Poverty, Education and Migration: Narratives of Migrants from Bharse, Nepal

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ABSTRACT

I have attempted to discuss the narratives of migrants, who spelled out their stories about the situation of poverty, education, and migration. This paper echoes the experiences and intuitions of migrants. Hence, the comprehensive study of poverty, education, and migration altogether is a matter of concern from the academic stance. I have adopted qualitative approach of describing the stories of migrants. Besides this, I have espoused the ethnographic writing style to reveal the insights of beholders on the basis of contextual and subjective realities. Pertinently, dialogical conversation is my epistemological standpoint. Basically, poverty is a condition and its nature is fluid. It implicitly or explicitly changes its shape over time along with people's educational attainment and migration. Being away from old community requires new knowledge and skills in the new community because a capable person of a context may be incapable in the new context. In such a condition, social capital of a person or a family enables to immerse in the new context.

INTRODUCTION

The artifacts of poverty, education, and migration have connections and disconnections in different contexts. In addition to this, they are intermingled to dispose both positive and negative meanings. In a sense, poverty is a state of 'deprivation' (Chambers, 2009). Predominantly, the existing literatures focus on the study of economic poverty, which is incomplete to clearly understand the holistic facets of poverty. Many common people support this idea. In such a situation, I have attempted to explore the interface between/among poverty and education, which are inducers of migration. While migrants cannot be confident to get higher and quality educational opportunities in their birthplaces, they explore options to acquire such opportunities (Lee, 1966). For this, migration is the only option for them to escape from their problems of acquiring such opportunities. Poor education of the origin community force migrants in search of better educational opportunities (Acharya, 2012). On the contrary, migrants have a belief that they can get better educational opportunity in the new community, and better educational opportunity facilitates to eliminate educational poverty. Such credence is a persuader of migration. Such field of research is not much focused using the qualitative research approach. The qualitative approach helps to explore new phenomena and to capture individuals' thoughts, feelings, and interpretations (Denzin, 2008). This approach facilitates to dig out the intuitions of migrants. It is a reflexivity of the individual's experiences (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). To ensure it, I have employed ethnographic method to analyze the text.

I have adopted 'ethnographic styles' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) to open up the narratives of migrants from Bharse, who have been living in Kathmandu. Other than this, I have strived to discuss about the subjective feelings of migrants, who have good experiences of poverty and education in both old and new communities. In the qualitative research, the nature of reality is

'subjective' (Sullivan, 2012) socially constructed, interpreted, internally and externally experienced, value-laden, and meaningful (Arnault & Fetters, 2011). In qualitative inquiry, researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear, and understand in their context (Creswell, 2007). For the epistemic purpose, I had interacted and dialogued with the participants having 'informed consent' (Flick, 2009). In order to garner stories of migrants, I have used conversational interviews, dialogical conversation, and participant observation methods.

In the analysis of text, I have instilled capability approach of Sen (2009), which deals with the functioning of 'being' and 'doing'. The functioning is imperative for capability enhancement. The movement of people is to enhance the capability, which could be educational attainment. In the sense of migration, 'being' is a feeling of adaptive quality of migrants whereas 'doing' is capability of getting and acquiring tangible and intangible assets. Other than this, the networking capacity of individuals and families helps to strengthen the relationship with relatives and acquaintances of the new community. Making network is a capability of individuals or families, which is a trigger of migration to liberate from poverty and poor education. Besides this, the network helps to make migrants familiar with the new contexts and further relationship with other folks. In this connection, I have implanted network theory of Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) to oversee how migrants make networks to escape away from educational poverty. Through the process of network, migrants make close look of the new contexts. The other way around, migrants encounter with the new challenges in the new contexts, which are the syndromes of new types of poverty because migrants become unaware and unfamiliar with the practices of the alien lands. Thus, the new contexts demand sets of knowledge and skills in migrants for their better living.

