

How to cite this article:

Bhandari, R., & Paudel, J. (2020). Public Trust and Confidence towards Judiciary of Nepal: A Study based on Nepal National Governance Survey 2017/18. *Journal of Governance and Development*, 16(2), 85-101. <https://doi.org/10.32890/jgd2020.16.2.5>

Public Trust and Confidence towards Judiciary of Nepal: A Study based on Nepal National Governance Survey 2017/18

Rameshwor Bhandari¹*

Junu Paudel²

¹Nepal Rastra Bank (Central Bank of Nepal), Former Training and Research Officer,

Nepal Administrative Staff College

²Nepal Bank Limited

*Corresponding author: r.vandary@gmail.com

Received:18/4/2020 Revised:15/7/2020 Accepted:11/8/2020 Published:31/12/2020

ABSTRACT

Citizens' trust and confidence occupy central place in democratic governance. They are more vital in public organizations. The level of trust and confidence of the people towards any institution shows the performance level of that organization. This paper tries to look at the level of trust and confidence towards the court system (judiciary) in Nepal. In order to analyze the level of trust and confidence level, this paper has used the data base of Nepal National Governance Survey, 2017/18 conducted by Nepal Administrative Staff College (NASC) in a sample size of 12,872 individuals across 43 districts (out of 77) of Nepal. The study uses simply descriptive method of data presentation. The study finds that the level of trust and confidence of the people towards courts in Nepal is quite satisfactory. It also reveals that level of honesty is comparatively better for courts in comparison to civil service and bureaucracy, NGOs and political parties. Though there is slight difference in the perception of respondents from different demographic groups and regions on the issue of trust and confidence, no significant difference is

marked among these groups. However, it is evident that courts need to make their services better, respond the clients properly, give impartial judgment, and curtail corruption in order to have more public trust and confidence.

Keywords: Public Service, Public Institutions, Trust, Confidence, Courts

INTRODUCTION

Citizens' trust in public institutions is an indication of citizen's confidence in these institutions. When government fails to meet citizens' expectations, this may create distrust in public institutions and may affect the process of governance in the country (Jamil, Aminuzzaman, Haque, Ahmed, & Haque, 2016). Without people's confidence and trust in government institutions, the realization of all the promises may be a far cry and the system of governance in the country may again face with the problem legitimacy, acceptance and hence popular support (ibid).

Judiciary (also known as the judicial system or the court system) is one of the state bodies or institutions that interprets and applies law in name of state. It is the system that ensures justice to the people. Therefore, it needs to have high degree of impartiality and competency which ensures trustworthiness of the system among the people. It is the last resort of justice of the nation towards people. The saying of John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States of America is very relevant to assert the importance of trustworthiness of the court system. When Jay was requested to return to the position by President John Adams in 1880, he refused the proposal by asserting that Court of the time did not possess "the public confidence and respect", the most essential aspects (Rottman & Tomkins, 1999).

According to the European Court of Human Rights, an effective judiciary must not only provide good substantial and procedural rules, but should also inspire citizens with confidence and respect (Roussey & Deffains, 2012). Although scholars in both law and economics acknowledge that public confidence in justice is a crucial element of justice effectiveness, the literature on what determines it remains scant (ibid).

It has also been shown in law and economics literature that good faith in the judiciary may improve the performance of the judiciary itself (Priest and

Klein, 1984; Dari- Mattiacci and Deffains, 2007). Trust in justice reduces the number of incoming cases in courts and hence courts' congestion by decreasing both the number of disputes and litigations. Indeed, a credible, reliable and predictable judicial system tends to provide sound incentives to individuals, who are then less likely to cheat or break the law. It also encourages parties to avoid litigation costs by finding a mutually beneficial arrangement out of court (Friedman and Wittman, 2007).

