

Tribhuvan University in Kirtipur; A History of Resistance and Change

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Abstract

This paper, focused on the history of establishment of university in Kirtipur, is centered around a question - How the establishment of Tribhuvan University in Kirtipur is associated with a pattern of change influencing the everyday life of the local people? Given the background, this paper has intended to shed light on the history of Tribhuvan University in Kirtipur amidst resistance of the people, particularly on how the process of establishment of the university proceeded at the beginning and, in addition, the impacts on the society and the people of Kirtipur following the founding of a great institution in the history of Nepal. For this purpose, qualitative information has been generated from ethnographic interviews supplemented by focus group discussion guided by a check-list, mainly with the local senior citizen informants above 60 years of age who have witnessed the place and processes from decades. The study shows that the people who were reluctant to welcome the university because it forcefully purchased their land and they were compelled to shift from farming to non-farming occupation had lots of grievances and dissatisfaction with the government. However, over time the urbanization, expansion of market and emigration of the population have found to have brought various aspects of development regarding road and transportation, modern housing and settlement, growth in physical infrastructures associated with education, health and market. Now, people have realized the benefit directly and indirectly in their lives.

Keywords : Development, Kirtipur, Land Acquisition, Tribhuvan University,

The Kirtipur City

Kirtipur (kirti- glory; pur – city) meaning city of glory is a municipality in the capital valley, which is known as one of the ancient settlements in Nepal. It is situated in the south-east of the capital city. Historical evidences suggest that the city was fortified with walls in ancient times and was a key to maintaining power in the valley until 18th century, where different dynasty ruled and finally Shah Kings of Gorkha. The slopy topography made this city strategically strong, however, it was also a hindrance for transporting goods and slowed its development in the past. Despite of rule by different dynasties like Mahispalas, Gopals, Kiratas, Lichhavis, Thakuris, Mallas and the Shahs, this small

regional kingdom remained its territorial and ethnic boundaries virtually unchanged for a long time.

Kirtipur, now formally Kirtipur municipality in Kathmandu valley, having historical records of cultural and religious significance has been historically inhabited by the Newars, the city has various historical sites including many temples and stupas. Kirtipur was declared as municipality in 2053 B.S. (1997 A.D.) under the Municipal Act by combining eight contemporary village development committees namely Palifal, Layaku, Bahirigaon, Chithubihar, Champadevi, Bishnudevi, Balkumari and Chovar.

Administratively, Kirtipur Municipality has 10 wards covering 14.76 sq. km area. It is encircled by Bagmati River in the East, Chandragiri Municipality in the West, Kathmandu Metropolitan City in North and Dakchhinkali Municipality in the South, situated in 7 km south-west of Kathmandu Metropolitan city. According to Kirtipur Municipality Office (2023 A.D.), the municipality lies at 27° 38' 37" to 27° 41' 36" N and 85° 14' 64" to 85° 18' 00" E with altitude ranging from 1284 meters to 1524 meters above mean sea level. The Kirtipur Municipality, distributed in 10 wards, namely – Layaku, Devdhoka, Dhalpa, Godamchaur, Kanyachaur/Jankha, Chobhar/Jalbinayak, Bhajangal, Panga/Dhokasi, Taga:wapi and Kwa Kewa. At present total population of the municipality is 81,578 (CBS, 2021) residing 14.76 km² with the population density of 5,527 per square kilometers.

Tribhuvan University is situated in the 10th ward of the municipality, which has covered an area of 154.77 hectares (3042.23 ropani) in Kirtipur, where its central administrative office and a central campus are located. Kirtipur is the home of Tribhuvan University central campus as well as its central administration hub including office of the vice-chancellor, rector and the registrar. The establishment of Tribhuvan University in Kirtipur after some form of resistance is one major force of change in the ancient city.

1.1. The Tribhuvan University

Tribhuvan University, established in 1959 (2016 B.S.), is the first national institution of higher education in Nepal. Tribhuvan University is the first and largest university in Nepal established by the government, which has been offering diverse academic programs at graduate, post-graduate and doctoral level. Earlier, it also used to offer undergraduate (proficiency certificate level, now equivalent to higher secondary level) programs, which was phased out from 2010 AD. Tribhuvan university was the only university in Nepal until 1985 and most of the higher educational institutions in Nepal opened in the 90s or after.

