



Interdisciplinary Analysts (IDA)
GPO Box 3971
Kathmandu, Nepal
Phone: 5528111, 5542354
ida@wlink.com.np

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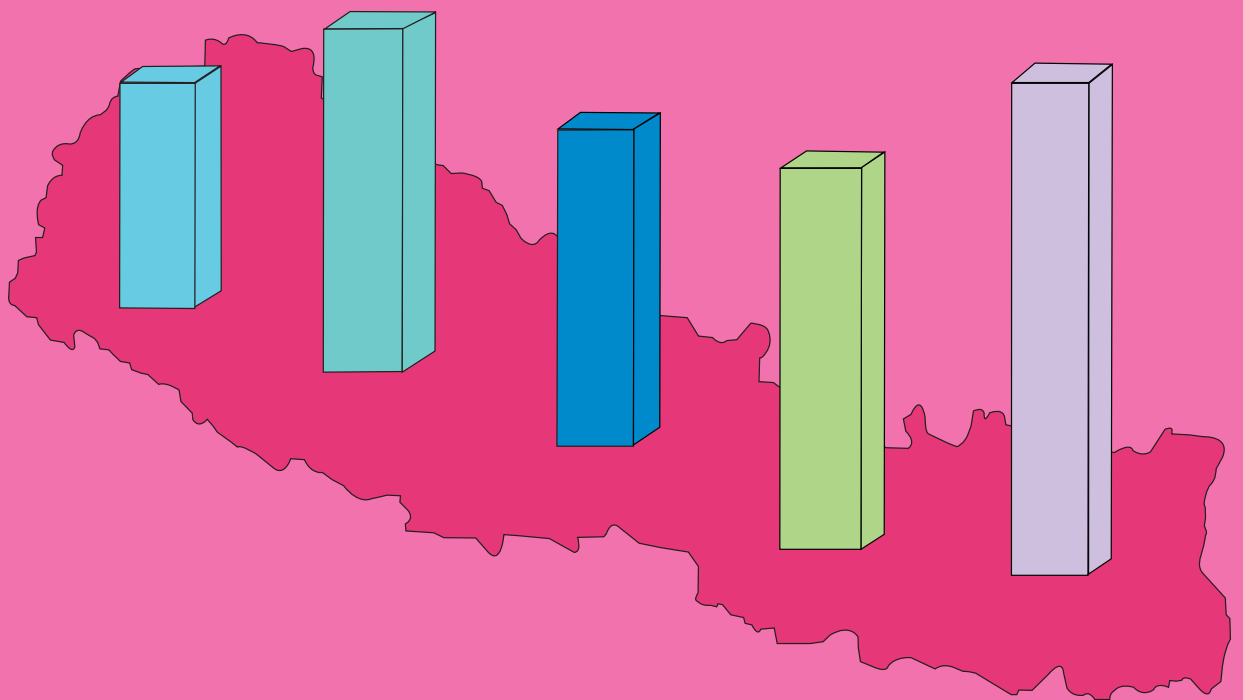
The Asia Foundation
G.P.O Box: 935, Bhat
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Kathmandu, Nepal



Nepal

Contemporary Political Situation – III

Opinion Poll Report



Sudhindra Sharma
Pawan Kumar Sen

Interdisciplinary Analysts

Nepal

Contemporary Political Situation-III

Opinion Poll Report

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Pawan Kumar Sen

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Email: ida@wlink.com.np

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Preface

While the second Nepal Contemporary Political Situation (NCPS II) was conducted in January 2006, before what has come to be known as *Jana Andolan II*, this opinion poll Nepal Contemporary Political Situation (NCPS III) gauges public views in late August and early September, well after the dramatic political events of April 2006. The year 2006 must certainly rank as one of the most volatile, and interesting, period in Nepal's recent political history. Capturing a snapshot of public opinion even as it remains in a state of flux is like pinning down, at least for a moment, a wriggling snake. But difficult though it may be, it is important to do so to learn something about its nature and how it may potentially behave.

The same is with opinion polls: we are guided in almost equal measure by a sense of scientific curiosity (to understand what really makes this complex Nepali society tick) as well as a sense of duty (to record as accurately as we can, views and mood of the general public that underlies its social behaviour). The events of 2006 are symptoms of deeper tectonic shifts in the social landscape that represent a significant break with the past; describing and analysing those changes will, it can be confidently stated, consume the professional lives of many, many scholars across the various social science disciplines in the years ahead. We hope our series of snapshot measurements will help the efforts of such social scientists at present and in the future.

Our longitudinal studies between December 2004 and September 2006 indicate some continuity (e.g. on knowledge of constituent assembly) and some dramatic shifts (e.g. the decline in the king's popularity and the rise in trust for the political parties, the Seven Party Alliance as well as Maoists) in the views held by the public. These are measured facts, but where would one begin to look for causal explanations?

Undoubtedly, there will be much intellectual speculation from the vantage points of various disciplines; but one unconventional way is to examine the nature of power in society, given that it forms the bottom-line of politics and the functioning of political parties. In his classic study of power, Steven Lukes moves beyond Gramsci's hegemony and Foucault's domination to discuss three faces of power that influence public consent to its exercise, "which is best done invisibly" (Lukes, 2005). The first, and most obvious, is the coercion aspect, while the second is the control over resources to create inducements. Lukes is interested in the third face, which is the moral or cognitive dimension that imposes internal constraints "wherein those subjected to it are led to acquire beliefs and form desires that result in their consenting or adapting to being dominated, in coercive and non-coercive settings".

It is intriguing to note how classical South Asian thinking on the subject of power (*shakti*, as different from the actors (or *patras*) exercising those powers) maps onto Lukes' pluralistic scheme¹. Samkhya philosophy distinguishes between coercive (often military) power exercised by the hierarchic solidarity (*tamasik shakti*), the persuasive (monetary or

organizational) power exercised by the individualist solidarity (*rajasik shakti*) and the moral power wielded by the egalitarian ethics community (*satwik shakti*). It is this third face of power, which Lukes talks about and which civic movements are the vanguards of, that is often behind the power wielded by various ideologies².

Now let us see if this applies to the data uncovered by NCPS III regarding the momentous events of April 2006. The set of three primary political actors in Nepal then were the king, the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and the Maoists with their various mix of powers as follows. The king had unquestioned control over the *tamasik* royal army while his *satwik* authority emanated from tradition, but that power base had been badly eroded by the royal massacre of June 2001. He was weakest in *rajasik shakti*, which is power conferred by organizational clout including financial wherewithal. The SPA had no *tamasik* power but enjoyed nationwide *rajasik shakti* in the form of open (or above ground) party organization and fraternal fronts. Given the world-wide support for democracy, their slogan of *loktantra* howsoever nebulously defined became the primary carrier of *satwik* power and attracted the major international players behind them.

The Maoists had effective *tamasik* power that allowed them to control much of the Nepali hinterlands and make their presence felt even in the capital. Their organizational clout, while robust, was not sufficiently legitimate to the international community. *Rajasik* power demands it be exercised in the open, but the Maoists remained in the shadowy underground enforcing authority without transparency or due process of law. Because of their reliance on violence as a political means, their cause, while permeated in their early phase with the idea of justice for the downtrodden, did not, as a result, enjoy as strong a *satwik* power as did the SPA's³.

The coming together of the SPA and the Maoists represented a political dynamics that saw the convergence of the former's *rajasik* and *satwik* powers with the considerable *tamasik* (and some *rajasik*) powers of the latter. It proved to be a formidable mix that the king's royal army would be unable to counter with only *tamasik* might. The rest, as the expression goes, is history.

This mode of analysis of the data that various opinion polls, including ours, have brought to light is not the only possible causal chain that one can construct: different social science disciplines must be able to bring their own theoretical precepts to do so. It is our hope that more Nepalis in the academia as well as in the more hurly-burly of everyday politics will find the time to make sense of these numbers and the socio-political upheavals they indicate.

Dipak Gyawali
Chairman, *Interdisciplinary Analysts*

Notes

- ¹ The idea of different types of power applied in negotiations is discussed in Gyawali (2000).
- ² The political actors that wield various powers – especially the egalitarians – have been identified by various institutionalists. See Thompson and Gyawali (2007, forthcoming).
- ³ This mode of analysis was discussed in an article (D. Gyawali: *Nepal's Intertwined Politics of Oil, Wick and Lamp*) in a (now defunct) website www.nepaleyes.com in February 2006 and reproduced in *People's Review* (Kathmandu) of 23/02/2006.

Acknowledgement

I thank all fellow Nepalis who had candidly expressed their opinions to our enumerators. Without their consent to be interviewed and active participation in the interview process, this report would not have come to the present shape.

I am grateful to The Asia Foundation (TAF) – Nepal, in particular to Mr. Nick Langton, representative of TAF for providing us the financial support for undertaking this particular survey, which is the third in the series of opinion polls supported by TAF. I am grateful to Dr. Sagar Prasai, Consultant at TAF, for his initiative in helping us start the work on time and for his feedback during various stages of the work

I am grateful to our organization, Interdisciplinary Analysts, Kathmandu for providing us the opportunity to take this up and especially to its chairman, Mr. Dipak Gyawali, for his comments, suggestions and other backstopping support during the entire project period.

I am grateful to Dr. Anup Pahadi, Sociologist, for his inputs in questionnaire formulation. The opinion poll has benefited from the comments of Mr. Hari Sharma, Political Scientist, on the first draft of the report for which I am obliged to him. The team has also benefited from the inputs provided by Mr. Fatik Bahadur Thapa, Member of Parliament, who had been involved in earlier opinion polls undertaken by Interdisciplinary Analysts as well.

This opinion poll could not have been accomplished without the assistance of Blitz Media Pvt. Ltd. in conducting the fieldwork and managing the processing of data. I especially thank Ms. Juna Mathema, Managing Director of Blitz Media Pvt. Ltd., for taking overall responsibility of the fieldwork management and the data processing and completing it on time. I heartily appreciate the efforts of Mr. Lila Acharya for coordinating fieldwork and the field supervisors and enumerators for administering questionnaire in the field.

I am grateful to Mrs. Perry Thapa for copy-editing the text, her skills having made this report much more readable than would have been the case otherwise.

At Interdisciplinary Analysts, help was rendered in word processing by Mrs. Sunita Munakarmi, while Mr. Narayan Adhikari was responsible for layout, formatting and cover page designing. My thanks go to both of them. The report was printed at the Jagadamba Press.

As the principal investigator of the study, I sincerely thank the co-author of this study, Mr. Pawan Kumar Sen, for putting in significant inputs in designing the sample, in formulating questionnaire, and in data analysis, interpretation and report writing, and absolve him of shortcomings remaining in the report by taking them upon myself.

In the last opinion poll – Nepal Contemporary Political Situation II – we had wondered if there had been shifts in the opinions held by the people because of the political events of April 2006

(which is generally referred to as the 'Second People's Movement'). This opinion poll – Nepal Contemporary Political Situation III – conclusively shows that there has indeed been dramatic shifts in core opinions held by the people, which in turn goes to show that opinions are indeed dynamic. The strength of the series of opinion polls that Interdisciplinary Analysts has been undertaking during the past two years is that they are capable of capturing shifts in the opinions of the people, something that would not have been possible with only a single, one-time poll.

It needs reminding that a public opinion poll, which meets minimum criteria of scientific merit – and I believe this one does – represents not just the views of the sample but the entire population. Furthermore, while it may be obvious, it does, however, need re-emphasizing that this opinion poll, as with the others before it, is *not* the opinions the authors. The authors, however, can and should be critiqued for any interpretation of those measured opinions that the readers feel is unjustified. We welcome and look forward to such constructive criticisms, mainly because they help us hone our poll-taking skills.

Sudhindra Sharma, PhD
Principal Investigator

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Executive Summary

General Background and Rationale

This nation-wide political opinion poll, Nepal Contemporary Political Situation (NCPS III), was carried out by Interdisciplinary Analysts, a Kathmandu-based research organization with the financial support of The Asia Foundation. The poll was designed between July and August 2006 and administered with the support of Blitz Media Pvt. Ltd., a marketing research organization, between August 18 and September 10, 2006. Data processing and analysis were carried out in September and October 2006. Preliminary rough-cut findings were discussed with a selected group of scholars, aid agency officials, diplomats and conflict experts on September 21, 2006 in Himalaya Hotel. Similarly, preliminary but more refined results were released to the press on October 31, 2006 in a meeting at Yala Maya Kendra, Patan Dhoka. Subsequent to these meetings, this written report was improved upon and finalised in December 2006.

Given that tumultuous events have been underway in Nepal during the past few months, it is important to understand how the public sees and assesses the political events that are rapidly unfolding. Among others, these relate to the second people's movement, the reinstatement of the dissolved HoR (and calls for its subsequent dissolution), ceasefire and negotiations between the Seven-Party Alliance (SPA) and the Maoists and a peace accord between the government of Nepal and the Maoist rebels. Likewise, as the country prepares for constituent assembly elections, gauging how the public thinks about the various issues that are likely to be raised during the constituent assembly could inform the political actors about what the public at large think about these issues. This could, in turn, help the political actors reformulate these concerns. The general public would also want to know what an average Nepali thinks on issues of grave national concern.

The main objective of NCPS III was to develop a systematic barometer about the public's views on the recent political developments, in particular, covering events from February 2006 to July 2006, the time interval covering the period after the administering of NCPS II survey and up to the time this NCPS III was designed. It aimed to document how the public evaluates the second peoples' movement and its achievements, and how the public assesses the role of the reinstated House of Representatives. It also aimed to gauge people's opinion about the role and relevance of monarchy, and to assess people's opinions on the main issues related to state restructuring that is likely to come up during constituent assembly elections. In addition, the poll attempted to uncover the public's views towards the ceasefire and peace negotiations between the SPA and the Maoists.

Methodology

A closed-ended structured questionnaire was administered to respondents in 32 randomly selected and 3 purposely selected districts that represent all five development regions of Nepal and all three of its ecological zones. The sample size was 3,000 respondents of age 18 and above. The distribution of sample respondents across the sample districts was based on probability proportionate to size. All the municipalities that lie in the sample districts were selected. Village Development Committees (VDCs) were randomly selected from the sample districts by using systematic random sampling and then wards from the sample VDCs were further selected using

simple random sampling technique. In each sample ward, households were selected using the right-hand rule method and then respondents were selected from the sample households using a Kish-grid method. This method ensured that each eligible member in a selected household had an equal chance of being selected.

People's Movement II

About three-fourths of the respondents (74 percent) agree or strongly agree with the aims of the people's movement that occurred between Chaitra 24, 2062 and Baishakh 11, 2063 i.e., April 6 and April 24, 2006. Most of the respondents (38 percent) mentioned abolition of the king's autocratic rule and establishment of total democracy as the main reason for the people's movement. Another 30 percent professed ignorance on this matter while 23 percent mentioned war fatigue and aspirations for long-term peace as the main reason.

Effect of the Ceasefire

Almost 88 percent of the respondents reported that they were feeling safer than before regarding their daily lives. The poll attempted to understand how people view the security situation since the ceasefire in the rest of Nepal outside the capital. As high as 78 percent of such respondents said that life was safer than before.

The Peace Talks

Regarding the peace talks, 63 percent of the respondents were optimistic: they believe that talks can settle matters between different parties. But the proportion of those who professed ignorance on this matter was also sizable (23 percent). A majority (66 percent) said that the present government was committed to restore peace in the country. About 18 percent did not know or could not say anything on this matter. Similarly, a majority (68 percent) mentioned that the Maoists were committed to restore peace in the country and 20 percent professed ignorance about how serious the Maoists were about restoring peace in the country. Taken together, public responses to these two questions reveal that the public believe that both the present government and the Maoist leaders were serious about restoring peace in the country. A majority of 59 percent mentioned that the ongoing peace talks would bring lasting peace. A sizable proportion (28 percent) did not provide any definitive answer to the question.

Present Situation

A majority (70 percent) believed that the country was doing either good or very good as compared to pre-Baishakh 11, 2063 i.e., 24 April 2006. Around 22 percent felt that the country's situation was okay.

House of Representatives

Majority of people (45 percent) were found to be unable to express their support for the reinstatement of the House of Representatives (HoR). About 35 percent said that they agreed and only 11 percent said that they strongly agreed with its reinstatement. Among those who answered that they agreed or strongly agreed with the reinstatement of parliament (i.e., 46 percent of total respondents), 51 percent mentioned that they agreed because it would bring peace in the country. Some 19 percent agreed because they thought it helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists. The percentage of those who agreed because of the fact that it was the main demand

of people's movement was only 17 percent.

The poll found that about 49 percent of people were not in a position to give a definitive answer about whether they agreed with the proclamation in which the HoR was declared as the supreme authority of the country: about 33 percent agreed and only 10 percent strongly agreed. Most of the people identified the possibility of lasting peace (30 percent) as the positive feature of the reinstated HoR, while it was followed by 18 percent who felt it brought an end to the king's autocratic rule.

When asked about the negative features, most of the people (36 percent) professed ignorance. A sizable proportion identified the uncertain political environment as the negative feature (27 percent). Also worth-mentioning is the response from about 14 percent who thought there were no negative features regarding the re-instatement of the HoR.

Legitimacy of the System

Most of the people (47 percent) said that a prime minister responsible to the Parliament was the legitimate ruler. About one-fourth professed ignorance in this matter while 9 percent said the Maoists should rule and another 9 percent saw the king as a legitimate ruler.

Constituent Assembly

The poll was designed to find out how many have heard about constituent assembly, if they feel they know about it and to assess their knowledge about it. It was found that 59 percent of the people have heard about the constituent assembly. Among them, only about 39 percent claimed that they knew very well or somewhat well about it. Of those who thought that they know about constituent assembly very well or somewhat well, about 78 percent of them actually understood that the constituent assembly is an assembly of representatives elected to draft a new constitution. What may be surmised from the responses is that only 18 percent of all Nepalis genuinely understand what a constituent assembly is all about.

The Maoist Movement

The poll attempted to uncover the trust of ordinary Nepalis towards CPN (Maoist). About 45 percent said that they trust CPN (Maoist) a little while 12 percent said that they trust this party very much. Proportions of those who do not trust this party at all and those who do not trust much are same, i.e. 17 percent for each. In aggregate terms, about 57 percent people have some level of trust towards the Maoist while 34 percent do not.

The poll attempted to gauge the public's views about what the main demand of the Maoists is. Most thought that 'abolition of monarchy and establishment of republic' (28 percent) is the main demand of the Maoists. A significant proportion of people (20 percent) did not answer definitively. 'Ensuring equality among all people' comes next (17 percent) followed by 'the establishment of Maoist dictatorship' (13 percent).

The poll endeavoured to understand the public's views about the circumstances under which they are ready to accept CPN Maoist as an open political party. An overwhelming majority of 80 percent mentioned that they are ready to accept this party as an open political party if they lay down arms forever. In order to measure the level of public's confidence, respondents were asked 'Are you confident that the Maoists will return the people's lands and other assets that they

have occupied and controlled?’ Public’s views were found to be fairly divided, with a slightly higher proportion of 37 percent mentioning that they were confident, while the proportion of those who were not confident and those who professed ignorance followed closely (29 percent and 32 percent respectively).

Political Parties

The poll attempted to understand the trust Nepalis have towards the political parties. About 45 percent said that they trust the political parties a little while 11 percent said that they trust the political parties very much. Proportions of those who do not trust the political parties at all and those who do not trust much are similar (17 percent and 19 percent respectively). In aggregate terms about 56 percent people have some level of trust towards the political parties while 36 percent do not. On the question of what the political parties must do to increase the trust of the public, most people (37 percent) said that political parties should be devoted to public welfare. Another 34 percent said that they should bring peace in the country.

Nepali Army

The poll attempted to understand the public’s trust towards the Nepali Army. About 46 percent said that they trust the Nepali Army a little while 19 percent said that they trust the army very much. Proportions of those who do not trust the army at all was 11 while 17 percent said they do not trust the army much. In total about 65 percent people trust the Nepali army while 28 percent do not. Surprisingly, the public’s level of trust towards the army is higher than its trust towards CPN (Maoist) and the other political parties. Most people said that the Nepali Army should be devoted to providing security for the people (42 percent). Another 30 percent said that they should be disciplined. A sizable proportion of 14 percent said that the Nepali Army should be an army of the country and the people.

Monarchy

A simple majority (53 per cent) expressed that there should be a place for monarchy in future Nepal. A significant proportion (39 percent) mentioned that there should not be such a place for the monarchy. Among those who said there should be a place for monarchy, some 45 percent mentioned that there should be a place for monarchy because it is part of the tradition. A sizable proportion of 17 percent expressed their views in the favour of monarchy because the forefather of the present king has formed the country.

Among those who said there should be a place for monarchy, some 34 percent prefer constitutional monarchy followed by active monarchy (20 percent) and ceremonial monarchy (18 percent). However, it is worth-mentioning that a significant proportion of 28 percent professed ignorance as to the type of monarchy though they mentioned that it is necessary in future Nepal.

Out of those who said there should not be a place for monarchy, 38 percent mentioned that there should not be a place for monarchy because it is a feudal and exploitative institution. Another 27 percent thought so because monarchy has not developed the country. A sizable proportion of 15 percent does not want a place for monarchy because the institution has time and again worked against democracy.

The poll attempted to gauge public's views on the popularity of monarchical institution. An overwhelming majority of 87 percent said that the king and monarchy have become unpopular during last few years. Among those who said the monarchy is becoming unpopular, 40 percent mentioned palace massacre followed by the temperament of the present king (32 percent) as the main causes. Another 17 percent related anti-democratic activities of the royal government to the declining popularity of the institution.

The State and Religion

The poll's attempt to measure the public's views regarding the relationship between state and religion showed that some 60 percent thought that Nepal should be a Hindu state while 31 percent favoured Nepal being a secular state. Around 9 percent professed ignorance on this matter. Out of the respondents who said Nepal should be a Hindu state, about 70 percent mentioned that Hinduism is a part of Nepali tradition and that from its very inception Nepal has remained a Hindu state. A sizable proportion (21 percent) thought that Nepal should remain a Hindu state because it has a unique identity in the world as a Hindu state. Of those who said that Nepal should be a secular state about 78 percent mentioned that religious freedom and rights of religious minorities can be ensured only in a secular state. Another 11 percent think that state and religion has to be kept separate.

Unitary or Federal System

The poll found that almost three-fourths of Nepalis have not heard about federal system.

The Language Issue

The poll discovered that a simple majority of people (55 percent) think that Nepali language should be the only official language while a significant proportion (38 percent) thinks that other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level.

Electoral System

The poll found that almost three-fourths of Nepalis have not heard about the proportional representative electoral system.

Affirmative Actions for Dalits and Women

The poll's attempt to understand public's knowledge about affirmative action showed that a simple majority of 55 percent have heard about affirmative action while 37 percent mentioned that they have not. Of those who have heard of affirmative action, about 80 percent mentioned that they understand it. The poll sought to document the public's opinions on affirmative actions for Dalits and women in different sectors such as political parties, government, civil service and education. Some 42 percent of the people are of the opinion that affirmative action is necessary for Dalits and women in aforementioned sectors.

Popularity of Political Parties

Thirty percent mentioned that they are unwilling to disclose the parties to which they would vote for if election were held today while about 15 percent said they do not know or cannot say

anything definitive. These two categories combined together make up 45 percent. However, 16 percent mentioned they would vote for CPN (Maoist), 14 percent mentioned that they will vote for Nepali Congress and 12 percent mentioned that they will vote for CPN (UML).

The Main Message of the Poll

One of the main messages of this poll is that there is a high degree of optimism among the Nepali people towards the SPA and the Maoists. If the SPA government and the Maoists are to continue to receive the support from the people, it would become important for them to keep their promises. Another message of the poll is that an overwhelming majority of Nepalis are ready to accept CPN (Maoist) as an open political party if they lay down arms forever. People believe that bringing the Maoists into the mainstream political process is a must in order to overcome the present stalemate and that Nepal's problems will not be solved without the involvement and consent of the Maoists. Given the consensus on formulating a new constitution through constituent assembly, the political actors – the SPA, CPN (Maoist) and other political parties – need to do a lot more with regard to educating the public on the constituent assembly and the issues to be voted for during its election. Though constituent assembly has been identified as the means for resolving both the constitutional and political crisis facing the country, a very small proportion of the people really know what it is about.

Introduction

1

1.1 Background and Recent Political Developments

Since the spring of 2006, tumultuous political events have rocked Nepal on an almost continuous basis even as of the end of November 2006, the cut off point for analysis in this report, Nepal Contemporary Political Situation (NCPS III). The consensus that now seems to be emerging between the Seven-Party Alliance (SPA) and Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) on the roadmap the country needs to follow in order to overcome the political stalemate and bring the Maoists into the political mainstream is to form a new constitution through a constituent assembly.

After King Gyanendra took executive authority into his own hands on 1 February, 2005 the country witnessed a gradual re-alignment of political forces: the SPA and the Maoists moved closer to one another. The king's subsequent political moves so alienated the major political parties of the erstwhile Parliament that instead of seeking rapprochement with the monarch (which diplomatic missions in Nepal advocated as the best way to overcome the impasse); they began talking with the Maoists. Both on the question of a constituent assembly and on the relevance of monarchy itself, the stance of the SPA and that of the Maoists increasingly converged during the second half of 2005.

The talks between the two resulted in the signing of a 12-point understanding in New Delhi on November 22, 2006. In it, both political actors agreed to establish peace by resolving the 10-year-old armed conflict through a forward-looking political outlet. They argued that the long struggle between autocratic monarchy and democracy in Nepal had reached a very grave and decisive turn in Nepali history¹.

On December 2, 2005, a three-month ceasefire declared by the Maoists ended. Heeding the demands of the SPA and the concerns of the public, the Maoists extended the ceasefire by another month. Yet again the king-led government did not reciprocate and the unilateral Maoist ceasefire ended on January 4, 2006.

The government chaired by their king had sought to overcome the constitutional crisis by holding a new election to the House of Representatives (HoR) preceeded by municipal elections. They were held in 36 municipalities on 8 February, 2006. However, all major political parties boycotted the elections and only 21 percent of the total voters cast their votes, raising serious doubts on the government's capacity to hold national-level elections to the parliament or to resolve the constitutional crisis.²

In accordance with their 12-point understanding with the Maoists, the SPA announced nationwide protest programmes against the direct rule by the king ("autocratic monarchy") and for

¹ The Kathmandu Post, November 22, 2005.

² In the opinion poll conducted by Interdisciplinary Analysts between 5 and 25 January 2006, some 42 percent had mentioned that they intended to vote in the municipal elections. The reason the actual turnout was half of what the voters mentioned in the survey was because of events that transpired during the interval between the survey and the actual municipal election dates. Increase in the level of violence by the Maoists "upon request by the SPA" with the explicit aim of making the municipal election a failure was one of the main reasons for the low turnout. This has been publicly acknowledged by Maoist leaders such as Dr. Baburam Bhattarai and Dinanath Sharma. (see Samacharpatra, July 16, 2006)

establishing a “total democracy”³ from 6 to 9 April, 2006. The armed Maoists extended their support to this agitation.

Immediately after the King assumed executive authority, the major political parties in the erstwhile HoR had protested against his move and organised agitations and demonstrations in Kathmandu but these did not attract big crowds. The April demonstrations, in contrast, were much better organised and with impressive mass turnout. Organisations affiliated to the political parties, such as trade unions, journalists, lawyers, teachers, NGOs, the business community and other professional bodies participated, and so did ordinary people across the country. The SPA, who were strong in urban areas and the Maoists, who controlled a large part of the hinterland, synchronised their efforts; as a consequence, the masses were galvanised to participate in demonstrations in various cities and towns nation-wide.

What began as a four-day strike stretched to sixteen days of relentless confrontation between the masses and the state, with the state repeatedly resorting to the imposition of curfews. On the night of April 21, 2006, following his meeting with India’s special envoy Dr. Karan Singh, King Gyanendra called upon the SPA to form a new government to be headed by a prime minister recommended by the SPA. In spite of his eleventh-hour declaration, the mass agitation did not subside and the leaders of the SPA did not accept his proposal.

In fact, over the next few days the mass demonstrations intensified. Finally, on the night of April 24, 2006, King Gyanendra succumbed. He acknowledged the sentiments expressed in the mass street demonstrations, affirmed his support for the roadmap of the SPA and declared the revival of the HoR.⁴

The movement was remarkable for the scale of mass street demonstrations and the speed with which they gathered momentum. There were two bases for the movement: popular discontent prompted by the failures of the King’s direct rule and hope that the 12-point understanding between the SPA and CPN (Maoist) would bring lasting peace to the country.

The massive demonstrations in Kathmandu and other parts of the kingdom between 6 and 25 April, 2006 were aimed against ‘autocratic monarchy’ and for establishing ‘total democracy’. Since these catchwords were deliberately left undefined, once the movement was successful, both the SPA and the Maoists claimed credit for mobilising the masses and declared that their particular course of action should be pursued by the new dispensation.

The SPA nominated Girija Prasad Koirala as the Prime Minister on April 26, 2006 and he was sworn in by King Gyanendra. Late in the evening of the same day, CPN (Maoist) issued a statement declaring a three-month unilateral ceasefire. This was reciprocated by the Koirala-led SPA government.

³ What the SPA meant in terms of actual politics was deliberately left undefined. Indeed the newly coined Nepali word “loktantra” seems to have created a new political space between “prajatantra” (the erstwhile name for “democracy” which had become anathema to the protestors because “Prajā” meant “a king’s subjects”), and “ganatantra” (which is the word for a full “republic”).

⁴ The King’s calling for the restoration of Parliament did not invoke any constitutional clause but was implicitly legitimated by political necessity.

At the first session of the dissolved HoR held on April 28, 2006 the SPA leaders presented a proposal for formulating a new constitution on the basis of a constituent assembly. On April 30, 2006, the second session of the HoR unanimously approved that proposal. The SPA formed a seven-member cabinet of ministers on May 2, 2006. The ministers were sworn in by the prime minister not at the royal palace in the presence of the king as in the past, but in Singha Durbar. This swearing in at the prime minister's office rather than at the royal palace was also regarded as a new tradition.

On the following day, May 3, 2006, the government removed the 'red corner' notice and the terrorist tag from CPN (Maoist), declared an indefinite ceasefire and invited CPN (Maoist) for peace talks at the earliest possible date. The government also decided to dissolve the local bodies constituted after the municipal elections held in February 2006.

On May 4, 2006, CPN (Maoist) chairman, Prachanda, issued a press statement accepting the offer made by the government to hold peace talks. On May 5, 2006, the government formed a five-member commission under the chairmanship of Krishna Jung Rayamajhi to investigate the atrocities allegedly committed by ministers, security personnel and civil servants of the royal regime against pro-democracy demonstrators. On May 13, 2006, the central committee of CPN (Maoist) stated that Chairman Prachanda would lead the summit peace-talk team with the government. During the initial stages of the talks, the central committee formed a three-member negotiation team under the chairmanship of the party spokesman, Krishna Bahadur Mahara, to hold talks with the government.

A declaration removing the King's executive authority was presented at the HoR on May 18, 2006. The document stated that the HoR would be the sole body on which the sovereign rights of the people would rest, declared Nepal a secular state, and named His Majesty's Government the Government of Nepal and the Royal Nepalese Army the Nepali Army. Another change was that sessions of the House would be called by the prime minister and that all executive rights would rest with the Cabinet which would be accountable to the HoR. The Cabinet, no longer the king, was made the body responsible for appointing the army chief and the king denied his position as Supreme Commander of the army. The proclamation also did away with the Royal Privy Council and declared that all its work would henceforth be performed by the HoR. The existing law on royal succession was also dispensed with to allow the eldest princess to succeed to the throne rather than only male heirs. The HoR was given the power to fix the budget for the palace and it was determined that the king's property would be taxable. The provisions of the constitution of 1990 which gave the monarch discretionary powers in certain cases were also nullified.⁵

To pave the way for the long-standing demands of the Maoists for elections to the constituent assembly, the government conducted a first round of talks. A 25-point Ceasefire Code of Conduct was approved. Its key points included 1) indefinitely halting the mobilisation of the army, 2) not attacking the security bases of the other side, 3) holding talks for the management of arms and armed forces, 4) releasing detainees, 5) restricting the media from publishing anything that might affect the ceasefire, 6) stopping the forceful collection of donations, 7) returning the property

⁵ For more details of the 18th May Declaration of the HoR, see *The Himalayan Times*, May 19, 2006.

of political activists and ordinary people captured during the conflict, and 8) inviting national and international teams to monitor the truce.⁶

A series of peace talks between the government and the Maoists charted out modalities for holding elections to a constituent assembly. The Koirala government made swift, sweeping changes intended to accommodate long-standing Maoist's demands, and gave many in Nepal the hope that perhaps things would go right this time. But while the Maoists want the roadmap to peace in Nepal to begin with the dissolution of the reinstated Parliament, the scrapping of the 1990 constitution, the restructuring of the army, the drafting of an interim statute and the formation of an interim government, the parties disagree. They see the dissolution of the Parliament as unnecessary, at least prior to the full mainstreaming of the Maoists including their total disarmament. The challenge for the two forces, with their history of antagonism, is to manage today's political changes and bring about sustainable peace in the country.

On June 16, 2006, the first round of summit talks between the top leaders of the ruling SPA and CPN (Maoist) concluded in Kathmandu. Both sides agreed to invite the United Nations to help monitor the management of the arms and armed personnel of both sides. In his first public appearance on June 16, 2006, Maoist Chairman Prachanda said that his party would like to see an interim constitution drafted and an interim government constituted within a month and elections for a constituent assembly held by April-May 2007. Both sides agreed to form a six-member committee to draft an interim constitution under the chairmanship of former Justice of the Supreme Court, Laxman Prasad Aryal.

This committee submitted a first draft of the interim constitution to the peace-negotiating teams of the government and the Maoist leadership on August 25, 2006. The draft was incomplete because the SPA and the Maoists had different viewpoints on major political issues.

The second round of summit talks between the SPA and the Maoist leadership began on October 8, 2006. After a long series of peace talks, the SPA and the Maoists entered into an agreement which paved the way for the formal entry of the Maoists into the peaceful political mainstream. The agreement mentioned how to reach a consensus on monarchy, arms management, the interim constitution, the interim parliament, the interim government and the electoral system for the constituent assembly.

On November 21, 2006, Prime Minister G. P. Koirala and Maoist Chairman Prachanda signed a peace accord that brought the decade-long armed insurgency to an end. In it, the SPA and the Maoists expressed their commitment to promulgating an interim constitution, forming an interim parliament and interim government, and holding elections to the constituent assembly by mid-June 2007. The accord stated that the first session of the constituent assembly would decide the fate of the monarchy by a simple majority. It also stated that the United Nations would be asked to verify and monitor the arms and armies of both sides. According to the agreement, the United Nations would be asked to observe the election to the constituent assembly as well.

⁶ The Himalayan Times, May 27, 2006.

1.2 Rationale for the Study

Given the tumultuous events of the past few months, it is important to understand how the public views and assesses the political events that are rapidly unfolding. As the country prepares for elections to the constituent assembly gauging what the public thinks about the various issues that are likely to be raised during the constituent assembly will inform the political actors and help them address these concerns. The general public also wants to know what an average Nepali thinks about issues of grave national concern.

A nation-wide political opinion poll which employs a probability sampling technique can find out scientifically what the public at large thinks about pressing political concerns. In the past, the Kathmandu-based research organisation Interdisciplinary Analysts conducted two nation-wide political opinion polls on the then contemporary political situation using scientific methods: the first in December 2004 and the second in January 2006. Both were conducted with support provided by The Asia Foundation.

Since the second poll was conducted, various groundbreaking events have taken place in Nepal. Among them are the second people's movement, the reinstatement of the dissolved HoR (and calls for its subsequent dissolution), the ceasefire and negotiations between the SPA and the Maoists and a peace accord between the Nepal government and the Maoists.

Some of the questions of interest to opinion gatherers who want to assess the public's response to the sharp shift in Nepali politics over the last few months and to the proposed restructuring of the state are as follows. How do the people evaluate the achievements of the second peoples' movement? How relevant do they think the institution of the monarchy is for Nepal in the future? Do they think that there should be a place for the monarchy? If yes, why and if no, why not? What do the people think of the various declarations made by the restored HoR? What do people think of ongoing debates such as the relationship between the state and the Hindu religion, a unitary versus federal state, a single language policy versus a multiple language policy, affirmative action for women and Dalits, and the ways and means of bringing the Maoists into the national mainstream.

1.3 Objectives

The main objective of this opinion poll was to develop a systematic barometer of the public's views on recent political developments, in particular, those events between February and July 2006. The specific objectives were as follows:

- To document how the public evaluates the second people's movement and its achievements.
- To document how the public assesses the role of the reinstated HoR.
- To gauge people's opinion about the role and relevance of the monarchy.
- To assess people's opinions about the main issues related to state restructuring that are likely to come up during elections to the constituent assembly.
- To document how the public assesses the ceasefire and peace negotiations between the SPA and the Maoists.
- To identify changes (if any) in people's perceptions of major political issues.
- To help promote the mandate for peace and a negotiated settlement of disputes among the various parties concerned.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Questionnaire

A closed-ended structured questionnaire that seeks to fulfil the aforementioned objectives was formulated by consulting a wide range of experts. It was written first in English and later translated into Nepali. The Nepali version was used to administer interviews in the field. A pre-test was conducted in Kathmandu Valley on 13 August, 2006 and, after processing feedback, the questionnaire was finalised on August 16, 2006. The actual interviews were conducted throughout the country between August 18 and September 10, 2006.

1.4.2 Sampling Technique

Thirty-two of Nepal's 75 districts were randomly selected to represent the 15 distinct regions defined by Nepal's five development regions and the three ecological zones. The sample size was 3,000 respondents. The distribution of sample respondents across the sample districts was based on the principle of probability proportionate to size (PPS).

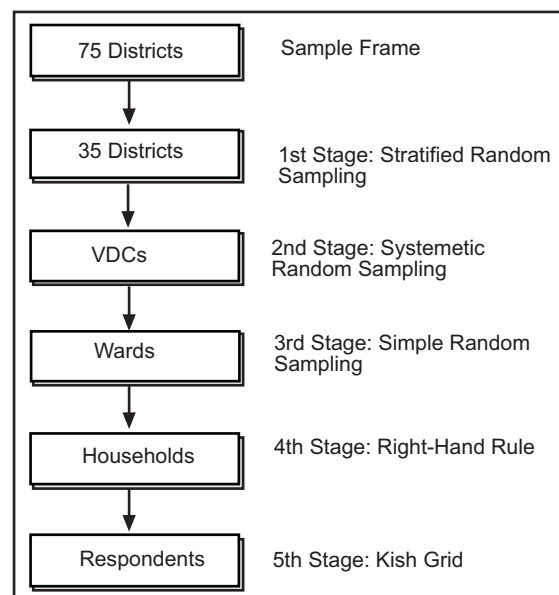
VDCs were randomly selected from the sample districts by using systematic random sampling. First, all the VDCs in a given sample district were arranged in alphabetical order. The numbers of sample VDCs varied according to the size of the sample districts. One VDC was selected for every 20 respondents: for example, if 40 respondents had to be selected from a sample district, two VDCs, each with around 20 respondents, were selected. The VDC sample size was further distributed into wards. For a VDC sample size of 20, two wards were selected using a simple random sampling technique and then for each ward 10 respondents were identified. Urban respondents were selected from all the municipalities in each of the sample districts (see Annex III for a detailed breakdown of the sample).

In each sample ward, households were selected using a technique called the right-hand rule. From each household, the respondents were selected using a Kish-grid or table of random numbers. In this method, one individual is randomly selected to interview from a list of all household members above 18 years of age. Using the grid ensures that each eligible member in a selected household has an equal chance of being selected.

In addition to the 32 randomly selected sample districts, the three districts of Jhapa, Sindhuli and Makwanpur were deliberately selected in order to include some of the ethnic minorities that are concentrated in these specific localities.

The margin of error is +/- 1.8 percent at a 95 percent confidence level in the national level. The poll does not claim the same level of precision at the regional level analysis.

Chart 1.1: Sampling Design



1.4.3 Fieldwork/Data Collection

An agreement was signed between Interdisciplinary Analysts and Blitz Media Pvt. Ltd. that gave Blitz Media a mandate to administer questionnaires in the field and to process the data. Field supervisors and enumerators experienced in survey methods were deployed to carry out the fieldwork. Before their deployment, each enumerator was oriented to his/her expected roles and responsibilities, survey research methodology and the field operations plan. They were also instructed about how to clarify questions in case any confusion arose. Altogether 18 field supervisors and 24 enumerators conducted the fieldwork. (The list of the individuals involved in administering the opinion poll is attached as Annex IV)

1.5 Database Management and Analysis

Data was processed and analysed using the programmes Visual Basic, SPSS and MS Excel. A questionnaire-oriented data entry programme was created using Visual Basic software. To prevent contamination of the data, legal codes as well as authorised range, consistency and extreme case check systems were included in the data entry programme. After the data was entered, it was imported into SPSS software, where it was analysed and presented in tabular form. In the final stage, the data was imported into MS Excel to produce charts and graphs. Cross tabulations between significant questions (i.e., dependant variables) and demographic/geographic factors such as age, education, sex, development region, and ecological region (i.e., independent variables) were carried out. This write-up uses visual aids like pie charts, bar graphs and line graphs where relevant. (The tables that show the cross tabulations between the dependant and independent variables are presented in Annex II).

