

# Political Participation and Civic Literacy in Bajung: An Empirical Study with Correlation Analysis

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## 1 Background

Civic literacy corresponds to a kind of knowledge and information which are relevant to exercise one's role as a citizen, or a member of the community. "The word civic is chosen because it combines in one word the notion of exercising one's role as citizen and of being a member of a local community."<sup>i</sup> Thus, the civic literacy simply means; citizens' knowledge and information about political principles, institutions and processes. Theorists of democracy from "Aristotle to Bryce have stressed that democracies are maintained by active citizen participation in civic affairs, by a high level of information about public affairs, and by widespread sense of civic responsibility."<sup>ii</sup> But, interestingly countries of both low and high literacy rates are facing same low level of political participation. Knowledge about who participates and who does not in different political activities is important to know whether there is any relationship between civic literacy and political participation. It helps us to find out the state of the political culture and stability, and scholarly interest in civic culture and political participation which has "culminated in many national and cross-national studies, especially in the industrial world."<sup>iii</sup>

Contrary to advanced industrial democracies, this paper takes on the case of Nepal, a fragile democracy that has so far remained politically, economically and socially unstable. It examines the level of civic literacy and political participation in Bajung, village of hilly Nepal and seeks to identify the nature and magnitude of the correlation between them. This study attempts to expose the political dynamics that largely remained understudied and underrepresented society manifesting itself in the early stages of democratization. The next chapter introduces the concept of civic literacy and political participation. The third chapter offers testable hypotheses, data (variables) and the contexts. The results and findings are presented in the fourth chapter and the final chapter deals with discussion and observation.

## 2 The Concepts of Political Participation and Civic Literacy

Political participation is a central element of democratic system. Citizens express their political preferences which have an impact on governmental decision-making through their political participation. Moreover, democracy demands its citizens to be equipped with critical, analytical, interpersonal communicative and problem-solving skills on the one hand, and capacity and willingness to work as a team, on the other hand. Any talk about political participation needs a clear understanding of the factors that influences the output of the government. "What is understood as political participation in everyday usage constitutes an indirect form of participation in which citizens cast votes and elect political representatives with mandates to make and execute public polices. Elections are also used to legitimate the actions of political representatives in both the legislative and executive branches of government." <sup>iv</sup> Equal if not more influence on policy outcomes, however, comes from people's participation in other activities, including voluntary and involuntary engagements in partisan activities such as rallies, protests, demonstrations, and meetings, donation of money to candidates or political causes, written or verbal communication with political leaders and obtaining their attention, and partaking in some form of political or policy decision. A democratic state offers an ordinary citizen an opportunity to take part in political decision-making process as an influential person; however, there are multiple factors that determine the level of citizens' participation in political processes. Of course, one of them is the quality of citizenship.

Harold Lasswell includes a list of democratic qualities of citizens. One of them is "an open ego", by which he means a warm and inclusive attitude toward other human beings; a capacity for sharing values with others; a multi-valued rather than a single value oriental trust, confidence in the human environment, and relative freedom from anxiety while the relation between these characteristics and democratic behavior seems clear." <sup>v</sup> In order to meet these qualities and beyond, political orientation of an individual can be tapped systematically with the following attributes: " what knowledge does he have of his nation and of his political system in general terms, its size, location, power, "constitutional" characteristics, etc? What are his/her feelings toward these systematic and considered opinions and judgments of them? What knowledge does he/she have of the structures and roles? What are his/her feelings and opinions about these structures, leaders and policy proposals? What knowledge does she/he have of the downward flow of policy enforcement, the structures,

individuals and decisions involved in these processes? How does he/she perceive of himself as a member of his rights, powers, obligations, and of strategies of access to influence? What norms of participation or of performance does she/he acknowledge and employ in formulating political judgments or in arriving at opinions?"<sup>vi</sup>

An active and influential citizen who does have knowledge on politics can participate in the making of law and obey as well. However, in a democracy an ordinary person should also need to play following; " active participation in local community, activities of local government, political parties, NGO and organizations in local affairs, try to understand and keep informed, Participate in vote, take interest in what is going on in the community, and nation, participate in religious activities."<sup>vii</sup> Similarly, "the crucial underpinnings of civic literacy include; high levels of newspaper readership, a strong role for public television (due to the high quality of its news programming), as well as superior performance on cross-national literacy tests of a general nature", adding, "civic literacy is not only an effect, it is also cause; in scientific terms, it is both dependent and independent variable. The civic literacy is conducive to optimal policy choices."<sup>viii</sup> Thus, the higher civic literacy promotes people's engagement in voluntary, communitarian and associational activities. Voters' turn out has become a question of further research in country and region-specific comparison.

