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**Study Of Emerging Gentrification
In Core Settlement
Case Of Patan**

**by
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Abstract

With the growing population and change in sector of economy, tourism plays a vital role in the city's income. Patan having its unique background in cultural heritage has great potential in tourism due to its tangible and intangible heritage and the lifestyle of people. There is also large percentage of people dependent on tourist based businesses who are contributing to the cultural heritage tourism. However, in the path of gaining income from tourism, there is a threat of commercialization not only in business but also the lifestyle and cultural heritage of Patan. While planning for tourism development in Patan, the negative consequences of tourism should also be kept in mind. Development oriented for tourism has started to bring some changes in the core area of Patan that are irreversible. This research tries to study the change that is emerging in the streets of Patan that unknowingly sows seeds of gentrification in this city. It is a research to describe what sorts of character of the Patan are we losing or going to lose with the narrow perspective of development of tourism without consideration of gentrification it is likely to bring. This research also tries to describe how the changes are occurring whether people are aware of this situation or not. It is an attempt to know the perspective of local people living and involved in tourist based businesses in this city.

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List of Abbreviations

LSMC	-Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City
LMC	-Lalitpur Metropolitan City
PTDO	-Patan Tourism Development Organization
ICOMOS	-International Scientific Committee on Cultural Tourism
UNESCO	-United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
B&B	- Bed and Breakfast
KVDA	- Kathmandu Valley Development Authority
NRN	- Non Resident Nepali
IPHAN	-National Historic and Artistic Heritage Institute (Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional)
BDP	-Bhaktapur Developmental Project

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Gentrification is becoming an increasingly conflict-ridden and impactful sociological issue across developed countries. Although the forms of gentrification is different according to the character of the city, the overall outcome it brings is similar in nature. It has become a global problem in developed countries and various efforts are being made in various parts of the world in attempt to resolve it. Gentrification is a term first coined more than 50 years ago by the German-born British sociologist Ruth Glass to describe changes she observed in north London.

“Initially gentrification involved the renovation of older inner-city neighbourhoods in large white-collar cities by in-migrating young professionals. Over time that sub-market has expanded to include more mature and wealthy professionals and managers, retired households with considerable property equity, national and international absentee investors, and even families with children. The housing stock has also diversified, with the addition of new-build condominiums and town houses constructed by national and international developers located not only in redeveloped residential neighbourhoods, but also in old industrial areas, office districts and other land uses.” (David Ley and Sin Yih Teo, 2013)

“Gentrification is described as the entry of affluent residents into established urban and socioeconomically disadvantaged districts and neighborhoods, leading to renovation and revival as well as increased property values and the displacement of traditionally low-income families and small businesses. An intricate undergoing that is organic to any city, gentrification can lead to higher median income and job opportunities offering low-income families an increased socioeconomic status, yet it can also cause displacement of families falling below a certain wealth threshold unable to afford the increased rent and everyday costs.” (Ramin Ahmari, Soraya Karimi, Kenneth Xu and Matt Mistele)

“Gentrification is a slippery and divisive word, vilified by many for the displacement of the poor, the influx of speculative investors, the proliferation of chain stores, the destruction of neighbourhood authenticity; praised by others for the improvement in school standards and public safety, the fall in crime rates, and the arrival of bike lanes, street markets and better parks.” (Ehrenhalt, 2016)

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Depending on the type of development taking place, gentrification brings changes into a settlement that transforms the character of the place itself. In traditional settlements it brings in transformation in the identity of the place.

In Nepal people being attracted to urban way of life has led to increase in pressure within the urban area in terms of location and land value. With the market area being located at the core settlement of historic cities, it has had pressure on the traditional settlement in historic centers.

Patan is an ancient settlement planned with reference to Stupas in four cardinal directions protected by Astamatrikas. The pattern of this city with palace square at the center surrounded by residences of people created their own character. “There was a social stratification around the religious center and palace. The periphery with the low caste settlements are also part of the city.” (Bjonness). Both the cities have expanded with time but the core settlement has developed as mixed use market centers.

In Patan, lot of local residents moved outside of core settlement leaving the ancestral homes either vacant or for rent purpose. With approach from UNESCO to save private houses in Patan area, the rehabilitation of private vacant houses started in Patan. This has given rise to several rehabilitation of private houses into bed and breakfast, restaurants etc. This has led to development of a kind of trend in Patan to rehabilitate and convert private houses into bread and breakfast, restaurants etc. Along with this, there is also a trend of opening up inn and bread and breakfast with the feeling of traditional outlook in the areas near to the Durbar Square.

This would be a good way to regenerate the core settlement which is in the stage of deterioration in some places. However, one cannot ignore the possibility of side effects it is likely to bring in the near future.

1.2. Need of the research

There has been significant increase in the urban area of Kathmandu Valley. With the expansion of valley being rigid due to the size and geography, it is very likely to cause pressure in the already established market centers.

“With rapidly expanding urban populations, many cities throughout the developing world are finding it difficult to accommodate the urban poor. Although this is not a

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new or unfamiliar problem increasing commercial competition for urban land means many low income households living in settlements close to city centres are under extreme pressure to either sell or relocate to cheaper locations, often remote from the source of their livelihoods." (Lloyd-Jones)

There has been no research as such performed in the field of urban area that responds to gentrification that has already begun in some pockets of Patan. It could be a possible problem that could come up in the near future that could serve as a threat to the core settlement.

1.3. Importance of the research

Gentrification brings in a lot of problems in the identity of traditional settlement. There are changes that are occurring in the traditional settlement. With the study of gentrification, more can be known about the pattern of gentrification in Patan that could eventually help in taking needed steps to protect the identity of Patan. The research will also help to address the changes in demand that can come up due to change in settlement pattern.

1.4. Problem Statement

After the earthquake, there has been a lot of reconstructions occurring in the core settlement in Patan. The core settlement in Patan is focusing towards tourism. It could serve as best solution in terms of economy and development for the settlement. However, the consequences of the ongoing trend need to be integrated in the vision while planning for regeneration and redevelopment in the core areas so that the ongoing trend does not change the identity of the Patan for which tourism is based upon.

1.5. Research Purpose

Main Objective:

- To find gentrification pattern in Patan.

Specific Objective:

- To study the area and spread of gentrification.
- To study the possible consequences of gentrification.
- To find the views of the occupants of core settlement towards gentrification and whether the people are willing to adapt gentrification.

1.6. Validity of Research

There has been no research as such performed in the field of core settlement. The view of inhabitants and stakeholders in the core area serves as major insight to possibility of gentrification in the area.

1.7. Expected Outputs

From the research, it is expected to identify the pattern of gentrification that is emerging and provide explanations on pattern of gentrification including its causes and its possible consequences as an output.

1.8. Scope and Limitation of the study

The study is focused on the three pockets of Patan area near Patan Durbar Square and is based on the observation of existing situation, interviews with key informants and secondary sources. The study considers the change in livelihood and the change in character of the area that is slowly emerging in the study area.

The study is based on in depth interview of people currently living or working in the study area. However, a larger sample size might correspond to a different result. The information of the people who have moved to a new location from that area are based on the response from the people currently living in the study area.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

2.1. Conceptual Framework of Research and Methodology

This topic will be located in the paradigm in which the research purpose can be fully achieved and will be considered as the appropriate paradigm that is best fit to explain the research. A paradigm is a set of theoretical framework that influences the way information about particular subject is studied and understood.

Positivists Paradigm believe that social observations should be treated as units in the same way as scientists treat physical phenomena. Positivists aim to test a theory or describe an experience "through observation and measurement in order to predict and control forces that surround us". (O'Leary, 2004) The ontological position in positivism describes the reality as it is that can be apprehended. The epistemology is dualist/objectivist and the findings are considered true. The methodology used in this paradigm is experimental and manipulative. Chiefly quantitative methods are used in verification of hypothesis. Since this research consists of study of society of people where gentrification is taking place, people, their views and their situation itself cannot be measured and manipulated like the conditions in experiments and also the thinking of each person is different which is why this research is not possible through positivist paradigm.

Post positivists work from the assumption that any piece of research is influenced by a number of well-developed theories apart from, and as well as, the one which is being tested. Cook, T., & Campbell, D 1979 (as cited in Mackenzie & Knipe 2006). The ontological position of reality is real that can be apprehended imperfectly and probabilistically. The epistemology is modified dualist and objectivist. The methodology followed in this paradigm is modified experimental and manipulative. This may also include qualitative methods. Since the research would be incomplete and narrow minded by viewing and interpreting social reality according to my ideological position, this research cannot be in post positivists paradigm.

Transformative researchers "believe that inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda" and contain an action agenda for reform "that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher's life" (Creswell, 2003) The ontological position is historical realism that includes virtual reality molded by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values that have formed over time. The epistemology in this paradigm is transactional and subjectivist that searches for value mediated findings. The

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methodology is dialogic and dialectical. Transformative researchers may utilize qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis methods. Since the research objective is to focus on the study of pattern of gentrification, opinions of local people and limited to study of restricted perspectives, transformative paradigm is not fit for doing this research.

Pragmatism is not committed to any one system of philosophy or reality. Pragmatist researchers focus on the 'what' and 'how' of the research problem. (Creswell, 2003) The pragmatic paradigm provides an opportunity for “multiple methods, different worldviews and different assumptions as well as different forms of data collection and analysis in the mixed methods study”. (Creswell, 2003).

In order to make the research focused on the research objective and also since the use of mixed approach of study would not give desirable result to the research, pragmatic paradigm cannot be taken as suitable paradigm for this research.

Interpretivist/constructivist approaches to research have the intention of understanding "the world of human experience" (Louis Cohen, 2007), suggesting that "reality is socially constructed". (Mertens, 2005)The interpretivist/constructivist researcher tends to rely upon the "participants' views of the situation being studied" (Creswell, 2003) and recognizes the impact on the research of their own background and experiences. The ontological perspective of this research is based on relativism that includes local and specific constructed realities. The epistemological perspective is transactional and subjectivist. The methodology is hermeneutical and dialectical. The constructivist researcher is most likely to rely on qualitative data collection methods and analysis or a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed methods). Quantitative data may be utilised in a way, which supports or expands upon qualitative data and effectively deepens the description.

The nature of knowledge in this paradigm is based on individual reconstructions coalescing around consensus. The inquiry aim is to understand the people and interpret. The knowledge accumulation is more informed and sophisticated. The goodness or quality criteria of this paradigm is trustworthiness and authenticity. The values are included and formative. According to Mertens (2005) and Crewell (2003), this paradigm consists of approaches such as naturalist, phenomenology, hermeneutic,

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interpretivist, ethnography, multiple participant meanings, social and historical construction, theory generation and symbolic interaction.

Since this research consists of study of society of people where gentrification is taking place, people, their views and their situation itself can be best known through people's experiences, their opinions and their stories. The research would be complete only through complete understanding of the thinking of locals through their participation which is only possible through interpretivist paradigm so this paradigm is best fit to do research.

One of the main components of a research paradigm is Ontology. Ontology can be described as the basis of reality which serves as the starting point of research. It presents the image of the social truth upon which a theory is based. The ontological position in this research is the reality of gentrification that is emerging in the core settlement of Patan.

In a Newar settlement like Patan, the houses were designed for the use at night time and activities during the day were carried out outside the homes in the open spaces. Thus the traditional houses did not have amenities like of the modern houses. Gradually transformations have taken place in the traditional homes of Patan. For those who preferred to live in modern houses moved out and the traditional homes became vacant in core areas. The houses near the Durbar square areas are under height restrictions according to the byelaws of Patan. Also, due to heritage value, these areas had souvenir shops and restaurants for tourists. Gradually people started to expand on already existing network with tourists by using the traditional homes in these areas.

To cater to the tourists, changes started to be made in the traditional homes providing modern facilities. The physical spaces have undergone transformations. As people have seen profit in this field, more and more people are rehabilitating their homes for tourists. Since Patan has courtyard planning in the private houses, there is a link among the various courtyards. With transformation in certain courtyard has had effects on other connected courtyards. The locals have moved out and outsiders have resided there.

The use of the spaces have gone transformation that effects the neighbourhood having local residents with insecurity, disturbances and social conflict as the foreigners have different way of life which is contrary to the local way of life. There are more people

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who are interested in expanding the business and buying out the locals. Those who have had problems find it easier to move out selling or renting out the homes with the pressure of economy as well as social security. With locals moving out and the settlement being more business oriented, the tangible cultural heritage is conserved in a way but the intangible heritages that involve the locals get endangered. With this the identity of the traditional Patan gets endangered as it is a living heritage and without the locals and intangible heritages it becomes a dead museum. Eventually, the degradation of cultural practices might decrease the tourist inflow causing severe damage in terms of economy as a lot of investments are being made and also damage in terms of social culture as the historical cultural practices die out.

Epistemology is concerned with the theory of knowledge especially in regard to its methods, validation and the possible ways of gaining knowledge.

Qualitative research will best benefit this research and help in retrieving information about the problem. Qualitative research seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the viewpoints of the local population it involves. Qualitative research is especially effective in gaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social situations of particular populations.

The research will be based on abductive and inductive approach.

Abductive Logic

The Abductive Logic involves ontological assumptions that sees social reality as socially constructed by social actors, where there is no single reality but multiple and changing social realities. Its epistemological assumptions regard "social scientific knowledge as being derived from everyday concepts and meanings, from socially constructed mutual knowledge" (Blaike, 2009)

Abduction recognizes that human behavior depends on how individuals understand the conditions in which they find themselves. It is the task of the social scientist to discover and describe this world from an 'insider' view and not impose an 'outsider' view.

"It places a great deal of emphasis on the meanings and interpretations, the motives and intentions, that people use in their daily lives (including the meanings and interpretations people give to their action, other people's action, social situations, and

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natural and humanly created objects)”. (Kok, 2010) This is because the social world is understood and practiced by social actors from the inside. People use the largely unspoken, mutual knowledge, the symbolic meanings, motives and rules - which is here presumed to provide way to their actions - to do what they do in daily life.

The basic knowledge to the research area would be based on explanations that local people can give of their own actions and the actions of others. What the locals say provide the concepts that the participants use to structure their world, the meanings of these concepts, and the 'theories' that they use to account for what is going on. However, their activities that are taking place is routine and is conducted in a taken-for-granted, unreflective manner. When enquiries are made about their behaviour by they are forced to consciously search for or construct meanings and interpretations. At the end, the fragments of meaning will be put together.

Inductive Logic

Inductive Logic is bottom up approach; helps in understanding dynamics, robustness, emergence, resilience, focus on individual behavior, constructing alterative futures. It starts with the observations and theories are formulated towards the end of the research and as a result of observations. (Goddard & Melville, 2004)

Inductive research “involves the search for pattern from observation and the development of explanations – theories – for those patterns through series of hypotheses” (Bernard, 2011). In other words, no theories would apply in inductive studies at the beginning of the research and the researcher is free in terms of altering the direction for the study after the research process had commenced. The research tries to find the workings of the stakeholders which are based on facts gained from pure, dispassionate and neutral observation, rather than on preconceived notions. The Inductive approach starts with singular or particular statements and ends up with general or universal propositions.



General observation is will be done in present scenario of Patan with respect to historical and traditional settlement.

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However, the inductive approach shall be based on imperfect induction rather than perfect induction. It shall be based on limited observations and generalizations and concept of probability shall be strongly used. Nevertheless, the efforts shall be directed towards finding more observations and data collection so that there shall be a higher probability that the generalization done at the end of the research is very true to the reality.

2.2. Research Design

Interpretivism and ethnography will be the research strategy adopted for this particular research of Patan.

Ethnography

The emphasis in ethnography is on studying an entire culture. It provides rich, complete insights into people's views and actions, as well as the nature (that is, sights, sounds) of the location they inhabit, through the collection of detailed observations and interviews.

There are three modes of data collection in ethnography: observation, interviewing and archival research. Observation is the act of perceiving the activities and interrelationships of people in the field setting. Interviewing is the process of directing a conversation to collect information. Archival research is the analysis of existing materials stored for research, service or other purposes officially and unofficially. (Angrosino, 2007)

Ethnographic research will be done to describe the context of Patan. To fulfil the research objective of studying gentrification in context to Patan, historical overview needs to be studied. There are many variables interconnected to gentrification in context to Patan such as setting of houses, economic context, social context, changed context etc. These studies can be possible through ethnographic research strategy.

The area, spread and pattern of gentrification, can be best studied by ethnography.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a school of thought that emphasizes a focus on people's subjective experiences and interpretations of the world. That is, the phenomenologist wants to understand how the world appears to others.

Phenomenological research will be done to describe the lived experience of the people of Patan, those who are living in gentrified areas and those living in areas with possibility of gentrification. This is necessary to study as it is the phenomenon happening in their live setting. How they feel about gentrification is valuable asset to this research. The views of the occupants in the area and the opinion towards adapting gentrification can be best studied by phenomenology.

The consequences of gentrification can be predicted through analysis of ethnographical research findings and phenomenological research findings.

2.3. Research Process

2.3.1. Data Collection

This research would involve the review of literature, primary and secondary data collection regarding gentrification in core traditional settlement similar to case of Patan. Secondary data would be collected from the review of published and unpublished materials, government reports, print media and the internet. Studies would also be carried out for the study of gentrification in core settlement in local, regional and international context similar to case of Patan.

2.3.2. Literature review

According to Wikipedia, a literature review is a text of scholarly paper, which includes the current knowledge including substantive findings, as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to a particular topic. Literature reviews are secondary sources.

Literature consists of books, reports, article that is been published in particular subject. Literature is the written documents which help to gain more information on particular topic. While Literature review is the survey of the existing literature that helps to gain knowledge about context and information regarding certain subject matter. Literature

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review is an exploratory system, which provides information regarding the sources, theories, major issue, problems etc.

The first step in this particular research will be the review of the relevant literatures to understand gentrification and its link with historic cities. This literature review will also help to understand consequences of gentrification. The major source of literature for this study will be extracted from internet and documents. Nepal tourism board, Lalitpur Municipal Corporation and Department of Archaeology would be the source of information regarding houses in Patan. The published and unpublished documents from these bodies would be studied. Different research paper published in similar subject in similar context would also be reviewed. Credible source will only be entertained for literature review and will be verified by triangulation method.

2.3.3. Field visit and collection of primary and secondary data

Field visits will be done in Patan core traditional area to collect primary and secondary data. During the field visit location of rehabilitated houses and condition of these houses will be studied. Primary data will be collected about number of gentrified houses in the traditional settlement of Patan and different variable such as rehabilitation trend, building typology, gentrification pattern, and spread of gentrification pattern will be studied.

Direct observations and participant interviews shall also be taken as a basis of data collection during field visit. Primary information in terms of interview with selected individuals will also be conducted in this visit. The primary data would be sourced by administering interviews with key informants, locals in core settlement, along with photography, observations and visual data analysis. . The study would also include businessmen involved in bringing development and other key informants i.e. locals who have left the settlement. To explore phenomenological world of people, I will choose 5 female and 5 male locals of two age groups 30-50 and 50+ locals randomly. In depth interview of these 10 locals would be taken collectively in Swotha – Mangal bazar stretch, Nhyakhachowk – Kwalkhu stretch, Gabahal and Sundhara. Basically in depth interview shall be taken as a basis of data collection during this visit. Also a small focus discussion representing the youth of these areas would be carried out so that three age groups are represented.

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The secondary information collected from Nepal tourism board, Lalitpur Municipal Corporation and Department of Archaeology would be studied. Direct observation of maps and document analysis will be performed. In case of unavailability of maps, the houses undergoing gentrification will be plotted into maps to analyze the pattern of gentrification.

2.3.4. Data Analysis

In depth Interview and observation will be used as the tools for collection of data from the source. The thinking and opinion of people will be interpreted and described as findings.

2.3.5. Further literature review on case studies of reference cities

Next Literature Review on case studies of different national and international cities will be done to know how these problem are being addressed in those cities. Mainly this literature review will focus on the consequences of gentrification and its association of locals for accepting it.

2.3.6. Review of recommendations by respondents & professionals

The recommendations obtained from the general respondents and professionals will be taken into the account to describe the overall scenario of Patan and possible ways to address gentrification.

2.3.7. Finalizing the recommendations and the report

After finalization of recommendation, draft report will be prepared and discussed.

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Table 1 : Research Strategy

Objective	Variables	Research Strategy	Data Collection Technique	Sample
<p>To find gentrification pattern in Patan.</p> <p>To study the area and spread of gentrification.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Historical Overview - Housing Condition - Economic context - Social Context - Changed context - Change in Use - Tourism - Employment 	Ethnography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interview - Direct Observations - Document - Review - Visual Data - Analysis - Maps - Records 	Description
<p>To study the possible consequences of gentrification.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Change in economy - Change in employment opportunities - Social cost of economic growth - Change in social & cultural fabric - Social & economic disparity - Tourism - Housing - Cultural Identity - Change in use of spaces - Demography 	<p>Case study</p> <p>Ethnography</p>	<p>Document review</p> <p>Observation</p> <p>Interviews</p> <p>Literature</p>	Description
<p>To find the views of the occupants of core settlement towards gentrification and whether the people are willing to adapt gentrification.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Experience -Social conflicts -Opinion -Migration 	Phenomenology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Long in-depth interviews -Focus Discussion 	<p>10 people</p> <p>Youth clubs</p>

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Gentrification

According to Oxford Dictionary of Etymology, the word gentrification is derived from *gentry*—which comes from the Old French word *genterie* that means people of high social class. Gentrification can be described as a phenomenon that brings transformation of neighborhoods from low value to high value and causes displacement of longtime inhabitants and businesses due to various reasons such as higher rents, loans, property taxes, social insecurity etc. It affects a community's history and culture and reduces social capital. It is a housing, economic, and health issue that changes neighborhood's characteristics, e.g., racial-ethnic composition and household income, by adding new stores and resources in previously run-down neighborhoods.

3.1.1. Causes of Gentrification

Gentrification can occur on a small or large scale. For example, individual newcomers can slowly populate an area because of renovations. Conversely, large-scale redevelopment and the accompanying regeneration can cause an immediate shift in neighborhood residents. According to Kennedy and Leonard, the factors contributing to gentrification are:

1. Rapid Job Growth
2. . Tight Housing Markets
 - Constrained supply
 - Relative affordability
 - Lucrative investment potential in high risk neighborhoods
 - Large rent gap
3. Preference for City Amenities
4. Increased Traffic Congestion and Lengthening Commutes
5. Targeted Public Sector Policies
 - Tax Incentives
 - Public Housing Revitalization
 - Consequences of Other Federal Policies
 - Local Economic Development Tools

3.1.2. Consequences of Gentrification

Gentrification is often the result of revitalizing city neighborhoods, but it can impose great costs on certain individual families and businesses, often those who cannot afford them. In some cases, these consequences are clearly positive or negative; in other cases, there can be both positive and negative impacts, depending on the perspective of the stakeholder.

According to Brian J. L. Berry, there are three stages of the gentrification process. In the first stage, newcomers buy and rehab vacant units, causing little displacement and resentment. In the second stage, knowledge of the neighborhood and the rent gap spreads, displacement begins to occur, and conflict erupts. Finally, as the effects of rehabilitation are more apparent, prices escalate and displacement occurs in force, new residents have lower tolerance for social services facilities and other amenities that they view as undesirable, and original residents are displaced at a larger scale, along with their institutions and traditions.

According to Kennedy and Leonard, the consequences of gentrification are as follows:

1. Displacement

Displacement of low-income residents is one of the defining components of gentrification, and is also by far the most serious consequence of gentrification. The amount of and nature of displacement seems directly tied to the tightness of local housing markets. Where housing markets are extremely tight, such as, the amount of displacement is likely to be greater and the impacts on those displaced are likely to be more serious.

Involuntary displacement is most likely to affect the poorest, most ill-equipped residents of a community. Because in many communities these residents include significant numbers of minorities, displacement tends to hit minorities disproportionately hard. With vacancy rates at record low levels in some cities, it is likely that most of those displaced were forced to move out to other surrounding communities with somewhat more affordable housing opportunities. For these households, both the economic and social costs of displacement can be extremely high. Finally, when a household leaves a neighborhood through displacement, it misses out on the opportunity to share in the social and economic improvements the

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neighborhood might enjoy in future generations. Moreover, those future generations in the neighborhood miss out on the history and grounding those residents might have provided.

