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Original Research

Migrants' Stories of Everyday Life: An Ethnographic Account

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Abstract

This article discusses migrants' stories of everyday life. The migrants inscribe their different stories in the new contexts and social systems. After mirroring migrants' first-hand stories, those stories are retold by migrants themselves and also by readers or audiences. The retelling of those stories reveals the reflections of individuals, groups, or on any social events or ceremonies. Against this background, this article aims at explicating how migrants coin their stories in the social worlds, which they practise in their everyday life. As a narrative ethnographer, I have attempted to knit the stories of two migrants from Bharse in Gulmi District, Nepal, who have been currently living in Kathmandu. Based on informal conversations and interactions with the migrants and observations of their everyday life, I have garnered their stories. The findings reveal that the changing socio-cultural contexts, over time and space, lead to the germination of new stories of the everyday life of the migrants. Moreover, the migrants engage in diverse social rules, regulations and value systems, as these attributes are required for behavioural change and social adaptation. Above all, the migrants embody multiple stories in their everyday life because of their knowledge and experiences of the places of their origin and destination.

Keywords: Everyday life; ethnography; stories; migrants; social phenomena
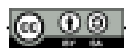
Stories of Everyday Living

People have their individual and collective stories in their everyday life and thus understanding people's everyday life echoes 'the life courses' (Yabiku & Glick, 2013). The

stories are poised by their self-reflective behaviours (Petersen, 2013), and they are shared at personal as well as group level. And, they are told and retold or expressed in the forms of face-to-face meetings, virtual conversations and texts. Based on the nature of events, they even enjoy telling their stories from early morning to bed-time. Interestingly, they hardly miss the chance to tell such stories in their everyday work. The themes of their stories are mainly related to their experiences of migration from the beginning of their departure to the destination community.

Before the departure from their home community, people have their stories, which germinated from their cultural values, norms, practices and belief systems or experiences. After their departure from their birthplace and settlement in the new home community, the migrants inscribe different stories because the cultural contexts of sending and receiving communities vary. Along with the change of their old home in Bharse, the new venues nourish migrants with the new stories other than the stories of their birthplace. The way of interaction of migrants in everyday life differs as Johnson (2008) elucidated that people with different backgrounds experience the same realities differently. As a corollary, different interpretations help to coin different sets of stories. Thus, the social realities or contexts and objects or materials are the sources of their stories (Arnault & Fetters, 2011; Mertens, 2007; Zarri, 2009). In this regard, the contextual realities germinate the new stories of migrants.

Assertively, the stories are devised based on personal, household and societal interests or professional and organizational requirements or objects or facts (Johnson, 2008). Often, the stories of individuals, households and societies are expressed by means of symbolic expressions such as happy and mourning ceremonies. Basically, the methods of story expressions of migrants are interactions, Kachadi (gatherings), face-to-face and virtual conversations, and Kura-Kani (informal chit-chat) to spell out the memoirs (Rai, 2013). Among the close contacts, migrants prefer sharing their stories through face-to-face interactions and conversations, but in the distant locations, they take the support of electronic devices to share their stories (Freidenberg, 2011; Otto, 2013), because the cultural context changes over time and space. Mostly, family members, relatives, acquaintances and concerned individuals are the main stakeholders of sharing the stories. Some stories are expressed between or among individuals; some of them are shared in the family; and many of them are presented in the group or community of practice.

In this paper, I have attempted to explore how the migrants from Bharse have been carving the stories living in Kathmandu because they are the witnesses of both old and new home communities. In addition to this, I have placed my arguments on how and why migrants express their lived-stories. In this sense, migrants are the ones, who expressed their tales of everyday living to their children, grandchildren and relatives depending on current situations. To elicit migrant's stories of everyday life, I have presented the

portraiture of the Bharse Village in brief. After that, I have attempted to discuss the methodological engagement to collect and coin the stories of migrants. Everyday life of migrants was an agenda of discussion, and thus I have focused on migrants' excitement and alienation in Kathmandu. Likewise, I have discussed the sources of migrant's stories in relations to cultural contexts. I also have highlighted how migrants have created their stories of everyday life before concluding this paper.

