a school teacher in different places within and outside the country. In her professional career, she had spent about nineteen years in Hong Kong and Brunei. It became

possible only after her departure from the native community. As she articulated, *after the completion of the bachelor's degree, I was living in the village. I received a notice of a teacher's vacancy in Hong Kong from my relatives. I became interested and decided to apply for that position. Finally, I was selected for a teacher.* From this extract, I noticed, as a school teacher, she took the international experience as an occupational migrant in Hong Kong and Brunei. Her academic qualification became supportive of engaging in a new job and acquiring occupational experiences elsewhere. Thus she acquired new professional experiences in the new community structures.

Then, a curiosity arose in me to understand the professional experience of migrants. For this, I contacted Khusi Saap (male, 61) in Hong Kong through Viber around May 2016. Receiving my call, he agreed to talk with me at the time of this call. One of the agendas I anticipated was to discuss how he developed occupational and personal experiences in Hong Kong as a migrant. As an able-bodied youth, he joined the British Contingent at a young age and served there for more than two decades. As he said, *at a young age, I served in the British government as a young soldier and spent more than two decades there. It was a new and first occupational experience in my life out of the village.* After the selection, he left his village and was brought to Hong Kong. During the service, he learned new professional and personal knowledge and skills because he attended many courses and visited many places across the world. He further added, *I finished my tenures from the British Contingent and got retirement from there. I found an opportunity to join a private company in Hong Kong. Till today, I have been engaging in this company. I learned professional knowledge and skills along with better earning.* At this moment, migration provided

him with a professional opportunity in the new community structure which I knew. Working more than two decades in the contingents, he took retirement from there. He joined a company in Hong Kong as a security manager as ‘cultural intelligence of working in different places’ (Afsar et al., 2021) helps migrants settle in the new community structures. Khusi Saap continued working in a company in Hong Kong and resided there. From this job, he made lucrative earning and learning as well. It became possible for him after he decided to settle there.

After talking and listening to Khusi Saap in Hong Kong, I thought to approach Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) in London and take his views. It was the month of May 2016 when I contacted him through Viber. He shared he has acquired new occupational experiences after the settlement in the new community structure. Like the previous migrant, Khusi Saap, Ujjwal Saap also joined the British Contingent from which they got new professional experiences. I attempted to explore his experiences as a migrant. As he shared that he was selected in the British Contingent by the authority as a young of a village, *I served there for more than two decades. Working in the British Government was a new profession in my life.* He learned particularly occupational knowledge and skills in the contingent which I noticed from this piece of the story. During the service, he got the opportunities to visit many different places as these exposures opened his horizon of thinking and professional avenue.

Along with the professional knowledge and skills, he learned personal knowledge about the new localities and customary laws. The knowledge and skills acquired in the British Contingent became supportive for him to grow in occupational positions on the whole. Serving more than two decades, he decided to retire. After this, he came to Kathmandu. From Kathmandu, he went to Iraq and other countries



for work because, to some extent, previous occupational knowledge and skills supported him to go and work there. In line with this statement, I injected a view of Asad (2019) as he articulated, personal resources (knowledge and skills) can also shape opportunities. The British Government opened an IRL for the ex-servicemen and their dependents over time. Then, he decided to grab this opportunity and migrated to London. As he shared, *after the settlement in London, I decided to find a job which is a new occupation because previous job experiences helped me engage in the new profession.* Working in different places and portfolios, he created different occupational experiences from which he made new positions in the recipient community structure.

I additionally attempted to inculcate the field observation of the new occupational experiences of a migrant in Kathmandu. It was the month of May 2016. While I was in Kathmandu, I reached the residence of Asal Hakim. At this stage, both of us were familiar with each other. I did not have to show any formal etiquette in front of him. Just exchanging formal greetings, I looked at his garden where he was growing kiwi, papaya, guava, orange, grape, and vegetable items. All of these fruit and vegetable items were well-managed because he was an expert by profession. It looked like a demonstration plot for visitors. I noticed it became possible to make such a plot because of his occupational as well as personal experiences. He had many years' practical as well as professional experience in this sector after his migration from the village.

From this extract, I derived an insight that Asal Hakim learned occupational knowledge and skills. It became possible only after his settlement in Kathmandu. Additionally, I would like to instill another observational note of the

field visit of Bharse. For the second time, I visited Bharse in November 2016. Reaching there, I visited different locations of the village. During the visit, I saw kiwi plants and trees in the farmlands. Besides this, I heard from Bharseli migrants about the support of Bharseli Samaj Tarai Kshetra<sup>53</sup>, Bharseli Samaj Kathmandu<sup>54</sup>, Bharseli Samaj Hong Kong<sup>55</sup>, and the Bharseli Samaj UK<sup>56</sup> to produce cash crops in Bharse. With the financial support of these organizations and the technical support of Asal Hakim, an initiation of growing the kiwi fruits was undertaken from which farmers grew this fruit. From this field observation, I understood migrants' occupational experiences became supportive of this village.

The story of Maila Guru in Butwal, Asal Hakim, and Shristi Didi in Kathmandu, Khushi Saap in Hong Kong, and Ujjwal Saap in London nurtured me that all of them created their new professional experiences according to their capacities and contexts. Almost all of them engaged themselves in different professions to live in their respective recipient community structures from which they made their new professional experiences after their settlement in the new community structures. The insight I took from these stories of migrants was that, for better adaptation, almost all migrants acquired the new competencies

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<sup>53</sup> Bharseli Samaj Tarai Kshetra is an organization which is formed in the Tarai by the migrants from Bharse.

<sup>54</sup> Bharseli Samaj Kathmandu is an organization which is formed in Kathmandu by the migrants from Bharse.

<sup>55</sup> Bharseli Samaj Hong Kong is an organization which is formed in Hong Kong by the migrants from Bharse.

<sup>56</sup> Bharseli Samaj UK is an organization which is formed in London by the migrants from Bharse.

according to their contextual needs. Some migrants from Bharse received occupational experiences in the recipient community structures which were opportunities for them.

After revealing the stories of migrants about the opportunities, I discussed the challenges that the migrants had faced in the new community structures. I took the support of some migrants. During the field visit of Butwal in May 2016, I listened to the story of Himal Kanchhaba (male, 66) which indicated that he faced the challenges of adjustment there where he has been residing for more than four decades. As a migrant, it was not easy for him to adapt to the new place.

The story of Himal Kanchhaba revealed that, even speaking the Nepali language, the way of expression and the meanings of words varied. To support this extract, it is worth mentioning a view of Prabha (2011) as she argued, migrants may not be familiar with each other's dialects. Culturally, it was obvious for Himal Kanchhaba to face a challenge in the new community structure. It was time-consuming for him to be familiar with this. In the same sitting, he memorized his experience, *I physically felt difficult to adjust because of the new environmental condition in Butwal. The pattern of living became different.* The ecological context became a challenge for him because of different climatic conditions which I noticed from this piece of the story.

Himal Kanchhaba faced the challenges, such as environmental and technological differences. He also felt awkward about the new community structure's rules, regulations, and customary laws with which he was unfamiliar. In an informal conversation as he stressed, *I felt difficult to adapt the behavioural practices of the local people and adapt to them in the initial days.* He further added, *as ritual*

*performance, it was impossible to worship natural objects, such as stone, a source of water, big trees, and hills which I could not do in Butwal. On special occasions, such as Tihar, I used to worship cows, snakes, crows, etc. but it became impossible for me to do this practice here.* From this manifestation, I understood he could not maintain the customary practices and rituals in Butwal in an original way.

After presenting the story of Himal Kanchhaba, I approached Asal Hakim (male, 63) in June 2016 for an informal conversation. In this conversation, he also shared about the adaptive challenges in the new socio-cultural context of Kathmandu. As he said, *after the settlement in Kathmandu, I engaged in the new systems and practices. Even, people's behaviours were different which I found it is a bit tough to adapt.* As a migrant, the new cultural context was uneasy for him as I noticed. In Kathmandu, he had to deal with the new cultural groups whose cultural practices were different from his own. In some social functions, he felt excluded because the local people's everyday activities were different from his previous ones. Thus it was a challenge for him to adapt to the new context.

Then, I thought to talk with Khusi Saap (male, 53) who has been living in Hong Kong as it was the month of June 2016. I took the initiative to talk with him through Viber. From this conversation, I noticed one of the main constraints for him was the language barrier in Hong Kong because he is a Nepali speaker by culture. To substantiate this extract, I glued a view of King and Lulle (2016) as they revealed, social distance is key in creating the opportunities or constraints to language learning. In Hong Kong, he had to speak Chinese mostly but English also was a language of interactions there. However, the Chinese language is the first language of Hong Kong. As an ex-serviceman of the British Contingent, he could speak English which he

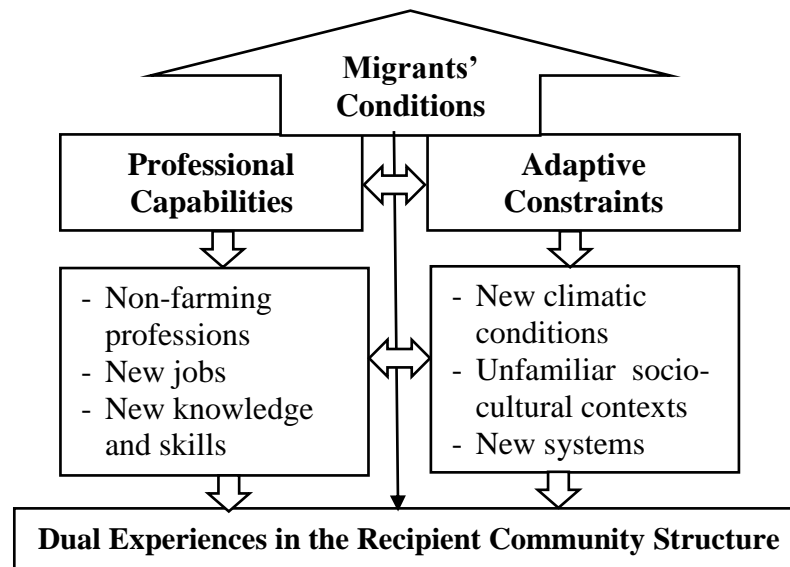
could use in his professional life but not knowing the Chinese language the official language in Hong Kong was a problem for him. As he revealed, *I did not understand the Chinese language but this is preferred within and outside the office. Even, out of the office, most people speak the Chinese language.* This story of Khushi Saap revealed that the new language became a barrier for him to adjust and interact with the local people. This piece of the story can be substantiated by the view of Nogle (1994) who claimed, one of the main barriers to the adjustment of migrants is a new language. Such a situation was a challenge for Khushi Saap to adapt.

Furthermore, I thought to reflect on the field observation of Butwal to fetch the meaning. During the visit, one of the migrants from Bharse told me about the gathering of Bharseli migrants. This gathering was not planned at my request. Though, I had an opportunity to engage in it. In this gathering, there were around fifteen people. Most of them were males followed by females and some youths. This sitting was arranged arbitrarily. In the beginning, the meeting chair asked me to give my introduction to people who attended the meeting. Otherwise, most of the time, I became a listener of their conversations in this meeting. In the beginning, the chair shared the meeting agenda with the members. The participants mostly were talking about everyday conditions. And they talked about some activities to be acted on other days among Bharseli migrants. I had an opportunity to talk with a woman participant who must be elder than me as I guess. It was an informal conversation about her experiences with the weather and society. To this end, Masala-Martizez (2020) also viewed, despite the severity created by the current climate that often minimizes the migrants' existence, each contributor believes in the power of information and fair representation of individuals whose voice becomes frequently lessened by the power

dynamics instituted in the current society. To adapt to the new environmental and cultural context, the migrants felt a challenge.

*Figure 19*

*New Professions but Adaptive Challenges*



The figure indicated that the migrants experienced professional capabilities but adaptive constraints after the settlement in the recipient community structures. From this note, I understood the migrants dealt with dual experiences at the current places.

From migrants' stories and my field observation, I noticed all of them found opportunities to develop new competencies in their respective community structures which became supportive for them for better living there. And they received diverse types of contextual as well as professional knowledge and skills which were the prerequisites for a better settlement. On the contrary, the migrants also faced the challenges of adjusting to the new socio-cultural and environmental contexts because of contextual differences between the community structure of origin and recipient community structures. Weaving the stories of migrants about their new professional

experiences in the sense of opportunity and adaptive hurdles in the sense of challenge, in the section below, I have inscribed the stories of migrants about the easy living which was an opportunity for them and I also have explained the stories of migrants about the expensive living which was a challenge in the recipient community structure.

### **Living the Easy Life but Expensive**

Easy living was an opportunity for migrants in the new community structures because of the availability of the material facilities but life was expensive due to money-driven life. For this, stepping out from the doorsteps, some amounts should be kept in the pocket. To this extract, I linked the story of Asal Hakim (male, 53) in Kathmandu. On those days of June 2016, I met him at his residence and talked about his condition. Just after exchanging greetings with each other, the conversation between us took place in an informal setting. I also created an environment so that he could share his feelings about his living in Kathmandu. As he shared his experiences, *I have been living a comfortable life because I have a lot of opportunities in the city. After deciding to settle in Kathmandu, I bought a small plot of land in Kathmandu and built a house.* From this version of the story, I noticed he made his life easy to live as an arrangement of shelter is a necessary condition for migrants.

I again noticed Asal Hakim bought the house construction materials, such as cement, iron rods, aggregate, bricks, etc. In addition, he had the opportunity to buy household belongings, such as television, utensils, and items of decorations in the local market. Those items were available in the market of Kathmandu. To support this extract, I took the support of Caglar's (2015) statement as he

mentioned, migrants enjoy their life by living in the cities because they get the opportunities to grab material facilities there. After erecting the house, he fitted the electricity wires for lights in each room and house premises because light is a basic requirement in the city. Also, he installed telephone lines to communicate which made him connect with others in everyday living as the communication facility made his work faster and easy. It helped him finish work in a timely fashion.

Asal Hakim additionally took an opportunity to buy a motorbike. Because of this, it became easier for him to travel here and there, and save his time. He mostly rides it while going to the office and visiting nearby places to accomplish the task. Besides this, because of the availability of public vehicles in Kathmandu, he sometimes travels in them to save time and finish the job faster than walking on foot. On this note, Bhagat (2015) shared his view, migration attracts much interest in the cities. The city is a centre of concentration as the new material opportunities became helpful for Asal Hakim to address the needs. In addition, the significance of migration is to make city life with the hope of finding a comfortable living (Donini et al., 2013; FAO & UNESCO, 2003; Hu, 2012; Sow et al., 2014). One of the main intentions of migration is to make the lifestyle better in the cities by all means as migrants overwhelmingly prefer to live in the cities (Bughin et al., 2016). For some migrants, living in the cities is a dream so is the case of Asal Hakim.

The interests in using the material life of Asal Hakim were fulfilled in Kathmandu but he faced some challenges living in the city because he had to buy



everything, such as food and non-food items from the market. Except for his house to live in Kathmandu, he did not have a piece of land for agro-products. It was a common characteristic of urban dwellers. From a piece of the story of Asal Hakim, I noticed he earned money but it was difficult to save it because he has to spend likewise. As he said, *I have to manage food for the family and, fees and reading materials for children.* These are the areas to spend his earnings. As he further shared his experience, *while I step out from the door of the house, I should begin to spend money. Almost everywhere and every time, I have to manage money in my pocket so my family members do.* Asal Hakim earnings definitely supported his living and personal life. In a way, migrants' living standards are relatively better because of earnings and they spend accordingly (Adler, 2000). Nonetheless, earning from work became supportive of living in Kathmandu.

After knitting the story of Asal Hakim, it was the month of July 2016. I knitted the story of Shristi Didi (female, 64) in Kathmandu. I planned to meet her at her residence. Reaching there, our conversation began as she uttered she made good earnings during her tenure in Hong Kong and Brunei as a teacher. As she shared her experiences, *the earnings supported me to build a house in Kathmandu which became a shelter of living today.* Currently, she does not have a regular income because her age does not allow her to engage in the job. In such a condition, she has to spend the previous earnings. Besides this, material life has become better after the settlement in Kathmandu. Despite the easy living, she has faced the challenges of saving money because she also has to spend her money each and every time and item. As she said, *though, I do not have to spend much*

*for a single food item, however, I have to buy many items and spend money on them.* From this extract, I noticed she has been surpassing the money-driven life in the new place where she has been living at present.

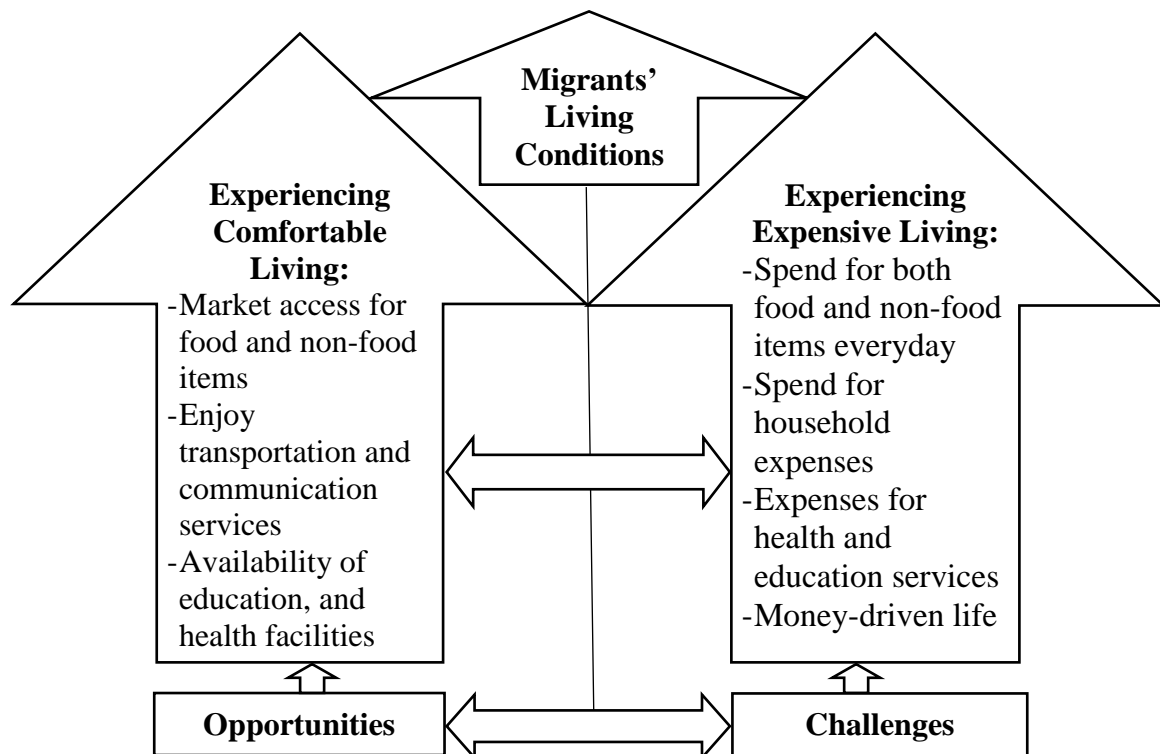
After doing this, I crafted the story of Khusi Saap (male, 61) who has been living in Hong Kong. It was the month of July 2016 when I approached him to collate his story. I managed to talk with him through Viber. From his story, I understood his earnings are a little bit different as he has double earnings. From the service in the British Contingent, he receives pensions regularly on the one hand, and on the other, he has made himself engaged at work even today in Hong Kong. From his work, he has been making lucrative earnings because he is well-paid by the company at the moment and spends accordingly. As he said, *I have been making lucrative earnings from work but the living is expensive. There are many areas of spending.* The reality is that he has to buy every eatable and non-eatable item from the market as I knew. Along with his survival, he has to afford money for the family as well. According to the ratio of earnings, he makes his expenses as he depends on his earnings

The other way around, I instilled a reflection of the field observation of Kathmandu. In the journey of research, I observed the activities of some migrants. Almost all of them had made their living better because they could easily find food and non-food items. According to their choices, they could buy those items at any time and fulfill their interests. And the access to transportation and communication services made their living easy which became helpful to accomplish the work on time. In addition, I could see the renowned schools, colleges, and universities

which are readily available for children's better education. Many of them took the best benefits as they could admit their children according to these financial capacities and interests. One side of migrants' living was better at their current places, on the contrary, the migrants had to make economic strength. For this, they either earned from the jobs or made income from the business to fulfill their common needs and interests. Thus the migrants felt the expensive living in the new community structures despite their better earnings.