In a study done by CNAS (2076 B.S.), the first higher educational institution in Nepal was Tri-Chandra College in 1975 B.S (1918 A.D.), which was affiliated with Calcutta University. Afterwards, in 1981 B.S., the affiliation was transferred to Patna University

(established in 1974 B.S. or 1917 A.D.), Bihar because Calcutta did not allow to set up examination center in Kathmandu. During the Rana regime, there was an attempt to set up a domestic university in Nepal in 2005 B.S. but the policy of putting Nepali people away from education adopted by Rana families hindered the process. Afterwards, in 2016 B.S., Tribhuvan University was established as per the University Act, 2016, and only after that a new door was opened in the educational sector of Nepal.

In the beginning, during the Tri-Chandra College establishment, the education was free-of-cost because many people were not much aware about higher education, and obviously resulting in the minimum numbers of students, i.e. education was out of reach from the access of the common people. Then an “Education Committee” was set up in 2009 B.S., which recommended setting up “National Education Planning Commission”, that finally recommended the establishment a national university within five years. Following this, Her Majesty KantiRajyalaxmi Devi Shah announced the formation of “Tribhuvan University Planning Commission” on B.S. 2012 Chaitra 18 and “Tribhuvan University Act” was promulgated on B.S. 2016 Jestha 13 on the occasion of 53rd birth anniversary of Late King Tribhuvan (Upadhyay, 2001).

1.2. Objectives and Methods

This paper is the extracted and revised version of a research report prepared for Central for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University during September, 2020, which had thoroughly focused and discussed on social and cultural change in Kirtipur during the past fifty years in the town. Given the context, this paper has intended to shed light on the history of Tribhuvan University in Kirtipur amidst resistance of the people, particularly on how the process of establishment of the university proceeded at the beginning and, in addition, the impacts on the society and the people of Kirtipur following the founding of a great institution in the history of Nepal. In other words, the study has focused on "How the establishment of Tribhuvan University in Kirtipur is associated with a pattern of change influencing the everyday life of the local people?"

Given the background, this study is based on qualitative information generated from ethnographic interviews supplemented by focus group discussion guided by a check-list. The informants comprising the major source of data of this study are the purposively selected local senior citizens above 60 years of age, who are born and brought up in Kirtipur, who have witnessed the place and processes from decades. The different informants have provided diverse form of information varying in their content and depth as per their knowledge, experiences and life history, representing both local Newars and non-Newars as well as both working and retired teaching and non-teaching staffs of the university.

2. The Beginning: Land Acquisition and Resistance

The process of the initial foundation of the university seems to be coupled with various forms of resistance from the local people as well as a dark shadow of the history of conquer and defeat of historical war allied with the process of unification and formation of modern Nepal.

At the time of land acquisition by the government for university establishment, as mentioned by Notes Nepal (2023), the government of Nepal had announced the a mode of compensations to the land to be acquired as mentioned in the notice as follows – a) compensation of three ropanis of land equal to one ropani of land will be given around Durupukhu and Suchatar, and b) one bigaha of land in Kirtipur is equivalent to three bigahas of land in Chitawan, and forest land at the rate of one hundred rupees per bigaha. In addition, the notice also said that, a) the local people of Kirtipur will be employed in the construction of the university building, and b) they will be given first priority when recruiting staffs for the university.

Following the announcement of the land, people began to oppose it, because the life of the people is based on land and farming and hence they cannot lose their permanent property, and, after the realization of the fact that the government is not stepping back on their decision and in no way going to leave the land, the people opted for justice and adjustment instead of mere resistance. However, the people were divided into two groups – 1) 'YES' group (*yasangh*), and; 2) 'NO' group (*may sangh*). In this line, Notes Nepal (2023) further have stated that the people thought the government could have chosen the land for university in other places where the land was not cultivable and fertile as it was in Kirtipur, and therefore, the people believed that the King have seen revenge as Kirtipur had defeated Gorkhali twice in history.