Bharse: The Origin of Migrants

Bharse is a small village in Gulmi District in Province-5, Nepal from which people migrated to the different parts of the country and abroad. This is a village, where a majority of Magars followed by some Brahmins and Dalits have been living for many centuries. Traditionally, this village was known as a Laure Ko Gaon (a village of Laures). Even today, some Laure migrants have been serving in the British, Indian and Singaporean Contingents. Still, youths have been migrating to other destinations such as Hong Kong, Malaysia, Gulf countries, Japan, Europe, America and other countries (Shrees, 2013). Because of the Laure culture, international migration was rapid from Bharse in the past (Kansakar, 1982), but today internal migration has been increasing. After working for some years in other countries, those migrants have been living in different locations of Nepal including Kathmandu rather than coming back to their birthplace, Bharse. Some of them have been living in intermediate locations, which are near Bharse. Along with the Laure migrants, there are other categories of migrants, who are businesspersons, government and non-government service holders, wealthy persons or families and social workers or politicians. Many of them have been living in Kathmandu where the research has been conducted.

Methodological Engagement

In this paper, I employed an ethnographic approach to explore migrants' everyday life and their stories. The main tenet of ethnography is to describe people's stories of everyday life (Graeber, 2009). It is a way of telling people's stories. In addition to this, ethnography produces a social space for story reflection (Hamera, 2011). It also helps to inscribe and share people's stories. In this respect, I chose two research participants, who are migrants from Bharse. At the moment, they have been living in Kathmandu after working in different places within and outside the country. For this, the criteria for participant selection are gender and profession categories. In this regard, one of my research participants is female (Ms Tara Budhathoki, 61 years old) and another is male (Mr Sajilo Thapa, 54 years old) from the gender perspective. I have used pseudonyms. Mr Sajilo Thapa is a development expert. He has been living in Kathmandu for more than thirty years. Similarly, Ms Tara Budhathoki had been a school teacher in Hong Kong and Brunei for about twenty years. After returning from Hong Kong and Brunei, she has been living in Kathmandu. In this regard, I developed criteria of selecting two migrants as my research participants considering gender and accessibility. Creswell (2007) mentioned the criterion sampling

meets some criterion in the process of participant selection. I have selected a male and a female from among migrants from Bharse, who have been living in Kathmandu.

As an ethnographic researcher, I attempted to plunge into the real-life practices of the migrants. I coined and jotted down the stories of migrants sitting with them and listening to them. In this regard, 'being there' is both the means and the end of the writing (van Maanen, 2011). To explore the real-life stories of migrants, I did Uth-Bas (stayed and spent time) with them in Kathmandu. Digging out the in-depth stories of migrants became possible only being there. I also echoed how migrants made the sense of the world mirroring how they act and what they think and reflect on an everyday basis. The stories are coined in favour of what beholders musingly do, say, perform and think (Blundel, 2007). Paying attention to the grassroots realities of the migrants, I have revealed migrants' words, actions and voices, which are the sources of stories.

To garner the stories of migrants, I engaged myself with them from May to September 2016. For this, the methods, that I have used, were informal conversations, interactions and observations. In this paper, I have presented myself as a narrative ethnographer in which I have followed an iterative process in collecting the stories of migrants. In the text analysis, I have adopted a descriptive style to form and describe the stories in sequential order.

Everyday Life of Migrants in Kathmandu

Talking to Ms Tara Budhathoki and Mr SajiloThapa, I got insights that after the settlement of migrants from Bharse in Kathmandu, they tell and retell their stories in many ways such as Kurakani (chat) and Gafgaaf (conversation). Sometimes, migrants chat with each other at their encounters. Many times, they also chat with relatives, friends and acquaintances to share their stories through telephone, mobile and internet services in need. Additionally, migrants talk to each other to share their stories in social functions such as birth, marriage and death rites. Such conversations take place mostly on the special occasions, which are the platforms of sharing the stories. Likewise, migrants share their stories with colleagues on the occasions of festivals such as Dashain, Tihar, Teej, Losar, Chhath and New Year celebration. These are the sources as well as platforms of migrants' stories in Kathmandu.