2. Increasing Tax Revenues

An influx of higher income residents generally brings both higher property tax assessments and higher overall revenues to city coffers. Higher tax revenues can help pay for services and investments that city residents need and can spur further neighborhood revitalization.

3. Greater Income Mix, Deconcentrating of Poverty

The creation of greater income mixing in neighborhoods, in the hopes of better outcomes for families and high-quality jobs for workers, is a fundamental tenet of much of urban policy nowadays. Successful efforts to improve incomes, deconcentrate poverty and create a greater income mix in neighborhoods have significant impacts on the wellbeing of families and children, according to Turner and Ellen, in a summary of the existing research on so-called “neighborhood effects”

4. Changing Street Flavor and Cultural Fabric

Thriving communities need thriving commercial districts, and thriving commercial districts need thriving communities. An influx of higher income residents has a number of potential effects on the street life of a neighborhood. New residents and their purchasing power create potential customers for existing businesses. They stimulate the development of new businesses which might better serve both their own and perhaps the neighborhood’s broader needs. In turn, increased competition for space and the market may lead to higher rents for businesses and service providers in the neighborhood. The presence of new competition may drive small, locally owned but marginally profitable businesses out of the marketplace.

5. Changing Community Leadership and Institutions

Gentrification often brings changes in a community’s power structure, changes in its elected leadership, and often shifts in the character and number of its political, religious, and social services institutions. Newcomers bring with them concerns about both their neighborhood’s improvement and their own financial investment. They

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often have contacts, knowledge and the political clout to more effectively engage public officials to improve public services in their community. Often the newcomers advocate for improved schools, lower crime and improved public services, reinforcing positions of longstanding residents.

6. Increased Value Placed on the Neighborhood by Outsiders

Gentrification brings increased housing and property values and higher rents for apartments, and frequently for commercial real estate as well. Rising property values have disparate impacts on various stakeholders. For many, increasing property values are indisputably beneficial. Existing homeowners gain equity, city tax revenues rise, and the community and metropolitan area may gain a more vital and vibrant neighborhood and commercial strip.

THE GENTRIFICATION PROCESS		
<u>CAUSES/DRIVERS/ENABLERS</u>	<u>PROCESS</u>	<u>CONSEQUENCES</u>
Job Growth—CBD or regional Housing Market Dynamics Constrained supply Affordability High demand Preferences for Urban Living Public Incentives—Direct and Indirect Quality-of-Life Issues	Gentrification	Displacement Increased Tax Revenues Increased Income Mix Deconcentration of Poverty Changing Street Flavor Changing Leadership/Institutions Changing Income Mix Increased Property Values

Figure 1 Gentrification Process (Kennedy & Leonard, 2001)

3.2. Cultural Tourism

ICOMOS Charter for Cultural Tourism, 1997 defines cultural tourism as that activity which enables people to experience the different ways of life of other people, thereby gaining at first hand an understanding of their customs, traditions, the physical environment, the intellectual ideas and those places of architectural, historic, archaeological or other cultural significance which remain from earlier times. Cultural tourism differs from recreational tourism in that it seeks to gain an understanding or appreciation of the nature of the place being visited.

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Cultural Tourism can be regarded as a contributor to economic development benefiting the local craft people.

Segment	Description	Preferred activities
Purposeful cultural tourist	Cultural tourism plays a central role in the decision of travelling and the person in cause enjoys a deep cultural experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - learning experiences that challenge them intellectually; - history museums, art galleries, temples and heritage sites that are less known.
Tour-amateur cultural tourist	Cultural tourism plays a central role in the decision of travelling but the person in cause enjoys an insignificant cultural experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - travel long distances to the destination; - tours and wandering through the streets are their most popular activities; - visit remote areas.
Occasional cultural tourism	Cultural tourism plays a moderate role in the decision of travelling and the person in cause enjoys an insignificant cultural experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - visit attractions and temples that are easy to reach; - explore, but not as tour cultural tourists.
Incidental cultural tourism	Cultural tourism plays a small role or no role at all in the decision of travelling and the person in cause enjoys an insignificant cultural experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - attractions that are easy to reach and that can be found in town ; - heritage theme parks; - avoid temples and other religious sites.
Accidental cultural tourism	Cultural tourism plays a small role or no role at all in the decision of travelling and the person in cause enjoys a deep cultural experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - there is no typical tourist.

Figure 2 Activities preferred by cultural tourists (Source:

Table 2: Types of Cultural Tourism

Types of Cultural Tourism	Tourism Activities
Heritage Tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Eco-tourism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nature based cultural heritage ● Tangible Heritage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Built heritage - Architectural Sites - World Heritage Sites - National and Historical Memorials ● Intangible Heritage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Literature - Art - Folklore ● Cultural Heritage Sites <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Museums, collection - Libraries - Theatres

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Event Locations - Memories connected to historical persons
Cultural thematic routes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● wide range of themes and types: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - spiritual, - industrial, - artistic, - gastronomic, - architectural, - linguistic, - vernacular, - minority
Cultural city tourism, cultural tours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “classic” city tourism, sightseeing ● Cultural Capitals of Europe “Cities as creative spaces for cultural tourism”
Traditions, ethnic tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Local cultures’ traditions ● Ethnic diversity
Event and festival tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cultural festivals and events <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Music festivals and events (classic and light or pop music) - Fine arts festivals and events
Religious tourism, pilgrimage routes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Visiting religious sites and locations without religious motivation (desired by the architectural and cultural importance of the sight) ● Pilgrimage routes
Creative culture, creative tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Traditional cultural and artistic activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - performing arts, - visual arts, - cultural heritage and literature ● as well as cultural industries <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - printed works, - multimedia, - the press, - cinema, - audio-visual and phonographic productions, - craft, - design and cultural tourism

3.3. Tourism Gentrification

Tourism gentrification refers to the transformation of a middle-class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues. It is argued that the changing flows of capital into the real estate market combined with the growth of tourism enhance the significance of consumption-oriented activities in residential space and encourage gentrification. (Gotham, 2005)

According to Gotham, Tourism gentrification highlights the twin processes of globalization and localization that define modern urbanisation and redevelopment processes. On the one hand, tourism is a 'global' industry dominated by large international hotel chains, tour operators, car rental agencies and financial services companies. In addition, tourism sustains many occupations, advertising campaigns, recognizable attractions and diverse forms of financial investment. On the other hand, tourism is a 'local' industry characterized by popular cultural production, spatial fixity of the tourism commodity and localized consumption of place.

An overview of the literature on tourism gentrification (Cócola-Gant, forthcoming) shows that the displacement it provokes can be both residential and commercial. Residential displacement driven by tourist oriented revitalization increases transformation of rental flats into holiday apartments. It has been stated that commercial gentrification is part of a broader process of symbolic gentrification, a revitalisation process in which the agents of change are not new middle class residents, but new spaces and services aimed at attracting them.

Agustín Cócola Gant suggests that in this symbolic change, the commercial upgrading of residential areas and their consequent transformation into spaces for entertainment and consumption for affluent users is the cause for extensive displacement. In processes of tourism gentrification residents are moving out more because of the transformation of uses and users in their neighbourhoods and not only because of the dynamics of the housing market.

While in some cases the spread of gentrified spaces become tourist destinations, in other cases tourism-oriented urban promotion strategies produce therefore, encourages processes of gentrification. Regardless of which process encourages the other, the conclusion is that both tend to coexist in the same urban environment,

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resulting in what is called tourism gentrification; in a process in which the space is produced for and consumed by a cosmopolitan middle-class that demands and reproduces similar urban environments wherever they go. (Judd, D. R. 2003 as cited in Gant, 2015, pg. 5)

When tourism gentrification develops its roots, it becomes difficult to differentiate the local's uses of tourist space and visitor's uses of urban spaces. On one hand, the provision of lifestyle possibilities becomes a key feature of urban development. The rise of a new urban culture devoted in bringing higher quality of life transform cities into places that provide consumption opportunities for wealthy users, and so the consumption practices of residents or tourists become increasingly similar. With time people in the elite sectors of the city make qualitative demands, and in their consumption practices can experience their own urban location as if tourists, emphasizing aesthetic concerns.

For tourism to grow as an industry, urban tourists who seek for everyday life practices and tend to experience the city like a resident plays a vital role. So, two type of tourists have come into existence. The typical tourist experiences the city by visiting landmarks of the city. Tourism and commercial services were concentrated in largescale precincts with little connection with normal life in the city. On the contrary, the contemporary tourist explores options for authentic experiences and sense of place. A contemporary tourists seek everyday life, local culture and creative experiences. In this way, a new trend is developed such that tourism is incorporated to the daily lives of the urban area. From this perspective, the contemporary tourist becomes a new inhabitant of the city; although its visit could last shortly, the presence of these temporal inhabitants are permanent.

According to the view of the tourist not as a visitor but as an inhabitant is crucial to understanding the connection between tourism and gentrification, especially in understanding tourism as a gentrifying process. The visitor and the local resident cannot usefully be distinguished in terms of motivation or behaviour and so it is difficult to discern between tourist and non-tourist uses of urban spaces. They should be regarded, then, as middle class city users. (Hiernaux and González, 2014 as cited in Gant, 2015, pg. 6)

In the long run, conflicts tend to rise between how affluent visitors and residents use the city. In general terms, the consumption facilities supply the needs of affluent users, threatening the everyday life of lower-income residents as they lose the services they need on a daily basis. Indeed, in some cases there are no spaces left for non-commercial activities, together with an increased privatisation of spaces once used for free communal interaction. The important point, however, is how this commercial gentrification affects the life of residents on a long term basis.

3.4. Commercial gentrification

Commercial gentrification brings out great changes to the consumption spaces of a neighbourhood. It includes both the creation of well off space and neighbourhood upgrading. In other words, commercial gentrification is the result of the arrival of gentrifiers, who create consumer demand for consumption spaces in gentrifying neighbourhoods. (Ley, 1997) With the arrival of gentrifiers, trendy and authentic boutiques, pubs, restaurants and other leisure related supply are established. Urban boutiques that emerge in transitional spaces for middle-class consumption signify commercial gentrification (Sutton, 2010)

Social aspects such as the experiences and perceptions of the residents affected by the shifts in supply and demand needs to be considered when it comes to commercial gentrification. In addition to gentrifiers, commercial gentrification has implications for other residents as well. A social group that is generally underrepresented in studies on commercial gentrification includes local residents, who live through gentrification. These residents have different socio-economic and demographic backgrounds, ranging from low to high incomes; from low to high education levels; and ages from young to old. They can be affected in two ways. On the one hand, commercial gentrification can be seen as inclusive, benefiting all local residents. On the other hand, the process can negatively impact this group. The new services and amenities that are built for new, affluent clients can lead to exclusion and greater split within the community

Commercial gentrification has the power to bring about great changes to the retail structure of a neighbourhood, turning it from traditional retail stores to modern, unique, specialty stores. In some cases, poor residents might even feel excluded from their own neighbourhood as lower-income retail stores get pushed further away. Furthermore, local residents who appreciate the specialty stores, often resent the

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implication that new, affluent gentrifiers are responsible for the improvements. This uncomfortable feeling can create a different sense of place and can lead to greater polarisation. (Zukin, 2009)

The transformation of traditional stores to specialty stores can influence local residents' use of these stores. For instance, prices can be too high for local residents or products do not suite their lifestyle. This shows that the use of local stores by local residents can be influenced by changes in the retail structure.

Commercial gentrification can be inclusive and benefiting all local residents, regardless what socioeconomic background they have. The new specialty stores can come to be appreciated by both lower-income and higher-income residents incase of poor neighbourhoods with a limited number of good, high quality stores and amenities

Generally, high quality and a wide variety of specialised products are attractive features for visitors of specialty stores. In addition, these stores can enhance the image of a neighbourhood. For residents, a neighbourhood's external reputation is an important so residents may consider new stores an asset to their neighbourhood. Finally, the employment prospects of local residents could be enhanced if commercial gentrification contributes to the creation of local jobs. In short, the arrival of specialty stores can both have positive and negative implications for the local community. (Verwaaijen, 2013)

3.4.1. Commercial gentrification as indirect displacement

While direct displacement refers to the out-migration from the neighbourhood or the moment of eviction, indirect displacement is a long-term process that result in a set of pressures that makes it progressively difficult for low-income residents to remain over time.

According to Davidson and Lees (2010) displacement, tends to be reduced to the brief moment in time where a particular resident is forced out from their home or neighbourhood. Rather, indirect displacement has long-term implications and affects residents' quality of life on a daily basis. Gentrification is regarded as a long term process in which direct displacement would be the last outcome. The important point is that indirect displacement and the resultant loss of place is highly related to the commercial transformation in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Therefore, it is important

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to distinguish the scale of indirect displacement as it can impact different levels of residents' lives. Although gentrification research has traditionally focused on the household scale – a view of gentrification that only occurs if residential dislocation takes place – research that interprets gentrification as a long term process shows that it also affects the life of the entire neighbourhood. The commercial upgrading is the main cause that changes the nature and uses of the area and, therefore, the pressures that affect the life of the neighbourhood are caused by its transformation into a space for entertainment and consumption for affluent users. The various types of pressure are the following:

Lack of consumption facilities. This refers to the loss of services and stores generally used by low-income residents and their substitution by amenities and consumption facilities for upper-income groups. The displacement of facilities used by low income residents has been how the pressure of this retail gentrification affects residents' lives as it destroys the stores and markets on which they rely on for their daily survival.

Economic pressures refers to affordability problems caused by commercial gentrification. Neighbourhoods that once provided affordable services are transformed by and influx of high-status activities which result in mounting affordability pressures on lower income residents.

Cultural pressures refers to the expansion of distinctive lifestyles in which the neighbourhood is dominated by a middle-class habitus based on new patterns of consumption. Culture as a displacement pressure means the expansion of a consumer practice that creates a safe zone of shared aesthetic codes which becomes a means of excluding others from their space. In areas dominated by restaurants, organic shops, green-markets or art galleries, social exclusion depends on economic factors like price, but also on “cultural factors like aesthetics, comfort level, and the tendency to use, and understand, consumption practices as expressions of difference.

Privatisation of public space refers to the growing private ownership and management of public areas that once were used as free communal facilities but now are rented to cafés, restaurants or festival marketplaces. Privatisation of public space as a displacement pressure means the domination of space by consumption activities and the consequent destruction of gathering places for the community.

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The literature has stressed the fact that the expansion of such pressures may not involve direct displacement but a long-term process in which staying put becomes a struggle. A process in which the decision to leave a neighbourhood might be motivated by what the literature calls loss of place than the incapacity to afford the accommodation. The important point is that if the loss of place refers to changes in the use of the neighbourhood, then these sets of pressures can be driven by all kinds of users, not only residents.

3.5. International Case Review

3.5.1. The Case of New Orleans'- Vieux Carre (French Quarter)

The French Quarter, also known as the Vieux Carré or the Vieux Carre Historic District, is the oldest section of the city of New Orleans, USA. After New Orleans was founded in 1718 by Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, it developed around the Vieux Carré, a central square. The district is more commonly called the French Quarter today, or the Quarter. The area is bounded by Canal, Rampart and Esplanade Streets, and the Mississippi River. The neighbourhood itself consists of a mix of residential and commercial land uses in a rectangle grid of approximately 120 blocks along the Mississippi River. This area formed the original French colonial town and was French trading centre and later, after 1762, a Spanish colonial outpost. With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the US inherited a thriving commercial centre supported by river trade. The district as a whole has been designated as a National Historic Landmark, with numerous contributing buildings that are separately deemed significant. It is both a prime tourist destination and attractive for local residents.

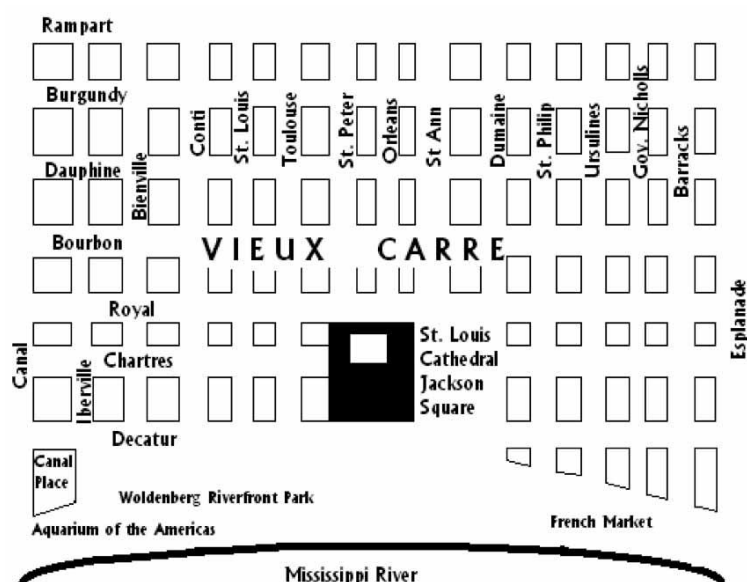


Figure 3 The Vieux Carre, New Orleans (Gotham, 2005)

The Vieux Carre has been a site of intense conflicts over commercial revitalisation, historical preservation and neighbourhood integrity since the 1930s. In 1937, the Vieux Carre neighbourhood was designated as a historical district and remained the

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city's only landmark district until the 1970s. After the local environmentalists and neighbourhood activists joined forces with a burgeoning national anti-expressway movement to halt the planning and construction of an elevated express- way along the Mississippi River in 1960s (Baumbach & Borah, 1981), residents and businesses have teamed with historical preservationists and other activists to protest the growth of fast-food restaurants, mall-like shops and chain-like clothing stores that cater almost exclusively to tourists. (Foley & Lauria, 2000)

The commercial business growth posed such a threat to the residential character of the neighbourhood. that, the National Trust for Historical Preservation identified the Vieux Carre as one of the 10 most endangered places in the country in 1995. due to the threat that Residents and neighbourhood organisations even expressed their grief in the increase of hotels, bed and breakfasts, time-shares, condominiums and large entertainment clubs. There was increase in median incomes and property values, especially during the 1990s, and escalating rents and conversion of affordable single-family residences to expensive condominiums pushed out lower-income people and African Americans.

For most of its history, the Vieux Carre functioned as a residential neighbourhood composed of diverse groups of people. Since the 1960s, the area transformed into an entertainment destination, marketed by tourism promoters and redesigned to bring visitors into the city.

3.5.1.1. Building a Tourist City

During the immediate post-World War II years, New Orleans city officials and leaders began devising strategies to increase tourist travel to enhance the economic prosperity and fiscal status of the central city. In the 1960s, declining urban population and growing suburban development raised the scale of economic unproductivity and created the context for city leaders to further the development of tourism in the city. Over the years reduced federal taxes, fiscal restrictions imposed on the city by the state government and the suburbanization of people and businesses caused a significant erosion in the ability of the city to raise revenue to fund basic government operations and provide public services. As a result, by the late 1970s, New Orleans was experiencing a fiscal crisis, forced to slash funding for public services while financially

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pressured to spend greater funds to influence capital investment and develop new strategies for engineering urban redevelopment.

During the 1980s, New Orleans was regarded as an economically declining city. In a survey of 216 counties and parishes in the US with at least 250 000 residents, the Census Bureau found that the Orleans Parish was one of the poorest, ranking fourth, with 25 per cent of its working population living in poverty. In a study of median household incomes in those 216 counties and parishes, Orleans Parish again ranked among the poorest, third from the bottom at 213, with \$27 111.

Over the decades, the city of New Orleans followed tourism as a strategy to generate urban revitalisation and boost the tax-base. The various components of this tourism strategy included the building of a domed stadium, a festival mall, a massive convention centre, new office towers in the central business district, a major theme park and a World War II museum. The city staged many mega-events 1984 World's Fair, periodic Super Bowls and (Nokia) Sugar Bowls, the NCAA basket-ball tournaments, the Jazz and Heritage Festival and the Essence Festival. This brought in series of growth in the economy.

Table 3: Tourism Development in New Orleans

(Source: New Orleans Convention and Visitors Bureau)

Total number of rooms in 1960	4750 rooms
Convention market in 1976	764 conventions
Convention market in 1999	3260 conventions
Total number of rooms in 2000	34000 rooms
Number of visitors in 2003	8.2 million visitors including 4,85,216 international visitors
Total visitor expenditures amounted	\$3.8 billion with \$198.34 million in tourism tax revenues.

The constrained fiscal environment pressured the city government to intensify partnerships with private capital to promote the growth of a consumption-based tourism infrastructure. Today, the center of New Orleans' multibillion dollar tourism business is in the downtown and the Vieux Carre. Tourism is a way of introducing,

spending and spreading the tax burden to generate the revenue to facilitate urban redevelopment and gentrification.

3.5.1.2. The Local State and the Role of Real Estate Investors

Before 1980s, the investment in Vieux Carre started with the activities of individual gentrifiers, small commercial firms and small property and so limited amount of funds were available for new construction and renovation. Afterwards, the development of national and global markets for mortgage-backed securities (MBS) and commercial-backed securities (CMBS), the growth of securitization and the development of new sources of financing have made it possible for a extensive portion of the commercial real estate industry to invest in entertainment, tourism and leisure-based consumption activities.

Three developments have been important in encouraging commercial development and gentrification:

- City government reorganizing the French Market Corporation to promote commerce and entertainment in the Vieux Carre.
- Building of Canal Place, a high –rise mixed use retail development on upriver side of the Vieux Carre.
- City planners rezoned the first two blocks of Decature Street as a Vieux Carre Entertainment District, to branch redevelopment of several vacant commercial properties and create an anchor of commercial revitalization that could have spillover effects into surrounding areas.

The creation of new real estate financing mechanisms through securitisation combined with local state action to encourage tourism together promoted the growth of chainlike entertainment venues in the Vieux Carre. Real estate agents conduct bidding wars with each other to accelerate property turnover and some meet with families who have owned property for generations to see if they would be interested in selling. If so, they go and find national investors who want to invest. Outside investors and entertainment firms are attracted to the Vieux Carre because many diverse kinds of tourists that visit the area. Today, public and private groups such as the New Orleans Tourism Marketing Corporation, the New Orleans Multicultural Tourism Network, the Mayor's Office of Tourism and Arts and the Convention and Visitor's Bureau 'simulate' the Vieux Carre

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using sophisticated advertising techniques aimed at promoting desire and fantasy, art and design directed to the Advertising the Vieux Carre as a site of famous architecture, romance, cultural heritage, music and other entertainment activities affects the production and consumption of urban space for tourism.

The growth of tourism in the Vieux Carre has had negative consequences and neighbourhood coalitions have opposed the transformation of the neighbourhood into an entertainment destination. The entry of large multinational hotel firms into the Vieux Carre sparked much local unrest, leading several neighbourhood groups to launch lawsuits aimed at halting construction. The lure of tourist profits, low labour costs and anti-union sentiment have long attracted large hotels to New Orleans. On the other hand, local preservationists and neighbourhood groups have long fought the intrusion of large hotels in the Vieux Carre.

In 1969, the City Council imposed a moratorium on new hotel building to protect the historical district. The City Council enacted the moratorium into law in a comprehensive zoning ordinance in 1976, along with height restrictions. In 1982, the City Council revised the moratorium to allow new hotels on Canal Street and in the Vieux Carre but in existing buildings only. Over the past few years, the City Council has issued permits that allow hotel firms to exceed the height restriction of 70 feet and purchase residential buildings next to hotels and convert them into lodging. Despite vehement opposition from business owners and residents, in August 2004, the New Orleans City Planning Commission voted 6–1 to grant a single exception to the 35-year-old prohibition against new or expanded hotels in the Vieux Carre. Local residents and lawyers representing the French Quarter Citizens for the Preservation of Residential Quality and the Vieux Carre Property Owners, Residents, and Associates VCPORA argue that these recent developments essentially nullify the original moratorium, encourage unrestricted development that is not open to public comment and give hotel developers unbridled freedom to build hotels and ignore the historical integrity of the neighbourhood. (Gotham, 2005)

3.5.1.3. Changing Pattern of Consumption and Conflict in the Vieux Carre

According to Gotham, the patterns of consumption have changed in the Vieux Carre.

