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

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## 1 Introduction

Does civic literacy enhance citizen's participation in political activities? This is a perennial question that has perplexed the minds of scholars mainly since the early 1960's when Almond and Verba argued that participatory political culture is needed to foster democracy. "Not only do better informed individuals vote more, but the positive relationship of political knowledge with voting reproduced at the aggregate level: countries higher in civic literacy have higher turn out." (Milner: 2002)<sup>i</sup> Similarly, Milner observes, "The minimum levels of political knowledge needed to make effective political choices we find good evidence that the positive relationship between political participation and political knowledge holds at the aggregate as well as individual level." (Milner: 2002)<sup>ii</sup> Thus, a wide body of literature on political participation and civic literacy indicates that civic literacy and education levels have positive impact on elections, the extent of participation and democratization in a whole. "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." (Almond and Verba: 1963)<sup>iii</sup> But interestingly countries of both low and high literacy rates are facing same low level of political participation. Even though "There is near universal agreement that more knowledgeable people participate at a much higher rate." (Popkin and Michael: 1999)<sup>iv</sup> Thus, in this study, we wish to examine the specific impact of civic literacy on political participation.

The aim of this paper, then, is to examine the relationship between political participation and civic literacy. It re-examines the level of civic literacy and political participation in Bajung, village of hilly Nepal. It underpins the importance of the two different models; the mobilization and emergent democratic culture models; that largely are influencing the voters in Bajung which are developing citizen initiated participation, with rights consciousness. This paper also studies on nature and magnitude of the correlation between political participation and civic literacy. The

paper is organized as follows. The next chapter develops the theoretical arguments mainly of; civic literacy and political participation. The third chapter offers testable hypotheses, data (variables) and the contexts. The results, findings and analyses are presented in the fourth chapter and the final chapter of the paper discusses the theoretical implications of the results, and considers future research directions.

## **2 The Concepts of Political Participation and Civic Literacy**

According to Habermas; "Participation has double orientations; influencing the existing political system and revitalizing and enlarging the domain of civil society and public sphere."<sup>v</sup> (Habermas: 1997) Political participation is a central element of democratic system through which 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.

As per Birch, political participation includes," A number of issues and activities; "voting local and national elections and referendum" "canvassing or otherwise campaigning in elections", active membership of pressure groups and political parties", membership of government's advisory committees and consumers.' councils for public owned industries, taking part in political demonstrations and industrial strikes with political objectives" and civil disobedience movement" community actions of different nature, client involvement in the implementation of social policies." (Birch: 2001)<sup>vi</sup>

Political participation here not only indicates electoral, it covers other non-conventional ways of political engagements Non-conventional participation includes; 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 orientation; trust, confidence in the human environment, and relative freedom from anxiety while the relation between these characteristics and democratic behavior seems clear" (Lasswell 1951).<sup>vii</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 constitution" 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?"(Almond and Verba: 1963)  
viii

An active and influential citizen who does have knowledge on politics can participate in the making of law and obey as well. Also, in a democracy an ordinary person should also need to play following roles " 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" (Ibid:1963).<sup>ix</sup> Thus, a better learnt citizen can efficiently take part in political affairs, for that education mainly of civic literacy can play an instrumental role. "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"(Milner: 2002).<sup>x</sup> The higher the civic literacy among citizens the more they engage in voluntary, communitarian, associational activities and voting, however, voters' turn out has become a question of further research in country and region-specific comparison.

### **3 Methodology and the Context**

#### **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.( Diamond and Morlino: 2005) <sup>xi</sup>

Thus, "A fundamental condition for widespread participation is broad diffusion of basic education and literacy, and with political knowledge of the system of government, its procedures, rules, issues, parties, and leaders."( Ibid: 2005) <sup>xii</sup> Given these assumptions, one hypothesis can be derived, the higher the level of civic literacy, the more the citizens take part in politics i.e. voting and others particularly in the developing and countries with nascent democracies. This paper attempts to explore the positive cause and effect correlation between political participation and civic literacy.