1.6 Dissemination Activities Prior to Report Publication

The key findings of the poll were disseminated through two workshops and a newspaper article. Preliminary key findings were discussed with a selected group of scholars, aid agency officials, diplomats and conflict experts on September 21, 2006 in Himalaya Hotel. Since the participants in this workshop were the international community in Nepal, the workshop was conducted in English. Preliminary but more refined results were released to the press on October 31, 2006 in a meeting at Yala Maya Kendra, Patan Dhoka. Since the participants in this workshop were the Nepali media, the workshop was conducted in Nepali. Besides coverage of the key findings of the political opinion poll in the general media, *Nepal Weekly* prepared a cover-story entitled "*Mat Sarvekshyan: Rajtantra Alokpriya*", which was written by Tilak Pathak on the basis of materials provided by Interdisciplinary Analysts (for details, see Pathak, 2006).

1.7 Limitations

The opinion poll has a few limitations that relate to the sample. First, the Central region is over-represented and the Eastern, under-represented. Second, the hill region is slightly over-represented vis-à-vis the Tarai region. Third, Hindus are over-represented in comparison to Buddhists. However, other sample characteristics such as caste/ethnicity, sex and age largely correspond to the general population. The over-representation of the Central region, the hills and the Hindus vis-à-vis their counterparts was not an in-built feature in the sampling design but is seen, in retrospect, as the unintended consequence of focusing on the urban population (which is concentrated in the Central region and is preponderantly Hindu). In any case, the disparities in the sample are not so substantive as to call into question the representativeness of the sample. The detailed characteristics of the sample are discussed in the next chapter.

1.8 Organisation of the Report

Chapter 1 discusses recent political events in Nepal, identifies the rationale of the study and delineates its objectives. In addition, it describes the methodology employed in the poll and outlines database management techniques.

Chapter 2 highlights the characteristics of the sample. It describes the demographic, geographic and social compositions of the sample, its distribution across educational status and occupation and where applicable, compares these with the population. The chapter also delineates the proportion of conflict-affected respondents.

Chapter 3 discusses the key findings of the poll. Findings related to the public's view obtained from the analysis of both single choice and multiple-choice questions are presented in terms of percentages. In addition to providing general proportions, the report examines the public's response to every question by disaggregating the responses across several variables, such as sex, age group, development region, ecological zone, urban-rural settlement pattern, caste/ethnicity and educational status.

Chapter 4 discusses the trends in the public's perceptions diachronically by comparing the main findings of this poll with previous polls conducted by Interdisciplinary Analysts.

Chapter 5 compares the results of the current poll, NCPS III, with other recently conducted opinion polls and identifies the similarities and differences in the findings.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusions.

In addition, the study includes several annexes.

Annex I contains a map of Nepal that illustrates the sample districts.

Annex II contains frequency tables of the public's view on every question as well as cross tabulations across different dependent variables.

Annex III shows the distribution of the sample VDCs and municipalities included in the opinion poll.

Annex IV lists the names of the researchers who were involved in the project.

Annex V contains the questionnaire.

Sample Characteristics

2

2.1 Demographic Composition

Of the 3,000 respondents interviewed, 1,500 (50.0 percent) were male and another 1,500 (50.0 percent) female. The sex composition of respondents matches the population census of 2001, closely.

About 25 percent of respondents represent the young generation (between the ages of 18 and 25), while some 29 percent belong to the old generation (i.e., above 45 years). The rest (46 percent) fall in between these two categories.

Table 2.1: Sex composition

Sex	Population (%)	Sample (%)
Female	50.10	50.0
Male	49.90	50.0
Total	100.00	100.0

In order to compare the age distribution of the sample with the age distribution of the population, the proportion of respondents in 10-year age groups interval starting from the age of 20 have been adjusted and compared to the population census of 2001. There is a close semblance between the sample and the population.

Table 2.2: Age group composition of the sample

Age Group	Sample (%)
25 and below	24.6
26 – 35	26.8
36 – 45	19.5
Above 45	29.1
Total	100.0

2.2 Geographic Composition

The distribution of the sample across Nepal's five development regions shows that all development regions are proportionately represented. However, compared to the population census of 2001, the Eastern region is under-represented and the Central development-region, over-represented.

In terms of ecological zones, most of the respondents interviewed (48 percent) live in the hills. The percentage of respondents from the Tarai was 44 percent. As is true of the country's total population, the respondents living in the mountains comprise only a small proportion of the sample. Compared to the 2001 census, the hilly region is over-represented and the Tarai region is under-represented.

Table 2.3: Adjusted age group composition of the sample

Age Group	Population(%)	Sample(%)
20-29	33.9	29.7
30-39	24.7	25.4
40-49	17.4	18.8
50-59	11.9	15.1
60-69	7.5	7.1
70-79	3.6	3.1
80+	1.0	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 2.4: Development region composition

Development Region	Population(%)	Sample(%)
Eastern	23.1	19.4
Central	34.7	41.3
Western	19.7	17.5
Mid-Western	13.0	11.5
Far-Western	9.5	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0

2.3 Social Composition

The major caste/ethnic groups of the country are proportionately represented in the sample.

In terms of the religious affiliations of respondents, Hindus are over-represented and adherents of Buddhism and Kirat are slightly under-represented. Followers of Islam and Christianity are proportionately represented.

2.4 Educational Status

In terms of educational status, illiterate respondents (38 percent) and respondents with secondary-level education (16 percent) dominate the sample. Only 3 percent of respondents reported having a Bachelor's degree or higher. The percentage of the illiterate corresponds with the illiteracy rate in the country, which is 37 percent.

Table 2.7: Religion composition

Religion	Population(%)	Sample(%)
Hindu	80.7	85.5
Buddhist	10.7	7.2
Islam	4.2	4.5
Kirat	3.6	2.2
Christianity	0.5	0.5
Atheist	0.0	0.1
Others	0.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

2.5 Occupation

The majority of respondents (almost 61 percent) are involved in agriculture. Housewives and househusbands, with 12 percent, constitute the second largest group. Industrialists and business persons are the third most populous groups in the sample.

2.6 Conflict-Affected People

The sample also included conflict-affected people. The criteria for qualifying as "conflict-affected" included mental or physical torture, displacement from one's original settlement, or having a family member killed, kidnapped or wounded by either the government security forces, the Maoists or both sides. Twenty-one

Table 2.5: Ecological region composition

Ecological Region	Population(%)	Sample(%)
Mountain	7.3	8.7
Hill	44.3	47.9
Tarai	48.4	43.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 2.6: Caste/ethnicity composition

Caste/ethnic Group	Population(%)	Sample(%)
Chhetri	15.8	17.6
Brahmin (Hill)	12.7	12.9
Magar	7.1	5.6
Tharu	6.8	4.7
Tamang	5.6	4.3
Newar	5.5	7.4
Muslim	4.3	4.4
Kami	3.9	2.4
Yadav	3.9	4.3
Rai	2.8	1.9
Gurung	2.4	1.8
Damai/Dholi	1.7	1.6
Limbu	1.6	1.7
Thakuri	1.5	2.5
Sarki	1.4	0.5
Teli	1.3	0.8
Koiri	1.1	0.4
Kurmi	0.9	0.2
Sanyasi	0.9	0.6
Brahmin (Tarai)	0.6	1.3
Kumal	0.4	0.3
Rajbansi	0.4	1.3
Khatwe	0.3	0.8
Others	16.9	20.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 2.8: Educational status composition

Educational Status	Sample(%)
Illiterate	38.2
Literate (but no formal education)	14.6
Primary level	12.9
Lower secondary level	8.0
Secondary level	15.5
Intermediate level	8.1
Bachelor's level	2.2
Master's level and higher	0.5
Total	100.0

percent of the total respondents were found to have been directly affected by the present conflict. Equal numbers of respondents were affected by government security forces and the Maoists.

Table 2.10: Composition of conflict-affected people

	Percent
Respondents directly affected by the Maoists only	8.1
Respondents directly affected by the state security forces only	7.5
Respondents directly affected by the both sides	5.0
Total respondents directly affected by the conflict	20.6

Table 2.9: Occupation composition

Occupation	Sample (%)
Agriculture	60.6
House wife/husband	12.5
Industry/business	8.6
Labour	5.5
Student	5.4
Service	5.1
Unemployed	1.3
Retired	1.0
Total	100.0

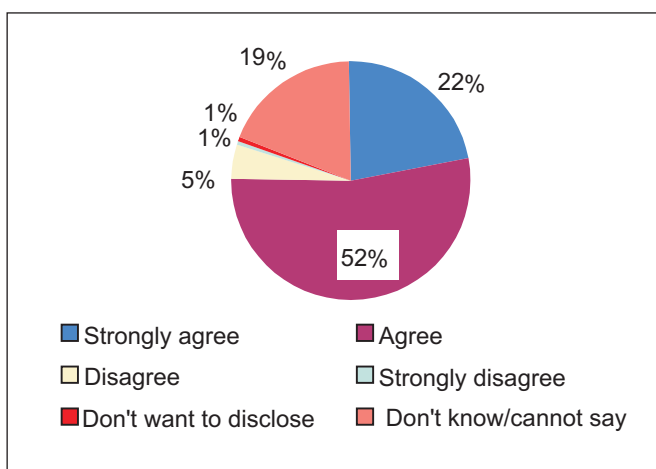
Key Findings

3

People’s Movement II

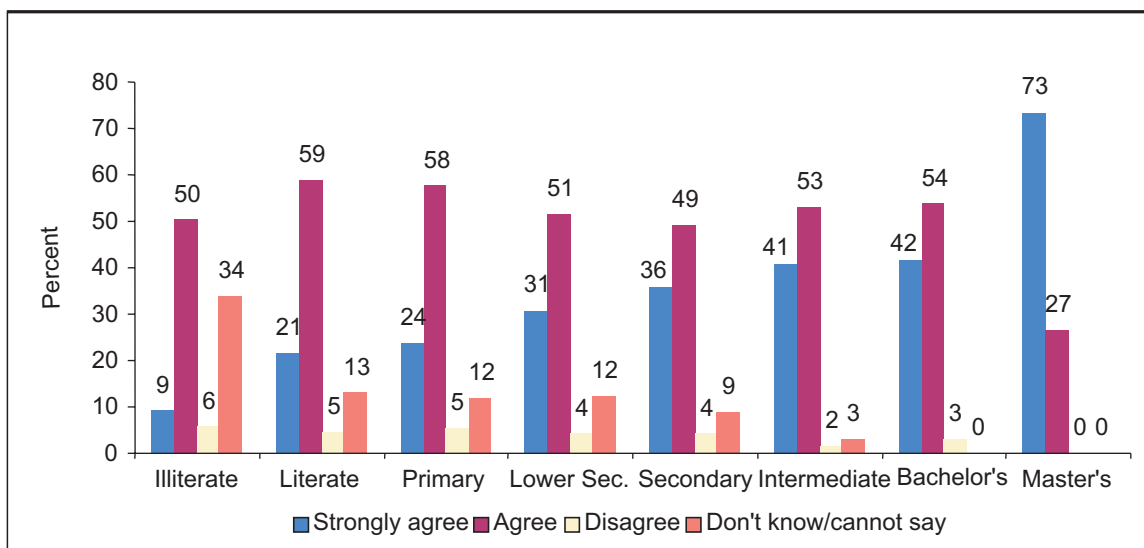
‘Do you agree or disagree with the aims of the second people’s movement?’ was a key question asked to every respondent. About three-fourths of the respondents agree or strongly agree with the aims of the second people’s movement that occurred between 6 and 24 April, 2006 (Chaitra 24, 2062 and Baishakh 11, 2063).

Chart 3.1: Do you agree or disagree with the aims of the second people’s movement?



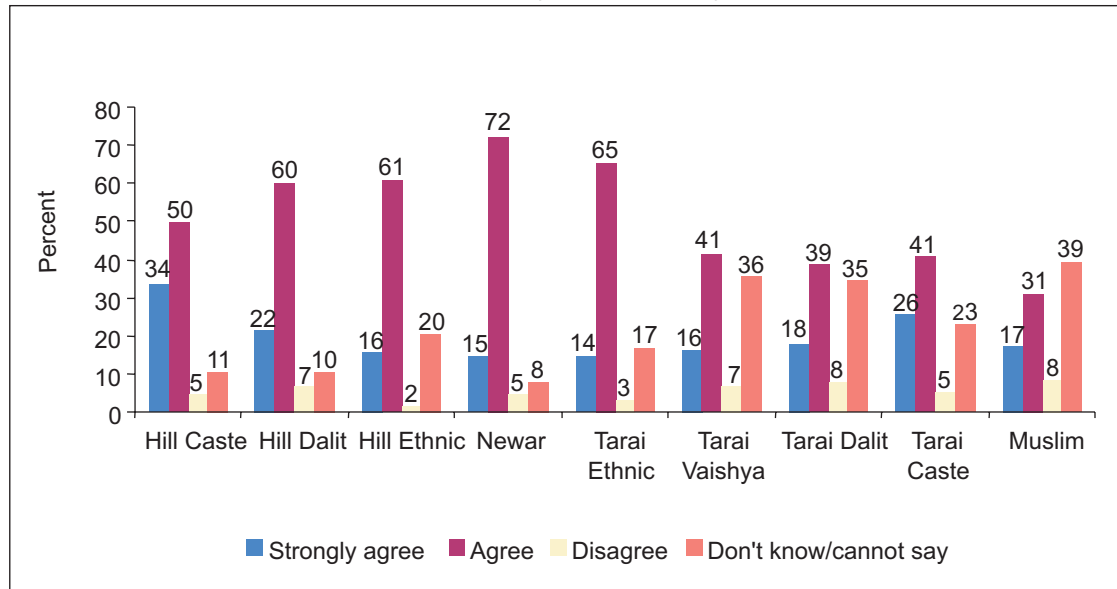
The public’s agreement or disagreement with the aims of the second people’s movement is positively correlated with level of education. Among those who identify themselves as illiterate, only about 60 percent show agreement or strong agreement with the aims of the second people’s movement while 94 percent of people educated up to Bachelor’s level agree or strongly agree with it.

Chart 3.2: Do you agree or disagree with the aims of the second people’s movement? Breakdown by Educational Status



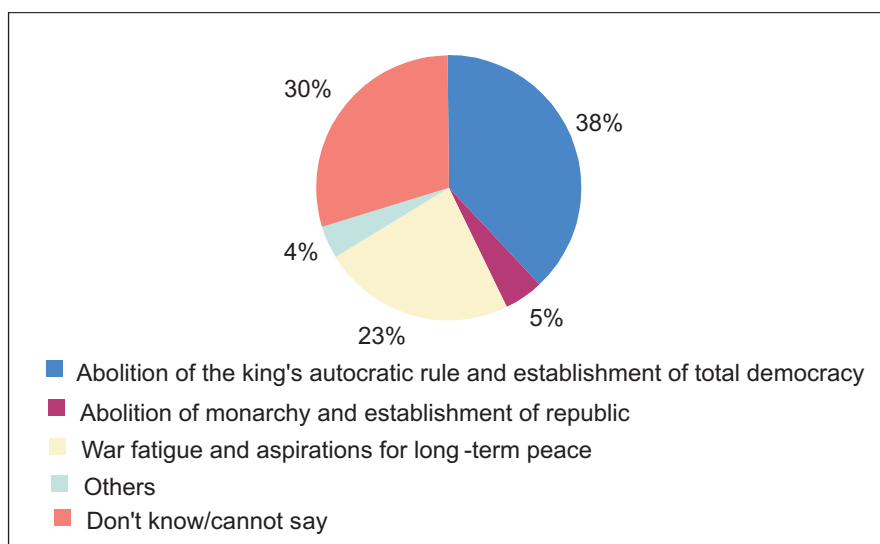
Agreement or disagreement with the second people's movement has a significant relationship with caste/ethnicity as well. In particular, Tarai Vaishyas, Tarai Dalits and Muslims were less likely to agree with it (58 percent, 57 percent and 49 percent respectively) than other caste/ethnic groups.

**Chart 3.3: Do you agree or disagree with the aims of the second people's movement?
Breakdown by Caste/Ethnicity**



Respondents were asked to identify the main reason for the people's movement. The most common response mentioned (by 38 percent) was the abolition of the King's autocratic rule and the establishment of total democracy, but 30 percent professed ignorance about this matter and 23 percent mentioned war fatigue and aspirations for long-term peace as the main reason.

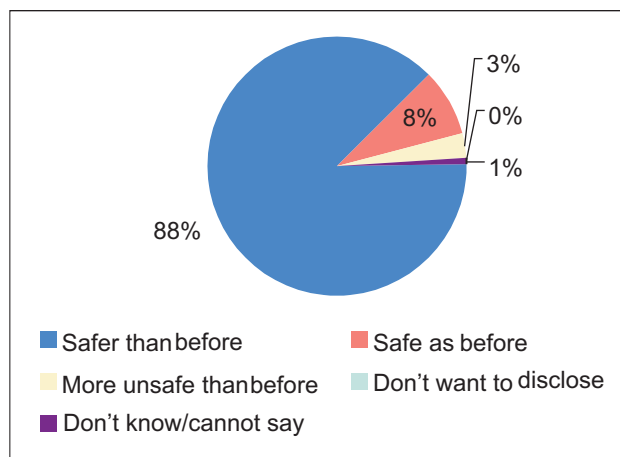
Chart 3.4: In your opinion, what was the main reason for the people's movement?



Effect of the Ceasefire

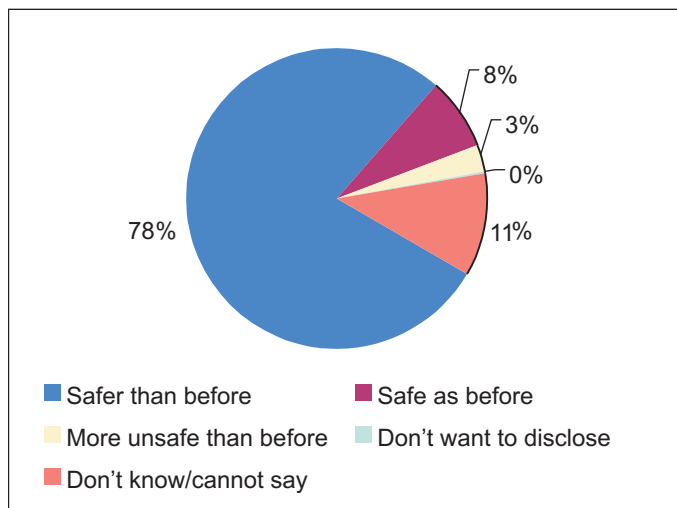
CPN (Maoist) declared a three-month unilateral ceasefire on 26 April, 2006, two days after the King's declaration of the reinstatement of the dissolved Parliament. The poll attempted to find out about how people perceived the effects of the ceasefire on their daily lives. Almost 88 percent of the respondents reported that they felt safer than they had before.

Chart 3.5: How safe do you feel in the present circumstances?



The poll attempted to understand how people view the level of security in the rest of Nepal since the ceasefire. As many as 78 percent of the respondents said that life was safer than before in the rest of the country.

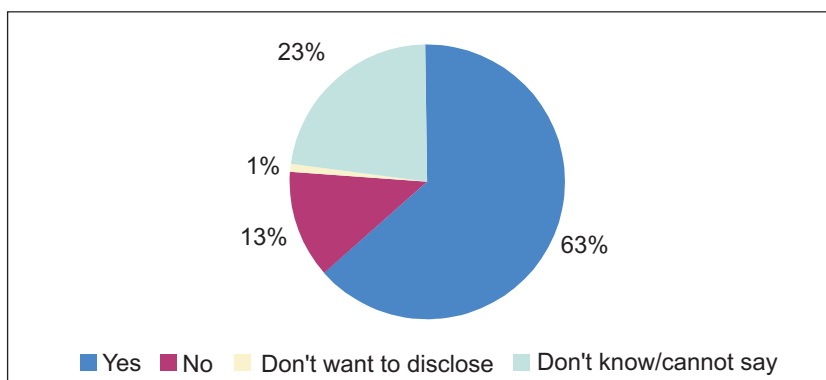
Chart 3.6: How safe do you think is the rest of the country?



The Peace Talks

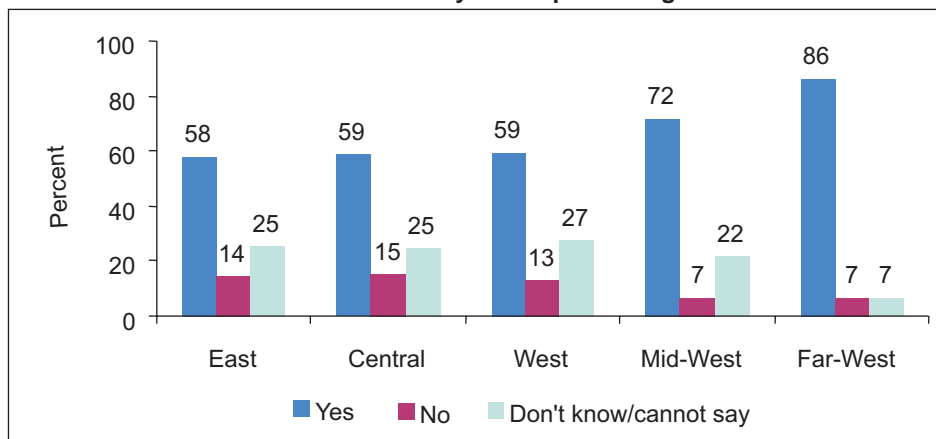
Respondents were asked if the Maoist movement could eventually be settled through peace talks. Sixty-three percent of the respondents were optimistic: they believe that talks can settle matters. But the proportion of those who professed ignorance on this matter was also sizable (23 percent).

Chart 3.7 Do you think that the Maoist movement will eventually be settled through peace talks?



The degree of optimism about peace talks varied significantly across the five development regions. People in the Mid-West and Far-West are more optimistic (72 percent and 86 percent respectively) than their counterparts in other regions.

Chart 3.8 Do you think that the Maoist movement will eventually be settled through peace talks? Breakdown by Development Region



The poll attempted to understand how sincere the publics think the government and the Maoists are about restoring peace to the country. In response to the question about the sincerity of the present government, a majority (66 percent) said that the present government was committed to restoring peace in the country. About 18 percent did not know or could not say anything on this matter. A majority (68 percent) also said that the Maoists were committed to restoring peace in the country and 20 percent professed ignorance about how serious the Maoists were. If the responses are considered together, it is clear that the public believe that both the present government and the Maoist leaders are serious about restoring peace in the country.

Chart 3.9 Do you think that the present government is committed to restoring peace in the country?

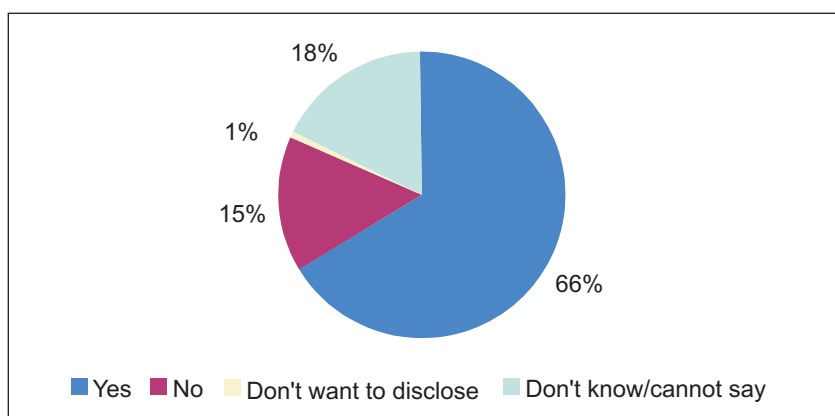
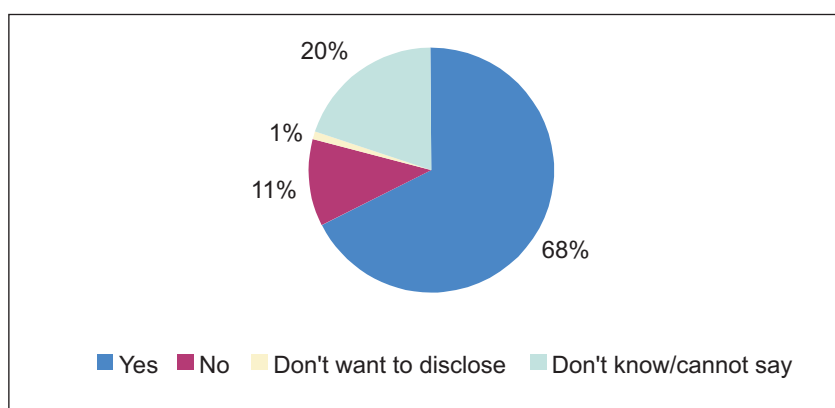
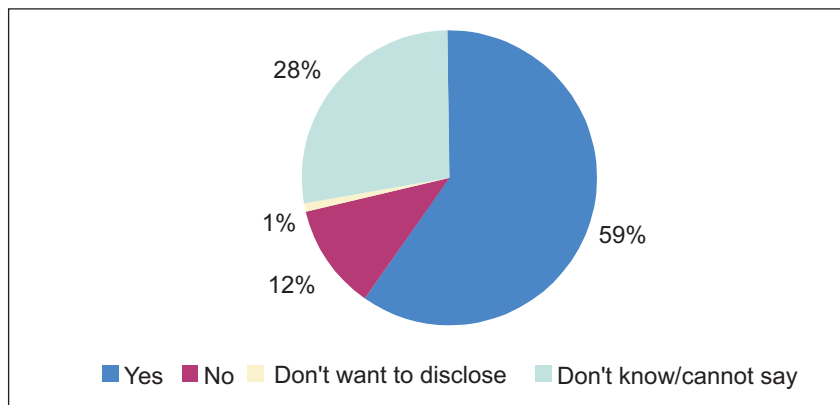


Chart 3.10 Do you think that the Maoist leaders are committed to restore peace in the country?



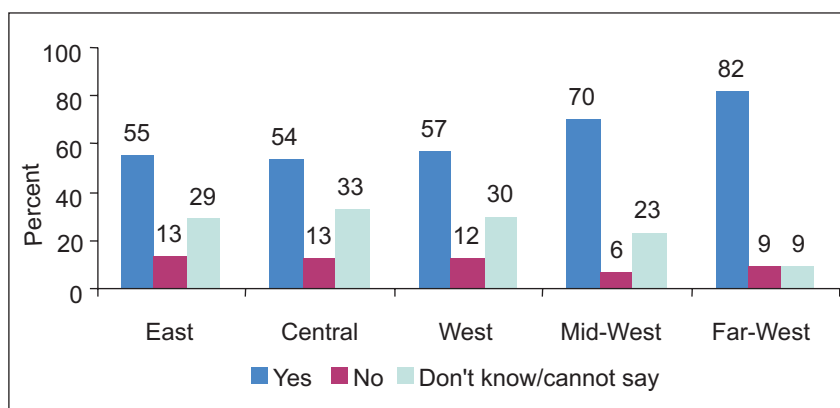
The poll also tried to measure whether the public think that the ongoing peace talks will bring lasting peace in the country. A majority of 59 percent mentioned that it would bring lasting peace but sizable proportion (28 percent) did not provide a definitive answer to the question.

Chart 3.11: Do you think that the ongoing peace talks will bring lasting peace in the country?



Responses to this question varied significantly by development region. People in the Mid-West and Far-West are more optimistic about the ongoing peace talks (70 percent and 82 percent respectively) than their counterparts in other regions.

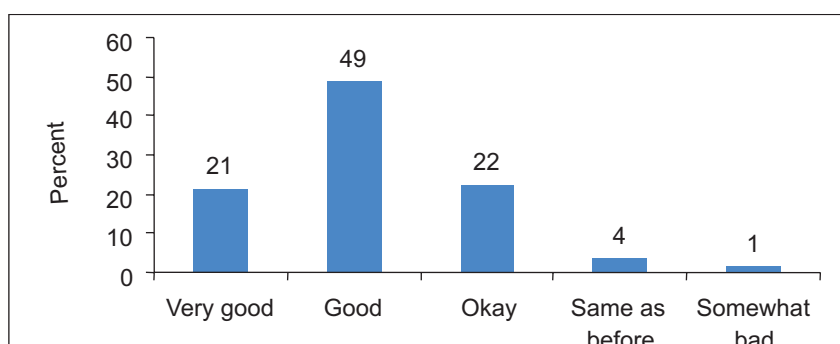
Chart 3.12: Do you think that the ongoing peace talks would bring lasting peace in the country? Breakdown by Development Region



Present Situation

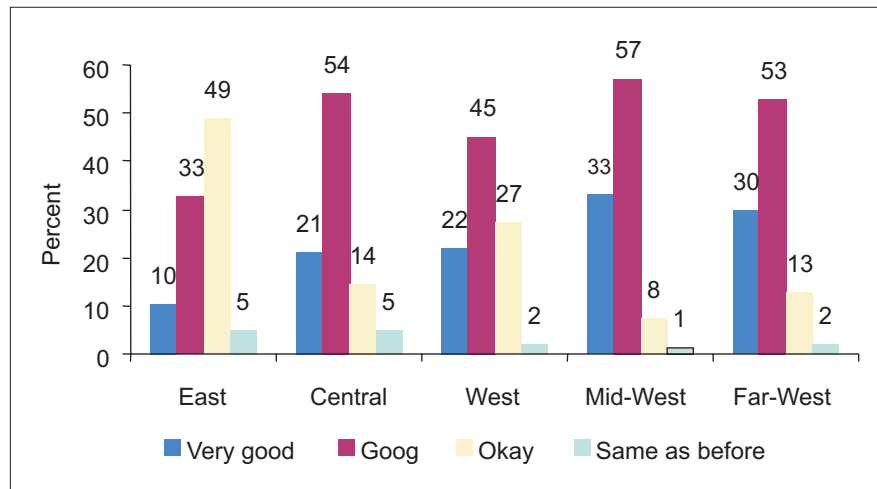
The poll tried to document people’s evaluation of the country’s present situation as of August 2006. Responses to the question, ‘How is the country doing today as compared to before April 24, 2006?’ revealed that the majority (70 percent) believed that the country was doing either good or very good. Around 22 percent felt that the country’s situation is okay.

Chart 3.13: How is the country doing today as compared to before Baishakh 11, 2063 i.e., 24 April 2006?



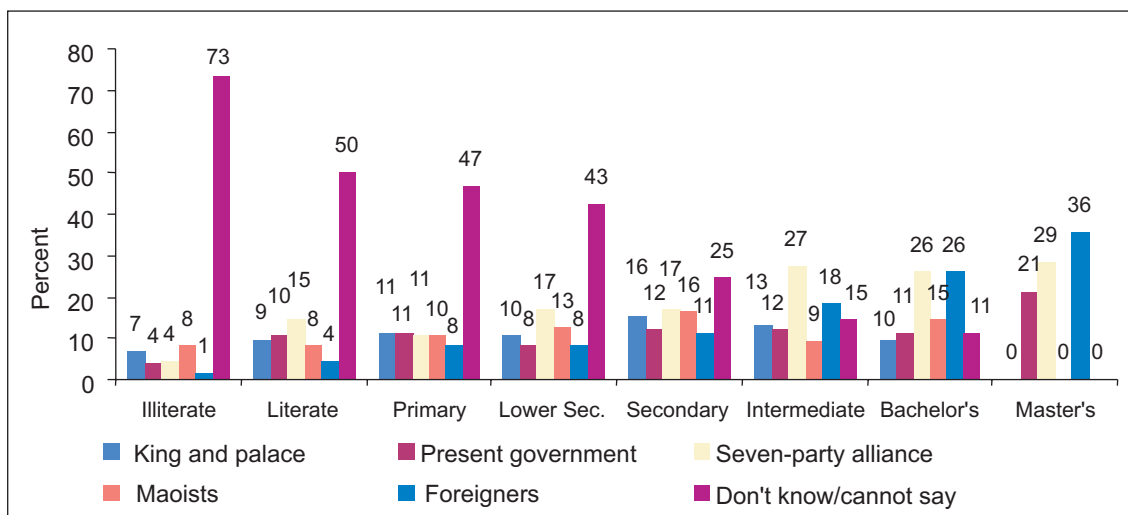
People’s assessment of the country’s present situation differs significantly across the five development regions. People in the Mid-West and Far-West have more positive attitudes i.e., good or very good (90 percent and 83 percent respectively) than their counterparts living in the Central and Western regions (75 percent and 67 percent) while the majority of people in the Eastern region (49 percent) stated that they thought the situation was okay.

Chart 3.14: How is the country doing today as compared to before Baishakh 11, 2063 i.e., 24 April 2006? Breakdown by Development Region



The poll revealed that 50 percent of respondents do not know from which quarter the obstacle for resolving the crisis facing the country was coming. When the data is disaggregated by educational status of people, however, it becomes clear that the majority of the illiterate and those with low educational attainment levels professed ignorance while the majority of respondents educated up to the intermediate level or more believed the SPA and foreign powers were the obstacles to resolving the crisis facing the country.

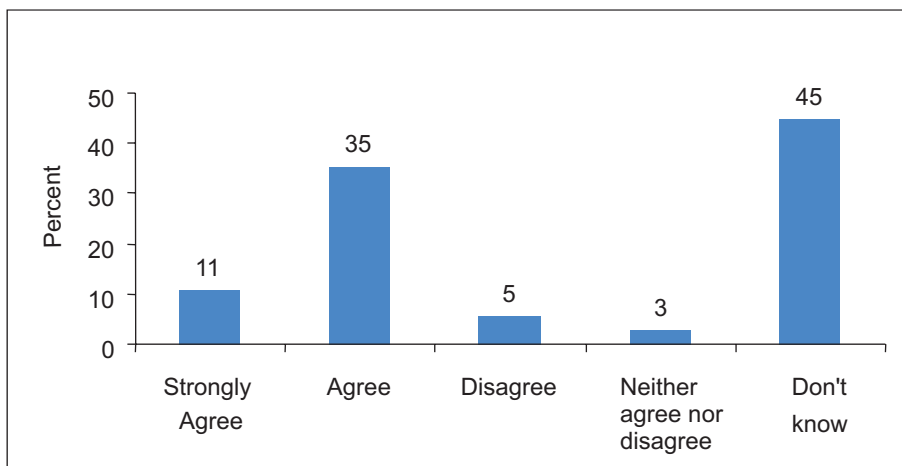
Chart 3.15: In your opinion, from which quarter is the obstacle to resolving the crisis facing the country coming? Breakdown by Educational Status



House of Representatives

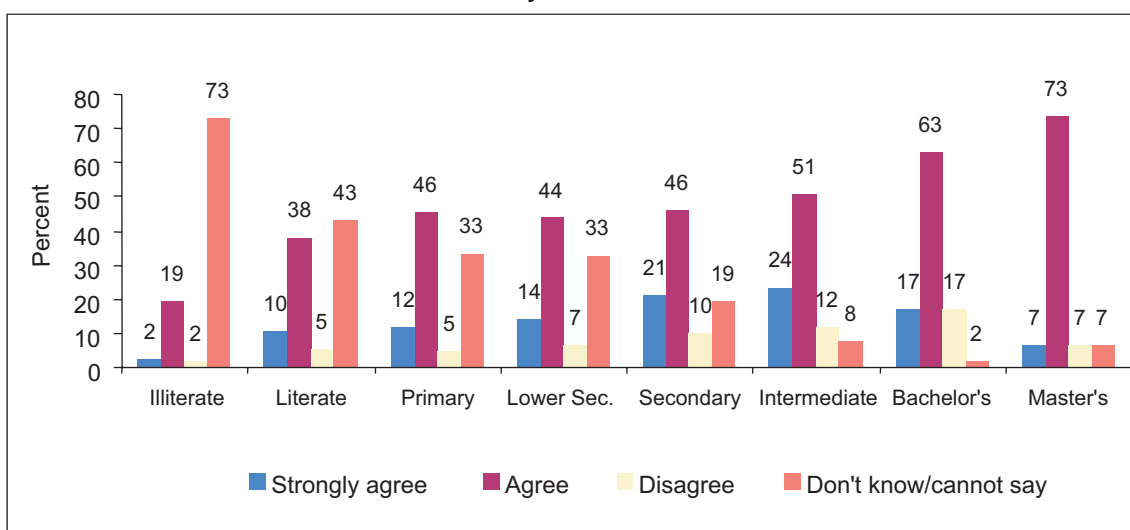
Bowing to public pressure, the King, acknowledging that people are the source of sovereignty and state authority, reinstated the dissolved HoR on April 24, 2006. In this context, the poll tried to find out the public’s agreement or disagreement with the reinstatement of the HoR. The majority of respondents (45 percent) said they did not know, while about 35 percent said that they agreed and only 11 percent said that they strongly agreed.

Chart 3.16: Do you agree or disagree with the reinstatement of the HoR?



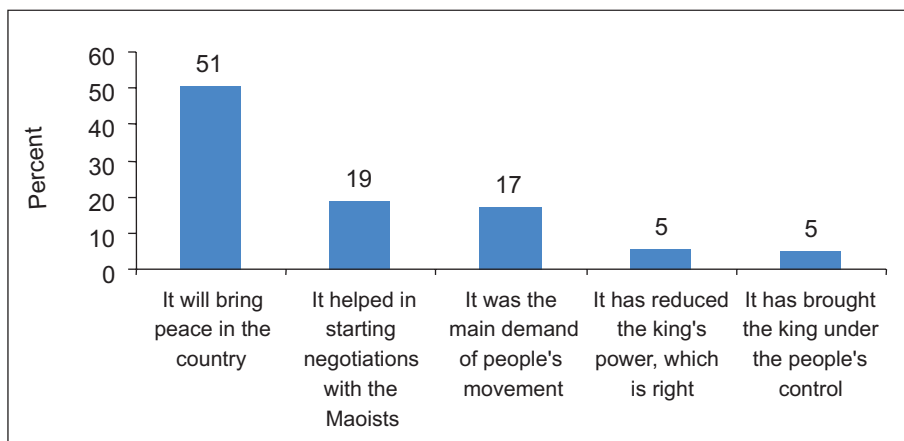
As is the case with other questions, education has a significant influence on the public’s views on this matter. The public’s agreement with the reinstatement of Parliament was found to be positively correlated with level of educational attainment: the higher the educational attainment of respondents, the more they agreed with the reinstatement of the Parliament.

Chart 3.17: Do you agree or disagree with the reinstatement of the HoR? Breakdown by Educational Status

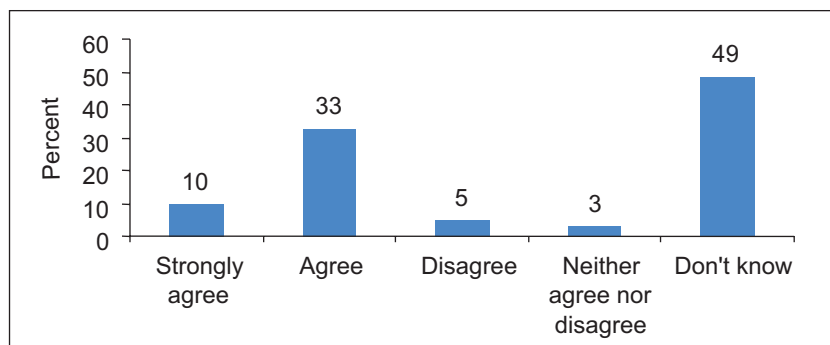


A follow-up question ‘Why do you agree with the reinstatement of Parliament’ was asked to the 46 percent who answered that they agreed or strongly agreed with the reinstatement of Parliament. Among them, 51 percent mentioned that they agreed because it would bring peace to the country. Some 19 percent agreed because they thought it would help start negotiations with the Maoists. The percentage of those who agreed because it was the main demand of the people’s movement was only 17 percent.

Chart 3.18: If you agree with the reinstatement of the HoR, why do you agree?

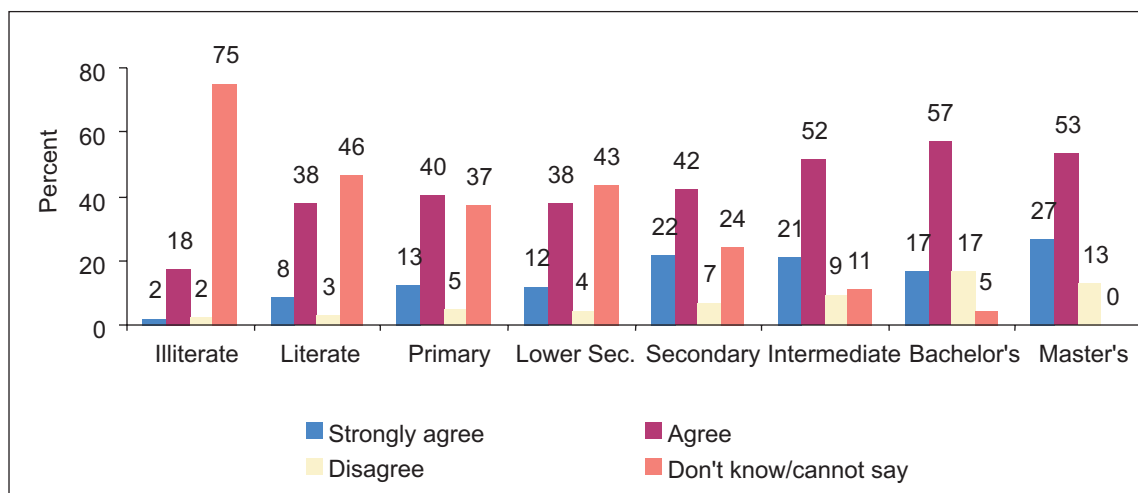


After the HoR was reinstated, the Parliament passed a proclamation on May 18, 2006 (Jestha 4, 2063) in which the HoR was declared the supreme authority of the country. The poll tried to measure whether the public agreed or disagreed with this arrangement. It was found that about 49 percent of people were not in a position to give a definitive answer. About 33 percent agreed and only 10 percent strongly agreed.