- Change of taste in food, music and architecture
- High-class fashion outlets and expensive retail stores

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- Former working class corner cafes and food shops replaced by designer bars, chain restaurants and tourism-oriented souvenir shop
- Many small antique dealers and art galleries moved out
- A rise of expensive private art galleries and antique dealers have opened
- New dance bars replaced old jazz clubs
- Areas of corporate tourist development and privatized areas of retail shopping and entertainment are in streets and buildings valued and protected for their architectural and scenic effects.
- The last of the corner cafes and local coffee shops are today competing for space with the largest corporations in the world
- Creation of new expensive condominiums and escalating property values, a development that drives out people of modest incomes and portends a class transformation of the neighbourhood.
- Movement of Hollywood celebrities into the neighbourhood, a movement that reinforcing the transformation of the area into an entertainment destination.

Table 3. People's reaction to gentrification based on Gotham's interviews with locals

Positive Response	Negative response
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Residents welcome gentrification and the movement of large entertainment firms into the neighbourhood. ● Large firms help to boost the tourism industry, raise property values and create a higher quality of life for residents. ● Positive development for the neighbourhood because as the real estate market turns upscale, the population turns upscale. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Residents are resistant and extremely sceptical. ● View tourism as a pathological force that corrupts local culture and heritage by commercialising and staging it for tourist consumption. ● Still others welcome and accept the inevitability of change but fear being oversaturated with tourist venues.

3.5.1.4. Summary

Tourism gentrification is commercial as well as residential and reflects new institutional connections between the local institutions, the real estate industry and e global economy. Thus, the phenomenon of tourism gentrification presents a challenge to traditional explanations of gentrification that assume demand-side or production-side factors drive the process. Gentrification is not an outcome of group preferences nor a reflection of market laws of supply and demand.

Consumer taste for gentrified spaces is created and marketed, and depends on the alternatives offered by powerful capitalists who are primarily interested in producing the built environment from which they can extract the highest profit.

The transformation of the Vieux Carre into an entertainment destination enhanced the significance of consumption-oriented activities in residential space and encouraged gentrification. Entertainment and tourism brought a more upscale and affluent population to the neighbourhood, increased property values for home-owners, and attracted national retail chains. However, entertainment and tourism priced out working-class residents and eroded the bohemian character of the Vieux Carre. Also, the growth of corporate tourism and the increasing penetration of global entertainment firms indicate a shift in property ownership away from many small groups and individuals towards a more transnational corporate influence in the Vieux Carre.

For New Orleans, major socioeconomic changes over the past few decades created a new competitive environment in which cities are increasingly forced to develop new tools and subsidies to attract new investment and, market themselves as tourist destinations. In this way, more residential and commercial spaces become centres of sight and tourist consumption.

As local elites use tourism as a strategy of economic revitalisation, tourism services and facilities are incorporated into redevelopment zones and gentrifying areas. In this new urban landscape, gentrification and tourism amalgamate with other consumption-oriented activities such as shopping, restaurants, cultural facilities and entertainment venues altering the relationship between culture and economics in the production and consumption of urban space.

3.5.2. The Case of Venice

Venice is a city in northeast Italy and the capital of Veneto region. It is situated across a group of 118 small islands that are separated by canals and linked bridges. The UNESCO World Heritage property comprises the city of Venice and its lagoon situated in the Veneto Region of Northeast Italy. Founded in the 5th century AD, Venice became a major maritime power in the 10th century. The whole city is an extraordinary architectural masterpiece in which even the smallest building contains works by some of the world's greatest artists such as Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese and others.

Venice is famous for its architecture; a mixture of Gothic and Byzantine styles with very few modern buildings. Many of Venice's most famous attractions are located in and around Piazza San Marco, or St. Mark's Square, the city's largest square, chief among those attractions is St. Mark's Basilica. Venice is also famous for its iconic Grand Canal. The canal is believed to follow the course of an ancient river, and it is the island city's most heavily trafficked waterway. Gondola rides along the S-shaped Grand Canal are a popular tourist attraction. The Grand Canal is also the site of Venice's annual Regata Storica, a floating parade and series of boat races with a history dating back thousands of years.

Experience of a setting densely characterized by cultural heritage is one of the main attraction to visit Venice. However, the tourist monoculture and cosmopolitan consumption have depleted the original elements of this attraction: traditional places, residents, livelihoods, material and immaterial cultures. Culture markets and international events, architectural and environmental restoration, together with private forms of transport in the fragile lagoon ecosystem, have transformed the historical city and its unique lifestyle into a place for cosmopolitan consumption, involving tourists together with new residents, sometimes integrating wealthy long term residents in this overall tourism gentrification. (Minoia, 2017)

3.5.2.1. Orientalism and Authenticity as Gentrifying Modes

Orientalism is a general patronizing attitude of the cosmopolitan groups towards the societies of their transitional residences which are seen as static and less developed. (Said, 1978) The orientalist gaze fits well in Venice for the exotic charm of its landscape with no cars but wooden boats in waterways and a labyrinth of streets with buildings like in a medina. These new presences are welcomed in a way to reactive the city. In

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Venice, besides a continuous marketing of its spectacular heritage in the city centre, one can recognize a new development turn in peripheral neighbourhoods and lagoon islands corresponding to the gazing and performing needs of these new cultural elites. No matter their awareness of the structural problems of Venice and its lagoon, their interest is to reproduce patterns of staged authenticity, back to an idealized landscape of the city. These transnational presences produce cultural, political, economic impacts and inequalities in the way their speculative livelihoods contribute in deepening gentrifying forces at the expenses of local ethnicities. (Minoia, 2017)

One of the typical cases of tourist gentrification is temporality of a residence. The idea of Landscape nomadism by Mc Watters involves the idea of people repacking when in need to find their utopian landscape elsewhere. These mobile elites express their cosmopolitanism by gathering in different locations in the world in specific neighbourhood, where they have properties; in Paris, London, Venice, New York, Montecarlo etc. Their authenticity ideas involve a romanticized image of landscape: a mix of natural paradise and social utopia formed by social status, exclusivity and elitism.

In their book “Venetians by choice “, Falamo and Pivato express a divide between the new residents and the original residents (mostly from low and middle-classes) caused by lack of working options, insufficient residential services and high cost of living. On the other hand there is a much more powerful interest to preserve a spectacular image of the historical heritage, instead of letting the city change on the basis of local productive economies and the needs of the working population. Authenticity ideas are based on some iconic images of the city, out of the massive tourism trails; lagoon landscapes with little traffic of traditional boats; few islands with rare gardens; empty narrow streets where to wander; warm social relations with the remaining local residents, casual meetings in the street, invitations for wine and appetizers; traditional professions, outdoor markets, small shops, etc. Rare presences there are seen as making the authentic sense of place for the new Venetians, and they are valued for their possibility to enjoy an exclusive consumption of the city.

3.5.2.1. Intellectual Gentrification

Other evident presences in the city are those of artists, academics, intellectuals and other cultural elites who have moved into Venice to enjoy its active cultural and international environment so peculiar for a small-sized city. Compared to the super-

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rich, these groups show clearer political interest and participate in collective projects for the city with a new sense of community and responsibility over Venice. (Popke, 2003)

Coalitions around specific claims particularly against the sale off of building or islands from the public authorities to the private sector, make them lively actors and position them closer to some progressive components of the city. These sales are quite common nowadays to fill deficits in public budgets and more and more involve goods and areas that are important for residents. This type of activism goes through social networks and cultural associations aggregating a rather homogenous class of intellectuals and attracting sympathizing foreigners, however with minor participation of people born in Venice and practically no representation of local working classes. (Popke, 2003)

Due to the reduced social representation, new projects in improved places involve design products, art exhibition and city gardening, creating new interests for leisurely uses of spaces including boating and cultural industries rather than other productive uses and again linked to global and tourist markets. Rehabilitation projects do not attempt to restore local production processes, failing to take care of traditional professions, livelihoods leading to disappearance of local productions, basic retails, fishing, handicraft, substituted by expensive boutiques and capillary presence of supermarket chains.

3.5.2.2. Summary

Tourism in Venice has led to progressive suburbanization of Venice leading and has brought people and activities out of the historical city. The new affluent people who are moving into Venice do not re-energize labour market beyond the tourism economies and are even indifferent to the functioning of public residential services as schools, community centers or social supports. Political willingness of the local government plays a major role in guaranteeing protection and reactivation of place-based cultures and livelihoods against corporative interests and tourist consumption loop. Lack of governance of city development and Venice as valued for economic profitable resource have led to neglect to residential environment in Venice. Liberalization of retails has completely modified the commerce in city and leading to closing of pre-existing network of small shops, manufacturers and workshops. Also the internationalization of housing market has made housing impossible to afford for most wages.

3.5.3. The Case of Barcelona

Barcelona is the second most populous municipality in Spain, with a population of 1.6 million. (Statistical Institute of Catalonia, 2017) It is the largest metropolis on the Mediterranean Sea, located on the coast between the mouths of the rivers Llobregat and Besòs, and bounded to the west by the Serra de Collserola mountain range, the tallest peak of which is 512 metres (1,680 feet) high.

Founded as a Roman city, in the Middle Ages Barcelona became the capital of the County of Barcelona. After merging with the Kingdom of Aragon, Barcelona continued to be an important city in the Crown of Aragon as an economic and administrative centre of this Crown and the capital of the Principality of Catalonia. Barcelona has a rich cultural heritage and is an important cultural centre and a major tourist destination. Particularly renowned are the architectural works of Antoni Gaudí and Lluís Domènech i Montaner, which have been designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

Barcelona was the 20th-most-visited city in the world by international visitors and the fifth most visited city in Europe after London, Paris, Istanbul and Rome, with 5.5 million international visitors in 2011. (Euromonitor International, 2017) Barcelona is ranked the most popular city to visit in Spain. Barcelona is internationally renowned tourist destination, with numerous recreational areas, one of the best beaches in the world, mild and warm climate, historical monuments, including eight UNESCO World Heritage Sites and developed tourist infrastructure.

In case of Barcelona, the phenomenon of holiday rentals has become a central gentrification battlefront in several cities in both the North and the South. After the spread of portals such as Airbnb, there has been impacts of vacation flats in their neighborhoods in Barcelona.

The phenomenon of holiday rentals has been documented in Barcelona since the late 1990s. In a period when tourism began to be the main industry in the city, was irregular, involved middle class guests from North Europe and America and hosts tended to be childless families or young professionals. In the early 2000s, the phenomenon grew. (Gant, *Holiday Rentals: The New Gentrification Battlefront*, 2017) Investors and hotel companies bought entire apartment buildings and transformed them into vacation flats. Some landlords gradually stopped renting to traditional

tenants. Lifestyle migrants also bought second homes in Barcelona and rented them to visitors while they are away. This activity fueled housing rehabilitation and this involved an increasing conversion of housing into tourist accommodation. It was at this moment when residents experienced community tension and neighbourhood organisations started to complain, a fact that was noted by scholars like Degen; Garcia & Claver. The pressure of vacation flats was already a fact prior to the creation of Airbnb in 2008 and afterwards Airbnb expanded the situation that existed before: more business opportunities for investors, tourist companies and landlords, and more visibility for those who rent rooms in their homes. The conversion of housing into tourist accommodation has effects on residents.

3.5.3.1. Direct displacement:

Within the community, processes of direct displacement are a central concern. The existing 1,191 vacation flats that exist in Gothic area were once accommodation for long term residents. The cases of tenants being economically compensated if they agree to leave prior to the end of the agreement and other cases, of the landlord not renewing the contract are common in the area. It is never easy to move out involuntarily and there have been cases where the eviction process was dramatic and violent, especially for lifetime tenants.

3.5.3.2. Exclusionary displacement:

Exclusionary displacement affects a larger number of residents as they are excluded from the possibility of accessing housing. This exclusion is caused by two interrelated issues. As a resident states in Augustine Cocola Gant's Article, 'it took me ages simply to find a flat available to long-term residents. But they are so expensive that you cannot afford them on local wages'. The difficulties in finding affordable accommodation accelerates classical gentrification as only middle- and upper-class groups can afford to move to the area. At the same time, exclusionary displacement is at the origin of several strategies implemented by residents who want to remain in the area but for which 'staying put' involves accepting poor living conditions, overcrowding or spending more than 50% of their income on rent.

3.5.3.3. Displacement pressures.

On the one hand, the fact that apartment buildings combine residential and tourist uses is the cause of daily sharing troubles that have been for many the main reason to move out of the property. There are several types of disruption that affect the private

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lives of residents. The most frequent is noise and the growing difficulties encountered in resting and sleeping during night time. The coexistence of residential and tourist uses also produces an economic pressure in which residents cannot afford the upkeep of a building increasingly used by visitors. On the other hand, the pressure of tourist investors is on the increase. Although direct displacement is an important consequence, the process causes indirect impacts that causes community opposition to tourism. Understanding displacement pressures involves understanding the lived experiences of residents before direct displacement takes place. The growth of the phenomenon excludes residents from the possibility of accessing housing while also provoking mounting affordability pressures. The residents that have suffered direct displacement are unable to find accommodation in the neighbourhood making it difficult to reproduce the local community that, instead, is replaced by temporary consumers.

Augustin Cocola Gant suggests that the growth of tourism and the consequent conversion of housing into accommodation for visitors results in a process of social change called collective displacement. Collective displacement needs to be seen as the final consequence of a process in which all forms of displacement come together. First, the growth of tourism causes a progressive out-migration of residents via direct displacement. Second, it is at the origin of housing shortage and price increase, which excludes other residents from the possibility of moving into the area. Third, this exclusion is accelerated by the daily disruptions and economic pressures caused by vacation flats. Finally, such disruptions and the pressure of tourist investors force residents to sell their flats. In such a context, the only buyers tend to be tourist investors, which further intensifies and reproduces the displacement process. In conclusion, the growth of the phenomenon results in a vicious circle that solely enables the reproduction of further accommodation for visitors rather than for long-term residential use. The area loses residents and excludes potential ones from the possibility of moving in. It leads to a form of collective displacement leading to a substitution of residential life by tourism.

3.5.3.4. Summary

Tourism driven displacement is fueled by investors, tourist companies and individual landlords for whom the conversion of residential buildings into accommodation for visitors is a new business opportunity. For residents and for those who need a place to live holiday rentals represent the new gentrification conflict area. The phenomenon

threatens their right to stay put while making it increasingly difficult for residents to find affordable accommodation. The example of vacation rentals shows the extent to which tourism can be a displacing process and, as such, a process that leads to urban inequalities. This fact opens new questions for gentrification research, but especially for public policy, as it challenges the assumption that the growth of tourism is essentially positive. Augustin Cocola Gant suggested that the growth of the phenomenon could lead to a substitution of residential life by tourism and needs to be related with changes in the entire character of the place. The mutation of places into spaces of tourism consumption makes everyday life increasingly difficult (Gant, 2015).

3.5.4. The Case of Old Recife

City of Recife is the capital of Pernambuco state, Brazil. It is the former capital of 17th century colony of New Holland of Dutch Brazil, established by the Dutch West India Company. Recife was founded in 1537, during the early Portuguese colonization of Brazil, as the main harbor of the Captaincy of Pernambuco, known for its large scale production of sugar cane. The original urban core of Recife was a small settlement of about 10 hectares, built on the isthmus of Olinda. The natural reefs formed a safe harbour for ships transporting brazilwood and sugar to the Iberian Peninsula. The Village of Reefs grew as a trading port.

3.5.4.1. The Process of Gentrification of the Recife Quarter

From the 1990s the Revitalization Plan for the old Recife Quarter began to be implemented that was a detailed proposal for short and medium term action, including the physical dimensions and estimated costs of the planned works, presented as part of the Northeast Tourism Development Program.

The proposal set out three different sectors of intervention, and also defined areas of interest and a spatialization of activities based on the concrete possibilities for intervention. The main objective of the revitalization proposal was to develop activities related to the services of the Revitalization Sector, turning it into a kind of anchor of the entire Revitalization Plan. The type of use of properties, circumscribed by sector, also facilitated the area's delimitation as a privileged zone for the deployment of more dynamic services associated with leisure and entertainment. This Revitalization Sector contains the highest concentration per square meter of built area, service, housing, and

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retail trade, while other sectors have a higher concentration of large buildings linked to wholesale trade, utilities and industry.

It was an integrated idea of urban intervention in the form of a long-term enterprise. According to Viner, reflecting the assumptions of market-led city planning, the Plan had three main goals, the operational framework for which was the set of Intervention Sectors: 1. transform the Recife Quarter into a regional metropolitan centre, making it a centre of modern services, culture and recreation; 2. turn the area into a 'space of leisure and entertainment,' aiming to generate a space that promotes the concentration of people in public areas, creating the feeling of a vibrant urban space; 3. turn the area into a centre of national and international tourist attraction. These objectives indicated just how much the proposal was directed towards expanding the local economy, transforming the Recife Quarter into a complex mix of consumerism and entertainment.

This view of an economy of culture, which apprehends culture in terms of its economic results and the city as a commercial enterprise, anticipated the concentration of offices of big companies and corporations, boosting the Recife Quarter's image as a central and noble space of the city. Remodelled houses transformed the area into a bustling meeting place where people mingle under the glimmer of the street lights and the noise of many voices, songs and jazz music. After six in the evening, traffic was barred from these streets and wooden trestles were set in place, accompanied by public and private security guards, which helped transform this quarter of the city into an artificial boulevard. Gradually the streets were taken over by people and the sidewalks by bar and restaurant tables. It was estimated that during large events at least 15,000 people would take to the streets in search of fun and relaxation. With the support of local business people, the Recife City Council began to promote an intense cultural program: concerts with local musicians, dance performances, art exhibitions in street, serest festivals. Various activities staged throughout the year ensured the area remained a vibrant centre of cultural entertainment, integrating the Recife Quarter with the city's cultural calendar. During carnival, a varied and intense program maintained the area's profile as one of the newest options for tourists visiting Pernambuco. These investments provoked a substantial change in the urban landscape of the Recife Quarter, the new mixture of consumption and leisure redesigning its profile, making it the area with the highest concentration of bars and restaurants in the city of Recife. In 1998, when the Revitalization Plan for the old Recife Quarter was already in progress,

the area was listed by IPHAN, recognizing it as a national heritage, largely on the basis of the urban transformations and changes of styles. (Leite, Cultural Heritage: Counter-uses of the city and gentrification, 2013)

3.5.4.2. Gentrification and Consuming Heritage

The process of tourism gentrification promoted by the reformation of historical sites is typically based around installing services and offering an extensive range of culture, leisure and entertainment for the middle and upper classes. Once revitalized, the area underwent an adaptation of tradition to the demands of a market of cultural consumption, in what Carlos Fortuna (1997) has called detraditionalization to refer to a strategic mechanism of contemporary urban planning, designed to revalue local culture and heritage as part of adapting cities to the context of inter-city competition: This process does not mean abandoning tradition, therefore, but reworking it in response to the market forces that permeate any kind of contemporary urban interventions. In those cases involving gentrifying interventions, this detraditionalization assumes its most major form with the possibility of a complete change in the meanings attributed to heritage sites, including the addition of entirely new values. Such interventions therefore enable deep changes in uses and users, affecting especially traditional residents who are usually targeted for relocation away from the area, making room for others more suited to the new intended uses

Spectacularization of culture to be the accentuation or creation of cultural traits that look to highlight the singularity of an urban space, through a strong visual appeal and fleeting social practices, intended to turn history and culture into consumable commodities. The idea of a spectacularization of culture has always been present in diverse forms in urban intervention processes. Architectural monumentality is perhaps the best known and certainly the most remarkable element of this desire to spectacularize found in some reforms as part of a search for greater visibility, distinction and aesthetic appeal. However architectural and urban monumentality is not the only form taken by the spectacularization of culture. In Brazil, the heady appeal of the supposed authenticity of popular culture has been one of the most powerful resources for the revival or even reinvention of these gentrified spaces, part of a spectacularizing and market-oriented view of the culture economy. The intervention process is well known: manifestations of the local culture are promoted in order to exploit certain aspects of the cultural legitimacy of these sites, creating thematic spaces through this emphasis on local culture. The ultimate aim is to attract new users by

expanding the possibilities for consumption, either in the form of new bars and restaurants or symbolically through the heavily promoted artistic and cultural manifestations. (Leite, 2013)

The idea of the spectacularization of culture can be considered a derivative of the concept of detraditionalization, since it assumes an attention of cultural values and local heritage as part of the visual and scenic accentuation of the urban space and the social practices directed towards symbolic consumption. The primary outcome of the spectacularization of culture in gentrification processes is a strong socio-spatial demarcation of public life revolving around the desired/intended uses for these revitalized spaces. Often this demarcation focuses on the ways of inhabiting these spaces, where public socializing is heavily determined by the possibilities available for social interaction.

3.5.4.3. Conclusion

Hence urban interventions like gentrification appear to collide with an implicit non-viability: the different interests and social motivations for interactive processes do not fit into a model designed to promote a single predominant urban (economic) use. In some cases, the solution found to reduce the effects of such counter-uses has been to demarcate the revitalized spaces even more radically, creating distinct areas of cultural entertainment. The sophistication of some houses, transformed into restaurants and luxury hotels, the widespread adaptation of spaces for tourists and the scant attention paid to local residents and users, all seem to contribute to generating points of tension that, when recurrent, culminate in a conflicting spatial configuration, which can be seen as an important factor in any subsequent decline of these spaces - an exhaustion seems to be a post-gentrification and counter-revanchist phase in many cities (Leite, *Exhaustion of cities: anti-ennoblement and urban interventions in Brazilian and Portuguese cities*, 2010) Either urban practices are too harmful when they presume that a city can be created without taking into account the differences between people in their daily routines, or urban life by definition eludes any excessive control, given that it is the locus par excellence of the dissent that animates public life. (Leite, *Public Spaces in Postmodernity*, 2009). Social scientists have warned that urban intervention projects in historic centres must pay more attention to the aspirations of their main users and residents: their worldviews and their representations of heritage sites and the symbolic places through which they construct their multiple identities.

3.5.5. The Case of Amsterdam

Amsterdam, the capital of Netherlands has more than one hundred kilometers of canals, about 90 islands and 1500 bridges. The three main canals, Herengracht, Prinsengracht and Keizersgracht, dug in the 17th century during the Dutch Golden Age, form concentric belts around the city, known as the Grachtengordel. Alongside the main canals are 1550 monumental buildings. (Municipal Department of Preservation and Restoration of Historic Buildings and Sites, City of Amsterdam, 2017) The 17th-century canal ring area, including the Prinsengracht, Keizersgracht, Herengracht and Jordaan, were placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2010, contributing to Amsterdam's fame as the "Venice of the North". (UNESCO, 2017)

3.5.5.1. Experiences of Urban Tourism

The residents of Canal District clearly experience a strong sense of belonging, primarily informed by their aesthetic, sensory experience of place and secondarily by the symbolic and practical rewards of a central location. On the one hand, large numbers of visitors contribute to the dynamic sense of place that is thought to be part and portion of living in the city. Moreover, tourists obviously enjoy the aesthetics of the Canal Belt, confirming respondents' own aesthetic sense of place, and they therefore express a certain degree of tolerance to tourism. Respondents themselves look at the landscape of the neighbourhood with a tourist gaze and understand its appeal. On the other hand, the reality of sharing the neighbourhood with visitors is experienced quite negatively. The residents use two metaphors to describe these experiences: the theme park and the museum. to themselves'. (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017)

The theme park

The theme park metaphor is used to refer to everyday encounters with visitors and the inappropriate ways in which visitors use the neighbourhood. Pinkster and Boterman describe the experiences of the residents in the Canal District saying visitors come not only for the canal district alone, but also for the 'shabby' in the 'shabby chic'. While in the past associated activities drinking, getting stoned and partying were more concentrated in the red light district and other nightlife areas, with the increasing numbers of visitors and new geographies of tourism that is, facilitated by AirBnB the theme park is spilling over into the canal district. Some of these amusements – such as the beer bike are rooted in Dutch traditions, but they are extrapolations of it.

