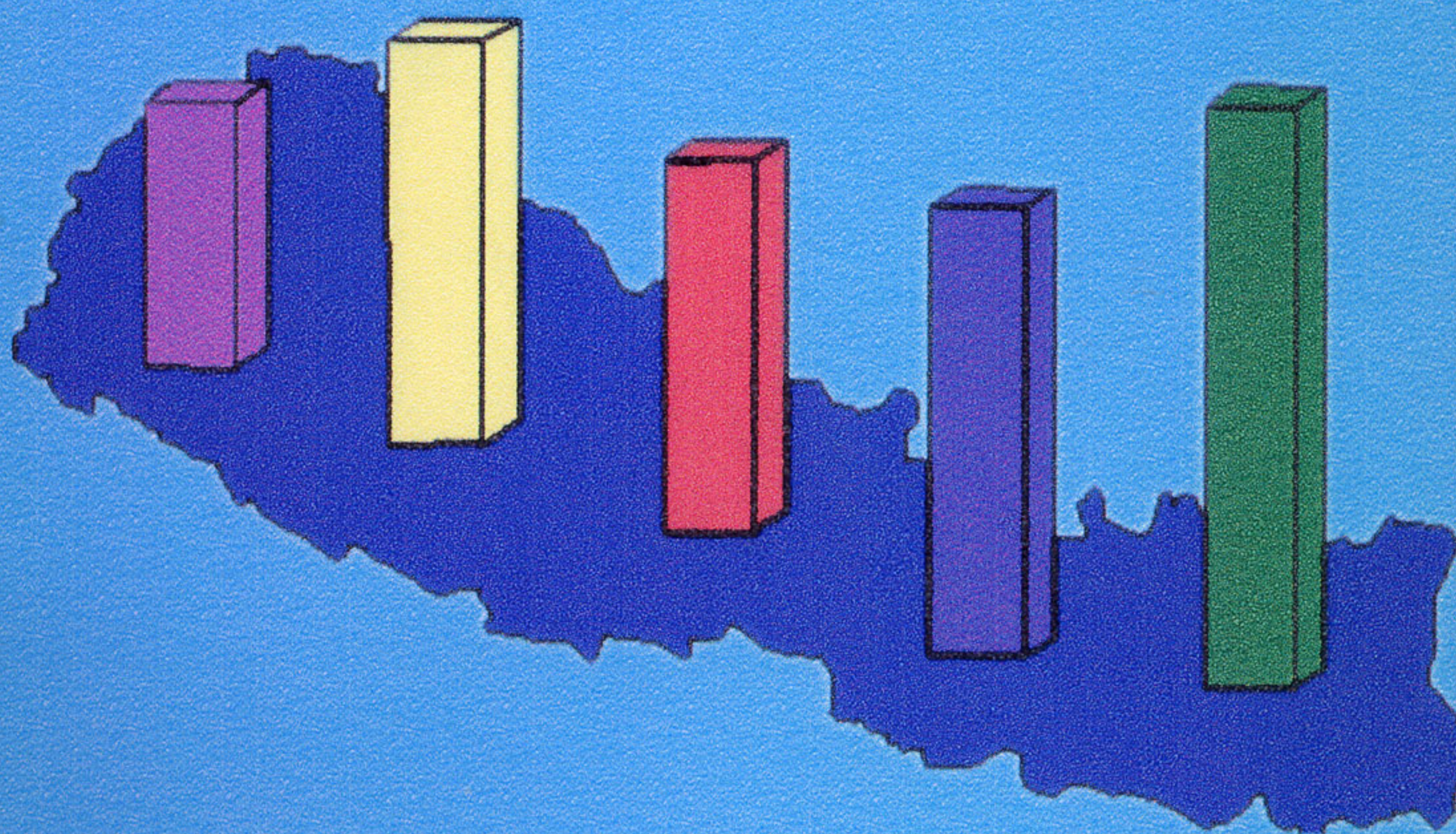


# Nepal

## Contemporary Political Situation

### Opinion Poll Report



Sudhindra Sharma  
Pawan Kumar Sen

2005

**Nepal**  
**Contemporary Political Situation**

**Opinion Poll Report**

**Sudhindra Sharma**  
**Pawan Kumar Sen**

**2005**

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Interdisciplinary Analysts, 2005

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**Sudhindra Sharma**  
*Principle Investigator*

# Contents

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>11</b>
1.1 General Background	11
1.2 History of Opinion Polls in Nepal	11
1.3 Rationale	12
1.4 Objectives	13
1.5 Methodology	13
1.6 Database Management and Analysis	15
1.7 Activities during the Project	15
1.8 The Interview Process and Supervision	16
1.9 Limitations	16
1.10 Organisation of the Report	17
<b>Characteristics of the Sample</b>	<b>18</b>
2.1 Demographic Composition	18
2.2 Geographic Composition	18
2.3 Social Composition	19
2.4 Educational Status	20
2.5 Profession	20
2.6 Conflict Affected Respondents	21
<b>Key Findings of the Poll</b>	<b>22</b>
3.1 Democracy	22
3.2 Legitimacy and Effectiveness of the System	23
3.3 Contemporary Politics and Situation	24
3.4 Constituent Assembly	28
3.5 Monarchy	30
3.6 Local Political and Administrative Units	31
3.7 The Maoist Movement	32
3.8 The Peace Talk	34
3.9 Effect of a Ceasefire	38
3.10 Solution to the Current Political Stalemate	39
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Annexes</b>	
I Frequency Tables and Cross-Tabulation	46
II Charts	95
III Comparison with Other Poll Results	106
IV Sample Distribution	116
V Research Team	119
VI Map	120
VII Opinion Poll on Contemporary Political Situation	121

## List of Tables

Table 2.1:	Sex composition
Table 2.2:	Age-group composition
Table 2.3:	Development region composition
Table 2.4:	Ecological region composition
Table 2.5:	Caste/ethnicity composition
Table 2.6:	Religion composition
Table 2.7:	Settlement pattern composition
Table 2.8:	Educational status composition
Table 2.9:	Profession composition
Table 2.10:	Composition of conflict-affected people
Table 3.1:	General trend of responses about democracy
Table 3.2:	Advantages of democracy
Table 3.3:	Weaknesses of democracy
Table 3.4:	Legitimate ruler
Table 3.5:	Country's situation as compared to Pre-2047 BS
Table 3.6:	The nation's three greatest problems
Table 3.7:	Perception of the King's Intervention
Table 3.8:	Situation of the country after october 4, 2002
Table 3.9:	Positive aspects of the present situation
Table 3.10:	Negative features of the present situation
Table 3.11:	Have you heard about constituent assembly?
Table 3.12:	Do you know about constituent assembly?
Table 3.13:	Public understanding of the constituent assembly
Table 3.14:	Type of monarchy people favour
Table 3. 15:	Difficulties people face
Table 3.16:	Situation of the Maoists movement
Table 3. 17:	Factors contributing to the spread of the Maoist movement
Table 3.18:	Reasons behind the diminishing of the Maoist movement
Table 3.19:	Solution to the Maoist movement
Table 3.20:	Reasons for the failure of the peace talks
Table 3. 21:	Can the Maoist movement be settled through talks?
Table 3.22:	Third party involvement in peace talks
Table 3.23:	If you agree, who would you like to see involved as the third party?
Table 3.24:	How will the ceasefire effect people's daily life?
Table 3.25:	What should be done to rescue the country? (stage I)
Table 3. 26:	What should be done to rescue the country? (stage II)
Table 3.27:	What should be done to rescue the country? (stage III)
Table 3.28:	What process should be adopted to formulate a new constitution?

# Executive Summary

## General Background and Rationale

The opinion poll on the Contemporary Political Situation in Nepal (CPS 2005) was carried out by Interdisciplinary Analysts, an independent research organisation based in Kathmandu. It was designed between the second week of September 2004 and the third week of November 2004 and administered in the field between the fourth week of November 2004 and the third week of December 2004. Data processing and analysis were conducted between the fourth week of December 2004 and the fourth week of January 2005. Then, during the second week of February 2005, a preliminary report was prepared.

There has been no Parliament in Nepal for the past two years, and no local political bodies since their five-year term ran out in June 2002. In the absence of representative institutions, an opinion poll serves an extremely important function. In a democracy, the people's representatives articulate the concerns of their constituents. If there are no such elected spokespeople, it can be difficult to discern what the public at large think about issues of national concern.

The elected Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba dissolved the House of Representatives (HoR) in May 2002 stating his intention to hold a mid-term election within the next six months as is mandated by the Constitution of 1990. He was dismissed by King Gyanendra in October 2002 for not being able to do so. Calling upon Article 127 of the Constitution, the King then appointed Lokendra Bahadur Chand to the seat of the prime minister. In May 2003, Chand resigned and Surya Bahadur Thapa was appointed in his stead. Thapa's government did not last long either, when he resigned in May 2004, the King re-appointed Sher Bahadur Deuba as Prime Minister. The King acted only after the political parties he had requested to propose a candidate were unable to do so. The mandate the King gave to all three appointed interim governments included restoring peace, bringing about good governance and holding elections.

On February 1, 2005, King Gyanendra dismissed the interim Deuba government for failing to pursue the goal of holding elections seriously and declared a State of Emergency. He resumed executive powers and formed a cabinet under his own chairmanship. In his address to the nation, the King promised to hold a general election within three years, at which time executive power would be handed over to the elected Parliament.

Due to the absence of representative bodies such as the Parliament and local government bodies, it has become difficult to gauge the opinions of the public. One of the main avenues open for the public to voice its opinion has been the media, which has covered various areas of public concern. The media, however, does not employ rigorous research methods in covering these issues. Nor do journalists base their arguments on large, nation-wide samples. An opinion poll conducted across the country using a probability sampling technique can fill this lacuna.

The main objective of CPS 2005 was to develop a systematic barometer of public opinions about and attitudes toward the Nepali polity. It aimed to document how the public

evaluates the contemporary Nepali polity and to gauge people's perceptions about the ongoing Maoist insurgency, prospects for peace and the processes through which this could come about.

## **Methodology**

A structured questionnaire (close-ended) that sought to fulfil the aforementioned objectives was administered to respondents in 35 districts that represented Nepal's five development regions and three ecological zones. The sample size was 3,059 respondents, which comprised a standard sample of 2,502 and a booster sample of 557, including victims of the ongoing conflict, sex workers and women. The distribution of the sample across the 35 districts was based on probability proportionate to size (PPS). Then samples were further divided into rural and urban areas according to the rural-urban ratio of the country. Village Development Committees (VDCs) were randomly selected in each district using a systematic random sampling technique. The VDC sample was further distributed into wards using a systematic 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 the KISH grid method. This method ensured that each member of a selected household had an equal chance of being selected.

## **Democracy and Monarchy**

A majority of Nepalis (77 per cent) think democracy is a suitable political system for the country. The poll results indicate that most Nepalis appreciate democratic values and norms. The two most important advantages of democracy are the freedom of expression (including the freedom of press) and rule by representatives elected by the people. Religious freedom and rule of law are other important features. People also identified certain disadvantages of democracy. The greatest was that people in power misuse their authority and that there has been an increase in corruption. The tendency of politicians not to go back to their constituencies after elections, changes in administration when a new party sits in the government, and the continual protests of opposition political parties were other disadvantages noted in decreasing order of severity. Despite these shortcomings, democracy is popular.

A clear majority of Nepalis (53 per cent) are in favour of a constitutional monarchy. The proportion of people not in the position to give a definite answer (14 per cent) is significant. More extreme options were less popular: only 5.5 per cent favoured absolute monarchy and 4.9 per cent no monarchy at all. If the undecided proportion (14 per cent) is excluded, nearly 63 per cent favour a constitutional monarchy. Nepalis clearly favour a system of multi-party democracy with constitutional monarchy.

They identify a prime minister responsible to the Parliament as the only type of government that is legitimate. Although they do see that the operationalisation of a constitutional monarchy has had a lot of problems over the past one and a half decades, they believe that there is no alternative.

A majority of Nepalis (57 per cent) do not think that the situation of the country has improved since the King's direct intervention in politics on October 4, 2002. Most do not see positive features in his active political role. The people do not believe that the King's



involvement can bring about a political resolution. However, the people also do not place the blame for today's unenviable situation entirely on the King.

## **Contemporary Situation**

Most people identify the Maoist insurgency, corruption and violence/insecurity as the three greatest problems facing the country today. Other issues like unemployment and poverty are also seen as big challenges.

The average person sees both positive and negative features in today's political milieu, but the negative ones outweigh the positive. In fact, some respondents identified no positive features. Among those who did identify positive features, legal action taken against corrupt people was one. Among the negative features, the worsening of the country's situation heads the list, followed by the perception that the Maoist insurgency has become even stronger. This view relates to the Maoist movement at the national level; it is not a specific view at the local level. It is also the case that this response, while second in rank, is far behind the first rank.

## **Local Government**

With no elected local political and administrative units (district development committees and village/municipality development committees) in operation since June 2002, a clear majority of the people (59 per cent) express having encountered difficulties due to the absence of local government. Among those who say they have faced problems, acquiring official permission or implementing programs, followed by a lack of decision-making related to local issues are the two most significant issues.

## **Constituent Assembly**

This poll attempted to understand the public's view on the constituent assembly currently being debated in the media. Only about half of the Nepali population have heard about a constituent assembly, and among these, only about half again believe that they know what a constituent assembly is. Of those who thought that they knew what a constituent assembly is, only half actually do. All in all, less than 15 per cent of the people in Nepal actually understand what a constituent assembly is all about. Despite media attention and discussion at the central political level, the people are relatively ignorant.

## **The Maoist Movement and Peace Talks**

On the state of the Maoist movement in the respondents' own locales (not in the national context), almost three-fourths (72 per cent) believe that the movement is the same i.e., it is neither expanding nor diminishing. Some people (19 per cent) believe that the movement is spreading. Among those people who do, the two major reasons given for its spread are the activities of corrupt individual politicians and the fact that under-privileged communities are lagging further behind. A small proportion (6 per cent) believes that the Maoist movement is diminishing and they attribute this decline to the effective role of the security forces and to the disillusionment of the people with the Maoists.

Regarding the solution to the Maoist insurgency, first priority is accorded to peace talks. The declaration of a ceasefire, an allied concept, comes second in rank. Third in priority is the fulfilment of Maoists' demands. Solutions like the suppression of Maoist rebels by the nation's security forces or the suppression of the security forces by the Maoists are not popular. People believe that the peace talks that took place twice before came to an end without any solution because neither party was flexible. However, the majority are still very optimistic about peace talks: almost three-fourths (73 per cent) believe that the Maoist movement can be settled through talks. At the time the poll was administered, however, they trusted neither the Deuba government nor the Maoist leadership, believing that neither were serious about peace talks. Most (53 per cent) are in favour of third-party mediation to break the deadlock between the government and the Maoists. They would like to see Nepali human rights organisations or the United Nations serve as mediators. These respondents make up 24 per cent and 20 per cent respectively of the total respondents.

## **Solution to the Current Political Stalemate**

A significant portion (41 per cent) think that round-table talks should be the first step in overcoming the current political stalemate. In the second stage, many Nepalis (31 per cent) do not see a problem with having an interim government, which includes the Maoists. Questions related to the constitution were asked as the foreseen third stage of rescue. Most people (42 per cent) have no particular views about this issue. The proportion of those who favour amending the present constitution (35 per cent) outnumbered those who want to formulate a new constitution (17 per cent). Out of the total respondents, only 10 per cent support the formulation of a new constitution by a constituent assembly.

## **The Message of the Poll**

The main message of the poll is that the system of democracy with a constitutional monarchy is popular among Nepalis. They favour a constitutional monarchy, not a republic or an absolute monarchy. The people believe that a prime minister responsible to the Parliament ensures that the government is legitimate.

Nepalis believe that the Maoist insurgency can be settled through peace talks, not military action. They do not trust either the then government or the Maoist leadership, believing instead that a third party could mediate a solution.

The majority of Nepalis are not in a position to express a definite view about either constituent assembly or other constitutional processes. Around 14.5 per cent understand what a constituent assembly is and only 9.5 per cent favour using it to resolve the present political stalemate. Restoring the dissolved House of Representatives mustered 10 per cent support. A higher proportion of people (22 per cent) favour going for fresh elections.

Though some results, specially those regarding ways to overcome the present political stalemate appear contradictory, the Nepali people seem to favour an encompassing framework – one in which the constitutional monarchy, democracy and Maoists all fit. They do not agree to the restoration of the House of Representatives as some political parties propose or to the establishment of constituent assembly as the Maoists demand, but the people do want the monarchy, political parties and the Maoists all to have a place in the new political structure.

# Introduction

## 1.1 General Background

The Maoist insurgency has been raging in Nepal for the past nine years. The number of deaths attributed to the Maoists and the government's security forces has exceeded 11,000 and is increasing by the day. Although the Maoists have not been able to consolidate themselves in 'base areas' in line with classical Maoist thought, much of the country is under Maoist influence.

Two ceasefires have been jointly declared. The first lasted from July to November 2001; the second from January to August 2003. Both times, the Maoists, citing the government's lack of earnestness in negotiations as their reason, ended the truce.

There has been no elected Parliament for two years since Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba dissolved the House of Representatives (HoR) in May 2002. He stated then that he intended to hold a mid-term election within the next six months, as is mandated by the Constitution of Nepal 1991. He was dismissed by the monarch in October 2002 for not fulfilling his promise. King Gyanendra then appointed Lokendra Bahadur Chand to the post of Prime Minister under Article 127 of the Constitution. Chand resigned in May 2003 and Surya Bahadur Thapa assumed the position. Thapa's appointed government did not last long either. When he resigned in May 2004 and no other political party were able to propose a candidate, the King re-appointed Sher Bahadur Deuba. The mandate the King gave to each appointed interim government included restoring peace, bringing about good governance and holding elections.

To address two of those mandates, holding peace talks and conducting a general election, the Deuba government issued an ultimatum to the Maoist rebels to either initiate peace talks by January 13, 2005 or to accept the government's initiation of proceedings for elections to the HoR. Although, the Maoists ignored the call, the government did not announce dates for general elections; as a result, King Gyanendra dismissed the appointed Deuba government in February 1, 2005 and took back executive powers<sup>1</sup>. The King declared a state of emergency, formed a cabinet under his own chairmanship, and promised to hold a general election within three years, after which time he would handover executive power to the elected Parliament.

## 1.2 History of Opinion Polls in Nepal

Though opinion polls were unheard of during the non-party Panchayat era (1960-1989), with the reinstatement of parliamentary democracy in 1990, they have become an important tool for gauging public sentiment. The history of opinion polls in Nepal goes back to 1991, when the Political Science Association of Nepal (POLSAN) and the Institute of Integrated Development Studies (IIDS) conducted polls related to the 1991 parliamentary elections. POLSAN conducted a poll of 1,004 individuals in 10 districts using a quota sampling technique, while IIDS applied a purposive sampling technique to solicit responses from 445 people in nine districts. POLSAN carried out a second opinion poll in 1992; it questioned 805 party activists and 256 members of Parliament in 13 districts.

1. This event happened after the survey had been conducted and while the report was being prepared. This opinion poll, thus, does not capture public sentiment about the takeover of February, 2005. The term "present government" in this report refers to the king-appointed Deuba government.



In 1993, the Nepal Opinion Survey Centre (NOSC), employing a multistage random sampling technique, conducted an opinion poll of 522 respondents from the three districts of the Kathmandu Valley. This was probably the first opinion poll in Nepal that used a random (probability) sampling technique.

A large-scale, nation-wide opinion poll with a sample size of 7,841 individuals distributed across 29 districts representing every ecological and development zone was carried out by Interdisciplinary Analysts (IDA) for the Himal Association in 1999, on the eve of the third general election. IDA used a stratified random sampling technique. To follow-up, the Himal Association conducted another large-scale opinion poll of 3,902 respondents from 20 districts. With the beginning of the new millennium, a few other institutes entered the scene of poll taking. The Nepal Centre for Contemporary Studies (NCCS) and the Himal Media, for example, have conducted polls regularly since 2001. In 2001, the NCCS polled 245 members of Parliament. NCCS has since carried out two other polls: one on elections and the other on participatory democracy. In both cases, it used a purposive sampling technique to select 500 respondents in five districts.

Several opinion polls got underway in 2004. A preliminary report entitled 'Nepal Public Opinion Research' (NPOR) was released by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research, Inc, in July 2004. (It has been circulated within the donor community in Nepal. The wider public has not yet had a chance to peruse it.) The Himal Media made public its Kathmandu Valley-based poll in October 2004. A survey entitled 'State of Democracy in Nepal' (SDN) was undertaken by the Democracy in South Asia/Nepal Chapter in collaboration with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). 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. How the results of this opinion poll, Contemporary Political Situation (CPS 2005) compares with the results of NPOR (2004) and SDN (2004) are discussed in Annex III

### **1.3 Rationale**

Precisely at a time when it has become important to gauge public opinion, it has become very difficult to do so due to the absence of representative institutions such as the Parliament and local bodies of government, and the lack of security prevailing in the country. The main avenue open for the public to express its view during these fluid times has been the media, which has been covering various areas of public concern<sup>2</sup>. The media does not, however, employ rigorous research methods and does not base its arguments on large, nation-wide samples.

Regular opinion polls that make public what the people at large think are crucial at this juncture in Nepali history. What are the public's opinions and attitudes towards issues of national concern in present-day Nepal? What do people think of the ongoing Maoist insurgency? How do the Nepalis think the revolution will end? How do ordinary men and women wish to end it? What do they think the role of the monarch in these uncertain times should be? How do they evaluate the performance of political parties? How would they like to see political parties function? What do they think are the main issues that need to be addressed in contemporary Nepal? These are some of the pressing questions that need to be addressed by an opinion poll which calls itself scientific.

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2. With the imposition of the emergency since February 1, 2005, even reporting in the media has become difficult.

The present exercise attempts to learn from past experiences. It includes elements ranging from methodologies (including sampling) to the formulation of questions that are relevant to the contemporary situation. Other important objectives are to refine the techniques of opinion polling as well as to increase the social science understanding of the basic points of public discourse.

## 1.4 Objectives

The overall goal of the Opinion Poll on the Contemporary Political Situation (CPS 2005) is to develop a systematic barometer of public opinion and attitudes regarding the Nepali polity. Its specific objectives are as follows:

- To document how the public evaluates the contemporary Nepali polity.
- To gauge people's perceptions about the ongoing Maoist insurgency, prospects for peace and the processes by which a resolution could be ensured.
- To document people's opinions about the present roles of political parties, the parliament and the monarchy, and the possible roles of these institutions in the future.
- To help pursue the mandate for peace and ensure a negotiated settlement of disputes.
- To identify what the ordinary citizen sees as the pressing concerns of the nation.

## 1.5 Methodology

### 1.5.1 Questionnaire

A structured close-ended questionnaire designed to fulfil the aforementioned objectives was formulated after consulting a wide range of experts and stakeholders. A pre-test was conducted in the Kathmandu Valley on November 20, 2004, and after processing feedback, the questionnaire was finalised on November 21, 2004. It was formulated in English and later, translated into Nepali. The Nepali version was used for the actual interviews, which were conducted between November 26 and December 16, 2004.

### 1.5.2 Sampling Technique

The sample frame for the study comprised the 46 of the country's 75 districts that are considered to be relatively safe from armed conflict. From among these, 35 were randomly selected. Together, they represent all five development regions and all three ecological zones of Nepal. The sample size was 3,059 respondents, of which 2,502 comprised a standard sample and 557 a booster sample.

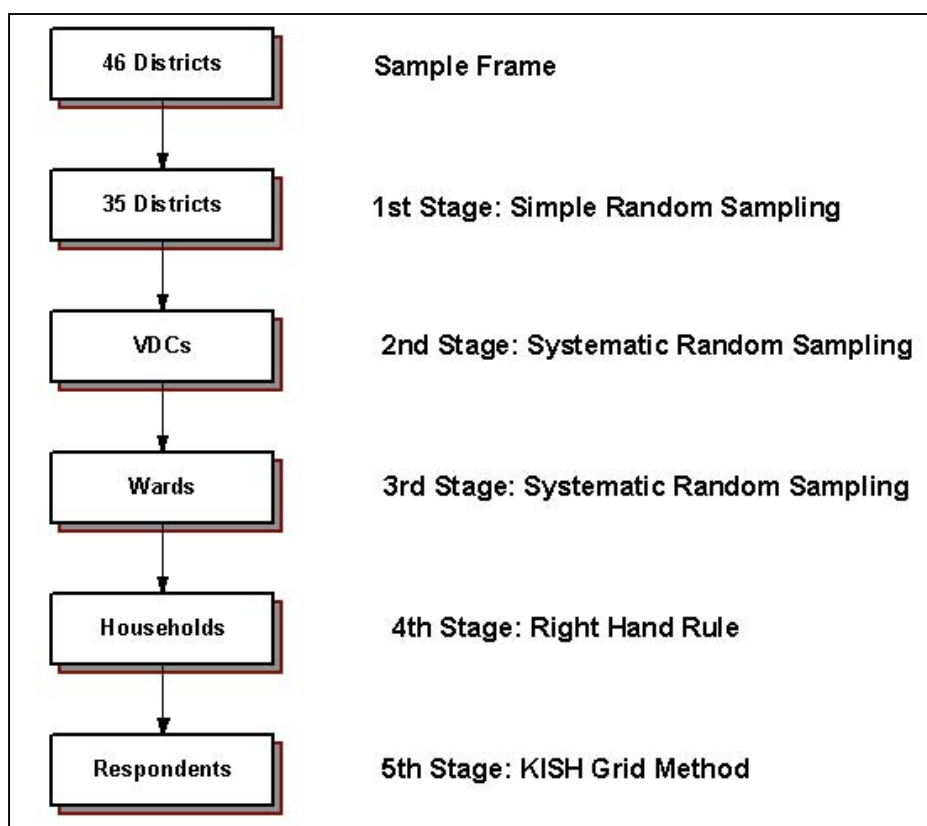
The booster sample targeted specific groups. Of the total 557 respondents, 142 were victims of the Maoists rebels, 135 were victims of the security forces, 103 were female sex workers and 177 were general female respondents.

The distribution of sample respondents across the sample districts was based on probability proportionate of size (PPS) and were divided into rural and urban areas as per the average rural-urban ratio of the country.

Using systematic random sampling techniques, Village Development Committees (VDCs) were randomly selected from the sample districts. First, all the VDCs in a given sample district were arranged in alphabetical order. The total number varied according to the district sample size. For a rural district sample size of around 40 respondents, two VDCs each with around 20 respondents were selected. The number of respondents interviewed

in each sample VDC ranged from 18 to 24. The VDC sample size was further distributed into wards. For a VDC sample size of 20, two wards were selected using a systematic random sampling technique and 10 respondents were identified in each ward. In each sample ward, households were selected using the right-hand-rule method. Respondents were selected using the KISH grid method. All household members above 18 years of age were listed out; then, using the grid, one was selected to be interviewed. This method ensured that each eligible member in a selected household had an equal chance of being selected.

Figure 1. 1: Flow chart of the sampling technique



### 1.5.3 Fieldwork/Data Collection

An agreement was signed by Interdisciplinary Analysts and ACNielsen Nepal Pvt. Ltd., a Kathmandu-based company that gave ACNielsen Nepal a mandate to administer IDA's questionnaire in the field and to prepare a database.

Field supervisors and enumerators with sound experience were deployed to carry out the fieldwork. Where feasible, local people were hired as enumerators. Before their deployment, they were provided with an orientation on the survey's research methodology, their responsibilities and the field operations plan. They were also instructed about how to clarify questions in case confusions arose. Altogether 11 field supervisors and 48 enumerators conducted the fieldwork. They worked an average of six hours a day. The list of individuals involved in the opinion poll is attached as Annex V.

## **1.6 Database Management and Analysis**

Data was processed and analysed using the programmes FoxPro, Quantum, SPSS and MS Excel. A data entry programme was created using FoxPro 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 had been entered, it was imported into Quantum software, where it was cleaned in order to ensure its quality. Next, the data was imported into SPSS software, where it was analysed and presented in tabular form. In the final stage, the data was imported in to MS Excel to produce charts and graphs.

Cross tabulations between significant questions (dependant variables) and demographic/geographic composition such as age group, education, sex, development region, and ecological region (independent variables) were carried out. Only relationships that showed significance, as expressed through specific statistical tests like chi-square, were incorporated in the main text. Those showing significant relationships are presented in Annex II. This write-up has used as many visual aids like pie charts and bar graphs as possible.

## **1.7 Activities during the Project**

In mid-September 2004, IDA submitted a proposal to The Asia Foundation. During its writing, specific objectives were identified and a sampling technique was formulated. On November 16, 2004, IDA and ACNielsen signed a contract that gave the latter a mandate to hire supervisors and enumerators to collect data in the field.

In the meantime, a set of questions had been formulated and distributed to a wide range of experts for comments. Their suggestions were incorporated into the final draft, which was finalised in both English and Nepali on November 15, 2004. Field supervisors and enumerators were briefed about the draft questionnaire on November 19, 2004 and on the following day a pre-test of the questionnaire was conducted in the Kathmandu Valley. Using feedback from the field supervisors and the enumerators, a few final changes in the questionnaire were made and the two organisations reviewed the proposed sampling technique. All of these tasks had been finalised by November 21, 2004.

On November 24, 2004, an orientation was held for field supervisors and enumerators. ACNielsen Nepal organised the training and principal investigation from IDA acted as resource persons. The fieldwork team was deployed to administer the questionnaire on November 26. Their work continued until December 16, 2004.

