SOCIAL STRUCTURAL AND INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL TRUST IN PAKISTAN

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Abstract: *Political trust is citizens' confidence in their governments and institutions and is considered to have a significant role in political stability and effective policy making. The concept is especially important for Pakistan where government legitimacy is rarely uncontested; and the recent controversies surrounding the election of third consecutive civilian government in the country makes this empirical study even more timely and relevant. This paper examines the effects of a host of social structural and individual psychological variables on political trust by analyzing Pakistani citizens' confidence in government, parliament, courts, armed forces, and political parties using Ordinal Logistic Regression on a nationwide survey of 1200 respondents conducted by Gallup Pakistan for World Values Survey. The results indicate that income, education and interpersonal trust have positive relationship; whereas unemployment and religiosity have negative relationship with political trust. The independent nature of personality has positive relationship with confidence in armed forces and negative relationship with confidence in courts. The women are more likely to have confidence in government than men and are less likely to have confidence in armed forces. In comparison to the Punjab, the people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are more likely to have confidence in government, parliament, and political parties. The people from Sindh and Baluchistan are less likely to have confidence in parliament and armed forces respectively.*

Keywords: political trust, ordinal logistic regression, quantitative methods, public confidence, autonomy, interpersonal trust, social structural determinants

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Introduction

Political trust is citizens' confidence in their countries' governments and institutions. The importance of political trust lies in its role in the political participation and compliance[1] and the stability of governments and their ability to make and implement effective policies.[2] Political trust is considered to be comparatively low in developing countries; but the concept has recently gained significant attention in the wake of declining levels political trust among the citizens of developed countries in last three decades.[3] Pakistan has almost all the traits that characterize a developing country, especially the ones that have been generally identified as factors responsible for low level of political trust – political instability and radicalism, corruption, political scandals, and lack of good governance.[4] While the legitimacy of the governments in Pakistan has almost always been contested by some from within and abroad, the recent mantra of 'selected government,' makes this study all the more relevant and timely. The research shows that people with low level of political trust are more likely to vote for third party candidates and are less likely to vote for major political parties.[5] This is exactly has recently happened in July 2018 elections in Pakistan where people have chosen to vote for a comparatively new party instead of the major political parties of the country. What makes the case of Pakistan even more interesting is the fact that despite decades of military regimes, World Values Survey (WVS) indicates that

[1] Margaret Levi and Laura Stoker, "Political Trust and Trust Worthiness," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): 475–507.

[2] Sofie Marien and Marc 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 (2011): 267–91.

[3] Ingrid Schoon and Helen Cheng, "Determinants of Political Trust: A Lifetime Learning Model," *Developmental Psychology* 47, no. 3 (2011): 619–31. Also see, Levi and Stoker, "Political Trust," 475–507; Gabriela Catterberg and Alejandro Moreno, "The Individual Bases of Institutional Trust: Trends in New and Established Democracies," *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 18 (2006): 31–48; and Russell J. Dalton, Dalton, "The Social Transformation of Trust in Government," *International Review of Sociology* 15 (2005): 133–54.

[4] For factors responsible for low level of political trust, see Catterberg and Moreno, "Institutional Trust," 31–48; also see, Melissa R. Michelson, "The Corrosive Effect of Acculturation: How Mexican Americans Lose Political Trust," *Social Science Quarterly* 84, no. 4 (December 2003): 918–33; and Virginia A. Chanley, Thomas J. Rudolph and Wendy M. Rahn, "The Origins and Consequences of Public Trust in Government: A Time Series Analysis," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (Autumn, 2000): 239–56.

[5] See, for example, Priscilla Lewis Southwell and Marcy Jean Everest, "The Electoral Consequences of Alienation: Nonvoting and Protest Voting in the 1992 Presidential Race," *Social Science Journal* 35, no. 1 (1998):43–51; Marc Hetherington, "The Effect of Political Trust on the Presidential Vote, 1968–96," *American Political Science Review* 93, no 2 (1999): 311–26; and Geoff Peterson and J. Mark Wrighton, "Expressions of Distrust: Third Party Voting and Cynicism in Government," *Political Behavior* 20, no. 1 (1998): 17–34.

Pakistani population trusts its armed forces way more than its government, parliament, courts, political parties, civil service and police. Against this backdrop, the study aims at examining social structural and individual psychological determinants of political trust in Pakistan using World Values Survey in an attempt to comprehend development of citizen's commitment and trust in their government and its institutions.