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Respondents describe them as forms of staged authenticity, derived from local customs but never really a local custom. Residents therefore use labels such as theme park, amusement park and Disneyland to summarize what they see as a loss of authenticity. They are annoyed by the loud interactions of groups of tourists on beer bikes or stag parties on their way to the next bar that invade respondents' home. They refer to the loud dance music from leisure boats, reverberating between the facades during the day time, which cannot be ignored by closing the curtains, and even the sound of the wheels of tourist suitcases on the cobbled streets, disturbing the silence in the early mornings and late evenings. Combined, the tourist spectacle is described by residents as out of control.

The museum

In addition to everyday disruptions, respondents perceive a more permanent loss of place through an erosion of the everyday, ordinary function of the area for residents and for the city as a whole. Respondents refer to the disappearance of ordinary shops such as butchers, bakeries and green grocers by consumption spaces that cater to tourists, such as lunch rooms, hotels and boutiques. The bakery where residents used to buy bread is now a ciabatta sandwich shop, while the regular pharmacy has become an upscale make-up boutique. Although this transformation of the commercial landscape is caused by increasing rents, it is experienced by long-term residents as a process of downgrading and of mainstreaming, whereby the area includes ice cream stores that can be found in any other tourist city. In addition, there is growing number of hotels and the increasing use of private homes for short stay. Short-term rentals are perceived to change the nature of everyday interactions, contributing to the disappearance of familiar strangers. Respondents describe tourists as disinterested in preserving the right balance between privacy and proximity, as their neighbours used to do.

3.5.5.2. Conclusion

The transformation of the Canal Belt into a place of leisure and consumption is seen as a form of downgrading and a loss of place. A sense of discontent and even powerlessness in the face of urban tourism, despite their relatively privileged social and spatial position is seen among residents. In this respect, their narratives of neighbourhood change resonate with research on nostalgia and experiences of cultural displacement of working-class residents in gentrifying urban areas, raising intriguing

questions about the role of residential history and age in shaping experiences of neighbourhood change rather than class alone. Yet, in the context of the Amsterdam Canal Belt, these residents themselves express frustration about their inability to deal with the changes in their surroundings. They are clearly aware that the growing flows of international visitors and foreign capital are moving beyond their sphere of influence.

The recent transformations in Amsterdam's city centre are more a reflection of global forces, boosted by local government, than local power dynamics between upper-middle-class residents and less affluent groups. Neoliberalization of the housing market and commercial real estate in combination with the sale of public buildings to corporate investors, luxury hotel chains and international department stores have accelerated processes of commodification that are dislodging the area from the everyday lives of residents. New tensions are rising between residents and governing institutions about the need to regulate urban tourism versus the need to generate revenues for the city.

3.5.6. Tourism Gentrification Issues

The heritagization syndrome

The case of Santo Domingo's Colonial city illustrates the problematic relationship between heritage policies and gentrification where 'heritage success is social failure'. The deliberate use of tourism by local authorities as the main focus for urban regeneration led to a 'schismatic city'. The conclusions are not different in the case of the colonial city of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, where the heritagization of this now UNESCO-listed colonial centre played a major role in its gentrification process. In case of Le Marais in Paris, gentrification was the pre-announced effect of the heritagization process. In case of Lisbon, tourism fueled urban change and heritage redevelopment.

The Airbnb syndrome

In case of Barcelona, despite the emphasis on the intervention of new models of development and decongestion of tourism pressures, Airbnb presents the same spatial patterns as more conventional hospitality sectors: it targets the most attractive tourism-oriented areas of the city. Airbnb tourism rentals act in a predatory way,

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contributing to the gentrification of central neighbourhoods. Airbnb's rapid development pushed local governments to come up with new regulation policies. In Paris, Madrid and Berlin, local governments, particularly concerned by the Airbnb impact on neighbourhoods, took decisive measures to control it, without any significant effects until now.

The artification syndrome

The case of peripheral neighbourhoods in Rome illustrates the ways tourism commodifies former industrial vestiges. Factories, wastelands and warehouses have become the desirable symbols of a new order of development based no longer on production but aesthetic consumption. Artification and aestheticization are necessary conditions for tourism gentrification outside historical centre.

The museumification syndrome

Tourism gentrification is related to cultural phenomena as expressed by cultural urban events or cultural infrastructure. Cultural venues located in former derelict areas play a major role in the transformation of these places into desirable destinations and eventually as attractive places to live.

3.6. National Case Review

Traditional Newari settlement has been known for its unique tradition and diversity of spaces with hierarchy of built and open spaces. In any Newari settlement, no two streets are similar in nature although similar type of built heritage is present. The streets in Newari settlement serve various purposes and is not limited to being just streets. It serves as lifeline to physical, social and cultural infrastructure. Along with the location of streets, the tangible heritages situated along the streets play a vital role and along with them the intangible heritages and people concerned with these heritages play a significant role in the overall characteristic of the place. When it comes down to the people in Newari settlement, there is diversity in people in terms of socio-economic background and socio-cultural background. Due to this diversity in terms of physical, social, cultural and economic characteristics, any type of phenomenon has different type of effect or no effect as such in different localities. This holds true in terms of deterioration, commercialization, migration and gentrification.

Case of Kathmandu

Kathmandu being the capital city has had pressures of commercialization and gentrification. People of all walks of life prefer to open up shop in Kathmandu core due to its market. Besides Nepalese people from different parts of Nepal, many people from India are found to have businesses based in Kathmandu. The main streets in Kathmandu core like Newroad, Ason, Maru, etc. have been operating as retail market and the secondary streets have been accommodated for storage and wholesale purpose. Whereas the inner parts of Kathmandu Core, where commercial value is less due to access and location are used for accommodation purpose by people who work in the core area itself. Due to pressure of commercialization, the people living in Kathmandu core find it economically beneficial to rent their house out and living elsewhere. In the whole process of commercial development, there have been changes in the physical, social, cultural and economic characteristics of the city causing displacement and exclusion in the city.

Besides the commercial gentrification, there is a case of tourism gentrification in case of Kathmandu as well. During 1960s- 1970s, Jhochhen/ Freak street was very popular for hippy tourist. With the demise of this area due to global criticism against hippie culture and Nepal's unwanted reputation, there was a turn over to trekking and adventure tourism that needed a new spatialization of tourism leading to development of Thamel as tourist space that was earlier a "rustic rural locality only sparsely dotted with houses in the vast emptiness". (Shakya, 2009) Local business entrepreneurship, space and capital led to a chain effect. With the opening of Kathmandu Guest house, more and more tourism associated businesses came into being. As mass tourism increased through 1980s, the commercial zone expanded. In a way places change with demographic, political, social and cultural context. By 1990s, there was already a generational split. There was increase in Kathmandu's emergent consumer middle class, young generation's interest in foreign pop culture, royal massacre (2001) causing major downturn in tourist arrivals and Maoist war (1996-2006) caused internal migration from countryside to Kathmandu. With these forces, many Thamel business began catering to Nepali consumers. (Linder, 2017)

At the present, Thamel houses market for trekking items, hotels, cafes, dance bars etc. According to Ms. Pradhan whose ancestral home is in Thamel, the area has gone through a major change in 20 yrs. Before this area was like a rural village and now it

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has facilities ranging from shopping areas, hotels, restaurants, bars etc. including facilities of red light area. They had to leave their ancestral home due to damage from earthquake. She explained despite the negative influences of the area, they preferred to stay there due to sentimental values of the area. “If the house was not damaged by the earthquake, we wouldn’t leave Thamel. Many developers came to buy the property as a whole covering the three chowks for business purpose but we didn’t like their idea. Since we are a joint family and we all have moved out, we will probably give the property on lease and share percentage of income instead of dividing the property.”

There may be various case scenarios of Thamel area itself. However, there is no doubt that Thamel has gone through gentrification of its own type bringing physical, social, cultural and economic changes in the area.

Case of Bhaktapur

The case of Bhaktapur is totally different in comparison to Kathmandu. Although Bhaktapur is one of the Newari settlement in the valley, the context of Bhaktapur and Kathmandu is completely different. Bhaktapur managed to be isolated from modernization due to socio-economic condition of people, mainly being an agrarian society and social order based on caste system. Bhaktapur Developmental Project was initiated in 1974 with the aim to raise the living conditions of the Bhaktapurians and to improve their economic condition. It included four phases. The achievements of BDP include activities concentrated in the following sectors during 12 years of BDP and its successive follow up:

- Town Development Planning and Housing
- Support to Local Town Administration
- Community Development
- Health Education
- Buildings and Road Construction
- Restoration
- Water and Sanitation
- Economic Promotion
- Landslide Protection

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The BDP's contribution was not limited to providing temporary jobs for larger number of people but also produced several trained manpower in construction works. With the introduction of BDP, Bhaktapur was reinforced to develop as a cultural city.

Tourism is one of the major sources of income of Bhaktapur municipality and local people of Bhaktapur. According to the Bhaktapur Municipality, before the earthquake, the number of tourists visiting Bhaktapur Durbar Square was on the rise, 2,52,261 in 2012, 2,64,542 in 2013 and 2,90,891 in 2014. After the earthquake, the number of tourists visiting Bhaktapur has not reached the previous records, 37,430 in 2015, 1,89,350 in 2016.

There are many tourism based businesses being operated by the locals including rental accommodations, restaurants, handicraft, eateries, curd shop (Jaju Dhau) etc. being operated at the present. According to the locals, the businesses in Bhaktapur are mainly operated by the locals. Tourism has led to development of Bhaktapur supporting livelihoods of many people.

A resident of Bhaktapur Mrs. Kayastha said, "In comparison to Lalitpur and Kathmandu, there are not much people from outside. People working in Bhaktapur are residents of Bhaktapur. Most of the tourism based businesses are operated by the locals themselves. There are few who are renting out their homes for hotels, but the owners have not been displaced. The only businesses run by outsiders on rent are thankas and curios shops."

Bhaktapur core has managed to retain its traditional character of Bhaktapur in comparison to Kathmandu and Lalitpur. BDP has played a major role in this as it not only carried out restoration projects but also strengthened the local body, manpower, human resource and conserve traditional craft. Since Bhaktapur's vision has been to develop Tourism, locals operating tourism based businesses is also on the rise. However, the tourism based businesses has managed to operate in harmony with the local market which is not seen in case of Kathmandu.

CHAPTER FOUR: AN OVERVIEW OF STUDY AREA

4.1. Historical Overview

With the history as old as that of the history of settlement of Kathmandu Valley itself, Patan continues to be an important and vibrant part of Nepal's capital reign. Throughout its period of existence the city has played an important role in political, cultural, economic affairs of the valley and the country. Buddhist legends relate that the town was initially given a formal plan of Dharma Chakra, the Buddhist Wheel of Righteousness by the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka. The four stupas or mounds are located on the perimeter of Patan as ascribed to him through their popular name of Ashoka Stupas. The main arterial streets of Patan link the two pairs of stupas (east-west and north-south) and intersect at Durbar square, the city core of Patan echoing the Dharma chakra Layout. (Tiwari, 2007)

Once a fiercely independent city state, Patan is believed to have been found in the third century BC by the Kirat dynasty, later expanded by Licchavis in the sixth century and further expanded by the Mallas during the medieval period. (Shrestha, 2015)

4.2. Cultural Heritage Tourism

Cultural Heritage Tourism in Patan has in a way promoted experiencing the visual and performing arts, heritage buildings, areas and landscapes and special way of life, values, traditions and events and received an additional push from international assistance.

In the last 10 years or so creative transformations of the cultural heritage of Patan to affect overall sustainability is gaining strength in three particular areas: Cultural tourism and recovery of the domestic craft industry; heritage conservation as part of the city development strategy and community participation in conservation and in operation of local community heritage, facilities and services. (Tiwari, 2007)

Cultural Tourism has been a tool for economic development, source of revenue for the municipality, employment opportunity and augmentation of personal income of city residents. The surviving family trades (metal craft, painting, stone craft) has revived due to tourism and souvenir sales.

At least one fourth of total tourist arrival in the country visit Patan every year. Visitors to Patan are more than 100,000. Since the beginning of 2001 a tourist entry charge has

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been levied on visitors to Patan and the money is deposited in Heritage Conservation and Tourism Development Fund. After one door system was applied in Patan, 1,08,778 tourists were recorded from Ashwin(2073) to Asadh(2074) Apart from conservation of monuments and spaces some of these earnings are be allocated for conservation of intangible Heritage. Other than the city entrance fee charged by the municipality, Hiranya Varna Mahabihar the Golden Temple has been charging an entrance fee managed by their respective committee.

4.2.1. Cultural Tourism Based Business

Tourism industry provides employment and business to the private sector of the community at large and has become one of the new means of economically sustaining the city.

Hotels, restaurants and travel agencies

There have been two types of accommodation arising in Patan. The first type of accommodation located outside core Patan provide facilities of higher international tourist standards and the other type of accommodation within the heritage setting itself. The latter type of accommodation has been growing in popularity with the saturation of Kathmandu's medium-class tourist places. However, as the peak tourist season is limited to about six months – three months each in spring and autumn – the occupancy rate in the hotels year-round is not more than 40 per cent. This highlights the need not only to bring tourists to stay over-night in Patan.

There has been increase in the opening of restaurants in the Patan core area that explicitly targets the tourist. These restaurants provide variety of food from continental to Nepali and also serve typical Newari food like kachila, bara, chhoyela etc. The situation highlights the need to extend tourist attractions within Patan.

Travel agencies and services of guide are in the rise in Patan. Comparatively high rents and shortage of rental space in Kathmandu are the key reasons behind travel agencies being located in Patan.

Workshops (Jyasa)

Patan has been famous as the “City of Fine Arts” and the “House of Artisans”. The quality of handicrafts produced in Patan is rated highly by tourists. Along with bronze and copper statues, hand carved wood and stone items are popular as souvenirs with tourists. As most of the handicrafts are made through skills passed down from ancestors, workshops are located in specific toles and almost all are family managed. Other skills like woolen carpet weaving, thanka painting and aquarel painting workshops are found in various parts of the town. There are about 221 handicraft manufacturers within Patan core who have been registered to Nepalese Handicrafts Manufacturers. (NepalB2B, 2017)

Handicraft Stores

Sales outlets and several handicraft stores of metal statues (bronze, copper, brass and silver), wood carvings, woolen carpets, dresses, paintings (watercolour and traditional paubha), pashmina shawls, handmade paper products, paper masks, postcards and stone carvings have been added to scan be found that suits’ tourists’ tastes and budgets. Most handicraft stores are located in the Durbar Square Area. Most shops are family managed and provide additional income to the traditional residents. Raw materials supplies to these shops come mostly from within the valley and provide additional employment.

4.2.2. Patan Conservation and Development Program

This action programme financed under assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany and implemented in Patan between January 1992 and June 1998, primarily sought to integrate the conservation actions and needs of the heritage of Patan with its developmental needs. The programme used innovative approaches to conservation and development works to evolve and use participatory processes. Working within a city scale programme framework that included documentation of heritage, area preparation and problem-specific action plans incorporating the development needs, institution-building, capacity strengthening and awareness generation activities, its every activity became a forum for the participation of public and private sectors in conservation and development.

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Patan Sub-Metropolitan City Office led the group of participating organizations, which included the Department of Archaeology, the Department of Urban Development and Building, the Ministry of Local Development, the local community and several NGOs both international and national.

Components of Patan programme

- Documentation and inventory of cultural heritage (bahas, bahis, chaityas, temples, hitis, dabalis, inars, jharus, patis, sattals,
- Restoration of monuments , rehabilitation of important public places, hitis, ponds, etc.
- Pilot projects included both conservation and development related projects.
- Emergency repair of monuments

Since 1993, through PCDP, more than US\$1 million has been spent in variety of conservation and development works in Patan. The project has significantly raised local professional capacity for developing conservation and development action plans.

Adaptive Reuse

There has been significant amount of replacement of traditional homes due to change in economy and perceptions. Changes are also associated with the inability of traditional form to cater to the needs for and commercial space. The ways of demonstrating the usefulness and commercial viability of traditional houses is to commodify the material design and form and market it. With the support of UNESCO, the PTDO and local entrepreneurs, three large traditional houses offered bed and breakfast facilities for tourists.

Patan Tourism Development Organization: An NGO with a mission

The PTDO was established in 1995 as a NGO and is dedicated to tourism promotion with accordance to original cultural and architectural fabric of the city. It has since been involved in a variety of activities such as publishing guidebook, promoting alternative heritage tours across Patan, organizing special music and dance programs, exploring new tourism products, converting traditional Newar houses into quality tourism accommodation as pilot projects, etc.

4.3. Government level works on Craft development

4.3.1. Pro-Poor Urban Regeneration Pilot Project:

The Pro-Poor Urban Regeneration Pilot Project for Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City is a project being directed under the guidance of KVDA and LSMC with the support from Japan Social Development Fund and World Bank.

Its main objectives are:

- To contribute to improving the living conditions of poor and vulnerable households in selected wards in the historic core of Lalitpur City by piloting urban regeneration activities;
- To demonstrate the feasibility of an integrated urban regeneration approach to decision makers in Kathmandu Valley.

The project aims to pilot a sustainable urban regeneration approach based on these four pillars:

- Community strengthening and mobilization (people),
- Infrastructure upgrading, cultural heritage conservation and disaster risk management (places),
- Job creation and income generation opportunities (businesses),
- A successful partnership between the communities, the local government and the private sector (institutions).

The project area covers 4 contiguous wards (16, 18, 21 & 22) in the WHS buffer zone of LSMC.

The wards are chosen as they feature:

- Highest concentration of poor, vulnerable and low caste communities among buffer zone wards;
- Lack of investment in rapidly deteriorating infrastructure;
- Retain much of the original urban fabric, architecture, customs, artisan workshops;
- Contiguous wards increase potential for

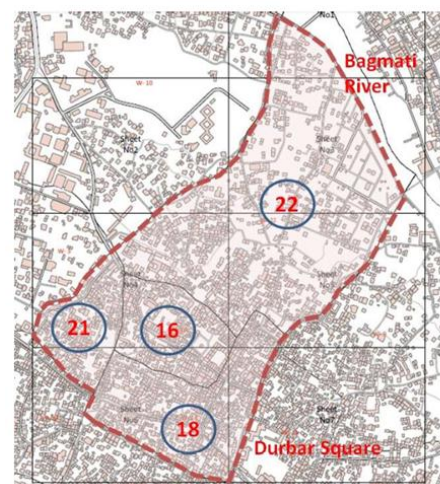


Figure 4 Project Area: LSMC
16,18,21,22

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impact with small pilot funds.

The implementation period of the project is from September 2013 to September 2017.

The project is divided into following components:

Component 1: Participatory Action Plan for Pro-Poor Urban Regeneration

Component 2: Grant Facility for Pro-Poor Urban Regeneration

- i) Pro-poor Municipal Investments and Initiatives Grant Window
- ii) Pro-poor Community-based Initiatives Grant Window
- iii) Pro-poor Business Development Initiatives Grant Window

Component 3: Community Awareness and Local Capacity Building for Pro-poor Urban Regeneration

Component 4: Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation, Knowledge Dissemination and Project Management and Administration

Under second component, in Pro-poor Business Development Grant Window, there it has been mentioned about the promotion of artist, other skilled craftsmen and overall handicraft which has been mentioned as:

“The objective of the grant window is to support initiatives by eligible small businesses, NGOs, cooperatives and community based organizations aimed at involving the poorest and most vulnerable in the development of traditional handicrafts and cultural tourism related products and services. The grantees would be required to provide matching contributions of at least 10 percent. The grant facility could fund sub grants that e.g. provide training and skill development for poor artisans to improve technical know-how and the use of time-saving tools and techniques; establish a handicraft exhibition and sales promotion facility accessible to poor craftsmen to eliminate middlemen; develop a cultural tour of artisan workshops that includes poor handicraft producers; develop a cultural tour of artisan workshops that includes poor handicraft producers; develop a new fee –based cultural activities that can be provided by poor residents. (e.g. storytelling, traditional cuisine and special interest tours such as neighbourhood temples and celebrations); provide vocational training for youth for innovative site interpretation.”

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S.N.	Name of User Committee	Name of Contracts
1	Akibahal tol sudhar samiti	Paving work at Nakabahil-Nyakhachowk –Tapahiti
2	Tapahiti User's Committee	Tapahiti Square Pavement
3	Jagamadhu pukhu chhetra User's Committee	Pimbahal Square Pavement
4	Pimbahal pokhari jirnoddar User's Committee	Pimbahal Pond Improvement
5	Nayalakhu User's Committee	Tapahiti to Nayalakhu street Paving
6	Aluko lkhachhen User's Committee	Aluko dhoka construction with Improvement of nearby water courtyards
7	Pimbahal pokhari Aakase pani User's Committee	Rain water harvesting and repair of small monument at Pimbahal pond
8	Bangalamukhi Istambha User's Committee	Aluko Hiti to Wasa Hiti Street Pavement
9	Chiwa User's Committee	Imudon to Kumbheshwar street Paving
10	Ganesh User's Committee	Kotalachhi to Pimbahal Street Paving
11	Yal Dhwakha User's Committee	Patan Dhoka to Kotalachhi Street paving
12		Installation of Solar Lights
13		Installation of Signage

Figure 5 List of User Community for Pro-poor Municipal Investment and Initiatives Grant
(Source: Lalitpur Metropolitan City Office)

The projects include stone paving in Patan Dhokha-Kotalachhi, Kotalchhi – Pimbahal Street, Nakabahil-Nyakhachowk-Tapahiti-Nayalakhu, Tapahiti Square, Pimbahal Square, Imudon – Kumbheswor, Pimbahal Pond Improvement , Rain water harvesting and repair of monument at Pimbahal Pond, Aluko Dhokha construction and improvement of nearby courtyard and installation of solar lights and signage in different localities in Patan.

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Pro-Poor Urban Regeneration Pilot Project (PURPP)		
Component 2 : Window 2- Pro-poor Community-based Development Initiatives		
S.N.	Name of Organization	Sub-Grant Title
1	Astamtrika Nach Prabardhan Samiti	Astamtrika Nach Prashikshan Karyakram Tatha Prashikshan Sthal Lokakriti Mahabihar Jimodwar
2	Pabitra Samaj	Nateshwar Parbati Nritya, Radha Krishna Nritya, Dhimi Pyakhan, Khim Pyakhan, Newaah Hula Pyakhan ko Prashikshan ra Sarbajanik Pradarshani, Video- CD Nirman
3	Samyak Aajibika Adhyayan Kendra	Charya Nritya Antargat Kumari, Manjushree, Panchabudha ra Ganesh ko Prashikshan ra Pradarshani
4	Mahila Tatha Balbalika Kalyan Sewa Samaj	Charya Nritya Tatha Charya Gan Prashikshan Karyakram
5	Ekhachhen Mahila Bachat Tatha Rin Samuha (Kha)	Empowerment Training for Face Painting Artists
6	Hatemalo Sanchar	Sanskriti Jagemako Lagi Samuday Parichalan
7	Bajracharya Pujabidhi Adhyayan Samiti	Paramparagat Baudha Pujabidhi Prashikshan Tatha Pradarshani Ebam Charya Nritya Prashikshan
8	Nagabahal Tole Sudhar Samiti	Paramparagat Badhyabadan Prashikshan Prabardhan
9	Lalitpur Centre for Culture Conservation	32 Raags of Siddhi Narsingh Malla
10	Hitechvalley iNet Pvt. Ltd.	E-library Portal for ICH (Oral Myth)
11	Mahila Bikas Tatha Batawaran Sanrakshan Samaj	Sanskritik Sampadharuko Digo Bikas Dwara Sahari Bipanna Panaruthan Pariyojana
12	Mahila Hinsa Biruddha Antar Dharmik Sanjal (NIRN Nepal) ra Samaj Bikas Tatha Anusandhan Kendra	Aadhunik Prabidhi ko Madhyam Dwara Sanskritik Sampadako Samrakshan Tatha Sambardhan Pariyojana
13	Sustainable Business Initiative Pvt. Ltd.	Participatory ICH Conservation and Promotion Programme
14	Sakham Rural Nepal	Yuwayuwatiharuko Sahabagaitama Parampragat Nach ko Pradarshani ra Prabardhan
15	Manav Tatha Prakriti Samrakshan Nepal	Paramparagat Amurta Sanskritik Sampada Sambadhi Gyan / Sip Bikas Karyakarma
16	Janamaitri Sanstha Nepal	Enhancing Livelihood Security of Marginalized through Social Mobilization Process
17	Samudayik Bikas ko lagi Sahakarya Nepal	Pro-Poor Community Based Development Initiative
Total		

Figure 6 List for Pro-poor Community-based Development Initiatives (Source: LMC office)

This includes renovation of Lokakriti Mahavihar, Astamatrika Naach Training, Documentation and training of Nateshwar Parbati Nritya, Radha Krishna Nritya, Dhimi Pyakhan, Khi Pyakhan and Newa Hula Pyakhan, Training and demonstration of Charya Nritya of Kumari, Manjushree, 32 Raags of Siddhi Narsingh Malla, Panchabuddha and Ganesh, Empowerment Training of Face painting artists, Storytelling of folklore, Enhancing livelihood security of marginalized group, community based development initiative etc.