**Figure 20**

***Easy but Expensive Life of Migrants***



In this figure, I depicted migrants' experiences of easy living at the current places but they faced expensive living. This revealed that the migrants experienced both opportunities and challenges where they have settled. To substantiate this

extract, I borrowed a view of Fitzgerald (2006) as he said, the bi-national facet of migration research enables ethnographic researchers to examine migrants' experiences. On the basis of migrants' experiences, I devised the text.

On the basis of migrants' stories and my field observation, I noticed sources of earnings vary depending on their professions and competencies. Levels of earning also differ. As much as they make earnings, they spend accordingly because they should buy all food and non-food items from the market. Thus they pass through an expensive life. In addition, the stories of migrants instilled that they earn relatively less in comparison to their local counterparts. This extract of the story can be substantiated by a view of de Haas (2014b) as he illustrated, migrants in the new community structures pretty much earn less than the local people do even doing similar types of jobs but their spending pattern is almost similar to the local counterparts. Despite the better earnings, living in the cities is relatively expensive because they had to buy everything from the market and spend accordingly. Explaining this, in the subsequent section, I knitted the stories of migrants about the experiences of better education which was an opportunity for them. And I also have devised the stories of migrants about the individualistic behaviours which was a challenge for them in the recipient community structure.

### **Experiencing Better Education but the Individualistic Behaviours**

Better education was a desire of migrants as acquiring better educational opportunities for themselves and their children were their hopes and they presume better educational institutions, such as schools, colleges, and universities which were readily available. They also thought of quality education. To this end, I borrowed Thieme's (2006) view as she said, education is rather a side effect of migration. In

some ways, migration helps people to acquire better education in the recipient community structures. Conversely, the migrants felt the individualistic behaviours of local people which were the challenges for them that the migrants experienced in the new community structure. While I was in Butwal in May 2016, I approached Maila Guru (male, 44) to understand his perceptions about the availability of better education and peoples' individualistic behaviours as he shared his children got better educational opportunities in Butwal. This became possible for him there. Nonetheless, he had desired to provide a better education for his children which he has been doing because he was conscious of education with a belief of enriching life. To develop his children's capabilities, he enrolled the children in better schools and colleges at the current places which were relatively better. After the settlement in Butwal, his dream of sending them to better schools and colleges came to be true. As he articulated, *after the settlement in this place, I sent my children to relatively better schools and colleges. They have been attaining better education because of up-to-date teaching methods, reading materials, and better educators.* From the words of Maila Guru, I noticed the accessibility of education became possible after his settlement in Butwal.

As a teacher, Maila Guru also tried to ensure his children's education as his interest in doing this turned into reality once he came to Butwal. As he shared his story, *my two daughters and one son are doing well in their educations at school and college levels from which I felt satisfied.* The educational progress of his children gave him satisfaction. This option was available after migration.

In addition, I thought it was worth adding the views of some migrants from Bharse who have been living in Kathmandu as well. For this account, I

approached Asal Hakim (male, 53) in Kathmandu in July 2016. And I arranged a meeting. In this sitting, he shared, after the settlement in Kathmandu, he also has better educational institutions for his children because he has choices of schools and colleges. Because of the settlement, he sent his children to the chosen schools and colleges in Kathmandu. It became possible only after migration. As he said, *in my two children, the daughter did her masters' degree, whereas the son was doing a bachelor's degree in management*. He became able to provide a master's degree education after he migrated to Kathmandu. It became possible to take this opportunity after the settlement in Kathmandu.

In addition, I thought to take the view of another migrant. It was the month of July 2016 when I approached Khusi Saap (male, 66) in Hong Kong. From this conversation, I wanted to know his story about the experiences of education and how migration contributed to children's better education. As he explained, *I found better opportunities for my children's education because of the availability of better schools and colleges*. Migration allowed him to provide better education to his children, first in Kathmandu and, then abroad. At the moment, his children have been studying on scholarships for their higher studies in other countries. In the beginning, he afforded fees and reading materials for the children from the earning of the British Contingent, *I sent my children to relatively better schools and colleges in Kathmandu because I supported them to afford better education in the chosen schools and colleges there*. Hence, migration brought an educational opportunity for his children within and outside the country. Educationally, migration became fruitful for Khusi Saap because he managed to provide quality education to the children.

Additionally, I again became curious to understand the view of another migrant. I approached Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) who has been living in London. It was the month of July 2016 as I talked with him through Viber. At this stage, we both were already familiar with each other so it was not necessary to make a formal introduction with each other. Thus we started our conversation as he shared that the service in the British Contingent contributed to his children doing better schooling. After the settlement in Kathmandu, he sent his children to better schools and colleges according to their choices and interests. As Ujjwal Saap said, *one of my desires was to provide better education in Kathmandu which became possible there*. Migration gave him a better opportunity. He moved to London for the settlement over time. Along with his movement there, it was otherwise not to bring his children with him. Hence, migration made him easier to manage his children's better education. In line with this idea, I paralleled a view of Engbersen and Snel (2013) as they embodied, prior migrants and their families support newcomers to settle and find jobs and houses in particular. After the decision of migration, each and every migrant formulates the plan to bring the family members. The settlement in London made him more accessible to provide better and quality education. As Ujjwal Saap said, *at the moment, I supported the children to receive higher education in London and settle there*. From this piece of the story, I noticed migration helped his children attain better education within and outside the country.

I additionally would like to reflect an impression of the field observation. It was the month of August 2016 when I had a chance to attend an art gallery in which various arts were demonstrated illustrating customary practices, traditional

attires, the *laure* culture, historical accounts, and ways of living of Bharse. A girl child of a migrant crafted these arts. I saw many migrants from Bharse who have been living in Kathmandu were invited to observe the art gallery because all arts used to give a glimpse of the Bharse Village. On this occasion, I had an opportunity to introduce myself to some migrants from Bharse. I also had time to talk with the artist for a few minutes as she shared crafting the arts is her hobby. She collected pictures of antiques that described the cultures and ways of living. In the future, the artist thinks to produce other arts for commercial purposes. Being a child of a migrant, she found the opportunity to learn the skills of crafting such arts in Kathmandu because materials to craft arts are available in Kathmandu. This became possible because her father took her to Kathmandu to settle permanently. From this account, I understood the migrants provided better educational opportunities to their children to develop knowledge and skills in various sectors because it is possible to find better options in other places than the community structure of origin.

Having inscribed the stories of migrants about their educational opportunities, I thought to knit the stories of migrants about the challenges they faced in their respective places. To this account, while I was in Butwal for the fieldwork, I approached Maila Guru (male, 44) as it was the month of May 2016. In this research journey, I managed time to talk with him to understand his view. In this meeting, he shared his expression about the social life of the community structure of origin in which he was familiar and also memorized closer and functional relationships with his relatives, neighbours, and villages and their cooperation in the native place. To



authenticate this statement, I glued a view of Cohen (2019) as he articulated, migration is a collective memory or experience for everyone. In both happy and sad moments, the migrants exchange their support with each other.

Maila Guru was brought up in such a social system as he could not find such a social environment because of the individualistic behaviours of the local people as well as other migrants. It also can be paralleled with a view of Gartaula (2009) as he argued, urban life is more isolated because of people's loose networks. In line with this account, Maila Guru revealed that his children are grooming in such a social environment in which they became more individualistic in performing their behaviours. As he articulated, *I experienced, growing up in the urban context of Butwal, children's attachment with the family is weaker because of the contextual voids as they love to engage with their friends and spend time with them.* From his story, I noticed living in the city made poor sociability in his children which he felt. Likewise, he felt another challenge as children are crazy about surfing the internet and playing the game rather than caring for other members of the family and neighbours. As he shared, *most of the time, children engage in the internet using mobile and computer devices to spend much time there.* From this account, I derived an idea, despite other benefits from the information, the new technology has made poor social relationships between/among individuals and groups as children mainly engage in the latest technology.

In addition, Maila Guru realized that his children were influenced by the modern cultures of the new community structure. In everyday living, his children receive information from the modern means of communication but it has killed

their times because children are more concentrated on the digital sites as they spend significant time in the digital game paying less attention to household chores and family affairs. Such behaviour loosens the ties a bit within the family members. It does not mean accessing digital sites is a problem but the issue is that spending much time on these digital sites is a problem which leads to social isolation. On this note, I noticed modern technology has washed the brain of young generations because they bogged down into digital sites which fostered self-centric behaviours in them.

Besides this, I tried to understand the view of another migrant who has been living in Kathmandu. On those days of August 2016, I managed to talk with Asal Hakim (male, 53) about the sociability of his children as he articulated the socialness of his children has become poor because they were filled with the urban culture where they have access to techno-culture. He saw the next-door neighbours who do not know him and he also does not care for them without the specific or special work.

This means demonstrating the individualistic behaviour is a common culture of the urban settings. To support this idea, I took a view of Subedi (2017) and Thapa (2017) as they asserted, the urban culture is more individualistic than collective. Those people who come to cities from the collective culture feel awkward in the cities in the initial days. As Asal Hakim added, *in the beginning, I felt isolated in Kathmandu. Even, close neighbours do not speak without any purpose.* From this piece of the story, I understood he experienced that most people in Kathmandu walk and work in their ways without caring for others. As he

shared his experiences, *at the moment, I see my children are also grooming so that they do not pay much concern about our relatives, acquaintances, and neighbours.*

From this quote, I instilled an insight that the urban culture is different from the culture of a village. As he memorized the experience of his village, *in the village, I knew almost all villagers, relatives, and neighbours. And they knew me but, in Kathmandu, within the community, I do not know many people and they do not know me as well.* Grooming in such a culture, he cannot expect any more differences in his children because they grew in such an individualistic culture of Kathmandu City.

In the research journey, I again tried to understand the view of another migrant who has been living in Hong Kong. In this process, I contacted Khusi Saap (male, 61) and talked with him in September 2016. He cordially accepted me and agreed to speak. In line with this conversation, he echoed his children's attainment of better education within and outside the country. As he shared his experiences, *my children have been living in distant places. Being in distant locations led to disconnections with the family.* In other words, education created a distance in his family. Currently, he is living in one place and his children have been living in other places because they should think about their better education and careers for their better future. As de Haas (2014b) claimed, education is an instrument to push from the current places. Living in distant places means detaching from the socio-cultural practices and distancing the relatives. It is unlikely to reconnect the relatives because they live in a distant community from the parents' house. In the words of Wodak (2017), migrants negotiate with the

culture of the community structure of origin after the settlement in the new community structures. For people, education is a medium of making the social distance because, to grasp better options, some members go away from the family.

After weaving the story of Khusi Saap, I furthermore planned to meet and talk with another migrant to knit the story. It was the month of August 2016 when I talked with Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) as he has been living in London. For this, I contacted him to understand his perceptions about sociability. Obviously, London was a new place for him and his family. It was not otherwise for him to be alienated in the new community. Except for some relatives and fellow migrants, almost all people were unknown to him. However, it is quite easy for him to make earnings in such a developed society because the job was available if he wanted to do something there. In addition, the educational level of people is higher there. Still, social behaviour is different from him because people are more focused on their works only and they do not care for others without any special work or purpose. In such a cultural context of London, it was an absurdity for him to expect something different in his children and they also perform similar behaviours as others or local people do. As he shared his experiences further;

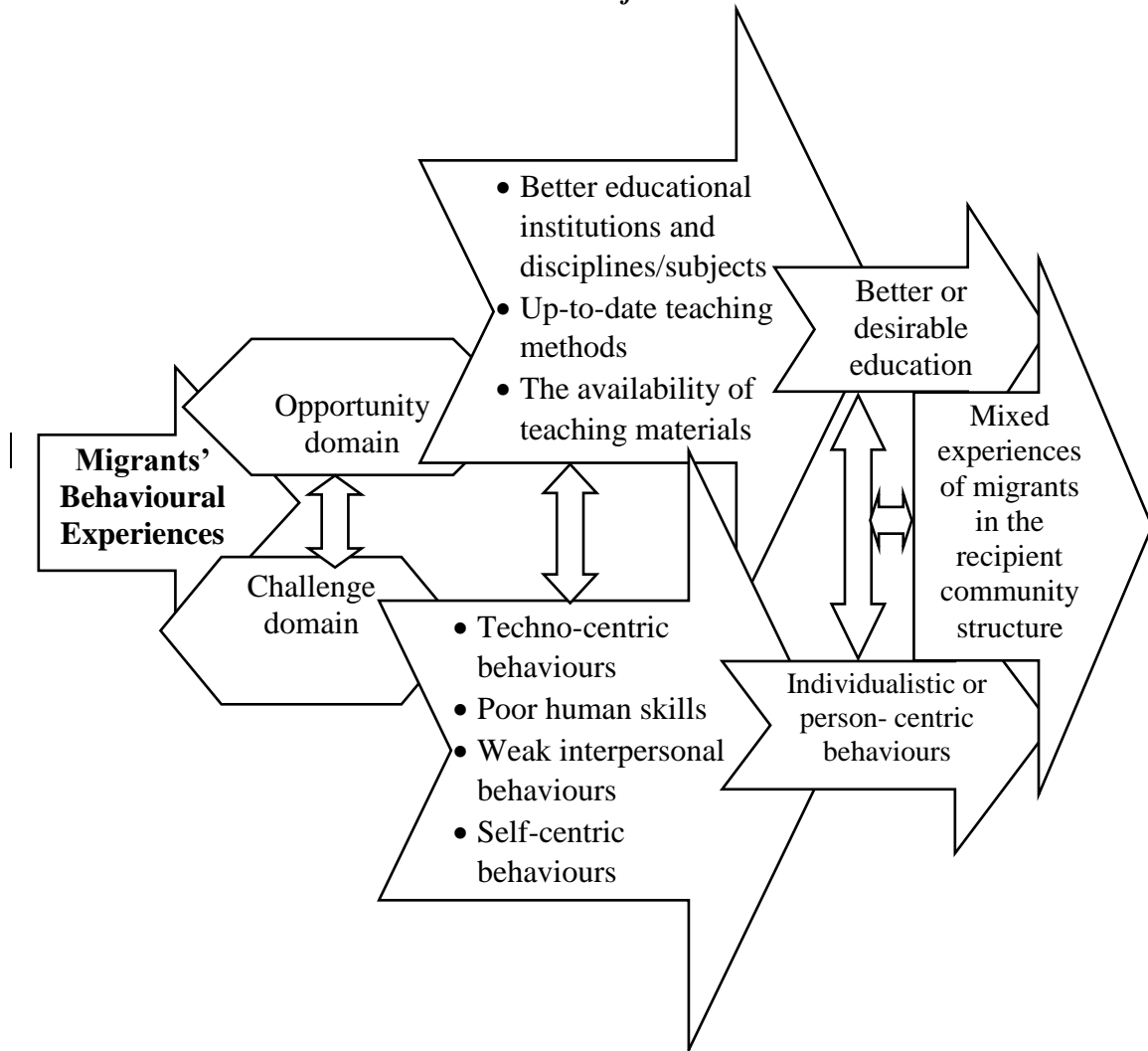
*I see the great influence of the individualistic culture of the UK in my children. In such a condition, I cannot keep myself separate from it but, being young generations, children easily learned and adopted it. In addition, they learned to earn and live in a new context but I see an individualistic living in them. They do not care for others. It is normal for them but, as a migrant, I feel odd because I was born in such a place where the collective culture is practised.*

From this piece of the story, I fetched an insight that, in the modern community, he provided better education to his children. Still, he saw poor social behaviours in them because the individualistic life is the main characteristic of the modern city. A notable agenda is that, along with the change of context, the behaviours of migrants become different. Basically, in the cities, the migrants also engage in the business work schedule as it is a facet of individualistic life. So far, modernization and globalization inspire children because tuning in social interactions is less with the families and relatives.

Additionally, I would like to reflect an impression of the field observation. It was September 2016 when I reached the house of Asal Hakim from Bharse who has been living in Kathmandu. Getting there, I extended my greetings to him and his spouse according to our custom. I was escorted to a sitting room. It was a time to talk about everyday living in Kathmandu and discuss people's social behaviours in the village and cities. In the conversation, he expressed that, in the village, one way or another, youths have to engage at their work but, in the cities, they mostly engage in the computer game. As he added his children have been doing the same thing. At that time, I had an opportunity to observe his children who were sitting in a room and playing with the computer. I also could see the everyday living of people in Kathmandu. They perform purpose-based social connections. From all these extracts, I noticed almost all children found better educational opportunities. However, they developed individualistic behaviours rather than paying attention to the families, relatives, and close neighbours which became a challenge for parents.

**Figure 21**

***Better Education but Individualistic/Self-Centric Behaviours***



This figure hinted that the migrants had experienced better educational opportunities after the settlement in the new community structures because they found better educational institutions and multiple subjects/disciplines which were the opportunities for them. However, despite having this opportunity, the life of people was more individualistic because of self-centric behaviours. And the migrants experienced poor human skills because of the poor relationship between/among people which was a challenge for them. From this extract, I conceived an idea that the migrants found dual experiences, such as better opportunities and new challenges at

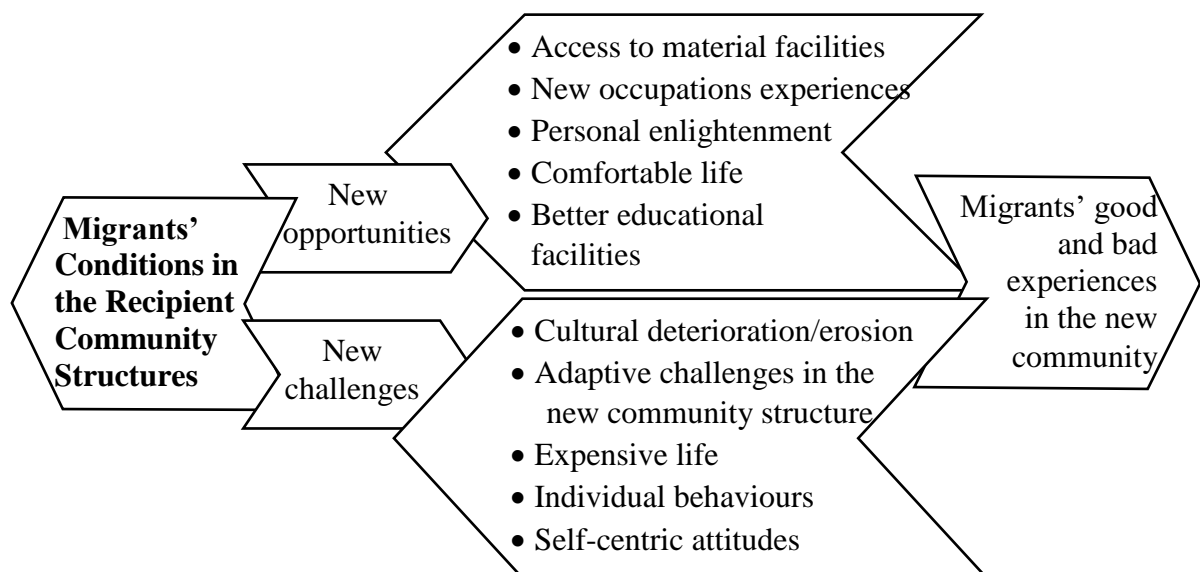
the current places. Knitting the stories about the opportunities and challenges of migrants, I have drawn the key ideas in the subsequent section.

