

# Nepal Contemporary Political Situation V: Nationwide Opinion Survey

Sudhindra Sharma and Pawan Kumar Sen  
Interdisciplinary Analysts

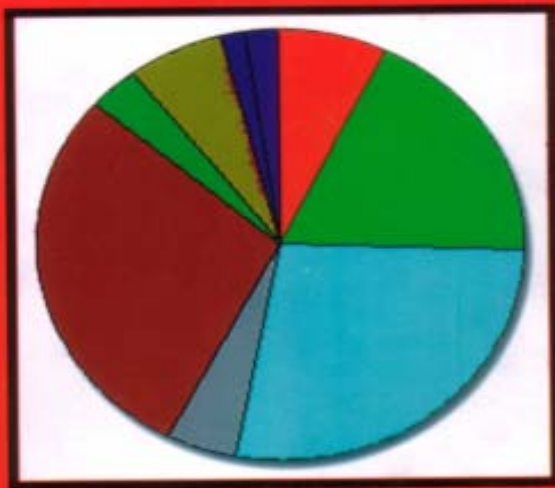
## Nepal Contemporary Political Situation (NCPS)

- ï NCPS is a longitudinal opinion poll undertaken by Interdisciplinary Analysts (IDA) since December 2004.
- ï The longitudinal opinion poll has, among others, helped map the shifts in public opinion.
- ï The aim is to bring the people's opinions into the public domain and thereby inform the political parties, government and other stakeholders on what the average Nepali man and woman thinks.
- ï The Asia Foundation (TAF) has been a long-term partner of IDA in this effort.

# IDA's Involvement in Nationwide Opinion Surveys

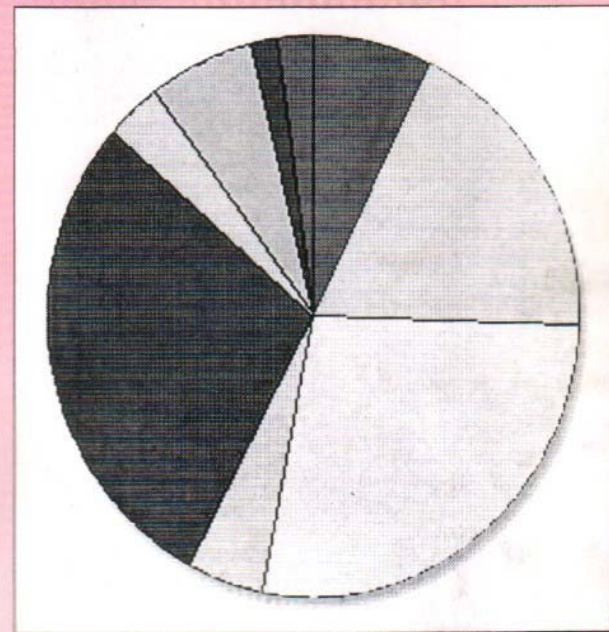
1. 1999 General Election Opinion Poll: How Voters Assess Politics, Parties and Politicians (Fieldwork: [February 1999](#); Published: April 1999)
2. Nepal Contemporary Political Situation I: Opinion Poll Report (Fieldwork: [December 2004](#); Published: March 2005)
3. Nepal Contemporary Political Situation II: Opinion Poll Report (Fieldwork: [January 2006](#); Published: April 2006)
4. Nepal Contemporary Political Situation III: Opinion Poll Report (Fieldwork: [September 2006](#); Published: December 2006)
5. Nepal Contemporary Political Situation IV: Opinion Poll Report (Fieldwork: [January 2007](#); Published: April 2007)
6. People's Perception of Safety in Nepal (Fieldwork: [May 2007](#))
7. Drivers of Legitimacy (Fieldwork: [July 2007](#))
8. Nepal Contemporary Political Situation V: Opinion Poll Report (Fieldwork: [January 2008](#))

आम निर्वाचन २०५६ को मत सर्वेक्षण  
मतदाताहरूको दृष्टिमा राजनीति,  
राजनीतिक दल र राजनीतिज्ञहरू



सुधिन्द्र शर्मा  
पवनकुमार सेन

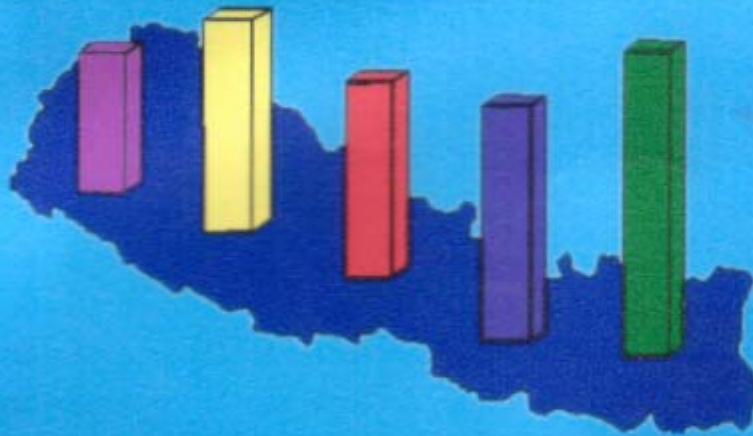
**1999 General Election Opinion Poll**  
**How Voters Assess Politics,**  
**Parties and Politicians**



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

# Nepal Contemporary Political Situation

Opinion Poll Report

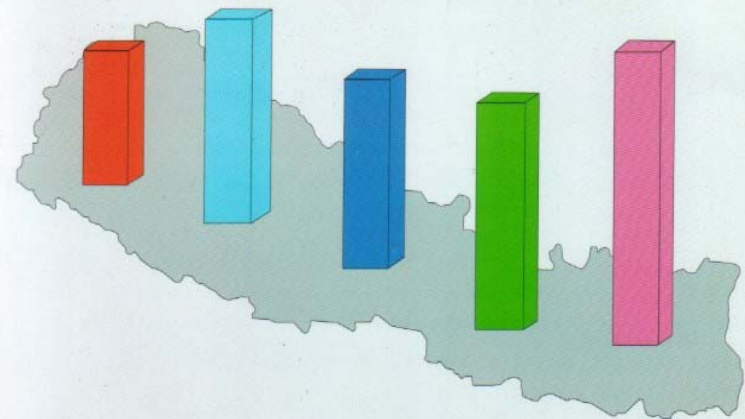


Sudhindra Sharma  
Pawan Kumar Sen

2005

# Nepal Contemporary Political Situation – II

Opinion Poll Report



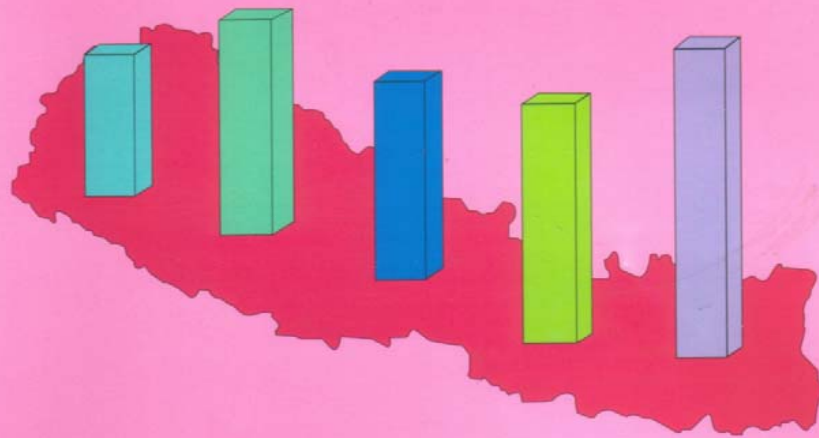
Sudhindra Sharma  
Pawan Kumar Sen

*Interdisciplinary Analysts*

2006

# Nepal Contemporary Political Situation – III

Opinion Poll Report



**Sudhindra Sharma  
Pawan Kumar Sen**

*Interdisciplinary Analysts*

# Nepal Contemporary Political Situation – IV

Opinion Poll Report



**Sudhindra Sharma  
Pawan Kumar Sen**

*Interdisciplinary Analysts*

# Questions

- ï How do the people assess the overall direction of the country?
- ï What do they think are some of the biggest problems facing the country?
- ï What is the level of trust of the public towards the government? What is their level of trust towards the various organizations and institutions?
- ï How do they assess the present government and what do they see as its strengths and its weaknesses?
- ï Do they see the political environment as being free of fear and intimidation?
- ï Who do the people blame for the repeated postponement of constituent assembly elections?
- ï What is their take on issues associated with state re-structuring, such as monarchy, relationship between the state and religion, identity, election system and unitary versus federal structure?
- ï What are their thoughts on agitation-movements ñ Madhesi movement and Janajati movement?

# Objectives

- ï To document the public's level of trust towards the present government.
- ï To identify what the public perceives as the major challenges facing Nepal.
- ï To identify what the public perceives as the major challenges at the local level.
- ï To document the public's perception towards the various movements such as the madhesi people, janajati people, etc. including the state's response towards these.
- ï To document the public's perception towards issues related to state restructuring.
- ï To suggest to the government, various political parties, donors and other stakeholders what their priorities should be during the transition period that Nepal is currently going through.



# Field duration

- ï Pre-test: 16 December 2007
- ï Orientation training: 18-19, December 2007
- ï Commencement of fieldwork: 23 December 2007
- ï Completion of fieldwork: 12 January 2008

# Pictures from the fieldwork



Achham



Sarlahi



धादिङ



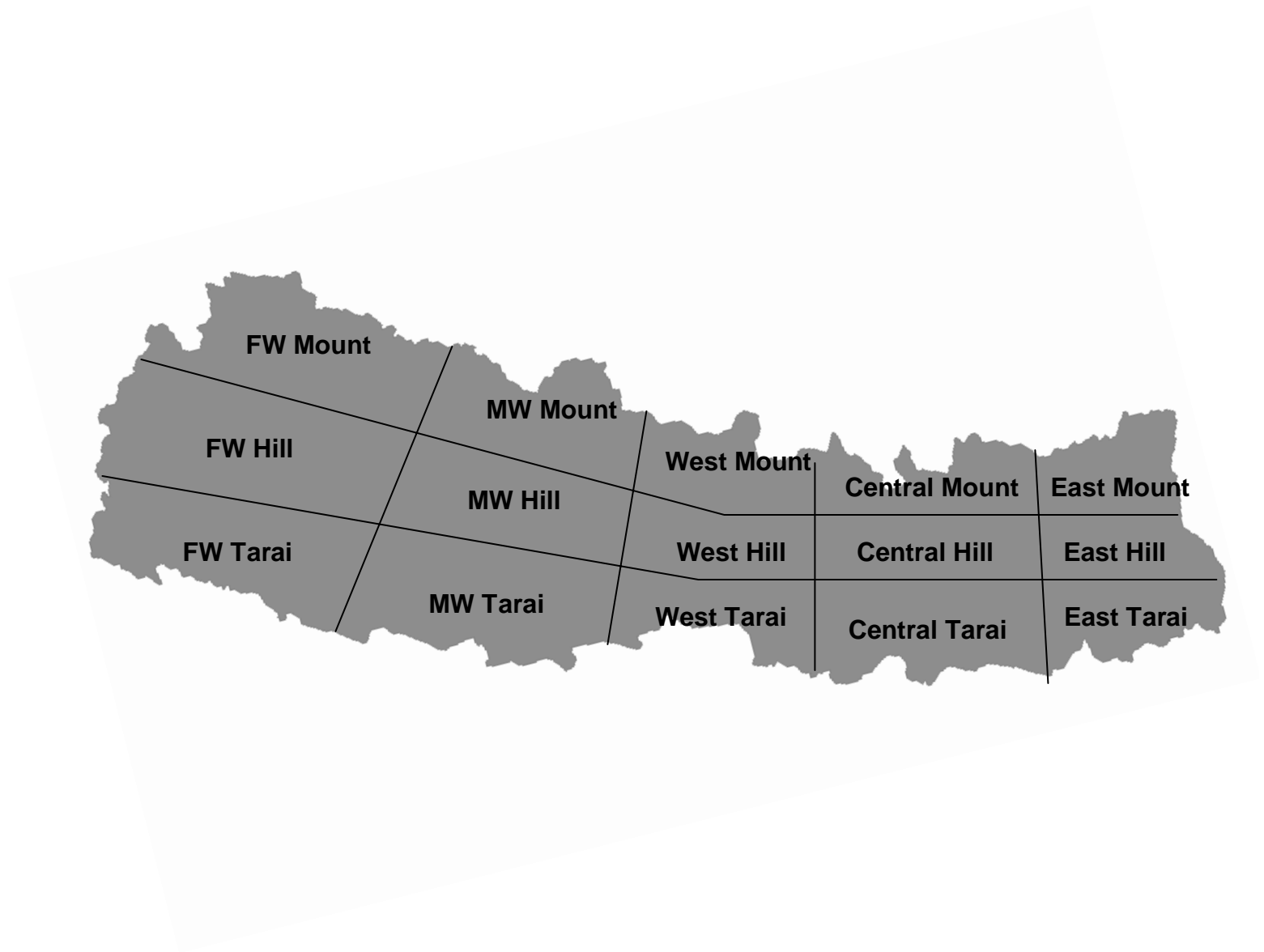
नवलपरासी

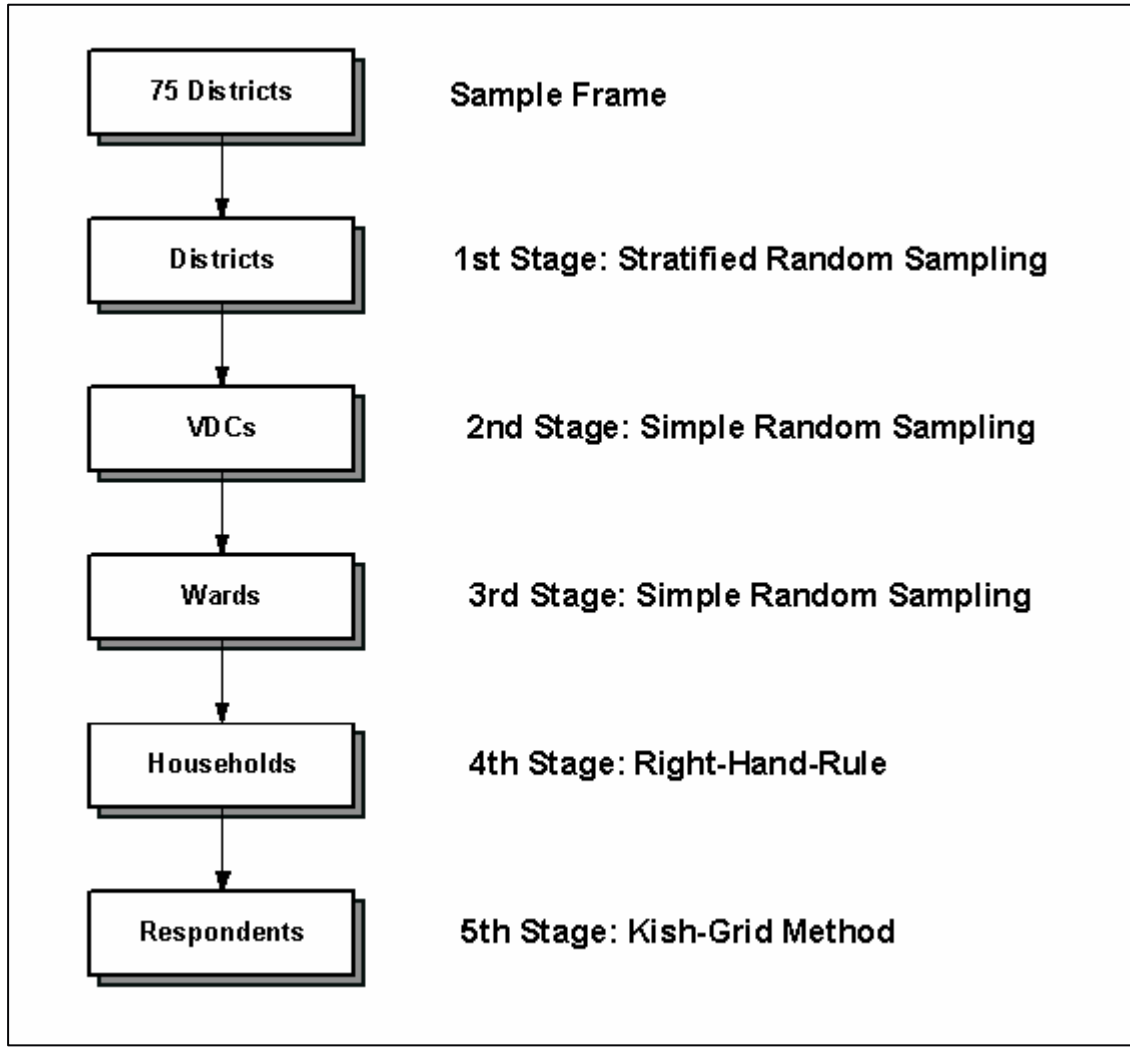
# Larger political context at the time of fieldwork

- December 23, 2007 ñ (i) Top leaders of the seven-party alliance and Maoists reached a 23-point agreement to end political deadlock and hold the constituent assembly elections by mid-April 2008.
- December 27, 2007 ñ United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) said that the joint monitoring team disqualified 12,648 Maoist combatants from being the members of the Maoists People's Liberation Army members during the process of verification.
- December 28, 2007 ñ (i) The interim parliament approved a bill for the third amendment to the interim constitution. After this amendment Nepal turned into a federal democratic republic, to be implemented by the first meeting of the constituent assembly. The amendment also cleared the way of holding CA elections in mid-April. (ii) Leader Mahantha Thakur announced the launch of a new political party called Tarai-Madhes Democratic Party (TMDP) for safeguarding identity, rights and dignity of the Madhesi people. Thakur resigned as a senior cabinet minister and a NC lawmaker to launch the regional party.
- January 4, 2008 ñ (i) A meeting of the seven-party alliance decided to hold joint mass meetings in different cities across the country to create a conducive environment for the constituent assembly elections. (ii) Tarai-Madhes Democratic Party (TMDP) handed over an 11-point memorandum to Prime Minister Koirala and gave him an ultimatum to fulfill it by January 18.
- January 10, 2008 ñ Prime Minister Koirala expanded cabinet by nominating three new ministers and five state ministers.
- On January 11 ñ (i) Government decided to hold the constituent assembly elections on April 10, 2008. (ii) The Cabinet also decided to send the disqualified Maoist's PLA combatants to home by mid-February.