#### **B. Data and Variables**

The data set in this study was created by carrying out a survey, using a set of structured questionnaires, administered through face-to face interview with a village-wide random 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 Bajung 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 at the age of 18 years (voting age). Measurement of civic literacy and citizens' participation non-other than the elections is quite complicated job, however,

we have ascertained following indicators to judge 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 respondents other variables were also employed 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. Despite, 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." (Wagle: 2006) <sup>xiii</sup> Considering this fact, we took age, sex, caste/ethnicity, status of literacy/illiteracy, occupation as control variables and political participation as dependent variable (DV), and civic literacy as independent variable (IV) here in this study. The paper argues that 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 tests whether civic literacy will have a significant bearing on the political participation of citizens.

### **C. 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."(Dahal: 2006) <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."(Census: 2001) <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 from Kathmandu,

Nepal's capital city. It has a total of 4600 population, 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 villager is agriculture, and youths from village are also working as Indian and Nepalese Armed/police personnel and migrant labors in India, gulf countries, Malaysia, Taiwan and Belgium. A very few persons from village 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, 3 lower secondary and a secondary schools. There is a health center in the village for primary health care, a post office and some 10 public telephone lines are also in operation. 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 to a 30-minutes bus ride, and for university education village people should make an hour and half bus ride all the way to Pokhara.

#### **4 Results**

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. The survey found that female and *Dalits'* literacy level is quite poor compared to others. Out of total respondents, 34.8 % were Brahmin, 28.6% Chhetri, 24.1 % Dalits, 9.4 %Thakuri and 3.1 % Gurung. Interestingly, most of the college/university/high school graduated respondents were from same Brahmin, Chhetri and Thakuri caste groups. Out of all, 74.2 % of the respondents were farmers (self-employed), and 8.9% were working in foreign armed force and labor? Only few respondents were from civil service, teaching professions, and the NGO sectors, which indicate poor socio-economic conditions of the village. The 70.2% respondents revealed that free and fair elections largely makes government accountable to people. At the same time, most of them raised their concern that until and unless the armed forces keep under the control of civilian administration, democracy always remain under threat. The majority respondents favored the democratic role of political parties and vibrant civil society to make a government accountable to people. Similarly, 93.8% of surveyed respondents favored the elections of constituent assembly, assuming that it would be able to resolve decade-long insurgency and pave the way to draft a new democratic

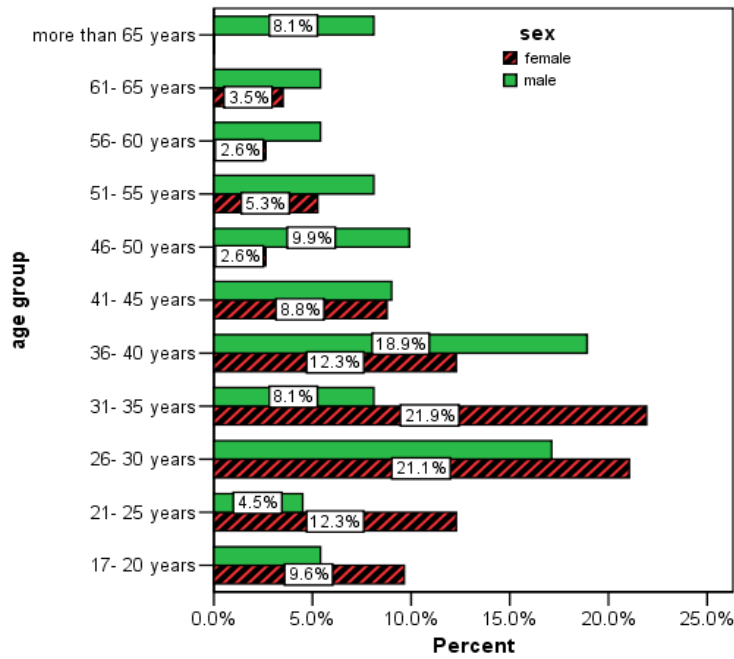
constitution. However, even including those who favored the CA elections might not be aware much about the concepts and procedures of the CA elections.