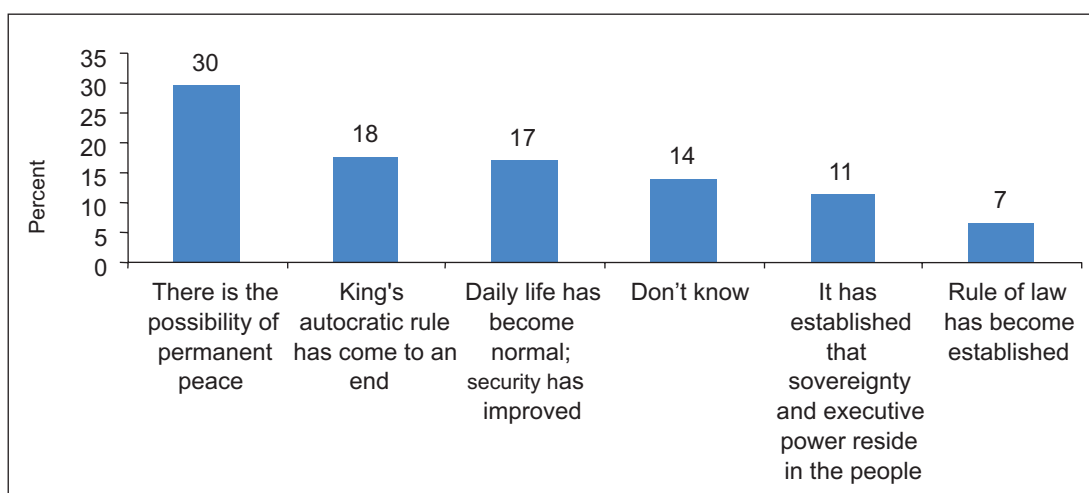
In this case too, education significantly affected the public's views on this matter. The public's agreement with the declaration that the Parliament is the supreme authority was positively correlated to their educational level.

Chart 3.20: After the HoR was reinstated, the Parliament passed a proclamation in which the HoR was declared as the supreme authority of the country. Do you agree or disagree with this arrangement? Breakdown by Educational Status



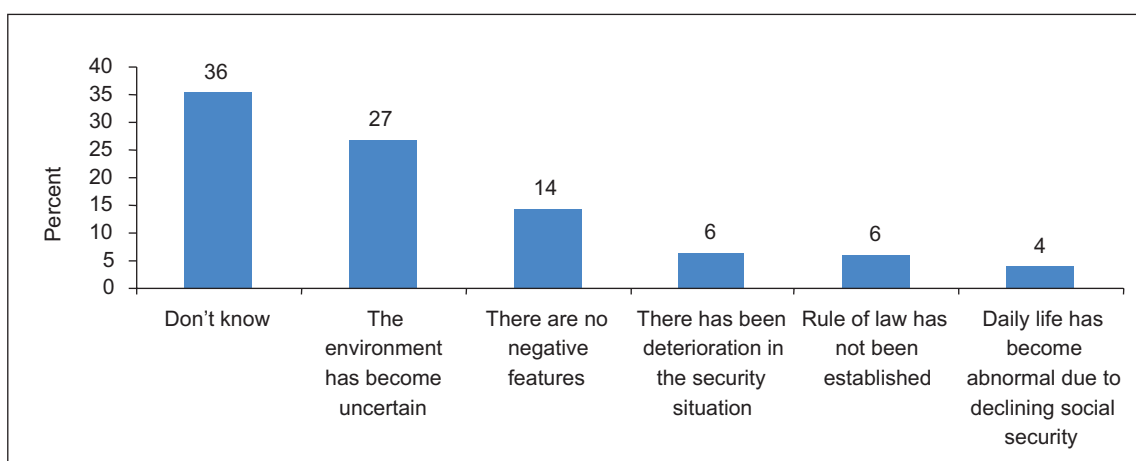
Respondents were asked to identify the positive and negative features of the reinstated HoR. All respondents were asked two separate questions designed to elicit their views on both the positive and the negative features of the reinstated Parliament. Thirty percent of respondents identified the possibility of lasting peace (30 percent) as a positive feature while 18 percent identified the King’s autocratic rule coming to an end.

Chart 3.21: In your opinion, what are the positive features in the reinstated HoR ?



Most people (36 percent) said they did not know about any negative features. A sizable proportion identified the uncertain political environment as a negative feature (27 percent), while about 14 percent claimed that there were, in fact, no negative features at all.

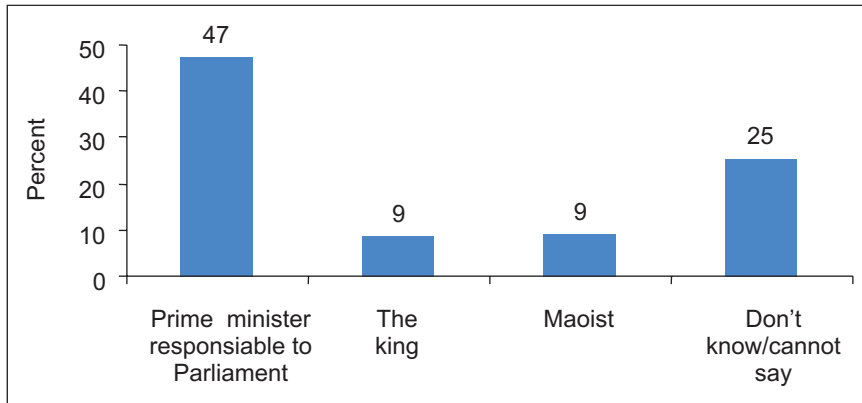
Chart 3.22: In your opinion, what are the negative features of the reinstated HoR?



Legitimacy of the System

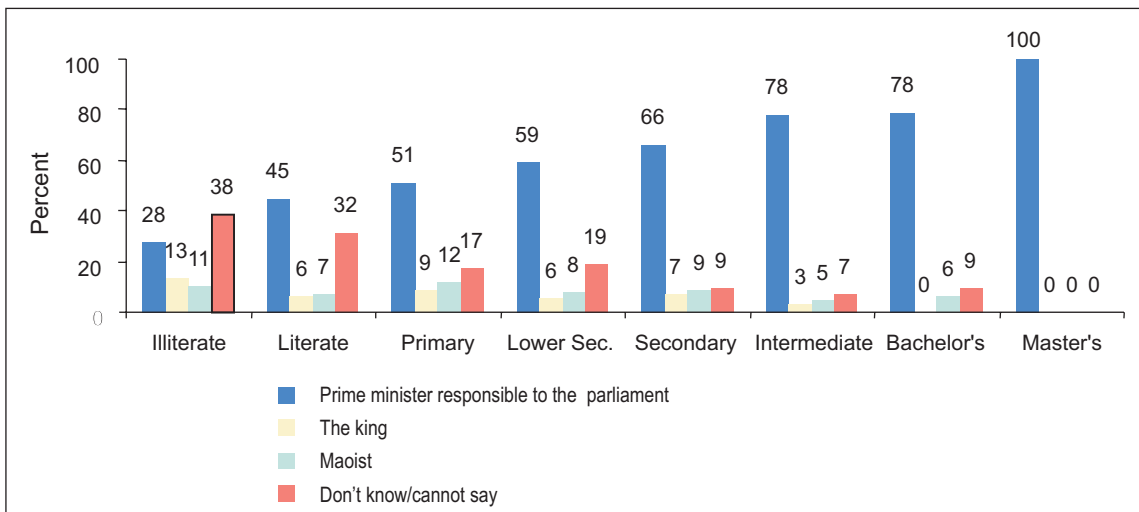
The poll attempted to understand people’s perceptions about legitimate government. In response to the question ‘Who should rule the country for the rule to be legitimate?’ most respondents (47 percent) said that a prime minister responsible to the Parliament was a legitimate ruler. About one-fourth professed ignorance in this matter while 9 percent said the Maoists should rule and another 9 percent saw the King as the legitimate ruler.

Chart 3.23: Who should rule the country for the rule to be legitimate?



In this case too, education has an influence: the higher a respondent’s educational attainment, the more likely s/he was to identify rule by a prime minister responsible to the Parliament as the legitimate form of government.

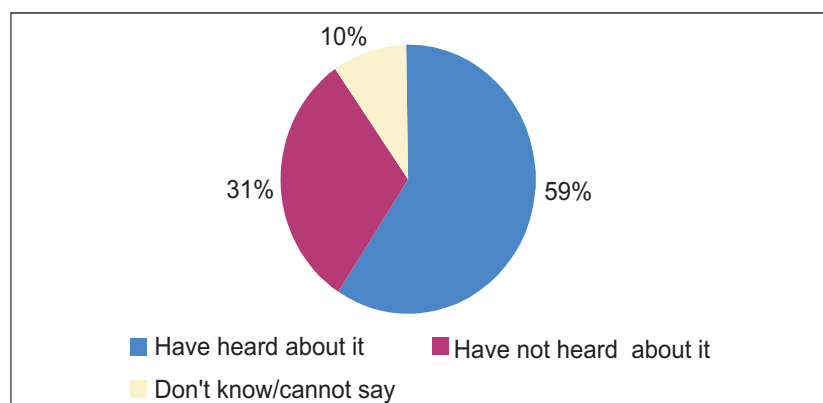
Chart 3.24: Who should rule the country for the rule to be legitimate? Breakdown by Educational Status



Constituent Assembly

The poll was designed to find out how many have heard about the constituent assembly, if they feel they know about it and to assess their knowledge about it. It was found that 59 percent of the people have heard about the constituent assembly while 31 percent have not; the remaining 10 percent said they did not know or could not say.

Chart 3.25: Have you heard about the constituent assembly?



Fewer rural respondents have heard about the constituent assembly than their urban counterparts (55 percent and 73 percent respectively). Likewise, fewer females have heard about it than males (43 percent and 74 percent respectively).

Chart 3.26: Have you heard about the constituent assembly? Breakdown by Rural/Urban Residence

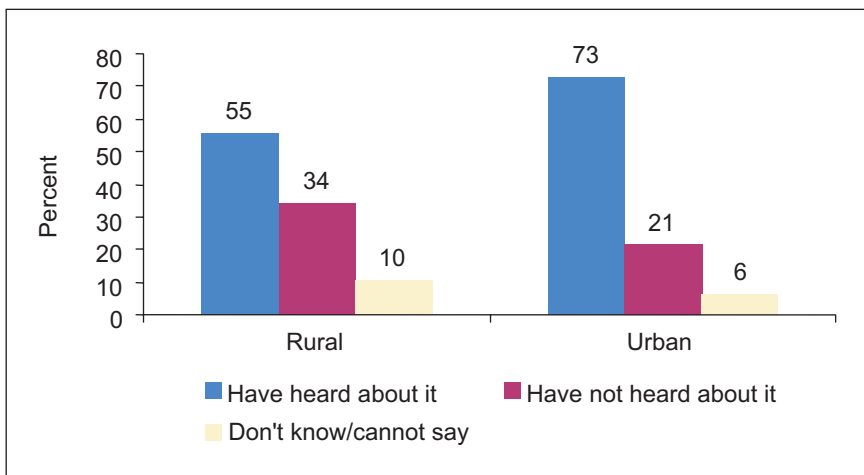
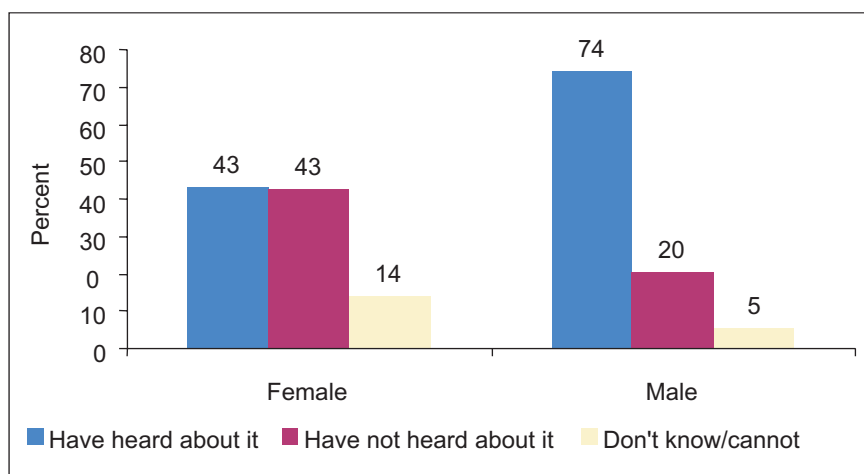
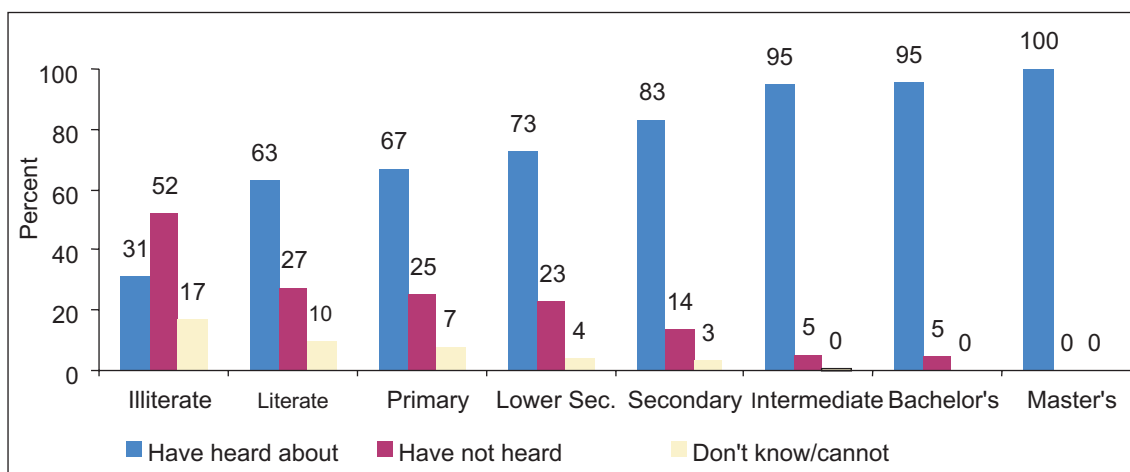


Chart 3.27: Have you heard the about constituent assembly? Breakdown by Sex



The educational level of people has a bearing on the issue: respondents who are more educated are more likely to report having heard of the constituent assembly.

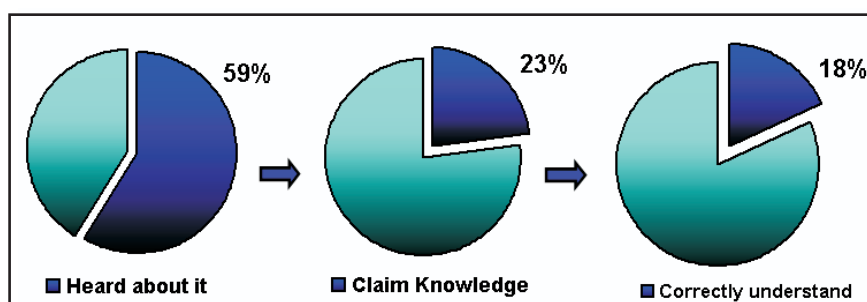
Chart 3.28: Have you heard about the constituent assembly? Breakdown by Educational Status



Those respondents who reported having heard of the constituent assembly (59 percent of total respondents) were asked if they knew what it is about. About 39 percent of them claimed that they know very well or somewhat well about constituent assembly, while 57 percent said that they had only heard about it but did not know what it was. This means that only 23 percent of all respondents think that they know very well or somewhat well what constituent assembly is about.

Respondents who stated that they know about constituent assembly very well or somewhat well (23 percent of the total respondents) were asked a follow-up question: ‘In our country’s context, what is the process for going to the constituent assembly?’ The purpose of asking the question was to ascertain whether or not they correctly understood what the constituent assembly is. About 78 percent of these respondents actually understand that the constituent assembly is an assembly of representatives elected to draft a new constitution. The rest gave incorrect answers. What may be surmised from the collective responses is that only 18 percent of all the respondents genuinely understand what the constituent assembly is all about. In sum, although the idea of a constituent assembly has gained significant currency in public discourse, only a small proportion of people actually understand it.

Chart 3.29: Publicis understanding of the constituent assembly



Respondents who stated that they knew about the constituent assembly very well or somewhat well (23 percent of total respondents) were asked whether they thought elections for the constituent assembly were necessary. The overwhelming majority i.e., 98 percent said that it was necessary. As for the reasons why it was necessary, 44 percent said it was necessary so to bring lasting peace in the country, while 28 percent said it was needed to formulate a new constitution that would be satisfactory to all sides.

Respondents who knew about the constituent assembly very well or somewhat well (23 percent of the total respondents) were asked whether they thought elections for the constituent assembly would be held in an atmosphere without fear. Most (55 percent) reported that it would be held in an atmosphere without fear, but 38 percent did not think so.

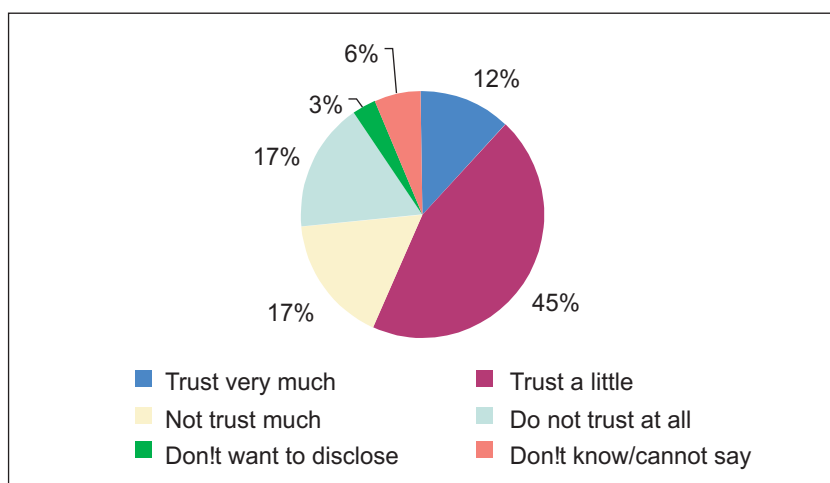
The 23 percent of total respondents who knew about the constituent assembly very well or somewhat well were asked how they wanted to see the weapons of the Nepali and Maoist armies managed so that they could safely cast votes in the constituent assembly elections. Most (40 percent) reported that both armies should be separated from their weapons. About 32 percent stated that the Nepali army should be confined to their barracks and that the Maoists should lay down their arms. Another 25 percent said that both the Nepali and the Maoist armies should remain in their barracks but that they did not have to lay down their arms.

Respondents who knew about the constituent assembly very well or somewhat well were also asked whether they thought international supervision was necessary for ensuring free and fair elections to the constituent assembly. Most (75 percent) reported that there should be international supervision while 20 percent thought it was unnecessary.

The Maoist Movement

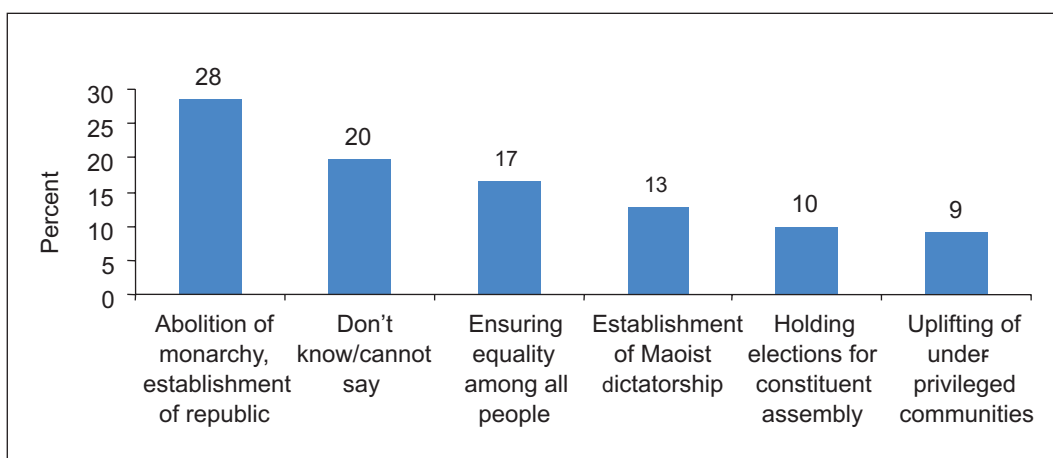
The poll attempted to uncover how much ordinary Nepalis trust CPN (Maoist). Respondents were asked ‘What is your level of trust towards CPN (Maoist)?’ About 45 percent said that they trust CPN (Maoist) a little while only 12 percent said that they trust this party very much. The proportions of those who do not trust this party at all and those who do not trust it much are the same (17 percent for each). In aggregate terms, about 57 percent of respondents exhibit some degree of trust towards the Maoist while 34 percent do not.

Chart 3.30: How much do you trust CPN (Maoist)?



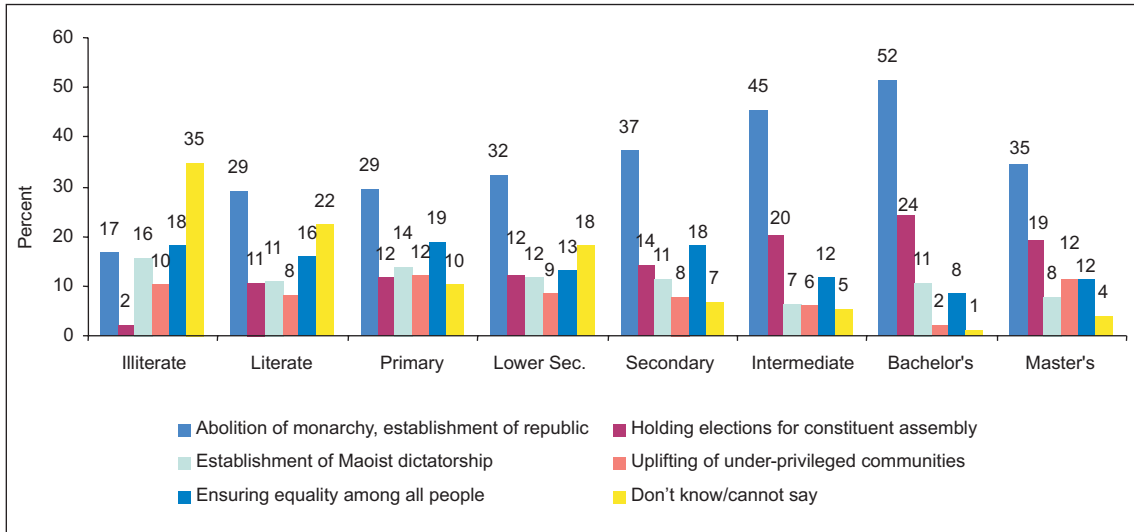
The poll attempted to gauge the public’s views about what the main demand of the Maoists is. Most thought that the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic (28 percent) is the main demand of the Maoists. A significant proportion of people (20 percent) did not answer definitively. ‘Ensuring equality among all people’ is the next most identified response (17 percent) followed by ‘the establishment of a Maoist dictatorship’ (13 percent).

Chart 3.31: What do you think the main demand of the Maoists is?



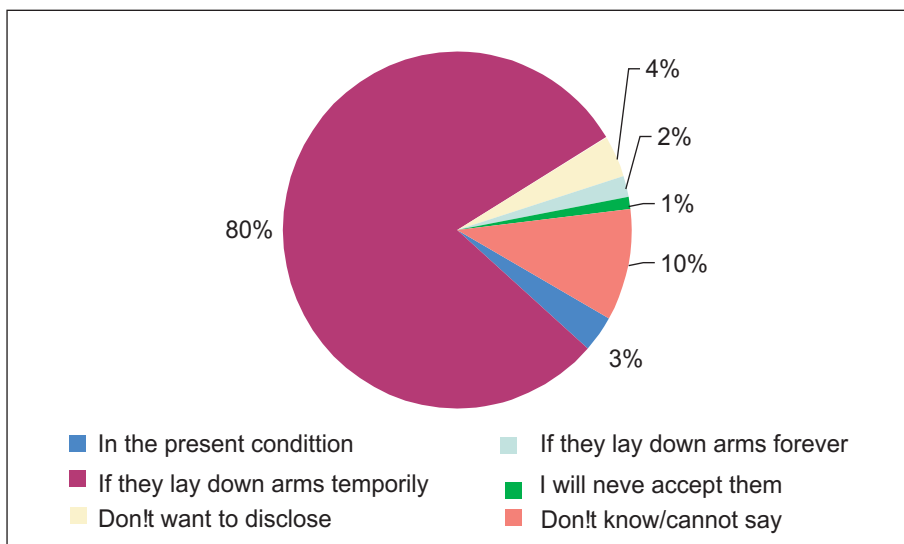
Those who said that the Maoist’s main demand was the abolition of monarchy and the establishment of republic was found to be positively correlated with educational level; higher a respondents educational attainment, the more likely she/he is to identify this as the Maoist’s main demand.

Chart 3.32: What do you think the main demand of the Maoists is? Breakdown by Educational Status



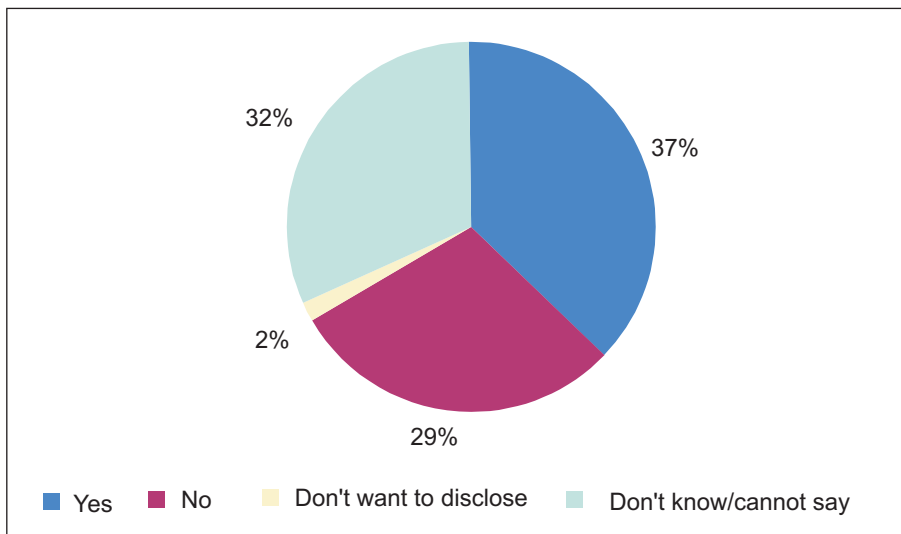
The poll endeavoured to understand the public’s views about the circumstances under which they are ready to accept CPN (Maoist) as an open political party. An overwhelming majority of 80 percent mentioned that they are ready to accept this party as an open political party if they lay down their arms forever.

Chart 3.33: Under which circumstances are you ready to accept CPN (Maoist) as an open political party?



In order to measure their confidence, respondents were asked ‘Are you confident that the Maoists will return the land and other assets that they have occupied and controlled?’ The public’s views were found to be fairly divided. Even though a slight majority of 37 percent mentioned that they were confident, the proportions of those who were not confident and who professed ignorance followed closely (29 percent and 32 percent respectively).

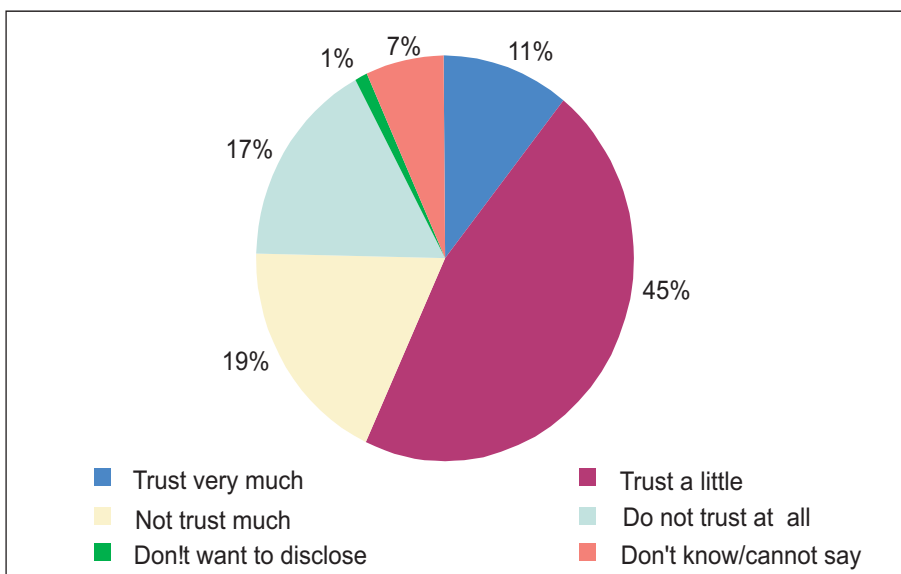
Chart 3.34: Are you confident that the Maoists will return the land and other assets that they have occupied and controlled?



Political Parties

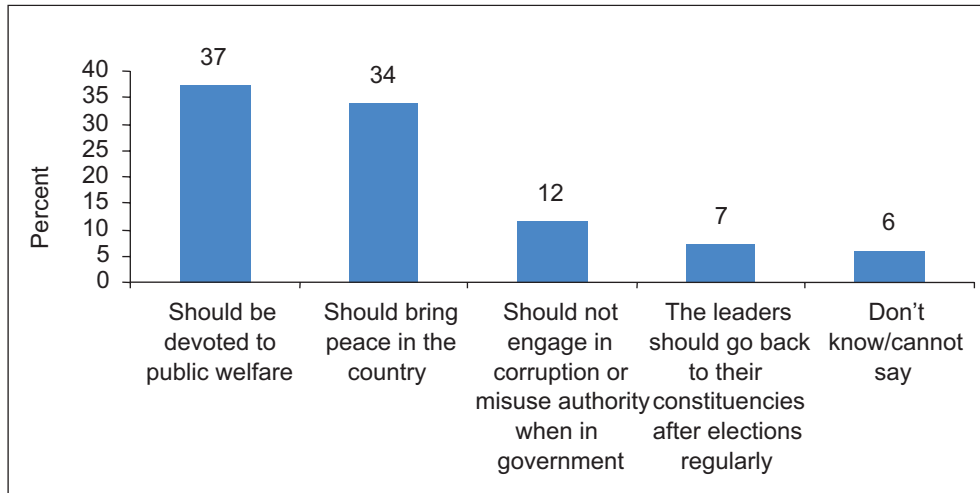
The poll attempted to understand how much Nepalis trust the political parties. To the question ‘How much do you trust the political parties?’ about 45 percent said that they trust the political parties a little while only 11 percent said that they trust the political parties very much. The proportions of those who do not trust the political parties at all and those who do not trust them much are similar (17 percent and 19 percent respectively). In aggregate terms about 56 percent of respondents trust the political parties to some extent while 36 percent do not. The public’s degree of trust towards the political parties and towards the Maoists is broadly similar.

Chart 3.35: How much do you trust the political parties?



All respondents were asked ‘What should political parties do to win more trust from the Nepali people?’ Most people (37 percent) said that political parties should be devoted to public welfare. Another 34 percent said that they should bring peace to the country.

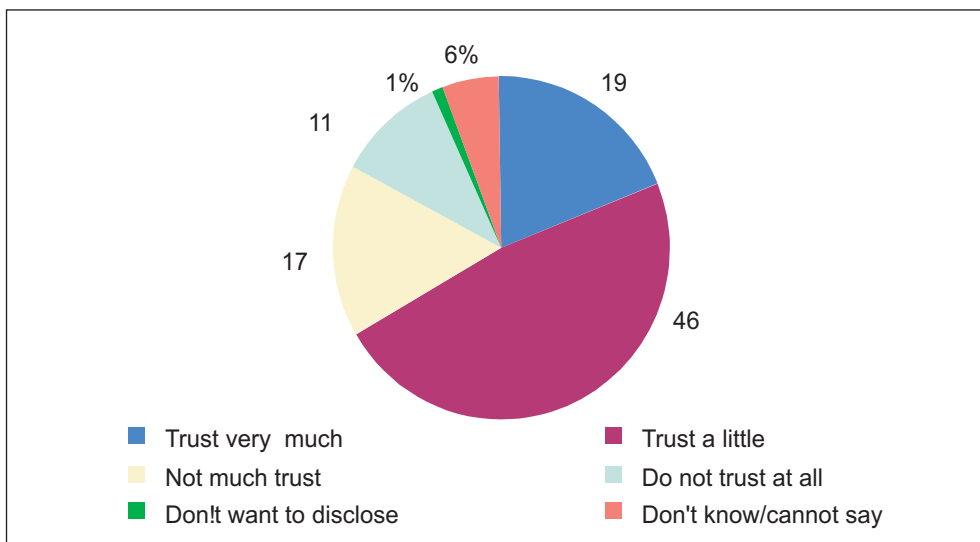
Chart 3.36: What should political parties do to win more trust from people?



Nepali Army

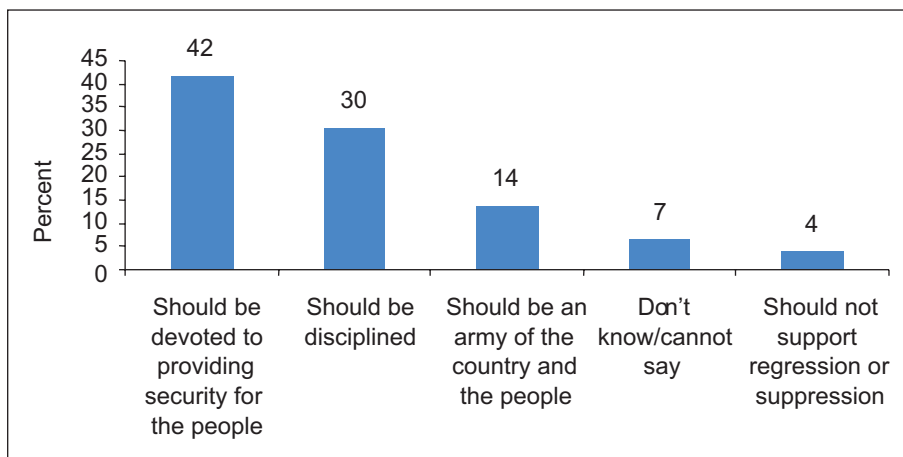
The poll attempted to understand the public's trust of the Nepali Army. To the question 'How much do you trust the Nepali Army?' About 46 percent said that they trust the Nepali Army a little while 19 percent said that they trust the army very much. 11 percent said they do not trust the army at all while 17 percent said they do not trust the army much. In total about 65 percent people trust the Nepali army while 28 percent do not. The public trusts the army more than it trusts either CPN (Maoist) or the political parties.

Chart 3.37: How much do you trust the Nepali Army?



All respondents were asked 'What should the Nepali Army do to win more trust from the public?' Most people said that the Nepali Army should be devoted to providing the people with security (42 percent). Another 30 percent said that they should be disciplined. A sizable proportion of 14 percent said that the Nepali Army should be an army of the country and the people.

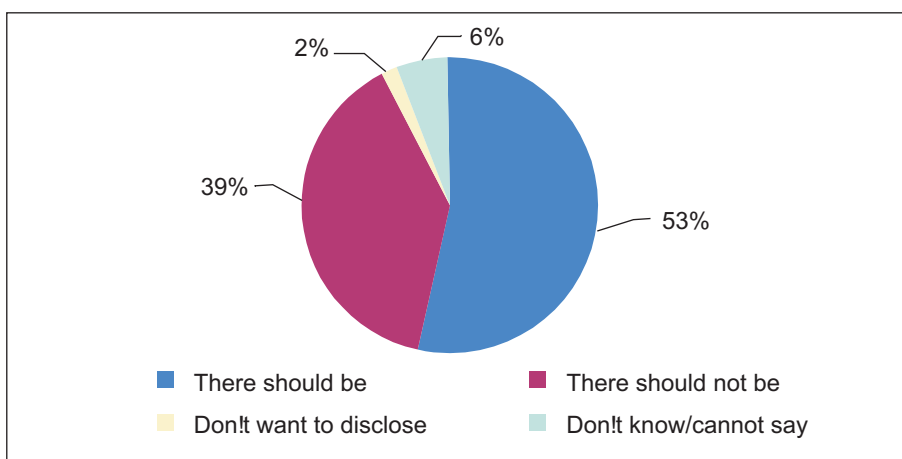
Chart 3.38: What should the Nepali Army do to win more trust from the public?



Monarchy

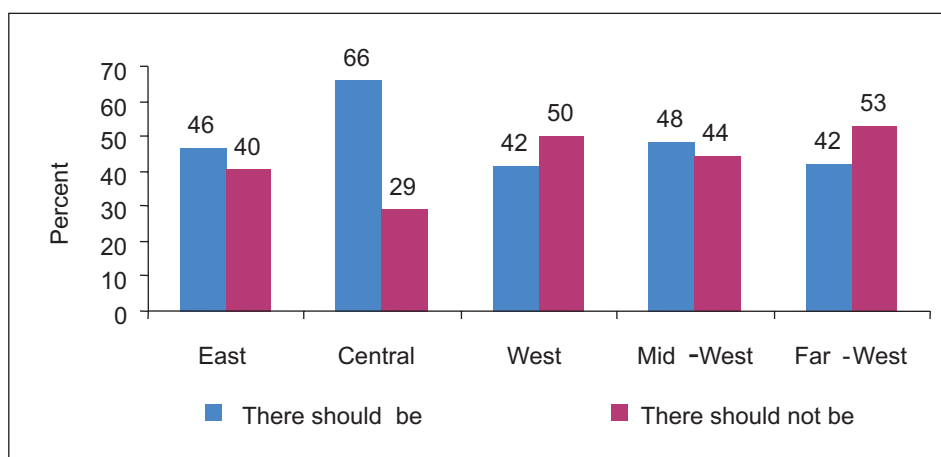
In response to the question, ‘Should there be a place for the monarchy in Nepal of the future?’ A simple majority (53 percent) said that there should be a place for the monarchy in the Nepal of the future. A significant proportion (39 percent) mentioned that there should not be such a place for the monarchy.

Chart 3.39: Should there be a place for the monarchy in Nepal of the future?



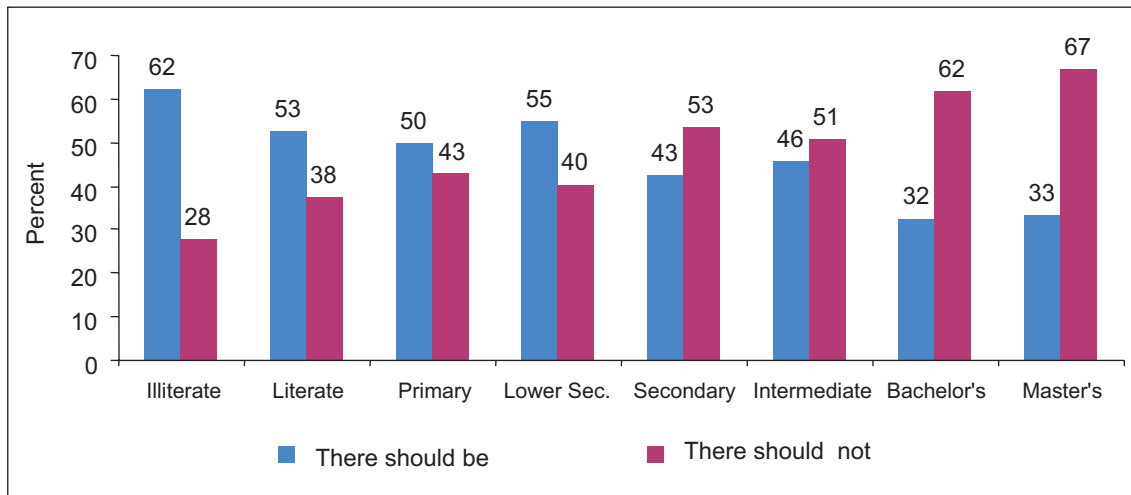
The public’s responses to this question vary across the development regions. People living in the Central development region have a more positive attitude towards the monarchy than people living in other regions.

