

Culture Loss and Changes after Earthquake-Related Residence Shift

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ABSTRACT

The Gorkha Earthquake of 2015 had a massive impact on Nepali people's economic and social life. Beside physical destruction, it caused immense psychological and cultural losses. Many people had to migrate from their land to new places for survival. Some had to leave their original addresses permanently, while many returned to their land after reconstruction. During the course of these events, the imminent cultural and social losses have been overshadowed till date due to over-emphasis on numerical ways of analyzing losses.

Bhaktapur was one among many districts heavily affected by the earthquake. Due to densely compact old houses, Bhaktapur lost a lot of physical property along with many people's lives. As many houses fell down completely, people had to migrate to new places, mostly on the outskirts of the main city area, either permanently or temporarily. As a by-product of this sort of migration, Bhaktapur, a bastion of cultural life, lost part of its intangible cultural heritage as the lifestyle and interconnectivity went through diverse changes.

This paper mainly studies how after the people from Bhaktapur Municipality area migrated to the new places on the outskirts of the core, the residents have lost the cultural and social affinity towards their habitual cultural and social events. The paper argues that these migrations created feelings of loss among the cultural practitioners and other ordinary people living cultural life.

By using the theory of cultural losses and revitalization, this paper deals how local people after facing havoc of destructive earthquake, tried to adjust the

cultural distancing and forming of new circles of cultural practices. It studies how traditional cultural practices lost their tempo as people from certain neighborhoods (tole/galli) within Bhaktapur's core area migrated to different places and lost their interconnectivity.

This study has shown how cultural changes and losses have accelerated in Bhaktapur after the earthquake and how people who migrated to the outskirts are trying to build up cultural ties with their root with contextualization of cultural losses and changes.

This paper is a qualitative study that uses data from field visits, observations and interviews. Highlighting the impact of cultural losses and changes, the paper suggests some possible ways to revitalize and rejuvenate the cultural life and sustainability of people migrated to the outskirts from the core settlement of Bhaktapur. It also studies how practical ways of cultural adaption are being used amidst the vulnerability of cultural losses.

Findings of this paper are significant to understand the intangible losses resulted because of the earthquake besides seen tangible losses. It is importantly significant to understand the dynamism of cultural changes and cultural differences. This study could help to understand the trend of cultural losses and work to mend and make adjustment of such changes.

Keywords: cultural losses, cultural changes, earthquake

1. Introduction

Losses incurred by the Gorkha Earthquake of 2015 are calculated mostly in numerical terms. (Subedi & Chhetri, 2019; Kunwar & Chand, 2016). Heaps of data are displayed whenever losses of the earthquake and achievements of reconstructions are talked about. The National Reconstruction Authority (NRA), after handing over certain incomplete tasks to government authorities with relevant jurisdiction, is formally dissolved. The last press release from NRA, dated April 23, 2021 sheds light on the achievements it made in construction of private houses, reconstruction and renovation of public and government property, religious buildings, roads, etc., all in numbers. But very few studies have talked about the losses Nepali communities incurred in their cultural aspect as a result of the Earthquake in general. Over-insistence on the numerical data has overshadowed the unseen losses of intangible heritage and cultural practices.

Ulak (2015) discusses the losses Nepal incurred due to the earthquake in numerical terms. He counted the number of destroyed tangible heritages such as temples, Buddhist Gumbas, towers etc. as the impact the cultural sector lost. Similarly, Vanicka Arora (2022) talks about the material aspects of the reconstructing of the temples focusing on construction materials and technology within heritage reconstruction and how these aspects are constantly negotiated and contested in very distinct ways. While the numbers of studies on technical aspects of heritage conservation are increasing, substantial losses of intangible heritage and practices that give life to the tangible cultural heritage have been under-studied.

In this paper, I examine the cultural changes and losses we experienced in the course of people migrating from their culturally active residential settlements to new places where, even though it may not be far away in distance, the same cultural activities are not already set up in finely tuned ways. Maharjan and Barata (2017) discuss about the gradual changes the traditional Yenya Punhi (also known as Indra Jatra Festival) going through, caused by the local peoples' migration. They say that it is not the tangible aspects which make the Kathmandu Valley of outstanding universal value, but also the intangible heritage in the form of masked dances, chariot festivals, rituals and numerous festivals which are part of an ever-ending process and integral parts of the valley's vibrant heritage.