# Survey Methodology

- ❖ Closed-questionnaire
- ❖ Sample size = 3,010 respondents
- ❖ Randomly selected 30 districts
- ❖ Selected sample represents 5 development regions and 3 geographic regions
- ❖ Probability proportionate to size
- ❖ Margin of error: + / - 1.8 (at the national level)

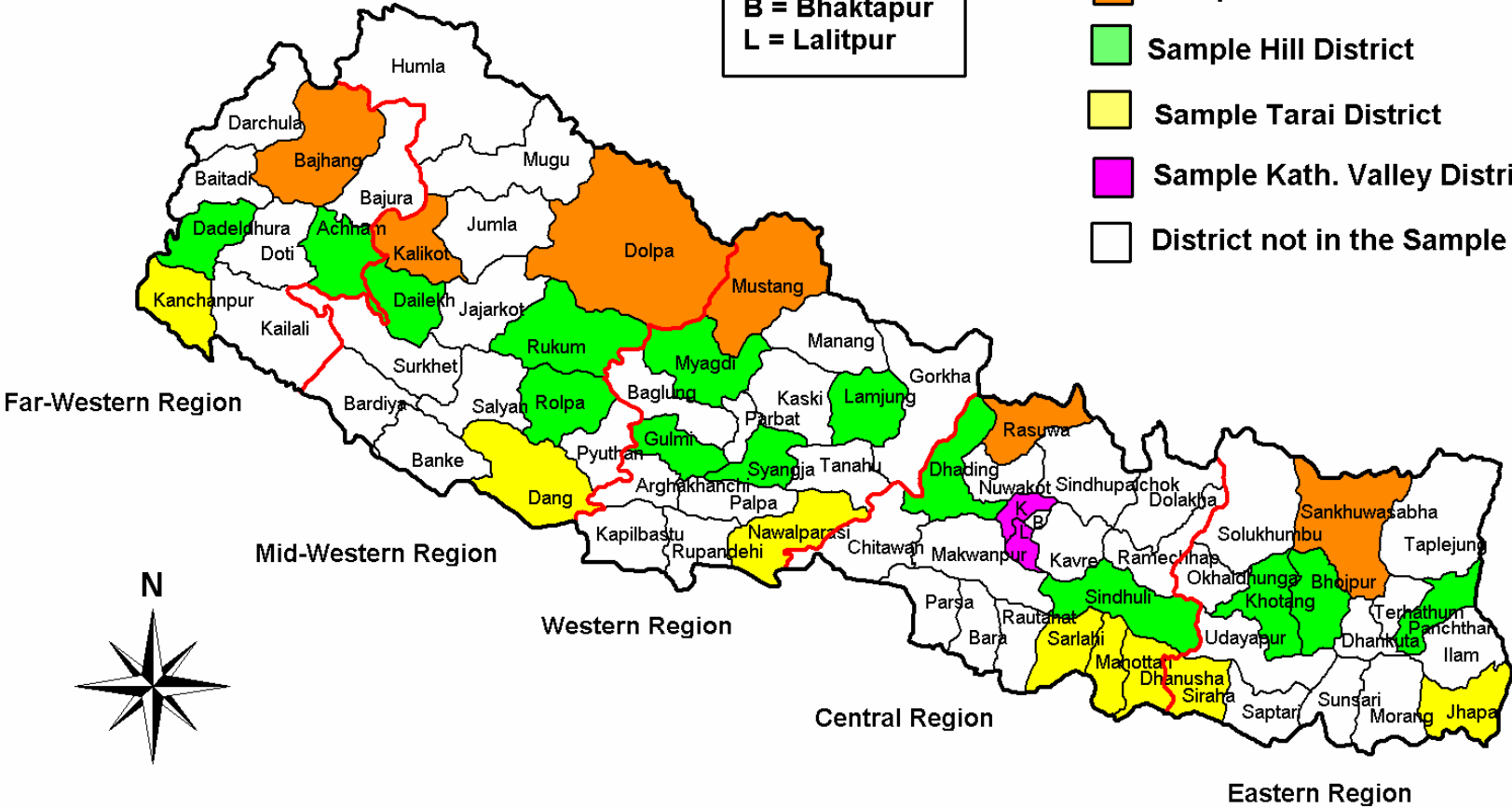




# Sample Distribution (District Level)

K = Kathmandu  
B = Bhaktapur  
L = Lalitpur

- Sample Mountain District
- Sample Hill District
- Sample Tarai District
- Sample Kath. Valley District
- District not in the Sample



NEPAL



## Demographic characteristics

Sex	Population (%)	Sample (%)
Female	50.1	49.8
Male	49.9	50.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Residence	Population (%)	Sample (%)
Rural	86.1	85.1
Urban	13.9	14.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Age Group	Population (%)	Sample (%)
20-29	33.9	28.5
30-39	24.7	26.8
40-49	17.4	19.7
50-59	11.9	13.9
60-69	7.5	8.0
70+	4.6	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0

## Demographic characteristics

Development Region	Population (%)	Sample (%)
Eastern	23.1	21.4
Central	34.7	40.6
Western	19.7	15.8
Mid-Western	13.0	12.7
Far-Western	9.5	9.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Ecological Region	Population (%)	Sample (%)
Mountain	7.3	5.5
Hill	44.3	47.7
Tarai	48.4	46.7
Total	100.0	100.0

## Demographic characteristics

Religion	Population (%)	Sample (%)
Hindu	80.7	86.8
Buddhist	10.7	6.4
Islam	4.2	2.7
Kirat	3.6	3.0
Christianity	0.5	1.1
Atheist	0.0	0.1
Others	0.3	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

## Demographic characteristics

Educational Status	Sample (%)
Illiterate	38.1
Literate (without formal edu.)	14.4
Primary	13.6
Lower sec.	9.4
Secondary	6.1
SLC completed	10.9
Inter.	5.5
Bachelor's and above	2.0
Total	100.0

## Demographic characteristics

Caste/Ethnicity	Population (%)	Sample (%)	Weight
Chhetri	15.80	16.45	0.9608
Bahun	12.74	15.12	0.8428
Magar	7.14	8.41	0.8495
Newar	5.48	7.24	0.7566
Yadav	3.94	5.68	0.6935
Tamang	5.64	4.75	1.1872
Tharu	6.75	4.15	1.6254
Kami/Biswokarma	3.94	3.09	1.2752
Gurung	2.39	2.82	0.8463
Muslim	4.27	2.62	1.6269
Rai	2.79	2.49	1.1197
Thakuri	1.47	2.43	0.6061
Limbu	1.58	1.76	0.8973
Damai/Pariyar	1.72	1.76	0.9768

## Demographic characteristics

Caste/Ethnicity	Population (%)	Sample (%)	Weight
Teli	1.34	1.66	0.8067
Dhanuk	0.83	1.23	0.6752
Musahar	0.76	0.96	0.7888
Tarai Brahman	0.59	0.93	0.6343
Sudhi	0.40	0.93	0.4300
Mallah	0.51	0.90	0.5686
Kurmi	0.94	0.83	1.1318
Hajam	0.43	0.80	0.5393
Lohar	0.36	0.76	0.4711
Bhujel	0.52	0.70	0.7453
Koiri	1.11	0.70	1.5910
Kalwar	0.51	0.70	0.7310
Sarki/Mijar	1.40	0.63	2.2179
Majhi	0.32	0.56	0.5666
Chamar/Harijan	1.19	0.56	2.1070

## Demographic characteristics

Caste/Ethnicity	Population (%)	Sample (%)	Weight
Nuniya	0.29	0.56	0.5135
Kanu	0.42	0.53	0.7901
Baniya	0.55	0.53	1.0347
Danuwar	0.23	0.50	0.4615
Dusadh	0.70	0.50	1.4047
Sonar	0.64	0.47	1.3760
Tatma	0.34	0.40	0.8528
Barahi	0.16	0.37	0.4378
Kewat	0.60	0.37	1.6418
Khatwe	0.33	0.37	0.9030
Rajbansi	0.42	0.27	1.5803
Kumal	0.44	0.23	1.8920
Chepang	0.23	0.23	0.9890
Sanyasi	0.88	0.23	3.7840
Thakali	0.06	0.20	0.3010

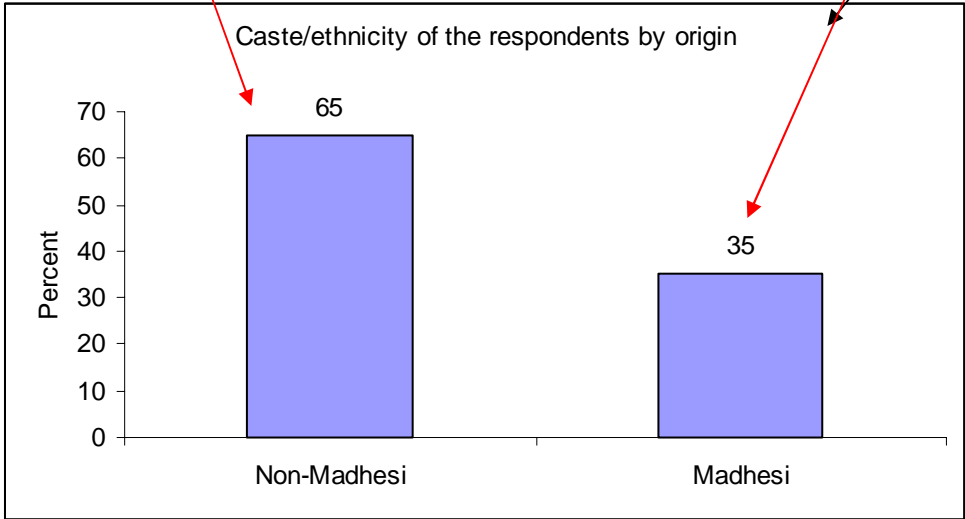
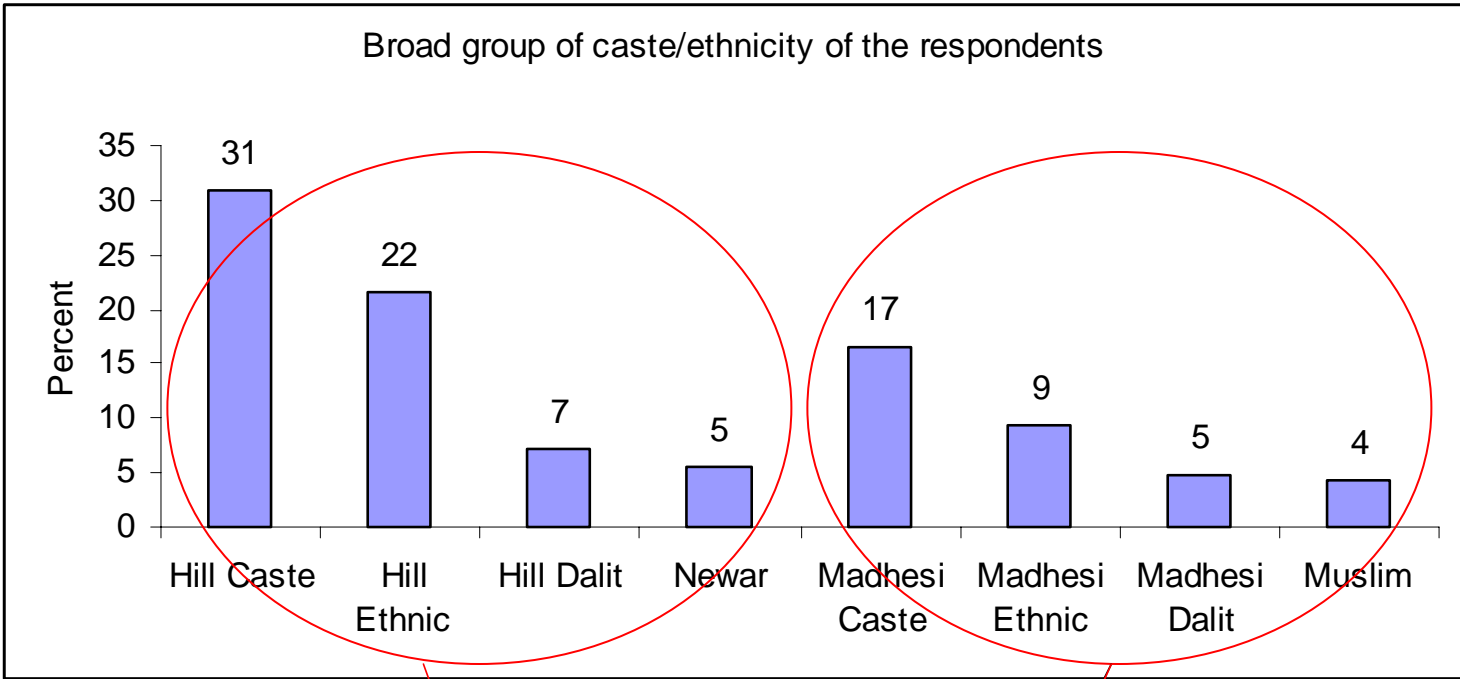
## Demographic characteristics

Caste/Ethnicity	Population (%)	Sample (%)	Weight
Kumhar	0.24	0.20	1.2040
Kayastha	0.20	0.17	1.2040
Sherpa	0.76	0.13	5.7190
Sunuwar	0.42	0.13	3.1605
Badi	0.02	0.13	0.1505
Tajpuriya	0.06	0.13	0.4515
Satar	0.19	0.10	1.9063
Haluwai	0.22	0.10	2.2073
Kahar	0.15	0.10	1.5050
Darai	0.07	0.07	1.0535
Bantar	0.16	0.07	2.4080
Dhobi	0.32	0.07	4.8160
Dhimal	0.09	0.03	2.7090
Marwadi	0.19	0.03	5.7190
Meche	0.02	0.03	0.6020

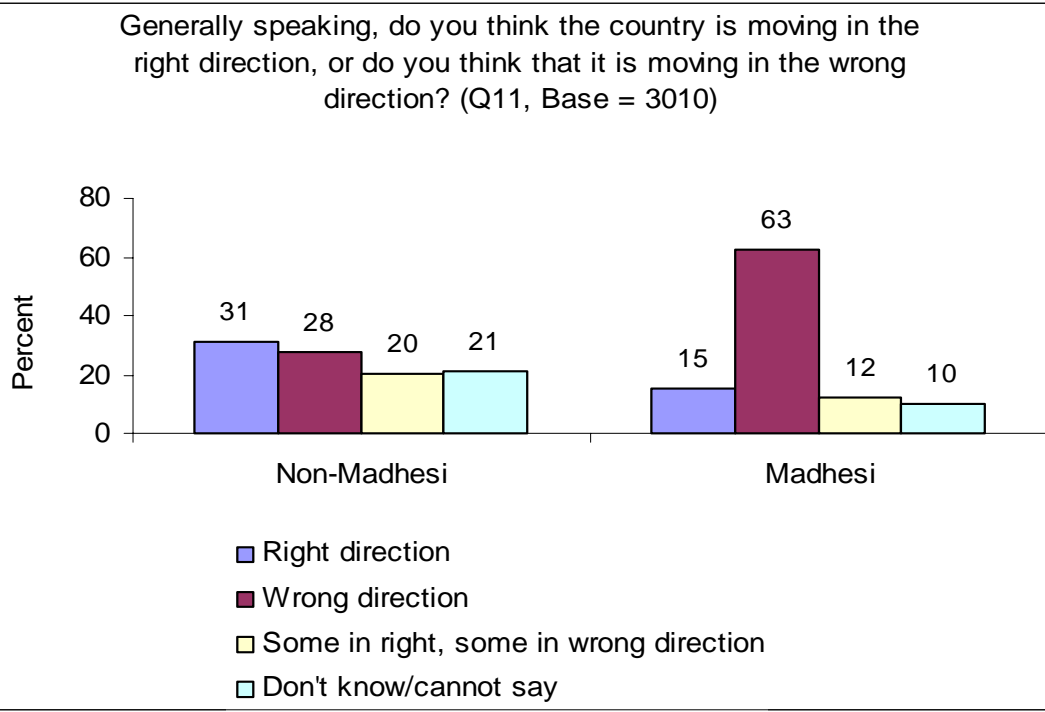
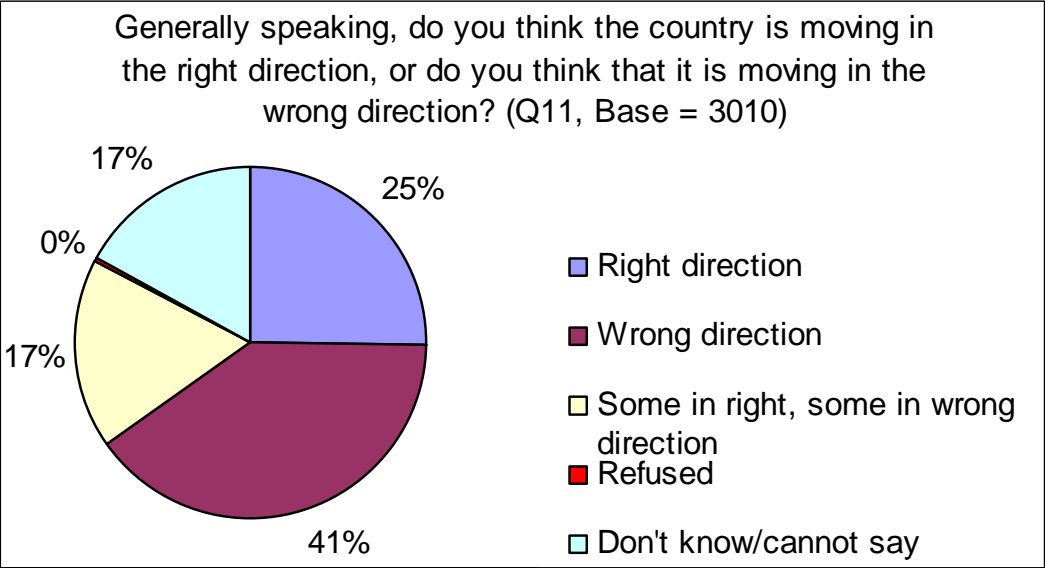