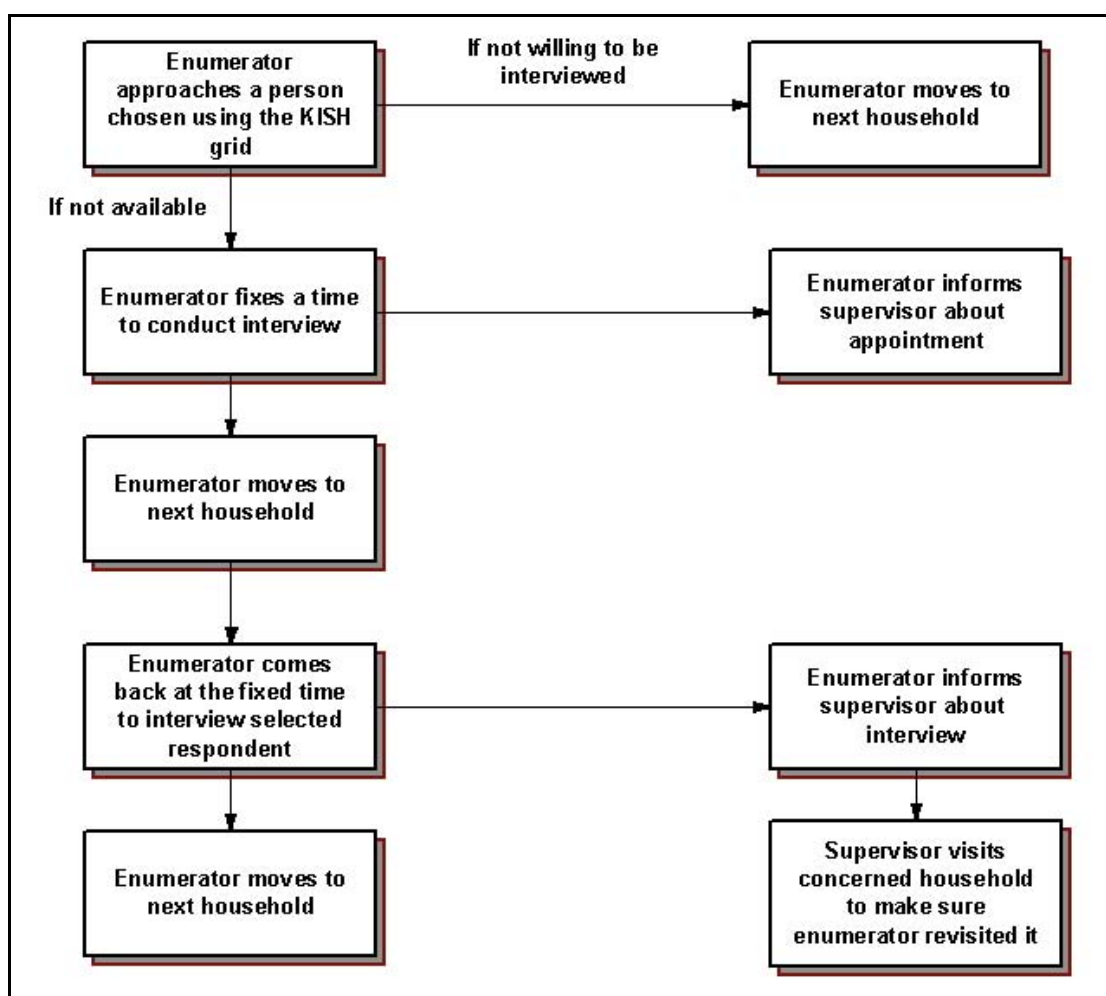
Researchers from ACNielsen Nepal developed a questionnaire-interface data entry programme, and entered and cleaned the data. On January 5, 2005, it submitted the final data to IDA.

Data analysis and interpretation had been completed, and a preliminary draft report was written as of January 15, 2005. A revised draft report had been prepared by the end of January. It was submitted to the funding agency, The Asia Foundation - Nepal and to other advisors. After getting feedback from them, the final draft report was prepared during the third week of February.

The two principal investigators jointly wrote two newspaper articles based on the survey results. The first was published in the English weekly *Nepali Times* (18 – 24 March 2005 #239) under the headline “What People Say”. The second, entitled ‘Prajatantraka Pakshyama Janata’ (‘People for Democracy’) was published in the Nepali daily *Kantipur* on 26 March, 2005.

## 1.8 The Interview Process and Supervision

Figure 1.2: Flow chart of interview/supervision process



## 1.9 Limitations

The opinion poll has several limitations, most of which have to do with its sampling methodology. Some may have serious implications while others are likely to be minor. First, the sample frame of the poll was limited to the 46 districts in which organisers felt that the poll was do-able in the sense that it would not face problems from the Maoists. The fact that the sample frame was not the 75 districts of the country severely narrows the scope of the poll. Second, the sample districts included in the poll did not represent any of the mountain districts in the western, mid-western or far-western development



regions. This omission may not be overly problematic because this area has a low population. Hill and Tarai districts from almost all five development regions are well represented in the sample. It also needs saying that certain groups are slightly over-represented: high caste hill groups and Newars in terms of caste/ethnicity and Hindus in terms of religious affiliation. The characteristics of the sample are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

## **1.10 Organisation of the Report**

Chapter 1 explains the general background of recent Nepali political developments, the history of the opinion poll in the context of Nepal, and the rationale and objectives of CPS 2005. In addition, the chapter also describes the methodology employed in the poll and, in brief, database management.

Chapter 2 highlights the characteristics of the sample used in the poll. It describes the demographic, geographic and social compositions of the sample, its distribution across educational status and profession, and the proportion of conflict-affected respondents.

Chapter 3 discusses the key findings of the poll. Findings about the public's view obtained from the analysis of single-choice questions are presented in terms of percentage, while findings acquired by analysing multiple-choice questions are explained in terms of ranking. In addition to general frequency and proportion, public response to every question is also examined by disaggregating the response across several control variables such as sex, age-group, development region, ecological region, urban-rural settlement pattern, caste/ethnicity and educational status.

Chapter 4 presents the conclusions drawn

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

Annex II contains bar charts of the public's response to every question broken down by the most significant control variables.

Annex III compares the findings of CPS 2005 and those of other two recently conducted polls.

Annex IV shows the distribution of included in the opinion poll.

Annex V lists the names of a researchers involved in the project.

Annex VI contains a map of Nepal that illustrates the sample districts across three ecological regions.

Annex VII contains the questionnaire administered in the interview.



## Characteristics of the Sample

### 2.1 Demographic Composition

Of the total sample of 3,059 respondents, 1,435 (46.9%) are female and 1,624 (53.1%) are male. According to the population census of 2001, females are slightly under-represented in the sample.

**Table 2.1: Sex composition**

Sex	Sample(%)	2001 Census(%)
Female	46.9	50.1
Male	53.1	49.9
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)	100.0

*Note: N stands for total number of respondents*

About 58 per cent of respondents could be termed the young generation, or persons aged between 18<sup>3</sup> and 35. Respondents above the age of 55 are very few in number. No comparison of the age distribution of the sample was made with the age distribution of the 2001 census because age-group categories are defined quite differently.

**Table 2.2: Age-group composition**

Age-Group	Sample(%)
25 and Below	28.3
26 – 35	29.4
36 – 45	19.6
46 – 55	13.6
Above 55	9.1
Total	100.0
(N = 3059)	

### 2.2 Geographic Composition

Distribution of the sample across the five development regions shows that the highest number of the respondents was taken from the central development region and the lowest number from the far-west development region. Compared to the population census of 2001, the mid-west and the far-west regions are under-represented in the sample. This means that people who live in Maoist-affected areas are relatively less represented.

3. Respondents had to be 18 or older.

**Table 2.3: Development region composition**

Development Region	Sample(%)	2001 Census(%)
Eastern	29.3	23.1
Central	40.4	34.7
Western	20.3	19.7
Mid-Western	7.2	13.0
Far-Western	2.7	9.5
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)	100.0

In terms of ecological zones, most of the respondents (49%) interviewed live in the Tarai. The percentage of respondents from the hills (46%) was slightly less. As is true of the country's total population, mountain respondents occupy a small proportion of the sample. The composition of the sample matches with the 2001 census.

**Table 2.4: Ecological region composition**

Ecological Region	Sample(%)	2001 Census(%)
Mountain	5.1	7.3
Hill	45.6	44.3
Tarai	49.3	48.4
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)	100.0

## 2.3 Social Composition

Respondents from hill high-caste groups dominate the sample. Hill ethnic groups are second, followed by Newars and Tarai Dalits. Hill Dalits, Tarai ethnic groups, Tarai Vaishya and Tarai high caste groups are under-represented in the sample as are Himalayan peoples, who were not even considered as a separate group in the analysis.

**Table 2.5: Caste/ethnicity composition**

Caste/Ethnic Group	Sample (%)
Hill high-caste	41.9
Hill ethnic	12.5
Newar	10.2
Hill Dalit	3.3
Tarai Dalit	10.0
Tarai ethnic	6.9
Tarai Vaishya	6.1
Muslim	5.1
Tarai high-caste	2.8
Other	1.2
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

Looking at the sample by religious affiliation, it is seen that Hindus constitute the majority, but there are some respondents who practice Buddhism and Islam. The number of respondents who practice the Kirat religion or Christianity is negligible in the sample.

Compared to the 2001 census, Hindus are over-represented while Buddhists and Kirats are under-represented.

**Table 2.6: Religion composition**

Religion	Sample (%)	2001 Census(%)
Hindu	88.1	80.7
Buddhist	5.6	10.7
Islam	5.1	4.2
Kirat	0.8	3.6
Christianity	0.4	0.5
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)	

Since the majority of Nepalis live in rural areas, the poll also concentrated on villagers: four out of five were selected from rural areas. Even so, urban dwelling respondents (20%) are slightly over-represented in the sample.

**Table 2.7: Settlement pattern composition**

Settlement Pattern	Sample (%)	2001 Census(%)
Rural	80.0	86.1
Urban	20.0	13.9
Total	100.0(N = 3059)	100.0

## 2.4 Educational Status

If we look at the educational status of the respondents, we notice that illiterate (21%) and secondary-level (21%) respondents dominate the sample. Only a small proportion of respondents (about 5%) reported having a Bachelor's or higher degree.

**Table 2.8: Educational status composition**

Educational Status	Sample (%)
Illiterate	21.0
Literate but no formal education	17.3
Primary level	10.4
Lower secondary level	11.0
Secondary level	21.0
Intermediate level	14.2
Bachelor's level	4.1
Master's level and above	1.1
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

## 2.5 Profession

The majority of respondents (almost 40%) are involved in subsistence agriculture. Those who identify themselves as housewives/husbands form the second largest group (about 20%). Industrialists/business persons and students are third and fourth most populous group respectively. Other professions follow.

**Table 2.9: Profession composition**

<b>Profession</b>	<b>Sample (%)</b>
Subsistence agriculture	38.7
Housewife/husband	19.6
Industry/business	9.0
Student	7.4
Non-government service	6.7
Labour	5.9
Teaching	4.3
Govt/semi-govt service	2.7
Commercialised agriculture	1.7
Unemployed	1.6
Retired	1.2
Others	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 3059)

## 2.6 Conflict Affected Respondents

The sample also included conflict-affected people. The criteria for qualifying as “conflicted-affected” included engagement in occasions when people were mentally or physically tortured or displaced from an original settlements or in incidents like someone in the family being killed, kidnapped or wounded by either (the government security forces or the Maoists) or both sides. Twenty-two per cent of the total respondents were found to have been badly affected by the present conflict. Of the conflict-affected respondents, the majority had been affected by the Maoists but there are also a significant number of respondents who have been affected by government security forces.

**Table 2.10: Composition of conflict-affected people**

<b>Badly Affected by</b>	<b>Sample (%)</b>
Maoists rebels	55.9
Government troops	27.5
Both sides	16.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 658)



## Key Findings of the Poll

### 3.1 Democracy

'In the context of our country, how suitable is democracy?' was a key question every respondent was asked. Slightly more than three-fourth of the respondents believe that democracy is either a suitable or a very suitable political system for Nepal.

**Table 3.1: General trend of responses about democracy**

Response	Per cent
Suitable	45.7
Very suitable	31.3
Not suitable	9.5
Very unsuitable	3.7
Don't want to disclose	.2
Don't know/Can't say	9.5
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

When we correlated this question with various variables, we found some interesting results. While a majority of both sexes think that democracy is a suitable system of governance, a significant proportion of females also revealed their ignorance about the matter: 16 per cent said that they didn't know or were unable to say anything definitive.

Responses across the five development regions are not significantly different from the general trend, but desegregating data by ecological region reveals that mountain people have a different view than do residents in the hills and Tarai. The proportion of people in the mountains who identify democracy as an unsuitable system is relatively high (15.3 per cent). In any case, the majority of mountain people (67.5 per cent) still favours a democratic political system. The beliefs of people who reside in urban area and those who live in rural areas were not significantly different.

The age of respondents did, however, considerably influence their responses. People aged below 55 are more in favour of democracy than their elders are. In terms of caste/ethnicity, the majority of each groups is in favour of democracy. However, a higher than average (9.5 per cent) proportion of Muslims (20.5 per cent), hill Dalit (17.0 per cent) and Tarai Dalit (16.3 per cent) reported not knowing or not be able to say anything about the suitability of democracy. The variation in the responses of uneducated and educated people is considerable: democracy is seen in a more positive light by educated people than by the illiterate or those with little education.

The two most important advantages of democracy identified by the Nepali people are freedom of expression (including freedom of the press) and rule by representatives elected by the people. Religious freedom is third and the rule of law fourth<sup>4</sup>.

4. Ranking is used for those questions where there could be multiple responses or those that required specifying priority. Frequency of responses or specifying priority are better captured by rank order than by percentage.

**Table 3.2: Advantages of democracy**

<b>Advantage</b>	<b>Rank</b>
Freedom of expression (including press)	1
Rule by representatives elected by people	2
Religious freedom	3
Rule of law	4

The ranking is the same across all development regions except in the Mid-west, where 'religious freedom' and 'rule of law' come in second and third ranks, and 'rule by representatives elected by people' is fourth. Moreover, the proportion of respondents who reported not knowing or being unable to respond is significantly high in the Central and Mid-west development regions. Sex, ecological region, urban-rural settlement, age-group, caste/ethnicity and educational status did not show significant differences from the general trend. However, the proportion of respondents who do not know or cannot say is significantly high in the age group above 55 and among the Muslims, Tarai Dalit, hill Dalit and Tarai Vaishya. Similarly a large proportion of illiterates say 'do not know or cannot say'.

The poll also attempted to gauge people's views about the weaknesses of democracy. Nepalis identify the misuse of authority/rise in corruption as the most significant weakness of democracy. The tendency of politicians not to go back to their villages or constituencies after election is next. Changes in administration (when a new party sits in the government) and continuous protest by political parties in opposition are third and fourth in rank.

**Table 3.3: Weaknesses of democracy**

<b>Weakness</b>	<b>Rank</b>
Misuse of authority/Rise in corruption	1
Politicians don't go back to their constituencies after election	2
Changes in administration (when a new party sits in govt.)	3
Continuous protest by political parties in opposition	4

There are no significant differences in ranking across different demographic or social variables though, as in the previous questions, the proportion of females who say 'do not know or cannot say' is high. The ranking is the same across the development regions except in the Far-west Development Region, where respondents ranked 'politicians don't go back to their constituencies after election' the first. People's views about the weaknesses of democracy do not seem effected by ecological region, urban-rural settlement or age group. In terms of caste/ethnicity, Tarai ethnic and Muslims communities believe that major weakness of democracy is that politicians tend not to go back their constituencies after election. Moreover, the proportion of Muslims who admit their ignorance is higher than the general trend. In terms of educational achievement, all respondents excepts the illiterate agree with the ranking. The illiterate believes that politicians not returning to their constituencies is the greatest weakness.

### **3.2 Legitimacy and Effectiveness of the System**

The poll attempted to comprehend people's perceptions about the legitimacy and effectiveness of the ruling system. In response to the question: 'Who should rule the

country for the rule to be legitimate?', clear majority said that a prime minister responsible to the Parliament was a legitimate ruler. About one-fifth said the King should rule, while just 8 per cent gave a prime minister responsible to the King as their answer.

**Table 3.4: Legitimate ruler**

<b>Legitimate Ruler</b>	<b>Percent</b>
PM responsible to Parliament	51.6
The King	22.2
PM responsible to King	8.2
None are legitimate	4.7
Maoists	2.2
Military	1.0
Others	0.1
Don't want to disclose	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	9.5
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

There was no difference in the ordering of the responses of females and males, but less than half of females (43.6 per cent) identified 'a prime minister responsible to the Parliament' as their top choice for a legitimate ruler. The trend across the development regions is similar, except that the Mid-west Development Region more than a third (36.2 per cent) cite the King as the legitimate ruler. In the Tarai, too, slightly more than average (27.5 per cent) feel that king should rule directly. Rural/urban settlement did not have a significant influence on beliefs, but age did. While the majority of all ages said that a prime minister responsible to the Parliament is legitimate, among those above 55, direct rule by the king was seen as equally legitimate. Interesting results can be observed when figures are broken down by caste/ethnicity. Muslims have distinctly different views: they are the only respondents who identified direct rule by the King as the most legitimate (49.2 per cent). Dalits in both the hills and the Tarai are divided on this matter. In both communities, one large group advocates rule by a prime minister responsible to the Parliament (37.6 and 37.0 per cent in the Tarai and hills respectively) while another almost equally large group advocates rule by the King (32.0 and 39.0 per cent in the Tarai and the hills respectively). Education also has a big influence on people's views: the higher a respondent's educational attainment was, the more likely s/he was to identify rule by a prime minister responsible to the Parliament as legitimate.

A follow up question on whose leadership would constitute effective rule revealed very similar responses to those for the question about legitimacy. This finding suggests that the average Nepali respondent does not differentiate between 'legitimacy' and 'effectiveness'.

### **3.3 Contemporary Politics and Situation**

The poll tried to document people's evaluation of the contemporary Nepali polity by relating it to the year 2047 B.S. (1990/91 A.D.) when multi-party democracy was restored. Responses to a question about 'How the country is doing today in comparison with pre-2047 B.S.' revealed that the majority (60 per cent) believe that the country is going through bad times. Around 13 percent feel that the country's situation has improved while around 18 percent feel that there has been no significant change in the country's situation.



**Table 3.5: Country's situation as compared to Pre-2047 BS**

Country's Situation	Percent
Very bad	47.4
Okay	18.5
Somewhat bad	13.2
Good	11.6
Very good	2.2
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	7.0
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

The responses of both sexes follow the general trend although more females (11.4 per cent) than males (3.0 per cent) report not knowing. There is a significant difference in views across the development regions. People from the Mid-west are divided almost into thirds: 33.0 per cent believe that the situation is okay, 32.6 per cent believe that it is bad and 29.4 per cent believe that it is good. If we examine responses by ecological zone, we discover that fewer mountain residents find the situation good (2.5 per cent) as compared to hill residents (10.4 per cent) or Tarai residents (13.6 per cent). Neither settlement nor age was seen to impact responses. In terms of caste/ethnicity, while it is true that significant proportion of hill Dalit (14.0 per cent), Tarai Dalit (13.7 per cent) and Tarai Vaishya (12.8 per cent) have no idea on this matter, the views of all communities accord with the general trend. Considering educational status, a significant proportion (27.3 per cent) of people with a Bachelor's degree or above have a positive view of the present situation.

When asked about the three greatest problems in the country, respondents put the Maoist insurgency at the top of their list; it is followed by corruption and violence/insecurity. ('Violence/insecurity' is different from 'Maoist insurgency' in that it refers to a situation that has arisen as a consequence of the insurgency. Deteriorating law and order situation where criminal elements thrive could be one such outcome. The state security forces out into the open dealing directly with the public could be another such consequence.) Other problems like unemployment and poverty are also seen as big challenges.

**Table 3.6: The nation's three greatest problems**

Problem	Rank
Maoist insurgency	1
Corruption	2
Violence/insecurity	3

The ranking of these three problems is not, however, consistent among all groups. Among females, violence/insecurity is ranked second, while males rank corruption second. If one examines responses by development region, it is that in the Far-west unemployment is ranked as the greatest problem. In that region the Maoist insurgency comes third in the rank after corruption. In terms of ecological regions, the second greatest problem in the Tarai is violence/insecurity, whereas in the hills and mountains it is corruption.

Second after the Maoist insurgency, rural dwellers think that corruption is the greatest problem while urban dwellers think that it is unemployment. Examining responses in terms of age groups, people younger than 35 believe corruption to be the greatest problem after the insurgency while older people think it is violence/insecurity. Among the different caste/ethnic groups, Tarai caste, Tarai Vaishya, Tarai Dalit and hill ethnic communities rank violence/insecurity second while Tarai ethnic and Muslims award poverty the

second rank. Other hill communities believe either unemployment or corruption is second. In terms of educational status, people who have Intermediate and Bachelor's level degrees believe that corruption is the greatest problem, while those of the Master's level think it is unemployment; the Maoist insurgency is ranked second among these educated.

The poll endeavoured to uncover the public's views on the King's intervention in politics in October 4, 2002<sup>5</sup>. Most people (38 per cent) report not being in a position to give a definitive answer on this matter. About one-fifth believe that it was the weakness of the then government (led by Prime Minister Deuba) that provoked the King to act. Almost as many believe that the king had no other option (17.0 per cent) or that the king intended to take up a more active role (14.0 per cent).

**Table 3.7: Perception of the King's intervention**

Perception	Per cent
Weakness of the then government	20.4
The King had no other option	17.0
The King was looking for an opportunity to play a role in politics	14.0
Political parties could not resolve the crisis	9.6
Don't want to disclose	0.9
Don't know/ Cannot say	38.1
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

The sex of respondents seems to be an important variable influencing responses to this question. A majority of females (52.3 per cent) do not know or cannot say anything about the King's act. About 25 per cent of males accuse the then government, while just about 15 per cent of females do.

The Mid-west Development Region is the only region where the view 'weakness of the then government' has a marginal majority (32.6 per cent). Other regions follow the general trend, as does desegregation by ecological region, age group and settlement pattern.

The majority of Tarai Dalit, Muslims and hill Dalit have no clear idea on the matter, whereas Tarai caste and hill caste groups do. The level of education achieved by a respondent had a key influence on responses: most illiterate and primary-level educated people are not in a position to give a clear opinion, whereas significant proportions of secondary-level educated people hold the then government responsible. Many highly educated people, in contrast, think that the king was looking for an opportunity to play a role in politics.

A majority of respondents believe that the situation of the country has deteriorated since the King's intervention. More than 56 per cent describe the situation as either very bad or somewhat bad. One-third think that there has been no change since the event.

5. It bears repeating that this study was conducted before the King assumed direct rule and declared a state of emergency on February 1, 2005.

**Table 3.8: Situation of the country after october 4, 2002**

Situation	Per cent
Very bad	40.7
No difference	33.3
Somewhat bad	16.2
Good	8.7
Very good	0.8
Don't know/cannot say	0.3
Total	100.0 (N = 1866)

There is no variation in terms of sex, ecological region, urban-rural settlement or age group with regard to this question. The findings in the Mid-west Development Region are distinctly different: one group believes that there has been no difference (47.7 per cent), while another group thinks the situation is bad (47.7 per cent). Even though every social community follows the general trend, the proportion of people who believe that the situation is good is higher than average among the Tarai Dalit (17.8 per cent) and the hill Dalit (16.3 per cent). Isolating the education variable reveals that a significant proportion of the illiterate believes that the situation has improved (21.8 per).

Respondents were asked two separate questions designed to elicit their views on the positive and negative aspects of the country's present political situation. Most of respondents ranked 'no positive features' number one; the fact that legal action has been taken against corrupt people was ranked second.

**Table 3.9: Positive aspects of the present situation**

Feature	Rank
No positive features	1
Legal action taken against corrupt people	2

Although men's and women's responses follow the general trend, significant proportion of females (27.1 per cent) are unable to the answer. An examination by development regions reveals exceptions in Mid-west and Far-west, where 'legal actions taken against corrupt people' ranks first. Neither ecological region, settlement pattern, education or age seems to have influenced perceptions. Most castes and ethnic groups mirror the general trend, but Newars believe that legal action taken against corrupt people is the top-ranking positive aspect of the present situation. Many Muslims (31.4 per cent), hill Dalits (29.0 per cent) and Tarai Dalits (28.1 per cent) have no idea about this subject.

In terms of the negative aspects of the present situation, most people ranked 'the country's situation has become worse' first, 'the Maoist insurgency has become even stronger' second and the 'possibility of peace talk has been further reduced' third.

**Table 3.10: Negative features of the present situation**

Features	Rank
Country's situation has become worse	1
Maoist insurgent movement has become even stronger	2
Possibility of peace talk reduced	3

People's perceptions do not vary across the following variables: sex, ecological region, urban-rural residence, age group or caste/ethnicity. However, in terms of development regions, people in the Mid-west that opined the increase in the strength of Maoist rebellion ranks first. Among highly educated people, the fact that the Constitution of Nepal 1990 has been rendered defunct is another important negative aspect of the present situation.

### 3.4 Constituent Assembly

Although debate about the constituent assembly is current, previous polls have not explored this issue. The present poll was designed to find out how many have heard about it, if they have heard about it at all and how many, in fact, feel that they understand what it is.

It was found that roughly half of respondents have heard about the constituent assembly while half have not.

**Table 3.11: Have you heard about constituent assembly?**

Response	Percent
Heard	49.3
Not heard	46.8
Don't want to disclose	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	3.6
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

The variation by sex in responses to this question is significant: 62.9 per cent of males have heard about the constituent assembly but only 33.9 per cent females. Apart from the Far-west Development Region, where the proportion of those who have heard about the assembly is lower than average (37.3 per cent), development region had no discernible impact. Ecological region was also irrelevant. However, more urban dwellers (58.3 per cent) have heard about it than rural dwellers (47.0 per cent) and while half of people below the age of 55 have heard, most of their elders have not. Interesting results are revealed when responses are disaggregated in terms of caste/ethnicity. The majority of hill caste, Newar and Tarai caste people have heard about it, but the majority of other communities have not. Almost 72 per cent of Muslims professed ignorance of it. The level of education of a respondent has a very big influence: the higher the education level, the greater the percentage of people who reported having heard of it.

Respondents who reported having heard about it were asked if they knew what it is about. About 59 per cent claimed they had some or very good knowledge, while 40 per cent said that they have only heard about it and do not know what it is.

**Table 3.12: Do you know about constituent assembly?**

Response	Percent
Know somewhat	44.7
Not known (only heard)	39.9
Know very well	14.3
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	1.1
Total	100.0 (N = 1508)

Disaggregating data reveals that males feel that they are more familiar with the idea of a constituent assembly than females do. Responses from the Eastern Development Region are conspicuous in that the majority (53.5 per cent) profess ignorance. Although the Mid-west follows the general trend, in terms of knowledge, the proportion of those who believe that they know about the concept of a constituent assembly very well or somewhat (89.2 per cent) is very high. All age groups except the group above 55 follow the general trend. The majority of respondents above 55 said they do not know about it. Responses varied across caste/ethnic lines too: the majority of hill Dalit (54.5 per cent), hill ethnic (52.7 per cent), Tarai Vaishya (50 per cent) and Tarai Dalit (56.4 per cent) reported not knowing about the idea of a constituent assembly. Ecological region and urban-rural settlement were found to have no influence on this matter.

Respondents who signalled that they know about the idea of a constituent assembly very well or somewhat were asked a follow-up question: 'What do you think the constituent assembly is?' This question was to ascertain whether they actually understood what it can in fact, do. Only half (50.2 per cent) actually understood that the constituent assembly is an assembly of representatives elected to draft a new constitution. The rest gave incorrect answers. Thus, just 14.5 per cent people genuinely know what a constituent assembly is.

In sum, although the idea of a constituent assembly has gained significant currency in public discourse, the public's understanding of it is very limited.

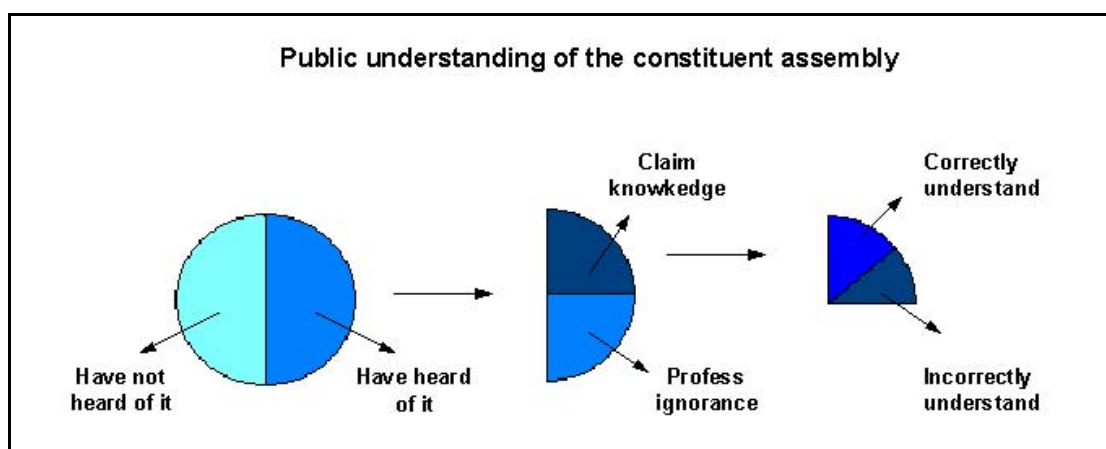
**Table 3.13: Public understanding of the constituent assembly**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Assembly of ER that will draft a new constitution	50.2
Assembly of ER that will amend the present constitution	20.5
Assembly of SR that will draft a new constitution	18.4
Assembly of SR that will amend the present constitution	7.9
Assembly of KAE that will draft a new constitution	1.1
Assembly of KAE that will amend the present constitution	0.9
Don't want to disclose	0.3
Don't know/cannot say	0.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 889)

Note: ER: elected representatives, SR: selected representatives, KAE: King-appointed experts

There is no significant variation between men and women, between urban and rural dwellers, or between caste/ethnic groups in response to this question. All five development regions follow the general trend, although a significantly higher proportion of the people from the Mid-west, Far-west and Eastern regions (81.3 per cent, 76.5 per cent and 63.6 per cent respectively) have an accurate understanding of what a constituent assembly is. All three ecological regions follow the general trend, but the proportion of mountain people who do not understand what a constituent assembly is relatively high. Young people (below the age of 46) understand the constituent assembly better than their elders. Among the illiterate who claimed to know what the constituent assembly is a surprisingly high number (85 per cent) actually do.

Figure 3. 1



### 3.5 Monarchy

In response to the question, 'What type of monarchy should there be in Nepal?' a clear majority (53.4 per cent) expressed their preference for a constitutional monarchy. However, a sizable number (17.2 per cent) would like a more active monarchy and a significant proportion (14.1 per cent) are not in the position to give a definite answer. While 5.5 per cent are in favour of an absolute monarchy, nearly 5 per cent feel that the monarchy is not necessary and another 4.5 per cent favour a less active monarch. If we exclude those who do not have a definite answer, the proportion of people favouring a constitutional monarchy increases to 62.5 per cent and those favouring a more active monarchy increases to 20.1 per cent. It must be remembered that this survey was conducted between November 2004 and January 2005, before the King assumed full executive powers on February 1, 2005.

