Democratic Attitude of Youth Evidence from Pakistan

Shah Nawaz Mangi, * Bahadur Ali Somroo, ** & Adnan Malik***

Abstract

Since the Arab spring, youth have been politically active in Asia through various modes. Regime revolution or failed takeover on 15 July 2016, in Turkey is its vibrant example. However, it's unfortunate that the political perception, intention or attitude of youth towards democracy have not been included in the process of policy making. As a result, youth activism in politics remained unrecognized. Therefore, present work is an effort to explore democratic attitude of youth in Pakistan. The state of Pakistan has been selected because 64 % of her population comprises youth. Current study examines democratic attitude through four major independent variables: economic growth, democratic values, public participation and political stability. Data was collected from the respondents who were in between 18-35 years of age by distributing a survey questionnaire which was adopted from the literature. Data was analyzed through SPSS version 24.0. Result of the study suggests that all the developed hypotheses were accepted. Additionally, study finds that despite massive corruption, social injustice, favoritism, nepotism, political instability, economic crisis and many other problems, Pakistani youth overwhelmingly considers democracy, as the potential form of government and dislike any alternative of it. Current study may be the first stone in the stagnant water not only in measuring democratic attitude of young generation but it will also help them to understand what sort of democracy is needed in Pakistan.

<u>Keywords</u>: Youth, Democratic attitude, Economic growth, Political instability, Pakistan

Introduction

The concept of democracy is one of the predominant concepts political science has ever seen. Like the products of the multinational companies, democracy requires no description to be introduced across the globe.¹

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A.R. Norton, 'The Future of Civil Society in the Middle East', *Middle East Journal*, 47:2 (1993), 205-216.

Since the beginning of the last century, public desire for democracy and belief in the democratic norms like freedom, equality and liberty has been growing immensely. According to the World Value Survey (2014), 79% of the total world's population wants to live in a democratic system. Public desire for democracy is not only found in the countries where democracy has flourished for centuries (United States of America, United Kingdom) but it is also observed in the Muslim countries like Pakistan and Malaysia, African state like Zimbabwe and even in China.² Additionally, protests, demonstration and riots across the Arab world in the end of 2010 and failed takeover on 15 July 2016 in Turkey, highlight public weariness with authoritarian rule.³ Freedom House finds that until 2006, 123 countries out of 192 became electoral democracies and 60 states were described as being free.⁴ Although the democratic form of the government is quite popular throughout the world but the reasons behind its popularity is a matter of intellectual debate.⁵ Some argue that it is the positive effect of democracy on economic growth; while others declare political liberty as the main reason. Similarly, majority of the scholars seems confident that the democratic values and norms, improve the living standard of the public which ultimately increases public trust on the democratic system.⁸ Contrarily, several scholars opine that the

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T.A. Parray, 'Democracy and Democratization in the Muslim World, An Evaluation of Some Important Works on Democratization in South / Southeast Asia', Analisa' Journal of Social Science and Religion, 2:01 (2017), 79-101; D. Resnick, 'The Middle Class and Democratic Consolidation in Zambia', Journal of International Development, 27:5 (2015), 693-715; R. Johns & G. A. Davies, G. A. 'Democratic Peace or Clash of Civilizations? Target States and Support for War in Britain and the United States', The Journal of Politics, 74:4 (2012), 1038-1052.

³ K. Caliskan, 'Explaining the End of Military Tutelary Regime and the July 15 Coup Attempt in Turkey', *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 10:1 (2017), 97-111.

F. House, 'Freedom in the World Database', Washington DC (US), 7:8 (2014), 9.

⁵ K. Gründler & T. Krieger, 'Democracy and Growth: Evidence from a Machine Learning Indicator', *European Journal of Political Economy*, 45, (2016), 85-107.

⁶ F. Solt, 'Economic Inequality and Democratic Political Engagement', *American Journal of Political Science*, 52:1 (2008), 48-60.

B.S. Chan, 'A Human Rights Debate on Physical Security, Political Liberty, and the Confucian Tradition', *Dao*, 13:4 (2014), 567-588.

J. Von Stein, 'Making Promises, Keeping Promises: Democracy, Ratification and Compliance in International Human Rights Law', *British Journal of Political Science*, 46:3 (2016), 655-679.

popularity of democracy depends upon the way a democratic system is delivering. Again, for the better performance of democracy, it needs public confidence and participation. Therefore, it can be argued that democracy is strongly correlated to public trust and confidence.