The paper attempts at examining the effects of a host of variables on Pakistani citizens' trust in government, parliament, courts, armed forces, and political parties using ordinal logistic regression on a nationwide survey of 1200 respondents. The results indicate that income, education and interpersonal trust have positive relationship whereas unemployment and religiosity have negative relationship with political trust. The independent nature of personality has positive relationship with confidence in armed forces and negative relationship with confidence in courts. The women are more likely to have confidence in government than men and are less likely to have confidence in armed forces than men. In comparison to the Punjab, the people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are more likely to have confidence in government, parliament, and political parties. The people from Sindh are less likely to have confidence in parliament and courts than the people from the Punjab; whereas people from Baluchistan are less likely to have confidence in armed forces than the people from the Punjab.

Literature Review

Political trust is citizens' confidence in their countries' governments and institutions. It is confidence of people that the government or institutions will work to achieve goals consistent with their expectations.[6] This paper would, therefore, measure political trust as confidence in government, parliament, courts, armed forces, and political parties. Political trust is considered a source of political support,[7] political participation,[8] system legitimacy[9] political stability and policy compliance.[10] A vast array of literature, some of which has been referred to in

[6] Lianjiang Li, "Political Trust in Rural China," *Modern China* 30, no. 2 (April 2004): 228–58. Also see, Schoon and Cheng, "Lifetime Learning Model," 619–31; and Marc J. Hetherington, "The Political Relevance of Political Trust," *American Political Science Rev*iew 92, no. 4 (1998): 791–808.

[7] Li, "Political Trust," 230.

[8] Levi and Stoker, "Political Trust" 475–507.

[9] David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York: John Wiley, 1965), 273.

[10] Marien and Hooghe, "Does Political Trust Matter?" 267–91. Also see, Newton and Norris, "Public Institutions," 1999. Kenneth Newton and Pippa Norris, "Confidence in Public Institutions: Faith,

introduction and this section of the paper, emphasizes the significance of the concept of political trust and acknowledges that the concept has gained significant attention in recent years because of the declining levels of political trust in democratic systems. In an attempt to establish the significance of the concept, Marien and Hooghe have done a very good job of theoretically and empirically exploring the consequences of the lack or the absence of political trust.

There is a substantial amount of literature that theorize political trust, establish its significance, and analyze the consequences of political trust (mostly absence of it). However, "unlike in the case of social trust, relatively few studies have investigated the determinants of political trust, and the empirical evidence is not unequivocal"[11] – the magnitude and direction of the effect of these determinants varies from county to country or even within countries. There is hardly any empirical study that studies the determinants of political trust in Pakistan using nationwide data. This study is, therefore, going to be the first to analyze the effects of social structural and individual psychological variables on political trust in Pakistan using a nationwide data. The World Values Survey data, especially the questions about confidence in government and institutions have been used by several studies on political trust.[12]

The variables – individual or contextual level – that have been identified and analyzed by the earlier research can be broadly categorized into demographic and social structural variables, individual psychological variables, regional variables, cultural variables, and variables related to performance of the government or state institutions. One or a combination of these categories have been examined by developing and testing models of political trust. This study aims at presenting and testing five separate models based on five dependent variables, each having social structural and individual psychological independent variables.

Social structural variables in this study include age, sex, level of education, income, employment status, and provincial identity. While race is an important demographic as well as social structural variable, it is not an issue in Pakistan; and therefore, WVS did not have a question about race in survey conducted in Pakistan. Political trust has been found to have a

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Culture or Performance?" *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association* (Atlanta) September 1–5, 1999; and Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba *The Civic Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963).

[11] Schoon and Cheng, "Lifetime Learning Model," 620.

[12] See Levi and Stoker, "Political Trust."

positive relationship with age by some studies;[13] whereas others found that older people have low level of political trust.[14] The findings about the impact of sex on political trust have not been of concrete nature as some studies found men to be more likely to have confidence in government and institutions[15] and some have found men to be less likely to have political trust.[16] There are studies that show that demographic variables do not affect political trust.[17] Same is the case with education and socio-economic status – some studies suggest a positive[18] relationship with political trust while others have found negative relationship.[19] This study has included education, income, and employment status as indicators of socio-economic status.

Institutional performance theories argue that citizens are rational in developing their political trust based on performance of government and institutions in their countries.[20] This study has not included institutional performance variables it did not have cross sectional data on institutional performance. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that the level of political trust of respondents from different provinces may reflect the effect of the performance of their respective provincial governments. Therefore, provincial identity was included as an independent variable because it does not only represent social structural variable but also gives an idea about impact of institutional performance of provincial governments.

Religiosity, orientation towards authority (measured through autonomy index), and interpersonal trust have been included as psychological traits that can affect one's level of political trust. Religiosity and autonomy index variables have been included as indicators of obedience to authority. Studies have found interpersonal trust to have a positive relation with

[13] William Mishler and Richard Rose, "What are the Origins of Political Trust? Testing Institutional and Cultural Theories in Post-Communist Societies," *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (2001): 30–62.

