The world upside-down: Nepalese migrants in Northern India

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Tristan Bruslé

In the Himalayan state of Uttarakhand, from Pithoragarh, to Mussoorie, Dehradun, Kedarnath, Pauri Garhwal or Almora, Nepalese workers are a highly visible but discreet population. Working as porters in market places and labourers on the roads, they are the "backbone" of the economy, as a wholesaler of Pithoragarh told me. In New Delhi, the Nepalese from the western part of the country are less visible but there too, they are present at every corner of the town. When meeting migrants in India, I was struck by the "new world", in terms of environment, lifestyle, work, that migrants had to get used to. A statement made by a *Bahun* from Kalikot, working as a coolie in Mussoorie, helped me conceptualize the feelings of the migrants in India: "everything is the reverse (*ulṭo*) nowadays. My father was a moneylender (*sāhukār*) and I carry loads (*bhāri boknu*) in Mussoorie". It seems indeed that almost every part of a migrant's life is the reverse of the one they left in Nepal. Migration is an exile experience, it is also an experience of living in an opposite world, compared to the one every Nepalese migrant from the far-western region would dream of. The ideal life, often depicted with more emphasis while in migration, is seen as spent in one's own village, where food is produced from one's own field. In India, migrants work under an employer's supervision and thus consider themselves as servants (*nokar*). Being in India implies a lot of economic, psychological and statutory hardships. But migrants have to find ways to adjust to their new position and status. In a way, they have to adopt a form of behaviour and practices to make migration bearable.

My study focuses on high-caste men from mid-western and far-western development regions. They are temporary migrants who spend their life coming and going (*āune-jāne*) between their village and India. They do not aim at settling down in India but always maintain strong links with their home[154]. From 2001 to 2003, fieldwork for my PhD thesis (Bruslé 2006) was done in Nepal (Dailekh, Doti, Baitadi districts) and in small towns of Uttarakhand and in New Delhi. Ninety-four in-depth interviews and countless informal discussions were held in Nepali, sometimes with the help of a Nepalese assistant. Observations of migrants' behaviour in

[154] A detailed study of migration processes and networks of far western Nepalese in Delhi is written by Thieme (2006). See review in this issue.

the city and in their lodgings enabled me to acquire a broad understanding of migrants' experiences in India.

After briefly describing migration processes, I will focus on the migrants' upside-down world as described by them. Finally, I will show how migrants manage to cope with it.

Coming and going as a way of life

Migrants encountered in India always consider working in India to be a normal means of sustaining their life[155]. As agriculture or animal husbandry, temporary migration is not only used in the case of an urgent need but also on a usual basis. Young boys know that, after a few years at school, they are bound to join the streams of men from their family and village on their way to India. Most of the time, they eagerly look forward to it. Migration is a "*rite of passage*" as going to work in India means leaving behind one's childhood and joining adulthood with family responsibilities. Many of them start working in India at an early age and stop at 45-50 years old or more, when someone else in their household can take over. Even if it is difficult to date the origin of temporary working migrations in India, I assume that they are inherited from seasonal movements undertaken by hill and mountain villagers towards other ecological belts[156]. However, it seems that temporary migrations to India have intensified since the 1960s due to fast growing population in Nepal and economic development in India. Today, the majority of migrants follow a livelihood strategy: migration only helps the household to have access to basic needs, in particular by paying back loans taken out in the village. A combination of a lack of food, of money, of available jobs in Nepal and of existing migration networks in India explains the move by males between their village and Indian towns. They spend more than half of their working life in India employed as labourers. For a minority of them though, migration leads to the accumulation of social or economic capital: after years of coming and going, they are able to buy land, open a small shop or send their children to boarding schools. These migrants, who often choose to leave the path followed by their fellow countrymen, are the most enterprising, self-confident, but not always the most educated. As part-time peasants, all of them are also part-time proletarian workers.

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[155] No term such as "temporary migration" is used in Nepali. Most common expressions are "*āune-jāne garnu*" (to come and go), "*bideś/pardes jānu*" (to go to a foreign land), "*lāhure garnu*" (to go to Lahore, *i.e.* ex-Gurkha recruitment centre).

[156] Caplan (1972) states that temporary migration from Dailekh dates back to the 1930s. Bishop (1990) and Mc Dougal (1968) describe seasonal migration from the Karnali zone and from far-western Nepal to the Terai and India in the 1960s.