Chart 3.40: Should there be a place for monarchy in Nepal of the future? Breakdown by Development Region



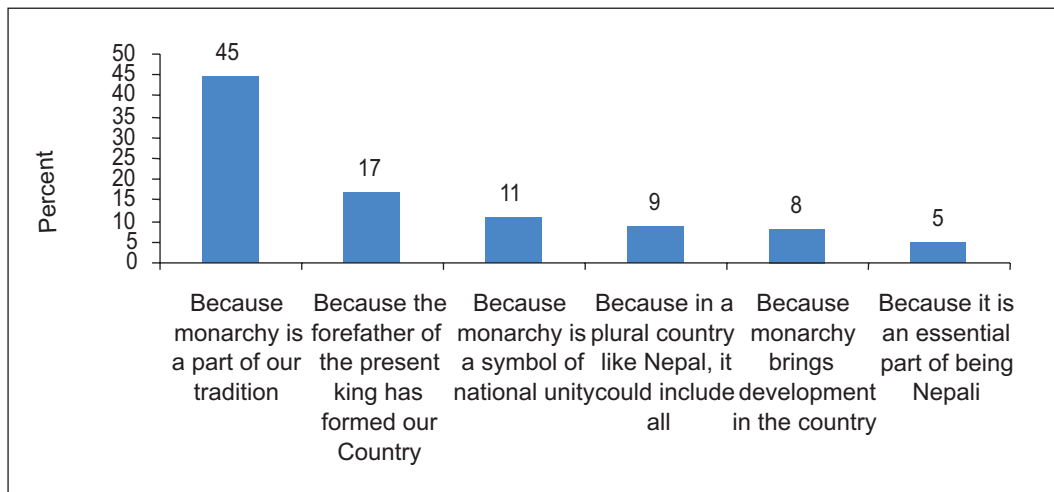
The educational level of respondents has an influence on the public's views on this issue: the higher the education level, the greater the percentage of people who reported there should not be a place for monarchy in the Nepal of the future.

Chart 3.41: Should there be a place for monarchy in Nepal of the future? Breakdown by Educational Status



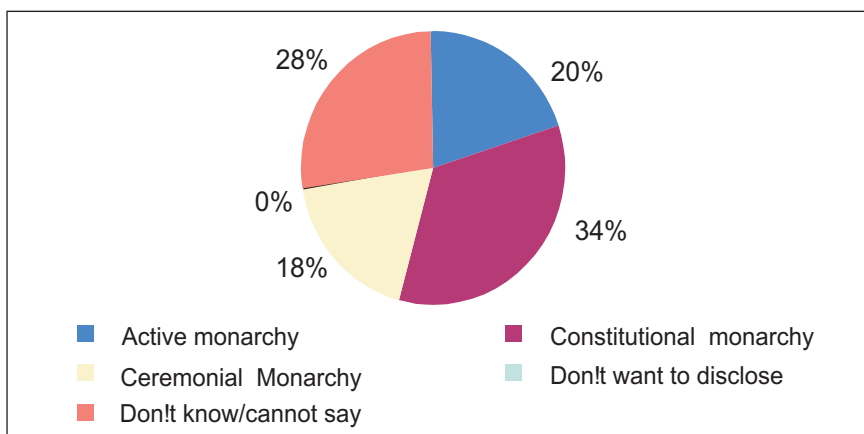
The 53 percent of respondents who said there should be a place for monarchy were asked why there should be a place. Some 45 percent mentioned that there should be a place for monarchy because it is part of tradition. A sizable proportion of 17 percent said they were in favour of monarchy because the forefather of the present king formed the country.

Chart 3.42: If you think there should be a place for monarchy, then why?



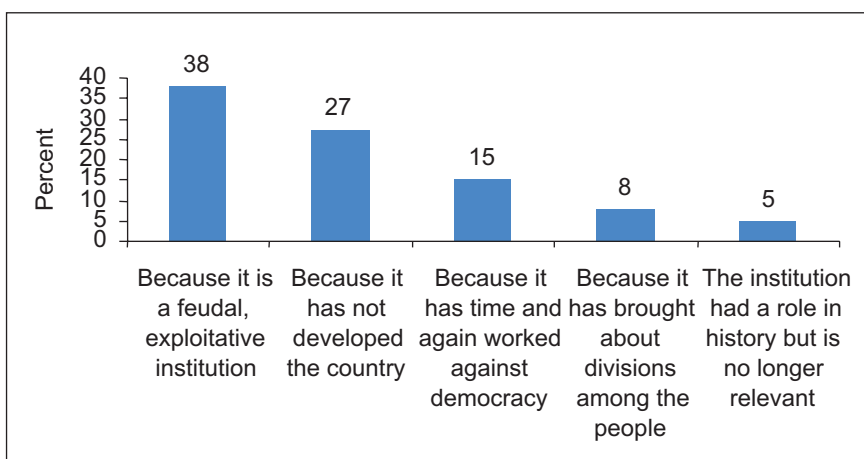
The 53 percent respondents who said there should be a place for monarchy were also asked what type of monarchy there should be. Thirty-four percent prefer a constitutional monarchy while 20 percent favour an active monarchy and 18 percent a ceremonial monarchy. Another 28 percent did not know what type of monarchy there should be.

Chart 3.43: If there should be a place for monarchy, what type of monarchy should there be?



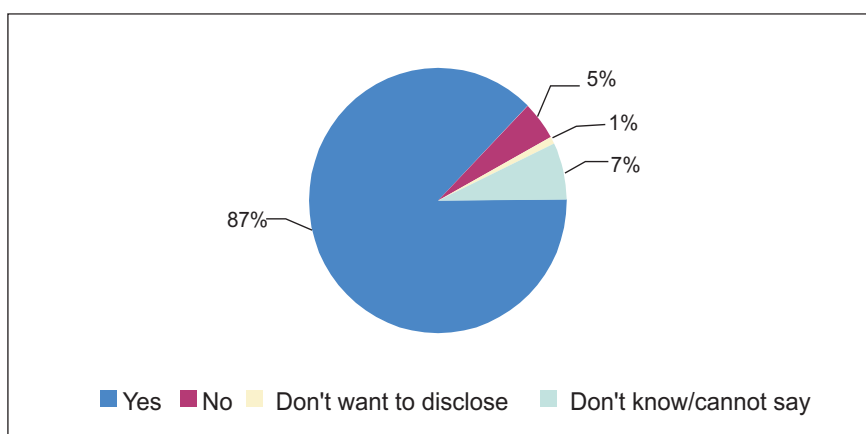
Respondents who said there should not be a place for monarchy (39 percent of the total respondents) were asked why there should not be a place. Thirty-eight percent said that there should not be a place for the monarchy because it is a feudal and exploitative institution. Another 27 percent thought so because the institution of the monarchy has not developed the country. A sizable proportion - 15 percent - does not want a place for monarchy because the institution has time and again worked against democracy.

Chart 3.44: If you think there should be no place for the monarchy, then why?



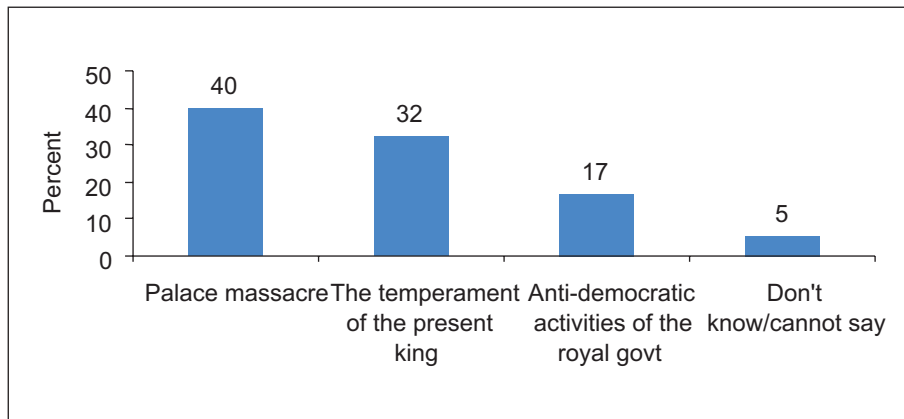
The poll attempted to gauge public’s views on the popularity of monarchical institution. Respondents were asked ‘Do you feel that over the last few years the king and the monarchy have become unpopular in the eyes of the people?’ An overwhelming majority of 87 percent said that the king and the monarchy have become unpopular over the last few years.

Chart 3.45: Do you feel that over the last few years the king and the monarchy have become unpopular in the eyes of the people?



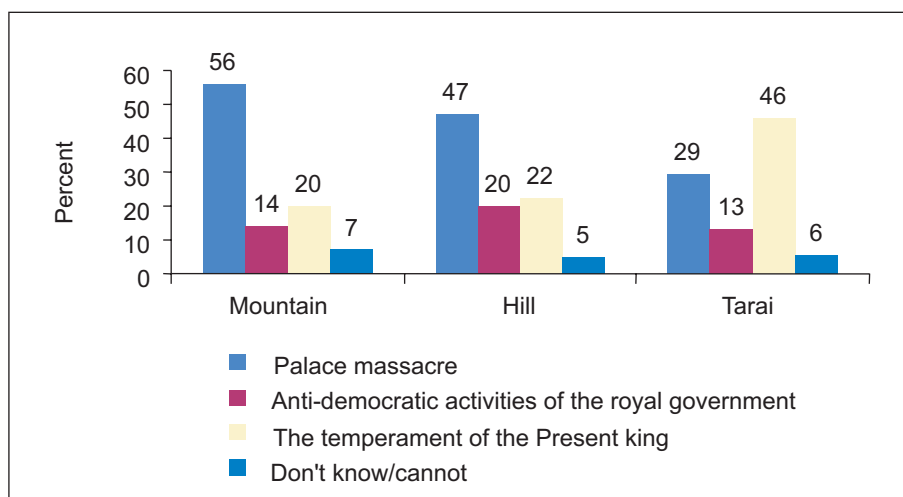
Respondents who said the king and the monarchy are becoming unpopular (87 percent of total respondents) were further asked why they thought so. Forty percent mentioned the palace massacre, while 32 mentioned the temperament of the present king (32 percent). Another 17 percent related the declining popularity of the institution to the anti-democratic activities of the royal government.

Chart 3.46: If you think the king and the monarchy are becoming unpopular, why do you think so?



The public's responses on this matter vary significantly by the geographical regions. The majority of people living in the mountains and the hills think that the institution is becoming unpopular due to the palace massacre while a majority of Tarai people think that the loss of popularity can be ascribed to the temperament of the present king.

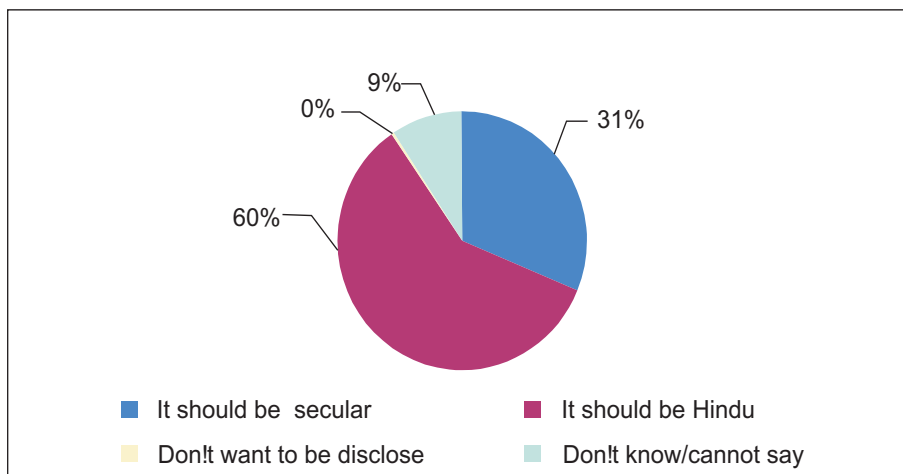
Chart 3.47: If you think the king and the monarchy are becoming unpopular, why do you think so? Breakdown by Geographical Region



The State and Religion

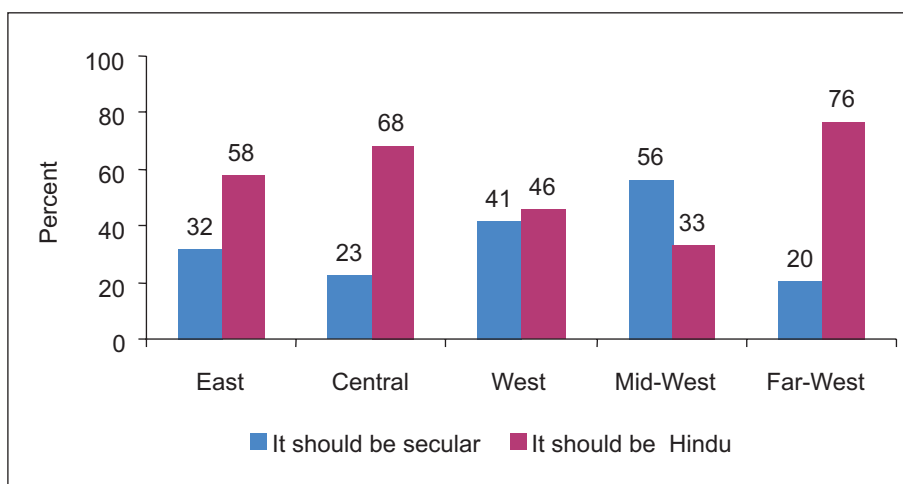
The poll tried to measure the public's views regarding the relationship between state and religion. In response to the question 'Should Nepal of the future be secular or Hindu?' some 60 percent thought that Nepal should be a Hindu state while 31 percent favoured Nepal's being a secular state. Around 9 percent said they did not know.

Chart 3.48: Should Nepal of the future be secular or Hindu?



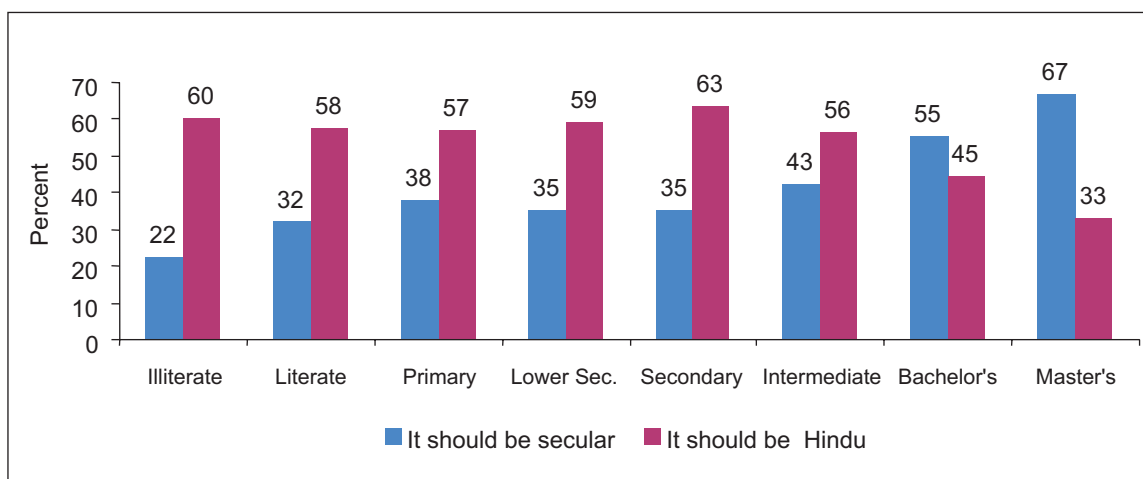
A simple majority of people in the Mid-West (56 percent) are in favour of Nepal’s being a secular state while a majority people in other regions want Nepal to remain a Hindu state.

Chart 3.49: Should Nepal of the future be secular or Hindu? Breakdown by Development Region



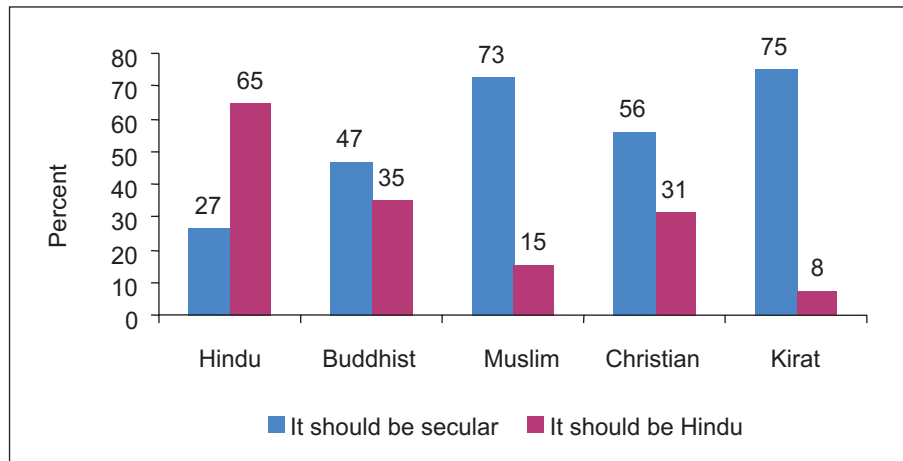
Education significantly affects the public’s views on the relationship between state and religion; the higher the educational level of the respondent, the more he is likely to support a secular Nepal.

Chart 3.50: Should Nepal of the future be secular or Hindu? Breakdown by Educational Status



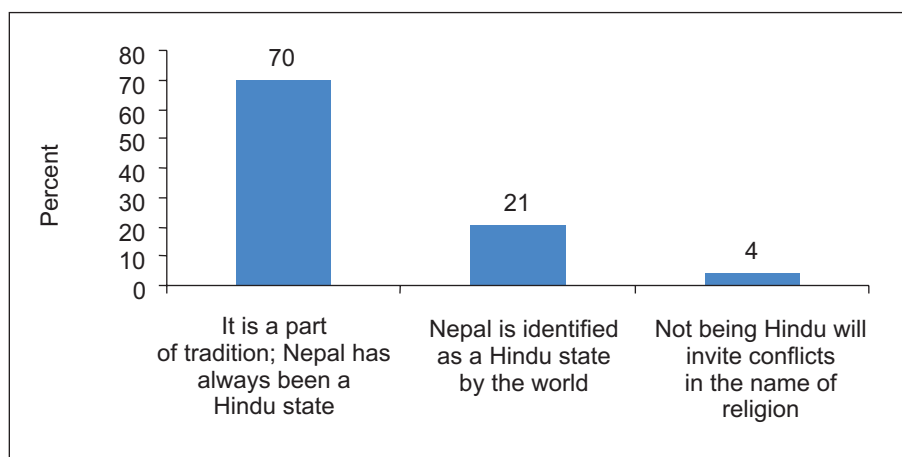
Religious affiliation has a significant influence on the public's views on this matter: a majority of those who identify themselves as Hindu (65 percent) think that Nepal should be a Hindu state, while a majority of those who identify themselves other than Hindu, favour a secular state.

Chart 3.51: Should Nepal of the future be secular or Hindu? Breakdown by Religion



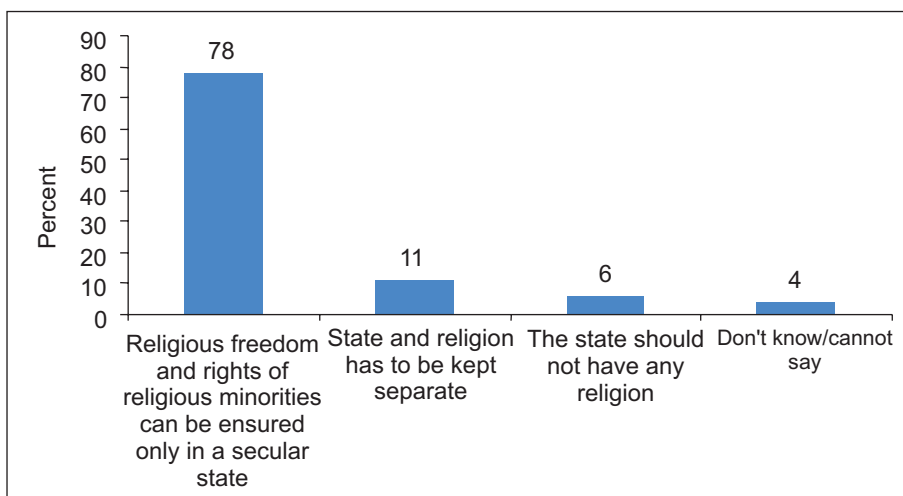
The 60 percent of respondents who said Nepal should be a Hindu state were asked why they think so. About 70 percent stated that Hinduism is a part of Nepali tradition and that Nepal has been a Hindu state from its very inception. A sizable proportion (21 percent) thought that Nepal should remain a Hindu state because its identity in the world is as a Hindu state.

Chart 3.52: If Nepal should be a Hindu state, then why?



Respondents who said Nepal should be a secular state (31 percent of the total) were asked why they thought so. About 78 percent stated that religious freedom and the rights of religious minorities can be ensured only in a secular state. Another 11 percent think that the state and religion have to be kept separate.

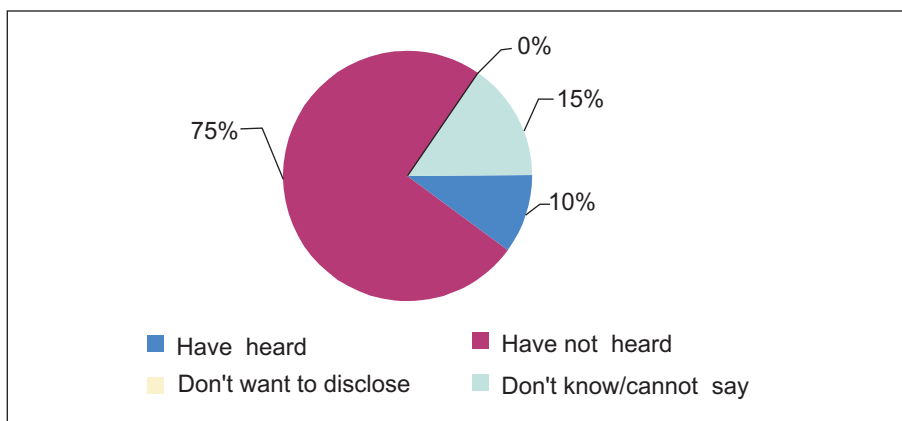
Chart 3.53: If Nepal should be a secular state, why?



Unitary or Federal System

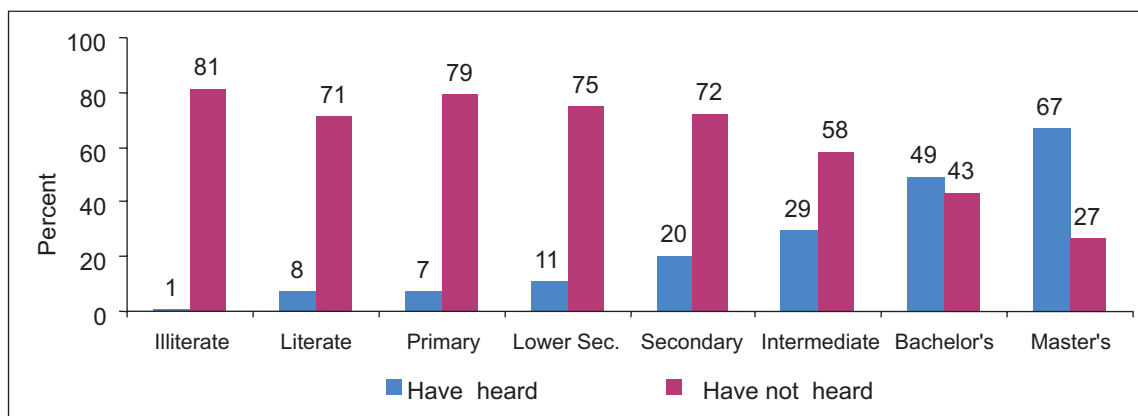
The poll attempted to gauge the public’s opinions about the current debate about whether Nepal should remain unitary state or become federal state. It was found that almost three-fourths of respondents had not heard about a federal system.

Chart 3.54: Have you ever heard about the federal system?



Awareness about this topic is very low among the illiterate and those who have low levels of education. Only people educated up to Bachelor’s and Master’s levels have heard of these terms and know what they mean.

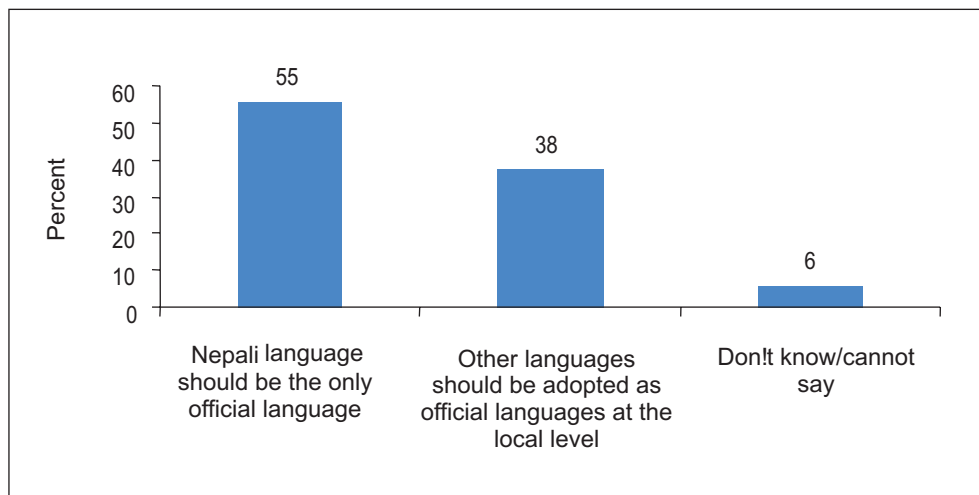
Chart 3.55: Have you ever heard about the federal system? Breakdown by Educational Status



The Language Issue

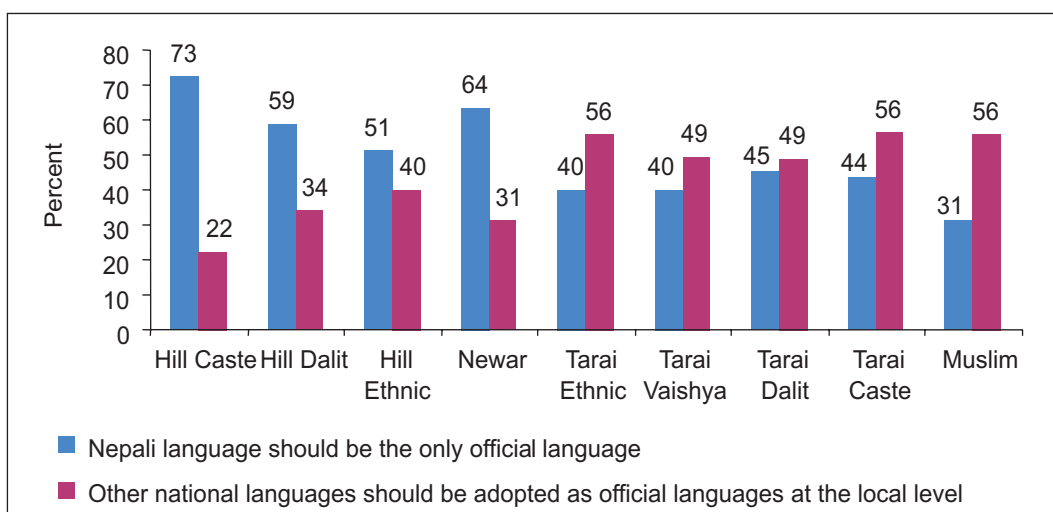
There is a debate going on about whether Nepali should be the only official language or whether other languages should also be adopted as official languages. The poll discovered that a simple majority of people (55 percent) think that Nepali should be the only official language while a significant proportion (38 percent) thinks that other languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level.

Chart 3.56: What should be the language policy of Nepal of the future?



In this matter, caste/ethnic background of respondents has a very significant influence on opinions. The majority of all hill communities (hill caste groups, hill Dalits, hill ethnic groups and Newars) think that Nepali should be the only official language while the majority of all Tarai communities (Tarai ethnic groups, Tarai Vaishyas, Tarai Dalits, Tarai caste groups and Muslims) think that other languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level.

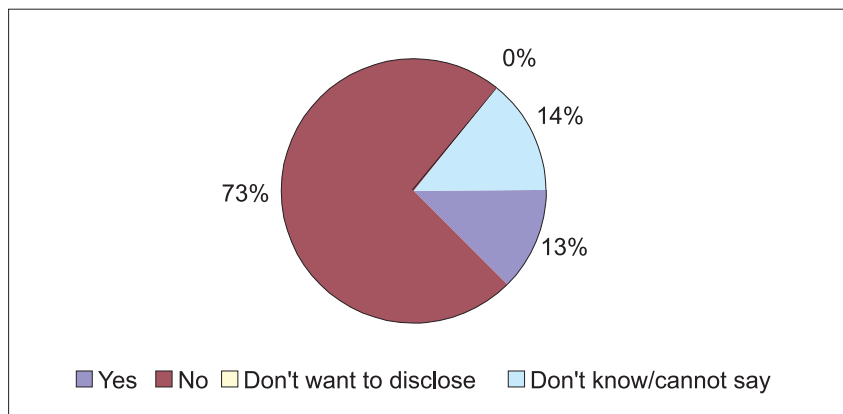
Chart 3.57: What should be the language policy of Nepal of the future? Breakdown by Caste/Ethnicity



Electoral System

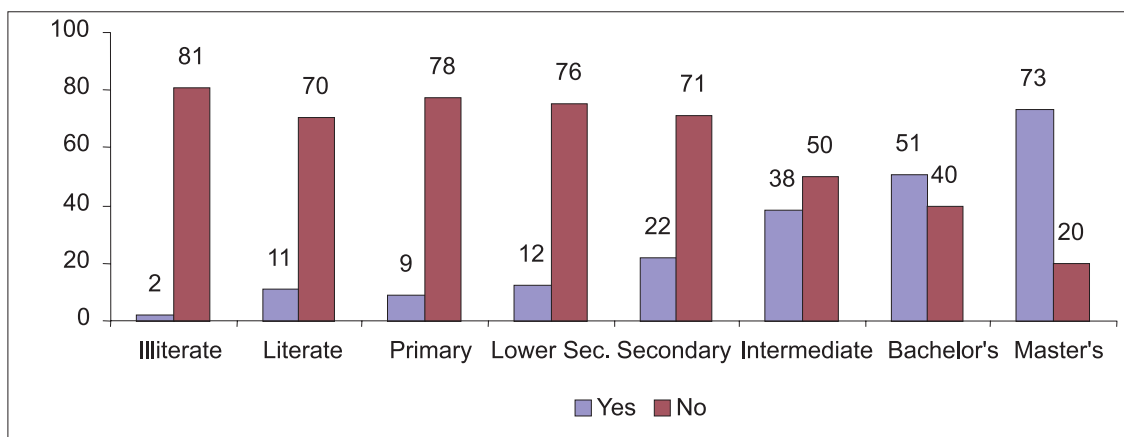
There is a debate going on about whether Nepal should adopt a proportional representative electoral system in place of its current first-past-the-post electoral system. The poll found that almost three-fourths of Nepalis have not heard about the proportional representative electoral system.

Chart 3.58: Have you heard about the proportional representative electoral system?



As in the case of the federal system, knowledge about the electoral system is very low among illiterates and those with low educational attainment. Only people educated up to Bachelor’s and Master’s levels have heard of a proportional representative electoral system and know what it means.

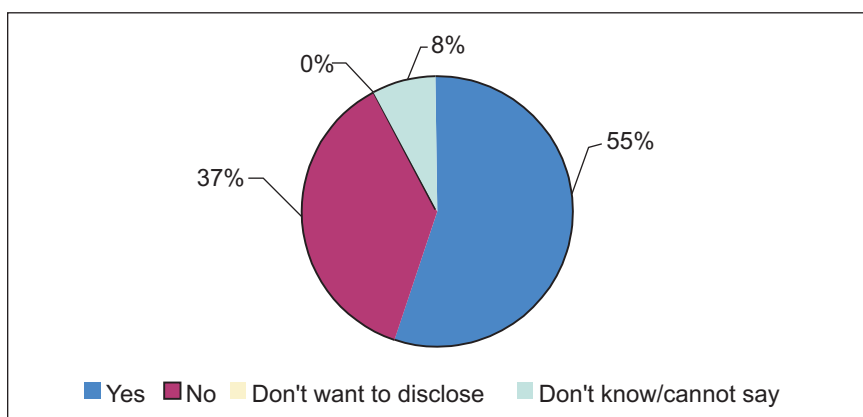
Chart 3.59: Have you heard about the proportional representative electoral system? Breakdown by Educational Status



Affirmative Actions for Dalits and Women

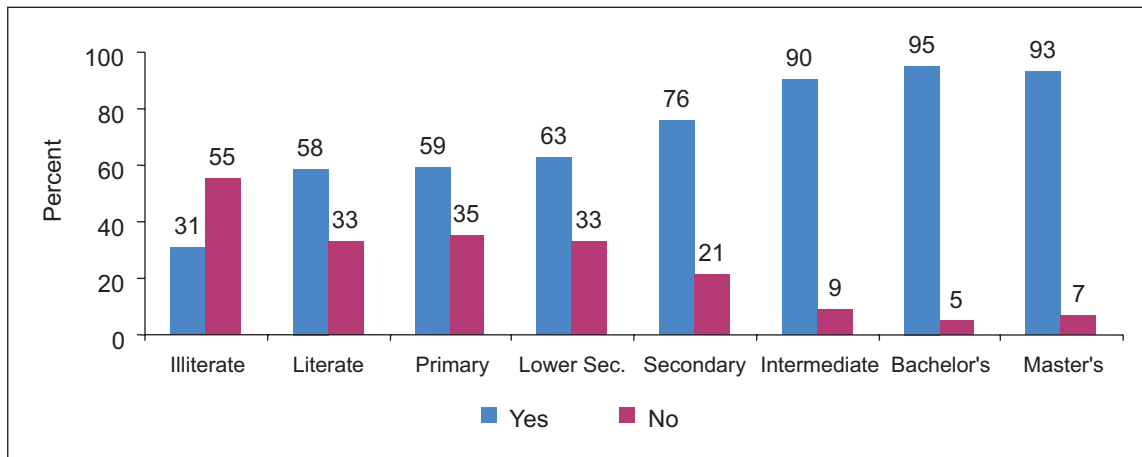
The public sphere is currently debating whether there should be affirmative action in different sectors for various communities. The poll attempted to determine the public’s knowledge about affirmative action. It found that simple majority of 55 percent have heard about affirmative action while 37 percent have not.

Chart 3.60: Have you heard of affirmative action?



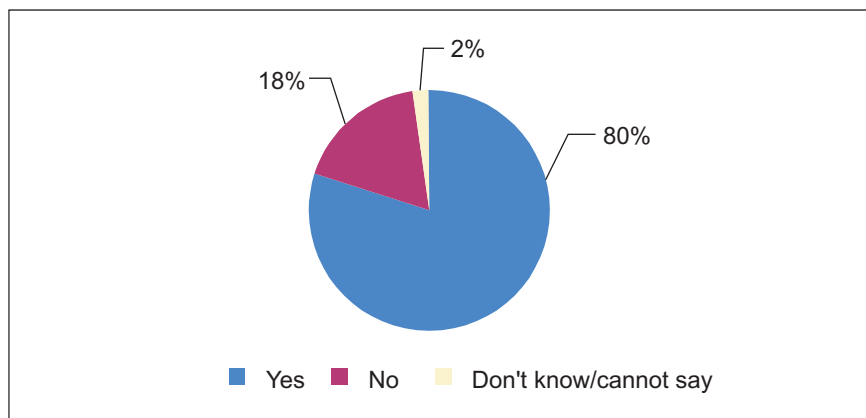
As seen elsewhere, education significantly affects knowledge people with more education are more likely to know about affirmative action.

Chart 3.61: Have you heard of affirmative action? Breakdown by Educational Status



Respondents who said they have heard about affirmative action (55 percent of the total respondents) were further asked whether they understand it. Of those who have heard of affirmative action, about 80 percent said that they understand it.

Chart 3.62: If you have heard about affirmative action, do you understand it?



The poll sought to document the public's opinion about affirmative action for Dalits and women in different sectors such as political parties, the government, civil service and education. The proportions of those who say affirmative action is necessary for Dalits and women in the aforementioned sectors lie between 41 and 42 percent.

Table 3.1: Percentage of those favouring affirmative action for Dalits and women

Sector	For Dalits	For Women
In political parties	41	42
In government	41	42
In civil service	41	41
In education	42	42

Election

Towards the end of the survey, all respondents were asked a hypothetical question ‘If general elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for?’ Thirty percent said that they were unwilling to disclose their views on the matter while about 15 percent said they did not know or could not say. Together these two categories make up 45 percent of respondents. Of those who were willing to make their views known to the pollsters, 16 percent said they would vote for CPN (Maoist), 14 percent said that they would vote for Nepali Congress and 12 percent said that they will vote for CPN (UML). Other political parties received only a little support. Since a very high proportion of people (45 percent) were either unwilling to disclose their preference or undecided, it would be premature to comment on the popularity, or lack thereof, of specific political parties.

Table 3.2: If general elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for?

	Percent
Don't want to disclose	30
CPN (Maoist)	16
Don't know/cannot say	15
Nepali Congress	14
CPN (UML)	12
King	4
Would not vote	4
RPP	1
Nepali Congress (D)	1
Sadbhavana Party	1
Others	2
Total	100

Trend Analysis

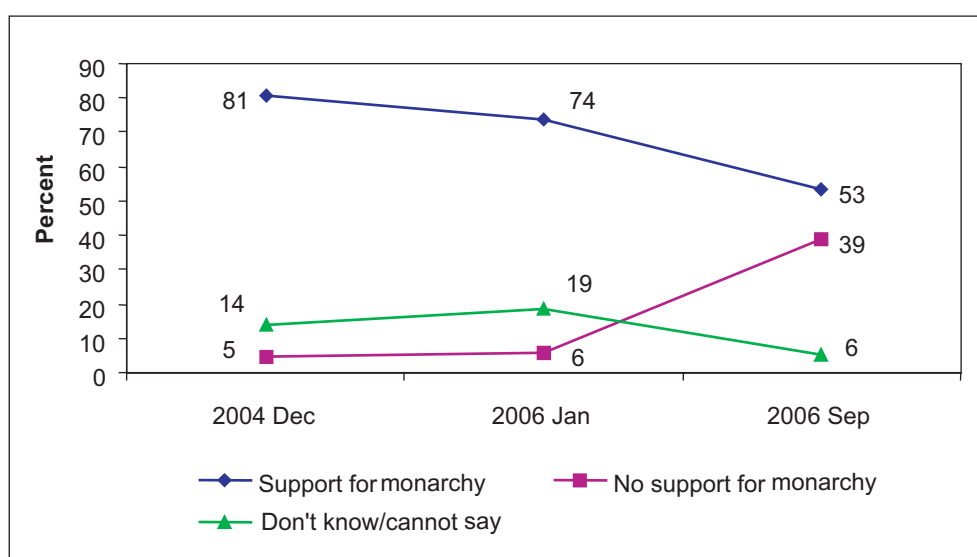
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This chapter compares the results of this opinion poll, Nepal Contemporary Political Situation III (NCPS III), with the results of two earlier polls, Nepal Contemporary Political Situation I (NCPS I) and Nepal Contemporary Political Situation II (NCPS II), which were conducted by the same team of Interdisciplinary Analysts with support from The Asia Foundation. While the fieldwork for NCPS I and NCPS II was undertaken by AC Nielsen Nepal Pvt. Ltd. the fieldwork for NCPS III was assigned to Blitz Media Pvt. Ltd. All three polls were undertaken within the last two years: NCPS I was conducted in December 2004, NCPS II was conducted in January 2006 and NCPS III in August-September 2006. Reports on the earlier two polls are available in the public domain. Through a trend analysis of these opinion polls, this chapter attempts to understand the emerging major configurations in contemporary political opinion.

4.1 Support for and Opposition to the Monarchy

NCPS III revealed that in September 2006, 39 percent of Nepali people think that the monarchy was not necessary; the proportion of those who thought it was unnecessary in January 2006 and December 2004, when NCPS II and I were conducted, were 6 and 5 percent respectively. Support for the abolition of the monarchy in Nepal has risen dramatically. In September 2006, slightly more than a majority (53 percent) was for retaining the institution, while support for the monarchy, whatever form it may take whether constitutional, active or absolute was 81 percent and 74 percent during December 2004 and January 2006 respectively.

Chart 4.1: Public's support for monarchy



4.2 Types of Monarchy

The respondents who said that there should be a place for the monarchy in Nepal were asked what type of monarchy was appropriate. The trend shows that most favoured a constitutional or a ceremonial monarchy. However, the proportion of those who did not have a definitive perspective on the matter also rose over the period.

