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Exploring the Effects of the Chariot Festival of Rato Machindranath on the Urban Morphology of Patan

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Summary

Many urban spaces in Kathmandu have specific traditional, cultural and religious relevance. They are hosts to events and festivals. Yet to a large extent, understanding of a place is limited to its function. The network and dynamics of many other issues that have an effect on the place are not the most obvious considerations. Places change with time and changes in economic potentials. In the past changes across the globe have resulted in the advocacy of expert led planning principles, however the organic development of places in history have shown the relevance of networks created by people, through time.

One of the neglected factors affecting a place is also the temporal dimension. Events, festivals etc. revitalize places and people, yet their contribution to the development of the community, activities and the space, and hence the 'place' is not a primary consideration. The main objective of this research is to understand the role of temporary phenomenon in the development of urban morphology. The phenomenon chosen here is the annual chariot festival of Rato Machindranath, observed in the city of Patan. And the development of urban morphology is studied through the concepts of place-making and self organization.

The research is conducted as a quasi experiment studying two sections of a street in Patan. The chariot festival is physically observed in one while the procession does not pass through the other section. Three methods of data collection are used, firstly physical observation where the two sections of the street are observed in the context of interactions with space. At the same time measure drawings were drafted to see different other physical aspects. Secondly, interviews were conducted with the representatives of the groups responsible for organizing the festival as well as communal organizations in both the sites. Finally, a questionnaire survey conducted with the users in the study site and the control site was used to find the perception and participation of the people.

The findings indicate a strong presence of self-organization and participation within the festival. It also showcases that the community in the study and control site do not have significant differences in the socio-cultural context. However, in the physical sense the perception of people was significantly different regarding the changes in their locations. The collective definition of the place was found to strongly co-relate with non-functional aspects as well, especially the historic, cultural and religious aspects. People were found to account for the development of the place through time, in their association with the place, and not just the primary use. Certain impacts of the festival was also noticed in the urban morphology.

Thus this research shows that there is a strong presence of networks and overlaps in the temporary event of the chariot festival. The theories of self-organization and place-making via participation could be tested in this study; however, it was also found that these factors were not equally strong in non-festival time. Therefore, the strong potential to further strengthen the identity of Patan, and that of the chariot route, cannot be neglected.

Keywords

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development
LSMC	Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City
PPS	Project for Public Spaces
HMG	His Majesty's Government
B.S.	Bikram Sambat (Nepali Lunar Calendar)
NRs.	Nepalese Rupees (€1 = 125 NRs. Aprox)
KUDP	Kathmandu Urban Development Project (under Department of Housing and Urban Development)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background

Often referred to as the longest festival in Kathmandu Valley and the most dramatic of Patan, the chariot festival of *Rato-Machindranath*, also called *Bungha-Dyo* or *Karunamaya*, occurs every year during April - May, the Nepalese month of *Baishak*.To the people of Kathmandu, Machindranath is the god of rainfall and the provider of grains. The legend of Rato Machindranath relates to a severe draught and peoples' wish for rain. Not surprisingly, this is a pre-monsoon festival. There are other processions and rituals associated with the deity; however, this month long chariot festival is easily the most awaited and the most celebrated.

Figure 1. The Chariot at Lagankhel

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During the festival the chariot of Rato Machindranath is pulled through the streets of Patan. Officially Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City, LSMC, Patan is the second largest city in the valley with an area of 15.43 sq. kms. located 5 Kms South-East of Kathmandu Metropolitan City (http://www.lalitpur.org.np/). Many arguments and evidences have been put forward claiming the antiquity of Patan, but the exact timeframe of its origin as a settlement and a city is unclear. However, Patan has been mentioned in two manuscripts, from 477 A.D. and 920 A.D., under different names (Tiwari, 2007). The ancient city that is the historic core of today's Lalitpur, was developed by the later Malla Dynasty, reigning Patan between 1382 and 1768[1]. The centre of the ancient city is occupied by the palace complex, popularly known as Patan Durbar Square, listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site Monument Zone in 1979 (http://www.lalitpur.org.np/). The old city was planned in a ring fashion, with influential families like ministers, aristocrats and priests living closer to the palace followed by businessmen. The outermost ring, at the periphery, was occupied by the lowest castes, or *jaats*, including untouchables. This planning principle is explained by Tiwari (2007) as "zoning by *jaat*" (38), where the proximity to the palace is governed by the expected frequency of consultation at the palace. The procession of the chariot festival starts at an intermediate ring, goes through the road adjacent to the palace and reaches all the way to the periphery of the ancient city, thus including all the social segments.

The towering chariot itself consists of a cubic wooden shrine covered in gilt over a wooden platform, mounted atop four large wheels. A timber post, called *Dah Ma*:, protrudes horizontally while the tower above is made from poles, vines and ropes, and covered by green boughs. The pinnacle is mounted by a representation of the *Swoyambhunath Mahachaitya*, a Buddhist shrine in Kathmandu, and many *dhojas* or flags (Locke, 1973). The chariot is constructed at Pulchowk and through the course of the month is pulled through the streets of old Patan. Officially, the chariot halts overnight at Gaha Bahal, Sundhara, and then it is taken through Maha-Bouddha stopping at Chuka Bahal. Finally, it is taken to Lagankhel where the chariot rests for two nights. From Lagankhel the chariot is pulled to Thati-Tole where a coconut dropping festival is observed and then halted at the crossing of Thati. It is kept there until an auspicious date is calculated; it is then taken to Jawalakhel for the

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[1] For details on the chronology of different dynasties in Kathmandu Valley, please check Annex1

observation of the *Bhoto-Jatra* festival, the final part of the procession (Locke, 1973). This route is shown in Figure 2.
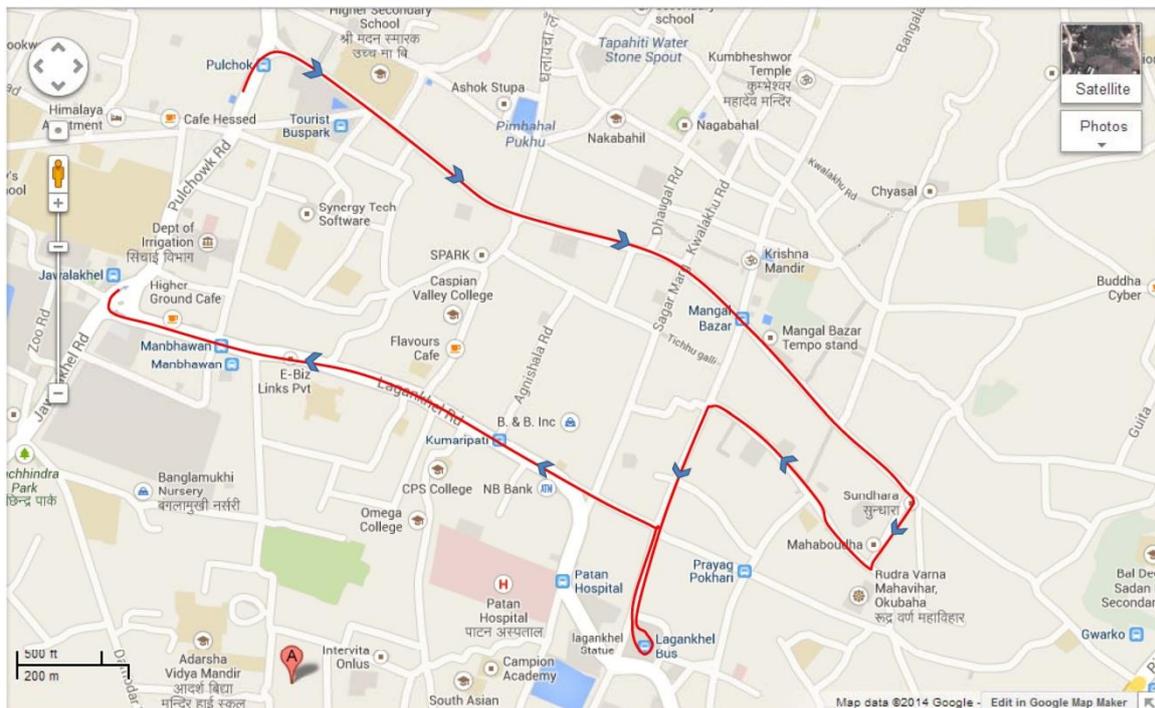
Figure 2. Route of Chariot Festival

Base map source: www.maps.google.com

Thoroughly awaited and grandly celebrated, this festival attracts hundreds of devotees from all over the valley. All the *toles*[2] or neighbourhoods along the route are involved in making the festival a grand affair. There are multiple communities and groups that are involved in the organization of the festival, starting from its financial and organizational responsibilities to assisting in minor details and representing the ancient king. Central government organizations, local government offices and municipality, official religious communities and *guthis*, traditional *niji* or private guthis as well as volunteer organizations and local community organizations have certain roles and involvements in the festival.

The traditional communities of Kathmandu Valley have a social structure called 'Guthi', which is a "traditional religion based organization" (Tamrakar, 2011, 1). Tamrakar (2011) refers to 'Jãko: A Newar Family Ceremony', an article published by Gérard Toffin in 1975 explaining Guthis as a system that organizes festivals, feasts, funerals, worshiping and other religious functions, and as such guides the socio-religious lives of the local inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley, known as *Newars*. There are multiple social and professional guthis, from all 40 Newar toles, in the festival route, involved in the organization of this festival. This festival is a matter of communal pride and co-existence in Patan (Santa, Maharjan, in interview, 2014). People of Patan are known to be devotees of Rato Machindranath, but this deity also has another temple 5 Kms South of Patan, in Bungamati, and many other communities are devoted to Rato Machindranath. Ergo, many non-Patan-based communities are also involved in the festival, primarily from Bungamati but also from other places in the valley. Official organizations like the Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City Office and the Guthi

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[2] *Toles* are neighbourhoods, some discerned since antiquity. Ancient *toles*, or *twahs*, like Chyasal, and Guita, mentioned by Gellner (1996), have specific boundaries and sometimes historic functions. *Tole Sudhar Samitis* are Development Committees for specific *toles*. Different communities, according to their caste, from each *tole* have their own private *niji guthis*.

Sangsthan, Lalitpur are also involved. Guthi Sangsthan is a central government organization responsible for the finance and commissioning of all cultural events.

In this light, the chariot festival can be considered an important element that has helped shape the lifestyle of the people of Patan. This study aims at finding if the same is true for the morphology and urban fabric of the area. At the same time, it explores the presence of self-organized actions in the festival and their contributions towards place-making. These concepts will be discussed further on in later sections.

1.2. Problem Statement

Spaces can be understood according to the function they serve. Even in a basic spatial unit – a dwelling, different sections correspond to different functions. However, the emergence of functionalist approaches in design can be seen in the late 19th century and early 20th century as a reaction to ornamentation. This idea of functionalism was epitomized in the famous saying "form ever follows function" (Sullivan, 1896, 408).

This axiom, commonly referred to as 'form follows function'[3], is understood as a natural process in design, since discerning space is clearer in terms of a single variable – its function. Yet, in reality, space reacts to more than just its function. There is a complex combination of multiple social, economic, political, cultural and other forces at play. The influence of many non-functional aspects in the organic development of space is complex, thus easily misunderstood or neglected. Other commonly neglected aspects are its temporary uses and elements. Spatial transformation, through time, in a cyclic process or a linear continuum, with actions by these multiple forces is an important part of its evolution.

The festival of Rato Machindranath has been observed for hundreds of years and many aspects of its route have changed through time. In his undated manuscript – 'City Space and Life then, 150 Years ago', Prof. Tiwari mentions the planning of the ancient towns of Kathmandu valley in a pedestrian scale, "with priority of location for Gods and ritual festivals mediated circulation" (The Planning and Design of the town, spaces and uses section, Para. 2). In 1950, Nepal opened its borders, bringing along unprecedented foreign influence. The Rana Regime, ended in 1951 and then began, what is termed, the modern urbanization of the valley. Furthermore, with the onset of democracy in 1990, there was a high influx of people in the valley from many parts of the country. Its agrarian economy, based on urban farming, started getting replaced by major investments and higher employment opportunities (http://www.lalitpur.org.np/). Most areas along the procession route now have high land and rent value; an informal community of street-vendors is actively engaged along a large part of this route. All these instances, and their influences thereof, have affected the city. Undeniably, the planning of the ancient towns, in pedestrian scale with ritual based circulation patterns, underwent many external influences. But, the festivals themselves remain a part of life, even today. The permanent elements of the urban fabric are the same, during the festival and otherwise, but the atmosphere of the place changes dramatically. In the organization of these practices no planners or designers are involved. They are practiced by the people and developments and changes are gradual. But, the correlation between spatial situations and the festival is not generally considered.

1.3. Objectives

A lot of urban open spaces in the old cities of Kathmandu can be found streaming with informal vendors. To a very large extent the economic potential of the space is realized

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[3] Here the concept of 'form follows function' is discussed as a commonly accepted axiom and not a theory nor a quotation.

informally using temporary platforms and kiosks, instead of a built form. It can be argued that the financial benefits of the space can be increased tremendously using built spaces; however, many of these spaces have temporary uses that are non-commercial, in most cases cultural. In this respect many urban spaces are preserved for cultural reasons which are realized during feasts and festivals, even though the space, now, serves other primarily commercial, purposes the rest of the year. This is just one example of a potential influence of temporary events in the urban morphology of a place. The primary objective of this research is to find the relation between different parameters of urban morphology and urban fabric as related to temporary events, in this specific case – a yearly festival.

The overarching objective of this study, therefore, is **to analyze the role of a temporary socio-cultural phenomenon in the development of the urban morphology, to contribute to the understanding on spatial development.**

Some other objectives of this research are:

- To study the relevance of socio-cultural elements, here the festival, in the context of the development of an urban place
- To develop an understanding of social processes, involving different stakeholders, in a complex urban environment with sensitive issues like religion, culture, history and tradition

1.4.   Provisional Research Question

The questions, this research intends to answer, are:

- **How does the temporary event of an annual festival, impact on the development of a place, its spatial form and function?**

1.5.   Significance of the Study

This ancient chariot festival, of Rato-Machindranath, is a part of a modernizing city. These practices are happening currently and are affecting the city now, amidst newer ways of life. These socio-cultural festivals and events generally also have specific purposes. The competition felt today between cities, in commercial sense, was prevalent in ancient cities of Kathmandu, in cultural terms. Political importance of a place manifested through cultural activities which was an important part of social life. It is also contended that this competition resulted in the development of architecture and the historic centres of the cities of Kathmandu Valley (Tiwari, 2007). Local government, landowners and vendors have their own ways of utilizing these advantages; one example is the use of cultural events for promotion of tourism, a strategy that is abundantly endorsed in Nepal.

Religious merit motivates people to perform specific tasks and activities. Harper (1959) noticed that certain deities were worshipped more frequently, within a Hindu village pantheon in Mysore as they were regarded as higher gods and thus increased religious merit. Similarly several merit-making activities were noticed in Tibetan Buddhism, one of which is the circumambulatory *Kora* practice (Dodin, 2012). People from different communities, castes and, in the case of this festival; even religions can be seen to come together and performs their specific functions, mostly without question, to observe religious events and gain religious merit. Religious events and functions are, therefore, platforms for people to perform their duties. Since these events are not managed by specific planners, people and groups generally perform their roles as done by their forefathers. So, this study will help determine the existence and extent of self-organization within the ancient traditions of Patan. It will also present an understanding of the society, in terms of its original inhabitants as well as the current heterogeneous users as a result of the aforementioned influx. The relevance of

actions, by people, in temporary socio-cultural events in this modernizing context with a new mix of users and activities will be evaluated through this research. The perception, primarily in terms of satisfaction level, of the current population, in different aspects of organization as well as the role of top-down government actions will also be measured.

This research attempts to unify non-functional, non-spatial aspects of Patan through the activities within the domain of this festival and express them in spatial terms. It will determine the relevance of temporary events, and activities around it, as a component in place-making. It will explore elements that are not only limited to function, but rather extend to temporal uses and significances, religious, cultural or social, that can affect the development of permanent morphology of the place.

1.6. Scope and Limitations

The scope of this research is to study the effects of the festival of Rato Machindranath, and issues related to it, on the spatial and morphological context of its route. These contexts are divided into the aspects of physical form and that of the relevance and value of place. The study does not observe the influences of other cultural processions in this street, primarily because the festival of Rato Machindranth is the most prominent and also because it is the only festival involving chariots, others are pedestrian processions of prayer and worship. The study will be conducted only on one street within the route and not the entire route. A specific street is selected which has two sections– a part where the chariot is pulled and one where the chariot is not pulled. This particular street is studied as it is physically within the loop of the chariot route and is the only main street with both the sections. These two sections will be compared and the comparison will be based on physical features of the place, primarily observed by the researcher, and the responses by the users of the space. The perception of the users will be gathered using questionnaire surveys, the study of perception will regard the physical space, changes and the satisfaction with involvement/ actions of community organizations and government organizations. Therefore the study will evaluate the two aspects of the space – its physical form and the perceived value and involvement by the people.

In order to understand the issues related with the festival and the events that take place within, the involvement of responsible groups will be studied. Owing to lack of secondary data, most of the information regarding these roles and responsibilities will be gathered using key interviews. The interviews will be conducted with the current practitioners from these groups. As the research is conducted in a limited timeframe, interviews will be conducted only with key personals involved in the organization of the festival. One of the organizations interviewed is the Guthi Sangsthan, the government organization responsible for commissioning other professional guthis or *Rakamis*. Interviews with representatives of two rakami guthis are also conducted.

The research involves two kinds of stakeholders, one the practitioners involved in the community organizations and guthis responsible for the organization of the festival and the other, the people using the space in their daily lives as residents or vendors etc.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1. Introduction

Urban life happens in urban places, and the potential to feel a sense of place is strongest in public spaces. The concept of 'right to the city' embodies two rights, firstly to be able to access and use public spaces and secondly to be able to participate in political processes. At the same time practicing and appropriating urban citizenship is a result of this pursuit of the right to the city (Plyushteva, 2009). Therefore it can be said that, in a physical sense, urban public spaces like streets, nodes and squares play a vital role in the appropriation and acknowledgement of the right to the city.

This chapter will discuss the theoretical aspects of urban space, and its transformation into an urban place. It will then be linked to the theory on festivals and celebrations. The literature review will discuss established theories regarding three principle components of this research – people or community, and their involvement; the physical morphology and sense of place; and the festival. This chapter will then deliberate the theoretical relationship between these three components. The literature review will discuss Kevin Lynch's concept of a city image, Edward Relph's theory of Place and Placelessness and the Place-making movement which can find its roots in the pioneer works of Lynch, Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte, amongst others. It will then relate these theories to physical morphology and community involvement. Furthermore, this chapter will explore the contemporary discussion on the theory of self-organization as a counteracting development to top-down planning approaches and a concurring argument with the theory of place and place-making. It will then discuss the 'Time out of Time' theory by Falassi, dwelling on the relevance and impact of special events and festivals. The relevance of modern western ideas and concepts will be considered in a different context, here the context of Patan, in the later stages of this report.

2.2. Elemental awareness of 'Place'

A sense of a place is derived not just from space but also from time. In his book 'What time is this place' (1972) Kevin Lynch discusses how time and place or time-place is as fundamental in the identification of a city, as space-time in the reality of the material world. Cities, like architecture, are positioned in space; however unlike architecture, constructed in a shorter timeframe, cities develop over larger scales and greater lengths of time (Lynch, 1960). Inherent in this idea is the fact that a busy space full of life one day can be completely empty and lifeless at other times. An excellent example of this phenomenon is weekly open/ farmers' market, bustling with life on market day, but that can be virtually empty the next. This illustrates that experiencing a place depends not only on physical space but also on time. Further, Lynch (1960) describes how, the physical space of a city also relates to the memory of that place, the experience of a city is based not just on physical things but by how it is perceived by the people and how legible it is. This legibility, in turn, gives emotional satisfaction. Lynch defines five elements of a city – Paths, Edges, Districts, Nodes, and, Landmarks. The dialogue between all these elements and concepts produces an inherent chaos, but a legible city has a hint of connection within this chaos. Places that integrate well with people are the ones where the connection and legibility is felt by the users.

The concept of time-place is complimented by the concept of 'Place and Placelessness' proposed by Edward Relph in his 1976 book of the same title. There has been much discourse regarding this concept. The core of the notion of 'Place' is tied with the idea of community and locality (Relph, 2009) or people and space. Place isn't studied in void, but is rather understood according to how people experience it (Seamon & Sowers, 2008). The idea of place is counteracted by the idea of placelessness, which is defined as a situation of

uniformity and standardization. The phenomenon of pre-modern cities as compared to that of modern, contributes to the understanding that until the nineteenth century places were created unselfconsciously resulting from a combination of "experience, necessity, tradition and sensitivity to site" (Relph, 2009, 29). However, modern cities are created in a self-conscious 'international' style, devoid of context, and, filled with elements and sense that could fit in anywhere. This loss of uniqueness and the overwhelming presence of standardization create placelessness (Relph, 2009).

Reacting to "auto-centric planning and bad public spaces" (MIT, 2013, 2) practices of place-making took steam since the 1960s, today place-making has been promoted not just for improving public spaces but also as an approach to liveability and a way to include issues of health, community, economy etc. In 1975 Project for Public Spaces, PPS, was established, based on the works of William H. Whyte, as a non-profit organization to "create and sustain public spaces that build stronger communities" (http://www.pps.org/about/). The purposes of place-making, as a practice, have been listed by MIT (2013) as

> to build or improve public space, spark public discourse, create beauty and delight, engender civic pride, connect neighborhoods, support community health and safety, grow social justice, catalyze economic development, promote environmental sustainability, and of course nurture an authentic 'sense of place'. (2)

In its very core the idea of place-making advocates a "return of public space to people" (MIT, 2013, 5), and a return suggest something was taken away in the first place. The argument is that peoples' ability to decide and create spaces through organic processes was lost in the industrialized, car-centric era dominated by financial incentives and expert knowledge.

This brings one to question, what is it that gives pre-modern cities the sense of place that is deliberately missing from the cities of the era of mass production? The identity of a place is a much discussed topic; its relevance is sought in human experience and urban form. The character an urban form takes in traditional cities is described as a 'historic coincidence'. The elements and artefacts of a city, through collective decisions over time, align in a manner identifiable of a Gothic or a Baroque city. These collective decisions are based on historical, political and architectural relevance (Rossi, 1982). It is important to note here that not everything in traditional cities is based on collective decisions. Many records of urban morphologies guided by decisions made by an individual or a ruling house, with political intentions, are prevalent. Gellner (1996) in his outline of the history of Patan, focuses on religion. He shows instances where political decisions made by a Hindu king ruling over predominantly Buddhist subjects, has contributed immensely to the identity of the city. But as the urban morphology takes shape, even though not every decision is collective, all actions take part in a collective impact within the same urban structure (Rossi, 1982). This effect of individual or collective actions on the city is further discussed in the next section, 2.3.

The city and its identity are perceived as an organic flow from the past to the future, deeply imbedded in the history of the city, analogous to the flow of memory in the human mind. But at the same time the city is understood beyond one mind as it cannot be apprehended in individuality, rather it expresses itself through the collective. Thus a city is also defined as a collective memory of the people (Rossi, 1982). And memory has landmarks. These can be both physical and non-physical landmarks, either in the form of actual architectural and spatial elements or, as one of the strongest forms of collective memory, in the form of creation myths (Rossi, 1982).

The phenomenon of identifying with a place is deepest in the feeling of 'Home'. Thinking of one place as home and feeling homesick when one is away is something quiet personal and universal. This identification is a result of the uniqueness and familiarity with the landscape

and at the same time the product of knowing people, to be in a place where you know people and people know you, is important to the sense of place and home (Rossi, 1982).

'Identity' of a 'Place' makes one place different from other, according to Rossi, this difference is created by three factors. Firstly, physical setting; secondly, activities and events; and thirdly, peoples' experience and intentions regarding the place (Seamon & Sowers, 2008). 'Place' as more than just the physical 'Space', the combination of physical space, people and activities, is unselfconsciously central to the genesis of traditional or historic cities and to the fundamental definition of 'Place'. Therefore an urban place can be defined as an element greater than the idea of simply urban space, but a combination of the space and people, where people participate in giving the place a collective definition.

2.3.   City Planning – Does Form Follow Function?

The theory of 'Place and Placelessness' faces certain criticism, most notably for its use of opposite vocabulary (Seamon & Sowers, 2008). It is easy to interpret this theory in terms of positives and negatives. Place and insideness, like the identification with home, can be interpreted as positive desirable features of historic cities. Whereas, placelessness and outsideness, or the feeling of homesickness, as negative, undesirable features of modern 'international' cities. However, this bifurcation in theory is not always perceived in reality. Relph (2009) clarifies this as purely theoretical divergence saying that in reality neither place nor placelessness occurs in isolation, certain features of one are found in another.