As an ethnographer, I have also engaged not only to observe their ways of telling stories but also interpreting of their sayings, doings, and supposed thinking of the people (van Maanen, 2011). In this regard, I have orchestrated the stories as the parcels for audiences. Additionally, the story is a style to reflect the self and others' knowing about behaviours, practices, contexts and consciousness. It is embedded into culture, which mirrors people's behaviour in everyday life. Cultural behaviours and consciousness inscribe and institute everyday life. In Kathmandu, I talked with Mr SajiloThapa (male, aged 54). In the meeting, he shared his lived-experiences:

After the settlement in Kathmandu in 1986 onwards, I have changed the way of everyday life. Materialistically, I am mostly dependent on technologies i.e. computer, mobile, internet, Facebook, messenger, Imo and Viber. These devices have been making my life easier and faster. I have been enjoying with them because I have got good opportunities to share my stories through these systems. To me, this is a cultural shift. In addition to this, the real-life practices became different in Kathmandu, as I have been grabbing new opportunities such as communication, health, education, transportation and shopping services, as these are the sources of stories. I have been making my everyday life better - which is different from my birthplace, Bharse.

Talking with Mr Sajilo, I understand that after the changing social contexts, he has been taking life experiences in the new place, which helped him coin different stories. The story is the one, which helps people to reflect their real voices of activities and consciousness from people's memoirs and everyday practices. The stories for retellability, well-formednesses and recognizable performances of cultural identities and consciousness have been explored (Threadgold, 2005), because the sources, means and catalyzers of stories vary. Each individual has mixed-up stories to share or tell since these stories are determined by the existing social phenomena. In Kathmandu, I met Ms Tara Budhathoki (female, aged 61), who articulated her story in this way:

Being away from Bharse in 1999, I worked in Hong Kong and Brunei as a school teacher. My job was to teach the children of Gorkha soldiers in those places. Relatively, my earning was better than in my village. In addition to this, I was living engaging in different socio-cultural and economic conditions. I lived in Hong Kong and Brunei accepting different wearing, food items, communication, transportation, health and educational systems. In such a situation, everyday life became more scheduled and sophisticated. My stories of everyday life became different there. In Hong Kong and Brunei, I had contacted new groups of people. After completing my professional tenure, I came back to Nepal but I did not go back to my birthplace, Bharse. At the moment, I have been living in Kathmandu, where I have been experiencing different lifestyles than in Hong Kong and Brunei and Bharse. Materialistically, my everyday life is not much better than in Hong Kong and Brunei but my life is better than in Bharse. My stories became different today.

Engaging with Ms Tara and listening to her, I also found that the new context gave her different ways of living as well as insights. Consequently, Ms Tara changed her perceptions because her stories of everyday living differ in Kathmandu. Based on everyday life, she learnt and experienced different cultural practices, which became other sources of stories. Hence, the stories of Ms Tara changed overtime in the process of adjustment. Thus, the new cultural context is a source of migrants' stories because the new context demands different ways of living.

Migrants' Stories of Excitement and Alienation

From Bharse, people made a net of relations between their birthplace and new home community. Such relationship facilitated them to move away from Bharse to Kathmandu. In Kathmandu, the migrants materialistically translated their excitements but culturally, they felt alienated because of a new cultural context. This way, they faced duality. Giddens (1986) claimed that duality is to take the two opposed and separate phenomena. Simply, duality is a common characteristic of migrants. In this regard, I talked with Mr Sajilo Thapa (male, aged 54) in Kathmandu. During the conversation, heoptimistically shared his lived-experiences:

I left Bharse thirty years before and began to live in Kathmandu but I worked in different parts of Nepal. Along with my work in different locations of Nepal, I also had opportunities to engage and understand different socio-cultural contexts. In such a situation, my stories of everyday life became different because I had to engage in myriad activities here. Other than this, I have been enjoying with the physical facilities such as accessibility of transportation, communication, health and educational facilities in Kathmandu. In addition to this, I found it easy to buy goods and services. I am also familiar with the new technological equipment such as computer, mobile phones and television from which I have been making the network with relatives, friends and acquaintances who have been living in the distant locations. Other way round, because of these facilities, my lifestyles became different here. Thus, my everyday life has become exciting in Kathmandu.