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Pro-Poor Urban Regeneration Pilot Project (PURPP)		
Component 2 : Window 3-Pro-poor Business Development Initiatives		
S.N	Name of Organization	Sub-Grant Title
1	Samyak Ajibika Aadhyan Kendra	Astamatrika Naachka Devi Devataharuko Kagajko Mukundo Banaune Prasikchhan ra Byawasayik Gatibidhi
2	Hatemalo Sanchar	Garib Unmukh Samudayako Jivansthar Ukasna Sasaktikaran
3	Samudaya Bikash Nepal	Embroidery Sahitko Makhmali Jutta Banaune Prasikchhan Ra So Ko Byabasahik Nirantarta
4	Kumbheshowr Samudayik Adhyaan Kendra	Nepali Pahiran Pahichan Dhaka Utpadan
5	Outlines Researh & Development Pvt. Ltd.	Tourism Buisness Orientation and Tour Guide Training Program to Vitalize Heritage Walk in Patan
6	Nepal Hastakala Mahasangh	Sip Bikas Tatha Bastu Design Karyakram
7	Youngsters Mahila Samuha	Newari Paramparagat Poshak Utpadan Prabidhi Punaruthan Tatha Bazarikaran Pariyojana
8	Mahila Bikas Tatha Batabaran Sanrakchhan Samaj (WEDCS)	Sanskritik Sampadaharuko Digo Bikaska Lagi Sthaniya Sahabhagita Prabardan Karyakram
9	Mahila Jagaran Kendra	Sthaniya Yuwaharulai Talim Di Sanskritik Sampada Guide/Path Pradarshakharu Tayar Garne ra IT ra Shrabyardrshya Samagri Utpadan
10	Chabbu Gahiti Tole Sudhar Samiti	Dafa Bhajan Sangit Prasikshan
11	Alight Tech Pvt. Ltd.	Patan in Your Fingers - Mobile Apps
12	Hitech iNet Valley Pvt. Ltd	E-Commerce Portal on ICH for - Buy & Sell
13	International Technical Consultancy Pvt. Ltd	Auto Audio Tourist Guide Development
14	Sustainable Buisness Initiative Pvt. Ltd	Improving ICH related Buisness & Marketing in LMC
15	Shasaktikaran Samaj Nepal	Garibi Nyunikaran ka lagi Paryatanmukhi Byabasaya Prabardan
		Total Amount

Figure 7 List for Pro-poor Business Development Initiatives (Source: LMC Office)

This includes training on making paper mask of Goddesses in Astamatrika Naach, Dhaka Production, training on handicrafts, Tour guide training and tourism business orientation, Revival of production and trade of traditional Newari, Local Participation Program for local cultural heritage, Training of local youth as guide for local cultural heritage, Production of way finding Signage, Training of Bhajan, Development of Mobile App for wayfinding and heritage walk, Auto Audio Tourist Guide Development and Management of Tourist Based Businesses.

4.4. Study Area

The study area is the core of Patan and is the center of cultural, religious and commercial activities of the city. The study area includes Swotha – Mangal bazar – Kwalkhu Loop, Nakabahil –Kwarkhu Chowk, and Sundhara - Mahaboudha Stretch

The area is selected as the urban tourism potential area with maximum of tourist based businesses.

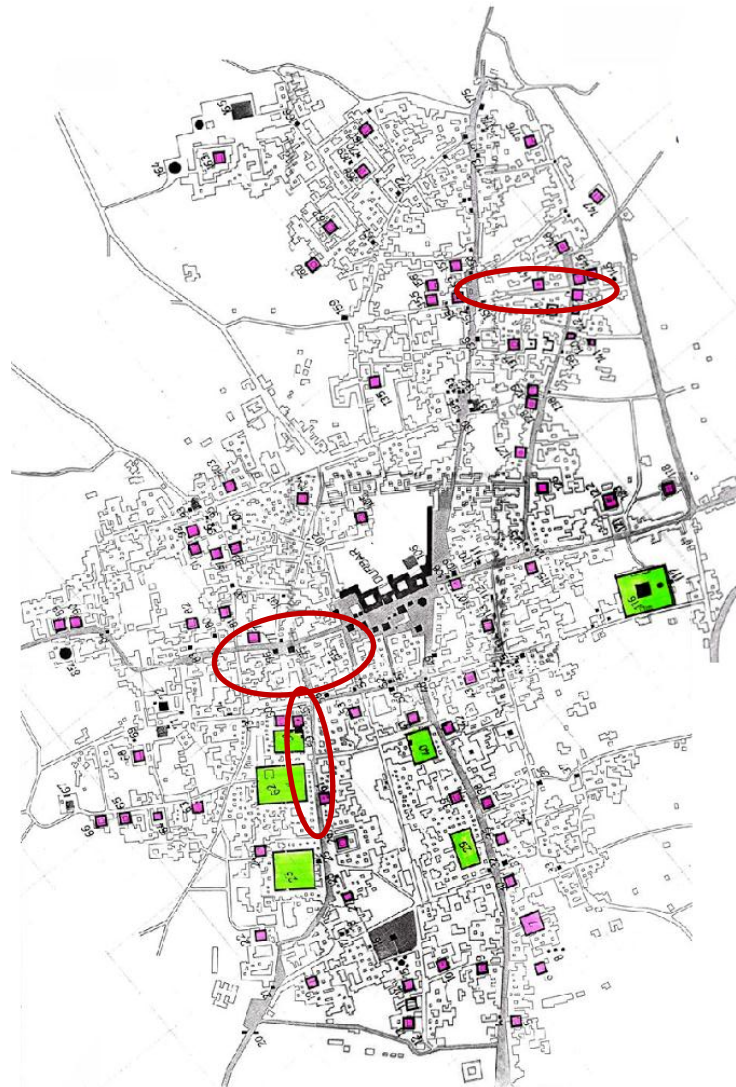


Figure 8 Map of Patan showing Study Area (www. <http://kathmandu-valley-temples.com>)

Swotha – Mangal bazar –Kwalkhu Loop

This stretch is located in the north of Patan Durbar Square. The loop starts from Kobahal – Swotha Chowk – Bhimsen Temple chowk – Mangal Bazar, Momaru Galli , Patko, Kwalkhu and Kwalkhu Nhu La. There are several monuments along this loop mainly being Kobahal Krishna Temple, Swotha Narayan Temple, Swotha Krishna Mandir, Radha Krishna Temple, Shiva temples, Bhimsen Temple, Jal Devata, Manimandap MahaVihar, Uma Maheshwor Temple, Krishna Mandir, Ganesh Temple, Dyochen, Shikhar Temple and Patuk Dwo. Among these streets only Swotha Street and Patko-Mahapal. This area falls under Preserved Monument Sub-zone.



Figure 9 Swotha - Mangal Bazar - Kwalkhu Loop

This area mostly consists of locals belonging to Pradhan, Shrestha, Amatya, Shakya, Lakhe, Rajbhandari and Joshi Families. This stretch has many handicraft shops of paper, shops of paintings, restaurants and B&B areas.

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Table 4. Number of Tourist Based Retail Shop

Type of Business	Number of outlets
Metal handicraft shop	50
Wooden Handicraft Shop	5
Paper Handicraft & Souvenirs	15
Pashmina & Clothing	8
Art Gallery, Thangka and Painting	24
Restaurants & Cafe	21
Guest House, B&B	23



Figure 10 Kwalkhu Nhu La



Figure 11 Swotha- Mangalbazsar Street



Figure 12 Swotha-Kobahal Street

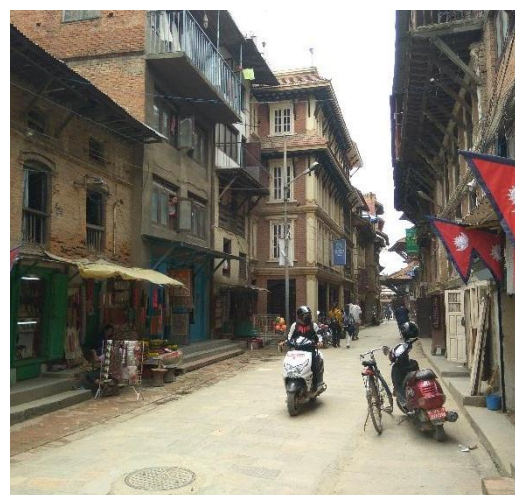


Figure 13 Patko-Bhimsen Street

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Nakabahil –Kwalkhu Chowk

This stretch is located in the north west of Patan Durbar Square. The stretch starts from Kwalkhu chowk – Dhalacha and ends at Nakabahil. There are several monuments along the street such as Kwalkhu Ganesh, Kwa bahal, Nhu bahal, Nagbahal, Nhyakhachowk, Bhuwaneshwor Mandir and Nakabahil. This area falls under Preserved Monument Sub-zone and Mixed Old Residential Sub- zone.



Figure 14 Kwalkhu Chowk to Nakabahil

This area mostly consists of Rajbhandari and Shakya Families. This stretch has many metal and stone handicraft outlet and accommodations.

Table 5. Number of Tourist Based Retail Shop

Type of Business	Number of outlets
Metal handicraft shop	61
Wooden Handicraft Shop	2
Stone Handicraft Shop	1
Guest House, B&B	7

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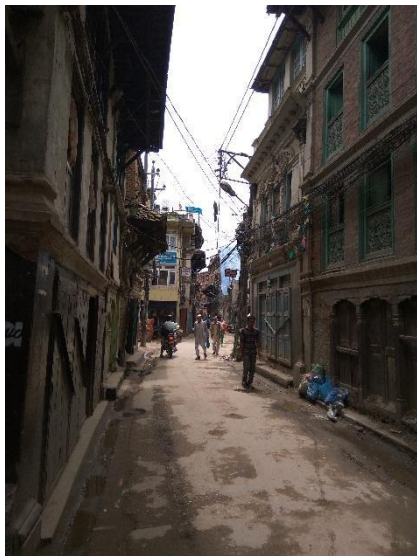


Figure 15 Dhalacha

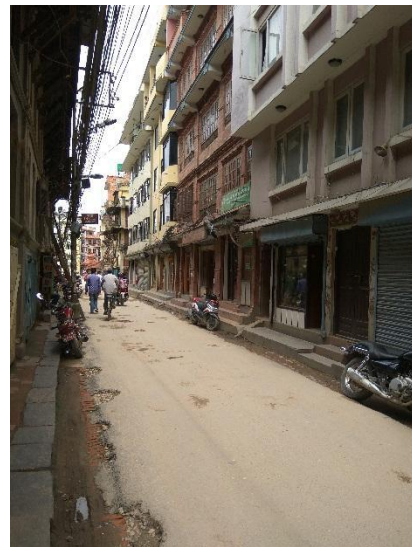


Figure 16 Nakabahil

Sundhara - Mahaboudha Stretch

This stretch is located in the south east of Patan Durbar Square. The street starts from Sundhara to Okubahal. There are monuments like Sundhara, Krishna Temple, Mahaboudha and Okubahal. This area mostly consists of Shakya Families. This stretch has many metal handicraft and thanka painting stores.

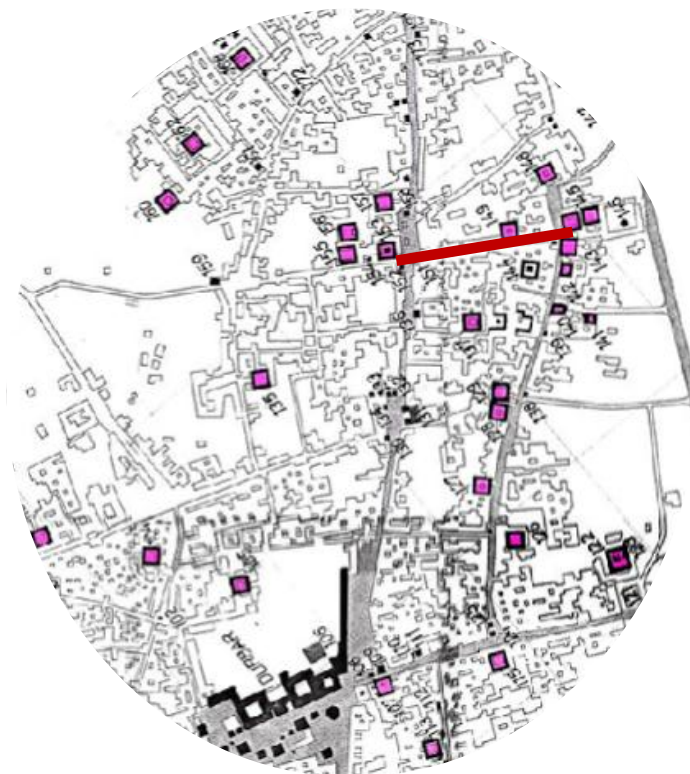


Figure 17 Sundhara - Mahaboudha Street

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Figure 18 Outside Mahaboudha

Table 5. Number of Tourist Based Retail Shop

Type of Business	Number of outlets
Metal handicraft shop with Thanka	58
Guest House, B&B	4

**CHAPTER FIVE: FIELD OBSERVATION, SURVEY &
ANALYSIS**

5.1. Consequence Analysis

5.1.1. Case History of Rental Accommodation:

One of the trending businesses in the study area is the increase in the number of the quality accommodation in the area that rehabilitates a traditional Newari residence. Even in traditional quality accommodation, there are several different types to cater to the various facilities.

Cosy Nepal

Cosy Nepal is a French-Nepali agency that manages several traditional houses in Patan, all renovated with modern touches. Cosy Nepal started renting about 5 years ago. It has partnership with individual household. At the present, Cosy Nepal has partnership with 10 houses in Patan of which 4 are traditional Newari homes with modern facilities and the rest are R.C.C. buildings with traditional touches. There are 2 ongoing projects. The households provide the investment and Cosy Nepal provides the services and manages the accommodation. There are different options provided by this agency, from simple single rooms to family suites with kitchenettes. According to Mr. Jitendra Shrestha there are about 40 rooms being operated by Cosy Nepal. The facilities provided by Cosy Nepal include, single rooms, double rooms and apartments for 2 days to 3 weeks, Two rooms' unit, Apartments and Studio loft for 1 week to 3 months, studio lofts, apartments, duplex and two bedrooms loft for 3 months and more and even duplex and houses for long term accommodations of 6 months and more. There are 15 jobs generated for housewives and students from Patan mostly for housekeeping, maintenance and helpers. Out of 15 employed only one person is from Bhaktapur. The staffs have been employed through recommendation.

Yatachenn is located at a corner of Raghubansi chowk. This residence overlooks two courtyards and one private courtyard within the building. Jitendra Shrestha (Owner of Yatachenn in Raghubansi chowk, Swotha), started renting out rooms for tourists since 2000 after building a portion of his house of R.C.C. Later he rebuilt the other portion of the remaining houses in traditional Newari architecture and also rented out extra rooms for tourists. He moved the kitchen to the ground floor which proved to be functional in the long run. This made it easier to socialize with people and easier accessibility.

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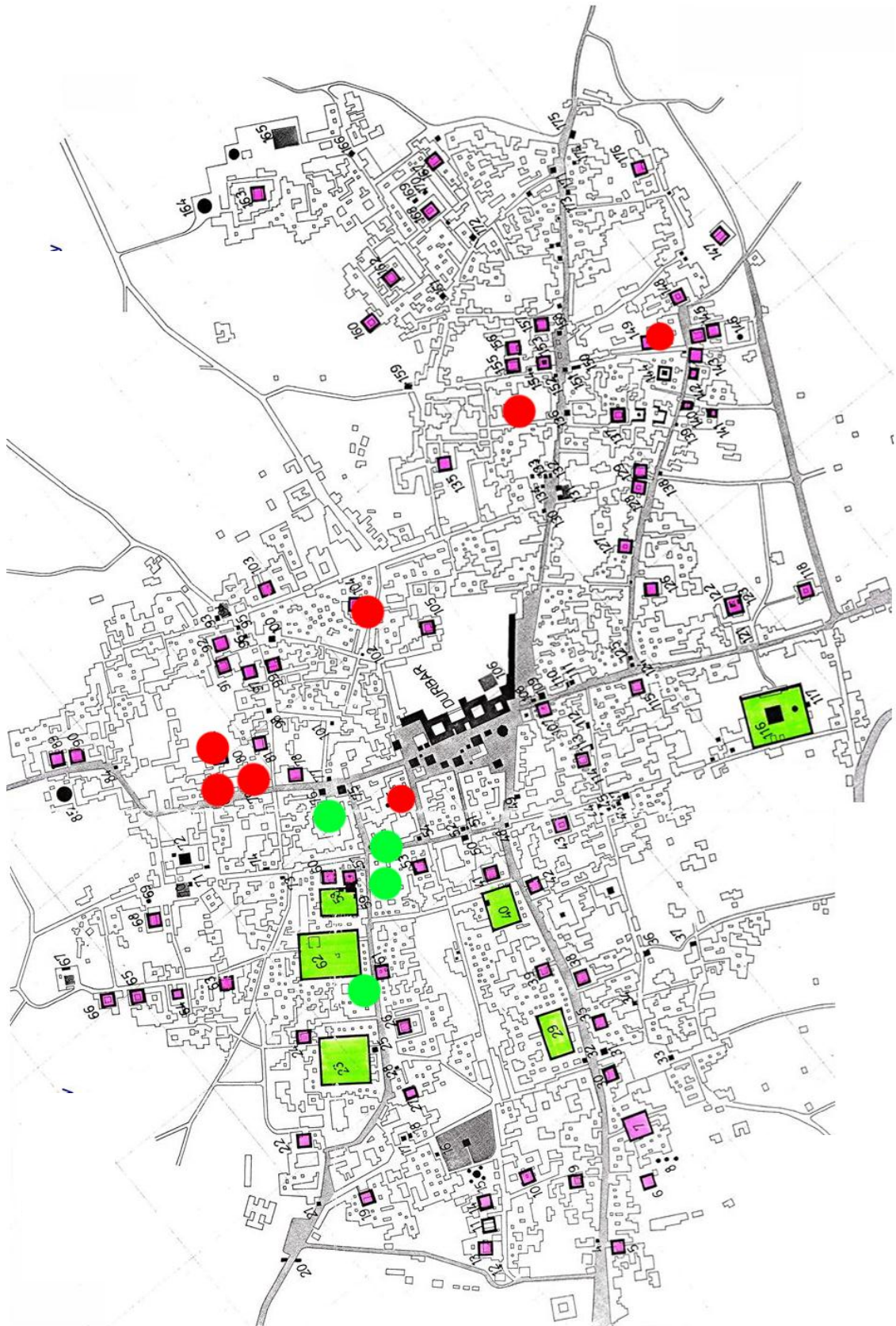


Figure 19 Location of rental accommodation of Cosy Nepal in Patan

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His own taste and appreciation of art led him to be involved in this sector. He even had some experience of his own in hospitality business. With the increasing demand for quality accommodation, availability of rooms and knowing the scope and prospects of heritage, he started this quality accommodation. Majority of customers are expats, then tourists and negligible percent Nepali people. To provide with the facilities targeting these groups, tourist based businesses is on the rise in this area.

When I asked about the investment required to maintain such facility, he said it is quite expensive at first but once it is started it is quite beneficial and highly satisfactory. At present it takes, minimum of Rs. 5000 per sq. ft. in construction. When fully operational, a house of 2 Anna area with height restriction of 35ft. has 1 lakh profit monthly.

According to Mr. Jitendra, there has been significant change in the area with the opening of quality accommodation in comparison to the past. This area consisted of people of well off families. One of the major social aspect of traditional Newari families has been the conflict among the family members or brothers regarding land ownership. Majority of people left this area and moved outside to bungalows. Most of the residents were service holders and their living standard could not be accommodated into the traditional Newari house due to space and structure restriction. Few houses were rented out to working class people. The living condition was very poor. Since most of people didn't live in this area, they did not pay attention to repairing or cleaning the environment of this area. When comparing the past situation with the present situation, this area has been revitalized in a way as there are a lot of different types of economic activities that are coming up in this area and many people are coming back to this area to invest in businesses. Swotha area has become a hub for tourists and this can boost the tourism industry in the future.

Mr. Jitendra explained that there has been a major socio-economic change in the area. There is increase in shopping area, restaurants and viewing areas. The rent in this area has gone up around 3 times and the land price has increased about 10 times in the area. Besides this, there is a change in mentality of people. People in his locality have started giving importance to cleanliness, giving importance to placing potted plants in the area and caring for the stray animals in the area. This has been limited to certain area of Swotha only. Still people in Newar community in other places lack sense of cleanliness,

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hospitality and conservative in nature. People in Patan need to upgrade their lifestyle, bring change in the locality and give importance to hygiene. It is our obligation to maintain the charm of Patan.

If there is continuous increase in accommodation in the area, there will be a competition market for accommodations. As long as the quality tourists reside in the area, there won't be negative influence upon the society. There should be uniformity in prices of quality accommodation.

Mr. Prakash Dhakhwa (Owner of Dhakhwa House, Ikhachen) became a part of this venture 4.5 years ago. He along with his family runs the Dhakhwa house. His past experience in tourism industry through his Handicraft business, hospitality industry through his cybercafé and inspiration from Mr. Jitendra Shrestha encouraged him to invest in this sector. Besides the quality accommodation, his family provides cooking classes by wife and daughter, mountain biking tour by his son, local tour into connected line of courtyards sharing stories of each courtyards, Aila making classes by his mother, participation in festivals like Mha Puja , etc. according to demand.

The Dhakhwa House itself employs two people from Bhaktapur and one person from Ramechap. Mr. Dhakhwa described the unavailability of locals interested in hospitality business and lack of appreciation for jobs generated in hospitality business like housekeeping.

The major changes that needed to be brought into their house was dismantling of staircase core, installment of new stairs, provision of modern amenities, structural retrofitting through use of steel bracings and addition of floor through use of steel. He was planning to start by renovating two rooms but in the process the whole house needed to be worked upon. It took about 50lakhs to renovate the house.

According to Mr. Dhakhwa, there has been significant change in the area after the starting this facility. The area has become cleaner and people in the locality stopped throwing waste outside in the courtyard. Even new handicraft shops have been opened in the courtyard.

Traditional Homes Swotha

Traditional Homes Swotha is a type of boutique B&B being operated in Swotha on lease basis. The owner of the house moved out when he was able to afford a car after which it was rented out to 12 people. The owner is settled in US and this Pradhan family residence has been taken on lease for 20 years. Traditional Homes have been operating for 6 ^{1/2} years with the objective of preserving art and culture of Patan. It has been operating in partnership of 6 one of whom being Ar. Prabal Thapa and others being involved in industry such as travel and tourism, food and beverage industry. According to Ms. Sabina Byanjankar, about Rs. 2 Crore was invested in this Swotha Home at the beginning. The various changes brought included demolition of R.C.C. slope roof on top, changing of few rotten wood and provision of modern amenities.