The interrelationships between space, people and functions create a labyrinth, and much has been discussed about it, including its expression as the intertwining of place and placelessness. When viewed in architectural and spatial expression, it is proposed that the growth of a city happens not simply in the frameworks of form and function but in the ability to see form as an expression of values, meanings and uses (Rossi, 1982). The urban reality and the urban character take a greater meaning beyond the notion of simply giving form to functions. This structural complexity is not limited to the "narrow functionalist vision of the city" (Rossi, 1982, 118). Complimenting this view is the description of a natural city in the form of a semi-lattice, proposed by Christopher Alexander. In his seminal paper, 'A city is not a Tree', he reiterates the presence of charm in cities with long history and evolution, and the lack of it from the deliberately planned ones (Alexander, 1966).

The dynamics within a city is not in a neat or orderly manner, as one can express in drawings and plans, it is intertwined in networks and connections, much like the lives of people. The disparity between the natural ways of life, in form of networks and overlaps, and the segregated ways of designing the spaces we live in, in the form of compartmentalized zoning, is described in a morphological sense as a semi-lattice and a tree respectively (Alexander, 1966). The places of modern times have been designed in an unnatural manner, true to segregated functions which negate the values created by the collective. The semi-lattice forms of the natural, alive cities of the past are clearly desirable and distinct from the tree like morphology of artificial, essentially dead cities of the industrial era. But this 'old charm' cannot be superimposed or replicated. Duplicating the charming old English villages or Italian piazzas will not solve the fundamental challenges of the cities of today (Alexander, 1966), in order to create a pragmatic sense of place, that corresponds to the current complexity, the local uniqueness should be appreciated without neglecting the relation to regional and global scales, this sense of place can be achieved only with a combination of uniqueness and extensibility. Therefore a post-modern, post-industrial place is both local and extended (Relph, 2009).

Recent discourse regarding the development of a city, suggests that the traditional approaches of statutory spatial city planning in strict, rigid structure within the frameworks of zoning and

land-use plans are not adequate (Broeck, 2004; Albrechts, 2004; Broeck, 2013). Land-use plans, with their legally binding nature, contends at providing physical solutions, which is based on the assumption that socio-economic problems can be solved by creating better spaces. This assumption in itself can be contested, moreover these 'better spaces' are defined by actors other than the users, such as professionals and the government. In such a situation, the resulting condition is fairly inflexible (Albrechts, 2004). The spatial result of land-use planning, therefore, takes the form of segregated spaces for segregated functions which entails the notion of form following function. However in this scenario there are little or no overlaps, resulting in the form of a tree as opposed to that of a semi-lattice. Here, one can argue that the failure of deliberately planned cities highlights the vital importance to understand the natural formation of cities, which is more than just a functionalist solution.

The place-making approach to liveability proposed by PPS quotes Donovan Rypkema in saying that places and community are both inseparable, and that one cannot 'be' without the other (TCRP, 1997), at the same time, MIT (2013) emphasizes on the importance of the 'making' in place-making. This making is characterized by active participation of the community in doing or creating something. The concept of place-making is to turn users of a space into the makers of the place, and not just a form or space for a function.

Currently, one can also see similar discourse in the form of complexity theory, suggesting cities as mixtures of place, people and activities, in an intertwining network with other influences. Furthermore, this theory suggests cities have a dual complex nature where both the components of the system - the individuals, as well as the system as a whole are complex (Portugali, 2012). Complexity is defined as a situation with multiple interactions between many elements, shades, class, in different orders, where the elements are related but with changeable relations, thus creating virtually infinite possible outcomes. Complexity is understandable but each element is intricately connected to another. Therefore every new input creates new outcomes and thus increases the complexity (Gerrits, 2012). The view that cities cannot be planned in classical, top-down system in a rational and functional approach, without the appreciation of networks and combinations, is prevalent in this theory as well.

In the traditional way of planning, a city tries to achieve equilibrium, whereby it assumes that the city is a closed system (Portugali, 2012), much like Alexander's tree form. But the very inherent property of a city is chaos. The actions of each individual affects the outcome, similar to Rossi's argument of city as a collective memory where individual actions or decisions have collective effects, and Lynch's argument that legibility doesn't replace a city's inherent chaos, rather chaos with a sense of connection creates legibility. These arguments are mirrored as unforeseen outcomes due to the interrelationship between different elements (Gerrits, 2012), or the idea that society can have inputs as parts but the output is a whole and that the output is more than just the arithmetic sum of the inputs (Wagenaar, 2006). It is also repeated in the understanding that each urban agent, even one independent person, is a planner and the city organizes itself in a non-linear, interconnected manner (Portugali, 2012).

The complexity theory of cities argues that there is a gap between the paradigms of science and humanities creating urban problems, and complexity theory can bridge this gap. Accordingly complexity theory of cities doesn't focus on separate disciplines but sees the interrelation between them in a state that isn't in equilibrium but as ever changing processes in an open system (Portugali, 2012). The primary notion in this theory is based on the fact that any action can produce unexpected, unforeseen results, both Portugali (2012) and Gerrits (2012) illustrate this as butterfly effects, one in the urban morphology of Tel-Aviv, due to the use of balconies, and, the other as the effects on the decision making process on a Dutch tunnel project due to accidents in different parts of Europe, respectively. This discourse bases itself in an appreciation of the multiple interactions and effects resulting from the

interactions. It proposes that the effects cannot be guided or predicted (Portugali, 2012) and that the cyclic process where each event and reaction adds on to the complexity is not a choice but rather a self-generating, self-propelling character of the city (Gerrits, 2012).

The above discussion illustrates the discourse that goes beyond the functionalist approach to design. Although basic understanding of a space can be based on what function it serves, it is by far not the only guiding factor. Evolution of space happens not in functionalistic manners but due to the complex chain reactions that can be analogous to Alexander's Semi-Lattice, including the contributions of the space as well as people.

2.4. Placemaking – Theories and Inspirations

Modern place-making practice are a reaction to the banality of industrial cities, where the potential of collective decision making and the authority of the community to create the kind of places they wanted to live/work in, was replaced by the domain of planning by experts. The ideas of modern place-making have roots in the seminal works and concepts by Kevin Lynch, Jane Jacobs, William H. Whyte, Christopher Alexander, David Harvey, Richard Sennett, and, Robert Putnam, to name a few (MIT, 2013).[4] Kevin Lynch explores the importance of human centric design and the value of peoples' experience of their environment in understanding the quality of the city. Meanwhile, Jane Jacobs explores the relevance of creating new spaces by demolishing old ones (MIT, 2013). In both these instances these thinkers and questioners illustrate the emptiness created by the lack of public involvement in professionally created towns and cities. The raison d'être of place-making, however, comes from the observations of William H. Whyte which showcased human behaviour as per the kind of places they were in. Human behaviour responds to human-centricity in design, his work links urban design to the "needs and desires of people" (MIT, 2013, 6). Human behaviour is also a key element in the theory proposed by Christopher Alexander as he emphasizes the overlaps and networks within communities that create overlaps and networks in the city. The value and need for involvement and empowerment of people resonates in the views promulgated by David Harvey as he writes,

> The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. (Harvey, 2008, 23)

According to Richard Sennett, public spaces give a place for people to meet, who otherwise would not have met, and it creates a "social friction" (MIT, 2013, 6), this social friction is also showcased as an important aspect for civic and personal health by Robert Putnam, as he expresses that strong social networks build trust and increase connections, thus creating a proper civic/ community sense (MIT, 2013).

The relevance of people and their involvement as creators of the places they want to use is prevalent in all these ideas that have contributed to place-making. Diverging from the statutory approaches, place-making advocates a 'people know best' attitude, which is vital in creating not just spaces but rather to add value to the place and community. Place-making can empower the community to appropriate their space.

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[4] Theories by Kevin Lynch, Christopher Alexander and David Harvey are discussed in this report. But the emergence of place-making concepts through the theories of all these authors is discussed via the analysis of MIT (2013) and PPS/ TCRP (1997) and not as per their individual theories. For further reference: Jacobs, Jane. The Death and Life of Great American Cities. 1961., Putnam, Robert. Bowling Alone. 2001.,Whyte, William Hollingsworth, and Project for Public Spaces. The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces. 2001., Sennett, Richard. "The Fall of Public Man,". 1992.

2.5. Self Organization

Going a step further than the idea of place-making as a project, as within the realms of a project both urban place and public involvement are products, self-organization expresses the purpose as well as the result in a complimenting cycle. It is not that communities get empowered via projects for better places, but communities shape places and they in turn are shaped by these places. This idea is inherent even in the concepts of place-making, but the theory of self-organization approaches it beyond the scope of projects.

Self-organization is based on the notion that different actors, or systems, operate simultaneously, however a single actor does not oversee all the dynamics, therefore this leads to complexity (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). The phenomenon of self-organization has been defined as "initiatives that originate in civil society, from autonomous community-based networks of citizens, who are part of the urban system but independent of government procedures" (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011, 113). However, this definition regards self organization as an independent phenomenon propelled by the civil society. Nevertheless, in reality self organized initiatives cannot be absolutely independent of other actors as the actions of all groups, organizations and stakeholders have an effect on the outcome. A broader definition of self-organization would include a co-existing synergy between all these stakeholders. Here, unlike traditional approaches, one actor, in most cases government, urban professionals or even place-making project initiators, if they are not from the community, does not dominate the process. Instead studies show that within the citizen initiated approaches in Denmark, U.K. and Berlin, the governments found ways to incorporate social initiatives without challenging the society's relative authority (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011).

It is vital to note here that, self-organization, in this context, is not studied as a mode to achieve absolute citizen control, which would deliver the highest form of citizen participation and power in the ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969). Nor can it be understood as traditional modes of participatory planning where the inherent weakness is government centrality or domination (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). Instead, self-organization is studied here in the aspects of simultaneous actions. This phenomenon is illustrated in the domain of social movements as a network of communicatively linked groups that act in open environments and are interpreted on the basis of multiplicity. The very notion of self-organization is then based on the presence of simultaneous systems (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). The evolution of space, or rather place, moves away from the predominant one way dialogue from the government to the citizens, towards interactions between every actor. Space evolves through a process of domination, resistance, struggle and alliances (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). Therefore to study self-organization as a primarily citizen-initiated or citizen-led phenomenon would be narrowing down the scope of this reality.

Instead, as further explained by Boonstra and Boelens (2011), self-organization, here, is used to refer to the operation of various systems at the same time, resulting in complexity as there is no dominant lead. Any organization that presupposes a lead, within this framework, is in fact merely a sub-system that impacts the overall framework, in accordance to the multiple possibilities within urban complexity. This aspect of collective action is also highlighted as an occurrence that includes citizens, public authorities and non-government agencies (Bakker et. al., 2012). In their study of citizens' initiatives Bakker et. al. (2012) portray citizens' initiatives as modes of collaborative governance or self organized collective actions.

Primarily this notion of simultaneous collective actions is very important for this study. Collective actions can emerge from any sector or individual, or in the case studied in this research there is a long standing tradition, but generally a group of people are involved and the role of the government, within this framework, is to facilitate and support the action (Bakker et. al., 2012) and not to lead the process. Some of the aspects to be studied in this

research are simultaneity, citizen initiatives and spontaneity, which are all characteristic of self organization (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011).

2.6. Revisiting Time in Place

The morphology of a city discussed here in the vocabularies of place and placelessness, semi-lattice and a tree, and, a complex organism with citizen involvement, started with a discussion of the relevance of two factors – Place and Time. The importance of time, in the experience of a place, was previously illustrated with the example of a weekly market. But an analysis of the literature already discussed here shows how time, and its predominant factors, are relevant in the development of planning theories as well as praxis.

Firstly, as Portugali (2012) clarifies the relevance of the two cultures of planning, one of science and the other of humanities, he iterates that both these cultures coexisted until the 1950's, after which quantitative or scientific approaches predominated, whereas come 1970's this dominance was shifted to social theories. Therefore, depending on the time and the dominant character of that time, theories like the utopian garden city concept emerged initially, followed by rational, scientific theories of planning such as the central place theory. Furthermore, the dominance of social sciences promoted concepts like the place and placelessness theory discussed before (Portugali, 2012). Recent developments can be seen in the theories of Placemaking, Complexity and Self-Organization. Clearly the discourse and their implications are heavily depended on their timeframe as well.

The influence of time, in both broad and narrow frames, can be seen on different aspects of a city. These aspects can be the experience of place, functions, interactions, policies, plans, morphology etc. Time as a factor, has an overwhelming presence in this particular study as it is conducted in two distinct time frames. Everyday happenings are defined in regular time, although immensely affected by multiple factors and thus in etymological sense not 'regular'. A time that takes a break from this regularity can be expressed as 'Time out of Time'. The concept of 'time out of time' includes any interruption that introduces a special temporal dimension where special activities take place (Falassi, 1987). Clearly, a festival presents a change from normal behaviour, a time where "people do something they normally do not; they abstain from something they normally do; they carry to the extreme behaviours that are usually regulated by measure; they invert patterns of daily social life." (Falassi, 1987, 3) A festival is a complex affair in a place including a multiplicity of actions, events, individuals and groups all acting in a special time.

A festival can mean many things, and is in fact defined in different terms in different circumstances. In some cases it may represent a sacred event whereas in others it can also define an artistic event or a sport activity. However, in all its definitions, a festival has an element of celebration (Falassi, 1987). It is also important to note that certain cultural festivals are place specific, the same festival isn't celebrated in the same manner in different places, a festival combined with its framework of space and time creates a sense of unique experience that people inherently want to be a part of (Sassatelli, 2011). When the core functioning of a festival is elaborated it shows a process by which certain events symbolize the entrance into the special temporal dimension and events that announce the return to a normal temporal dimension. These symbolic transactions are defined as Valorisation, or sacralisation in religious context, and Devalorisation respectively (Falassi, 1987). Thus the very acts within the festival segregate it from the normal time.

In the context of ritual festivals of Kathmandu Valley, the rituals can be divided into three types (Khatry, 1996):

- the Secret Rituals, performed by the initiated or the *dikshit* for enhancement of the deity's power and to associate it with the performer

- the Open or Mundane, officiated by the *dikshit* but attended by families and community to seek divine help or specific concerns, and finally
- the Family or Communal rituals, performed by the community for purifications, promotion and communal solidarity

The chariot festival of Rato Machindranath, includes aspects of all these rituals, however the more prominent rituals and effects are the ones that affect the community, either specific community or the city as a whole. Many functions, rituals, prayers etc. take place in public spaces or communal properties, a place where as a participant in the festival people can experience a sense of belonging in the public space.

Festivals, in all its forms and events, are impactful in creating a pragmatic sense of place. Although festivals occur in local scale, they also have a global appeal to the culture of participation and audience (Sassatelli, 2011). In effect the need highlighted by Relph (2009) for a post-modern, post-industrial place to be both local and regional or global at the same time is a character mirrored by festivals. Urban festivals, especially in Europe, happen due to their connections by "secularization, migration, democratization, or, in general, by increased mobility and change" (Sassatelli, 2011, 18). Festivals play a vital role as a connector for society within the city as well as with other cities. Festivals are primarily important in the culture for people as being a part of a special event, like a festival, is a significant way to be connected to their surrounding and to the rest of the world (Falassi, 1987).

It can be inferred that festivals or special temporal events are important in the socio-cultural dimension of human behaviour. Culture, cultural events, and their potential contributions in the theories and development of place are discussed in the sections 2.7 and 2.9.

2.7.   The Relevance of Culture in Urban Sense

Festivals, or the special time out of time, are a part of human culture. It is important to mention here that the word culture, in contemporary vocabulary, has an all encompassing definition, including segments of arts, customs, beliefs, food, design, sports etc. (Kunzmann, 2004). In the complex reality of things, the term culture is not comprehensible in isolation, without including these multiple sectors. Culture is interwoven with different aspect of a city.

An interesting case study of the city of Patan is presented by Shankar (2009) where he begins by emphasizing the importance of plurality in understanding a city. Architecture may be seen as a uni-factor dominant expression. However, a rich, comprehensive understanding of a city requires multiple narratives, which is also in line with the concept of complexity. In this expression of Patan, the multiplicity and interconnections are expressed as relations and reflections. Historic cities, in this case - Patan, should be studied beyond symbolism as it would otherwise result in a unidirectional normative understanding. This singular direction, as mentioned earlier, cannot address the complex reality of the city. The development of urban morphology begins taking shape as a response to nature. Over long periods of time this response is expressed in space. Its morphology becomes an acknowledgement to the relation between man and nature. The form, and its elements, becomes a part of the culture getting ingrained in rituals. An excellent example of this development as a result of the connection between spaces and rituals can be seen in the shrines along water streams and the rituals connected to these shrines (Shankar, 2009). In this example one can see, human behaviour, ritual expressions and spatial arrangement develop to mirror each other as well as nature.

Culture can provide a creative spatial transformation to a city that statutory planning approaches do not (Kunzmann, 2004). Cultural factors like the presence of creative quarters, the accolade of being the European Capital of Culture, hosting signature events like the Rio carnival, creating 'cultural flagships' like the Guggenheim at Bilbao enhances the value of a place. It makes the city more visible and attractive, thus, more competitive (Kunzmann,

2004). To add to this, policy makers are also more apt to make certain decisions if important dates or events are at stake (Kunzmann, 2004). Clearly, directly or indirectly, culture and cultural events, historic or promotional, are important aspects of a city's development and are defined through multiple actors including citizens, visitors, policy makers etc.

If one looks back to the dichotomy between science and humanities, the gap in planning, an important overlap is noticed. This overlap comes in the form of culture, which is arguably an essential element of science. Scientists form cultural groups, in the very least, to fulfil an important aspect of human behaviour (Portugali, 2012). In this effect, it is clear that culture is an important part in understanding the complexity of urban life and therefore urban form. This is further heightened during events and functions, which serve as a time to refresh, revitalize and also promote the place and people. However, as Kunzmann (2004) notices, culture and cultural events have not been important considerations in planning a city. In the tradition of city planning, separate cultural activities are given separate spaces, for example a city plan generally includes educational areas, entertainment areas, and commercial sections etc. This mode of planning correlates with the concept of compartmentalized zoning. A similar analysis, on segregated planning, is presented by Alexander (1966), where he mentions that designated isolation happens only in plans and not in real life, as children don't play in segregated playgrounds they play wherever they fancy and school or college life doesn't take place in campuses and universities, they happen everywhere in the city.

2.8. Theoretical Outcome

The above discussion leads to certain understandings that are important in this study.

Firstly, the idea of a place is beyond the simple terms of physical space. Place can neither be understood as only space, nor in the basic terms of form and functions. The reality of a place, as opposed to placelessness, is understood through peoples' experiences and the values created. The idea of place can be associated in the idea of place-making, which emphasizes on creating values through enhancing experiences in public spaces. So an understanding of a place, which in this research is primarily two sections of a street in Patan, cannot be limited to the physical or spatial terms. The study of place is therefore in two aspects, the physical form and the values created. These values are created by the experiences and interactions of the most important stakeholder of the city – the community. Here, the community is in two sets. One that uses the place as inhabitants, vendors etc. and the other communal groups involved in the activities including the realization of the chariot festival.

Therefore, space here is studied not in the functionalist concept of form following function, rather through the interactions and experiences of people, which is also advocated by the place-making movement. However, reviewing the practices of place-making, it becomes clearer that these practices limit themselves within the framework of projects. In place-making, 'place' seems to be a result, and not a continuum. The concepts of interactions, experiences and networks within place-making are mirrored by the visualization of a city as a semi-lattice as well as the intertwining overlaps seen in complexity. However, the concept of complexity as well as self-organization goes beyond that of a project and sees the place not as an end product, but as a part of a process. In this light, this research studies the development of place as a combination of both place-making and self-organizing approaches.

Self organization is studied in people centric terms as actions and roles of people in groups or multiple groups within the festival and also during non-festival time, without a clear leader or planner. The physical form is focused on the space, as well as peoples' participation, experiences and interactions in spatial terms within the framework of place-making. It can be said that place-making is seen as a bridge between purely spatial and societal concepts.

The second major factor in this research is the festival. From the above discussion it can be inferred that the impacts of communal activities create and develop a city in terms of both its physical form and experience. However, this impact is present not just during regular activities and practices but also during temporary events. Values are also created during events, festivals and celebrations. According to the theory of time out of time, these special events are times of revitalization and they help people fulfil their social desire to participate. It can therefore be said that festivals are an important part of human social life. Looking back to the ideas of place-making, it can be inferred that social participation and experiences in the festival should enhance the value of the place. These values, created both in regular times and during temporary events, intertwined with social and physical networks in the city, create a sense of legibility.

This research attempts for a parallel study of these three theories and concepts –

- Self-Organization as a people centric approach studying interactions and networks, on a horizontal plane where there is no clear leader or planner
- Place and Place-Making, in the terms of both physical form or morphology, and, peoples' participation and experiences creating values, and,
- Time out of Time, within the domain of temporary events as catalysts for revitalization and celebration.

This parallel study of these theories and ideas attempts to find a holistic understanding of the city, and at the same time tries to demarcate their applications in planning. The more holistic an approach one takes, the more complex the dynamics becomes.

These concepts are further operationalized and broken into clearer dimensions in chapter 3. The central hypothesis of this research, the argument of the effects of temporary cultural events in a city is further discussed in the next section, 2.9.

2.9. Cultural Events and Urban Morphology – understanding the effect of Time out of Time

Many physical, socio-cultural and temporal elements are present in the time-place of a city. The core of understanding cities as a complex entity lies in the appreciation that every event, actor and input has an effect on the city, through multiple interactions and associations. Therefore, theoretically, any input during a temporary phase should have an impact on the city as well.

The temporary element studied in this research is a cultural festival – the Chariot Festival of the deity Rato Machindranath, in Lalitpur. This study is based on the aforementioned argument that the temporary event, i.e. the festival, should have some effect on the city, and the city in response continues to shape the festival. In effect, as discussed in the previous sections, this cause and effect relation between the city and the festival continuously feeds the complexity thus creating the self propelling effect described by Gerrits (2012).

The cause and effect studied here are expressed in terms of following two elements:

1. Actions of different actors and groups, or Interactions that create Values
2. The morphology of the study area, also expressed as urban form or urban fabric
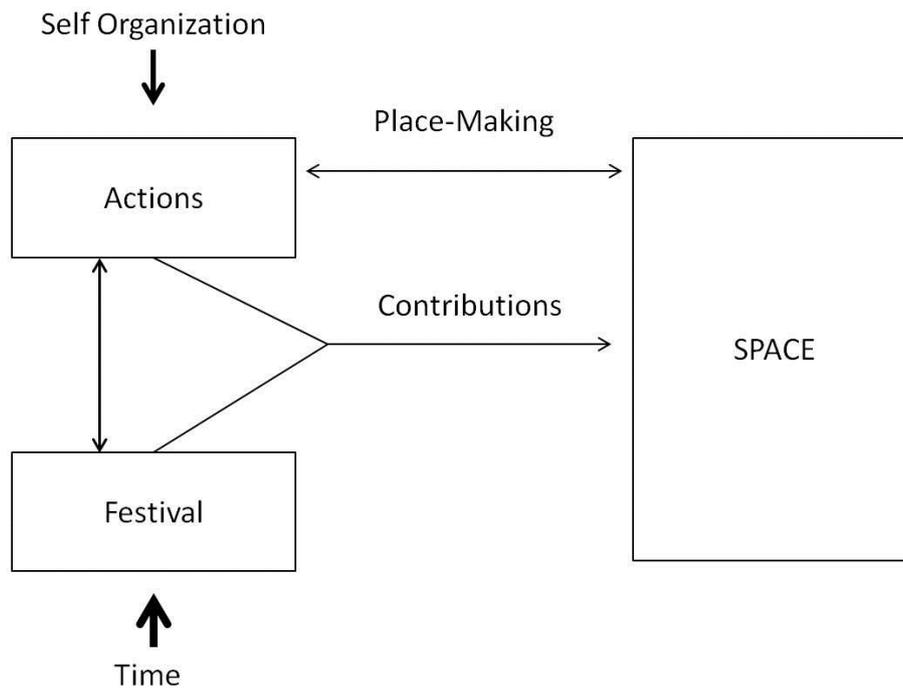
Figure 3. Effect of Festival in Urban Space – the Central Hypothesis

In the above figure, Figure 3, the two elements Actions and Morphology are presented with the third element of time. During a certain time, in this case the festival, people perform certain actions. These actions lead to multiple interactions and within the complex nature of the city, the cycle of action, interaction and affect continues. The inherent hypothesis here is that this combination of actions and the festival leaves its mark on the urban morphology. These marks are represented in the figure as the contributions from the overlap of time and actions, during the festival. As mentioned in chapter 1, sections 1.2 and 1.5, the actions performed during this festival are not guided by a central authority or planners; therefore this study also evaluates the presence and extent of self-organization in these actions. The festival is studied within the theory of time out of time and the resultant correlation between the people, including actions by the people, and the space is correlated with the ideas of place-making, which is can be seen bridging the actions by the people and the physical space.