### **3 Hypothesis, Data and the Contexts**

#### **A Hypothesis**

"No regime can be a democracy unless it grants all of its adult citizen's formal rights of political participation, including the right to vote. But a good democracy must ensure that all citizens are in fact able to make use of these formal rights by allowing them to vote, organize, assemble, protest, lobby for their interests, and influence decision-making process. With regard to the dimension of participation, democratic quality is high when citizens participate in the political process not only by voting, but also by joining political parties and civil societies organizations, partaking in the discussion of public policy issues, communicating with and demanding accountability from elected representatives, monitoring the conduct of public-office holders, and engaging in public issues at the local community level."<sup>ix</sup> Thus, a fundamental condition for widespread participation is broad diffusion of basic education and literacy, and with it political knowledge of the system of government, its procedures , rules, issues,

parties, and leaders." <sup>xi</sup> This paper attempts to identify the correlation between civic literacy and political participation. We formulate hypothesis firmly positive that the higher the level of civic literacy, the more the citizens take part in politics particularly in developing countries and even countries with nascent democracies. However, "for example, in both Japan and Austria, rural farmers tend to engage in relatively higher rates of political participation, yet are typically considered to represent a lower socio-economic group." <sup>xi</sup> Keeping such case studies in mind too, we wanted to know the positive cause and effect correlation between political participation and civic literacy.

## **B. Data**

The data set in this study was created by carrying out a survey, using a set of structured questionnaires administered through face-to face interviews with a village-wide sample survey of 225 respondents. The gathered data are based on a variety of individuals with different caste/ethnic, economic and educational backgrounds. For sampling purposes, we have created 9 clusters of total 9 wards of the village because the ethnic composition of the people in each ward varies with each other. We have formulated a criterion, selecting the respondents to those who are already in voting age of 18 years old.

## **C. Variables**

Measurement of civic literacy and people's other forms of participation other than the electoral one is quite complicated job, however, We have ascertained following indicators to judge the civic literacy level of village people; meaning of democracy, nationhood/citizenship, accountability of governance, history and development of democratization in Nepal, name of ministerial and parliamentary officials, neighboring zones, number of electoral constituencies, general conception towards the Constituent Assembly, performances of local bodies, and leaderships and media access of people. Similarly, to measure political participation of the people other variables were also utilized, such as contact with community, participation in religious, trade union, political party, school management committee, women organization, forest/peasant organization, business organizations and NGO/Club's activities. Besides, frequency of participation of the activities of above-mentioned associations and individual's intentions to influence local politics are also well-formulated.

"Demographic and socioeconomic variables (age, race, gender, marital status, presence of children, income, education, and social class) are useful to identify the specific characteristics of those participating or not participating in various civic and political activities." <sup>xii</sup> Considering this fact, we took age, sex, caste/ethnicity, status of literacy/illiteracy, occupation as the socioeconomic variables of the study.

"There is near universal agreement that more knowledgeable people participate at a much higher rate." <sup>xiii</sup> Thus, in this study, we wish to examine the specific impact of civic literacy on political participation. It is necessary to utilize a variable to measure civic literacy capabilities for the population of study areas. The political participation is the dependent variable which is influenced by independent variable, such as civic literacy. The most important factor to increase the political participation of citizens is civic literacy, which helps to foster political competence, participation and influence the effectiveness of democracy. It is for this reason that this study argues that civic literacy will have a significant bearing on the political participation of citizens.

#### **D. Contexts**

There are 3094 Villages in Nepal. Its population is 23,151,423 with a growth rate of 2.25%. It ranks 138<sup>th</sup> out of 177 countries in the Global Human Development Index (HDI) stands at 0.527. Life expectancy at birth is 60.48 years (male: 60.43; female: 59.91 years) and adult literacy is 45.6% for males and 27% for females." <sup>xiv</sup> Almost 86% of population resides in the villages. The urban population stands at 3,227,879 and the rural population is 19,923,544. The urban population constitutes 14.2 % of the total population of Nepal." <sup>xv</sup>

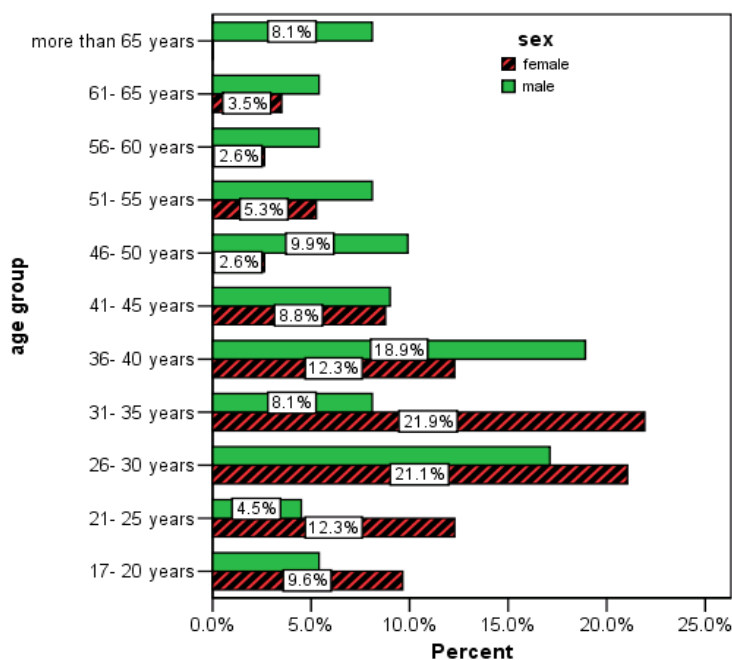
Given this backdrop, we have chosen Bajung village to measure the correlation between the civic literacy and political participation. The village is located some 246 kilometer west of Kathmandu, the country's capital city It has a total population of 4600. The village comprises of Brahman, Thakuri, Chhetri, Sanyasi, Dalits (Kami: ironworker, Damai: tailor and Sarki: leather tanner), Gurung and Magars castes/ethnic groups. The major occupation of the villagers is agriculture, and some of the village youths are working as British, Indian and Nepali Army/police personnel and migrant labors in abroad. A very few number of villagers are working with governmental/non-governmental organizations, civil and public institutions. Almost 80% of the village