Traditional homes also houses Café Swotha. In total 17 people are being employed for jobs such as accounting, chef, housekeeping, management, security etc. Ms. Sabina Byanjankar says that this Traditional homes was 13th number when first registered to Trip advisor and now there are about 51 in Patan area only. There are many non-registered accommodations that are operating in the area. About 90% of guests are tourists and 10% are NRNs and about 30% people have returned to stay here. For experience of staying in the traditional home, only two Nepali people have come to stay here. Within the years, there has been good change in this area and Swotha has become a popular place of traditional accommodation due to increase in renovation projects for accommodations.

The Inn, Swotha

One of the increasing trend occurring in Swotha is increase in buying of houses in the area for business purpose. This trend is increasing in Patan due to family conflicts of property division that are common in Newari Settlement.

Originally the property belonged to four brothers. Due to its small entrance, it was not possible to divide the property as there would be wastage of space. Three of the families were well off and had moved out and living in other place for a long time. However, one of the family's economy was not sound and was living there. Due to multiple ownership of the building and economic condition, the remaining family did not repair the house. The other families didn't care about the needed repairs and expected the family staying there to do the repairs. The condition of the house kept on degrading. If

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the property was sold separately, it would not have much value. The family staying there had to leave the house selling the property as a whole as they could not afford to buy the whole property. The other brothers also did not buy the property as a whole.

The owners of the Inn bought the property in partnership. The Inn started as a project example of rehabilitating old homes of traditional Newari architecture. According to Mr. Buddha Ram Ranjit, about 17 jobs are being generated by the Inn. They are mostly from Bhaktapur, Khokana, Chapagaun and few are locals.

Image Ark

Besides these, foreign corporate offices are also operating their galleries, outlet etc. in Kulimha Tole next to Newa Chen. Image Ark is owned by Marie Ange Sylvian Holmgren from Sweden. It is a communication agency renting three floors of Mr. Samvhu Shrestha. It consists of gallery in the ground floor that displays works of Local artist. It consists of boutique in the first floor that displays the designs and the second floor consists of a design studio.

5.1.2. Case History of Businesses in Study Area:

Honacha

Honacha is the family owned Restaurant famous for Ethnic Newari food. The origins of the family operated Restaurant date back several generations. There is no exact date on record when Honacha was started. According to Honacha family it has been serving newari food even before 1990BS (1934 AD). Krishna Lal Byanjankar who was originally from the place called Honley (Chysal) moved in Mangal Bazar, opened a small shop to provide local food for the hungry farmers since then it has been serving Ethnic Newari Food. Honacha is located at Patan, Mangalbazar in the heart of Lalitpur Durbar square. This place retains much of its original character, the interior, exterior and its menu has not changed since years. This is one of those cases where profession chosen by family is continued. The traditional process is used for making the Newari menu. The working group are the family members. The eatery is open to all. This place has the ambience of a typical Bhatti. This is a case that can serve as an example to others. When it comes to the other restaurants coming up in the study area, these are more targeted towards the specific high end consumers.

Handicraft Manufacturer and Dealer

There are lesser family statue manufacturers left in Patan in comparison to the past, who have had this work as their family profession. Gyan Bahadur Shakya has been involved in this craft from when he was a child. He uses Traditional method for making the idols. Modern machineries had made it easier in manufacturing. His customers are mostly Tibetan Lama. His works in Jyasa in his residence. According to him it has been at least 360 years that his family was involved in this field. In the past, the manufacturing was done within the family but now he employs distant family and their relatives from Shakya family for qualitative idols. An idol is not finished by a person. Specific relative performs a specific task. In the past, with the increase in demand, he tried employing non-locals to do the job, but he found the items to be non-qualitative so he started employing his relatives.

Mithai Bhandar in Momarugalli

One of the famous places in the study area is the mithai bhandar at momarugalli. Rajkarnikars regarded as the Halwain are traditional sweet makers. This sweet shops in mamarugalli are actually the branch shop of Tichhugalli where they reside. At the present, the customer service is provided by the Rajkarnikar and the working groups are Tamang. The service is open to all. They opened the branch in Mamarogalli about more than 100 years ago. In the past, the sweets were made only by the family members. At the present, Tamangs from Dolpa are employed. When I asked about whether the youth in the family know how to make the sweets, it was found that the skill has been limited to the older generation only.

Statue Business

At the present the people involved in the field of statue manufacture and business is not limited to Shakya Craftsmen. One of the increasing families involved in this field is Maharjan families. They have stopped their family profession that is agriculture. Ram Maharjan used to work as helper in Shakya family to make idols for 10 years. After that he started his own venture. It has been 20 years since he started his own manufacturing. He employs around 100 people who are Maharjans, Tamangs and Bengali people. There have been changes made in the traditional methods to make it easier and faster. About 80% of the produce is exported to China. Such kind of venture of mass production of statues brought in competition for traditional workers and small scale Shakya family manufactures.

Case of Break in passing down of skill

Although businesses have increased in the study area, there are cases where they have not been able to sustain their family profession and struggling to switch business. One of such resident currently works in a pharmacy at Lagankhel. He is from Shakya family from Nagbahal. His family profession is metal statue making. His grandfather had a curios shop in Mahapal. According to his father at that time there were 5-6 curios shop in Mahapal in the main road of Gabahal-Mangal bazar Road. Since that road was one of the main road of Patan and they could not compete with commercialization along with competition in business, his grandfather chose to leave their family profession and open up fabric shop in Dhalacha instead even though he did not want to leave the business. The respondent's father is continued as shopkeeper of fabric shop. Dhalacha area was the area of cloth shop. There were 8-9 cloth shops. According to him, the business was going ok, so-so type of business. There was a market created in the area. Then few metal statue shop came along the road. These showrooms could afford more rent and cloth shop one by one had to leave the area due to higher rent. The area of cloth shop started to change into the area with metal idol showrooms. "Even the house owner where my father had the shop raised the rent according to the market created. It could not be afforded so we had to leave the area. Also the business was not profitable so we had to change the business." The respondent's father had a brother who wanted to continue the family profession and opened up a shop at Boudha. Due to Tibetan clientele in Boudha, his business concentrated on religious metal items mostly used by the Tibetan and his business is going well. He was able to use his skill but his son is not interested in this profession. In this sense there is less likely case of passing down of skill. None of the respondent's siblings are willing to continue the family profession.

Another story is that of a family with four brothers from Shakya family in Nagabahal . Their father used to sell the idols and his brothers used to make the idols. Of the four, three did not go for higher education and used to make their own idols and sell. The youngest son went for higher education and is currently an officeholder. After the property division, the three opened their own shops and worked separately. While working separately, they found that it was difficult sustain the business due to competition in the business and market. One of the brother left the field, although he has the skill to make and sell the idols. Two of the brothers are working in this field but they are not satisfied with the income. Of the three brothers, none of them have taught their sons and daughters the skill of making the idols. When I asked them the reason

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behind not teaching the skill, they talked about the field being difficult to work in. “There are problems in getting raw materials and a lot of effort is required to complete the idols. The business can be profited only if the manufacturing is done in large scale. The market was not like the one it was in the past. I would not want my sons and daughters to face difficulty by involving them in this field.” When collectively listening to the respondents, there is a break of passing down of skill to the present young generation in family profession in many families.

Case of Break in passing down of intangible heritage

One of the changes that have come up in Patan is the change in use of Baha. Although Vihara is considered to be Buddhist Monastery where celibate monks and nuns live, Baha (derived from Vihara) has been residential quarters for non-celibate Buddhist priests. Bahas are still inhabited and tended by a Sangha of initiated Shakyas and Bajracharyas. Those Bahas having large number of responsible members in Sangha have been operating and maintained by the Sangha. When it comes to small bahas with small sangha, there has been change in ownership as well as practices. One of such case is Nhu Baha at Dhalacha.

The residents here are no longer the original descendants. They say that the original sangha of this baha died out and no longer are such daily routines carried out here. The early documents indicate that it belonged to the Pradhanangas and residence of ‘Thaku Juju’ and Joshis are considered to be kind of secretary to them. The family of Thaku Jujus are considered as the descendants of King Bhaskaradeva (founder of Kwa Baha). The Pradhanangamahapatras may have been the patrons of Kwa Baha functioning as Jajamans for principal rituals and their Buddhist shrine may have been Nhu Baha and tended by dya palas from Kwa Baha. (John K. Locke) At the present, there are few Joshi families residing here and many have sold their houses to handicraft businessmen who bought it for economic purpose. Although these businessmen are from Shakya Families, they pay respect to their own respective shrine only and daily practice of worship is lost. This brings issues of maintenance as well as identity of Baha.

The identity of the area is losing with the passage of time and the inhabitants are also unaware of this. Although in-depth research needs to be carried out in the bahas and bahis of Patan, there has been change in inhabitants of small bahas in Patan where Sanghas of these bahas are weak or died out.

5.2. The residents' Experience

Establishment of B&B in core of Patan, have led to opening of new handicraft stores, galleries and restaurants in the area and the number of tourism based businesses is increasing. B&B, rental apartments and guest houses are being opened mostly in inner courtyards and alleys that are away from day to day traffic and busy streets of Patan. This has led to exposure of inner courtyards of Patan to the foreigners, a part of Patan that is not offered in package deals. This has brought a new opportunity for the homeowners who have their houses in courtyards. Development or commercialization in Patan was defined by the roads and the houses alongside any street has had greater economic value rather than houses within the courtyards. The street homeowners can open up shops or rent out the ground floor for shops but the owners of homes located within courtyards have had a disadvantage and their homes have been secluded from the commercialization aspect.

Mr. Dangol (resident at Swotha) says, "My house is located in an alley behind Swotha Narayan near Patan Durbar Square. The tourists used to go around mostly along main streets through Patan Durbar Square. The inner streets and alleys of Patan are being ventured by the tourists at the present due to opening of B & B. With the opening of B & B, different kinds tourist oriented shops are also being opened near the B & B. When tourists come to observe and enjoy life and architecture in the inner streets, it gives me great pleasure. I think Patan is going on a good track of development". Mrs. Dangol explained that the people in her community are working together to improve the society for increasing tourism. Although, people in our community have always worked together, the bonding and socializing factor in the community is more strengthened

Mr. Maharjan (businessman at Swotha) says, "Maybe due to the restrictions in building permit, observing the renovations taking place for B&B and use of traditional elements in modern R.C.C. buildings by B&B for attracting guests, there has been a change in perspective of local people as well. People want to construct their new R.C.C. homes reflecting traditional architecture that was not there in the past."

There has been an increase in tourism oriented businesses near Durbar Square Area. Since the tourism industry in Nepal is seasonal, the rental accommodation that targets the expats in Nepal is also on the rise. According to the views on residents during the

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study, there are many expats currently residing and working in Patan. According to Mr. Dangol, there are galleries, eateries, B & B and guesthouses owned by the foreigners and some are operating in partnership with locals. There are many job opportunities being generated here. There is a sentiment that the people in society would not approve of working in hospitality sector like housekeeping, helper, etc. However, generation of these kinds of jobs has given opportunities for many unemployed people and housewives from Lubhu, Bhaktapur, Lele, and few from Patan as well.

Mr. Shakya explained, “There is still a long way to go for tourism to develop. There is not even basic facility provided for tourists when they enter Patan. There is no facility of toilet even. There needs to be a vision for Patan that is oriented towards tourism from the Municipality. If there is no vision from government, there is a possibility of haphazard development in the long run. For now, there are no problems as such due to tourism and other tourism oriented businesses.”

Tourism in Patan is in developing state and yet there is a long way to go to achieve its full potential. According to the views of residents, the tourism industry being a seasonal industry and also due to the impact of earthquake, there has been limitation in development of tourism industry. Maybe due to this, there has not been any negative sides to the development that is taking place in Patan. The overall change in Patan has had only positive effect in the surrounding.

The tourism oriented commercial area in Swotha is increasing day by day. One of the resident explained the increase in commercial demand in the area. He said, “There are many offers that are coming up for residence. There are many who seek to buy my residence at Swotha. It is my ancestral home and my family has been living here for generations. There was also one offer to rent my whole home to open up a pizza parlor by a German foreigner. It was a good opportunity but this area holds a deep sentimental value for my family. There are many families in the area who are renting out their whole house to these businesses. For us the locality, the community and the religious center this area provides, can't be found elsewhere.”

There is social, cultural, economic and psychological diversity within the study area and these aspects differ in each family. There are cases where the family conflicts were

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so harsh that it seemed easier for them to move out selling their ancestral homes. There are cases where the family economy was so bad that they had to move out selling the property. There are cases where people could not avoid the economic benefit from the property so moved out renting the property. There are cases where the family is still staying and renting out the place as well. There are cases where family is staying there and operating their own business in their house. There are families who find the social ties in the area so strong and irreplaceable that they refuse to move out despite the economic pressure that is rising in the area.

Even in the case of Newa Chen, the property is owned by two brothers. One of the brother had already moved and living in Koteshwor and the other brother built a house at the back of the property. Twenty years ago a portion of the house was already sold but the buyer did not bring changes to the house nor did he demolish the house to make R.C.C. building. Later, the previous owner bought the portion of house back. Even after buying the house back, they did not repair it. After renovations were carried out with the help of UNESCO, the property as a whole started being used as rental accommodation.

According to Ar. Rohit Ranjitkar, there are many houses in inner courtyards in Swotha and in different parts of Patan, where the homeowner is using the house partially and renting out the extra rooms to expats or tourists. He feels that to this extent, there won't be much damage to the locality so long as people are not relocated from the place.

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Mr. Gyan Bahadur Shakya (Craftsman at Okubahal) says, “In comparison to older times, there has been series of changes in business of Metal idols in the country. Earlier, this business was dealt by limited number of people. Now there is much more competition in this business.” According to him, handicraft consists of wide range of variety, ranging from different kinds of metal idols like bronze, copper, silver, gold etc. , alum idols, stone craft, jewelry (silver, gold etc.) Accordingly family names were given to the family working in respective job example Lukami (Goldsmith), Lhokami (Stonesmith), Farkijya (Alum-crystal craft), Thakami (craft requiring molding; bell, utensils, Idols), Kasaa (Brass utensils) etc. To keep up with the modern day world, people moved on to profitable jobs but there has been loss of various kinds of craft.

Asha Ratna Shakya (Businessman at Okubahal), says, “My family profession was alum craft. It has been 8 years that I left the work. Metal craft business is more profitable. Even in my extended family, no one works in the field anymore. They are continuing the craft but the material is either metal or silver.”

Mr. Gyan Bahadur Shakya explained that the demand for idols led to people changing into this field. Back in the old days of extended family, the manufacturing work was limited to family members and tasks were divided among them, one of which is trade of these manufactured items. With the division into nuclear families, the task went with the family. Trade being more beneficial than just manufacturing, people started to adapt both the enterprises giving for focus to trade. With the focus on trade, some have resolved to mass production of these items. This involves employing people. Since local craftsmen are expensive to employ, they started employing people of Maharjan and Dangol families who worked as helpers and Tamang families from out of valley who came in search of work. “Manufacturing handicraft involves various types of work including dealing with hazardous chemicals like mercury, nitric acid, sulphuric acid, potassium chlorate etc. These tasks were assigned to these people.” This brought in a competitive market. More people started assigning non-local people into the field. This has created a type of pressure for small family manufacturers.

Many of the manufacturers and businessmen of Shakya family explained that they would be the last generation who would work in this field. There are problems in getting materials like mercury, potassium chlorate when in need. Besides those, there are problems in getting cow dung, yellow soil, wax etc. that was easily available in the

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past. It is available when bought in large quantities, but for buying these materials in small quantities is not possible. Mr. Ravi Raj Shakya says, "Manufacturing of the idols have been in my family for more than two hundred years. It is kind of sad to say that I am the last generation to do this work and I cannot pass my skill to the other generation like my father passed on to me. My sons have their own jobs and they don't wish to continue this work. Even if they had the skill, it is difficult to sustain this business as there is more and bigger competition."

Mr. Shakya said,"If this kind of situation continues, after some years, there won't be skilled Shakyas left. The passing down of skill will be stopped. Those few who are doing business might continue trading but it will be limited to trade leaving craftsmanship behind. I hope that day won't come but there is a possibility of those kind of days in the near future."

Mr. Ravi Raj Shakya says, "This business requires a lot of investment and workmanship at your disposal. Those who can do this can perform well. At the present, Tamangs are actively involved in manufacturing of the metal statues and Dangols and Maharjans are also actively involved in business of the metal statues."

Most of the people near Okubahal used to make utensils made of Kasauri, Karuwa etc. Since there is no longer demand of those utensils, these crafts are no longer made in Patan. In a way there has been loss of craft. The locals here switched their work to making of metal idols.

There has also been shift of local craftsmen to business and opening up of showrooms of Metal Statues in Patan has increased greatly especially in areas from Patan Dhokha, Nakabahil, Kwalkhu, Hakha, Thapahiti and Sundhara. Mr. Purna Shakya says, "Earlier metal craftsmen were more involved in making statues and shops were concentrated in Thamel, Newroad, Boudha and various hotels. With increasing commercialization and increase in rent in these areas, many businessmen have shifted their showrooms to Patan that has brought increase in rent to some extent in Patan. With this increase in rent, there has been displacement of small local businesses in the area. In areas where pharmacy, grocery, tea shop, fabric shop, etc. once existed has been replaced by Metal statue showrooms.

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Mrs. Bindra Rajkarnikar (Businesswoman in Mamaru galli) says, “Mamaru galli used to be one deserted streets in Patan. There was only one shop when we started our first shop of sweets. There used to tales about the deity (headless deity) coming to chase the people who came in this street in the evening. But now, this street has become one of the happening streets for youngsters. This development of restaurants in this area has come up in within 5 years recently.”

Mr. Dilendra Shrestha says that the area has is developing. When he started his restaurant, there were few restaurants. Now there has been significant growth in the number of restaurants.

Mr. Kiran Shrestha says, “There were only two sweet shops in the lane. But there have been changes through time. Swotha’s development is increasing and is spreading in Mamaru galli. There are already 3 rental accommodations in the area and more guest houses are under construction.”

Mamaru galli has been famous for the sweet shop for many generations. Rajkarnikars have been famous for their sweets. Like in metal idol shop, even in the sweet shop, they themselves have stopped making the sweets and employed Tamang men to make the sweets. Mr. Rajkarnikar says, “I will be the last generation to know how to make the sweets. My sons don’t seem to be interested in making the sweets. In the festival times, when the shop gets busy, they help out in attending to the customers. But in terms of manufacturing, we are depended on our employees.”

The changes that have been coming in Patan area is different in different streets depending on the location, socio-economic aspect of the people and occupation of the people. Although there has been changes coming up in Patan, the locals associate it to development and good change rather than a bad influence. Residents reply were mostly positive saying, “In terms of economy, locals are benefitting and the businesses are operating. The changes are positive.” “The streets have become more vibrant and fun to walk around. There has not been negative effects as such so until then the overall development coming is positive”. “Employment opportunities have increased. Locals are provided with jobs, So overall it is a good thing.”

5.3. Changes in Streets of Study Area

A survey was carried out in the streets in study area to see the composition of the uses.

Nakabahil – Kwalkhu Street

Nakabahil – Kwalkhu Street had shops of all kinds in the past. There were retail shops, fabric shops, grocery store, tea shops, sweet shops etc. operated by the house owner and few rented out. At the present, this street has turned into the street of showrooms for metalcraft. Since the local people here are traditionally involved in the manufacture of the Metal statues, they themselves have opened their showrooms in the area. Among the random survey carried out, 67% of houses being owned by locals and being used by themselves, 23% of the houses is owned by locals but fully rented out and 10% of houses have been bought and used for the economic purpose only.

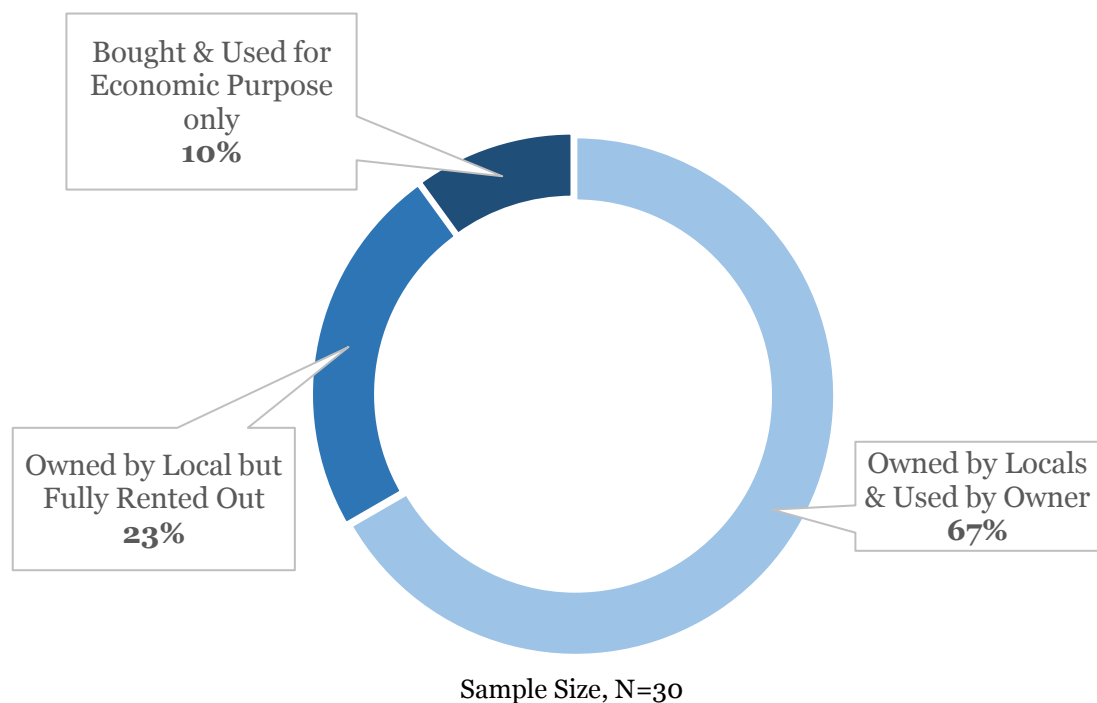


Figure 20 House Use in Nakabahil -Kwalkhu Street

Besides this, majority of houses i. e. 67% of the houses are being used for residential purpose with shop in ground floor, 13% is used for rental accommodation, 13% for commercial purpose and 7% of houses are partially used by the owner and on rent. Among the businesses in the area, 10% is one man occupation, 7% of businesses is operating with help of family members, 50% businesses have local employees, 23% businesses have non-local employees and 10% of businesses have both family members and local employees.