SETTING THE CONTEXTS

Over many centuries, one way floatation of rural people in Nepal and elsewhere is a matter of concerns for academia, professionals, and policy-makers. It happens due to poverty and poor education of rural areas (Lee, 1966). In order get rid of deprivations, people choose to migrate to the cities from rural parts, where they could make their life better and find chosen fields of education (Parajuli, 2008). In such a context, internal migration from Bharse - a hilly village under the Province-4 of Nepal, is a continuous phenomenon for many decades. Some of them have settled in the frontier towns and cities, which are closer from their native lands. Quite a many of them have settled in the distance cities or location of Nepal and abroad. However, I have focused on migrants from Bharse, who have been living in Kathmandu only. In the sense of migration, Bharse is the sending community whereas Kathmandu is the receiving ends. In this account, migrants from Bharse are the participants, whose narratives are piled up. The other way around, historical evidences show that the forefathers of present folks of Bharse came there from the northern and southern frontiers in search of better opportunities (Shrees, 2013). On the other hand, the present generations of Bharse began to leave their birthplaces and some of them came to Kathmandu, who are my focus of study.

Kathmandu is the capital city of Nepal, where migrants from all parts of the country come and live to rejoice their better future. In reality, the distribution of migrants from Bharse is scattered in the valley. Lalitpur has been the preferred choice of the migrants from Bharse. In this essence, I engaged with migrants from Bharse, who are living particularly in Lalitpur and collected their stories. I consulted with the government official, *Laure*, and social workers to garner stories, who are living in the new community for more than one year.

I engaged myself with four migrants to collect their narratives. In order to maintain anonymity and confidentiality, I have used pseudonyms of these participants, who were engaged in my study. Based on criterion sampling (Creswell, 2007), I consulted with Mr. Udante (male, 53), Mr. Khola (male, 61), Ms. Nandini (female, 64), and Ms. Deuki (female, 47) in Kathmandu. These are migrants from Bharse. Mr. Udante is living in Kathmandu for more than 12 years. He is serving as a senior government officer. Likewise, Mr. Khola is a retired Gorkha Lieutenant of the British contingent. He served 24 years for the British army. He is living for more than 20 years. Similarly, Ms. Nandini is living in Kathmandu for more than 10 years. More than two decades, she served in the British Gorkha School Hong Kong and Brunei. Currently, she is living in Kathmandu. She spent 3 years in Hong Kong and 19 years in Brunei as a school teacher. And, Ms. Deuki is a social worker. She is also living in Kathmandu for more than 30 years. All of these migrants are educated persons, who took part in open dialogue to exchange ideas together so that it became convenient to collect stories.

MIGRATION HISTORY OF BHARSE

According to verbatim of knowledgeable and knowable persons, people have been living in Bharse from before the first century BC. People from one territory to another used to come and go to escape from their poverty and to get net sets of skills for livelihood. In the past, Bharse used to be known as a *Khani Gaon* (a village of mines) because, in the early decades of early nineties, the government opened its ordinance to dig out mines of copper in Nepal. Thus, people chose those places where they had opportunities for mine digging. Bharse and its surrounding areas were famous for copper mines. In the early decades of twentieth century, the government announced the ban of mine digging work. Then, the Magars of Bharse changed their occupations. They gradually shifted to farming and animal husbandry.

At a time, the Bharse Village experienced huge in-migration of people from the surrounding villages because it was an administrative and business hub for revenue collection and marketing (Shrees, 2013). To understand the reality about this, I also had a conversation with a migrant in Kathmandu, whose name is Mr. Udante. He also spelt out that his grandfather and great fathers came to Bharse from the northern frontier to live in Bharse. Thus, the great forefathers of Mr. Udante were immigrants. Like the great forefathers of Mr. Udante, the great forefathers of other groups also had come to Bharse from both northern and southern frontiers. In a study of migrants from Bharse, Kansakar (1982) also remarked that people entered into Bharse from the route of the northern frontier and some of them came to Bharse from the southern vicinities. In the past, the Bharse community was formed from immigrants. In this connection, immigration history is as old as migration history (Shrees Magar, 2018).