households have electricity facility and there are 8 elementary and 3 junior high schools. There is a health center in the village for primary health care, a post office and some 10 public telephone lines. There is no internet access in the village and some 20% of the village population own television sets and 50% of them own radio sets. Many Dalits (suppressed class people) do not own either television or radio sets. The nearest high school from the village is located in an hour walking distance, a private - undergraduate college is located in a 30- minutes bus ride, and for university education and major health facilities, an hour and half bus ride take them from the village.

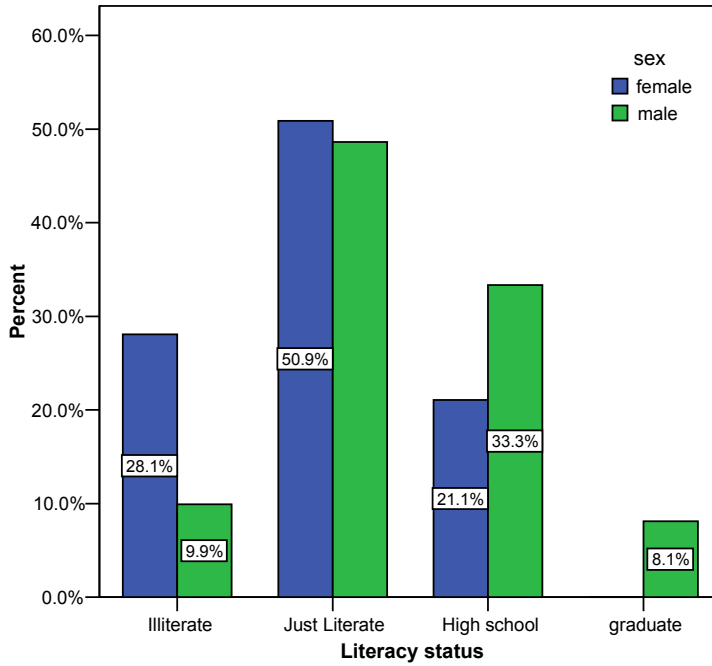
#### 4 Results and Findings

##### A The Composition of the Respondents

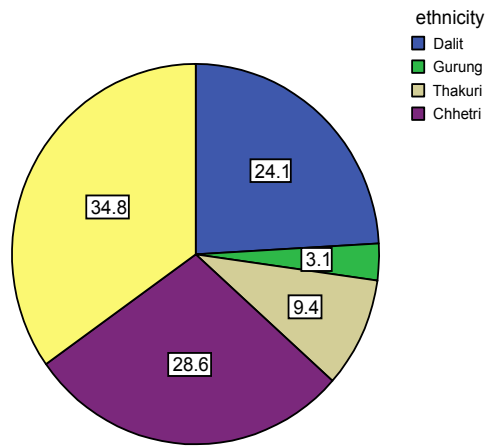
The figure 1- 4 shows the composition of the surveyed respondents, which vary in terms of age, gender, status of literacy, caste/ ethnic and occupational- bases. It is found that the status of literacy among females is quite poor compared to men, for example, there were 9.9% illiterate male respondents, compared to 28.1 % females. Almost 50% of both male and female respondents were just literate. The status of literacy among females and *Dalits* is quite lower than average. In our survey 34.8 % were Brahmin, 28.6% Chhetri, 24.1 % Dalits, 9.4 %Thakuri and 3.1 % Gurung respondents. It has also found that most of college/universities and high school graduates were from Brahmin, Chhetri and Thakuri caste groups. In total 74.2 % of the respondents were farmers mostly self-employed followed by 8.9% in foreign armed force and labor? Very few respondents were from civil service, teaching professions, and the NGO sector, which indicates poor socio-economic conditions of the villagers. **1: Age-sex distribution of respondents**