On the other side, relation between democracy and economic development seems controversial in the existing literature. ¹⁰ Majority of the social scientists finds positive and significant relationship between these two. According to them, economic growth in the Western countries is the byproduct of the consolidated democracy. ¹¹ Several studies also find a negative relationship between economic development and democracy. ¹² According to these studies, democracy is not necessary for economic development. The strongest argument of these studies is China, which is economic giant despite its authoritarian rule.

Similarly, relationship between political stability and democracy is also fuzzy in the published literature. Sometimes, political stability is considered as a consequence of democracy and sometimes it is a cause. ¹³ Democracy enhances political competition and is inclined to bring government change peacefully through the ballot box, which means chances of regime turn-over among various political parties increase. ¹⁴ Thus, chances of unconstitutional and abrupt regime change diminish which ultimately increases political stability. In this way, regime change through ballot box is directly related to public political participation in the electoral process or political affairs of the country. ¹⁵ Shapiro (2011) rightly argued that people's participation in the political affairs is a spin-

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⁹ S. Chambers, 'Balancing Epistemic Quality and Equal Participation in a System Approach to deliberative democracy', *Social Epistemology*, 31:3, (2017), 266-276.

J.B. Madsen, P.A. Raschky & A. Skali, 'Does democracy drive income in the world, 1500-2000?' *European Economic Review*, 78 (2015), 175-195.

H. Doucouliagos & M. A. Ulubaşoğlu, 'Democracy and Economic Growth: a Meta-analysis'. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52:1 (2008), 61-83.

¹² J. Gerring, P. Bond, W.T. Barndt & C. Moreno, 'Democracy and Economic Growth: A Historical Perspective'. *World Politics*, 57:3 (2005), 323-364.

G.A. Almond & S. Verba, 'The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Princeton University Press, 2015).

L. Ezrow & G. Xezonakis, 'Satisfaction with Democracy and Voter Turnout: A Temporal Perspective, *Party Politics*, 22:1 (2016), 3-14.

W.L. Bennett, 'The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644:1 (2012), 20-39.

off democratic value¹⁶. Hence, it can be argued that political participation is based on the level of democratic value. If it is low, public participation may be low and if it is high public participation will definitely be high.

As described above that the attitude towards democracy is a result of various factors which are positively or negatively related to it. The combination of these factors allow researcher to be focused to a particular actor that is the youth.

Mostly, democracy is described as different things to different numbers of people but since the first wave of democracy, its core theme revolves around public rights. These rights help a commoner to decide his/her own destiny, freely. Additionally, these rights are the major factors that attract youth to involve in the political process. These rights highlight that the concept of democracy has been devised by the human mind and has not fallen from above.

The ignored and politically unaware youth, often times are hijacked by the undemocratic forces, insurgent or belligerent that bring it to resist democratic process or get into conflict. The political and civil crisis in Syria, Lebanon, Somalia, Sudan, Angola, Sri Lanka and Congo are the best examples where youth has been drastically used by the undemocratic forces as victims or fighters. The unrest in these countries shows that the period to consolidate the democracy is the most important in the political construction where youth needs sufficient attention and resources. An endless political unrest can be erupted, if youth have not been involved in the political process of the country, especially in the infant democracies. The case of Pakistan is selected due to its weak process of legislation and its implementation, therefore, youth's political awareness and involvement is the need of time to mount pressure on the policy makers to work for the consolidation of democracy. Besides, the state of Pakistan has been suffering from the economic crisis, political instability, public distrust and low level of democratic values since her birth.

Similarly, public participation in the affairs of government is shifting from the traditional to modern trends with the arrival of social media. In this trend, the youth seems to be more interested in the national issues as compared to the older generation. Due to their greater interest, youth has been selected as respondents in the current study.

The present study aims to examine democratic attitude of youth through economic development, political stability, political participation and democratic values.

R.Y. Shapiro, 'Public Opinion and American Democracy', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 75:5 (2011), 1982-1017.

Previous literature

The relationship between economic growth and democracy is equivocal in the literature. Theoretically, it is argued that economic growth is encouraged in the democratic system by providing equal and competitive opportunities to small as well as large scale business.¹⁷ Besides equal opportunities, investors' confidence and trust over government policies is also essential for investment which is not possible in uncertain and unstable political circumstances.