The World Bank states that some 56 percent of the world's population lives in cities and expect the urban population to more than double its current size by 2050 (World Bank,2023). A similar trend could be sensed in the Kathmandu valley as well. The Kathmandu Valley is expanding exponentially since the beginning of the Maoist Civil war. Beside the increase in people migrating to the Kathmandu valley from various districts, a large number of the indigenous Newa population of the Kathmandu valley (that includes Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur and other small Newa settlements in vicinities) residing in historically main areas, are also migrating to the new settlements, out of the boundary of traditional core area. Changing lifestyles, population increase, changing development patterns, etc., are some of the reasons behind this sort of migration. But the greatest number of such migrations occurred within a short span of time after the earthquake in 2015. Many people went out of the core areas for the temporary shelter during the aftershocks to escape from possible destruction and save their lives. Lal (2017) says that after the first earthquake, most of the Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs) lived near their destroyed or damaged houses in makeshift shelters, constructed out of tin sheets, plastic tarpaulins and materials from their houses. Many people whose houses are still livable, after a week's stay in the temporary camps, returned to their houses. But the aftershock on 12 May 2015 made those people come back to the temporary camps and this time they stayed there for a longer time, scared of possible disastrous aftershocks. Later on, only a few among them returned to their previous residences. It was particularly people who owned land and were from sound economic condition who built new houses and adjusted to living in the outskirts of the city. Due to migration, the behavior and specific lifestyle of people change unavoidably in new destinations (Abbisov, Karmov, Jafarova, 2022: 123-179); such changes have been the experience of Bhaktapur's post-Earthquake migrants to its outskirts.

This research shows that narrow space, narrow alleyways, constrained possibility for infrastructure building, property division among brothers, obstacles to manage debris and transport building materials, comparatively easier life in the outskirts, etc., are some of the major causes behind Newa people not returning to their main stay after earthquake. Many found the reconstruction of their previous houses to be harder than

building a new residence in the outskirts, where they also thought life would be easier. And hence this process scattered the residents from specific areas to various outskirt areas.

The neighborhoods, or *Tole/ Galli* and *Chuko* inside the core settlement are integrated cultural units. Disintegration of those cultural settlements not only scattered the local people there, but it also degraded the cultural practices and activities embedded in their communal life, as the close-knit groups of people who had long been perpetuating these cultural practices were now scattered throughout different places and no longer living in their original *tole/galli* or *chuko*.

Hence, internal migration resulting from this natural calamity has played a role to disintegrate the continuation of cultural practices and traditions. These cultural activities are group work jointly practiced by people who share beliefs and legacies. No culture is possible to retain with mere individual initiatives and continuity. Hence, when we talk about culture, we must be clear that we are dealing with plurality. Migration disintegrates a community as a unified whole into various units, causing the community to lose its identity as an individual entity. So, there is an inverse relation between cultural preservation and continuity, and migration. Migration of course opens the way to generate a new culture although it may lead the former inheritance to decay.

In this research paper I examine how the degeneration process of culture is taking place due the internal migration and displacement cause by the earthquake of 2015. Is there cultural loss during the process? And, I ask, how did the process of cultural adjustment take place, and how are new versions of culture catching on?

Bhaktapur is one of the places most affected by the earthquake of 2015. In the quantitative terms that I mentioned earlier, over 300 people died and 2 thousand people wounded; over 30 thousand houses and 116 monuments were damaged. Many old houses inside the core area of Bhaktapur Municipality were destroyed and significantly damaged.

In fact, 25 April 2015 was both fortunate and unfortunate day for Bhaktapurians. The number of casualties would have been higher had the calamity happened the day before; because people of Bhaktapur were busy celebrating Diwali Puja (Degu Puja) on that day. Degu Puja is the cultural celebration celebrated by almost all households to worship the lineage deities, and commences on the first of the bright half of Bishakha (April-May) (Nepali, 2015:389-390). More people would have died or injured as most people celebrate Degu Puja with their family and kinships in their ancestor houses that generally locate in the core area of the city and mostly ruined. So, in this respect, the earthquake occurring on that particular day was a fortunate co-incident and an unfortunate disaster.