**Fig 2: Education and Sex-wise Distribution of respondents**

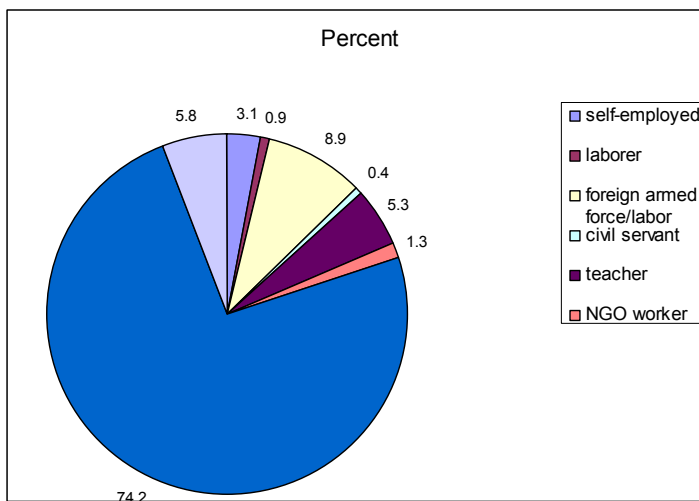


**Fig 3 Ethnic Distribution of the Respondents<sup>xvi</sup>**



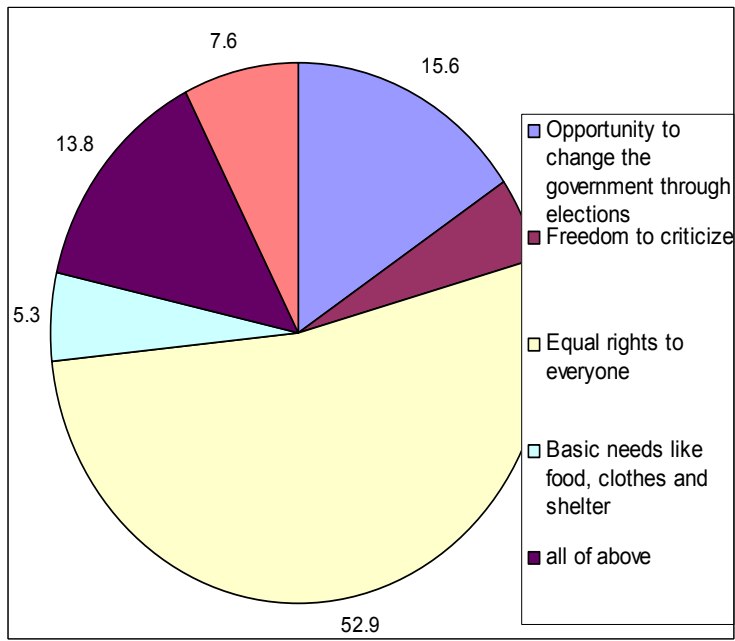
**Fig 4**

**Occupation of the Respondents**



**B. The Extent of Political Knowledge of the Respondents**

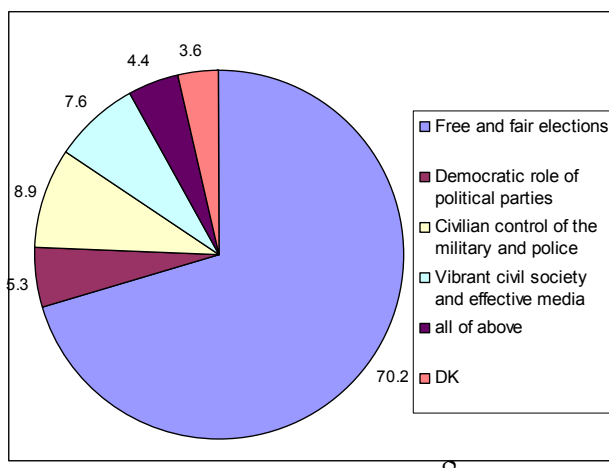
**Fig 5 Meaning of Democracy**



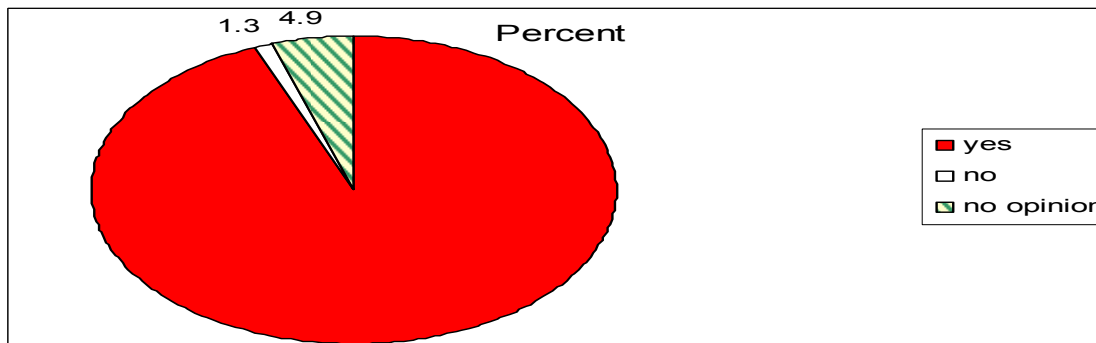
Democracy is perceived mainly as "equal rights to everyone" followed by "opportunity to change the government through elections", "freedom to criticize others" and "basic needs like food, clothes and shelter" and "all of above".

**Fig 6 What Makes Government Accountable to People**

Among our respondents 70.2% revealed that free and fair elections largely makes government accountable to people. They also seemed concerned with armed forces which are not under the control of civilian administration. The same respondents firmly favored the democratic role of political parties and vibrant civil society for making a government accountable to people.