### Chapter Conclusion

On the basis of the stories of migrants and field observation, I rendered a conclusion that, after the settlement in the recipient community structures, the migrants experienced material opportunities as they embodied satisfaction with the availability of communication service, access to transportation, market service for the food, and other items, and shopping personal and household accessories for personal and household usage at the current places. Hereafter, the migrants enjoyed the material cultures but were not much comfortable with the recipient community structures' non-material cultures, such as cultural shock, adaptive challenge, expensive living, and individualistic life.

*Figure 22*

#### *Revelation of New Opportunities and Challenges*



This figure hinted that the migrants embody dual feelings in the recipient community structures as they acquired new opportunities on the one hand, and on the other, they faced new challenges. In the following chapter, I have depicted the future strategies of migrants in the recipient community structures.



## CHAPTER VII

### MIGRANTS' VIEWS ON FUTURE STRATEGIES IN THE RECIPIENT COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

In the earlier chapter, I knitted the stories of migrants about both opportunities and constraints that they experienced in the recipient community structures.

Pertinently, migrants' stories echoed that they enjoyed their material culture but experienced cultural erosion because of the new cultural contexts. In this chapter, I have discussed migrants' strategies for the future how they devised their ideas to make their coming days better. I also have elucidated migrants' consciousness for other days.

#### **A Strategy of Educating the Children**

Educating the children is one of the future strategies of migrants so that their children could be confident and competent on other days. The stories echo that most of the migrants show their deep concerns about children's future. By all means, they invest in their children's educational activities. Seemingly, those were the days of August 2016 while I visited Butwal for the research work. In this visit, like in my previous visits, staying in a hotel became easier for me to approach the research participants and organize their stories in the evenings and mornings. In this research journey, I contacted Himel Kanchhaba (male, 66) and Maila Guru (male, 44) who are migrants from Bharse. According to my plan, I met him in Butwal. I did not describe the research agenda with him there because he was

already familiar with me and about studies. According to our custom, I extended my greetings in the beginning. Just after exchanging the greetings, I opened up the agenda of conversation in an informal way. The agenda particularly was about how he thinks about the strategy for the future as a migrant. In our mutual consent, he agreed to share his story further. Hence, for migrants, the strategy can be useful for all to develop a better understanding of migration and the activities for the future of both migrants and community structures (Fong et al., 2019). Himal Kanchhaba shared his story as educating the children was one of the main aspirations of settlement in Butwal because he has a home to see his children's better future in the days to come. This version can be authenticated by a view of Frenz (2014) as he claimed, education opens multiple ways to enrich life in children. I found Himal Kanchhaba's worry about children's future as his children grow physically and mentally. At present, his children have been doing better in their formal education. In this regard as he said, *more specifically, I encourage my children to continue their education on other days from which I believe they could be competent in their areas of interest.* From this piece of the story, I noticed he emphasizes his children's education by all means because education is a pathfinder.

I also had an opportunity to observe the educational situation of his children. I could see books, other reading materials, and exercise books for the support of studies. I saw schools and colleges were near to his house in which the children have been studying. And it is easy for them to take an educational opportunity from the schools and colleges of the hometown. On other days, he

wants to support his children to obtain a better education there. Assertively, Himal Kanchhaba intends to invest some chunks of earnings for his children's education from which children could be successful in their chosen professions. As he added;

*I understood the importance of education which helps me push children ahead in the field of education. From this way, I hope to see children's better future in their chosen professions. Thus, living in Butwal, I want to provide them better education, hoping to make them competent persons for other days.*

From this piece of the story, I fetched an insight that, as a future strategy, he wants to put the best efforts into his children's better future. He aspires them to settle in their desired fields of the profession as he thinks education is an instrument to empower his children. Not only this but also, Himal Kanchhaba thinks, in the future, education broadens his children's horizons of learning about the new social systems. With this piece of the story, I linked Aubrio's (2009) view, the new social systems and institutions are sources of new learning. Making young generations familiar with the new rules, regulations, and value system is the responsibility of parents.

Himal Kanchhaba's settlement in Butwal was an opportunity for his children to learn the new behaviours and cultures of people as Dandy (2009) devised an idea, "integration may encourage seemingly innocuous facets of cultural diversity, such as food, language, and dress while simultaneously discouraging the expression of religious and cultural values that are considered to be at odds with the dominant culture and a threat to existing power relations" (as cited in Smith et al., 2018, p. 852). How migrants develop strategies to embrace

the integration of diversified socio-cultural systems. This story can be substantiated by a view of Huot (2017) as he elucidated, social integration and participation in daily activities and new social systems were facilitated for those migrants whose capital was recognized formally in the recipient community structures because the migrants also become a part of a recipient community structure.

The meaning I derive is that the migrants have to live in the new cultural practices and deal with them. I, hereby, linked a view of Ptashnick and Zuberi (2018) as they echoed their statement, socio-cultural integration denotes informal social contacts, cultural values, and feelings of belonging. For migrants, it is a precondition. Learning new behaviours becomes helpful to adapt. According to de Haas (2014a), even, after migration, migrants think about further strategies. In addition, considering the local reality, he inspires children to be familiar with the new technologies, such as computers and mobile phones so that they could easily handle them and become up-to-date about the knowledge, relatives, and professions without killing the socialness. Even, they could accomplish the task timely and efficiently. From this excerpt, I understood Himal Kanchhaba thinks to make a strategy for his children's learning to adapt to the modern setting. The modern way of living guided his life at large.

After knitting the story of Himal Kanchhaba, I approached Maila Guru (male, 44) in Butwal in August 2016 to understand his views about the strategy for his children's better future. Just after extending the greetings, I shared the agenda of the meeting because he also was already familiar with me and knew about the research work. Thus I did not have to give nitty-gritty about myself. Because of this, it became

easier for me to talk with him. Then, I began to speak in line with the purpose of the current meeting. In the beginning, he desires to educate children by all means. For this, he enrolled his three children at a school that is nearby his home. One of the purposes of migration is to provide better education (Acharya, 2012). Even, in the future, Maila Guru prioritizes the continuation of his children's education. As he shared, *at the moment, my son doing the tenth class. After the completion of school leaving certificate level, he is interested in joining the Indian Army.* For this, education is a basic requirement which he thinks.

To qualify it, Maila Guru encourages his son to obtain it. To be a *laure*, other requirements are also needed for a young boy. As he kept saying, *I encourage my son to do physical exercises, such as sit up, push up, and run in the morning and evening.* In addition, I saw a wooden instrument at a corner of the house premises which is used to sit up. In leisure times, his son engages in physical exercise. In such a way, Maila Guru plans to build his son educationally and physically fit for *laure*. Not only this but also, he knows one of the requirements of *laure* is to pass the mental and physical exam. So far, he has been inspiring his son to make a foundation for this mental exam so that he could be the right fit person. He knows these efforts can be useful in the Nepali army and police services as well in case of failure of joining the Indian contingent. Thus he educates his son for this purpose.

To make a responsible person in the family and hand over the family responsibilities in the future, Maila Guru engages his children in the household as well as family activities which is a part of preparedness to take over his

responsibilities. As he emphasized, *I have a desire to make children responsible for handling family responsibility. I am grooming my children for that.* While I was talking with Maila Guru, his son also was sitting on his right side. I saw his son was showing a gesture of acceptance while his father was expressing his views. Thus he has been searching the multiple ways to empower his children. From a piece of the story of Maila Guru, I noticed the dream becomes visible while his children become competent and confident in their professional fields. Presenting the stories of migrants about education strategy, in the subsequent subsection, I have described migrants' stories about modern education which was one of the strategies.

#### **Attraction towards Modern Education**

After the settlement in the new community structures, thinking to provide modern education was a strategy of migrants. Most of them were fond of providing modern education to their children as modern education was a pathfinder for younger folks on other days. To this extent, I substantiated this account with a view of Rees and Lomax (2020) as they claimed, education provides skills and knowledge to improve social and economic well-being. It enhances the occupation and income facets at large. In this vein, in the journey of ethnographic research, I had an opportunity to talk with Asal Hakim (male, 53) in Kathmandu on those cold days of January 2017. Being familiar with each other before, just after the greetings we turned towards the conversation. In such a moment, I requested him to share their views about the aspirations of his children as a migrant. In the future, one of their desires is to provide better education to

their children. He became proactive in children's education from which his children could attain the knowledge and skills. This account can be substantiated by Luchtenberg's (2004) view as he asserted, education in multi-cultural contexts increases new knowledge and skills. Asal Hakim thinks, with better education, his children also could lead towards a successful life.

Acquiring the new knowledge and skills as Asal Hakim hopes becomes supportive of building the capacities in his children. He believes it is possible from modern education. Considering this reality, he sent his children to the chosen schools and colleges after the settlement in Kathmandu. The purpose of sending them to better schools and colleges was to enhance their capacities so that they in the future could be successful in their personal life and professional careers. The main intention of making a better career is to make everyday living better in the changing context. As he said, *as the father, my responsibility is to find better schools and colleges for children who could attain their education from which they could develop their confidence and competencies to enrich their lives in their chosen fields*. This view is guided by the modern modes of education. A belief is that modern education creates opportunities. So, he substantially considers his children's better future from modern education.

In the research journey, while I went to his residence, I saw many reading materials, resources, and books gathered for this children's education. It was easy for his children to access the schools and colleges from his house. Thus he wants to provide a better education for his children even in the future. As he elaborated on his story, *one of my children has been doing a postgraduate at the movement*

*and the purpose of doing this is that my child could qualify for a government job after completing that qualification.* Moreover, I saw he has collected some books for his child to prepare for the Public Service Commission exam. In the morning, he also sends his children to take a class for this exam. Thus he empowers his child for the future and he revealed that this subject becomes supportive to prepare and pass the exam of the Public Service Commission. Another child is doing management at a college in Kathmandu. As he said;

*I want my child to join the government. In case of failure to do so, there is a chance of joining the private jobs. If it does not happen, I want to open the options of running the enterprises for the child. If it is missed, my child could run enterprises independently on other days.*

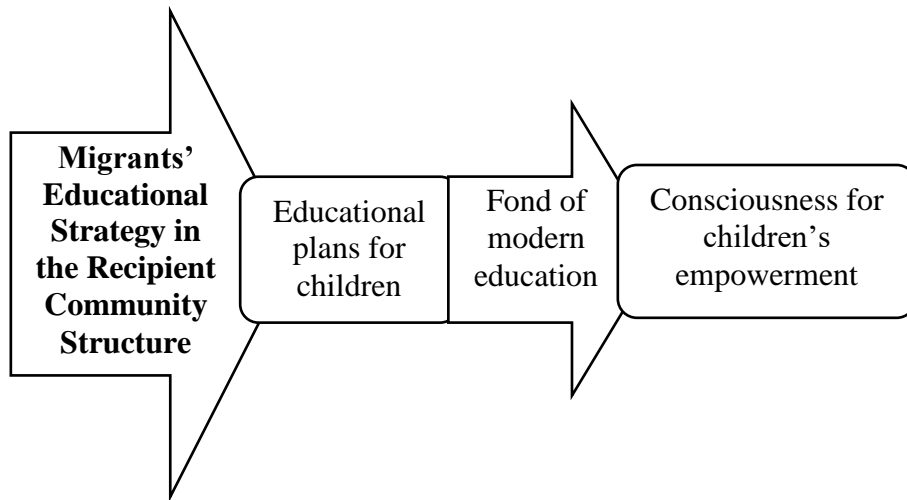
At the current places, he thinks to search multiple options as such opportunities can be accessed in Kathmandu because it is the core city of the country where modern education and opportunities are available. To authenticate this account, I linked a view of Camenisch and Muller (2017) as they articulated, migratory movements can be negotiated within multi-optionality. Hence, I noticed Asal Hakim is clear to build on children. It became possible for him to provide such education only after their settlement in Kathmandu. He strongly believes modern education provides an opportunity in the urban context.

In this assertion, it was not otherwise to understand the views of other migrants as well. On this note, I attempted to apprehend the story of Khusi Saap (male, 61) who has been living in Hong Kong for more than a decade. I used Viber to call him in January 2017. After listening to the call, he received it and agreed to talk



with me. He and I were already familiar with each other. Just after exchanging the greetings to each other, I took the permission of conversation. According to the research agenda, I requested him to share his future aspirations. After doing this, he began to share future contemplations of children's education. After joining the British Contingent, he thought of providing better education because his earnings could support it. In support of this view, I linked Rawat's (2012) argument, education helps to develop competency and build confidence. Even today, Khusi Saap always puts children's education as a top priority. I, hereby, linked this story with a view of de Haas (2014a) as he remarked, education means the pursuit of better opportunity. Khusi Saap wants to see children's successful careers in their professional fields. The time has come to prepare for the future because the pace of migration is increasing (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2019). As the movement of people has been more dynamic everyday, Khusi Saap wants to prepare his children to adjust to the competitive world.

The stories of migrants from Bharse and my field observation instilled an idea in me that almost all migrants aspire to ensure a better education for their children. To assert it, de Haas (2021) urged, migrants aspire to make changes along with the change of communities. Providing better education is one of the top priorities of migrants in their respective community structures from which their children could acquire 'professional knowledge and skills to be empowered' (Tiwari, 2008). One of the future aspirations of migrants is to make their children ingenious so that they could be successful in the competitive age on other days. I learned, strategically, almost all migrants are conscious about their children's modern education. In this regard, I have the sum of the stories in the following figure.

**Figure 23*****Migrants' Educational Strategy***

The figure illustrated how migrants have developed strategies about education, i.e., modern education. Most of the migrants were conscious of their children's better education in the current communities. Coining the stories of migrants about the fondness of modern education, I have explained the stories of migrants' plans in the engagement in social services on other days.

### **Plan of Engaging in Social Services**

For migrants, engaging in social services is a future strategy, even after the settlement in the new community structures. It is a precondition for migrants to consider something for the future. And social services could provide them satisfaction. To connect this account, I approached Himel Kanchhaba (male, 66) during the field visit in August 2016 while I was in Butwal. I discussed how migrants think of their future. In this sitting, along with engaging in other activities, he wants to continue his engagement in social services in the future. Till today, he has been engaging in an organization that was human-centric service in

Butwal which was an organization formed to organize campaigns against the encroachment upon natural objects in which he has been working at the moment.

In the future too, from this organization, Himal Kanchhaba wants to engage in a campaign because he felt the earth is becoming a narrow habitat for human beings because of intrusion upon nature. As he interestingly said, *I want to engage in the mission of protecting nature to make this earth habitable so that future generations could live a healthy life with a clean environment.* In addition, I assertively had an opportunity to observe the situation. I also received a leaflet printed by this organization. This leaflet was prepared to disseminate the message about the preservation of nature among the folks. Thus he expressed his worries about the invasion of resources by humans which can invite environmental, economic, and social tragedies on earth in the days to come.

For Himal Kanchhaba, making people aware and in timely control of the maltreatment behaviours of human beings could be a way out for society. Having considered this reality, he planned to engage in awareness-raising activities to conserve the natural environment. In addition, he emphasized, *I see the human greed of collecting excessive resources is emptying the resources of the earth. If it continues, one day, our future generations will be empty-handed so I want to do something in this field.* Through the organization, he appeals to people to leave the greediness and serve the needy ones. He realized it after the settlement in Butwal. To substantiate this idea, I took a view of de Haas (2014b) as he remarked, migrants broadly understand the new community structures because they perceive the contexts from the new lens. Himal Kanchhaba emotionally enunciated his feelings. And he saw people running behind the money forgetting the humanistic values. As he expressed, *I*

*feel humanitarian service is greater than any other work so the contribution to society is the support to human beings on the whole.* Being conscious about it, he continuously wanted to engage in this mission on other days.

I noticed, for many years, he has been a member of Bharseli Samaj Tarai Kshetra from the time of inception as this was a voluntary organization that was formed in the Tarai by the migrants from Bharse. And it has attempted to bind all migrants in this organization. This was an avenue to know the new and old migrants from Bharse in the recipient community structure, Butwal. In the same way, from this organization, Himal Kanchhaba extended his support to fellow migrants. As he said, *in the future, I want to be a part of this organization because my clans, relatives, and fellow villages are associated with it and I need them at all moments, such as happy and sad moments.* From this quote of the story, I understood he wants his continuous association with the organization for the exchange of reciprocal supports in the future too.

I, hereby, instilled a field observation impression. In this visit, I also saw an informal meeting of some Bharseli migrants who gathered to conduct the meeting with the purpose of collecting the information of newcomers from Bharse. In this gathering, I noticed such a meeting was held on the basis of urgency. This activity shows a sense of togetherness of Bharseli migrants in the new community structure. It is needed to exchange reciprocal support among migrants at large.

In the gathering, Himal Kanchhaba continued sharing his story further. As a videographer, he is thinking to visualize the special scenes of Bharse and spreading to Butwal, Kathmandu, Hong Kong, London, and other places where migrants from Bharse have settled so that they could show their love and support for the

development of their native village in the future. In this way, some support from other places or individuals could be collected for Bharse. As he said, *for this work, I am interested in volunteering*. As he added, *another purpose of diffusing the message about Bharse is to attract people from within and outside the country to promote village tourism in the future*. From his story, I noticed he seems proactive about this. In the latter part of his life, he thinks to engage in a campaign to make people aware of the preservation of nature and he also considers serving his native community. I saw he has been preparing some pictures and wants to spread in the future for the name and fame of Bharse. In the journey of ethnographic research, I saw handbags in which *Hamro Bharse*<sup>57</sup> is written in the background. Even, after the settlement in the new community structure, he thinks to support his native place on other days too.

Furthermore, in this research journey, I became curious to understand the view of another migrant in Kathmandu. Those were the days of January 2017 when I managed to talk with Asal Hakim (male, 53) about how he has been thinking of social service in the future. While the conversation started, he shared that he has been engaging in Bharseli Samaj Kathmandu because this organization became a platform to interact among fellow migrants from Bharse. I, hereby, paralleled a view of Habermas (1987) as he argued, social spaces are the transcendental platform where people can express their utterances and interact. In this assertion, Bharseli Samaj Kathmandu is an avenue in which migrants express their views.

For Asal Hakim too, this organization has become an avenue to share and interact with his fellow migrants in Kathmandu. He has been a key associate of this organization and he wants to continue his social position in this organization. Most of

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<sup>57</sup> Hamro Bharse means our Bharse.

the time, this organization marks special celebrations. Sometimes, it also supports those people who are in dire need. As Brown and Glasgow (2008) affirmed, human community structures are institutionalized to solve problems. This view substantiates a Nepali saying which can be stated as ‘needs of relatives require at the times of *marda*<sup>58</sup> and *parda*<sup>59</sup>’. From the conversation, I noticed, in the future, he wants to support the birthplace. To support this idea, I fetched a view of Bilgili (2014) as he urged, a higher level of contact with co-ethnics can increase migrants’ motivation to maintain more connections with relatives and friends in their native lands. The socio-cultural premise of the homeland elicits migrants to remorse and keep the linkage.