Migrants from Bharse have experienced internal and international migration, on the one and; on the other hand, rural to rural and rural to urban migrations are common phenomena. The forms and patterns of migration vary (Fukurai, Pick, Butler, & Nag, 1987). In my study, I focused on permanent migrants from Bharse. As an ethnographic researcher, I also noticed that Bharseli migrants took the multi-directional routes. Simply, the past migration used to happen within the rural setting. However, in the context of Nepal, migrants mostly concentrated their settlement in the cities, which is quite new phenomenon (Subedi, 1996). The other way around, international migration is quite a new phenomenon to Nepal. In the case of Bharse, international migration is older than internal migration (Kansakar, 1982). Pertinently, the byproduct of Sagauli Treaty of 1816 is *Laure* migration. This treaty opened a space for Magar youths of Bharse. Quite a many Magar youths from Bharse began to join the British Contingents, who became international migrants in a way. The main reason behind this is that relatively, the situation of Bharse was unfavorable for able-bodied. In initial days of recruitment, education was not the basic requirement. The strength and interests of young and energetic youths are 'being'. In another way, the feeling of migrants leaving their old homes and joining the British Contingents is 'being'. The Magar youths from Bharse joined the platoons, which is 'doing'. Thus, the *Laure* migration has connection with the tenets of the capability theory (Sen, 2009).

International migration from Bharse began from the *Laure* culture, who served in the contingent of King Ramjit Singh of Punjab. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, some youths from the Bharse Village joined the military of Ranjit Singh of *Lahore*, the then India (Kansakar, 1982). However, the nature of migration was temporary because after spending few years, the *Laure* used to come home back. Able-bodied young youths served in the army of Ranjit Singh of *Lahore*, are called *Laure* even today (Subedi, 1996). After the Sugauli Treaty 1816 with the British-Indian Government, the Magar youths from Bharse were formally recruited in the British-Indian Contingents (Kansakar, 1982). In this regard, I had a meeting with Mr. Khola in Kathmandu. In the meeting, he shared his experiences that the trend of youth migration from Bharse was very high. Even in Bharse, the *Gallawala* (army ex-service men, who used to be appointed to select young boys from the villages for the British Contingents) used to encourage young boys to enroll in the British-Indian Contingents. As a source of motivation, they used to give some financial gifts to those young people, who show their interests to join the British-Indian Contingents. The *Galla* used to attract youngsters saying that if you want to get enough money for prosperity, to make life happy, to take the taste of good foods, to select beautiful bride in the village and to ensure enough income for better life, it is good to be *Laure*. The *Galla* used to be the catalyzer of *Laure* migration because they used to make network between the platoons and youths of villages. Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000) mentioned that the networks support people to understand about the new contexts, what the role of *Galla* dispose. In a way, the *Galla* is the network maker in the case of *Laure* migrant. In this sense, Mr. Khola also was convinced

to join the British Army and he was selected by the *Galla*. After his selection, the process of his international migration began. The common belief is that those youths, who were selected for *Laure*, were also supported by their fate. Thus, they are fortunate to hold the military occupation of *Laure* in the Indian, British, and Singapore Contingents. After spending few years in their platoons, they used to come to their home village. Nowadays, they choose intermediate locations, which mostly are big cities of Nepal for their settlements.

NARRATIVES OF MIGRANTS ON LIVELIHOOD AND EDUCATION

The *Laure* culture of Bharse became an opportunity for earnings of youths but in another sense, it became a base block for higher education because individual youths or families have such a motivation that the *Laure* can earn much better in the foreign lands rather engaging in their traditional farming system. Other than this, the boy children are reluctant to continue their education except the minimum requirements for *Laure*. They take their education up to that level, which becomes the minimum requirements of *Laure* occupation. On the other side, the parents also motivate their boys to make the muscle stronger than doing better education because if their young boys become *Laure*, it gives better earnings instantly. Engaging in the education activity is a long-term investment.

The Magar youths from Bharse want to experience new exposures of the new contexts. Other than this, one of the most powerful desires to migrate is to find work opportunities for better livelihood (Koser, 2010). If people cannot broaden the scope of livelihood in their native places, they search new livelihood options because livelihood of individuals or families is associated with poverty. In this regard, the *Laure* migration of Bharse is one of the options to address the livelihood scarcities of rural villages. Herewith, Kim and Lee (2016) argued that migration takes place on the quest of better livelihood opportunities. However, the *Laure* migration is not a personal and household choice only because it is byproducts of landmark decision between Nepal and British authorities.

