



GEN-Z

AND NEPAL GOVERNMENT

10 Point Agreement Analysis

SUMMARY

This report provides a comprehensive analysis of the 10-point agreement reached between the **Nepal Government** and **Gen-Z movement** following recent youth-led protests. By synthesizing official mandate reviews with public sentiment mapping from digital platforms like **Reddit**, **Facebook**, etc. this study evaluates the "**ground-reaction**" of commitments aimed at achieving systemic reform, legal accountability, and institutionalized youth participation in governance. The agreement covers a broad spectrum of structural changes, ranging from anti-corruption and transparency measures to electoral revisions and the protection of digital freedoms. By gathering a diverse range of public opinions including positive, negative, and neutral reactions. The analysis captures a complex "**public pulse**" defined by a significant divide between hope for progress and deep-seated skepticism regarding long-term implementation. Ultimately, this highlights the ongoing tension between the historic recognition of youth agency and the necessity for genuine structural change to move beyond symbolic gestures.

METHODOLOGY

- **Policy & Mandate Analysis:** An in-depth review of the official 10-point agreement to define specific legal and institutional mandate and the past governance experiences in Nepal for context.
- **Public Sentiment Mapping:** Assessment of public sentiment as primary data from digital forums (e.g., Reddit, Facebook) and social media to gauge public expectations and "ground-truth" official claims.

1

Martyrs, Justice, Meaningful Memorialization and Reparation



WHAT'S PROMISED

Recognition & Reparation

- Bhadra 23–24 victims recognized as martyrs
- Health care, counseling, education & employment support coordinated through high-level task force
- Permanent commission for justice & memorialization

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- Relief and lot of skepticism
- Recognition and immediate support validates human cost to some extent
- Doubts over long-term funding and capacity of the interim government
- Doubt as the commission as “another commission” with no roadmap



2 Investigation, Prosecution of the Bhadra 23 and 24 protest



WHAT'S PROMISED

- Investigation of excessive force and human rights violations in Bhadra 23–24 protest through high-level commission.
- Distinction between the peaceful protestors and those involved in vandalism and arson; 15-day screening for peaceful protestors.
- State to recommend for structural reform in security agencies.

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- Fair hope even against the historical records
- Welcomed the formal recognition of these tragic fatalities and the promise of a truth-finding mission as a vital step toward restoring the rule of law and democratic accountability.
- Doubt over the commission leading to prosecution and tangible outcomes
- Fear of selective accountability and letting go of the higher actors



3

End of Political and Policy Corruption, Politicization of Public Institutions, and Appointments Based on Political Power-Sharing



WHAT'S PROMISED

Anti-Corruption & Meritocracy

- High-level commission to investigate public officials' wealth, lifestyle, targeting the accumulation of illicit wealth and the misuse of public resources
- End practice of politicization of public institution and appointments based on power-sharing.
- Nationalize assets of public organizations misusing state resources