Political stability is the prominent attribute of consolidated democracy.¹⁸ Feng (1997) finds that the chances for an abrupt regime change are found low in democracy which is politically stable. ¹⁹ He further argues that established democracy positively affects economic growth. The positive relation between democracy and economic growth is also highlighted in the study conducted by Madsen et al. (2015). Contrarily, a plenty of published literature finds negative effect of democracy on economic growth.²⁰ These researchers opine that democracy is a cultivated land of capitalists. It imposes restraint to the kleptocratic and forestall specific group to avail economic opportunities.²¹ As a result, a particular class dominates the resources as well as the market.²² Therefore, the remaining classes of the society remain deprived and it ultimately reduces economic development. The negative relationship between democracy and growth is also seen in the study conducted in USA and Europe.²³ For instance, if we accept that

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A. Lizzeri & N. Persico, 'Why Did the Elites Extend the Suffrage? Democracy and the Scope of Government, with an Application to Britain's 'Age of Reform', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119:2 (2004), 707-765.

S. Marien & M. Hooghe, 'Does Political Trust Matter? An Empirical Investigation into the Relation between Political Trust and Support for Law Compliance', European Journal of Political Research, 50:2 (2011), 267-291.

Y. Feng, 'Democracy, Political Stability and Economic Growth', *British Journal of Political Science*, 27:3 (1997), 391-418.

M. Cervellati, F. Jung, U. Sunde & T. Vischer, 'Income and Democracy: Comment', *American Economic Review*, 104:2 (2014), 707-719.

D. Acemoglu, S. Johnson & J.A. Robinson, 'The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation: Reply', *American Economic Review*, 102:6 (2012), 3077-3110.

²² C. Irazabal & J. Foley, 'Reflections on the Venezuelan Transition from a Capitalist Representative to a Socialist Participatory Democracy: What are Planners to Do?', *Latin American Perspectives*, 37:1 (2010), 97-122.

E. Papyrakis & R. Gerlagh, 'Resource Abundance and Economic Growth in the United States', *European Economic Review*, 51:4 (2007), 1011-1039.

democracy is affecting economic development positively, then why several democracies have been facing economic challenges since the beginning of the 20th century? Researchers link the answer of this question with public support. According to them, wherever democracy lacked public support, it failed to solve the issues and wherever it is supported by the public, it performs well.²⁴

Similarly, like economic growth and democracy, the relation between public support and democracy is also a complex phenomenon.²⁵ It is due to its always changing nature. Public support to democracy may have several modes but the most important among all is the public political participation. In the modern era, the term public participation does not describe the participation merely in the election but it includes participation in the political activities, national issues, mobilizing others to take part, and much more.²⁶ Public participation is shifting from older methods to the modern such as e-participation.²⁷ A popular assertion in the support of public participation is that, it is a source which connects people to the government or public institutions hence develops a kind of trust among the masses which compels them to cooperate with the system instead of working against it.²⁸ Contrary, the factors which generate widespread public participation are also unclear or not globally accepted. So, it is difficult for new democracies to mobilize their citizen to participate in the national or political affairs. Countries where democracy is not consolidated properly, democratic attributes such as: freedom of speech, liberty, right to vote, right to contest in the election, right to know, religious harmony and some more are not provided or managed in a robust way. Particularly, countries which have shifted from

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²⁴ I. McAllister, 'Public Support for Democracy: Results from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Project'. *Electoral Studies*, 27:1 (2008), 1-4.

G. Ariely & E. Davidov, 'Can We Rate Public Support for Democracy in a Comparable Way? Cross-National Equivalence of Democratic Attitudes in the World Value Survey', *Social Indicators Research*, 104:2 (2011), 271-286.

²⁶ L. Bennie, *Understanding Political Participation: Green Party Membership in Scotland* (Routledge, 2017).

J. Berg, 'Political Participation in the Form of Online Petitions: A Comparison of Formal and Informal Petitioning', *International Journal of E-Politics (IJEP)*, 8:1 (2017), 14-29.