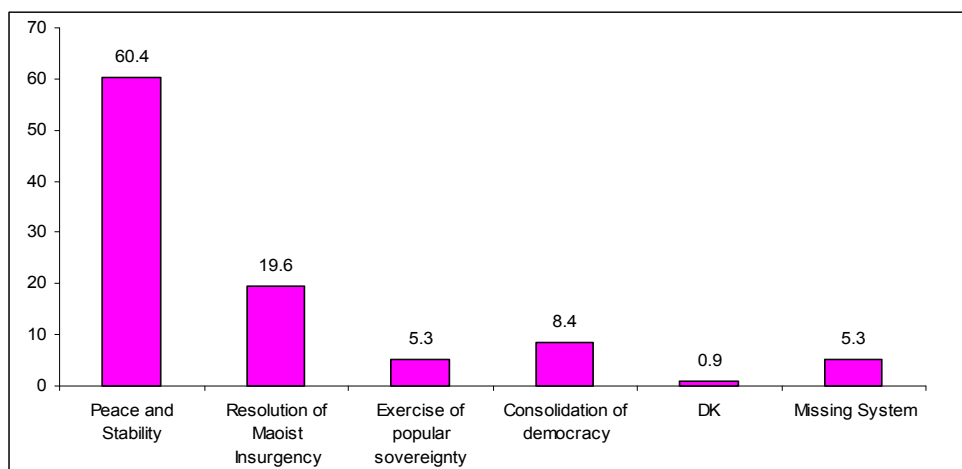


**Fig 7 Favor the Elections of the Constituent Assembly**

The 93.8% surveyed respondents favored the elections of Constituent Assembly to resolve decade-long insurgency and draft a new constitution. However, including who favored the CA elections and other puzzled the entire concepts and procedure of the elections.

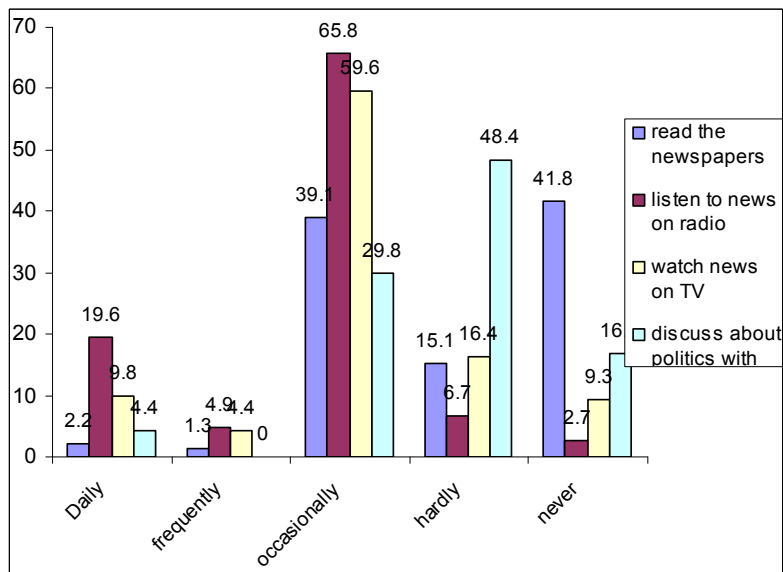
**Fig 8: Expectation from the Constituent Assembly**

In total 60.4% respondents expected 'peace and stability' through the CA elections follow by 'resolution of insurgency, exercise of popular sovereignty, and consolidation of democracy. The time and context of the country's political situation might influence the respondents.



**Fig 9 Listening Radio/ Watching TV/ Reading Newspapers**

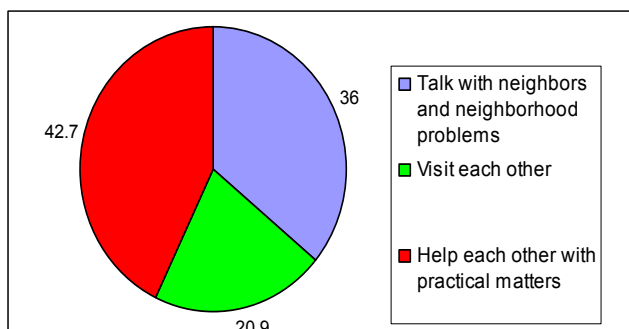
Media is one of the most important sources of political knowledge and information but a majority of surveyed villagers (41.8%) had never read newspapers. Only 2.2% respondents revealed that they read 'daily'. Only 19.6% of surveyed villagers were found to be regular listeners of radio news 65.8 occasional, 6.7% hardly and 2.7% never. The data reveals that radio is more popular among the surveyed villagers followed by television, which is still new for them.