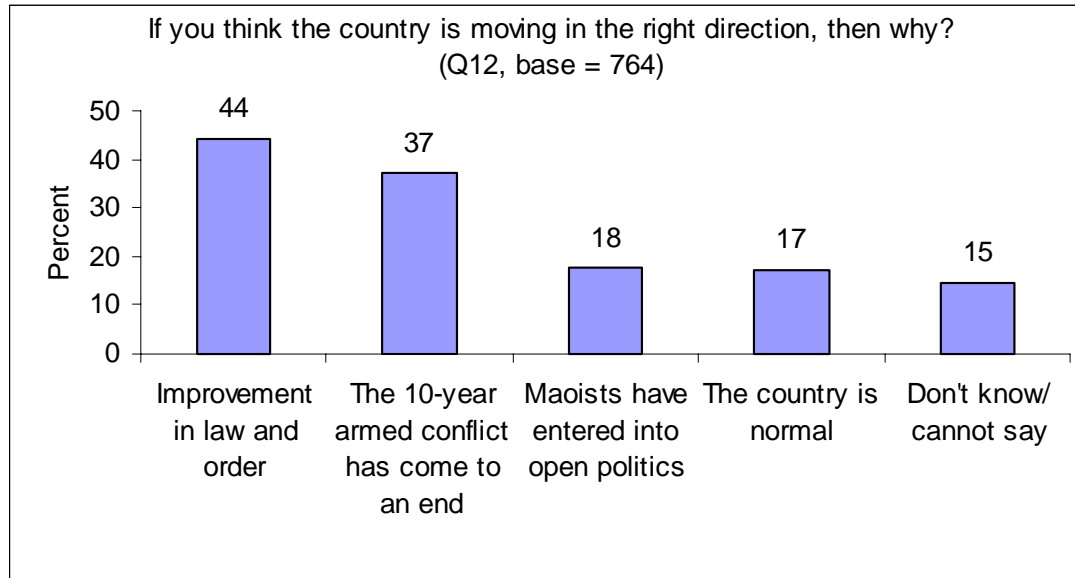
## Demographic characteristics

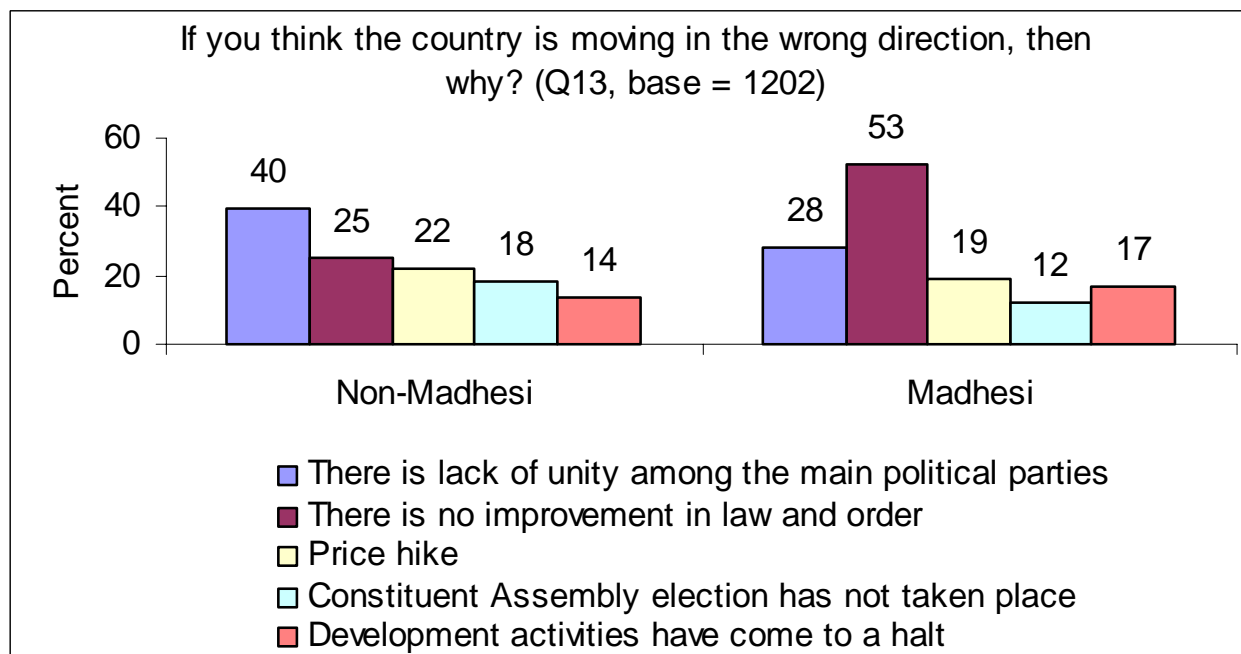
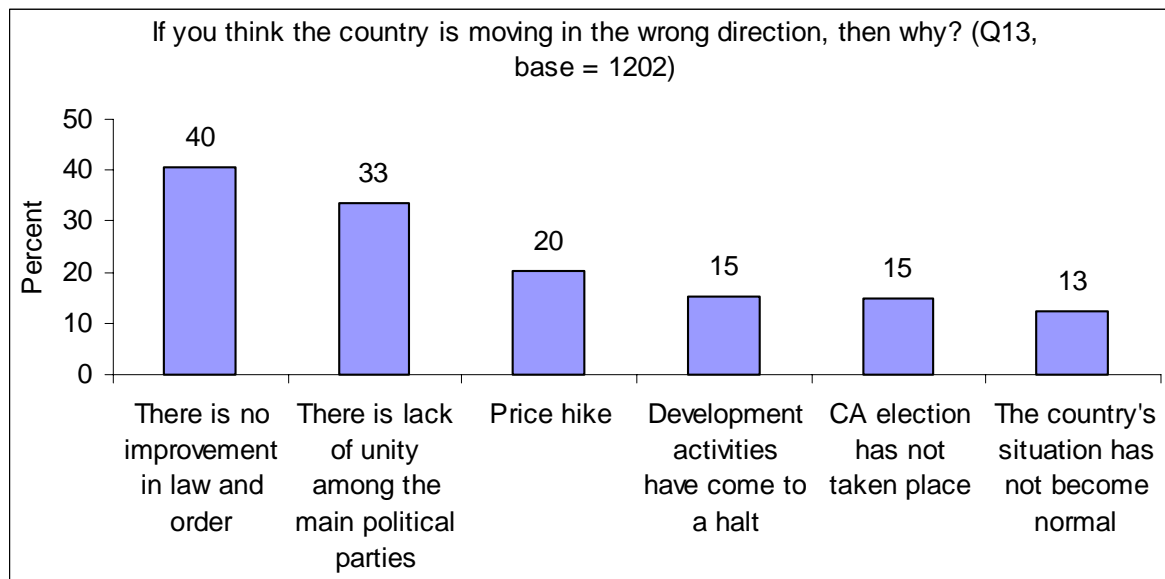
Caste/Ethnicity	Population (%)	Sample (%)	Weight
Rajput	0.21	0.03	6.3210
Rajbhar	0.11	0.03	3.3110
Bhediya	0.08	0.03	2.4080
Mali	0.05	0.03	1.5050
Sikh	0.01	0.03	0.3010
Others	3.28	0.96	3.4044
Total	100.00	100.00	

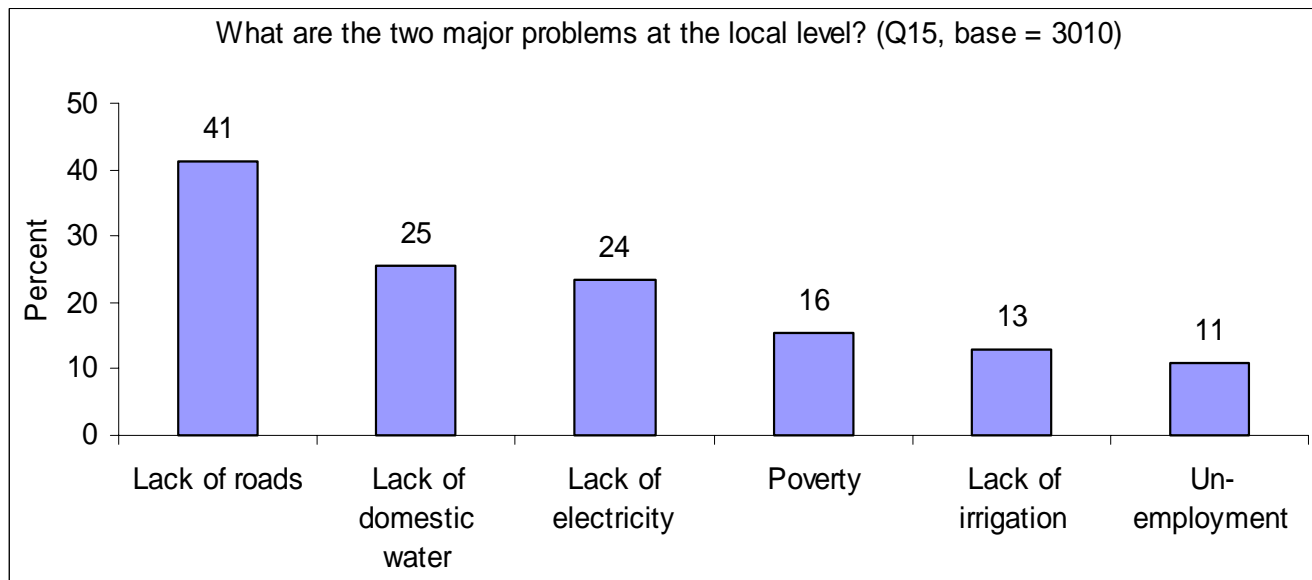
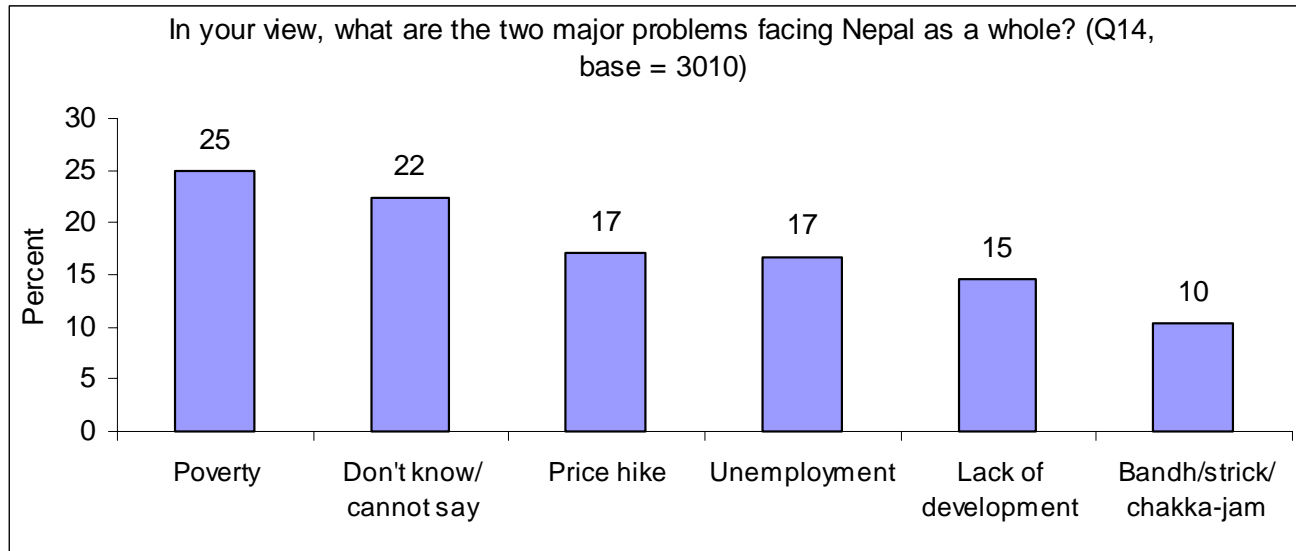


# Country's overall direction and challenges







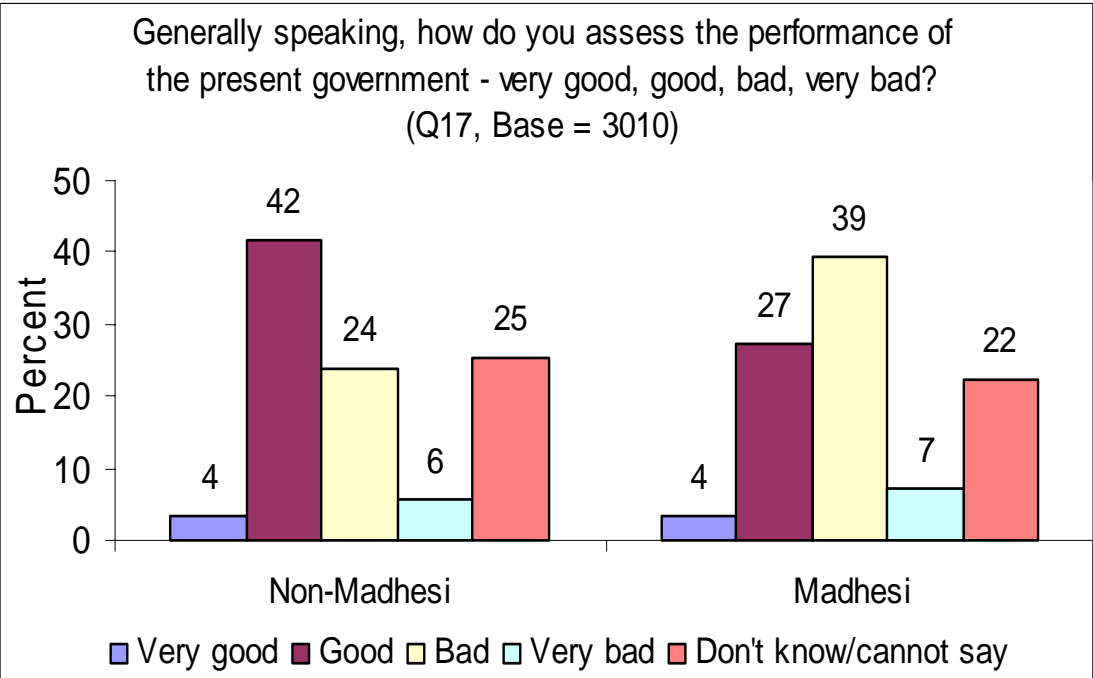
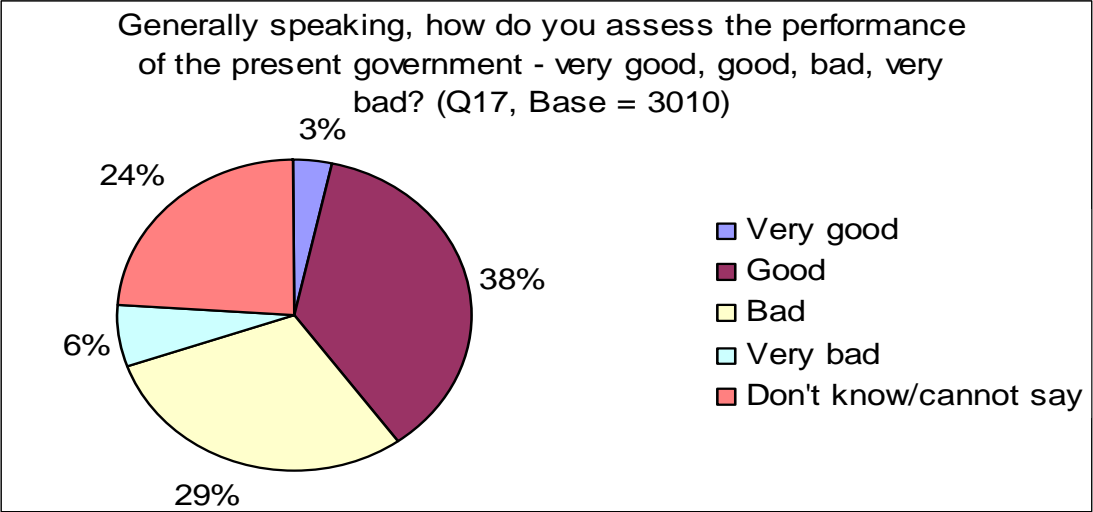