S. Knobloch-Westerwick & B. K. Johnson, 'Selective Exposure for Better or Worse: Its Mediating Role for Online News' Impact on Political Participation', *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19:2 (2014), 184-196.

authoritarian rule to democratic regime, the conditions of democratic norms, values and practices are not up to the mark. Therefore, people are not fully familiar with these values. For instance, on one hand people view democracy as an ideal system while at the other it is considered by them merely as an operating system. Always changing public attitude towards democracy will impact on it in different ways. It might be the reason that democracy is not fully supported by the people in the newly established democracies.²⁹ One of the most important factors behind the absence of constant public attitude towards democracy is the lack of useful political choices. If people have a limited number of political candidates to vote in the election, the citizen may not bother to participate in the election process. Almost every new democracy is facing the problem of low turnout across the world. Due to the low voter turnout, decision of the government may face the problem of legitimacy which ultimately creates political uncertainty. 30 If the uncertainty remains for a long time, public support for the democratic system will decrease. Political stability is the key factor on which democracy depends to get public support in order to survive in an effective way. For a system, to perform consistently according to the soul of democracy, growth, participation, public support, democratic values and sociopolitical stability are essential ingredients.

Therefore, the relationship of public attitude with the four independent variables—economic growth, democratic values, public participation and political stability—is investigated in Pakistan. The case of Pakistan is selected due to some reasons. Firstly, the state of Pakistan has failed to develop democratic attitude among the citizen even after seventy-three years of independence. Secondly, the state is facing great challenges of political uncertainty since its birth. Thirdly, people in Pakistan believe that the democracy is the best form of the government but majority of the citizens remain outside of the polling process. In other words, majority of the population does not bother to participate in political or national affairs. Fourthly, the state of Pakistan has been failed to establish a strong economy despite of abundant natural and human resources. Finally, the country was declared as a democratic state at the time of its creation but the democratic values, norms and practices are absent from the core of its socio-political system.

K. Aarts & J. Thomassen, 'Satisfaction with Democracy: Do Institutions Matter?', *Electoral Studies*, 27:1 (2008), 5-18.

S.N. Mangi, N. Shah & B. A. Soomro, 'A Scientific Approach to Measure Public Political Participation in Pakistan', Asian Journal of Political Science, 27:1 (2019), 88-107.

Conceptual framework

Measuring democracy or democratic attitude is a difficult and complex task due to some reasons. Most importantly, the grand theory which can highlight the potential sources of citizens' support for democracy is rare in the published literature.³¹ The modernization theory claims that the pro-democratic sentiments can be enhanced through economic development at the grassroots level.³² In addition, political structure is acknowledged as another macro variable which enriches democratic culture, though its relation with the democratic attitude is complex.

A stable political structure of any country encourages democratic culture. According to Lipset (1960) if a country is ruled under democratic regime consistently for a period of twenty-five years, it can be considered as stable.³³ The researchers of the modern period have changed the description of political stability by rejecting the traditional explanations. In the modern approach, stability is based on the strength of the government system. If the decisions or policies of the government vary over the time, it is considered as unstable. Political instability is a situation which threatens or changes the political attitude, behavior and perception of the citizens. Sometimes, public attitude changes from democratic to non-democratic and constitutional to non-constitutional way. Political instability brings sudden radical changes in the state.³⁴ The prominent character of the modern approach of instability is the 'uncertainty'. The unstable government fails to develop the state economically. Political instability is the prominent cause of the weakness of any government.³⁵ Public distrust, undemocratic attitude, democratic unrest, low participation, frequent elections, undemocratic practices and economic crises are some of the problems which are created by political instability. Therefore, it can be argued that political conditions of a country are the major source that can create anti- or pro-democratic attitude.

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Y. –h, Chu, M. Bratton, M. Lagos, S. Shastri & M. Tessler, 'Public Opinion and Democratic Legitimacy', *Journal of Democracy*, 19:2 (2008), 74-87.

³² C. Welzel, R. Inglehart & S. Kruse, 'Pitfalls in the Study of Democratization: Testing the Emancipatory Theory of Democracy', *British Journal of Political Science*, 47:2 (2017), 463-472.

S.M. Lipset, *Political Man: Essays on the Sociology of Democracy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960).