In total 60.4% respondents expected 'peace and stability', resolution of insurgency, exercise of popular sovereignty, and consolidation of democracy through the CA election. Media is one of the most important sources of political knowledge and information but a (41%) surveyed villagers never had chance to read newspapers. Only 2.2% respondents revealed that they read 'daily newspapers'. Only 19.6% of them were regular radio news listeners, 65.8% occasional, 6.7% hardly and 2.7% never. The data reveals that radio is more popular means of media among the surveyed villagers followed by television, though which is still new for them. According to survey, (42.7%) respondents do help with each other in the community in practical matters, they argued that they visit each other (20.9%) and talk with neighbors on neighborhood issues (36%). This can be explained not only because they have higher literacy i.e. civic literacy but also might cause so due the communitarian tradition and culture of the given society.

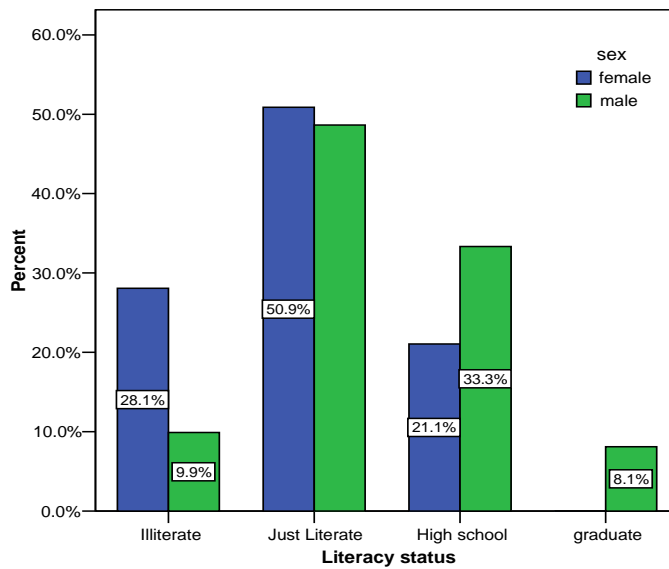
The state of associational life of the surveyed village people found very poor. Responses on 'no' involvement in the given organizations begins from 78.7% -98.2%. Only 22.7% respondents are involved in women organizations and 20.9% of them are with political parties. Generally, the involvement of respondents in trade unionism, NGOs/civil society groups and business organizations are appeared almost negligible. Male, high caste, educated and middle aged-respondents appeared slightly ahead in literacy and frequency of political participation than their fellow villagers i.e. 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. 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.



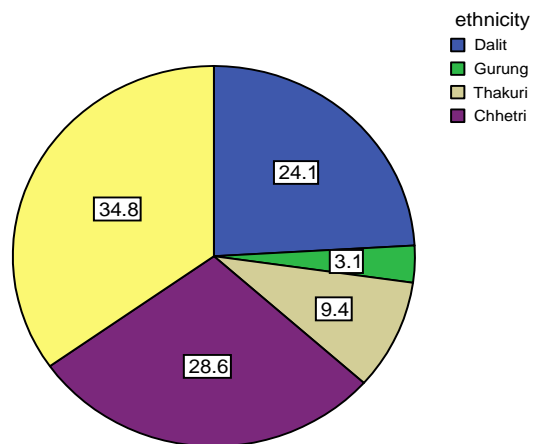
**Fig 1: Age-sex distribution of respondents**