During the conception of university, the people of Kirtipur were divided into pro-university group led by *Harigobinda Shrestha* and anti-university led by *BasuPasaa*. The anti-university group activated local people and the obstructed the process by laying down in the road. Later, the government convinced the leaders and also used police force and became able to have land acquisition in Kirtipur. It is said that *BasuPasaa* was given a job, kind of political appointment, and he withdrew the movement. According the local elderly, *BasuPasaa*, originally from Kirtipur, lived in Kathmandu town (*sahar*) who was one of the key persons to bring university in Kirtipur, i.e. as local uttered “*yiniharu le lyayeko ho re*”. The conception of university began with a response of huge resistance from the Kirtipur dwellers, especially the Newars farmers, however, some of them were in for of university from the very beginning.

The elderly recall that, in the beginning many of us villagers (*haamisabaigaunleharu*) carried out procession against it (*chahidaina*) but finally the government was strong and made it happen by mobilizing Police force.

In 2013 BS (1956 AD), during this time also Kirtipur dwellers showed their dignity by saying; “*ekpaathimaatobaraabar sun diyepaniHetaudanajane*” Kirtipur was divided – pro university and no university; *YoSangh* (pro university) – liked university and *Maya Sangh* (no university) – disliked university; People said to shift the University elsewhere but the King. A local senior citizen said “*Raja mahendra le anekgarerabiswo bidhyalayasthapanagarnebyabasthagareani Rs. 375 pratiropani ma mero 21 ropani TU le liyo*”. He further said that, he did not receive any compensation of of 10 *ropanis*. It is also said that Kirtipur dwellers could not receive any good position after university establishment.

Looking back to the history, the establishment of the university was also a very difficult task at that time and the resistance from the local people took some more years to establish it in Kirtipur. *YoSangh* (we need university, pro-university group) and *Mayo Sangh* (no university, anti-university group) was the split seen during the conception of the university by the government. It was in one way obvious to have resistance because the people dependent predominantly on agriculture had to forcefully sell their land to the government for some compensations. Actually, the split was seen in the line of level of awareness, exposure and educational level. More clearly, those who were little bit educated or have exposure to the outside world were for the university establishment and another group of ignorant and not educated people were against university, who could not anticipate the future benefit that could be brought about by the university. Those who were against it were not ready to sell their land and they suggested to shift the university to Gokarna not Kirtipur.

The government initially announced the acquisition of 500 *ropanis* of land. This declaration gave the impression that there would not be so much damage if only 500 *ropanis* of land. But the government deceived Kipumi and acquired 3500*ropanis* of land. Every year, Tribhuvan University is expanding its area. Acquiring 500 *ropanis* of land means that the government has acquired 6,500 *ropanis* of land. Attempts were made to occupy more land by enclosing the university campus wall. The local youth retaliated in various ways. The youths started tearing down the walls. The government mobilized the police. But this time they did nothing. TU himself pushed back 12 feet to build the wall. The 3500 *ropanis* of land acquired in the name of Tribhuvan University is still not in use.

Protest activities have not stopped. Today's young generation of Kipu is beginning to realize what they had to lose and continue to protest. However, the police force has been cracking down on them. The land snatched from Kipumi has been given to various banking companies today. Land acquired for educational purposes is being used for business today. Subedi (2023) writes that the university will run out of space even to continue the existing academic programs, if the rate of land encroachment continues in this manner, i.e. the changes happening in modes of urbanization, patterns of buildings and methods of encroachments. In other words, Kirtipur university space has become a mirror of urbanization, land holding, recklessness and lack of direction.