From his side, even today, Asal Hakim has been providing support to his community structure of origin, Bharse. He has the willpower to transfer his technical knowledge and skills to his villagers on other days. And he specifically is thinking of providing technical support to grow fruits, seedlings, and crops, and modernising the traditional way of farming so that the local products could be commercialized from which the local people could make money. The knowledge and skills he possesses can help villagers of Bharse to make networks with customers in Butwal, Bhairahawa, Kathmandu, and other places so that the products could be sold there easily. As he emphasized, *after my retirement from the government job, I thought to engage in social service to support my villagers in promoting the local products. Thus I took Bharseli Samaj Kathmandu as a platform for social service.* Agreeing with my request, I was allowed to observe a meeting of this organization in Kathmandu. Observing this meeting, I noticed this organization mostly presents social agendas to

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<sup>58</sup> At the time of someone’s death, relative’s help is needed.

<sup>59</sup> Even, in difficult time, the support of close relatives and clans is required.

help and serve fellow migrants and support the community structure of origin, Bharse. Realizing this, he wants to be proactive for this in the days to come. As he shared the plans;

*Especially in the rainy seasons, villagers grow vegetables, such as beans, cucumber, pumpkins, and other items which cannot be consumed in the village. Those excessive vegetables cannot be sold there because villagers do not have contact with buyers of other places. I want to create a supply chain that is a support for them in the future.*

On other days, he thinks to be a catalyzer to develop a network between customers and producers. To substantiate this piece of the story, I thought to instill a field observation of Bharse further. While I visited there, I also saw the local people who have been practising the traditional farming-based activities, such as maize, millet, soybeans, wheat, etc., keeping the domestic animals, such as buffalo, cow, goats, chicken, etc. Villagers of Bharse cannot produce sufficient maize, wheat, and millets for the whole year because traditional knowledge and skills did not support them to grow. And the domestic animals are kept for dung, milk, and meat purposes only, not for commercial purposes. Likewise, he has a plan to modernize the traditional ways of farming. And he wants to transfer technologies to grow more. Thus Asal Hakim is interested in supporting the native village in his post-retirement life.

In this conjunction, I thought to weave the story of another migrant in Kathmandu. It was the month of January 2017 as I managed to talk with Shristi Didi (female, 64) about how she has thought of social service on upcoming days. As a migrant, she has been engaging in Bharseli Samaj Kathmandu which is a social

organization that was formed in Kathmandu by the migrants from Bharse. She is also an inseparable part of it. From this organization, she thinks to engage in social service. From her expressions, I understood, even today, she has been making connections with relatives and friends from her personal and organizational levels. As she said, *I want to engage in Bharseli Samaj Kathmandu from which I could support fellow migrants and villagers of the native community.* Being a volunteer, she wants to spend spare time with others in the future. And she wants to support the plan as the organization prepares for the future. By doing this, she has a desire to pay the birth price of her community structure of origin. In her retirement life, she has thought of engaging in social work.

After crafting the story of Shristi Didi, I thought to instill the view of Khusi Saap (male, 61) in Hong Kong who is an international migrant from Bharse. It was around November 2016 as I planned to talk with him through Viber. Ringing him, I requested to share his plan. After hearing me, he shared his plans in a joyful mood. He began to share his engagement in Bharseli Samaj Hong Kong. In the past, he chaired this organization but, even today, he has been working as a patron for some years. Thus he is an indispensable part of this organization.

From this organization, Khusi Saap has been diffusing the name and fame of Bharse in Hong Kong and other places. And he has a will to do this in later days. To assert this view, I quoted an idea of Castelli (2018) as he revealed, personal willingness is a driver of migrants. As Khusi Saap said, *in the woolen handbags, the name of Bharse has been printed. I also took the initiative to sell them to fellow migrants, acquaintances, and new buyers. Collecting money from*



*the sale, I have been supporting my village. Even, in the future, I want to do it.* In addition to this extract, he unpacked his story in such a way, *I want to provide financial support to renovate temples, ponds, road treks, and rest places of the community structure of origin.* For him, the support to the village is holy work that gives satisfaction.

While I visited Bharse, I had an opportunity to witness and observe some initiatives that he has been taking to support the village for the past few days. In the same way, I understood, from a piece of the story, he became generous to give financial support for academic work as well. For some work, he is open to helping others in the future too. As he emphasized, *at the moment, I am on a mission to build a veteran's house in Bharse because this is a village of laure so some elderly laure could come and live there paying the minimum charge. The house will be built with rooms, bathrooms, a kitchen garden, and exercise materials.* From his story, I noticed this is an example of his social service which he wants to do. As he elaborated, *some laure who has been living in the village do not plan to migrate from the village and they want to live there continuously. This house becomes big support to them to spend their time at the elderly age which I feel.* From him, I noticed he has requested his relatives and acquaintances to open their hearts and minds for the necessary support for this mission. And he has already confirmed the lands to build that house. After retirement from his current job, he wants to serve his village and its people by all means.

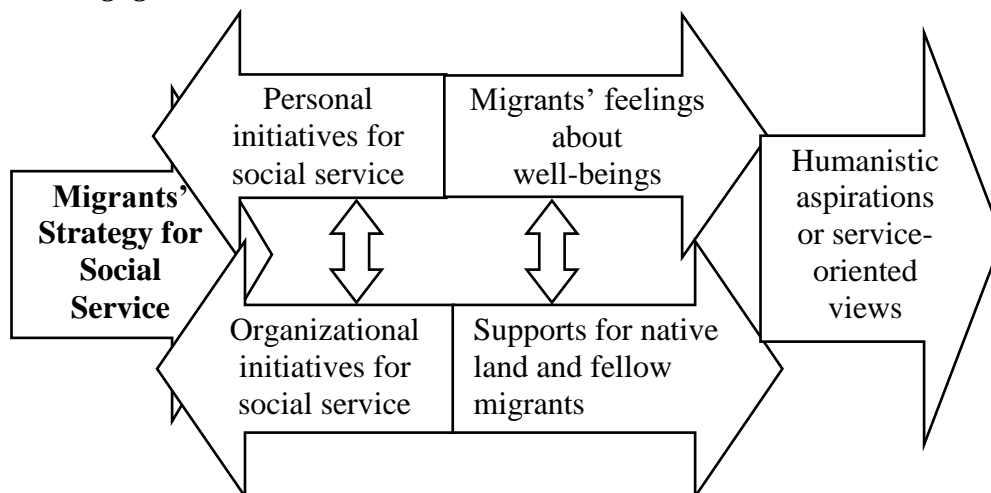
In the research journey, I additionally made up my mind to draw the attention of another migrant in London through Viber. It was the month of November 2016 as I

approached Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) to dig out his view about social work which he wants to do in the future. As a part of the conversation, I raised this agenda for him. As a migrant in London, I understood he has been engaging in the Bharseli Samaj UK which is a platform for interactions and sharing ideas among fellow migrants there. As he stressed, *at the moment, I have been chairing the Bharse Samaj UK. From this organization, we appeal to the newcomers from Nepal to be members of this organization as this is a voluntary organization.* He further said, *as a social service, I sometimes collect money from colleagues and send it to my birthplace in the name of this organization.* Serving the birthplace is holy work for migrants.

From the stories of migrants, the insight I conceived was that, on other days, most of them are eager to engage in social services and support their native land where they were born and grown up. More importantly, some of them want to provide financial support and few of them want to provide technical support to their birthplace based on their capacities. Not only this but also, there are migrants who wish for the betterment or development of their birthplace. In the figure, I have presented how migrants think about social service as their future strategies.

**Figure 24**

***Social Engagement in Social Services***



From the figure, I devised an idea about how migrants think about their strategies at the current places which were the personal and organizational initiatives in doing the social services. The intention of making those strategies was to ensure migrants' well-being at the current places and collect the resources for the development of native lands. In the end, showing humanity was a strategy of some migrants broadly. Crafting the stories of migrants about the plan to engage in the social services, in the section below, I have discussed the stories of migrants about a strategy of social engagement.

### **A Strategy of Social Engagement**

Building social ties is a requirement of migrants in the recipient community structures for better living on other days. After the settlement, the migrants developed their relationships with their fellow migrants. They wanted to keep their social ties lively because they had common interests and behaviours. And they had similar behavioural patterns and collective memories on the whole. To support this idea, during the field visit of Butwal in August 2016, I managed to talk with Himal Kanchhaba (male, 66). While the conversation started between us, I knew, from the day of settlement in Butwal, he kept in touch with his clans and relatives. Keeping in touch with them signifies a sense of belongingness. I, hereby, thought to a view of Habermas (1987) which is an old version, however, it is still relevant as he uttered, social ties with relatives became a 'platform' to exchange ideas and supports. In addition, such a relationship could be helpful for Himal Kanchhaba to engage in special functions. To support this view, I quoted an idea of Frenz (2014) as he mentioned, migrants create their new community structures in the place where they settle. Thus migration is a socio-cultural process of making the new cultural construct.

Himal Kanchhaba participates in birth and marriage ceremonies, death rituals, and ancestral worships. He continuously wants to engage in them with the clans and relatives in the future. On some occasions, he also invites them to perform such ritual practices. Thus special occasion creates a platform of social ties. This view can be substantiated by Subba and Sinha (2017) who stated, the migrant community consciously maintains a collective memory of their homelands which provides fundamental ingredients to their identities in the places where they have been living. To this end, I paralleled an idea of Bertossi et al. (2020) as they embodied, collective memory is not only about remembering or misrepresenting the past broadly. It can be about forgetting the past altogether and involving in the community contexts.

Himal Kanchhaba furthermore demonstrates collective behaviours with his relatives and fellow migrants. To perform such behaviour, it is inevitable for him to engage even in the future too. As he articulated, *in this place, my ties with clans, relatives, and fellow villagers helped me perform the functions collectively because they know the methods of doing this. It is a condition of continuing this even on other days*. In such a way, he thinks to keep connections with his clan groups, relatives, and other fellow migrants in Butwal. Performing such behaviours ingrained a culture of togetherness in him because he was detached from the cultural root of the community structure of origin. Conversely, he wants to unbreak the relationship with his birthplace. The ability to establish a social network is thus instrumental in developing a sense of belonging (King & Lulle, 2016; Ploger & Kubiak, 2018). The social network ties people together which creates a sense of belongingness at large.

Realizing the need of binding fellow migrants, Himal Kanchhaba also became proactive to establish Bharseli Samaj Tarai Kshetra as an avenue to tie almost all

migrants together as they all live in the Tarai irrespective of castes. This platform usually brings them together in celebrations and hard times as Suarez-Orozco (2008) mentioned, it is good to know how newcomers develop a sense of closeness to the places where they settled. Living in a new community structure with old behaviours brings migrants together. It has created a space to exchange their social interactions among fellow migrants. Thus the network facilitates migrants to feel closeness.

In this affirmation, it is relevant to refer to the view of Meeteren and Pereira (2018) as they embodied, the social capital available in such networks needs to be mobilized through networking strategies. As a social process, he wants to continue it on other days as well. As Himal Kanchhaba expressed, *to celebrate together, I engage clans, relatives, and fellow migrants in the big festivals, such as Dashain, Tihar, New Year, Maghesakranti, and Teej<sup>60</sup> who have been living in Butwal and its peripheral areas. Sometimes, they invite me to rejoice together. I want to continue it on other days because younger generations also have to do the same.* One of the binders of migrants in the new community structure is ritual performance. In the research journey, I also had an opportunity to observe an event in which Bharseli migrants celebrated the New Year in Butwal. This event was organized to mark such an event which helped the organiser bring all migrants together. Even, migration worldwide reflects cultural ties (Giddens et al., 2018). In the future, Himal Kanchhaba thinks to continue to mark such celebrations every year.

Himal Kanchhaba has not only maintained close ties with clans for celebrations but also involved fellow migrants or relatives to commemorate the deceased ancestors or souls. As he shared, *according to our rituals, I invite the close*

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<sup>60</sup> In Nepal, big festivals are Dashain, Tihar, New Year, Maghesakranti, and Teej.

*clans together to commemorate the deceased ancestors with special offerings as I call them to offer something special (food and non-food items).* From this piece of the story, I knew a ritual practice also brings together. This is a ritual function that he should continue on other days. With this, I linked this piece of the story with a view of Chi Kim (2007) who mentioned, an individual is interwoven with social groups with common beliefs that construct memories and share them in the form of stories. Simply, the migrants as a social group gather together and perform the special occasions. Such social function is an instrument of creating a sense of togetherness which I noted from a piece of the story of Himal Kanchhaba. As he continued sharing his story further;

*After the child's birth, on the ninth day of purification and naming to an infant child, relatives and clans are invited in a jovial moment. After the sixth month of childbirth, the rice feeding day is a special day in which all relatives are invited to feed rice to the child. Such events provide spaces to enhance the ties.*

These celebrations helped them bind together. In addition to this piece of the story, Himal Kanchhaba evoked, *celebrating the marriage ceremony is also a special day involving the clans and fellow migrants with offerings, wishes, and gifts to the newly married couple.* From his story, I understood he usually invites his relatives to the celebrations. Similarly, he shared, *the death ceremony is an important ritual function for each group of people. In such a difficult situation, all relatives and villagers come to help and express condolence to the bereaved family.* The conversation reminded me that the difficult situation also compels them to come together as I paralleled a view of Hickman (2005) as he mentioned, the migrant community lives with historical roots. The ritual root of Himal Kanchhaba and his

clans are a part of the performance. Even, in the future, he does not have a choice because other clans and relatives should mark. This is possible only from 'collective consciousness' (Bowring, 2016). Thus ritual practices pulled him to tie into a thread of togetherness. Thinking and binding togetherness is an aspiration of Himal Kanchhaba for the rest of his life.

Moreover, I became curious to understand the view of an international migrant. I planned to talk with another migrant who has been living in Hong Kong. In my research mission, I approached Khusi Saap (male, 61). For this purpose, I called him in Hong Kong through Viber in November 2016. In this call, I tried to understand his feelings about how he thinks to maintain his ties with relatives and fellow migrants from which he could show a sense of togetherness at the current places. As a migrant, it became possible for him to meet some relatives and fellow migrants from Bharse because he lives in a new place. Thus he always thinks to maintain ties with them. In such social relations, Bharse Samaj Hong Kong became a platform for him. As he said, *this is a new place for me and other fellow migrants from Bharse. In such a situation, it is required to engage in an organization in which I could interact with others.* On this note, he needs social ties with fellow migrants. For him, such togetherness is an asset in the new community structure. In line with this piece of the story, it is worth adding an idea of de Haas (2010) as he also articulated, migrants create and maintain social assets in the recipient community structures. As Khusi Saap emphasized, *in Hong Kong, I must keep a connection with some relatives, fellow migrants from Bharse, migrants from the neighbouring village, and Nepali migrants because of cultural attachment.* From this piece of the story, I understood the feeling of togetherness is a strength for him to exchange mutual support and celebrate social

activities. To support this account, I cemented a statement of Khalaf and Alkobaisi (1999) as they articulated, migrants develop their strategies of mutual support in the recipient community structures. Nonetheless, the strategies help them live a better life.

From the stories of migrants and my field observation, I noticed the migrants want to strengthen their social ties among clans, relatives, and fellow migrants from Bharse in new places. Being newcomers, it is inevitable for them to strengthen it for mutual support and preserve their cultural heritage. Assertively, the social ties cultivate a sense of togetherness in the new community structures.

At the current places, strengthening the social ties is one of the future strategies of migrants. To pay a birth price and commemorate cultural construct, they enlarge ties with fellow migrants and clans of the recipient community structures, and relatives and clans of the birthplace. This is a way of keeping the connection to the community structure of origin. Over a lifetime, they continuously think of keeping the social contact and strengthening it on other days. For them, doing this is a strategic idea for the future. Weaving the stories of migrants about social engagement, in the following section, I have described the stories of migrants about the continuation of the current professions.

### **Continuing the Current Professions: A Strategy for Better Living**

One of the strategies of migrants was to continue the current professions in which they have been engaging at present. Most of them were conscious of the work as they had been doing because they make their earnings from it. And they thought that earnings improved their living. To support this extract, I injected Wolfel's (2002) view as he said, "migration is seen as a process of improving one's condition" (p. 3).



To this account, I attempted to explore how migrants perceive their strategies for the future. I talked with Himal Kanchhaba (male, 66) in Butwal around August 2016 and unpacked the agenda of how he thinks about his professions from the current place, Butwal. After the settlement in Butwal, he worked in different professions as he recalled his memory in a conversation. At present, he has been running his enterprise. Even, in the future, he wants to continue it. According to him, *videography is my profession at the moment. To date, I could do this as I am thinking to handle this profession in the future too.* The current profession is a source of earning as well as a means of living in Butwal as well.

Himal Kanchhaba thinks to extend his relationship with the relatives and villagers of Bharse on other days from which he could promote his enterprise. In the future, he thinks to keep the network to his relatives and other people to increase his enterprise of videography so that he could be contacted and called to take and make videos of special events. Likewise, he wants to highlight his birthplace by taking the shots and videography of special heritages of the village. This means he has a connection with his birthplace. In this affirmation, it is worth linking a view of Newland (2013) as he remarked, the community of migrants and their descendants connect their community structures of origin even from the current community structures. As Himal Kanchhaba said, *some of my clans have been living in the village. I want to go there and take videos of special things and spread the name and fame of the village.* In the upcoming days, he plans to highlight the natural and cultural heritages of Bharse. I linked this piece of the story of Himal Kanchhaba with a view of Oleinikova (2020) who mentioned, a

survival strategy is required for living. A strategy helps migrants accelerate towards success in the profession. The profession of Himal Kanchhaba demands a connection with people of the birthplace as well. Such a network can help him flourish the videography enterprise which he wants to continue on other days. The social network facilitates to promote earning as Subedi (1993) embodied, one of the coping strategies of migrants is an economic issue for better living. Himal Kanchhaba wants to make an economic arrangement from the current profession.

After knitting the story of Himal Kanchhaba, I thought of mentioning the field observation in Butwal. I observed the professional fields of migrants who migrated to Butwal from Bharse. Some of them had been running their enterprises/businesses and a few of them have been engaging in jobs. Observing the situation, I noticed most of them did not want to change their professional positions in which they have been engaging today because it is not easy for them to change their professions frequently. Even, they do not see and find other alternative jobs. For migrants, continuing the current profession is a survival strategy.

Additionally, I attempted to understand the view of another migrant in Butwal. On those hot days of August 2016, I managed to meet Maila Guru (male, 44) to understand his perceptions of how he thinks about the profession. As a teacher, he plans to continue his job till the date of retirement. To support this extract, I fetched an idea of Oleinikova (2020) as he revealed, a strategy also harmonizes the individual life of migrants. Thinking of a strategy is a part of an individual which can be

understood from a piece of the story of Maila Guru. According to him, *I am thinking to continue the teaching profession till the last day because this is a means of survival for my family and me.* I understood he is dedicated to his current work. As he added, *I am thinking to look for growth opportunities within my current job. I want to enhance the requirements for growth. The current profession becomes enough for my living because I own my house.* From this piece of the story, I noticed he does not have any other plans further to leave the current profession. Again he expressed, *the current job has given me earnings and learning which supports me in the days to come. I have not thought of any options for this profession.* He seems happy with his earnings so he wants to continue it in the future too. I noticed his strategy is to continue the present profession on other days as well because this is the primary source of survival.

After imploring the story of Maila Guru, I thought to add a story of another migrant who has been living in Kathmandu. On those cold days of January 2017, I thought to talk with Asal Hakim (male, 53) to knit his story about the future strategies which he thinks for better living. At this juncture, I managed to talk with Asal Hakim about how he thinks about a profession in the future. Hence, I requested him to share his perceptions of what he feels about the job. As a professional, he thinks to continue his current job till the date of retirement. As he stressed, *until today, I did not think of any other options for the current job. I want to continue it.* The continuous engagement in this job is his interest on other days. This job gives him satisfaction and is also means of survival for him. Correspondingly, he added, *the current job has given me earning as well as social status so I respect the job and remain till the end of the tenure.* Personally and professionally, he plans to see an opportunity for growth in his current job. As he added, *within this profession, I attempt to get a promotion, if*

*possible*. It is not otherwise for him to look for growth opportunities in the concerned organization.