The study on trust and confidence towards the court in Nepal is also an eminent issue as there are many matters of contention about the perception of judiciary (court system) in Nepal. The judiciary has played important role in each political transition and it has issued many orders through public litigation cases in the name of government, parliament and other concerned stakeholders for the protection of people's rights. Though there are many positive notes on the roles of courts, there are also numbers of blames raised against this institution. Though there is poor backup of empirical researches, there is blame on the performance of the courts. The legacy of red-tapism, corruption, poor transparency, lengthy and non-practical procedures etc. are tagged with the courts of Nepal. Therefore, a systematic and intensive research is to be carried out to find the reality. In this context, this paper tries to analyze the trust and confidence of people towards courts of Nepal through the use of data attained from Nepal National Governance Survey 2017/18. This survey carried out at the time Nepal is in the process of institutionalizing federalism after the completion of all three levels of election- Federal, Provincial and local helps to provide the overall image of courts from the perspective of the general public.

PUBLIC TRUST AND CONFIDENCE

There is no any concise and unanimous meaning of the word 'trust' as it is used in variety of ways depending upon the context. Literally, the word "trust" is derived from German word *Tröst* meaning *Comfort* which implies natural, unquestioning belief in and reliance upon something (Hébert 2006:5). Luhmann (2000) defines trust as a means to reduce the social complexity. Though there is category of trust as personal and institutional, institutional and organizational trust is vital in the study of governance. Trust is function of structures of rules, roles and human actors who generate activities, and people may trust or distrust organizations and institutes, depending upon how they perceive them and assess their actions (Jamil & Dhakal, 2015).

Trust is sometimes subjective and it is determined by the personality of the individuals. Jones and George (1998) suggest that an individual's propensity to trust is driven by their values, attitudes, moods and emotions. In order to see the differences in level of trust, Rotter (1980) studied the characteristics of trusting individuals, and he found that those who trust other people are more likely to be trustworthy themselves and that trust is psychologically rewarding. "Trust occurs when parties holding certain favorable perceptions of each other allow this relationship to reach the expected outcomes" (Wheless and Grotz 1977: 251). This shows that trust is not always objective phenomenon.

Public trust is very important aspect in public sector service delivery. Decline in public (or collective) trust in government and/or public services may have a negative impact on any individual's propensity to trust which, in turn, damages their psychological well-being. However, it is bitter truth that significant number of studies have shown declining stage of trust and confidence. In same line, Hardin (2006) states "On the basis of evidence of declining trust in several advanced democracies (Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States), it's apparent to question whether we are now living in an 'age of distrust'. Similarly, O'Neill (2002:9) speaks of an apparent 'crisis of trust' to the extent that 'loss of trust' has become a cliché of our times.

Moving to the concept of confidence, it emerges in the people when they have high level of trust towards any system or institution. Hence, trust and confidence are correlated to each other. If we seek a meaningful distinction between public trust and confidence, public confidence may be more linked to indications of good performance, whilst trust is more driven by perceptions of public integrity and shared values as stated by Hardin (2006:69). The study on trust and confidence towards courts had started long before in the United States of America. The National Center for State Courts in the United States commissioned the first national study of the public's trust and confidence in the states' courts in 1978. In that survey, some 1,900 American adults expressed their opinion about the state courts, including the perceived need and prospect for court reform. The public survey revealed people were poorly informed about the legal system, had a middling level of confidence in the courts, and displayed a general if not wholehearted respect for judges. When same questions were asked to about 300 judges, most of them tended to be very satisfied with the status quo. Few judges saw any urgency to court reform generally or indicated any specific areas in which courts needed to improve (Yankelovich and White, 1978).

In August 1998 another comprehensive national survey was done in the United States of America on how the public perceives the state courts in the United States of America. The “Perceptions of the U.S. Justice System,” commissioned by the American Bar Association, relied on telephone interviews of 1,000 American adults selected at random. The respondents were asked for their opinions about “the justice system,” lawyers, judges, law enforcement and the courts. The findings showed that public confidence in the courts relative to other major institutions seemed higher, and experience with courts appeared to promote higher rather than lower levels of confidence (American Bar Association, 1999).