**C The Level of Political Participation of the Respondents**

**Fig 10: Contact with other People**

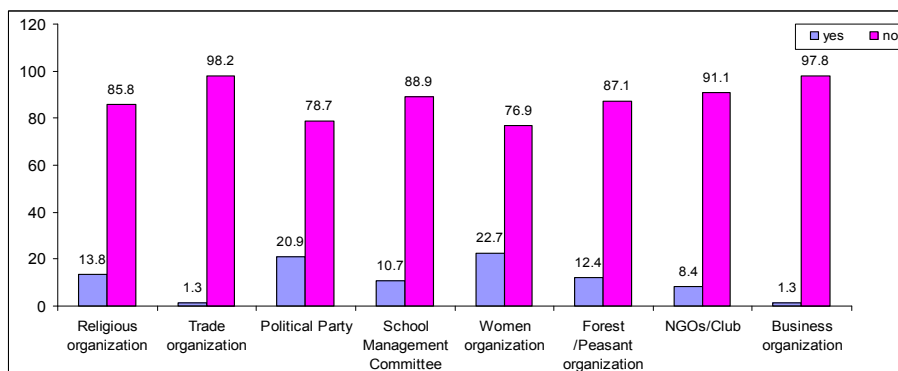
This figure shows that though the level of literacy is considerably lower, the surveyed people said that they help each other with their practical matters (42.7%) they argued that they visit each other (20.9%) and talk with neighbors on neighborhood issues (36%). This explains the communitarian tradition and culture of the society of this village among others.



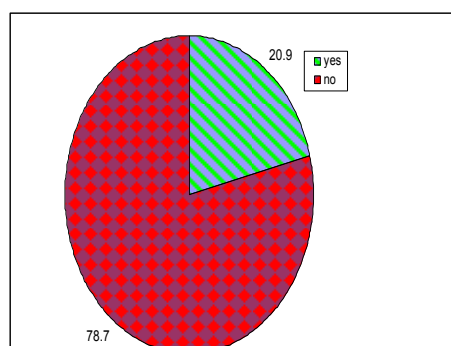
**Fig 11 Involvement with the associations**

The state of associational life in the village is found very poor. Responses on 'no' involvement in the given organizations begins from 78.7% -98.2%. Only 22.7% respondents are involved in women organizations and 20.9% of them are with political

parties. Generally, involvement in trade unionism, NGOs/ civil society groups and business organization of the respondents seemed almost negligible. The males, high caste, educated and middle aged-respondents appeared slightly ahead than their fellow co-inhabitants; women, Dalits, illiterates, and old-aged. Among the university graduates, 18% were found to be associated with political parties and 6% of them with NGOs/Club, etc. This indicates that necessary social capital is still provided by the tradition and culture rather than modern networks, trusts and associations.

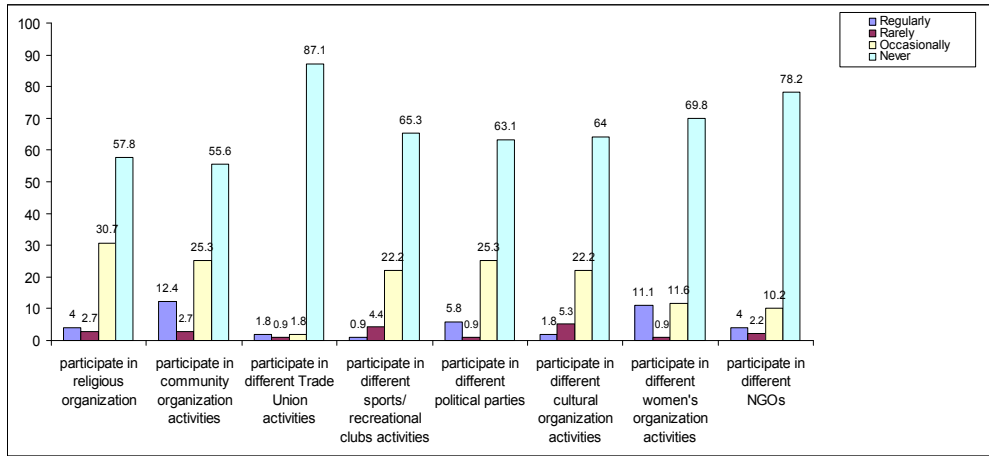


**Fig 12 Worked for Political Party**



**Fig 13 Frequency of Participation in Associations/Organizations**

The frequency of participation in associational and organizational activities of the surveyed respondents was quite low. The 57.8%, 55.6%, 87.1%, 65.3%, 63.1% 64%, 69.8% and 78.2% of the respondents did never participate in religious, community, trade union, sports/recreational, political parties, cultural and women organizations, and NGOs' activities. Only 10.2% adults were found to be occasionally taking part in NGOs/civil society activities and 25.3 % each participated in political parties/communities activities.



The survey reveals that a greater participation was focused on local issues/politics than protest, demonstrations and election campaign for the national issues. The citizens' participation is categorized into community activities, electoral and political party affiliation. Obviously, associational life requires time, and knowledge, which is beyond reach of village people so there is very low political participation of the village people in activities other than voting.