In this connection, I took the view of another migrant in November 2016 as I thought to talk with Khusi Saap (male, 61) in Hong Kong through Viber. While he received the call, I extended my greetings to him but I did not give details about my introduction and he also did not have to give details about his introduction so I and he did not have to talk much about it because both of us were already familiar in the first conversation. After a while, I requested him to share his perceptions about his profession further as he has been engaging at the current job for more than two decades and he wants to continue it till the date of retirement. According to him, *the profession in which I have been engaged satisfies me so I want to stay with this*. His professional attachment is a matter of concern because he is familiar with the system of the current organization. As he added, *I have been making lucrative earnings from the current profession. And I can use the extra money for social work, especially in the village. Even, in the future, I want to do such work*. With the extra money except for his personal, family, and children's expenses, he has the vigour to serve his villagers of the birthplace. Thus he wants to work for the development of his village in the future. Earning and saving of current profession is the base for better survival and serving the native lands on other days.

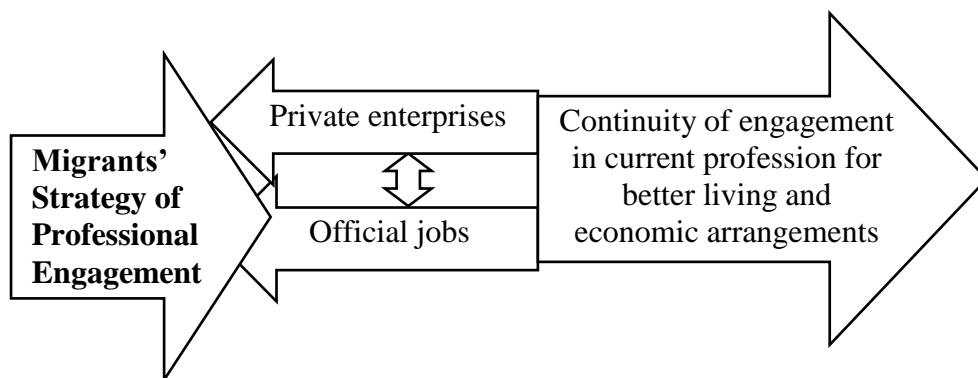
Because of lucrative earning and professional learning, Khusi Saap wants to continue the current work which he holds today but this does not mean he does not get any jobs if he quits the present job voluntarily. After this, I attempted to consult with

Ujjwal Saap (male, 64) who is an international migrant in London. It was the month of September 2016 when I contacted him through Viber. Because of time differences between Nepal and the UK, I mostly called him in the evening according to Nepali time. As I discussed above, he is a retiree of the British Contingent. He was shifted from Hong Kong to London under the IRL. Along with the change of locations, he also changed his profession as well. About the job, his story is different because his age does not allow him to join the permanent job anymore. As he said, *till the day, I can do I am thinking to work after that I have to take rest from the work*. From this annotated story, I learned he wants to work till the date as his age allows him.

From the stories of migrants and my field observation, I noticed some of them have been engaging in government jobs as quite many have been engaging in private companies and only a few have been running their enterprises/businesses. By all means, most of them think to continue their current professions till the date the systems would allow them and they could do it from their own interests. Thus continuing the present professions is their strategy for better living. In the figure below, I have portrayed how migrants developed their strategies after the settlement at the current places.

**Figure 25**

***Migrants' Professional Strategy***



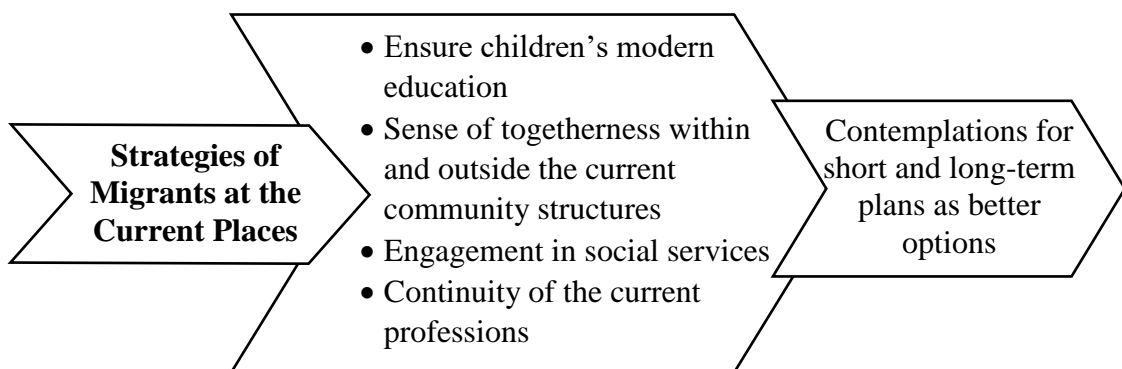
From the figure, I fetched an insight that some migrants have been engaging in private professions as they run their enterprises/businesses and few have been working in the government and non-government professions. All of them want to continue their current professions which become supportive for their better living. Weaving the stories of migrants about their future strategy, I have drawn the key ideas from it in the following section.

### Chapter Conclusion

From the stories of migrants and my field observation, I understood the migrants from Bharse covertly or overtly contemplated the future strategies which were to educate their children, engage in social services, strengthen their social ties with fellow migrants and relatives of the current community structures, and birthplace, and continue the current professions for better living at the current places. In the figure below, I have attempted to draw the conclusion which has entailed the future strategies of migrants broadly.

**Figure 26**

#### *Migrants' Strategies for the Future*



The figure hinted that, for better living, the migrants mostly think of empowering their children so that they can be competent and confident enough in the future. For this strategy, they are providing modern education to their children.

Another strategy of migrants is to strengthen the social ties among fellow migrants and connect with the clans and relatives of the birthplace. One of the strategic aspirations of migrants is to engage in social services from which they want to exchange reciprocal support among migrants and support the native lands by various means. And the continuity of the current professional activities is yet another strategic move of the migrants. In the subsequent chapter, I have depicted the key research insights of this research and discussions of the findings.

## CHAPTER VIII

### KEY INSIGHTS AND DISCUSSIONS OF THE RESEARCH

In the earlier chapter, I knitted the stories of migrants about the future strategies of migrants in which they have thought of short and long-term strategies for their better living. In this chapter, I have presented the key research insights and discussions on the basis of the research questions. Likewise, I have discussed the local-global nexus of migration and the scope of ethnography in social science and other disciplines.

#### **Key Insights of the Research**

From the first research question, *Why do migrants detach and develop social networks from the community structure of origin?* The insights I fetched were that the community structure of origin is a structure in which migrants felt challenges after their exposures to other community structures and building their social networks with relatives and acquaintances of the recipient community structures. To substantiate this account, I injected an idea from Giddens' (1986) structuration theory as he articulated, the structure entails systems in which people feel challenged and others may not. Some migrants felt uncomfortable living in the community structure of origin because the challenges they faced were the structural embodiment. Additionally, the systems and existing conditions created constraints for migrants in their native community which again can be authenticated by the structuration theory of Giddens (1986). Hence, the migrants faced ample challenges from which they could not overcome as



they did not see the hope of making a better living. The challenges of the community structure of origin were the pushers for some migrants. This extract can be supported by the push and pull theory of Lee (1966) as well. While migrants felt a difficult life in living there, they searched for alternatives to it. Some of them believed that migration is a way of liberating themselves from the lasting challenges that they have faced. The problems they felt and expressed were not the only push factors but also those people were the ones who could decide to leave the community structure of origin seeing the better options in the recipient community structures. For this, the social network with relatives, acquaintances, and friends supported migrants to depart from their community structure of origin. The only problems migrants faced did not force them to move but the ability of individuals and families fostered them to depart from the community structure of origin.

The other way around, the migrants got the opportunities for exposure visits of the recipient community structures and they also received information from kinship ties which made them realize the problems in the community structure of origin. From this statement, I understood the migrants compared their existing conditions with the conditions of people of other community structures. This also made them migrate from the community structure of origin.

For migrants, the information of the recipient community structures became resources to build confidence living in the new community structures which made migrants decide to leave the community structure of origin. From this account, I understood migration is usually a relational notion. And the relationship viz. network becomes instrumental for migration (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). A social network from which migrants enlarged their spaces from their community structure of

origin. Principally, social capital is a resource for migrants which can be substantiated by the social capital theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). From the community structure of origin, the migrants built their networks with the relatives and acquaintances of recipient community structures as the recipient community structures became a better option for them. From this excerpt, I learned those individuals and families who can decide and network searched for better options for the current community structures.

The system and culture of the community structure of origin became supportive for migrants to move from there because some of the better options are acquired by the system and culture. While migrants earned abilities at the personal and family levels in the community structure of origin, they used them to acquire other options, because of these assets, they thought and planned to move. The able-bodied youths, educated persons, professional, and wealthy families from Bharse fled to other places because they could not boom the better options in the community structure of origin. From this extract, I understood the better conditions of the community structure of origin also pushed some migrants from there. This excerpt can be linked with the optimistic school of thought (de Haas, 2014a). Behind migration, social networks became instrumental for migrants.

To this effect, I have squeezed the key insights as follows: a) those people who could challenge and deconstruct the existing conditions of the community structure of origin moved away, b) the ability of families becomes a pusher in migration, c) relatively, movers are the better-off families, educated persons, and professionals rather than poor families, d) culture/system-induced migration is also a noticeable and e) those people who decide to abandon the current system could move

away. Presenting the key insights about the detachment and social networks from the community structure of origin, I have presented the key insights about how migrants developed their positionality in the recipient community structures.

From the second research question, *How do migrants feel about their positions and enlarge their new social networks in the recipient community structures?* The insights I drew were that building the new social spaces in the recipient community structures was a condition for migrants as it was a prerequisite to enlarge new networks with neighbours and other groups of people after the settlement in the recipient community structures for social, economic, professional, and residential booms. To support this idea, I borrowed a statement of Williams et al.'s (2020) view as they uncovered, social capital, i.e., networks have become fruitful avenues for migrants in recent decades. Being newcomers to the recipient community structures, it was inevitable for migrants to enlarge their relations with the new groups of people and institutions, and be familiar with the new systems to make their everyday living better. To this end, I authenticated this excerpt with Linhard and Parsons' (2019) view as they claimed, in the new community structure, migrants created the meanings of life enlarging their spaces. In doing so, the migrants acquired multiple options from new networks, such as personal contact, engagement in social functions, institutional involvement, and so on. To affirm this account, I again borrowed a view of King and Lulle (2016) as they appealed, migrants interact with new groups for adjustment in the new systems and widen their social spaces which are the better options for migrants in the current community structures on the whole. I have connected this excerpt with the statement of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) because making social space is a resource for migrants from which they make their living meaningful. Additionally, I

linked an extract of a study of migrants in South Africa as Hlatshwayo and Wotela (2018) articulated, the social capital network is a survival strategy for migrants at large. The migrants enlarge their social networks in search of better options in the new community structures.

At some points, the structure and belief system became favourable for individuals but, sometimes, it could not be supportive for people (Giddens, 1986) because the migrants felt excited to settle in the recipient community structures, however, it was a hurdle for them to accept the new customary laws and cultural performances which can be substantiated by the structuration theory of Giddens (1986). In a nutshell, whether migrants liked it or not, they accepted the new belief systems and practices of the new community structures as they were the only better options for them.

To this effect, I have squeezed the key insights as follows: a) after the settlement in the new community structures, the migrants enlarged their social spaces building networks within their current community structures and beyond, b) with the help of social networks, the migrants became familiar with the customary laws, social values, and norms, and government systems of the recipient community structures, c) in the new community structures, the migrants enlarged their economic spaces to address their survival needs, d) deconstructing the old cultural practices, the migrants reconstructed the new culture to make a better living, e) the migrants searched new professions or non-farming activities and engaged in them to manage the economic conditions and f) the migrants made their new residential arrangements in the new community structures in the course

of searching better options. Presenting migrants' positions in the new community structures, I have discussed the perceptions of migrants about the opportunities and challenges at the current places.

From the third research question, *How do migrants perceive their opportunities and constraints in the recipient community structures?* The insights I drew were that the opportunities and challenges were like two sides of a single coin in the new cultural contexts and social systems. In the recipient community structures, the migrants expressed their happiness with the availability and accessibility of resources, and transportation and communication services because of their settlements in the cities. They took the best benefits of the material culture. To authenticate it, I cemented a view of Caglar (2015) as he articulated, migrants also received better physical and economic opportunities. Searching for better opportunities, the migrants acquired material opportunities after their engagement in the recipient community structures. This means they felt happy with the material culture which they entertained at the current places but they faced cultural and mental challenges there because of intangible cultural voids between the community structure of origin and recipient community structures which can be substantiated by the structuration theory of Giddens (1986) as this theory claimed, the structure sometimes becomes favourable for people and it other times becomes unfavourable. It is not otherwise for migrants to get new options in the recipient community structures, however, the migrants faced new defies in the recipient community structures. In the new social system, one of the challenges of migrants is social integration (Resolution of the Council of Ministries, 2015) because the migrants have to engage in the new social systems and customary practices, and adopt them in the new community structures. The structuration theory

of Giddens (1986) dealt with a view, sometimes, the system supports individuals and it also dictates them because the system always cannot be favourable for individuals.

Likewise, one of the noticeable points in this research is that the problems migrants faced in the recipient community structures were varied from the problems they had faced in the community structure of origin. The opportunities and challenges appear as binary opposites for migrants (Giddens, 1986). Migration became bliss for migrants on the one hand, but on the other, it became a plight for them which I understood from this research. In the conditions of both opportunities and challenges, the migrants search for better options within and outside their current places.

To this effect, I have squeezed the key insights as follows: a) one of the better options for migrants was the access to transportation from which migrants' life became easy in the new community structures, b) another better option migrants entertained was communication facility, c) in the new community structures, the migrants received educational and health facilities, d) the migrants accessed to the market to buy accessories or materials and items (food and non-food items), e) however, the migrants felt cultural lag in the new community structures, f) the migrants became strangers to the local people or the local people became strangers for migrants, g) living in the cities is more expensive than living in the village for migrants, h) the migrants could not save money because they had to buy everything from the market, i) the migrants felt awkward because of self-centric behaviours of urban people and j) life is money-driven because, in each and every activity, cash should be used.

From this account, I noticed those migrants who choose the closer recipient community structures mentally feel comfortable to settle there but they are unhappy

with the material culture, however, as far as they choose the distance recipient community structures, they feel happy with the material culture but they mentally are unhappy. Most of the migrants from Bharse who settled in the in-country recipient community structures, such as Butwal and Kathmandu enjoy their life mentally, however, those migrants from Bharse who settled in the out-country recipient community structures, such as Hong Kong and London enjoy the material culture but they feel shocked with the non-material cultural voids. In other words, I understood the national migrants perceptually feel easy living in the nearest recipient community structures but they did not have access to material culture, whereas the international migrants feel happy with the access to material culture but they mentally feel tough there. Presenting the opportunities and challenges of migrants in the recipient community structures, I have presented the future strategies which migrants contemplated at the current places.

From the last or fourth research question, *How do migrants perceive their future strategies from the recipient community structures?* I learned, in the recipient community structures, the migrants devised their future strategies which could be the better options in the course of searching for options. Without them, they can't live a better life because change is inevitable for migrants. One way or another, it is an individual choice or an interest and an obligation of migrants to be conscious about other days. And it is inevitable for migrants to be proactive for their future. None of them had written or tangible form of strategies but they have thought of both short and long-term strategies consciously which they echo in their everyday living or practical life. This excerpt can be substantiated by the structuration theory of Giddens (1986) as it revealed, agencies (migrants) always act upon the systems to respond to

the situations. Thinking of new strategic ideas in the recipient community structures is a matter of concern for migrants.

To adapt to change, the migrants contemplated the new strategies in the new community structures. This illuminated that the migrants seemed to be forward-looking persons even at the current places where they have settled today. Nonetheless, thinking of better adaptation is a strategy of migrants in the post-migration period. Thus the community structure of origin and recipient community structures and agencies (migrants' choices or interests) have a connection with each other as Giddens' (1986) view is supportive hereby. One way or another, the new place helps migrants devise fresh ideas for the upcoming days. And the migrants do not freeze after the settlement in the new community structures because the quest for new options supported thinking of the strategies.

To this effect, I have squeezed the key insights as follows: a) one of the future strategies of migrants was to continue their current professions in which they have been engaging and the current professions were the sources of earning, b) another strategy was to engage in social service with a metaphor, 'live and let others live' and c) the migrants thought to empower their children and make them competent to adjust in the competitive age. The other way around, the migrants thought about both short and long-term strategies for their family's better living. Describing the key insights of the research, I have presented the discussions of the research in the subsequent section.

### **Discussions of the Research**

In this ethnographic research, I have woven the stories of migrants who have been living in different locations leaving their native land. In knitting the stories of



migrants, I have presented the strands of discussions in this section. One of them was migrants' experiences of departure from the community structure of origin and another was migrants' experiences illustrating the positionalities, the living conditions, and strategies of migrants in the recipient community structures. I have discussed the stories on the basis of migrants' expressions and my field observation on the whole.

### **Searching the Better Options of the Community Structure of Origin**

On this note, I have discussed how migrants felt about the detachment from the community structure of origin. A traditional belief is that migration has resulted from problems for some individuals or families which I have linked with the structuration theory of Giddens (1986) and a theory of migration of Lee (1966). I also believe the structure entails systems in which people experience challenges in the current social system. The community structure of origin was a structure in which migrants felt difficult life that prompted migration is a traditional notion.

One way or another, for migrants, the challenges were the push factors of the community structure of origin which were old perspectives. These notions believe where there were problems people tend to migrate from there. One of the arguments was that, while some migrants felt the difficulties in their community structure of origin, they began to search for alternatives. The migrants mostly interacted with the concurrent conditions of the community structure of origin. While they felt uncomfortable, they thought of migration because the problems of migrants were also the problems of non-migrants but, while they found the way out, they searched the new options mostly in the cities and Tarai. The downward migration from rural areas towards urban areas, big cities, district headquarters, and Tarai is a pertinent issue

over the years (Shrestha, 2017). The stories of migrants revealed the one-way flow from the village to cities every year. Some people in the community structure of origin were not satisfied with the existing resources as this lack of satisfying resources became the push factor for them.

In addition, the educational and health problems pushed migrants from their community structure of origin. And a few migrants had left their village facing the challenges of the repetitive work in their native place. While migrants were mentally and physically fit and able-bodied, they left the community structure of origin. From this account, I noticed the ability also pushed people to search for more options. Additionally, the scarcity of land resources pushed migrants from the native place because small pieces of ancestral lands did not satisfy them to live there. They could not use the money to buy lands and for farm-related activities. Arguably, I linked Lee's (1966) view to substantiate the stories of migrants as he claimed, the problems of the community structure of origin always push people from there. However, a paradigm shift is experienced. Nowadays, not only the poor segment of people move away but the better-off families also tend to migrate.

In this research journey, I noticed rich and educated families were also prone to leave the village. One of the unforgettable points was that, while migrants realized the problems, they began to build a network with their relatives and acquaintances in other places. From this process, the migrants liberated themselves from the traditional practices to engage in modern activities in the new community structures.