3. The Compensation Offer

During the land acquisition period, Rs. 300-400 per *Ropani*, was declared for the people. Those who were for university found the offer made by government reasonable. According to the local people, the government offered 1 *bighas* of land in Hetauda for 1 *Ropani* land in Kirtipur as well as cash compensation for the land. But nobody went to Hetauda and many received the compensations. In fact, many people could not understand the importance of the university in terms of its glory for the society and nation as a whole. Later, the resistance forcefully failed and government was able to establish university. And many people have been found to be regretting (*purpuro ma haat*) that they should have accepted the offer. In fact, the proposed cash compensation was sufficient to purchase another piece of land with equivalent area nearby Kirtipur, such as Panga or Nagaun and even around other places inside and outside the valley. However, it must be acknowledged that the local people must have felt difficulty to leave the ancestral land where they were born and brought up and go to unfamiliar place outside the valley. According to the informant, Mr, Hirananda Joshi, one of the leading figure working for university establishment, was in jeopardy from the people against university and he had to carry pistol for his security and protection. Not only this, some people were displaced from Kirtipur to Kathmandu for this reasons. Many people were even chased and forced to leave Kirtipur. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that some people who were against university also had left Kirtipur.

Since the major occupation of the people of Kiritpur was farming and almost farm land of the people from Kiritpur core hill, Panga and Nagaon was situated in the area where the university is situated from Chovar to Balkhu and from Nayabazaar Bottom to Bagmati river, the acquisition of the land evacuated almost all the farmers for certain compensation at that time. The result was the radical shift in the livelihood activities from farming to non-farming. The offer to compensate land in Hetauda and Chitawan was not liked by the people and not a single family migrated there and all people whose land were

taken by university preferred to live in their own locality had to carry out non-farming occupation, mainly the *haatetaan* (hand operated textile machine) and later small businesses. Every family had *haatetaa* during the early years of university establishment.

4. Post University Establishment

Land acquisition was the earlier step toward the university establishment, which made the local farmer landless, however, with cash compensations. An informant said ““My grandfather’s land was grabbed by TU about 4 to 5 ropani where now is ladies hostel (aaimaiko hostel); 363 to 562 Rupees per Ropani”.

Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that those who invested the compensation money wisely (buddhihune le) on cottage industries, i.e. handmade textile machine (*haatetaan*), they progressed and became merchant (seth) but many others, who could not utilize the money wisely and finished it eating and became landless (sukumbaasi). This experience has been found to be diverse among the locales themselves, why and how some could transform their lost farm land to something else for livelihood and some others still did not at that time.

In fact, the people against university were larger in numbers, however, over time, many people were convinced and they could anticipate the probable benefit from the university. But it was very difficult and took some more years to realize the importance of university development. During the field work it was found that almost people have come to accept the benefit of university and almost people have enjoyed the direct and indirect benefit from the university, however, many local people still have sort of grievances toward the university and many still complain that they did not receive the sufficient compensation and some even did not receive any compensation. It was because of their unwillingness to sell their land for university, who refused to take the compensation at that time and later when they accepted it, it was too late and because of limitation of official and formal procedures regarding compensation, they failed to receive the compensation.

According to Shokoohy (1994m), during the 1960s the rice paddies to the south-east of the town were chosen as the site for Tribhuvan University, and were compulsorily purchased from their owners. With the University came a new metaled road, and bus transport to the edge of the town. However, the University campus has had little effect on employment in Kirtipur.

During the last two centuries in the Kathmandu Valley in general, and in Kirtipur in particular, the revenue of the monasteries has diminished drastically. The main income of the monastery was from farm land at the east of the town which was compulsorily purchased for Tribhuvan University; the *GuthiSamsthan* provides some compensatory

income used for maintenance of *Baha* and daily rituals, but the yearly festivals is no longer performed (Shokoohy, 1994n).

Shrestha (1994lu) asserts that, the greatest changes in land use in Kirtipur occurred with the setting up in 1957 by the government of Tribhuvan University and the Horticulture Research Station. This involved the acquisition of 3,408 *ropanis* (27.37%) of land for the University, and 900 *ropanis* (7.25%) for the Horticultural Research Station, with a result that the town lost a third of its cultivated land. The land acquired for the University was initially left uncultivated because of the possibility of buildings being erected, but later the University decided to lease land not being built on for cultivation at a rent of Rs.200 per *ropani*, or 45 kilograms of paddy per *ropani*. According to the tenants of the University land, they do not have the right to claim one third of the cultivated because it is owned by an institution, a right which exists where the land is owned by an individual. Rice paddy and other crops are therefore cultivated right up to the University buildings. The University administration also has the right to cultivate. Grazers may not graze in the area, and the University administration has to check all the grazing within the compound, but there is some flexibility about this. Outside the compound and in the fields people graze where they like. Between 1978 and 1981 there were more changes in land use. The University acquired a further 600 *ropanis* of land by compulsory purchase, 18 *ropanis* of land by compulsory purchase, 18 *ropanis* of land were taken for roads to give access to the brick kilns, and the area of fallow land in Naravocha increased to 47 *ropanis*.