The other way around, migrants not only make good income for better living but also they get opportunity to obtain education and exposure of different systems, cultures, and practices during their military services. Terrazas (2011) argued that migrants take benefits in the new communities. Other than this, migrants acquired knowledge and skills about carpentry, medical trainings, and sewing for post-retirement life. After coming from their services, many of them served in their schools as teachers and sport men. In a dialogical conversation with Mr. Nadi in Kathmandu, he expressed his experiences that the *Laures* not only bring money home but also they bring new knowledge and skills. Some of them run small wood factory in their place. Few of them open small medical shops from which people take basic medical facilities. Thus, some *Laures* today have developed abilities to run their entrepreneurs independently. In the past, many of them became educators in the village. Even today, they bring new ideas for their families and communities. They also buy lands for living. And, they also spend big chunks of money to educate their children. Likewise, the *Laure* migrants were the ones, who fall under the category of wealthy families even today because, having fulfilled the household needs; they give supports of cash money to neighbors, who are in dire needs of money. Thus, the *Laures* not only are capable enough to maintain their better livelihood but also they do not have less contribution to spread the importance of education, new knowledge, and skills because they become more capable than those, who live in their birth lands. Such reality has connection with the capability approach (Sen, 2009). Nowadays, the numbers of absentees are increasing especially in the village because youths not only join the British, Singapore, and India Contingents, but also they also go to gulf-countries, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Korea. There is another story of student migrants in advanced countries like Australia, USA, UK, Japan, and other countries of different countries (Subedi, 2017; Shrestha, 2017). In such a state, the story of migrants from Bharse is much not different with the overall situation of the country. Many of them have concentrated their settlements in Kathmandu because it is easy for *Laure* and labor migrants from Bharse to settle here. Assertively, Kathmandu being the capital city of Nepal is a place of concentration of politicians, businessmen, government service holders, and their dependents because they feel to maintain their livelihoods there and could provide better education to their offspring. Today, millions of people have migrated to other places in search of better lives (Ozden & Schiff, 2007). In a way, better livelihood helps to enhance higher and quality education. Hence, younger and more educated people are more likely to move (Kennan & Walker, (2011).

Later years, while people of Bharse began to take higher education, their mobility also became higher. Williams (2009) argued that people become educated, they move to other places to

search better options because education helped people to grasp information of the new communities and to make further 'network' (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) with new different people and place, which pushed people from Bharse to other places. Migrants are sure that the only education can help to grow in better profession. Castles (2008) remarked that educated and affluent people tend to migrate today.

EDUCATIONAL POVERTY AND MIGRATION

Poverty is understood within the economic tenet of loss and gain (Ravenstein, 1889). The basic understanding is that due of lack of economic poverty, people tend to migrate from their place and they go to other places, where can earn money. Earning money is the main means of upliftment from the dire poverty. However, attempts have been made to broaden the scope of poverty in the changing context because the nature of poverty is being altered over time. Simply, a facet of poverty is educational poverty. In this regard, Chambers (2009) argued that poverty is associated with illiteracy. Being away from the state of illiteracy, a debate has been surfaced about the quality education. Thus, poor quality education is a form of poverty because of this, floatation of students is rapid in search of quality education. One of the reasons of migration from Bharse is educational poverty because people are unable to provide higher and quality education in their village, Bharse, which relatively is possible in Kathmandu. People hope to receive higher and quality education in the new places. Herewith, I had a conversation with Mr. Udante in Kathmandu, who is a migrant from Bharse. He expressed his stories about educational deprivation in such a way. He received secondary level education from the local school. After that, he did not have opportunities to acquire college and university level education in his village, Bharse so his family had only option to leave that place for higher education. Even if, his family had financial capacity to support for higher education, but educational facility was not unavailable. Finally, he was sent to other places to acquire higher education. After achieving his academic training, he did not have chance for professional engagement in his home village. As a result, he also planned to settle in Kathmandu because he could afford for his children's better education as well, which they prefer to do. Those families, who have better financial capacities, send their kids to other places for higher and quality education. Thus, unavailability of educational opportunities bring deprivation in people, which push to migrate from the home community. Acharya (2012) argued that the students are not the only migrants for higher education but also they migrate for better quality education due to unavailability of such education in the old community. The only option is to migrate to get rid of educational poverty of home community.