Furthermore, I noticed the better condition in the community structure of origin became a push factor. Better-off and educated persons were inclined to migrate (KC, 2014; Kennan & Walker, 2011). I, hereby, argue migration occurred not only

because of problems but also, better conditions of families, able-bodied youths, educationally qualified, economically well-off families, and professionally sound push individuals, and families further. To authenticate this idea, I affirmed a view of Adhikari and Hobley (2013) as they mentioned, wealthy persons are more prone to migrate. The migrants decided to leave the village, not because of problems only but also, of better conditions in the education, profession, and business sectors. As de Haas (2014a) asserted, development processes tend to increase aspirations and, thereby, the desire to migrate. The main crux was that some of them wanted to liberate themselves from the problems of their community structure of origin and those migrants who had better conditions had desired to increase their assets in the new places. On this note, I linked a view of Arnold (2012) as he argued, migration cannot be limited to poverty alone since increasingly characteristic of highly educated and specialized professionals, bureaucrats, and technocrats have a high intensity of migration globally. The capable persons were the ones whose pace of migration was faster today. Today's migration stories differed from the previous ones. To this end, I took a view of Merlijn (2020) as he claimed, time and space govern to devise of the stories. Simply saying, the stories of migrants were devised based on their contextual experiences and expressions.

Besides this, the social network was a connector for migration. In most cases, before the departure from the community structure of origin, the migrants had visited some places from which they became familiar with the new social contexts and observed the situations. Before the departure from the community structure of origin, the migrants had built their networks with relatives and acquaintances of the recipient community structures. For migrants, seeing the new community structures and

knowing the realities became eye-openers to distinguish between the conditions of the community structure of origin and recipient community structures. And the migrants began to compare the conditions of the community structure of origin with the recipient community structures.

Most of the ideas and information of the new community structures became fruitful for migrants to decide on departure from the community structure of origin. Thus the relationship became instrumental in the journey of migration. I linked this condition with the social capital theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) as some migrants from the community structure of origin went to the recipient community structures with the support of their relatives and acquaintances which helped them build new networks. I believe the social capital theory is a resource from which migrants liberate themselves from the community structure of origin and seek better options in other structures. Explaining a discussion of searching for the better options of the community structure of origin, I have discussed migrants' embodiments in the recipient community structures in the subsequent sub-section.

### **Migrants' Embodiments in the Recipient Community Structures**

Vigorously, I have discussed how migrants embody the new pathways of living and the opportunities and challenges they experienced after the settlement in the recipient community structures. I also presented how migrants contemplated their strategies for upcoming days.

### ***Migrants' New Pathways of Living: A Pursuit of Better Options***

In searching for better options, the migrants always devised new pathways of living in the new community structures. In this assertion, I discussed how migrants created their new positionalities after the settlement in the recipient

community structures. All migrants built their positions in the new community structures. The stories of migrants signified that many of them have similar experiences of the new positions and some of them have different positions. Such difference was viewed in setting the social, economic, professional, and residential positions which they possessed in the new community structures.

Almost all migrants from Bharse made the new professions because most of them came to the new places leaving the agro-farming professions but it was impossible to adopt and practice similar professions in the new community structures. The reality was that all of them engaged in the non-farming professions in the cities. Choosing the new professions in the new community structures was the choice of individual migrants. This story can be linked with the concepts of structures and agencies of Giddens (1986) as migrants are guided largely by the systems of the current places because they have to adopt the systems of the recipient community structures and act accordingly in everyday living.

In the recipient community structure, the migrants began to build another level of networks to build trust with close neighbours and local people. The network facilitated migrants to make spaces (Tilly, 2007). For better living, the network was a prerequisite for migrants at the current place. To interpret it, I linked the social capital theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) as these theorists also claimed, the network is a means so the migrants pertinently use it to create their positions in the recipient community structures. The migrants from Bharse enlarged their social spaces through the social networks within and outside the recipient community structures.

In everyday living, for migrants, it was an obligation to deal with the dual behaviours in the new community structures because the migrants culturally became dual dealers and it is difficult for fine blending. To interpret this view, I fetched an idea of Winter (2014) as he expressed, contexts change over time and culture reacts to these changes. In addition, the stories further incited me that the migrants recombined with the cultural practices of the recipient community structures which are the options for them.

With the help of the social network, the migrants from Bharse developed their relationship with the local and other groups of people to create the new economic, social, professional, and residential imageries where they have been living currently as this condition is substantiated by the notion of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). The network supported them to form and enlarge their new positions. In addition, the migrants made their dual homes because of the access to transportation and communication services. Most of them did not sell their ancestral homes and lands because of their cultural and emotional attachment at large. It is a duality in Giddens' word (1986). Within twenty-four hours, many of them can reach from one place to another easily. Thus the migrants were those individuals (agencies) who created new positions in the recipient community structures. This finding can be substantiated by the structuration theory of Giddens (1986). I argue, being newcomers, it was a requirement for migrants to adopt the new systems for their living. Building new positionalities in the recipient community structures was a better option for migrants which also was inevitable for better living. Explaining the new positionality of migrants, I have discussed the opportunities and challenges of migrants in the recipient community structures.

*Conditions of Migrants: Benefits of Material Culture but Non-Material Cultural Voids*

After settling in the new community structures, experiencing new opportunities and challenges was a common characteristic of migrants. Hence, the migrants adopted material opportunities as a better option. From this extract, I understood they felt happy with the material culture but they faced cultural and mental challenges in their respective community structures because of different cultural practices. To interpret the stories, I attempted to patch up the structuration theory of Giddens (1986) to signify the opportunities and constraints that the migrants faced in the recipient community structures. For migrants, the system is an avenue in which they create their positionalities.

The new opportunities of the recipient community structure attracted migrants from the community structure of origin as Lee (1966) substantiated this view. Linking the structuration theory, I interpreted the opportunities of migrants which they acquired in their respective community structures because, in the new social systems, the migrants received new opportunities.

Professionally, the migrants engaged in personal enterprises, government services, and private work but the nature of migrants' professions varies. The migrants enjoyed the material life in the recipient community structures which made them comfortable for better living. By and large, it was an opportunity for migrants to enlarge their new capabilities which enriched them to adjust to the new community structures.

Likewise, the migrants found an opportunity to provide better education for their children after settling in the new community structures. This facet of migrants' stories can be linked with the structure of Giddens (1986) because this attracted migrants. In addition, I argue the migrants held the material and economic opportunities but they faced cultural and mental challenges in the recipient community structures. Therefore, shortly after the move, social integration is a challenge for the migrants (Ichley, 2014). It is not easy for migrants to understand the behaviours and practices of the local people. Because of this, it was quite difficult for migration to adjust in the initial days. To this end, I linked a view of Varela et al. (2020) as they articulated, social integration can be established on the basis of positive intercultural relations together but a finding was that the migrants experienced cultural lag as they had to deal with the new socio-cultural contexts. They also felt expensive living because they had to fully depend on earning either by jobs or enterprises.

It was an adaptive challenge for migrants because they had to cope with the new environment. And the migrants saw and experienced the self-centric attitude or behaviours. Some of them got similar types of opportunities, whereas others got different ones. Grabbing the opportunities depends on migrants' capabilities and interests but most of them have faced similar types of problems and others had faced different ones in the process of integration. It is relevant to add an example of Turkish migrants to Germany hereby. In a study of this issue, Seibel (2020) opined, in the initial years of the arrival of migrants in the recipient community structures/countries, special attention is required for better integration. Thus migrants' integration is a precondition in the recipient community structures.



In this research, I used the structure as a community and its systems and agencies as actors (migrants). The structuration theory dealt with the structural features of society and individual interests. At the same time, the migrants settled in their respective recipient community structures. They, one way or another, entered into the new recipient community structures or settings in which they received some opportunities. However, they also faced challenges there. I, hereby, linked the structuration theory of Giddens (1986) as he argued, structures and agencies have to enable and constrain connections with each other. Sometimes, the structure as the system has its features in which individuals held opportunities for social interactions and economic arrangements. Additionally, the collective system supports the individuals.

Assertively, the migrants were influenced by the local systems and cultural practices of the recipient community structures. It was not a matter of like or dislike but the migrants accepted and engaged in the customary practices of the new community structures. Coming to settle in the new community structures means accepting the new socio-cultural practices on the whole. It gave me an insight that the culture influenced migrants and their families on the one hand, and on the other, the individuals also perform their roles in the structure. To substantiate this idea, I fetched a view of Ritzer (2011) as they remarked, the structure is a part of recipient community structures in which migrants create their social space. Therefore, the migrants accepted the social, systemic, and economic roles and responsibilities laid by the new community structures. They became a part of the recipient community structures. Broadly speaking, the migrants became an

entity of structure which were agencies because migrants' abilities and decisions of living in particular community structures were the determining facets of settlement.

Most of the migrants acquired economic opportunities in their respective recipient community structures. On the contrary, the structure or the system sometimes did not support the individual interests because it imposed its rules and regulations on each individual to respect which could be a constraint to individuals. In this connection, the migrants faced some challenges of cultural adaptation in the new community structures. The stories, hereby, enlightened me that the migrants found an enabling environment for material facilities and new learning opportunities in the recipient community structures. On the contrary, they culturally faced constraints because of the new contexts. So far, I understood modernization gave them material facilities in the new community structures but they felt the challenges to cope with the non-material cultures of the current places. Hence, the migrants not only charmed the opportunities but also faced new challenges in the recipient community structures because, in the recipient community structures, they experienced both opportunities and challenges which I linked with the structures-agencies relationship as Giddens (1986) articulated in the structuration theory.

To interpret the findings based on the stories of migrants, I again cemented the structuration theory which dealt with structural features and individual interests. I made an understanding that this theory dealt with what migrants thought to educate their children and how they wanted to engage themselves in social work as their strategies for the future. I also found that most of them were

conscious of their children's future. They wanted to build capacities from the formal mode of education thereby, they could be confident in their lifetime as Myers (1999) viewed, 'relevant sets of knowledge and skills in the life-making processes' should be considered for better living. Presenting the ideas about the opportunities and challenges of migrants, I have discussed the future strategies of migrants in the subsequent sub-section.

### ***Migrants' Contemplations for the Future Strategies***

After the settlement in the new community structures, the migrants always strived for better options for meaningful living. Thus I have presented ideas of how migrants contemplated for other days. One of the thoughts of migrants was that wherever they went and lived, first and foremost, educating their children was one of their desires. To assert this view, I took the support of Bylander (2017) as he embodied, migrants' desires and strategies of both community structure of origin and recipient countries become dominant. On this note, the migrants also want to invest their resources for their children's betterment in the future. Investing in their children means seeing the bright future on other days. Today, formal education has become an instrument to enlighten the individuals from which everyone makes social and professional positions (Acharya, 2012). Hence, the modern or formal educational system has influenced individual migrants because almost all migrants believe education enriches children for a better future. Providing better education is a contextual demand which is a migrants' strategy in the new community structure or system. It disposed the structure or system at large, whereas the individuals were agencies as Giddens (1986) claimed. In this

regard, the relationship between the educational system and its role to enhance of capacities of migrants' children is there because individual migrants have their aspirations to boost up their children's better future.

Most of the migrants aspired to engage in social work for which they formed organizations in their recipient community structures. These are the structures on which migrants act upon. These structures are platforms for them to engage and, in the future, they want to continue their engagement in them. Within these structures, individual migrants make their spaces to express their views. Thus I linked these structures with the structuration theory of Giddens (1986) as the will of individual migrants to engage in social service in a domain of agencies. To this effect, social work is a societal activity that happens in a society where individuals act upon.

Likewise, I argue, realizing the unity and solidarity in their recipient community structures between/among migrants, the migrants aspired to make social networks with the clans, relatives, fellow migrants, and different groups of people to acquire social capital as the social capital amplifies the network on the whole. Building the network, the migrants wanted to continue the relationship with the clans and relatives in the community structure of origin because of their cultural ties. To this end, I paved Pariyar's (2017) remark, he mentioned, more often migrants contact relatives of their birthplaces. Nowadays, it is easy to contact and reach their community structure of origin even from abroad within a few minutes and days because of the availability of communication services and the access to transportation services respectively. This leads me to believe that the

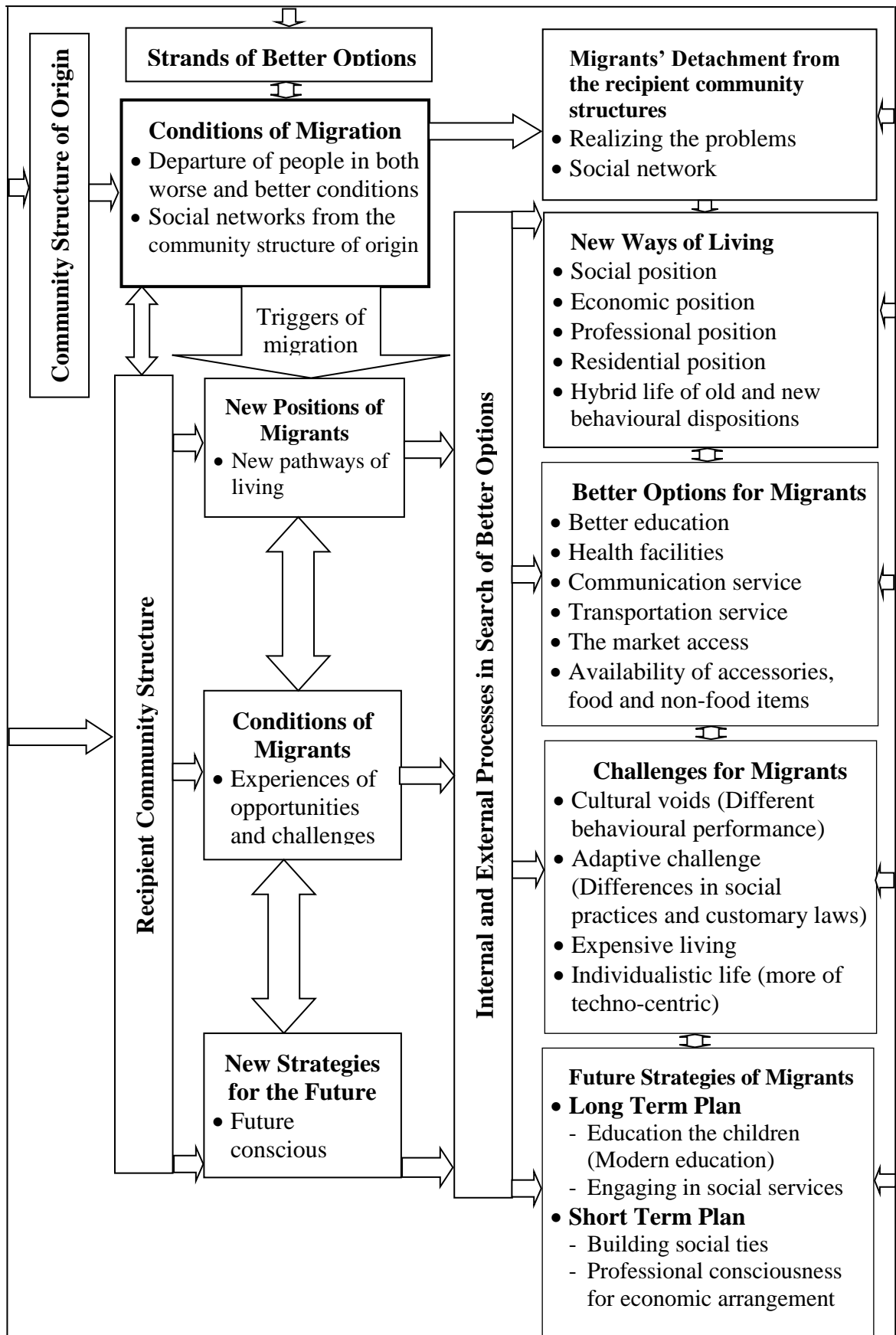
new network is a trajectory between the recipient community structure and community structure of origin (Paul, 2011). From this account, I drew a finding that the network became instrumental in bridging the current community and birthplaces.

In the current community structures, the migrants accelerated a sense of togetherness. Such a sense of togetherness became supportive of performing the celebrations and rituals as their cultural echoes. To affirm it, I asserted with a view of Oleinikova (2020) as he articulated, self-realization entails a conscious and practical setting for creative change and transformation of living on other days. With the help of social ties, most of the time, the migrants organize get-together programs in special functions, festivals, celebrations, and ritual ceremonies which bind them together.

In addition, I noticed almost all migrants from Bharse want to continue their current professions because they earn and learn from them. The professions they have been engaging in nowadays have become sources of income that contributed to managing their household expenses. It means the migrants want to align their strategies with the upcoming plans (Oleinikova, 2015). Making future strategies, the migrants not only think of addressing the likelihood of challenges but also come up with new ideas to cope with the change on other days. Contemplating the future strategies is an aspiration of searching for better options that can help them to live a better life in the new community structure. Stemming the ideas from the stories of migrants, I devised a continuum in which I have depicted how migrants search for better options.

Figure 27

*A Continuum of Migration: A Process of Searching Better Options*



Fetching the ideas from this continuum, I attempted to link structuration and social capital theories to interpret the stories of migrants from Bharse and draw meanings from them. In the structuration theory, Giddens (1986) unfolded two avenues, such as structures and agencies. In this research, I used the structure to signify the community structure of origin and recipient community structures, whereas the agencies entail individuals and their interests which are migrants and their behaviors. In connection to structuration theory, the structure usually governs individual actions. The other way around, individuals are dictated by the community system and they also have roles in the structure. Both of these avenues have a 'dialectical relationship' (Wolfel, 2002). Nevertheless, whatever the life the migrants from Bharse had been living in the community structure of origin was the by-product of the system, however, that could not be true for migrants because the concurrent system did not support migrants to live in the native community.

After all, everyday activities did not support them to live a conducive life. On this note, those people who economically, professionally, and educationally grew up migrated from Bharse. The system of the community structure of origin implicitly created an environment to push people from the native community in search of better options because the system always could not be favourable to the people. In such conditions, the migrants searched for better options beyond the community structure of origin or current place. For this, the migrants developed social networks with relatives and acquaintances which have a connection with the main theoretical tenet of the social capital theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). I understood migration blindly did not occur in a vacuum as it happened

from persons to persons or groups to groups. The other way around, one of the avenues of migration was the social networks from the current community.

After the settlement in the new community structure, the migrants engaged in the new social system and customary practice which are prerequisites for migrants. As I discussed in Giddens' (1986) claim above, the system governs individuals whoever they are. However, the system may not be friendly to persons or families, or groups because it compels them to accept. Thus individuals are a part of the structure on the whole. At this level, I agree with Giddens (1986) because reaching to the recipient community structures, the migrants are obliged to enlarge their social, economic/professional, and residential positions for better options which are the demands of the system. To do this, developing social networks is required for migrants. This feature can be substantiated with the social capital theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). Along with these initiatives, the migrants had a hangover of old memory but the new cultural contexts did not allow them to reveal. Thus the migrants lived a dual life. In Giddens' (1986) words, it is a duality.

In addition, Giddens (1986) claimed, the structures (systems) and agencies (individuals) have enabling and constraining relationships. The structure/system favours the interests of individuals and, other times, dictates individuals. To this view, the stories of migrants from Bharse revealed that they received materials benefits after the settlement in the recipient community structures which became an enabling environment, whereas the migrants mentally and, culturally, felt shocks which are the constraints for them. At this point, Giddens' (1986) structuration theory is a relevant theory to interpret the stories of migrants. To this effect, the social relationship of migrants is a precondition to understanding the opportunities and challenges of



migrants which they have felt in the new cultural contexts. Additionally, this excerpt can be substantiated by the social capital theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). In their views, the relationship is a resource from which individuals deal with other groups of people for their better living. For migrants from Bharse, social networks became an instrument to find better options within and outside the current places, however, social networks always could not be beneficial which I noticed from the stories of migrants from Bharse. The social network theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) does not touch upon this part. In the recipient community structures, the migrants faced new challenges. They did not think about the challenges and contingency plans of the recipient community structures. This is an avenue which I noticed.