Since the actions, interactions and their effects can be expected to continue into perpetuity, the hypothesis does not limit to the observation of the effects in one timeframe. These effects are expected to have a contribution in the regular urban pattern and morphology. This continuation can be described as follows.

Let us assume that the normal regular non-festive time is T1 and the festive time is T2. The urban form or morphology is a resultant of interactions between people and activities in urban space. As the festival approaches, time T1 changes to T2, if the urban form at T1 is F1, the form also changes with time, even though the physical area, location etc. remain the same, the input and activities change, therefore changing the form to, say, F2. However, with the flow of time, the festival terminates and time returns to T1, but the permanent urban form cannot ignore the presence of the festival. Therefore, the hypothesis presented here is that the morphology of the city develops to accommodate the needs of the festival, so the form F1, which can now be different than the initial form F1, keeps developing at time T1, and it accounts for the requirements to transform to F2 at time T2. Through time, with the increase in interactions and effects in both time T1 and T2, these forms continue to develop even further and result in a general permanent form F which corresponds to the needs of both times T1 and T2. This is illustrated in figure 4.
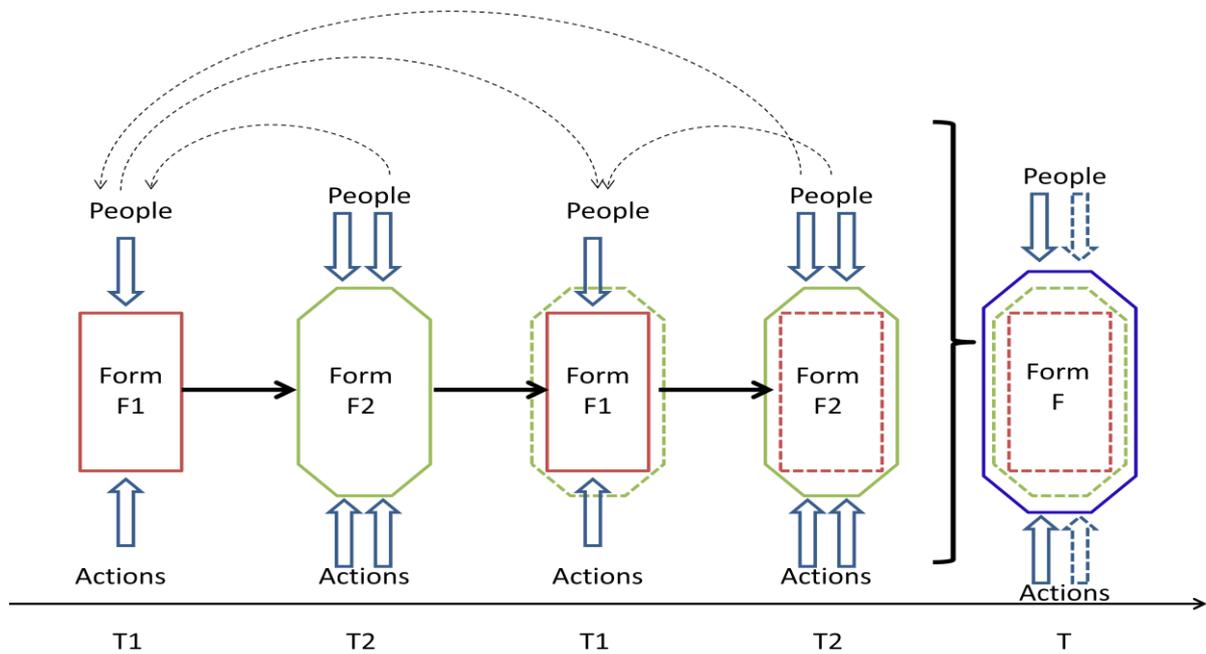
Figure 4. Evolution of Form through time, where time T1 is without the festival and time T2 is with the festival.

In order to examine this phenomenon firstly, it is important to identify the actors and groups involved in this festival and secondly to identify definable behaviours. Gellner (1996) has presented an account of different actors in historic and religious sense. He explains how a principal role in the functioning of this festival is played by the king, who although now non-existent is still represented by his sword during the festival. Similarly, the two predominant religious sectors of the valley, the Buddhist and the Hindu population, have a major role in different aspects and events during the festival and the festival itself is an extremely important event for both these religions (Gellner, 1996). Although this is a historic account, even a cursory glimpse of the festival today reveals the presence of multiple actors and interconnections between them, some guided by norms and rules whereas others spontaneous. The role of these actors will be discussed further in chapter 4. As per the theories discussed above, it is assumed that all these 'inputs' in the forms of multiple simultaneous actions and interactions, have an effect on the 'output' parameter of this research, i.e. the urban morphology, in terms of the physical form and the values associated to it.

2.10. Conceptual Framework

The materialization of a festival happens with actions of multiple stakeholders. This is true for festivals of all kind. A comparative study of festivals organized in U.K., Sweden, Norway and Australia, found that the three irreplaceable stakeholders for events and festivals there were, Venues and Facilities; Local government; and; paying customers (Getz et. al., 2010). The same stakeholders may not apply for every festival; however this study highlights an important aspect of all festivals, regardless of location or type. Festivals bring together many sectors like not-for-profit organizations, government agencies, social and cultural fields, strategic place marketing, tourism and economic development (Getz et. al., 2010), and perhaps many others. With the involvement of multiple stakeholders, in the festival platform, clearly there are bound to be many interactions. These can take the form of independent actions by each stakeholder contributing to the event or joint actions by certain groups, within the group or with other stakeholders, which will also have an effect on the outcome.

With this understanding, three aspects are considered in this study – actions and interactions studied within the theory of Self-Organization, the place, and, the time including regular and festival time. The conceptual framework thus defined is illustrated in figure 5.
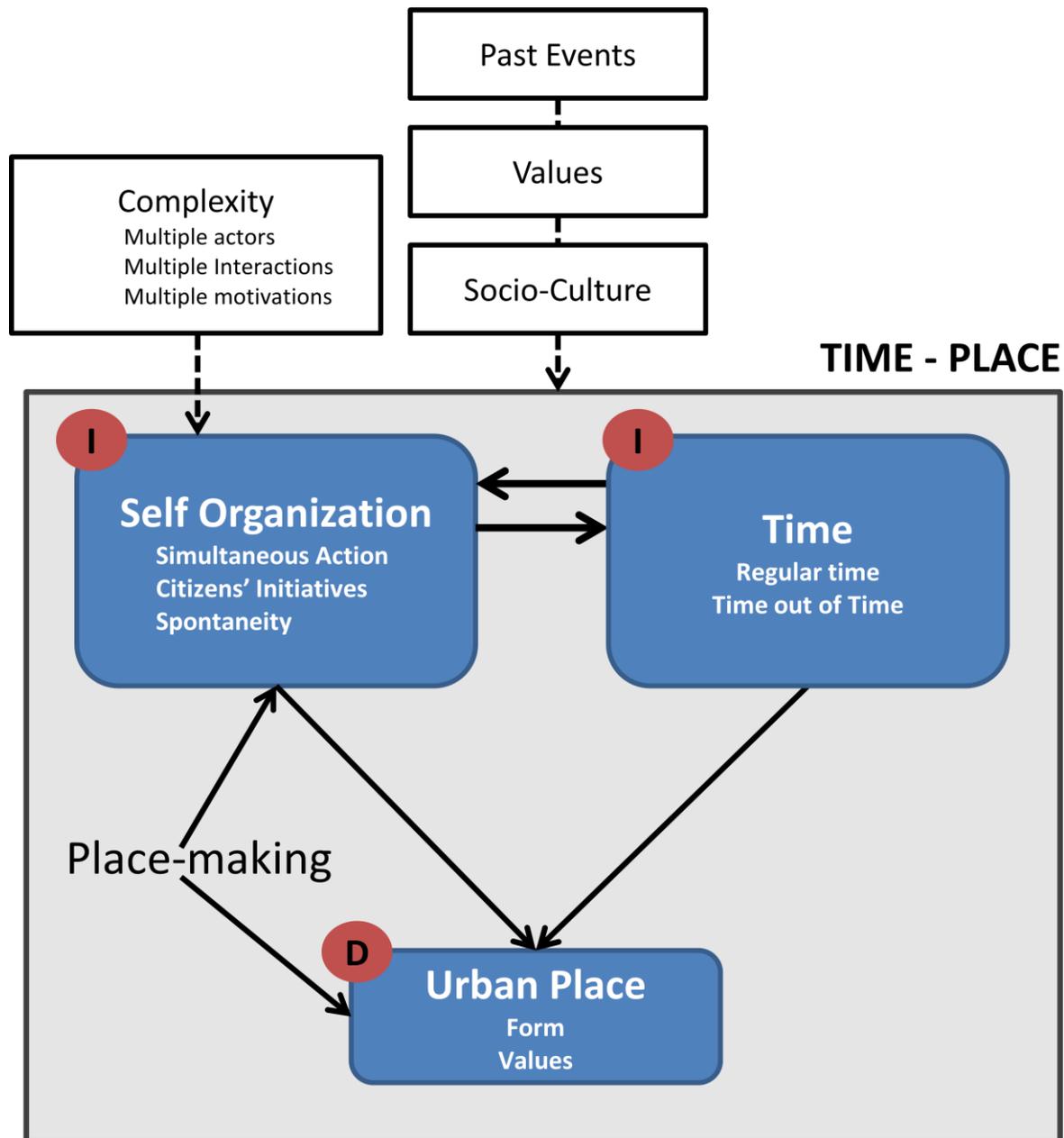
Figure 5. Conceptual Framework

In this framework, the actions are in the terms of Simultaneous actions, Citizens' Initiatives, and, Spontaneity, all of which are characteristics of Self-Organization (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). The impact of time is studied in two segments, firstly regular time and secondly the Time out of Time, or during the festival. The study is based on the understanding that the interwoven mixture of different aspects of the festival creates simultaneous actions which have an impact on the place.

Here the concepts of self organization via actions and interactions of the people and the effects of time, during regular time and the festival are both independent variables. The element of investigation, the morphology of the place is studied as a combination of space and values created by participation or interaction. This is the dependent variable. Place-making is seen as a mediating theory that connects the people centric self organization to the

spatial concepts within morphology. The interactions between all these elements and concepts affect each other within the domain of time-place, which is the overarching concept within which the framework lies.

The framework is affected by certain external elements. Although not studied as an intricate part in this research, the history and other societal elements in Patan affects its time-place. At the same time, even though the theory of complexity is important in the understanding of the nature of the city, the theory itself is not tested in this research. Therefore, complexity of the city is also taken as an influencing factor like the history. Both history and complexity are shown as influencing parameters but are deliberately kept out of the central framework.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

3.1. Introduction

This research is carried out in terms of three perspectives within the research design and data collection; firstly the observations made by the researcher, secondly the data collected regarding festival organization and community involvement, and finally the perception of the users of the place. This is an exploratory research that uses primarily first hand information and links it to the theories discussed in chapter 2. This section discusses how the research was designed and the data was collected.

3.2. Revised Research Question

"Exploring the effects of the chariot festival of Rato Machindranath on the urban morphology of Patan: How do self organized actions, in and outside the chariot route, contribute to place-making in the urban morphology of Patan?"

Sub Questions

The specific sub-questions are:

1. What are the Nature, Purpose, and, Outcomes of Self-Organized Actions?
2. What are the features of the Appropriation of Space, in and out of the festival route?
3. What is the process and dynamics of Placemaking with and without the festival?
4. How do the festival and Self Organized Actions, within an ancient practice in a modernized city, contribute to the Urban Morphology?

3.3. Operationalization

The concepts of Self-Organized Actions and Simultaneous Actions; Placemaking and Urban Morphology; and Time out of Time (Festival) are measured using various indicators. These indicators are arrived to through a gradual process which begins with concept definitions. These concepts are defined specifically in terms of this research, it is important to note here that not every aspect of these theories are tested in this research, therefore the working definitions refer directly, and only, to the aspects studied here.

Concept Definitions:

There are three key concepts used in this research, each concept is defined, as a working definition for this particular research, using theories and explanations found in literature.

Self Organization

- operation of various systems simultaneously, resulting in complexity as there is no dominant lead (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011)
- simultaneity, citizen initiatives, and, spontaneity, are characteristic of self organization (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011)
- collective action includes the citizens, public authorities and non-government agencies, and are modes of collaborative governance or self organized collective actions (Bakker et. al., 2012)

Working Definition of Self Organization:

In the most basic terms a group of people or multiple groups that are active with no actor in a distinct leading position can be defined as self organization. This is a system with **simultaneous collective actions**, giving rise to **spontaneous outcomes**. Ultimately, this action – interaction becomes a part of the urban complexity.

Urban Morphology and 'Place'

- Urban morphologies take place in historic coincidences, communities make spatial choices and all individual/ collective actions have collective impacts on the form (Rossi, 1982)
- 'Place' is tied with the idea of community and locality, post-modern, post-industrial place is both local and extended (Relph, 2009)
- People, and their involvement, as creators of the places they want to use is an important factor that contributes to placemaking (MIT, 2013)

Working Definition of Place:

The physical urban form of a city is interrelated with actions of different actors. A sense of 'place' incorporates three factors: Space, People and Activities. This research measures morphology in spatial terms, understanding that people and activities influence the space.

Time out of Time (Festival)

- Any interruption that introduces a special temporal dimension where special activities take place (Falassi, 1987)
- Festivals are place specific and have an element of celebration (Falassi, 1987)
- Festivals create a sense of unique experience that people want to be included in through participation and audience (Sassatelli, 2011)
- Rituals and festival of Kathmandu have elements of seeking divine help for a range of things from individual assertion to communal integration (Khatry, 1996)

Working Definition of Time out of Time (Festival):

An event out of regular time that brings together people, activities and space. Celebration and uniqueness in festivals contribute to refreshing/ revitalizing people and space.

3.4. Identification of Dimensions and Indicators

After defining the concepts they are broken down into dimensions that can be studied through indicators. The concepts are broad and theoretical, however as the study needs to be done in a practical, measurable and convenient process, these concepts are studied in the forms of measurable indicators. Table 1 illustrate the process of operationalization. The process through which each concept is broken into dimensions and then to measurable indicators is showcased. This table then indicates the stakeholders associated with each indicator and their association with the dependent and independent variable. Table 2 shows the kind of information collected from each stakeholder, and the method applied, that helps in measuring the indicators and thus explaining the concepts.

Table 1. Identification of Dimensions and Indicators, and the stakeholder group involved

Concept	Dimensions	Indicators	Stakeholders	Variable Type
Self Organization	Simultaneous Actions and Spontaneity	Religious Activities	Religious Groups	Independent
		Social/Cultural Activities	Socio-Cultural Groups	Independent
		Festive/ Celebratory Activities	Socio-cultural, Religious groups and users	Independent
		General/ Daily Activities	Users	Independent
	Collective Actions	Participation of multiple groups	Users/ Socio-Cultural Groups	Independent
		Community Practices	Users/ Socio-Cultural Groups	Independent

Urban Morphology & Place-making	Open Space (Public & Private)	Number and type of open spaces		Dependent
		Area of open spaces		Dependent
	Connecting Elements (streets & nodes)	Areas of streets and nodes		Dependent
	Building Typology	Façade/ transparency of façade		Dependent
		Number of viewing elements		Dependent
	Activities	Participation		Independent
Time out of Time (Festivals)	Elements of Celebration	Music	Socio-Cultural Groups/ Users	Independent
		Feast	Socio-Cultural Groups/ Users	Independent
	Refreshing and Revitalizing of people and space	Temporary activities – use of space and participation	Socio-Cultural Groups/ Users	Independent
		Temporary changes made to space	Everyone	Dependent/ Independent

Table 2. Information gathered from each Stakeholder or Aspect and data collection methods applied

Stakeholder/ Aspect	Methodology	Information Gathered
Religious Groups	Key Interviews	Role Function Involvement Decision Making
Socio-Cultural Groups	Key Interviews	Role Functions Involvement in Festival Involvement in Community
Local Government	Key Interviews	Rules Decisions Participation Changes
Users	Questionnaire	Use of Space Collective Actions Participation Perception Changes
Physical Space	Observation	Physical Impact of Festival Changes in Physical Form

3.5. Research Strategy and Technique

This research is conducted in the form of a Quasi Experiment. As seen from the conceptual framework, there are two independent variables, i.e. Actions theorized as Self Organization and the Festival, theorized as Time out of Time, and one dependent variable, i.e. Urban Morphology of the place, in this research. In order to establish the relation between one of the independent variables, the Festival, and the dependent variable, the Morphology of the place, the contribution of the independent variable is studied in the case of two sections of the same street in the city of Patan.
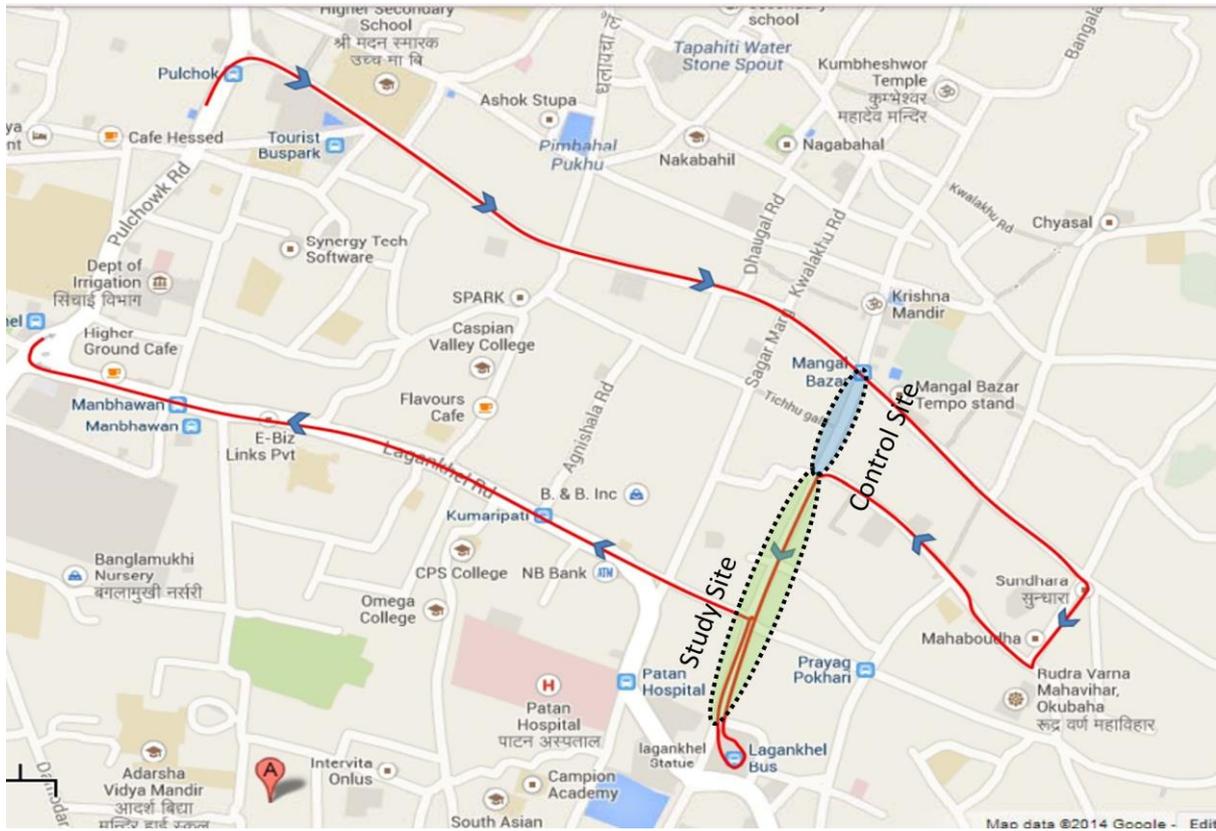
Figure 6. Quasi Experiment – Study and Control Site

Base map source: www.maps.google.com

Although the context of the place and the event is of vital importance in the reality of this subject, the research is carried out within the limitation of this aspect. As this research only studies the cause and effect represented by the independent and the dependent variable, context is taken as an overarching phenomenon. Both the subject sites of this experiment have the same context. Therefore, although the study takes place within one case, to identify the contribution of the festival, it is conducted as a quasi experiment and not a case study.

The two subjects or groups in this experiment are taken as the physical space and the people of two sections of a street in Patan. Both the sections are located within the boundary of the core city of Patan, where the city was historically planned according to the traditional planning principles of Valley, the original population, in both sections, are from similar backgrounds and similar social status. The commercial value of the land is also comparable. One subject street-section is in the procession route of the festival however the other section is not on the procession route. The population living in the other section, or the control group, also celebrate the festival, therefore there is a cultural influence of the festival in the control group, but as the festival does not pass through this street, the morphological impact as an effect of interactions within the festival, if any, is considered to be absent.

Adding to the strategy of quasi experiment, data is collected through surveys in the form of questionnaire and key interviews. As one of the major factors in this research is simultaneous actions by different stakeholders, data regarding perception is also important for the research. The information, regarding the space and the festival, is not recorded, so first-hand data is collected. This is done primarily through questionnaires and key interviews with different stakeholders including residents and landowners, vendors, cultural groups, religious groups and local government representatives.

3.6. Data Collection Methods and Sample size

Observations, Questionnaires, and Semi-structured interviews are used as data collection methods in this research. Besides observation the following are the four primary data sources:

1. Users of the Space:
   - Residents and Land Owners of Study Site
   - Residents and Land Owners of Control Site (Control Group)
   - Vendors at Study Site
   - Vendors at Control Site
2. Local Government
   - Municipality
   - Guthi Sansthan, the Government body responsible for cultural festivals
3. Religious Groups
   - Priests' Guthis/ Sangh or associations
4. Socio-Cultural Groups
   - Guthis, the socio-cultural groups formed by each community at a locality in Kathmandu Valley, these groups are responsible for certain events in the festival
   - Jyapu Samaj, a social organization created by the Jyapus, a caste, in Patan
   - Tole Sudhar Samiti or Community Development Committee

The research uses observation as the first step. In order to observe the interaction in the space during the festival and on a day without the festival, multiple photographs were taken of the location over the course of two days, one with the festival and one on a non-festival day. Similarly, photography and observation of the space, and cross referencing with cadastral map was done to get information on the built fabric of the street. This process is then repeated at the control site. The data thus collected is then compared to each other to see physical evidences of any differences existing between these two sections of the street. In the course of observation, stretch elevations were prepared of the two sections of the street. However, since pre-recorded stretch elevations couldn't be found, eight students of architecture from Kathmandu Engineering College have assisted in the preparation of stretch elevation. But, due to limitation of time, the entire stretch of the study site is not drafted; the stretch elevation of 178m length of the study site and that of the entire control site, 169 m, has been prepared.

After observation, semi-structured interviews were conducted. Information was collected from three groups of actors, the Socio-Cultural groups, the Religious Groups and the Local Government using semi-structured key interviews. The reason for choosing this data collection method is the fact that the processes and involvement of these three groups of actors is fixed according to law and historic or recorded current practices. The direct influence of these stakeholders, in cultural as well as practical sense, is largely determined by traditional and spiritual norms, which are not easily changed. Therefore most of the data needed from these stakeholders does not need reiteration. This information also doesn't need to reach a saturation point as it is not a study to find perceptions or opinions of the people involved but the direct predefined role they play in the festival and the way they occupy the space during the festival. These specific roles are not bound to change, or the changes are very rare and the processes to change are very complicated. But the processes for change, if any, are also studied. Information is collected from the local government including the use of space during non-festival time. However, since this information is based on facts and not opinions, they are collected during key interviews. All interviews were conducted by the researcher. The list of interviewees is given in the following table.

Table 3. List of Interviewees

Name of Interviewee	Position	Organization	Type of Organization
Yagya Ratna Shakya	Jala Panju [Main Priest]	Hyangrad Bhairavnath tatha 32 Paniju Sangha	Religious Organization of the Priest of Machindranath
Hari Prasad Subedi	Chief Officer	Guthi Sangsthan, Lalitpur	Branch of Central Guthi Sangsthan
Santa Man Maharjan	Secretary	Jyapu Samaj	Socio-Cultural Organization
Mohan Nath Maskey	Executive Chairman	Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City	Local Government
Babu Raja Dyala	Member	Dyala Si-Guthi, Thati Tole	Traditional Socio-Cultural Group [Guthi]
Suman Chitrakar	Member	Dipankar Guthi, Haugal	Traditional Socio-Cultural Group [Guthi]
Prem Bhakta Shakya	Vice-Chairman	Karuna Tole Sudhar Samiti, Lagankhel	Communal Group, Tole Development Committee

Based on the information collected during key interviews, the questionnaire was revised and the survey was conducted with the remaining group of stakeholders - the users comprising of Residents, Landowners, and Vendors. This survey targets to access the perceptions, opinions and the use of space during the festival and when the festival is not conducted. The same questionnaire is also used to collect information from the control group. Hence the survey was conducted with two groups of people, the users of the study site, and, the users of the control site. These two groups consist of the residents, landowners and vendors from both these sites. For statistic reasons at least 30 questionnaires were to be filled in each of these groups. 32 samples were taken from each group, the questionnaire survey was conducted by the research and one research assistant. The total number of respondents, 64, and their statistic distribution is as follows.