N. Marinov & H. Goemans, 'Coups and Democracy', *British Journal of Political Science*, 44:4 (2014), 799-825.

D. Chen & K. Kinzelbach, 'Democracy Promotion and China: Blocker or Bystander?' *Democratization*, 22:3 (2015), 400-418.

Similar to the political stability, economic growth is strongly co-related with democratic attitude.³⁶ Literature suggests that economic growth affects democratic attitude positively while economic crisis affects it negatively. Economic crises enhance uncertainty in the country which decreases foreign as well as domestic investment, ultimately enhancing anti-regime attitude. Sometimes, this anti-regime attitude becomes a great threat to the decisions or policies of the government and sometimes it causes public revolt against government like in Algeria recently. Contrary, economic growth increases level of public confidence, satisfaction and trust on government, thereby they willingly participate in the national and political affairs of the country. High level of public participation in the electoral process reduces the chances of riggings and increases the legitimacy of the government. Contrarily, it is argued that political instability and economic crisis increase distrust among the citizens which compel them to remain away from the political affairs and not to participate. The legitimacy of the decisions and the policies of the government can be challenged due to the low public participation and demand for regime change may arise. Similarly, across the globe, people are captivated by democracy because of its fundamental characteristics such as liberty, equality and freedom. Besides these fundamental attributes, there is another dimension of democratic values that provide general welfare to all. This dimension includes—social welfare, economic growth and political security. Democracy can achieve all of its fundamental as well as social goals through public institutions. The performance of the public institutions is correlated with the political stability, economic growth and public trust. Therefore, it can be argued that poor performance of public institutions can deprive the people from the fundamental goals of democracy without which it is not worthwhile.

It is globally recognized that the consolidation of democracy is not only possible through various institutions and legislation but through political, social and economic awareness of the citizen. Therefore, public democratic attitude is one of the core variables, and is strongly related to the factors such as: political stability, economic growth, democratic values and public participation. Youth of the country play a significant part for the betterment of the system. This group of the population is more politically, economically and socially aware when compared to the elders. Youth have the potential to change the undemocratic activities into democratic and resist the un-constitutional practices. Therefore,

P.J. Burke & A. Leigh, 'Do Output Contractions Trigger Democratic Change?, American Economic Journal, Macroeconomics, 2:4 (2010), 124-157.

current study aims to investigate democratic attitude of the youth in Pakistan. For this, a conceptual model has been developed (see Figure A).

Economic Growth

Democratic Values

H2

DEMOCRATIC
ATTITUDE

Political Participation

H3

Figure: A. Conceptual Model of the Study

Thus the following hypotheses are formulated:

- H1: Economic growth has a significant and positive relation with attitude towards democracy in Pakistan.
- H2: Democratic values are strongly and positively related with attitude towards democracy in Pakistan.
- H3: Public political participation is significantly and positively related with attitude towards democracy in Pakistan.
- H4: Political stability has s significant and positive relation with attitude towards democracy in Pakistan.

Research design

The present study is designed to examine the relations of youth' attitude towards democracy with four independent variables—economic growth, democratic values, political participation and political stability—in Pakistan. In order to collect the data a survey was conducted across the country by using random sampling technique. Due to the large sample size random sampling technique has been selected.³⁷

As described above the current study is an effort to examine youth democratic attitude, therefore, only those respondents were

D. Wahyuni, 'The Research Design Maze: Understanding Paradigms, Cases, Methods and Methodologies', *Journal of Applied Management Accounting Research*, 10:1 (2012), 69-80.

included who were between 18-35 years of age except students and uneducated. 18 years was selected as minimum age level because in Pakistan it is the age limit for adult-franchise. Data was collected from state-owned, collective and private enterprises. In addition, all kind of technicians, agricultural, legal, teaching, cultural and sport workers were included. Besides, staff members of government, private and semi-private organizations were also selected. Before sending the questionnaires, respondent's consent was taken and they were informed about their voluntarily participation.

After conducting the pilot study of the survey instrument, 1100 questionnaires were distributed through personal visits, e-mail and courier services. After several reminders and visits 602 (54.72%) questionnaires were collected back. The detail of the sampling and response rate is given below in Table 1.