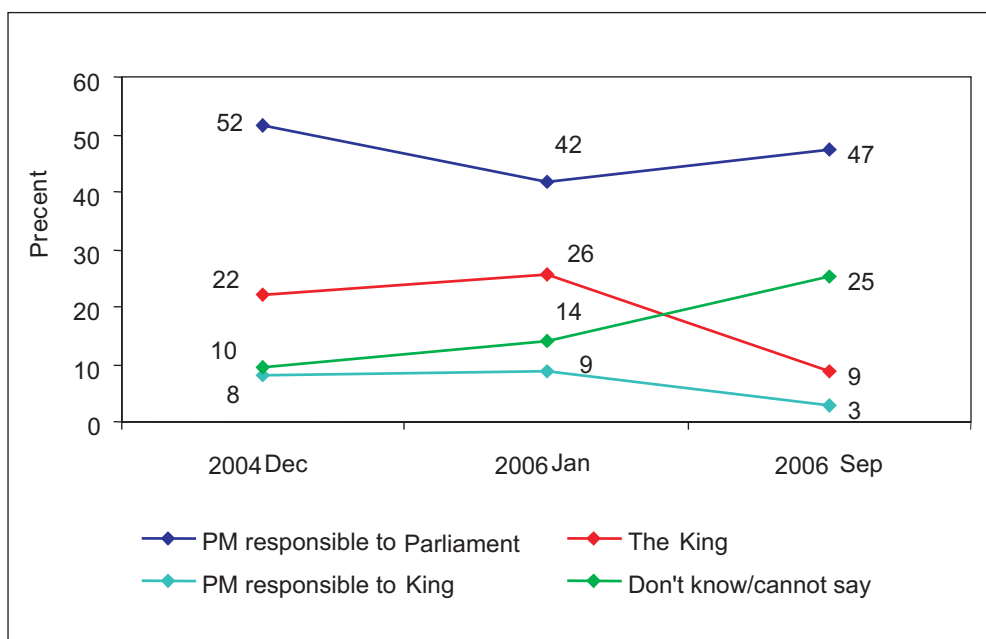
Chart 4.2: What should be the type of monarchy in Nepal?



4.3 Legitimacy of Government

NCPS III revealed that a majority of people (47 percent) think that a prime minister responsible to Parliament should rule the country if the rule is to be legitimate. The proportions of people with this view in NCPS II and NCPS I were 42 and 52 percent respectively. The proportion of people who see the king as a legitimate ruler dropped significantly in NCPS III to just 9 percent from 26 percent during NCPS II. During NCPS I, 22 percent saw the King as a legitimate ruler. Clearly, Nepalis prefer a democratic system of government in which the ruler is the prime minister, not the king.

Chart 4.3: Who should rule the country for the rule to be legitimate?



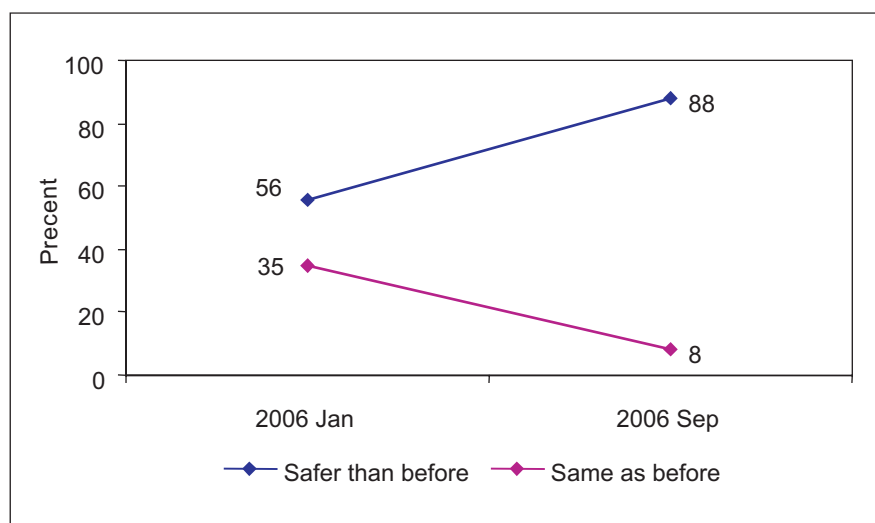
4.4 Security in Daily Lives

Reciprocating the Maoists' declaration of a three-month unilateral ceasefire on April 26, 2006, G.P. Koirala's government declared a ceasefire on May 3, 2006. In this context, NCPS III asked all respondents, 'How safe do you feel in the present circumstances?' NCPS III revealed that 88 percent of people feel safer than before and 8 percent feel as safe to as they were.

The Maoists declared a three-month ceasefire on September 3, 2005 and then extended the ceasefire for a month. The then Royalist government did not reciprocate because it said that it had not declared a war against the Maoists in the first place. In that context, NCPS II had asked all respondents how safe they felt in their daily lives. The proportion of people surveyed in NCSP II who felt safer than before was only 56 percent while proportion of those who felt the same as before was 35 percent.

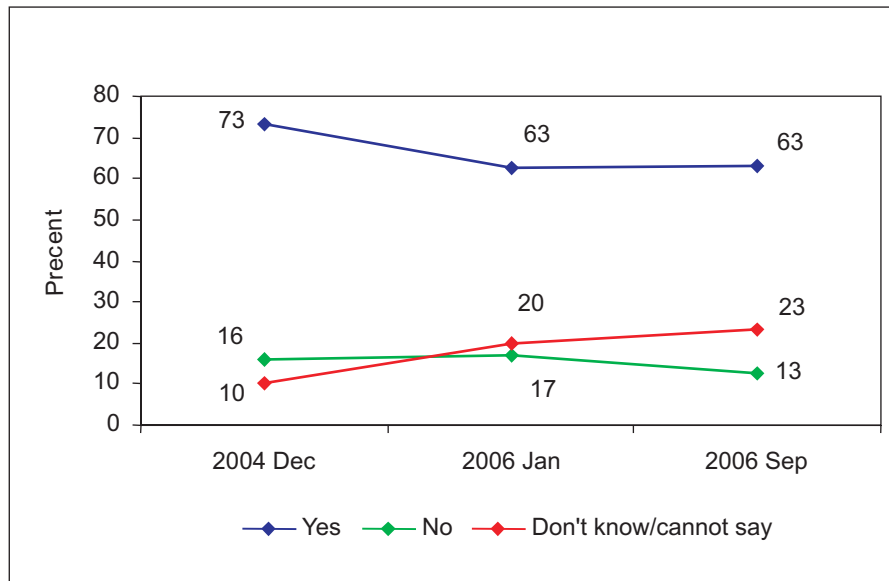
The three polls indicate that Nepalis have felt most safe after May 2006. This trend indicates that people feel much safer in their daily lives only when both sides—the government and the Maoists—declare a ceasefire. People do not think that a unilateral will bring security to their daily lives.

Chart 4.4: How safe do you feel in the present circumstances?

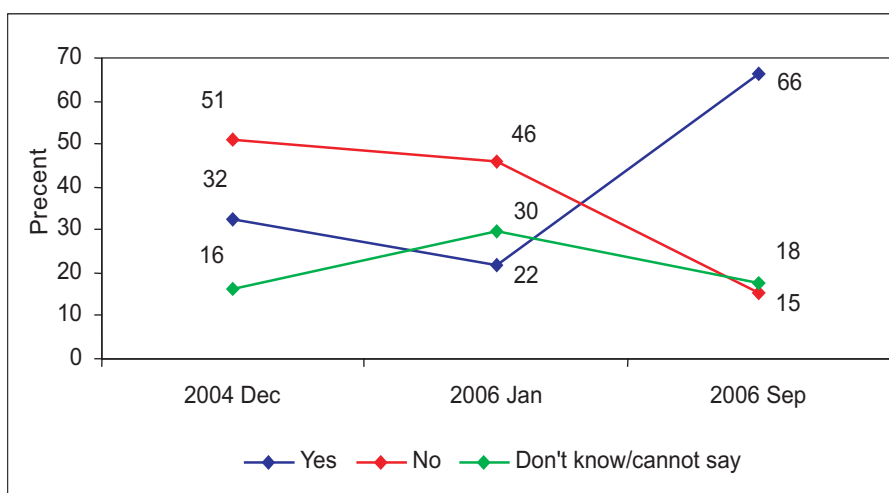


4.5 Peace Talks

NCPS III reveals that the majority of people (63 percent) think that the Maoist problem will eventually be settled through peace talks. During NCPS II, the proportion was the same. The proportion of people who believed in peace talks was as high as 73 percent during NCPS I. The comparison indicates that an overwhelming proportion of Nepalis are consistently optimistic that the Maoist movement can ultimately be settled through peace talks.

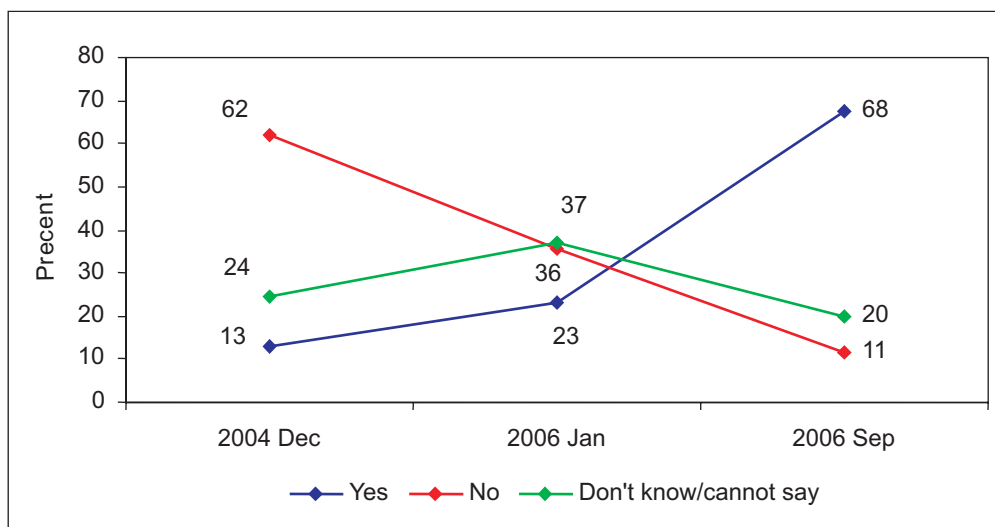
Chart 4.5: Do you think that the Maoist movement will eventually be settled through peace talks?

NCPS III reports that the majority of people (66 percent) think that the government is committed to restoring peace in the country. According to NCPS II, only 22 percent thought the then government was committed, while 46 percent did not. During NCPS I, 32 percent people had thought that the then government was committed to restoring peace; the majority, 51 percent did not. The public's trust in the government's commitment to restoring peace in the country has greatly increased between 2004 and 2006. Girija Prasad Koirala was the prime minister during NCPS III, the king was the chairperson of the government when NCPS II was administered and Sher Bahadur Deuba was the head of the government when NCPS I was administered.

Chart 4.6: Do you think that the government is committed to restore peace in the country?

Another marked trend is the increase in the public's level of trust in the Maoist leaders' commitment to peace. In NCPS I only 13 percent believed that Maoist leaders were committed to peace and 62 percent believed they were not. By NCPS III, the trend had reversed: some 68 percent felt that Maoist leaders were committed to restore peace, while only 11 percent did not believe so. The shift towards trusting the Maoists is dramatic.

Chart 4.7: Do you think that the Maoist leaders are committed to restore peace in the country?



4.6 Constituent Assembly

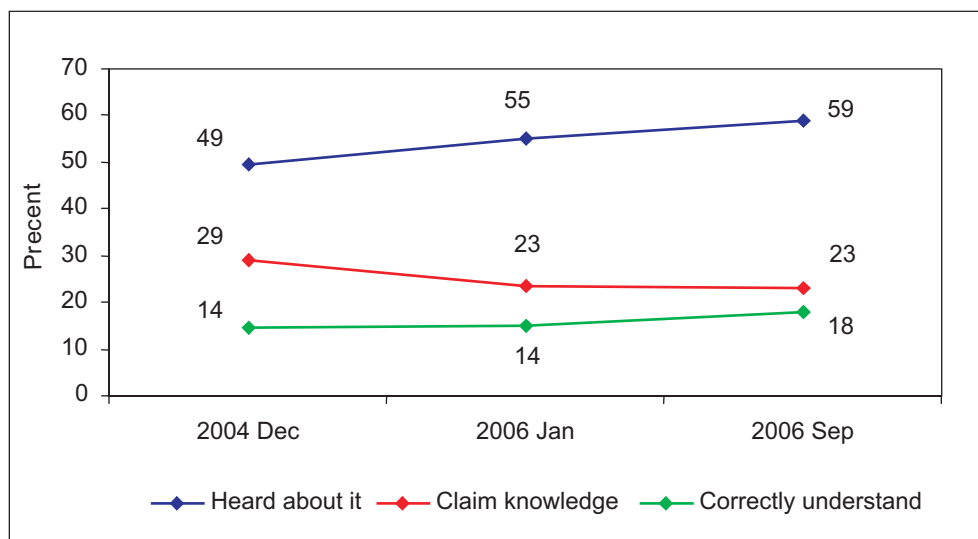
All three polls attempted to find out how many people have heard about the constituent assembly; if they have heard about it, how many think they understand what it is; and if they think that they understand it, how many of them correctly understand the process.

NCPS III reveals that 59 percent of people have heard about constituent assembly; when NCPS II was administered this figure was 55 percent and during NCPS I, 49 percent. Over time, more people have come to hear about the constituent assembly.

In contrast, the proportion of those who claimed to have understood the constituent assembly declined from 29 to 23 percent between 2004 and 2005.

NCPS III ascertained that 18 percent of respondents do in fact understand the concept of the constituent assembly correctly. The proportion of people who understood the concept correctly was 14 percent during both NCPS II and NCPS I. The trend suggests that more people have heard the term and that more understood the term correctly. The increase in the number of people who correctly understand the concept is smaller than the number who have heard the term.

Chart 4.8: Public's understanding of the constituent assembly



4.7 The Main Demand of the Maoists

Both NCPS II and NCPS III asked 'What is the main demand of the Maoists?' The proportion those who professed ignorance dropped to 20 percent in September 2006 from 24 percent in January 2006. The proportion of people who thought the abolition of the monarchy and establishment of a republic was the main demand of the Maoists rose to 28 percent during NCPS III from 19 percent during NCPS II. The proportion of those who mentioned holding elections for the constituent assembly decreased to 10 percent in September 2006 from 17 percent in January 2006. Those who held the view that the Maoists sought to ensure equality among all people constituted 17 percent during NCPS III but only 10 percent during NCPS II.

Table 4.1: Main demand of the Maoists

	2006 Jan	2006 Sep
Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic	19.2	28.5
Don't know/cannot say	23.7	19.8
Ensuring equality among all people	10.3	16.7
Establishment of a Maoist dictatorship	14.7	12.7
Holding elections for the constituent assembly	16.9	9.9
Uplifting of under-privileged communities	7.5	9.0
Others	7.5	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Comparative Analysis

5

This chapter compares the results of NCPS III with those of two other polls: State of Democracy in Nepal (2004) or SDN 2004 and Nepal: A Cautiously Optimistic Public (2006) or NCOP 2006. NCPS III is compared to SDN 2004 because both focus on state re-structuring, which includes questions about the state's relations with religion, the state language policy, ethnic autonomy and federalism, and affirmative action. The results of NCPS III are compared with those of NCOP 2006 since both examine recent political developments, including perceptions of the monarchy after the second peoples' movement.

SDN 2004 was conducted by the State of Democracy in South Asia/Nepal Chapter in collaboration with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. This opinion poll covered the entire country using a systematic random sampling technique at each of three stages: the constituency, the polling centre and the voters. A sample of 3,249 respondents was drawn from 163 polling centres in 39 constituencies spread over 38 districts (Hachhethu, 2004).

NCOP 2006 was undertaken by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research Inc. in collaboration with the National Democratic Institute in September 2006. It covered 3,000 respondents and included 10 focus groups, 7 in rural areas and 3 in urban areas. The report does not mention its sampling design. However, it does claim its margin of error is plus or minus 1.6 percent (Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, 2006). NCOP 2006 is perhaps the first political opinion poll in Nepal that has actually disclosed the margin of error.

5.1 Comparison between NCPS III and SDN 2004

5.1.1 Unitary vs. Federal Structure

In their attempt to measure the public's knowledge and attitude about issues surrounding state restructuring, NCPS III and SDN 2004 asked a question about unitary structure and federal structure. The responses appear to be similar. The NCPS III found that the overwhelming majority of respondents (75 percent) have not heard about the federal system while SDN 2004 reported that 45 percent of people either could not understand the question or could not give any opinion in this regards.

5.1.2 Hindu State vs. Secular State

The NCPS III revealed that a clear majority of Nepali people (59 percent) wants Nepal to be a Hindu state. SDN 2004 had a similar result: 52 percent want Nepal to remain a Hindu state.

Table 5.1: Have you ever heard about the federal system? (NCPS III)

	Percent
Have heard about it	10.2
Have not heard about it	74.5
Don't want to disclose	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	15.2
Total	100.0

Table 5.2: In your opinion, should Nepal remain a unitary state or be changed to a federal state? (SDN 2004)

	Percent
Unitary government	36.8
Federal government	13.4
Should have ethnic autonomy	
Either unitary or federal govt.	4.7
Could not understand	41.5
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	3.6
Total	100.0

Table 5.3: Should the future Nepal be secular or Hindu? (NCPS III)

	Percent
Nepal should be a Hindu state	59.1
Nepal should be a secular state	31.4
Don't want to disclose	0.4
Don't know/cannot say	9.2
Total	100.0

Table 5.4: In your opinion, should Nepal remain as a Hindu state or should it be secular? (SDN 2004)

	Percent
Retain Hindu religion	51.9
Be secular	26.2
Could not understand	18.5
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	3.3
Total	100.0

5.1.3 Language Policy

NCPS III and SDN 2004 both asked questions pertaining to the language policy of the Nepal of the future. NCPS III revealed that a clear majority, 55 percent think that Nepali should be the only official language. SDN 2004 revealed that most people (44 percent) think Nepali alone should be the official language. Both surveys indicate that most Nepalis are in the favour of a single-language policy.

Table 5.5: What should the language policy of Nepal of the future be? (NCPS III)

	Percent
Nepali language should be the only official language	55.4
Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level	37.6
Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language	0.7
Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language	0.4
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	5.8
Total	100.0

5.2 Comparison between NCPS III and NCOP 2006

5.2.1 Constituent Assembly

Both NCPS III and NCOP 2006 attempted to find out how many people have heard about the constituent assembly. The results are similar: NCPS III shows that 59 percent of people have heard about the constituent assembly while NCOP 2006 reveals that 61 percent have heard about it.

Table 5.6: Of three different opinions on language below, which one do you choose? (SDN 2004)

	Percent
Nepali language as official language	44.3
Other languages can be official languages	26.4
Major local languages should be considered as official languages in local governments	13.8
Could not understand	13.6
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	1.8
Total	100.0

Table 5.7: Have you heard about the constituent assembly? (NCPS III)

	Percent
Heard about it	59
Have not heard about it	31
Don't know/cannot say	10
Total	100

Table 5.8: Have you heard a lot, some, a little or nothing about the constituent assembly? (NCOP 2006)

	Percent
A lot/Some	61
A little/Not heard	35

According to both polls, among those who have heard of the constituent assembly, an overwhelming majority approves of it. According to NCPS III, among those who know about the constituent assembly, 98 percent think that elections to it are necessary. Similarly, NCOP 2006 shows that 97 percent of those who have heard about it a lot or some approve of having a constituent assembly in Nepal.

Table 5.9: If you know about constituent assembly very well or somewhat well, do you think elections to the constituent assembly are necessary? (NCPS III)

	Percent
Yes	98
No	1
Don't know/cannot say	1
Total	100

Table 5.10: If you have heard about constituent assembly a lot or some, do you approve or disapprove of having a constituent assembly in Nepal? (NCOP 2006)

	Percent
Approve	97
Disapprove	1

5.2.2 Monarchy

NCPS III reveals that 53 percent of Nepalis think that there should be a place for the monarchy in the Nepal of the future, while NCOP 2006 shows that 48 percent people think that Nepal should have a king. NCPS III also discloses that 39 percent of Nepali people think that there should not be a place for the monarchy and NCOP 2006 reveals that 49 percent think that Nepal should not have a king. The difference in the two polls with regard to the question of monarchy, though not very great, is nonetheless substantial. The difference may be attributable to the way the question was framed. Moreover, NCPS III allows for options such as 'don't know/cannot say' and 'don't want to disclose' and many respondents have ticked these categories, thereby increasing the likelihood of variations in the responses.

Table 5.11: Should there be a place for the monarchy in Nepal of the future? (NCPS III)

	Percent
Yes	53
No	39
Don't want to disclose	2
Don't know/cannot say	6
Total	100

Table 5.12: Regardless of how much power the king has, do you think Nepal should have a king? (NCOP 2006)

	Percent
Should have the king	48
Should not have the king	49

5.2.3 Secular or Hindu State

NCPS III and NCOP 2006 both asked questions about whether Nepal should be a secular or a Hindu state. NCPS III reveals that 59 percent of Nepali people think that Nepal should be a Hindu state while according to NCOP 2006, just 47 percent people think so. Conversely, NCPS III shows that 31 percent of people think that Nepal should be a secular state while NCOP 2006 shows that 50 percent people think that Nepal should be a secular state. The difference between the results can be accounted for in the way the question has been framed. NCPS III asked a closed-ended question whereas NCOP 2006 first read respondents two separate statements- 'Nepal should be a secular country' and 'Nepal should be a Hindu state' and then asked them to tell which choice comes closer to their point of view.

Table 5.13: Should the future Nepal be secular or Hindu? (NCPS III)

	Percent
It should be secular	31
It should be Hindu	59
Don't know/cannot say	10
Total	100

Table 5.14: Now I am going to read you a pair of statements, and I want you to tell me which choice comes closer to your point of view (NCOP 2006)

	Percent
Nepal should be a secular country	50
Nepal should be a Hindu state	47

5.2.4 Public's Votes to Parties

Both polls asked a hypothetical question about which party the public would vote for. However, NCPS III asked about general elections- 'If general elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for?' while NCOP 2006 asked about constituent assembly elections- 'If national elections for a constituent assembly were held today, which party would you be most likely to vote for?'. The similarities include the fact that in both polls about 15 or 16 percent say that they would vote for the Maoists. Another similarity is that both give low priority to Nepali Congress (Democratic). The major difference is that in NCPS III as high as 30 percent did not want to disclose their preference. In terms of being undecided, 15 percent in NCPS III stated that they did not know or could not say, while in NCOP 2006 the same figure was 18 percent. Another difference is that while in NCOP 2006, 25 percent said they intended to vote for Nepali Congress and another 25 percent said they intended to vote for UML, proportion of those who said they would vote for these parties in NCPS III were just 14 percent and 12 percent respectively.

Table 5.15: Popularity of Parties (in percent)

	NCPS III	NCOP 2006
Don't want to disclose	30	-
CPN (Maoist)	16	15
Don't know/cannot say	15	-
Nepali Congress	14	25
CPN (UML)	12	25
King	4	-
Would not vote	4	-
RPP	1	5
Nepali Congress (D)	1	2
Nepal Sadbhavana Party	1	1
Others	2	4
Undecided	-	18
Total	100	95

Conclusion

6

While there has been a dramatic shift in the public's opinion about some core issues, with respect to other issues there has been a degree of continuity.

NCPS III has brought to the fore a dramatic shift with respect to people's attitude towards the monarchy, their level of trust in the current government as compared to previous ones, their perception of security and their trust in the Maoists.

Public opinion towards the monarchy has undergone a major shift. One and half years ago support for the monarchy ranged from 74 to 81 percent, now support for this institution has dwindled to just 53 percent. Although slightly more than a majority are still in favour of the institution, the number of those opposed to it has increased sharply to 39 percent. Likewise, an overwhelming majority, including those that favour retaining the monarchy, think that the institution has become unpopular over the last few years.

Pent-up frustration for the palace massacre of 2001 seems to be the main source of antipathy towards the royal palace, but the temperament of the present king and the anti-democratic activities of the royal government have contributed to the people's aversion as well. Given the inept performance of political parties in the past, the king seems to have succumbed to the temptation of "setting things right"; but this act opened the institution of monarchy to new vulnerabilities of everyday politics it was ill-equipped to handle. Once a monarchy that was largely constitutional took political power into its hands to end the ten-year long conflict, and failed to do so, people grew rapidly disillusioned with the institution itself. These factors seem to have contributed to the sharp decline in its popularity.

Another dramatic shift is in people's trust in the government to restore peace in the country. This poll reports that a majority of people (66 percent) think that the government headed by G. P. Koirala is committed to restoring peace in the country, while in January 2006 the proportion of people who thought that the king-led government was committed to restoring peace in the country was a mere 22 percent. In December 2004, just 32 percent people thought that the then government headed by S. B. Deuba was committed to restoring peace. The public's trust in the government's commitment to restoring peace in the country increased greatly between 2004 and 2006. People are optimistic that the present government can resolve the ten-year old conflict.

This poll highlights that 88 percent of people feel safer than used to, while in January 2006 only 56 percent felt safer. That Nepalis have felt most safe since May 2006 is clear. This fact suggests that people feel much safer in their daily lives when both warring sides – the government and the Maoists – declare a ceasefire.

There has been a dramatic increase in the public's trust in the Maoist leaders' commitment to peace. In September 2006, some 68 percent of Nepalis felt that Maoist leaders were committed to restoring peace, while in December 2004 only 13 percent felt the same. Within one and a half years, the public's trust in the Maoist leadership has increased sharply. In December 2004, some 62 percent did not believe that the Maoist leaders were committed to peace but in September 2006, only 11 percent did not believe in the Maoist leaders' commitment. Just as the animosity

towards the Maoists has declined considerably over the years, there has been a concomitant increase in the level of trust in them.

Over the past one and a half years, just as the public's support for the monarchy has diminished, support for the SPA and CPN (Maoist) has increased. The declaration of a unilateral ceasefire by the Maoists followed by the 12-point understanding between the SPA and the Maoists seems to have struck a positive chord among the people. In contrast, the unwillingness of the king-led government to reciprocate the ceasefire, King Gyanendra's active role in politics and his inability to resolve the conflict, seems to have further diminished the standing of the monarchy in the eyes of the people.

The increase in the level of trust in the Maoists has now brought them roughly at par with other political parties. In aggregate terms about 56 percent of people have some level of trust – little or much trust in the political parties while the same percent of people trust the Maoists.

The dramatic shift in the public's opinion towards specific institutions and political actors is another salient feature of this particular opinion poll. Shifts in the public's perceptions underline the fact that opinions are dynamic. The recent people's movement has led to shifts in core opinions.

Shifts in public opinions underscore the importance of longitudinal surveys. Had only a single opinion poll been conducted, it would not have been possible to capture these changes. It is the longitudinal perspective – from NCPS I conducted in December 2004 to NCPS III conducted in September 2006 – that has made it possible to document the changes and continuities in the public's opinions.

The present poll also highlights continuity with the opinions captured by past polls. Opinions about the constituent assembly, talks as a means of ending the conflict and the legitimate form of government are some areas in which public opinion has remained stable. Comparing the results of NCPS III with polls undertaken by other agencies reveals further continuities.

All three polls - NCPS I, II and III - attempted to find out how many people have heard about the constituent assembly; if they have heard about it, how many think they understand what it is; and if they think that they understand it, how many of them correctly understand the process for electing a constituent assembly. In August 2006, 59 percent of people had heard about constituent assembly, while in January 2006, it was slightly lower at 55 percent, and in December 2004, still lower was 49 percent. The proportion of those who claimed that they understood the concept of a constituent assembly is broadly similar: NCPS III ascertained that 18 percent of people understood the concept of constituent assembly correctly, while 14 percent understood in both January 2006 and December 2004. The number of people who have heard of the term and who correctly understand it has increased slightly.

The current poll reveals that the majority of people (63 percent) think that the Maoist problem will eventually be settled through peace talks. In January 2006, the proportion of people who believed that the Maoist movement would eventually be settled through peace talks was 63 percent; it was 73 percent in December 2004. The trend suggests that a high proportion have continued to remain optimistic in their belief that the Maoist movement can ultimately be settled through peace talks. Nepalis demonstrate a consistent optimism even in the face of adversity.

In the eyes of the Nepali people a legitimate government is one in which the ruler is a prime minister who is responsible to Parliament. NCPS III revealed that a majority of people (47 percent) think that a prime minister responsible to Parliament should rule the country if the rule is to be legitimate. The proportions of people with this view in January 2006 and December 2004 were 42 and 52 percent respectively. Although there is some fluctuation, selection of this form of government as legitimate is much ahead of others. The result seems to drive home the point that Nepalis prefer a democratic system of government in which the ruler is the prime minister, not the king (and where the king reigns only).

When other issues such as the relationship between state and religion, national language and the nature of the state, are examined and the results of NCPS III are compared with polls undertaken by other agencies, further continuities can be discerned.

With regard to the relationship between state and religion, some 59 percent preferred Nepal remain a Hindu kingdom while 31 percent favoured Nepal's becoming a secular state. SDN 2004, which was conducted two years prior to NCPS III, showed that 52 percent of Nepalis thought that Nepal should remain a Hindu state, while 26 percent favoured Nepal's becoming a secular state. Comparing the figures of NCPS III with those of SDN 2004 reveals that the proportion of people either favouring or opposing secularism has remained relatively stable.

With regard to the question of language, NCPS III reveals that a simple majority (55 percent) think that Nepali should be the only official language while a sizeable minority (38 percent) think that other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level. SDN 2004 revealed that most people (44 percent) were in favour of Nepali alone being the official language, while 26 percent thought that other languages could also be official languages. In spite of the apparent differences, both surveys indicate that most Nepalis are in favour of a single official language policy.

With regard to the nature of the state, i.e. unitary or federal, the poll reveals that as high as three-fourths of all Nepalis have not even heard of a federal system. SDN 2004 reported that while 45 percent of people either could not understand the question or could not give any opinion in this regards, only around 14 percent of the population favoured a federal structure.

Among the various variables that affect a person's orientation toward political matters, education is very significant. A person's level of educational attainment has an important bearing on his/her opinions. A person with a Bachelor's or Master's degree is more likely to favour a republic, support secular polity and be knowledgeable about the constituent assembly.

Much of the shift in the political opinions of Nepalis can thus be read as the effect of modern education. Over the past several years, the literacy rate among the people has increased and so has the educational attainment of people in general. One of the consequences of the expansion of education is an association with modernity. People who see themselves as being 'modern' are less likely to identify themselves with values and institutions that are considered to be 'traditional'.

The poll, in general, shows that the people of Nepal are optimistic about the SPA and the Maoists. People trust the G. P. Koirala led SPA government. In fact never in Nepal's recent past has any government received such high levels of trust from the people. If the SPA government and the

Maoists are to continue to receive support from the people, it is important for them to keep their promises.

Another message of the poll is that an overwhelming majority of Nepalis are ready to accept CPN (Maoist) as an open political party if they lay down their arms forever. People believe that bringing the Maoists into the mainstream political process is a must in order to overcome the present stalemate and that Nepal's problems will not be solved without the involvement and consent of the Maoists.

Given the consensus on formulating a new constitution through a constituent assembly, the implication of the poll findings for political actors – the SPA, CPN (Maoist) and other political parties – is that they need to do a lot with regard to educating the public about the constituent assembly. Though a constituent assembly has been identified as the means for resolving both the constitutional and political crisis facing the country, less than 18 percent of the people really know what it entails. Between now and the date when constituent assembly elections will take place – the SPA, CPN (Maoist) and other political parties will have to educate the people.

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Annex II : Frequency Tables and Cross-Tabulations

Q11: Do you agree or disagree with the aims of the second people's movement?

Q11	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	669	22.3
Agree	1578	52.6
Disagree	144	4.8
Strongly disagree	20	0.7
Don't want to disclose	16	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	573	19.1
Total	3000	100.0

Q11	Montain	Hill	Tarai
Strongly agree	35.0	19.7	22.7
Agree	43.1	63.1	42.9
Disagree	3.5	4.0	5.9
Strongly disagree	1.5	0.6	0.6
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.6	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	16.5	12.1	27.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q11	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Strongly agree	19.6	14.2	25.1	32.3	43.9
Agree	57.5	55.1	60.3	48.8	24.5
Disagree	6.0	6.9	1.5	2.6	2.3
Strongly disagree	0.9	0.5	0.2	0.9	1.6
Don't want to disclose	1.2	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	14.8	22.8	12.5	15.1	27.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q11	Rural	Urban
Strongly agree	21.9	23.9
Agree	51.7	56.3
Disagree	4.6	5.6
Strongly disagree	0.7	0.5
Don't want to disclose	0.5	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	20.6	12.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q11	Female	Male
Strongly agree	14.4	30.2
Agree	51.5	53.7
Disagree	5.7	3.9
Strongly disagree	0.7	0.7
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	27.5	10.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q11	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Strongly agree	22.5	24.9	21.5	20.3
Agree	55.8	51.9	53.2	50.1
Disagree	5.4	3.5	3.9	6.1
Strongly disagree	1.1	0.2	0.7	0.7
Don't want to disclose	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.7
Don't know/cannot say	14.5	19.1	20.3	22.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q11	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Strongly agree	9.2	21.5	24.0	30.7	35.6	40.9	41.5	73.3
Agree	50.4	58.7	57.6	51.5	49.1	52.9	53.8	26.7
Disagree	5.9	4.6	5.4	4.1	4.1	1.7	3.1	0.0
Strongly disagree	0.2	1.1	0.8	0.8	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.9	0.3	0.4	0.9	0.8	1.5	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	34.0	13.2	11.9	12.4	9.0	2.9	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q11	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Strongly agree	33.5	21.7	15.6	14.9	14.4	16.4	18.0	25.6	17.4
Agree	49.6	60.1	60.7	72.1	65.3	41.1	38.8	41.0	31.1
Disagree	4.6	7.0	1.8	5.0	3.1	6.6	7.9	5.1	8.3
Strongly disagree	1.2	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.7	2.6	1.5
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.0	1.2	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.0	2.6	2.3
Don't know/cannot say	10.7	10.5	20.2	7.7	16.9	35.7	34.5	23.1	39.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q12: In your opinion, what was the main reason for the people's movement?

Q12	Frequency	Valid Percent
Abolition of the king's autocratic rule and establishment of total democracy	1142	38.1
Abolition of monarchy and establishment of republic	144	4.8
War fatigue and aspirations for long-term peace	698	23.3
Belief that without bringing the Maoists into the country's mainstream, it is not possible to solve the country's problems	52	1.7
Don't want to disclose	15	0.5
Political parties quest for power	18	0.6
For development of the country	28	0.9
To provide justice to poor people	4	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	899	30.0
Total	3000	100.0

Q12	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Abolition of the king's autocratic rule and establishment of total democracy	43.5	38.5	36.5
Abolition of monarchy and	4.2	5.8	3.8

establishment of republic			
War fatigue and aspirations for long-term peace	21.2	30.1	16.1
Belief that without bringing the Maoists into the country's mainstream, it is not possible to solve the country's problems	4.2	1.6	1.4
Don't want to disclose	0.8	0.5	0.5
Political parties quest for power	0.4	0.7	0.5
For development of the country	1.2	0.6	1.2
To provide justice to poor people	0.4	0.1	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	24.2	22.1	39.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q12	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Abolition of the king's autocratic rule and establishment of total democracy	35.5	37.9	39.9	41.3	36.8
Abolition of monarchy and establishment of republic	4.3	3.8	8.0	4.7	4.5
War fatigue and aspirations for long-term peace	21.9	22.2	26.2	25.9	22.3
Belief that without bringing the Maoists into the country's mainstream, it is not possible to solve the country's problems	2.4	1.2	1.9	2.6	1.3
Don't want to disclose	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
Political parties quest for power	0.3	1.0	0.4	0.3	0.3
For development of the country	2.1	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.0
To provide justice to poor people	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	32.4	32.8	22.2	24.4	33.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q12	Rural	Urban
Abolition of the king's autocratic rule and establishment of total democracy	37.7	39.5
Abolition of monarchy and establishment of republic	4.0	8.1
War fatigue and aspirations for long-term peace	23.2	23.6
Belief that without bringing the Maoists into the country's mainstream, it is not possible to solve the country's problems	1.7	1.9
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.2
Political parties quest for power	0.6	0.7
For development of the country	1.0	0.7
To provide justice to poor people	0.1	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	31.1	25.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q12	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Abolition of the king's autocratic rule and establishment of total democracy	45.5	43.4	29.7	48.2	26.4	36.4	29.5	51.3	33.3
Abolition of monarchy and establishment of republic	6.6	2.1	4.6	6.3	2.8	2.6	3.6	2.6	6.8
War fatigue and aspirations for long-term peace	26.4	26.6	27.9	24.3	37.4	9.9	5.8	10.3	12.9
Belief that without bringing the Maoists into the country's mainstream, it is not possible to solve the country's problems	2.2	2.1	1.2	0.9	3.1	0.9	1.4	2.6	0.8
Don't want to disclose	0.8	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7	0.0	1.5
Political parties quest for power	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.5	0.0	5.1	0.0
For development of the country	0.4	0.0	0.8	0.5	1.5	1.6	1.4	0.0	0.0
To provide justice to poor people	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	17.2	25.2	35.1	18.9	27.9	47.9	57.6	28.2	44.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q13: How safe do you feel in the present circumstances?

Q13	Frequency	Valid Percent
Safer than before	2632	87.7
Safe as before	254	8.5
More unsafe than before	90	3.0
Don't want to disclose	1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	23	0.8
Total	3000	100.0

Q13	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Safer than before	86.9	87.8	87.8
Safe as before	8.8	8.1	8.8
More unsafe than before	2.3	3.3	2.8
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	1.5	0.8	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q13	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Safer than before	88.6	83.3	87.6	94.2	96.8
Safe as before	8.4	10.6	9.1	5.5	2.3
More unsafe than before	2.1	5.2	1.9	0.3	0.6
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	0.9	0.9	1.1	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q13	Rural	Urban
Safer than before	89.3	81.2
Safe as before	7.7	11.7
More unsafe than before	2.2	6.3
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	0.7	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Q13	Female	Male
Safer than before	87.3	88.2
Safe as before	8.7	8.2
More unsafe than before	2.9	3.1
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	1.1	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q13	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Safer than before	88.9	86.7	87.7	87.8
Safe as before	7.3	9.2	8.2	8.9
More unsafe than before	3.1	3.5	3.2	2.3
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q13	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Safer than before	86.7	90.9	91.5	87.1	88.2	83.1	80.0	80.0
Safe as before	9.9	6.6	5.9	8.7	6.4	11.2	15.4	6.7
More unsafe than before	1.8	1.6	2.3	4.1	5.2	5.8	4.6	13.3
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	1.6	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q13	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Safer than before	91.2	95.1	87.0	84.2	88.3	86.4	83.5	79.5	86.4
Safe as before	5.7	3.5	9.6	9.0	9.5	10.3	11.5	10.3	8.3
More unsafe than before	2.8	0.0	1.8	6.3	1.8	3.1	3.6	7.7	4.5
Don't know/cannot say	0.4	1.4	1.6	0.5	0.3	0.2	1.4	2.6	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q14: How safe do you think is the rest of the country?

Q14	Frequency	Valid Percent
Safer than before	2351	78.4
Safe as before	233	7.8
More unsafe than before	85	2.8
Don't want to disclose	6	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	325	10.8
Total	3000	100.0

Q14	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Safer than before	76.9	79.6	77.3
Safe as before	5.8	8.1	7.8
More unsafe than before	1.5	3.5	2.3
Don't want to disclose	0.8	0.2	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	15.0	8.5	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q15	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	73.5	78.3	59.3	71.6	61.0	48.8	42.4	61.5	49.2
No	12.9	9.1	13.2	15.3	11.7	12.7	6.5	12.8	16.7
Don't want to disclose	1.2	1.4	2.0	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.0	2.6	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	12.4	11.2	25.5	12.2	26.4	37.6	51.1	23.1	34.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q16: Do you think that the present government is committed to restore peace in the country?

Q16	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	1987	66.2
No	456	15.2
Don't want to disclose	27	0.9
Don't know/cannot say	530	17.7
Total	3000	100.0

Q16	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	69.2	67.5	64.3
No	10.8	17.3	13.8
Don't want to disclose	3.1	0.8	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	16.9	14.4	21.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q16	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Yes	65.2	61.7	59.5	75.9	86.8
No	11.5	18.5	18.6	11.3	7.4
Don't want to disclose	2.1	0.8	1.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	21.2	19.0	20.9	12.8	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q16	Rural	Urban
Yes	66.8	63.7
No	13.4	22.5
Don't want to disclose	1.0	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	18.8	13.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Q16	Female	Male
Yes	61.0	71.5
No	12.3	18.1
Don't want to disclose	1.1	0.7
Don't know/cannot say	25.7	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q16	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Yes	69.9	65.6	65.4	64.3
No	17.8	15.0	15.0	13.4
Don't want to disclose	0.8	1.4	0.5	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	11.5	18.1	19.1	21.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q16	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	59.2	68.3	73.1	71.8	71.7	67.4	72.3	66.7
No	9.0	14.6	17.1	18.3	20.8	24.8	26.2	33.3
Don't want to disclose	1.2	0.2	0.5	0.0	1.1	2.1	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	30.6	16.9	9.3	10.0	6.4	5.8	1.5	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q16	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	72.6	74.1	62.5	64.9	68.1	58.9	56.1	79.5	62.9
No	17.1	15.4	13.2	22.5	10.7	15.0	7.2	7.7	16.7
Don't want to disclose	1.0	1.4	1.8	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	9.3	9.1	22.4	12.2	20.9	26.1	36.0	12.8	20.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q17: Do you think that the Maoist leaders are committed to restore peace in the country?