Extension of the residential area on the outskirts of Bhaktapur Municipality has

not been an all-of-a-sudden process. Rather it has been a continuous process. Families from the core area of Bhaktapur have been migrating out to the vicinity for ease in their agricultural work, lack of sufficient space in their residences, etc. Against this background, Bhaktapur Municipality has been developing planned outskirts for proper and managed development of settlement areas since the 1990s. Liwali Residential Area, Tumacho-Duguree Residential Area, and Deko-Itapake-Meba Residential Area (under construction) are the residential areas intended to adjust the demand of the locals for extended residential areas.

This process of people migrating from the core area to the outskirts of Bhaktapur has increased substantially after the Earthquake in 2015. As most of the old houses were destroyed, people first managed temporary residences on the land available outside the core area. Later those families who owned their own land-built houses on the outskirts rather than rebuilding their destroyed residences. Some families returned to their previous residences. But mostly people made adjustments in their new houses out of the core part of the city.

In the areas where the density of population intensified, along with urbanization, a process of cultural transfer took place. New temples of *Ganedwo* - the deity celebrated by the Newa community before they start any familial and cultural functions - were built. Changes and modifications in the Guthi system - one of the signature traditional institutes of the Newa community with embedded social and cultural values - were found. As people migrated out of the core areas, certain locality-based cultural practices are also changing. *Kala Wayegu*- a cultural practice of disposing all the remains of a feast at the crossroads, and *Chhwosu Wayegu*- a cultural practice of disposing of all the remains of the deceased at the nearest crossroad, have gone through remarkable changes due the migration and development of residential areas outside the core area.

2. Methodology

According to Marselle (2010, cited in Womersley 2021), 'culture' is 'shared learned behavior and meanings acquired in life activity contexts that are passed on from generation to another for purposes of promoting survival, adaptation, and adjustment.' It externally is presented as artifacts, roles and institutions and is represented internally as values, beliefs attitudes, cognitive style, epistemologies and consciousness patterns. Geertz (1973) explains: 'Culture comprises the shared practices, meanings, and symbols that enable a group to interpret, understand, and communicate about the world.'

UNESCO has divided culture into two categories in terms of its tangibility, a) Tangible and b) Intangible. It defines, 'Tangible Cultural Heritage' as physical artifacts produced, maintained and transmitted intergenerationally in a society. It includes artistic creations, built heritage such as buildings and monuments, and other physical or tangible products of human creativity that are invested with cultural significance in a society. 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' indicates 'the practices, representations, ex-

pressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their Cultural Heritage’ (UNESCO, 2003).

Cultural losses as explained by White (1991, cited in Stamm et al.2010),’as a framework for working with disruptions when an 'original' culture is to an 'arriving' culture.

This paper studies what sorts of changes happened in cultural practices among people who migrated to the new residential areas after and mainly due to earthquake-related causes. What sort of disruptions did the 'original' culture face as it encountered the 'arriving' culture? Original culture here means the culture practiced by the people residing inside the core area of Bhaktapur Municipality that has closer affinity with dense cultural activities whereas 'arriving' or new culture means the changed culture practiced by the people migrated to the close outskirts of the core area of Bhaktapur mainly after the earthquake in 2015.

Migration brings changes in cultural practices. Distance of migration is directly proportional to density of cultural losses. In this research paper, earthquake-caused migration that took place within short distance area is dealt.

Most of the people in Bhaktapur are from agricultural background. Even though many have changed their earning professions, their relation with land and agriculture has not changed substantially. Most of the families own land in the near vicinity of the municipalities that lie in Changunarayan Municipality, Suryabinayak Municipality and certain newly built residential areas of Bhaktapur Municipality as per the present administrative division.

People from the most earthquake-affected areas of Bhaktapur - Jenla, Inacho, Suryamadhi and Golmadhi (Suji et al., 2020: 7) migrated to the nearest areas where their ancestral land lies. Most of people from Jenla, Suryamadhi and Inacho migrated to Libali residential area, and people from Golmadhi migrated to Jagati and Sipadole area. Byasi is also one of the affected areas. People from Byasi migrated to Jhaukhel and Kasang areas.