Rottman and Tomkins (1999) conducted a National Survey and reported the views of 1,826 Americans interviewed via telephone by researchers from the Indiana University Public Opinion Laboratory. The survey findings reveal stark differences in how African- Americans view the judicial system. African-Americans consistently display a more negative view of the courts and less trust and confidence in the judicial system than do White/Non-Hispanics or Hispanics. This result shows that the trust and confidence towards a particular institution do not remain same for all community people. Roussey and Deffains (2012) conducted another research to examine the relationship between judicial resources and individuals’ trust in the justice system. The results show that different simple measures of judicial resources are strongly correlated with individuals’ declared trust in the justice system. Moving to the review of literature in Nepal and this region, Central Department of Public Administration (CDPA), Tribhuvan University, had conducted a trust survey in the name “The state of governance and citizen’s trust in public and political institutions in Nepal” in 2014 with the sample size of 2400 (selected randomly on the basis of multistage sampling method for selecting study area and respondents). The study carried out in 48 out of by then 240 election constituencies, the level of trust towards different public institutions was tried to be assessed through perception survey carried out between June and August 2014. It showed that among the public institutions of Nepal, people of lowest level of trust in the political parties, and the highest level of trust is in the universities followed by media, school/colleges and hospitals. The level of trust towards courts was also found to be satisfactory (80% of trust towards Lower Courts and 77 % towards Higher Courts out of 100). The score of political party was 40 % only. This shows that the people have high faith towards Courts of Nepal (Jamil and Dhakal, 2015).

Similar type of trust survey was carried out in Bangladesh in 2010 by Public Policy and Governance (PPG) Program of North South University,

Bangladesh with sample size of 2000. The survey revealed that among the public institutions, people of Bangladesh had highest level of trust towards the higher judiciary. Higher judiciary was followed by the army, parliament, election commission and the Office of the deputy commissioner. All these institutions were able to attract more than 80% trust and confidence of the people. Even the lower courts were able to get more than 75 % score. The lowest trust level was for the Police (just 16%) followed by Civil Service and NGOs. This shows that Bangladeshi people of that time had high trust and confidence in courts of Bangladesh (Jamil et. al. 2016).

Though there are number of research works done in the field of trust, they have either become absolute or different public institutions are brought together in the study. In case of Nepal, though CDPA had conducted the trust survey in 2014, it was not able to bring the status of trust on the level of provinces and other categories. In this context, this study helps to find out the status of trust and confidence to the Courts of Nepal. The findings of the research might help the judiciary of Nepal to formulate the appropriate plans and strategies for judicial reforms.

Theories of Trust and Confidence

There are many theories to deal with the concept of trust and confidence. The absence of the factors associated with trust erodes the citizen confidence in public institutions. There are at least three schools of thought that speak about trust and confidence. These factors are: social psychological features of individuals; cultural environment of individuals, groups, and communities; and the governmental performance (Newton & Norris, 1999).

According to socio psychological features, trust is considered in the context of factors which are assumed to facilitate or inhibit cooperation in groups. (Bierhoff & Vornefeld, 2004). The social and cultural model essentially argues that individual life situations and experiences- especially higher education (Doring 1992), participation in a community with a cooperative culture, and involvement in voluntary activities (Geertz 1962; Ardener 1964; Williams 1988)-create social trust and cooperation, civic mindedness, and reciprocity between individuals. The third model- institutional performance model focuses on the actual performance of government as the key to understanding citizens' confidence in government (Newton & Norris, 1999). Government institutions that perform well are likely to elicit the confidence of citizens; those that perform badly or ineffectively generate feelings of distrust and low confidence. Similarly, the general public, model assumes,

recognizes whether government or political institutions are performing well or poorly and reacts accordingly. If social trust helps build social capital and social capital, in turn, helps strengthen political institutions, then governmental performance may improve, inspiring citizens' confidence.