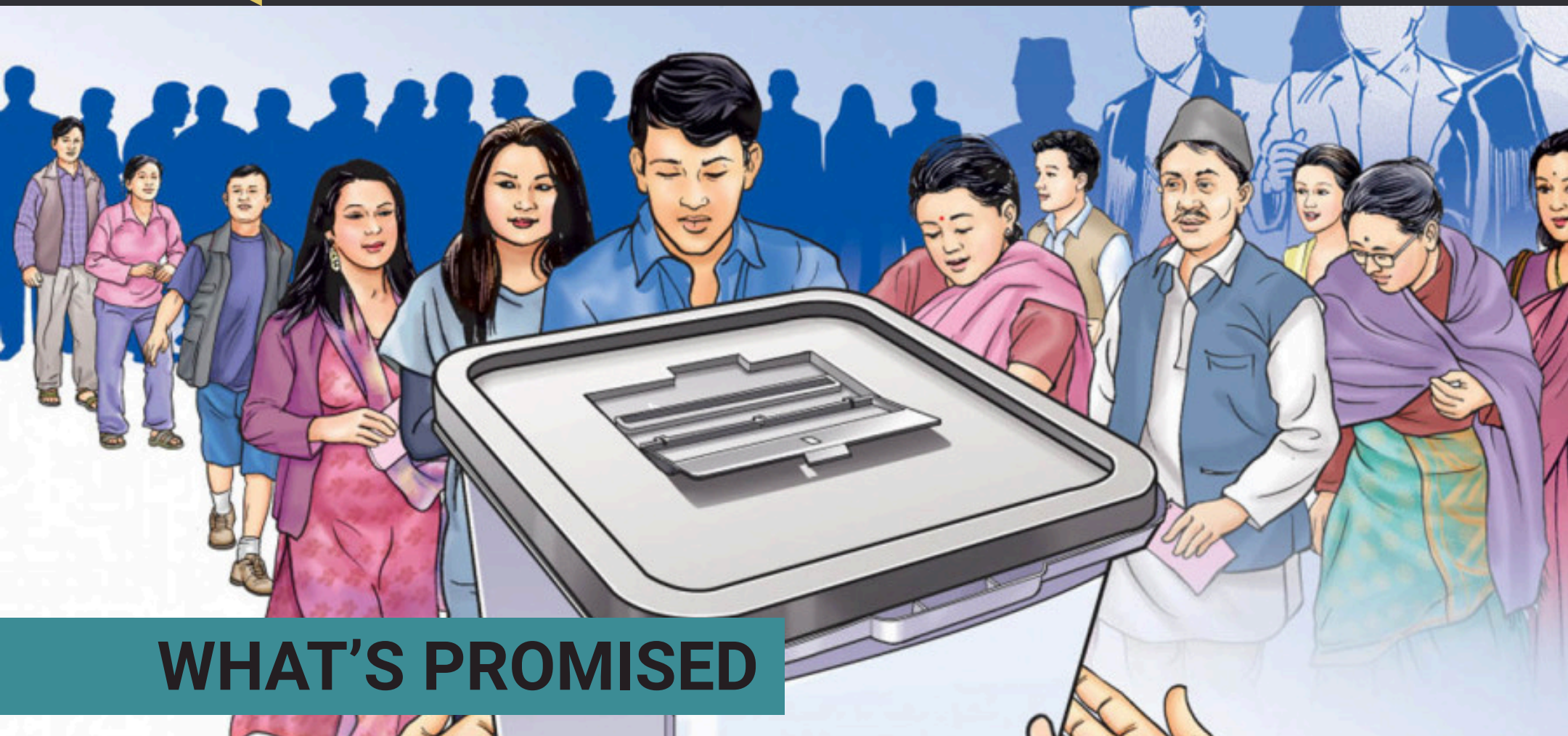
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- A powerful symbolic victory for the movement.
- Citizens see “lifestyle audits” as needed reform to restore faith in a bureaucracy long seen as a tool for elite privilege
- Doubts on functioning of the commission as historically commissions in Nepal were often politically weaponized to serve political vendetta or were rendered toothless because of the lack of independence.
- Risk of legal challenges or perceived institutional overreach.



4

Assurance of Free, Fair, Peaceful, and Fear-Free Elections



WHAT'S PROMISED

Electoral Reform

- Free, fair, and fear-free elections
- Electoral reform to accommodate voters outside their home district or the country itself , NOTA option, primaries, term limits, control of opportunistic electoral alliance within political parties
- Asset disclosure & campaign finance reform

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- Public opinion reflects deep-rooted electoral cynicism
- People do not trust the elections, political parties, leaders, and not even the voters as depicted by “यहाँ कसैको कसैलाई विश्वास छैन”
- Reforms welcomed in principle and doubts implementation seen as unlikely
- Concerns on hypocrisy as agreement demands asset disclosure from future candidates but no action against current leaders who have allegedly failed to publicly disclose their own assets.