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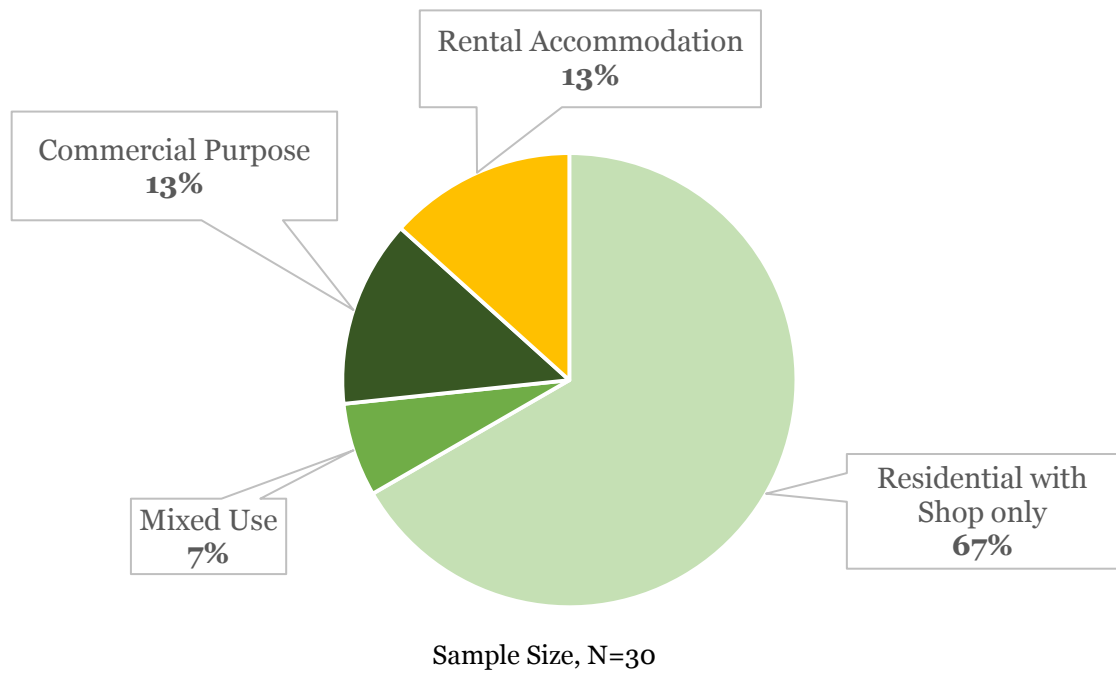


Figure 21 Purpose of House Use in Nakabahil - Kwalkhu Street

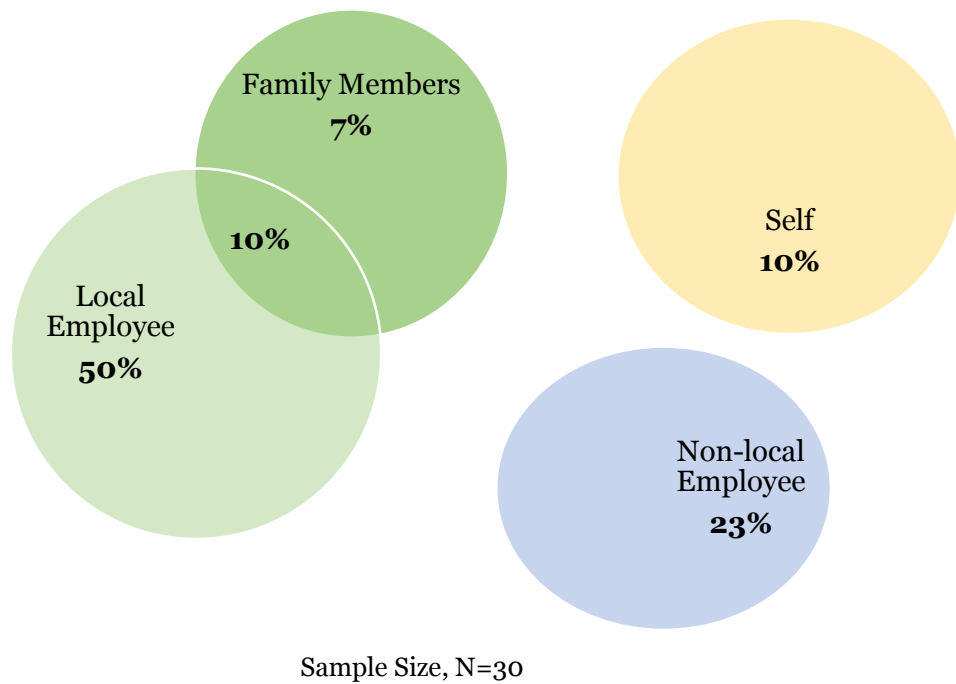


Figure 21 Employment in Businesses in Nakabahil -Kwalkhu

Kwalkhu Area

Kwalkhu Area had shops of all kinds in the past. There were retail shops, fabric shops, grocery store, tea shops, electronics shops, etc. rented out by house owner. At the present, this street has turned into the street of showrooms for metalcraft and handicraft. In this area, there are mostly businessmen who used to have showrooms in hotels, Newroad and Thamel. Among the random survey carried out, 43% of houses being owned by locals, partially rented out and partially used by owner, 29% of the houses is owned by local and used by owner , 14% of houses owned by local but fully rented out and 14% of houses have been bought and used for the economic purpose only.

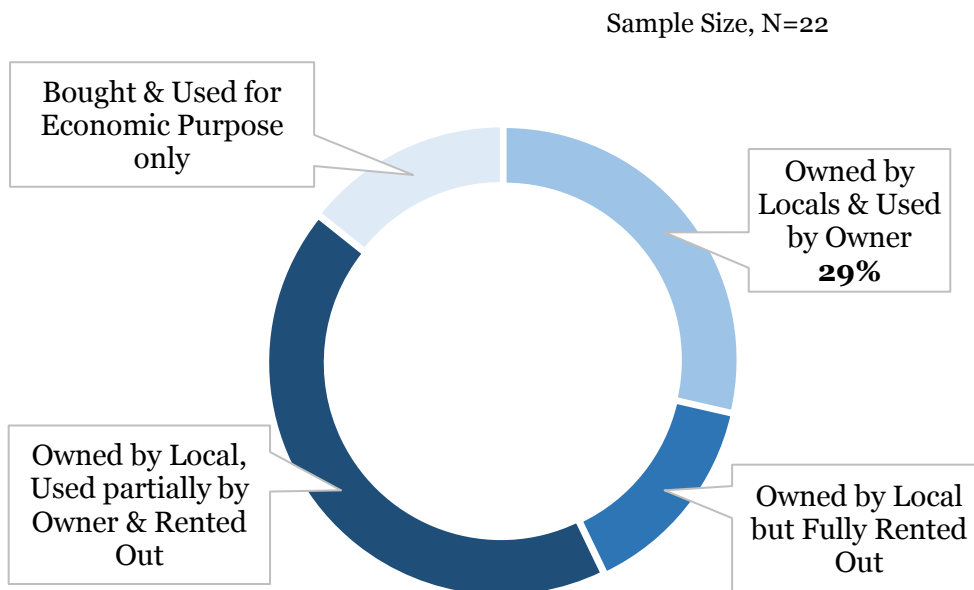


Figure 23 House Use in Kwalkhu Area

Besides this, majority of houses i. e. 73% of the houses are being used for residential purpose with shop, 23% is used for commercial, and 4% of houses are using for food & beverage. Among the businesses in the area, 18% is one man occupation, 18% of businesses is operating with help of family members, 40% businesses have local employees, 9% businesses have non-local, 9% of businesses have both local & non-local & 6% of the businesses are operating with family members & non-local employee.

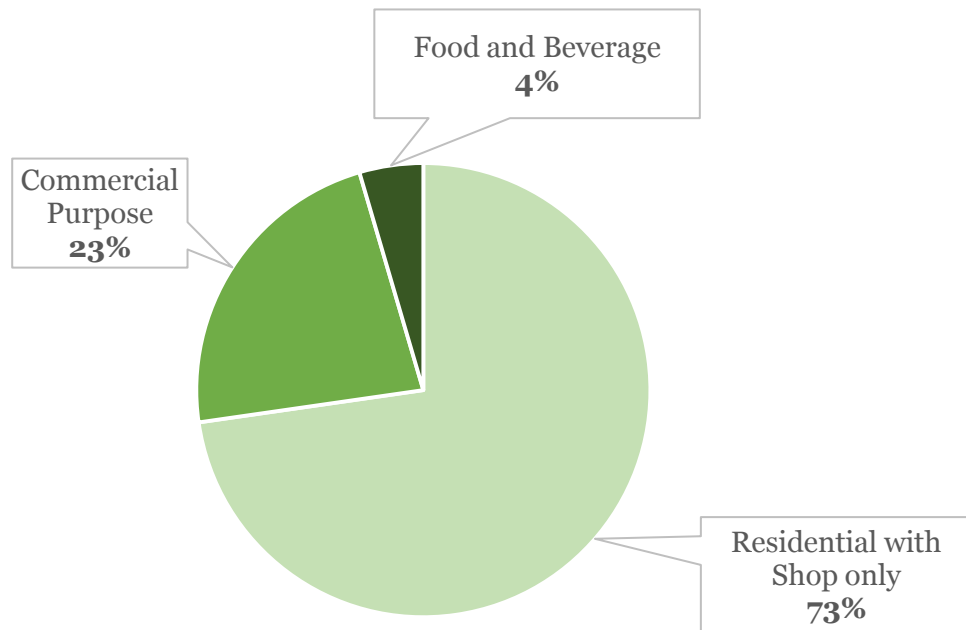


Figure 24 Purpose of House Use in Kwalkhu Area

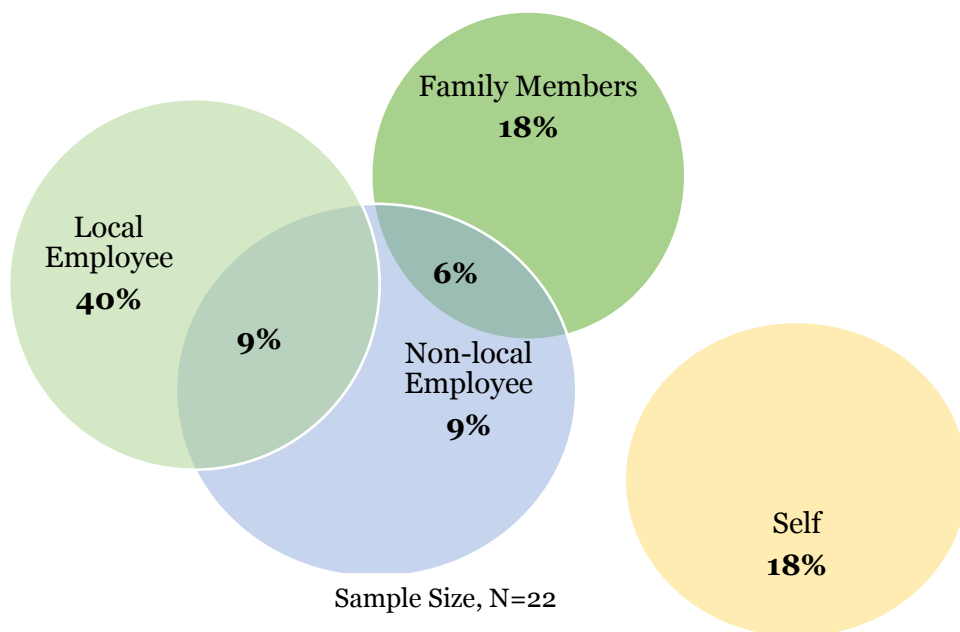


Figure 25 Employment in Businesses in Kwalkhu

Mamaru Galli & Patko

Mamaru Galli had few shops and Patko had retail shops, grocery store, tea shops, etc. rented out by house owner in the past. At the present, this Patko has few showrooms for metalcraft and handicraft rest are retail shops and grocery store whereas, Mamaru galli has been filled with restaurants, rental accommodations and few jewelry shops. Among the random survey carried out, 50% of houses are owned by the locals but fully rented out, 22% of houses are owned by locals and used by owner, 21% being owned by locals, partially rented out and partially used by owner, and 7% of houses have been bought and used for the economic purpose only.

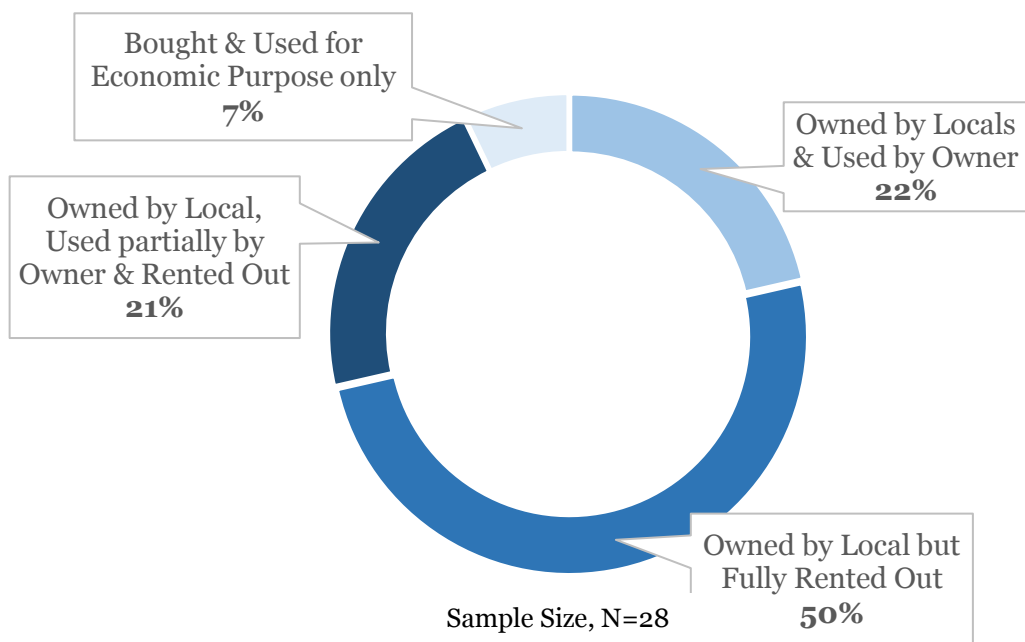


Figure 26 House Use in Mamaru Galli & Patko

Besides this, majority of houses i. e. 39% of the houses are being used for food and beverage services, 32% is used for residential purpose with shop only, 11% have mixed use, 11% for rental accommodation, 7 % of building is religious building and provided for rent. Among the businesses in the area, 18% is one man occupation, 14% of businesses is operating with help of family members, 11% businesses have local employees, 50% businesses have non-local and 7% of businesses are operating with family members & non-local employee.

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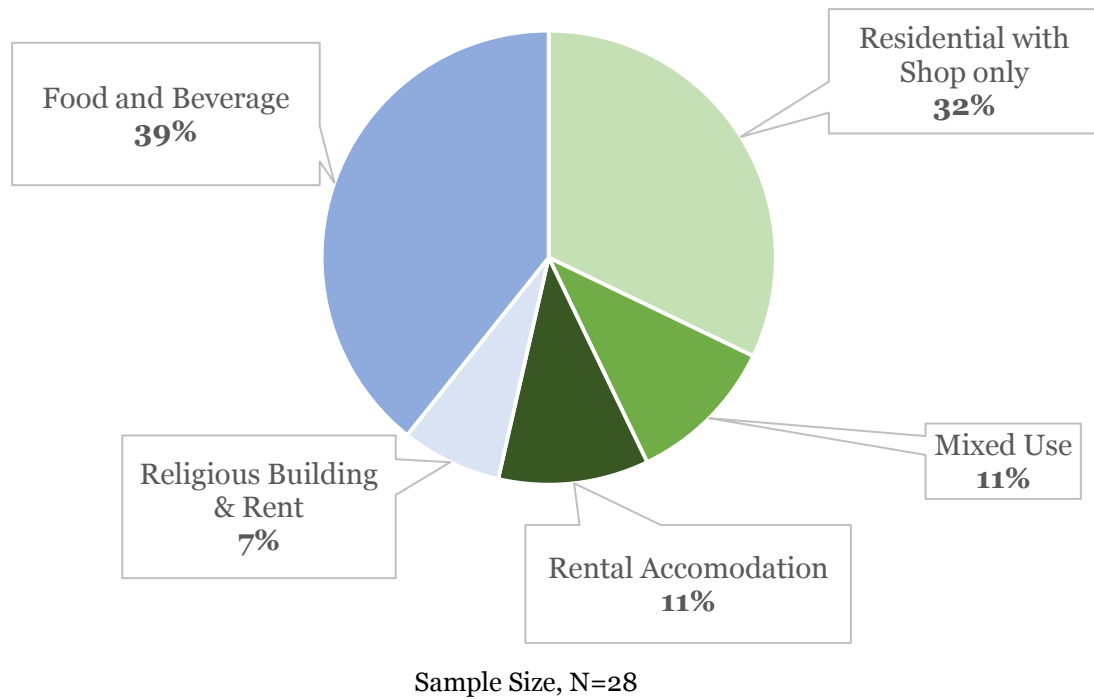


Figure 27 Purpose of House Use in Mamaru Galli & Patko

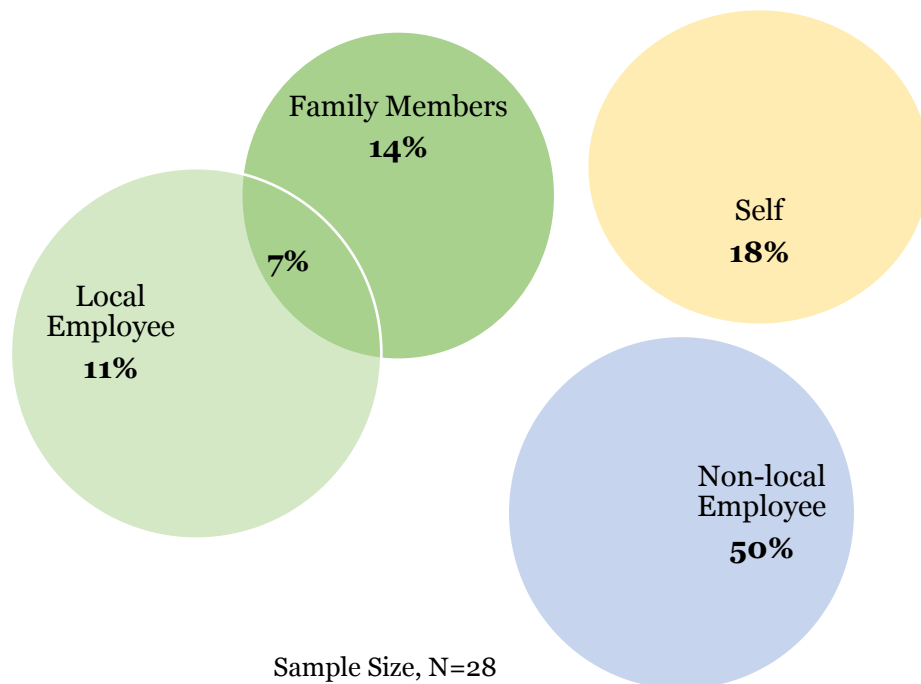


Figure 28 Employment in Businesses in Mamaru Galli & Patko

of

Swotha

Swotha had retail shops, grocery store, tea shops, etc. rented out by house owner in the past. At the present, Swotha is commercialized with showrooms for metalcraft and papercraft, woodcraft, restaurants, rental accommodations and Thanka paintings. Among the random survey carried out, 17% of houses are owned by the locals but fully rented out, 30% of houses are owned by locals and used by owner, 36%, partially rented out and partially used by owner, and 17% of houses have been bought and used for the economic purpose only.

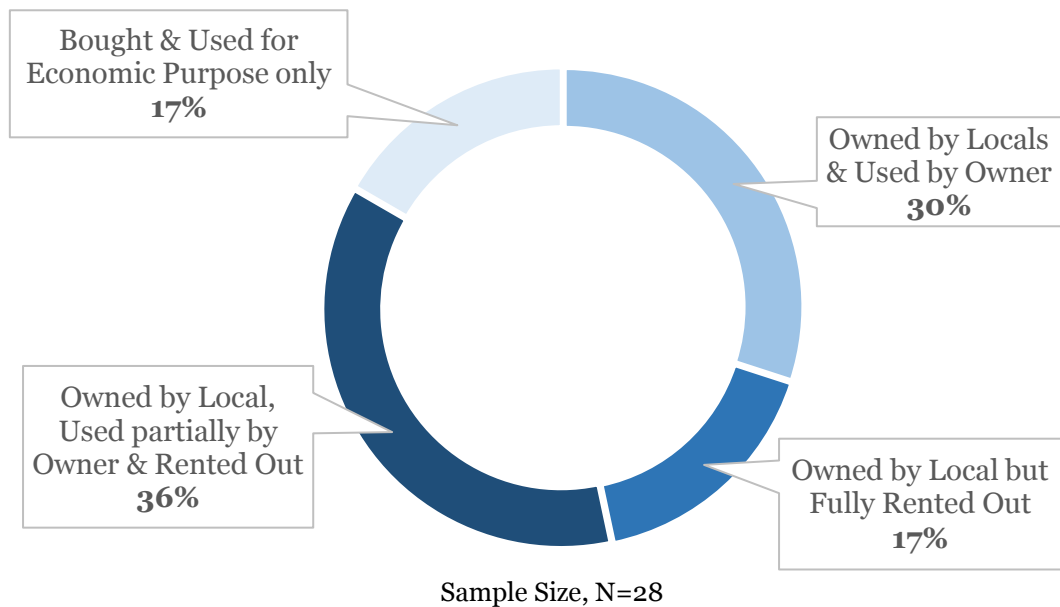


Figure 29 House Use in Swotha

Besides this, majority of houses i. e. 48% of the houses are residences with shop only, 17% is used for commercial purpose, 4% have mixed use, 21% for rental accommodation, 3 % of building is religious building and provided for rent. Among the businesses in the area, 29% is one man occupation, 7% of businesses is operating with help of family members, 18% businesses have local employees, 25% businesses have non-local, 3% of businesses are operating with family members & local employee and 18% have local and non-local employees.

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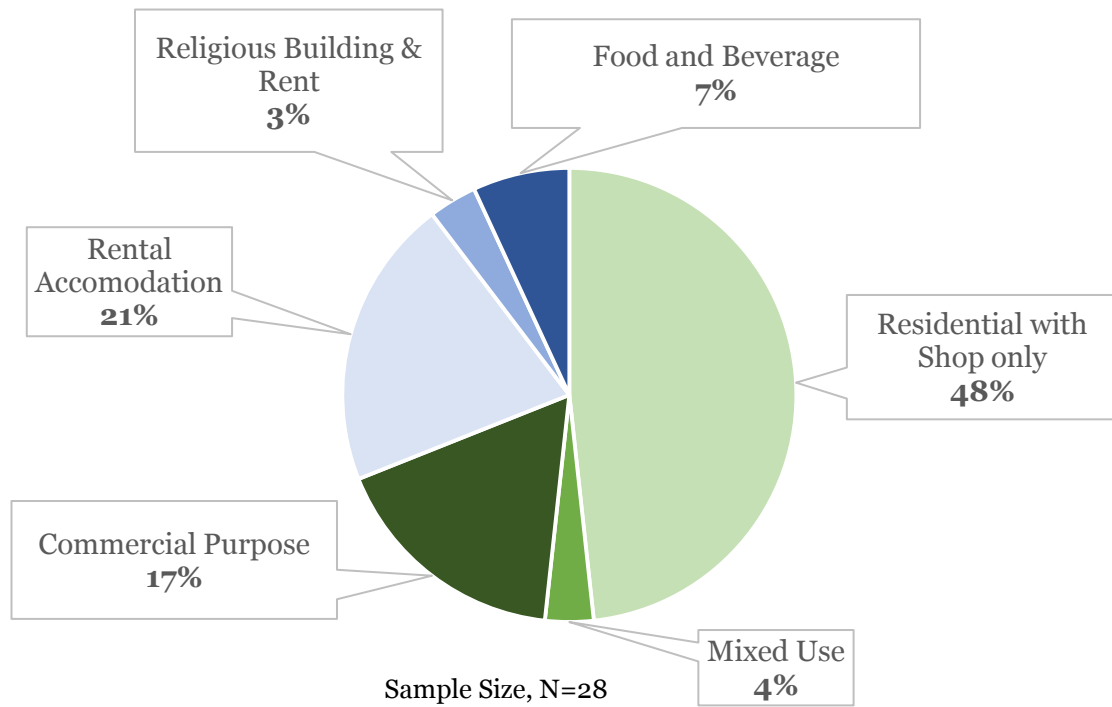


Figure 30 Purpose of House Use in Swotha

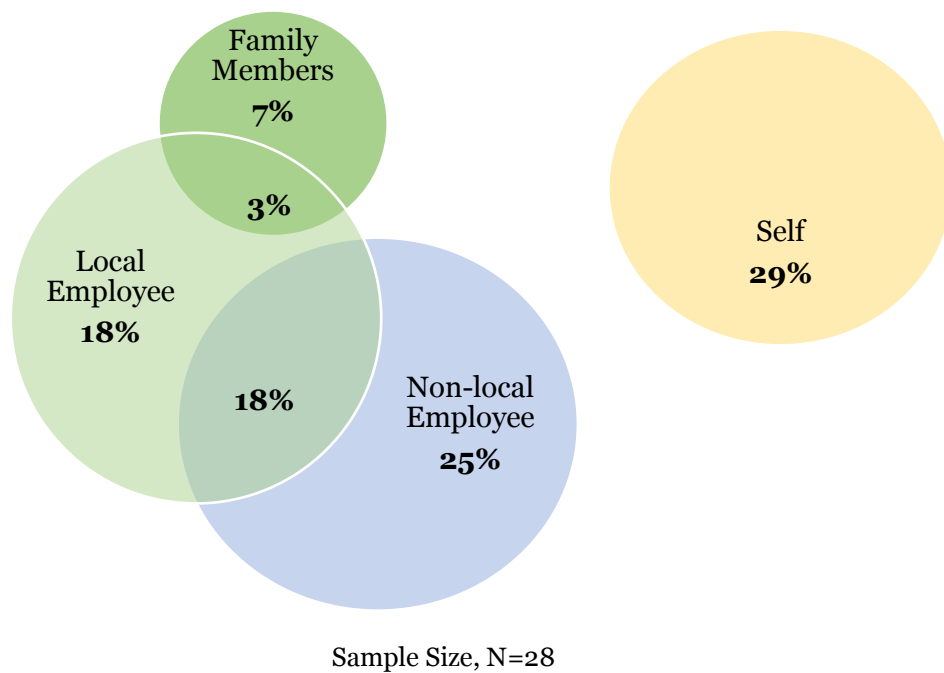


Figure 31 Employment in Businesses in Swotha

Okubahal-Sundhara Street

Okubahal-Sundhara Street had retail shops, grocery store, tea shops, etc. rented out by house owner in the past. At the present, this area is filled with showrooms for metal statues. Among the random survey carried out, 10% of houses are owned by the locals but fully rented out, 26% of houses are owned by locals and used by owner, 53%, partially rented out and partially used by owner, and 11% of houses have been bought and used for the economic purpose only.