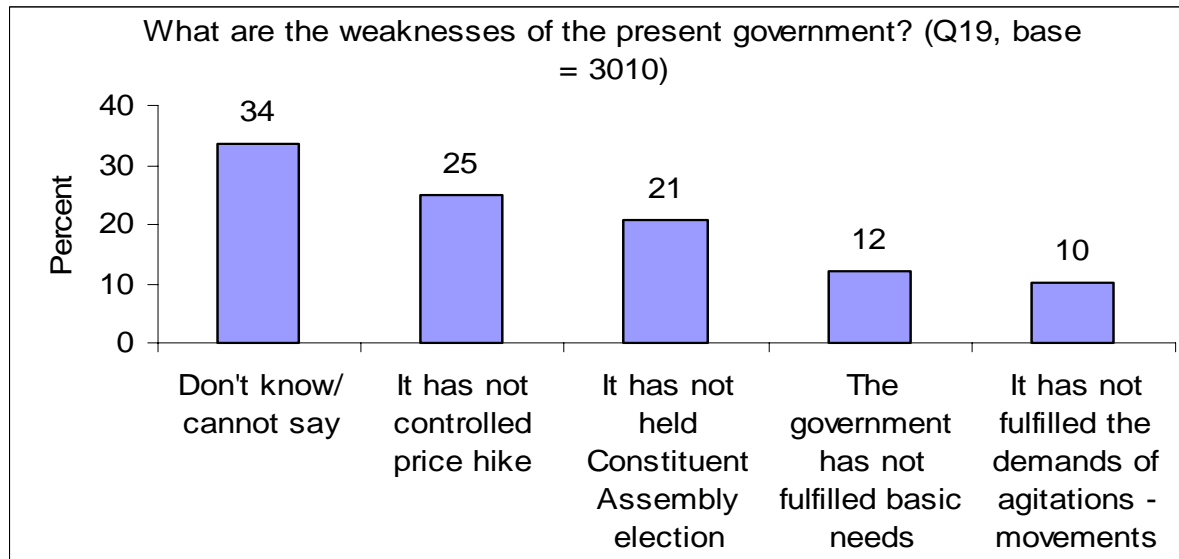
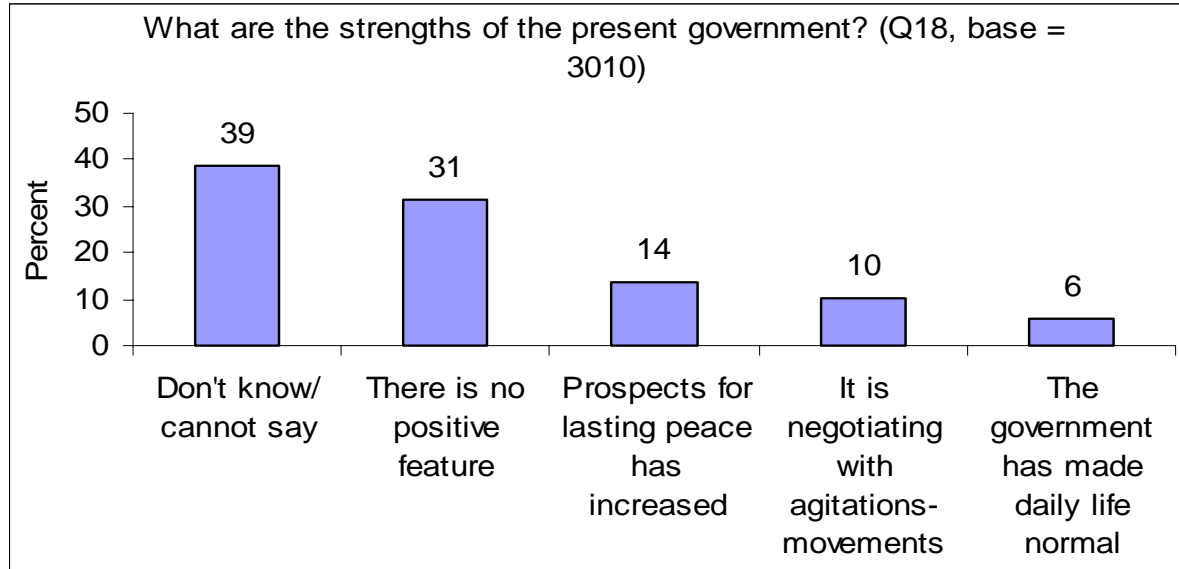
# Assessing the government and various institutions



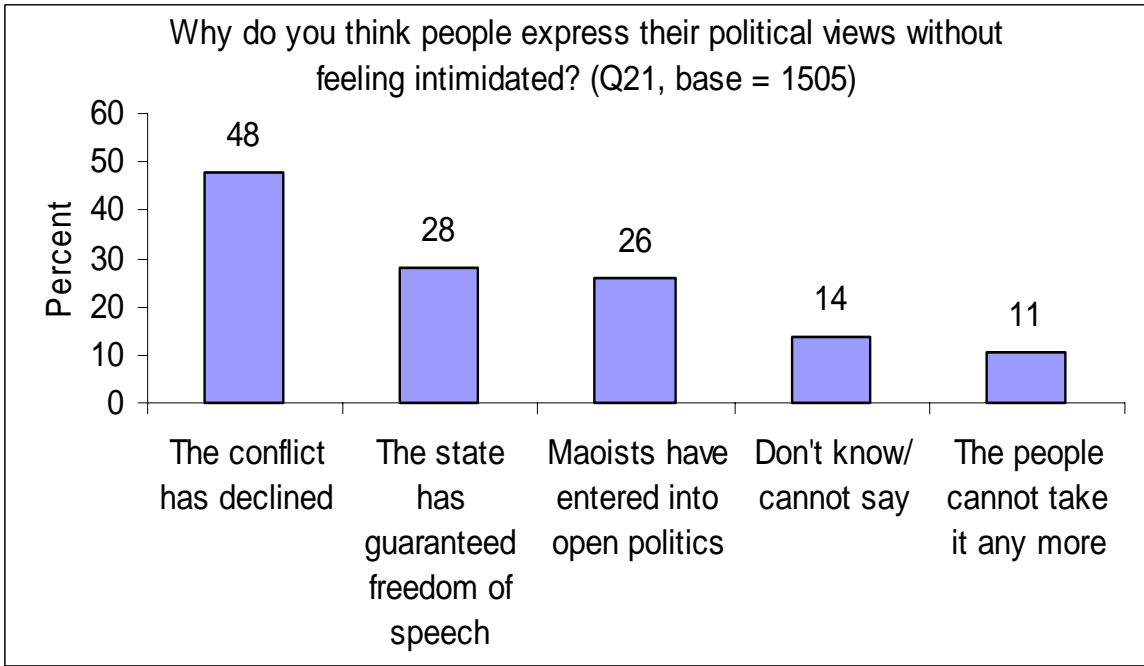
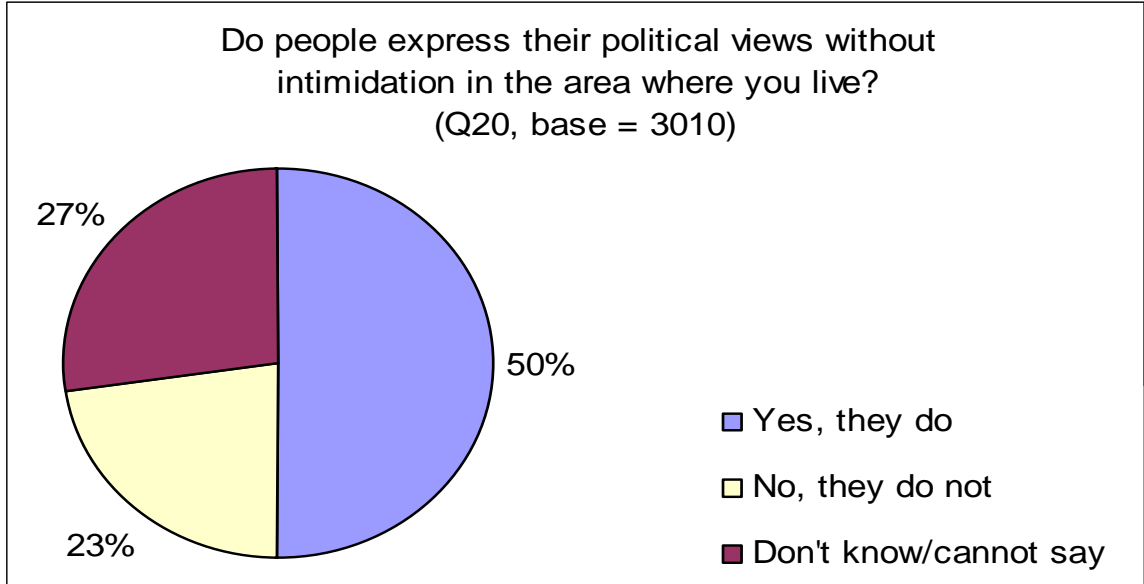
I am going to ask you about some of the organizations and associations of our country. What is the level of trust towards these organizations and associations ñ trust very much, trust somewhat, not much trust or no trust at all?  
(Q16, base = 3010)

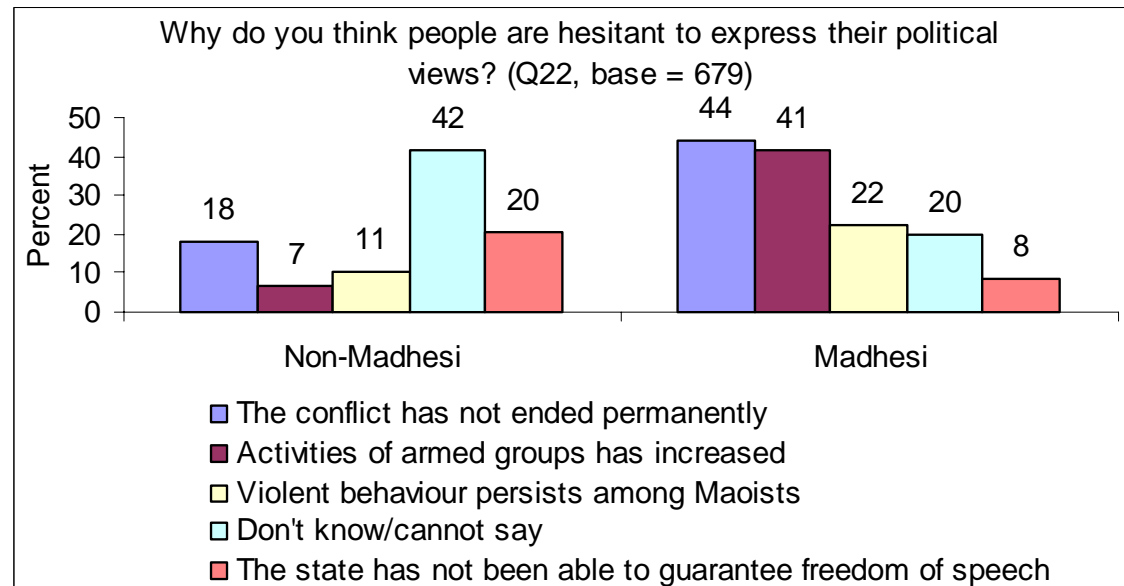
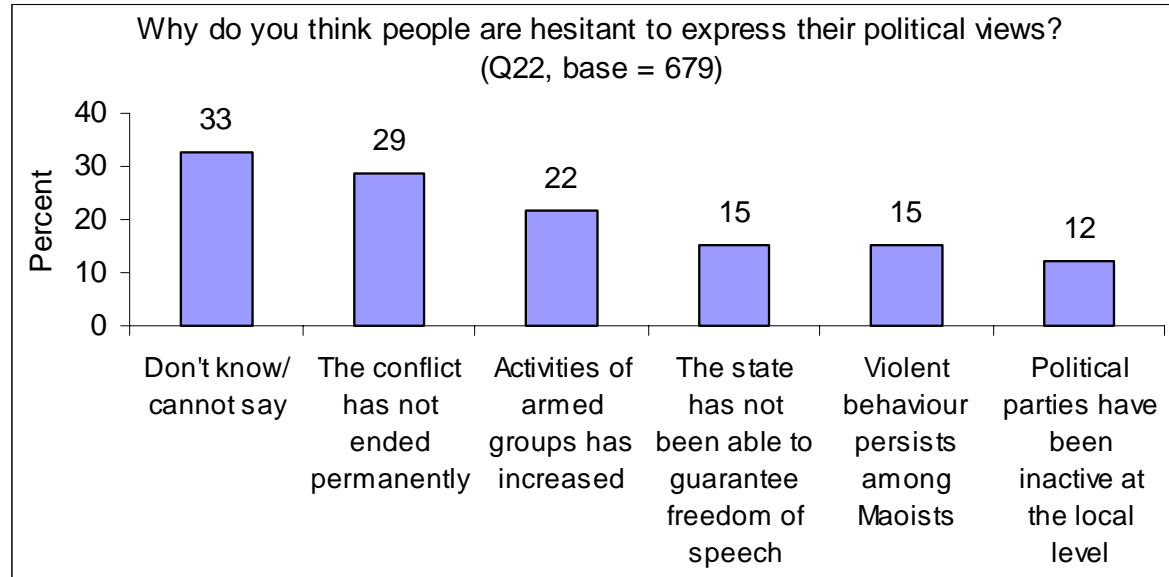
Q16	Trust very much	Trust somewhat	Not much trust	No trust at all	Refuse	Don't know
Legislative Parliament	3.4	22.0	15.5	22.2	0.1	36.8
Cabinet	3.2	21.5	16.4	28	0.1	30.8
Civil service	8.0	28.5	19.1	15.5	0.0	28.9
Nepal Police	11.8	36.9	19.7	19.2	0.0	12.4
Nepali Army	14.5	38.1	17.2	16.6	0.0	13.6
Judiciary	13.1	34.3	16.0	13.2	0.1	23.4
NGOs	10.1	32.9	17.5	9.7	0.1	29.7
Human rights activists	13.5	34.0	12.7	8.2	0.1	31.5
Media persons	20.1	37.4	12.5	6.1	0.0	23.8
Religious organizations	20.8	33.2	13.2	9.4	0.0	23.4
Ethnic organizations	17.8	34.0	13.2	11.4	0.0	23.5
Civil Society	16.4	32.6	12.0	6.0	0.1	32.8