To get a clearer picture, 25 people migrated to the new areas were interviewed in-depth face-to-face, including some via telephone, in accordance with a questionnaire prepared per the need of research work. All the interviewees are over 40 in age and were active in various cultural activities, at least before the earthquake. Interviews with this category of people can give the picture of cultural losses and changes after they migrated to new areas with less affinity to the cultural practices they are used to. Field observations were done in some of the newly established Ganesh mandirs, old Ganesh mandirs, and crossroads where *Kalawayegu* is done.

To be specific, this paper studies the changes seen among the migrants mainly in three cultural practices: worshipping of *Ganedyo*, Guthi functioning and *Kalawayegu*,

all of which have significant cultural importance in Newa community in light of cultural losses and changes.

In every Newa community, temples of Ganesh (*Ganedyo*) are regarded as essential cultural entities. Ganesh is one of the most celebrated gods among the Newa community. *Sukunda* is the cultural lamp that the Newa community uses in every auspicious occasion, and it symbolizes prosperity and well beings. The image of Ganesh can be found etched on each *Sukunda*, so, the *Sukunda* is considered as a representation of Ganesh. As the *Sukunda* is a compulsory cultural lamp in every auspicious occasion, it could be said that the presence and celebration of Ganesh is essential in every good occasion among the Newa community. Every particular settlement or '*laagaa*' has a particular *Ganedyo* of their own. It is indeed a representation of connection with locality.

The guthi system is one of the basic tenets of Newa community. The guthi institution binds the Newas together at the three different levels of caste, patrilineal grouping, and societal level (Subedi, 2022:134). The word Guthi, derived from Sanskrit language, literally means 'association' or an 'assembly'. Guthis in the Newa community could be regarded as the units of social and cultural functioning. Being outlawed from a guthi is regarded a serious social exclusion and punishment within a guthi is considered as a sin.

Guthis could be classified into various types on the basis of their functions. But the guthi related to the cremation of the dead one is essentially major inalienable function of guthi. Guthi as a religious and cultural entity follows the strictest rules. In every guthi, there are fixed sets of rules that every member is obliged to follow. Changes in the rules can be done only through the unanimous decision of all members. Among guthis, some own their guthichhen (Guthi house) where they hold all the functions of the guthi and store the property of the Guthi. But most of guthis lack such particular guthichhen. So, a function that ought to be done by the guthi is held in the residences of the members turn by turn annually. Such functions of guthis are constricted within the fixed boundary of the city. No functions are allowed to operate outside that fixed boundary (particularly the rivers encircling the city). So, Guthi functions are restricted out of the core area.

Kalawayagu literally means disposal of remaining of eaten food during feasts (*bhwoye*). It is a part of Newa culture connected with locality and local affiliation. *Thakalis* (senior most male members) of Newa families whose parents are deceased offer certain portion of cuisine in the name of their ancestors before eating *bhwoye*. Certain items such as green vegetables, pumpkin, soyabean, dried vegetables etc are regarded compulsory for such offerings. Later, at the end of *bhwoye*, *Nakin* (senior most female member) of family collects all such offerings in a brass basin and dispose at the nearest crossroad. Certain locality has fixed sort of spot for such practice. When a *nakin* proceeds for the disposal, she is not allowed to talk or make any noise and nobody can

touch or talk to her. She has to distribute pure water for all the *thakalis* after returning back from disposal.

This research is a qualitative analytical study based on the direct interview and observation methods. Earthquake affected areas discussed above were visited and local residents there were interviewed and changes seen there were observed. Open-ended questions were asked to local residents to explore the changes they are leading and experiencing the new settlements in terms of earthquake related cultural changes and losses. Most of the interviewees were more than 50 years old and interview with that age group is particularly significant because the respondents from this age group can interpret and experience the cultural changes and losses in much comparative ways.