**Table 3.14: Type of monarchy people favour**

Response	Per cent
Fully constitutional monarchy	53.4
Monarchy more active than at present	17.2
Absolute monarchy	5.5
Monarchy is not necessary	4.9
Monarchy less active than at present	4.5
Don't want to disclose	0.4
Don't know/cannot say	14.1
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

When responses are disaggregated by sex, we do not find any significant variations though a significant proportion of females (22.2 per cent) have no clear idea about the matter. People from all development regions more or less follow the general trend, but the Far-west stands out in that a significant proportion (21.7 per cent) favour a less active monarchy and that almost a third (32.5 per cent) do not know or cannot say anything about the matter. Public opinion does not deviate from the general trend when we disaggregate responses in terms of ecological region, settlement pattern and age. Along caste/ethnicity lines, too, all communities follow the general trend. However, the proportion of the people

who do not know or cannot say is higher than average among hill Dalit (27.0 per cent), Tarai Vaishya (20.3 per cent), Muslims (19.9 per cent) and Tarai Dalit (19.3 per cent).

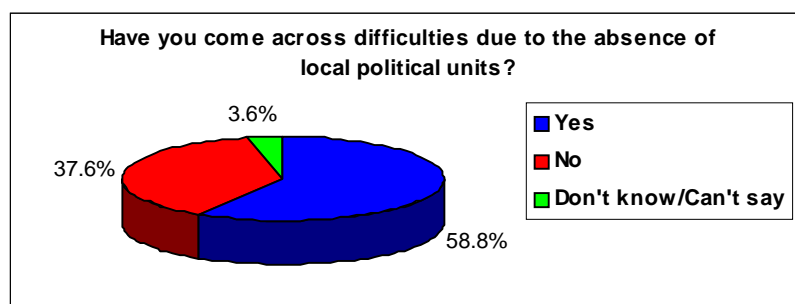
The people who support a more active monarchy are largely those aged 56 or older and those with less education. In contrast, people with a college education or higher show most preference for a fully constitutional monarchy, but some favour a less active monarchy. While more active monarchy does not get support from this group republicanism has most of its adherents in this category.

### 3.6 Local Political and Administrative Units

There have been no elected local political or administrative units (district development committees and village/municipality development committees) since June 2002. Local elections have not been held due to various political reasons and to the lack of security. In several locations, however, local units did function under government-appointed office secretaries. Many of these functionaries were forced to resign by the Maoists. It was considered relevant to explore how the people perceive the absence of local government.

A clear majority (58.8 per cent) report having experienced difficulties due to the absence of local governments.

Figure 3. 2



More males (65.0 per cent) than female (51.8 per cent) report difficulties. Most people in all development regions report having difficulties, but a significant proportion of the people in the Mid-west (19.5 per cent) say that they do not know or cannot say anything about this matter. The difficulties are more pronounced in the Tarai region (66.1 per cent) than in hills (52.2 per cent) and mountains (48.4 per cent). Urban-rural settlement has a significant influence on the public's view: the majority of rural residents (62.4 per cent) report facing difficulties, whereas urban residents think the opposite. About 52 per cent of urban residents believe that they do not have difficulties.

Neither age group nor educational status influences the public's view, but caste/ethnic group does. All Tarai communities and Muslims report facing difficulties whereas the majority of Newars do not. Hill Dalits and hill ethnic communities are nearly equally divided between the two opinions, while the majority of hill caste groups think that they faced difficulties.

People who think that they face difficulties due to the absence of local government units, ranked getting permission to implement or implementing a program most difficult. This

was followed in rank by decision-making related to local issues and the sanctioning of grants.

**Table 3. 15: Difficulties people face**

Difficulty	Rank
Difficulties in permission for/implementation of a program	1
Difficulties in decision-making related to local issues	2
Difficulties in a grant sanction	3

There is no significant variation between men and women and all development regions with the exception of the central region. People in the Central Development Region believe that they have the most difficulty in decision-making related to local issues. Difficulties in sanctioning grants was ranked second in the Far-west. Permission for and implementation of a program is the main difficulty in the Tarai whereas decision-making related to local issues is the main one in the other two ecological regions. Rural residents think that they face difficulty in getting permission for and implementing programs, while urban residents report that they face difficulties in decision-making.

Disaggregated in terms of age, the data reveals that all groups except 25 and below follow the general trend. The youngest age group thinks that the main difficulty is in decision-making. Hill Dalit and also Newars agree with this. Other communities, in contrast, follow the general trend. Level of education has a significant influence on the public's opinion on this issue. People who are illiterate or relatively less educated feel that the main difficulty lies in permission and implementation while moderately educated people think the difficulties related to decision-making rank first.

### 3.7 The Maoist Movement

The poll attempted to uncover what Nepalis think about the state of the Maoist movement in their area. Respondents were asked only 'What is the situation of the Maoist movement in your area?'; no attempt was made to consider national level dynamics. Almost three-fourths of respondents claimed that the movement is the same, while almost one-fifth feel that it is spreading.

**Table 3.16: Situation of the Maoists movement**

Response	Percent
It is the same	72.2
It is spreading	18.5
It is diminishing	5.9
Don't want to disclose	0.3
Don't know/ Cannot say	3.1
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

Analysis by development region, however, reveals that the majority of people living in the Mid-west (48.4 per cent) think that the Maoist movement is spreading. There are no significant variations in the responses to the question in terms of any other variable.



People who said that the Maoist movement was spreading were asked 'What are the factors that are contributing to the spread of the Maoist movement?' Two major factors received almost equal ranking as the cause of the spread: corrupt individual politicians and the fact that under-privileged communities have fallen further behind in development. Other important factors are the inactiveness on the part of political parties and less development of rural areas than urban ones.

**Table 3.17: Factors Contributing to the spread of the Maoist movement**

Factor	Rank
Corrupt individual politicians	1
Under-privileged communities have lagged further behind	2
Inactiveness on the part of political parties	3
Unequal development of rural areas	4

Isolating for development region reveals differences from the general trend. In the Eastern, Western and Far-west regions, the fact that under-privileged communities are lagging further behind is ranked first. The following variables made no difference to the order of ranking: sex, ecological region, settlement pattern, age-group, caste/ethnicity and educational status.

People who said that the Maoist movement is diminishing were also asked to give reasons. Most said that main reason was the effective role of the security forces; the fact that people are losing faith in the Maoist movement or are becoming disillusioned with the Maoists was ranked second.

**Table 3.18: Reasons behind the diminishing of the Maoist movement**

Reason	Rank
Maoists have been controlled by security forces	1
People are losing faith in the movement	2

Disaggregating responses on the basis of sex, development region, ecological regions, urban-rural settlement, age group, caste/ethnicity and educational status does not reveal any significant deviations. In terms of development regions, however, respondents in the Western, Mid-west and Far-west regions reversed the order.

The poll endeavoured to understand the public's views about possible solutions to the Maoists movement. First priority was awarded to peace talks. The declaration of a ceasefire between Maoist and state security forces was ranked second, while the government's fulfilling the Maoists' demands was third. Solutions like having security forces suppress the Maoist rebels or having Maoist rebels suppress the security forces do not figure in the priority ranking.

**Table 3.19: Solution to the Maoist movement**

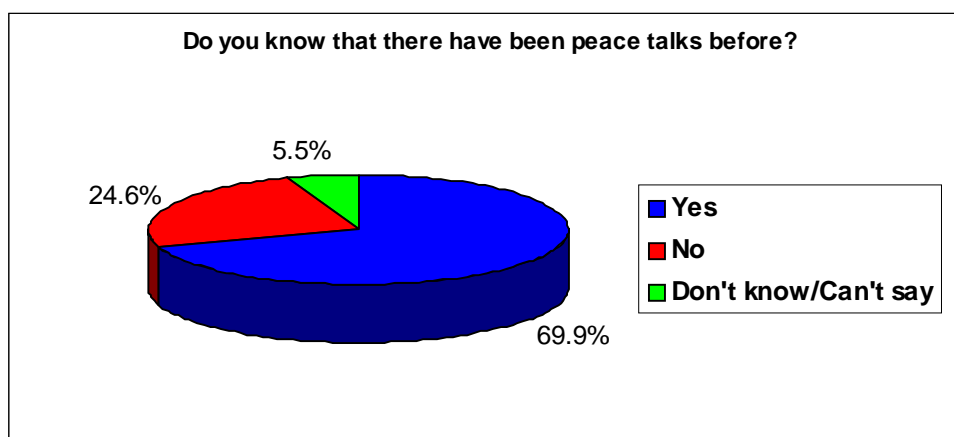
Solution	Rank
Holding peace talks by concerned parties	1
Declaring ceasefire by concerned parties	2
Fulfilling the Maoist's demands	3

Responses to this question do not vary significantly in terms of sex, ecological region, settlement pattern, age groups, caste/ethnicity or educational status. There is, however, a variation in response across the development regions. Regions other than the Mid-west and the Far-west follow the general trend, but active participation of the king is ranked first among people in the Mid-west while people from the Far-west give first rank to fulfilling the Maoists demands.

### 3.8 The Peace Talk

Two series of peace talks have been held between the then governments and the Maoists. The first was held in two rounds between August and September 2001. The second consisted of three rounds between April and August 2003. In both occasions, the Maoists unilaterally broke off the talks. The poll made an effort to understand what the Nepali public thinks about this issue. A majority (69.9 per cent) knows that there have been peace talks in the past.

Figure 3. 3



This is no significant variation in responses in terms of sex though more females (33.1 per cent) than males (17.1 per cent) do not knowing about the peace talks. Similarly, though the views of people across all five development regions coincide with the general trend, a higher proportion of people in the Mid-west (33.9 per cent) do not know. Responses do not buck the general trend when ecological region, settlement pattern, age group, caste/ethnicity or educational status are considered. However, the proportions of those who are unaware are high among Muslims and hill Dalits (34.0 per cent in both cases). Disaggregated by education, the data reveals that a large proportion of the illiterate (40.7 per cent) and the informally literate (34.3 per cent) are unaware that peace talks have been held.

Respondents who said that they are aware of the peace talks were asked the reasons they failed. The majority feel that the peace talks broke down because both sides were not flexible enough. Second in rank was the inflexibility the then government leaders and third was the inflexibility of Maoist leaders.

**Table 3.20: Reasons for the failure of the peace talks**

Response	Rank
Neither if the party was flexible	1
Government was not flexible	2
Maoist leaders were not flexible	3

Both males and females rank the reasons the same as the general trend but the proportion of females who do not know (16.0 per cent) is almost three times the average. The Far-western Development Region is the only region which deviates from the general trend: people there rank the inflexibility of the government first followed by the inflexibility of the Maoists. In addition, 24.2 per cent people are unable to state a reason definitely. The ranking does not differ across ecological region, the urban-rural settlement, caste/ethnicity or educational status. However in the context of age group as a variable, the proportion of those who are unable state a definite reason is higher than average among the 55-year-old and above.

All respondents were asked if the Maoist movement could be settled through peace talks. Almost three-fourths of the respondents were optimistic: they believe that talks can settle matters.

**Table 3. 21: Can the Maoist movement be settled through talks?**

Response	Percent
Yes	73.3
No	16.0
Don't want to disclose	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	10.2
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

There is no significant variation in terms of sex though 14.9 per cent of female respondents had no clear response to this question. The trend holds true if one disaggregates the data by development region, ecological region, settlement pattern, age group, caste/ethnicity and educational status. However, a significantly high proportion of Muslims (18.6 per cent) and illiterates (23.1 per cent) say they do not know or cannot say.

The poll also made an attempt to understand the public's view about how sincere the King-re-appointed Deuba government and the Maoists were about bringing peace to the country. In response to the question about King-re-appointed Deuba government, a majority (50.9 per cent) said that the then government was not serious. About 16.3 percent do not know or cannot say anything on this matter. Similarly, a majority (62.1 per cent) do not believe that the Maoist leaders were serious about bringing peace. As a word of caution, it should be noted that a significant portion of the people have no clear idea on this matter (24.3 percent). Taken together, these two questions reveal that the public do not believe that either the re-appointed Deuba government or the Maoist leaders were serious about ushering in peace.

Figure 3.4

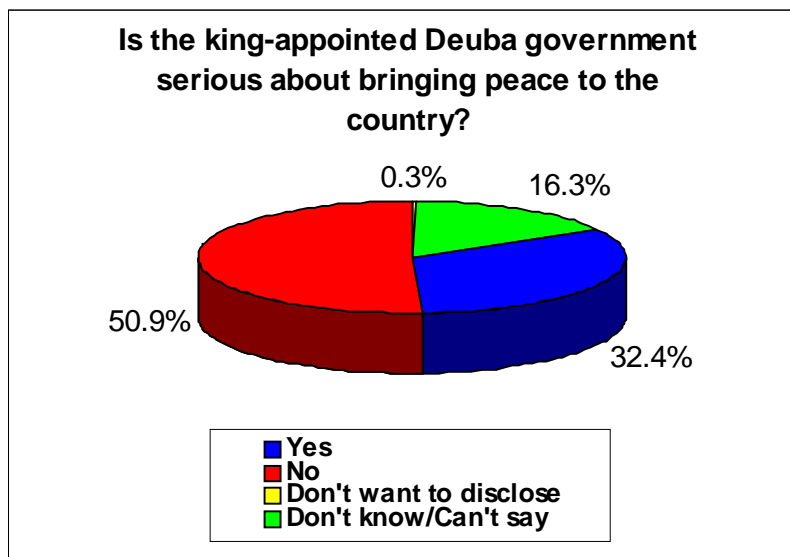
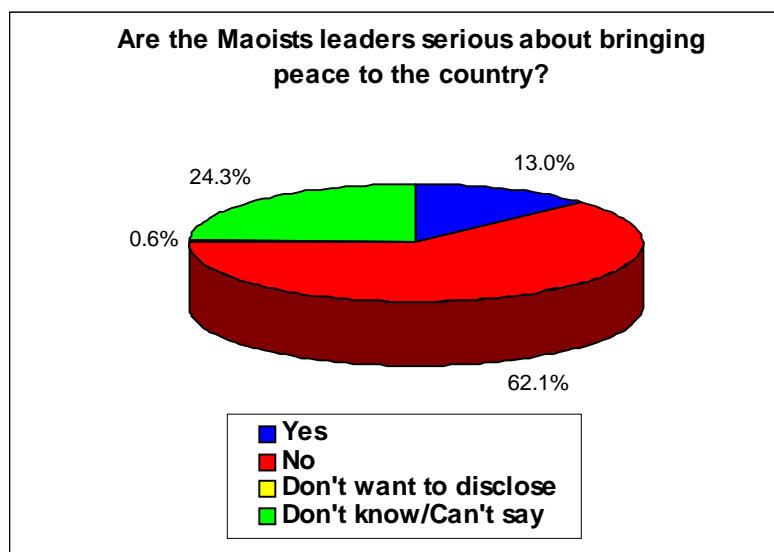


Figure 3.5



Both female and male respondents believe that the Deuba government lacked sincerity but the proportion of females, who have no clear idea about this matter (22.0 per cent) is higher than average (16.3 per cent). Opinions across the five development regions are similar to the general trend except in the Far-west, where nearly twice as many (34.9 per cent) have no clear idea. While public views disaggregated by ecological region do follow the general trend, a significant portion of mountain people has no clear idea (28.0 per cent). Settlement pattern and age group do not have a significant influence but more than the average proportion of the age group above 55 (21.1 per cent) is not in a position to state clearly.

All caste/ethnic communities follow the general trend except Muslims and the Tarai Vaishya, who exhibit a more positive than average attitude towards the government. The

proportion of people with no clear idea are higher than average among Tarai Dalit (25.5 per cent), Muslims (24.4 per cent), Tarai ethnic communities (23.1 per cent) and hill Dalit (23.0 per cent). Isolating the education variable reveals that while a slight majority of illiterate people think that the present government is serious (36.3 per cent), 34.4 per cent have no clear idea. In general, the higher a respondent's educational status, the less likely s/he was to have faith in the Deuba government.

Both female and male respondents believe that Maoist leaders were not serious about bringing peace to the country. When development region is disaggregated, the data reveals a very high proportion of people in the Mid-west (84.6 per cent) think that the Maoist leaders are not serious. In the Far-west, a very high proportion (39.8 per cent) has no clear idea. All ecological regions follow the general trend, but 40.1 per cent of mountain people have no clear idea. The trend does not change significantly if one disaggregates the data by settlement patterns age group or caste/ethnicity though the proportion with no idea is higher than average among Tarai Dalit (40.8 per cent), hill Dalit (35.0 per cent), Tarai Vaishya (34.2 per cent) and Tarai ethnic (31.6 per cent) groups. The higher a respondent's educational achievement, the less faith s/he showed towards the Maoists.

The poll attempted to gauge the public's view on the involvement of a third party in peace talks. A clear majority (53.0 per cent) favour third party involvement, but almost one quarter is not in a position to express a clear view in this regard.

**Table 3.22: Third party involvement in peace talks**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Yes	53.0
No	24.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	22.9
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

All development regions follow the general trend except the Far-west, where the majority (43.4 per cent) are not in favour of third party involvement. The proportions of people with no clear idea are higher than average in the Mid-west (32.1 per cent) and Far-west (30.1 per cent). Isolating ecological region reveals that majorities in all regions support third party involvement, but that 29.3 per cent of mountain people have no clear idea. Settlement patterns and age group show no variation on the general public trend but 34.8 per cent of the age group above 55 has no clear idea.

Along caste/ethnic lines, the majority of Muslims (42.9 per cent) and hill Dalit (39.0 per cent) are not in a position to express a clear view. Significant proportions of Tarai Vaishya (32.6 per cent), Tarai Dalit (31.4 per cent) and Tarai ethnic (31.1 per cent) are also unable to state their viewpoint. The results show that education level has a very significant role. Educated people are in favour of third party mediation and inclination towards this view increases with education level. The majority of illiterates (51.1 per cent) have no clear idea on this matter. The proportion of informally literate people with no clear idea is also quite high (30.0 per cent).

Respondents who advocate third-party mediation were asked to identify who they would like to see involved. A simple majority of the people prefer human rights organisations

(45.6 per cent) and a significant proportion prefers the United Nations (37.3 per cent). These make up 24.2 and 19.8 per cent of the total respondents respectively.

**Table 3.23: If you agree, who would you like to see involved as the third party?**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Human rights institution	45.6
The United Nations	37.3
India	8.8
Others	2.3
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/cannot say	5.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 1620)

Both female and male respondents follow the general trend. By development region, those in the Far-west differ in favouring the United Nations by a clear majority (54.5 per cent). A significantly higher proportion than average people in the Mid-west (25 per cent) would like to see India get involved. Disaggregated ecological region also reveals an anomaly: the majority of hill people (45.7 per cent) would like to see the United Nations get involved. Residence in a rural or urban area is a significant factor: those in the countryside (50.5 per cent) favour the involvement of human right organisations, whereas those in towns and cities (54.3 per cent) would of like to see the involvement of the United Nations.

Age group has no influence on responses, but caste/ethnicity is significant. Hill caste group and Newars place more trust in the United Nations than in human rights organisations. Significant proportions of Muslims (33.3 per cent) and Tarai Dalit (30.7 per cent) favour India's involvement. Educational status has a very significant influence: The higher a respondent's educational status, the more trust s/he has in the United Nations. The majority of uneducated people and moderately educated people trust human right organisation while highly educated people favour the United Nations' involvement.

### **3.9 Effect of a Ceasefire**

The poll attempted to apprehend people's perceptions of the likely effects on their daily lives if a ceasefire were declared. Almost three-fourths reported believing that they would feel more secure. Almost all the rest said they would feel somewhat more secure.

Most development regions, follow the general trend except the Mid-west, where a majority (68.3 per cent) think that ceasefire will bring somewhat more security rather than more security. Public views on this matter do not significantly differ from the general trend when data it is disaggregated by ecological region, urban-rural settlement, age group, caste/ethnicity and educational status.

**Table 3.24: How will the ceasefire effect people's daily life?**

Response	Percent
More secure	71.6
Somewhat secure	24.2
No difference	0.9
Somewhat insecure	0.6
Worse security	0.2
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	2.5
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

### 3.10 Solution to the Current Political Stalemate

In order to feel the pulse of the public with regard to what steps should be taken to rescue the country from the current political stalemate, the poll asked respondents to express their views in three stages. In each stage, several possible options were given and respondents were asked to select one. In the first stage, most people (41.0 per cent) think that round-table talks should be held. A significant proportion of people (26.9 per cent) are not in a position to express their views definitely. About 22 percent of the people think that a fresh election of the House of Representatives (HoR) should be conducted. Only 10 percent of the people believe that the dissolved HoR should be restored.

**Table 3.25: What should be done to rescue the country? (stage I)**

Response	Percent
Conducting a round-table talk between various sides	41.0
Conducting a fresh election of HoR	21.9
Restoration of dissolved HoR	10.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/Can not say	26.9
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

While a majority of women have no clear opinion in this regard (38.9 percent), men follow the general trend. Variation across the development regions include the fact that most people in the Mid-west and Far-west have no clear opinion (33.0 percent and 39.8 percent respectively). Public view does not significantly deviate from the general trend if analysis is conducted on the basis of ecological regions or urban-rural settlement. People of all age groups follow the general trend except the age group above 55, of whom the majority (37.6 per cent) are unable to express a clear opinion.

Most caste/ethnic groups follow the general trend, although most hill Dalit (48.0 percent), Muslims (39.7 percent) and Tarai ethnic (34.4 percent) have no clear opinion. By educational status, almost all groups follow the general trend apart from the illiterates, a majority of whom have no clear opinion (56.1 percent). A high proportion of the informally literate also have no clear opinion on this matter (35.5 percent).

For the second stage, a simple majority (30.8 per cent) choose an interim government including the Maoists, while 20.9 per cent chose a coalition government of the mainstream political parties. A significant number believe that a new government should be formed by the Parliament (16.4 percent), while slightly more than one-quarter have no clear opinion on this matter.

**Table 3. 26: What should be done to rescue the country? (stage II)**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Interim government including Maoists	30.8
Coalition government	20.9
Forming a government by parliament	16.4
Forming a government nominated by king	5.1
Don't want to disclose	0.2
Don't know/ Cannot say	26.5
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

Responses differ by sex. While the majority of the males think that an interim government including Maoists (30.8 percent) is the solution, the majority of females have no clear idea (38.6 percent). Opinions also differ across the five development regions. Significant number of people in the Eastern and Far-western regions have no clear idea (32.5 per cent and 41.0 per cent respectively), while in the Central region, people are divided almost equally between those who say there should be an interim government including Maoists (27 per cent) and those who have no clear idea (27.7 percent). Many people in the Mid-west are in favour of a coalition government (33.5 percent) though a significant proportion do not know or cannot say (29.4 per cent). Examining results by ecological region reveals that most people in the mountains have no clear idea (35.7 per cent). Those in the hills and the Tarai follow the general trend, but the proportion of people with no clear idea is high in both regions (27.6 per cent in the Tarai and 24.3 per cent in the hills). Settlement pattern has no influence on views.

The young generation favours an interim government including Maoists, whereas most people older than 55 have no clear idea on this matter. Hill caste, hill ethnic groups and Newars follow the general trend, but the proportion of people with no clear idea are high among hill ethnic groups (29.6 per cent) and Newars (27.6 percent). Many hill Dalit, Muslims, Tarai Dalit, Tarai Vaishya and Tarai ethnic groups also have no clear idea. The Tarai caste groups are the only community in which majority favours a coalition government (34.9 per cent). Level of education has a significant influence on people's beliefs: The higher a respondent's educational achievement, the more likely s/he is to favour the formation of an interim government. A clear majority of the illiterate (58.7 per cent) have no clear idea on this matter.

The third stage of rescue asked respondents to express their views pertaining to the constitution. A simple majority (41.5 per cent) do not have a clear idea on this matter, while it about one-third (34.7 per cent) think that the present constitution should be amended and around 17 percent are in favour of formulating a new constitution.



**Table 3.27: What should be done to rescue the country? (stage III)**

Response	Percent
Amendment to present constitution is required	34.7
Formulation of a new constitution	16.7
Amendment to present constitution is not required	6.7
Don't want to disclose	0.5
Don't know/Can't say	41.5
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

A clear majority of female respondents have no clear idea on this matter (55.7 percent), but a simple majority of males think that amendment of the present constitution is required. Most people in the Eastern, Central and Far-western regions have no clear idea (43.2 and 45.8 per cent respectively), while most people in the Western and Mid-west regions say that the present constitution should be amended. Most respondents in the mountains (46.5 per cent) and the Tarai (46.3 per cent) have no clear idea. While most people in the hills think that there should be an amendment, another 35.6 percent have no clear idea. Looking at the data by settlement reveals that most urban residents are in the favour of amendment (39.2 per cent) though a high percentage of them have no clear idea (31.2 per cent). Forty four per cent of rural residents have no clear idea.

Age-group has no significant influence on responses and most caste/ethnic groups also follow the trend, i.e. have not clear idea. However, majorities of the hill caste (40.0 per cent) and Tarai caste (44.2 per cent) groups would like to see an amendment to the present constitution. Education is a crucial variable: The higher a respondent's level of education, the more support s/he shows for an amendment. Among people who have obtained a master's degree or above, 45.5 percent are in favour of formulating a new constitution. Most of the illiterates and informally literate as well as people educated up to the primary level have no clear idea.

Overall, the poll reveals that public discourse about long-term conflict resolution has not sufficed as a large of respondents have with no knowledge of the issue. However, it can be said that Nepalis will support round-table talks between the Maoists, the government and other parties and will accept an interim government that includes the Maoists. The Nepali public is less unanimous about how to proceed regarding the constitution - sticking with or amending the present constitution or formulating a new one.

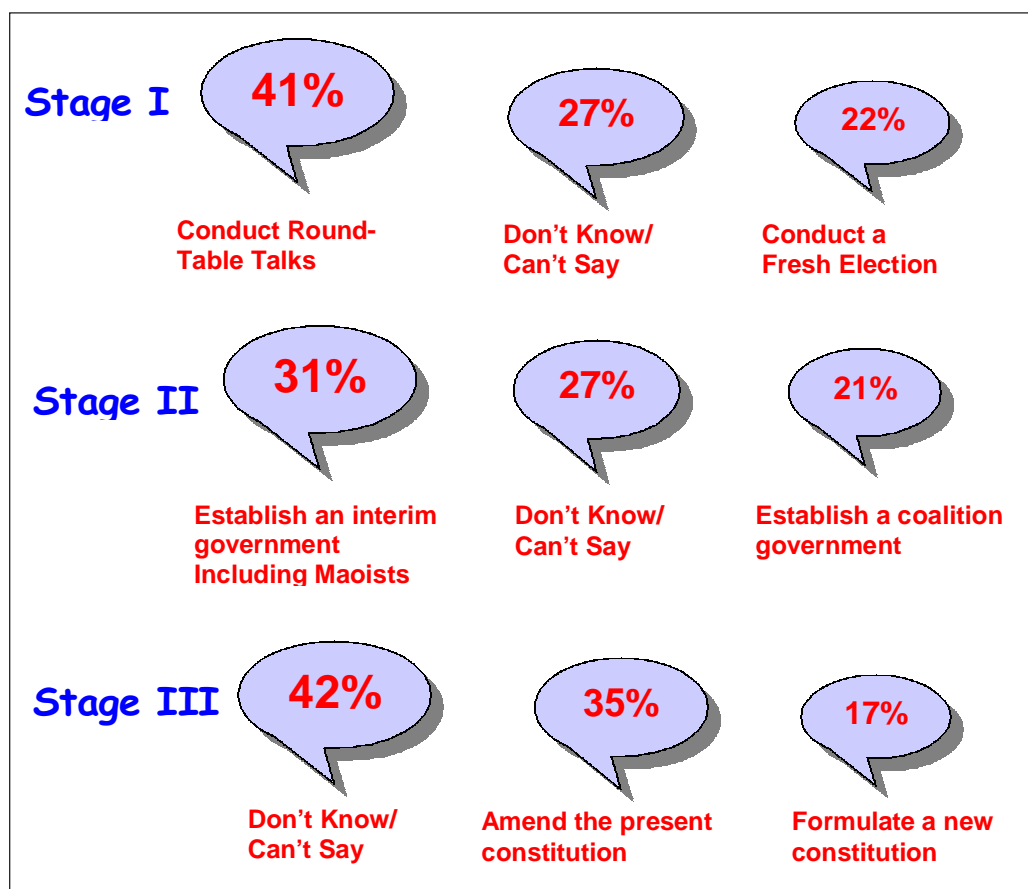
Among respondents who think that a new constitution should be formulated, a clear majority (57.1 per cent) believes a constituent assembly should be the way forward. Those who favour action by a constituent assembly constitute 9.5 per cent of the total respondents.

**Table 3.28: What process should be adopted to formulate a new constitution?**

Process	Percent
Constituent assembly	57.1
Commission founded by HoR	18.8
Committee to draft a constitution	13.1
Commission founded by king	6.8
Referendum	0.4
Don't know/Cannot say	3.7
Total	100.0 (N = 511)

There are no significant variations in terms of sex, development region, settlement pattern or age group. In terms of ecological region, the proportion of mountain people favouring a commission formed by the HoR and a constituent assembly are equal (38.5 per cent). Hill and Tarai people, on the other hand follow the general trend. In the context of educational status, it was noted that educated people tend to support a constituent assembly. The hill Dalit is the only community that favours a commission founded by the HoR (53.8 per cent).

Figure 3.6 : What should be done to rescue the country from the current state of political turmoil?



## Conclusion

This opinion poll suggests that while Nepalis like the system of democracy with a constitutional monarchy, they think that there is a problem with its driving agents, i.e. political parties and leaders. Not only are people dissatisfied with the performance of politicians but they identify the misuse of authority and the increase in the levels of corruption as major hindrances to the proper functioning of democracy. People express their displeasure with leaders who, they claim, tend not to go back to their constituencies after elections. In spite of these limitations, even though the Nepali people believe that the country's situation is bad as compared to before 1991, re-introduction of democracy has made a good impression on the people's mind. The freedom of expression, including the freedom of the press, is especially appreciated. Rule by elected representatives is seen as the other main advantage.



For an absolute majority of Nepali people, a prime minister responsible to the Parliament is the only legitimate government. For most, there is no alternative to a constitutional monarchy. The proportion favouring a republic or an absolute monarchy is very small.

The average Nepali does not think the King's intervention in politics<sup>6</sup> has improved the situation. In fact, the negative outcomes outweigh the positive ones. Many people have no idea why the King intervened. Those who do offer an opinion condemn the Deuba government for letting the King play a role in politics. The people do give some consideration to the King: they feel that he had no option other than to sack the then-prime minister and nominate a new prime minister. People, in general, do not think that the King's involvement in politics can bring about a resolution. However, they do not place the blame for the present state of affairs entirely on him.

The public identifies the Maoist insurgency, corruption and violence/insecurity as the nation's greatest problems. They believe that the Maoist insurgency can be settled through peace talks but they do not repose their trust in either side, neither in the king-reappointed Deuba government nor in the Maoist leadership. They believe that neither side is serious about peace talks. They favour third-party involvement to break the deadlock between the government and the Maoists. Nepali human rights organisations are the preferred mediating party. People are in favour of holding round-tables talks to uplift the country from the current political stalemate. They do not have a problem with establishing an interim government which includes the Maoists. However, it also needs to be said that many Nepalis feel that they do not know or cannot say anything about many of these issues. It is clear that the public discourse must be expanded.