[14] Robert E. Agger, Marshall N. Goldstein, and Stanley Pearl, "Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," *Journal of Politics* 23, no. 3: (1961): 477–506.

[15] Andrew Leigh, "Trust, Inequality and Ethnic Heterogeneity," *Economic Record* 82 (2006): 268–80.

[16] Edward L. Glaeser, et al., "Measuring Trust," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115 (2000): 811–46.

[17] Tianjian Shi, "Cultural Values and Political Trust: A Comparison of the People's Republic of China and Taiwan," *Comparative Politics* 33, no. 4 (2001): 401–19.

[18] Ingrid Schoon et al., "Social Status, Cognitive Ability, and Educational Attainment as Predictors of Liberal Social Attitudes and Political Trust," *Intelligence,* 38 (2010): 144–50.

[19] Herbert Doring, "Higher Education and Confidence in Institutions," *West European Politics* 15 (1992): 126–46.

[20] See, Hetherington, "Relevance of Trust.;" and Schoon and Cheng, "Lifetime Learning Model."

Political Trust.[21] Based on the literature, this paper attempts to evaluate five separate models (H_1 to H_5) testing the effects of social structural and individual psychological variables on five dependent variables – confidence in government, parliament, courts, armed forces, and political parties.

Data

The data for this study has been drawn from Round Six of World Values Survey.[22] The data was collected from October 4 to October 9, 2012 by Gallup Pakistan. A sample of 1200 (male and female of age 18 and above) represents all the four provinces of the country according to their actual proportion in the population. The respondents from rural and urban areas have also been included as per their actual proportion in the population. The respondents were asked to respond to 257 variables in total.

The study uses 5 different models for 5 different dependent variables: i) Confidence in Government, ii) Confidence in Parliament, iii) Confidence in Courts, iv) Confidence in Armed Forces, and v) Confidence in Political Parties. The dependent variables were recorded as ordinal variables – respondents were asked to record their level of confidence in government, parliament, courts, armed forces, and political parties in an ordinal scale (1. A great deal, 2. Quite a lot, 3. Not very much, and 4. None at all). 'No answer' or 'Don't know' responses were changed to missing for this study. The following tables present summary statistics of dependent variables.

Table 1. Summary Statistics for Confidence in Government [23]

[21] See Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[22] R. Inglehart et al. (eds.), "World Values Survey: Round Six - Country-Pooled Datafile Version" (2014) available at http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWV6.jsp.

[23] Ibid.

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
A great deal	8.0	7.7	8.3	6.1	9.6	7.7
Quite a lot	27.8	28.5	27.2	30.9	25.3	29.0
Not very much	34.3	34.8	33.8	35.0	34.2	32.7
None at all	26.3	28.0	24.4	23.6	27.4	29.9
No answer	1.2	0.2	2.3	2.2	0.6	0.7
Don´t know	2.4	0.7	4.1	2.3	3.0	-
(N)	(1,200)	(618)	(582)	(456)	(602)	(143)

Table 2. Summary Statistics for Confidence in Parliament

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
A great deal	5.1	5.9	4.3	4.8	5.4	5.2
Quite a lot	21.7	23.8	19.6	23.2	20.3	23.1
Not very much	36.9	40.6	33.1	36.3	37.3	37.6
None at all	32.2	28.9	35.7	29.9	33.8	32.6
No answer	1.8	0.4	3.3	2.4	1.5	0.8
Don´t know	2.2	0.5	4.0	3.3	1.8	0.7
(N)	(1,200)	(618)	(582)	(456)	(602)	(143)

Table 3. Summary Statistics for Confidence in Courts

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
A great deal	13.5	13.9	13.0	12.9	13.9	13.6
Quite a lot	32.3	32.4	32.1	32.8	31.8	32.3
Not very much	32.2	32.0	32.4	33.7	30.5	34.5
None at all	19.2	21.0	17.2	17.2	21.5	15.7
No answer	1.7	0.3	3.0	2.2	0.9	3.2
Don´t know	1.2	0.2	2.3	1.2	1.4	0.7
(N)	(1,200)	(618)	(582)	(456)	(602)	(143)

Table 4. Summary Statistics for Confidence in Armed Forces

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
A great deal	44.8	53.8	35.2	38.9	49.2	45.0
Quite a lot	38.6	34.8	42.5	43.6	33.3	44.6
Not very much	10.6	9.6	11.6	10.2	11.7	7.0
None at all	4.9	1.6	8.3	5.3	4.9	3.4
No answer	0.4	-	0.7	0.7	0.2	-
Don´t know	0.9	0.2	1.6	1.2	0.8	-
(N)	(1,200)	(618)	(582)	(456)	(602)	(143)