5

Reforms to be Made to the Constitution of Nepal



WHAT'S PROMISED

Constitutional Review & Reform

- High-level constitutional amendment suggestion commission to review ten years of constitutional implementation and recommend reforms
- Inclusive participatory review process involving independent experts, Gen-Z representatives, youth, and other stakeholders.
- Recommend reforms: electoral systems, term limits, judicial & party appointments, institutional autonomy

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- Cautious optimism towards the reform but skeptic by the historic frustration.
- Nepal saturated with reports & commissions that rarely lead to action
- Interim government may lack mandate for major constitutional reform
- Phrases and metaphors such as “कर्मकाण्डी सम्झौता”; loading an elephant’s burden onto a donkey reflects frustration and questions implementation challenges of this point.



6

Fully Proportional Inclusiveness and Participatory Representation



WHAT'S PROMISED

- Proportional Inclusion and representation of marginalized groups
- Establishment of Gen-Z Council for advisory oversight
- Focus on meaningful, not symbolic participation

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- A divided response between a long-overdue justice and fear of identity politics
- Welcomed as the provisions as necessary redress against a governance system previously dominated by a small elite, finally realizing constitutional pledges of inclusiveness.
- Skeptics frame inclusion as “जातको नाममा अधिकार” (rights in the name of caste/identity) and argue that emphasizing identity fragments national unity
- Rights are already in the constitution and addressing them in the agreement is more of an aspiration than a practical mission.



7 Transparency

TRANSPARENCY IN GOVERNMENT OF NEPAL

WHAT'S PROMISED

- Reform laws, procedures, and technologies to make state decisions, expenditures, and actions openly accessible
- Release of past inquiry commission reports involving human rights abuses and corruption .
- Transparent, competitive and credible selection process on all the public appointments and discourage nepotism, favoritism as well as any other type of direct or indirect discrimination.

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- Public reactions strongly reflect distrust rooted in past experience
- Many investigative and commission reports that were never fully released and acted upon.
- Transparency pledge taken as a “**lollipop technique**”, sweet enough to calm protests but too vague to threaten entrenched interests.
- Few sees value in the agreement as a pressure mechanism, arguing that even a non-binding commitment can shape public expectations and electoral judgment.



8

Freedom of Expression and Digital Freedom



WHAT'S PROMISED

- Digital Rights, protection from censorship & arbitrary regulation.
- Safeguards against unlawful surveillance.
- Recognition of digital space as democratic space.

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- Digital freedom seen as vital for youth
- Strong distrust due to past surveillance
- Without legal reform, promises feel hollow



9 Formation of the Gen-Z Council



WHAT'S PROMISED

- Gen-Z voice in governance through Gen-Z Council that acts as the advisory body.
- Council as the bridge between movement and the state
- Recognition of youth as political stakeholders