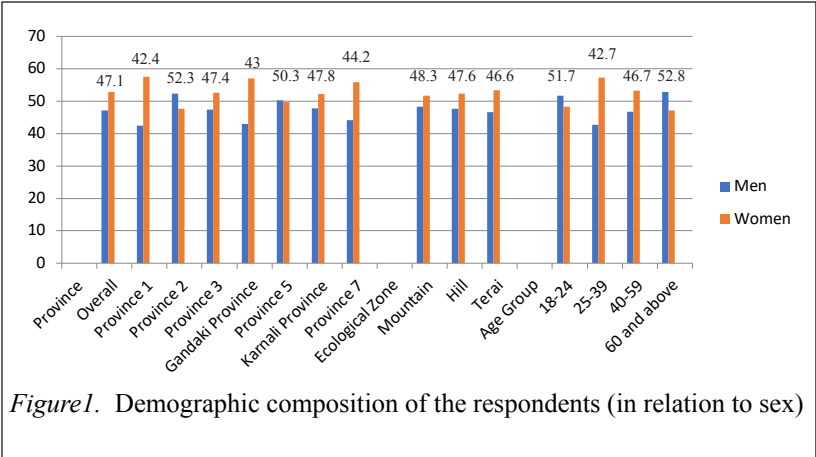
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The paper is an outcome of National Governance Survey (NNGS) 2017/18 conducted by NASC. Though the survey have numerous data on trust and other governance indicators, only the trust and confidence of people towards the court system of Nepal have been put under the scope of the study. Thus, the study only presents the dimensions of trust and confidence of people towards judiciary of Nepal. In addition to it, the paper also tries to analyze the possible reasons behind having such level of trust and confidence in the court system.

The paper is based on the data base of NNGS 2017/18 conducted by NASC between December 2017 and March 2018. NNGS 2017/18 had a defined sample size of 12,920 individuals across 43 districts of Nepal, among which 12872 (99.6% of planned sample size) individuals were interviewed through use of structured questionnaire. NNGS adopted a four-stage sampling design to select the respondents, covering: district, municipalities /rural municipalities, polling centers and individuals. The individuals were selected based on the voters' list prepared by the Election Commission in August 2017 for the federal and provincial elections. Table 1 shows the demographic composition of the respondents on the basis of sex.

NNGS used the latest voter list prepared by the Election Commission of Nepal for sampling, therefore, the respondents are the elderly people (18+ years) and having diverse demographic features. Thus, some of the respondents have direct experience of accessing to public institutions (including the judiciary) while some of them might not have their own personal experience of accessing services from these institutions. Therefore, the general talking with the members of family and community, media news, heresy and other entities might have played role in framing the perceptions among this group of people who haven't accessed to public institutions for services themselves. Nonetheless, it is not to be disregarded that few of the respondents included in the survey might be the service providers themselves too. Considering this fact, the data is presented on two different categories in this section. Table 1 presents the perception of the respondents who have accessed to the courts in

the past 12 months, while other tables and figures present the perception of total respondents. This is the reason for having different N i.e. sample size in different section of data presentation.



As this paper is prepared on the basis of NNGS, the source of data for this study is purely secondary in nature. Descriptive analytical technique is used in this paper to analyze the data.

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In the context the issues of trust and confidence have become questionable; this section tries to assess the public trust and confidence in the court system (judiciary) of Nepal by using the data set of NNGS 2017/18. The data have been presented in various ways of data presentation to show the status of trust and confidence towards judiciary system in Nepal.

Table 1

Percentage distribution of people who trust/distrust the courts (among those who accessed the courts in the past 12 months) N=586

Demography	Trust Completely	Trust to some extent	Unsure to trust	Do not trust	Don't Know / Can't Say	Total
Province						
Province 1	33.9	39.2	11.1	15.3	0.6	100.0

Demography	Trust Completely	Trust to some extent	Unsure to trust	Do not trust	Don't Know / Can't Say	Total
Province 2	28.7	48.1	13.1	10.1	0.0	100.0
Province 3	25.5	47.1	11.6	15.3	0.6	100.0
Province 4 (Gandaki)	52.7	21.3	10.0	16.0	0.0	100.0
Province 5	40.0	29.8	7.6	22.6	0.0	100.0
Province 6 (Karnali)	29.6	24.4	22.8	23.2	0.0	100.0
Province 7 (Far Western)	16.8	49.0	13.7	20.5	0.0	100.0
Sex						
Men	34.1	39.7	8.6	17.2	0.4	100.0
Women	33.5	38.6	14.3	12.7	0.9	100.0
Age group						
18-24	23.6	51.8	5.6	18.4	0.6	100.0
25-39	34.8	45.2	10.9	9.1	0.0	100.0
40-59	34.1	34.9	15.5	15.0	0.5	100.0
60 and above	39.0	26.2	4.9	27.8	2.1	100.0
Occupation						
Agriculture	41.9	32.4	11.3	13.3	1.0	100.0
Business	26.3	44.8	14.7	14.3	0.0	100.0
Service	37.6	41.8	9.9	10.7	0.0	100.0
Daily Wage	22.0	44.0	12.5	21.5	0.0	100.0
Household chores	28.8	33.5	13.8	22.4	1.5	100.0
Not working	22.6	54.7	5.7	16.9	0.0	100.0
Other Activities	45.7	43.4	2.3	8.6	0.0	100.0
Economic Status						
High	44.3	15.1	0.0	40.6	0.0	100.0
Medium	32.1	44.1	10.9	12.1	0.8	100.0
Low	37.2	29.5	13.2	20.1	0.0	100.0