Table 2. Summary Statistics for Confidence in Political Parties

	TOTAL	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50 and more
A great deal	6.1	6.3	6.0	4.7	7.6	4.4
Quite a lot	23.8	26.4	21.0	22.9	24.4	24.0
Not very much	41.1	39.2	43.2	46.2	38.4	36.1
None at all	25.3	27.7	22.7	21.7	25.7	35.2
No answer	1.6	0.3	2.9	2.3	1.3	0.3
Don´t know	2.1	0.2	4.2	2.2	2.6	-
(N)	(1,200)	(618)	(582)	(456)	(602)	(143)

The baseline model includes two sets of independent variables. The social structural set of independent variables include Age (18 to 85), Male (1 if male, 0 is female), Education (a 13-point scale indicating respondent's education: from 1 illiterate to 13 having master's degree), Income (a 10-point scale indicating respondent's income: from 1 lowest to 10 highest), Unemployed (1 if unemployed, 0 if employed), and provincial identity was included as 4 dummy variables – the Punjab, Sindh, KPK, and Baluchistan – having the Punjab as the reference category (1 if respondent is from that province, 0 if not). The individual psychological set of independent variables includes Religiosity (a 4-point scale indicating the level of importance of religion in respondent's life: from 1 'Very Important' to 4 'Not at all Important'), orientation towards authority (a 4-point Autonomy Index developed by Gallup Pakistan indicating respondent's tendency to obey or remain independent from 1 indicating obedient behavior to 4 indicating independence or perseverance), and Interpersonal Trust (dummy variable for respondent's tendency to trust people: 1 if she/he believes most people can be trusted, 0 if she/he believes that one needs to be very careful).

Methods

An Ordinal Logistic Regression has been used to examine the effects of social structural and individual psychological variables on Pakistani citizens' trust in government, parliament, courts, armed forces, and political parties. While the dummy variables of provincial identities have been included as social structural variables because of the differences in average socio-economic status (SES) of the citizens, they also can represent institutional performance model as the provinces have separate provincial governments and opinion of the citizens is also affected by their level of trust in their respective provincial governments and institutions. The study, however, does not claim to have included institutional performance variables because the respondents were not categorically asked to indicate their evaluation of performance of

institutions. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that the level of political trust of respondents from different provinces may reflect the effect of the performance of their respective provincial governments.

Ordinal Logistic Regression (Ordinal Logit) has been used because the dependent variable is an ordinal variable and because it is considered highly useful in analyzing beliefs, attitudes, trust and values and has been used in similar studies.[24] The ordinal logit analysis is a model specification used to analyze how independent variables (continuous and/or dummy) influence the likelihood of a categorical outcome that can be ranked or ordered. Therefore, the responses that cannot be ranked (like 'don't know, not application, or no answer) are replaced as 'missing' in data.

The 'Unemployment' dummy may cause multicollinearity when included in the model along with the 'Male' dummy because both are highly correlated.[25] The problem of multicollinearity also comes with the inclusion of provincial identity dummies along with the variables of 'Education' and 'Income'. The uneven development in Pakistan intuitively explains this multicollinearity – the province of Punjab is more developed than the rest of the provinces and respondents form the Punjab tend to have higher levels of income and education compared to the other provinces. However, in a combined model having social structural as well as individual psychological independent variables, almost all the variables of interest tend to hold their significance nearly as much as they do in separate models. Therefore, separate models for different sets of independent variables have not been included in the study.

Baseline Model

$$\text{Dependent Variable} = ologit\big(\boldsymbol{\beta_0} + \boldsymbol{\beta_{age}}(age) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{male}}(male) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{edu}}(edu) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{income}}(income) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{unemp}}(unemp) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{sindh}}(sindh) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{kpk}}(kpk) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{balochistan}}(balochistan) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{religious}}(religious) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{autonomyindex}}(autonomyindex) + \boldsymbol{\beta_{interpertrust}}(interpertrust)\big)$$

Note: Five (5) separate models have been run based on this baseline model each having a different dependent variable – Confidence in

[24] Yung-Lien Lai, Liqun Cao, and Jihong Solomon Zhao, "The Impact of Political Entity on Confidence in Legal Authorities: A Comparison between China and Taiwan," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 38, (2010): 934–41. Also see, Michelson, "Effect of Acculturation," 918–33; and Yuning Wu and Ivan Y. Sun, "Citizen Trust in Police: The Case of China," *Police Quarterly* 12 (2009): 170−91.