Table 4. Respondents of Questionnaire Survey

		Respondent Type		Total
		Study Site - Lagankhel to Iba Bahi	Control Site - Iba Bahi to Mangal Bazar	
Association	Resident	8	9	17
	Vendor	12	16	28
	Both	12	7	19
Total		32	32	64

The sampling was intended as purposive sampling, including only residents and vendors of the site, with the possibility of turning into snowball sampling. However, in the course of research design, the population of the study, for questionnaire, was limited to users of the space. Therefore, the purposive sampling was turned to convenience sampling with snowballing as respondents gave further references.

Some of the limitations for this research were the availability and willingness of people, especially the officers of the local government to share information. Another similar

challenge was the willingness of vendors and residents to answer the questions. However the correspondence with government officials was initiated before data collection phase and tentative meeting dates were fixed. To aid to this official letters from IHS were requested and used in convincing local government officials as well as other respondents. Some meetings for questionnaire and other interviews etc. were prefixed, as per the necessity.

3.7. Validity and Reliability

Practical Limitations: As the field work was carried out in four weeks, the most practical of all limitations were those depended on time. As some aspects of space planning as well as the regulation of the festival is overseen by the local government, some key interviews were performed with local government representatives. In such a situation, getting appointments and conducting interviews, in a short time span, was a challenge. However, this challenge was overcome by pre-planning. Correspondence with the local government and fixing appointments etc. was done before the time frame for field work. The same holds true for all key interviews, tentative dates for interviews were finalized beforehand. However, questionnaire survey with vendors and residents were done spontaneously, with or without appointment as per the situation, at the site of experiment.

External Influences: In case of questionnaires and interviews, certain factors can influence the decisions made by different actors; therefore their responses can have such influences as well. For example, the area under study is now a mixed residential area with rising commercial activities and thus rising land and rent values. Many decisions are made due to the commercial intents of the stakeholders. In this situation, it is possible for the respondent, as well as the researcher, to digress into influencing factors. This situation, like in the case of other practical limitations, was tackled during the formulation of interview and questionnaire guidelines, to focus the data collection primarily on the research question. Other influencing factors, such as commercial activities, history and heritage preservation, transportation facilities etc. were not regarded primarily but in their true nature to the research, simply as influencing factors and not as direct contributors to the research.

Reliability/ Validity: Parts of the questionnaire and interviews were conducted in the local languages of the place. Therefore, in order to replicate this research, knowledge of native language can play an important role. The native languages in this case are both Newari and/or Nepali. A bi-lingual questionnaire was prepared, in English and Nepali, in order to eliminate the possibility of misinterpretation during translation. The framework of the interviews was prepared in both languages. Although Newari was used, the questionnaire was not prepared in Newari as most people surveyed were bi-lingual, speaking Newari and Nepali. Newari as a base language was used more in semi-structured interviews with key informants from religious groups and/or socio-cultural groups. The key terms in the interview guidelines were therefore translated to Newari as well.

3.8. Data Analysis Methods

The data collected through questionnaire surveys are analyzed using SPSS, however some data collected during key interviews are used as base information needed to refine the questionnaires and to build up to the analysis. The process and changes in space are visualized through photographs and drawings, as visual aids to analyze the processes in the space. For analysis qualitative data is converted for quantitative analysis and through visualization of place by observations.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

4.1. Introduction – Patan, the City Today

Patan is the second largest city of Kathmandu valley. Although administratively separate, Patan is conglomerated with the city of Kathmandu (www.lalitpur.org.np, and, Gellner, 1996) in all other aspects. Ergo, retaining its individual identity is regarded as one of the major challenges by the municipality. A primary concern here is also the argument between preservation of old in the face of development for the new (http://www.lalitpur.org.np/). The current state of Patan has changed considerably, from its pedestrian scale planning.

Currently, a major role for the municipality is heritage preservation (Maskey, 2014). The original social structure of Patan is strong in ritual aspects; however, it is getting diluted in physical and spatial sense. As Dyala (2014) explains, many original settlers have migrated to the periphery, with increase in family size or higher rents in the centre, but they return during Guthi functions to their original locations. This has in effect diluted the original social structure, while creating a heterogeneous mix of current users with large number of residents and vendors from all over the country.

In this light, this section of the research, evaluates the relevance of the festival of Rato Machindranath, and its contributions, to place-making in today's Patan, via self organized actions. This section is divided into four parts. The first part begins by exploring the philosophy and practices within the festival, and at the same time it discusses the roles of different stakeholders in self organized community activities. The roles of users of the space in the festival are discussed and the involvement of people from the study site and control site will be compared. In the second part these observations will be crosschecked with physical observations made by the researcher. The physical differences or similarities between study site and control site will be checked. The third part of this section will examine the perceptions of people primarily based on the questionnaires and further evaluate the contributions of the activities, involvement in the festival etc. in terms of place-making, using information gathered during key interviews and questionnaire surveys. The final part of this chapter will summarize the key findings.

4.2. Part 1 – Self Organization in the Jatra and other times

This section of the report showcases how different stakeholders and groups have been involved in the festival since antiquity and what their current roles are. It further explores the roles and actions of communal and social groups in both study and control sites, in regular time. In this way, this section attempts to find an answer to the first sub-question of this research, pertaining to the nature, purpose and outcomes of self organized actions.

4.2.1. The purpose of the Jatra

Every festival has its significance; there are philosophies, functions and objectives behind each festival. The Nepalese festival calendar revolves around the livelihoods of the people and the primary occupation of the Newars was agriculture. So, most festivals celebrate certain aspects of agricultural life. The festival of Rato Machindranath is no different. Its main objective is to seek divine help to bring rain for rice plantation. It is interesting to note that the secular need for rain is expressed through a religious event (Khatry, 1996). According to Shakya (2014) there are 42 religious festivals performed in this cult, in addition Khatry (1996) mentions that there are more than 200 rituals associated with this deity.

The much reiterated story of bringing Machindranth to Kathmandu valley showcases the presence of King Narendra Deva, Tantric Bandhudatta Acharya, and a *Jyapu* or farmer

Rathachakra or Lalit[5], along with Karkotak Naag, a serpent. This delegation fetched Matsyendranath from Kamarupa Kamakshya, present day Assam, India. According to the findings of Locke, this annual festival started in the Licchavi period; between 644 A.D. and 680 A.D. originally the chariot was pulled from Bungamati to Patan every year. This was discontinued in the 17th century. Now the deity is kept in Patan for six months (Gellner, 1996) and the original festival from Bungamati is observed every 12 years. Gellner also contends that Patan did not exist in a strong form in the beginning of the festival, so the festival has consolidated the city's identity.

The antiquity of the festival hasn't been explored further in this research, but the practices date to pre-Shah period. As the antiquity of the festival is not of primary concern, it is simply understood that the practices have been observed and developed through centuries.

The significances and purposes of this festival, as recorded by Khatry (1996) are as follows:

- Bringing rain
- Reaffirmation of the mediating role of the king
- Renewal of temple hierarchy
- Ensuring emotional security
- Linking Patan and Bunghamati
- Religious harmony between Shavia or Hindu and Buddhists
- Bringing Gods and Participants together
- Bringing people together through communal activities and communal feasting

4.2.2. The three paradigms of the Festival

The cult of Machindranath was introduced to the valley by the delegation of the King, Tantric and a Jyapu. The festival was then initiated to commemorate the deity. Therefore, the elementary structure of the festival included simply the deity, the king, the priests and the common folk. This structure is showcased in Table 5.

Table 5. Paradigm 1

The World	Involved Participants
The Spiritual World	Matsyendranath (the God)
The Ritual World	The King – Chief Client and Sacrificer
	The Priests as Mediators
The Mundane World	The Farmers as Participants

Source: Khatry (1996)

With time the intensity and involvement of people grew and the festival became more elaborate. A second paradigm presented by Khatry (1996), is shown in table 6.

Table 6. Paradigm 2

The World	Involved Participants
The Spiritual World	Matsyendranath (the God)
	Kumari, the female companion
The Ritual World	The King, the sovereign protector, witness, client
	The Sangha and Priests, the main ritual functionaries

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[5] Both Rathachakra and Lalit have been mentioned in different versions of the story

The Political World	The King's Court – Witnesses
	The Gorkha army unity, band player, honour and protection to the deity
The Mundane World	The helpers fixing and pulling the chariot
	The caretakers managing the jatra
	The farmers, lay devotees, participants
The Supernatural World	The demons who disturb the god's trial
	The nagas or serpents

Source: Khatry (1996)

Further developments in social, political and economic aspects have caused changes, chiefly political. After turning to a democracy in 2006, the role of the king is irrelevant, but the ancient King is ceremonially represented. Non-traditional groups, communal and volunteer, are also involved. Public service offices like road, electricity, water supply etc. also participate. This has resulted in a more detailed paradigm, as reported in table 7.

Table 7. Paradigm 3

The World	Involved Participants
The Spiritual World	Matsyendranath (the God)
	Kumari, the female companion
	Minnath, the disciple of Matsyendranath
The Ritual World	The representative of the Malla King and his court – Talwar Pasa
	The Sangha and Priests, the main ritual functionaries
	The Gurkha army unit, band player, honour and protection of the deity
The Political World	The Central Guthi Sangsthan, Government of Nepal – the chief organizer
	Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City, Local Government – the Facilitator
	Other Government Organizations and Offices – management and facilitation
The Mundane World	Rakamis – the helpers, caretakers etc. commissioned by the Guthi Sangsthan
	Traditional Guthis – Non Rakamis, who have traditional roles in the festival
	Community Organizations – Tole Sudhar Samitis etc.
	Jyapu Samaj – Volunteer Organization
	The farmers, lay devotees, participants
The Supernatural World	The demons who disturb the god's trial
	The nagas or serpents

Notes: Based on paradigm developed by Kharty (1996) and interviews conducted by the researcher

Notable in this table is that the role of the king, his court and the army unit has changed from political to ritual or rather ceremonial. The roles of each group are discussed in the next section, but this report does not stress their spiritual, ceremonial or mythological relevance.

4.2.3. Roles and Responsibilities

As observed from the three paradigms, there are multiple stakeholders participating in the festival and each stakeholder has their role. This section studies the different groups and communities currently involved in the festival according to their respective responsibility. The nature, purpose and outcomes of self organization within the festival are explored here. Self-organization is evaluated on the basis of collective actions within and between groups at

the same time. The primary role of each stakeholder is then analyzed to see if this dynamics leads to any dominant lead.

The different groups and communities involved in the study and control site, during and without the festival, are reported in table 8. This table also indicates how they are involved in the site or in the festival. Their detailed responsibilities are discussed later on in 4.2.3.1.

Table 8. Roles and Responsibilities

Organization/ Community	Type of Organization	What they do
Guthi Sangsthan	Government organization responsible for cultural events	Organization, Finance and Co-ordination
Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City	Local Government	Co-ordination, Facilitation, Provision of Allowances
Jyapu Samaj	Communal Volunteer Organization	Voluntary Management
Guthis of Rakamis	Communities on pay scale recruited by Guthi Sangsthan	Perform traditionally ascribed roles in different aspects of the
Boshi	Felling trees to make chariot	festival when they are
Barahi	Preparing wood from trees	commissioned by the guthi
Yanwal	Construction of chariot	sangsthan
Gha: Ku	Turning and hitting breaks of chariot	
Panju Sangh	Executing ritual functions	
Nemkul	Preparation of idol	
Chitrakar	Painting religious symbols	
Other Rakamis	Representation etc.	
Traditional Guthis – Non Rakamis	Socio-Communal	Traditionally ascribed roles without commission from the
Dyala Guthi (example)		Guthi Sangsthan
Tole Sudhar Samiti	Communal Organizations	Providing minor services
Vendors	Local (formal/ informal) businesses	Helping in minor ways
Public Services	Government or Semi-Government organizations	Facilitation via minor management within their
District Administration	Security	organization
Road Department	Maintenance of streets	
Water Supply	Provision of Drinking Water	
Electricity	Remove and rejoin electric lines	

Notes: Based on interviews

The interactions between the stakeholders in the festival are represented in the following diagram, figure 7. This diagram shows the association of each stakeholder for the materialization of the festival. It includes three aspects. Firstly, the stakeholders - groups, individuals or officials, are represented by green boxes. Secondly, the activities within the festival participated or contributed to by these groups, presented in red boxes. And, finally, funds for incidental purposes during the festival, represented by blue boxes.
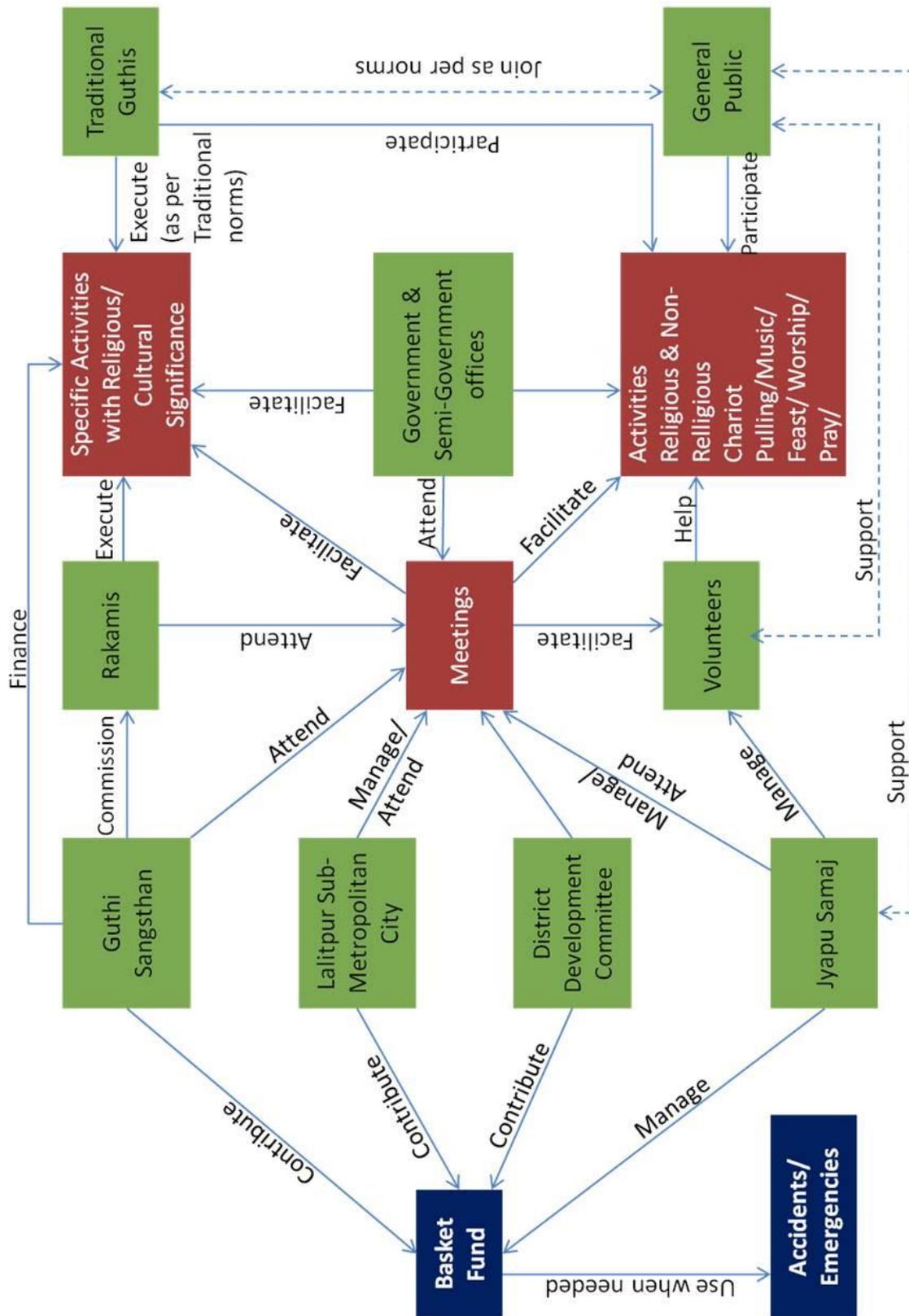
Figure 7. Interactions between stakeholders in the festival

The connections and dynamics presented in the diagram shows that no stakeholder plays a central role in the organization of the festival. Instead, each actor, even ones that are responsible for the organization and finance of the festival like the Guthi Sangsthan, plays a facilitative role. Therefore the above analysis shows the presence of self organization within the festival.

4.2.3.1. Description of the role of stakeholders in the festival and the perception of the respondents

The responsibilities of each stakeholder, in the festival, and the perception of the respondents, in both study and control sites, towards the festival, are as follows.

The Guthi Sangsthan – According to Maskey (2014) the Executive Chairman of LSMC, the chief role of the Guthi Sangsthan is co-ordination and organization of all rituals and events, including construction of the chariot. Furthermore, Khatry (1996) mentions its responsibility in taking care of God's land. Typically cultivable land was donated to the god by the community. In 2021 B.S. (1964/65 A.D.) when Guthi Sangsthan was established by HMG Nepal, this land was transferred to the Guthi Sangsthan (Subedi, 2014).

Shakya (2014), the main priest of Machindranath, mentions that guthi sangsthan appoints 31 *panjus* or priests, and commissions all *rakamis*. It also facilitates the rakamis by co-ordinating with other government organizations. All finances for organizing the festival are arranged by the guthi sangsthan but there are no separate insurances. Now, in co-ordination with Jyapu Samaj, Guthi Sangsthan has been contributing NRs. 50,000 (approx €400) per year to a basket fund used for emergencies and accidents (Maharjan, and, Subedi, 2014). Subedi, summarises its role as the organization responsible for co-ordinating, organizing and financing the festival.

Of the 64 respondents, 48 (23 from study site and 25 from control) or 75% were aware of the role of guthi sangsthan. However, no significant differences were found in this awareness based either on location or association. The location was divided as respondent from study site or control site and the association as resident, vendor or both. Therefore, it can only be said that the number of respondents aware of its role was three times higher than those who are unaware. 29, out of 48 people aware of the role of guthi sangsthan, or 60.42% responded that they were satisfied while 7 (14.58%) were highly satisfied with

Chart 1. Awareness of the role of Guthi Sangsthan

Chart 2. Level of satisfaction with the actions of Guthi Sangsthan

the actions of guthi sangsthan. Again, there were no significant differences found in the satisfaction level between the two locations or the three association types. However, a vast majority of the population is both aware and satisfied with the actions of Guthi Sangsthan.

Lalitpur Sub-Metropolitan City, LSMC – The organization of the festival is traditionally done by the people of Patan and the Guthi Sangsthan, but according to Maskey (2014), LSMC performs the tasks of co-ordination and promotion of the festival. Preservation of cultural heritage is one of the municipality's objectives therefore LSMC acts as a facilitator. Additionally, both Maskey (2014) and Shakya (2014) confirm that LSMC has arranged for
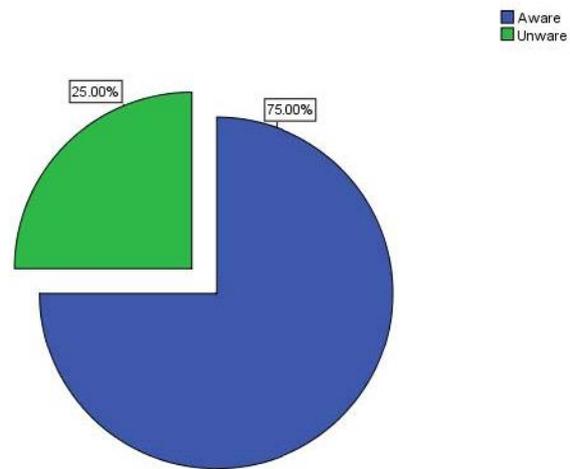
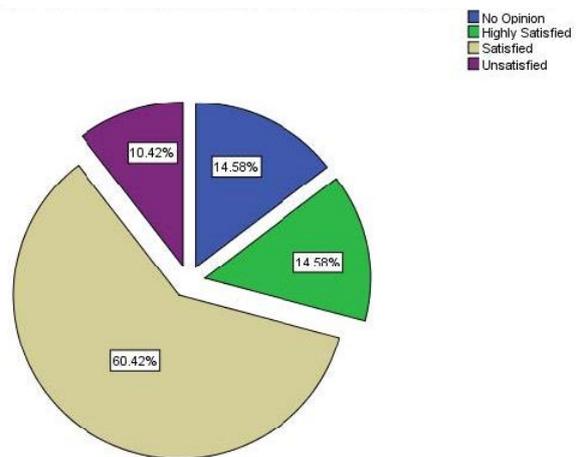certain allowances for people involved in the jatra. LSMC is also a contributor to the basket fund for emergencies and accidents, contributing a sum of NRs. 50,000 yearly, as confirmed by both Maharjan (2014) and Maskey (2014). In coordination with Jyapu Samaj, LSMC also conducts meetings and has identified certain buildings in the route as viewing spaces for promotion amongst domestic and international tourists. Currently, one building in Thati Tole, within the study site, is used for this purpose.

As the role of the municipality is not explicit in the organization, management or any specific detail within the festival, the perceptions of the respondents are focused on the non-festival related responsibility of the municipality and are discussed in part 3 of this chapter.

Jyapu Samaj: Jyapu Samaj, estd. 1994, has 40 *toles* in Patan associated with it. There are 10 volunteers registered from each *tole*. This is the greatest resource of Jyapu Samaj. Their association in the festival is not formal and Maharjan couldn't recall the exact year of its initiation. However, the following changes have been noticed, and mentioned by multiple interviewees, since the involvement of Jyapu Samaj:

- Increased safety in general and making safety ring around the chariot during pulling
- Establishing time frame for chariot pulling, normally from 4pm to 7pm
- Low hooliganism amongst people accessing buildings and other spaces as these responsibilities are taken by volunteers, accounted for by Jyapu Samaj
- The leader, *Ha: Pah*, pre-appointed by each *tole* so visibly less fights and arguments

Dyala (2014), a member of the Dyala Si-Guthi at Thati Tole, questions the authority of Jyapu Samaj, in the festival. His concerns are reiterated by Maharjan, Shakya and Chitrakar (2014). Their primary worry is the possibility of overshadowing the festival. The biggest complaint, also acknowledged by Maharjan (2014), was that the festival is not singularly of the Jyapu community. But with predominant involvement of Jyapu Samaj, this seems like the new impression. Yet, all interviewees agree that the informal involvement of Jyapu Samaj has brought positive changes. They respond as witnessing fewer accidents and damage.

Another appreciated work by the Jyapu Samaj is fixing the timeframe for chariot pulling. Due to this people no longer pull the chariot late into night, and thus damage and accidents due to darkness is avoided. Maharjan (2014) explains that each *tole* has special celebrations on the day the chariot reaches specific halts. It was a matter of prestige to pull the chariot to specific points on specific days. At the same time, failure in reaching those halts meant the residents of certain *toles* could not celebrate the special feasts, therefore suffering a collective loss. Now an unofficial halt point has been established between Gabahal and Sundhara, but this location is out of the study and control site for this research.

Even though the involvement of Jyapu Samaj in the festival is a relatively new phenomenon, a large number of the respondents, 51 or 79.7%, are aware of its involvement and role. Out of the 51 aware respondents, 41 or 80.39% were either satisfied or highly satisfied. However, no significant differences were found, either in awareness or on satisfaction level between the respondents based on either location or association type. Interestingly, when the respondents were asked about different effects that were reportedly noted after the involvement of Jyapu Samaj, majority of respondents were either satisfied or highly satisfied with the effects. No significant difference were found in satisfaction with the involvement of volunteers (p=0.073) between the respondents who were aware or unaware of the role of Jyapu Samaj. But there were significant differences based on the awareness for safety precautions taken (p<0.001) and for the use of funds for emergencies (p=0.042). This may be attributed to the fact that the presence of volunteers can be seen physically by all participants of the festival; regardless of their awareness of the organization responsible for it. But the safety precautions or the use of funds are not as plainly visible outcomes as the presence of volunteers. The

following tables show the cross-tabulation between the responses on level of satisfaction for each effect and the awareness of the role of Jyapu Samaj.