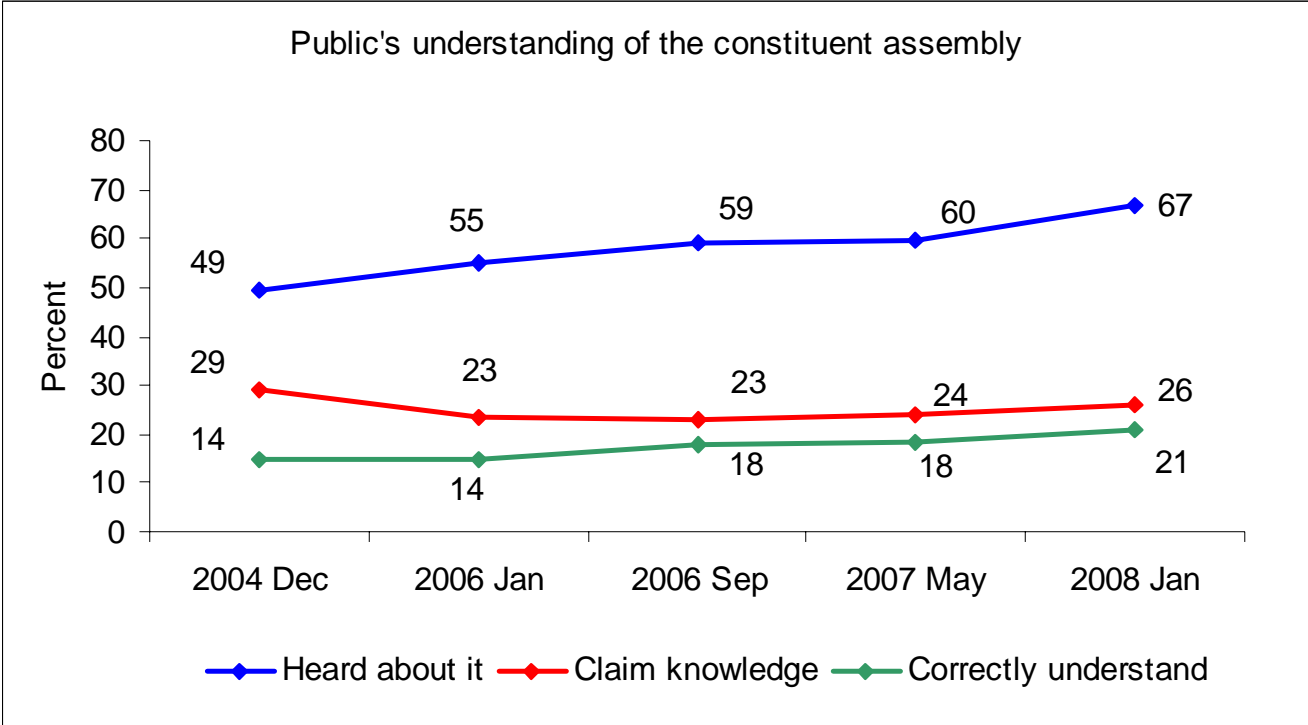


# Political intimidation



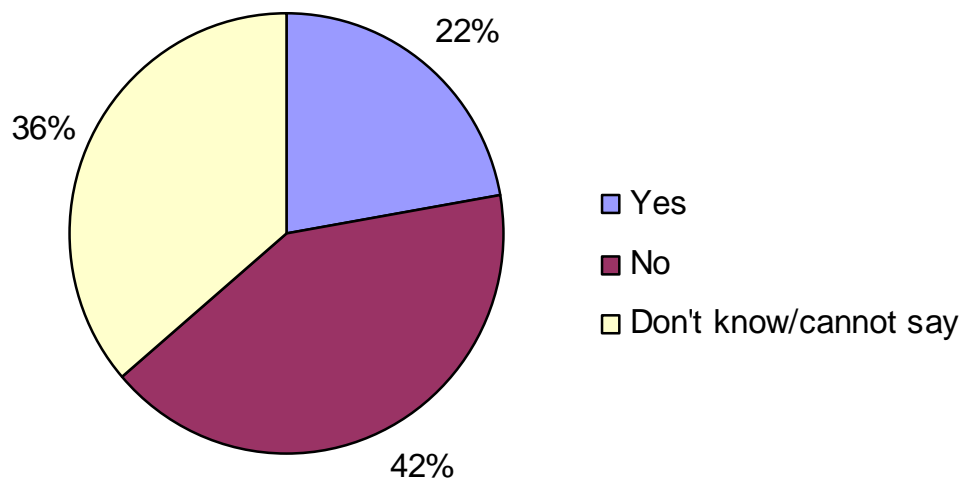


# Constituent assembly

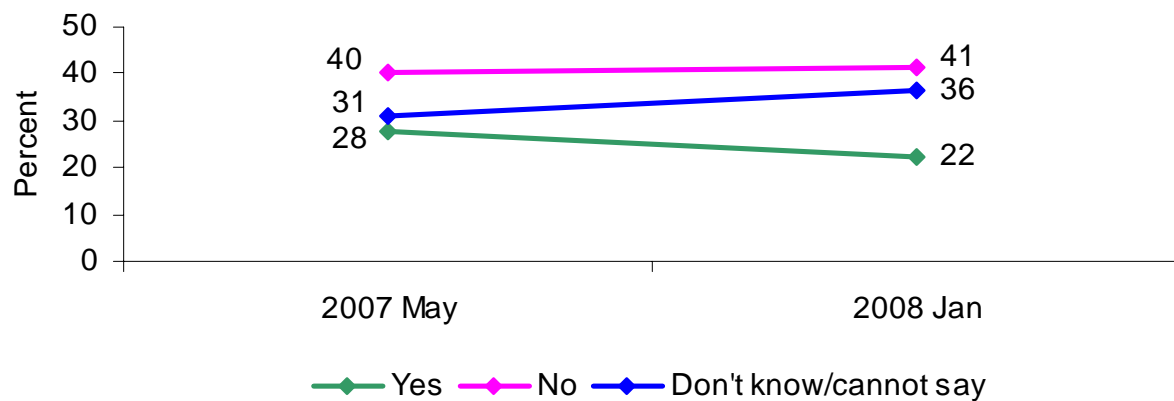




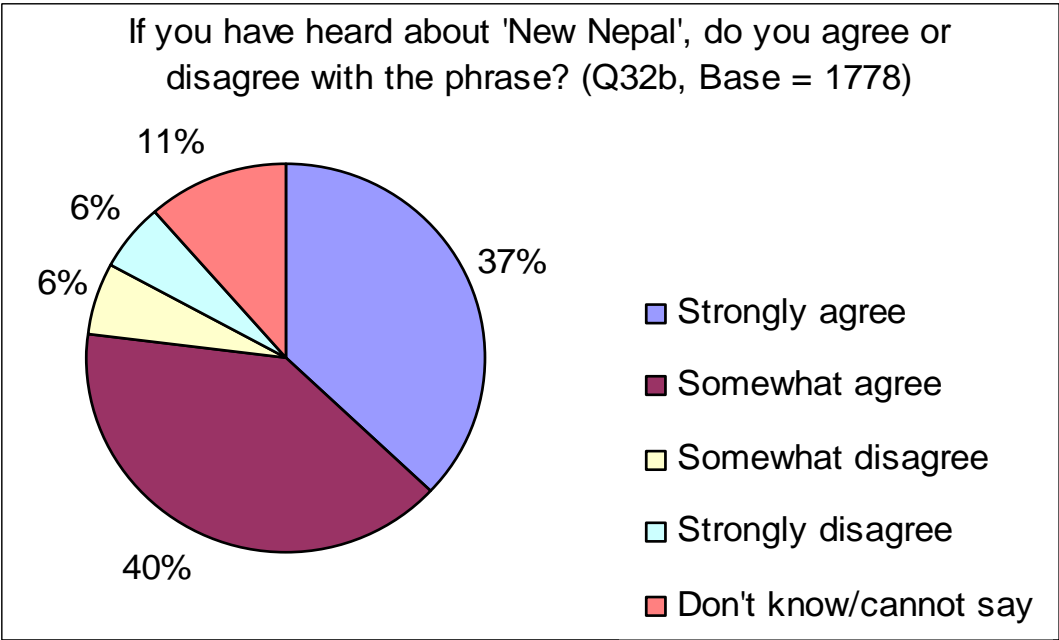
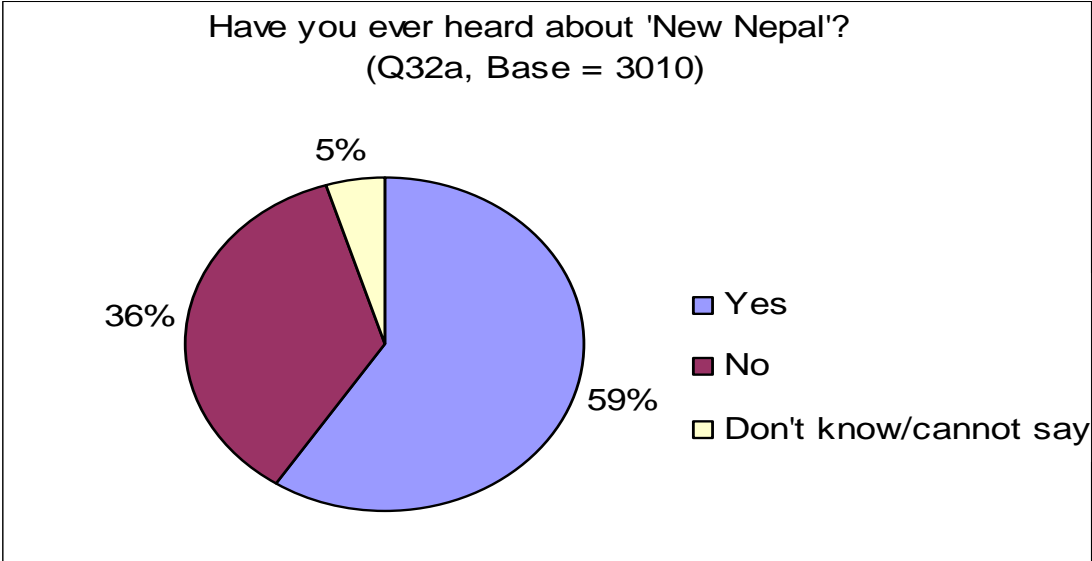
Do you think that elections for constituent assembly can be held within the next six months? (Q31, Base = 2016)



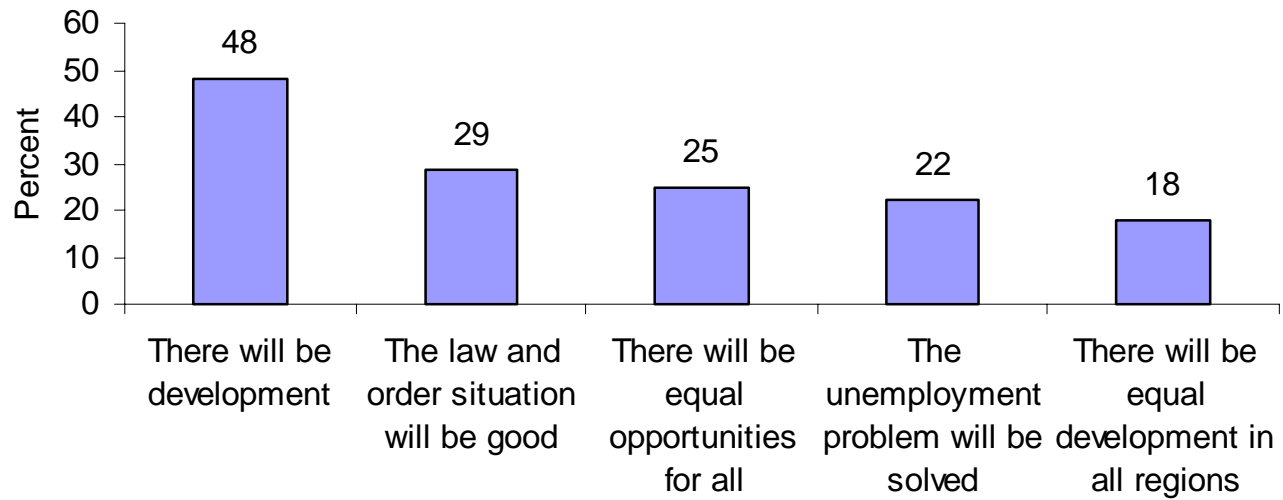
Do you think that elections for constituent assembly will be held within the next six months?



# Perceptions regarding 'New Nepal'



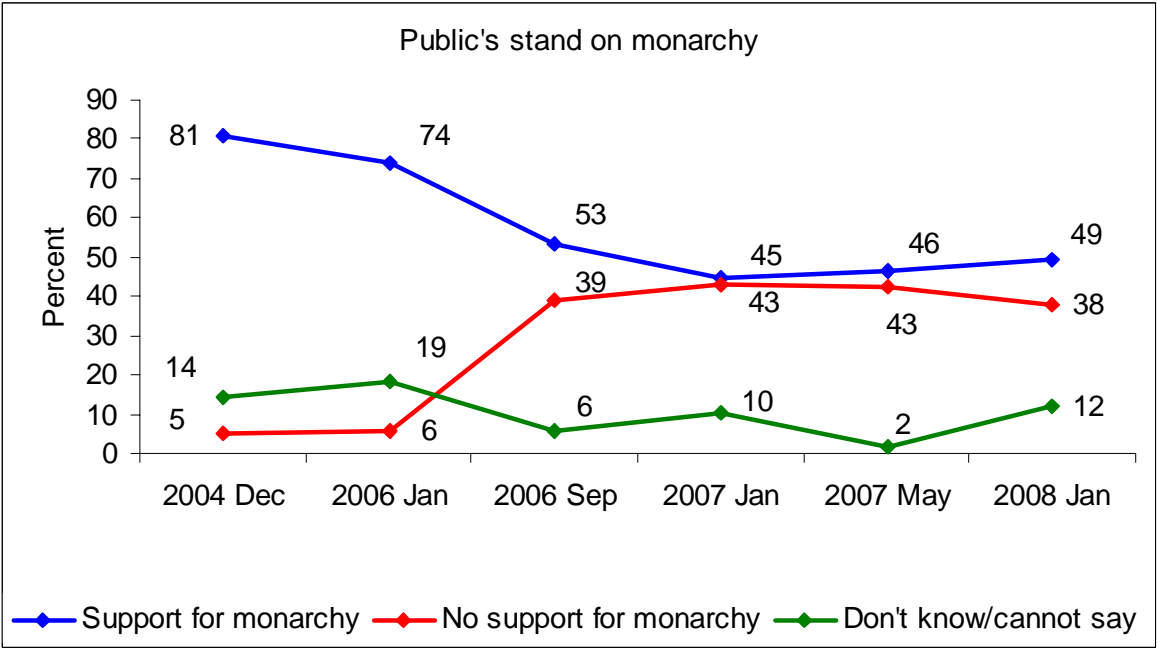
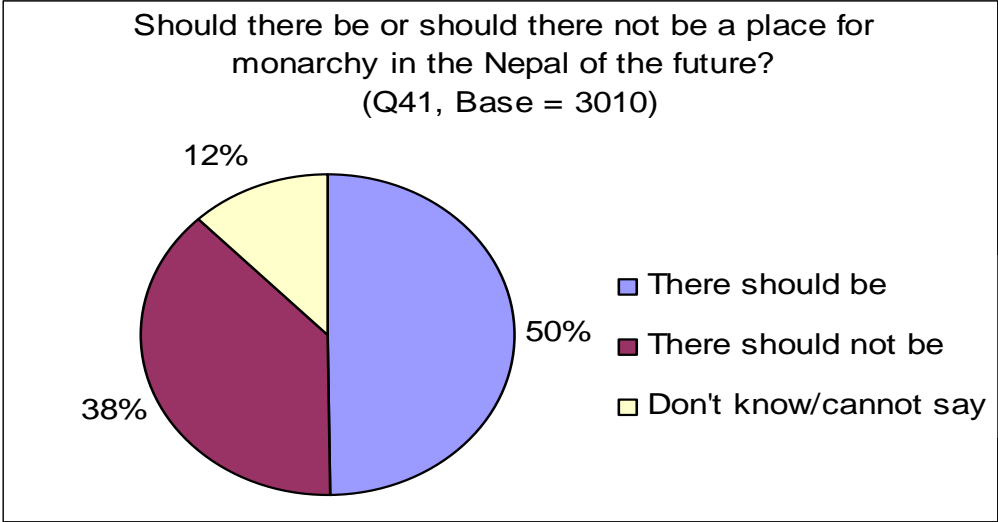
If you strongly agree or somewhat agree with the phrase 'New Nepal',  
what do you expect from 'New Nepal'? (Q32c, base = 1365)

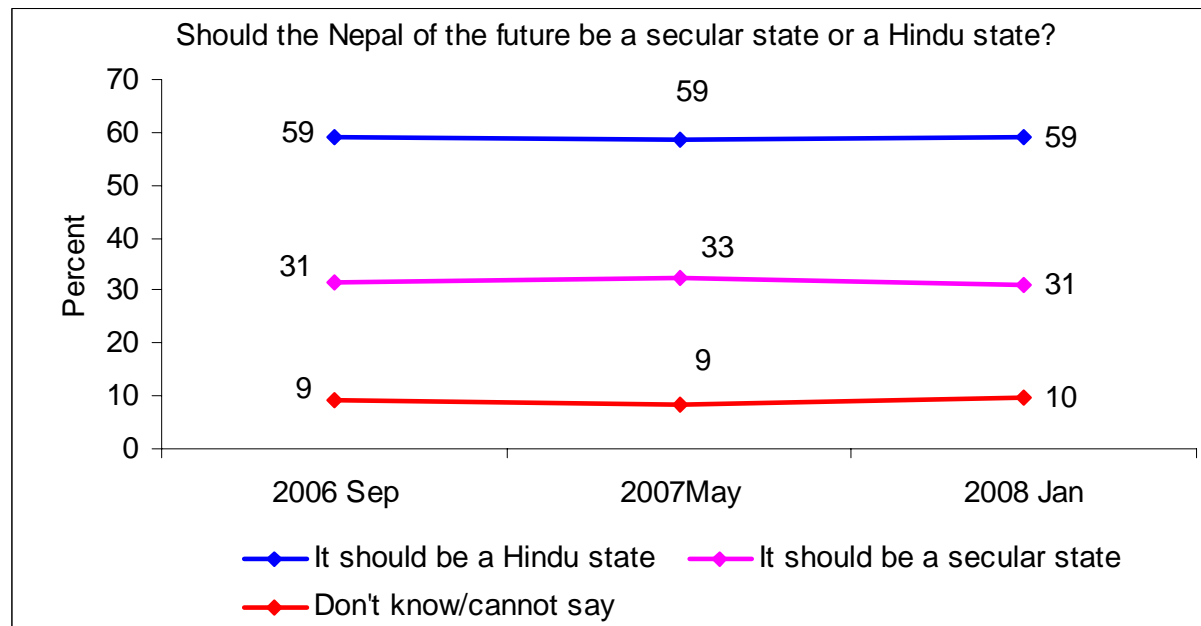
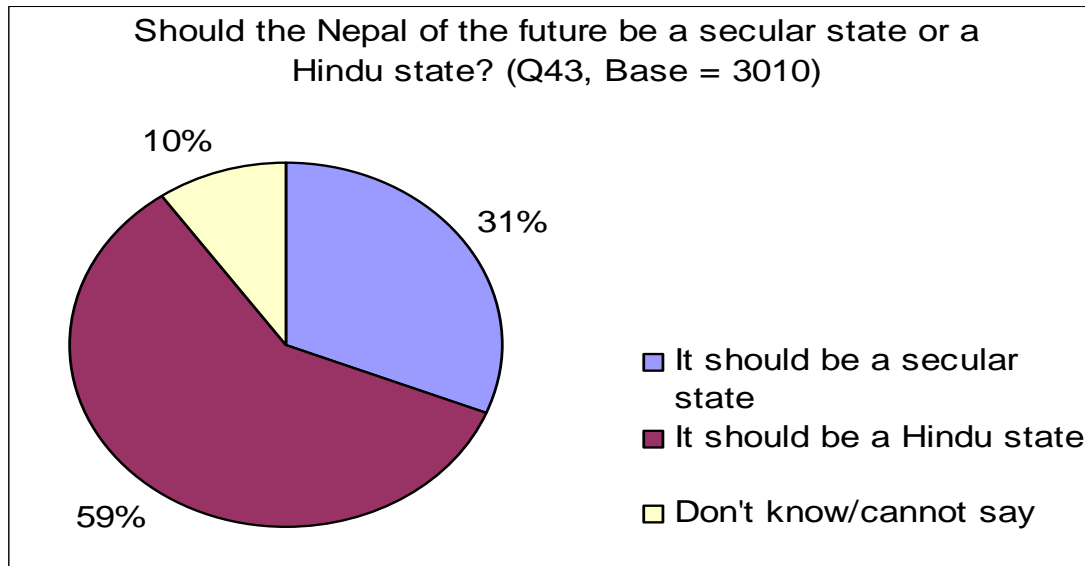