The majority of Nepalis are not in a position to express a definite view about either constitutional amendment or constituent assembly. Only half of the population have heard about constituent assembly. Out of them, only 50 per cent believe that they know something about it. And out of them only 50 per cent really understand the proper meaning of the constituent assembly. In fact, only around 14.5 per cent actually know what a constituent assembly is all about. This is ironic given that it is a hot issue in the country's central level politics.

6. The King's intervention in politics refers to the event, which took place on October 4, 2002.

Less than ten per cent are in favour of constituent assembly as the process to overcome the current-political stalemate. The poll also gives us some idea about who advocate constituent assembly. Surprisingly the illiterate or the literate with no formal education are more correctly informed than the educated. Those with college degree or higher, however, are the people who favour a constituent assembly as the way to overcome the political deadlock. It is possible that some people support an option they do not properly understand. People below the age of 45 are more open to the idea of a constituent assembly than are the elderly.

The poll reveals that people who live in the Mid-west development region view the country's political situation differently than people living elsewhere. They think that the Maoist movement is stronger and is spreading by the day. Support for a more active king is higher in this region than elsewhere. They are not as optimistic as other Nepalis that a ceasefire would make their lives secure.

Educational achievement is perhaps the most important variable affecting an individual's perception of democracy and political events. College-educated Nepali have a markedly positive attitude towards the norms and values of democracy. Despite the negative features they have witnessed during the last decade and more, people with a Bachelor's degree and higher believe that a prime minister responsible to the House of Representatives is the only type of government with legitimacy. The proportion of those who favour constitutional monarchy is high in this group.

An opinion poll is a forum through which people can bring their private views into the public. It provides an equal opportunity for all citizens to express their views since the sampling technique used in scientific polling exercises ensures that all segments of society, irrespective of sex, age, caste/ethnicity or class are represented. Moreover, scientific polling helps democratise the polity since it provides information about what people think.

The main messages of the poll is that system of democracy with a constitutional monarchy is popular among Nepalis. They favour a constitutional monarchy, not a republic or an absolute monarchy. The people believe that a prime minister responsible to the Parliament ensures that the government is legitimate.

Nepalis believe that the Maoist insurgency can be settled through peace talks, not military action. They do not trust either the then government or the Maoist leadership, believing instead that a third party could mediate a solution.

Around 14.5 per cent understand what a constituent assembly is and only 9.5 per cent favour using it to resolve the present political stalemate. Restoring the dissolved House of Representatives is not a popular option either; only around 10 per cent support it. A higher proportion of people (22 per cent) favour going for fresh election.

Though some results, specially those regarding ways to overcome the present political stalemate appear contradictory, the Nepali people seem to be favour an encompassing framework – one in which the constitutional monarchy, democracy and Maoists all fit. They do not agree to the restoration of the House of Representatives as some political parties propose or to the establishment of constituent assembly as the Maoists demand, but the people do want the monarchy, political parties and the Maoists all to have a place in the new political structure.

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## I Frequency Tables and Cross-Tabulation

Q 13: In the context of our country, how suitable is democracy?

Q 13	Frequency	Valid Percent
Very suitable	958	31.3
Suitable	1398	45.7
Not suitable	292	9.5
Very unsuitable	114	3.7
Don't want to disclose	7	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	290	9.5
Total	3059	100.0

Q 13	Female	Male
Very suitable	26.3	35.7
Suitable	45.4	46.0
Not suitable	9.4	9.7
Very unsuitable	2.8	4.6
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.3
Don't know/Can't say	16.0	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 13	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Very suitable	41.2	25.5	35.4	15.4	24.1
Suitable	34.4	47.4	48.4	69.2	60.2
Not suitable	12.4	10.1	7.1	3.6	4.8
Very unsuitable	3.6	4.2	4.7	0.5	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.0	1.2
Don't know/Can't say	8.4	12.6	4.2	11.3	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 13	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Very suitable	24.2	31.1	32.3
Suitable	43.3	48.7	43.2
Not suitable	15.3	9.3	9.2
Very unsuitable	3.2	2.9	4.6
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.4	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	14.0	7.8	10.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 13	Rural	Urban
Very suitable	31.4	30.9
Suitable	46.1	44.3
Not suitable	8.9	12.1
Very unsuitable	3.6	4.4
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	9.8	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 13	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Very suitable	31.1	32.7	32.3	29.0	28.7
Suitable	47.5	46.5	45.0	45.3	39.4
Not suitable	9.4	9.1	10.8	9.4	9.0
Very unsuitable	3.1	3.0	2.2	6.0	7.9
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.4
Don't know/Can't say	8.6	8.4	9.5	10.3	14.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 13	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Very suitable	37.0	26.0	26.4	29.8	32.1	29.9	24.5	36.0	18.6
Suitable	42.7	47.0	47.9	52.9	42.9	40.6	47.4	46.5	53.8
Not suitable	11.4	9.0	9.7	7.4	9.4	9.6	7.5	4.7	3.8
Very unsuitable	3.6	1.0	3.1	3.5	4.7	7.0	3.6	4.7	3.2
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	5.1	17.0	12.6	6.4	10.8	12.8	16.3	8.1	20.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 13	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Very suitable	20.2	27.5	27.8	25.8	36.0	43.4	56.0	54.5
Suitable	39.7	46.6	53.3	56.1	47.4	42.3	32.8	30.3
Not suitable	8.9	9.2	8.5	10.7	10.1	10.6	6.4	12.1
Very unsuitable	2.5	5.3	3.8	3.3	4.5	2.8	4.8	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0
Don't know/Can't say	28.3	10.9	6.6	3.6	2.0	0.9	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 14: What are the advantages of democracy? (Multiple Choice)

Q 14	Rank
Freedom of expression including press (a)	1
Rule by representatives elected by people (b)	2
Religious freedom (c)	3
Rule of law (d)	4
Political parties responsible to people (e)	5

Q 14	Female	Male
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b
Rank 3	c	c
Rank 4	d	d
Rank 5	e	e

Q 14	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	c	b
Rank 3	c	c	c	d	d
Rank 4	d	d	d	b	c
Rank 5	e	e	e	e	e

Q 14	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rank 1	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	d	c
Rank 4	d	c	d
Rank 5	e	e	e

Q 14	Rural	Urban
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b
Rank 3	c	c
Rank 4	d	d
Rank 5	e	e

Q 14	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c
Rank 4	d	d	d	d	d
Rank 5	e	e	e	e	e

Q 14	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	d	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	b	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Rank 4	d	c	d	d	e	e	d	e	d
Rank 5	e	e	e	e	d	d	e	d	e

Q 14	Illiterate	Informal Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Rank 4	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Rank 5	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e

Q 15: What are the weaknesses of democracy? (Multiple Choice)

Q 15	Rank
Misuse of authority/Rise in corruption (a)	1
Politicians do not go back to their villages after election (b)	2
Changes in administration when a new party sits in a govt. (c)	3
Continuous protest by political parties in opposition (d)	4
Large parties do not listen to small parties (e)	5



Q 15	Female	Male
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b
Rank 3	c	c
Rank 4	d	d
Rank 5	e	e

Q 15	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	b
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	a
Rank 3	c	c	c	v/i	c
Rank 4	d	d	d	e	d
Rank 5	e	e	e	c	-

Note: v/i: violence/insecurity

Q 15	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rank 1	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	c
Rank 4	d	d	d
Rank 5	e	e	e

Q 15	Rural	Urban
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b
Rank 3	c	c
Rank 4	d	d
Rank 5	e	e

Q 15	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c
Rank 4	d	d	d	d	e
Rank 5	e	e	e	v/i	d

Q 15	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	b	a	a	a	b
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	a	b	b	b	a
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Rank 4	d	d	d	d	d	d	v/i	e	d
Rank 5	e	v/i	e	e	e	e	d	d	e

Q 15	Illiterate	Informal Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rank 1	b	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	a	b	b	b	b	b	b	c
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	b
Rank 4	e	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Rank 5	v/i	e	e	e	e	e	e	v/i

## Q 16: Who should rule the country for the rule to be legitimate?

Q 16	Frequency	Valid Percent
PM responsible to parliament	1577	51.6
PM responsible to the king	252	8.2
The king	678	22.2
Military	32	1.0
Maoists	68	2.2
None are legitimate	143	4.7
Don't want to disclose	17	0.6
Others	2	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	290	9.5
Total	3059	100.0

Q 16	Female	Male
PM responsible to parliament	43.6	58.6
PM responsible to the king	9.0	7.6
The king	26.3	18.5
Military	0.8	1.3
Maoists	2.0	2.5
None are legitimate	4.3	5.0
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.9
Others	0.1	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	13.9	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 16	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
PM responsible to parliament	55.0	42.0	68.0	44.8	50.6
PM responsible to the king	5.0	11.6	4.2	14.0	8.4
The king	21.7	23.8	13.5	36.2	31.3
Military	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.4	0.0
Maoists	2.3	1.9	3.5	0.0	1.2
None are legitimate	4.6	5.3	5.1	2.3	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.0
Others	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	10.0	13.5	4.0	0.5	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 16	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
PM responsible to parliament	47.1	52.4	51.2
PM responsible to the king	14.6	9.1	6.8
The king	14.0	17.3	27.5
Military	0.0	1.4	0.9
Maoists	0.0	2.4	2.3
None are legitimate	7.0	6.2	3.0
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.7	0.4
Others	0.0	0.1	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	16.6	10.4	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



## Q 17: Who should rule the country for the rule to be effective?

Q 17	Frequency	Valid Percent
PM responsible to parliament	1582	51.7
PM responsible to the king	255	8.3
The king	692	22.6
Military	29	0.9
Maoists	80	2.6
None are effective	158	5.2
Don't want to disclose	8	0.3
Others	4	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	251	8.2
Total	3059	100.0

Q 17	Female	Male
PM responsible to parliament	43.6	58.9
PM responsible to the king	9.1	7.6
The king	26.8	19.0
Military	0.8	1.0
Maoists	2.4	2.8
None are effective	4.6	5.7
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.4
Others	0.1	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	12.5	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 17	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
PM responsible to parliament	55.0	43.7	66.4	43.4	47.0
PM responsible to the king	5.4	11.2	4.0	15.8	9.6
The king	21.4	24.5	14.5	37.1	30.1
Military	1.2	0.8	1.0	0.5	1.2
Maoists	2.3	2.0	5.1	0.5	1.2
None are effective	5.4	6.1	5.0	1.8	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0
Others	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	8.9	11.1	3.9	0.5	10.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 17	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
PM responsible to parliament	48.4	52.2	51.6
PM responsible to the king	15.9	9.0	6.9
The king	15.3	18.4	27.3
Military	0.0	1.4	0.7
Maoists	0.0	2.5	3.0
None are effective	9.6	6.9	3.1
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.2	0.3
Others	0.0	0.2	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	10.2	9.2	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



## Q 18: How is the country doing today as compared to pre-2047 BS?

Q 18	Frequency	Valid Percent
Very good	66	2.2
Good	354	11.6
Okay	567	18.5
Somewhat bad	405	13.2
Very bad	1450	47.4
Don't want to disclose	4	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	213	7.0
Total	3059	100.0

Q 18	Female	Male
Very good	2.2	2.2
Good	10.2	12.7
Okay	17.2	19.7
Somewhat bad	12.8	13.6
Very bad	46.0	48.6
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	11.4	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 18	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Very good	2.6	1.8	2.3	2.7	1.2
Good	14.6	9.3	5.3	29.4	12.0
Okay	18.3	15.0	20.3	33.0	21.7
Somewhat bad	12.8	12.5	11.6	22.6	15.7
Very bad	43.9	52.9	57.7	10.0	26.5
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	7.6	8.5	2.7	1.8	22.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 18	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Very good	1.3	2.4	2.0
Good	2.5	10.4	13.6
Okay	22.3	17.3	19.3
Somewhat bad	18.5	14.8	11.3
Very bad	51.6	49.2	45.3
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.1	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	3.8	5.7	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 18	Rural	Urban
Very good	1.8	3.6
Good	11.9	10.3
Okay	18.3	19.3
Somewhat bad	13.0	14.1
Very bad	47.7	46.2
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	7.1	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 18	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Very good	2.1	2.6	2.7	1.7	0.7
Good	12.8	10.9	11.5	11.3	10.4
Okay	20.1	16.9	19.5	18.7	16.5
Somewhat bad	12.6	14.1	13.8	11.5	13.6
Very bad	42.1	49.4	47.8	50.1	52.3
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.7
Don't know/Can't say	10.2	6.0	4.7	6.5	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 18	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Very good	2.6	1.0	2.9	0.6	4.7	1.1	1.3	1.2	0.6
Good	10.4	8.0	9.4	10.3	13.7	14.4	15.7	17.4	14.7
Okay	18.3	23.0	21.5	18.6	13.7	17.6	17.0	17.4	21.2
Somewhat bad	14.6	17.0	15.4	14.4	10.8	11.8	7.5	7.0	10.3
Very bad	49.7	37.0	44.8	51.6	48.1	41.7	44.8	52.3	42.3
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	4.4	14.0	5.5	4.5	9.0	12.8	13.7	4.7	10.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 18	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Very good	0.8	2.5	3.5	2.1	2.2	3.0	0.8	6.1
Good	14.5	8.7	12.0	12.5	9.8	11.8	11.2	21.2
Okay	13.1	16.4	22.1	23.4	19.3	20.8	20.0	24.2
Somewhat bad	10.0	13.6	13.6	13.9	14.6	15.0	12.0	15.2
Very bad	43.1	52.8	44.2	41.2	51.6	47.1	54.4	33.3
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	18.2	5.8	4.7	6.8	2.5	2.1	1.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Q 19: What are the three biggest problems facing the country today? (Multiple Choice)**

Q 19	Rank
Maoist insurgency (a)	1
Corruption (b)	2
Violence/Insecurity (c)	3
Unemployment (d)	4
Poverty (e)	5

Q 19	Female	Male
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	c	b
Rank 3	b	d

Q 19	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	d
Rank 2	b	b	c	e	b
Rank 3	c	c	e	b	a

Q 19	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rank 1	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	c
Rank 3	c	d	b

Q 19	Rural	Urban
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	d
Rank 3	c	b

Q 19	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	c	c	b
Rank 3	d	d	b	b	c

Q 19	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	d	c	d	e	c	c	c	e
Rank 3	d	b	b	b	c	b	Price hike	b	c

Q 19	Illiterate	Informal Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	b	b	d
Rank 2	c	c	b	b	b	a	d	b
Rank 3	e	b	d	d	d	d	a	a

Q 20: How do you perceive the king's intervention in politics in Ashoj 18, 2059?

Q 20	Frequency	Valid Percent
King had no other options	519	17.0
Weakness of government	623	20.4
Political parties could not give any resolution	295	9.6
King was looking for an opportunity to play a role	429	14.0
Don't want to disclose	28	0.9
Don't know/Can't say	1165	38.1
Total	3059	100.0



Q 20	Female	Male
King had no other options	15.1	18.6
Weakness of government	14.8	25.2
Political parties could not give any resolution	7.2	11.8
King was looking for an opportunity to play a role	9.7	17.9
Don't want to disclose	0.8	1.0
Don't know/Can't say	52.3	25.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 20	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
King had no other options	15.6	17.9	11.7	30.3	20.5
Weakness of government	19.6	19.2	19.3	32.6	20.5
Political parties could not give any resolution	9.0	11.7	9.3	3.2	4.8
King was looking for an opportunity to play a role	16.4	10.1	22.5	4.1	9.6
Don't want to disclose	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.2
Don't know/Can't say	38.2	40.2	36.3	29.0	43.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 20	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
King had no other options	11.5	16.9	17.6
Weakness of government	22.3	20.7	19.9
Political parties could not give any resolution	8.3	11.5	8.1
King was looking for an opportunity to play a role	8.3	15.0	13.7
Don't want to disclose	1.9	1.0	0.7
Don't know/Can't say	47.8	35.0	40.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 20	Rural	Urban
King had no other options	15.5	22.9
Weakness of government	20.2	20.9
Political parties could not give any resolution	8.8	12.9
King was looking for an opportunity to play a role	13.4	16.3
Don't want to disclose	0.9	1.1
Don't know/Can't say	41.2	25.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 20	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
King had no other options	16.8	16.3	16.3	17.7	20.1
Weakness of government	21.2	20.2	22.8	18.9	15.4
Political parties could not give any resolution	9.6	9.9	10.7	8.6	8.2
King was looking for an opportunity to play a role	15.1	13.6	13.8	14.6	11.5
Don't want to disclose	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.7	1.4
Don't know/Can't say	36.4	39.1	35.7	39.3	43.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 20	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
King had no other options	16.6	16.0	13.4	22.4	19.3	18.2	14.7	19.8	16.7
Weakness of government	22.2	20.0	18.3	19.6	21.2	16.0	17.3	27.9	17.9
Political parties could not give any resolution	12.9	9.0	8.4	10.9	5.2	7.0	4.2	11.6	4.5
King was looking for an opportunity to play a role	17.8	4.0	13.4	11.2	16.0	15.5	7.8	15.1	4.5
Don't want to disclose	0.9	0.0	1.0	1.6	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	1.9
Don't know/Can't say	29.6	51.0	45.5	34.3	37.3	43.3	55.2	25.6	54.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 20	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
King had no other options	12.9	17.4	17.0	14.2	20.7	19.2	16.8	15.2
Weakness of government	10.0	18.1	19.2	24.6	23.8	27.5	30.4	27.3
Political parties could not give any resolution	2.0	9.2	8.5	9.5	12.3	15.9	15.2	21.2
King was looking for an opportunity to play a role	5.1	10.8	7.9	14.5	16.7	24.9	32.0	30.3
Don't want to disclose	0.6	1.3	1.6	0.6	1.1	0.2	1.6	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	69.3	43.2	45.7	36.5	25.4	12.2	4.0	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 21: What is the situation in the country after the event? (Relevant to those respondents only who do not respond 'Don't want to disclose' and 'Don't know/Can't say' in Q 20)

Q 21	Frequency	Valid Percent
Very good	15	0.8
Good	163	8.7
No difference	621	33.3
Somewhat bad	302	16.2
Very bad	760	40.7
Don't know/Can't say	5	0.3
Total	1866	100.0

Q 21	Female	Male
Very good	1.2	0.6
Good	9.4	8.4
No difference	36.4	31.5
Somewhat bad	15.8	16.4
Very bad	36.7	43.0
Don't know/Can't say	0.6	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 21	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Very good	0.7	1.1	0.0	0.6	4.3
Good	9.0	11.2	4.3	3.9	19.6
No difference	28.3	35.5	32.5	47.7	15.2
Somewhat bad	12.5	14.1	17.9	31.6	26.1
Very bad	49.3	37.9	45.0	16.1	30.4
Don't know/Can't say	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.0	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 21	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Very good	0.0	0.8	0.9
Good	6.3	9.9	7.8
No difference	43.0	33.0	32.7
Somewhat bad	8.9	15.9	17.1
Very bad	41.8	40.0	41.3
Don't know/Can't say	0.0	0.4	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 21	Rural	Urban
Very good	0.7	1.1
Good	8.7	8.7
No difference	32.3	36.2
Somewhat bad	16.0	16.8
Very bad	42.0	36.7
Don't know/Can't say	0.2	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 21	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Very good	0.4	1.1	0.8	1.6	0.0
Good	8.9	9.1	8.6	8.4	7.8
No difference	34.5	33.5	27.5	32.8	43.5
Somewhat bad	18.3	16.7	16.0	12.8	13.0
Very bad	37.3	39.6	47.1	44.0	35.7
Don't know/Can't say	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 21	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Very good	0.6	2.0	1.5	0.5	0.8	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
Good	6.1	16.3	9.8	10.5	12.2	9.4	17.8	1.6	8.8
No difference	32.0	34.7	39.7	37.0	26.7	27.4	28.9	40.6	41.2
Somewhat bad	14.6	18.4	13.7	17.5	22.9	24.5	15.6	15.6	16.2
Very bad	46.5	26.5	35.3	34.5	36.6	38.7	34.8	42.2	33.8
Don't know/Can't say	0.3	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	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

Q 21	Illiterate	Informal Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Very good	0.5	1.0	1.2	1.4	1.1	0.0	0.8	0.0
Good	21.8	8.8	5.4	9.4	7.2	6.6	4.2	6.5
No difference	27.5	34.7	35.9	35.8	34.5	32.2	34.7	12.9
Somewhat bad	12.4	15.6	23.4	18.9	15.5	14.5	16.9	16.1
Very bad	36.8	38.8	34.1	34.4	41.7	46.7	43.2	64.5
Don't know/Can't say	1.0	1.0	0.0	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

Q 22: There may be both positive and negative features regarding the country's present political situation. What are the positive features? (Multiple Choice)

Q 22	Rank
No positive features (a)	1
Legal action taken against corrupt people (b)	2
King is active in politics (c)	3
Misconduct of parties restricted (d)	4
Possibility of peace talk exists (e)	5

Q 22	Female	Male
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b
Rank 3	c	c

Q 22	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Rank 1	a	a	a	b	b
Rank 2	b	b	b	d	e
Rank 3	c	c	c	a	d

Q 22	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rank 1	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b
Rank 3	e	c	c

Q 22	Rural	Urban
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b
Rank 3	c	d

Q 22	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b
Rank 3	d	c	c	c	c

Q 22	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rank 1	a	a	a	b	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	a	b	b	b	b	d
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	d	b

Q 22	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	e	c/e	c	d	c	c/d

Q 23: What are the negative features? (Multiple Choice)

Q 23	Rank
Country's situation has become worse (a)	1
Maoists movement has become even stronger (b)	2
Possibility of peace talk reduced (c)	3
Constitution inactive (d)	4

Q 23	Female	Male
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b
Rank 3	c	c

Q 23	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Rank 1	a	a	a	b	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	a	b
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c

Q 23	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rank 1	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	c

Q 23	Rural	Urban
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b
Rank 3	c	c

Q 23	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c

Q 23	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	d	d

Q 23	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b	b	d	b/d
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c	c	b	c

Q 24a: Nowadays, there is a debate going on about constituent assembly. Have you heard about it?

Q 24a	Frequency	Valid Percent
Heard	1508	49.3
Not heard	1431	46.8
Don't want to disclose	10	0.3
Don't know/Can't say	110	3.6
Total	3059	100.0

Q 24a	Female	Male
Heard	33.9	62.9
Not heard	60.4	34.7
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	5.1	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 24a	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Heard	52.8	48.0	49.5	46.2	37.3
Not heard	42.2	49.1	47.1	50.2	50.6
Don't want to disclose	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	4.4	2.7	3.2	3.6	12.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 24a	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Heard	53.5	50.7	47.6
Not heard	36.9	45.9	48.6
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.3	0.3
Don't know/Can't say	8.9	3.1	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 24a	Rural	Urban
Heard	47.0	58.3
Not heard	48.7	39.2
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.5
Don't know/Can't say	4.0	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 24a	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Heard	53.5	49.1	50.5	48.2	35.8
Not heard	42.7	47.1	45.5	48.4	58.8
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	3.5	3.5	3.7	2.9	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 24a	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Heard	62.2	33.0	39.3	49.4	42.0	40.6	33.0	58.1	23.7
Not heard	34.2	63.0	55.5	47.8	55.7	52.9	63.4	39.5	71.8
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0	0.8	0.3	1.4	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	3.4	4.0	4.5	2.6	0.9	5.9	3.6	2.3	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 24a	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Heard	14.8	34.0	37.9	52.8	67.6	81.1	97.6	84.8
Not heard	77.1	62.1	53.9	44.2	31.0	18.5	2.4	15.2
Don't want to disclose	0.9	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	7.2	3.8	8.2	3.0	0.9	0.5	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 24b: Do you have any idea on constituent assembly? (Relevant to those respondents only who respond 'Heard' in Q 24a)

Q 24b	Frequency	Valid Percent
Know very well	215	14.3
Know somewhat	674	44.7
Not known	601	39.9
Don't want to disclose	2	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	16	1.1
Total	1508	100.0

Q 24b	Female	Male
Know very well	9.2	16.7
Know somewhat	41.1	46.4
Not known	48.0	35.9
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	1.4	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0





Q 25: We want to ask you about what you think constituent assembly is. (Relevant to those respondents only who respond 'Know very well' and 'Know somewhat' in Q 24b)

Q 25	Frequency	Valid Percent
Assembly of ER that will draft a new constitution	446	50.2
Assembly of ER that will amend present constitution	182	20.5
Assembly of SR that will draft a new constitution	164	18.4
Assembly of SR that will amend present constitution	70	7.9
Assembly of KAE that will draft a new constitution	10	1.1
Assembly of KAE that will amend present constitution	8	0.9
Don't want to disclose	3	0.3
Don't know/Can't say	6	0.7
Total	889	100.0

Q 25	Female	Male
Assembly of ER that will draft a new constitution	48.6	50.8
Assembly of ER that will amend present constitution	22.0	19.9
Assembly of SR that will draft a new constitution	17.1	18.9
Assembly of SR that will amend present constitution	6.5	8.4
Assembly of KAE that will draft a new constitution	2.0	0.8
Assembly of KAE that will amend present constitution	1.2	0.8
Don't want to disclose	0.8	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	1.6	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 25	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Assembly of ER that will draft a new constitution	63.6	40.7	36.6	81.3	76.5
Assembly of ER that will amend present constitution	15.4	25.8	19.4	14.3	11.8
Assembly of SR that will draft a new constitution	17.8	17.3	30.4	2.2	5.9
Assembly of SR that will amend present constitution	2.8	11.2	10.5	1.1	5.9
Assembly of KAE that will draft a new constitution	0.0	1.9	1.6	0.0	0.0
Assembly of KAE that will amend present constitution	0.5	1.3	0.5	1.1	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	0.0	1.3	0.5	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 25	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Assembly of ER that will draft a new constitution	34.8	46.8	56.4
Assembly of ER that will amend present constitution	26.1	20.0	20.4
Assembly of SR that will draft a new constitution	26.1	16.0	20.7
Assembly of SR that will amend present constitution	8.7	12.6	1.6
Assembly of KAE that will draft a new constitution	0.0	1.9	0.3
Assembly of KAE that will amend present constitution	2.2	1.1	0.5
Don't want to disclose	2.2	0.4	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	0.0	1.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 25	Rural	Urban
Assembly of ER that will draft a new constitution	51.0	48.0
Assembly of ER that will amend present constitution	19.3	23.6
Assembly of SR that will draft a new constitution	18.7	17.9
Assembly of SR that will amend present constitution	7.6	8.5
Assembly of KAE that will draft a new constitution	1.4	0.4
Assembly of KAE that will amend present constitution	1.1	0.4
Don't want to disclose	0.5	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	0.5	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 25	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Assembly of ER that will draft a new constitution	53.6	53.9	50.3	38.3	34.8
Assembly of ER that will amend present constitution	21.6	18.5	16.6	27.1	26.1
Assembly of SR that will draft a new constitution	17.3	17.3	17.1	23.4	26.1
Assembly of SR that will amend present constitution	5.0	5.9	12.3	10.3	13.0
Assembly of KAE that will draft a new constitution	0.7	1.5	2.1	0.0	0.0
Assembly of KAE that will amend present constitution	0.7	1.5	0.5	0.9	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	1.1	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 25	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Assembly of ER that will draft a new constitution	48.7	60.0	49.2	46.6	51.1	56.8	47.7	62.1	76.2
Assembly of ER that will amend present constitution	18.7	26.7	12.3	27.2	34.0	24.3	25.0	13.8	14.3
Assembly of SR that will draft a new constitution	20.4	6.7	23.1	11.7	12.8	16.2	22.7	17.2	4.8
Assembly of SR that will amend present constitution	8.9	6.7	10.8	9.7	0.0	2.7	2.3	6.9	4.8
Assembly of KAE that will draft a new constitution	1.2	0.0	1.5	1.9	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Assembly of KAE that will amend present constitution	1.2	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	0.6	0.0	1.5	1.9	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

Q 25	Illiterate	Informal Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Intermediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Assembly of ER that will draft a new constitution	85.2	51.4	50.0	50.6	47.5	46.7	56.1	50.0
Assembly of ER that will amend present constitution	7.4	21.6	17.4	25.3	22.2	21.1	15.3	15.4
Assembly of SR that will draft a new constitution	0.0	12.2	19.6	11.5	19.5	21.1	20.4	30.8
Assembly of SR that will amend present constitution	7.4	8.1	6.5	11.5	7.7	8.1	6.1	3.8
Assembly of KAE that will draft a new constitution	0.0	2.7	0.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.0
Assembly of KAE that will amend present constitution	0.0	1.4	2.2	0.0	0.8	1.1	1.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	1.4	2.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	0.0	1.4	2.2	0.0	0.8	0.7	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### Q 26: What type of monarchy should be in Nepal?