3. Findings

For most of the respondents of the research, the earthquake of 2015 remains as a faded memory. Most of them seem well-adjusted to the existing condition, though they miss their previous places on certain occasions. With respect to the easy accessibility and open spaces in the new settlement area, they are found to be satisfied and eased. Previously their houses were narrow and congested. Rooms were smaller. Stairways of the house were steep and difficult. Roads outside were narrow and vehicle transportation was not easy. Kitchens were smaller. Even sunlight was not easily accessible in the previous settlement. Houses there were made of mud and bricks. Houses in the new places are made of cement and built alongside wider roads. Rooms now are wider and well furnished. Kitchens are also well equipped and wider. Except for a few, most of the respondents in new area have wider accessibility to running water in their households. So, new residences are easier in term of such daily chores, in comparison with the previous residences. While interviewing them, people there sounded like they have no other alternate than to adjust in the new context.

A clay artist said he found easier now in new residence in term of his profession- making clay utensils and artifacts. He has a spacious work place now than in his previous house. '*Nabaseko Thau Jungle, Jaha Basyo Tyahi Mangal*' a saying a woman respondent used to express her condition, could be a representative expression of psychology of all migrants who migrated outside of the core city because of the earthquake of 2015.

Some among them showed awkwardness about being at the new place due to its heterogeneity. Contrary to the previous homogenous community, now they had to adjust with the people from 'other' communities with whom they feel 'otherness' in term of culture and tradition.

The only thing that makes them feel lost in the new area and that they all miss is the cultural activities and environment of their previous settlements. All of the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction and yearning to return to the core area when we asked them about their involvement in cultural activities. They found almost 'noth-

ing' in the new residential area in terms of the cultural activities that they grew up with.

Hereby cultural activities could be classified into two forms: a) cultural activities based on individual families, and b) community based cultural activities.

Cultural activities based on individual families are cultural traditions commenced within the individual family with no wider community involvement required, such as *Janma Din*, *Sarada*, *Bhwoye* etc. These cultural activities are constrained within the family or kinship group. Such activities are found mainly unchanged or no significant changes found because of their migration to the new area. All respondents showed their firm commitment to continue their cultural activities at least on an individual level. In fact, some respondents said it is easier now for such individual based cultural activities in new settlement. Now they have spacious place to commence cultural activities such as *bhwoye*. They found no considerable problem on holding Individual based cultural activities in their new residences. Short distance between their new and previous residential areas could also be the reason for that. In fact, they found it easier now than in previous residence for such individual cultural activities. The majority of the respondents said they could reach their previous residential areas within 20 to 30 minutes.

But it is not the same case in regards to the second form of cultural activities. People who migrated to the outskirts could not continue or participate in cultural activities requiring more than an individual family to function because of the lack of cultural legacy and teamwork in the newly built settlement area. Hence, people had to depend on the former local community to participate on such activities. An active member of a *dafa* (musical team) that functions every day throughout the year. They operate a hymn (*bhajan*) outside of Bhairavnath temple located at the renowned Taumadhi square. As he is a *khhin* (resembles a bigger sized Madal) player of the team, it's compulsory for him to attend the *bhajan* every day. But his migration to the new area some half an hour away from the Taumadhi square made some differences in his daily routine. He either has to stay out of his house late at night, or he has to leave all cultural involvements or he has to return to live in the core area which is practically impossible now because economically it is not viable for him to rebuilt house in the core locality after he had built one in the outskirts. He chose the first option, to spend most of time out of his house and spend late nights in the core area of the city.

One of the pujaris of the *Barahi Dyochhen* (god's resident). He has to organize regular pujas during his tenure in the *Dyochhen* which is now far from where he migrated. Some among these pujas must be organized at night time. So, he has no alternative than to stay away from home during such cultural functions, which was not the case before migration.

Now, I will discuss the cultural losses caused by the migration resulting from the earthquake of 2015 in terms of the three cultural functions as per the methodology of

the research.

3.1 Newly established Ganesh Mandirs

Ganesh Mandir is an essential tenet of every Newa settlements. Worshipping the god Ganesh is one of the foremost traditions of Newa community. Every auspicious occasion starts in Newa community and family by worshipping the god, Ganesh. So, a Ganesh temple can be found in every Newa community even where no other temples or deities are found. In core Bhaktapur, a certain area is ascertained as the dedicated zone (*laagaa*) of certain local Ganesh. It means the people within that area must celebrate and worship that fixed Ganesh before any cultural function.