Table 1: Sampling and Response Rate

	Table 1: Sampling and Response Rate						
Province	Name of the	Distributed	Received	Response			
	City/Town	questionnaires	questionnaires	rate			
	Karachi	50	27				
H	Mirpur Khas	-	22				
SINDH	Hyderabad	-	35	63.2%			
SI	Sukkur	-	41				
	Larkana	-	33				
	Bahawalpur	-	29				
м	Faislabad	-	26				
PUNJAB	Multan	-	21	70%			
Z	Lahore	-	36				
Pt	Rawalpindi	-	39				
	Gujranwalla	-	24				
. ~	Islamabad	150	93	62%			
CTL							
	Peshawar	50	22				
Ä	Abbotabad	-	24	43%			
KPK	Malakand	-	19				
	Dera Ismail Khan	-	21				
	Quetta	-	23				
2	Turbat	-	23	45%			
BLTN	Khudzar	-	20				
	Uthal	-	24				
Total	•	1100	602	54.72%			

Note.1: BLTN= *Baluchistan*; KPK= *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*; CTL= *Capital* 2: These cities and towns were selected due to their dense population.

Survey instrument

In the current study, a survey instrument was adopted from Asian Barometer Survey 2003 (ABS). Slight changes were made in the instrument without changing the original concept and meaning of the items. Instrument consisted of three major sections. In the first section, questions related to the demographic background of the respondents were included while the second part was about dependent variables, in which all the questions were related to the attitude toward democracy. The last and main section of the instrument was designed to collect the response related to economic growth, democratic values, public participation and political stability. The instrument consisted of 40 closeended questions excluding demography. Except the first part of the instrument, it was measured on five-point Likert scale where 1= 'strongly agree' and 5 = 'strongly disagree'. Moreover, simple language and wording was used in the instrument.

Findings of the study

As described above that before conducting the main study, a pilot study was conducted to examine the validity and reliability of the instrument. In this regard, a sample of 40 was collected from field experts.³⁸ For the examination of reliability, Cronbach's alpha was taken as the common measure. Reliability analysis was done by using SPSS version 24.0. The normal value of the reliability ranged between 0-1. The nearer to 1.0 alpha coefficient highlights the higher internal consistency. The constructs, number of questions used to measure one particular construct, and obtained reliability are given in Table 2 below. Results show a significant value of individual alpha (above 0.6) for all the variables used in this study. Additionally, 'factor economic growth' was observed having the highest alpha value (0.92) while democratic values have the minimum alpha (0.73). Besides reliability analysis, data normality was also measured by using skewness and kurtosis statistical test (Table 2) because it is mandatory for data to be normally distributed in order to be measured through parametric and regression analysis. Results of the normality analysis, reveals the normality of the data.

³⁸ C.R. Kothari, 'Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques', *New Age International* (2004).

Table 2: Reliability and Normality

Sr.	Variables	Items	Alpha	Mean	Skewness	Kurtosis		
No			_					
1.	Economic	05	0.92	3.65	0702	1.06		
	Growth							
2.	Democratic	09	0.73	2.85	0.016	0.181		
	Values							
3.	Public	08	0.82	3.53	0.427	0.254		
	Participation							
4.	Political	07	0.86	3.5	-0.51	-0.26		
	Stability							
5.	Attitude	11	0.79	3.74	0.783	0.614		
	towards							
	Democracy							

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA)

The relation between the variables and their underlying construct was measured by using confirmatory factor analysis. CFA was applied to determine the items loading on a specific variable. The obtained result of the CFA met all the required values for the fit adequacy. The obtained factor loading was observed in between 0.77 and 0.41. Construct validity, which was measured through the loading and the item reliability was confirmed by all the obtained values of factor loading. Additionally, the fit indices revealed that the validity of each construct was supported by the measurement model fit (see Table 3).

Table 3: Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Measurement Model

Latent construct	Items	Factor loading/ Estimates	Alpha
	EGH1	0.67	
	EGH2	0.79	0.02
Economic Growth	EGH3	0.66	0.92
Glowth	EGH4	0.61	
	EGH5	0.53	
	DVS1	0.71	
	DVS2	0.65	
	DVS3	0.67	
Democratic	DVS4	0.70	0.73
Values	DVS5	0.56	

	DVS6	0.59	
	DVS7	0.59	
	DVS8	0.68	
	DVS9	0.69	
	PPN1	0.58	
	PPN2	0.56	
Public	PPN3	0.69	0.82
Participation	PPN4	0.66	0.02
.	PPN5	0.69	
	PPN6	0.41	
	PPN7	0.53	
	PPN8	0.58	
	PPY1	0.54	
	PPY2	0.55	
Political Stability	PPY3	0.61	0.86
1 ontical Stability	PPY4	0.66	0.80
	PPY5	0.73	
	PPY6	0.65	
	PPY7	0.62	
	ATD1	0.45	
	ATD2	0.70	
	ATD3	0.61	
Attitude towards	ATD4	0.59	
Democracy	ATD5	0.60	0.79
Democracy	ATD6	0.51	0.77
	ATD7	0.59	
	ATD8	0.62	
	ATD9	0.51	
	ATD10	0.49	
1	ATD11	0.41	1

Table 4 below shows the obtained values of the Goodness of Fit model. All the values are according to the suggested measure.