[25] The 48% of unemployed respondents are housewives. Pwcorr = 0.736 (p>0.000).

Government, Parliament, Courts, Armed Forces, and Political Parties.

When we run separate models for social structural and individual psychological independent variables the Omitted Variable Bias seems to affect betas which is dealt with by including all the relevant variables in a combined baseline model. While there is no consensus on the effects of heteroscedasticity in ordinal logit regressions, the study has nevertheless used robust standard errors in all five models to have conservative estimates.

The number of observations is different in all the models (ranging from 1,113 to 1,137 out of the total sample of 1200 respondents). The decrease in the number of observations is because of the problem of separation (Stata drops the observations where separation congregates) and because responses like 'don't know' and no response were omitted from various variables. The Brant Test was significant for all the models, which means parallel odds assumption was violated; therefore, results can only be interpreted generally and not in terms of odds ratios.

Results

VARIABLES	(1) Government	(2) Parliament	(3) Courts	(4) Armed Forces	(5) Pol. Parties
Age	0.00725	-0.000459	0.00245	-0.00824	-0.00290
	(0.00514)	(0.00506)	(0.00513)	(0.00537)	(0.00505)
Male	0.425***	-0.189	0.201	-0.698***	0.227
	(0.158)	(0.164)	(0.165)	(0.160)	(0.163)
Education	0.0145	0.0184	-0.000857	-0.0663***	-0.0126
	(0.0216)	(0.0214)	(0.0205)	(0.0224)	(0.0224)
Income	-0.124***	-0.100***	-0.0601**	-0.0980***	-0.0810***
	(0.0279)	(0.0282)	(0.0276)	(0.0286)	(0.0291)
Unemployed	0.571***	0.200	0.363**	0.0270	0.308*
	(0.168)	(0.173)	(0.177)	(0.160)	(0.171)
Sindh	0.0714	0.462***	0.528***	-0.237*	-0.0299
	(0.154)	(0.150)	(0.145)	(0.142)	(0.152)
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	-0.458***	-0.833***	0.143	0.324*	-0.587***

	(0.155)	(0.150)	(0.154)	(0.179)	(0.160)
Baluchistan	-0.0783	0.304*	0.325*	0.754***	-0.292
	(0.168)	(0.177)	(0.189)	(0.191)	(0.212)
Religiosity	-0.125	-0.0886	0.254*	0.367**	0.0396
	(0.170)	(0.164)	(0.154)	(0.151)	(0.164)
Autonomy Index	0.0256	0.0491	0.279***	-0.115**	0.00298
	(0.0539)	(0.0534)	(0.0491)	(0.0556)	(0.0544)
Interpersonal Trust	-0.561***	-0.647***	-0.184	-0.173	-0.257*
	(0.149)	(0.148)	(0.147)	(0.144)	(0.146)
Constant cut1	-2.603***	-3.712***	-1.591***	-1.257***	-3.125***
	(0.382)	(0.414)	(0.391)	(0.390)	(0.380)
Constant cut2	-0.718*	-1.775***	0.227	0.702*	-1.246***
	(0.374)	(0.400)	(0.395)	(0.393)	(0.373)
Constant cut3	0.905**	0.00499	1.785***	2.072***	0.608
	(0.375)	(0.394)	(0.402)	(0.407)	(0.373)
Observations	1,119	1,113	1,123	1,137	1,114