After the earthquake of 2015, the residential areas on the outskirts of the core area of Bhaktapur became denser. People who migrated permanently to such areas ran their daily chores and cultural traditions in the new area as per their convenience. Migrated people started worshipping the local Ganesh in the migrated place (if there was one) rather than the Ganesh they had been worshipping in the previous area. Besides that, after the 2015 earthquake a number of new Ganesh temples are found established in the outskirt areas. Migrated people in the areas as per their need to commence their cultural activities established new Ganesh temples and named those Ganesh temples according to the local place names.

Interestingly, those new versions of Ganesh are regarded as the subdivision of the one that the majority of the people in that new place were worshipping before migration. Two factors are preeminent in determining the main source of the Ganesh alignment:

a. Proximity of the source Ganesh temple. For example, a Ganesh temple established in Pane, newly extended heterogeneous residential area in Suryabinayak Municipality Ward no 5, is regarded as an extended version of the Yinhare Ganesh located nearest to the place.

b. The majority of people from a certain area. A newly built Ganesh mandir at Hakufalcha could be an example. After the earthquake, people who migrated to the Hakufalcha area are mainly from Itachhen area. Since the majority of the people there celebrate Itachhen Ganesh, the newly established Ganesh temple is regarded as a subdivision of the Itachhen Ganesh.

As migrated people established new Ganesh temples and worship there, their frequency of visiting the previous Ganesh temples in the core area decreased, and hence the devotees in those older Ganesh temples became fewer.

Contrary to the traditional style of Ganesh temples, the newly established Ganesh temples are smaller in size and could find no touch of traditional architecture. For example, Bagare Ganesh, which literally means a Ganesh at the bank of river, was established at the Libali area, Bhaktapur Municipality Ward no 8, after the earthquake. It is a

miniature cemented construction with merely an idol of Ganesh and a small wind bell. Other newly established Ganesh Mandirs are also almost of similar model.

3.2 Guthi: Out of the boundary

Guthi system is a signature social outfit of Newa community. Guthi institutions and Newa people of the Kathmandu Valley are inseparable. (Subedi,2022:133). The caste and familial organization of the Newas cannot be fully understood without understanding their Guthi institutions (Nepali,2015 cited in Subedi,2022:133). Many changes could be found in the functioning of Guthi after the earthquake of 2015 mainly because of the migration to the outskirts. Prior to the earthquake, functioning of guthi was not allowed outside the rivers that inbounded the core area. *Thakali* (seniors) of the guthi were reluctant to organize guthi events outside the conventionally fixed area. Guthi that have their own particular building to organize the events have not had many problems since they need not cross the fixed boundary. But the guthis that have no own building held guthi events turn by turn in the members' houses on annual basis.

After the earthquake a huge number of families migrated to new areas. Then there was a debate among the guthi members about whether or not to change the rule of not holding guthi events outside the core area. Many families have no houses within the core area to shoulder their turn to organize the guthi functions, as their houses were destroyed by the earthquake and they have already migrated to the new houses outside the core area.

A culturally active respondent had to face this very challenge. As his house inside the core settlement was not livable after the earthquake, all of his family shifted to the new houses which according to the conventional understanding are out of the definitive core area. There was debate in his guthi as well. Particularly, the senior members were not ready to bear the risk of taking guthi out of the core area. Young members though argued on behalf of change. But could not ready own self to bear the 'risk' or 'curse' they might face for going against the established conviction.

He in his turn had no other alternate than to organize guthi functions in his new house. So, he first commenced a *Kchemma Puja* (excuse ceremony) for organizing a guthi function out of the conventional boundary.

Among the respondents, many families are found to be more liberal nowadays on holding guthi functions out of the core area. This change could be found widely particularly after the earthquake of 2015.

Beside Si guthi, the one that is related to the cremation of the death body, numbers of *Ilancha* Guthi, based on local area with certain defined cultural functions, are found to be fading out because of the outmigration caused by the earthquake. Inactivity of *Ilancha* guthis signals a weakening of social activities and local unity. *Ilancha* guthi is based on locality, and works for local communal development and social interaction. As the people residing in the core area became fewer because of their shifting to the

outskirts after the earthquake 2015, frequency members of *Ilancha* guthi meet each other lessened and their availability to do community works became rare, hence social and cultural activities they used to do became limited that could be reflected on the activities of the *Ilancha* guthis.