Table 9. Level of Satisfaction with the involvement of Volunteers

			Level of Satisfaction with the involvement of Volunteers					Total
			Highly Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Highly Unsatisfied	
Awareness of the Role of Jyapu Samaj in Jatra	Aware	Count	15	27	5	2	2	51
		Expected Count	12.0	28.7	7.2	1.6	1.6	51.0
	Unaware	Count	0	9	4	0	0	13
		Expected Count	3.0	7.3	1.8	.4	.4	13.0
Total		Count	15	36	9	2	2	64
		Expected Count	15.0	36.0	9.0	2.0	2.0	64.0

Table 10. Level of Satisfaction with the use of Funds for Treatments

			Level of Satisfaction with the Use of Funds for treatments, supplies etc				Total
			Highly Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	
Awareness of the Role of Jyapu Samaj in Jatra	Aware	Count	11	21	18	1	51
		Expected Count	8.8	23.1	16.7	2.4	51.0
	Unaware	Count	0	8	3	2	13
		Expected Count	2.2	5.9	4.3	.6	13.0
Total		Count	11	29	21	3	64
		Expected Count	11.0	29.0	21.0	3.0	64.0

Table 11. Level of Satisfaction with Safety Precautions

			Level of Satisfaction with the Safety Precautions taken after involvement of Jyapu Samaj					Total
			Highly Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Highly Unsatisfied	
Awareness of the Role of Jyapu Samaj in Jatra	Aware	Count	13	32	3	2	1	51
		Expected Count	10.4	27.9	8.0	4.0	.8	51.0
	Unaware	Count	0	3	7	3	0	13
		Expected Count	2.6	7.1	2.0	1.0	.2	13.0
Total		Count	13	35	10	5	1	64
		Expected Count	13.0	35.0	10.0	5.0	1.0	64.0

Traditional Guthis – Rakamis: The socio-cultural fabric of the Newars is managed by communal organizations called Guthis. Every Newar is associated with a private or family guthi that manages the life rituals of its members and their families. Additionally they can also be associated with professional guthis pertaining to their traditional professions. In this jatra all professional guthis with traditional responsibilities in the festival are called Rakamis. Rakamis can be considered professionals commissioned by the guthi sangsthan for the completion of different aspects of the festival. According to Maharjan (2014), all traditional guthis compete to showcase their skills and conserve their identity while working to make the festival a success. Traditional guthis oversee the festival from beginning to end and play ascribed roles which not only execute the festival but also strengthen the clan and caste solidarity (Khatry, 1996). The following is a list of Rakamis and their roles in the festival (Subedi, 2014 – unless otherwise mentioned):

- **Panjus or Priests** – The *Hyangrad Bhairavnath tatha 32 Paniju Sangha*, is a guthi of the priests of Machindranath. They execute all ritual functions and organize a host of associated rites. Their spiritual role is mediating with the god to make peoples' goals achievable (Khatry, 1996). The Panjus on duty perform 3 kinds of worships and also train newly initiated panjus (Shakya, 2014). Shakya also mentions that besides worshipping and ritual functions, another important role of the sangha is to continue the cult of Machindranth and preserve the deity's property, mostly jewellery.
- **Boshi** – The *Boshis* are commissioned to cut trees that are used to make the chariot.
- **Barahi** – The *Barahis* prepare the timber from the trees cut by the *Boshis*.
- **Yanwal** – The *Yanwals* construct the chariot out of the timber prepared by the *Barahi*.
- **Gha: Ku** – This group is responsible for manoeuvring the chariot during the festival, the *Gha: Kus* use timber levers to turn and stop the chariot.
- **Nemkul** – The caretakers of the image of Machindranath, the *Nemkus* prepare the idol before the annual chariot festival commences.
- **Chitrakars or Painters** – *Chitrakars* are required to paint ritual and auspicious symbols for various functions. According to Chitrakar (2014) they paint auspicious symbols on 9 water vessels during the annual bathing ceremony of the deity, after which they paint 72 auspicious symbols on mud vessels during another ritual. For the annual chariot festival, they paint the image of Bhairav on the horizontal timber post called *Dha Ma*, eyes on the four timber wheels, and multiple other symbols.
- **Talwar Pasa** – *Talwar Pasa* is the representation of the Malla King during the festival, the king used to be the human guardian and the political counterpart of god. He is considered the main *Jajaman* or client for the rights (Khatry, 1996). According to Khatry (1996) and Gellner (1996), role of the king in the festival was also political, as a Hindu monarch ruling over predominantly Buddhist subjects. The king was witness to different events in the festival, he observed that gods, demons, nagas and farmers or subjects were happy in his kingdom (Khatry, 1996); this role was continued by the Shah Kings and now is observed by the Head of State. Similarly, the Gorkha Army Unit, also called the *Gurju Paltan*, was a protection detail initially; however the role of this unit is now also representative.
- **Others** – there are other groups like *Naag Pasa*, *Sai-Sai Baje*, etc. that have specific representative roles in the festival and are commissioned by the Guthi Sangsthan.

Traditional Guthis – Non Rakamis: Certain private guthis and communities also have traditionally ascribed roles but are not commissioned by the Guthi Sangsthan. One of these communities is the *Kasai* or Butcher community, their role in the festival is observed during sacrificial ceremonies (Shakya, 2014). Similarly, another guthi is the Dyala Si-Guthi, a private guthi of the Dyala Community of Thati Tole. The Dyala Guthi is responsible for pulling the chariot when no other community has the responsibility to do so. But Dyala

(2014) mentions the chariot is pulled by volunteers and enthusiasts, so lately the guthi has not needed to observe this responsibility. The Dyala guthi receives offerings from the guthi sangsthan during the sacrificial ceremonies, which are then distributed to other Dyala communities. So if the chariot is not pulled by volunteers in specific sections, it is the responsibility of the Dyala community of Patan via this guthi to pull the chariot.

District Administration Committee: The District Administration Office is responsible for arranging security during the festival (Maskey, 2014). It is also one of the organizations that make a yearly contribution of NRs. 50,000 to the basket fund (Maharjan, 2014).

Tole Sudhar Samiti (Neighbourhood Development Committee): Provides minor services like drinking water and space for the people involved (Shakya P.B., 2014)

Vendors: Cleaning the space, painting a temple and helping participants, their role is not specified; rather it is a way in which they participate and are involved (Shakya P.B., 2014)

Government and Semi-Government offices: Representatives of different government offices participate in meetings held for the management of the festival. Departments such as Road, Water Supply, Electricity, Telecommunications etc. participate and perform tasks specific to their department. For example, the road department checks the state of the roads where the chariot is pulled and maintains the necessary parts. Similarly the water supply department repairs any prevailing problems in its grid and ensures availability of water in the areas where the festival takes place. The electricity and telecommunication offices check for above ground cables and remove them prior to the pulling of the chariot and reconnect them as soon as the chariot passes through (Maharjan, 2014).

General Public: Participation via pulling the chariot, worshiping, feasting, musical troops, chanting groups or private/ family functions etc. It should be mentioned that the musical troops and chanting groups can also be through traditional guthis.

As can be observed from the above discussion, there is an immense number of groups, organizations and other actors involved in the festival. Interestingly, it can be noticed, through the above discussion as well as the diagram, figure 7, that the central element in this festival is not a stakeholder, rather the communication and interactions between different stakeholders. This framework showcases a horizontal organization with multiple groups simultaneously working on the same issue, here being the actualization of the festival.

4.2.4. Observing the festival
One of the chief activities within the festival is the actual pulling of the chariot. Anyone can participate to pull, volunteers, general public, tourists etc. however; the traditional norms dictate that only men are allowed to pull the chariot, with an exception of one day. This crowd is guided by a leader, called *Ha Pah:* who sits atop the edge of the horizontal timber mast, the *Dha Ma:*. Several people positioned on the spire of the chariot overview the pulling process. They guide the people pulling the secondary ropes that vertically balance the chariot and also correspond with the two *Gha Ku:s* working in the front two wheels of the chariot. The *Gha Ku:s* are responsible to turn or stop the chariot using timber levers. The person atop the spire looks over the process and communicates with the *Gha Ku:* who in turn communicates with the *Ha Pah:* leading the pull. The process of pulling the chariot is based on this communication (Maharjan, 2014) which is illustrated further in figure 8.

Figure 8. Interactions during the chariot pulling

Base Image © Saroj Manandhar

4.2.5. Communal Activities out of the Festival time

Some of the organizations studied in this research, like Guthi Sangsthan and some Rakami Guthis, are only active during the festival. However, many organizations are active at other times also. The hierarchy of the organizations culminates at the Municipality which is regarded as the first democracy of the place. Structurally it is the closest government organization to the people. Maskey (2014) explains that the municipality functions in collaboration with people, as representatives of each ward are part of the executive board. Other active organizations in the sites are either traditional guthis that have existed for centuries or community organizations. This section describes the activities of these organizations to analyze the extent of self organization in non-festival time.

Karuna Tole Sudhar Samiti, Lagankhel – A neighbourhood development committee, its objectives are to work with the residents and vendors for better organization of parking, pedestrian walkway, and bus park, and at the same time in cleaning and health to create a better environment. This is a formal organization, registered in District Administration Office. Only house owners within the working area of the committee can be members here, but informal vendors are important stakeholders as well. But proposals and complaints can be made only by members and are then presented to the working committee, which then discusses and makes decisions (Shakya P.B., 2014).

Jyapu Samaj – Jyapu Samaj was established for the upliftment of the Jyapu community. It has various sub-committees that work in different fields such as vocational training, literacy programs, health and community welfare etc. but they work primarily only within the Jyapu

Community as the society itself was founded to promote and help Jyapus. One of the major aims of the Jyapu Samaj is to preserve Newar lifestyle through music and culture and it has maintained a Museum showcasing Newari Life as well. As in the jatra, most of what jyapu samaj does is through volunteers (Maharjan, 2014).

Guthis – In this research two types of Guthis were looked into, a private guthi, Dyala Si-Guthi, Thati; and a professional guthi, Deepankar Guthi, Haugal. Firstly, a private guthi is meant only for a particular community at a particular location. In this case the only members of the Dyala Si-Guthi at Thati are the Dyalas from Thati. Amongst them 8 of the eldest people are the 8 leaders of the guthi. A private guthi is important for the community for social recognition and for conducting life rituals. Another purpose of the guthi is to act for judgement, although Dyala (2014) agrees that this is not practiced to such an extent anymore, yet guthi decisions are recognized by the state. One can also be punished by the guthi and removed from the guthi. Decisions within the guthi are made through the approach of its members, but via the discussions between the 8 elders. Some of the works in which a private Si-Guthi, here Dyala guthi, is involved are, passing judgement on cases regarding the members, organizing yearly communal feasts, conducting death rites of the people associated with the guthi and helping people within the same guthi as far as possible (Dyala, 2014).

The other guthi interviewed in this research was the Deepankar Guthi of the Chitrakars of Haugal, according to Chitrakar (2014) this is a professional guthi and is only responsible for continuing the professional responsibilities of Chitrakars as traditional painters. Most of the activities of the guthi include executing religious and auspicious paintings as commissioned by the Guthi Sangsthan, however the aspect of communal feasting is included in this guthi also. The community of Chitrakars in Haugal have another separate private Si-Guthi which is responsible for the life rituals of its members, much like the Si-Guthi of the Dyalas.

4.3.   Part 2 –Physical Space: Expressions and Observations

This section discusses the morphology of the two sections of the street. The first part, 4.3.1., of this section describes four instances where the festival has a direct impact on the development and preservation of spatial elements. This section attempts to find the contributions made by the festival in the urban morphology through physical observations. Observations as well as perception of the respondents are then used to understand the features of appropriation of space. In section 4.3.2. the use of space in the study site, during and without the festival, and that in the control site is observed. Furthermore, section 4.3.3. discusses peoples' perception of landmarks in the site as well as the physical observation of the parameters of urban morphology like open space and building facades etc. The observation of peoples' perception of landmarks is found to identify with the idea of 'place'.

4.3.1. Direct Impacts of the Festival on the Physical Fabric

The direct impact of the festival on the built environment was seen on four instances at the study site – a small open space, a recently constructed building, and two structures with specific ceremonial purposes. Primarily commercial activities happen in these places during non-festival time, but the festival has a major role in their preservation or development. The location of these four structures are marked on the base map in figure 9.
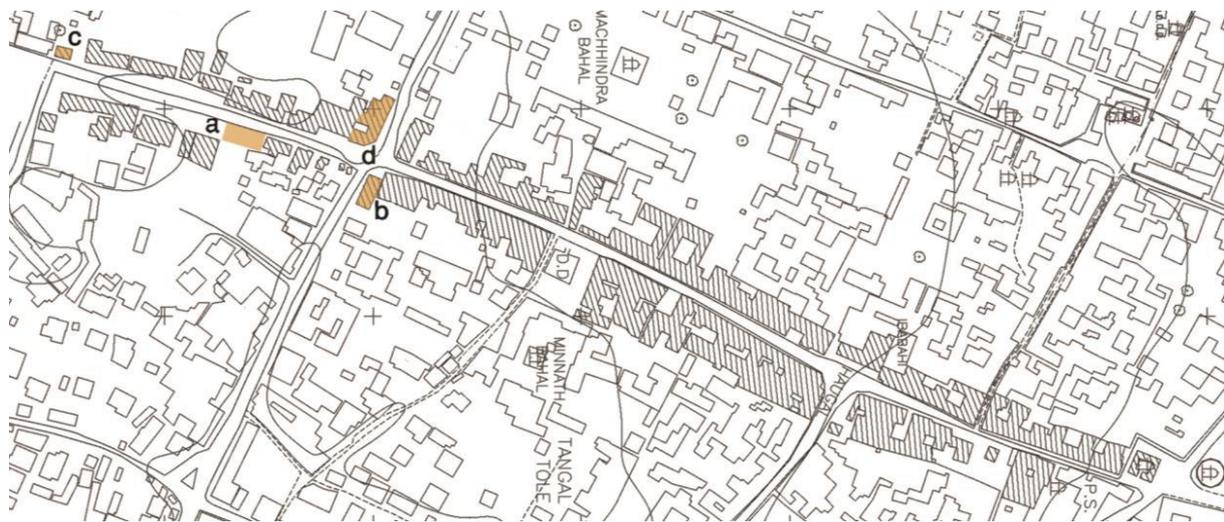
Figure 9. Location of the four physical elements

Base map source: Cadastral Maps © KUDP

a. **Open space between Lagankhel and Thati:** The smaller chariot of Minnath, accompanying Machindranath, halts between Lagankhel and Thati. Generally this space is occupied by informal vendors. The annual Guthi Feast of the Dyala Si-Guthi is also observed here. According to Dyala (2014), the commercial value of this space is high, but it hasn't been built over due to its cultural significance, not just for Dyala community but for Patan. He opines that, if this space was not a part of the festival, they would no longer have the space for their annual feast.

Figure 10. Open space, used by vendors

b. **Building owned by Panju Sangh:** A recently constructed four storied building of traditional *daachi* bricks and carved timber frames at Thati. Although built in concrete framework, instead of traditional timber, this building has a semblance of traditional architecture. It used to be a *pati* or a rest house for the Panjus. Shakya (2014) mentions the presence of several rest houses in the route for Panjus to use during the festival. Panjus follow a strict lifestyle, they are required to have no human contact, wrap themselves in a single layer of cotton fabric, eat only one predefined meal a day prepared on firewood etc. In compliance with this strict lifestyle they sleep at the rest houses along the route, but some of

Figure 11. Building owned by Panjus

these have been encroached and built over by private individuals, ones that remain do not even have basic facilities of a toilet, so the Panjus end up staying at residences of some devotees. But along the Lagankhel – Mangalbazar route, this *pati*, owned by the Panju Sangha, has been re-constructed after a donation from a devotee. But since the new building replaced a traditional rest house, it was legally required to maintain the traditional semblance ergo use traditional bricks and timer in the façade. Currently the donor runs a shop in the ground floor; most space in the upper floors is rented to an office and the Panjus maintain a part for themselves. This building has basic modern

facilities, specifically water supply and sewerage. The dynamics of the festival and the current needs and laws has resulted in the physical manifestation of this building.

c. **The Kumari-Pati at Lagankhel**: A single storied rest house or *pati* at Lagankhel. The goddess 'Kumari' witnesses the festival from the pati, when the chariot is pulled to and from Lagankhel. There are other spots throughout the route where the goddess sits on her throne to witness the ceremony. This *pati*, at other times, is used as a shop, but during the festival it is cleared and the throne is placed. However, in non festival time, this building is swarmed by vendors. It still retains its original timber structure.

Figure 12. Pati at Lagankhel
© Sarin Vaidya

d. **The Pati at Thati:** Another pati at Thati is normally used by shops but when the chariot halts at Thati, groups of devotees come to this rest house for chanting. The shops from the pati are removed for the morning prayers everyday when the chariot is at Thati. However, the day the chariot is pulled from Thati, ceremonial activities happen the entire day so the shops are removed for the full day.

Figure 13. Pati at Thati

Some religious functions of the cult happen in the temple of Machindranth, 75 meters off the study site, near Tangal. The activities in the temple seem to have no direct effect on the site.

It can be seen here that the physical fabric of these four instances depend not only on function but also on social interactions and historic, traditional and communal relevance of the place

4.3.2. Observation of Space during and after the Jatra – study and control site[6]

Activities were noted during on-site observations and photographs were taken every 30 minutes to record the activities and dynamics between people and space. At the study site, the crossing at Thati, was observed on a festival day, 19 June 2014, and again on a non festival day, 23 June 2014. A section of the control site, Haugal was observed on 21 June 2014.

a. Thati, 19 June 2014 – the day of the festival[7]:

Swarms of devotees performing religious activities, predominate till 7:00 am. Then there is a slight increase in commercial activities and vehicular, mostly two wheeler, movement. Although the crowd of devotees gets thinner after 8:30 am, the preparation for the festival begins from 9:00 am. Municipal garbage truck arrives on site for collection at 11:00 am. Informal commercial activities increase from 3:00 pm, but are overshadowed by the arrival of volunteers and preparations for the festival at 4:00 pm. The crowd grows tremendously by 4:30 pm, and the chariot pulling commences from 5:00 pm. The chariot pulling from the crossing lasts 15 minutes, and large sections of the crowd scatter right after. The pati is cleaned at 6:30 pm. But, by 5:30 pm, informal vendors gradually arrive and are active till 7:30 pm. The number of vehicles increases for about 20 minutes from 7:30 pm. By 8:00 pm almost everything closes down, and there is very little activity in the crossing.

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[6] For details on the observation please refer to Annex 2
[7] Animation of the day's images can be accessed at: http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-UYhQ2ces0F0/U9Qt_hGZ0EI/AAAAAAAAL9Q/XtGwL_2biG0/s1600/jatra+complete+resize.gif

Figure 14. Glimpses of Thati Tole on Festival Day

b. Thati, 23 June 2014 – non festival day[8]:

Pedestrian movement and informal vending of fruits and vegetables begin around 6:30 am and remain active till 7:00 am. Garbage truck arrives early, at 7:00 am, vehicular movement coincides with the opening of other shops from 7:30 am. But, a predominance of pedestrian movement is seen between 9:00 am and 12:00 noon, after which there is an increase in the number of vehicles till 5:00 pm. Informal vending increases again between 2:30 pm and 6:30 pm. The time between 5:00 pm and 6:30 pm sees a lot of movement, pedestrian, vehicular and vendors. All activities slow down from 8:00 pm onwards.

Figure 15. Glimpses of Thati on Non-Festival day

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8   Animation of the day's images can be accessed at: http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-PMXhInA-Ias/U9Qt_HRH_rI/AAAAAAAAL9l/IhjjtyVURKg/s1600/thati.gif

c. Haugal, 21 June 2014[9]:

The atmosphere in the morning is similar to Thati, on non-festival day. Fruits and vegetables vending happened up to 8:00 am but garments vendors were active till 7:30 pm. Shops open from 8:30 am. There was rain during 11:30 am to 1:00 pm and 1:30 pm to 7:00 pm. Movement was affected by the rain with dominant pedestrian flow from 1:00 pm. Informal vendors are active in the rain using plastic or umbrellas, as well as during power cut, using portable lights. Shops close from 7:30 pm, and vendors leave by 8:00 pm. The effects of the weather conditions were felt, but most vendors were active even during bad weather.

Figure 16. Glimpses of Haugal

4.3.3. Urban Fabric
a. Landmarks

To discern users' perception of urban space, respondents and interviewees were asked to mention landmarks on the site. Mangal Bazar, the northernmost end of the street was mentioned the most, 26 times; followed by Tangal, 21 times; and, Lagankhel Bus Park the southernmost end was mentioned 13 times. Cultural and religious spaces, Thati, Machindranath Bahal and other Temples are mentioned six times each. Significant differences were found ($p = 0.042$) in identification of landmarks between the users of the two locations. Specific places in study or control site, like Thati and Tichu Galli, were mentioned only by respondents from these sites. This corresponds to identification of a place, via a feeling of home, an important aspect in the realization of place.

Table 12. Location VS Landmarks Mentioned

		Bus Park	Chakrabahil	Handicrafts	Shops	Iba Bahi	Machindra Bahal	Mangal Bazar	Mini Market	Tangal	Temples	Thati	Tichu Galli	Total
	Study Site	8	2		1	0	2	9	1	5	1	2	0	32
Location	Control Site	2	0		0	1	3	12	0	4	0	0	1	32
Total		10	2	1	1	5	21	1	9	1	2	1		64

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[9] Animation of the day's images can be accessed at: http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-lNoubA2MbU8/VApKsx7PJFI/AAAAAAAAM_g/eQKSjkcghWQ/s1600/haugal.gif

It is inferred that people perceive this space as a connecting element as prominently mentioned landmarks are the either ends of the street or specific destinations, not spatial elements on site. When asked the reason for considering these locations as landmarks the highest number of responses, 71%, pertained to religious, traditional or historic reasons. Even though the Lagankhel Bus Park was mentioned 13 times, its consideration as a transportation landmark was only twice, most people considered it a landmark due to its historic and cultural significance. Spatial perception was also not a primary consideration, as spatial reasons were quoted only three times. Interestingly, even though it was reiterated during interviews that the commercial value of this space is drastically increasing, neither economic nor urban services were primary causes for identifying landmarks. Economy, including tourism, was mentioned only 7 or 10.1% times and urban services only twice, 2.9%. It can be seen that regardless of the changes perceived in the site, the users of the space still identify it with its historic and cultural significance, including religion and not just spatially or functionally.

Chart 3. Reasons for considering specific places as Landmarks
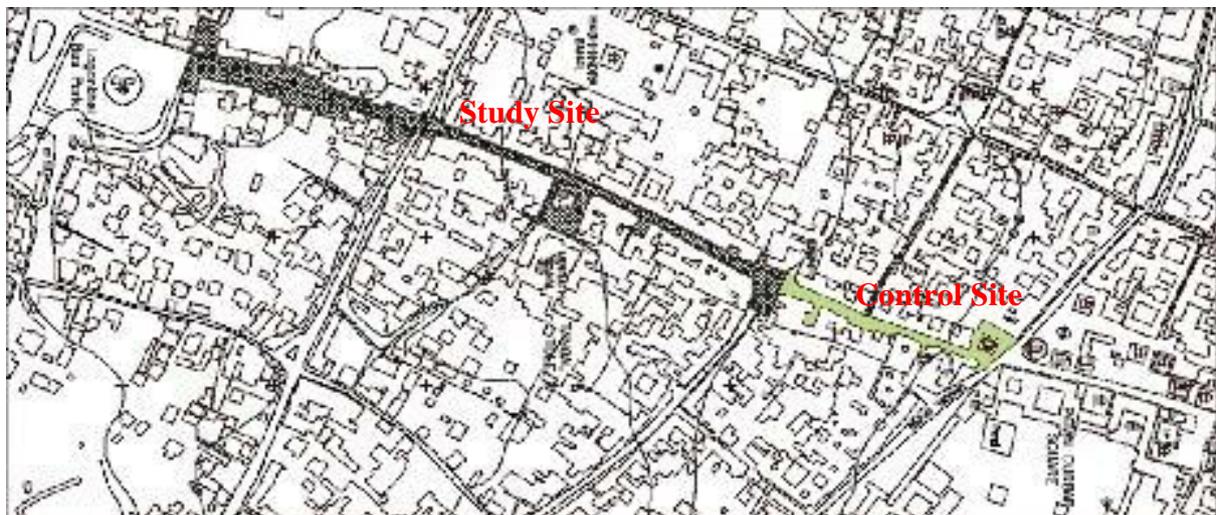
b. Open Space

Figure 17. Roads and other open spaces

Base map source: Cadastral Maps © KUDP

The amount of open space is taken as an indicator to see the difference between the study and control site. The total open space including roads is highlighted in the plan – figure 17. In study site the area is 6294.49 sq.m. and the average rate of open space per meter length of the road is 14.98 sq. m. The same variable, when checked in the control site, the total open space is 1389 sq.m. and the average open space per meter length is 9.45 sq. m. The average amount of open space in the study site is 1.59 times higher than the control site.

c. Building Façade

The building façade was reviewed using measured drawings, however, owing to lack of pre-drafted street elevations, the measure drawings were prepared during the data collection phase. The entire study site could not be measured, therefore a section of the study site, 178m, and the entire control site, 169m, was measured and drafted. The total façade area of the measured study site was found to be 3440.5 sq. m. The total open-able and transparent façade area, ie. windows, glass walls, doors etc. in the measured study site was found to be 1388.31 sq. m. The percentage of openness of façade in the measured study site is 48.28%.