With the establishment of Tribhuvan University Kirtipur was connected to the modern road system. The road build by the government from Tekusi Gate in the south-west of Kathmandu in the direction of Kirtipur in 1957 was extended as far as the University gate in 1961-2. More branches were provided within the Campus in 1963-4, and in 1956-6 the local people added a gravelled road along the line of the old canal to Khasi Bazar, with a fork up to BaghBhairav, and another along Naya Bazar. The stretch from the University to Kirtipur was then metalled in 1983-4. The first regular bus service to the vicinity of Kirtipur was established in 1967 for the University. The bus terminus was in the University campus, but some buses and minibuses now stop at the north and south ends of Naya Bazar, and terminate at the west of Amalashi, near the tracks of Bhajangal and Panga. The bus service, though somewhat erratic, is the cheapest, and is used by the majority of commuters. The number of motor vehicles owned by people of Kirtipur which was small, almost doubled in 1989, to a dozen taxis, ten minibuses, four private cars, and about 30 motor bikes. A number of middle class families own bicycles (Shrestha, 1994rt).

After the compensation money received from the University for the Farming Land, the only business that expanded drastically was the *Bhatti pasals* (*paisa*

vayepachhikhaneudaune). Informants recalled those shop owners who earned large sum of money and invested in buses and trucks. In this way, Kirtipur became the market center for surrounding neighborhood like Salanthan, Matsyagaun etc.

5. Impact: The People and the Everyday Life

Prior to the land acquisition, the people could have fed themselves for 4 to five years from the harvest of 1 year without any further cultivation, but the land acquisition by university made the local farmers landless. Nevertheless, it must be mentioned that those who invested the compensation money wisely (*buddhihune le*) on cottage industries, i.e. handmade textile weaving machine (*haatetaan*), they progressed and became merchant (*seth*) but many others, who could not utilize the money wisely and finished it eating and became landless (*sukumbaasi*).

The recent economic system in Kirtipur is the pervasive room rent. It is analogous to the Remittance for the entire Nepal and it is the backbone of Kirtipur's economy now. This one is the very important economic impact brought about by Tribhuvan University. The students, teachers, and staffs pay rent to the local houses and now people from outside are dwelling in rented room even in core Kirtipur hill, not only around the new settlement or the Naya Bazaar. The market of Kirtipur comprising the eateries, textile shops and diverse business firms are run by the people coming from outside as a result of the university development. The vegetables produced locally are all consumed by the students. As a result, the local people of Kirtipur have declined to produce vegetables like early days, because it's vegetables from the market as they have sufficient money earned from the room rents. Some informant remarked that they have become lazy and can't produce vegetables and are dependent on the market products. Given the discussion, the shift from farm-base livelihood to non-farm has made the traditional cottage industry diminished and market economy has raised various shop resulting in the involvement of people in private firm and companies and foreign migration.

The Newars of Kirtipur were predominantly farmers and few were traders who were very affluent and large group of Newars were very poor too particularly those who were not traders, but, the Chhetris were middle class people not having very rich and very poor members. Almost all Chhetris were government job holders in government offices and also in police and military, while, Newars did not join any kind of jobs historically, only farming and few traders. Even after the university establishment Newars did not shift toward the job. The job the Newars got during the early period after university establishment comprised lower positions like peon, guard, sweeper etc. Now after having access to educational

attainment, nearly half of the employee in the university are the Newars of Kirtipur in all positions from lower ranking to high ranking positions including teachers and professors.