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

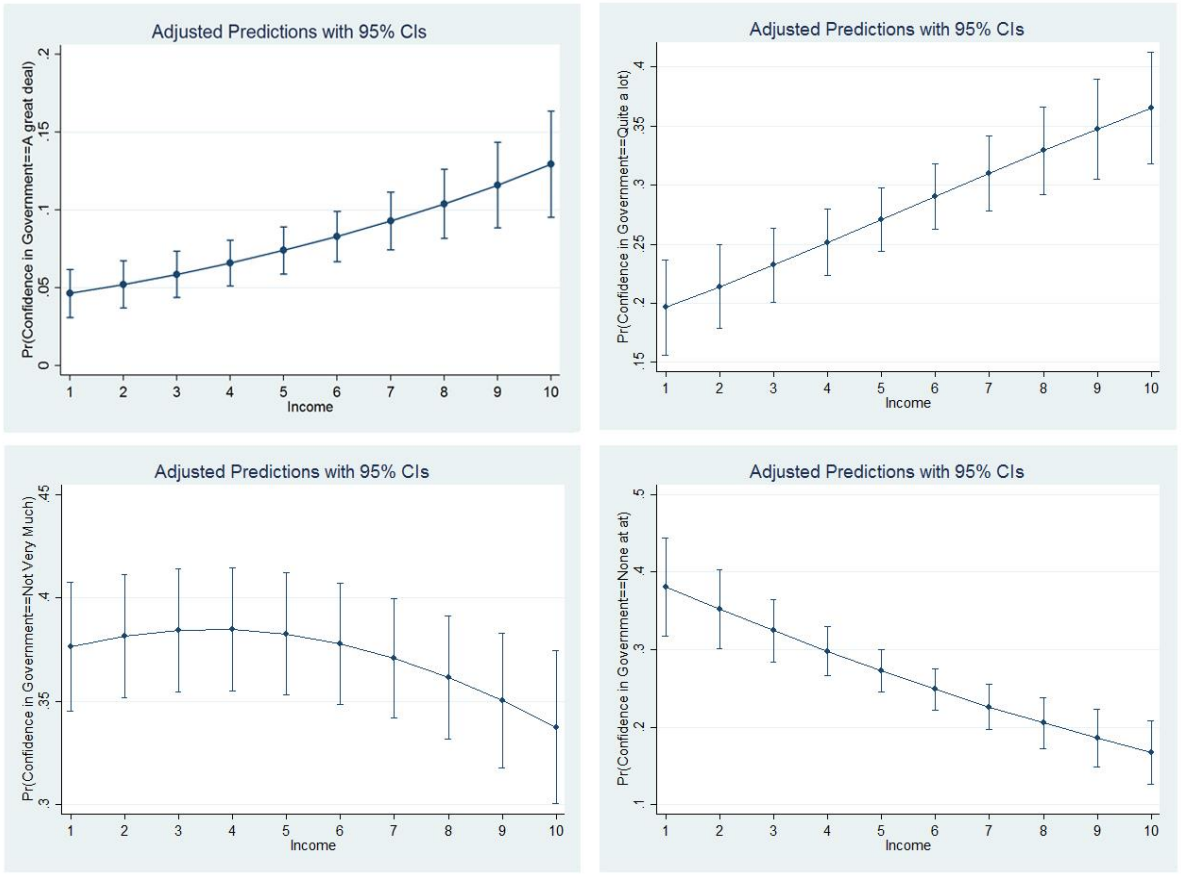
The table above shows five separate models for each dependent variable (Confidence in government, parliament, courts, armed forces, and political parties). The independent variables are same for all the dependent variables and include both continuous and dummy variables. The beta coefficients of independent variables are in log odds; and therefore, cannot be expressed in terms of marginal change. Unlike logistic regression, where outcome categories are mutually exclusive in isolation and (significant) sign values on beta coefficients can be specifically interpreted in terms of y outcomes, in ordinal logistic regression there are multiple outcome categories, which are only mutually exclusive in aggregate, and therefore, the impact of (significant) sign values on beta coefficients can only be generally interpreted in terms of y outcomes. Because of significance transitivity in ordinal logistic regression, we use prvalues for dummy variables and margins and marginsplots for continuous variables for further interpretation. In this paper, combo marginsplots have been used for each continuous variable to

organize graphs in a compact form. This section of interpretation of results would only discuss significant betas and not the insignificant ones.

Confidence in Government: The age does not have a significant beta coefficient for any of the dependent variables. The independent variable of sex has a significant effect on respondent's confidence in government. A significantly (P>|z|=0.007) positive beta on male (0.425) in model I, indicates that a male respondent is more likely to believe in higher coded categories of scale measuring confidence in government than a female respondent. The relation is statistically significant at 99% confidence level. The prvalues indicate that the relationship is significant for all the outcome categories as 95% Confidence Intervals for probability change do not straddle zero. It means men are less likely to have confidence in government than women in Pakistan because higher coded categories indicate low level or no confidence in government.

While education does not have a significant effect on one's confidence in government, income has a positive relationship with confidence in government. A significantly (P>|z|=0.000) negative beta on income (-0.124) indicates that an increase in respondent's income decreases the likelihood that the respondent would believe in higher coded categories (i.e., increase in income increases one's confidence in government because higher coded categories indicate less confidence in government). The following marginsplots indicate that as the income increases, the probability of having 'a great deal' and 'quite a lot' of confidence in government increases whereas the probability of 'not at all' confidence decreases. However, the income does not seem to be significant for outcome category ('Not Very Much).