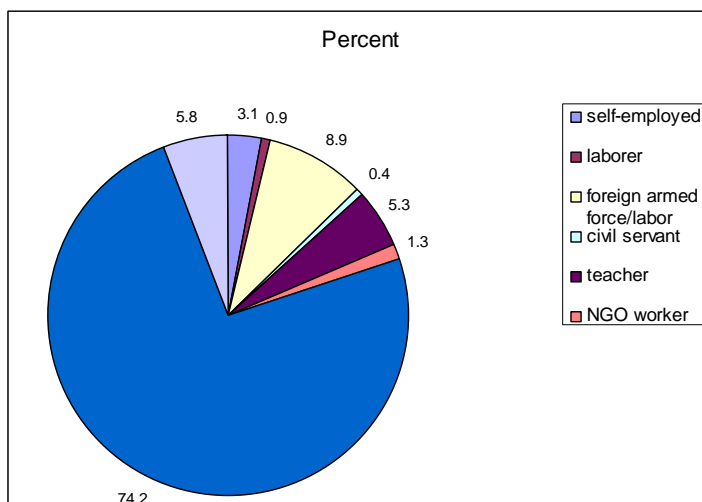
**Fig 2: Education and Sex-wise Distribution of Respondents**



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

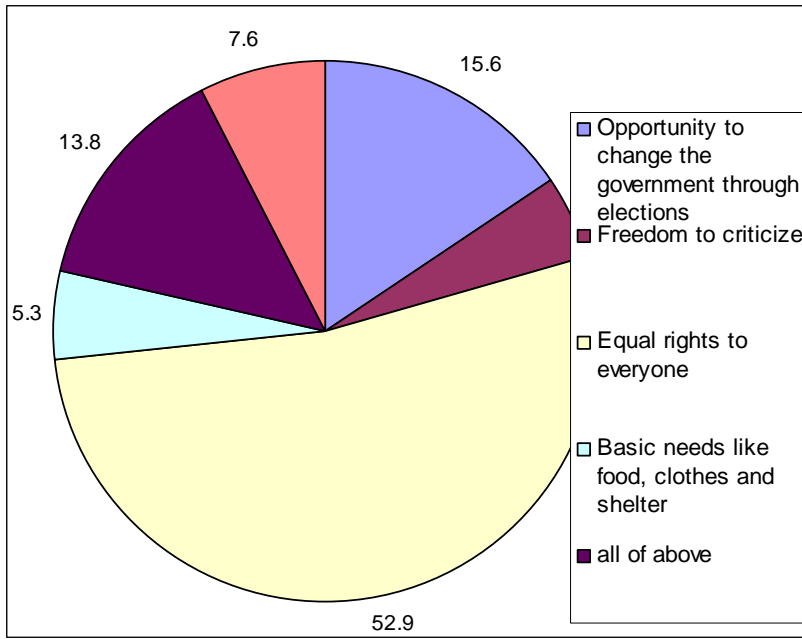


**Fig 4 Occupation of the Respondents**

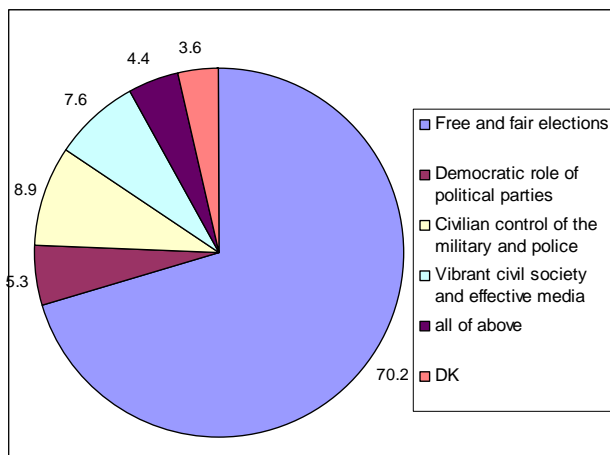


**B. The Extent of Political Knowledge of the Respondents**

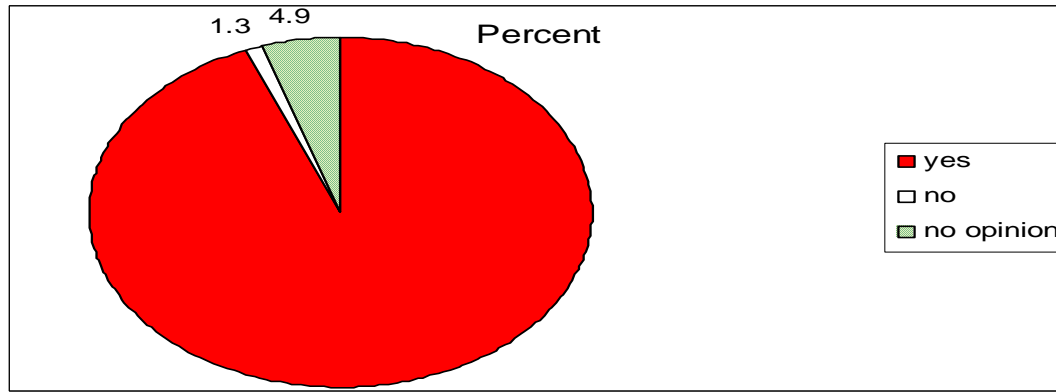