Figure 18. Stretch Elevation of the Study Site

Top – East façade, Bottom – West façade

When the same calculations were done at the control site, the total façade area was found to be 2409.08 sq.m. and the area of open-able and transparent façade was 1041.95 sq. m. The percentage of openness in the façade was calculated as 43.25%. Clearly the difference in the percentage of openness is just 5%, however, as this data couldn't be statistically processed to find the relevance, it is analyzed in a descriptive sense.
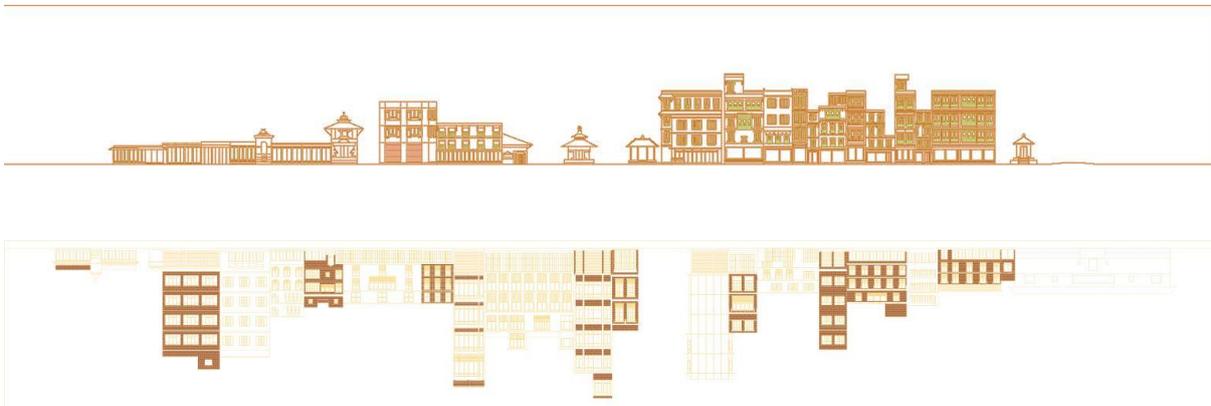
Figure 19. Stretch Elevation of the Control Site

Top – East façade, Bottom – West façade

Similarly the number of viewing elements, balconies, in the façade, was measured. In the study site, it was found to be 68, where the total number of private houses was 136. At the control site, the total number of balconies was 9 and the number of private buildings was 40. The average number of balconies per building in the study site is 0.5 and that in the control site is 0.225. There are, on average, 2.22 times more balconies per building in the study site rather than the control site. In other words there was, on an average, one balcony every 6.18m length of street in the study site, whereas this length was 16.328m in the control site.

d. Perceived Spatial Changes

The respondents were asked to choose, from a list of five, the significant changes they perceived in their respective spaces. This list included Demography, Open Spaces, Buildings, Quality of Space and Commercial Value of the Space. Significant differences were found (p=0.042) based on location. No respondent from the study site responded that they did not see change, as compared to 4 in the control site. The number of respondents who perceived that all five of these aspects have changes was 15 in the study site and 6 in the control site. Maximum number of respondents 31, 12 from Study site and 19 from Control site, did not perceive any change in the quality of space; and 16, 9 from Study site and 7 from Control site, did not perceive change in open spaces. But almost all respondents, except 1 from study site, perceived changes in the buildings. 6 respondents from the control site did not find any change in the demography as compared to 3 from the study site. It can be inferred that the users feel more changes have happened in the study site, as compared to the control site.

Comparable responses could be found regarding the changes made to the buildings or spaces occupied by the users, within the last 20 years. 13 respondents from the study site, or 43.3%, answered that their building has been completely rebuilt as compared to 3, 10%, from the control site. At the same time 9 respondents from the control site or 30% have made no changes to their space and in study site this number is 3 or 10%. 14 respondents from the control site, 46.7%, made only minor changes for maintenance, but this number is much lower in the study site at 8 or 26.7%.
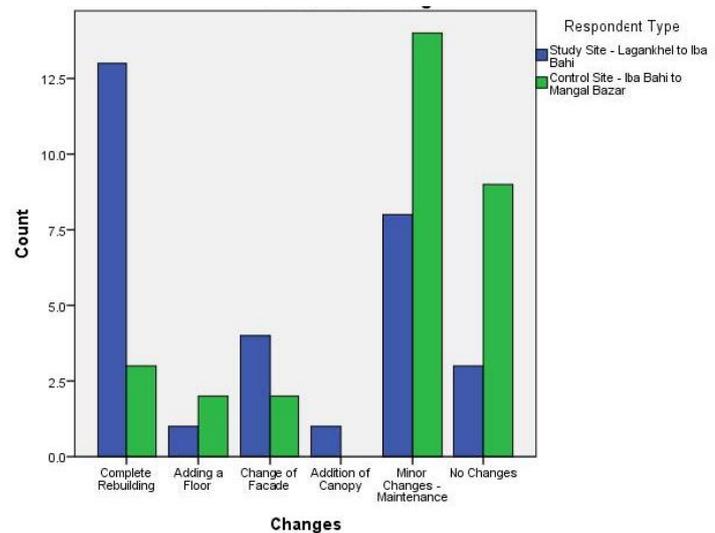
Chart 4. Location of Respondent and Perceived Changes

Here significant differences were found as per location (p = 0.024). It can be inferred that more changes in urban fabric have been perceived in the study site.

Respondents from the study site were also found to be more accepting to changes made by others. Significant differences were found (p = 0.003) in this perception according to location. 22 respondents, 68.8%, from the study site feel that the physical changes in private buildings has made the space better, as compared to 11, 35.5%, respondents in the control site. 10 respondents from the control

Chart 5. Location of Respondent and Reaction to Changes

site, 32.2%, feel these changes have been problematic, but no one from the study site feels the same. It can be inferred that not only are there more changes in the study site, the users of the study site are also more positive towards changes made by others. Clearly from this

perception and from spatial observation, through the street elevations, it can be seen that the traditional fabric is preserved more in the control site where the festival does not take place.

When their perception was asked regarding the changes in open spaces and streets, no significant differences were found according to location. However, majority of people, both in study and control sites, perceived the changes in both open spaces and streets as positive, 61.3% of total population for open spaces and 56.4% for streets.

4.4. Part 3 – Perception, Participation and Place-Making

With the data repoted in this section the process and dymanics of place-making will be analyzed. The first part of this section presents the findigs regarding the users' perceptions on collective, communal activities. Further on, the extent of participation in the festival as well as the participation in other communal activities is reported. These factors are used here as indicators of place-making processes.

4.4.1. Perception and Satisfaction with Communal Activities

The awareness and perception of people, regarding communal groups, their activities and the importance of communal activities was checked in the questionnaire survey. At the same time, the level of satisfaction with the work done by different groups was also measured.

Knowledge and Involvement in Collective Organizations: A majority of the respondents, 39, or 60.9%, were aware of collective groups in the area but only 14, 21.9%, were involved. Of the 14 people involved in collective organizations, eight participated in Neighbourhood Development Committees; within which one person each also participated in a study group and a prayer group. One respondent each was associated with Jyapu Samaj, Youth Club, Blood Donation Group and a Communal Library and only one individual was a part of a business development group. No significant differences were found based on the location of the respondent in their knowledge o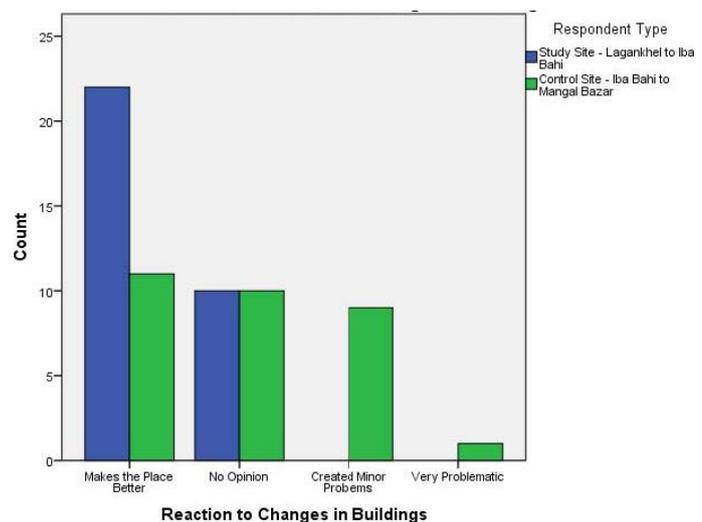r involvement. But, significant differences were found according to their associaion, as Resident, Vendor or Both, in their knowledge (p = 0.042) and their involvement (p = 0.034). It was found that people who are only residents are less knowledgeable and less active in collective organizations. The reason behind this can be the in-migration of people to these areas, as typically one would expect people living in a certain place to be more involved in the community. But in this case it is possible that the residents are primarily renters and living in the area for a short term.

Table 13. Knowledge and Involvement VS Association type

		Do you know of any Community Organizations in this area?		Are you associated with any Community Organization in this area?		Total
		yes	no	yes	no	
Association Type	Resident	8	9	3	14	17
	Vendor	15	13	3	25	28
	Both	16	3	8	11	19
Total		39	25	14	50	64

Perception on activities by collective actions: Respondents were asked to rate five collective actions according to perceived importance, 68.9% said that Maintenance and Cleaning of space collectively was most important to them. 8.5% respondents each feel that Communication with Government Bodies, Conducting Religious Activities and Conducting Social Activities were most important, whereas 6.8% contended Recognizing the Right to

Use the Space to be so. Maximum number of respondents, 33%, regarded Communication with Government Bodies as the least important. Other activities, considered least important were Recognizing the Right to Use the Space, Conducting Social Activities, Conducting Religious Activities and lastly, Maintenance and Cleaning of Space, selected by 27%, 20.3%, 11.9% and 4.9% respectively. These figures are based on valid percentages.

Maintenance and Cleaning of Space was regarded as the most important activity, both Communication with Government Bodies and Recognition of the Right to Use the Space ranked low and Conducting Social and Religious Activities were given medium importance. However, one respondent also remarked that Controlling Street Vendors at the Study Site was most important. There were no significant differences found as per location or association.
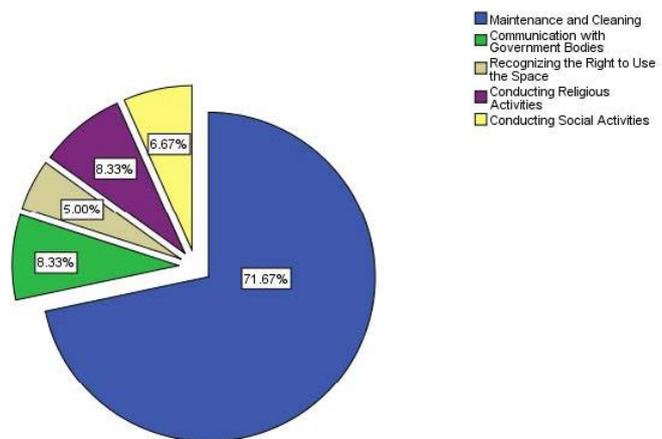
Chart 6. Most important collective activity perceived

Although it was found that a minor number of people, 21.9%, were involved in collective groups, an overwhelming 95.3% of respondents, regardless of their location or association, opined collective actions as vital or very important for the community, while 4.7% remained neutral. In this light, the level of satisfaction, of the users of this space, with collective actions by Jyapu Samaj and Traditional Guthis was also checked. No significant differences were found based either on locaiton or associaion. But a majority of the respondents were satisfied with the roles of both Jyapu Samaj,37 respondents, and Traditional Guthis, 26 respondents.

Ownership and Right to Use Space: The recognition of right to use the space was ranked a not-important action through collective actions, however the satisfaction level in the right to use the space was not high amongst non-homeowners. Out of the 64 people surveyed, 18 owned the space they were occupying, but 46 were either street vendors or renters. A total of 30.4% of non-homeowners responded that they were either satisfied or highly satisfied with the right to use the space, and 43.4% were either unsatisfied or highly unsatisfied. At the

Chart 7. Satisfaction with right to use the space

same time 41.3% of the non-homeowners felt that the role of community organization was either vital or very important in getting the right to use the space. It was not important for 37% of non-homeowners and 21.7% remained neutral.

Interestingly no significant differeneces were found according to location or association.
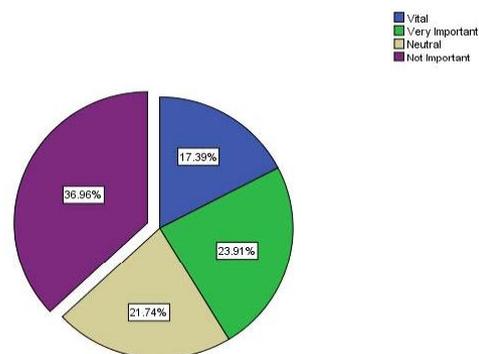
Chart 8. Role of collective organization in acquiring the right to use the space

Sense of Ownership of the space and reaction to prevalent problems: The maintenance and cleaning of space was regarded as the most important activity through collective actions. In this regard, the respondents were asked how they react to prevalent problems in terms of maintenance and cleaning of space in their locations. Two scenarios were included, firstly the reaction to prevalent problems in urban systems like water supply, sanitation etc. and secondly in regards to waste disposal. No significant differences were found in the behaviour according to location or association. However, it was found that in case of prevalent problems 42.2% of respondents take actions via their local community whereas 34.4% would contact the municipality. The rest, 23.4%, feel it is the responsibility of the municipality to take care of the problem. In case of waste disposal, an overwhelming 82.5% of respondents said that they either wait for the municipal garbage truck or dispose the waste at specified locations. But, as was observed during the physical observation of the site, this specified location, at Thati, was at the centre of the crossing. However, this does not concur with the responses of the interviewees. All interviewees mention that people here have a sense of belonging and ownership with the space but their actions don't show that. The commercialization of space has, according to the interviewees, resulted in the users' interests to be focused primarily on economic motives, and not on communal work for the development of the place.

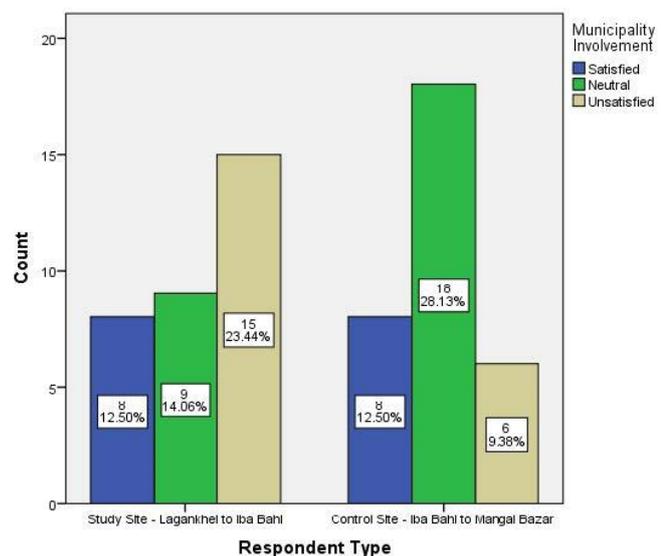**Satisfaction with municipality involvement in collective actions:** Municipal involvement was checked in three factors, firstly maintenance of space, secondly including other organizations in decision making and finally communication with other organizations. When these three factors were grouped together, the Cronbach's alpha was calculated 0.75. In total 25% of respondents were satisfied with the role of municipality, 42.2% remained neutral and 32.8% were unsatisfied. Significant differences were found based on locaiton, (p = 0.032) with a majority of respondents in the study site, 23.44%, unsatisfied with the role of

Chart 9. Satisfaction with involvement of Municipality

municipality. As can be seen from the physical observation of the two sites, there are more activities in the study site than control site, an expected cause for more concern.

4.4.2. Participation and perception on changes in the festival

Religious Participaion and Collective actions in Religious Functions: 71.9% of the respondents mention that they are either satisfied or highly satisfied with community involvement in religious actions. 6.2% said they are either unsatisfied or higlhy unsatisfied and 21.9% choose to be neutral. There were no signinficant differences found in the satisfaction level based either on locaiton or association.

Within the context of the festival also, no significant differences were found based either on location or association. Only 16.4% of the total population responded that they do not participate, and another 16.4% responded that they participate individually. The rest 67.2% participated in some way with their family and friends either for special worships, 49.2%, or their families had special traditional responsibilities, 18%. It was also noticed that majority of the people spent the minimum amount of time and money for their participation. 51.9%

people spent less than one day and 42.3% spent less than NRs 1000/- [€8 aprox.] for their religious involvement.

Noticeably, 82% of people were not involved at all in any decisions made regarding the festival, 9 people or 14.8% felt their opinions were considered and only two people said they were partially involved in the decision making. As most decisions regarding the religious aspects of the festival are based on traditional practices, this result was not unexpected. The collective decisions here are based on the historic relevance and not on individual preferences.
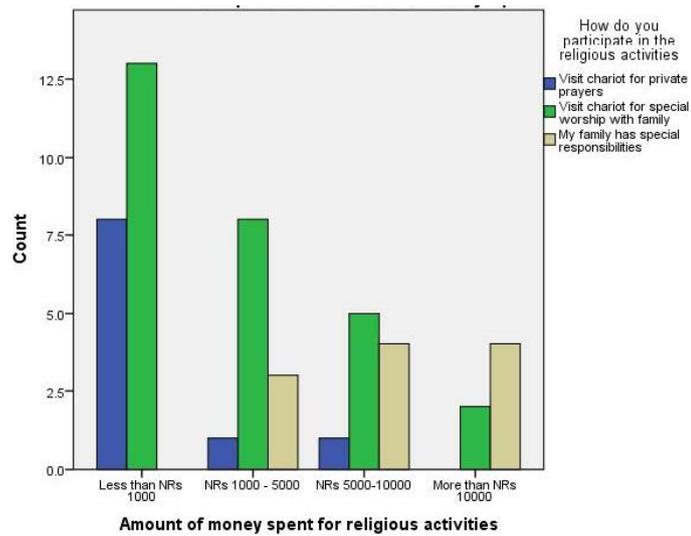
Chart 10. Amount of money spent on Religious Participation

Significant differences were found on the amount of money spent on religious participation based on the way they participated (p = 0.006), however there were no significant differences found on the amount of time spent. Not surprisingly people with greater involvement spent more money.

Non Religious Participation during the Festival: In contrast to religious participation, only 7.9% of the total population responded that they do not participate in non-religious activities. A total of 58.7% of the population responded that they participate via private celebrations with family and friends, 22.3% participate with groups for attendance or musical events, 11.1% were involved in commercial activities primarily vending. However, as in the case of religious participation, there were no significant differences found in non religious participation either based on the locaiton or associaion.
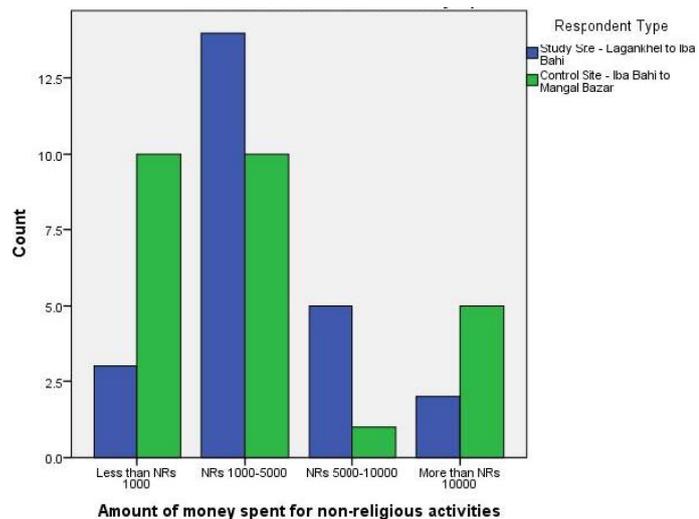
Chart 11. Amount of money spent on Non-religious Particiaption

84.1% of the respondents participated with family and friends and only 4.8% participated through their guthis or other communal organizations.

Again 60% of the respondents spent the minimum amount of time, one day, in preparation, but the amount of money spent in non-religious participation was found much higher, with 48% of total population spending between NRs.1000 – 5000. Significant differences were found in the amount spent on non religious participation based on location, p = 0.04. Larger number of people, 79.1%, in the study site spend intermediate amounts between NRs. 1,000 – NRs. 10,000, and only 2 individuals responded that they spend more than NRs. 10,000. Whereas in the control site, larger number of people, 77%, spent less than NRs. 5,000

however there were 5 responses indicating more than NRs. 10,000/-. Surprisingly 60.9% of the respondents said they were not involved in the decisions made regarding non-religious involvement also, suggesting a predefined or pre-developed pattern of involvement.

Perceived changes in the festival: Changes in the way the festival is managed, since the involvement of Jyapu Samaj, has been cited by all the interviewees. All interviewees have mentioned that there have been lesser accidents in recent times. Maskey (2014) mentions that unseemly changes have taken place with changes in lifestyle. The participation of people in the festival, on site, has decreased, in his point of view, as people now witness the festival on televisions; on top of that he recalls that long back entrance to the city zoo in Jawalakhel used to be free during *Bhoto Jatra*, the final day of the festival which also happens in Jawalakhel. However, this is not the case anymore, if anything, the festival makes activities in and around the zoo more commercial. Dyala (2014) also mentions changes in lifestyle affecting the festival time, people used to paint their houses and decorate their living spaces during the festival, however with concrete buildings replacing the traditional buildings in the study site, this is not the case anymore.

30.6% of respondents feel that there has been a drastic increase in the number of people participating in the festival, another 29% think there has been some increase in participation. 27.5% responded that there has been a decrease. In regards to the number of accidents 71% of the population responded there has been either a drastic decrease, 33.9%, or some decrease, 37.1%. 8.1% of respondents each felt there has been either some or drastic increase in the number of accidents. However there were no significant differences in this perception based on location or association.

4.5. Part 4 –Key Findings

This section of the report addresses the key findings of the research in relation to the sub research questions.

4.5.1. Nature, Purposes and Outcomes of Self Organization

One of the primary findings within the organization of the festival is the lack of any dominant leading stakeholder in the process. There are multiple groups working together, some of the groups pertain to the traditional roles that have been practiced for centruries.

There have been gradual changes in participation by the people, and their involvement through groups. This is highlighted by the changes noticed since the participation of Jyapu Samaj as well as in the participative role of different government offices. These government offices as well as organizations like the municipality or the Guthi Sangsthan play a facilitative role in the organization of the festival.

Out of the festival, the presence of collectives and communal groups is found, however the participation of people in these groups, out of the festival was very low.

Satisfaction with the role of municipality in involving other oganizations was found to be low in the study site. Culture was important in the perception of the people but the same can be questioned in the case of government stakeholders, outside of the context of the festival. This was further illustrated by the peoples' idea of landmarks and their dissatisfaction with the role of municipality in general non-festival related terms.

4.5.2. Appropriation of Space

Majority of people prefer to take actions on prevalant issues through community organizations. The reaction to the need of communal activities was very high with 95.3% respondents saying that communal activities were important. Yet, in general, out of the festival, only 21.9% of people were actively involved in communal groups and activities.

The perception on landmarks was also associated with non-spatial, non-functional and non-commercial factors. Identificaiton with landmarks was significant in terms of the place where the respondents lived or worked. The concept of landmarks was found to be associated not just by the present form and function but also with historic values in the memory of people. For most people, the reasons to consider a place a landmark were religious, historic or traditional. The concept of place related to their memory and community.

The ideas of collective memory and a feeling of home was found to be strong, the appropriation of space and the feeling of a sense of belonging is also seen through the dynamics of place-making.

4.5.3. Process and Dynamics of Place-making

The idea of a collective played an important role in the acquision of the right to use urban space for 41.3% of the non-homeowners, collective organizations were improtant part of their acqusition of this right. Interestingly, communication with government organizations and recognizing the right to use the space was regarded as lesser important activities via communal actions. Yet, the level of satisfaction in both these factors was found low, and the perceived satisfaction with communicaiton and role of local government was significantly low in the study site where the festival takes place.

The participation in the terms of place-making was also not seen outside the festival. People were highly participating in the festival but not in the decision making regarding the festival. The effects of predefined roles and traditional practices are found in peoples' involvement. The decision in terms of participation and mode of participation is found to be a collective decision rather than individual. A collective definition or identificaiton of the place in terms of traditional significane was found amongst the people.

Multiple activities, simultaneously happening at the same site were noticed during the physical observaiton of theplaces. The use of space by the people was found to be non-compartmentalized.

4.5.4. Contributions to Urban Morphology

The direct contribution to physical urban form was seen in four specific instances in the study site. Through the physical observation of the space in festival time as well as non festival time, it was found that the human interactions was noticiably high during the festival, and in the study site.

Differences in the physical fabric, in terms of the built up volume, amount of open spaces, building façade and number of balconies were noticed. However, the significance of these differences could not be studied. However, more changes in the study site, in terms of physical factors, especially buildings, corresponding to the changes in lifestyle was found.