Genuinely, education has become a basic requirement for each and every individuals. The Constitution of Nepal 2015 also has promulgated basic education as a fundamental rights of every person (Nepal Law Society, 2015). Thus, education has become the fundamental and utmost needs of each and every individual. It is a realization of all folks of the society that the only education can help to acquire new knowledge and to develop wisdom. Likewise, it is a pathfinder for life prosperous. In such a situation, if individuals or families cannot assure better education in their places, they think twice, whether to stay or leave their home communities. If people do not see conducive environment of receiving educational opportunities in their home communities, such situation brings a deprivation. Sen (2011) also argued that incapability of getting better educational opportunity in the birth land is a situation of poverty. In this essence, where there is educational deprivation, people want to liberate from it. Migration can facilitate people to achieve better education in the new community. Acharya (2012) remarked that one of the main motivational factors of migration is to receive better education. It is possible to receive higher and quality education in Kathmandu for migrants from Bharse.

The push and pull facets become attractive that play decisive role for migration (de Haas, 2014). The traditional understanding is that the 'push facets' (Acharya, 2012) are problems whereas the 'pull facets' (Lee, 1966) are opportunities. However, the notion is being changed over time. Concurrently, migration happens not only because of challenges of the old community and opportunities of the new community but also it happens because of better education and consciousness of individuals and families as well. Moreover, education helped to find new information. On the basis of information, migrants became able to make 'social network' (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) with the people of the new place. The other way around, migrants always do not get better opportunities in the new community. Mentally, they feel dissatisfaction there because of old cultural hangover. Besides this, the push and pull facets are relative conditions for migrants because

migrants get material facilities in the new community but they socially and culturally become sick because of nostalgia of the old community. In this regard, some researchers argued that migrant communities benefit from migration while other researchers are more neutral and negative but the reality varies from place to place (Terrazas, 2011).

Despite efforts of government and non-government agencies in Nepal, quite a huge chunks of people are unable to receive the basic education. In such a situation, educational vulnerability is quite high in the northern mountain and hilly parts. In addition to this, quite high chunks of people, who live in the interior parts of Tarai and peripheries of main cities, also are disadvantaged from basic educational services. Pokhrel (2015) argued that still 44 percent of Nepalese are deprived of basic education. Such situation knock people from their places while they become conscious. Furthermore, sitting with Mr. Khola in Kathmandu, I have noted his stories. In the meeting, he recalled his consciousness in such a way. After receiving his secondary level education, he wanted to receive better education but he could not get that opportunity in his home village. Thus, his family sent him to obtain higher education out of his birthplace. Even if the economic capacity of his family was stronger, higher educational opportunity is not available. The quality education is far away in such situation. In such case, dilemmas appear in people. Either people have to continue the traditional educational practices or have to leave their home community to engage in the new educational systems. In such a state, migrants choose those places, where they get better opportunity of receiving higher and quality education, what migrants from Bharse have narrated.

The infrastructure of some schools of Bharse does not meet the basic standard, which has connection with learning activities and safety of students. Thus, the child safety is a question in the traditional schools because the safety measure is not considered in the process of building construction. Besides this, teachers apply traditional teaching methodologies, which are more teacher-centric methods. Such old methods of teaching-learning do not support children for desirable learning. Also, local schools cannot provide up-to-date education to their children because children do not get books and other reading materials on time. Additionally, parent's treatment towards their children is not encouraging because they are, to some extent, unaware about the importance of education. Many times, the families do not send their children to schools regularly because the parents engage them in their household chores even today because they have short-sightedness and seek instant benefits for their livelihoods because they seek alternatives in making livelihood better (Bhattarai, 2005). On the other side, getting education is a long-term investment for both parents and children. Also, the parents do not see long-term life chances from the investment in education. Many families engage older children to rear their younger children, which disturb elder children to continue their education. As a whole, society is not much conscious about children's education. In this respect, I had a conversation with Mr. Udante. He expressed that conducive environment for educational achievement was a challenge for him in his village because learning space was not enough in the schools of his village, which does not favor in the learning process. And, the learning culture is not child-friendly in his community. These issues make people fade up. In order to avoid such educational deprivations, some people choose to move away from their birthplace. Additionally, I had a dialogue with Ms. Dei in Kathmandu. She expressed her feelings in such a way that she got secondary level education in her village. Because of unavailability of higher education in the village, her parents took her to Kathmandu for higher education. Neither there is opportunity of higher education for children, nor they could create opportunities further. Many times, people are not fully confident in creating better educational opportunities in their own initiatives in their home community. In such a situation, they think to move away from their places for escape from educational poverty. I interacted with Ms. Nadi in Kathmandu to open up her intuitions. In a context of conversation, she expressed her experiences that educational service is still poor in her village, Bharse. Thus, she is educationally deprived of, which pushed her to move from her village because she is not sure of improving education in her place in near future. At the moment in Kathmandu, she feels satisfaction with education of the new community. In such a condition, migration is a strategy, which helps to acquire further education and to develop career path. Henceforth, Thieme (2006) argued that migration is a side effect of education.