Choosing a destination is part of a migration strategy, linked to constraints at home[157] and ambitions, and reflects different attitudes to the outside world. To make it simple, those who have more manpower at home can go to Delhi. Those who work in the Indian capital are also more eager to be confronted with the Other than the ones going to Uttarakhand. In this Indian state, language, customs and physical environment are close to the ones of far-western Nepal. Therefore Nepalese migrants from this region do not have the impression of being in a totally foreign world. The kind of work available in the Himalayan state also enables migrants to come and go repeatedly, for agricultural work in their village, whereas working as a watchman in Delhi means a long stay. Belonging to a village network is almost necessary to get lodgings and a job in Delhi, whereas it is not so in Uttarakhand.

Migrant's life in an upside-down world

When one is used to the quiet life in Nepalese mid-hill villages, meeting the Nepalese in India is a completely different experience. In Uttarakhand and in Delhi, the Nepalese are transferred from rural areas to crowded, noisy, sometimes dirty urban places. Situated at the bottom rung of society, their inferior status is completely interiorized. India as a whole is a place where people learn exploitation (*śoṣaṇ*), modesty (*lāj*) and dishonour (*bejat*).

The general migration context is the opposite experience to an ideal life where a person should earn their living in their ancestors' village. There is a paradox in the way people live and talk about their Indian experiences. Migration (*āune-jāne*) is described as a habit (*bānī*), a tradition (*calan*), something that was done not only by fathers (sometimes forefathers) but which is done by uncles, cousins and fellow-villagers. But at the same time migration is viewed as abnormal. One should not eat thanks to earnings from outside. One should live thanks to the products of one's own land, cultivated by one's own hands. As Khem Raj puts it: "what I would like is, in my own hills (*āphnai pahāḍ*), in my fields, in my own country (*deś*), in my birthplace (*janmabhumi*), to cultivate, to raise buffaloes and to live in my own house (*āphnai gharmā basnu*)". The village, or at least Nepal, should provide ways to sustain one's family life, but nowadays it has become impossible[158]. There is a certain pride in not depending upon someone else, and in not being someone else's servant. As an old woman from Dullu (Dailekh district) recounted that she was forced to eat bought food (*besāera khānu parcha*), she expressed the indignity of

[157] Particularly concerning farm work and manpower availability at home.

[158] People, with an idealised view, often consider that the situation was better a long time ago, when all villagers were self-sufficient.

buying daily bread from outside, especially for higher castes. This type of sentence shows discontent about their situation[159]. If temporary migration is normal, it is also talked about and felt as an obligation (*bādhyatā*) and constraint (*majburī*). Men think that there is no choice but to come to India to earn money, if they want to achieve their goals, whatever they may be: "we have to come, leaving our house, family and land behind us (*āphno ghar parivār jamin choḍera*)". In explaining the reason for their presence in India, migrants never describe themselves as decision-makers capable of initiatives, but rather as men driven away from their village because of circumstances beyond their control. Their ability to make choices is only seldom put forward. Despite temporary migration being practised for decades, being integrated in a farmer's livelihood, working in the village still appears more normal than life in India. Their discourses all emphasise how reluctant they are to come to India but how inevitable it is. Eventually, even if India is considered as an alien country (*bideś* opposed to *svadeś*), due to its cultural proximity and to the 1950 Treaty[160], it has a lesser degree of foreignness compared to other countries.

The Nepalese consider work to be the main reason for their being in India. As they say, if work was available in Nepal, they would not come here. For Bista (1991), work, particularly manual work, is despised by Brahmans and none of the population finds any dignity in labour. This statement applies to work in India. In the villages of far-western Nepal, even though some young men might show off with talk of their experiences in India, none of them would greatly value their job, which might be summed up in two or three words. For example, roadmen, when asked about their job, simply say: "I throw stones" (*ḍhuṅgā phālnu*). It is also true that in India, the Nepalese do not show any pride in their work, because it is hard, badly paid and socially undervalued. The *Bahun* and *Chetri* working for wages feel the indignity (*beijjat*) of their situation, especially when their income does not give them the opportunity to enhance their living conditions in Nepal.