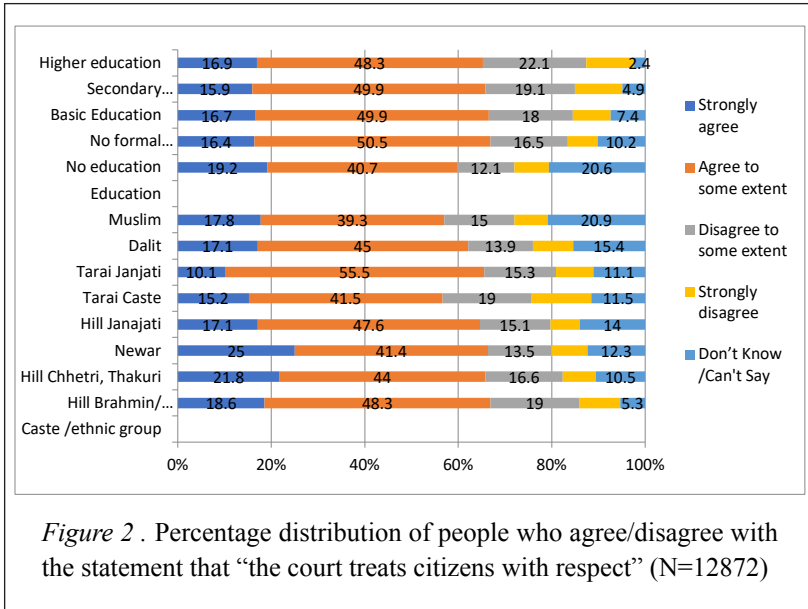
Among 12872 respondents, only 586 had accessed to courts in last 12 months of survey. When these 586 people who had direct experience of achieving the services rendered by the judiciary of Nepal were asked about their level of trust towards the courts of Nepal, it shows that the level of trust and distrust towards the court differ among the respondents from different Provinces. It seems that comparatively more share of people in Province 6 (Karnali Province) and Province 7 (Far Western Province) have higher degree of distrust to courts of Nepal in comparison to other provinces. It might be because of remoteness of the place, less literacy in the region and high cost of services associated. Trust percentage hovers around 70 percent (sum total of completely trust and trust to some extent) all five provinces except Province 6 (Karnali) and Province 7 (Far Western). No significant difference is seen in the level of trust among the people of two different sexes.

Regarding the age group, it's very important to see that young people of age group 25-39 have more trust to the courts. It is very positive note for the court system as trust and distrust among this group of young people is more significant in study of governance. When the trust level is compared with the occupation, people engaged in agriculture have more degree of trust to the courts. It means the farmers have more faith and confidence towards the services of court. This can be considered as the success of the courts in Nepal. It can be interpreted in the line that courts listen the voice of voiceless people. After agriculture, people engaged in services have more trust to the courts. It may be because of their easy access to services of courts as they know more about the procedures of the courts. It also can be because of sycophancy effects of this group.

It is interesting to see that people having medium economy have comparatively more trust (sum total of trust completely, trust to some extent). High class group is both trust and distrust to the courts. Two fifth of people with high economic status completely distrust the courts of Nepal. This figure indicates that high class either completely trusts or completely distrusts the courts. This might be because that they become completely satisfied with the courts when the decisions are in their favor, and completely distrust when the judgments are against them. But it is significant to note that about two third people trust the courts of Nepal completely or to some extent.