EDUCATION AND MIGRATION FOR CAREER PATH

Those people who obtain higher education out of their home village, also do not come back to their village, Bharse because they do not have space to apply their knowledge and skills there, which are obtained from campuses and universities of cities. If the old community cannot create space for

educated persons, they choose other places to look for opportunities. Not getting opportunities is a driving force in the migration enterprises. In a dialogical conversation with Mr. Khola, he further articulated his experiences that he received higher education from campuses and universities in the cities but he did not find any opportunities to apply his academic qualifications in his village so he explored job opportunities in other places, which became possible in Kathmandu. For this, he went to that place where he got opportunity. Zajda (2005) argued that education enhances the individual's prospects. The educated persons want jobs or employments according to their qualifications. If those opportunities are not available in their home village, they tend to move away in search of better opportunities in the cities. Thus, the career path of educated persons is one of the most important facets of education and migration.

Each and every individuals are always conscious about their better future. If they are unable to grow in their career in their current homes, they think new options. Thus, they move away from their old community to fulfill their interests and to make their career further. In this way, I had an interaction with Ms. Nadi in Kathmandu. She recalled her feelings in such a way. Even after receiving university education, there is less chance to go back to her home village because she does not find opportunities to develop her economic, professional, and academic careers in her village, Bharse. To do so, she had to find new options in the new places so she came to Kathmandu and settled there, where she became able to get opportunity of developing her professional career. Thus, many student migrants are compelled to stay in the cities for their careers. In a way, education accelerates migration. And, migration is a 'strategy' to build career path (Adhikari & Hobley, 2013). Even today, student migration from rural to urban areas is rapidly increasing. In an interactive conversation with Mr. Khola in Kathmandu, he expressed his feeling that he was worried about his career path. He did not see further career path in his home village because of narrow space to use his academic qualifications, knowledge, and skills. Because of this reason, he chose to live in Kathmandu because it became possible to use his academic qualifications and experiences. Thus, career path is one of the most important facets of higher education and migration. Additionally, education must be the central schema of the planning in Nepal to empower people (Pokhrel, 2015), which is an instrument to develop the career path. On the other side, migration warrants education to make future better. Besides this, attempts have been made to reduce poverty empowering people through education. Additionally, migration is a strategy to acquire better education whereas better education helps to develop better career path for future. While migrants acquire higher education, it also helps to instill a belief that encourages searching a new employment (de Haas, 2014). Education creates a platform for career, which is a basic requirement. If people fulfill their basic requirements of jobs or employments, they search spaces to apply their qualifications. If opportunities are available in their places or nearby locations, they attempt to explore other places, where they can adjust and interact.

EMERGENCE OF NEW POVERTY AND EDUCATION

Along with the change of old community, migrants encounter with the new types of poverty i.e. new cultural practices and systems. Besides this, many of them have lower economic status in the new community than local people. Likewise, migrants also feel challenges of cultural lag because they have to immerse in the different cultural contexts, which are different from old ones. Naujoks (2013) argued that migrants face the challenge of naturalization in the new community. Likewise, migrants come up with the old habits, behaviors, and practices but the local people of the new community perform different types of social and cultural behaviors in which migrants may be unaware and unfamiliar. In another way, Sen (2011) argued that incapability is a defunct behavior for cognitive formation in individuals in the new contexts.