Model Fit	χ2	Df	χ2/df	GFI	RMSEA	NFI	CFI	AGF
Indicators								I
Suggested Value			1< X2/df<3	≥0.90	< 0.05	≥0.90	≥0.90	≥0.90
Obtained Value	809.789	489	1.595	0.989	0.31	.949	.929	.972

After measuring all the required parameters, the relationship of dependent variable with four independent variables was examined by applying regression analysis.³⁹ The examined theoretical model of the current study contains four hypotheses and 40 items. Out of total four causal paths, three construct were noticed, whose estimated value of critical ratio (CR) meet the suggested measure (1.96) while the remaining one hypothesis was rejected due to its CR value which was observed less than 1.96 at the significant level of p \leq .05. Extensive summary of the obtained estimates is mention below in Table 5.

Table 5: Regression Estimates

	Table 5: Regression Estimates						
	Independent Variables	Path	Dependent Variable	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P
H1	Economic Growth	>	ATD	0.302	0.117	2.587	0.000
H12	Democratic Values	>	ATD	0.44	0.065	2.215	0.027
Н3	Public Participation		ATD	0.421	0.106	4.020	***
H4	Political stability	>	ATD	0.341	0.109	3.190	***

Note: Estimate = regression weight; S.E = standard error; C.R = critical ratio, $P = significance\ value$; $R^2 = 312^*$; N = 560

All independent variables like; economic growth (2.587), public participation (4.020) political stability (3.190) and democratic values (2.215) were observed significant and positively related with the dependent variable—attitude towards democracy in Pakistan. Furthermore, to understand it better Figure B is given below.

³⁹ M. Weber, *Methodology of Social Sciences* (Routledge, 2017).

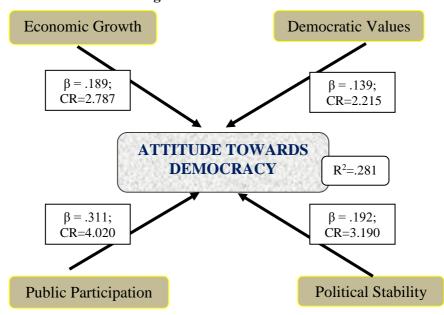


Figure 2: Structural Model

Moreover, the overall summary of the hypotheses is given in Table 6.

Table 6: Summary of the Hypotheses

	Hypotheses	β	Result
H1	Economic growth has a significant and	.189	Accepted
	positive relation with attitude towards		
	democracy in Pakistan.		
H2	Democratic values are strongly and	.139	Accepted
	positively related with attitude towards		
	democracy in Pakistan.		
Н3	Public political participation is	.311	Accepted
	significantly and positively related with		_
	attitude towards democracy in Pakistan.		
H4	Political stability has a significant and	.192	Accepted
	positive relation with attitude towards		_
	democracy in Pakistan		

Discussion and conclusion

Lee Kwan Yew, the leader of Singapore once stated that Asian countries are not ripe for the western liberal democratic system. 40 The claim of Lee Kwan Yew was supported by social scientist when some studies found that traditional values of Asian countries particularly those where Islamic and Confucian teachings are being followed may not allow democratic culture to be installed in their countries. In the light of these statements, current study was designed to measure the democratic attitude of youth in Pakistan. The state of Pakistan is an Asian country where Islamic values are being followed but at the same time people of this country are strongly attached to the democratic values and practices as well. The problem democracy is facing is the absence of grand theory which universally measures public support and level of democracy. Therefore, present study is an attempt to fill up this gap in which a theoretical model was developed which measures attitude towards democracy through four independent factors like: economic growth, democratic values, political participation and political stability. Results of the study show that all the developed hypotheses were accepted. Study reveals that there is positive and significant relationship between economic growth and attitude towards democracy. The finding of this hypothesis is supported by the study conducted by Jakob B. Madsen et al. (2015). The study finds that developed economy increases public attitude and support for democracy. Additionally the same study argue that democracy enhances development and income in the state.⁴¹ Furthermore, system that follows the ballot structure appears to satisfy the people economically at a greater level. In a study conducted in Mexico the relationship of democratic rights and public support was investigated. The study examined that wherever democratic values are respected by the leaders and public representatives, there support for democracy by the people is increased.⁴² Therefore, through this results, the second hypothesis suggesting a positive and significant relation between democratic values and attitude towards democracy, is justified. Simultaneously, present study finds that public participation in political affair is highly significant and positively related to the democratic attitude of youth. Almost similar result has