Q 26	Frequency	Valid Percent
Absolute monarchy	168	5.5
Monarchy more active than at present	525	17.2
Fully constitutional monarchy	1635	53.4
Monarchy less active than at present	137	4.5
Monarchy is not necessary	149	4.9
Don't want to disclose	13	0.4
Don't know/Can't say	432	14.1
Total	3059	100.0

Q 26	Female	Male
Absolute monarchy	6.0	5.0
Monarchy more active than at present	18.7	15.8
Fully constitutional monarchy	46.3	59.7
Monarchy less active than at present	3.6	5.3
Monarchy is not necessary	2.8	6.7
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.4
Don't know/Can't say	22.2	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 26	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Absolute monarchy	7.0	4.0	2.3	18.6	1.2
Monarchy more active than at present	14.7	22.1	10.9	22.6	2.4
Fully constitutional monarchy	56.7	47.5	68.6	37.6	36.1
Monarchy less active than at present	3.9	3.2	2.6	12.7	21.7
Monarchy is not necessary	4.6	3.6	9.0	1.4	6.0
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.9	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	12.6	19.2	6.4	6.3	32.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 26	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Absolute monarchy	5.7	5.3	5.6
Monarchy more active than at present	7.6	18.7	16.7
Fully constitutional monarchy	54.1	51.3	55.4
Monarchy less active than at present	9.6	3.9	4.5
Monarchy is not necessary	2.5	5.7	4.4
Don't want to disclose	1.3	0.5	0.3
Don't know/Can't say	19.1	14.6	13.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 26	Rural	Urban
Absolute monarchy	5.1	6.9
Monarchy more active than at present	17.3	16.5
Fully constitutional monarchy	53.9	51.5
Monarchy less active than at present	4.4	4.7
Monarchy is not necessary	4.9	4.9
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.5
Don't know/Can't say	13.9	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 26	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Absolute monarchy	7.2	5.2	3.2	4.3	7.9
Monarchy more active than at present	14.1	17.4	15.8	19.9	24.7
Fully constitutional monarchy	53.6	54.6	56.7	50.1	47.3
Monarchy less active than at present	5.4	4.6	3.5	4.1	3.9
Monarchy is not necessary	6.2	4.5	4.7	4.6	2.9
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.4
Don't know/Can't say	13.2	13.5	15.3	16.5	12.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 26	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Absolute monarchy	5.1	4.0	5.5	7.7	7.5	5.9	2.6	8.1	6.4
Monarchy more active than at present	14.3	20.0	18.6	19.6	16.5	17.6	19.9	8.1	32.7
Fully constitutional monarchy	59.8	41.0	52.1	48.7	52.4	46.0	49.7	61.6	34.6
Monarchy less active than at present	4.8	7.0	3.7	2.6	2.8	3.7	4.2	11.6	5.1
Monarchy is not necessary	6.7	1.0	4.2	3.5	4.7	5.9	3.6	0.0	1.3
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.0	0.8	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.7	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	9.0	27.0	15.2	17.3	16.0	20.3	19.3	10.5	19.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 26	Illiterate	Informal Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Absolute monarchy	4.8	5.5	2.8	3.9	7.9	6.5	3.2	9.1
Monarchy more active than at present	26.9	18.9	15.1	14.8	14.8	11.3	7.2	3.0
Fully constitutional monarchy	31.6	49.2	60.3	56.1	60.7	67.0	68.8	75.8
Monarchy less active than at present	2.3	4.5	3.8	6.8	5.9	3.2	7.2	6.1
Monarchy is not necessary	2.3	3.2	2.5	6.2	5.8	8.1	11.2	6.1
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	31.3	17.9	15.1	11.9	4.7	3.7	1.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 27: Have you come across difficulties due to the absence of local government in your village or town?

Q 27	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	1800	58.8
No	1149	37.6
Don't want to disclose	1	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	109	3.6
Total	3059	100.0





## Q 29: What is the situation of the Maoist movement in your area?

Q 29	Frequency	Valid Percent
It is spreading	566	18.5
It is diminishing	179	5.9
It is stagnant	2210	72.2
Don't want to disclose	8	0.3
Don't know/Can't say	96	3.1
Total	3059	100.0

Q 29	Female	Male
It is spreading	15.9	20.8
It is diminishing	6.0	5.7
It is stagnant	73.5	71.1
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	4.3	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 29	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
It is spreading	10.9	16.0	24.6	48.4	12.0
It is diminishing	5.9	4.3	1.9	20.8	18.1
It is stagnant	80.6	73.7	73.2	30.3	65.1
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	2.5	5.4	0.3	0.5	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 29	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
It is spreading	15.3	15.6	21.5
It is diminishing	4.5	5.4	6.4
It is stagnant	72.6	74.2	70.4
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.4	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	7.6	4.4	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 29	Rural	Urban
It is spreading	17.9	21.1
It is diminishing	6.1	4.9
It is stagnant	73.2	68.6
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.7
Don't know/Can't say	2.7	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 29	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
It is spreading	21.7	16.1	18.5	19.4	14.7
It is diminishing	7.1	4.7	5.2	4.8	9.0
It is stagnant	66.9	76.5	73.2	71.9	73.5
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	4.2	2.6	2.5	3.4	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



Q 29	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
It is spreading	19.7	10.0	15.7	13.8	13.7	26.2	16.7	34.9	25.0
It is diminishing	5.5	10.0	3.7	4.5	4.2	3.7	5.6	4.7	18.6
It is stagnant	72.3	73.0	75.7	75.6	80.2	66.8	74.2	59.3	54.5
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	2.0	7.0	4.7	6.1	1.9	2.7	3.3	1.2	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 29	Illiterate	Informal Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
It is spreading	9.2	15.3	18.9	26.7	23.2	19.6	21.6	45.5
It is diminishing	6.9	5.1	6.6	6.5	5.6	5.3	4.8	0.0
It is stagnant	77.1	76.4	70.7	64.7	69.3	73.4	70.4	51.5
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.8	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	6.2	2.8	3.8	2.1	1.7	1.6	2.4	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 30: If it is spreading, what factors have contributed to its spread? (Multiple Choice) (Relevant to those respondents only who respond 'It is spreading' in Q 29)

Q 30	Rank
Corrupt individual politicians (a)	1
Under-privileged communities have lagged further behind (b)	2
Inactiveness on the part of political parties (c)	3
Unequal development of rural areas (d)	4

Q 30	Female	Male
Rank 1	b	a
Rank 2	a	b
Rank 3	d	c

Q 30	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Rank 1	b	a	b	a	b
Rank 2	a	b	a	b	a
Rank 3	c	d	d	c	d

Q 30	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rank 1	b	a/b	a
Rank 2	a	a/b	b
Rank 3	c	d	c

Q 30	Rural	Urban
Rank 1	a/b	a
Rank 2	a/b	b
Rank 3	d	c

Q 30	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Rank 1	a	b	b	a	a
Rank 2	b	a	a	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	d	c/d	d

Q 30	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rank 1	b	b	a	b	b	b	a	a	a
Rank 2	a	a	b	a	a	a	b	b	b
Rank 3	d	c	d	c	c	d	d	c	c

Q 30	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rank 1	b	b	b	b	a	a	a	b
Rank 2	a	a	a	a	b	b	b	a
Rank 3	d	d	c	d	c	c	c	d

Q 31: If it is diminishing, what are the reasons behind it? (Multiple Choice) (Relevant to those respondents only who respond 'It is diminishing' in Q 29)

Maoists have been controlled by security forces (a)	1
People are losing faith in their movement (b)	2

Q 31	Female	Male
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b

Q 31	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Rank 1	b	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	a	b	b	b	b

Q 31	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rank 1	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b

Q 31	Rural	Urban
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b

Q 31	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b

Q 31	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	b	a	a	a/b	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	a	b	b	a/b	b

Q 31	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	b	a	-
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b	a	b	-

Q 32: What can be the solution to the Maoist movement? (Multiple Choice)

Peace talk among related parties (a)	1
Declaring ceasefire from related parties (b)	2
Fulfilling Maoist's demand (c)	3
Active participation of the king (d)	4

Q 32	Female	Male
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	c	b
Rank 3	b	c

Q 32	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Rank 1	a	a	a	d	c
Rank 2	b	b	c	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	b	a	a

Q 32	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Rank 1	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	c

Q 32	Rural	Urban
Rank 1	a	a
Rank 2	b	b
Rank 3	c	c

Q 32	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	c
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	b

Q 32	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	c	b	b	b	b	b	b	c
	c	b	c	c	c	c	c	c	b

Q 32	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	c	b	b	b	b	b	b	b

	b	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
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Q 33: Do you know that there have been peace talks before?

Q 33	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	2138	69.9
No	752	24.6
Don't want to disclose	1	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	168	5.5
Total	3059	100.0

Q 33	Female	Male
Yes	57.8	80.6
No	33.1	17.1
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	9.1	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 33	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Yes	71.2	67.8	76.5	53.8	79.5
No	22.3	26.8	20.7	33.9	19.3
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	6.4	5.3	2.7	12.2	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 33	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	72.6	73.9	65.9
No	19.7	22.7	26.8
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.1	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	7.6	3.3	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 33	Rural	Urban
Yes	68.6	75.2
No	25.5	21.1
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	5.9	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 33	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Yes	71.9	70.5	70.8	71.0	58.1
No	24.3	25.2	22.2	23.3	30.8
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	3.8	4.3	6.8	5.8	11.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 33	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	80.8	61.0	63.6	69.2	60.4	59.9	59.2	74.4	46.8
No	16.7	34.0	31.4	26.6	30.2	31.0	31.7	22.1	34.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	2.4	5.0	5.0	4.2	9.4	9.1	9.2	3.5	19.2



Q 34	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Rank 1	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
Rank 2	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Rank 3	c	c	c	c	c	d	d	c

Q 35: Do you agree that the Maoist movement will be settled down through talks?

Q 35	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	2242	73.3
No	488	16.0
Don't want to disclose	18	0.6
Don't know/Can't say	311	10.2
Total	3059	100.0

Q 35	Female	Male
Yes	69.5	76.7
No	15.2	16.6
Don't want to disclose	0.4	0.7
Don't know/Can't say	14.9	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 35	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Yes	74.9	64.4	90.5	72.4	61.4
No	13.5	21.0	6.3	19.9	28.9
Don't want to disclose	0.2	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	11.4	13.3	3.2	7.7	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 35	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	65.6	69.7	77.4
No	19.1	20.2	11.7
Don't want to disclose	1.9	0.9	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	13.4	9.1	10.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 35	Rural	Urban
Yes	74.8	67.2
No	14.9	20.1
Don't want to disclose	0.7	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	9.6	12.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 35	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Yes	72.7	72.7	74.2	78.2	67.7
No	16.2	18.4	14.3	12.2	16.5
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.8	0.3	1.2	1.1
Don't know/Can't say	11.0	8.1	11.2	8.4	14.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 35	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	75.2	72.0	73.8	66.3	72.2	75.4	76.1	76.7	65.4
No	19.1	15.0	13.6	18.9	13.7	11.2	6.5	17.4	15.4
Don't want to disclose	0.2	1.0	0.5	3.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.6
Don't know/Can't say	5.5	12.0	12.0	11.5	14.2	12.8	17.3	5.8	18.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 35	Illiterate	Informal Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	63.9	73.4	72.9	77.7	77.9	77.4	75.2	63.6
No	11.8	15.1	17.4	13.9	18.2	18.2	19.2	30.3
Don't want to disclose	1.2	0.8	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	23.1	10.8	9.5	7.7	3.6	4.2	5.6	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 36: Do you think that the present government is serious to bring peace in the country?

Q 36	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	992	32.4
No	1557	50.9
Don't want to disclose	10	0.3
Don't know/Can't say	500	16.3
Total	3059	100.0

Q 36	Female	Male
Yes	31.0	33.7
No	46.8	54.6
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.4
Don't know/Can't say	22.0	11.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 36	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Yes	38.2	31.9	23.2	38.9	31.3
No	41.7	49.6	68.5	52.0	33.7
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.9	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	19.9	18.1	8.2	8.1	34.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 36	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	30.6	27.7	37.0
No	41.4	58.2	45.1
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.3	0.4
Don't know/Can't say	28.0	13.8	17.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 36	Rural	Urban
Yes	32.9	30.7
No	49.9	55.1
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.5

Don't know/Can't say	17.0	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 36	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Yes	31.7	31.4	33.7	32.9	34.8
No	52.6	53.2	50.2	48.4	43.4
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.7
Don't know/Can't say	15.4	15.3	15.8	18.2	21.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 36	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	29.6	31.0	33.2	26.6	37.7	40.1	35.9	37.2	42.3
No	60.3	46.0	47.9	55.8	38.7	38.0	38.2	46.5	33.3
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.3	1.2	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	9.9	23.0	18.3	17.0	23.1	21.4	25.5	15.1	24.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 36	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	36.3	30.4	35.3	30.3	33.0	29.6	28.8	24.2
No	29.0	49.6	47.0	54.3	59.7	65.4	68.0	75.8
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.4	0.3	1.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	34.4	19.6	17.4	14.2	7.3	4.8	3.2	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 37: Do you think that the Maoist leaders are serious to bring peace in the country?

Q 37	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	397	13.0
No	1901	62.1
Don't want to disclose	18	0.6
Don't know/Can't say	743	24.3
Total	3059	100.0

Q 37	Female	Male
Yes	10.5	15.1
No	59.4	64.6
Don't want to disclose	0.5	0.7
Don't know/Can't say	29.6	19.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 37	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Yes	17.5	10.3	14.0	9.0	7.2
No	54.7	60.7	69.0	84.6	53.0
Don't want to disclose	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	27.1	28.5	16.6	5.4	39.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



Q 37	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Yes	14.0	9.8	15.8
No	45.2	70.4	56.3
Don't want to disclose	0.6	0.6	0.5
Don't know/Can't say	40.1	19.2	27.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 37	Rural	Urban
Yes	13.4	11.1
No	60.1	70.4
Don't want to disclose	0.5	0.8
Don't know/Can't say	26.0	17.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 37	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Yes	13.5	11.6	13.3	12.9	15.1
No	63.7	63.9	61.7	60.4	55.2
Don't want to disclose	0.7	0.4	1.0	0.2	0.4
Don't know/Can't say	22.1	24.1	24.0	26.4	29.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 37	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Yes	13.0	5.0	12.0	9.9	15.6	18.2	15.7	16.3	9.0
No	69.4	60.0	63.1	67.6	52.8	46.0	43.1	60.5	62.8
Don't want to disclose	0.7	0.0	0.3	1.0	0.0	1.6	0.3	0.0	0.6
Don't know/Can't say	16.8	35.0	24.6	21.5	31.6	34.2	40.8	23.3	27.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 37	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Yes	12.0	9.1	11.4	11.9	14.6	16.9	18.4	18.2
No	43.5	60.6	61.8	65.0	71.2	71.6	74.4	78.8
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.0	3.0
Don't know/Can't say	44.2	30.4	25.9	22.3	13.4	10.6	7.2	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 38: Do you like any other third party/mediator to be involved in peace talk to resolve the situation?

Q 38	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	1620	53.0
No	735	24.0
Don't want to disclose	2	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	702	22.9
Total	3059	100.0



Q 39: If you do agree about third party mediation, who do you like to see involved?  
(Relevant to those respondents only who respond 'Yes' in Q 38)

Q 39	Frequency	Valid Percent
The United Nations	605	37.3
India	143	8.8
The European Union	12	0.7
Any neutral European country	8	0.5
Human right institution	739	45.6
Don't want to disclose	2	0.1
King's representative	3	0.2
India and China	10	0.6
China	1	0.1
America	3	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	94	5.8
Total	1620	100.0

Q 39	Female	Male
The United Nations	34.7	39.0
India	7.6	9.6
The European Union	1.3	0.4
Any neutral European country	0.0	0.8
Human right institution	46.0	45.4
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.1
King's representative	0.0	0.3
India and China	0.5	0.7
China	0.0	0.1
America	0.3	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	9.5	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 39	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
The United Nations	35.9	38.4	39.2	25.0	54.5
India	7.6	11.6	3.5	25.0	4.5
The European Union	0.6	0.7	1.2	0.0	0.0
Any neutral European country	0.0	1.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
Human right institution	53.9	41.3	43.8	38.6	40.9
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.2	0.0	1.1	0.0
King's representative	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
India and China	0.0	0.3	0.0	9.1	0.0
China	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
America	0.0	0.2	0.2	1.1	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	2.0	5.6	11.8	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 39	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
The United Nations	29.0	45.7	30.7
India	3.2	5.9	12.1
The European Union	0.0	1.0	0.6
Any neutral European country	1.1	0.8	0.1
Human right institution	59.1	36.8	52.1
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.3	0.0
King's representative	0.0	0.4	0.0
India and China	1.1	0.8	0.4
China	0.0	0.0	0.1
America	0.0	0.1	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	6.5	8.1	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 39	Rural	Urban
The United Nations	32.7	54.3
India	9.3	7.1
The European Union	0.6	1.1
Any neutral European country	0.2	1.4
Human right institution	50.5	28.0
Don't want to disclose	0.2	0.0
King's representative	0.0	0.9
India and China	0.8	0.0
China	0.1	0.0
America	0.1	0.6
Don't know/Can't say	5.6	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 39	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
The United Nations	39.0	39.4	41.8	29.1	25.6
India	6.2	8.4	9.6	10.8	15.2
The European Union	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.0	0.0
Any neutral European country	0.0	0.8	0.6	0.9	0.0
Human right institution	46.7	44.7	40.2	50.2	51.2
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0
King's representative	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0
India and China	1.3	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.0
China	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
America	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	5.1	5.1	5.6	8.0	8.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 39	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
The United Nations	44.6	14.3	30.2	50.6	23.2	25.0	17.3	37.8	14.0
India	4.2	5.7	4.4	6.7	8.7	18.5	30.7	8.9	33.3
The European Union	0.6	2.9	1.5	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Any neutral European country	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0
Human right institution	43.3	65.7	52.7	36.0	63.8	47.8	45.7	48.9	45.6
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
King's representative	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
India and China	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.8
China	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
America	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	5.2	11.4	9.3	4.9	4.3	5.4	5.5	4.4	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 39	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
The United Nations	12.6	25.3	20.1	36.0	41.0	53.4	57.4	75.0
India	17.0	14.7	14.5	9.9	4.6	4.4	3.2	10.7
The European Union	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.6	2.1	0.0
Any neutral European country	0.0	0.4	1.9	0.5	0.0	0.6	1.1	0.0
Human right institution	49.7	47.6	54.1	48.3	47.7	39.1	36.2	14.3
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
King's representative	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
India and China	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	1.9	0.3	0.0	0.0
China	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
America	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	20.8	8.9	8.8	4.9	3.0	1.3	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 40: If a ceasefire is declared, how will it affect people's daily life?

Q 40	Frequency	Valid Percent
Better safety	2189	71.6
Somewhat security	740	24.2
Somewhat insecurity	18	0.6
Worst security	7	0.2
No difference	28	0.9
Don't want to disclose	2	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	75	2.5
Total	3059	100.0

Q 40	Female	Male
Better safety	70.5	72.5
Somewhat security	24.4	24.0
Somewhat insecurity	0.5	0.7
Worst security	0.3	0.2
No difference	0.8	1.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	3.5	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 40	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Better safety	86.6	62.2	84.7	31.2	57.8
Somewhat security	9.8	31.3	13.0	68.3	39.8
Somewhat insecurity	0.2	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0
Worst security	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0
No difference	1.6	0.8	0.6	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	1.8	4.3	0.6	0.0	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 40	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Better safety	73.2	66.8	75.8
Somewhat security	22.9	28.3	20.5
Somewhat insecurity	0.0	0.6	0.7
Worst security	0.0	0.4	0.1
No difference	1.3	0.8	1.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.1	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	2.5	3.1	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 40	Rural	Urban
Better safety	73.2	64.9
Somewhat security	23.1	28.4
Somewhat insecurity	0.4	1.1
Worst security	0.1	0.7
No difference	1.0	0.5
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	2.0	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 40	25 and Below	26-35	36-45	46-55	Above 55
Better safety	68.1	72.7	73.3	71.9	74.2
Somewhat security	28.2	22.8	22.7	23.5	20.4
Somewhat insecurity	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.0
Worst security	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0
No difference	1.3	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.7
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	1.4	2.2	2.8	3.1	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 40	Hill Caste	Hill Dalit	Hill Ethnic	Newar	Tarai Ethnic	Tarai Vaishya	Tarai Dalit	Tarai Caste	Muslim
Better safety	73.0	62.0	78.3	65.7	77.8	69.5	70.3	69.8	57.1
Somewhat security	23.7	31.0	19.1	26.9	16.0	21.9	25.2	29.1	40.4
Somewhat insecurity	0.6	1.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.5	2.0	0.0	0.0
Worst security	0.1	0.0	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.6
No difference	0.7	2.0	0.5	1.0	2.8	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	1.8	4.0	1.3	5.1	3.3	4.8	2.3	1.2	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 40	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter-mediate	Bachelor's	Master's
Better safety	67.9	75.8	70.7	74.8	73.7	68.6	64.8	72.7
Somewhat security	25.1	20.2	24.9	23.7	22.6	27.9	32.0	21.2
Somewhat insecurity	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.9	1.2	0.8	0.0
Worst security	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.8	0.0
No difference	0.5	1.1	0.6	0.3	1.7	0.5	1.6	3.0
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	5.8	2.6	2.2	0.9	0.9	1.6	0.0	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 41: In your opinion, what should be done to rescue the country from the current political turmoil?

### Stage - I

Q 41 - I	Frequency	Valid Percent
Restoration of dissolved HoR	307	10.0
Conducting a fresh election of HoR	670	21.9
Conducting a round-table talk between various sides	1254	41.0
Don't want to disclose	4	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	824	26.9
Total	3059	100.0

Q 41 - I	Female	Male
Restoration of dissolved HoR	8.4	11.5
Conducting a fresh election of HoR	19.5	24.0
Conducting a round-table talk between various sides	33.2	47.8
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	38.9	16.4
Total	100.0	100.0





Q 41 - I	Illiterate	Informal. Lit.	Primary	Lower Sec.	Sec.	Inter- mediate	Bache- lor's	Master's
Restoration of dissolved HoR	5.8	7.7	8.5	10.4	12.5	14.1	17.6	12.1
Conducting a fresh election of HoR	13.9	20.4	20.8	21.1	28.8	25.4	27.2	21.2
Conducting a round-table talk between various sides	24.0	36.2	40.7	49.6	46.4	53.1	51.2	60.6
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	56.1	35.5	30.0	19.0	12.3	7.2	4.0	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

## Stage - II

Q 41 - II	Frequency	Valid Percent
Coalition government	640	20.9
Interim govt including Maoists	943	30.8
Forming a govt by parliament	501	16.4
Forming a govt nominated by king	157	5.1
Don't want to disclose	6	0.2
Don't know/Can't say	812	26.5
Total	3059	100.0

Q 41 - II	Female	Male
Coalition government	19.1	22.5
Interim govt including Maoists	24.3	36.6
Forming a govt by parliament	12.8	19.5
Forming a govt nominated by king	5.2	5.1
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.3
Don't know/Can't say	38.6	15.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 41 - II	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Coalition government	18.6	20.9	22.2	33.5	2.4
Interim govt including Maoists	30.8	27.7	43.4	16.7	20.5
Forming a govt by parliament	14.4	15.0	20.6	15.8	28.9
Forming a govt nominated by king	3.6	8.3	1.1	4.1	7.2
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	32.5	27.7	12.7	29.4	41.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 41 - II	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Coalition government	20.4	23.0	19.1
Interim govt including Maoists	31.8	32.2	29.4
Forming a govt by parliament	10.8	16.1	17.2
Forming a govt nominated by king	1.3	4.0	6.6
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.4	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	35.7	24.3	27.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



**Stage - III**

Q 41 - III	Frequency	Valid Percent
Amendment to present constitution is not required	204	6.7
Amendment to present constitution is required	1061	34.7
Formulation of a new constitution	511	16.7
Don't want to disclose	14	0.5
Don't know/Can't say	1268	41.5
Total	3058	100

Q 41 - III	Female	Male
Amendment to present constitution is not required	4.9	8.3
Amendment to present constitution is required	28.5	40.1
Formulation of a new constitution	10.6	22.1
Don't want to disclose	0.3	0.6
Don't know/Can't say	55.7	28.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Q 41 - III	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
Amendment to present constitution is not required	6.9	7.0	3.9	13.6	2.4
Amendment to present constitution is required	32.1	34.0	37.5	40.9	34.9
Formulation of a new constitution	17.0	15.0	23.2	7.3	16.9
Don't want to disclose	0.1	0.9	0.0	0.9	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	43.9	43.2	35.5	37.3	45.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q 41 - III	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
Amendment to present constitution is not required	8.3	6.0	7.1
Amendment to present constitution is required	28.7	38.1	32.1
Formulation of a new constitution	16.6	19.3	14.4
Don't want to disclose	0.0	0.9	0.1
Don't know/Can't say	46.5	35.6	46.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



Q 42: If you are in a favour of formulation of a new constitution, what should be a process to be adopted to formulate it? (Relevant to those respondents only who respond 'Formulation of a new constitution' in Q 41 Stage - III)

Q 42	Frequency	Valid Percent
From a commission founded by king	35	6.8
From a commission founded by HoR	96	18.8
From a constitution draft committee	67	13.1
From a constituent assembly	292	57.1
Referendum	2	0.4
Don't know/Can't say	19	3.7
Total	511	100.0

Q 42	Female	Male
From a commission founded by king	7.9	6.4
From a commission founded by HoR	21.7	17.5
From a constitution draft committee	17.8	11.1
From a constituent assembly	45.4	62.1
Referendum	0.0	0.6
Don't know/Can't say	7.2	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0

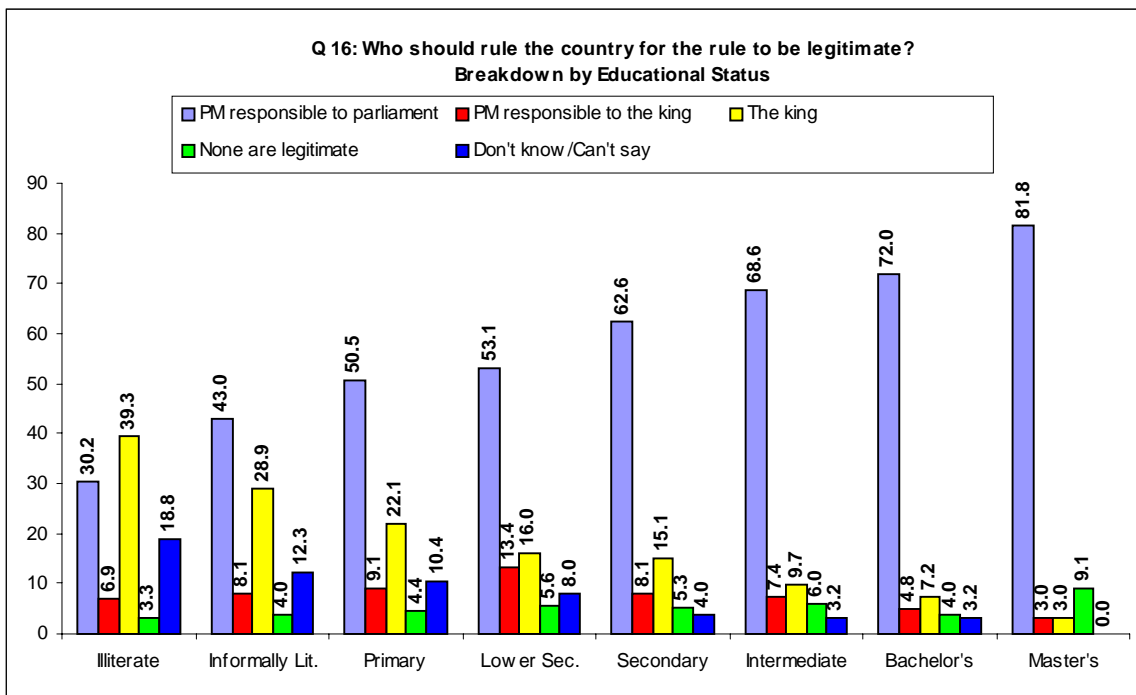
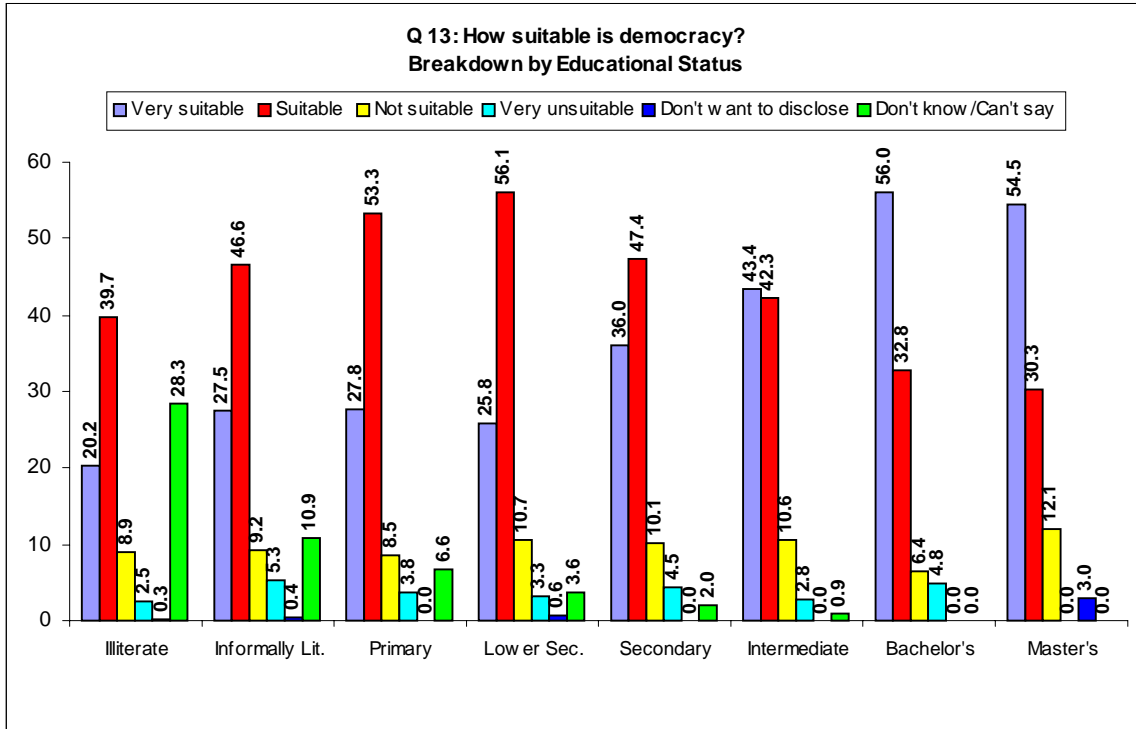
Q 42	Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-Western	Far-Western
From a commission founded by king	6.6	9.7	2.8	0.0	21.4
From a commission founded by HoR	19.1	21.1	14.6	37.5	7.1
From a constitution draft committee	22.4	14.6	4.2	0.0	0.0
From a constituent assembly	50.7	49.7	72.2	56.3	71.4
Referendum	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	1.3	3.8	6.3	6.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