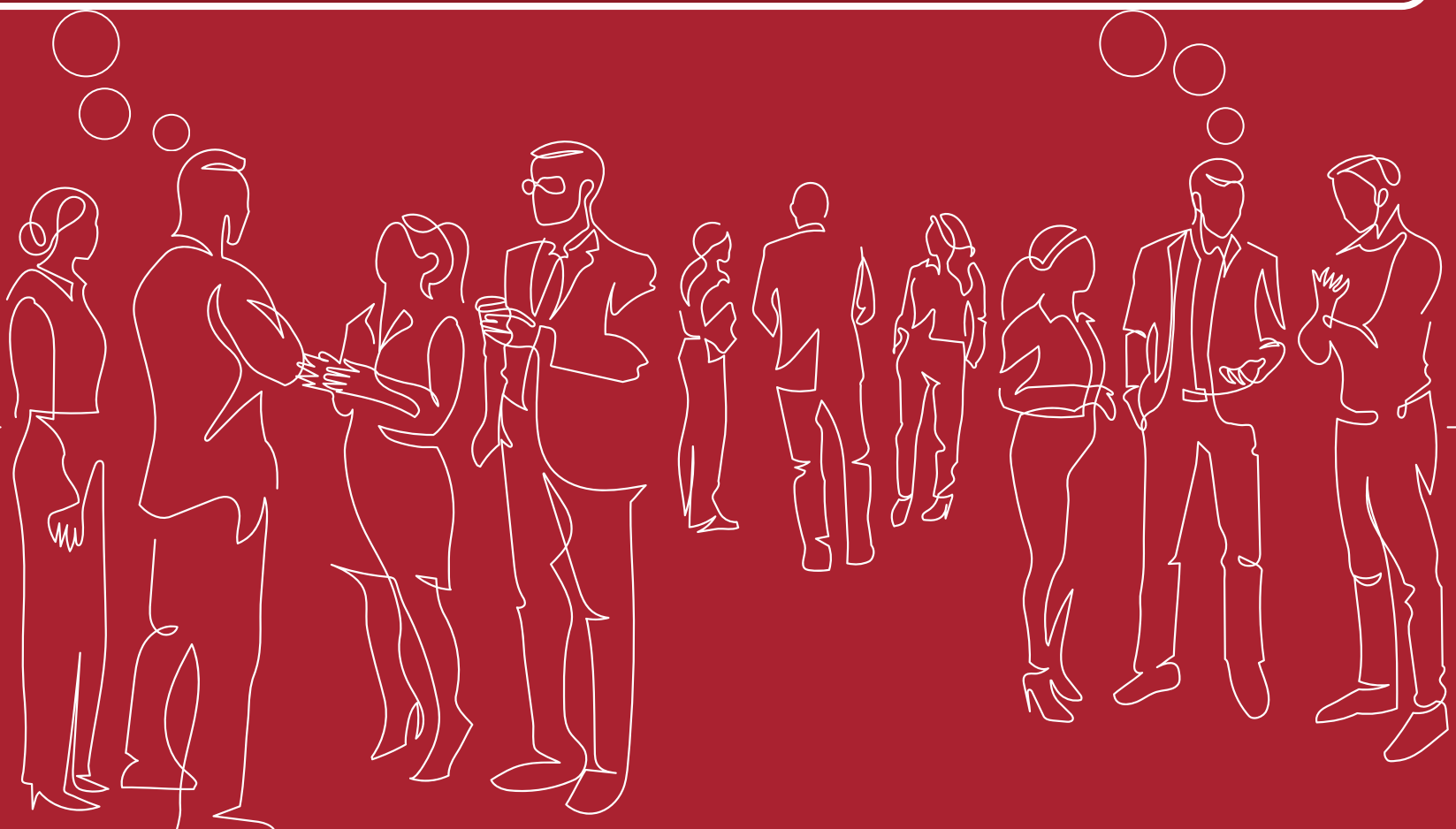
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● **Pride mixed with concern**

● Seen as historic recognition of youth agency

● Fear it lacks real power as without constitutional or legal backing, such advisory bodies are often ignored by those in power

● Worries that this structure could serve as a tool for "**co-optation**", effectively absorbing dissenting voices to neutralize the genuine voice and energy of the protest



10 Enforcement and Implementation of the Agreement



- Enforcement of the agreement effective upon signing
- Implementation by “mutual consent”

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- “Mutual consent” is legally weak and politically unsafe, especially given the interim nature of the current government.

- Concern one the action of the future elected governments who might not feel an obligation to honor the agreement.

- The document as a wishlist rather than a binding commitment



CONCLUSION

- The agreement marks a major milestone and legally recognizes the Gen-Z movement, raising hope for meaningful reforms and inclusive governance.
- Commemorates those who lost their lives, were injured, or faced detention/threats following the protest and Addresses demands for investigation of state brutality and counter-violence.
- Highlights reforms, anti-corruption measures, and space for citizen voices which aligns with the spirit of the Gen-Z revolution
- The agreement suggests the formation of multiple commissions with potential overlap or overreach of existing mechanisms.
- Public skepticism stems majorly from past ineffective performance and the interim government's limited mandate.
- Without constitutional or parliamentary anchoring, the agreement risks becoming symbolic rather than transformative.