Figure 1. Fitted Probabilities of Ordinal Categories of Confidence in Government with 95% Confidence Intervals across the entire range of Income

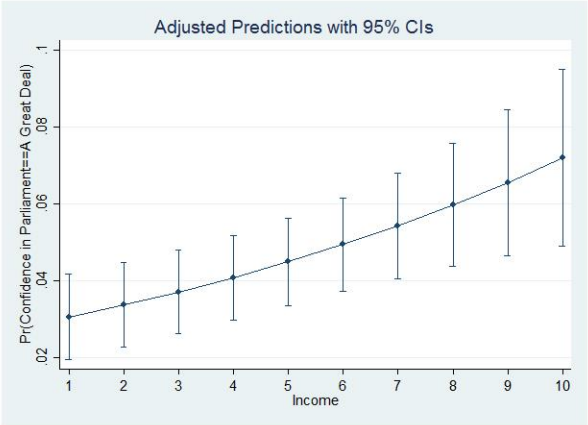


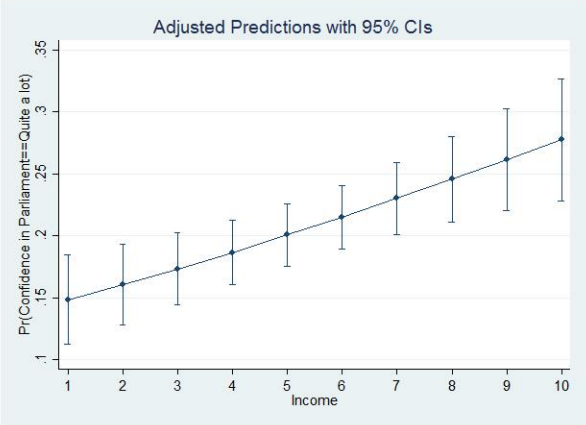
The unemployed people are less likely to have confidence in government than the employed people as unemployed dummy has a very significant (P>|z|=0.001) positive beta (0.571). The prvalues indicate that the relationship is significant for all the outcome categories. The people from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are more likely to have confidence in government compared to the people from the Punjab; and again, the prvalues indicate that the relationship is significant for all the outcome categories. However, the Sindh and Baluchistan dummies do not have significant relationship with confidence in government compared to the Punjab.

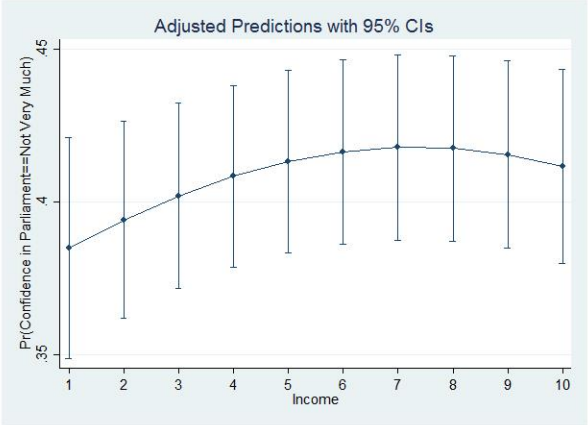
In individual psychological variables, only interpersonal trust has a significantly positive relationship with the confidence in government. The people who believe that most people can be trusted are less likely to believe in higher coded categories of scale measuring confidence in government than the people who believe that one needs to be very careful while trusting people. It means that the former category is more likely to have confidence in the government that the latter category of people because the higher coded categories indicate low level of confidence in government. The prvalues indicate that the relationship is significant for all outcome categories. However, religiosity and independent nature of personality does not have significant relationship with confidence in government.

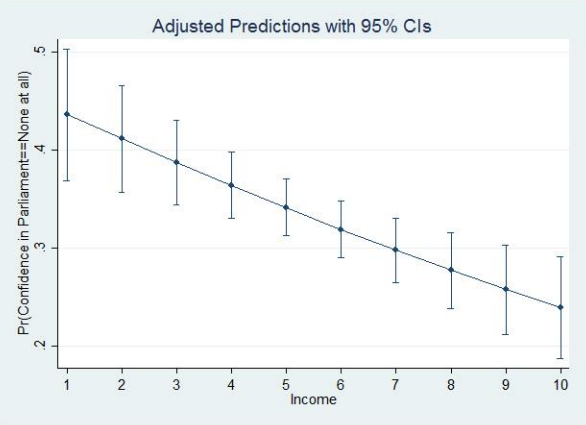
Confidence in Parliament: While age, sex, education, and unemployment does not have significant relationship with confidence in Parliament, income has a very significant (P>|z|=0.000) negative beta coefficient (0.1) indicating a positive relationship between income and confidence in parliament. Figure 2 indicates that with the increase in income increases the probability that the respondent would have 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' of confidence in parliament whereas the probability that the respondent would have 'not at all' confidence in parliament decreases. In general terms, it means that increase in income increases the probability that the respondent would have higher level of confidence in parliament. However, the income does not seem to be significant for third outcome category.