The system guides individuals as Giddens (1986) claimed. The system is an avenue for individuals at large. And individuals are a part of the system. To this effect, I attempted to relate to the stories of migrants from Bharse. The stories of migrants revealed that, in the current community, they contemplated the future. They think beyond the system and culture for the betterment of the family for other days. Explaining the discussions of the research, I have elucidated the local-global nexus which has become a hot cake for academia today.

### **Local-Global Nexus of Migration: A Conceptual Debate**

Enticing the ideas from international and national migration literature, including theories, and listening to the stories of migrants from Bharse, I understood the term or the concept 'migration' was derived from the West, however, the original term '*basai sarai*'<sup>61</sup> is a standard Nepali word as well as a concept which was coined

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<sup>61</sup> *Basai sarai* is to relocate from the community structure of origin to new one.

in Nepal. For my understanding, before joining the master's degree, I had not heard about the term 'migration' and '*basai sarai*' from any persons or groups because I was born in a village where these terminologies were not pronounced and used in the public overtone. In the usage of a typical Nepali terminology, Subedi (1993) conceptualized *ghumphir*<sup>62</sup> in the context of eastern Nepal from which I drew the meaning that, wherever the migrants go and live, they always remember their birthplace because they become nostalgic. In the context of Bharse, synonymous with *ghumbhir*, people use the term *ghumgham*<sup>63</sup> which means 'mobility' in and around.

Likewise, I discussed how the local worldview signifies migration. For international migration, even today, the local people commonly use the terms *laur jane*<sup>64</sup> or *udo jane*<sup>65</sup> or *bahira jane*<sup>66</sup> and, for national migration, they use the terms *sarnu* or *janu*<sup>67</sup>. I understood this after delving into migration research. Like in other parts of Nepal, from the western part, youths from the villages go to India to serve in the Indian contingent which is an example of international migration. To support this view, I took the idea of Hutt (1998) as he elucidated, *muglan jane*<sup>68</sup> and *muglan pasne*<sup>69</sup> are common overtones of going to different places in India. In addition,

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<sup>62</sup> *Ghumbhir* means mobility.

<sup>63</sup> *Ghumgham* is to move here and there.

<sup>64</sup> *Laur jane* is to go to Lahore of Pakistan.

<sup>65</sup> *Udo jane* is to go downward.

<sup>66</sup> *Bahira jane* is to go out of the village.

<sup>67</sup> *Sarnu* or *janu* is to shift from the birthplace.

<sup>68</sup> *Muglan jane* is to go to Muglan.

<sup>69</sup> *Muglan pasne* denotes entering into Muglan.

*pradesh*<sup>70</sup> and *muglan*<sup>71</sup> are known as *birano desh* or *thaun*<sup>72</sup> where many Nepali youths go with the hope of earning and enjoying their life even from which they could earn money, name, and fame. From this account, I am illuminated that societal values and norms or systems shape the interests of groups, families, and individuals in the migration process. To this end, I drew an idea of Akaha (2020) as he mentioned, migration is a global phenomenon and includes international and internal migration because the movement of people is growing everyday.

About internal or national migration, I heard from the local people of Bharse as they pronounced migration as '*gaun chhodyo*'<sup>73</sup> or '*gaun bata gayo*'<sup>74</sup>. I understood the local worldview of migration varies from the understanding of academia and professionals. As such, the understanding of migration signifies contextual meaning which is defined by cultural cohesiveness and context or system on the whole. To support this idea, I asserted it with a view of Salazar (2009) as he argued, migration is much more than mere movement between places as it is always embedded in everyday living.

In this vein, I touched upon the local worldview of migration in Nepali society as migration deals with its contextual meanings consisting of the local sayings, proverbs, and myths. Most of them are associated with people's cultural heritage and social phenomena. The standard Nepali term, *basai sarai* is popular across all regions

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<sup>70</sup> *Pradesh* is to go abroad.

<sup>71</sup> *Muglan* is an unfamiliar place, a foreign land, and a dreamland.

<sup>72</sup> *Birano desh* or *thaun* means unknown country or place.

<sup>73</sup> *Gaun chhodyo* means to leave the village.

<sup>74</sup> *Gaun bata gayo* is to go from the village.

of Nepal which deals with the movement of people from the community structure of origin to the recipient community structures. Simply, it is also a drive to search for better options with tangible and intangible assets. Trussing with the local cosmologies, I paved the way from geographical locations to socio-cultural premises, such as systems or cultures or moving behaviours.

I, hereby, turn towards the worldviews and accounts of migrants from Bharse. According to a migrant from Bharse, around the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the forefathers of the present generations came to Bharse. Most of them came there from the northern frontier and a few came up from the southern frontier. They came there to dig the copper mine, raise the animal husbandry, and ensure the agro-farming practices (Gautam, 2005). Those people saw and found these options in this village.

Besides this, I learned from the verbatim of intellectual persons of Bharse that most of them came there in groups with different clans to maintain their social relationships, such as birth, marriage, and death rituals because, on special occasions, they seek the presence of *kutumba*<sup>75</sup>. And they are guided by their cosmology of *marda* and *parda*<sup>76</sup>. While they migrated, they brought their old memories of deities and cultural practices. It became easy for them to perform their cultural practices in the new community structures as well. They erected *thaan* at the side of the water spring under the root of big trees and bounders at the riverbank, and at the cave to make their ancestral gods and deities happy. The main purpose of making the deities happy is to receive special fortunes in their life.

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<sup>75</sup> *Kutumba* means family relations or relatives.

<sup>76</sup> *Marda* and *parda* denotes death and urgency.

I saw most of them perform mixed rituals, such as traditional and Hindu customary practices. I understood this reality from the conversation with some people and my field observation of the Barse Village. I neither could avoid the local worldview of migration nor could I discard the concept of the West as Englund (2002) remarked, ethnographic research encounters globalism and transnationalism. Thus I attempted to blend and bind the local and global concepts of migration together to draw the meanings. According to Merry (2000) and Rappaport (2008), there is a reciprocal interaction between the global and location where there is a connection. Migration builds a nexus between local and global cultures. In a study, Mishra (2009) asserted, the local has come specificity which may contribute to configuring the global. The global, to some extent, constitutes the local and it is constituted by very many locals. Preferably, Graauw (2019) viewed, global migration continues to define our time. I attempted to tap theories, methods, and views into the local contexts or the stories of migrants to draw the meanings. I am obliged to glue global issues in the local context or vice versa. In the following section, I have discussed the scope of ethnography in social science and other disciplines.

### **Ethnography in Social Science and Other Disciplines: New Sensibilities**

In this section, I have discussed how ethnography can be used in myriad disciplines. The parent disciple of ethnography is anthropology. I know ethnography believes in fieldwork. This means a researcher of ethnographic study lives with the people to be studied for an extended period of time, learn their culture, immerse with their everyday work, understand their system, see interrelationship, and understand their native point of view (Jones, 2010). Traditionally, ethnography is a holistic account of people to be studied. For the study of people, ethnographers nowadays

engage across multiple sites (Boccagni & Schrooten, 2018). On this note, the attention to how ethnographic texts is constructed in subjective and personal ways for knowledge production. Besides this, reflexivity prompts researchers to reflect on how their memories lead subjects and ways of understanding the subjects, and researchers' self-consciousness is required at large.

Traditionally, spending extended periods in the field sitting with the native people was an ideal strategy for ethnographers because, in the past, people used to live in the traditional communities, however, the movement of people is increasing over time. Likewise, new academic disciplines have been emerging globally which also demand the usage of ethnography. On this note, Jones (2010) viewed, ethnography's scope is increasing across the social sciences and other disciplines, beyond its traditional bases as medical, business, nursing, hospitality, agriculture, education, and technical disciplines also embrace ethnographies to understand people and their cultural practices because understanding people and their cultures can add value in all academic disciplines and professional fields. To this account, Jones (2010) paralleled a view, "social anthropologists are not the only ones to use ethnographic field research to understand their life and culture" (p. 4). This account informed me that researchers of myriad disciplines study and use ethnographic tropes in their research genres and the time demands to think about people and their cultures in the academic and professional avenues. In parallel with this account, Jones (2010) urged, "ethnography is no longer just a colourful description of people and their cultures but can be applied in academic, policy and commercial settings" (p. 4-5). With this, ethnographic research can be pitched in

the professional sectors as well. Jones further (2010) added, “ethnographic work can have an influence beyond academia. Thus, the application of ethnography is widening in multiple disciplines.

In presenting the ethnographic texts, Jones (2010) signifies reflection, reflexivity, and representation as three Rs. Ethnography is highly reflective as it divulges the ethnographer’s experiences and feelings about the cultural phenomena. The other way around, reflexivity is more than mere reflection but rather a theoretical, ethical, and political stance, whereas representation particularly relates to the writing process to construct texts. The text of ethnography is more descriptive. As Jones (2010) mentioned, “ethnographers note stories in a descriptive manner” (p. 8). Ethnographers describe the stories of people in the textual form. Moreover, Jones (2010) urged the idea, at the heart of all, ethnography’s core values is understanding. Ethnographers allow stories and explanations further which are emerged from the field experience and obtain insights into lives as they are actually lived. Furthermore, ethnographers open up interdisciplinary dialogues that can further understand the social worlds and actions of studied people (p. 10). Thus ethnography is becoming an approach of multiple disciplines. “Ethnography is still an emerging methodology” (Jones, 2010, p. 6). I also cognize that the ethnographic arena is growing in both the academic and professional worlds.

By and large, I understand ethnography as an approach that has been used by anthropologists more specifically, however, social science disciplines adopted it for the studies of people and their cultural practices in some ways. Additionally, it is high time to think about the usage of ethnography in the health, agriculture, management, education, and science disciplines because knowing about people and their customary

laws and practices is the first and foremost condition. If so doing, it can help academia, professionals, and policy-makers. Explaining the accounts about the key insights and discussions of the research, in the subsequent section, I have drawn the key ideas of the chapter.

### **Chapter Conclusion**

At the beginning of this chapter, I highlighted the key insights in line with the research questions which I proposed for this research. The comprehensive study of migration elucidated, why migrants detached from the origin/current community, how migrants devised the new positionalities, how migrants expressed their conditions about the new opportunities and challenges, and how migrants embodied their future strategies. In addition, I presented the findings of this research. I also revealed the local-global nexus of migration because the local issues of migration can be linked with the global sphere, whereas the global issue of migration can be connected with the local sphere as well. And I discussed the scope of ethnography in social science and other disciplines. In the following chapter, I have reiterated, enwrapped, and implicated the research on the whole.



## CHAPTER IX

### REITERATING, ENWRAPPING, AND IMPLICATING THE RESEARCH

Eliciting an induction in the first chapter, I have discussed historical accounts of migration in the global and Nepali premises, theories, and policies, migration studies in Nepal, research gap, and review insights in the second chapter. In the third chapter, I have conferred understandings about the methodological pathway that is interpretivism elucidating the multiple realities of migrants' stories through the ethnographic genre. I also have elucidated the gamut of the research participants and fields and the ways of engendering the stories of migrants using the appropriate research techniques in connection to the authenticity for audiences. In addition, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, I have described the stories of migrants that they have embodied in the community structure of origin and recipient community structures on the whole. In the eighth chapter, I have derived the key insights and discussions of the research along with the local-global nexus of migration and the scope of ethnography in social science and other disciplines. In this chapter, I have reiterated, enwrapped, and implicated the research. In the end, I have depicted the concluding remarks with my final echoes.

#### **Reiterating the Research**

In the beginning, I have discussed how the idea of migration research was evolved in me. To delve into the field of migration research, the family, societal, and academic premises knocked me to do this. I have derived the meaning of migration

and migrants' tropes. From this account, I understood migration is a social process because it is not only a personal decision but also the needs and wants of the family, relatives, acquaintances, and authorities. One or many of these factors encourage(s) them to move from their native places. To instill the ideas for this, I stepped into the socio-cultural dimension of migration. Appraising the relevant literatures, I understood there is a dearth of migration research from the socio-cultural perspective. With this consideration, the main purpose was to explore the experiences and expressions of migrants about the socio-cultural process of migration in search of better options.

Linking the research purpose, I have formulated research questions to explore why migrants detach from the community structure of origin and how they build the networks there, how migrants create their new positionality in the recipient community structures, how they acquire the opportunities and constraints there, and what and how they contemplate their strategies of migrants for the future. The research questions I have set guided me to shape this research. In addition, I have discussed the rationale that shows the novelty of the research and presented the significance of the study which could contribute to government authorities, policy-makers, researchers, academia, and professionals in the field of migration research. As an outline of the study, I have constructed the organization of this research. These research premises gave me an understanding of what I have to do.

I have scrutinized the historical anecdotes of migration in which I discussed global and Nepali migration accounts. I have reviewed literature related to positivist, structural, and humanist approaches to migration. Appraising these theories, I have used a social perspective in the interpretation of the stories of migrants. Thus this is

my theoretical positionality. I have studied policies on migration to understand the initiatives of the government and other agencies. Along with this, I have appraised some empirical research on migration in which I articulated discourse on migration in the Nepali context. I also have identified the research gap which is a space for the research. In the same way, I have portrayed a conceptual framework of the research. These features helped me explore the research agenda.

I have presented the methodological pathway in which I have confirmed the interpretative paradigm. Based on this, I have set the research approach, i.e., ethnography. I have crafted the ethnographic research design in which I have discussed the research fields and research participants as Denzin and Lincoln (2018) articulated, in qualitative research an emergent and flexible design is preferred. I also have depicted the research sites and profiles of research participants. To engender ethnographic stories, I have instilled conversational interviews, observations, and electronic techniques to collect stories of migrants. And, in crafting the stories of migrants, I adopted the impressionist writing style to analyze and interpret the text and derive meanings from migrants' stories which were tailored by Van Maanen (2011). I ensured the authenticity of this research fulfilling the requirements of the university. I also attempted to make this credible to audiences for which I took scholarly support from professors and colleagues to maintain the quality. Unhesitatingly, I respected the personal dignitaries and their cultural values and norms. These avenues guided me to acquire the stories of migrants.

Weaving the stories of migrants, I understood, while they felt the problems in the village, they decided to migrate. Some of them felt a geographical challenge there. Behind this, exposure to other places, sources of information, relationships with other

people, and motivation of relatives and acquaintances influenced the decisions of migration. While migrants strengthened the economic scales and increased the level of education in the community structure of origin, they attempted to expand their economic and educational avenues. Some of them felt health problems and educational stagnation. The insight I took was that the redundancy work also made them fed up which is a trigger of migration. One of the facets of migration was the partisan of ancestral lands to younger generations which could not meet the growing needs and wants. Besides this, the *laure* culture played a role in leaving the community structure of origin because, traditionally, youths have the opportunities to join the Indian, British, and Singaporean Contingents. For this, able-bodied youths migrated to join these contingents. From the stories of migrants, I understood the problems migrants faced and also the abilities they acquired in the village pushed them from the community structure of origin. And the migrants faced similar types of problems and others faced dissimilar challenges. Few of them accessed similar opportunities and others accessed dissimilar types of opportunities in the community structure of origin. Thus the challenges and opportunities vary from one family to another. While migrants know the better situation of other places, they see the problems at the current places. This means the external factors or processes help them know their problems.

Migrants' stories informed me that the migrants from Barse introduced themselves to the new people where they come from and how they came. In the initial days, the migrants took shelter in relatives' houses for some months and years or lived in a rented house. To this end, I linked a view of Huot (2017) as he claimed, those migrants who do not have prior professional experiences and education qualifications

before the migration start new works or professions. With the support of relatives, friends, and acquaintances, the migrants have to come up with new plans as they create the new 'social spaces' (Habermas, 1987) wherever they go and live because they had to interact with the new groups or local people and their customary practices. After all, it was a prerequisite for migrants to understand the local customs. In the process of settlements in the new community structure, some of them took support from their relatives and acquaintances in the recipient community structure.

I again noticed that, in alien lands, the migrants made networks with new groups of people. Such a network supported them in getting information about the socio-cultural practices of the recipient community structures and addressing their needs and wants from others' supports as well. Almost all migrants engaged in the non-farming professions leaving the traditional agro-farming practices of their village. Acquiring the new knowledge and skills, the Bharseli migrants have been living a hybrid life because they came up with the old behavioural shapes and have been living in the new customary practices in the new places. Thus they performed dual living. In Giddens' (1986) language, it is called "the duality" (Wolfel, 2002, p. 21). Nonetheless, the migrants want to find a new pathway of living because the new community structure requires new ways of living as the everyday living of the new community structure varies. As migrants, they had to adopt new ways of interactions and practices to maintain their everyday living. Migrants' stories notified me that almost all of them have dual residences. Behind this, there are two reasons. The first one is that, because of transportation and communication, they know the situation of their old home and another is that, even after migration, they show their emotional attachment to their birthplace.

The stories of migrants from Bharse again elicited me that, after the settlement in the new community structures, the migrants acquired material opportunities by which their life became better off and comfortable because of the availability of internet service for communication, road, and transport access for travel, the market for the food and other necessary items for buying household accessories to be used at the current places. This extract informed me that the migrants felt satisfied with the material cultures, however, they are not satisfied with the non-material cultures, such as ways of conversations, dress-up, food menu and recipes, and behavioural dispositions. The process of performing the birth and marriage ceremonies, and death rituals vary which brings the challenge of engagement in the new cultural setting.

Professionally, the migrants from Bharse engaged themselves in myriad activities, such as government service, private companies, and personal enterprises which are non-farming activities, and from them, they make better earning for living. Still, the challenge for them is that they felt challenged to adjust to the new community structures as they all have been living in new cultural contexts in which they feel awkward to adjust. Thus they have to adapt to the new climatic condition, groups of people, rules and regulations, systems, and customary practices.

From the material facilities that the migrants have acquired, they made their living comfortable. It is easy for them to go to the hospital during their deteriorated health condition, travel long distances using private and public vehicles, have access to schools and colleges for children, and the market for shopping. And groceries and other items are easily available at the current places but, every time, money in the pocket is required because they have to buy food and non-food items or amenities from the market.

After the settlement in the new community structures, migrants' children accessed better schools, colleges, and universities with better quality services from which their capacities were enhanced but their life became more individualistic. Rather than knowing the next-door neighbours, migrants' children engage in modern technologies as today's children bog down in computer games. Such behaviour kills their time, however, most of them want to invest money and time in their children's education. From this extract, the migrants materialistically live a comfortable life from the stories but they mentally feel awkward.

The stories of migrants from Bharse cultivated a sense that one of the main aspirations of migrants is to provide better education to their children continuously as the migrants feel education is an instrument to build the capacities from which their children could be confident and competent in the life-making process. They take education as a pathfinder for later days because they are influenced by the modern educational systems. For migrants, modern education became a gadget of attraction. Besides this, the stories implied that, in the future, research participants want to engage in social work to serve fellow migrants, native lands, and others on the whole.