Listening to the story of Mr Thapa, I reckoned that he was feeling happy in Kathmandu receiving the new materialistic facilities and services. On the contrary, he was unhappy with the new behaviour that he had to adapt and perform in Kathmandu because he was bound to change the pattern of living at the current place. Hence, Mr Thapa also expressed his pessimistic experiences:

In Kathmandu, the cultural practices, social systems, people's behaviours and habits are unlike in my birthplace. I have also changed my get-up here because I cannot live without making a change. I not only changed the dress code but also changed the ways of cooking and eating food items. Even the way of speaking is different, which is distinct from my village. Other than this, I felt that people in Kathmandu are more self-centric because they are more focused on their own interests. Birth and marriage ceremonies, and death rites are dissimilar from my village, Bharse. The practice of ancestral worship is different. Such a situation pushed me to change the way of everyday living because I am not habitual with the way of such everyday life.

I understand that migrants live with happy and painful feelings in the new home community. And, their stories are coined accordingly. In addition to this, the local context

is a space for the stories of migrants to germinate. Besides this, the local nuances, the everyday ironies, the high subtleties of language, the velocity of work and the emotional work of time are the determining factors of stories (Goodall, 2010). Inscribing people's daily lives, watching what happened, listening to what is said, interacting with people, migrants grasp and store information of phenomena and culture through different means based on availability and accessibility. From the interactions with migrants from Bharse, I could find what was going on in the new home community logging the minute details of migrants' everyday life. Moreover, observations solicited high attention to daily routines of migrants, the way of food items' preparation, the details of everyday practices and social life, which also elicited to form migrants' stories. For this, I sat with the migrants and listened to them and interacted with them to understand their excitement and alienation.

In terms of material life, the migrants have entertained their prosperities but they socially felt awkward in the new community, Kathmandu. This indicated that duality is a situation of migrants because they have both feelings of excitement and alienation in the new home community. Shukla (2001) noted that the duality of fundamental truism is to resist the reduction of any cultural moment. The dual state is a common characteristic of the migrants. Thus, migrants have their own ways of looking at things, and are full of feelings, obligations and commitments to 'home', even if they are physically away from their village (Subedi, 1993). They have a hangover of old cultural behaviours and habits but because of the availability of resources, they have been relishing comfortable life. Hence, multiple experiences of the migrants force them to change the ways of everyday life in new cultural contexts.

While individuals migrate from one location to another, their varied experiences in different places can alter their characters or ways of living and behaving (Li, Jowett, Findlay, & Skeldon, 1995). Generally, migrants can best use the local material facilities of the new community but they feel alienated from the cultural behaviours because they still ruminate the old cultural values and norms.

Sources of Migrants' Stories

Contexts, cultures, locations and everyday practices are the major sources of migrants' stories. The contextual reality, which deals with multiple realities of the migrants, is the main source of their stories (Arnault & Fetters, 2011; Mertens, 2007). Based on the new ways of settlement, migrants articulate their stories. The self-created reality occupies space (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). The personal attribution of migrants is also a source of story formation.

In this regard, migrants' doing, saying, performing, practising and thinking in everyday life are the major elements of stories. In the same way, the stories stem from migrants' everyday life, as they are regimented from their everyday and conscious works. And, every

individual constructs his or her personal consciences. Often, the personal reflection is a base of family and societal reproduction that is embedded in everyday life. Therefore, the social and cultural elements of family and society are the platforms for inscribing the everyday stories. Thus, each individual posits himself/herself to everyday life based on social and occupational roles and responsibilities, which are ascribed and inscribed by the individual and family in particular, and the society in general.

The shared values and norms of the society are practised by both individuals and groups, whether they like or dislike and respect or disrespect them. Each individual interacts with other individuals and groups in everyday life, who are around them. Johnson (2008) remarked that everyday theories are broadly shared between/among people, taken for granted from predecessors, and seldom questioned by the people themselves, people sometimes do not examine them consciously. Anyway, the story of each individual and society is consciously shared and (re)told among individuals and groups in an interactive way, which has epistemic value. Everyday life is a social construction of the migrants, which they practise, as the pattern of everyday life and the social worlds are constructed in a similar fashion (Stolley, 2005). After leaving the origin community, the migrants from Bharse consciously constructed their social worlds to make their everyday life meaningful.