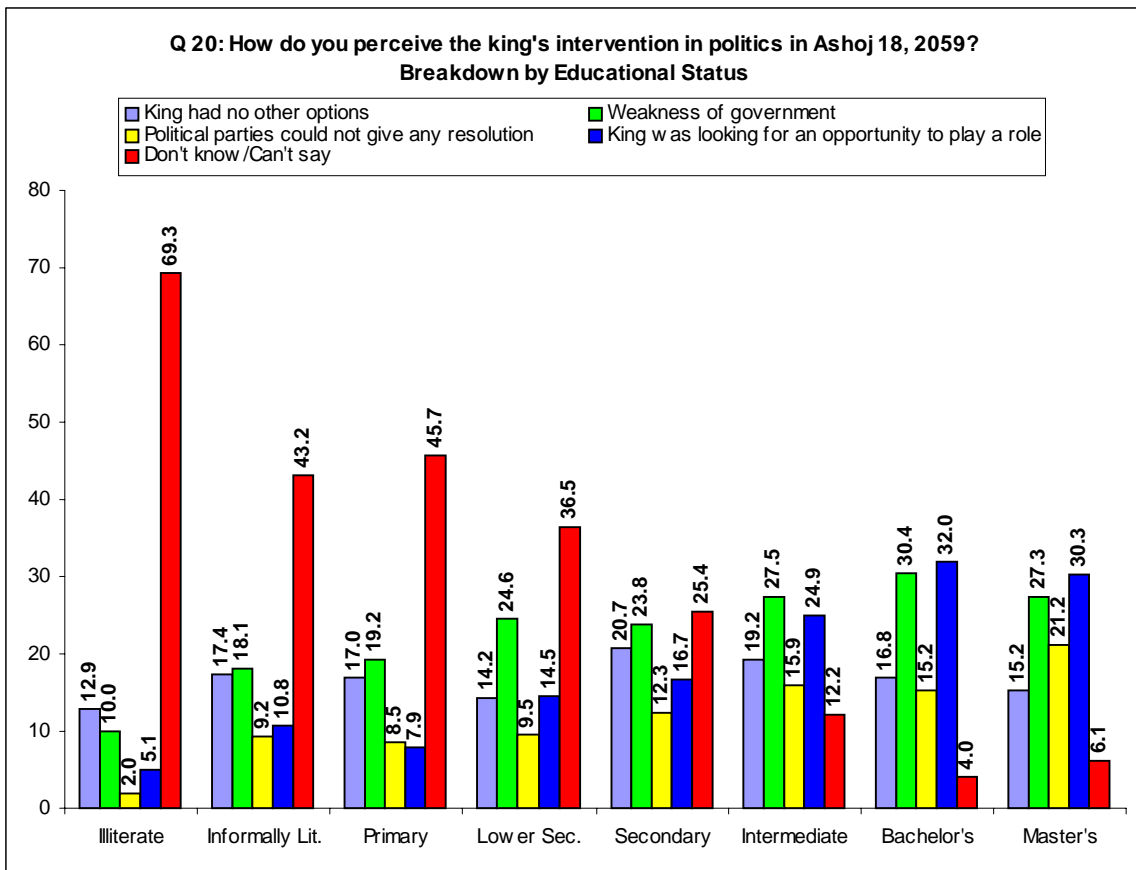
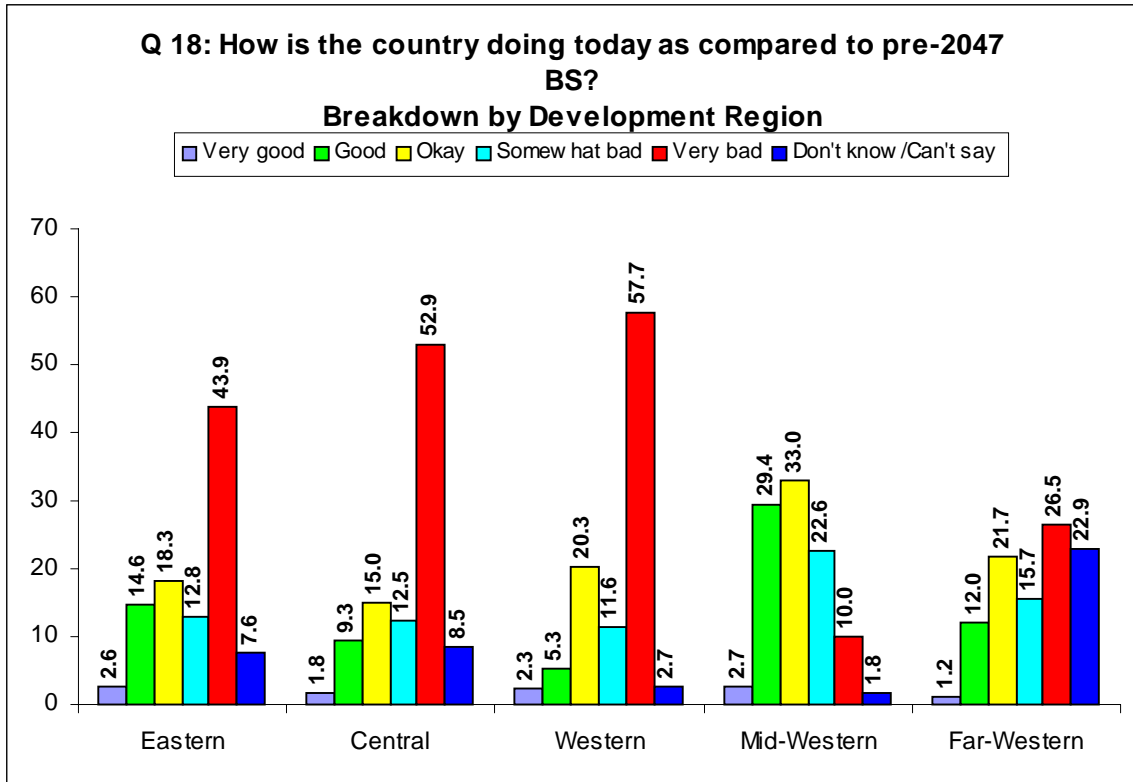
Q 42	Mountain	Hill	Tarai
From a commission founded by king	11.5	7.5	5.5
From a commission founded by HoR	38.5	16.8	18.9
From a constitution draft committee	7.7	10.8	16.6
From a constituent assembly	38.5	60.1	55.8
Referendum	0.0	0.7	0.0
Don't know/Can't say	3.8	4.1	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0



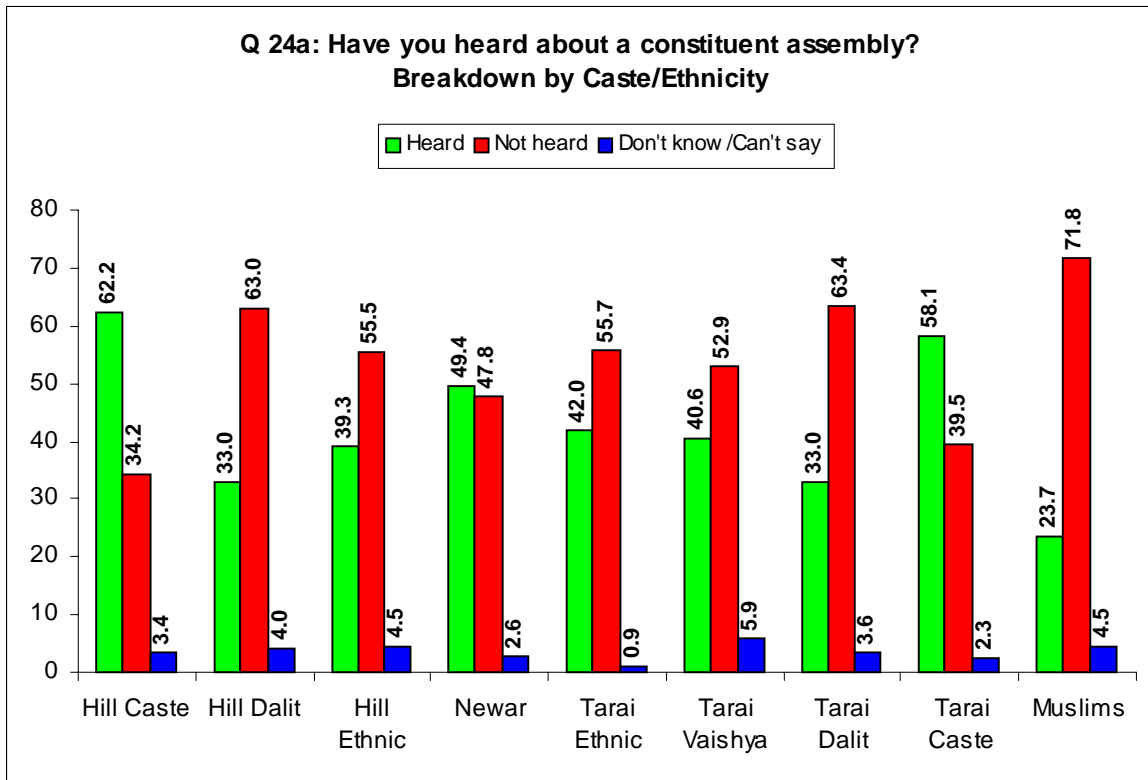
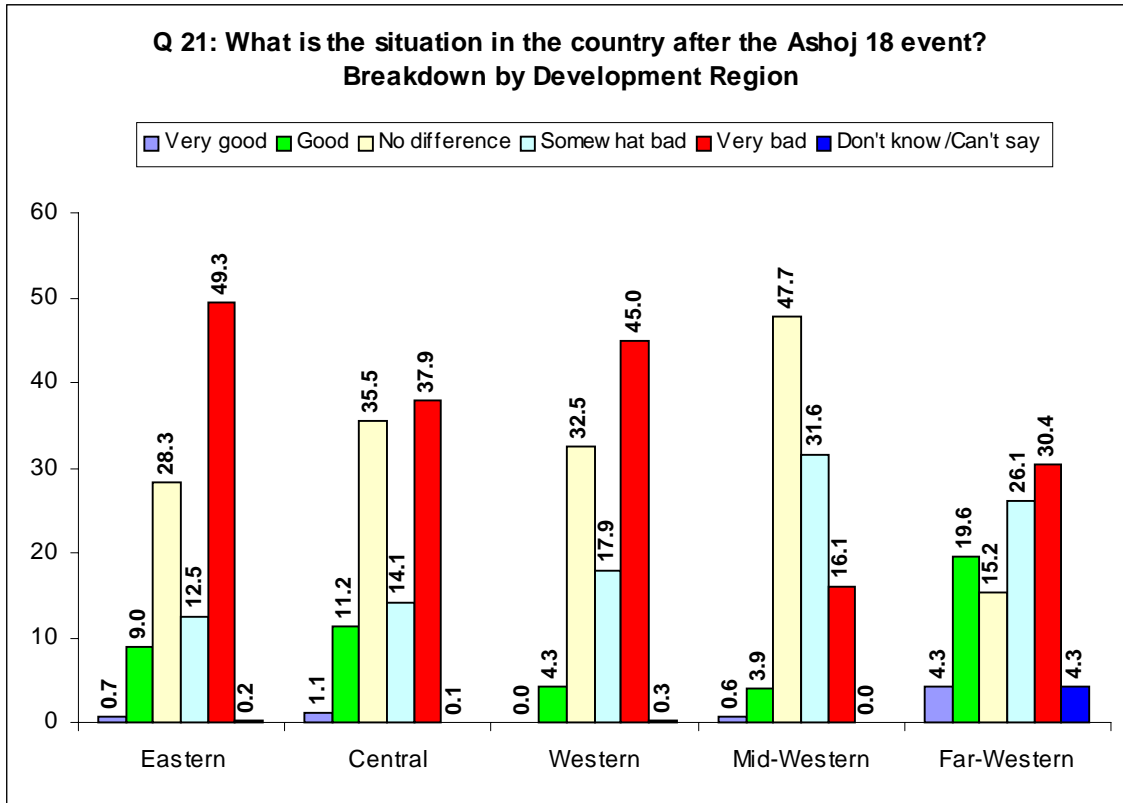


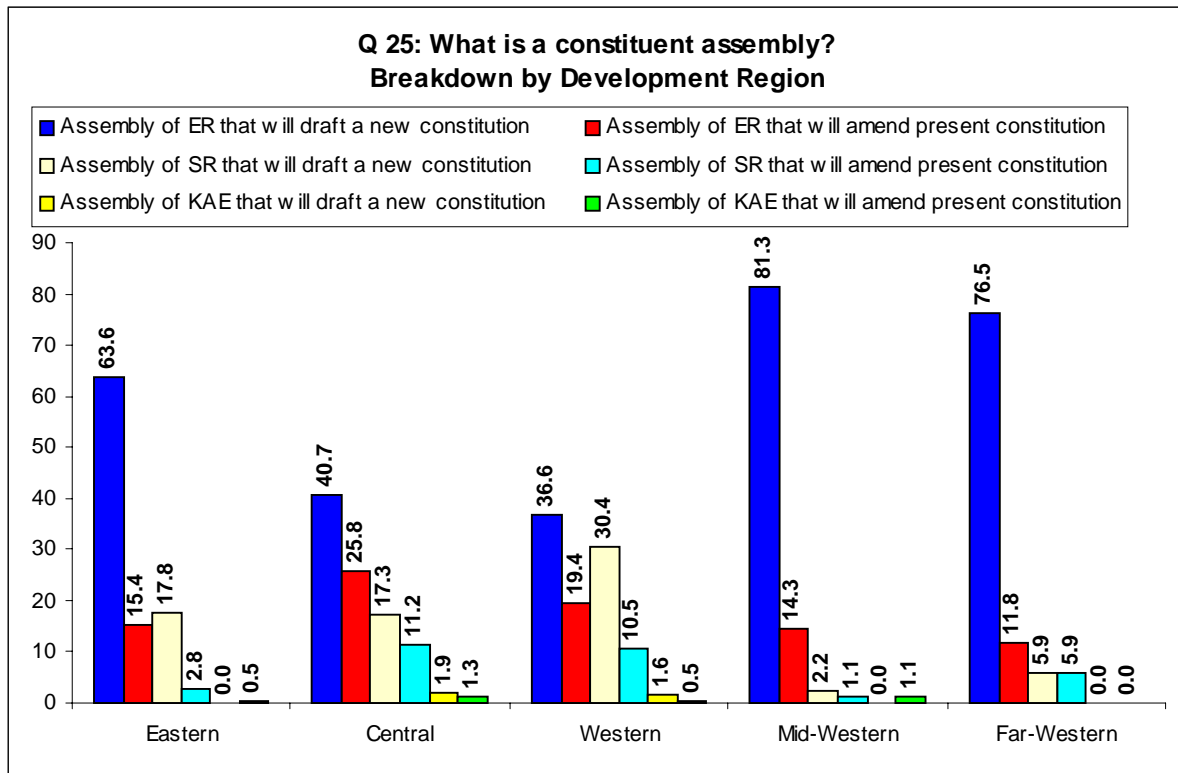
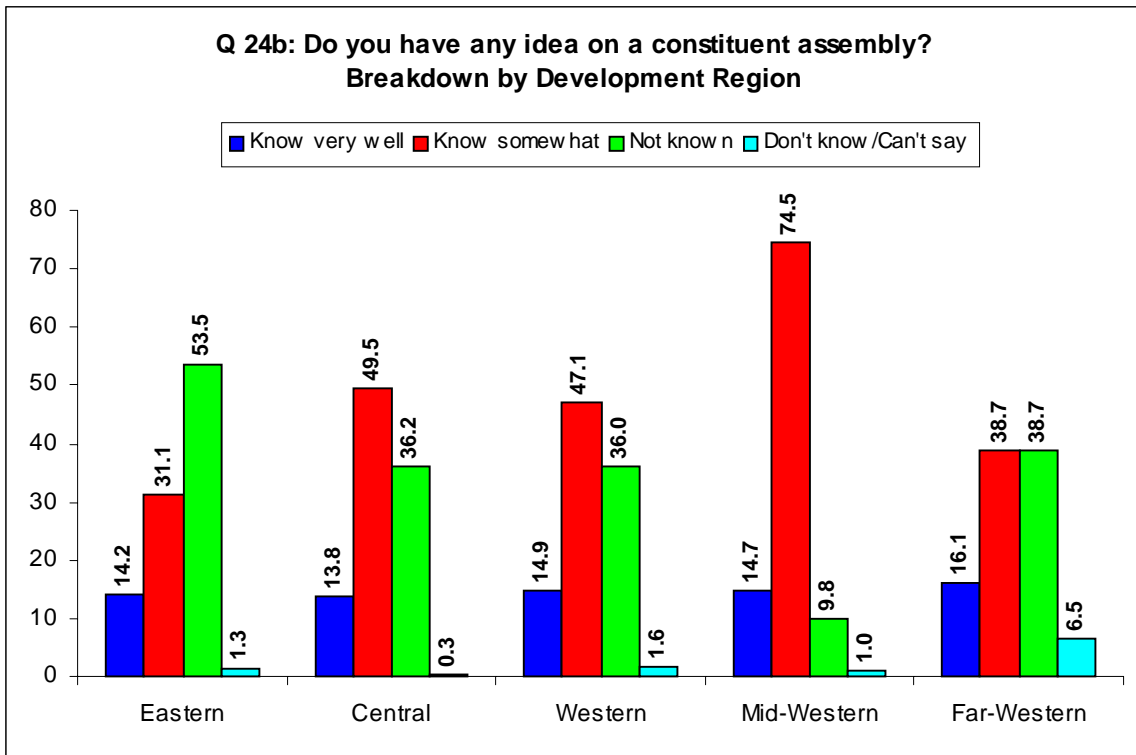
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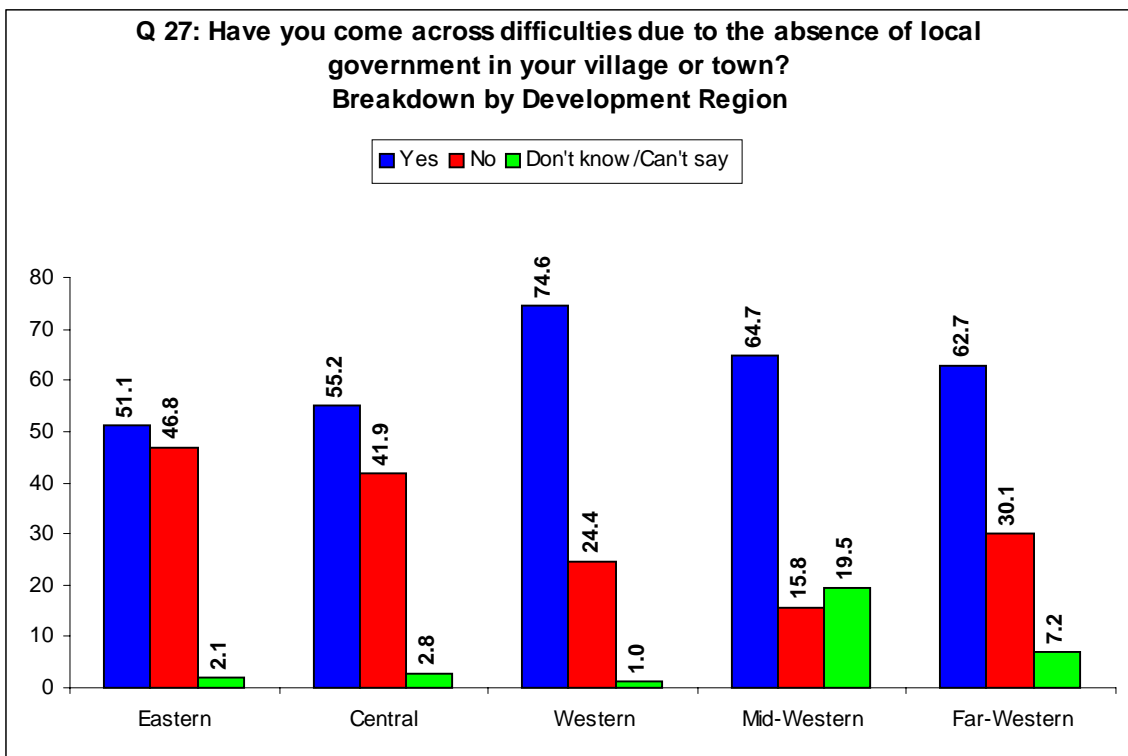
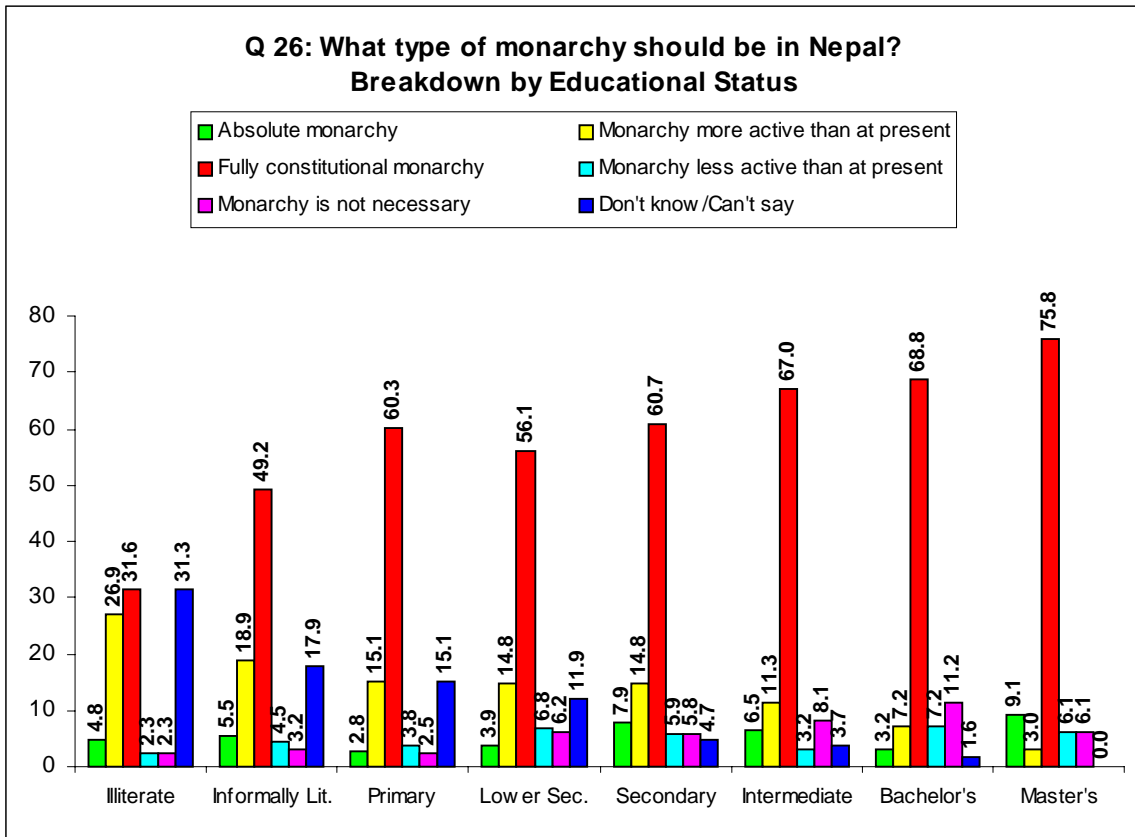


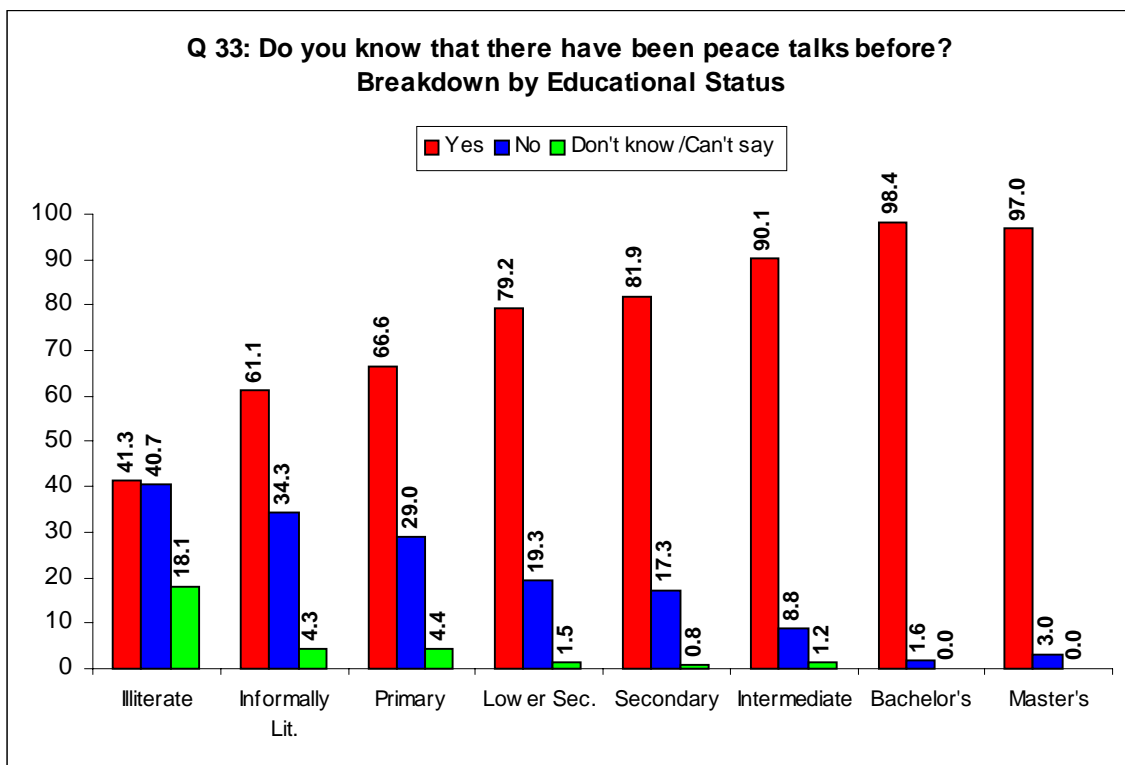
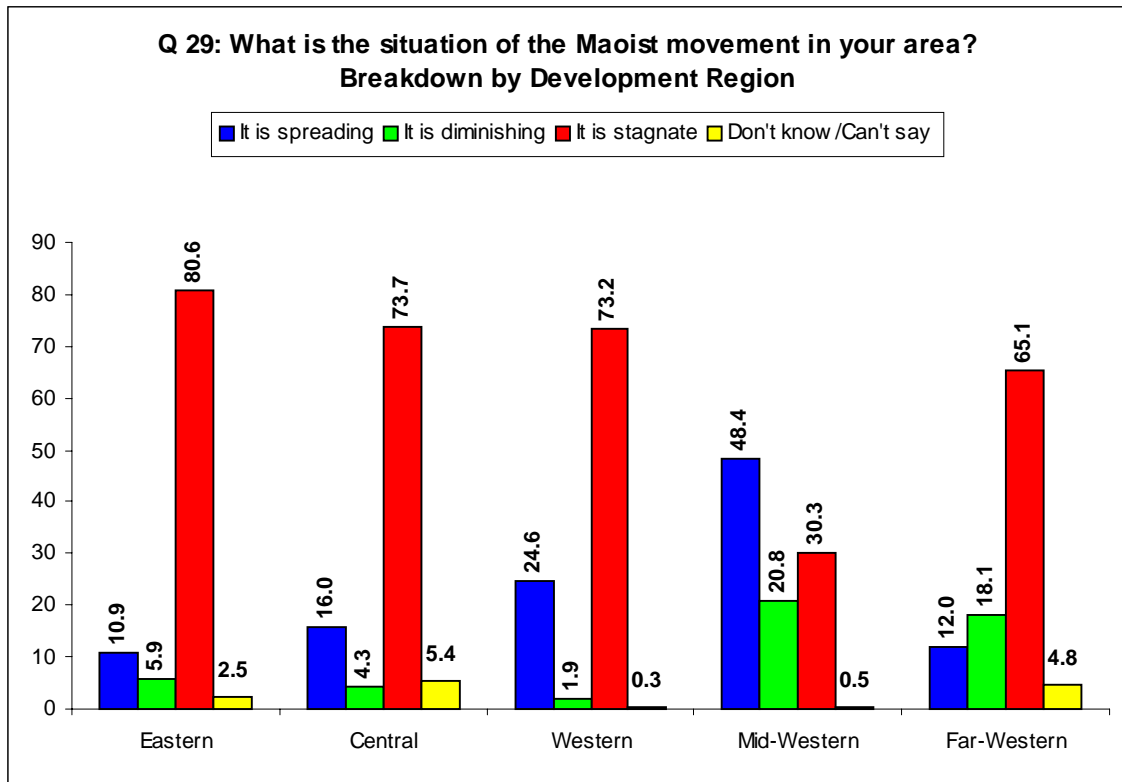


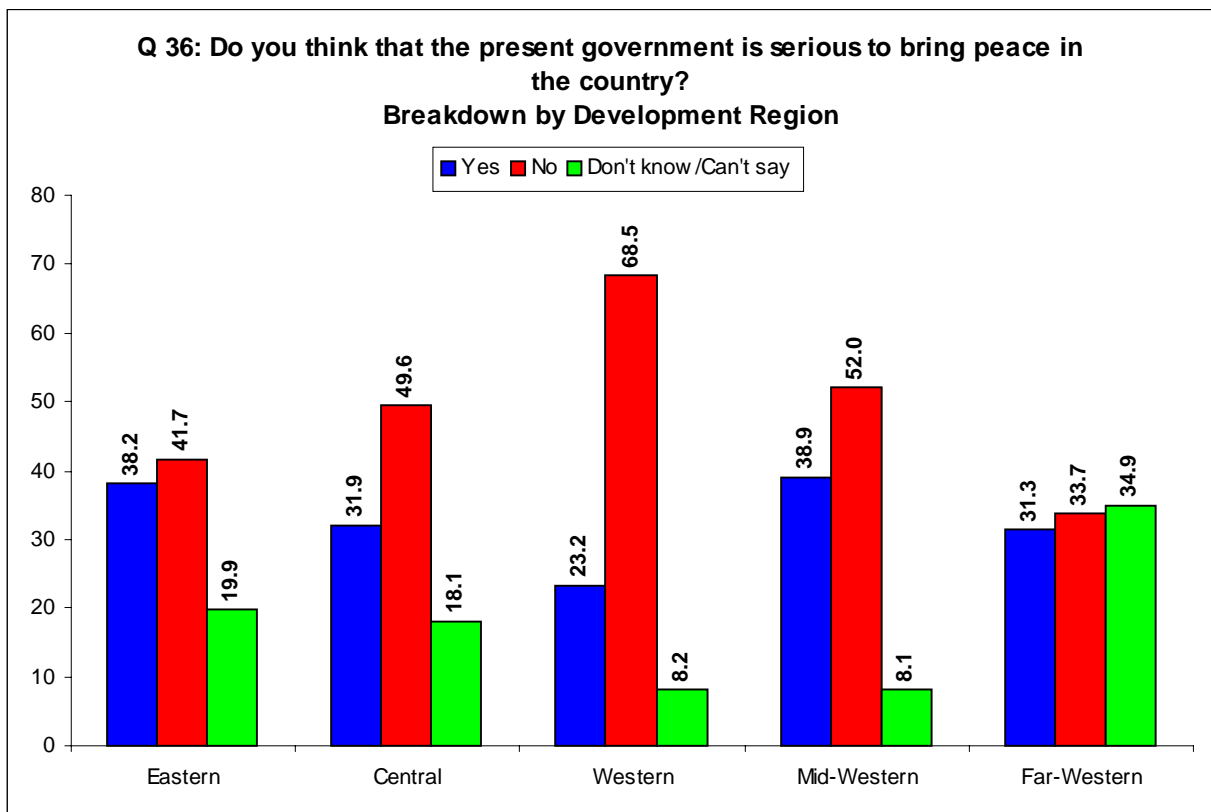
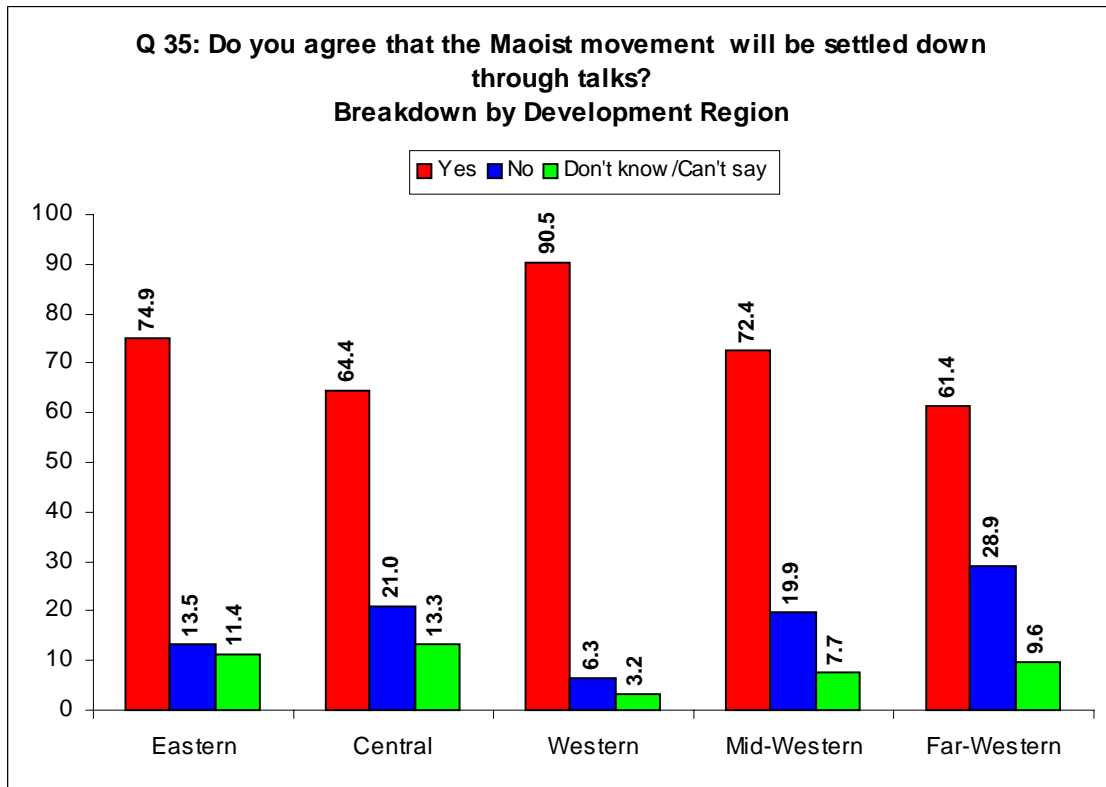