## Rating of Variuous Rights

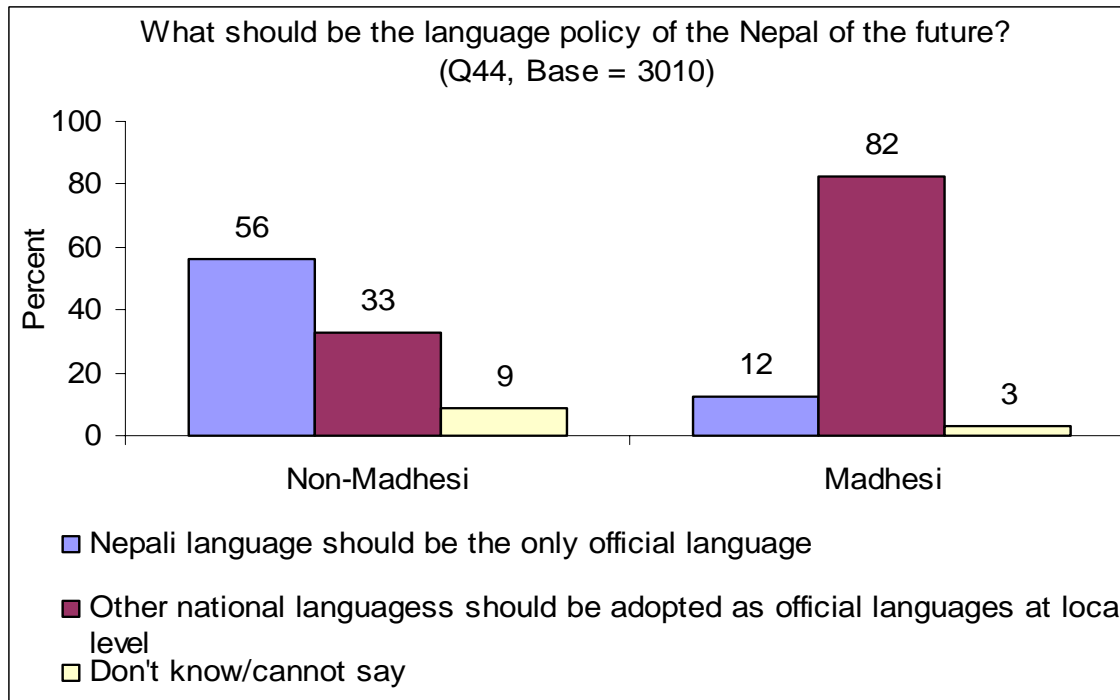
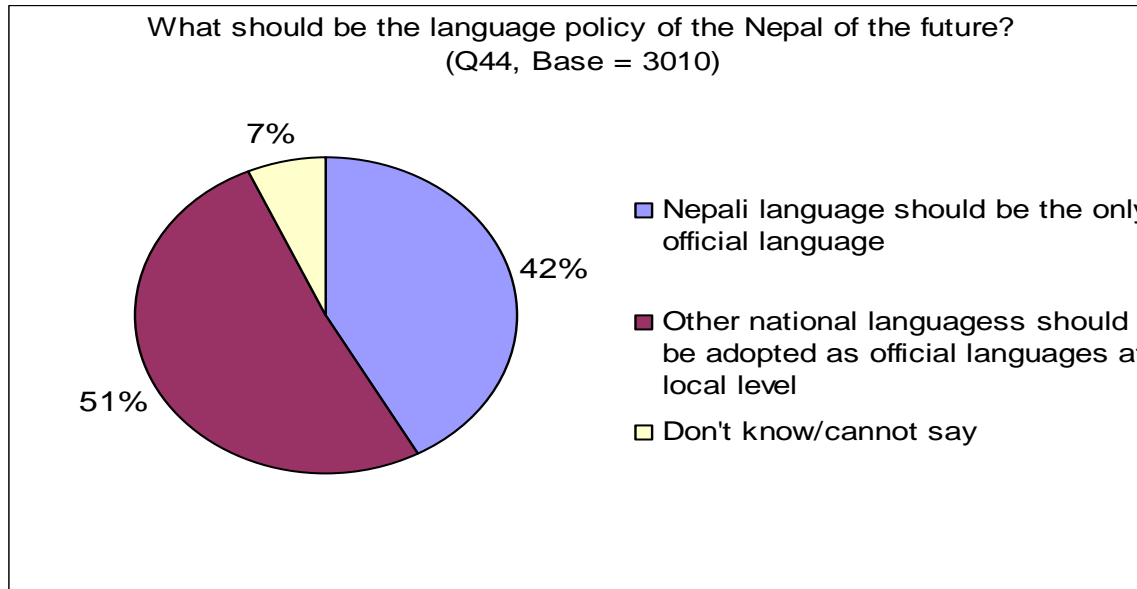
Q40	Mean
Public's rating towards the right to equality	8.64
Public's rating towards the right to freedom of opinion and expression	8.42
Public's rating towards the right to freedom to assemble peacefully and without arms	8.34
Public's rating towards the right to freedom to practise any profession	8.23
Public's rating towards the right to property	8.14
Public's rating towards the cultural and linguistic rights	8.00
Public's rating towards the right to religion	7.98
Public's rating towards the right to information	7.93
Public's rating towards the right to select political party	7.81
Public's rating towards the right to freedom to form unions and associations	7.59

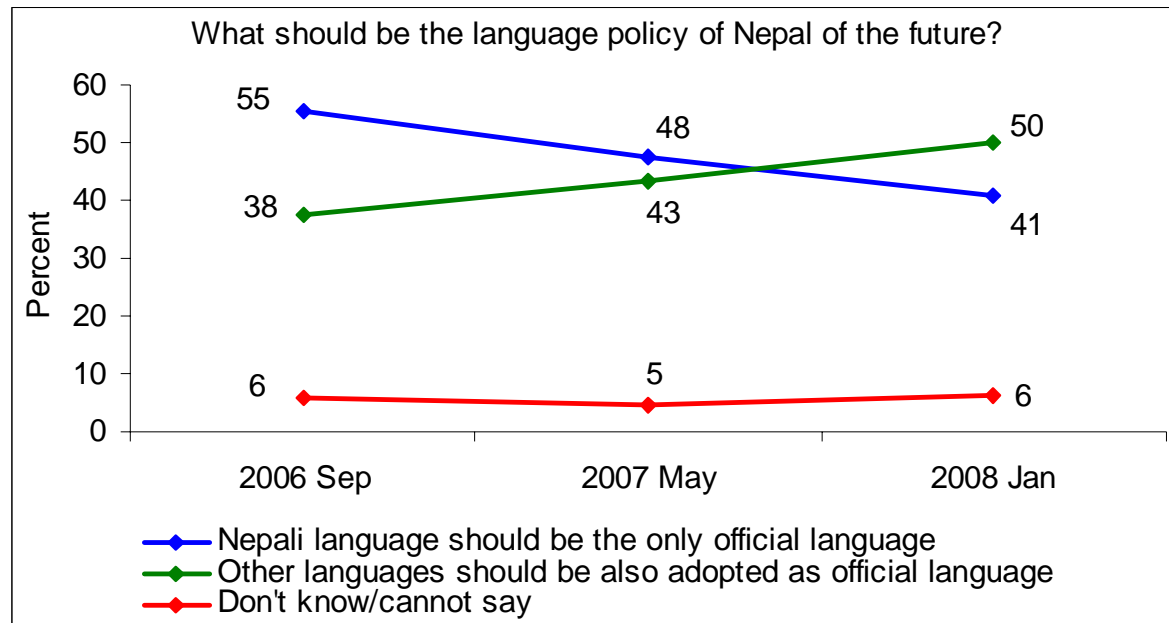
# State restructuring

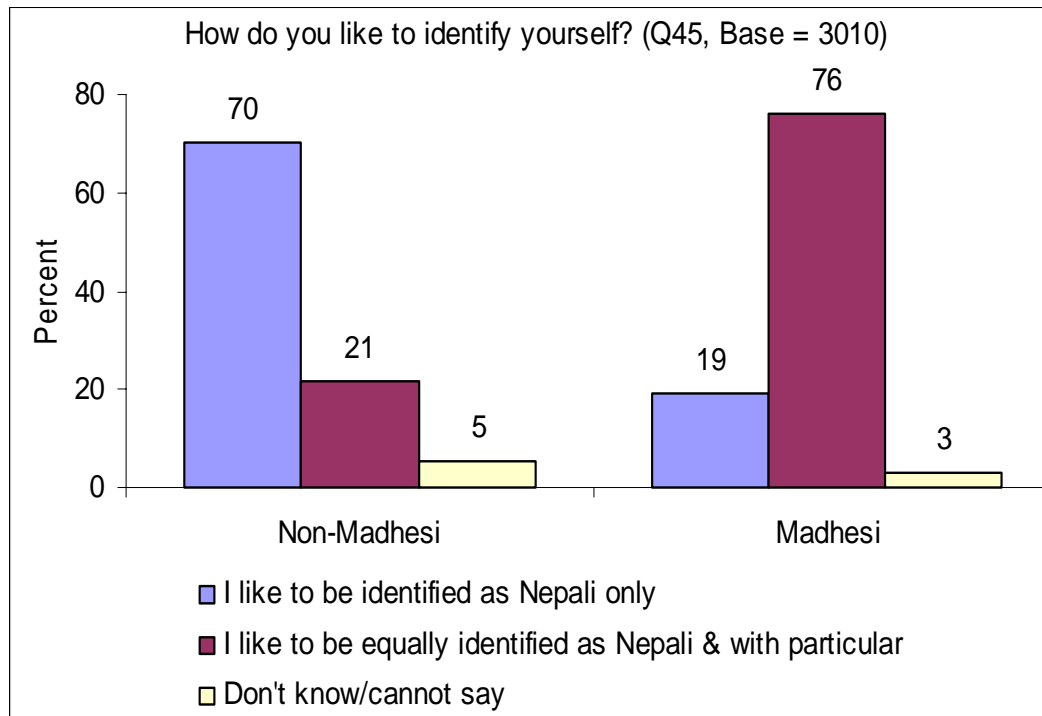
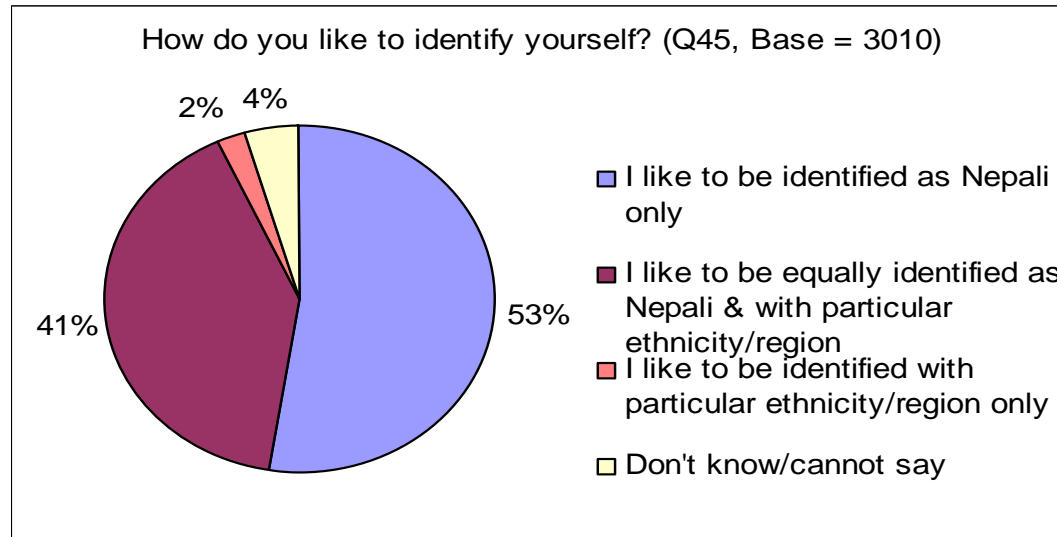


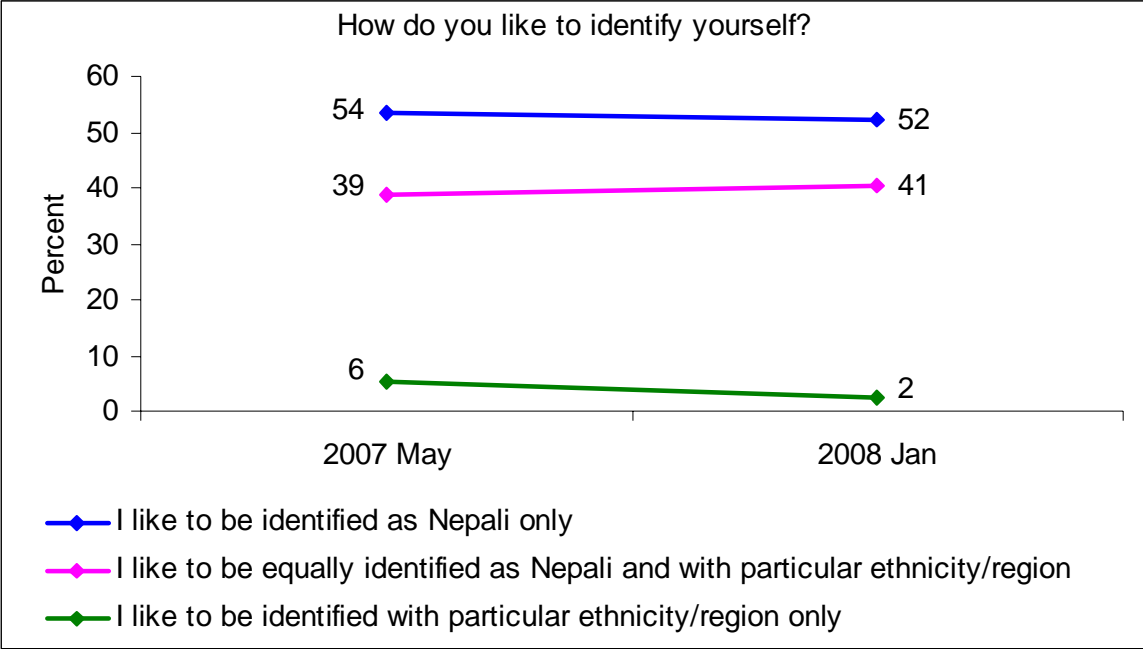




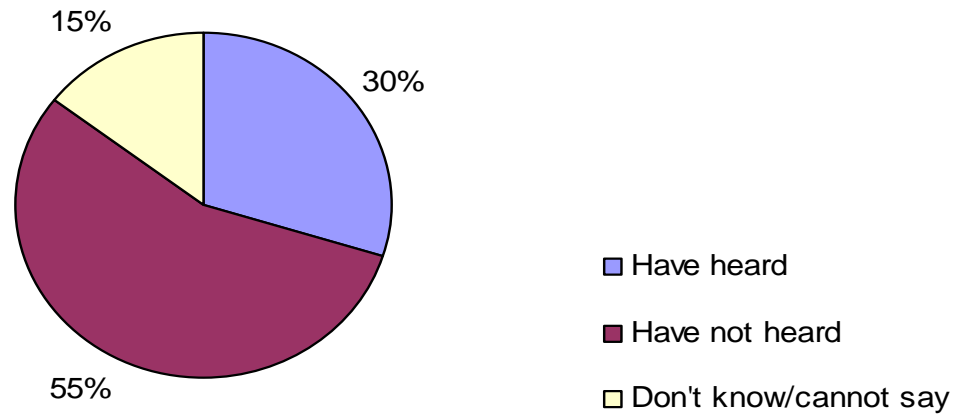




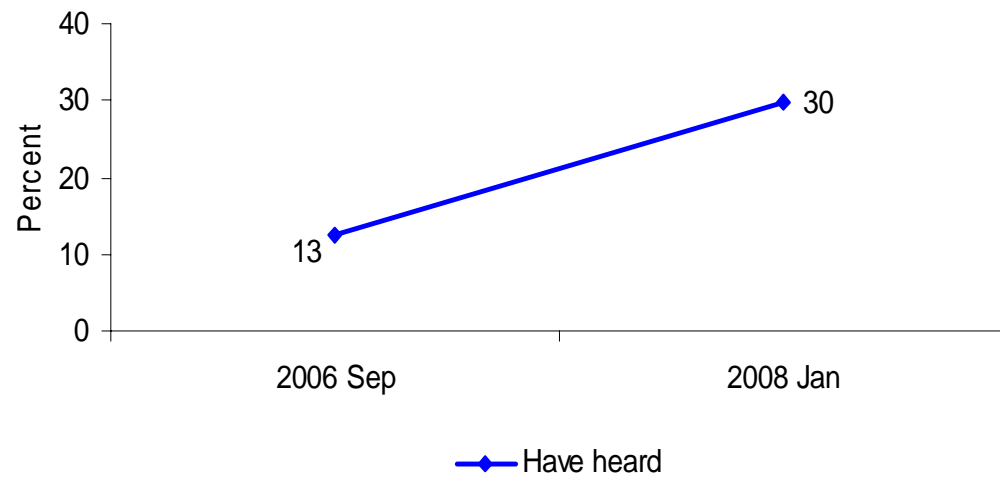


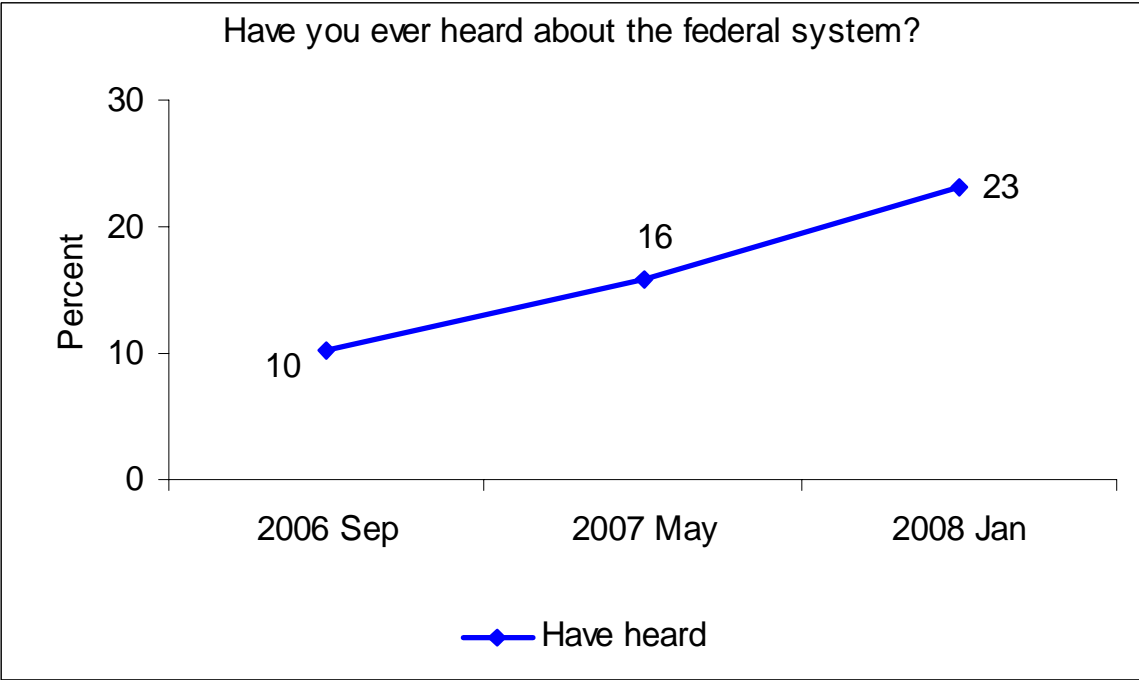
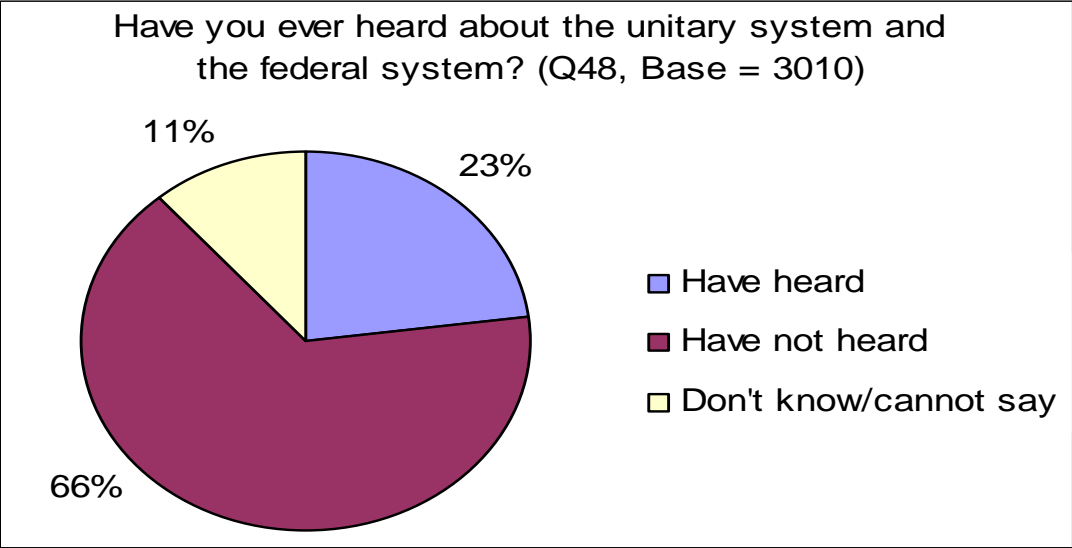