In everyday usage, 'having a culture or being cultured' helps everyone for meaningful living, as it is a social construct. The society is a central piece of everyday life (Stolley, 2005), where migrants interact and share a common cultural practice. A common cultural practice deals with everyday behaviours, manners and livings. Other than this, everyday life observation suggests the social life that includes both cooperative interdependence and solidarity (Johnson, 2008). So the stories sometimes standalone and, many times, they become hybrid because the migrants mostly live in a diverse context (Hickman, 2005). The hybrid culture is also the source of mixed stories. Johnson (2008) mentioned that everyday observation implies that people vary a great deal in terms of how much they think before they speak, depending to a large part on the particular situation they face. Sometimes, migrants express their stories based on their observations, which they see and where they live.

Migrants, much like non-migrants, give priority to their family roles, then societal roles that formulate everyday life, which is guided by human sentiments and nature. Sometimes, the story is used as a theory to explain what goes on in an existing institutional workplace and everyday setting in society (Threadgold, 2005, p. 262). In Kathmandu, I explored the socio-cultural practices of migrants, which involve individual and collaborative story-telling to understand how these practices function to construct selves and realities and to manage affairs in the daily life of the migrants.

In the new home communities, migrants from Bharse have been engaging in diverse social rules, regulations and value systems, as these attributes are required for behavioural

change. The rules, regulations and resources are embedded into social structures that support people to make space in the society. In a way, the structural rules and resources which are arranged by individuals and families are continually reproduced in everyday life and they make individuals and society functional (Johnson, 2008). Besides this, the worldview also guides in constructing, collecting and knowing the stories. It would be worth considering how an ethnographer is clear with the purpose and how people act and react in particular social circumstances and settings (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In this regard, the contextual reality is the ontological attribute, which is guided by the values of a particular context because the stories of the migrants are constructed based on their contexts. In this respect, the dialogical process is the epistemic standpoint to make and remake their stories.

Cultural Contexts in Migrants' Stories

The migrants can articulate their stories based on 'lived experiences' of both origin and destination communities because they carry forward their old cultural behaviours to the new community, and they also engage in the new cultural practices. At the moment, the migrants from Bharse have been dealing with the local contexts for better living. They have been bettering their life accessing new utilities, which are the sources of stories in everyday life. These elements are different from the birthplace, Bharse. Thus, migrants have come across different stories along with their involvement in diverse cultural contexts. In my meeting with Mr Sajilo Thapa in Kathmandu, he told his story:

In Bharse, I used to engage in the local social and professional activities. Mostly, I had to use my physical efforts to work in the fields and farms after stepping out the door of my house but in Kathmandu, I have been using different means of transportation, i.e. motorcycle, public vehicles and taxis. In the village, I used to support my parents for agro-farming but in Kathmandu, I worked in some professional organizations. My present profession is different from the profession that I used to practise in the village. Thus, I have been making my everyday life different in Kathmandu, so is my story.

Listening to the migrants, it is necessary to create and make less distance to collect the lived-stories from the peoplestudied. Conventionally, bogging in the depth of day-to-day activities of the migrants is the job of a researcher. Along with the change in technology and social systems, the reality of everyday life remains fluid so the researcher has to have the dynamism to understand the ground reality. As a result, the consequences have been changing and will continue to change on other days (van Maanen, 2011). In this regard, sense-making out of the migrants' stories is very important because I as an ethnographer made sense of the migrants' stories written in the form of literature, reports, books, and employing hyper-texts like Facebook, mobile phone, radio, television and computer device.