**Fig 5 Meaning of Democracy**



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

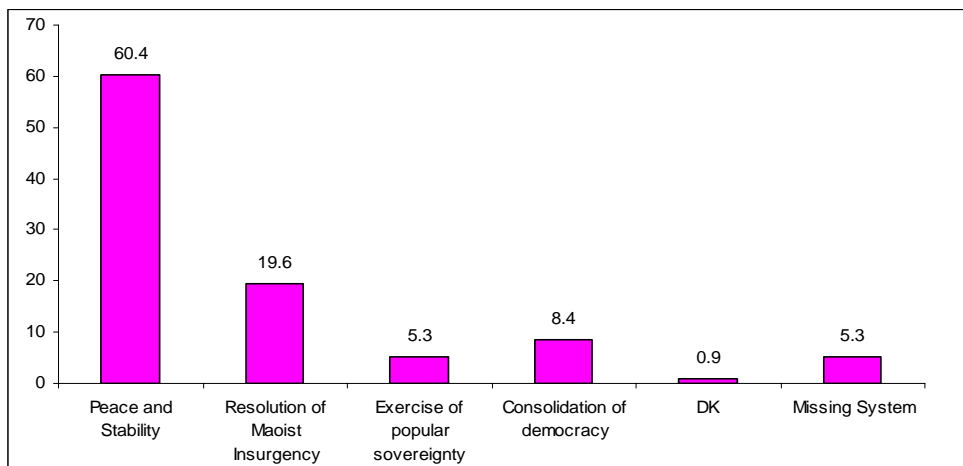


**Fig 7 Favor the Elections of Constituent Assembly**

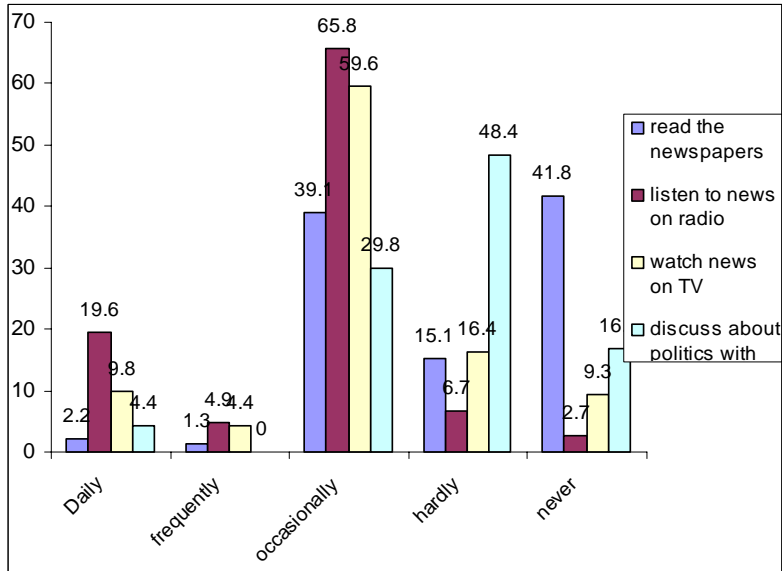


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**Fig 8: Expectation from the Constituent Assembly**