Have you ever heard about various electoral systems like First-Past-the-Post System and Proportional System?  
(Q46, Base = 3010)

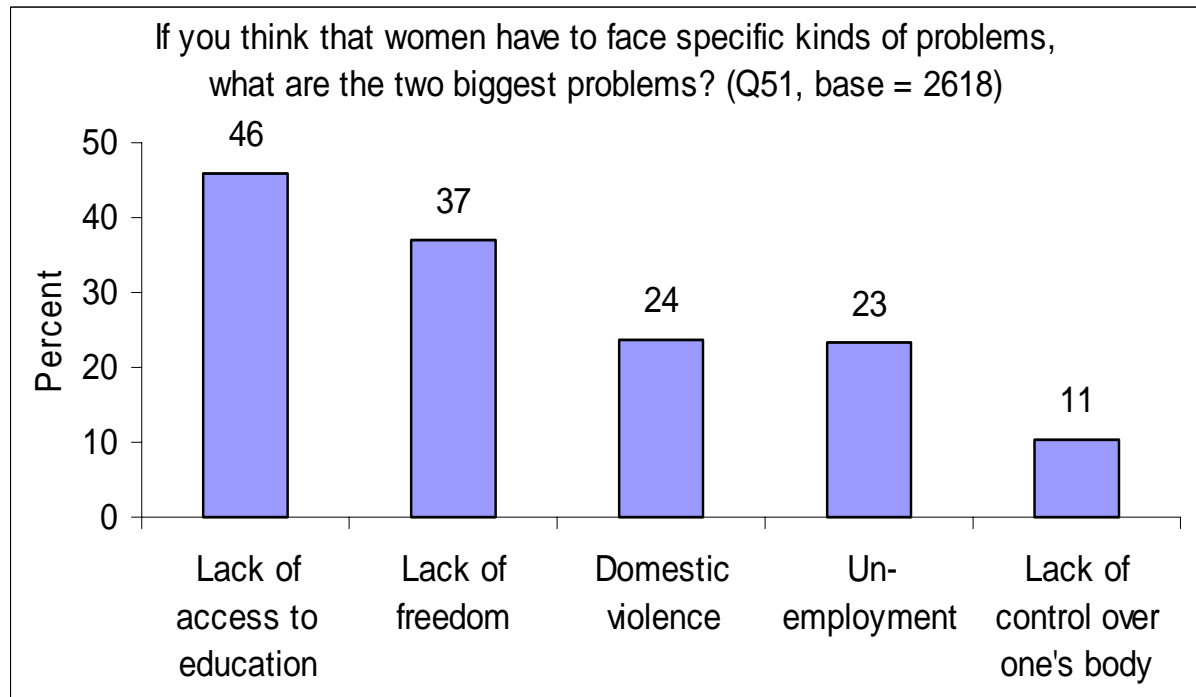
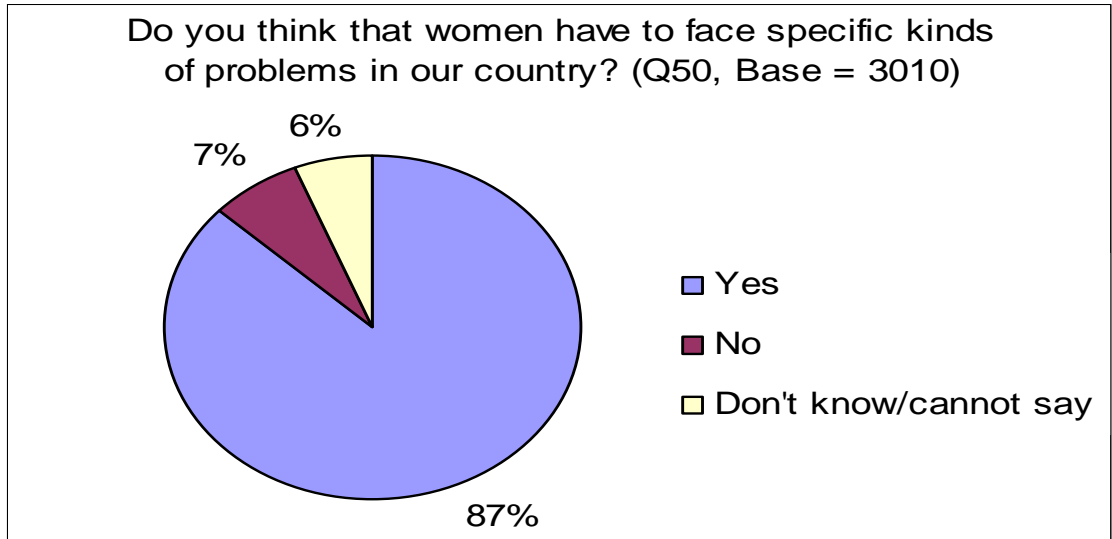


Have you ever heard about various electoral systems like First-Past-the-Post System and Proportional System?

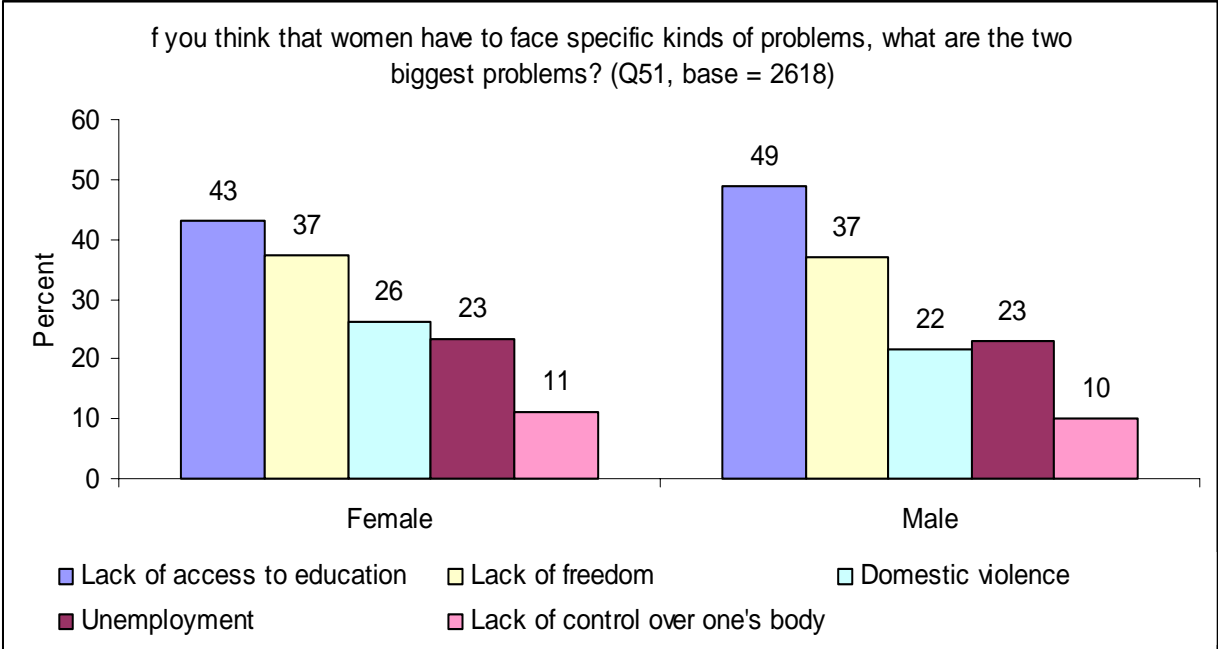




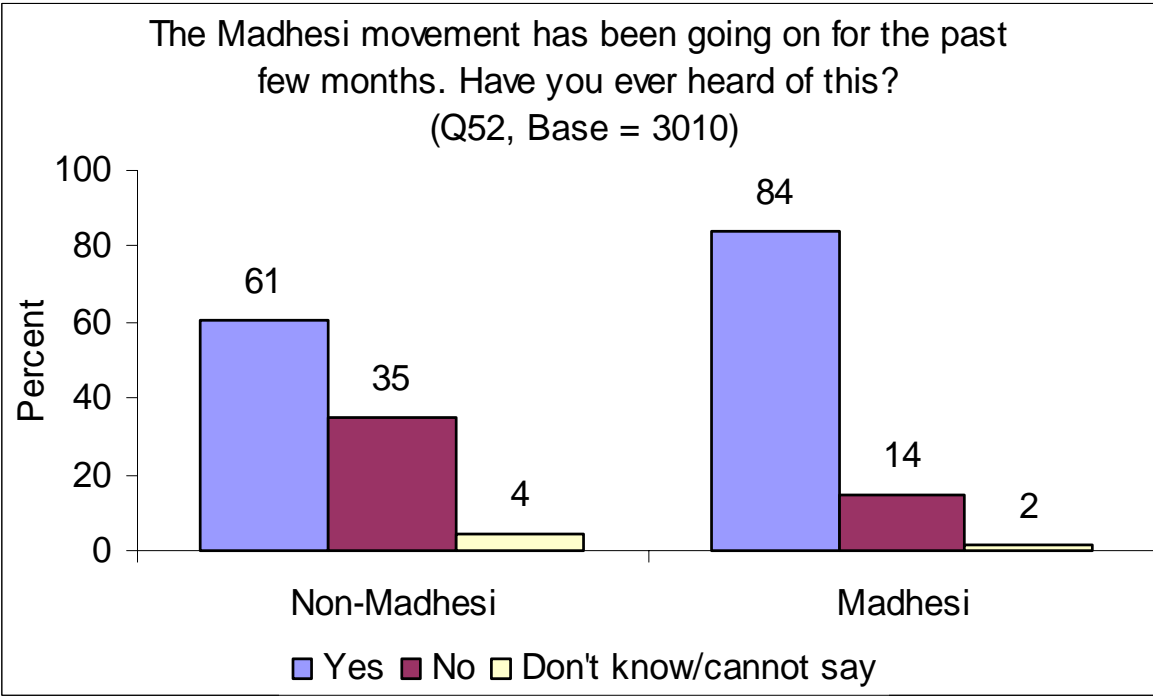
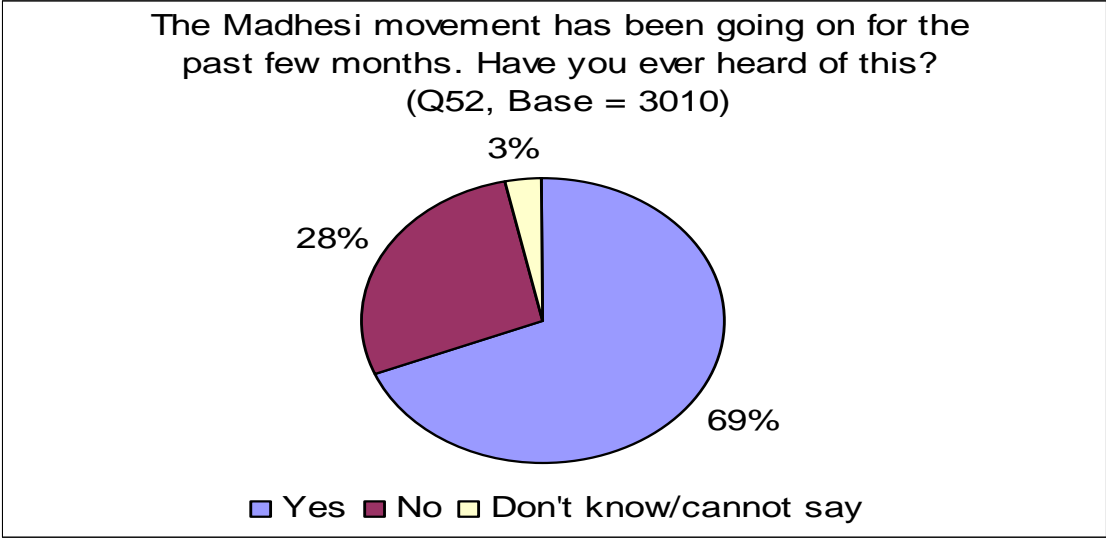
# Women's issues

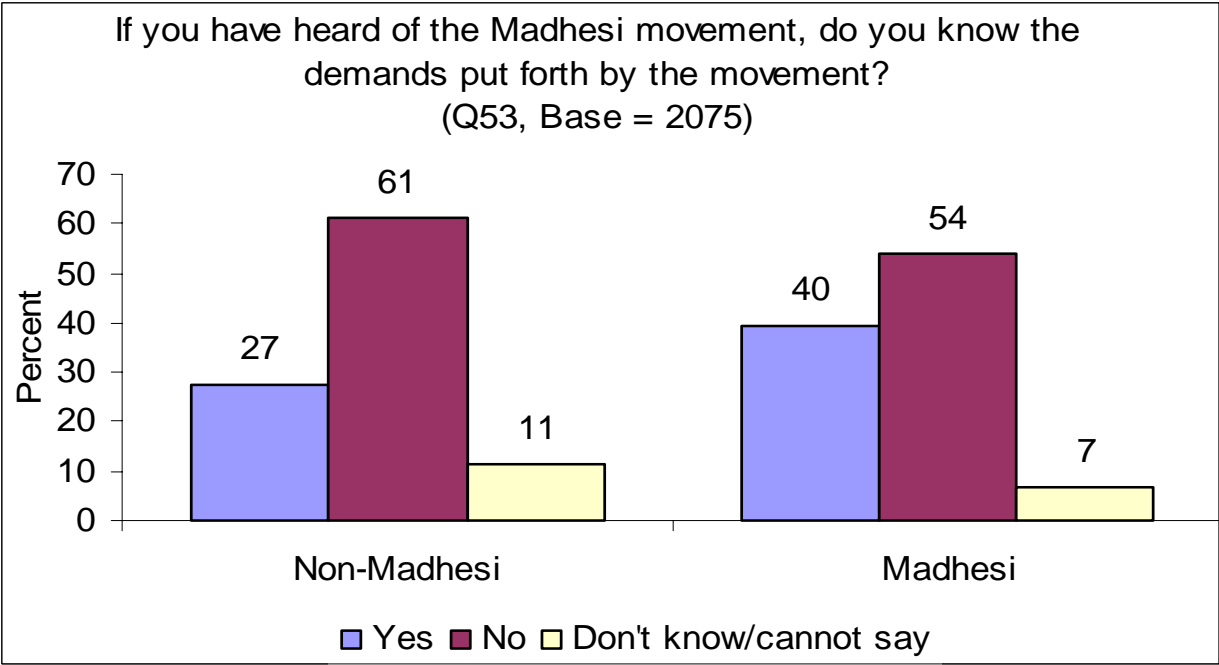
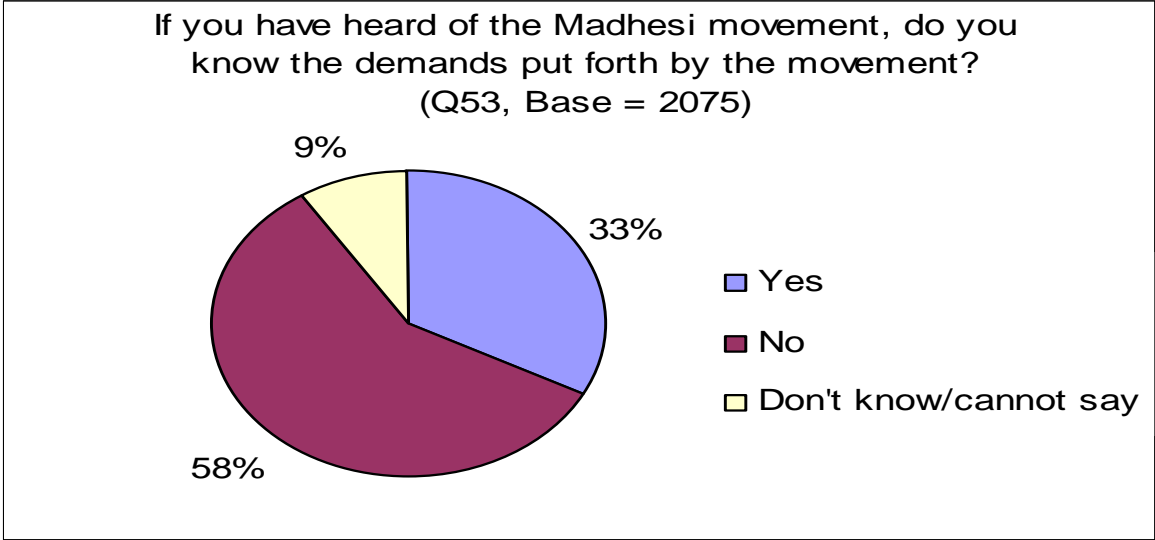