Moreover, when the study is directed towards the perception of the people regarding the treatment of court to the people, it can be ascertained that people are not much dissatisfied with the services of the court. Nonetheless, when people of different ethnic groups and variant education level were

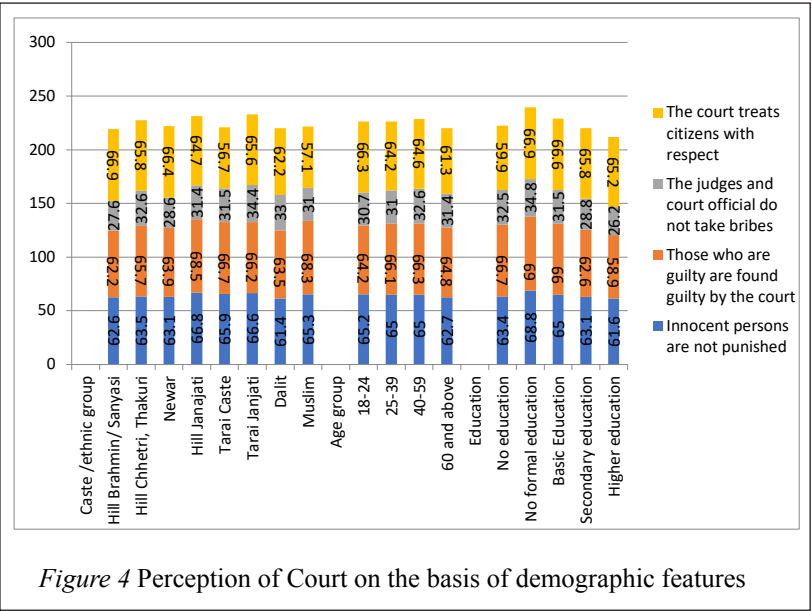
asked about how much do they think that court treats people with respect; there was slight difference in their perception about the court. Analyzing the data from perspective of ethnic group, it is seen that Hill Brahmin and Sanyasi, Hill Chhetri and Thakuri, Newars and Tarai Janjati have highest level of trust that court treat people with respect.



Similarly, when the data is presented on the basis of four different questions in relation to the courts (judiciary) , it is revealed that the belief of people towards the performance of the court is not dissatisfactory. Around two third respondents have the belief that innocent persons are not punished by the courts, and those who are guilty are punished by the court. Similarly, almost same proportions of respondents have faith on court and they perceive that court treats citizens with respect. The above data suggests that Nepalese people have positive faith and confidence towards the judiciary of Nepal. However, regarding the question of bribery, only about one third respondents have the perception that judges and court officials do not take bribe. These above mentioned aspects are self-contradictory. Though many people think that there is exchange of bribes in the courts, still quite a good majority of people are satisfied with the functioning of the court. Further intensive research works are to be carried out to find the reasons behind such contradictory perception of the public.



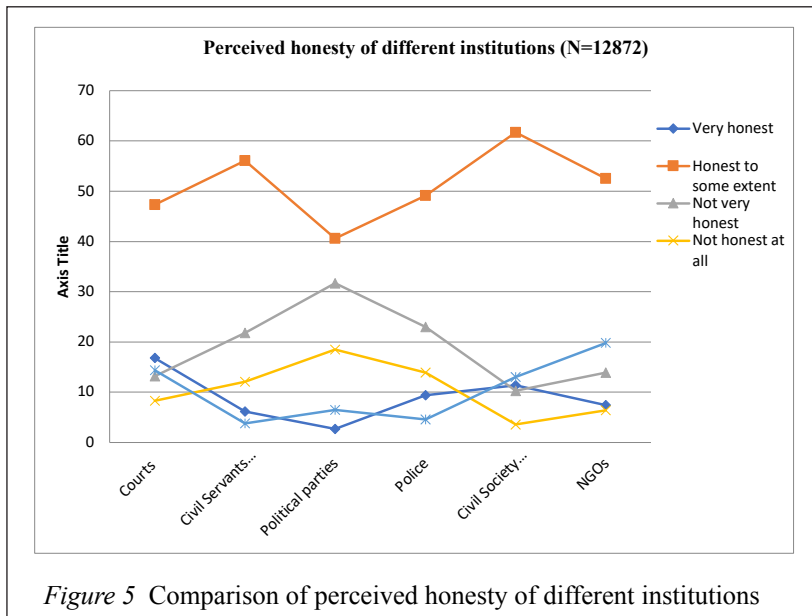
The study further split the data into various demographic sub-indicators to analyze the overall perception of the general public towards the courts in Nepal.