There was a single high school in Kirtipur before the university establishment 50 years back, and now there are 10 government high schools as well as equal number of private high schools in Kirtipur scattered in the 10 wards of the Kirtipur municipality. However, the fact that there was no school previously and it gradually increased from the half of the past century doesn't imply it as a result of university establishment because the university was only for post-graduate degrees, therefore, undergraduate education was not accessible even after the university establishment.

6. Kirtipur Today

If Tribhuvan University was not here, Kirtipur would be just like the neighboring areas like Khokana and Bungmati, may be even worse than those areas in terms of infrastructure development and status of education. The ponds in those areas, the community itself and the garbage of those areas reflect the poor situation of modernity and awareness in those community. University has been able to brought visible changes in the society of Kirtipur. If it was not there, Kirtipur had to face worse condition than that is in Bungmati and Khokana, because, Kirtipur was historically isolated from the capital city and there was nothing to attract people here, unlike Bungmati where 12-year fair (*melaa*) could bring large number of people there and many people visit those areas for worship and similar religious activities. Not only this, during 2030-32 BS (thirty to forty years back), the people of Banepa, Bhaktapur would not even recognize that Kirtipur city exists somewhere, i.e. it was not familiar to the people living in nearby districts.

Before the establishment of university, Kirtipur was not accessible by roads. The only road was the Kathmandu-Dakshinkali road which was some kilometres away from Kirtipur Core Hill and farther from Pangaa and Nagaon. Even bicycle was rare and motor cars and buses was not seen in Kirtipur. Now, Kirtipur is rich in transport system which connects it with rest of the valley and the nearby ring road connects it with the other parts of the country. Public and private vehicles are in ample quantity.

After 2050 B.S., i.e. 25 years back, people from outside Kirtipur emigrated in large numbers than before to Kirtipur resulting in a mixed up and multicultural city. But the core Kirtipur area around the hill and BaghBhairab temple have only the Newars population but around Naya Bazaar, Panga, and Tyanglaphant people migrated from outside only a couple of decades back. In Tyanglaphant area there is a compound of few families of the Gurungs, known as Gurung compound habituated by the Gurungs. This area is mainly occupied by the staffs and teachers of the university which has led to an urbanized market in

Tyanglaphant and very few Newars have also moved in here from their original core location.

Not only this, the people of Kirtipur, which was an isolated and segregated community in the past has become multi-cultural and they have been in continuous exposure to the people from outside as neighbors and renters. It has resulted in familiarity with the people from various parts of the country and a sense of cosmopolitan can be clearly observed. Informants recall the ghurki made by the students that “what would the Kirtipur dwellers eat without us” and it’s a undoubted reality. After the establishment of university, the rapid urbanization took place resulting in the expansion of market. The Nayabazaar (New Market) area was empty land, not good for cultivation and very sloopy area and there was no human settlement between the Pangaa and Kiritpur core area. Now in 4 decades’ urbanization has been expanded in all three localities of Kiritpur – Kirtipur Core Hill or Bagh Bhairav area, Pangaa and Nagaon.

The Tyanglaphant area, just behind the university boundary was just farming field until 2045 BS and the then government planned to plot the land for residential, which, however could not be implemented because of 2046 movement and restoration of democracy. Later, after 2050 the land was purchased by mainly the teachers and staffs of the university and now the land is highly populated and urbanized with development of various infrastructures amenities and it can be said to be another core market center in Kirtipur, where very few local Newars have constructed houses who came from the core area of Kiritpur hill. Locals believe that the development occurred after the teachers inhabited the area.

The life is better now than before because; now money flow is here; people are earning money; 4 Aana land costs 1 crore and no worry (*basibasikhanapugyo*). The local Newars living in core area of Kirtipur have shifted by selling their land in huge money and purchase another plot larger in area nearby Pangaa and Nagaun area. The hardship working in the field for subsistence has changed to trade and rents and plotting, which has yielded more income for the local people.