3.3 *Kalawayegu*: culture in danger

Among various cultural practices endangered due to people's outmigration from the core area of Bhaktapur to the outskirts after the earthquake 2015 is *Kalawayegu*. Most people who migrated preliminarily practiced *Kalawayegu* at the crossroad nearby their new residence. Contrary to the fixed junction at every tole in the core area for *Kalawayegu*, there were no such ascertained spots to practice *Kalawayegu* in the newly forming settlements. Hence people there disposed *kala* (disposable after *bhwoye*) at the closest available junction in the new area. But the heterogeneity of the new area and lack of such cultural practices let other residents of the new area to regard the disposal of remains of *Bhwoye* as unsocial activities that made the community filthy.

Due to indifferent perception of other communities residing in the outskirts towards the *kalawayegu* practice, Newa people who migrated to the new settlement area have gradually belittled the *kalawayegu* practice in one way or the other.

Most of the respondents, though, said they have been continuing *kalawayegu* when possible. But they showed uneasiness for its continuity as the community has not regarded it as healthy. In some cases, the local community development committee has decided not to throw any such 'garbage' on the road and they have included disposal from *bhwoye* also as filth. So, Newa people migrated to the outskirts have stopped *kalawayegu* tradition in new residence.

Impact on new generation

One of the questions of the research is how the migration to the new area has impacted the cultural training of the new generation that reflects the cultural change and losses after the earthquake of 2015. Almost all the respondents answered negatively on the question of prominence of cultural activities such as cultural dances and music in the new areas. After the earthquake of 2015 as the number of residents outside the core area is extending, some cultural groups such as Bhajan and musical teams are found formed and functioning there. Dekocha Bhajan Khala could be an appropriate example of such a cultural group. But in general, cultural activities in new area seem meager, which has had a negative impact on the culturally cognizant upbringing of the new generations.

New generations of the families migrated to the new area have no opportunities to learn traditional musical instruments such as *Dhime*, *Basuri*, *Khhin* etc. Members of this new generation either have to come to the core area which by distance is regarded as far, particularly at night time, when the training goes on. Practically, walking from new settlement to the core settlement for joining training at night time is regarded as a

difficult task. Such factors made the training of new generation much harder and cultural music and dances as mediums of cultural transferring remain inaccessible to the children of the families migrated to the new area.

And hence, children growing up in the new area are found to be less familiar with traditional cultural practices and functions. They are found reluctant to use Newa language and lexicons than children from the core area. Respondents said their children know less about their culture in comparison to their relatives' children who reside inside the core area.

Night time culture

All of the respondents, when asked about the cultural losses they bear for migrating to the new area said almost in unison that they missing the night time cultural activities of the core area. 'There isn't any such cultural event to see and participate here that we miss a lot. There are numbers of cultural activities in our previous locality', says one of the interviewees. Other respondents' reflections are similar. Particularly, cultural shows during Saparu, Nawadurga Dance, and other local jatras held during night time, are far from home for the migrated people. They have to stay late night to see or participate in such cultural events. Cultural shows during Saparu run for seven nights.

'We always worry about reaching home far from the core area. Even though we like to see and participate in the events, we could not because it is not easy to return at midnight. So we gradually are forgetting our culture and tradition. Our children will not regard such activities as their part of life' says Kamalkeshari Karmacharya (57).

Respondents even express their sorrow for not being able to visit their kinfolk and friends far from their home now. In Newa community, visiting to the relatives is a regular practice. Beyond formal occasions, people visit each other regularly as their houses are not so far. But after the earthquake of 2015, practice of visiting relatives is diminishing as many people have shifted to the new areas.

Discussion

Migration is a process of change. It is a continuous process from the beginning of human civilization. Natural disaster is one of the major causes of migration throughout human civilization. Undoubtedly, the changes and losses of culture found in Bhaktapur after the earthquake of 2015 are part of the continuous process that existed even before the earthquake. The earthquake of 2015 accelerated the migration process, which made the changes and losses conspicuous.

After almost a decade after the earthquake, people who migrated to the outskirts of the core of Bhaktapur are found to have dual mentalities. From one angle, they are found happy with their shifting to the new residence because life there seems easier than the previous locality in terms of physical infrastructure and business opportunities. But from another angle, they miss the cultural environment they grew up with.