[159] Other migrants said the same but in a different way: "we must earn money to eat" (*paisā kamāera khānu parcha*), "we must eat through wages" (*jyālābaṭa khānu parcha*).

[160] Article 7 of the 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship states: "the governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other, the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of similar nature". Neither passport nor visa is required to cross the border.

The most common job taken on by the Nepalese in the Indian Himalayas is that of porter[161]. In Uttarakhand towns, the Nepalese dressed in rags or in *kurtā-suruvāl*, a jute bag (*bori*) on their back, are part of the landscape, just as Bihari carpenters are. Hanging around markets or standing at strategic places, in front of wholesalers or at bus stops, they spend their day unloading trucks and carrying loads to every corner of the towns. They manage to fit in to the Indian labour market by doing what locals do not do: it is a classic case of labour substitution. As manual works are badly looked upon, it gives room for the Nepalese and Biharis to earn their living (Purohit 1994). The act of carrying is particularly undervalued and even "the illiterate and less educated, who could possibly do manual work at public projects, look more towards long-distance destinations due to both social status and caste reasons" (Bora 1996:89). The very low status of carrying is cultural[162]. In the Tehri Garhwal state during the XIXth century, local people from every walk of life were forced into two kinds of coolie labour. Under *Coolie Utar* and *Coolie Begar* systems, "the hill people had to work for the officials on tour with payment" (Rawat 1989:155). It still existed in 1930, but it became possible to shun this duty by paying money or giving grain. In Central Nepal, former slaves (*ghartī*) were used to carry the groom's palanquin (*ḍolī*), from his house to his bride's (Bouillier 1979). In Baitadi district, in 1968, lower-caste people confirmed that it was also their duty, even though nobody did it anymore (Winkler 1979). The cultural values of porterage are low on both sides of the frontier. The porter's body position itself looks as if the worker is bending to his client. Apart from that, men are in a situation of demand. They often roam the streets, expecting traders to call them. A young man from Bajhang, who had just arrived in Pithoragarh, explained all the shame (*lāj*) he felt when he first put his jute sack on his back and the strap (*nāmlo*) on his shoulder: "I spent ten days, wandering for nothing (*khālī ghumnu*) in the city. I did not know what to do. Then, to earn my living (*jīvikā calāunu*), I passed by traders' shops, looking at their mouth wondering if they were going to give me work?" Carrying loads is a day-to-day activity, rather insecure, which ruins one's health and above all does not really enable migrants to achieve high goals. Even years later, shameful feelings never really disappear. The Nepalese do not find any respectability in their job but think that "carrying loads makes life painful" (*bhāri bokera jindakī dukchha*).

[161] I will not insist on the Nepalese working on roads, even though it may also be considered as a reverse experience.

[162] A local Indian English teacher in Didihat College told me that he would never carry a pack of rice from the market to his house. It would have been humiliating for him: "someone who is educated does not carry loads; the Nepalese do it for us".

In Delhi, the job of guarding is a niche almost entirely occupied by the Nepalese, thanks to the Gurkha image attributed to all of them. Being watchman (*caukidār*) is a traditional occupation of the far-western Nepalese. They usually work for private house owners, in market or residential areas (*colony*). It is night work ("people call us owls"), which can be done along with cleaning cars in the morning. The job itself, which is not done with *khukurī* anymore, is not as respected as it used to be: "People used to give us a seat in the bus, there was honour (*ijjat*)". *Caukidārs* spend their nights playing music with a stick (*ḍaṇḍā bajāunu*) and playing the whistle (*siṭi phuknu*), making noise to deter potential thieves. The *ḍaṇḍāvālā*'s job is risky, with the threats from rascals (*guṇḍā*) and policemen. But the most humiliating part of it is collecting money (*paisā uṭhāunu*). It takes twelve to fifteen days in a month to get paid. This is a tough moment for higher castes (and perhaps for others, but they do not complain about it). They have to go from door to door to ask for their monthly payments: they have to beg (*māgnu*) and thus they finally eat by begging (*māgera khānu parcha*), which is of course connoted with low castes[163].

Whatever the job, working relations with Indians are stigmatised as being subjected to exploitation (*śoṣan*) whereas general feelings are that Indians despise them (*helaṇ garnu*) and keep them under pressure oppression (*dabāunu*). For people whose place should be to give orders to other people, being dependent on employers is felt to be a reverse situation. Finally, the whole job experience is very much described as slavery (*gulāmī*), which is opposed to the freedom (*svatantra*) they are supposed to have in their village[164].