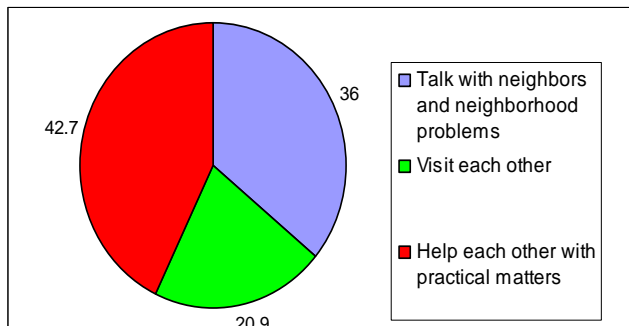


**Fig 9 Listening Radio/ Watching TV/ Reading Newspapers**

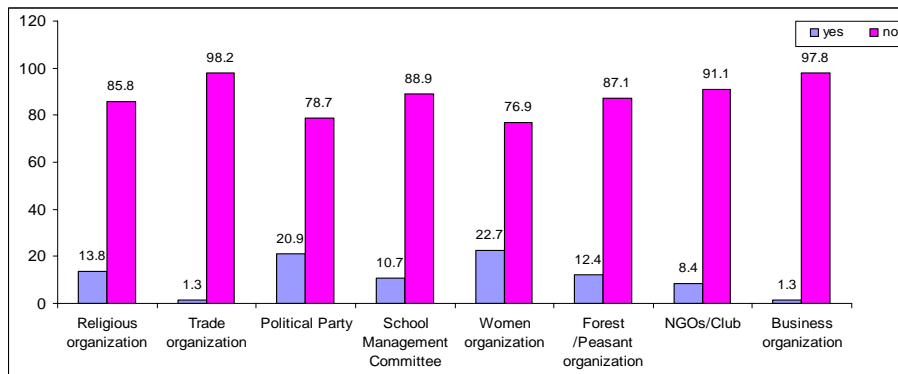


**C The Level of Political Participation of the Respondents**

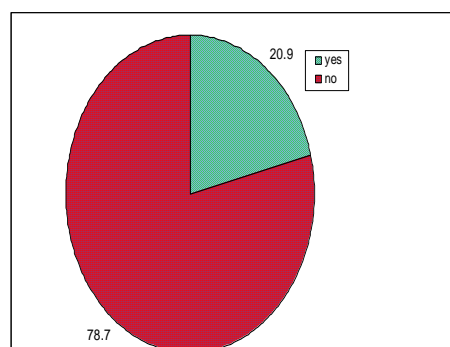
**Fig 10: Contact with other People**



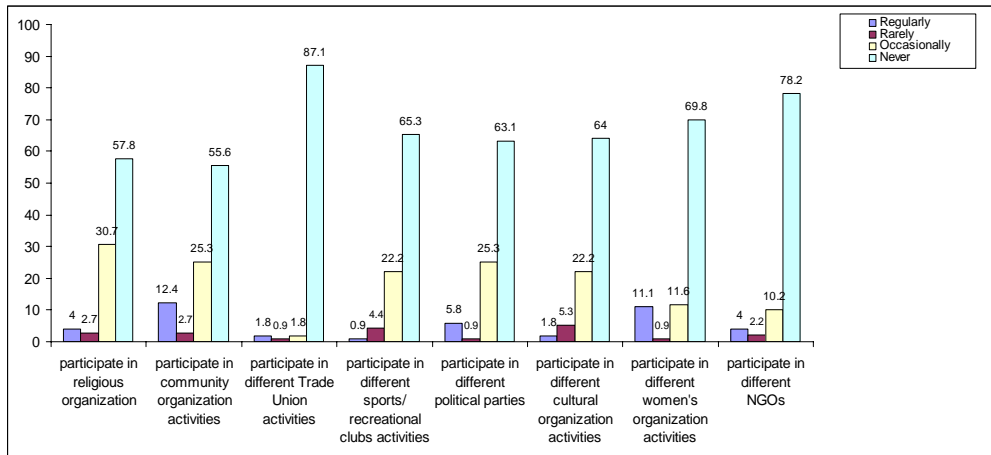
**Fig 11 Involvement with the associations**



**Fig 12 Worked for Political Party**



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



### D Interpretation of Results: Bivariate Correlation Analysis

This paper hypothesized that the higher the socio-economic status i.e. civic literacy of the citizens, the more they participate in politics. Also, because political leaders are assumed to be responsive to those who are politically knowledgeable and do participate more. "The passive citizens, the non-voter, the poorly informed or apathetic citizen all indicate a weak democracy. This view of democratic citizenship stresses activity, involvement, rationality."(Almond and Verba: 1989)<sup>xvii</sup> However, measuring the level of activity, involvement and rationality are another difficult task. Here, the correlation value mentioned below in page 1 and up to the fourth last of page 2 judged value of independent variable; civic literacy level of the respondents. Similarly, the rest judges the values of dependent variable; political participation. The correlation value of what is 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, values of nationhood and citizenship, government accountable to people, democracy first in Nepal and the name of a woman ministers are .399,-152,-360, .490,

which show the mixed correlation between the dependent and independent variables. For instance, democracy first in Nepal and party list of immediate past VDC Chairman and the most members of in the village Council in the immediate past show the negative correlation. However, they might have influenced by mobilization/socialization through political parties and their sister organizations unlike enlightening by formal education alone. Similarly, the correlation values to the role of the government for providing electricity, hospital, school, drinking water supply, transportation are almost positive as: .266,.256,.248,231,.174