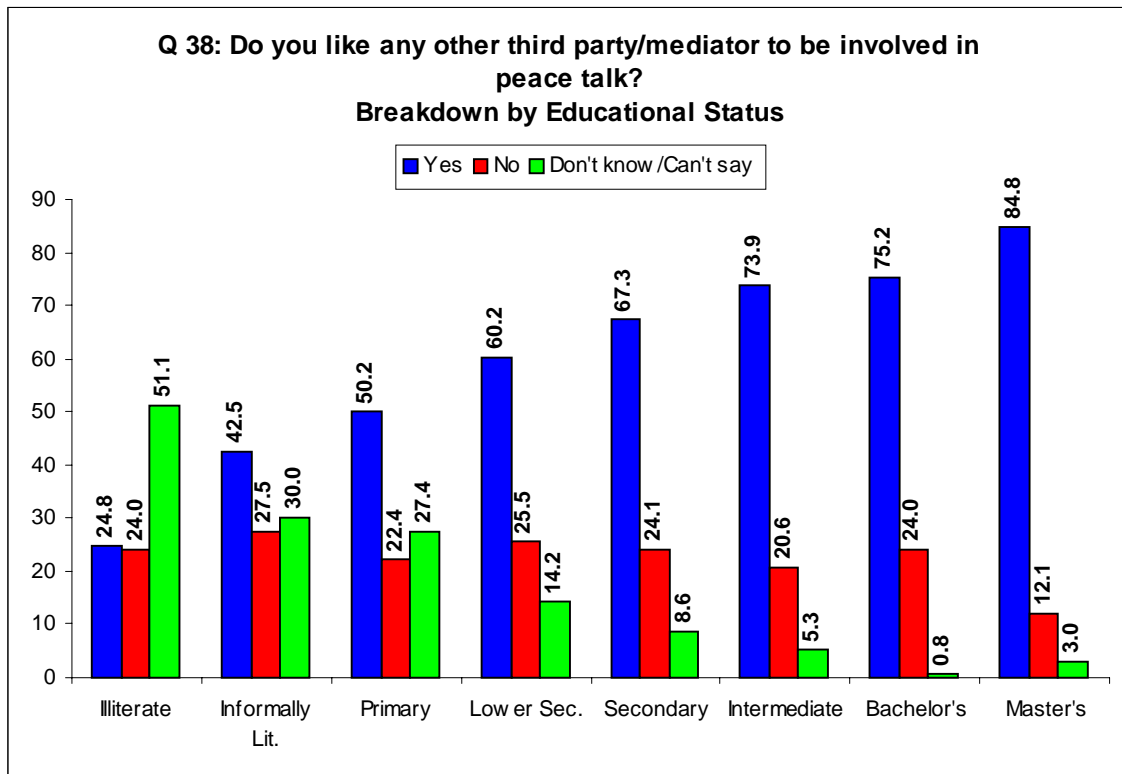
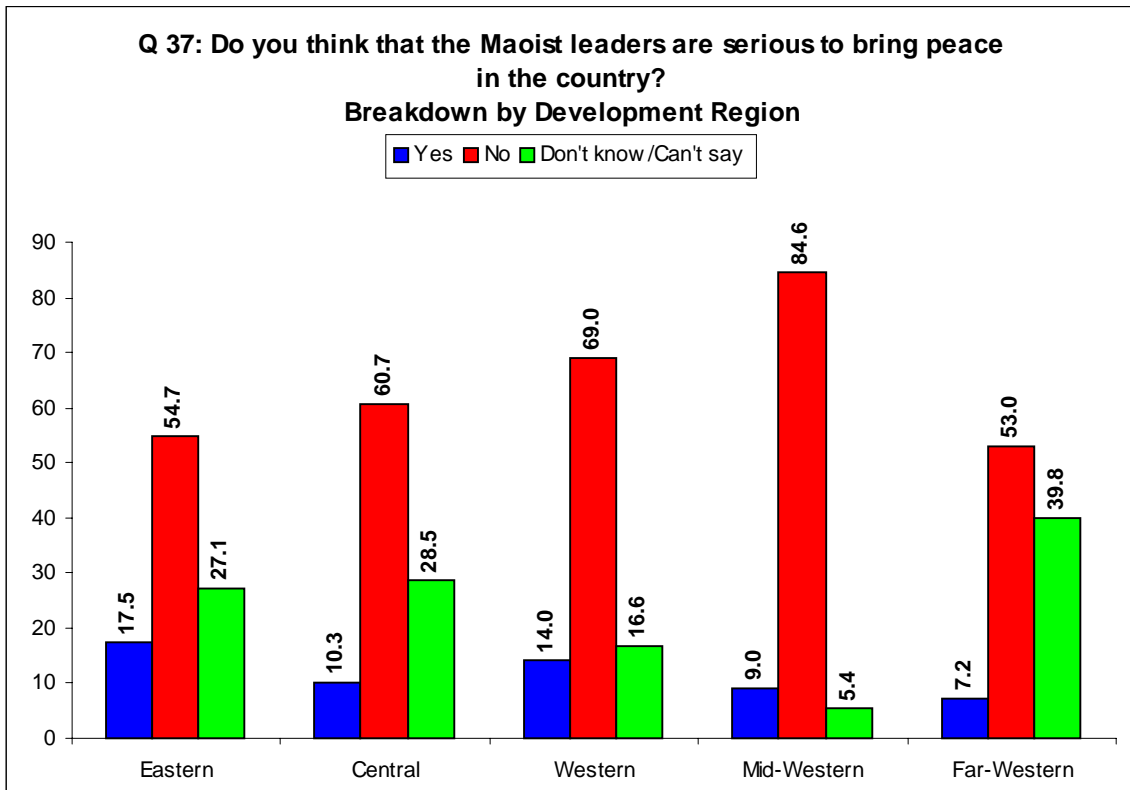


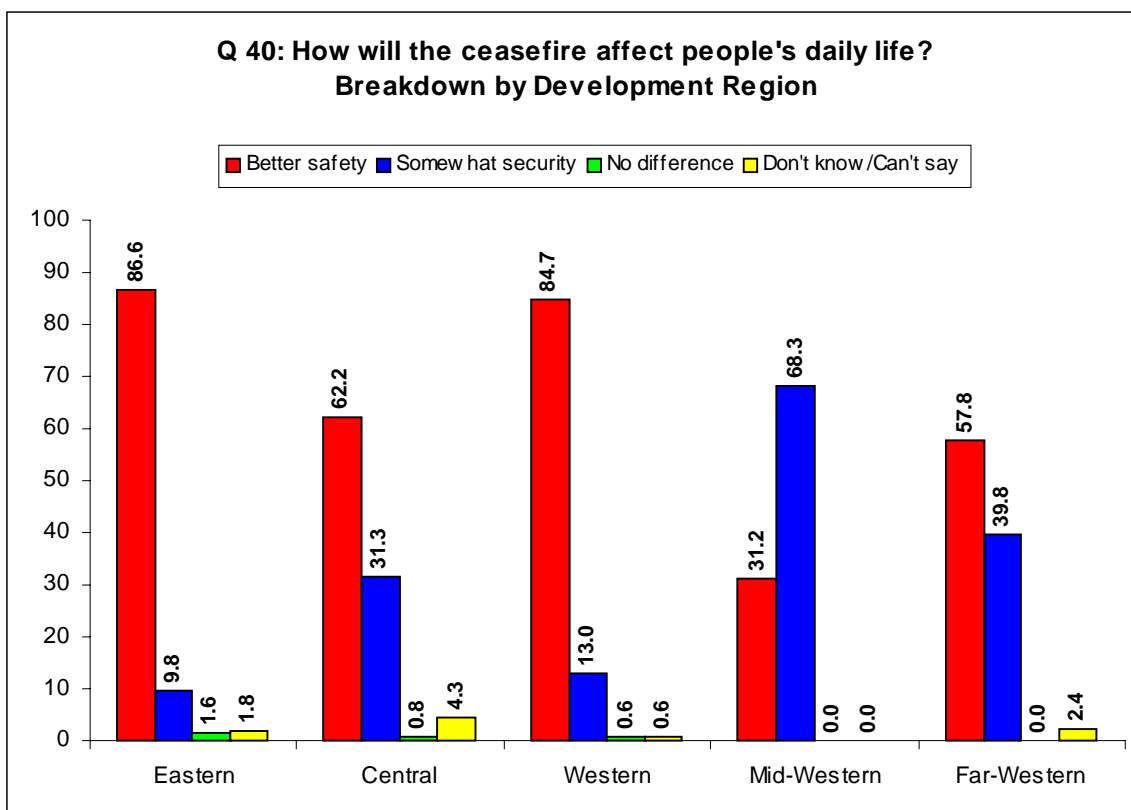
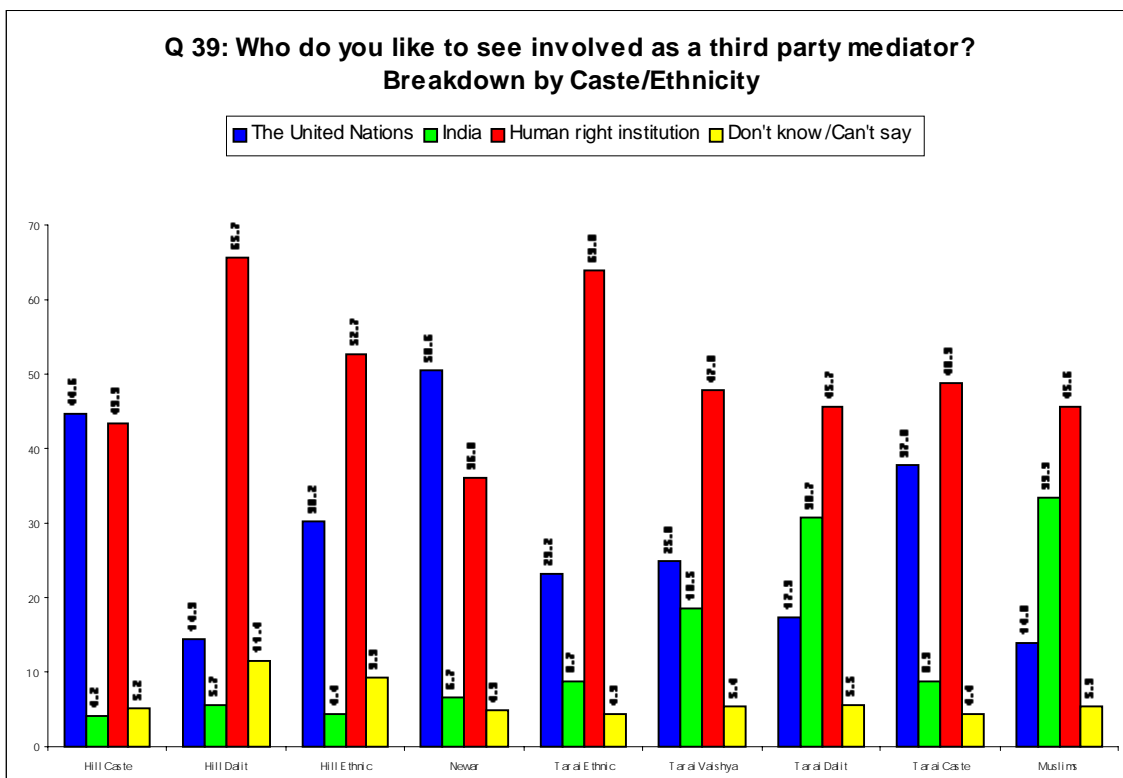


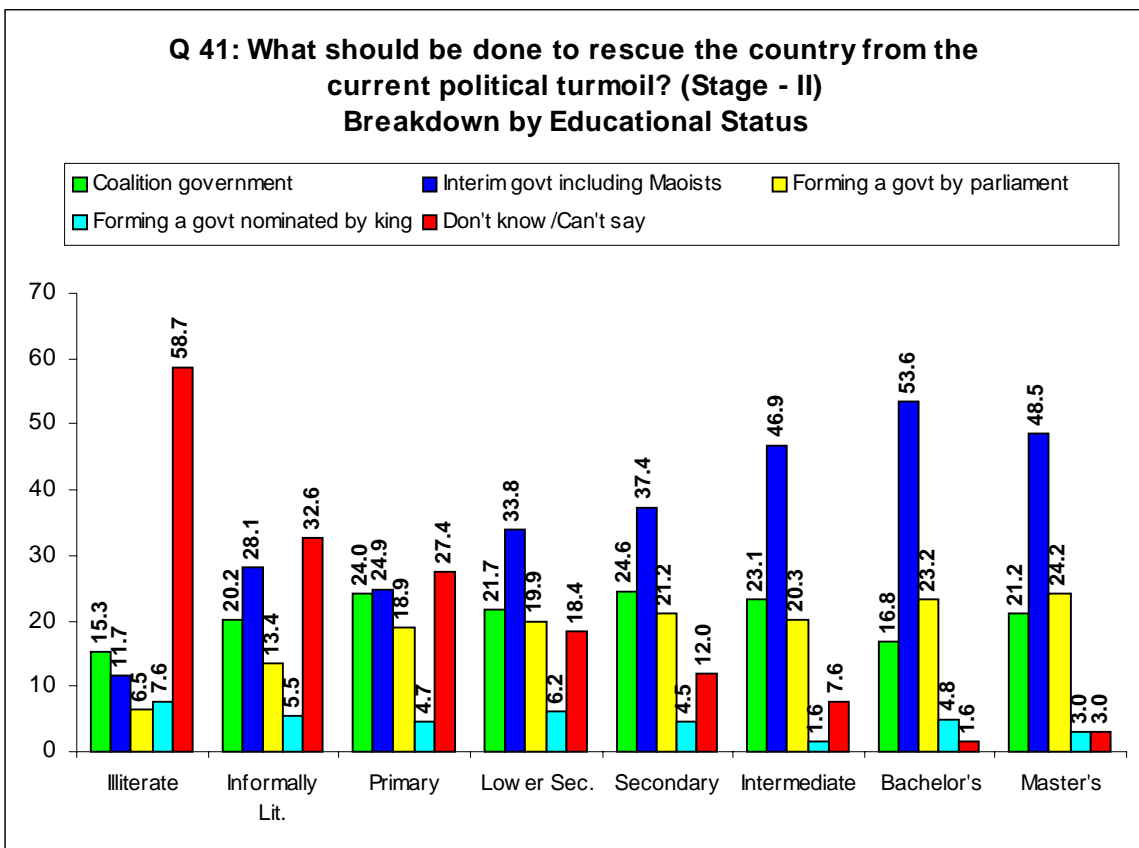
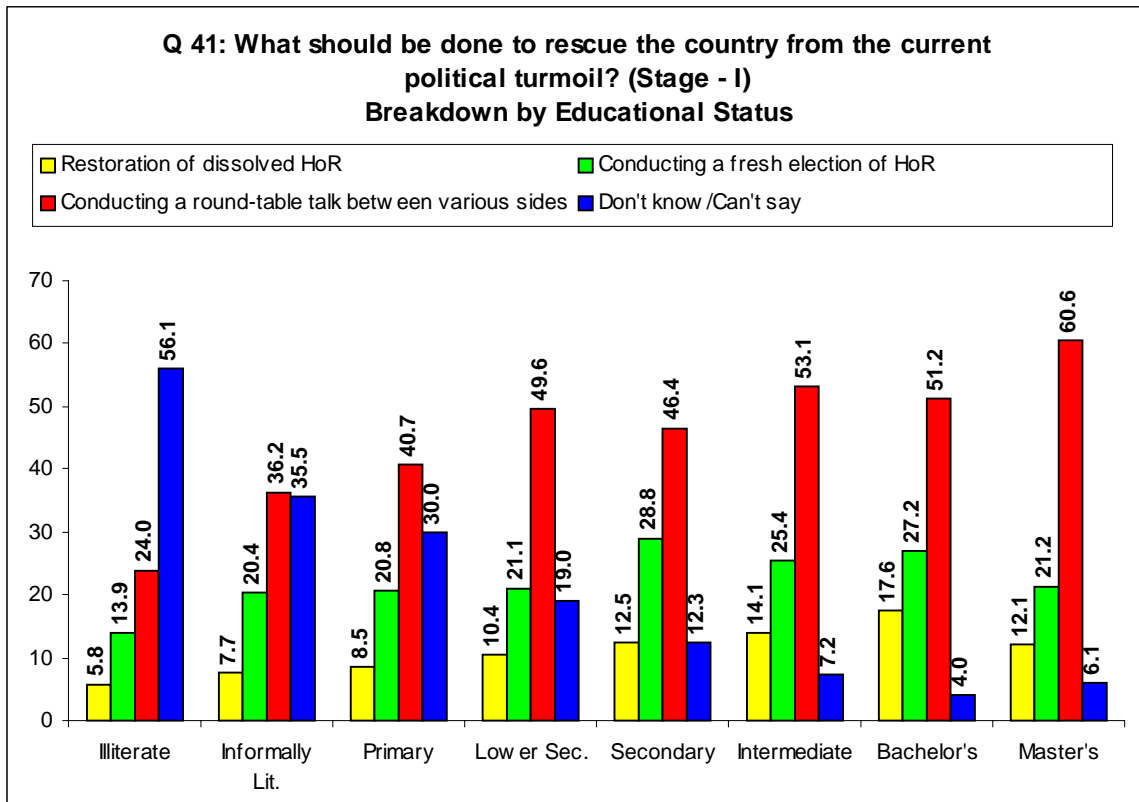




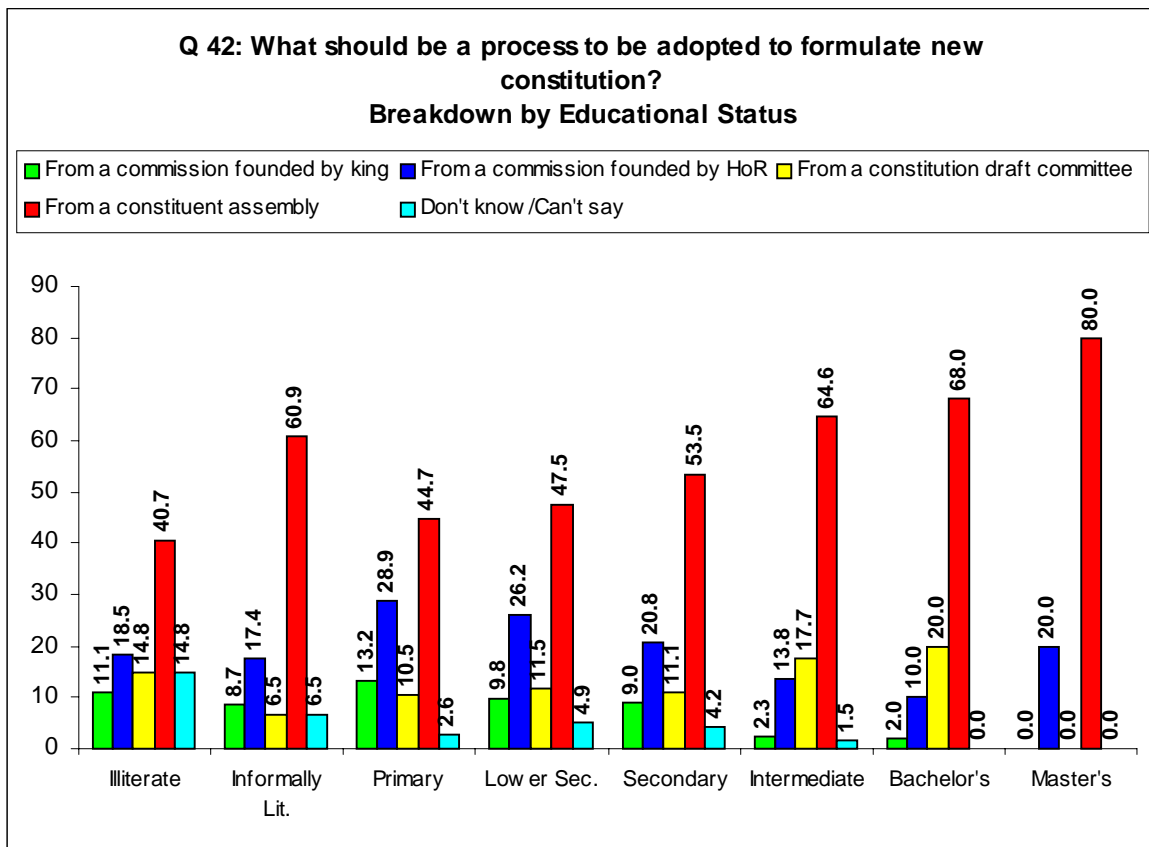
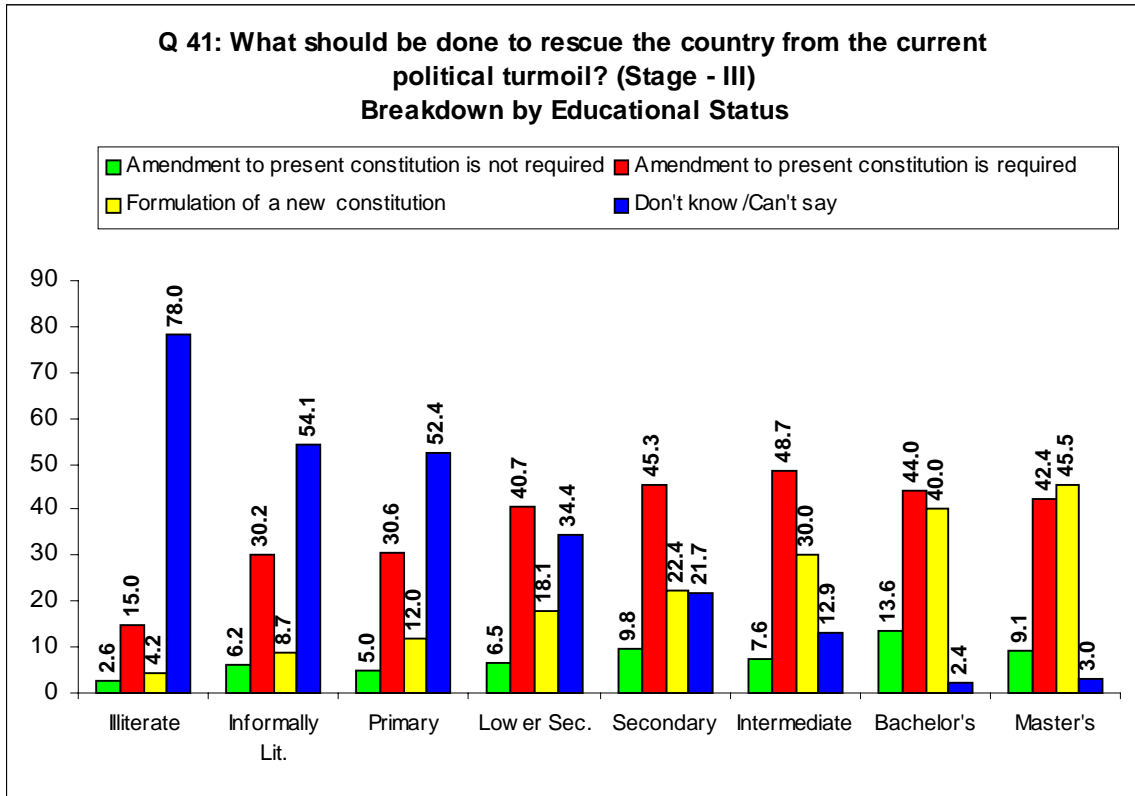












### III

## Comparison with Other Poll Results

In this section, the results of this opinion poll, Contemporary Political Situation (CPS 2005), are compared with the results of two other nation-wide opinion polls that were recently conducted: the Nepal Public Opinion Research conducted in July 2004 (NPOR 2004) and the State of Democracy in Nepal also conducted in 2004 (SDN 2004). The former was conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research Inc. and the latter by the State of Democracy in South Asia/Nepal Chapter in collaboration with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). NPOR 2004 has had a limited circulation, with only its main charts available, while SDN 2004 is available in the public domain.

### Democracy

According to CPS 2005, 77 per cent of respondents believe that democracy is suitable in Nepal. SDN 2004, in contrast, reported that about 55 per cent of respondents think that democracy is suitable in Nepal. Unlike the enumerators who worked on CPS 2004, SDN 2004 enumerators did not clarify questions or encourage respondents who hesitated to answer. This could be the reason SDN 2004 results have a big percentage in the category 'could not understand'. If this category is excluded from analysis and other categories adjusted accordingly, those who say that democracy is suitable or very suitable in SDN 2004 becomes 79 per cent, which is very close to the data collected by CPS 2005.

#### How suitable is democracy? (CPS 2005)

Response	Per cent
Very suitable	31.3
Suitable	45.7
Not suitable	9.5
Very unsuitable	3.7
Don't want to disclose	.2
Don't know/cannot say	9.5
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

#### How suitable is democracy? (SDN 2004)

Response	Per cent
Very suitable	10.6
Suitable	43.9
Not suitable	12.0
Not at all suitable	2.7
Could not understand	22.3
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	8.4
Total	100.0 (N = 3249)

CPS 2005 asked respondents what the advantages of democracy are. The people stated that freedom of expression (including freedom of the press) and rule by representatives elected by people were the most important advantages. SDN 2004, too, asked what respondents like most about democracy. It found out that the freedom to speak and work is the most appreciated aspect of democracy. NPOR 2004 also concluded that people believe that greater personal freedom is the best aspect of democracy. Unfortunately, NPOR 2004 did not identify what types of freedom come under personal freedom.

#### Advantages of democracy (CPS 2005)

Advantage	Rank
Freedom of expression (including press)	1
Rule by representatives elected by people	2
Religious freedom	3
Rule of law	4

#### What do you like most about democracy? (SDN 2004)

	Per cent
Everyone has freedom to speak and work	41.5
People control the ruling government	4.5
Respect to weaker portion of population	10.7
Protection of minority's rights	3.6
Others	0.7
Could not understand	33.4
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	5.6
Total	100.0

#### Best aspect of democracy (NPOR 2004)

	Per cent
Greater personal freedoms	57
Greater rights for women	4
Free press	3
More jobs	1
Regular elections	1
Greater rights for lower castes	1
Stronger political parties	1
Development	1
Development in education	1
Road/water/electricity	1
Less corruption	0

According to CPS 2005, people believe that the misuse of authority (which includes an increase in corruption) is the most prominent negative aspect of democracy. SDN 2004 also revealed that a perceived increase in corruption was the most disliked aspect of democracy. Similarly, more widespread corruption was one of the most prominent problems with democracy that NPOR 2004 reports. CPS 2005 attempted to understand

**Weaknesses of democracy (CPS 2004)**

<b>Weakness</b>	<b>Rank</b>
Misuse of authority/increase in corruption	1
Politicians don't go back to their villages after elections	2
Changes in administration when a new party sits in govt.	3
Continuous protest by opposition political parties	4

**What do you dislike most about democracy? (SDN 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
People are divided because of multiparty democracy	13.5
Government ruler changes more often	6.1
Increase in corruption	36.1
Those who have more votes influence others	8.4
Others	0.5
Could not understand	31.7
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	3.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Problems with democracy (NPOR 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
More corruption	32
More violence	32
Maoists became more active	7
More crime	6
Fighting within political parties	5
Bandhs	5
Political parties fighting with each other	3
Less stability	1
Worse economy	1

how the country is doing today compared to how it was doing before 1991. About 61 per cent of CPS 2005 respondents think that the country is doing somewhat bad or very bad. SDN 2004 also tried to capture the public view about how satisfied people are with the way democracy works in Nepal. About 40 per cent of SDN 2004 respondents are either somewhat dissatisfied or totally dissatisfied. NPOR 2004, for its part, revealed that 66 per cent think that the situation is worse under democracy.