There is almost same opinion on the statement that innocent persons are not punished by the courts. The figure for this statement stands at around 60% for all the ethnic groups, age group and education level. Similarly, people of

all demographic groups have almost similar ranking for the perception that guilty people are found guilty by the courts. However, there is agreement in the respondents of different groups that judges and court official take bribes. Only, around one third respondents of each group perceive that judges and court officials do not take bribes. The perception of the respondents is contradictory as majority of respondents think the court treats citizens with respect, but on the other hand, only around one third respondents say that court officials and judges do not take bribes. This perception of the general people indicates that around two third court officials and judges take bribes but still these people are satisfied with the service of the courts (judiciary). This might be because of the thinking in the majority of people that the bribery is widely accepted system/practice in the judiciary of Nepal, and this trend cannot be brought to null level at all, therefore, they have to be accustomed and satisfied with this practice.

This paper after analyzing the trust level of judiciary in Nepal compares the honesty level of different public institutions on the basis of same NNGS database. Large number of respondents perceives that all the public institutions included in the survey are honest only to some extent. This perception indicates that people do not have full-fledged trust in the public institutions. Analyzing the institutions individually, we can find some differences in the level of honesty as perceived by the respondents.



As per the response of 12872 respondents, lowest level of trust is shown in the political parties of Nepal. The scores of ‘not very honest’ and ‘not honest at all’ are highest for the political parties. The second lowest level of honesty as perceived by the people is seen for the NGOs. The graph shows that the perceived honesty for the courts is satisfactory in comparison to other public institutions. There are very less (less than 20%) people who feel that perceived honesty of courts in Nepal is poor and pathetic. The score of the courts seems better than that of the other civil servants and bureaucrats. The perceived honesty level of the civil society is best in comparison to others. This shows that in spite of having some issues, the trust level (indicated by honesty level) among the public institutions is highest in the civil society followed by the courts (judiciary) in Nepal.

CONCLUSION

The study finds out that the level of trust and confidence towards the courts of Nepal is quite satisfactory. Though some scholars (for example: Hardin, 2006; O’Neill, 2009) put forward the idea that the trust towards public institutions is declining worldwide, the survey conducted by NASC shows that the level of trust and confidence in courts of Nepal is not that much unsatisfactory. However, it is interesting that level of trust differs in different regions of the country. People in Mid-western and Far-western region have less trust to the services of the court. When court as an institution is compared with other public institutions, it is revealed that the people seem to have seen more honesty in services of courts than civil service/bureaucracy, NGOs and political parties. Also, it is very striking to see that people of high economic class have both highest level of trust and distrust to the courts. It indicates that the people of higher income trust the court on situational basis. Moreover, people engaged in agriculture have more trust to the courts. It indicates that the farmers take court as the institution of last resort from where the justice can be established.

Though the data is analyzed from different demographic entities, no vast difference is found among the perception of the respondents on the issue of trust and respect for different age groups, sex, education level, ethnic groups etc. However, there is significant number of respondents (Muslims, Uneducated, and Dalit etc.) who say that they “don’t know” or “can’t say” whether court respect the citizens or not. This indicates that wide range of people who are from deprived sector and those who are uneducated still

don't know about the functions of the court. Though the level of trust and confidence towards the courts of Nepal seem satisfactory, there are many spaces for intervention in order to make the services of the court better and more trustworthy.