"With democratic theory a remarkable consensus is emerging around Tocqueville's view that the virtues and viability of a democracy depend on the robustness of its associational life."(Warren: 2001) <sup>xviii</sup> "A robust associational life may enable more democracy in more domains of life, while forming and deepening the capacities and dispositions of democratic citizenship."(Sydney and et.al: 1995) <sup>xix</sup> "The relationship between democracy and association stands out from a normative perspective as well. Associational life is distinctive as a linkage between the normative and conflictual dimensions- a linkage that has always defined the heart and soul of democracy." (Warren: Ibid) <sup>xx</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 through 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>xxi</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

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 Chairman	Pearson Correlation	-.295(**)
	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).

## 5 Discussion and 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, mobilization 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.

## 6 Endnotes

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

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

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v Habermas Jurgen, 1997. *Between Facts and Norms*, Cambridge: Polity Press

vi Birch H. Anthony, 2001. *Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy*, London: Rutledge

vii Lasswell, Harold D. *The Political Writings of Harold, D. Lasswell*, iii; 1951, pp.495, Lasswell, *Power and Personality*, New York, 1946, p.48

viii Almond and Verba, *Op Cit*, pp. 16-17.

ix *Ibid*, pp.169-170

x Milner, *Op. Cit.*

xi Diamond Larry and Morlino Leonardo. 2005 *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005, p.xvi

xii *Ibid.*

xiii 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

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 A. Gabriel and Sidney Verba, 1989 *The Civic Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nation*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, s

xviii Warren, E. Mark. 2001 *Democracy and Association*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press

xix Verba Sydney, Lehman Kay Scholzman and Brady E. Henry, 1995. *Voice and Equality : Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

xx Warren, *Op. Cit.*

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