Another point of discontent is their living conditions, which are objectively bad and also viewed as unworthy. For first-time migrants, there are great contrasts between descriptions made in their village by returnees and what they themselves discover : "Before coming here, I thought that all the Nepalese live in big, clean houses ", says one of them in Delhi. The Nepalese live in marginal places within cities, in huts or in shanties, small unhealthy rooms where they are packed together[165]. They feel that there is no dignity in living in such places for various reasons. First, lodging in India is the opposite of the village. In Indian towns, renting is not living. One can only really "live" (*basnu* in the sense of *habiter* in French) in his own house, whether it is inherited or newly built.

[163] As I have not focused on the Nepalese with a fixed job and income, I cannot say how wage earning is perceived.

[164] This is of course an ideal description of the village where almost all migrants are bound by debts to money lenders.

[165] Their situation is no different from the one of all poor Indian migrants.

Ownership of the house, land attached to it and links to the past determine special attachment to one's place of birth. Mobility does not mean weak links to the one's place of origin. On the contrary, it may enhance feelings of *rootedness* and of belonging[166]. But in a migration context, Nepalese live in rented places which are called *ḍerā,* never *ghar*[167]. No attachment is felt for the room they live in, minimum investment is made[168]. Secondly they complain about the promiscuity of their lodgings, the unhygienic conditions and the lack of access to modern facilities (*suvidhā*). A feeling of being rejected from mainstream society exists. The indignity of their living conditions is felt by men and even more by women. In Uttarakhand, it is particularly considered to be a total dishonour for a migrant woman to stay at home while her husband is out at work. It is not so much because of their material conditions but of the reputation of the couple. Talking about food is another way of opposing home and abroad. Contrary to people who say proudly that they stay and eat in the village (*gaũmā basera khānu*), migrants are forced to eat purchased food. But rice in India is tasteless or tastes of dust and is not nutritive (*khurāk*): "we do not know where it comes from, how much time it was stored before being sold". On the contrary, the rice from their own land is fresh and clean, and gives enough strength to work all day. Finally, religious life in India is also the opposite of the one in the village. Being out of the village and travelling are sources of pollution, as one Chetri says: "we do not know next to whom we sit in the bus, with whom we have meals in restaurants". Therefore, going to temples is very rare, invoking gods is seldom done. Some workers have small shrines and light incense in the morning. The fact that it is impossible to bathe before prayer is one explanation. Dasai is not always celebrated and when it is, it consists mainly in eating goat meat on Dashami. Even if migrants always insist that they come back every year to their village for Dasai, this is rarely the case. Temporary migration does not enable men to perform the necessary rituals at places of belonging[169].

Towns are not considered to be places to live in, because they are seen as purely cultural (*sãskṛtik*) in opposition to the so-called natural (*prakṛtik*) village. For the majority of elder migrants, towns are places where they

[166] For a study of the allegiance to home in the migration context, see Subedi (1999).

[167] Calling *ghar* the flat or rooms they live in is a sign of belonging to the place of migration. Only migrants who achieve the most express this kind of feeling.

[168] As one migrant said: "How can I appreciate a place (*i.e.* India) where I have no home?"

[169] They sometimes manage to send offerings (*bheṭi*) so that they are not completely absent.

are forced to live but they really aspire to return to their village. They complain that younger boys become influenced by Indians and learn bad habits: "people from Bajura are very simple, they do not steal, they do not threaten others (*dhamkī dinu*). When they arrive, they are straight (*siddha*), they are respected, they behave properly (*rāmro vyavahār*). Today, while coming to work in India, they learn a modern lifestyle (*ādhunik ājīva*). They do wrong things (*galat kām*) in Bajura. They start to steal. In India, anything may happen (*sabai kām huncha*)". Innocent villagers are therefore corrupted by Indian towns. Some of them even sever all links with their native place: they are the "black hill men" (*kālo pahāḍe*), about whom it is difficult to talk and to get information. The official discourse basically says that migrants' sole aims are to earn money and to go back home. That is why, wandering aimlessly (*ghumnu*) in the city is acting like a fool (*pāgal*). How can someone who goes here and there be sane when one has to pay even for a glass of water? As a matter of fact, migrants' knowledge of a town is limited to the area surrounding their place of work and dwelling place. It is as if workers do not consider themselves part of the city and do not wish to be part of it. Cities, where everything is expensive and where men can easily lose themselves (in a psychological way), are places of work only. Only vital investment is made.