Establishing Bharseli Samaj Tarai Kshetra, Bharseli Samaj Kathmandu, Bharseli Samaj Hong Kong, and Bharseli Samaj UK, the migrants from Bharse want to support fellow migrants and their dependents in many ways. From these organizations, they want to support their community structure of origin by providing financial as well as material support to enhance the quality of education in the schools and provide technical support to improve farm-related activities. Some of them plan to engage in social work to make people aware and address the myriad societal issues. Being migrants in the new community structures, they want to strengthen ties

between/among clans, relatives, and acquaintances. In this way, they also want to broaden the relationship with people within their respective recipient community structures to earn social positions and spread the name and fame of the native community. This process cultivates solidarity and a sense of togetherness on other days from which it could be easy to perform their rituals on special days and occasions. At large, togetherness also entails a sense of belongingness among fellow migrants (Quassoli & Dimitiadis, 2019). In this way, the migrants from Bharse want to continue their current professions because they make a living from their current professions. And earnings from these professions afford food and non-food items for migrants' families. Simply saying, the migrants are future conscious on the whole. Reiterating the research, I have enwrapped the research in the subsequent section.

### **Enwrapping the Research**

On the basis of migrants' stories and my field observations, I have enwrapped this research. To search the better options, from Bharse, many migrants went to Butwal, some of them went to Kathmandu, and quite a few of them went to Hong Kong and London. Going to these places was to search for new material facilities or benefits but the migrants couldn't find the same cultural practices in the new community structures which they used to perform in the community structure of origin. In my understanding, the conventional notion was that migration usually happens because of the problems faced by people in the community structure of origin. In other words, the underlying problems are the main factors of migration. This notion is hugely guided by the push and pull features because a common belief is that the community structure of origin is the barn of problems, whereas the new community structure is the home of opportunities. Mainly, poverty is the push factor



that propagates pessimism in migrants but, moving further up, I attempted to deconstruct this notion. With this, I argue, in the community structure of origin, both challenges and opportunities exist so is the condition of the recipient community structure.

I noticed the migrants do not move away, not only because of the problems and scarcities but also, they tend to migrate because of acquiring both tangible and intangible assets and capabilities in the community structure of origin. My argument is that the problems always do not push people from their community structure of origin. While they make economical, educational, and professional strengths, they search for new options in other places where they can enlarge their assets. With this, I conclude that capable individuals and families are more proactive to migrate from their community structure of origin. This trend is emerging in the present world as it challenges the notion or belief system that migration is a by-product of problems of the current places. Now, the time has come to think of how the better condition of people triggers people in Nepal. In searching for better options, personal abilities and family strengths also elicit people to migrate. In a nutshell, in both worse and better conditions of the community structure of origin, a level of pessimism occurs in people which pushes them from there in search of better options.

Deciding to leave the community structure of origin, the migrants fix the date, day, and departure time according to customary beliefs. This is confirmed in an appropriate day because of which the other days of migrants in the recipient community structures could be joyful. According to culture, at the moment of departure, the migrants pay homage to their deities for special sanctifications so that they could make migration safe and reach the anticipated destinations successfully.

Sometimes, they commit to offering something special to the deities after a safe landing in the new community structures. At the time of departure, some relatives and neighbours of migrants come to bid farewell and say goodbye to them. Thus relatives and neighbours also help migrants to pack up their goods. In such a moment, both of them feel unpleasant. From this outlook, I conclude migration is linked with cultural and customary practices.

Despite migrants' nostalgia and memories of old lifestyles in the post-migration period, they are obliged to search for new material options, even after their settlements in the recipient community structures. Culturally, the migrants do not have a more profound attachment to the new contexts. However, they are obliged to adjust to the new cultural contexts and adopt the new social as well as customary practices. This means, in the recipient community structures, the migrants had an obligation to accept the new customary practices. For migrants, the new cultural ingredients are the only options for them to adopt and perform because it is inevitable for them to interact with the new ones. From this extract, an understanding is that the migrants search for better options, even after the settlement in the recipient community structures.

Before deciding on migration, the migrants acquire social capital through the networks which also support them to decide to leave the community structure of origin. Hence, the social networks become a resource, whereas relatives, friends, and acquaintances of the recipient community structures become influential in migrants' departures from the community structure of origin because, in the initial days, they commit to help newcomers for the adjustment in

the new community structures. From relatives, friends, and acquaintances, the migrants receive information about the recipient community structures from which become familiar with the real situation. From this statement, my understanding is that globalization changed people's life courses because people seek and find new information from which they acquire better options in other places.

After the settlement in the new community structures, the migrants do not freeze there as they search for better options in the recipient community structures and enlarge their social, economic, professional, and residential spaces at the current places. From this account, I conclude the migrants always search for better options to make their new positionality in the new community structures. The other way around, seeking and making the new positionality is a better option for migrants.

The lifetime migrants always live a hybrid life because they come with their old memories but they have to live in the new cultural context, social setting, and customary practices. My understanding is that the migrants easily cannot delete their old memories but they have to interact with the new behaviours and social systems and engage with them in the recipient community structures. Thus hybrid living is a common feature of migrants. Here is an example of the *laure* tradition which helped youths deconstruct the local cultural cosmologies and practices of the community structure of origin because they were involved in the new cultural contexts and did not have space to practise the old cultural activities in the community structures where they had arrived. In such a condition, youth migrants were obliged to modify the old cultural practices in the course of

blending with the local cultures of the recipient community structures by which they reconstructed the hybrid culture. Thus one of the conditions of *laure* migrants was to live hybrid life in the recipient community structures. Engaging in the new ways of living is inevitable for migrants because these are the only options.

Nonetheless, the migrants seem fond of the material opportunities of the new community structures which are the sources of attraction in the new community structures. It is an influence of modern amenities in migrants. However, the migrants culturally face the challenges of adaptation in the recipient community structures. Living in the new community structures, adopting and performing the new cultural practices and social behaviours is a tough work. After the new settlement of migrants in the new community structures, the opportunities and challenges vary from the opportunities and challenges of the community structure of origin. In my understanding, the migrants are happy with the material culture in the cities but they are distracted by the non-material culture of the new community structures. The concluding idea is that the migrants always strive to search for material facilities in other places rather than the current places.

The migrants commonly do not stick in one place. They constantly search for better options in other places too which is not only guided by their resource scarcities but also steered by the wellness in tangible and intangible assets. On the basis of this view, I conclude, along with the change of the locations or community structures, the migrants detach from the fellows, relatives, and neighbours, and their cultural practices of the community structure of origin and they attach to other groups of people and their cultural practices in the recipient community structures. They are

obliged to accept the new options to harmonize with the people of the new community structures. Despite the love, respect, and attachment with the native ethos, the migrants are fascinated by the material culture or tangible resources of the recipient community structures as they unconditionally are the options for them there.

In the new community structures, the migrants seem conscious about their long and short-term strategies because they are fond of better options. My understanding is that making everyday living better is a short-term strategy of migrants, whereas empowering the children is their long-term strategy. Without thinking about the new plans, it is impossible to ensure affluent life. I enwrap searching for better options is a human tendency in both better and worse conditions which is guided by modern amenities and globalized tropes today. This becomes possible for migrants because of the access to the network, communication, and fast transportation systems. And it is easier to receive information about new people, places, and contexts easily.

The narratives of searching for better options by migrants emerged based on time, space, and social context. Basically, the voluntary migrants move away for material benefits in new places other than the current places. In my understanding, searching the better options from the current places, the optimism of migrants matters a lot on the whole. In both unfavourable and favourable conditions of the current places, the migrants continually search for better options. The hope for making life better is an initial idea that is possible from personal and family connections with friends, relatives, and acquaintances of other community structures.

At last resort, I enwrapped with some key ideas. From the community structure of origin, the migrants (agencies) pursue better options and, even after the settlement in the recipient community structures, they search for better options within their new community structures and beyond that building new networks. On the other end, searching for better options of the community structure of origin is not only a by-product of the push factor/problem but also, the opportunities thrust migrants from the current community structures. And the pull feature/opportunity of the recipient community structures fascinated migrants from the community structure of origin. In other words, migration is a socio-cultural process in search of better options. Enwrapping the research, I have presented the future implications in the following section.

### **Implicating the Research**

Reiterating and enwrapping the research in the earlier sections, I have instilled the implications for policy consideration, future research, and community structure of origin. These facets can be the fields for future researchers to enlarge the scope of migration research. In the following sub-sections, I have described the scope of these implications at large.

#### **Implications for Policy Consideration**

After construing the global and national migration policies and doing this migration research, I understood some policies have been articulated to regulate migration. Globally, almost all countries have devised policies mostly for asylum, labour, and forced migrants but, from the policy perspectives, little attention is paid to the regular migrants. And the social policy of migration is a field of

research with a special focus on migrants' integration in the recipient community structures. Nowadays, the pace of migration is becoming rapid across the globe. It is unstoppable. From Bharse, people have been migrating to different locations within and outside the country which happened from the familial relationship and personal capabilities but, at the policy level, the systematic records were not kept in both community structure of origin and recipient community structures. After the decision of migrants, an official migration certificate is given to migrants from the community structure of origin as these certificates are submitted to the recipient community structures. It is not enough for them to integrate into the new community structure. Yet, the sole responsibility of where to go and what to do is the duty of migrants everywhere in the globe.

At the time of migration, orientation and farewell events for migrants and their families can be marked in the community structure of origin which could make migrants' social integration easier and better on the one hand, and on the other, the recipient community structures also can organize a welcome ceremony for the newcomers to provide basic orientations about social systems and customary practices so that the migrants could easily adapt to the new contexts. The provincial and local governments in Nepal can think of the migration policies from the socio-cultural dimension of migration on the whole as Nepal is a country of socio-cultural diversity. This study can help to open up the eyes of policy-makers because migration is one of the big issues everywhere. To regulate this process, the policy-makers can think of it seriously. Presenting the policy implication, I have discussed the research implication in the subsequent section.

### **Implications for Research Premises**

The in-depth study of migration is a growing field for researchers. In the community structure of origin, people remain in a kind of cultural setting. In the process of migration, how migrants create their social capital as a resource and how they build their networks can be an agenda for academia.

In academic institutions, migration can be a discipline independently. It is worth considering a department of migration studies under any universities in Nepal as well. Some issue-based researches have been undertaken and, in the academic field, migration can be considered as an interdisciplinary or a multidisciplinary subject at large. This fulfills the dearth of migration professionals, experts, and academicians in the country. In this research, I wove the stories based on the experiences of migrants who were the deciders for migration because, most of the time, the household head decides to migrate with consents mostly from the spouse and children but I did not notice the voices of dependent migrants in this research. Academically, dependent migrants can be a subject matter of research on other days. This is an area of concern. Additionally, most of the researchers, academia, and professionals have concentrated on the problem side only considering it as the push factor but there are migrants who moved from the community structure of origin because of their economic, social, educational, and professional strengths or capabilities. This is also a field of study in the future.

In addition, people's movement is highly fragile. It is an unpredictable notion. It is difficult for experts to predict people's movements with when and how they



migrate. Likewise, the way of living becomes different. Because of mobility from one context to another, the patterns of living also vary. Thus migration is a growing field of study for researchers to theorize migration on the whole.

In the journey of migration research, I found most of the migration studies were undertaken using quantitative methods and there are very few migration studies that were carried out using qualitative research methods. In the future, researchers can be undertaken in the same field using qualitative and mixed methods to draw the meanings. Globally, migrants' lifeworld is less studied from the ethnographic premises. For academia, it is an area of attention. In addition, migration studies can be undertaken within the qualitative research avenues using phenomenology, case study, grounded theory, and auto-ethnography. It is a fertile field for researchers. Elucidating the research implication, I have presented the implications for the community structure of origin in the subsequent section.

### **Implications for the Community Structure of Origin**

From the stories of migrants and my field observation, I witnessed migration has brought multiple effects in the community structure of origin. After the migration of some people from there, a new problem emerges there. Despite this reality, the research paradigm which I undertook did not permit me to research this agenda. Thus there is an avenue for future researchers to study the impact of people's migration in the community structure of origin. Academically, it is a little discussed agenda. This point can be an eye-opener for further researchers on other days. Presenting the implication for the community structure of origin, I have presented the concluding remarks with my final echoes in the subsequent section.

### **Concluding Remarks with Final Echoes**

Portraying the overall layout of the research in the summary section, I have reviewed the relevant literatures related to migration. The methods I used became pathfinders in doing the research. I also engendered the stories of migrants in the chapter forms which were guided by the research questions. On the basis of migrants' stories, I concluded this research with implications for policy consideration, research premises, and the community structure of origin. In the end, I wrapped this chapter with concluding remarks and final echoes.

The traditional ethnography believes prolonged engagement in the field with the community and the people to be studied as guided by Malinowskian tradition (Malinowski, 1961) but it is a little bit difficult to meet and observe people's daily activities sitting in their native community structures for years or months. In the journey of this research, I noticed many of them live in a place and work in other places. Knowing this reality, I somehow tried to deconstruct the traditional notion of ethnography because ethnographic tropes have been changed over time. However, my intention is not to show the falsification of the traditional ethnography but I want to showcase the need to change the ethnographic genres in the changing context.

In the journey of this research, I read living (fluid) literature, such as poems, novels, and religious scriptures, and watched movies of dual songs, modern songs, and films which are devised and produced on the basis of migrants' stories but I did not give them space in this research. However, these are the local resources of migration literature for the future. The relevant ideas of these sources can be customized in migration research as these sources also can be a field of research from the migrational perspective.

Most of the migration researches have been commenced from the Western perspectives with the belief that the only knowledge is embedded in them but the Eastern perspective somehow is undermined. Obviously, the better ideas of the West can be tailored and fitted in our context but ignoring the local resources and knowledge does not mirror the real knowledge. Thus future researchers of migration can think about this point to cement both Western and Eastern philosophies together.

Besides this, the COVID-19 has been thrashing the global society since the year 2019. Sooner or later, the virus has been affecting all countries. It not only has been disturbing the economic, business, political, and social sectors but also has been derailing academic activities around the world. In such conditions, Nepal would not be an exception of it. Thus the COVID-19 has been alarming in the everyday life of people. Because of this, along with the economic, political, and socio-cultural activities, academic activities are also severely being disturbed which has been compelling us to change the method of the teaching-learning activities because, to cope with the pandemic situation, a better option is required which is the digital mode for this activity.

Instead of physical presence, virtual classes are being conducted for academic activities. In such a situation, the virtual mode has been a better option for the students as well as the teachers. To affirm it, as a student, I could not avoid the virtual mode for my academic activities.

While the coronavirus emerged, as a PhD scholar, I was in a big rush for academic activity. I could not be untouched by this virus which resulted depending on technology. Rather than the physical engagement with the supervisors, I used the mobile phone to convey my progress and achievement, and take support from the

supervisors. Not only this but also, I managed to use my mobile phone to talk to colleagues, yield ideas, and discuss relevant issues. In addition, the Internet helped me access the Email and, in the same way, I received comments from supervisors, professors, and external experts from the means of Email itself. The other way around, addressing their comments, I also used the Email to send the thesis to them. For now, using the digital mode became one of the best options to continue my academic work.

To this effect, I understood the situation always may not remain the same. Both unfavourable and favourable situations may occur in the academic as well as professional careers. Making the situation in its own favour is a smart idea to achieve the result. Thus thinking of options usually accelerates towards success. That's what, I did in my academic journey.

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## ANNEXES

**Annex A: Guidelines for Fieldwork****Background of Migrants**

- a) Name: \_\_, b) Age: \_\_, c) Sex: \_\_, d) Previous occupation: \_\_, e) Birthplace: \_\_,  
 f) Place of settlement: \_\_, g) Country: \_\_, h) Years of settlement: \_\_, j)  
 Caste/ethnicity: \_\_, and k) New occupation: \_\_.

**Migrants' Detachment and Social Network from the Community Structure of Origin**

- a) Migrants' feelings about hardship life.
- b) Migrants' views on the educational and health doldrums.
- c) Migrants' feelings about the repetitive work in everyday living.
- d) Migrants' perceptions about resource scarcities.
- e) Migrants' perceptions about the social networks and the *laure* culture.

**Migrants' Positionality in the Recipient Community Structures**

- a) Migrants' experiences of occupying the social space.
- b) Expanding migrants' new networks with the neighbours and local people.
- c) Migrants' understanding of the customary laws and government systems.
- d) Revelations of migrants' duality.
- e) Migrants' ways of acquiring new knowledge and skills.
- f) Migrants' views on double residences.



### **Migrants' Embodiments of the Opportunities and Challenges**

- a) Your feelings about the new opportunities.
- b) Migrants' experiences with the material facilities.
- c) Migrants' views on the easy life.
- d) Migrants' views on engagement in the new professions.
- e) Migrants' experiences of quality education.
- f) Migrants' experiences of stories of the cultural lag.
- g) Migrants' echoes about expensive living.
- h) Migrants' understanding of the individualistic life.

### **Migrants' Long and Short-Term Strategies**

- a) Migrants' strategies of making the children competent/empowered.
- b) Migrants' plans of engagement in social activities.
- c) Migrants' plans in assuring the modern education,
- d) Migrants' views on the continuation of the current profession.

### **Field Observation Guidelines for the Community Structure of Origin**

- a) Walk around the clusters of the community structure of origin.
- b) Observe the daily activities of the community structure of origin.
- c) Observe the abandoned houses/sheds, health posts, schools, ward office, etc.

### **Field Observation Guidelines for the Recipient Community Structures**

- a) Migrants' residences and their localities.
- b) Migrants' daily activities.
- c) Migrants' social and cultural performances.
- d) Migrants' change adaptation.

## Annex B: Audit Trail of the Research

### A Strategy for Pre-Fieldwork

Duration/Year	Activities
February 2013 to July 2014	Attended physical class.
July 2015	Defended research proposal.
August 2015	Presented two qualifying papers.

### A Strategy for Fieldwork

Duration/Year	Field	Community Structure	Strategies	Sources of Information
December 2015	Bharse	Origin	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Local people and activities
	Butwal	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities
January 2016	Butwal	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities
	Kathmandu	Recipient	observations	
February 2016	Hong			
	Kong	Recipient	Digital	Migrants
March 2016	London	Recipient	conversations	
	Kathmandu	Recipient		
April 2016	Hong	Recipient		
	Kong		Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities
May 2016	London	Recipient		
	Butwal	Recipient		
	Kathmandu	Recipient		
	Kathmandu	Recipient		
	Butwal	Recipient		

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	Hong Kong	Recipient		
June 2016	London	Recipient	Digital conversations	Migrants
	Kathmandu	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities
July 2016	Hong Kong	Recipient	Digital conversations	Migrants
	London	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities
	Kathmandu	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities
August 2016	Hong Kong	Recipient	Digital conversations	Migrants
	London	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities
	Butwal	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities
	Hong Kong	Recipient	Digital conversations	Migrants
September 2016	London	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants' community
	Kathmandu	Recipient	Observations	Migrants' community
	Bharse	Origin	Interviews, interactions, and observations	People's activities
November 2016	Hong Kong	Recipient	Digital conversations	Migrants
	London	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities
January 2017	Kathmandu	Recipient	Interviews, interactions, and observations	Migrants and activities

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### A Strategy for Post-Fieldwork

<b>Duration/Year</b>	<b>Activities</b>
	Winnowed and refined migrants' stories.
	Verified with research participants/migrants.
February 2017 to	Categorized migrants' stories into themes and sub-themes.
May 2021	Analysis and interpretation of migrants' stories.
	Worked on the draft thesis.
June 2021	Submitted the draft thesis to supervisors.
August 2021	Received comments from supervisors in the thesis.
September 2021	Defended the departmental viva.
	Addressed the comments of the departmental viva and
October 2021	submitted the thesis to supervisors.
	Received the comments of external supervisors in the thesis,
December 2021	addressed them, and submitted it to supervisors.
January 2022	Defended the public/preliminary viva.
	Addressed the comments of the public/preliminary viva and
January 2022	submitted the thesis to supervisors.
	Addressed the comments of the final viva and submitted the
January 2022	thesis to supervisors.
February 2022	Defended the final viva.

**Thanks!!!**