Q17	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	2028	67.6
No	341	11.4
Don't want to disclose	32	1.1
Don't know/cannot say	599	20.0
Total	3000	100.0

Q17	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	64.6	70.8	64.6
No	11.9	12.4	10.1
Don't want to disclose	1.9	1.2	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	21.5	15.6	24.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q17	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Yes	65.7	63.8	57.0	84.0	86.1
No	10.0	13.4	15.2	4.7	6.8
Don't want to disclose	2.4	0.8	1.5	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	21.9	22.0	26.2	11.3	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q17	Rural	Urban
Yes	67.6	67.8
No	10.2	16.3
Don't want to disclose	1.1	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	21.2	15.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Q17	Female	Male
Yes	60.9	74.3
No	10.0	12.7
Don't want to disclose	1.0	1.1
Don't know/cannot say	28.1	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Q17	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Yes	73.4	66.6	68.1	63.3
No	12.3	12.3	10.1	10.5
Don't want to disclose	1.1	1.4	0.3	1.3
Don't know/cannot say	13.1	19.7	21.5	24.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q17	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	57.5	68.5	76.7	71.4	74.9	76.4	83.1	80.0
No	7.7	11.9	10.3	14.1	17.0	14.9	13.8	20.0
Don't want to disclose	1.0	1.1	0.8	1.2	0.6	2.5	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	33.8	18.5	12.1	13.3	7.5	6.2	3.1	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q17	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	77.1	79.7	61.7	68.5	70.9	55.6	54.7	69.2	59.8
No	11.6	10.5	11.4	15.8	7.7	12.7	6.5	7.7	12.9
Don't want to disclose	0.9	1.4	1.6	2.3	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	10.4	8.4	25.3	13.5	20.9	31.0	38.1	23.1	27.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q18: Do you think that the ongoing peace talks would bring permanent peace in the country?

Q18	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	1785	59.5
No	347	11.6
Don't want to disclose	27	0.9
Don't know/cannot say	841	28.0
Total	3000	100.0

Q18	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	61.2	68.4	49.3
No	6.2	12.4	11.7
Don't want to disclose	1.9	1.2	0.4
Don't know/cannot say	30.8	18.0	38.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q18	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Yes	55.4	53.9	56.8	70.3	81.9
No	13.1	12.8	12.2	6.4	8.7
Don't want to disclose	2.4	0.6	1.1	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	29.1	32.8	29.8	23.3	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q18	Rural	Urban
Yes	59.5	59.5
No	10.5	16.1
Don't want to disclose	1.1	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	29.0	24.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Q18	Female	Male
Yes	54.6	64.4
No	9.7	13.5
Don't want to disclose	1.0	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	34.7	21.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q18	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Yes	63.6	59.5	59.9	55.8
No	12.9	12.8	11.1	9.6
Don't want to disclose	0.8	0.6	1.0	1.1
Don't know/cannot say	22.8	27.1	28.0	33.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q18	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	49.4	62.1	68.7	63.5	66.5	65.7	75.4	66.7
No	6.7	12.1	12.4	10.4	15.7	23.6	15.4	26.7
Don't want to disclose	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.8	0.4	1.2	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	42.8	25.1	17.8	25.3	17.4	9.5	9.2	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q18	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	72.3	74.1	58.5	70.3	58.6	36.6	40.3	41.0	41.7
No	12.4	7.7	10.6	15.8	8.3	11.5	9.4	12.8	15.9
Don't want to disclose	0.7	0.7	2.6	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	14.6	17.5	28.3	14.0	32.8	51.9	49.6	46.2	42.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q19: How is the country doing today as compared to pre-Baishakh 11, 2063 i.e., 24 April 2006?

Q19	Frequency	Valid Percent
Very good	642	21.4
Good	1458	48.6
Okay	670	22.3
Same as before	113	3.8
Somewhat bad	43	1.4
Very bad	23	0.8
Don't want to disclose	1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	50	1.7
Total	3000	100.0

Q19	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Very good	37.3	19.2	20.6
Good	47.7	54.3	42.5
Okay	9.2	18.5	29.2
Same as before	0.8	3.8	4.4
Somewhat bad	0.8	1.7	1.2
Very bad	0.0	0.8	0.9
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	4.2	1.7	1.2

Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
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Q19	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Very good	10.2	21.1	21.9	33.1	29.7
Good	32.5	54.2	45.2	57.0	52.9
Okay	48.7	14.3	27.4	7.6	12.9
Same as before	4.8	5.1	2.1	1.2	2.3
Somewhat bad	0.9	2.6	0.6	0.6	0.3
Very bad	0.3	1.4	0.8	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	2.4	1.4	2.1	0.6	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q19	Rural	Urban
Very good	22.2	18.0
Good	50.0	43.1
Okay	21.6	25.4
Same as before	2.9	7.3
Somewhat bad	1.0	3.4
Very bad	0.4	2.2
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	1.9	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q19	Female	Male
Very good	19.3	23.5
Good	49.0	48.2
Okay	23.5	21.2
Same as before	4.0	3.5
Somewhat bad	0.9	1.9
Very bad	0.7	0.9
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	2.5	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Q19	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Very good	20.1	21.7	21.3	22.3
Good	50.0	46.5	47.3	50.2
Okay	23.4	24.7	22.4	19.2
Same as before	3.0	3.9	4.9	3.5
Somewhat bad	1.9	1.6	1.4	0.9
Very bad	0.9	0.5	0.5	1.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	0.7	1.1	2.0	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q19	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Seco ndary	Interme diate	Bach elor's	Maste r's
Very good	20.9	18.9	26.9	24.1	22.5	14.0	23.1	20.0
Good	47.5	52.5	49.4	48.5	47.9	48.3	41.5	60.0
Okay	22.9	21.0	18.3	22.0	22.7	29.3	20.0	13.3

Same as before	4.5	4.1	2.8	2.5	3.0	2.5	10.8	0.0
Somewhat bad	0.7	0.9	1.3	2.1	2.4	3.7	0.0	6.7
Very bad	0.3	0.9	0.8	0.0	0.9	2.1	4.6	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.1	1.6	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q19	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Very good	23.9	27.3	19.2	24.3	13.5	20.0	18.7	28.2	27.3
Good	51.1	53.1	51.1	52.3	46.0	49.1	30.9	38.5	45.5
Okay	19.5	17.5	19.8	12.2	32.8	24.2	38.8	12.8	18.9
Same as before	2.6	0.0	4.4	5.9	5.5	3.3	9.4	2.6	3.8
Somewhat bad	1.3	0.0	1.2	3.2	0.6	1.9	0.7	7.7	1.5
Very bad	0.5	0.0	0.6	1.8	0.0	0.9	1.4	7.7	0.8
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	1.1	2.1	3.4	0.5	1.5	0.7	0.0	2.6	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q20: In your opinion, from which quarter is the obstacle for resolving the crisis facing the country, coming from?

Q20	Frequency	Valid Percent
King and palace	292	9.8
Present government	243	8.2
Seven-party alliance	353	11.9
House of Representatives	13	0.4
Maoists	305	10.3
Nepali Army	11	0.4
Foreigners	202	6.8
Don't want to disclose	51	1.7
From nowhere	8	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	1494	50.3
Total	2972	100.0

Q20	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
King and palace	10.8	9.8	9.7
Present government	6.2	11.3	5.1
Seven-party alliance	3.5	15.0	10.1
House of Representatives	0.0	0.6	0.3
Maoists	17.0	8.2	11.3
Nepali Army	0.4	0.3	0.4
Foreigners	8.1	6.9	6.4
Don't want to disclose	1.2	1.0	2.6
From nowhere	0.0	0.4	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	52.9	46.4	54.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q20	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
King and palace	9.2	7.1	11.5	9.9	18.8
Present government	7.6	7.8	9.0	9.3	8.1
Seven-party alliance	8.7	15.6	15.1	4.7	5.5
House of Representatives	1.1	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.3

Maoists	8.7	13.0	6.3	10.2	9.1
Nepali Army	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.0
Foreigners	10.1	5.3	6.9	7.8	5.5
Don't want to disclose	3.2	2.0	0.6	0.9	0.6
From nowhere	0.0	0.2	0.2	1.2	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	51.2	48.3	49.6	55.5	51.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q20	Rural	Urban
King and palace	9.8	9.8
Present government	6.8	13.8
Seven-party alliance	11.3	14.3
House of Representatives	0.4	0.5
Maoists	11.0	7.4
Nepali Army	0.4	0.3
Foreigners	6.2	9.1
Don't want to disclose	1.8	1.6
From nowhere	0.2	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	52.1	42.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q20	Female	Male
King and palace	8.1	11.6
Present government	6.1	10.2
Seven-party alliance	7.1	16.6
House of Representatives	0.3	0.6
Maoists	9.8	10.8
Nepali Army	0.3	0.5
Foreigners	2.8	10.8
Don't want to disclose	1.3	2.1
From nowhere	0.1	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	64.2	36.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q20	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
King and palace	10.9	10.8	9.8	8.0
Present government	9.7	8.1	7.9	7.1
Seven-party alliance	13.4	12.2	11.5	10.6
House of Representatives	0.7	0.4	0.5	0.2
Maoists	12.7	9.6	9.0	9.7
Nepali Army	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.7
Foreigners	7.1	8.4	5.3	6.1
Don't want to disclose	2.7	1.5	1.4	1.3
From nowhere	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	42.3	48.6	54.2	55.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q20	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Seco ndary	Interme diate	Bachelor's	Master's
King and palace	6.6	9.4	10.9	10.4	15.5	13.2	9.7	0.0
Present government	3.8	10.4	10.9	8.3	11.8	12.0	11.3	21.4
Seven-party alliance	4.1	14.5	10.6	16.7	17.1	27.4	25.8	28.6
House of Representatives	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.5	0.0	0.0	7.1
Maoists	8.3	8.3	10.4	12.5	16.2	9.0	14.5	0.0

Nepali Army	0.5	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Foreigners	1.5	4.4	8.0	8.3	11.2	18.4	25.8	35.7
Don't want to disclose	1.4	1.6	1.8	0.0	1.8	4.7	1.6	7.1
From nowhere	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	73.4	50.2	46.9	42.5	24.5	14.5	11.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q20	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
King and palace	13.7	11.3	7.6	3.6	11.8	7.9	5.8	7.7	7.6
Present government	10.9	12.0	8.0	14.5	4.3	4.3	5.8	0.0	3.1
Seven-party alliance	15.6	12.0	7.8	22.7	8.0	9.3	5.1	12.8	9.9
House of Representatives	0.4	0.0	0.2	1.4	0.3	0.5	0.0	2.6	0.8
Maoists	10.1	9.2	7.4	8.2	3.7	18.8	10.1	23.1	12.2
Nepali Army	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.9	0.6	0.2	0.0	2.6	0.0
Foreigners	8.8	4.2	5.8	10.5	5.9	4.3	2.2	2.6	9.9
Don't want to disclose	1.3	0.7	1.6	2.7	0.0	3.1	0.7	5.1	1.5
From nowhere	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	38.4	49.3	61.2	35.5	65.3	51.7	70.3	43.6	55.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q21: Do you agree or disagree with the reinstatement of the House of Representatives?

Q21	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	318	10.6
Agree	1061	35.4
Disagree	161	5.4
Strongly disagree	6	0.2
Neither agree nor disagree	86	2.9
Don't want to disclose	25	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	1343	44.8
Total	3000	100.0

Q21	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Strongly agree	10.4	11.0	10.2
Agree	38.5	42.9	26.4
Disagree	8.1	6.3	3.8
Strongly disagree	0.0	0.1	0.4
Neither agree nor disagree	1.9	2.3	3.7
Don't want to disclose	1.9	0.8	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	39.2	36.6	54.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q21	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Strongly agree	11.4	11.1	8.6	9.3	12.3
Agree	34.8	32.6	39.5	42.4	32.6
Disagree	3.8	4.8	6.3	8.7	5.5
Strongly disagree	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.3
Neither agree nor disagree	6.0	2.7	1.7	2.3	0.3
Don't want to disclose	1.4	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	42.2	47.9	43.2	36.6	49.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q21	Rural	Urban
Strongly agree	10.5	10.8
Agree	33.9	41.2
Disagree	4.6	8.6
Strongly disagree	0.1	0.5
Neither agree nor disagree	2.7	3.4
Don't want to disclose	0.8	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	47.3	34.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q21	Female	Male
Strongly agree	5.5	15.7
Agree	26.9	43.9
Disagree	3.2	7.5
Strongly disagree	0.1	0.3
Neither agree nor disagree	2.9	2.8
Don't want to disclose	0.8	0.9
Don't know/cannot say	60.7	28.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q21	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Strongly agree	10.6	11.5	9.4	10.6
Agree	42.1	34.0	33.4	32.2
Disagree	4.7	6.1	7.0	4.1
Strongly disagree		0.2	0.2	0.3
Neither agree nor disagree	2.8	3.5	2.0	2.9
Don't want to disclose	1.2	0.6	1.0	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	38.5	44.0	46.9	49.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q21	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Strongly agree	2.4	10.3	11.9	14.1	20.8	23.6	16.9	6.7
Agree	19.4	37.7	45.7	44.0	46.4	50.8	63.1	73.3
Disagree	1.7	5.0	4.9	6.6	9.7	11.6	16.9	6.7
Strongly disagree	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.8	0.0	6.7
Neither agree nor disagree	2.8	2.3	3.9	2.1	3.2	3.3	1.5	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.9	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.6	2.1	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	72.9	43.4	33.1	32.8	19.1	7.9	1.5	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q21	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Strongly agree	15.3	7.0	7.6	11.3	4.9	9.9	7.2	10.3	9.1
Agree	44.8	39.9	35.9	56.3	26.4	18.5	17.3	33.3	25.0
Disagree	7.7	3.5	4.4	9.5	2.8	2.6	2.2	2.6	6.1
Strongly disagree	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Neither agree nor disagree	2.1	1.4	2.6	1.8	5.5	3.3	2.9	5.1	3.8
Don't want to disclose	1.1	1.4	1.4	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	28.7	46.9	47.9	20.7	60.4	65.3	69.8	48.7	55.3

Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
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Q22: If you agree with the reinstatement of the HoR, why do you agree? (Multiple code)

Q22	Frequency	Valid Percent
It was the main demand of people's movement	342	17.3
It will bring peace in the country	1007	50.9
It helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists	368	18.6
It has brought the king under the people's control	102	5.2
It has reduced the king's power, which is right	108	5.5
Don't want to disclose	3	0.2
Others	15	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	34	1.7
Total	1979	100.0

Q22	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
It was the main demand of people's movement	9.9	15.1	23.2
It will bring peace in the country	48.4	52.7	48.6
It helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists	16.1	20.6	15.9
It has brought the king under the people's control	13.5	4.8	3.3
It has reduced the king's power, which is right	12.0	4.3	5.6
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.2	0.2
Others	0.0	1.1	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	0.0	1.4	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q22	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
It was the main demand of people's movement	24.3	18.6	17.5	7.0	12.1
It will bring peace in the country	48.1	53.5	50.7	53.0	45.1
It helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists	17.0	14.1	13.1	31.5	29.0
It has brought the king under the people's control	2.4	7.9	6.2	3.0	2.2
It has reduced the king's power, which is right	5.1	3.5	8.0	4.8	9.4
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
Others	0.7	0.7	1.2	0.4	0.9
Don't know/cannot say	2.2	1.6	2.7	0.4	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q22	Rural	Urban
It was the main demand of people's movement	16.2	21.4
It will bring peace in the country	51.6	48.1
It helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists	18.8	17.9
It has brought the king under the people's control	5.3	4.8
It has reduced the king's power, which is right	5.6	5.0
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0
Others	0.7	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	1.7	1.9

Total	100.0	100.0
Q22	Female	Male
It was the main demand of people's movement	15.1	18.5
It will bring peace in the country	55.1	48.6
It helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists	17.4	19.2
It has brought the king under the people's control	4.8	5.3
It has reduced the king's power, which is right	4.7	5.9
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.2
Others	0.3	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	2.5	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q22	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
It was the main demand of people's movement	17.1	18.3	14.6	18.4
It will bring peace in the country	52.5	49.8	50.1	50.7
It helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists	16.9	17.7	21.8	18.9
It has brought the king under the people's control	4.2	5.3	6.7	4.9
It has reduced the king's power, which is right	5.8	6.1	4.3	5.2
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.4
Others	1.5	0.6	0.0	0.7
Don't know/cannot say	2.0	2.1	2.2	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q22	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
It was the main demand of people's movement	8.1	16.3	13.3	12.7	24.8	23.9	23.0	29.4
It will bring peace in the country	59.7	59.2	45.8	53.4	47.1	45.5	39.2	41.2
It helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists	19.6	16.6	24.8	20.1	13.7	17.0	25.7	11.8
It has brought the king under the people's control	6.6	2.8	6.3	5.8	5.5	3.8	2.7	5.9
It has reduced the king's power, which is right	3.2	4.2	5.8	4.2	7.7	6.1	6.8	5.9
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.5	0.0	2.7	1.4	5.9
Don't know/cannot say	2.3	0.7	2.9	3.2	0.9	1.1	1.4	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q22	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
It was the main demand of people's movement	17.2	6.3	11.6	21.0	29.1	21.4	19.6	10.0	16.1
It will bring peace in the country	47.1	63.5	56.4	54.9	49.3	47.8	54.3	50.0	54.8
It helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists	21.8	22.9	18.5	9.2	13.4	13.2	17.4	20.0	16.1
It has brought the king under the people's control	5.9	2.1	5.9	5.6	2.2	6.3	0.0	0.0	3.2
It has reduced the king's power, which is right	6.3	5.2	3.3	6.2	3.7	6.9	4.3	0.0	6.5
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	0.8	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.6
Don't know/cannot say	0.8	0.0	3.0	2.1	1.5	3.1	4.3	20.0	1.6

Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
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Q24: After the House of Representatives was reinstated, the parliament passed the proclamation (on Jestha 4, 2063 i.e., 18 May 2006) in which the House of Representatives was declared as the supreme authority of the country. Do you agree or disagree with this arrangement?

Q24	Frequency	Valid Percent
Strongly agree	300	10.0
Agree	982	32.7
Disagree	138	4.6
Strongly disagree	7	0.2
Neither agree nor disagree	92	3.1
Don't want to disclose	26	0.9
Don't know/cannot say	1455	48.5
Total	3000	100.0

Q24	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Strongly agree	14.2	9.6	9.6
Agree	36.5	39.7	24.3
Disagree	6.9	5.0	3.7
Strongly disagree	0.0	0.0	0.5
Neither agree nor disagree	2.7	2.7	3.5
Don't want to disclose	1.5	1.0	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	38.1	42.0	57.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q24	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Strongly agree	13.1	7.8	6.7	9.3	19.4
Agree	31.5	33.7	34.6	38.1	21.9
Disagree	2.9	5.2	4.4	5.8	4.2
Strongly disagree	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.6
Neither agree nor disagree	6.0	2.9	2.5	1.7	0.6
Don't want to disclose	1.7	0.9	0.2	0.9	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	44.2	49.3	51.7	43.9	52.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q24	Rural	Urban
Strongly agree	9.3	13.1
Agree	31.7	36.8
Disagree	4.1	6.6
Strongly disagree	0.2	0.2
Neither agree nor disagree	2.9	3.6
Don't want to disclose	1.0	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	50.7	39.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q24	Female	Male
Strongly agree	4.7	15.3
Agree	25.2	40.3
Disagree	2.7	6.5
Strongly disagree	0.1	0.4
Neither agree nor disagree	2.4	3.7
Don't want to disclose	0.7	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	64.2	32.8

Total	100.0	100.0
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Q24	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Strongly agree	9.1	11.3	9.7	9.7
Agree	39.4	30.7	31.2	30.0
Disagree	5.6	3.7	4.9	4.3
Strongly disagree	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.3
Neither agree nor disagree	3.5	3.0	3.2	2.6
Don't want to disclose	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.9
Don't know/cannot say	41.3	50.1	50.0	52.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q24	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Strongly agree	1.7	8.4	12.7	11.6	21.7	21.1	16.9	26.7
Agree	17.6	37.9	40.3	37.8	42.3	51.7	56.9	53.3
Disagree	2.4	3.2	5.2	4.1	6.7	9.1	16.9	13.3
Strongly disagree	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.4	0.0	6.7
Neither agree nor disagree	2.2	3.2	2.8	2.1	4.1	6.2	4.6	0.0
Don't want to disclose	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.4	1.1	0.4	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	75.1	46.3	37.5	43.2	24.0	11.2	4.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q24	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Strongly agree	15.2	7.0	8.2	11.3	4.6	6.3	10.1	5.1	6.1
Agree	41.8	31.5	31.7	53.2	27.6	18.8	12.2	28.2	24.2
Disagree	7.1	2.8	2.4	5.0	1.5	3.5	2.2	5.1	8.3
Strongly disagree	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7	0.0	0.8
Neither agree nor disagree	3.2	1.4	1.8	1.8	4.9	3.1	4.3	5.1	4.5
Don't want to disclose	1.0	1.4	1.4	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.7	0.0	1.5
Don't know/cannot say	31.3	55.9	54.5	27.9	61.3	67.6	69.8	56.4	54.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q25: In your opinion, what are the positive features in the reinstated HoR? (Multiple code)

Q25	Frequency	Valid Percent
Rule of law has become established	140	6.7
It has established that sovereignty and executive power reside in the people	233	11.2
King's autocratic rule has come to an end	366	17.6
There is the possibility of permanent peace	619	29.7
Daily life has become normal; security has improved	356	17.1
No positive features	54	2.6
Don't want to disclose	10	0.5
Others	11	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	294	14.1
Total	2083	100.0

Q25	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rule of law has become established	5.2	5.5	9.1
It has established that sovereignty and executive power reside in the people	13.5	10.8	11.0

King's autocratic rule has come to an end	21.0	18.9	14.3
There is the possibility of permanent peace	25.8	32.3	26.9
Daily life has become normal; security has improved	17.9	15.5	19.4
No positive features	1.7	3.0	2.3
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.4	0.7
Others	0.9	0.3	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	14.0	13.3	15.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q25	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Rule of law has become established	7.6	5.1	7.1	6.0	10.9
It has established that sovereignty and executive power reside in the people	13.2	11.0	8.3	12.7	10.5
King's autocratic rule has come to an end	15.1	19.4	22.4	10.5	16.8
There is the possibility of permanent peace	26.5	28.6	31.0	32.6	34.5
Daily life has become normal; security has improved	19.6	16.4	13.6	19.9	16.8
No positive features	1.4	2.7	3.2	4.5	1.3
Don't want to disclose	0.9	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.4	1.3
Don't know/cannot say	15.1	15.6	14.2	13.5	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q25	Rural	Urban
Rule of law has become established	6.5	7.4
It has established that sovereignty and executive power reside in the people	10.3	14.2
King's autocratic rule has come to an end	17.2	18.7
There is the possibility of permanent peace	31.0	25.5
Daily life has become normal; security has improved	17.8	14.6
No positive features	2.0	4.5
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.0
Others	0.4	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	14.2	14.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Q25	Female	Male
Rule of law has become established	4.4	7.9
It has established that sovereignty and executive power reside in the people	9.1	12.3
King's autocratic rule has come to an end	15.8	18.5
There is the possibility of permanent peace	31.3	28.9
Daily life has become normal; security has improved	17.3	17.0
No positive features	1.6	3.1
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.6
Others	0.4	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	19.9	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Q25	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Rule of law has become established	6.2	9.2	6.0	5.3
It has established that sovereignty and executive power reside in the people	12.0	10.8	12.3	9.8
King's autocratic rule has come to an end	19.1	19.1	16.1	15.5
There is the possibility of permanent peace	31.0	26.7	29.9	31.3
Daily life has become normal; security has improved	14.6	17.1	17.1	19.6
No positive features	1.7	2.5	3.8	2.7
Don't want to disclose	0.7	0.0	0.5	0.7
Others	0.7	0.9	0.3	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	13.9	13.5	14.1	14.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q25	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rule of law has become established	3.4	3.8	4.9	9.1	8.1	9.0	14.8	12.0
It has established that sovereignty and executive power reside in the people	8.9	8.6	10.6	7.5	10.9	15.5	20.5	32.0
King's autocratic rule has come to an end	11.2	15.4	18.1	13.4	23.3	19.7	18.2	12.0
There is the possibility of permanent peace	30.2	33.9	29.6	38.2	27.1	26.2	27.3	16.0
Daily life has become normal; security has improved	19.5	16.1	21.0	15.6	16.8	14.5	9.1	16.0
No positive features	1.1	2.4	3.2	1.6	2.6	4.5	2.3	4.0
Don't want to disclose	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0
Others	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.7	2.3	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	25.0	18.8	12.4	14.0	9.5	9.7	5.7	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q25	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rule of law has become established	7.7	2.4	3.5	6.0	6.3	11.7	6.8	0.0	2.9
It has established that sovereignty and executive power reside in the people	12.5	12.9	9.1	9.2	9.4	12.9	13.6	5.6	4.4
King's autocratic rule has come to an end	18.9	15.3	18.5	24.0	14.4	11.7	2.3	11.1	10.3
There is the possibility of permanent peace	30.3	35.3	27.9	31.8	33.1	26.4	18.2	33.3	27.9
Daily life has become normal; security has improved	17.0	15.3	16.4	11.1	20.0	19.0	31.8	11.1	25.0
No positive features	2.4	2.4	3.8	2.3	0.6	2.5	0.0	0.0	7.4
Don't want to disclose	0.3	1.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.2	2.3	5.6	0.0
Others	0.6	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	10.2	12.9	20.6	15.7	16.3	12.9	25.0	33.3	22.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q26: In your opinion, what are the negative features in the reinstated HoR? (Multiple code)

Q26	Frequency	Valid Percent
Rule of law has not been established	101	6.2
Constitution has been made inactive	39	2.4
There has been deterioration in the security situation	103	6.3
Daily life has become abnormal due to declining social security	66	4.1
The environment has become uncertain	437	26.9

There are no negative features	235	14.4
Don't want to disclose	15	0.9
Others	53	3.3
Don't know/cannot say	578	35.5
Total	1627	100.0

Q26	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rule of law has not been established	2.5	6.4	7.0
Constitution has been made inactive	3.2	2.4	2.1
There has been deterioration in the security situation	0.6	6.3	8.1
Daily life has become abnormal due to declining social security	0.0	5.4	3.0
The environment has become uncertain	20.3	30.0	23.6
There are no negative features	22.2	14.3	12.5
Don't want to disclose	1.3	0.5	1.4
Others	1.9	3.6	3.0
Don't know/cannot say	48.1	31.1	39.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q26	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Rule of law has not been established	10.0	6.7	4.1	2.5	4.7
Constitution has been made inactive	4.2	2.4	2.2	0.5	1.2
There has been deterioration in the security situation	9.4	6.1	6.0	1.0	8.2
Daily life has become abnormal due to declining social security	2.4	5.7	2.2	2.0	5.9
The environment has become uncertain	27.3	29.0	24.6	15.7	34.1
There are no negative features	11.2	11.2	7.8	40.9	12.9
Don't want to disclose	0.9	1.4	0.4	0.5	0.6
Others	2.7	3.0	4.5	4.5	1.8
Don't know/cannot say	31.8	34.5	48.1	32.3	30.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q26	Rural	Urban
Rule of law has not been established	6.4	5.5
Constitution has been made inactive	2.4	2.4
There has been deterioration in the security situation	5.8	7.9
Daily life has become abnormal due to declining social security	3.9	4.5
The environment has become uncertain	26.2	29.0
There are no negative features	15.1	12.4
Don't want to disclose	1.0	0.5
Others	2.7	5.0
Don't know/cannot say	36.4	32.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q26	Female	Male
Rule of law has not been established	5.9	6.4
Constitution has been made inactive	1.5	2.9
There has been deterioration in the security situation	5.4	6.8
Daily life has become abnormal due to declining social security	4.1	4.1
The environment has become uncertain	19.6	30.5

There are no negative features	13.3	15.0
Don't want to disclose	0.2	1.3
Others	2.6	3.6
Don't know/cannot say	47.5	29.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q26	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Rule of law has not been established	6.4	8.0	5.6	4.6
Constitution has been made inactive	2.7	3.4	3.0	0.7
There has been deterioration in the security situation	6.4	6.2	5.3	7.1
Daily life has become abnormal due to declining social security	3.5	5.3	3.6	3.7
The environment has become uncertain	25.0	28.8	27.5	26.4
There are no negative features	15.5	14.2	15.2	13.1
Don't want to disclose	1.5	0.7	0.7	0.7
Others	2.9	4.1	2.3	3.4
Don't know/cannot say	36.1	29.3	36.8	40.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q26	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rule of law has not been established	3.8	4.8	7.3	4.1	7.6	7.6	7.5	9.1
Constitution has been made inactive	0.4	1.2	0.8	2.8	4.7	3.4	0.0	13.6
There has been deterioration in the security situation	3.4	8.4	4.6	5.5	5.2	11.8	4.5	9.1
Daily life has become abnormal due to declining social security	2.3	5.2	2.7	4.8	4.2	6.3	3.0	0.0
The environment has become uncertain	14.0	24.0	25.8	24.1	30.7	33.2	46.3	50.0
There are no negative features	18.2	12.0	17.3	14.5	13.6	12.6	11.9	4.5
Don't want to disclose	1.5	0.8	1.9	0.0	0.3	1.3	0.0	0.0
Others	0.8	2.8	3.1	2.8	3.1	5.5	9.0	4.5
Don't know/cannot say	55.7	40.8	36.5	41.4	30.4	18.5	17.9	9.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q26	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rule of law has not been established	7.1	6.1	4.3	8.5	8.2	3.1	0.0	0.0	3.6
Constitution has been made inactive	3.4	3.0	2.6	1.1	0.8	0.0	0.0	6.7	1.8
There has been deterioration in the security situation	8.3	1.5	3.9	6.8	7.4	4.6	0.0	0.0	1.8
Daily life has become abnormal due to declining social security	4.7	1.5	4.8	6.2	0.8	3.1	0.0	6.7	1.8
The environment has become uncertain	28.8	16.7	19.9	36.7	32.0	23.1	30.3	13.3	10.9
There are no negative features	15.2	34.8	16.0	5.1	6.6	19.2	12.1	13.3	12.7
Don't want to disclose	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.6	2.5	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	4.3	0.0	2.2	3.4	0.0	3.8	3.0	6.7	3.6
Don't know/cannot say	27.8	34.8	46.3	31.6	41.8	40.0	54.5	53.3	63.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q27: Have you heard about constituent assembly?

Q27	Frequency	Valid Percent
Have heard about it	1766	58.9
Have not heard about it	946	31.5
Don't know/cannot say	288	9.6
Total	3000	100.0

Q27	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Have heard about it	65.8	64.6	51.2
Have not heard about it	25.0	25.4	39.7
Don't know/cannot say	9.2	10.1	9.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q27	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Have heard about it	69.4	53.4	63.3	56.4	56.1
Have not heard about it	17.2	42.8	14.4	42.4	30.3
Don't know/cannot say	13.4	3.8	22.2	1.2	13.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q27	Rural	Urban
Have heard about it	55.4	72.9
Have not heard about it	34.1	21.2
Don't know/cannot say	10.5	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q27	Female	Male
Have heard about it	43.3	74.4
Have not heard about it	42.7	20.3
Don't know/cannot say	13.9	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q27	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Have heard about it	64.6	58.1	57.8	55.4
Have not heard about it	28.6	32.4	32.9	32.3
Don't know/cannot say	6.8	9.5	9.2	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q27	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Have heard about it	31.4	63.2	67.2	73.0	83.0	94.6	95.4	100.0
Have not heard about it	51.9	27.2	25.3	22.8	13.7	5.0	4.6	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	16.7	9.6	7.5	4.1	3.2	0.4	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q27	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Have heard about it	71.1	56.6	55.9	77.5	55.5	39.2	36.7	46.2	43.9
Have not heard about it	21.3	34.3	28.1	17.1	33.1	53.5	48.2	51.3	51.5
Don't know/cannot say	7.5	9.1	16.0	5.4	11.3	7.3	15.1	2.6	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q28: If you have heard about constituent assembly, how much do you think you know about it?

Q28	Frequency	Valid Percent
Know very well	119	6.738391846
Know somewhat	573	32.44620612
Have heard but do not know	1014	57.41789354
Don't want to disclose	3	0.169875425
Don't know/cannot say	57	3.227633069
Total	1766	100

Q28	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Know very well	8.9	1.2	3.6	7.0	4.4	4.8	9.8	5.6	12.1
Know somewhat	36.5	30.9	26.2	35.5	24.9	35.3	29.4	27.8	36.2
Have heard but do not know	51.0	66.7	67.7	44.8	69.1	59.9	58.8	66.7	51.7
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.2	1.2	2.2	12.8	1.7	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q29: If you think you know about it, in our country's context what is the process for going to the constituent assembly?

Q29	Frequency	Valid Percent
Assembly of elected representatives that will draft a new constitution	538	77.7
Assembly of elected representatives that will amend the present constitution	74	10.7
Assembly of selected representatives that will draft a new constitution	30	4.3
Assembly of selected representatives that will amend the present constitution	6	0.9
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will draft a new constitution	4	0.6
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will amend the present constitution	5	0.7
Don't know/cannot say	35	5.1
Total	692	100.0

Q29	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Assembly of elected representatives that will draft a new constitution	81.5	75.4	79.9
Assembly of elected representatives that will amend the present constitution	12.3	12.8	7.4
Assembly of selected representatives that will draft a new constitution	0.0	6.7	2.2
Assembly of selected representatives that will amend the present constitution	1.5	1.4	0.0
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will draft a new constitution	0.0	0.8	0.4
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will amend the present constitution	1.5	0.0	1.5
Don't know/cannot say	3.1	2.8	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q29	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Assembly of elected representatives that will draft a new constitution	80.4	74.0	77.9	88.3	74.2
Assembly of elected representatives that will amend the present constitution	3.2	14.7	13.9	6.5	11.3

Assembly of selected representatives that will draft a new constitution	2.5	4.4	3.3	3.9	11.3
Assembly of selected representatives that will amend the present constitution	0.0	1.5	0.8	1.3	0.0
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will draft a new constitution	0.0	1.1	0.8	0.0	0.0
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will amend the present constitution	0.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.6
Don't know/cannot say	13.3	3.3	3.3	0.0	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q29	Rural	Urban
Assembly of elected representatives that will draft a new constitution	78.0	77.0
Assembly of elected representatives that will amend the present constitution	10.1	12.2
Assembly of selected representatives that will draft a new constitution	4.0	5.1
Assembly of selected representatives that will amend the present constitution	0.8	1.0
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will draft a new constitution	0.4	1.0
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will amend the present constitution	1.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	5.6	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q29	Female	Male
Assembly of elected representatives that will draft a new constitution	77.7	77.8
Assembly of elected representatives that will amend the present constitution	10.3	10.8
Assembly of selected representatives that will draft a new constitution	2.9	4.8
Assembly of selected representatives that will amend the present constitution	0.6	1.0
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will draft a new constitution	0.0	0.8
Assembly of king-appointed experts that will amend the present constitution	0.0	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	8.6	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q29	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Assembly of elected representatives that will draft a new constitution	71.6	81.5	83.5	76.8
Assembly of elected	14.9	7.2	8.7	11.0

Q30	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	99.4	92.3	98.8	98.6	94.3	97.0	95.0	100.0	92.9
No	0.6	3.8	0.0	0.0	1.9	1.5	0.0	0.0	7.1
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	0.0	3.8	1.2	0.0	1.9	1.5	5.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q31: If yes, why do you think constituent assembly is necessary? (Multiple code)

Q31	Frequency	Valid Percent
To bring lasting peace	494	44.4
The constitution of Nepal 1990 could not function	115	10.3
To bring the Maoists into the national mainstream	122	11.0
To abolish monarchy	53	4.8
To make monarchy ceremonial	8	0.7
To formulate a new constitution that would be satisfactory to all sides	314	28.2
Don't want to disclose	1	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	5	0.4
Total	1112	100.0

Q31	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
To bring lasting peace	50.4	44.7	42.3
The constitution of Nepal 1990 could not function	8.7	12.3	7.9
To bring the Maoists into the national mainstream	16.5	12.3	7.4
To abolish monarchy	7.0	4.9	4.0
To make monarchy ceremonial	1.7	0.5	0.7
To formulate a new constitution that would be satisfactory to all sides	14.8	24.5	37.6
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.2	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	0.9	0.7	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q31	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
To bring lasting peace	45.1	46.4	38.7	41.5	48.5
The constitution of Nepal 1990 could not function	10.6	11.0	8.6	11.5	8.7
To bring the Maoists into the national mainstream	5.9	11.7	11.3	15.4	15.5
To abolish monarchy	3.3	5.2	6.5	2.3	6.8
To make monarchy ceremonial	0.7	0.0	2.7	0.8	0.0
To formulate a new constitution that would be satisfactory to all sides	34.4	25.2	31.2	27.7	19.4
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	0.0	0.5	1.1	0.0	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q31	Rural	Urban
To bring lasting peace	46.5	38.7
The constitution of Nepal 1990	10.4	10.3

Q31	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
To bring lasting peace	45.2	47.5	50.7	37.8	45.0	38.2	40.6	50.0	45.9
The constitution of Nepal 1990 could not function	10.6	5.0	10.4	13.5	16.3	5.6	3.1	16.7	8.1
To bring the Maoists into the national mainstream	12.2	5.0	16.4	9.0	7.5	5.6	6.3	16.7	13.5
To abolish monarchy	5.3	7.5	0.7	4.5	7.5	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
To make monarchy ceremonial	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
To formulate a new constitution that would be satisfactory to all sides	25.7	27.5	20.1	34.2	23.8	42.7	50.0	16.7	32.4
Don't want to disclose	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	0.2	5.0	0.7	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q33: Do you think that elections for constituent assembly would be held in an atmosphere without fear? (if you have understood about constituent assembly)

Q33	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	377	54.5
No	261	37.7
Don't want to disclose	6	0.9
Don't know/cannot say	48	6.9
Total	692	100.0

Q33	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	47.7	54.5	56.1
No	43.1	38.8	34.9
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.6	1.5
Don't know/cannot say	9.2	6.1	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q33	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Yes	57.6	47.6	57.4	58.4	66.1
No	34.2	46.9	33.6	32.5	21.0
Don't want to disclose	2.5	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	5.7	4.8	9.0	9.1	12.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q33	Rural	Urban
Yes	55.0	53.1
No	38.1	36.7
Don't want to disclose	1.2	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	5.6	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Q33	Female	Male
Yes	54.9	54.4
No	38.3	37.5
Don't want to disclose	0.6	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	6.3	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Q33	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Yes	56.7	57.4	49.6	51.6
No	35.8	35.4	47.2	35.5
Don't want to disclose	0.9	1.5	0.0	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	6.5	5.6	3.1	12.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q33	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	46.7	58.0	55.6	60.3	56.8	49.7	57.7	33.3
No	44.4	37.7	32.2	32.4	35.7	43.3	36.5	50.0
Don't want to disclose	2.2	1.4	1.1	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	6.7	2.9	11.1	7.4	6.0	7.0	5.8	16.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q33	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	54.0	69.2	60.2	45.2	47.2	58.2	55.0	83.3	57.1
No	39.6	30.8	30.1	49.3	35.8	34.3	45.0	16.7	25.0
Don't want to disclose	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	5.2	0.0	9.6	5.5	15.1	7.5	0.0	0.0	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q34: How do you want to see the weapons of Nepali army and Maoist army managed so that you can safely cast votes in the constituent assembly elections? (if you have understood about constituent assembly)

Q34	Frequency	Valid Percent
Nepali army limited to barracks and Maoists lay down their arms	219	31.6
Both Nepali army and Maoist army in barracks (do not have to lay down arms)	174	25.1
Both Nepali army and Maoist army to be separated from their weapons	277	40.0
If the present situation continues	7	1.0
Don't want to disclose	1	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	14	2.0
Total	692	100.0

Q34	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Nepali army limited to barracks and Maoists lay down their arms	18.5	29.1	38.3
Both Nepali army and Maoist army in barracks (do not have to lay down arms)	20.0	21.5	31.2
Both Nepali army and Maoist army to be separated from their weapons	61.5	47.2	25.3
If the present situation continues	0.0	0.6	1.9
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.4
Don't know/cannot say	0.0	1.7	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q34	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Nepali army limited to barracks and Maoists lay down their arms	43.0	30.0	30.3	16.9	30.6
Both Nepali army and Maoist army in barracks (do not have to lay down arms)	25.9	17.2	29.5	42.9	27.4

Q34	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Nepali army limited to barracks and Maoists lay down their arms	29.1	26.9	14.5	41.1	45.3	41.8	35.0	66.7	32.1
Both Nepali army and Maoist army in barracks (do not have to lay down arms)	24.8	34.6	26.5	19.2	18.9	28.4	35.0	16.7	28.6
Both Nepali army and Maoist army to be separated from their weapons	44.2	30.8	53.0	38.4	30.2	26.9	20.0	16.7	35.7
If the present situation continues	0.6	3.8	1.2	1.4	0.0	1.5	5.0	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	0.9	3.8	4.8	0.0	5.7	1.5	5.0	0.0	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q35: Do you think an international supervision is necessary for ensuring free and fair constituent assembly elections? (if you have understood about constituent assembly)

Q35	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	521	75.3
No	138	19.9
Don't want to disclose	3	0.4
Don't know/cannot say	30	4.3
Total	692	100.0

Q35	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	81.5	74.3	75.1
No	10.8	21.2	20.4
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	1.1
Don't know/cannot say	7.7	4.5	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q35	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Yes	82.3	78.0	70.5	54.5	80.6
No	11.4	17.9	28.7	36.4	12.9
Don't want to disclose	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	4.4	4.0	0.8	9.1	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q35	Rural	Urban
Yes	74.8	76.5
No	21.2	16.8
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	3.6	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Q35	Female	Male
Yes	74.9	75.4
No	17.1	20.9
Don't want to disclose	1.1	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	6.9	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Q35	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Yes	75.8	71.3	77.2	78.1
No	18.6	26.2	18.1	15.5
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.5	0.8	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	5.6	2.1	3.9	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q35	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	75.6	75.4	71.1	66.2	76.9	77.7	80.8	75.0
No	13.3	18.8	22.2	25.0	20.1	19.7	17.3	16.7
Don't want to disclose	2.2	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	8.9	4.3	6.7	8.8	3.0	1.9	1.9	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q35	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	76.1	73.1	77.1	76.7	75.5	73.1	80.0	83.3	60.7
No	19.9	15.4	16.9	15.1	22.6	22.4	10.0	16.7	39.3
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.4	11.5	6.0	8.2	0.0	4.5	10.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q36: What is your level of trust towards Nepal Communist Party (Maoists)?