L.K. Yew, *The Singapore Story' Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew (Vol. 1)*, (Marshall Cavendish International (Asia) Pte Ltd. 2012).

⁴¹ J.B. Madsen, P.A. Raschky & A. Skali, 'Does Democracy Drive Income in the World, 1500–2000?, *European Economic Review*, 78 (2015), 175-195.

C. Hillebrecht, D. G. Mitchell & S. C. Wals, 'Perceived Human Rights and Support for New Democracies: Lessons from Mexico', *Democratization*, 22:7 (2015), 1230-1249.

been found in the prior studies of the domain.⁴³ Published literature claims that like economic development, secure and political stable environment enhances public support and attitude towards democracy.⁴⁴ Result of the fourth hypothesis is not surprising as it endorses the positive and significant relation between political stability and democratic attitude in Pakistan.

It is globally recognized that, there are two ends of democracy, one is 'rights' and the second is 'justice'. For both of these ends to perform dynamically, youth must have to come forward for two tasks. At one hand, it has to protect the rights and at the other, steps should be taken against those factors which cause injustice.

The notion that state controls people is not sufficient nowadays because it is the peoples who controls themselves as well as state. For this capacity to be built, it is essential for citizens to be politically aware and active. Youth is the most valuable and useful means in this regard.

In the light of the findings of the current study, it can be concluded that the factors examined in the present study have potential to support democracy in Pakistan. Furthermore, youth was seen highly interested in the political system and government policies despite poor governance and economic crisis prevalent in the country. It is a positive indication that youth of the country is more critical of the drawbacks of the system such as: corruption, lack of accountability, nepotism, favoritism, institutional imbalance and outdated educational system. Despite being critical, youth in Pakistan is optimist regarding the future of democracy and they are not willing to welcome any alternative of it in the country.

Implication of the study: It is described above that economic growth, democratic values, public participation and political stability are significant and positively related with the democratic attitude. Therefore, it is important for the consolidation of democracy that policies must be designed in the collective interest of the nation instead of regional or parochial benefits. Despite the natural resources, government of Pakistan failed to boast the economy of the country and could not get rid of economic dependency which may affects citizens' democratic attitude in near future. After having been through over seven decades of

S.H. Lee, 'Digital Democracy in Asia: The Impact of the Asian Internet on Political Participation', *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 14:1 (2017), 62-82.

⁴⁴ J.R. Hollyer, B.P. Rosendorff & J.R. Vreeland, 'Transparency, Protest and Democratic Stability', *British Journal of Political Science* (2018), 1-27.

independence, majority of the population is not fully familiar with the democratic values and practices. Thus, it is the need of the time to make people aware about their democratic rights and values. In this regard, the present study may be the first in its nature which will help the youth to understand what democracy wants? It is apparent from the literature in this subject that democracy needs public trust, participation and interest for the betterment of the system. It is also a parallel fact that majority of the population did not bother to engage in the election process of the country in 2013 and 2018. Literature suggests that legitimacy of the government depends upon the participation of the public in the election. If the majority of the people remains outside the polling process the legitimacy of the decision making process can be questioned. Current study is a first step to understand the causes of this low public participation. It is the unfortunate of Pakistan that working of the political parties is largely undemocratic since the birth of the country. Political as well as personal interests are being pursued and given priority over the national interests. These practices by the political parties have been harming the democratic system for decades. Present study may provide a kind of thrust to the Pakistani youth to be active in the political affairs as they can very well create political stability and maturity among the leaders at every level of the country. In addition, current study may help more researchers to come and work on democratic attitude in Pakistan which is badly ignored by the previous studies.