The Newars are the most benefited group from the establishment of the university unlike the Chhetris and other non-Newar community in Kirtipur. Chhetris were already employed at government offices, police force, and military and in fact none of the families were employed. Now some Chhetris are unemployed. The Newars having farming as the major livelihood and few traders did not join any kind of job-profession earlier but now many Newars of Kirtipur are employed at the university offices. Many Newars are now doctors, engineers, nurses now because of the access to education but the Chhetris did not

experience such a dramatic shift in educational and occupational areas. The benefits from the educational development, infrastructural development, development of health facilities and expansion of market are more beneficial for the Newars of Kirtipur living in the core areas of the city than for other non-Newar community like Chhetris living in the periphery.

Still today, some local Newars of Kirtipur are tilling the vacant land taken by the university, and after 1990, they do not even have to pay back the small part of earning from the farm product to the university. Not only this, local cattle herders use the grass land inside the university property for the cows though with occasional conflict with university authorities.

7. Conclusion

Tribhuvan University, established on B.S. 2016 Asadh 12 (A.D. 1959 June 25) celebrated its 65th anniversary on 2080 Asar 12. Tribhuvan University in Kirtipur was in itself a great milestone in the history of modern and formal education in Nepal, which can be said to have opened the door to knowledge, enlightenment and professionalism. Simultaneously, it brought a greater transformation in the people and places of Kirtipur, i.e. the landscape, population and entire civilization. It is a common saying that 'nothing is constant except change', however, the change in Kirtipur was more rapid and even radical that carried alteration in customs and traditions in everyday life following the establishment university. In other words, after university establishment, the change was radical and rapid, which ultimately resulted in the change in population composition and transformation in traditions and customs in everyday life.

University has from the very beginning provided necessary assistance to the community. The assistance began with the compensation for the land acquisition during the conception of the university though a section of local people were reluctant to give the land for the university. Recently, university had provided land at the behind side for the motorable road for the local people and also provided land for the construction of a covered hall mainly for sports purpose. Not only this, university has allocated a land for waste disposal or landfill site to the Kirtipur municipality. In 2018 A.D., university has donated 5087.2 square meters, worth 30 crores (300 million) Nepali currency for BaghBhairab Senior Citizen Society.

Though the local people still have grievances for the land acquisition and dissatisfaction for the then amount of compensation made at that time, it is a fact that the compensation given at contemporary calculation of that time was reasonable which was sufficient to have similar type and area of land a little farther, i.e. around Pangaa and Nagaon. Despite the expression of discontent, local people realize that the benefit was not

much remarkable during the early years, but, over time now the benefit of the university for the community have become visible later.

Following the university establishment, the major push was radical change in the livelihood – shift from agriculture to non-agriculture; people said “*krishi ta puraiharayoni*”, which must have been distressing and that is justified by the earlier resistance against the university. Obviously, the change in livelihood produces transformation in almost every aspect of everyday life, cultural items, and social relations, often resulting in difficulty adjustment. The compensation money helped many to start new occupation and investment it into better alternatives except few who could not handle those adjustive demands of the situation. However, it is distressing in the beginning for everyone. That is why the collective memory of the people, who have now realized the benefits from the university still have recollection of those challenging early days during the conception of the university. Furthermore, the university opened the door for the local people for job in university office, though at lower level position earlier and later in all kind of position even up to the vice-chancellor. Such an access to job and educational opportunity had impact on other parts of culture and life style. During the field work it was found that almost people have come to accept the benefit of university and almost people have enjoyed the direct and indirect benefit from the university, however, many local people still have sort of grievances toward the university and many still complain that they did not receive the sufficient compensation and some even did not receive any compensation. It was because of their unwillingness to sell their land for university, who refused to take the compensation at that time and later when they accepted it, it was too late and because of limitation of official and formal procedures regarding compensation, they failed to receive the compensation.

With university came urbanization, modernization and development. Infrastructures developed from sanitation to road and transport and inward migration led to urbanization and market expansion accompanied by technological development as well as the interaction with the outsiders such as students, teachers, traders etc. brought massive changes not only in everyday life but in the worldview too. Last but not the least, the elderly informants perceive that the people have become sophisticated (*standard vayeraayo*).

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