Living in India induces a confrontation with an entirely different environment where all migrants' experiences seem to be the reverse of an ideal situation where they could depend on themselves to sustain their livelihood (*gujarā garnu*).

How to fit in to this upside-down world?

Despite this dreadful description, migrants spend almost half of their life in India and manage to face it. In this world of compulsion, indignity, exploitation and misery, Nepalis succeed to make their way. They use strategies to cope with life in a foreign land, to make India liveable[170].

First of all, there are ways to narrate their stay in India, which enable men to put some distance between them and their own experience. For example, no special word is used to talk about the state of being a migrant. No one says "I am a migrant" but sentences like "we are coming and going" (*āune-jāne garne*),"we are going abroad" (*pardeś jāne*) are used. The word *pravāsī* (immigrant) is used by another category of migrants, the ones who are settled on a more permanent basis in India[171]. On a personal

[170] One should bear in mind that as the years go by in India, migrants get used to their condition. Changes take place from the first stay to the last one. One may go astray to start with, learn how to deal with Indians and achieve successful goals.

[171] For example, one of the biggest Nepalese associations in India, linked to the CPN-UML party, is called *Pravāsi Nepālī Saṅgha (Bhārat).*

level, men are always reluctant to call themselves workers (*lebari*[172] or *majdur*): they never say "I am a worker" but prefer to say "I am doing the worker" (*lebari garne*)[173]. There is a difference between what people feel they are (in our case, being a worker is not valued) and what people do. To work as a labourer does not mean belonging to the proletariat. Migrants act and talk as if they wanted to put some distance between themselves in India and in Nepal. Another practice of managing one's own identity in India is to change name. It is usual practice for people of lower caste, to change their patronym to be free from discrimination[174]. Caplan (1972) noticed that cobblers (*Sārkī*) from Dailekh district changed their name and wore the sacred thread once they were in India. Such practices are still common in Uttarakhand and in Delhi, especially to get into jobs reserved for higher castes. In Pithoragarh, among about ten Indian restaurant owners employing Nepalese workers, at least one owner used to inquire about his future employees' names[175]. Adopting new names such as Singh or Thakur helps migrants to secure work in restaurants, sometimes for many years[176]. Some members of higher castes can also change name, but not for the same reasons. In Dehradun, Dhan Raj Puri explained that he had one name when in Nepal, the one given by his father, and one name under which he is known here, Ram Bahadur Caukidar (as is written on his *caukidār* card). At the same time he underlines his *nepaliness*, Bahadur being the name Indians give to any Nepalese, and his work. When Giri K., from Dullu, goes to Gujarat to work as a watchman, he chooses to be called *Gaurishankar*, a "religious name". In fact, by adopting new names, both migrants want to keep a distance between their two selves: the farmer, attached to his land in Nepal and the worker (*kām garne mānche*). Once they return home, they go back to their real identity and leave behind the hated character they are forced to adopt.

At work, migrants adopt other strategies to cope with live in a reverse world. In Pithoragarh especially, some migrants just arriving from Baitadi told me that they were looking for manual work (*hātko kām*) (*i.e.* road work) because, as a matter of custom (*calan*), they "do not carry loads"

[172] The term comes from the English *labour*.

[173] This may partly explain why there is little interest in the Nepalese workers association. Feeling that their stay is only temporary (*asthāyī*), their condition as worker is rejected rather than asserted.

[174] The patronym mentioned corresponds to the clan (*thar*) name.

[175] To ask a migrant's patronym is to ask their caste. Moreover, on each side of the Mahakali River, *thar* names are similar.

[176] Harish "Joshi" was caught out when his family members, who were not aware of his new name and not cautious enough, stepped into the restaurant and asked for "Harish Ram", the real and low-caste distinctive name of the boy. Harish was fired on the spot.