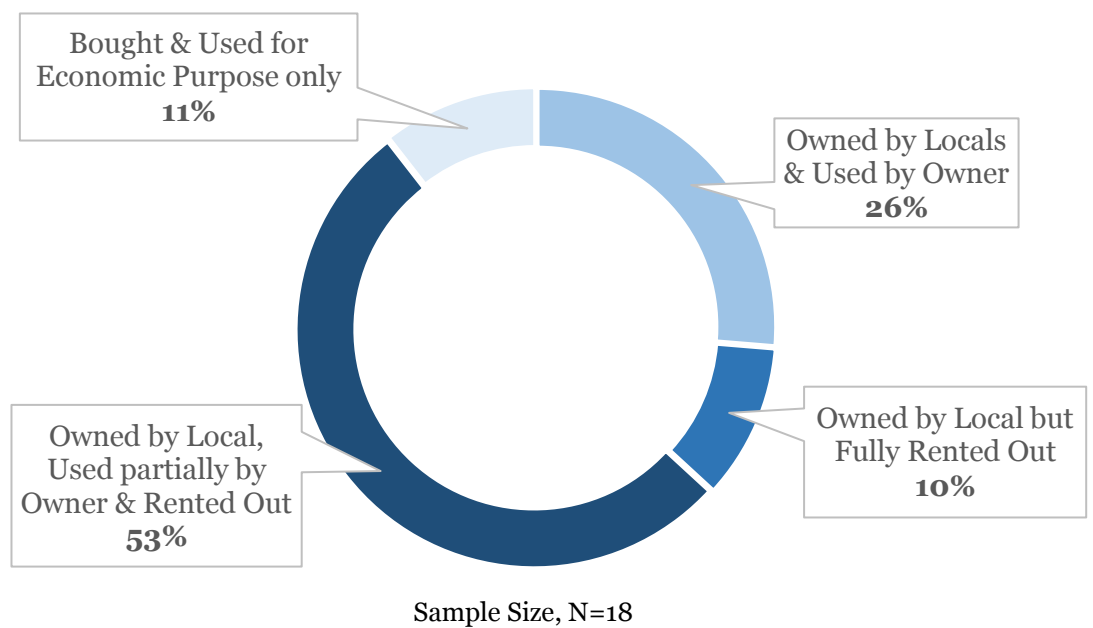


Figure 32 House Use in Okubahal-Sundhara Street

Besides this, majority of houses i. e. 70% of the houses are residences with shop only, 5% is used for commercial purpose, 5% have mixed use, 20% for rental accommodation. Among the businesses in the area, 17% of businesses is operating with help of family members, 5% businesses have local employees, 17% of businesses are operating with family members & local employees and 11% are collectively working with family members, local and non-local employees.

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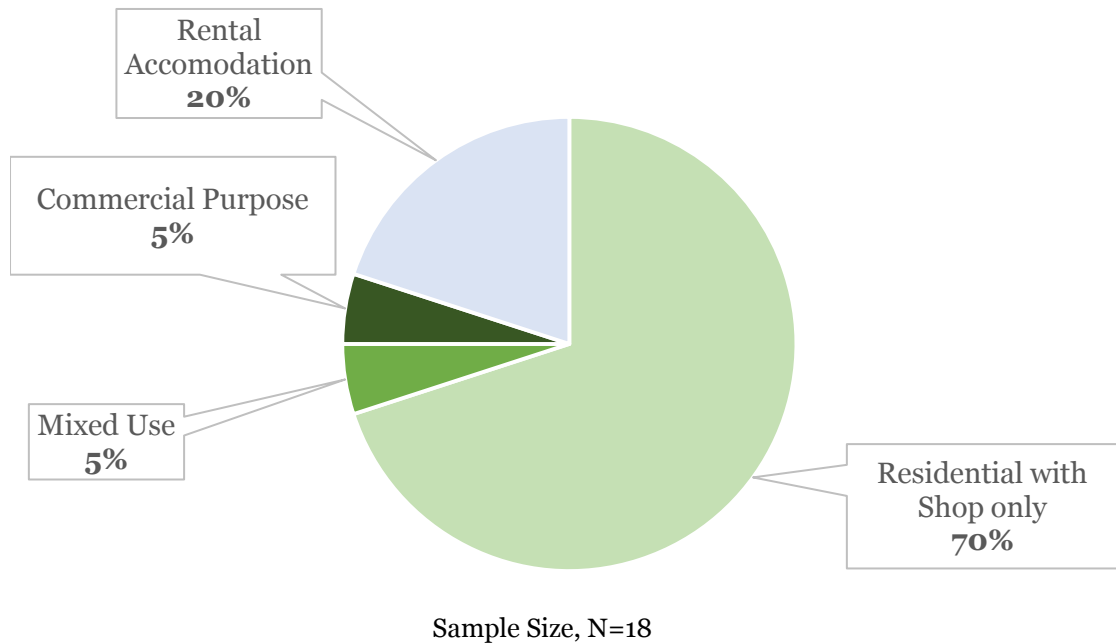


Figure 33 Purpose of House Use in Okubahal-Sundhara Street

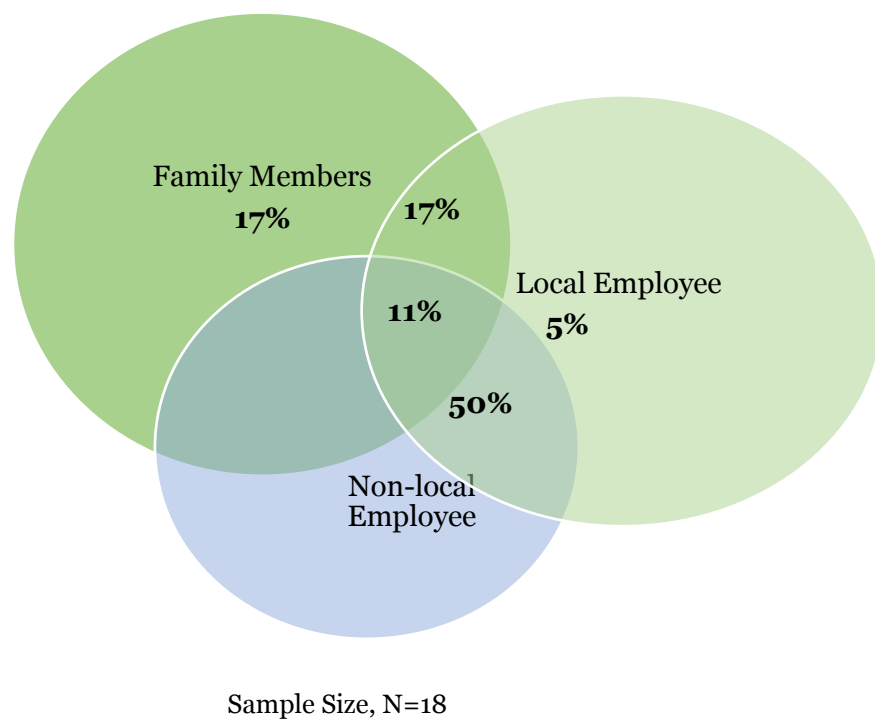


Figure 34 Employment in Businesses in Okubahal-Sundhara Street

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

6.1. Discussion

Gentrification in our case is in a way different from gentrification in different parts of the world. In our case, I feel gentrification can be defined as the voluntary and involuntary displacement and multiple facet transformation occurring with time due to change in lifestyle, livelihood and perspective of people, with the motive of social and economic prosperity.

Gentrification is often the result of revitalizing city neighborhoods, that can impose great costs on certain individual families and businesses, often those who cannot afford them resulting in displacement, deconcentration of poverty, change in characteristics, increased property values, change in income mix, change in leadership/institutions etc. For revitalization to take place, a city or an area needs to be in dilapidated condition, with decrease in land value and degradation of city.

In our case, the land value has never gone down as such, on the contrary the land value has been increasing with time. Although there has been cases of physical dilapidation of structures, there has not been mass decay of city as a whole.

6.1.1. Area and spread of Gentrification

Based on the research on the study area, it was found that the number of businesses are increasing in the study area. The businesses that have been found to be increased are mostly tourism based businesses. This has led to switch of family businesses to profitable tourism based businesses. The major businesses that are increasing is the rental accommodation in inner courtyards, metal statue business in Patandhokha-Dhalacha- Khwalkhu –Hakha- Saugaal- Sundhara-Okubahal and Thapahiti and the manufacturing of statue idols in fringe of Patan core like Balkumari, Sankhamul, Sincha etc. that used to be agricultural land in the past.

6.1.2. Negative Sides of Commercial Gentrification and Tourism Gentrification

Domestic Migration/Displacement

The major effect is the migration of people from core area due to increased land value. When people were asked about the increasing land value, the answers were different depending upon the family background they came from. At most many said they would give their house on rent if they are provided with price they cannot decline and they would themselves go on to stay in areas that are cheaper. Most of the people who have strong community affiliation agreed that they would not sell their ancestral homes to other people and if the condition was that bad, they would sell it to their own kin. However, there are cases of families with low socio-economic background and family conflict, selling their property to richer group i.e. neighbor. Of these transactions, few are bought and living cases and most are bought mostly for economic purpose.

Socio –cultural Change

At the present it is seen that there has been change in thinking and decrease in religious inclination and change in tradition in Patan. There has been change in way of life and preference to western modernization. In the past, the richer group contributed in maintaining the society and public buildings. Now, it is mostly depended on donation from outside. The preference of the society has changed into preference to oneself and luxurious way of life. The social structure that was present in the past brought in a lot of discrimination with time through exploitation. However, it also created interdependency among the people that bound the people as whole. There has been breakdown of the social structure with passage of time. Both of these activities are leading to no resource sharing and no contribution to society.

Emerging Loss of Ethnic Skill

There has been change in the working group in the craft sector. Instead of improving one's skill and instead of searching efficient way or safer way to carry out the task, it is seen that the difficult jobs are passed on to lower income group. There is increase in non-traditional workers and improved skill of non-traditional workers. With increase in non-traditional workers, there is shift in sensitivity towards the work as well. The newer generation of traditional craftsmen are limited to ownership (dealer) losing the

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skill. It is seen that there has been decrease in passing down of skill to the next generation. There are many who have left the sector in search of new opportunity. There is increase in switching of businesses to profitable businesses leading to emerging loss of ethnic skill. There is also increase in decrease of interdependency of manufacturer and trader.

Adaption of traditional architecture to tourist use

With new entrepreneurship increasing in the tourism business, there is increase in rental accommodation in the area. Renovations that are being carried out in the process of accommodating tourists have led to adaptations of Newari architecture to designs that attract tourist. In the process, there has been many alterations to the Newari residence and commodification of residences are going on. In the end, traditional architecture is being affected.

Changing Street Flavor and Cultural Fabric

With the increase in the businesses for tourists and expats, local market is being displaced in many areas. With displacement of shops that cater to local people, the character of the area is changed.

Economic and Cultural pressures

With the change in inhabitants in specific areas, different kind of pressures are generated in the process such as economic and cultural pressure. When higher end groups are involved in any area, this brings in impacts in the surrounding area.

Tourism Commodification

With the increase in tourism, it commodifies the traditional environment according to the tourists. When there is demand for any kind of craft item, in process of the supply, many of the other important craft get lost. Without modifications in the other crafts it would not be possible for the craft to survive.

6.1.3. Positive Sides of Gentrification of Commercial Gentrification and Tourism Gentrification

Increase in economic activities

There is positive sides to gentrification that are mostly ignored in traditional prospect of gentrification. There have been economic activities generated as a whole in the study area. This yields profit to the house owner as well as the businessmen.

Increase in job volume

With increasing economic activities and entrepreneurship in the study area, there has been increase in the job opportunities. There are local as well as non-local employment generated. In terms of economic gain it is beneficial to all the people involved.

Increased Tax Revenues

With the increase in the businesses and employment in the area, this brings in increased tax revenue for municipal body. With the increased revenue of the Municipal Corporation, it provides the opportunity to invest in local development of disadvantage groups in Patan.

Increase in income through Tourism

Tourism can be developed as one of the source of income for Municipal Corporation and the locals living in the area. As long as the residents in the area are benefited by any kind of innovative policy brought to tap tourism in controlled way, this can be beneficial in the long run. It should be taken care that the priority is given to the tangible, intangible heritages and local development in the process of tourism development planning.

6.1.4. Views of People

During the research, mixed views of people were collected. Most of the respondents supported the development brought in by gentrification to develop and flourish tourism industry in Patan. Many focused on the importance of economy for better society. So long as it is beneficial to the people, gentrification was termed as good.

All agreed the necessity to mobilize the revenue generated from this tourism industry for promoting local businesses, disadvantaged groups of craftsmen and regularize informal businesses in tourism industry. Most of the residents are aware of the changes that have been brought in the name of development and economic prosperity but are unaware of the measures to deal with the economic, social and cultural pressures.

All of the residents agreed that “Thamel Effect” should not be brought in Patan. Many look up to the Municipal body to come up with measures to preserve the authenticity and as well as livelihood of local people.

However, there were remarks of people that gave importance to community and socio-cultural linkages that bind locals together. The importance of character and sentiment of a place defines a local and being devoid of such feeling turns a local into a non-local person. They stressed on money not being everything and the inability of money to buy character, sentiment and authenticity of a local.

There were many locals who expressed their griefs of breaking of tradition of handing down of culture as well as skill to the new generations and not being able to do anything about it due to economic and cultural pressures that have already caught up in everyday lives of people.

There were people who are aware of the changes coming up in the society. They are aware of the consequences that can come up due to this. They are even aware that something needs to be done but are not aware of how to deal with it. There is some kind of hesitation that is felt among the people about how to deal with the changes coming up or give in to the pressures and accept the changes without doing anything.

6.2. Conclusion and Recommendation

In my opinion Lalitpur is a case that is different from both Kathmandu and Bhaktapur. Patan has the potential to develop as a tourist destination as “City of Fine Arts” and also has the increasing pressure of commercialization.

Like in all the Newari settlements, Patan consists of physical, socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics. There are many physical elements like Stupas, Chaityas, Temples, Baha and Bahi, Guthi Chen, Dyochan, Hiti, Pati, Nani, Chowks, streets and residences of the local people around the Patan Durbar Square. These physical elements is more cherished through the socio-cultural and socio-economic relations that are associated with these elements. There are interrelations among these characteristics. There are some changes that have been coming across these characteristics. One of the achievements in the Newari settlement is the accomplishment of maintaining the generations of family profession developing skills as well as expertise in the field thus providing to the society. Through the study it has been known that the development that is coming up in Patan is heterogeneous in nature and depends upon the socio-economic characteristics of the people living here. Although detailed study needs to be carried out, there has been emerging signs of gentrification in terms of accommodation, socio-cultural activities, economy and skill which the locals are associating with development.

In order to address the sharing of economy, regulations are required. This can be considered in different levels of governance, destination management as well as policies within the travel industry. Formulation of framework for revenue distribution can be one of the measures that can help in sharing of income generated through entry fee of tourists. This way the local people will also benefit from the tourism and ethnic culture will be promoted. Certain type of product diversification will also be necessary for sustaining of the authentic crafts. Like in the case of Bhaktapur, introduction of cooperative system to boost and market the authentic traditional crafts could help to sustain the local craftsmen in non-tourist season. Along with this, if it is possible to measure the impacts that are coming up in Patan, display and spread awareness about tourism gentrification.

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While talking about heritages, a lot of significance is given to tangible heritages in local level. It is still found that intangible heritages aren't appreciated as much. One of the reasons behind this is lack of knowledge and information about intangible heritages, institutions and their links and significance to their respective tangible heritages. Awareness about the history and importance of the intangible heritages is very important to the younger generations.

There has been an increasing volume of businesses based on rental accommodations. Certain kind of capping is necessary to deal with this. A set of guiding principle needs to be outlined for rental accommodations. These might help in filtering the tourists as well as help in filtering the accommodations that are coming up. Certain kind of incentives can be provided for various grades of rental accommodations that are architecturally sensitive to traditional Newari residences, and employ community members, where owners themselves stay and rent out

The ongoing development is being looked upon only as the progress and the signs of gentrification is being ignored in many contexts. Developmental projects focusing on strengthening social institutions improving skill, local craft, promoting intangible heritages for tangible heritages through cooperative can help in tapping gentrification to the good of people. Local market plays a vital role in development. Strengthening local market and promoting interdependency among the locals can lead to tourism as one of the development and decrease the chances of development dictated by tourism. Keeping this in mind if the possible consequences of gentrification are considered while planning for development proposals and tourism development in Patan, the local development can be achieved promoting heritage conservation and cultural tourism.

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ANNEXES

Study Of Emerging Gentrification In Core Settlement: Case Of Patan

Annex 1 : Questionnaire for Businessmen and House Owners

Interview with Owner

On Rent

Street			
Name			
Age	1=0-17 4=36-55	2=18-25 5=55+	3=26-35
Gender			
Number of members in family living in house-			
Name	Age	Qualification	Occupation
Kul ghar	1=Patan specify 2=Kathmandu 3=Bhaktapur 4=KTMV 5=Other (state)		
Occupation			
Since when did you start/ involved in this field/ How start			
No. Employment generated by business What kind of jobs	Local = Non-local		
Range of customers Tourist % Locals %			
Problems/ Issues			
Annual Investment			
Annual Profit			
How do you feel about your income?	1= Highly satisfied 3= So-so satisfied	2= Satisfied 4= Not	
Any one who has left their home? sold? Ansha banda upto 3 generation			

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Other job except this?	
Do you feel any kind of pressure to move out?	
Do you have paying guests? When	
Which business do you think is doing better in this area?	
In which places of Patan do you get the feeling of exclusion?	
Rental Price	
Plot price - Anna	
Since when did you start renting?	1= Within 1 years 2= 2-5 years 3= 6-10 years 4= 11-20 years 5 more than 20 years
Does surrounding business effect your business?	1 = Good effect 2 = Bad effect 3 = No effect
Is there courtyard inside? How many families are staying in the courtyard? Any business inside courtyard? Private or public . Use Vacant houses? Traditional Homes	
Building Ownership	1= Single Ownership 2= Dual Ownership 3= Multiple Ownership
House Use	1= Owned by local used by local 2 = Owned by local but rented out full 3= Owned by local, partially rented out and partially by owner 4=Bought & living 5= Bought and using for economic purpose only
Purpose	1= Residential only 2= Mixed use (residential & commercial) 3= Commercial 4 = Rental Accommodation 5 = Food and Beverage 6 = Other specify
Users	1= Person from Patan, where 2= Nepali, where 3 = Tourist
From how many generation are you living here?	1= 1st generation 2 = 2nd generation 3 = 3rd generation 4 = 4-6 generation 5 = 7 or more
Belonging to Social Association/ Institution of which place	Economic Purpose

Annex 2 : Questionnaire about Details of Business

Name	
Address	
Business Type:	
Business Location:	
History of Business	
How did you start the business?	
How long have you been involved in this business?	
Type of Ownership of building of business	
How did you develop your business?	
Source of Inspiration (if any)	
How many jobs are generated from this business? (No. of employees)	
What kind of jobs are generated from this business?	

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How many local people are employed in your business? Why?	
How many non local people are employed in your business? Why?	
List of staff Age Time involved Previous Job Address	
Registered Business (VAT/PAN)	
To which organizations are the business registered to?	
What amount of Investment did you require to start the business?	
Income	
Yearly Investment	
Profit	
What kind of change did you need to bring in the building infrastructure for the business?	

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Range of Customers Tourists –% Locals - %	
Do your customers come back frequently?	
Is there any kind of difference in pricing for local people and tourists?	
What kind of problems/issues do you face in the business?	
What kind of environment was there in the area before you started the business? What kind of change do you think has come because of your business?	
Which occupation did you follow before this business?	
Why did you change your business?	
Other occupation besides this business	

Suggestions for development of tourism based industries	
Suggestions for Tourism development for Patan	
If renovations have been done in traditional Newari building- How would you like to encourage people interested in tourism based industry? Advice tips if any	
Extra Remarks	

Annex 3: Questionnaire for Local Residents

What kind of change has been brought through establishment of the B&B, handicraft store, and restaurant? Positive and Negative

What was the street like before any such establishment came up?

What kind of social change has come?

Change in inhabitants of area

Change in behavior of people

Change in social hierarchy (order) of people

Change in social institution

Change in social relations among people

What kind of social activities have come to a halt?

Change in gathering

What kind of cultural change has come?

Change in socio-cultural norms

Change in cultural activities

Change in thoughts of people regarding culture

Change in perspective and attitude of people regarding society

What kind of cultural activities have come to a halt?

Worshipping of Gods and Goddesses

Festivals and jatras

What kind of economic change has come?

What kind of economic activities took place in the past?

What kind of new jobs have come?

What kind of economic activities don't take place in the area anymore?

Order of priority in expenditure/investment

Economic status

Is there buy/sell of homes in the area?

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What kind of physical change has come in the area?

Change in physical structure of homes.

New built structures

Change in Use of spaces, open and built area

Activities in Leisure time.

Quality of life

How were the people earning their livelihood?

How are the people earning their livelihood at the present?

Do you feel gentrification is happening? (Gentrification: Local people of historic settlement being displaced/moving out due to tourism oriented businesses like opening of guest houses, galleries,)

What is your thoughts towards gentrification?

What kind of problems can come up?

What would you do if investors came to buy or invest in your home area?

Annex 4: List of Interviewees

Sushil Maharjan	Sunil Krishna Shrestha
Manoj Shakya	Amar Khadge
Gyan Bahadur Shakya	Jarina Mali
Rakesh Bajracharya	Anuj Shakya
Sunil Maharjan	Dharma Raj Bajracharya
Gyanendra Shakya	Mausom Shakya
Mahaboudha Guest House	Prakat Govinda Lakhe
Dharma Ratna Shakya	Yala Tradition
Rajani Shakya	Yala Mandala
Nirmal Ratna Shakya	Riddhimuni Bajracharya
Sunmohan Shrestha	Niranjan Shrestha
Asha Ratna Shakya	Ravi Raj Shakya
Deepak Shakya	Kushal Bajracharya
Sujan Maharjan	Juuvai Shakya
Binod Awale	Satya Bajra Shakya
Rejina Bajracharya	Sajan Tuladhar
Pruninson Maharjan	Bodhi Raj Shakya
Om Shrestha	Gyan Bahadur Bajracharya
	Raju Bajracharya
	Sujan Khadge
	Ritesh Raghubansi
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