After collecting the migrants' stories from the field, deeper study is required for knowing the everyday life of the migrants. Moreover,desk work, including writing up and analysis, is also a major portion of knitting the stories. Thus, the desk work of ethnographers is no less important than their fieldwork representing the stories of the people studies (Tracy, 2010). In this connection, the ethnographic approach encourages to pile up the first-hand stories of the migrants. When I talked with Ms Tara (female, aged 61) in Kathmandu, she told her story:

Coming to Kathmandu in 1999, I have developed a new social place because the relationship with the new groups of people has helped me to engage in the new systems, i.e. formal and informal values and norms. I introduced myself and got introduced with the local people of the new home community, which made me comfortable to live a smooth life here. I not only made new identity but also engaged myself in the new socio-cultural contexts of the new community.

Listening to the story of Ms Tara, I found that she made a different identity in the new home community because the shift of socio-cultural context enforced her to make new professional and social identities. Leaving the traditional agro-farming based profession at Bharse, she engaged in non-farming activity such as teaching in Hong Kong and Brunei. Coming back to Nepal, Ms Tara engagedin some social work such as engagement in Bharseli Sewa Samaj Kathmandu, which was a different activity from Bharse. So, the new location is a place, where different cultural practices have been experienced and performed. These different cultural practices are the sources of migrants' stories.

Making Stories of Everyday Life

Gubrium and Holstein (2008) mentioned that a story is a parcel of everyday work. It is a method of narrating the event, incidents, occurrences and everyday life. How people tell their versions are the stories. The ways of storytelling differ in different contexts. Besides this, oral tradition provides a sense to the audience promptly. Quite many stories have been told in the form of oral tradition. Threadgold (2005) mentioned that the story is primarily an oral or everyday activity, which captures a wider sphere of everyday life. The whole long tradition of human civilization began with oral tales and myths and came to focus much more on written stories, which are obvious for making known to others. The stories are self-reflective musings (Goodall, 2010), which an author decorates with words and styles. Some of them are verbally spelt, and many of them are retold by individuals through virtual devices, and others are cast through digital means. Zarri (2009) remarked that the story intelligence of digital storytelling is becoming popular because it makes easier to capture stories and retell for others. To use technology is a time-demand to garner the stories of the migrants. In this regard, I talked with Mr Sajilo Thapa (male, aged 54), who expressed his story in such a way:

Thirty years before, in the village, I used to share my stories verbally because the face-to-face meeting was the only option of sharing stories. I did not have other options and means there. While I came to settle in Kathmandu, I changed the mode of sharing my stories. Along with the face-to-face conversations with relatives, acquaintances and friends, recently, I have been using technological means such as computer, mobile phones and the internet. In addition to this, I began to share conversations through Facebook, Viber, telephonic chat, messenger and Imo. In this regard, I have been using different modes to share my stories of everyday life.

In the new community, the reality is that Mr Sajilo used different modes to share his stories in different cultural contexts for better adaptation. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) remarked that people narrate their everyday accounts, those stories are implored and retold by ethnographers for others in the textual form. A narrator retells stories implicitly and explicitly. The lived-experiences and practices of everyday life are the stock of cultural values and norms incubated and practised over many years. The stories are among their own "stock-in-trade" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In many ways, they are illustrated with people's feelings and practices.

Once a narrator coins the first-hand stories, those stories are reproduced and retold for others. Referring to those stories, Totten and Kelly (2005) argued that what the subject actually relates, what the subject means to relate, and what interpretation the researcher makes of the story are crucial. In the process of constructing a story, the first and foremost work is to be familiar with the existing socio-cultural phenomena and contexts; the tertiary facet is to relate the event and the last and final feature is to retell the story by the narrator. Lloyd (2008) remarked that it is possible to read words as an amusing story rather than as a deep reflection. In retelling the stories, a storyteller has to have phenomena to be inscribed and studied. During my engagement with the research participants, I found that the migrants from Bharse have been engaging in different social, professional and economic activities, which are the sources of stories. Based on these phenomena, the migrants tell their stories. In this affirmation, the migrants from Bharse engage themselves in the new activities in Kathmandu, which help them to coin their new stories. In a conversation I held with Mr Sajilo Thapa (male, aged 54) in Kathmandu, Mr Thapa shared:

Living in Kathmandu after 1986 I changed behaviours, attitudes and habits. It was not possible to live a better life without being dynamic. And, it is not possible to adjust with the new groups of people, their cultural practices and systems. In the village, I used to eat maize rice, millet, wheat and maize bread, fried soybeans, locally produced fresh vegetables, ghee, fresh milk, yoghurt and oils, which were nutritious products or items but in Kathmandu, I have to buy those items from the market, which are not fresh. Anyhow, I have to have them because I do not have any other options. My lifestyle has been changing.