Along with movement, migrants sweep away with their properties and assets from their old community. However, they feel emotional attachments with their old home communities, which do not fit in the new contexts. In this regard, Ms. Nadi expressed her story in such a way. She came up with the cultural baggage of old community but she has to live up in the new cultural contexts. In the beginning, it became difficult for her to adjust in the city, Kathmandu because he could not find the right ways to walk here and there, which locations to go, which items to eat, and how deal with deal and interact with locals. Mentally, she encountered with mental stress in the city because of her unfamiliarity. She found totally different behaviors of people in the new place, which could be unfamiliar to her. Sometimes, migrants experience mental burden because of the new spatial and environmental contexts as well. In this way, they have faced the challenges of physical adaptation in

the city. They use narrow space to walk in their village but in Kathmandu, they get wider space but their unfamiliarity becomes a hurdle to assimilate in the new cultural context. And, they become unaware about the new technology. Likewise, migrants not only encounter with the systemic challenges in the new community but also they have to engage in the new educational activities. In this way, migrants become unaware and unfamiliar in the new context, which push towards the state of new poverty. In this connection, I had an engagement with Mr. Dei in Kathmandu. She could not immerse with the local social and cultural systems of the new community that are different and distinct from her village. And, daily affairs are totally different because people here are busy and their way of grooming is individualistic. The ways of speaking, interacting, talking, thinking, and doing are totally different in the new context. In such a situation, migration brings new poverty in the new community because of strangeness of the new context.

In the new home community, the new educational poverty emerges because of unfamiliar systems and practices. In the initial days, it is not easy for students or children to adapt in the new educational systems because the educational practices of the old community do not fully fit in the context of cities. Also, the teaching-learning process varies. Sometimes, the new context for students becomes burden to adopt and adapt in the new educational systems and practices. The students are obliged to adopt and do new course. Sometimes, the newness becomes a challenge for students in the learning process. For sometimes, they have to perform dual practices in the course of adaptation and interaction. Personal behavior disposes their old behaviors but they have to engage in the new socio-cultural and professional contexts. In such a situation, they neither can fully ignore their old practices nor they can own the new one wholeheartedly. Shifting from one educational context to another creates dilemma in students, which can be a barrier for learning. Initially, the new place becomes a strange to migrants. Sometimes, migration creates challenges people in the process of adjustment (Ozden & Schiff, 2007). Because of the new challenges, learning achievement of the student becomes low. Thus, migration brings educational poverty in a way. In this account, Luchtenberg (2004) argued that multi-cultural education is a way out for new students so that they could adapt even after migration, which helps students to receive some level of knowledge. In the new community, the new poverty arises in migrants because it takes time to assimilate in the new context. The 'capability approach' (Sen, 2011) argued that inability of each individual is determined by the context because a person cannot be knower of everything and everywhere. Thus, migrants encounter with a situation in which they leave old places and systems, and adjust in the new contexts, systems and practices, which is a dilemmatic state. Convergence and divergence are the phenomena of migration that appear in the new contexts (Brettell & Hollifield, 2014).

CONCLUSION

Listening to stories of migrants, I noticed that some migrants are economically poor whereas the others are mentally, socially, and educationally poor. Thus, the forms of poverty vary depending on personal needs and interests. The other way around, the wealthy migrants of the village do not equal with the rich people of the city. Moreover, education, knowledge, and skill of the village do not meet the standard of city. Thus, the new level of poverty arises in migrants in the new community. Such situation has connection with the capability approach. The capability approach emphasizes on what people are able to 'be' and 'do' (Hick, 2012). Besides this, the knowledgeable person of one place becomes ignorant of another place. The challenges, which migrants face are different in the cities than in the villages. Simply, migration echoes network because while people feel scarcities of education and, other tangible and intangible assets in the home community, they begin to search new options in other places creating networks with colleagues, acquaintances, and relatives. The network helps to receive information about the new community (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). In such a situation, poverty is a situation of incapability to receive desirable education whereas migration is a strategy to address the needs and to fulfill the desires of individuals and families.

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