Nepal National Governance Survey 2017/18 is a milestone survey in the history of governance research in Nepal. This survey has tried to catch many aspects of governance system. Perception study has been conducted for the study of court system too. However, there can be the future avenue based on the findings of present survey. This study has put judges and court officials in the single basket. A study can be done for finding the level of trust and confidence of people for judges and court officials separately. There are contradictory findings on trust towards court and occurrences of bribes in the court. Majority of people say that the court punishes, guilty people and innocent are not punished and court respects the citizens. However, only one third respondents say that court officials and judges do not take bribes. A systematic and extensive research can be done to find out the association between these variables.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public.

REFERENCES

- American Bar Association (1999). *Perceptions of the U.S. Justice System*. Available online at: https://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/publishing/abanews/1269460858_20_1_1_7_upload_file.authcheckdam.pdf
- Ardener, Shirley (1964). The comparative study of rotating credit associations. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Association of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 94.
- Bierhoff, H. W., & Vornefeld, B. (2004). The social psychology of trust with applications in the internet. *Analyse & Kritik*, 26, 48-62.
- Dari-Mattiacci, G. and B. Deffains (2007). Uncertainty of Law and the Legal Process. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*, 163(4): 627-656.

- Doring, Herbert (1992). Higher education and confidence in institutions. *West European Politics*, Vol. 15: 126-46
- Friedman, D. and D. Wittman (2007). Litigation with Symmetric Bargaining and Two-Sided Incomplete Information. *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, 23(1): 98–126.
- Geertz, Clifford (1962). The rotating credit associations: a ‘middle rung’ in development. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. Vol. 10, April: 241-63.
- Hardin, R. (2006) *Trust*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hébert , S.C. (2006). A phenomenological study of falling into trust: Employee perspective on leadership. Unpublished PhD thesis dissertation. University of Phoenix. Available online at: <https://therapy-cloud.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Falling-Into-Trust-by-Suzanne-Hebert.pdf>
- Jamil, I., Aminuzzaman, S. M., Haque, S. M., Ahmed, S., & Haque, S. M. (2016). *Data Book on Governance and Citizens’ Trust Survey in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: PPG Program, North South University.
- Jamil, I., & Dhakal, T. N. (2015). *Trust Report: The State of Governance and Citizen’s Trust in Public and Political Institutions in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University, Central Department of Public Administration.
- Jones, G. R. and George, J. M. (1998) The Experience and Evolution of Trust: Implications for Cooperation and Teamwork. *Academy of Management Review*, 23(30), pp. 531–546.
- Luhmann, Niklas (2000). Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives. In: Gambetta, Diego (ed.) *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*. Department of Sociology, University of Oxford, chapter 6, pp. 94-107. Available online at: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.23.8075&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Nepal Administrative Staff College (NASC). (2018). *Nepal National Governance Survey 2017/18*. Lalitpur: Nepal Administrative Staff College.
- Newton, K., & Norris, P. (1999, September). *Confidence in Public Institutions: Faith Culture and Confidence?* Retrieved December 18, 2018, from <https://sites.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Acrobat/NEWTON.PDF>
- O’Neill, O. (2002) *A Question of Trust: The BBC Reith Lectures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Priest, G. L. and B. Klein (1984). The Selection of Disputes for Litigation. *Journal of Legal Studies*, 13(1): 1–55.

- Rotter, J. B. (1980) Interpersonal Trust, Trustworthiness and Gullibility. *American Psychologist*, 35, pp. 1–7.
- Rottman, D. D., & Tomkins, A. J. (1999). Public trust and confidence in the courts: What public opinion surveys mean to judges. *Court Review*, 36(3), 24-31.
- Roussey, L., & Deffains, B. (2012). Trust in judicial institutions: An empirical approach. *Journal of Institutional Economics*, 1-19.
- Wheless, L.R. and Grotz J. (1977) The Measurement of trust and its relationship to self-disclosure. *Human Communication Research*. Vol. 3 (3), 250-257.
- Williams, Bernard (1988). Formal structures and social realit. In: In Diego Gambetta, ed., *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Yankelovich, S. and White I. (1978). Public Image of Courts: Highlights of a National Survey of the General Public, Judges, Lawyers and Community Leaders. Virginia: National Centre for State Courts.