Q36	Frequency	Valid Percent
Trust very much	366	12.2
Trust a little	1329	44.3
Not much trust	498	16.6
Do not trust at all	524	17.5
Don't want to disclose	89	3.0
Don't know/cannot say	194	6.5
Total	3000	100.0

Q36	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Trust very much	9.2	8.8	16.6
Trust a little	31.2	49.7	41.0
Not much trust	17.3	18.8	14.0
Do not trust at all	23.1	14.0	20.2
Don't want to disclose	6.9	2.4	2.8
Don't know/cannot say	12.3	6.3	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q36	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Trust very much	6.0	14.8	12.2	13.7	11.9
Trust a little	50.9	41.3	46.4	45.1	39.4
Not much trust	13.1	14.6	20.0	20.1	21.6
Do not trust at all	18.9	20.2	10.6	12.2	21.3
Don't want to disclose	4.8	2.9	2.3	2.9	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	6.2	6.2	8.6	6.1	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q36	Rural	Urban
Trust very much	12.5	11.0
Trust a little	43.4	48.1
Not much trust	16.4	17.3
Do not trust at all	18.3	13.9
Don't want to disclose	3.4	1.4
Don't know/cannot say	6.0	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q36	Female	Male
Trust very much	9.5	14.9
Trust a little	42.5	46.1
Not much trust	17.1	16.1
Do not trust at all	19.7	15.3
Don't want to disclose	3.2	2.7
Don't know/cannot say	8.1	4.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q36	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Trust very much	11.4	12.5	13.0	12.1
Trust a little	52.3	44.3	43.0	38.4
Not much trust	14.1	16.5	15.5	19.6
Do not trust at all	15.6	18.1	17.2	18.6
Don't want to disclose	2.0	3.7	2.9	3.1
Don't know/cannot say	4.6	5.0	8.4	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q36	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Trust very much	13.0	10.3	11.6	13.7	12.9	10.3	12.3	6.7
Trust a little	38.3	45.0	49.1	44.8	48.3	52.1	53.8	60.0
Not much trust	15.8	18.0	18.9	16.2	16.3	16.1	12.3	20.0
Do not trust at all	20.1	16.7	12.7	16.2	17.4	16.9	15.4	6.7
Don't want to disclose	4.0	2.3	3.1	2.5	1.9	2.1	1.5	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	8.8	7.8	4.7	6.6	3.2	2.5	4.6	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q36	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Trust very much	8.4	19.6	8.2	9.5	9.8	23.0	16.5	17.9	18.2
Trust a little	47.0	48.3	40.1	57.7	53.7	34.3	38.8	30.8	37.9
Not much trust	20.5	14.0	19.4	10.8	16.3	12.2	15.1	7.7	6.8
Do not trust at all	17.6	10.5	17.6	12.6	9.8	23.0	21.6	33.3	28.8
Don't want to disclose	2.8	3.5	4.8	0.5	1.5	3.5	2.9	10.3	1.5
Don't know/cannot say	3.7	4.2	9.8	9.0	8.9	4.0	5.0	0.0	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q37: What do you think is the main demand of the Maoists? (Multiple code)

Q37	Frequency	Valid Percent
Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic	1160	28.5
Holding elections for constituent assembly	402	9.9

Establishment of competitive democratic system	65	1.6
Establishment of Maoist dictatorship	519	12.7
Establishment of federal state structure	16	0.4
Uplifting of under-privileged communities	368	9.0
Ensuring equality among all people	680	16.7
Don't want to disclose	24	0.6
Development of country	14	0.3
Lasting peace	17	0.4
Don't know/cannot say	808	19.8
Total	4073	100.0

Q37	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic	29.7	33.2	22.5
Holding elections for constituent assembly	13.1	12.3	6.2
Establishment of competitive democratic system	1.6	1.8	1.4
Establishment of Maoist dictatorship	10.4	8.7	18.1
Establishment of federal state structure	0.0	0.5	0.4
Uplifting of under-privileged communities	6.1	9.2	9.4
Ensuring equality among all people	17.6	14.6	19.0
Don't want to disclose	0.8	0.7	0.4
Development of country	0.5	0.3	0.4
Lasting peace	0.0	0.5	0.4
Don't know/cannot say	20.1	18.2	21.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q37	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic	28.3	28.4	27.5	26.1	32.7
Holding elections for constituent assembly	11.4	9.6	12.8	9.9	4.0
Establishment of competitive democratic system	1.2	1.6	2.3	2.1	0.6
Establishment of Maoist dictatorship	7.2	16.8	8.7	14.3	13.3
Establishment of federal state structure	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.0	1.0
Uplifting of under-privileged communities	8.3	6.3	10.3	8.2	17.6
Ensuring equality among all people	19.0	14.0	13.1	19.6	23.6
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.2	0.0
Development of country	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.6
Lasting peace	0.7	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	22.2	21.8	23.0	18.7	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q37	Rural	Urban
Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic	27.4	33.1
Holding elections for constituent assembly	9.5	11.5

Establishment of competitive democratic system	1.3	2.7
Establishment of Maoist dictatorship	13.0	11.5
Establishment of federal state structure	0.4	0.5
Uplifting of under-privileged communities	9.6	6.7
Ensuring equality among all people	17.3	14.3
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.6
Development of country	0.3	0.6
Lasting peace	0.4	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	20.3	18.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Q37	Female	Male
Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic	22.8	33.5
Holding elections for constituent assembly	6.3	13.0
Establishment of competitive democratic system	0.7	2.4
Establishment of Maoist dictatorship	14.8	10.9
Establishment of federal state structure	0.3	0.5
Uplifting of under-privileged communities	8.8	9.2
Ensuring equality among all people	16.8	16.6
Don't want to disclose	0.5	0.6
Development of country	0.2	0.5
Lasting peace	0.5	0.4
Don't know/cannot say	28.4	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Q37	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic	32.4	29.4	27.8	24.6
Holding elections for constituent assembly	10.5	10.8	8.6	9.2
Establishment of competitive democratic system	2.0	1.2	0.9	2.1
Establishment of Maoist dictatorship	12.4	12.2	13.7	12.9
Establishment of federal state structure	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5
Uplifting of under-privileged communities	9.4	9.0	9.3	8.5
Ensuring equality among all people	17.2	17.4	17.2	15.2
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.5	0.3	1.0
Development of country	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.4
Lasting peace	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	14.5	18.5	20.8	25.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q37	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic	16.6	29.3	29.4	32.3	37.2	45.3	51.6	34.6
Holding elections for constituent assembly	2.1	10.8	11.9	12.2	14.2	20.4	24.2	19.2

Establishment of competitive democratic system	0.7	1.2	2.2	1.2	2.0	3.7	2.1	7.7
Establishment of Maoist dictatorship	15.8	11.0	13.7	11.9	11.4	6.5	10.5	7.7
Establishment of federal state structure	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.0	0.0
Uplifting of under-privileged communities	10.1	8.0	12.2	8.5	7.7	5.9	2.1	11.5
Ensuring equality among all people	18.1	16.1	18.7	13.1	18.2	11.6	8.4	11.5
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.0
Development of country	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	3.8
Lasting peace	0.3	0.2	0.3	1.2	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	34.9	22.3	10.3	18.0	6.8	5.4	1.1	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q37	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic	36.3	28.3	26.4	41.9	24.6	16.0	13.2	20.0	15.0
Holding elections for constituent assembly	14.1	8.8	11.3	12.8	4.0	4.5	5.0	0.0	5.0
Establishment of competitive democratic system	2.0	1.0	1.3	2.4	1.7	1.4	0.6	0.0	0.0
Establishment of Maoist dictatorship	9.8	11.7	9.2	6.2	6.7	27.1	20.8	31.1	28.8
Establishment of federal state structure	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6
Uplifting of under-privileged communities	8.4	15.6	6.8	4.5	17.4	6.4	7.5	6.7	9.4
Ensuring equality among all people	16.6	17.1	11.6	11.8	24.4	17.2	13.8	17.8	18.8
Don't want to disclose	0.2	1.5	1.4	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.3
Development of country	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
Lasting peace	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6	2.2	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	10.9	15.6	31.1	18.7	20.0	26.9	37.1	22.2	20.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q38: Under which circumstances are you ready to accept CPN (Maoist) as an open political party?

Q38	Frequency	Valid Percent
In the present condition	96	3.2
If they lay down arms forever	2400	80.0
If they lay down arms temporarily	119	4.0
I will never accept them	54	1.8
Don't want to disclose	28	0.9
Don't know/cannot say	303	10.1
Total	3000	100.0

Q38	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
In the present condition	1.5	3.2	3.5
If they lay down arms forever	81.5	79.3	80.5
If they lay down arms temporarily	1.5	4.9	3.4
I will never accept them	3.1	1.0	2.4
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.7	1.4
Don't know/cannot say	12.3	10.8	8.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q38	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
In the present condition	2.4	2.9	3.4	6.4	1.9
If they lay down arms forever	78.1	81.4	77.0	75.0	88.7

Q39	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	42.0	41.3	38.3	43.7	28.2	31.9	27.3	28.2	38.6
No	34.4	24.5	24.6	29.3	17.2	33.3	28.8	43.6	28.0
Don't want to disclose	1.3	0.0	2.4	2.3	0.6	2.1	0.0	0.0	1.5
Don't know/cannot say	22.3	34.3	34.7	24.8	54.0	32.6	43.9	28.2	31.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q42: What is your level of trust towards the political parties?

Q42	Frequency	Valid Percent
Trust very much	337	11.2
Trust a little	1362	45.4
Not much trust	558	18.6
Do not trust at all	509	17.0
Don't want to disclose	30	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	204	6.8
Total	3000	100.0

Q42	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Trust very much	10.4	7.4	15.6
Trust a little	39.6	45.6	46.3
Not much trust	11.5	21.4	16.9
Do not trust at all	25.8	17.7	14.4
Don't want to disclose	2.3	1.0	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	10.4	6.9	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q42	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Trust very much	10.2	12.4	11.2	7.8	12.3
Trust a little	45.6	42.6	47.7	44.2	53.5
Not much trust	20.5	17.8	19.4	20.9	14.2
Do not trust at all	12.7	21.7	9.5	19.2	16.1
Don't want to disclose	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	10.0	4.4	11.0	6.7	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q42	Rural	Urban
Trust very much	11.5	10.2
Trust a little	45.6	44.6
Not much trust	17.8	21.9
Do not trust at all	16.6	18.3
Don't want to disclose	1.2	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	7.3	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q42	Female	Male
Trust very much	9.0	13.5
Trust a little	46.5	44.3
Not much trust	17.0	20.2
Do not trust at all	15.5	18.4
Don't want to disclose	1.5	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	10.5	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Q42	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Trust very much	9.5	13.2	10.4	11.4
Trust a little	49.6	42.4	44.5	45.2
Not much trust	17.8	19.2	20.3	17.6
Do not trust at all	16.9	18.0	15.4	17.2
Don't want to disclose	1.1	0.9	1.7	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	5.1	6.4	7.7	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q42	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Trust very much	9.9	6.6	11.4	12.9	14.8	14.0	21.5	13.3
Trust a little	45.0	44.1	45.0	47.7	48.9	44.2	33.8	46.7
Not much trust	17.3	23.1	20.7	17.4	15.5	18.6	24.6	26.7
Do not trust at all	15.4	16.9	17.1	17.0	18.2	21.5	18.5	13.3
Don't want to disclose	1.4	1.8	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.5	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	10.9	7.5	5.7	4.6	2.1	1.2	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q42	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Trust very much	8.8	9.1	7.4	12.2	6.4	23.0	18.0	28.2	10.6
Trust a little	45.7	48.3	42.3	38.7	51.2	49.1	41.7	53.8	42.4
Not much trust	20.3	21.7	19.2	18.9	20.6	12.9	14.4	7.7	21.2
Do not trust at all	20.1	11.9	16.0	25.7	13.2	10.1	15.8	10.3	18.9
Don't want to disclose	1.1	1.4	1.4	0.5	0.6	1.2	0.7	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.9	7.7	13.6	4.1	8.0	3.8	9.4	0.0	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q43: What should political parties do to win more trust from the Nepali people? (Multiple code)

Q43	Frequency	Valid Percent
Should bring peace in the country	1684	33.9
Should not engage in corruption or misuse authority when in government	580	11.7
At the leadership level, should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	66	1.3
Party position should be clear and consistent	73	1.5
The leaders should go back to their constituencies after elections regularly	351	7.1
Should not be frequent changes of the government bureaucracy	37	0.7
Should be devoted to public welfare	1849	37.2
Should not protest for the sake of protest	18	0.4
Don't want to disclose	5	0.1
Should control price inflation	11	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	291	5.9
Total	4965	100.0

Q43	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Should bring peace in the country	30.1	34.6	33.9
Should not engage in corruption or misuse authority when in government	10.5	15.6	7.5
At the leadership level, should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	0.7	1.5	1.2

Party position should be clear and consistent	1.2	1.6	1.4
The leaders should go back to their constituencies after elections regularly	12.9	6.5	6.6
Should not be frequent changes of the government bureaucracy	0.2	1.1	0.4
Should be devoted to public welfare	36.4	32.3	42.9
Should not protest for the sake of protest	0.5	0.4	0.3
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.1	0.1
Should control price inflation	0.0	0.3	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	7.5	6.0	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q43	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Should bring peace in the country	37.0	33.2	26.7	32.1	43.0
Should not engage in corruption or misuse authority when in government	8.4	14.4	15.3	7.4	7.0
At the leadership level, should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	1.6	0.8	1.3	2.8	1.5
Party position should be clear and consistent	1.2	1.3	1.9	0.7	2.6
The leaders should go back to their constituencies after elections regularly	6.9	6.2	4.1	7.9	13.9
Should not be frequent changes of the government bureaucracy	0.7	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.4
Should be devoted to public welfare	37.2	38.0	41.3	38.9	27.1
Should not protest for the sake of protest	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.2
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Should control price inflation	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	6.2	4.1	8.7	9.0	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q43	Rural	Urban
Should bring peace in the country	34.2	32.7
Should not engage in corruption or misuse authority when in government	10.9	14.8
At the leadership level, should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	1.3	1.5
Party position should be clear and consistent	1.2	2.7
The leaders should go back to their constituencies after elections regularly	7.6	4.7
Should not be frequent changes of the government bureaucracy	0.8	0.6
Should be devoted to public welfare	37.4	36.7
Should not protest for the sake of protest	0.3	0.7
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.1
Should control price inflation	0.1	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	6.2	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q43	Female	Male
Should bring peace in the country	35.7	32.3
Should not engage in corruption or misuse authority when in government	9.5	13.7
At the leadership level, should be	0.9	1.7

inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity		
Party position should be clear and consistent	0.9	2.0
The leaders should go back to their constituencies after elections regularly	6.2	7.9
Should not be frequent changes of the government bureaucracy	0.6	0.9
Should be devoted to public welfare	36.7	37.7
Should not protest for the sake of protest	0.1	0.6
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0
Should control price inflation	0.1	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	9.0	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q43	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Should bring peace in the country	33.8	34.9	33.3	33.5
Should not engage in corruption or misuse authority when in government	12.3	10.1	13.0	11.7
At the leadership level, should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	1.1	1.6	1.2	1.3
Party position should be clear and consistent	2.0	1.2	1.3	1.4
The leaders should go back to their constituencies after elections regularly	7.3	7.3	7.0	6.7
Should not be frequent changes of the government bureaucracy	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.6
Should be devoted to public welfare	37.6	37.2	36.3	37.5
Should not protest for the sake of protest	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1
Should control price inflation	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	4.4	6.1	6.2	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q43	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Should bring peace in the country	37.0	34.5	35.4	29.1	30.6	30.6	27.4	28.0
Should not engage in corruption or misuse authority when in government	6.4	12.7	13.9	13.4	14.7	17.6	24.5	24.0
At the leadership level, should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	1.2	1.1	1.7	2.0	1.2	1.6	0.9	0.0
Party position should be clear and consistent	0.7	1.0	1.5	1.0	2.3	3.5	3.8	8.0
The leaders should go back to their constituencies after elections regularly	6.5	5.6	8.9	7.8	9.3	5.3	2.8	4.0
Should not be frequent changes of the government bureaucracy	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5	1.2	0.7	1.9	0.0
Should be devoted to public welfare	37.5	37.4	33.4	39.7	37.7	39.1	35.8	36.0
Should not protest for the sake of protest	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.2	1.9	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Should control price inflation	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.9	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	9.8	6.4	4.2	5.3	1.8	0.9	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q43	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Should bring peace in the country	34.5	38.3	32.2	28.5	41.7	30.7	31.6	27.0	30.5
Should not engage in corruption or	15.1	10.4	10.5	21.7	5.8	8.7	5.3	15.9	6.0

misuse authority when in government									
At the leadership level, should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	0.8	4.2	1.8	1.3	2.4	0.7	1.0	1.6	1.0
Party position should be clear and consistent	2.0	0.8	0.9	1.6	1.6	1.0	0.5	1.6	1.0
The leaders should go back to their constituencies after elections regularly	8.3	7.9	6.8	5.2	5.4	5.7	8.3	6.3	8.5
Should not be frequent changes of the government bureaucracy	0.9	0.4	0.6	0.8	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Should be devoted to public welfare	33.5	32.9	33.9	37.2	35.5	47.9	44.2	47.6	45.0
Should not protest for the sake of protest	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.5
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Should control price inflation	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
Don't know/cannot say	3.9	4.2	12.7	3.1	5.4	5.0	8.7	0.0	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q44: What is your level of trust on the Nepali Army?

Q44	Frequency	Valid Percent
Trust very much	573	19.1
Trust a little	1417	47.2
Not much trust	497	16.6
Do not trust at all	317	10.6
Don't want to disclose	30	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	166	5.5
Total	3000	100.0

Q44	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Trust very much	15.8	13.6	25.8
Trust a little	39.6	50.9	44.7
Not much trust	17.3	18.9	13.8
Do not trust at all	13.5	10.2	10.4
Don't want to disclose	4.2	0.7	0.7
Don't know/cannot say	9.6	5.6	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q44	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Trust very much	15.3	24.9	10.3	14.0	23.9
Trust a little	50.8	47.3	49.6	43.3	40.6
Not much trust	17.2	12.2	19.4	25.6	18.1
Do not trust at all	7.6	11.5	11.4	10.8	11.0
Don't want to disclose	1.7	1.1	0.4	0.9	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	7.4	3.1	8.9	5.5	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q44	Rural	Urban
Trust very much	19.0	19.7
Trust a little	47.0	48.1
Not much trust	16.3	17.5
Do not trust at all	11.2	7.8
Don't want to disclose	1.1	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	5.3	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q44	Female	Male
Trust very much	16.6	21.6
Trust a little	49.6	44.9
Not much trust	14.5	18.6
Do not trust at all	9.8	11.3
Don't want to disclose	1.3	0.7
Don't know/cannot say	8.1	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q44	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Trust very much	18.4	18.1	16.9	22.1
Trust a little	48.6	48.3	46.9	45.3
Not much trust	16.8	16.7	19.5	14.3
Do not trust at all	11.9	10.7	10.1	9.6
Don't want to disclose	0.9	1.1	0.9	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.3	5.1	5.8	7.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q44	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Trust very much	18.1	15.5	18.3	21.6	22.1	21.5	23.1	33.3
Trust a little	47.9	49.5	48.6	43.6	47.6	43.8	40.0	26.7
Not much trust	14.9	18.0	17.6	17.0	15.9	19.0	23.1	20.0
Do not trust at all	9.8	9.6	10.6	12.0	11.6	12.0	12.3	13.3
Don't want to disclose	1.1	1.8	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.5	6.7
Don't know/cannot say	8.2	5.5	4.1	5.4	2.4	3.3	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q44	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Trust very much	18.1	11.9	9.6	19.8	12.6	29.8	29.5	43.6	34.8
Trust a little	46.6	51.7	50.5	46.4	53.1	46.2	44.6	43.6	36.4
Not much trust	18.7	18.2	19.4	17.6	19.0	9.4	10.8	10.3	12.1
Do not trust at all	12.1	11.9	10.2	9.9	8.6	10.6	7.9	2.6	9.8
Don't want to disclose	1.2	0.7	1.4	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.4	5.6	8.8	5.4	5.8	3.1	6.5	0.0	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q45: What should the Nepali Army do to win more trust from the public? (Multiple code)

Q45	Frequency	Valid Percent
Should be disciplined	1406	30.4
Should be devoted to providing security for the people	1928	41.6
Should not support regression or suppression	186	4.0
Should remain politically neutral	80	1.7
The upper echelons should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	60	1.3
Should be an army of the country and the people	644	13.9
Don't want to disclose	18	0.4
Should involve in developing process	6	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	302	6.5
Total	4630	100.0

Q45	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Should be disciplined	27.8	30.8	30.3
Should be devoted to providing security for the people	41.0	41.0	42.6
Should not support regression or suppression	2.4	5.8	2.2
Should remain politically neutral	2.2	2.1	1.2
The upper echelons should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	0.5	1.6	1.0
Should be an army of the country and the people	17.1	12.0	15.6
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.4	0.5
Should involve in developing process	0.5	0.1	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	8.5	6.2	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q45	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Should be disciplined	37.7	30.5	21.8	26.5	32.8
Should be devoted to providing security for the people	34.8	48.2	46.8	34.8	31.6
Should not support regression or suppression	2.9	3.6	7.6	3.0	3.2
Should remain politically neutral	1.1	1.9	2.7	0.8	1.7
The upper echelons should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	1.0	0.9	1.5	1.7	2.4
Should be an army of the country and the people	14.7	9.6	12.1	21.8	21.8
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.3	0.1	0.9	0.0
Should involve in developing process	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.4
Don't know/cannot say	7.2	4.8	7.2	10.4	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q45	Rural	Urban
Should be disciplined	30.3	30.8
Should be devoted to providing security for the people	42.3	39.1
Should not support regression or suppression	3.7	5.2
Should remain politically neutral	1.6	2.2
The upper echelons should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	1.3	1.3
Should be an army of the country and the people	13.6	15.0
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.4
Should involve in developing process	0.1	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	6.6	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Q45	Female	Male
Should be disciplined	28.9	31.7
Should be devoted to providing security for the people	43.1	40.3
Should not support regression or suppression	3.3	4.6
Should remain politically neutral	1.1	2.3
The upper echelons should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity	1.0	1.6

Q46	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
There should be	47.2	44.1	44.3	59.9	50.0	68.1	68.3	76.9	66.7
There should not be	47.9	47.6	41.5	36.5	39.3	26.8	25.2	20.5	28.8
Don't want to disclose	1.4	2.8	3.2	0.9	0.9	3.3	2.9	2.6	1.5
Don't know/cannot say	3.5	5.6	11.0	2.7	9.8	1.9	3.6	0.0	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q47: If you think there should be a place for monarchy, then why? (Multiple code)

Q47	Frequency	Valid Percent
Because monarchy brings development in the country	164	8.0
Because the forefather of the present king has formed our country	349	17.0
Because monarchy is a part of our tradition	919	44.8
Because in a plural country like Nepal, it could include all	180	8.8
Because monarchy is a symbol of national unity	225	11.0
Because it is an essential part of being Nepali	104	5.1
Because it has brought stability in the country	40	2.0
Don't want to disclose	1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	68	3.3
Total	2050	100.0

Q47	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Because monarchy brings development in the country	5.0	4.8	11.5
Because the forefather of the present king has formed our country	20.1	19.2	14.5
Because monarchy is a part of our tradition	35.2	44.8	46.4
Because in a plural country like Nepal, it could include all	1.9	11.0	7.8
Because monarchy is a symbol of national unity	20.1	12.0	8.5
Because it is an essential part of being Nepali	7.5	4.5	5.2
Because it has brought stability in the country	1.3	1.5	2.5
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	8.8	2.2	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q47	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Because monarchy brings development in the country	7.7	9.3	4.8	8.0	6.2
Because the forefather of the present king has formed our country	24.9	15.2	15.5	13.8	16.5
Because monarchy is a part of our tradition	37.7	47.8	47.0	37.1	49.5
Because in a plural country like Nepal, it could include all	9.8	10.4	6.4	8.5	2.1
Because monarchy is a symbol of national unity	9.8	7.9	17.1	18.3	12.9

Because it is an essential part of being Nepali	5.6	4.6	3.6	4.5	9.3
Because it has brought stability in the country	1.6	2.2	2.8	1.3	1.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	2.9	2.6	2.8	8.5	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q47	Rural	Urban
Because monarchy brings development in the country	8.3	6.4
Because the forefather of the present king has formed our country	17.0	17.3
Because monarchy is a part of our tradition	43.4	51.4
Because in a plural country like Nepal, it could include all	9.2	7.0
Because monarchy is a symbol of national unity	11.6	8.1
Because it is an essential part of being Nepali	5.0	5.6
Because it has brought stability in the country	2.1	1.1
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.4	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Q47	Female	Male
Because monarchy brings development in the country	9.1	6.7
Because the forefather of the present king has formed our country	16.6	17.6
Because monarchy is a part of our tradition	45.6	43.9
Because in a plural country like Nepal, it could include all	7.6	10.2
Because monarchy is a symbol of national unity	10.2	11.9
Because it is an essential part of being Nepali	4.4	5.9
Because it has brought stability in the country	1.9	2.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	4.6	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Q47	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Because monarchy brings development in the country	9.0	6.7	7.8	8.4
Because the forefather of the present king has formed our country	17.5	15.0	17.8	17.8
Because monarchy is a part of our tradition	43.4	46.5	47.3	43.1
Because in a plural country like Nepal, it could include all	7.7	10.4	8.6	8.4
Because monarchy is a symbol of national unity	11.8	10.0	8.6	12.5
Because it is an essential part of being Nepali	5.3	4.8	5.5	4.9

Because it has brought stability in the country	2.2	2.1	1.6	1.8
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.1	4.2	2.9	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q47	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Because monarchy brings development in the country	10.6	4.5	5.4	8.5	9.0	2.1	6.9	0.0
Because the forefather of the present king has formed our country	17.2	17.5	20.5	12.7	16.8	16.2	10.3	0.0
Because monarchy is a part of our tradition	41.5	51.7	41.7	49.1	47.7	50.0	37.9	25.0
Because in a plural country like Nepal, it could include all	9.7	8.9	9.7	10.3	4.7	5.6	17.2	0.0
Because monarchy is a symbol of national unity	9.6	9.6	12.0	12.1	12.5	15.5	13.8	25.0
Because it is an essential part of being Nepali	4.8	4.1	5.8	4.8	5.5	5.6	6.9	25.0
Because it has brought stability in the country	1.9	0.7	2.3	0.6	2.7	3.5	3.4	12.5
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	4.8	2.7	2.7	1.8	1.2	1.4	3.4	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q47	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Because monarchy brings development in the country	4.4	6.0	6.5	3.1	10.2	14.7	3.5	3.2	22.6
Because the forefather of the present king has formed our country	20.2	25.0	17.1	19.0	16.2	11.6	11.4	6.5	9.7
Because monarchy is a part of our tradition	42.7	33.3	47.6	52.8	34.3	51.4	55.3	58.1	40.3
Because in a plural country like Nepal, it could include all	6.7	2.4	11.6	6.7	16.7	7.3	14.0	3.2	9.7
Because monarchy is a symbol of national unity	14.6	20.2	7.3	9.2	12.5	6.7	6.1	9.7	8.9
Because it is an essential part of being Nepali	5.8	8.3	5.1	4.9	6.5	2.8	4.4	6.5	2.4
Because it has brought stability in the country	2.3	1.2	1.5	0.0	1.9	2.4	0.9	12.9	1.6
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.3	3.6	2.9	4.3	1.9	3.1	4.4	0.0	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q48: If there should be a place for monarchy, what should be the type of monarchy?

Q48	Frequency	Valid Percent
Active monarchy	327	20.4
Constitutional monarchy	538	33.6
Ceremonial monarchy	291	18.2
Don't want to disclose	3	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	444	27.7
Total	1603	100.0

Q48	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Active monarchy	20.6	23.9	17.2
Constitutional monarchy	40.5	38.1	28.4
Ceremonial monarchy	26.2	21.3	14.0

Q49: If you think there should be no place, then why? (Multiple code)

Q49	Frequency	Valid Percent
Because it has not developed the country	500	27.4
Because it is a feudal, exploitative institution	693	37.9
Because it has time and again worked against democracy	274	15.0
Because it has brought about divisions among the people	147	8.0
Because it has unified the country through a wrong process	12	0.7
The institution had a role in history but is no longer relevant	86	4.7
Because it has never allowed elected governments to become stable	40	2.2
Don't want to disclose	8	0.4
It has not been able to bring peace	17	0.9
Don't know/cannot say	50	2.7
Total	1827	100.0

Q49	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Because it has not developed the country	22.8	27.8	28.0
Because it is a feudal, exploitative institution	40.7	34.5	42.5
Because it has time and again worked against democracy	10.2	16.2	14.3
Because it has brought about divisions among the people	10.8	8.1	7.3
Because it has unified the country through a wrong process	0.6	0.6	0.8
The institution had a role in history but is no longer relevant	4.8	5.8	3.0
Because it has never allowed elected governments to become stable	1.8	3.1	0.9
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.4	0.5
It has not been able to bring peace	2.4	0.9	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	5.4	2.7	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q49	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Because it has not developed the country	27.6	28.3	31.4	20.2	26.5
Because it is a feudal, exploitative institution	36.2	36.1	41.3	37.0	40.5
Because it has time and again worked against democracy	14.3	16.5	11.0	24.9	8.7
Because it has brought about divisions among the people	13.3	6.1	6.3	7.0	7.6
Because it has unified the country through a wrong process	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.0	2.3
The institution had a role in history but is no longer relevant	3.8	5.3	3.3	4.7	6.8
Because it has never allowed elected governments to become stable	1.5	2.9	1.1	1.6	3.8
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.4
It has not been able to bring peace	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.6	1.9

Don't know/cannot say	2.3	2.9	3.9	2.7	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q49	Rural	Urban
Because it has not developed the country	27.0	28.5
Because it is a feudal, exploitative institution	38.1	37.4
Because it has time and again worked against democracy	14.2	17.6
Because it has brought about divisions among the people	8.6	6.3
Because it has unified the country through a wrong process	0.6	0.7
The institution had a role in history but is no longer relevant	5.0	3.6
Because it has never allowed elected governments to become stable	2.1	2.7
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.0
It has not been able to bring peace	1.0	0.7
Don't know/cannot say	2.8	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q49	Female	Male
Because it has not developed the country	27.2	27.5
Because it is a feudal, exploitative institution	36.9	38.6
Because it has time and again worked against democracy	15.2	14.8
Because it has brought about divisions among the people	8.7	7.6
Because it has unified the country through a wrong process	0.3	0.9
The institution had a role in history but is no longer relevant	3.8	5.2
Because it has never allowed elected governments to become stable	1.9	2.4
Don't want to disclose	0.7	0.3
It has not been able to bring peace	1.1	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	4.1	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q49	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Because it has not developed the country	29.8	27.8	26.7	24.8
Because it is a feudal, exploitative institution	35.0	39.2	39.0	38.8
Because it has time and again worked against democracy	14.4	14.8	14.4	16.3
Because it has brought about divisions among the people	7.6	8.2	8.7	7.8
Because it has unified the country through a wrong process	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.4
The institution had a role in history but is no longer relevant	4.5	5.2	4.6	4.4
Because it has never allowed elected governments to become stable	3.1	1.6	1.4	2.6
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.0	1.4	0.2

It has not been able to bring peace	0.8	1.0	0.8	1.1
Don't know/cannot say	2.9	1.9	2.7	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q49	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Because it has not developed the country	22.8	25.4	29.1	31.3	31.3	27.9	27.0	17.6
Because it is a feudal, exploitative institution	38.8	40.9	37.6	37.3	36.6	36.5	38.1	29.4
Because it has time and again worked against democracy	14.9	13.9	14.5	18.7	13.2	16.8	20.6	11.8
Because it has brought about divisions among the people	10.8	10.7	8.5	4.7	5.7	6.6	3.2	5.9
Because it has unified the country through a wrong process	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.7	1.2	1.5	0.0	0.0
The institution had a role in history but is no longer relevant	3.4	4.4	3.9	2.7	5.7	6.1	7.9	23.5
Because it has never allowed elected governments to become stable	1.3	0.8	3.2	1.3	3.5	2.0	1.6	11.8
Don't want to disclose	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
It has not been able to bring peace	1.1	0.8	1.1	1.3	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	5.8	2.0	1.4	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q49	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Because it has not developed the country	28.0	27.2	26.2	22.5	30.6	30.8	21.3	11.1	21.6
Because it is a feudal, exploitative institution	37.0	38.8	34.2	40.3	38.9	43.2	42.6	66.7	47.1
Because it has time and again worked against democracy	15.6	11.7	14.4	18.6	11.1	13.0	23.4	0.0	23.5
Because it has brought about divisions among the people	7.2	13.6	9.6	4.7	14.8	2.1	0.0	11.1	2.0
Because it has unified the country through a wrong process	0.8	0.0	0.3	0.8	0.9	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
The institution had a role in history but is no longer relevant	5.2	2.9	6.7	7.0	1.9	3.4	4.3	0.0	0.0
Because it has never allowed elected governments to become stable	2.8	1.9	2.2	3.1	0.5	1.4	0.0	0.0	2.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.4	2.1	0.0	0.0
It has not been able to bring peace	1.5	1.9	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	1.9	1.9	4.8	2.3	1.4	3.4	6.4	11.1	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q50: Do you feel that since the last few years the king and monarchy are becoming unpopular in the eyes of the people?

Q50	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	2623	87.4
No	147	4.9
Don't want to disclose	19	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	211	7.0
Total	3000	100.0

Q51: If yes, why do you think it is becoming unpopular?

Q51	Frequency	Valid Percent
Palace massacre	1050	40.0
Anti-democratic activities of the royal govt	436	16.6
The temperament of the present king	850	32.4
Doings of the crown prince	12	0.5
Conspiratorial nature of the palace	92	3.5
Don't want to disclose	41	1.6
Don't know/cannot say	142	5.4
Total	2623	100.0

Q51	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Palace massacre	56.1	47.0	29.1
Anti-democratic activities of the royal govt	14.3	20.2	13.1
The temperament of the present king	20.2	22.2	46.1
Doings of the crown prince	0.0	0.6	0.4
Conspiratorial nature of the palace	1.8	4.0	3.2
Don't want to disclose	0.4	1.0	2.5
Don't know/cannot say	7.2	5.0	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q51	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Palace massacre	40.6	34.9	41.4	49.2	49.6
Anti-democratic activities of the royal govt	11.9	14.7	19.4	26.1	18.1
The temperament of the present king	36.3	39.3	28.2	13.2	23.7
Doings of the crown prince	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Conspiratorial nature of the palace	6.4	1.8	5.8	3.0	2.2
Don't want to disclose	1.8	2.6		1.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.1	5.8	5.2	7.6	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q51	Rural	Urban
Palace massacre	41.2	35.6
Anti-democratic activities of the royal govt	15.5	21.0
The temperament of the present king	32.4	32.6
Doings of the crown prince	0.4	0.7
Conspiratorial nature of the palace	3.1	5.0
Don't want to disclose	1.8	0.7
Don't know/cannot say	5.7	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q52	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
It should be secular	34.1	40.6	45.5	30.6	14.4	14.6	12.2	15.4	72.7
It should be Hindu	59.3	51.7	36.9	64.9	81.0	74.4	74.1	82.1	15.2
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	6.2	7.0	17.0	4.1	4.6	10.8	13.7	2.6	12.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q53: If Nepal should be a secular state, why?

Q53	Frequency	Valid Percent
State and religion has to be kept separate	104	11.1
The king had become powerful by using Hindu religion	10	1.1
Religious freedom and rights of religious minorities can be ensured only in a secular state	731	77.7
The state should not have any religion	54	5.7
State's religion is atheism	4	0.4
Don't want to disclose	3	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	35	3.7
Total	941	100.0

Q53	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
State and religion has to be kept separate	10.9	9.0	14.4
The king had become powerful by using Hindu religion	1.8	1.2	0.6
Religious freedom and rights of religious minorities can be ensured only in a secular state	72.7	81.2	73.8
The state should not have any religion	9.1	4.7	6.3
State's religion is atheism	0.0	0.2	0.9
Don't want to disclose	1.8	0.0	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	3.6	3.7	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q53	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
State and religion has to be kept separate	10.9	7.4	20.6	2.1	22.2
The king had become powerful by using Hindu religion	0.5	1.4	0.5	0.0	6.3
Religious freedom and rights of religious minorities can be ensured only in a secular state	78.3	75.6	72.0	93.8	55.6
The state should not have any religion	7.1	8.1	2.3	2.6	12.7
State's religion is atheism	1.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.6
Don't know/cannot say	1.6	6.4	4.6	1.6	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q53	Rural	Urban
State and religion has to be kept separate	11.1	10.8
The king had become powerful by using Hindu religion	1.1	0.9
Religious freedom and rights of religious minorities can be ensured only in a secular state	77.0	80.2
The state should not have any religion	5.9	5.2

Q54: If Nepal should be a Hindu state, then why?

Q54	Frequency	Valid Percent
Nepal is identified as a Hindu state in the world	365	20.6
It is a part of tradition; Nepal has always remained a Hindu state	1234	69.6
If it is not Hindu, it will invite conflicts in the name of religion	71	4.0
The rights of minority religions had been protected when the state was Hindu	18	1.0
If the state is not Hindu, irreligiosity will grow and so will religious opponents	41	2.3
Don't know/cannot say	43	2.4
Total	1772	100.0

Q54	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Nepal is identified as a Hindu state in the world	17.9	22.0	19.7
It is a part of tradition; Nepal has always remained a Hindu state	66.0	71.4	68.5
If it is not Hindu, it will invite conflicts in the name of religion	4.7	2.6	5.2
The rights of minority religions had been protected when the state was Hindu	3.8	0.5	1.1
If the state is not Hindu, irreligiosity will grow and so will religious opponents	4.7	1.9	2.4
Don't know/cannot say	2.8	1.6	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q54	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Nepal is identified as a Hindu state in the world	9.5	22.0	29.3	13.9	25.7
It is a part of tradition; Nepal has always remained a Hindu state	86.6	68.4	63.2	49.6	66.2
If it is not Hindu, it will invite conflicts in the name of religion	1.5	4.6	2.5	15.7	1.3
The rights of minority religions had been protected when the state was Hindu	0.3	0.4	1.2	7.0	1.3
If the state is not Hindu, irreligiosity will grow and so will religious opponents	0.9	2.3	1.7	7.0	3.0
Don't know/cannot say	1.2	2.4	2.1	7.0	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q54	Rural	Urban
Nepal is identified as a Hindu state in the world	20.2	22.4
It is a part of tradition; Nepal has always remained a Hindu state	69.6	69.6
If it is not Hindu, it will invite conflicts in the name of religion	3.8	4.7
The rights of minority religions had been protected when the state was Hindu	1.1	0.6
If the state is not Hindu, irreligiosity will grow and so will religious opponents	2.6	1.2
Don't know/cannot say	2.7	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Q55	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Have heard	15.3	7.7	7.2	13.1	8.6	6.8	2.2	7.7	9.1
Have not heard	71.0	79.0	64.9	60.4	77.3	86.4	92.1	92.3	81.8
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
Don't know/cannot say	13.6	12.6	27.7	26.6	14.1	6.8	5.8	0.0	7.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q56: If you have heard about the federal system, how much do you think you have understood about it?