**Country's situation now in comparison with pre-1991 (CPS 2005)**

<b>Country's Situation</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Very bad	47.4
Okay	18.5
Somewhat bad	13.2
Good	11.6
Very good	2.2
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/can not say	7.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	(N = 3059)

**How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Nepal? (SDN 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
Very satisfied	2.7
Somewhat satisfied	27.9
Somewhat dissatisfied	25.8
Totally dissatisfied	14.5
Could not understand	24.4
Not reported	0.4
No opinion	4.5
<b>Total</b> (N = 3249)	<b>100.0</b>

**Situation during democracy vs. situation during panchayat (NPOR 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
Worse under democracy	66
Better under democracy	26

## **Best Form of Government**

Most respondents according to CPS 2005 (51.6 per cent) believe that a government is legitimate if a prime minister responsible to the Parliament rules the country. NPOR 2004 also endeavoured to identify public view on the best form of government for Nepal. It discovered that 60 per cent of respondents want democracy with a constitutional monarchy. It indicates that this percentage of people favour a parliamentary system.

**Who is the legitimate ruler? (CPS 2005)**

<b>Legitimate Ruler</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
PM responsible to Parliament	51.6
The King	22.2
PM responsible to King	8.2
None are legitimate	4.7
Maoists	2.2
Military	1.0
Others	0.1
Don't want to disclose	0.6
Don't know/cannot say	9.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 3059)

**Best form of government for nepal (NPOR 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
Democracy with a constitutional monarchy	60
Democracy without a monarchy	17
Panchayat	9
Absolute monarchy	2

## Contemporary Political Events

CPS 2005 attempted to ascertain the public's perception of the King's intervention in politics in October 4, 2004. It found out that most people have no clear idea in this regard. In addition, a significant proportion of the people believe the weak government and political parties promoted this action on the part of the King. NPOR 2004 found that 50 per cent of respondents disapproved of the King's removal of the prime minister.

### Perception of the King's intervention on oct 4, 2002 (CPS 2005)

Perception	Per cent
Weakness of the then-government	20.4
The King had no other options	17.0
The King was looking for an opportunity to play a role in politics	14.0
Political parties could not reach a resolution	9.6
Don't want to disclose	0.9
Don't know/ Cannot say	38.1
Total	100.0
	(N = 3059)

### Removal of the Prime Minister on oct 4, 2002 (NPOR 2004)

	Per cent
Disapprove	50
Approve	25

According to CPS 2005, the majority of respondents (57 per cent) think that the country's situation since Oct 4, 2002 has been either somewhat bad or very bad. SDN 2004 found that about 44 per cent of the respondents evaluated the country's situation as bad in comparison to the earlier situation. Again, a significant proportion of the respondents did not understand the question. In CPS 2005, this question was asked only of those respondents who did not mention 'Don't know/cannot say' in a previous question about King's intervention. In SDN 2004, however, no related question was asked previously, so the percentage in the category 'could not understand' is very high.

### Situation of the country after oct 4, 2002 (CPS 2005)

Situation	Per cent
Very bad	40.7
No difference	33.3
Somewhat bad	16.2
Good	8.7
Very good	0.8
Don't know/ can not say	0.3
Total	100.0
(N = 1866)	

**How have you found the country's situation since  
october 2002? (SDN 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
Very good	1.1
Good	7.1
Bad	28.4
Very bad	15.3
Could not understand	39.2
Not reported	0.2
No opinion	8.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 3249)

## Monarchy

According to CPS 2005, the majority of Nepalis want a fully constitutional monarchy (53.4 per cent). If those who do not have definite answer (14.1 per cent) are excluded, the proportion of people favouring a constitutional monarchy becomes 62.5 per cent. SDN 2004 reveals that most people (39.6 per cent) favour a constitutional monarchy but 28.5 per cent of the respondents said that could not understand the question. Once other responses such as 'could not understand or no opinion' are excluded from the results, those in favour of constitutional monarchy is as high as 63 per cent in SDN 2004, a figure quite close to that of CPS 2005. In a segment of the chapter 'Best form of the Government', NPOR 2004 reports that 60 per cent of its respondents want democracy with a constitutional monarchy.

**Type of monarchy people favour (CPS 2005)**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Fully constitutional monarchy	53.4
Monarchy more active than at present	17.2
Absolute monarchy	5.5
Monarchy is not necessary	4.9
Monarchy less active than at present	4.5
Don't want to disclose	0.4
Don't know/can not say	14.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 3059)

**Which type of monarchy would be best in your opinion? (SDN 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
King should have more right and power	13.8
King's place should be constitutional monarchy	39.6
Country should be republic	9.8
Could not understand	28.5
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 1669)

## Major Public Concerns

CPS 2005 reveals that people identify the Maoist insurgency, corruption and violence/insecurity in that order as the three greatest problems facing the country. According to NPOR 2004, the major concerns of the people are the lack of jobs, Maoist violence and corruption in that order. In both polls, the Maoist movement and corruption are key public concerns.

### The three greatest problems of the country (CPS 2005)

Problem	Rank
Maoist insurgency	1
Corruption	2
Violence/insecurity	3

### The top three major concerns of the people (NPOR 2004)

Problem	Rank
Lack of jobs	1
Maoist violence	2
Corruption	3

## Conflict Resolution

To gauge the public's view regarding conflict resolution, all the three concerned polls asked several questions. CPS 2005 found that most people (41 per cent) want round-table talks among the King, the political parties and the Maoists in the first stage but also that a significant proportion of respondents (27 per cent) do not have a clear idea on this matter. SDN 2004 employed a different means of attempting to understand the public's view. It asked respondents what they thought should be done to bring the Maoists to the negotiating table. Most respondents (44 per cent) did not understand the question but those who did, mentioned holding a round-table conference (32 per cent). In its attempt to understand the public's views on possible resolutions to the conflict, NPOR 2004 revealed that the people give first priority to peace talks among all three concerned parties—the King, the political parties and the Maoists—rather than between any two groups.

### What should be done to rescue the country? (stage I) (CPS 2005)

Response	Per cent
Conducting a round-table talk between various sides	41.0
Conducting a fresh election of HoR	21.9
Restoration of dissolved HoR	10.0
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/can not say	26.9
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)



**What should Be done to bring the Maoists to the negotiating table? (SDN 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
Reestablishment of parliament	2.6
Parliamentary election	10.5
Round-table conference	32.3
Others	1.3
Could not understand	43.9
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	9.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 1580)

**Possible resolutions to the conflict (NPOR 2004)**

	<b>Rank</b>
Peace talks among the King, the political parties and the Maoists	1
Peace talks between the King and the Maoists	2
Peace talks between the political parties and the Maoists	3

According to CPS 2005, most people (34 per cent) want an interim government which includes the Maoists in the second stage of finding a solution to the conflict. Most SDN 2004 respondents (45 per cent) could not understand the posed question about government but those who understood did, say they favoured an interim government which included the Maoists (21 per cent).

**What should be done to rescue the country? (stage II) (CPS 2005)**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Interim government which includes the Maoists	30.8
Coalition government	20.9
Forming a government by Parliament	16.4
Forming a government nominated by the King	5.1
Don't want to disclose	0.2
Don't know/can not say	26.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 3059)

**What should be done to bring the Maoists to the negotiating table? (SDN 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
Multiparty government	8.9
Interim govt including the Maoists	21.2
Elected government	12.8
Others	0.6
Could not understand	45.3
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	11.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b> (N = 1580)

CPS 2005 found that most people (42 per cent) have no clear idea about what should be done to rescue the country in stage III, but that those who do are in favour of amending the Constitution of 1990. SDN 2004 also discovered that most people (48 per cent) are unable to understand the matter, but that those who do are in the favour of creating a new constitution (20 per cent).

**What should be done to rescue the country? (stage III)  
(CPS 2005)**

Response	Per cent
Amendment of present constitution is required	34.7
Formulation of a new constitution	16.7
Amendment of present constitution is not required	6.7
Don't want to disclose	0.5
Don't know/can not say	41.5
Total	100.0 (N = 3059)

**What should be done to bring Maoists to the negotiating  
table? (SDN 2004)**

	Per cent
No need for amendment of present constitution	3.4
Amendment of present constitution	15.8
Create new constitution	20.3
Others	0.2
Could not understand	47.9
Not reported	0.1
No opinion	12.3
Total	100.0 (N = 1580)

Of those who say they want a new constitution, the proportion of those who want to do it through a constituent assembly is high (CPS 2005: 57 per cent, SDN 2004: 71 per cent and NPOR 2004: 61 per cent).

## The Maoist Movement and the Peace Talk

CPS 2005 attempted to discover what respondents who believe that the Maoist movement is spreading in their locality believe are the factors that contribute to that spread. The two most prominent factors identified are corrupt politicians and the further lagging behind in the development of under-privileged communities. NPOR 2004 discovered that the factors responsible for the spread of the Maoist movement are long-standing problems like poverty and repression as well as the political parties' inability to fix the country's problems. Both polls identify incapable politicians and oppression of certain segments of the society as responsible for the rise of the Maoist movement.

**Factors contributing to the spread of the Maoist  
movement (CPS 2005)**

Factor	Rank
Corrupt individual politicians	1
Under-privileged communities are lagging further behind	2

**Responsible for Maoists rise (NPOR 2004)**

	<b>Per cent</b>
Long-standing problems like poverty and repression	50
Political parties' inability to fix the country's problems	38

CPS 2005 endeavoured to capture public views about the solution to the Maoist movement. People give first priority to peace talks among related parties followed by, in decreasing rank, the declaration of a ceasefire by related parties and the fulfilment of the Maoist's demands. Similarly, NPOR 2004 revealed that most people want the government and the Maoists to settle the conflict through negotiations rather than through military force.

**Solution to the Maoists movement (CPS 2005)**

<b>Solution</b>	<b>Rank</b>
Holding peace talks among the concerned parties	1
Declaring a ceasefire by concerned parties	2
Fulfilling the Maoists' demands	3

**Solution to the Maoist movement (NPOR 2004)**

<b>Solution</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Negotiations	96
Military force	1

According to CPS 2005, most people (46 per cent) would like to see human rights organisations as the third-party mediators; the United Nations is their second preference (37 per cent). NPOR 2004 identifies the United Nations as the most effective international delegation (35 per cent).

**Who do you like to see involved as the third party? (CPS 2005)**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Human rights organisations	45.6
The United Nations	37.3
India	8.8
Others	2.3
Don't want to disclose	0.1
Don't know/can not say	5.8
Total	100.0 (N = 1620)

**Most effective international delegation (NPOR 2004)**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
The United Nations	35
India	12
United States	8
China	1
Great Britain	1
Not required	15

Broadly speaking, the three polls show similar responses by the Nepali people to crucial national issues.

## IV

### Sample Distribution

Eco Dev Region	Sample District (1st-stage Sample)	Sample VDC/Municipality (2nd-stage Sample)	Sample Size
1. Eastern Mountain	Taplejung	Dokhu Phungling	18 18
	Sankhuwasabha	Aankhibhui Sitalpati	28 26
2. Eastern Hills	Ilam	Barbote Kanyam Pashupatinagar Ilam Mun.	26 24 24 13
	Udayapur	Tapeshwori Jogidaha Hadiya	24 22 24
3. Eastern Tarai	Jhapa	Bahundangi	25
		Dharampur	24
		Gauradaha	25
		Maheshpur	24
		Satasidham	26
		Budhabare	24
		Topgachhi	24
		Shantinagar	8
		Damak mun.	11
		Morang	Babiyabirta
Budhanagar	24		
Hathimudha	24		
Kerabari	24		
Madhumalla	24		
Tankisinuwari	24		
Urlabari	24		
Jhorahat	24		
Biratnagar mun.	60		
Sunsari	Barahachhetra		23
	Duhabi	24	
	Dharan mun.	9	
Saptari	Boriya Rajbiraj mun.	4 6	
Siraha	Badharamal	23	
	Dhodhana	23	
	Kalyanpur Jabadi	24	
	Padariya Tharutol	23	
	Fulkaha Kati	22	
	Lahan mun.	25	
<b>Sub Total</b>	<b>9</b>		<b>896</b>
4. Central Mountain	Dolakha	Jiri	19
		Pawati	20
		Mali	28
5. Central Hills	Kavre	Nala	22
		Panchkhal	23

		Ugratara Janagal	23
		Dolalghat	18
		Dhulikhel mun.	11
	Lalitpur	Chapagaun	35
	Kathmandu	Gongabu	22
		Kapan	23
		Mahadevsthan	22
		Gokarneswor	22
		Dakshinkali	22
		Matatirtha	21
		Kathmandu mun.	347
	Nuwakot	Charghare	24
		Kakani	35
		Tupche	24
		Bidur mun.	14
	Makwanpur	Hedauta mun.	8
		Budhichaur	10
6. Central Tarai	Mahottari	Aurahi	26
		Dhirapur	23
		Khuttapiparadhi	23
		Pashupatinagar	20
		Sonama	22
		Ratauli	20
		Jaleswor mun.	10
	Sarlahi	Malangawa mun.	7
		Shasapur	3
		Hariyon	19
	Rautahat	Bairiya	20
		Garuda Bairiya	20
		Laxmipur	20
		Rampurkhap	21
		Bariyarpur	20
		Sangrampur	21
		Gaur mun.	9
	Parsa	Bahuarbamatha	21
		Lal Parsa	14
		Bindabasini	31
		Lipani Birta	23
		Birgunj mun.	42
	Chitawan	Birendranagar	5
		Bharatpur mun.	5
<b>Sub Total</b>	<b>11</b>		<b>1238</b>
7. Western Hills	Gorkha	Chhoprak	4
		Prithvinarayan mun.	6
	Tanahu	Abukhaireni	23
		Ghansikuwa	24
		Dulegauda	23
		Deurali	20
		Byas mun.	10
	Kaski	Hemaja	19
		Sarangkot	27
		Thumki	22
		Pokhara mun.	12
	Syangja	Banethok Deurali	6
		Sworek	4

	Myagdi	Putalibazar mun. Bhakilmi	12 20
	Gulmi	Singa Dubichaur Tamghas Turang Gaidakot	20 23 25 24 22
8. Western Tarai	Nawalparasi	Sunawal Gaidakot Swathi Kawasoti Sukrauli Manari	24 46 23 26 23 24
	Rupandehi	Butwal mun.	12
	Kapilbastu	Tilaurakot Harduona Nandanagar Ganeshpur Dhankauli	20 20 20 19 19
<b>Sub Total</b>	<b>9</b>		<b>622</b>
9. MW Hills	Surkhet	Chhinchu Latikoili Ramghat	19 26 31
10. MW Tarai	Dang	Satbariya Sisahaniya	5 5
	Banke	Jaishpur Paraspur Bageshwori Sonapur Nepalgunj mun.	23 25 22 26 29
	Bardiya	Padhnaha Magaragadhi	5 5
<b>Sub Total</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>221</b>
11. FW Hills	Doti	Latamandau Ranagaun Dipayal mun.	23 23 7
	Dadeldhura	Ashigram Mastamandau	15 14
<b>Sub Total</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>82</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>		<b>3059</b>

# V

## Research Team

### Principal Survey Researchers

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Mr. Pawan Kumar Sen — *Consultant Statistician*

### Advisor

Mr. Dipak Gyawali — *Chairman, IDA*

### Field Coordinator

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### Field Researcher

Mr. Lila Acharya

### Supervisors

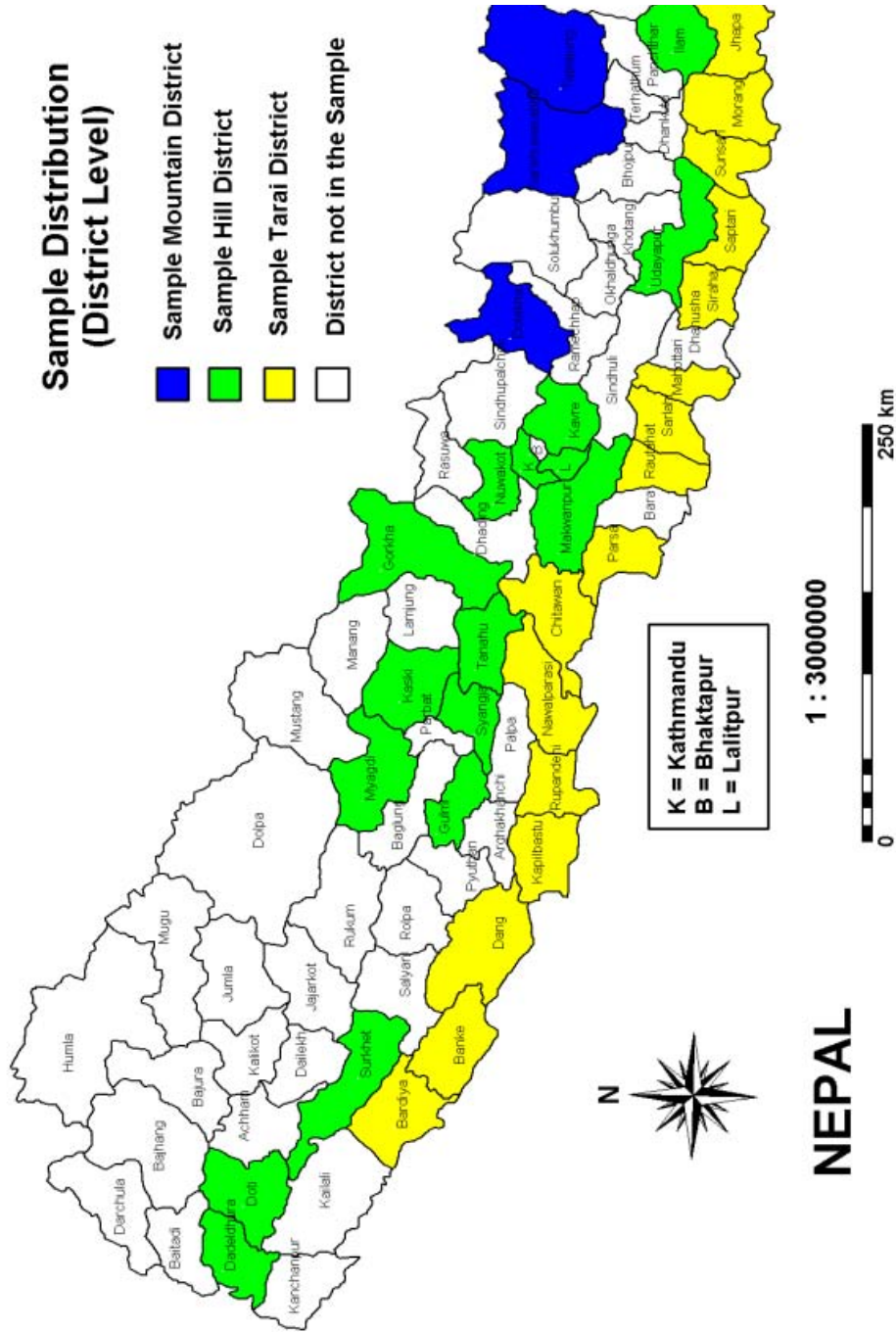
1. Mr. Bishnu Nepal
2. Mr. Hiranya Baral
3. Mr. Kabindra Rajbhandari
4. Mr. Krishna Acharya
5. Mr. Krishna Dangol
6. Mr. Prem Upreti
7. Mr. Rajesh Man Shrestha
8. Mr. Rameshwor Upreti
9. Mr. Sanad Shrestha
10. Ms. Sabina Thapa
11. Mr. Vishal Upadhyaya

### Enumerators

- |                             |                           |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Mr. Ananta Lamsal        | 25. Mr. Milan Budhathoki  |
| 2. Ms. Anita Rai            | 26. Mr. Puskar Joshi      |
| 3. Ms. Anita Wagle          | 27. Mr. Rabi Baniya       |
| 4. Mr. Anud Prasad Joshi    | 28. Mr. Rajesh Rajbahak   |
| 5. Mr. Arjun K.C.           | 29. Mr. Ram Hari Thapa    |
| 6. Mr. Arjun Panthi         | 30. Ms. Rama Ghimire      |
| 7. Ms. Asmika Maharjan      | 31. Mr. Ramesh Lawati     |
| 8. Ms. Bandana Baniya       | 32. Ms. Rojina Gautam     |
| 9. Mr. Basanta Katuwal      | 33. Ms. Samjhana Maharjan |
| 10. Ms. Bimala Joshi        | 34. Mr. Santosh Karki     |
| 11. Mr. Binod Khatiwada     | 35. Ms. Sarada Lamichhane |
| 12. Mr. Bishnu Joshi        | 36. Mr. Sarita Timilsina  |
| 13. Mr. Chetraj Rajbhandari | 37. Mr. Satish Bhattarai  |
| 14. Mr. Damodar Adhikari    | 38. Ms. Shanta Pathak     |
| 15. Mr. Diwakar Kattel      | 39. Mr. Shyam Bhujel      |
| 16. Mr. Diwakar Munakarmi   | 40. Mr. Shyam Joshi       |
| 17. Mr. Ganesh Hamal        | 41. Mr. Sindhu Joshi      |
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| 19. Mr. Hem Raj Pant        | 43. Ms. Solachana Swar    |
| 20. Ms. Hema Katuwal        | 44. Mr. Suman Rana        |
| 21. Ms. Kalpana Dahal       | 45. Ms. Sumitra Maharjan  |
| 22. Ms. Kamala Rai          | 46. Mr. Surya Upreti      |
| 23. Mr. Karna Balayar       | 47. Mr. Tilak Deuba       |
| 24. Mr. Kishor Shrestha     | 48. Ms. Uma Bhatta        |

**Note :** All of the members other than the principal survey researchers and the advisor are from ACNielsen Nepal Pvt. Ltd.

# VI Map







**Hill Region:**

2. Chhetri      3. Bahun      4. Kami      5. Sarki      6. Damai  
 7. Magar      8. Newar      9. Tamang      10. Rai      11. Limbu  
 12. Thakuri      13. Gurung      14. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**Tarai Region:**

15. Tharu      16. Yadav      17. Musalman      18. Tarai Vaishya  
 19. Tarai Dalit      20. Tarai Brahmin      21. Rajput  
 22. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**8. Religion:**

1. Hindu      2. Buddhist      3. Islam      4. Christianity  
 5. Kirat      6. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**9. Profession:**

1. Subsistence agriculture      2. Commercialised Agriculture  
 3. Government/semi-government service      4. Non-government service  
 5. Teaching      6. Judicial service      7. Medical service  
 8. Industry/Business      9. Traditional family profession (excluding 1)  
 10. House wife/husband      11. Labour      12. Student  
 13. Retired      14. Unemployed      15. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

10. Do you think that you have been badly affected by the Maoists (i.e., mentally or physically tortured, displaced from an original place, someone in a relation killed, kidnapped or wounded etc.)?

1. Yes      2. No      97. Don't want to disclose      98. Don't know/Can't say

11. Do you think that you have been badly affected by the state security forces (i.e., mentally or physically tortured, displaced from an original place, someone in a relation killed, kidnapped or wounded etc.)?

1. Yes      2. No      97. Don't want to disclose      98. Don't know/Can't say

12. Lets talk about your economic condition. 10 columns are given below. Left-most column represents the most poor and right-most column represents the most rich. Where do you place yourself in this continuum?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
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**Democracy and Ruling System**

13. In the context of our country, how suitable is democracy?

1. Very suitable      2. Suitable      3. Not suitable  
 4. Very unsuitable      97. Don't want to disclose      98. Don't know/Can't say

14. What are the advantages of democracy? (Select any two out of the list)

1. Freedom of expression, including press  
 2. Rule by representatives elected by the people  
 3. Rule of law  
 4. Political parties responsible to the people

5. Freedom of religion                      97. Don't want to disclose      98. Don't know/Can't say

15. What are the weaknesses of democracy? (Select any two out of the list)

1. Politicians don't go back to their villages after an election
2. Changes in an administration when a new party sits in a government
3. Rise in corruption
4. Large parties do not listen to small parties
5. Continuous protest by political parties in opposition
97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say

16. Who should rule the country for the rule to be legitimate? (Read options loudly)

1. Prime minister responsible to the parliament
2. Prime minister responsible to the king
3. The king                      4. Military                      5. None are legitimate
6. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Don't want to disclose
8. Don't know/cannot say

17. Who should rule the country for the rule to be effective? (Read options loudly)

1. Prime minister responsible to a parliament
2. Prime minister responsible to the king
3. The king                      4. Military                      5. None are legitimate
6. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Don't want to disclose
8. Don't know/cannot say

### Contemporary Political Situation

18. How is the country doing today as compared to pre-1990?

1. Very good                      2. Good                      3. Okay                      4. Somewhat bad
5. Very bad                      97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say

19. What are the three biggest problems facing the country today? (Give in a priority order)

1. Corruption                      2. Unemployment                      3. Maoist insurgency
4. Price hike                      5. Street agitation of political parties
6. Political activity of palace                      7. Security                      8. Development
9. Others (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_ 97. Don't want to disclose
98. Don't know/Can't say

20. How do you perceive the king's intervention in politics in Ashoj 18, 2059?

1. It was the best thing to do because the king had no other option
2. It was the weakness of the government to let the king get away with the act
3. Political parties could not give any resolution
4. The king was looking for an opportunity to play a role in politics
97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say

21. What is the situation in the country after the event?

1. Very good 2. Good                      3. No difference                      4. Bad
5. Very bad 97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say

22. There may be both positive and negative features regarding the country's present political situation. What are the positive features? (Select the two most important responses)
1. King is active in politics
  2. Legal action has been taken against corrupt people
  3. Misconduct of parties has been restricted
  4. Possibility of a peace talk exist
  5. Maoist insurgency movement has been controlled
  6. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  7. There are no positive features
  97. Don't want to disclose
  98. Don't know/Can't say
23. What are the negative features? (Select the two most important responses)
1. Constitution has been made inactive
  2. The activities of political parties has been restricted
  3. King is active in politics
  4. Possibility of a peace talk has been reduced
  5. Country's situation has become worse
  6. Maoist insurgent movement has become even stronger
  7. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  8. There are no negative features
  97. Don't want to disclose
  98. Don't know/Can't say
- 24a. Nowadays, there is a debate going on about a constituent assembly. Have you heard about it?
1. Heard/not known
  2. Heard/known
  3. Not heard/not known
  97. Don't want to disclose
  98. Don't know/Can't say
- 24b. Do you think you understand what a constituent assembly is?
1. Understand it well
  2. Understand it a little bit
  3. Do not understand
  4. Don't want to disclose
  5. Don't know/Can't say
25. We want to ask you about what you think constituent assembly is. Please tick what you consider to be the right answer.
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 the king-appointed experts that will draft a new constitution.
  6. Assembly of the king-appointed experts that will amend the present constitution.
  7. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  97. Don't want to disclose
  98. Don't know/Can't say

### Monarchy

26. What type of monarchy should there be in Nepal? (Read options loudly)
1. Absolute monarchy
  2. Monarchy more active than at present
  3. Fully constitutional monarchy
  3. Monarchy less active than at present
  4. Monarchy is not necessary
  97. Don't want to disclose
  98. Don't know/Can't say

### Local Political and Administrative Units

27. Have you come across difficulties due to the absence of local government in your village or town?  
 1. Yes (continue)    2. No    97. Don't want to disclose    98. Don't know/Can't say
28. If yes, what type of difficulties have you faced?  
 1. Difficulties in a grant sanction  
 2. Difficulties in permission/implementation of a program  
 3. Difficulties in a decision-making related to local issues  
 4. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_    97. Don't want to disclose  
 98. Don't know/Can't say

### The Maoist Movement and the Peace Talk

29. What is the situation of the Maoist movement in your area?  
 1. It is spreading (Go to Q. 30)  
 2. It is diminishing (Go to Q. 31)  
 3. It is the same    97. Don't want to disclose    98. Don't know/Can't say
30. If it is spreading, what factors have contributed to its spread? (Select any two out of the list)  
 1. Inactiveness on the part of political parties  
 2. Corrupt individual politicians  
 3. Unequal development of rural areas  
 4. Under-privileged communities have lagged further behind  
 5. Feudalistic monarchy  
 6. Interests of American imperialism and Indian expansionism  
 97. Don't want to disclose    98. Don't know/Can't say
31. If it is diminishing, what are the reasons behind it? (Select any two out of the list)  
 1. People are losing faith in their movement  
 2. State security forces have gained control over them  
 3. People are gaining confidence over the government  
 97. Don't want to disclose    98. Don't know/Can't say
32. What can be the solution to the Maoist movement?  
 1. Suppression of the Maoist people's army by government forces  
 2. Suppression of the government forces by the Maoist people's army  
 3. Organising a round-table talk  
 4. Accepting constituent assembly by all sides  
 5. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
 97. Don't want to disclose    98. Don't know/Can't say
33. Do you agree that the Maoist movement will be settled through talks?  
 1. Yes    2. No    97. Don't want to disclose    98. Don't know/Can't say
34. Do you know that there have been peace talks before?  
 1. Yes (continue)    2. No    98. Don't know/Can't say

35. If yes, what were the reasons behind the failure of the peace talks?
1. Government was not flexible
  2. Maoist leaders were not flexible
  3. Royal palace was not flexible
  4. Political parties did not want the talks to succeed
  5. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say
36. Do you think that the present government is serious to bring about peace in the country?
1. Yes    2. No    97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say
37. Do you think that the Maoist leaders are serious to bring about peace in the country?
1. Yes    2. No    97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say
38. Do you like any other third party to be involved in peace talks to resolve the situation?
1. Yes    2. No    97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say
39. If you do agree about third party mediation, who do you like to see involved?
1. The United Nations                      2. India                      3. The European Union
  4. Any neutral European country    5. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say
40. If a ceasefire is declared, how will it affect people's daily life?
1. Better safety    2. Worse security                      3. No difference
  5. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say

### **Solution to the Current Political Stalemate**

41. In your opinion, what should be done to rescue the country from the current political turmoil? Please, select one from each stage given below (Read options loudly).

#### **Stage I**

1. Restoration of the dissolved house of representatives
  2. Conducting a fresh election of the house of representatives
  3. Conducting a round table talk between various sides
  4. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say

#### **Stage II**

1. Coalition government including all the national political parties
  2. Interim government including the Maoist and all sides
  3. Forming a government by gaining vote of confidence in the parliament
  4. Forming a government nominated by the king
  5. Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_
97. Don't want to disclose                      98. Don't know/Can't say

#### **Stage III**

1. Amendment to the present constitution is not required
2. Amendment to the present constitution is required

3. Formulation of a new constitution (continue)

4. Other (Specify)

97. Don't want to disclose

98. Don't know/Can't say

42. If you are in a favour of formulation of a new constitution, what should be a process to be adopted to formulate it? (Read options loudly)

1. From a commission founded by the king

2. From a commission founded by the house of representatives

3. From a constitution draft committee

4. From a constituent assembly

5. Other (Specify)

97. Don't want to disclose

98. Don't know/Can't say