Some respondents are still found with yearning for reattachment to the cultural environment or hoping to replicate such an environment in their new locality. Some attempts are found to generate such cultural activities even in the outskirts. Training of *Dhime*, *Basuri*, and some cultural dances particularly for Sapatu are examples of such initiations. Activities of Bhajan groups outside the core area could also be an example of an attempt to generate a familiar cultural environment at the outskirts. But such an attempt to replicate the cultural environment is also a making of a new sort of culture with its own significance as well. Cultural activities there are not the same as the core area, but differently similar.

Though people miss and want to participate in the cultural events, they have their limitations in the new context, and so their gradual inability to re-engage in such activities at one point turn into irrelative and ignorance towards the small-scale cultural functions. Some respondents said they forget the date of certain festivals as they are far from their previous cultural surroundings.

People who migrated to the outskirts are found to be trying not to change their cultural practices those which can be continued within family. But with regards to the cultural activities that need community involvement, they are notable to continue even though some want to. They have to depend upon the core area for their involvement in these cultural activities. But the limitation of distance is playing a crucial role in losing affinity to such cultural practices, resulting in cultural changes and losses.

Conclusion

Beside the physical losses of the earthquake, cultural losses in miniature can be found, which may result in new forms of mixed culture in the outskirts. Mostly the outskirts settlements are more heterogeneous in nature in terms of ethnic makeup and regional origins than the core area of Bhaktapur. People from different districts out of the Kathmandu valley with myriad cultural backgrounds have migrated there as well. Newly forming communities there, though they represent various cultural backgrounds, are far from their main origins. Hence people there are simultaneously distancing and desiring to be close to their culture at once.

Cultural losses are found among the people who have migrated to the outskirts, which make them yearn to return to their previous locality. But as they are enjoying various positive sides of the new settlement, they now have no serious intention to return to the previous settlement. Hence, they have to compromise with the cultural losses and adjust to the forming of new culture there.

Access to a cultural environment for the younger generation is harder. Outmigration from the core area was found to impact the volume of participation in cultural activities as well.

Changes in culture are an obvious phenomenon. But cultural losses are demoli-

tion of parts of human civilization. No culture is rootless or insignificant. So, preservation of any culture is a part of preservation of human civilization and human behavior.

Here are some the recommendations for the revitalization of cultural losses the migrated people from core Bhaktapur to the outskirts incurred.

1. Cultural groups should be formed in the outskirts for the cultural activities. Those cultural groups should organize cultural ceremonies as per their local condition.
2. Younger generation should be motivated and mobilized to participate cultural activities. They must be trained to different cultural music and dances. Their talents must be promoted during cultural festivals.
3. For the promotion of night time cultural activities and festivities, during the festival period local transportation should be encouraged to provide night time facilities.
4. Cultural groups in the outskirts could be encouraged to participate cultural festivals and performances in the core area, so that they can participate there jointly.
5. Cultural groups can incorporate and accommodate people from various communities in their cultural activities. It can make the other communities informed about local Newa culture.
6. Newa language should be talked in homes among the children so that they could learn it from their home. For the children who don't speak and understand Newa language, tutorial classes could be organized.
7. Community and Culture Centers could be established for the community based social and cultural activities.

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Appendix A

Questions asked to the respondents

How long have you been here in this new residence ?

Was the earthquake sole reason for your migration ? What else ?

How far is your old residence from the new one ?

How often you visit to your old place ? Generally, why do you visit there ?

What are the major differences you faced after being migrated in the new area ?

Where do you celebrate festivals and cultural functions ? What are the differences you found doing it in the new residence ?

What do you miss of your old residence most ?

Have you formed any *Dafa*, *Bhajan*, *GaneDyo* here in the new area ? Why ?

How do you feel when you have to go new temples ? Are you not hesitant to do *Kalawayegu* in the new cross road for the first time ?

How is your *guthi* functioning these days ? How is it different than before the earthquake ?

In your opinion what have you lost culturally after being migrated here in the new area ?

Are there any such cultural functions lost particularly after the earthquake ?

How do the new generation behaving after being migrated in the new area ?

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