Q56	Frequency	Valid Percent
Understand very well	65	21.2
Understand somewhat	125	40.8
Have heard, but do not understand	116	37.9
Total	306	100.0

Q56	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Understand very well	15.8	23.8	18.7
Understand somewhat	26.3	36.0	49.6
Have heard, but do not understand	57.9	40.2	31.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q56	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Understand very well	21.8	27.5	12.5	14.3	23.3
Understand somewhat	36.4	45.9	39.1	34.3	41.9
Have heard, but do not understand	41.8	26.6	48.4	51.4	34.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q56	Rural	Urban
Understand very well	21.6	20.5
Understand somewhat	38.1	47.7
Have heard, but do not understand	40.4	31.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Q56	Female	Male
Understand very well	10.7	24.7
Understand somewhat	41.3	40.7
Have heard, but do not understand	48.0	34.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q56	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Understand very well	19.6	21.1	19.2	25.0
Understand somewhat	38.0	53.3	30.8	36.1
Have heard, but do not understand	42.4	25.6	50.0	38.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q56	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Understand very well	16.7	0.0	10.3	11.5	18.3	36.6	28.1	50.0
Understand somewhat	33.3	36.4	34.5	34.6	43.0	42.3	53.1	30.0
Have heard, but do not understand	50.0	63.6	55.2	53.8	38.7	21.1	18.8	20.0

Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
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Q56	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Understand very well	22.7	9.1	13.9	24.1	28.6	17.2	66.7	0.0	16.7
Understand somewhat	40.3	45.5	27.8	48.3	35.7	51.7	33.3	100.0	41.7
Have heard, but do not understand	37.0	45.5	58.3	27.6	35.7	31.0	0.0	0.0	41.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q57: What should be the type of state structure in the future Nepal?

Q57	Frequency	Valid Percent
It should remain unitary state	38	20.0
It should become federal state	143	75.3
I have no comment on it	2	1.1
Don't want to disclose	1	0.5
Don't know/cannot say	6	3.2
Total	190	100.0

Q57	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
It should remain unitary state	0.0	17.3	25.0
It should become federal state	62.5	79.6	71.4
I have no comment on it	0.0	1.0	1.2
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	1.2
Don't know/cannot say	37.5	2.0	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q57	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
It should remain unitary state	18.8	8.8	30.3	23.5	39.3
It should become federal state	75.0	85.0	66.7	70.6	60.7
I have no comment on it	0.0	0.0	3.0	5.9	0.0
Don't want to disclose	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.1	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q57	Rural	Urban
It should remain unitary state	18.5	23.3
It should become federal state	76.9	71.7
I have no comment on it	0.8	1.7
Don't want to disclose	0.8	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	3.1	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q57	Female	Male
It should remain unitary state	17.9	20.5
It should become federal state	71.8	76.2
I have no comment on it	0.0	1.3
Don't want to disclose	2.6	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	7.7	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Q57	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
It should remain unitary state	15.1	20.9	26.9	20.5
It should become federal state	79.2	71.6	73.1	77.3
I have no comment on it	1.9	1.5	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	1.9	6.0	0.0	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q57	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
It should remain unitary state	0.0	33.3	23.1	25.0	15.8	19.6	23.1	25.0
It should become federal state	100.0	66.7	69.2	75.0	75.4	75.0	76.9	75.0
I have no comment on it	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	1.8	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	7.0	1.8	0.0	0.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q57	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
It should remain unitary state	19.6	16.7	26.7	23.8	27.8	15.0	0.0	0.0	14.3
It should become federal state	75.3	83.3	73.3	57.1	72.2	85.0	100.0	100.0	85.7
I have no comment on it	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	2.1	0.0	0.0	19.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q58: What should be the language policy of the future Nepal?

Q58	Frequency	Valid Percent
Nepali language should be the only official language	1661	55.4
Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level	1127	37.6
Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language	21	0.7
Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language	13	0.4
Don't want to disclose	3	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	175	5.8
Total	3000	100.0

Q58	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Nepali language should be the only official language	48.8	62.9	48.3
Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level	43.1	30.4	44.4
Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language	0.0	0.1	1.5
Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language	0.0	0.4	0.5
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.0	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	7.7	6.2	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q58	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Nepali language should be the only official language	60.2	54.7	48.5	45.6	71.3
Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level	36.3	36.6	41.6	48.3	25.2
Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language	0.0	0.7	1.9	0.3	0.3
Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language	0.5	0.2	0.4	1.2	0.3
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	2.8	7.6	7.6	4.7	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q58	Rural	Urban
Nepali language should be the only official language	54.4	59.2
Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level	38.3	34.7
Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language	0.8	0.2
Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language	0.4	0.5
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	5.9	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q58	Female	Male
Nepali language should be the only official language	56.8	53.9
Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level	32.9	42.2
Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language	0.8	0.6
Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language	0.4	0.5
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	8.9	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q58	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Nepali language should be the only official language	57.6	55.2	51.5	56.2
Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level	37.4	38.7	41.0	34.4
Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language	0.5	1.0	0.9	0.5
Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language	0.7	0.1	0.5	0.5
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	3.8	5.0	6.0	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q58	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Nepali language should be the only official language	49.7	58.7	53.5	58.1	58.2	68.6	66.2	46.7
Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the	39.4	30.8	41.9	38.2	39.3	30.2	33.8	53.3

local level									
Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language	0.3	0.0	0.3	1.2	0.9	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	9.2	9.6	3.4	2.5	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q58	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Nepali language should be the only official language	72.5	58.7	50.9	63.5	39.9	40.1	45.3	43.6	31.1
Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level	22.4	34.3	40.3	31.1	55.8	49.3	48.9	56.4	56.1
Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.7	0.0	6.1
Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	4.0	6.3	8.4	5.4	4.0	8.2	4.3	0.0	6.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q59: Have you heard about the proportional representative electoral system?

Q59	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	376	12.5
No	2198	73.3
Don't want to disclose	4	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	422	14.1
Total	3000	100.0

Q59	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	8.5	14.2	11.5
No	75.0	65.7	81.3
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.3	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	16.5	19.9	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q59	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Yes	14.8	10.0	17.1	10.5	12.9
No	64.4	80.1	59.1	88.4	70.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	1.0
Don't know/cannot say	20.8	9.9	23.6	1.2	16.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q59	Rural	Urban
Yes	11.1	18.5
No	74.8	67.1
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	14.0	14.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q59	Female	Male
Yes	6.8	18.3
No	76.7	69.8
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	16.5	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q59	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Yes	14.9	14.5	12.3	8.9
No	72.9	72.1	74.6	73.8
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	12.1	13.2	13.0	17.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q59	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	2.3	11.0	9.0	12.4	21.7	38.0	50.8	73.3
No	80.8	70.3	77.5	75.5	71.2	50.0	40.0	20.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	16.8	18.7	13.4	12.0	6.4	12.0	9.2	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q59	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	18.5	9.8	9.4	18.5	11.3	6.1	5.0	7.7	6.8
No	67.7	76.2	63.1	57.7	77.9	88.7	92.1	92.3	88.6
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	13.5	14.0	27.5	23.9	10.7	5.2	2.9	0.0	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q62: Have you heard of affirmative action?

Q62	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	1642	54.7
No	1122	37.4
Don't want to disclose	3	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	233	7.8
Total	3000	100.0

Q62	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	53.5	61.7	47.3
No	37.3	27.2	48.7
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.1	0.2
Don't know/cannot say	9.2	11.0	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q62	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Yes	58.5	48.9	56.5	65.4	56.1
No	29.9	47.9	27.9	32.6	31.0
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	11.2	3.2	15.6	2.0	12.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q62	Rural	Urban
Yes	51.9	66.3
No	39.6	28.3
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	8.3	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q62	Female	Male
Yes	44.5	64.9
No	44.5	30.3
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	10.8	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q62	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Yes	61.5	54.2	55.1	49.2
No	33.7	38.9	37.4	39.1
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	4.5	6.7	7.5	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q62	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	30.9	58.4	59.4	63.1	76.2	90.5	95.4	93.3
No	55.3	33.3	35.4	32.8	21.5	9.1	4.6	6.7
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	13.7	8.2	4.9	4.1	2.1	0.4	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q62	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	66.3	67.8	52.7	69.8	54.9	31.9	38.1	48.7	41.7
No	25.7	23.1	31.1	23.0	39.3	64.8	59.0	51.3	55.3
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	7.9	9.1	16.2	7.2	5.8	2.8	2.9	0.0	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q63: If you have heard about affirmative action, do you understand it?

Q63	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	1307	79.6
No	298	18.1
Don't know/cannot say	37	2.3
Total	1642	100.0

Q63	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	74.8	79.5	80.8
No	22.3	16.9	19.0
Don't know/cannot say	2.9	3.6	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q63	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Yes	72.1	81.7	82.5	91.6	66.7
No	27.4	13.4	16.2	8.0	33.3
Don't know/cannot say	0.6	5.0	1.3	0.4	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q63	Rural	Urban
Yes	78.8	82.1
No	19.0	15.3
Don't know/cannot say	2.2	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q63	Female	Male
Yes	74.3	83.3
No	22.6	15.1
Don't know/cannot say	3.1	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q63	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Yes	83.7	83.2	75.5	74.7
No	14.5	15.2	22.3	21.9
Don't know/cannot say	1.8	1.6	2.2	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q63	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	66.9	68.8	79.1	81.6	89.3	90.9	93.5	100.0
No	30.5	25.0	20.4	15.1	10.4	6.8	6.5	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	2.5	6.3	0.4	3.3	0.3	2.3	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q63	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	80.4	77.3	82.1	78.1	72.6	85.3	75.5	84.2	83.6
No	17.2	19.6	17.1	13.5	26.8	14.7	24.5	15.8	16.4
Don't know/cannot say	2.4	3.1	0.8	8.4	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q66: Who should rule the country for the rule to be legitimate?

Q66	Frequency	Valid Percent
Prime minister responsible to the parliament	1419	47.3
Prime minister responsible to the king	82	2.7
The king	265	8.8
Maoist	272	9.1
Military	23	0.8
None are legitimate	100	3.3
Don't want to disclose	80	2.7
Don't know/cannot say	759	25.3
Total	3000	100.0

Q66	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Prime minister responsible to the parliament	47.3	52.5	41.6
Prime minister responsible to the king	1.2	3.8	1.8
The king	9.6	4.7	13.3
Maoist	5.4	8.0	11.0
Military	0.0	1.0	0.7
None are legitimate	1.5	4.3	2.6
Don't want to disclose	2.7	2.0	3.4
Don't know/cannot say	32.3	23.8	25.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q66	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Prime minister responsible to the parliament	43.7	42.5	56.3	52.0	52.9
Prime minister responsible to the king	1.9	4.4	0.6	2.0	2.3
The king	4.3	14.2	2.3	10.5	5.2
Maoist	6.2	10.0	7.4	10.5	11.9
Military	0.3	1.0	0.6	0.0	1.6
None are legitimate	5.2	3.6	3.6	1.5	0.6
Don't want to disclose	3.8	3.5	1.0	2.3	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	34.6	20.9	28.3	21.2	24.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q66	Rural	Urban
Prime minister responsible to the parliament	44.9	57.3
Prime minister responsible to the king	2.7	2.7
The king	9.5	5.9
Maoist	9.5	7.3
Military	0.8	0.7
None are legitimate	3.0	4.6
Don't want to disclose	2.9	1.7
Don't know/cannot say	26.6	19.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Q66	Female	Male
Prime minister responsible to the parliament	35.5	59.1
Prime minister responsible to the king	2.9	2.6
The king	11.9	5.8
Maoist	8.8	9.3
Military	0.7	0.8
None are legitimate	3.7	3.0
Don't want to disclose	2.7	2.7
Don't know/cannot say	33.9	16.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q66	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Prime minister responsible to the parliament	50.0	49.0	43.9	45.8
Prime minister responsible to the king	3.3	2.5	2.6	2.6
The king	11.0	8.5	7.7	8.1
Maoist	9.5	9.0	10.4	7.9
Military	1.4	0.5	0.7	0.6

None are legitimate	3.4	3.4	2.9	3.5
Don't want to disclose	2.3	2.2	3.6	2.7
Don't know/cannot say	19.2	24.9	28.3	28.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q66	Illiterate	Literate	Primary	Lower Sec.	Secondary	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Prime minister responsible to the parliament	27.8	44.5	51.4	58.9	66.3	78.1	78.5	100.0
Prime minister responsible to the king	2.4	3.4	3.6	3.3	2.6	1.2	3.1	0.0
The king	13.1	6.2	8.5	5.8	7.3	2.9	0.0	0.0
Maoist	10.6	7.1	11.9	7.9	8.6	4.5	6.2	0.0
Military	0.3	0.9	0.5	0.4	2.1	0.8	0.0	0.0
None are legitimate	4.4	3.0	4.4	2.5	1.7	2.1	1.5	0.0
Don't want to disclose	3.0	3.4	2.3	2.1	1.9	2.9	1.5	0.0
Don't know/cannot say	38.4	31.5	17.3	19.1	9.4	7.4	9.2	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q66	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Prime minister responsible to the parliament	60.3	44.1	40.5	61.7	42.6	34.0	31.7	38.5	34.8
Prime minister responsible to the king	3.5	1.4	1.8	4.5	1.5	2.1	1.4	5.1	4.5
The king	4.9	7.7	5.6	4.1	9.5	17.1	12.2	15.4	25.8
Maoist	7.2	13.3	6.4	5.4	14.1	13.4	3.6	23.1	12.1
Military	0.9	0.7	0.6	1.4	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
None are legitimate	2.9	4.2	4.2	3.2	9.5	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.8
Don't want to disclose	1.8	2.1	3.2	2.7	0.9	4.9	0.0	2.6	3.8
Don't know/cannot say	18.6	26.6	37.7	17.1	20.2	27.2	50.4	15.4	18.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q67: If general elections were to be held today, whom would you vote for?

Q67	Frequency	Valid Percent
Don't want to disclose	900	30.0
CPN (Maoist)	492	16.4
Don't know/cannot say	464	15.5
Nepali Congress	418	13.9
CPN (UML)	356	11.9
King	116	3.9
Would not vote	108	3.6
Others	45	1.5
RPP	42	1.4
Nepali Congress (D)	35	1.2
Sadbhavana Party	24	0.8
Total	3000	100.0

Q67	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Nepali Congress	20.8	13.7	12.8
Nepali Congress (D)	0.4	1.8	0.6
CPN (UML)	16.5	14.0	8.5
CPN (Maoist)	15.0	17.6	15.4
RPP	2.3	1.5	1.1
King	1.5	1.8	6.6
Would not vote	1.5	5.6	1.8
Don't want to disclose	23.8	22.2	39.8

Sadbhavana Party	0.0	0.0	1.8
Others	0.0	2.1	1.2
Don't know/cannot say	18.1	19.6	10.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q67	East	Central	West	Mid-West	Far-West
Nepali Congress	7.1	14.7	16.9	11.6	21.3
Nepali Congress (D)	0.3	1.3	0.0	1.7	3.5
CPN (UML)	11.4	10.1	14.4	14.8	12.3
CPN (Maoist)	9.8	16.2	17.7	25.3	17.4
RPP	0.5	1.0	0.4	5.2	1.9
King	1.4	6.9	0.2	4.1	2.3
Would not vote	2.1	4.8	2.9	1.2	5.5
Don't want to disclose	53.7	29.5	23.0	14.8	16.5
Sadbhavana Party	0.7	0.3	2.9	0.3	0.0
Others	0.3	1.9	2.3	0.9	1.6
Don't know/cannot say	12.7	13.2	19.4	20.1	17.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q67	Rural	Urban
Nepali Congress	14.1	13.2
Nepali Congress (D)	1.1	1.5
CPN (UML)	11.4	13.9
CPN (Maoist)	17.2	13.1
RPP	1.6	0.5
King	4.3	2.0
Would not vote	3.2	5.4
Don't want to disclose	29.8	31.0
Sadbhavana Party	1.0	0.2
Others	1.2	2.7
Don't know/cannot say	15.2	16.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q67	Female	Male
Nepali Congress	12.1	15.7
Nepali Congress (D)	0.9	1.4
CPN (UML)	9.9	13.8
CPN (Maoist)	15.5	17.3
RPP	0.9	1.9
King	4.5	3.2
Would not vote	4.0	3.2
Don't want to disclose	31.2	28.8
Sadbhavana Party	0.9	0.7
Others	0.9	2.1
Don't know/cannot say	19.2	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q67	18-25	26 - 35	36 - 45	Above 45
Nepali Congress	14.6	12.8	12.8	15.1
Nepali Congress (D)	1.1	1.5	0.9	1.1
CPN (UML)	9.9	13.0	13.1	11.7
CPN (Maoist)	21.0	14.3	18.6	12.9
RPP	1.2	0.7	1.2	2.3
King	5.1	4.1	2.0	3.8
Would not vote	4.7	4.1	2.0	3.2

Annex III: Sample Distribution

Eco-Development Region	Sample District	Sample VDC/Municipality	Sample Size
1. East Mountain	Taplejung	Change VDC	18
		Sikaicha VDC	18
2. East Hill	Panchthar	Bharapa VDC	18
		Oyam VDC	18
		Sidin VDC	18
	Okhaldhunga	Manevanjyang VDC	20
		Andheri(Narayansthan) VDC	22
	Dhankuta	Pakhribas VDC	20
Belhara VDC		20	
3. East Tarai	Sunsari	Gautampur VDC	24
		Santerjhora VDC	24
		Madhesa VDC	27
		Bhadgaun Sinubari VDC	27
		Inaruwa Mun	15
		Dharan Mun	30
		Itahari Mun	15
		Saptari	Boriya VDC
	Jandaul VDC		32
	Malhaniya VDC		31
	Tarahi VDC		33
	Rajbiraj Mun		20
	Jhapa	Dhaijan VDC	30
		Duwagadhi VDC	20
		Garamani VDC	15
		Jyamirgadhi VDC	15
		Bhadrapur Mun	20
	Sub Total	7	
4. Central Mount	Sindhupalchok	Batase VDC	20
		Jyamire VDC	20
		Baramche VDC	20
		Thampalchhap VDC	20
5. Central Hill	Nuwakot	Budhasing VDC	18
		Garsyang VDC	18
		Sunkhani VDC	18
		Bidur Mun	20
	Dhading	Bhumisthan VDC	20
		Chainpur VDC	20
		Maidi VDC	20
		Salyantar VDC	20
	Kathmandu	Chhaimale VDC	47
		Indrayani VDC	48
		Naglebhare VDC	48

		Talkududechaur VDC	48
		Kathmandu Mun	70
		Kirtipur Mun	20
	Lalitpur	Thaiba VDC	20
		Godamchaur VDC	20
		Lele VDC	20
		Lalitpur Mun	30
	Bhaktapur	Challing VDC	16
		Nankhel VDC	16
		Bhaktapur Mun	16
		Madhyapur Thimi Mun	16
	Makwanpur	Handikhola VDC	20
		Manahari VDC	20
	Sindhuli	Ranibas VDC	20
		Harsahi VDC	20
		Nipane VDC	20
		Kamalamai Mun	20
6. Central Tarai	Dhanusha	Yadukaha VDC	37
		Fulgama VDC	38
		Lohana VDC	37
		Giddha VDC	38
		Janakpur Mun	20
	Mahottari	Belgachhi VDC	30
		Nigaul VDC	30
		Nainhi VDC	30
		Simardahi VDC	30
		Jaleswor Mun	20
	Rautahat	Bishnupura Manpur VDC	30
		Jethrahiya VDC	30
		Pacharukhi VDC	30
		Santapur (Dostiya) VDC	30
		Gaur Mun	20
Sub Total	11		1239
7. West Mountain	Mustang	Tukuche VDC	34
8. West Hill	Lamjung	Archalbot VDC	16
		Chakratirtha VDC	16
		Hiletaksar VDC	16
	Myagdi	Bagarkhola VDC	15
		Dowa VDC	15
	Baglung	Argal VDC	16
		Damek VDC	16
		Rankhani VDC	16
		Kalika Mun	18
	Kaski	Kritinachnechaur VDC	16
		Nirmalpokhari VDC	16

		Siddha VDC	16
		Lekhnath Mun	20
		Pokhara Mun	30
	Palpa	Chhahara VDC	16
		Siluwa VDC	16
		Masyam VDC	16
		Tansen Mun	20
9. West Tarai	Rupandehi	Bodabar VDC	33
		Hati Pharsatikar VDC	33
		Masina VDC	33
		Silautiya VDC	33
		Butwal Mun	30
		Siddharthanagar Mun	20
Sub Total	7		526
10. Mid-West Mount	Jumla	Patmara VDC	20
	Mugu	Pina VDC	30
		Srinagar VDC	30
11. Mid-West Hill	Rolpa	Bhawang VDC	18
		Ghodagaun VDC	18
		Khumel VDC	18
	Surkhet	Lekhparajul VDC	18
		Guthu VDC	18
		Chapre VDC	18
		Birendranagar Mun	20
	Jajarkot	Jhapra VDC	18
		Bhoor VDC	18
12. Mid-West Tarai	Banke	Betahani VDC	20
		Kamdi VDC	20
		Karkado VDC	20
		Samserganj VDC	20
		Nepalganj Mun	20
Sub Total	6		344
13. Far-West Mount	Darchula	Dadakot VDC	15
		Lali VDC	15
14. Far-West Hill	Baitadi	Basantapur VDC	20
		Durgasthan VDC	20
		Dasharathchanda Mun	20
	Achham	Mastamandu VDC	20
		Marku VDC	20
		Siudi VDC	20
15. Far-West Tarai	Kailali	Bhajani VDC	30
		Godawari VDC	30
		Darakh VDC	30
		Ramsikhar Jhala VDC	30
		Dhangadhi Mun	20

		Tikapur Mun	20
Sub Total	4		310
Total	35	103 VDC/26 mun	3000

Annex IV: Research Team

Advisor

Mr. Dipak Gyawali
Chairman, Interdisciplinary Analysts

Principal Survey Researchers

Dr. Sudhindra Sharma
Director, Interdisciplinary Analysts

Mr. Pawan Kumar Sen
Consultant Statistician, Social Analysts Nepal

Field Coordinator

Mr. Lila Acharya

Senior Supervisor

Hari Basyal

Field Manager

Mr. Hiranya Baral

Database Programmer

Mr. Ramesh Pradhan

Supervisors

1. Mr. Krishna Acharya
2. Mr. Ratna Dahal
3. Mr. Kabindra Rajbhandari
4. Mr. Haribansa Ghimire
5. Ms. Hema Katuwal
6. Ms. Babita Kumari Dahal
7. Mr. Somraj Baral
8. Mr. Radheshyam Gautam
9. Mr. Himal Kumar Upreti
10. Mr. Krishna Ligal
11. Ms. Chandra Rana
12. Mr. Badri Nepal
13. Mr. Bhuwan Kumar Shrestha
14. Mr. Prem Upreti

15. Mr. Khem Prasad Gautam

16. Ms. Januka Dhakal

17. Ms. Banika Shrestha

18. Mr. Sasi Chandra Pandey

Enumerators

1. Mr. Rajendra Budhathoki
2. Mr. Ashok Pokharal
3. Mr. Yogesh Thapa
4. Mr. Rajen Upadhyay
5. Ms. Kamala Rai
6. Ms. Sujata Karanjit
7. Mr. Sahadeb Kumar Mandal
8. Mr. Hari Pariyar
9. Mr. Dipendra Badal
10. Mr. Durga Prasad Subedi
11. Mr. Nandi Keshar Nepal
12. Mr. Laxman Malla
13. Ms. Sunita Pokhrel
14. Ms. Sharmila Niraula
15. Mr. D.B. Rasaili
16. Mr. Dev Hari Khadka
17. Mr. Prem Raj Pant
18. Ms. Anita Shrestha
19. Ms. Pratima Dahal
20. Mr. Hem Panta
21. Ms. Renuka Chhetri
22. Ms. Sarita Dewan
23. Ms. Pabitra Bhattarai
24. Ms. Januka Adhikari

Database Assistants for Coding

1. Ms. Shanti Sharma
2. Ms. Bandita Bhattarai
3. Ms. Sangita Acharya

Database Assistant for Data Entry

Mr. Roshan Neupane

Annex V: Questionnaire

Questionnaire No: Ö Ö Ö .

Household No: Ö Ö Ö Ö ..

Namaskar! I am Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö and I am from an organization called Ö ... It is an independent research organisation based in Kathmandu. We are conducting a nation-wide opinion poll on contemporary political situation of Nepal.

In this poll, we are not asking you to disclose your name. There is no correct answer to the questions we are asking. Whatever may be your response to each question, will be the correct answer for us.

Are you a permanent resident of this locality?

1. Yes (proceed for the interview)

2. No (stop the interview)

Address:

District:Ö Ö Ö Ö .

VDC/Municipality:

Ward No:

Development Region: Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö .

Ecological Region: Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö Ö ..

Please, tell me the number of male/female family members at 18 and above in descending order.

S.No.	Relationship	Age
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		

No. of Persons Aged 18+	Take Last Digit of HH No.									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
3	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2
5	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
6	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5
7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3
8	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6

Q1. Residence:

1. Village

2. Municipality

Personal Identification:

Q2. Sex:

1. Male

2. Female

Q3. Age: ...Ö ..

Q4. Educational Status:

1. Illiterate

3. Primary level

5. Secondary level

2. Literate but no formal education

4. Lower secondary level

6. Intermediate level

7. Bachelor's level 8. Master's level and higher

Q5. Caste/Ethnicity:

Mountain Region:

1. Himalayan people

Hill Region:

2. Chhetri 3. Bahun 4. Magar 5. Tamang 6. Newar
7. Kami 8. Rai 9. Gurung 10. Damai 11. Limbu

12. Thakuri

Others (specify) _____

Tarai Region:

14. Tharu 15. Muslim 16. Yadav 17. Tarai Vaishya (except Yadav)
18. Tarai Dalit 19. Tarai Brahmin 20. Rajput

Others (specify) _____

Q6. Religion:

1. Hindu 2. Buddhist 3. Islam 4. Christianity
5. Kirat 6. Atheist 7. Others (specify) _____

Q7. Profession:

1. Agriculture 2. Industry/Business
3. Service 4. Labour
5. Student 6. House wife/husband
7. Retired 8. Unemployed
9. Others (specify) _____

People's Movement II

Q11. [The second people's movement occurred between Chaitra 24, 2062 and Baishakh 11, 2063 i.e., April 6 and April 24, 2006]

Do you agree or disagree with the aims of the second people's movement?

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree
5. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say

Q12. [The Nepali people participated in the second people's movement called by the seven-party alliance and supported by the Maoists]

In your opinion, what was the main reason for the people's movement? [Single code]

1. Abolition of the king's autocratic rule and establishment of total democracy
2. Abolition of monarchy and establishment of republic
3. War fatigue and aspirations for long-term peace
4. Belief that without bringing the Maoists into the country's mainstream, it is not possible to solve the country's problems
5. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say
7. Others (specify) _____

Ceasefire and the Peace Talks

Q13. How safe do you feel in the present circumstances? [Single code]

1. Safer than before 2. Safe as before 3. More unsafe than before
4. Don't want to disclose 5. Don't know/cannot say

Q14. How safe do you think is the rest of the country? [Single code]

1. Safer than before 2. Safe as before 3. More unsafe than before
4. Don't want to disclose 5. Don't know/cannot say

Q15. Do you think that the Maoist movement will eventually be settled through peace talks? [Single code]

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't want to disclose 4. Don't know/cannot say

Q16. Do you think that the present government is committed to restore peace in the country?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't want to disclose 4. Don't know/cannot say

Q17. Do you think that the Maoist leaders are committed to restore peace in the country?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't want to disclose 4. Don't know/cannot say

Q18. Do you think that the ongoing peace talks would bring permanent peace in the country?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't want to disclose 4. Don't know/cannot say

Present Situation

Q19. How is the country doing today as compared to pre-Baishakh 11, 2063 i.e., 24 April 2006? [Single code]

1. Very good 2. Good 3. Okay
4. Same as before 5. Somewhat bad 6. Very bad
7. Don't want to disclose 8. Don't know/cannot say

Q20. In your opinion, from which quarter is the obstacle for resolving the crisis facing the country, coming from? [Single code]

1. King and palace 2. Present government
3. Seven-party alliance 4. House of Representatives
5. Maoists 6. Nepali Army
7. Foreigners 8. Don't want to disclose
9. Don't know/cannot say 10. Others (specify) _____

House of Representatives

Q21. [The king reinstated the dissolved House of Representatives on Baishakh 11, 2063 i.e., 24 April 2006 due to people's pressure.]

Do you agree or disagree with the reinstatement of the House of Representatives? [Single code]

1. Strongly agree (go to Q22, skip Q23)
2. Agree (go to Q22, skip Q23)
3. Disagree (go to Q23)
4. Strongly disagree (go to Q23)
5. Neither agree nor disagree (go to Q24)
6. Don't want to disclose (go to Q24)
7. Don't know/cannot say (go to Q24)

Q22. If you agree, why do you agree? [Multiple code]

1. It was the main demand of people's movement
2. It will bring peace in the country
3. It helped in starting negotiations with the Maoists
4. It has brought the king under the people's control
5. It has reduced the king's power, which is right
6. Don't want to disclose
7. Don't know/cannot say
8. Others, _____

Q23. If you disagree, why do you disagree? [Multiple code]

1. It was not the main demand of the people's movement
2. It has not brought peace
3. It did not help in beginning negotiation with the Maoists
4. It has not brought the king under peoples' control
5. It has reduced the king's power, which is not right
6. Don't want to disclose
7. Don't know/cannot say
8. Others, _____

Q24. After the House of Representatives was reinstated, the parliament passed the proclamation (on Jestha 4, 2063 i.e., 18 May 2006) in which the House of Representatives was declared as the supreme authority of the country.

Do you agree or disagree with this arrangement?

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Disagree
4. Strongly disagree
5. Neither agree nor disagree (go to Q27)
6. Don't want to disclose (go to Q27)
7. Don't know/cannot say (go to Q27)

Q25. [There may be both positive and negative features in the reinstated House of Representatives.]

In your opinion, what are the positive features? [Select any two]

1. Rule of law has become established

2. It has established that sovereignty and executive power reside in the people
3. King's autocratic rule has come to an end
4. There is the possibility of permanent peace
5. Daily life has become normal; security has improved
6. No positive features
7. Don't want to disclose
8. Don't know/cannot say
9. Others (specify) _____

Q26. In your opinion, what are the negative features? (Select any two)

1. Rule of law has not been established
2. Constitution has been made inactive
3. There has been deterioration in the security situation
4. Daily life has become abnormal due to declining social security
5. The environment has become uncertain
6. There are no negative features
7. Don't want to disclose
8. Don't know/cannot say
9. Others (specify) _____

Constituent Assembly

Q27. [Nowadays, there is a debate going on about constituent assembly. In the recent agreement between the seven-party alliance and the Maoist too, need for constituent assembly elections has been mentioned.]

Have you heard about constituent assembly?

1. Have heard about it (continue)
2. Have not heard about it (go to Q36)
3. Don't want to disclose (go to Q36)
4. Don't know/cannot say (go to Q36)

28. If you have heard about it, how much do you think you know about it? (Read options aloud)

1. Know very well (continue)
2. Know somewhat (continue)
3. Have heard but do not know (go to Q36)
4. Don't want to disclose (go to Q36)
5. Don't know/cannot say (go to Q36)

Q29. If you think you know about it, in our country's context what is the process for going to the constituent assembly? [Read options aloud, select only one]

1. Assembly of elected representatives that will draft a new constitution
2. Assembly of elected representatives that will amend the present constitution
3. Assembly of selected representatives that will draft a new constitution
4. Assembly of selected representatives that will amend the present constitution
5. Assembly of king-appointed experts that will draft a new constitution
6. Assembly of king-appointed experts that will amend the present constitution
7. Don't want to disclose
8. Don't know/cannot say
9. Others (specify) _____

Q30. [The constituent assembly elections are taking place in accordance with the understanding between the seven-party alliance and the CPN (Maoist).]

Do you think elections for constituent assembly are necessary?

1. Yes (go to Q31, skip Q32)
2. No (go to Q32)
3. Don't want to disclose (go to Q33)
4. Don't know/cannot say (go to Q33)

Q31. If yes, why do you think constituent assembly is necessary?

[Multiple code]

1. To bring lasting peace
2. The constitution of Nepal 1990 could not function
3. To bring the Maoists into the national mainstream
4. To abolish monarchy
5. To make monarchy ceremonial
6. To formulate a new constitution that would be satisfactory to all sides
7. Others _____
8. Don't want to disclose
9. Don't know/cannot say

Q32. If no, why do you think constituent assembly is not necessary?

[Multiple code]

1. It will bring further instability in the country
2. The 1990 constitution was all right
3. It wants to abolish monarchy and that is not good
4. Amendment to the constitution of Nepal 1990 could have address the problems
5. The Maoist will impose their autocratic rule
6. It is uncertain what the outcome would be
7. Don't want to disclose
8. Don't know/cannot say
9. Others _____

Q33. Do you think that elections for constituent assembly would be held in an atmosphere without fear?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say

Q34. How do you want to see the weapons of Nepali army and Maoist army managed so that you can safely cast votes in the constituent assembly elections? [Read options aloud, single code]

1. Nepali army limited to barracks and Maoists lay down their arms
2. Both Nepali army and Maoist army in barracks (do not have to lay down arms)
3. Both Nepali army and Maoist army to be separated from their weapons
4. If the present situation continues
5. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say
7. Others _____

Q35. Do you think an international supervision is necessary for ensuring free and fair constituent assembly elections?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say

The Maoist Movement

Q36. What is your level of trust towards Nepal Communist Party (Maoists)?

1. Trust very much
2. Trust a little
3. Not much trust
4. Do not trust at all
5. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say

Q37. What do you think is the main demand of the Maoists? [Select any two]

1. Abolition of monarchy, establishment of republic
2. Holding elections for constituent assembly
3. Establishment of competitive democratic system
4. Establishment of Maoist dictatorship
5. Establishment of federal state structure
6. Uplifting of under-privileged communities
7. Ensuring equality among all people
8. Don't want to disclose
9. Don't know/cannot say
10. Others (specify) _____

Q38. [It seems like that CPN (Maoist) are ready to come into competitive democratic polity.]

Under which circumstances are you ready to accept CPN (Maoist) as an open political party? [Read options aloud, select only one]

1. In the present condition
2. If they lay down arms forever
3. If they lay down arms temporarily
4. I will never accept them
5. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say
7. Others (specify) _____

Q39. Are you confident that the Maoists will return the people's lands and other assets that they have occupied and controlled?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say

Roadmaps of the Maoists and Seven-Party Alliance

Q40. [Recently, the Maoist leaders have demanded the dissolution of the House of Representatives and the present government and conduct a national convention involving people from all segments of society to draft an interim constitution and subsequently form an interim government.]

Do you agree or disagree in this regard?

	Dissolution of HoR	Dissolution of present govt.	Conducting a national convention	Drafting an interim constitution	Formation of an interim govt.
Agree	1	1	1	1	1
Disagree	2	2	2	2	2
Don't want to disclose	3	3	3	3	3
Don't know/cannot say	4	4	4	4	4

Q41. [The government of the seven-party alliance has called for continuing with the reinstated HoR till the elections for constituent assembly, continue to hold peace talks with the Maoists, form all-party government including the Maoists and ask Maoists to dissolve the Jan Sarkar.]

Do you agree or disagree in this regard?

	Continuing with the HoR	Continuing with the peace talks	Formation of all-party government	Dissolution of Jan Sarkar by Maoists
Agree	1	1	1	1
Disagree	2	2	2	2
Don't want to disclose	3	3	3	3
Don't know/cannot say	4	4	4	4

Political Parties

Q42. What is your level of trust towards the political parties?

1. Trust very much
2. Trust a little
3. Not much trust
4. Do not trust at all
5. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say

Q43. What should political parties do to win more trust from the Nepali people? [Select any two]

1. Should bring peace in the country
2. Should not engage in corruption or misuse authority when in government
3. At the leadership level, should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity
4. Party position should be clear and consistent
5. The leaders should go back to their constituencies after elections regularly
6. Should not be frequent changes of the government bureaucracy
7. Should be devoted to public welfare
8. Should not protest for the sake of protest
9. Don't want to disclose
10. Don't know/cannot say
11. Others (specify) _____

Nepali Army

Q44. What is your level of trust on the Nepali Army?

1. Trust very much
2. Trust a little
3. Not much trust
4. Do not trust at all
5. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say

Q45. What should the Nepali Army do to win more trust from the public? [Select any two]

1. Should be disciplined
2. Should be devoted to providing security for the people
3. Should not support regression or suppression
4. Should remain politically neutral
5. The upper echelons should be inclusive in terms of caste/ethnicity
6. Should be an army of the country and the people
7. Don't want to disclose
8. Don't know/cannot say
9. Others (specify) _____

Future Nepal

Monarchy

Q46. Should there be or should there not be a place for monarchy in the future Nepal?

1. There should be [go to Q47, skip Q49]
2. There should not be [go to Q49]
3. Don't want to disclose [go to Q50]
4. Don't know/cannot say [go to Q50]

Q47. If you think there should be a place, then why? [Multiple code]

1. Because monarchy brings development in the country
2. Because the forefather of the present king has formed our country
3. Because monarchy is a part of our tradition
4. Because in a plural country like Nepal, it could include all
5. Because monarchy is a symbol of national unity
6. Because it is an essential part of being Nepali
7. Because it has brought stability in the country
8. Don't want to disclose
9. Don't know/cannot say
10. Others (specify) _____

Q48. If there should be a place for monarchy, what should be the type of monarchy? [Select only one]

1. Active monarchy
2. Constitutional monarchy
3. Ceremonial monarchy
4. Don't want to disclose
5. Don't know/cannot say

Q49. If you think there should be no place, then why? [Multiple code]

1. Because it has not developed the country
2. Because it is a feudal, exploitative institution
3. Because it has time and again worked against democracy
4. Because it has brought about divisions among the people
5. Because it has unified the country through a wrong process
6. The institution had a role in history but is no longer relevant
7. Because it has never allowed elected governments to become stable
8. Don't want to disclose
9. Don't know/cannot say
10. Others (specify) _____

Q50. Do you feel that since the last few years the king and monarchy are becoming unpopular in the eyes of the people?

1. Yes [go to Q51]
2. No
3. Don't want to disclose
4. Don't know/cannot say

Q51. If yes, why do you think it is becoming unpopular? [Single code]

1. Palace massacre
2. Anti-democratic activities of the royal government
3. The temperament of the present king
4. Doings of the crown prince
5. Conspiratorial nature of the palace
6. Others (specify) _____
7. Don't want to disclose
8. Don't know/cannot say

Relationship between the State and Religion

Q52. Should the future Nepal be secular or Hindu? [Single code]

1. It should be secular [go to Q53, skip Q54]
2. It should be Hindu [go to Q54]
3. Don't want to disclose
4. Don't know/cannot say
5. Others (specify) _____

Q53. If Nepal should be a secular state, why? [Single code]

1. State and religion has to be kept separate
2. The king had become powerful by using Hindu religion
3. Religious freedom and rights of religious minorities can be ensured only in a secular state
4. The state should not have any religion
5. State's religion is atheism
6. Don't want to disclose
7. Don't know / cannot say
8. Others (specify) _____

Q54. If Nepal should be a Hindu state, then why?

1. Nepal is identified as a Hindu state in the world
2. It is a part of tradition; Nepal has always remained a Hindu state

3. If it is not Hindu, it will invite conflicts in the name of religion
4. The rights of minority religions had been protected when the state was Hindu
5. If the state is not Hindu, irreligiosity will grow and so will religious opponents
6. Don't want to disclose
7. Don't know / cannot say
8. Others (specify) _____

Unitary or Federal System

Q55. [In contemporary political debates, there is increasing talk about the federal state structure.]
Have you ever heard about the federal system? [Single code]

1. Have heard [continue]
2. Have not heard [go to Q58]
3. Don't want to disclose [go to Q58]
4. Don't know/cannot say [go to Q58]

Q56. If you have heard about the federal system, how much do you think you have understood about it? [Single code]

1. Understand very well [continue]
2. Understand somewhat [continue]
3. Have heard, but do not understand [go to Q58]
4. Don't want to disclose [go to Q58]
5. Don't know/cannot say [go to Q58]

Q57. What should be the type of state structure in the future Nepal? [Single code]

1. It should remain unitary state
2. It should become federal state
3. I have no comment on it
4. Don't want to disclose
5. Don't know/cannot say
6. Others (specify) _____

The Language Issue

Q58. [There is a debate going on whether Nepali language should be the only official language or if other national languages should be also adopted as official languages.]

What should be the language policy of the future Nepal? [Single code]

1. Nepali language should be the only official language
2. Other national languages should be adopted as official languages at the local level
3. Besides Nepali, Hindi should also be an official language
4. Besides Nepali, English should also be an official language
5. Don't want to disclose
6. Don't know/cannot say
7. Others (specify) _____

Electoral System

Q59. [There is a debate going on whether Nepal should adopt the proportional representative electoral system in the place of the majority-based electoral system.]

Have you heard about the proportional representative electoral system? [Single code]

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Yes [continue] | 2. No [go to Q62] |
| 3. Don't want to disclose [go to Q62] | 4. Don't know/cannot say [go to Q62] |

Q60. If you have heard of it, do you understand it? [Single code]

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Yes [continue] | 2. No [go to Q62] |
| 3. Don't want to disclose [go to Q62] | 4. Don't know/cannot say [go to Q62] |

Q61. If you have understood, do you think that Nepal should adopt the proportional representative electoral system? [Single code]

- | | | | |
|--------|-------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Yes | 2. No | 3. Don't want to disclose | 4. Don't know/cannot say |
|--------|-------|---------------------------|--------------------------|

Issues of Dalits and Women

Q62. [Nowadays, there is a debate going on whether there should be affirmative action in different sectors for various communities.]

Have you heard of affirmative action? [Single code]

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Yes [continue] | 2. No [go to Q66] |
|-------------------|-------------------|

the government troops etc.)?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. Don't want to disclose
- 4. Don't know/cannot say

Thank You!

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Phone: 5528111, 5542354

Email: ida@wlink.com.np

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