Talking with Mr Sajilo, I found that the migrants being away from Bharse have formed the success and failure stories. In the receiving community, Mr Sajilo in one sense has achieved his goals and he in another sense has been facing different challenges because the types of social phenomena vary along with the change of contexts. Gubrium and Holstein (2008) further remarked that the story practice emerged from the whats, hows, wheres and whens for the story construction. The story insights reveal everyday life in the context of migrants. In the study of migrants, Marcus (1995) remarked that ethnographic research is designed around chains, paths, threads and conjunctions to capture the voices and experience of migrants positing the logic of connection among sites that provides bases of story constructions in/of different places. In everyday life, migrants have come across the stories of happy as well as sad moments. In Kathmandu, I talked with Ms Tara Budhathoki (female, aged 61). In the meeting, she articulated her story:

I have been living in Kathmandu since 1999. As a migrant, I have been enjoying (materialistically) better life. My life has become easy and comfortable because of the accessibility to better services such as health, educational, communication and transportation facilities. I also got better opportunities of shopping services, which have been making my life better. Relatively, I have been consuming better food items. Because of these things, I have been feeling better in Kathmandu.

Ms Tara's story shows that a part of her life in Kathmandu is comfortable. This is a story of Ms Tara that is germinated from the positive side of life in Kathmandu. However, she also shared her another disgraceful story:

Along with easy and comfortable life in Kathmandu, I have mentally come through difficult life because the different cultural practices, in which I have been adapting and engaging at current place, do not sound good to me, especially when I compare these days with my old days in Bharse. In addition to this, I am unfamiliar with the cultural practices of the new home community but I have been engaging in the different cultural activities and behaviours of the new community. Thus, life mentally is difficult for me in Kathmandu.

Based on Ms Tara's story, this is a negative side of life, which deals with difficult part of life in the new community because she is new to the changed cultural context. Moreover, behavioural change for Ms Tara is not easy in the new place because the new context demands the new ways of living and behaving.

In the new community, Ms Tara has entertained both better opportunities as well as challenges in everyday life because of this, the nature of stories differs. Collaborating with the research participants, I found that the migrants from Bharse have been changing their behaviours in terms of interactions with the locals and other migrants from different parts of Nepal. They have also been practising a new lifestyle in Kathmandu. Likewise, the

migrants in a way have been making their life easy using new avenues. In this regard, they have changed their ways of living along with the change of locations. Such change also brings changes in their stories of everyday life. Even in my observations of everyday life, each migrant from Bharse has been adopting, experiencing and practising different ways of living in Kathmandu. They have created new stories after their settlement in the new community. Thus, the migrants have made new knowing in the new contexts, which helps to form their unique stories.

Conclusions

Migration is associated with social and natural phenomena. Those phenomena could be happy or painful moments and opportunities or challenges. All of these are the sources of migrants' stories in everyday life. In addition to this, the form and nature of stories vary over time (van Maanen, 2011). Besides this, migrants' stories are composed of everyday activities, social change, technological advancement and human behaviours because these attributes are predominantly associated with migrants' life. And, the fluidity in the cultural contexts also germinates spaces for migrants' lived-stories because migrants are those beholders, who come across dual experiences of the sending and the receiving communities.

The change in migrants' locations brings changes in migrants' stories as well. Therefore, the methodological fitting is a special craft of an ethnographer to construct the stories of migrants' lifestyles or lifeworld. Those stories provide an in-depth view of the lifestyles of a particular group (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008). Sometimes, personal behaviours and habits, and social events or ceremonies also become sources of stories. After leaving the birthplace, migrants entertain different lifestyles in the new community so they have devised their new stories in the new cultural context. In this regard, everyday life is a lived-story of the migrants, who embody multiple stories in their everyday life because of their knowledge and experiences of the places of their origin and destination.

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