Some activities found in the site were not based on formally defined satutory approaches, like informal vending and on-street religious activities during the festival. The effects of these activities on the morphology can be argued, for example the open-ness of the façade and the use of balconies. However, as previously mentioned, the significance of differences in these variables could not be measured due to statistical limitations.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

The city of Patan has transformed through centuries, in its physical as well as social morphologies. The effect of passage of time is not lost upon the place. As new morphologies gradually replace old ones, newer factors become more relevant. Post industrialization, a primary factor globally has been the rise of professional 'experts' guiding the development of a place. Therefore, much discourse is put forward regarding citizen involvement in collective actions and decisions, via organic processes to express the urban form. This section of the research focuses on the deductions regarding participation, involvement and perceptions of the people of Patan, within the context of the annual festival. This section infers the relevance of the temporary annual festival of Rato Machindranath for the development of 'place', based on the findings and analysis discussed in the previous section and at the same time links these findings to the theories that this research is based on.

5.1. Form VS Function

The initial city planning in Patan was done in the context of social hierarchy and connection with the king and his court, at the same time it was relevant to factors like religion and pedestrian scale etc. Since its genesis, the place has reacted to issues beyond functionalism. This research strengthens this understanding, primarily in the perception of its users. It was found that people associate the importance of different places within the area owing to their values and meanings, and not just use. These values were largely based on cultural and traditional relevance. Interestingly the same is true for both study and control site, even though there have been significantly more physical changes in the study site. The collective memory of the users identified even the changed morphology with its historic relevance. Thus it can be inferred that the introduction of new functions, neither obliterates the processes of the past, nor diminish the influence and distinction of non-functional factors.

This phenomenon was also noticed in the four structures that serve specific functions during the festival. Firstly, the flexibility of the space, to account for several functions, is noticed. The spaces serve commercial purposes most of the time and cultural during the festival. During the festival temporary cultural aspects are given more importance, as daily commercial activities take a back seat. It can also be argued that the commercial benefits are recognized in other ways and by specific sections of the society. In the context of informal vending and small scale businesses, during the festival at Thati the number of vegetable vendors was low; however the number of vendors selling oil lamps, flowers and other offerings, or those selling toys was much higher. However, at the same time the shops at the *pati* remained closed. Although this research doesn't focus on the economic aspects of the festival, it shows that the urban space is reacting to the economic dynamics while at the same time the form manifests itself as an expression of more than simply functional factors.

5.2. Temporary events and a sense of Place

Place is conceptualized as a result of space, activities, events, and, peoples' interactions and experiences. An important factor in the identity of a place is the participation of people. The participation in religious as well as non-religious aspects of the festival was found to be very high, in study as well as control site. But the same was not true for non-festival aspects.

Religious participation is observed in public spaces, but the primary non-religious participation - private feasts, observed by 58.7%, can be attended either in public spaces or private residences. Therefore, it can be construed that religious participation plays an important role in the experience and interactions at public spaces. And since religious participation, within this festival, is observed along the chariot route, people from control

site, and by inference other areas out of the route, are also participants in the public spaces within the chariot route.

The interactions and patterns of participation have seen gradual evolution, with the involvement of organizations such as Jyapu Samaj and Neighbourhood Development Committees. It is also important to note that the population has developed, over time, into a heterogeneous mix of people from different parts of the country. Thus the participation and spatial reaction has undergone an organic process of evolution within these public places. The religious participation of people, not limited to the people in the chariot route, also showcases that interactions take place not just with the permanent users of the space, but also with temporary users and hence, the relevance of citizen involvement goes beyond occupants of the specific place to interactions with temporary users of these specified locations as well.

5.3. Urban Morphology

Beyond public spaces, urban morphology is also defined by the private spaces within the city. In the case of these sites, these private spaces are buildings that act as edges to the street. Differences in the façades between the study and control sites have been noticed. There was also more built-up volume on average in the study site rather than the control site, suggesting a higher land value. The study site was found to have more average transparency in its façade and a greater number of balconies per house, but this difference couldn't be directly accounted to the presence of the festival, owing to limitations in data processing.

However, significant differences were noticed in the changes made in private buildings and peoples' perception towards such changes. It was found that the respondents in the study site are more tolerant towards spatial changes, and in fact they perceive such changes in a positive manner, at the same time there were noticeably more changes in the study site than the control site. The control site is in close proximity to the heritage zone and as such the perception of the people is more focused towards preservation of the traditional architecture, this can be inferred from their reaction to changes, where some respondents claimed there were prevalent problems due to the changes in private buildings, but no respondent from the study site claimed to having any problems. It can be assumed that the presence of a heritage zone at one end and a bus park at another acts as magnets to spatial changes as well as peoples' tolerance for such changes, and therefore the population at the study site seems more flexible than the control site. However, confirming the effects of these deciding factors is beyond the scope of this research.

5.4. Communication and Collective Actions

It can be seen that the role of different organizations within the festival is primarily facilitative and traditional social groups function to make the festival happen. The interactions and communications within the festival are at multiple stages and between multiple stakeholders. As mentioned in the previous chapter, three meetings are held between all stakeholders two providing a platform for interaction. Interestingly government organizations are more open towards maintenance of the place during the festival, as road, water, sewerage departments etc. are involved in the meetings and they check the maintenance of these services before the festival. This can be seen as a confirming action to the theory that the government is more susceptible to take actions and decisions if an important event is at stake.

Communication plays a vital role in the organization of the festival, rather than any other factor. The same is true in interactions between individuals, as observed between the three people overseeing the chariot pulling. There are also multiple interactions that happen between the Guthi Sangsthan and the Rakamis, and between the Guthi Sangsthan and other government organization, as the Sangsthan, other than financing and commissioning, also

facilitates the work of all Rakamis. This is an interesting understanding, as in most cases, the financing body is expected to play a central leading role, but the involvement of Guthi Sangsthan is found to be different. The same is true for other government organizations as they too facilitate the functioning of the festival. So not only simultaneous actions, but multipel levels of simultaneous communications were also found.

People perceive the importance of collective actions to be high, and they are satisfied with the role of collective organizations. They contact local organizations in case of prevalent problems rather than the municipality. However the involvement of people in communal groups and organizations, out of the festival, was low. It can hence be inferred that the festival plays a major role in bringing the different individuals of the community together and connects different neighbourhoods. As was mentioned by Maharjan (2014), all toles of Patan participate and compete to showcase their identity during the festival while at the same time the interactions in the festival have gradually developed an identity of the city. As such an organic development of the place through collective actions in the festival can be seen.

5.5.   Place-Making and Self-Organization

Several purposes of place-making were listed during the theoretical review. After the analysis of the collected data it is discerned that participation and interactions in the festival correspond to several of these purposes. The purposes served during the festival are building public spaces, creating delight, economic development, engendering civic pride, connecting neighbourhoods and nurturing a sense of place. However, it is also understood that this festival is not a project and as such it corresponds to the concepts of place-making but not to the contemporary practices which are focused primarily on developing projects for creating a 'place'. But a repetitive event that happens every year and has a high level of peoples' participation emphasises on the continual process of 'making'. It also emphasises communications and interactions, a highlighting factor here is the lack of single stakeholder dominance, therefore the organization and realization of the festival focuses not just on the strengthening of a space but a continual development of interactions between people which then has an impact on the place.

The complexity of the organization can also be noticed, as the primary aims of the festival are religious and cultural but the dynamics between action and reaction causes a cycle of events. With high participation and networks of different stakeholders, groups and individuals, the idea that every urban dweller or participant can influence the urban place can be illustrated through this case. The dynamics between people who are commuting, vending, praying, residing or trying to run a business is perceived simultaneously in the same space.

Collective actions in participation, as well as simultaneous individual actions act as inputs to the development of the place, creating multiple networks and interactions. The realization of the place, with complex and self promulgating interactions between the space, people, actions and experiences, therefore materializes the ideas of self-organization and complexity.

5.6.   Final Conclusions

Festivals create a special time and cause for celebration, it brings people together in public spaces and contributes to place-making through collective actions. The urban complexity can be felt in the observation and activities of festivals, a multitude of actions, individual, communal, and self-organized can be observed simultaneously creating diverse reactions.

Although the contributions of the festival towards place-making and self-organized development of the community as well as the urban place could be inferred from this research, the development of urban morphology cannot be completely attributed to one event. The location factors have been found to be significant in the shaping of the morphology, but

the location can influenced by factors other than the festival as well, like economy, land values, informality, presence of historic sites, presence of urban facilities etc. Yet, the collective memory of the place accounts for the organic development of the place and people perceive a place through their knowledge and history, which includes factors like the religious and cultural elements of the festival. Therefore, it can be said that the festival is a prominent event, and a prevalent factor in the perception of the people and their association with the space, but the physical development of the space has many other influencing factors.

Pertaining to the festival, are many urban, spatial, social and cultural factors that contribute to the location. However, this contribution doesn't limit to the occupants of the location itself, but people from different parts of the valley participate in the event, therefore this temporary event contributes to the identity of the place, and at the same time the interactions within the festival add to the understanding and development of the urban society and place.

A collective definition of the place is noticed in the memories of the users, the evolution of the place is more than its function, rather a combination of experience, necessity, tradition and sensitivity, as theorized by Rossi. As mentioned before significant differences were found in terms of perception on landmarks, changes noticed on the space, changes made on their spaces and reaction to changes made by others, based on the location of the respondent. Perceptive as well as physical differences were found in these two sections, and peoples' perceptions are associated with culture. The potential to make specific decisions, by policy makers, in the context of the festival was also noticed through their involvement as facilitators of the event. Yet, the creative spatial transformation of a place, as explained by Kunzmann, based on culture is not seen. The festival has emphasized the communal identity and participation but the sensitivity to cultural fabric, in non-festival time, by different stakeholders is not noticed. There is low participation out of the festival and the satisfaction on the role of organizations out of the festival, amongst the users of study site is also low. In the city of Patan, the realization of the cultural flagship that can be created by the festival is, to a large extent, limited to the duration of the festival.

In conclusion it can be said that the social structure of Patan, though changing, has a strong cultural connection. However, this connection is not as strong on non-festival related issues. The presence of self-organization and place-making within the festival of Rato-Machindranath was felt stongly, and certain impacts of the festival was also noticed in the urban morphology as well as the collective memory of the people. However, the strong potential to further strengthen the identity of Patan, and that of the chariot route, cannot be neglected. The contribution of the spirit of participation and facilitation, found in the course of the festival, has the potential to further strengthen identity of the place.

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Annexes

Annex 1: Chronology of ruling dynasties in Kathmandu valley and Nepal (adapted from Gellner, 1996)

Dynasty/ Political System	Duration
Lichhavi Period	5th to 9th century A.D.
Thakuri Period	c. 879 to 1200 A.D.
Early Malla Period	1200 to 1382 A.D.
Later Malla Period	1382 to 1768 A.D.
Early Shah Period	1769 to 1846 A.D.
Rana Period	1846 to 1951 A.D.
Later Shah Period	1952 to 2006 A.D.
Democracy	2006 A.D. onwards

Annex 2: On site observations of study and control sites

19 June 2012 – Thati Tole – Day of the Festival

Time	Observations
5:30	Swarms of devotees gather around the chariots and pati chanting hymns, offering oil lamps Low number of vendors, primarily selling flowers and other auspicious offerings
6:00	Few fruits and vegetable vendors arrive along with a fabric vendor Decrease in number of devotees, concentrated on the immediate surroundings of the chariot
7:00	Devotees chanting hymns at the pati leave after morning prayers
8:30 to 9:00	Shops start to open Number of Street Vendors increases (selling things other than flowers etc.) Crowd of devotees gets thinner Increase in number of 2 wheelers around the site, but no 4 wheelers seen yet
9:00	Green boughs are brought to the site on a bicycle rickshaw Number of similarly dressed women, at the pati, for special worship increases
10:00	Number of vendors increase, selling refreshments, balloons, toys, fruits, vegetables etc.
10:30	All green boughs arrive and devotees start to sort them out and make links with jute ropes Concentration of devotees around the chariot decreases Number of 2 wheelers visibly increases
11:00	Municipal garbage truck arrives to take accumulated garbage and residual green boughs Larger crowd can be seen around the Lagankhel bus park area 2-wheeler traffic has considerably increased Devotees prepare offerings at the pati and also sort out the green boughs
13:00	The garbage truck leaves with the residual green boughs and trash Several people climb the spire of the chariot to hang green bough links
14:00	Increase in vehicular and pedestrian traffic, dominance of pedestrian from this time
15:00	Number of vendors increases, selling refreshments, toys and sweets Number of devotees increase drastically
15:30	The fresh decoration of the chariot by green boughs is complete Many vendors move to the vicinity
16:00	Volunteers and security personnel arrive at the site Massive crowd gathers People are serving drinking water to the participants
16:30	Volunteers start making a ring around and in front of the chariot Multiple musical troops gather nearby and celebrate with music and dancing Other volunteers prepare the ropes to pull the chariot Large crowd gathers outside the security ring
17:00	The leader [Ha Pah:] is selected, he climbs the Bhairav image and chariot pulling begins
17:00 to 17:07	The chariot of Machindranath is pulled towards Jawalakhel A large section of the crowd follows the chariot Volunteers start clearing the space around the smaller chariot of Minnath
17:07 to 17:15	The chariot of Minnath is pulled towards Jawalakhel Another crowd follows the smaller chariot and the rest scatter, primarily to Lagankhel A jeep with drinking water serves water to the participants of the festival
17:30 to 18:30	Majority of the crowd is dispersed, some people are still walking in the area Gradual arrival of vendors, predominantly fruits and vegetables, occupying the street sides Noticeable number of people [primarily female] buying fruits and vegetables Residual green boughs are left in front of the pati
18:30 to 19:00	Gradual increase in the number of vehicles Pati is cleaned and residual boughs and garbage is accumulated at the crossing Pedestrians and vehicles manoeuvre around the garbage, like a traffic island Street lamps are turned on
19:30	Some traffic jam at the crossing Shops begin to close down and number of vendors decreases
20:00	Traffic is considerably low Almost all shops are closed and vendors have left Only 2 butcher shops, 1 street food shop and 1 vegetable vendor remains on site
20:30 to 21:00	Number of vehicles is negligible Garbage from the entire day is accumulated at the crossing and also spread on the street

Time	Observations
6:00	All shops are closed, presence of some vegetable vendors
:	Low pedestrian movement
(	Low vehicle movement
(	Garbage from previous day is accumulated at the crossing
6:30	Number of vendors increases very slowly Pedestrian movement has slight increase Not much change in vehicle movement
7:00	Garbage truck comes to pick accumulated garbage Some people come to dispose garbage in the truck Mostly butcher shops open along with some household item and bag shops Vegetable vendors have left by this time
7:30 to 8:00	More shops open Number of vehicles increases A large crowd is visible at Lagankhel bus park
8:30	School buses and students travel along the crossing Activity in Thati, comparable to before, but crowd increases in Lagankhel
9:00	Increase in both pedestrian and vehicle movement All shops open by this time
9:00 to 10:00	Number of vendors as well as pedestrians gradually increases Vehicular movement is less
10:00 to 12:00	Predominant pedestrian movement
13:00 to 13:30	Slight decrease in pedestrian movement Slight increase in vehicular movement
14:30 – 15:00	Noticeable increase in both pedestrian and vehicular movement Vendors can be seen moving to find better spots
15:30	Traffic Jam
16:00 to 17:00	Decrease in vehicle, slight increase in pedestrian movement
17:00 to 18:00	Crowd movement increases – vendors, vehicles and pedestrians Students return from classes Vegetable vendors continue to move to find better spots Extremely large crowd can be seen at Lagankhel
18:30	Many vegetable vendors and buyers can be seen
19:00	Vegetable vendors have left Mostly people moving – use of space as transit or for adjacent shops
19:30 to 20:00	Most shops are closed and Drastic decrease in movement of pedestrian and vehicles
20:30	Most shops are closed and Drastic decrease in movement of pedestrian and vehicles
21:00	All shops other than butcher shops are closed Garbage is accumulated at the crossing to be picked by garbage truck next day

Time	Observations
6:00	Presence of fruits/ vegetable vendors and other vendors selling cloths Not much activity
6:30 to 7:00	High pedestrian flow, including people buying vegetables Number of vendors selling cloths has also increased
7:30 to 8:00	Gradually all vegetable vendors leave and pedestrian movement is also less
8:30 to 9:00	Vehicular, mostly 2 wheeler, movement starts but is very low Some shops start to open
9:30	More cloths vendors arrive Both pedestrian and vehicular movement increases
10:00 to 11:00	Most shops are open by now Considerable movement of both pedestrian and 2 wheelers with low presence of 4 wheelers Crowd as compared to study site is very low
11:30	It starts to rain and the movement of pedestrian and 2 wheelers is very low All vendors cover their merchandise with plastic sheets/ umbrellas
12:00 to 13:00	Continues to rain – visibly low movement Very few cars and 2 wheelers pass Some vendors decide to remove their shops
13:00 to 13:30	Stops raining for a short time Number of vehicles increase shortly Vendors open their shops
13:30 – 15:00	Rains again, vehicular traffic is increased in the beginning but gradually decreases Pedestrian flow is still high Some vendors can be seen selling cloths and there are crowds of buyers
15:30 to 18:30	Mostly pedestrian dominant traffic can be seen (although it continues to rain) Number of vendors who have opened their shop increases Some shops (in buildings) decide to close and vendors occupy the front space
19:00	It stops to rain and the number of vendors increases, traffic flow remains similar
19:30	Most shops close down (there is also power cut) Vendors continue to stay using portable lights Pedestrian flow decreases but still people can be seen buying from vendors
20:00 to 20:20	All vendors leave Traffic is negligible

Annex 3: Questionnaire used for survey

Questionnaire Number/ Location:

1. Name of Respondent _____
   नाम _____

2. Gender
   - ☐ Male ☐ Female

   लिंग

   - ☐ पुरुष ☐ महिला

3. Age _____ उमेर _____

4. How are you associated with this space?
   - ☐ Resident ☐ Vendor ☐ Both

   तपाई एस स्थानमा कसरि संलग्न हुनुहुन्छ

   - ☐ बसोबास ☐ व्यापार ☐ दुवै

5. What is the duration of your occupancy in this space? _____
   तपाई एस स्थानमा संग्लग्न हुनुभएको कति समय भयो? _____

COLLECTIVE ACTIONS/ सामुदायिक क्रियाकलाप

6. Do you know of any collective organizations in this area?
   - ☐ Yes ☐ No

   के तपाईलाई यस क्षेत्रमा भएक कुनैपनी सामुदायिक संस्थाहरुको बारेमा जानकारी छ?

   - ☐ छ ☐ छैन

7. Are you a part of any collective organizations in this area?
   - ☐ Yes, Please Indicate _____ ☐ No

   के तपाई यस क्षेत्रमा रहेका कुनैपनी सामुदायिक संगठनको भाग हुनुहुन्छ ?

   - ☐ छु , कुनमा .... ☐ छै

8. On a scale of 1-5 please rate the following activities of collective actions, from most to least important to you (1 for more important, 5 for less)
   - ☐ Maintenance/ Cleaning of the space
   - ☐ Communication with government bodies, including via protests
   - ☐ Recognizing the right to use the space including collection of tariff
   - ☐ Conducting religious activities (Bhajans, Jatra, Deepankha etc.)
   - ☐ Conducting social activities
   - ☐ Others, please mention ………………………

   तलका सामुदायिक कृयाकलापलाई सबै भन्दा महत्वपूर्ण (१) देखी महत्वहीन (५) गरी १-५ को मापमा राख्नुहोस्

   - ☐ स्यहर्-सम्हार /सर्सफाई
   - ☐ सरकारी संस्थाहरुसँग वार्ता, बिरोध संलग्न
   - ☐ क्षेत्र-प्रयोग को अधिकारको चिनारी, कर सन्कलन शहित
   - ☐ धार्मिक कृयाकलापको संचार (भजन, जात्रा, दिपान्ख, आदी)
   - ☐ सामाजिक कृयाकलापको संचार
   - ☐ अन्य, तोकेर ....

9. How satisfied are you with activities of the Municipality in maintenance of space?
   - ☐ Highly Satisfied
   - ☐ Satisfied
   - ☐ Neutral
   - ☐ Dissatisfied
   - ☐ Highly Unsatisfied

यस् क्षेत्रमा ललितपुर नगरपालिकाले गरेको ब्यवस्थापन गतिबिधीसँग कतिको सन्तुस्ट हुनुहुन्छ?

   - ☐ अधिक सन्तुस्ट
   - ☐ सन्तुस्ट
   - ☐ निस्पक्ष
   - ☐ असन्तुस्ट
   - ☐ अधिक असन्तुस्ट

10. How satisfied are you with the activities of the Lalitpur Municipality in terms of including other organizations in making decisions about this space?
    - ☐ Highly Satisfied
    - ☐ Satisfied
    - ☐ Neutral
    - ☐ Dissatisfied
    - ☐ Highly Unsatisfied

अरु संघसंस्थाहरुलाई यस क्षेत्रमा गरिने निर्णयबारे संलग्न गर्न ललितपुर नगरपालिकाको भूमिकासँग कतिको सन्तुस्ट हुनुहुन्छ?

    - ☐ अधिक सन्तुस्ट
    - ☐ सन्तुस्ट
    - ☐ निस्पक्ष
    - ☐ असन्तुस्ट
    - ☐ अधिक असन्तुस्ट

11. How satisfied are you with collective groups' communication with the municipality?
    - ☐ Highly Satisfied
    - ☐ Satisfied
    - ☐ Neutral
    - ☐ Dissatisfied
    - ☐ Highly Unsatisfied

सामुदायिक संगठनहरुले नगरपालिकासँग गर्ने वार्तालापको प्रक्रियासँग कतिको सन्तुस्ट हुनुहुन्छ?

    - ☐ अधिक सन्तुस्ट
    - ☐ सन्तुस्ट
    - ☐ निस्पक्ष
    - ☐ असन्तुस्ट
    - ☐ अधिक असन्तुस्ट

12. If you do not own this space, how satisfied are you with the right to use this space?
    - ☐ Highly Satisfied
    - ☐ Satisfied
    - ☐ Neutral

☐ Dissatisfied

☐ Highly Unsatisfied

यदी तपाईसँग यस् क्षेत्रको स्वामित्व छैन भने यस् क्षेत्रको प्रयोगअधिकर सँग कतिको सन्तुस्ट हुनुहुन्छ?

☐ अधिक सन्तुस्ट

☐ सन्तुस्ट

☐ निस्पक्ष

☐ असन्तुस्ट

☐ अधिक असन्तुस्ट

13. If you do not own this space, how important was the role of non-government (collective) actions for you to get the right to use this space?

☐ Vital

☐ Very Important

☐ Neutral

☐ Not important

यदी यो ठाउँ तपाईको हैन भने- यस् ठाउँमा आफ्नो प्रयोगाधिकार प्राप्त गर्न गैर-सरकारी (सामुदायिक) संस्थाहरुको कतिको महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रह्यो?

☐ अहम

☐ धैरै महत्वपूर्ण

☐ निस्पक्ष

☐ अनावश्यक

14. What is your opinion in conducting religious activities through collective actions?

☐ Highly Satisfied

☐ Satisfied

☐ Neutral

☐ Dissatisfied

☐ Highly Unsatisfied

सामुदायिक कृयाकलाप द्वारा धार्मिक गतिबिधीको सन्चालन गरिने बारे तपाईको कस्तो धारणा छ?

☐ अधिक सन्तुस्ट

☐ सन्तुस्ट

☐ निस्पक्ष

☐ असन्तुस्ट

☐ अधिक असन्तुस्ट

15. What is your opinionon the role of Guthi Sangsthan in conducting the Jatra?

☐ I am not aware of its role

☐ I am highly satisfied with its role

☐ I am satisfied with its role

☐ I am not satisfied with its role

☐ I don't have an opinion

मछिन्द्रनाथ जात्रा सन्चालनमा गुठी संस्थानले निर्वाह गर्ने भूमिका बारे तपाईको कस्तो अभिव्यक्ती छ?

☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकाबारे ज्ञान छैन

☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग अती सन्तुस्ट छु

☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग सन्तुस्ट छु

☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग असतुस्ट छु

☐ यस्बारे केही प्रतिकृया छैन

16. What is your opinion regarding the role of Jyapu Samaj in conducting the Jatra?
   ☐ I am not aware of its role
   ☐ I am highly satisfied with its role
   ☐ I am satisfied with its role
   ☐ I am not satisfied with its role
   ☐ I don't have an opinion

मछिन्द्रनाथ जात्रा सन्चालनमा ज्यापु समाजले निर्वाह गर्ने भूमिका बारे तपाईको कस्तो अभिव्यक्ती छ?

☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकाबारे ज्ञान छैन

☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग अती सन्तुस्ट छु

☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग सन्तुस्ट छु

☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग असतुस्ट छु

☐ यस्बारे केही प्रतिकृया छैन

17. How satisfied are you with the safety precautions taken after the involvement of Jyapu Samaj, during the jatra?
   ☐ Highly Satisfied
   ☐ Satisfied
   ☐ Neutral
   ☐ Dissatisfied
   ☐ Highly Unsatisfied

यस जात्रामा ज्यापु समाजको संलग्नता पछी लिईएको सुरक्षा-साबधानिसँग कतिको सन्तुस्ट हुनुहुन्छ?

☐ अधिक सन्तुस्ट

☐ सन्तुस्ट

☐ निस्पक्ष

☐ असन्तुस्ट

☐ अधिक असन्तुस्ट

18. How satisfied are you with the involvement of volunteers during the jatra?
   ☐ Highly Satisfied
   ☐ Satisfied
   ☐ Neutral
   ☐ Dissatisfied
   ☐ Highly Unsatisfied

जात्रामा स्वयम्सेवीको शहभागीतासँग कतिको सन्तुस्ट हुनुहुन्छ?

☐ अधिक सन्तुस्ट

☐ सन्तुस्ट

☐ निस्पक्ष

☐ असन्तुस्ट

☐ अधिक असन्तुस्ट

19. How satisfied are you with the use of funds for treatment of injured people, provision of drinking water and other social activities during the jatra?

- ☐ Highly Satisfied
- ☐ Satisfied
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Dissatisfied
- ☐ Highly Unsatisfied

यस् जात्रामा मानिसहरुको घाइते हुँदा उपचार गरिने, पानीको प्रबर्धनमा खर्छ गरिने र अन्य सामाजिक कार्यमा खर्छ हुने कोसको प्रयोगसँग कतिको सन्तुस्ट हुनुहुन्छ?

- ☐ अधिक सन्तुस्ट
- ☐ सन्तुस्ट
- ☐ निस्पक्ष
- ☐ असन्तुस्ट
- ☐ अधिक असन्तुस्ट

20. What is your opinion regarding the role of traditional guthis in this area?

- ☐ I am not aware of their role
- ☐ I am satisfied with their role
- ☐ I am not satisfied with their role
- ☐ I don't have an opinion
- ☐ I think they are losing their importance
- ☐ Other, please mention …………………………

तपाईंको विचारमा यस् क्षेत्रका परम्परागत गुठीहरुको कस्तो भूमिका छ?

- ☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकाबारे ज्ञान छैन
- ☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग सन्तुस्ट छु
- ☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग असतुस्ट छु
- ☐ यस्बारे केही प्रतिकृया छैन
- ☐ आफ्नो महत्व गुमाइरहेका छन
- ☐ अन्य, तोकेर भन्नुस् ……………

21. What is your opinion on conducting social programs through tradition guthis?

- ☐ I am not aware of its role
- ☐ I am highly satisfied with its role
- ☐ I am satisfied with its role
- ☐ I am not satisfied with its role
- ☐ I don't have an opinion

परम्परागत गुठीहरु द्वारा सामाजिक कार्यक्रमहरुको संचारबारे तपाईंको कस्तो धारणा छ?

- ☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकाबारे ज्ञान छैन
- ☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग अती सन्तुस्ट छु
- ☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग सन्तुस्ट छु
- ☐ उक्त संस्थानको भूमिकासँग असतुस्ट छु
- ☐ यस्बारे केही प्रतिकृया छैन

22. How satisfied are you with the organization of social programs through collective actions by Jyapu Samaj?
    - ☐ Highly Satisfied
    - ☐ Satisfied
    - ☐ Neutral
    - ☐ Dissatisfied
    - ☐ Highly Unsatisfied

ज्यापु समाजले सामुदायिक कृयाकलापबाट व्यवस्थापन गर्ने सामाजिक कार्यक्रमदेखी कती सन्तुस्ट हुनुहुन्छ?

    - ☐ अधिक सन्तुस्ट
    - ☐ सन्तुस्ट
    - ☐ निस्पक्ष
    - ☐ असन्तुस्ट
    - ☐ अधिक असन्तुस्ट

23. In your opinion how important are collective actions?
    - ☐ Vital
    - ☐ Very Important
    - ☐ Neutral
    - ☐ Not important

तपाईंको विचारमा सामुदयिक कृयाकलापहरु कतिको महत्वपूर्ण छन?

    - ☐ अहम
    - ☐ धेरै महत्वपूर्ण
    - ☐ निस्पक्ष
    - ☐ अनावश्यक

24. How do you react when there is a prevalent problem like overflowing of sewerage pipe near your house/ shop?
    - ☐ The municipality/ organizations take care of it, I don't have to do anything
    - ☐ I initiate contact with our local community groups/ tole sudhar samiti/ guthi etc. to take care of the problem
    - ☐ I participate in actions, if they are initiated by local community groups
    - ☐ I register complaints to the municipality

तपाईंको घर या पसल नजिकैबाट ढलको प्रवाह हुँदा यस् समस्यामा कस्तो प्रतीकृया दिनुहुन्छ?

    - ☐ नगरपालिका वा अरु संस्थानहरुले हेरबिचार गर्छन्, मैले केही गर्नु पर्दैन
    - ☐ समस्याको समाधानको लागि मैलेनै सामुहिक संगठन/ तोल सुधार समिती / गुठी आदिमा सम्पर्क गर्छु
    - ☐ स्थानिय निकाय समुहले गर्दे म कृयाकलापमा संलग्न हुनेगर्छु
    - ☐ नगरपालिकामा उजुरी गर्छु

25. How do you dispose the waste from your house/ shop?
    - ☐ Employed an informal waste picker, who disposes it to kabadi/ junk yard etc.
    - ☐ I throw the waste in municipality containers
    - ☐ I throw the waste at locations like crossings etc. at night, where the municipality vehicle collects them in the morning
    - ☐ The street sweepers clean them at night, so I leave the waste as it is

आफ्नो घर/पसलको फोहोरलाई कसरी निस्कृय गर्नुहुन्छ?

- अनौपचारिक फोहोरमैला सन्कलनकर्ताले फोहोर कबाडि आदी कहाँ निस्क्रीय गर्दछन
- नगरपालिका कन्टेनरमा आफैं फाल्छु
- राती सडकको छेउ तिर लगेर फाल्दिन्छु, बिहान नगरपालिकाको गाडीले सन्कलन गर्छ
- कुचिकारहरुले राती सफा गर्दिन्छन, त्यैसैले यत्तिकै छोडिदिन्छु

PARTICIPATION – RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES/ संलग्नता - धार्मिक क्रियाकलाप

26. How do you participate in the religious functions of the Chariot Festival? Please select all that apply.
    - ☐ I do not participate in the festival
    - ☐ I visit the chariot for private prayers
    - ☐ I visit the chariot for special worships with my family
    - ☐ I am a part of a chanting group
    - ☐ I am a part of another group, please indicate …………………………….
    - ☐ My family has specific religious duties for the festival
    - ☐ Other, please indicate……………………………..

रथ जात्राको धार्मिक कार्यक्रममा कसरी भाग लिनुहुन्छ? लागु हुने जती सबै छान्नुहोस्

- ☐ यो पर्वमा भाग लिदिन
- ☐ रथमा गएर एक्लै पूजापाठ गरेर आउछु
- ☐ आफ्नो परिवारसँग गएर रथमा बिशेष पूजापाठ गर्छु
- ☐ भजन्-किर्तन गर्ने समुहको भागी हु
- ☐ म अर्कै समुहको सदस्य हु, उल्लेख गर्नुस् …………
- ☐ उक्त पर्वमा मेरो परिवारले बिशेष धार्मिक भूमिका निर्वाह गर्छ
- ☐ अन्य, उल्लेख गर्नुस् …………

27. How much time do you spend preparing for this participation in the festival?
    - ☐ I do not participate
    - ☐ Less than 1 day
    - ☐ Between 1 – 7 days
    - ☐ 1 – 2 weeks
    - ☐ More than 2 weeks

यस् चाडपर्वको संलग्नताको तयारीमा कती समय लगाउनु हुन्छ?

- ☐ म भाग लिदिन
- ☐ १ दिन भन्दा कम
- ☐ १-७ दिन
- ☐ १-२ हप्ता
- ☐ २ हप्ता भन्दा बढी

28. On an average how much money does your family spend every year to participate in these religious activities of the festival?
    - ☐ Less than NRs. 1000
    - ☐ NRs. 1000 – 5000
    - ☐ NRs. 5000 – 10000
    - ☐ More than NRs. 10000

औसतमा तपाईंको परिवारले यी धार्मिक कार्यक्रममा संलग्न हुन वार्सिक कती खर्छ गर्छ?

- ☐ रु १००० भन्दा कम
- ☐ रु १०००- रु ५०००
- ☐ रु ५०००- रु १०,०००
- ☐ रु १०,००० भन्दा बढी

29. How often are you involved in decisions made about religious events of the festival?
   - ☐ Not involved
   - ☐ I am asked for my opinions but other people make the decisions
   - ☐ I have a say in what happens so I am partially involved
   - ☐ I make the decisions, because ……………………………………..

यस पर्वका धार्मिक कृयाकलाप बारे कुनैपनी निर्णय गर्दा तपाई कतिको संलग्न हुनुहुन्छ?

- ☐ सम्लग्न हुदिन
- ☐ मेरो बिचार सोधिन्छ तर निर्णय अरुले गर्दछन
- ☐ मेरो बिचार महत्वपूर्ण/मानिन्ए भएकाले म आंशिक रुपले संलग्न छु
- ☐ म नै निर्णय गर्छु किनकी ....

PARTICIPATION – NON RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES/ संलग्नता - गैर धार्मिक क्रियाकलाप

30. What non-religious activities of the festival do you participate in? Select all that apply
   - ☐ Attending the festival
   - ☐ Music troops
   - ☐ Vending/ temporary shops
   - ☐ Private feasts and celebrations with family and friends
   - ☐ Others (please specify) _____

एस जात्राका गैर धार्मिक क्रियाकलापमा तपाई कसरि संग्लग्न हुनुहुन्छ? लागु हुने सबै चयन गर्नुहोस।

- ☐ जात्रा भर्ने/ जात्रामा सामेल हुने
- ☐ सांगीतिक समूहको मार्फत
- ☐ व्यापार/ अस्थाई पसल
- ☐ नीजी भोज तथा परिवार/ साथि - भाई संग मनाउने
- ☐ अन्य, तोकेर भन्नुस् ....

31. How do you participate in these non-religious activities?
   - ☐ I do not participate
   - ☐ Independently or with my family
   - ☐ From my Guthi
   - ☐ From my community organization

यी गैर धार्मिक क्रियाकलापमा कसरि सामेल हुनुहुन्छ?

- ☐ सामेल हुदिन
- ☐ स्वतन्त्र रुपमा (आफै) अथवा परिवार संग
- ☐ मेरो गुठीको मार्फत
- ☐ म संग्लग्न भएको समुदयेक संग्स्थाको मार्फत

32. How much time do you spend preparing for non-religious participation in the festival?
    - ☐ I do not participate
    - ☐ Less than 1 day
    - ☐ Between 1 – 7 days
    - ☐ 1 – 2 weeks
    - ☐ More than 2 weeks

यी गैर धार्मिक क्रियाकलापमा संग्लग्न हुनको लागि तपाइले कति समय लगाउनु हुन्छ?

- ☐ म सामेल/ संग्लग्न हुदिन
- ☐ एक दिन भन्दा कम
- ☐ एक देखि सात दिन (१-७)
- ☐ एक देखि दुई हफ्ता (१-२ हफ्ता)
- ☐ दुई हफ्ता भन्दा धेरै

33. On an average how much money does your family spend every year to participate in these non-religious activities of the festival?
    - ☐ Less than NRs. 1000
    - ☐ NRs. 1000 – 5000
    - ☐ NRs. 5000 – 10000
    - ☐ More than NRs. 10000

औसतमा तपाईको परिवारले यी गैर धार्मिक कार्यक्रममा संलग्न हुन वार्षिक कती खर्छ गर्छ?

- ☐ रु १००० भन्दा कम
- ☐ रु १०००- रु ५०००
- ☐ रु ५०००- रु १०,०००
- ☐ रु १०,००० भन्दा बढी

34. How often are you involved in decisions made about non-religious events of festival?
    - ☐ Not involved
    - ☐ I am asked for my opinions but other people make the decisions
    - ☐ I have a say in what happens so I am partially involved
    - ☐ I make the decisions, because ……………………………….

यस पर्वका गैर धार्मिक कृयाकलाप बारे कुनैपनी निर्णय गर्दा तपाई कतिको संलग्न हुनुहुन्छ?

- ☐ सम्लग्न हुदिन
- ☐ मेरो बिचार सोधिन्छ तर निर्णय अरुले गर्दछन
- ☐ मेरो बिचार महत्वपूर्ण मानिन्ए भएकाले म अप्रतक्ष्य रुपले संलग्न छु
- ☐ म नै निर्णय गर्छु किनकी ....

CHANGES/ परिवर्तनहरु

35. Over the course of the last 20 years, what do you think there has been significant changes in? Select all that apply
    - ☐ I do not think there has been significant change
    - ☐ Demography of the place
    - ☐ Open spaces
    - ☐ Buildings
    - ☐ Quality of space

- Commercial value of the space
- Others _____

पछिल्लो २० वर्षको समयमा, तपाइलाई निम्न कुन-कुन कुरामा परिवर्तन आएको महसुस हुन्छ? लागु हुने सबै छनौट गर्नुहोस

- मलाई कुनै महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन भएको महसुस छैन
- यहाँको जनसंख्या मा
- खुला स्थानहरु मा
- भवनहरु मा
- स्थानमा गुणात्मक परिवर्तन
- स्थानको व्यावसायिक मूल्यमा
- अन्य _____

36. How do you think participation of people in the festival has changed in last 20 years?
    - Drastic Increase (more than 50%)
    - Some Increase (20-50%)
    - Comparable to before (-20% - +20%)
    - Some Decrease (20-50%)
    - Drastic Decrease (more than 50%)

तपाइको विचारमा एस जात्रामा जनमानसको सहभागितामा, पछिल्लो २० वर्षमा, कति फरक आएको छ?

- आमूल वृधि (५०% भन्दा धेरै)
- केहि वृधि (२०% - ५०%)
- पहिले जस्तै (२०% घटी देखि २०% बढी सम्म)
- केहि घटाव (२०% - ५०%)
- आमूल घटाव (५०% भन्दा धेरै)

37. What is your opinion regarding the accidents during the jatra, in the last 20 years?
    - Drastic Increase (more than 50%)
    - Some Increase (20-50%)
    - Comparable to before (-20% - +20%)
    - Some Decrease (20-50%)
    - Drastic Decrease (more than 50%)

तपाइको विचारमा एस जात्रामा हुने दुर्घटनामा, पछिल्लो २० वर्षमा, कति फरक आएको छ?

- आमूल वृधि (५०% भन्दा धेरै)
- केहि वृधि (२०% - ५०%)
- पहिले जस्तै (२०% घटी देखि २०% बढी सम्म)
- केहि घटाव (२०% - ५०%)
- आमूल घटाव (५०% भन्दा धेरै)

38. What is your opinion on the changes in the quality of open squares near your house/ shop, in the last 20 years?
    - The space has become much better
    - The space is slightly better than before
    - It is the same

☐ The space has deteriorated

☐ Drastic deterioration

तपाइको विचारमा तपाइको घर/पसलको छेउ-छाउका खुला चोकहरुको गुणस्तरमा, पछिल्लो २० वर्षमा, कस्तो फरक आएको छ?

☐ यी ठाउँहरु पहिले भन्दा धेरै राम्रो भएका छन्

☐ यी ठाउँहरु पहिले भन्दा केहि मात्रामा राम्रो भएका छन्

☐ पहिलेझै छन्/ केहि बदलाव छैन

☐ यी ठाउँ हरु पहिले भन्दा बिग्रेका छन्

☐ पहिले भन्दा आमुल रूपले बिग्रेका छन्

39. What is your opinion on the changes in the streets near your house/ shop, in the last 20 years?
   ☐ The street has become much better
   ☐ The street is slightly better than before
   ☐ It is the same
   ☐ The street has deteriorated
   ☐ Drastic deterioration '

तपाइको विचारमा तपाइको घर/पसल छेउ-छाउ बाटोमा, पछिल्लो २० वर्षमा, कस्तो फरक आएको छ?

☐ यी बाटोहरु पहिले भन्दा धेरै राम्रो भएका छन्

☐ यी बाटोहरु पहिले भन्दा केहि मात्रामा राम्रो भएका छन्

☐ पहिलेझै छन्/ केहि बदलाव छैन

☐ यी बाटोहरु पहिले भन्दा बिग्रेका छन्

☐ पहिले भन्दा आमुल रूपले बिग्रेका छन्

40. What kind of changes have you made in your building/ shop in the last 20 years?
   ☐ Complete demolition and rebuilding
   ☐ Incremental Growth – addition of a floor
   ☐ Incremental Growth – change of façade
   ☐ Incremental Growth – addition of canopy covering part of the street
   ☐ Minor maintenance
   ☐ No changes at all

तपाइको भवन/ पसलमा, पछिल्लो २० वर्षमा, के-के परिवर्तन गर्नु भएको छ?

☐ पुरै भत्काएर पुनर्निर्माण गरेको छु

☐ वृद्धि विकास - थप तल्लाको निर्माण

☐ वृद्धि विकास - भवनको मोहरामा (बाहिरी स्वोरुपमा) परिवर्तन

☐ वृद्धि विकास - बाटो को केहि भाग छोपिने गरि छज्जा (canopy) को निर्माण

☐ साना स्यहार-सम्हार

☐ केहि परिवर्तन गरेको छैन

41. What is your perception regarding the changes made in buildings near your house/ shop?
   ☐ It makes the place better
   ☐ I don't mind/ I have no opinion on it
   ☐ It has created minor problems for me and for the place
   ☐ The changes must be reversed

तपाईंको घर/पसल नजिकै बनाईएका भवनहरुका परिवर्तनका बारे कस्तो धारणा राख्नुहुन्छ?

- ☐ यसले ठाउँ अझै राम्रो बनाउछ
- ☐ केही प्रतिकृया छैन
- ☐ यसले मलाई र यस ठाउँमा सामान्य समस्याहरु निम्त्याएको छ
- ☐ यसता परिवर्तनहरु उल्ट्याइनु पर्छ

42. What is your perception regarding changes in decision making power in the festival?
    - ☐ I don't see any change
    - ☐ The change is not good, decisions should be made as they always were
    - ☐ Changes are good, people should be able to make more decisions
    - ☐ I don't have an opinion regarding this

यस पर्वसँग सम्बन्धित निर्णयधिकारमा परिवर्तनका बारे तपाईको कस्तो धारणा छ?

- ☐ म केही बद्लाव देख्दिन
- ☐ परिवर्तन राम्रो हैन, निर्णय पहिले जस्तो थिए त्यसतै अहिले पनि हुनु पर्छ
- ☐ परिवर्तन राम्रो हो, मान्छेहरुले यसको बारे अझ धेरै निर्णय गर्न पाउनु पर्छ
- ☐ यसको बारे मेरो केही प्रतीकृया छैन

43. What is your perception regarding changes in decision making about use of space?
    - ☐ I don't see any change
    - ☐ The change is not good, decisions should be made as they always were
    - ☐ Changes are good, people should be able to make more decisions
    - ☐ I don't have an opinion regarding this

ठाउँको प्रयोगबारे हुने/बन्ने निर्णयमा परिवर्तनको बारेमा तपाईको कस्तो अवधारणा छ?

- ☐ म केही बद्लाव देख्दिन
- ☐ परिवर्तन राम्रो हैन, निर्णय पहिले जस्तो थिए त्यसतै अहिले पनि हुनु पर्छ
- ☐ परिवर्तन राम्रो हो, मान्छेहरुले यसको बारे अझ धेरै निर्णय गर्न पाउनु पर्छ
- ☐ यसको बारे मेरो केही प्रतीकृया छैन

44. What is your perception regarding changes in decision making about buildings?
    - ☐ I don't see any change
    - ☐ The change is not good, decisions should be made as they always were
    - ☐ Changes are good, people should be able to make more decisions
    - ☐ I don't have an opinion regarding this

भवनहरुमा ल्याईने परिवर्तनमा लागु हुने निर्णयहरुका बद्लावबारे तपाईको कस्तो धारणा छ?

- ☐ म केही बद्लाव देख्दिन
- ☐ परिवर्तन राम्रो हैन, निर्णय जस्तो थिए त्यसतै अहिले पनि हुनु पर्छ
- ☐ परिवर्तन राम्रो हो, मान्छेहरुले यसको बारे अझ धेरै निर्णय गर्न पाउनु पर्छ
- ☐ यसको बारे मेरो केही प्रतीकृया छैन

45. In your opinion what are the most prominent landmarks in the street from Lagankhel to Mangalbazar? Why? _____

लगनखेल देखि मंगलबजार सम्मको बाटोमा, तपाइको विचारमा, सबैभन्दा चिनारी भएको/

यादगार (landmark) स्थलहरु कुन-कुन हुन्? किन?__ _____

Annex 4: Interview Guidelines

General Informaiton/ सामान्य जानकारी

1. What is the stakeholder group? Who are involved in this group and how can people become a part of the group?

   यो संगस्था के हो? एस संग्स्था मा को-को आबधित हुनुहुन्छ र एस संग्स्था मा आबद्ध हुने प्रक्रिया के हो?

2. How does the stakeholder group function? Who is responsible for making decisions within the stakeholder group?

   यो संगस्था को कार्यकलाप कसरी हुन्छ तथा एस संग्स्था मा निर्णय कसले र कसरि लेइन्छ?

3. What are the practices of the stakeholder group based on? Are there any guiding rules? What kind of rules are there?

   एस संग्स्था को कार्यकलाप के मा आदरित छन्? कुनै नियमहरु छन्? यी नियमहरु के हुन र के मा आधारित छन्?

Involvement/ आबधता

4. What is the role of the stakeholder group in the study sites? – talk about both the sites…not just the lagankhel site but also the mangal bazaar part of the street.

   एस संग्स्था को एस अद्ध्ययन स्थान हरु (study sites) मा के भूमिका छ?

5. What is the role of the stakeholder group in the festival? What activities are organized by the stakeholder group?

   एस संग्स्था को एस जात्रा मा के भूमिका छ? एस जात्रा क कुन क्रियाकलापहरु/ गतिविधिहरु यो संग्स्था ले व्यवस्थापन गर्दछ?

6. What is the perception and importance of the space, where the functions take place, in the point of view of the stakeholder? What is their perception of the evolution of space, in terms of the activities of the festival or otherwise?

   तपाइको बिचारमा यी क्रियाकलापहरु हुने स्थानको महत्वो के छ तथा एस स्थान प्रति तपाइको धारणा के छ? एस स्थान को विकास तथा यहाँ हुने क्रियाकलापहरुको विकास प्रति तपाइको धरान के छ?

7. How is the stakeholder group involved in the space during the time when the festival doesn't happen?

   जुन समयमा यहाँ जात्रा हुन्दैन त्येस समयमा यो संग्स्था कसरि एस स्थानमा आबध छ?

8. What are the issues that the stakeholder group makes decisions on during the festival? How do these decisions, in the point of view of the stakeholder, affect other stakeholders?

   एस जात्राको समयमा एस संग्स्थाले कस्तो निर्णयहरु लिन्छ? तपाइको बिचारमा यी निर्णयहरुले अरु संग्स्था तथा समुहहरुमा के प्रभावहरु परेका छन्?

Perception/ विचार

9. How does the stakeholder group perceive the quality of space and the sense of ownership of the group and the users, both during and outside the festival? – find the evolution of this space as perceived by the stakeholder group.

    यो ठाउँको quality तपाइको विचार मा कस्तो छ? यहाँ को मान्छे हरुले यो ठाउँ आफ्नो हो भन्ने विचार गर्छन? यो ठाउँ को विकास कसरि भएको छ?

10. What is the perception of the stakeholder in regards to the activities of other identified stakeholders? Also find out what are the known activities of the other stakeholders?

    तपाईको विचार मा अरु संघ संग्स्थान तथा गुठि हरुले एस स्थानमा कस्तो भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दै छन्? अरु संगठन हरु को काम ले यो ठाउँ को विकास अथवा नराम्रो हुनु मा केहि असर गरको छ? यदि छ भने, त्यो असर तपाइको विचार मा कस्तो छ?

11. Find out a brief history of the stakeholder group involvement in the festival. What kinds of changes have happened, concerning the overall festival and more specifically concerning the stakeholder group's involvement?

    एस जात्र बाहेक, अरु समयमा यो संग्स्थान/ समूह कसरि आबध छ? यो अबधतामा समय अनुसार कस्तो फरक महसूस गर्नु भएको छ?

In your own words, please describe this street. What are the most memorable landmarks in this street for you?

एस बाटो लै आफ्नो शब्द मा वर्णन गर्नु पर्दा के भन्नु हुन्छ? तपाइको विचारमा एस स्थान मा सबैभन्दा धेरै चिनारी भयको ठाउँ (landmarks) के के हुन् जस्तो लाग्छ?