## D Correlation

### Bivariate Correlations Analysis with Civic Literacy and Political Participation

Literacy status	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	225
democracy means	Pearson Correlation	.307(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	225
nationhood/citizenship means	Pearson Correlation	.399(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	225
government accountable to people	Pearson Correlation	-.152(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.023
	N	225
democracy first time in Nepal	Pearson Correlation	-.360(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
name of a woman minister	Pearson Correlation	.490(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
favor the elections of the Constituent Assembly	Pearson Correlation	.236(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
expectation from constituent assembly	Pearson Correlation	.069
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.320
	N	213
party list of immediate past VDC	Pearson Correlation	-.295(**)

Chairman		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
most members in the Village Council in the immediate past	Pearson Correlation	-.423(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
Electricity	Pearson Correlation	.266(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
Hospital	Pearson Correlation	.256(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
School	Pearson Correlation	.248(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
Drinking water supply	Pearson Correlation	.231(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
Transportation	Pearson Correlation	.174(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009
	N	224
read the newspapers	Pearson Correlation	.661(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
listen to news on radio	Pearson Correlation	-.348(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
watch news on TV	Pearson Correlation	.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.868
	N	224
discuss about politics with your friends	Pearson Correlation	.329(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
VDC was governed by the right people	Pearson Correlation	-.059
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.377
	N	224
at least two neighboring districts	Pearson Correlation	-.388(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
voted in elections	Pearson Correlation	-.150(*)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.025
	N	224
contact with other people	Pearson Correlation	.055
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.409
	N	224

Religious organization	Pearson Correlation	-.036
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.596
	N	224
Trade unions	Pearson Correlation	.177(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008
	N	224
Political Party	Pearson Correlation	.331(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
School Management Committee	Pearson Correlation	.113
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.091
	N	224
Women organization	Pearson Correlation	-.103
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.126
	N	224
Forest /Peasant organization	Pearson Correlation	-.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.870
	N	224
NGOs/Club	Pearson Correlation	.288(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
Business organization	Pearson Correlation	.178(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008
	N	223
participate in religious organization	Pearson Correlation	.110
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.110
	N	214
participate in community organization activities	Pearson Correlation	.188(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006
	N	216
participate in different Trade Union activities	Pearson Correlation	.223(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001
	N	206
participate in different sports/recreational clubs activities	Pearson Correlation	.344(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	209
participate in different political parties	Pearson Correlation	.448(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	214
participate in different cultural organization activities	Pearson Correlation	.275(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	210
participate in different women's organization activities	Pearson Correlation	-.013

	Sig. (2-tailed)	.854
	N	210
participate in different NGOs	Pearson Correlation	.390(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	213
worked for a political party	Pearson Correlation	.434(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
ever taken part in peaceful demonstration	Pearson Correlation	.305(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
ever taken part in election campaigning	Pearson Correlation	.302(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	224
ever taken part in solving problems concerning locality	Pearson Correlation	.230(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001
	N	224
ever taken part in writing petition	Pearson Correlation	.019
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.774
	N	223
ever taken part in personal contact with politician	Pearson Correlation	.312(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	221
ever taken part in citizen's initiatives	Pearson Correlation	.295(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	222
ever taken part in signature campaign	Pearson Correlation	.305(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	221
ever taken part in illegal movement	Pearson Correlation	.327(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	N	222
influence local politics	Pearson Correlation	.206(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002
	N	222

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

"We know that democracies, in comparison to other political systems, tend to have more literate and educated people, that their per capita income and wealth are higher, and that they enjoy in greater proportions the amenities of modern

civilization." <sup>xvii</sup> Theoretically, the higher the socio-economic status of the citizens, the more they participate in politics as they may have enough time to do so. Also, because political leaders are assumed to be responsive to those who are politically knowledgeable and do participate more. Here, the correlation values provided in page 1 and up to the fourth last of page 2 judged the status of independent variable; civic literacy of the respondents. Similarly, the rest judge the value of dependent variable; political participation. For instance, the correlation of democracy means is only .307 and the level of significance is only 0.00 out of 0.01. On the other hand, the level of significance of voted in elections is of; 0.25 and participation in trade organization, political party, are women organization respectively; 0.88, .000 and .126.

Similarly, whatsoever social discrimination and economic hardships they are facing, only a few percentage of respondents admitted that basic needs like food, clothes and shelter are the meaning of democracy. The correlation between general literacy and political knowledge of the respondents found positive; 50.9% respondents were found to be just literate, 21.1% female and 33.3% male high school passed and 8.1% males were university graduates and the significance level of their participation in voting is 0.25 out of 0.05. Also, analysis shows that there is slightly positive correlation between level of education and political knowledge of the respondents; however, they might have influenced by media, and political socialization of political parties unlike enlightening by formal education alone. "The influence of income and education on civic engagement is self-explanatory, as those with higher incomes and educational attainment tend to engage more perhaps because they value the benefits that they can drive by being involved in social and associational activities" <sup>xviii</sup>

Here, in this study too, the correlation between the socio-economic status of respondents and dependent variables found positive; as half of the respondents were just literate and 74.2% of them were farmers and had negative correlation on; reading newspapers; .661 out of 0.01, who were not involved with trade unions, political parties, and NGOS/Clubs and business organizations. The correlation level on them are; .177, .331, .288 and .178 out of 0.01 level. Similarly, the level of correlation significance is of; 434 out of 0.01 of worked for political party's shows that their economic condition and status of literacy highly influenced their participation in politics. "Civic engagement is closely linked to political participation,



and we have no more suitable indicator of political participation than voter turn out. Comparatively passive though it may be, voting is the only activity that serves the purpose of comparing broad and long-term trends in political participation in different societies." <sup>xix</sup> Regarding the voters' turn out and civic engagement in Bajung, though there is only .434 correlation significance level of those who worked for political parties, and .177 out of 0.01 level correlation in worked for trade unions, the level of significance in voters voted for political parties both in parliamentary and local elections is -150 out of 0.05 . Thus, voting is visible, readily identifiable and quantifiable measurement of political participation of the people on which correlation between dependent and independent variables found negative here. But, the correlation between independent and dependent variables is appeared largely positive.