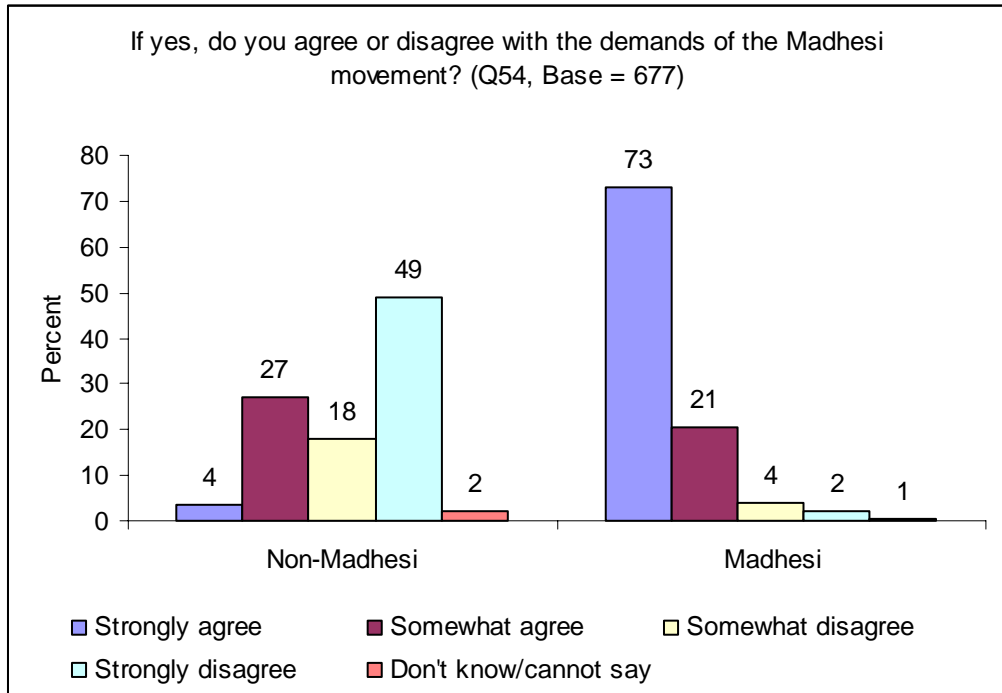
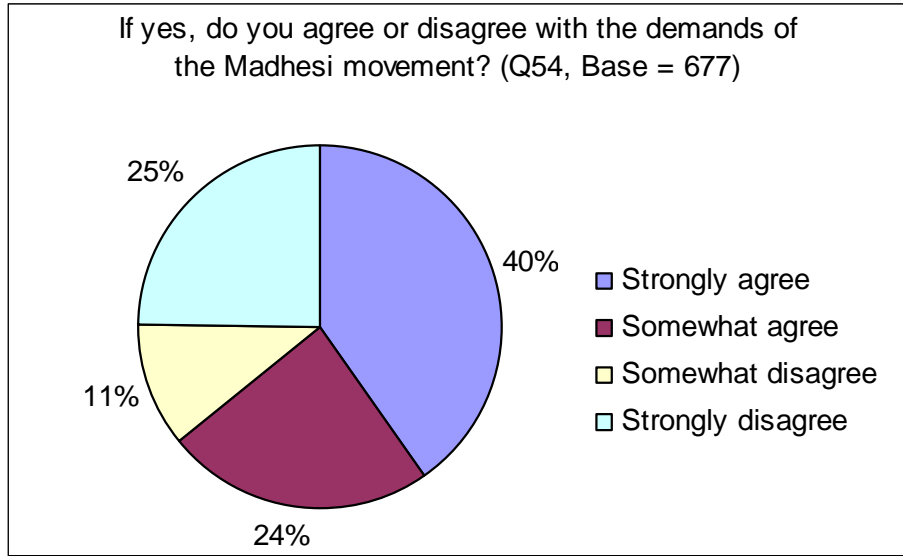


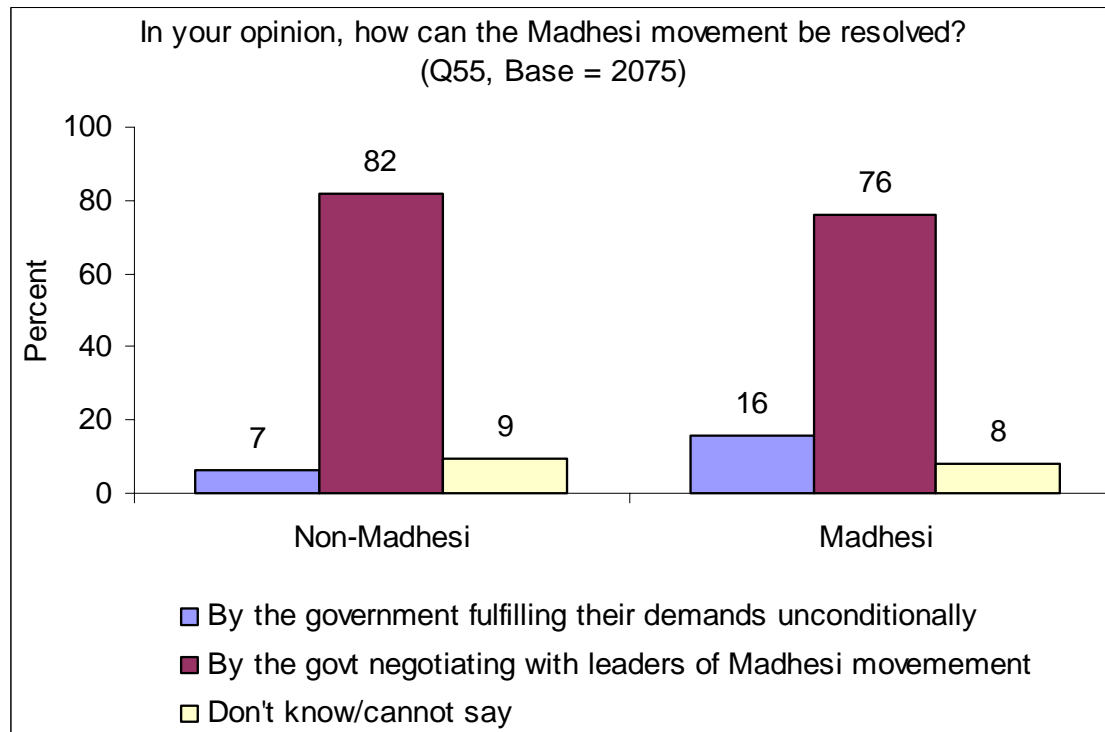
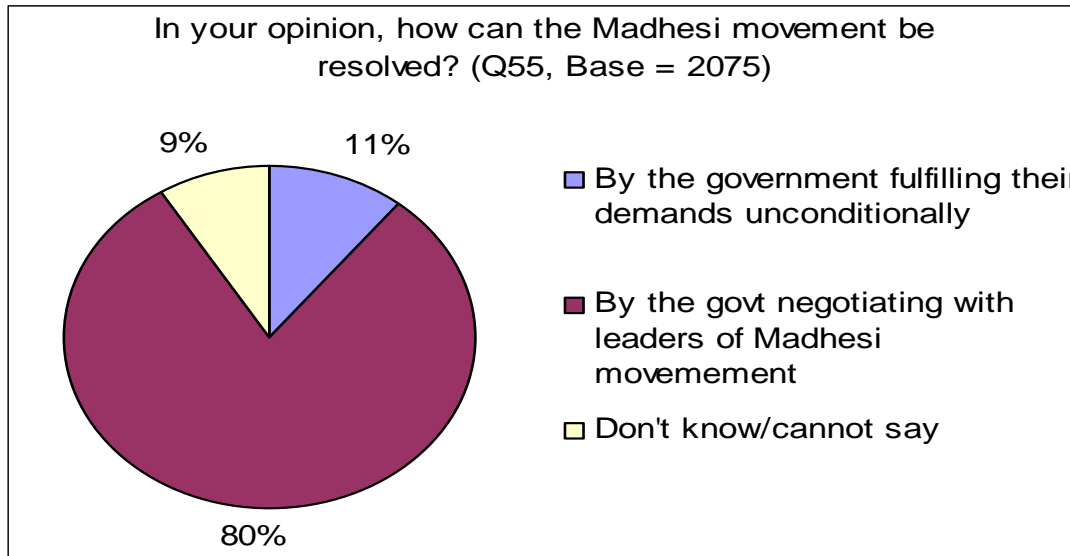


# Agitation-movements

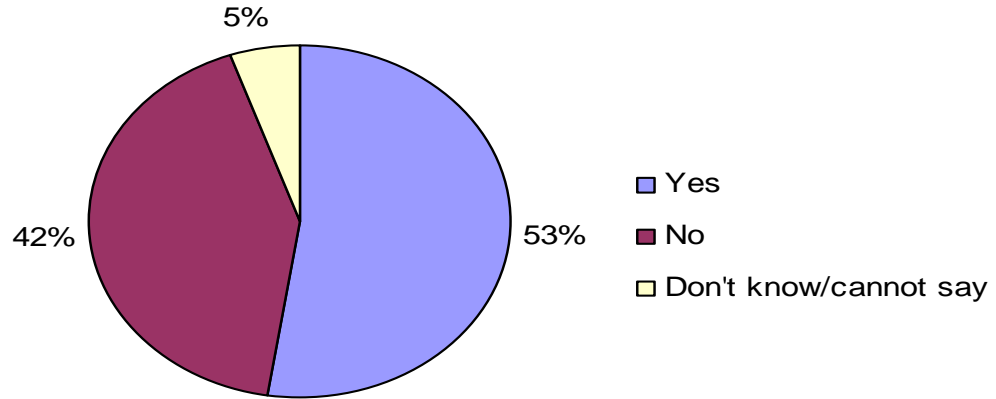




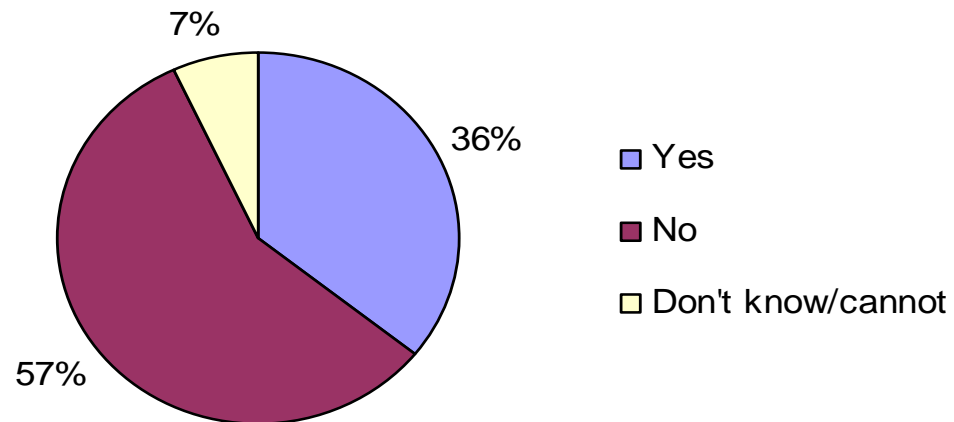




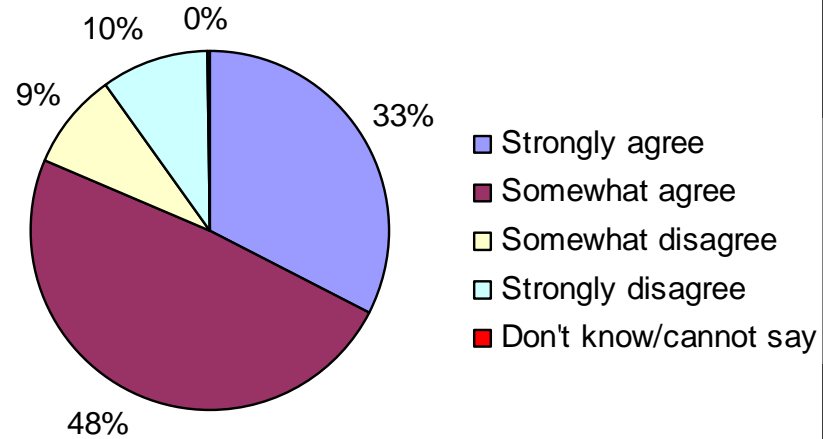
The Janjati movement has been going on for the past few months. Have you ever heard of this? (Q56, Base = 3010)



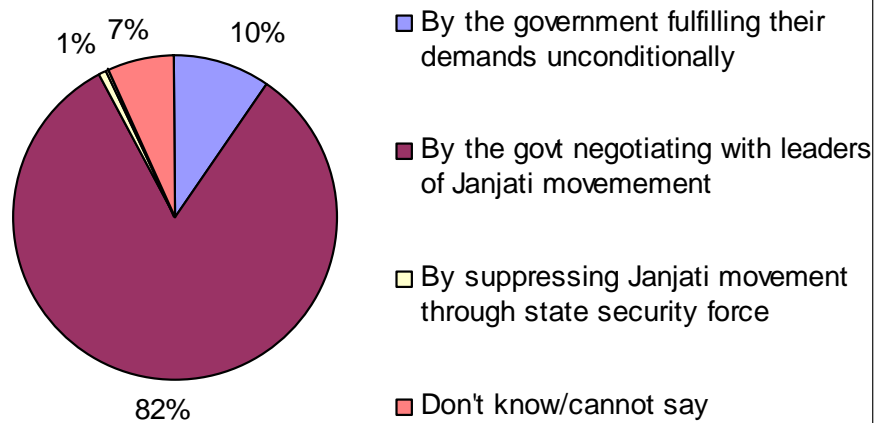
If you have heard of the Janjati movement, do you know the demands put forth by the movement? (Q57, Base = 1579)



If yes, do you agree or disagree with the demands of the Janjati movement? (Q58, Base = 568)

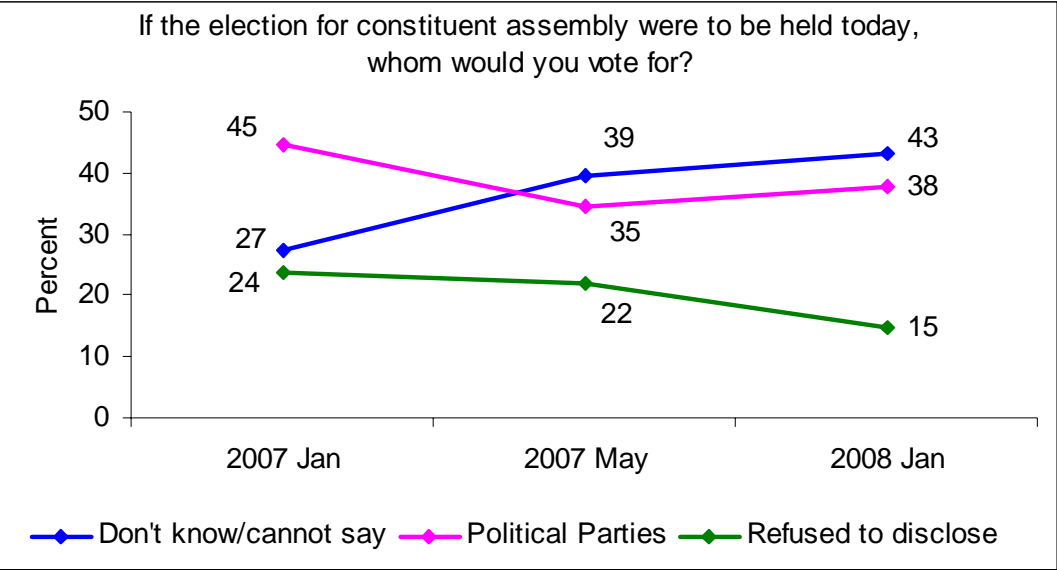


In your opinion, how can the Janjati movement be resolved? (Q59, Base = 1579)





# Constituent Assembly Elections and Political Parties



# Conclusion

- ï Only a small proportion of people have heard about the issues raised by the political parties such as federal state, proportional electoral system, etc. Likewise, only a small proportion understand what a constituent assembly election is.
- ï The people have identified poverty, price hike and unemployment as the major problems facing the country. People have likewise identified development related issues as the main challenges at the local level.
- ï There is a mismatch between the expectations of the people and the issues raised by political parties. It is necessary for political parties to be sensitive towards overcoming poverty, price hike and unemployment and initiate development activities at the local level.
- ï The mood of the Madhes is different from the mood of the rest of the country. The mood in the Madhes is becoming pessimistic. If the state is not able to address the genuine grievances of Madhes the country may be headed for another accident.