(*bhārī bokdainan*) or "cannot carry loads" (*bhārī bokna sakdainan*). The western part of Baitadi district is entirely under Pithoragarh's influence, a town where people go to college, to hospital or to the market. By choosing to work far from it, migrants avoid meeting acquaintances while doing a humiliating and degrading job. A more radical way to get out of the niche assigned to the Nepalese is to change occupation, in particular to leave the porterage work. In Uttarakhand, some dynamic young men manage to escape from their fate and open small restaurants. After years of carrying loads, they have got to know the needs of the Nepalese workers and have been introduced to Indians who trust them. They usually aim at higher goals (buying land, providing their children with education), they have saved some money, seized the opportunity to open a cheap food outlet and invested in basic furniture, plates and dishes. In Pithoragarh, two of the managers are happy to feed their family, who came to India, "thanks to their own business". Apart from earning money easily (*ārāmle*), they have also found values of independence that characterize farming.

At last, at varying scales and according to different uses, migrants appropriate space. Creating their own places is a way of making life bearable in a world dominated by Indians. The most common Nepalese places are rooms where migrants sleep and cook. The proximity of their houses in Nepal and the caste to which they belong determine who stays with whom in India. Networks are therefore important to understand at the same time destination, type of work and lifestyle. Rooms are the only places where migrants can re-create a village atmosphere, where they can go at the end of a day's work and find a "friendly" place, away from the hostile outside world. Rice and clarified butter are brought from Nepal by newcomers, as a way of bridging the distance between their house and their work place. As in small restaurants in Pithoragarh, Pahāḍī language is spoken, whereas *dāl bhāt tarkārī* is eaten. These restaurants are like Nepalese islands in a sea of Indian shops, even if there are only few signs of *nepaliness* in the decoration[177]. Restaurant names, such as *Bajhang-Baitadi*, are not written anywhere. They are only frequented by the Nepalese (even Biharis of the labour class do not go there) who gather to eat, but also to exchange information about available work, watch Nepal Television or listen to Nepalese folksongs (*lokgīt*). However, they are not places of refuge for every Nepalese. Caste discrimination is still strong, as Chetri owners refuse to let people of lower caste from their own village

[177] Contrary to what I noticed in Doha, Qatar, where royal family photographs, paintings of Nepalese mountains or Newar carvings were hanging on the walls of Nepalese restaurants.

come and eat[178]. The last and least visible places for the Nepalese to fit in to Uttarakhand towns are what we could call small territories. In public space, porters appropriate small places, a town's outermost abandoned corners. These places, such as curbs, broken benches, abandoned bus stops or the bottom floor of a house never quite finished are occupied by Nepalese porters only. They form landmarks in the town and meeting points which are part of the geography of any migrant. All day long, the Nepalese gather in these places, smoke *biḍi*, talk and wait for clients. Indians seldom join them because for most of them, these spaces are of no use or signification[179]. But they are of great interest to the Nepalese who can find a refuge in the public space: they are what Foucault (1994) calls "other spaces or *heterotopias*" in the way that they only exist for a category of people, in particular excluded people, and that they are at the same time closed and open. These places are opposed to every other place. They are in the city but seem to be out of it because people who "inhabit" them are themselves on the fringe of the city.

Conclusion

Although Nepalese men from the far-western region come and go through life and acquire enough knowledge to make their way in India, temporary migration is not highly valued. On the contrary, while away from Nepal, the village and home are highly idealized so that working in India is felt as a reverse ideal situation. India is an upside-world for Nepalese workers from the far-western region, and especially for people of higher caste. Because their social position is low, because people talk to them in a rude way, because their living conditions are miserable, and because migration does not enable them to achieve high goals, they do not value India very highly. However, to be able to cope with their life, migrants create spaces where they abide by their own society's rules. Whether in public or private spaces, the nature of these places, the way they are invested also shows the degree of migrants' achievements. The higher the goals achieved, the less the situation appears opposite in India. For a few workers, India can even be called "home" but for the majority of them, the experience of living in a reverse world does not bring a new layer of belonging. Belonging to the working class is out of the question. They consider themselves as farmers (*kisān*) who only, in an abnormal *and* normal way, become workers for a limited period of time. Because India is an *ulṭo* world, the aim of all migrants is to go back to their village and spend the rest of their life there.

[178] It seems that people of lower caste do not try to come and eat in these restaurants, knowing that they would be turned away.
[179] Except some times, to play cards.

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