## 5 Conclusions

Social science researchers have been arguing, particularly in the established democracies, that there is a strong correlation between civic literacy and political participation. Using this conceptual framework, the correlation between civic literacy and citizens' participation in electoral and other associational activities in Bajung is slightly positive except in voting turn out. The study shows that the middle-aged, male, high school and college graduates, high castes who have to some extent access to media, have much contact with people around their community, engaged in political parties, school management committee, forest/peasant organizations and the NGOs/Clubs. Those with a low level of education or illiteracy, old-aged, female, Dalits, peasants have less involvement in associational activities other than voting participation. More interestingly, the ratio of female high school graduates and their participation in women organizations is almost similar, which shows that if there is more educated female in village their political participation *ipso facto* goes up. But, the correlation between active political participation and high formal education is quite unpredictable.

The correlation between civic literacy political participation; mainly of associational seem somewhat different. Though correlation of following dependent variables; political parties, trade unions, NGOs, forest and peasant and other organizations seemed negative, their electoral participation is considerably moderate. Due to freedom of speech, press and civil liberties after 1990's political changes, lobbying of

political parties and their sister organizations, voters turn out might have increased in comparison with their involvement with associational activities. Thus, this study explores that due to tremendously low civic literacy status of the citizens of Bajung their non-electoral participation i.e. associational activities is found almost negligible.

In addition to civic literacy, the overall socio-economic and political situations of the country, for example, stratified social structure, political instability, poverty, mass illiteracy, armed- conflict, power politics, bad governance are making people frustrated towards active political participation. Therefore, in order to promote civic literacy and political participation of people, the functioning political institutions and vibrant civil society groups including media should play significant role in the days ahead. The civic literacy and political participation are rather abstract concepts so while doing future researches on this topic there is a need to formulate more variables by employing intensive questionnaires to explore concrete relationship between them. Also, it would be better to employ same questionnaires for both urban and rural clusters of Nepal so that we can identify the differences in surveyed regions and make more authentic generalizations as well as relevant predictions on it.

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## 6 Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> Milner, Henry *How Informed Citizens Make Democracy Work*, Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2002 ( p. 2)

<sup>ii</sup> Almond A. Gabriel and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nation*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 10

<sup>iii</sup> *Ibid* and Putnam Robert, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000 and Verba and ET: al "Citizen Activity: Who Participates? What Do They Say, *American Journal of Political Science Review*, 1993, Vol. 87, pp- 304-18.

<sup>iv</sup> Stone D. Policy-Paradox: *The Art of Political Decision Making*. New York: Norton quoted in Wagle Udaya R. " Political Participation and Civic Engagement in Kathmandu: An Empirical Analysis with Structural Equations in *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 27, Number 3, July 2006 (p.302)

<sup>v</sup> Lasswell, Harold D. *The Political Writings of Harold, D. Lasswell*, iii; 1951, pp.495, Lasswell, *Power and Personality*, New York, 1946.p.48

<sup>vi</sup> Almond and Verba, *Op Cit*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>vii</sup> *Ibid*, pp.169-170

<sup>viii</sup> Milner, *Op. Cit*.

<sup>ix</sup> Diamond, Larry and Morlino, Leonardo *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*,

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Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005, p.xvi

x *Ibid.*

xi Kabashima, Ikuo, "Political Participation and Political Equality Revisited: Political Participation in Seventeen Countries in Asia and Europe." A Working Paper Presented in 20<sup>th</sup> World Congress of International Political Science Association, Fukuoka , Japan July 9-13, 2006 (p. 2)

xii Almond and Verba, *Op. Cit.* Booth, J.A. "Political Participation in Latin America: Levels, Structure, Context, Concentration and Rationality", in J. I. Dominguez (ed.), Parties, Elections, and Political Participation in Latin America. New York: Garland Publishing and ET. Al. quoted in Wagle, U. *Op. Cit.* pp.301-322

xiii Popkin, Samuel and Dimock, Michael. 1999. "Political Knowledge and Citizen Competence", in S. Elkin and K. Soltan, eds. *Citizen Competence and Democratic Institutions*. University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press.

xiv Dahal, Dev Raj, *FES Nepal Report*, January 2007

xv *Population Census 2001 National Report*, His Majesty's the Government of Nepal. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics, June 2002

xvi **Note** : In figure 3, the dark yellow chart with 34.8%, represents Brahmin caste's respondents

xvii Almond and Verba, *Op. Cit.*, p.11

xviii Becker, G.S., 1998; Coleman.1998, and Grootaert, 2002. Quoted in Wagle, U. *Op. Cit.*p.312

xix Milner, *Op. Cit.* p. 15