Figure 2. Fitted Probabilities of Ordinal Categories of Confidence in Parliament with 95% Confidence Intervals across the entire range of Income









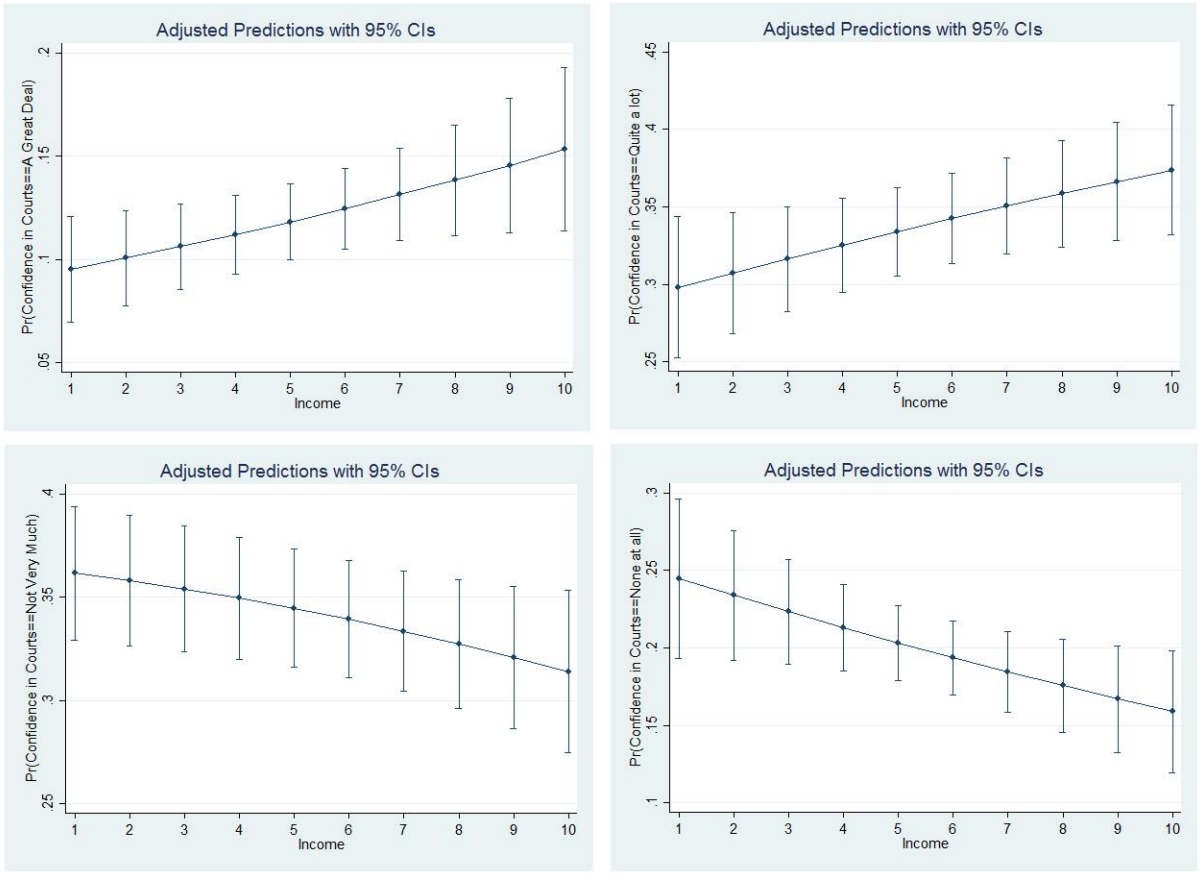
While being from Baluchistan (compared to being from the Punjab) does not seem to have a significant relationship with confidence in parliament, the Sindh and KPK dummies have significant relationship with confidence in parliament. The people from Sindh are less likely to have confidence in parliament than the people from the Punjab; whereas the people from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are more likely to have confidence in parliament than the people from the Punjab. The prvalues show that the relationship in case of Sindh is significant for all outcome categories; whereas in case of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa the relationship is significant for outcome categories 1, 2, and 4 but not for outcome category 3.

The independent psychological variables have very similar relationship with the confidence in parliament as with the confidence in government. Religiosity and independent nature of personality do not have statistically significant relationship confidence in parliament. However, the people who find it easy to trust others are statistically significantly more likely to have confidence in parliament than the people who find it difficult to trust others. The relationship is significant for outcome categories 1, 2, and 4 but not 3.

Confidence in Courts: Age, sex, and education do not have statistically significant relationship with confidence in courts. Income has similar relationship with confidence in courts:

increase in income increases the probability of having confidence in courts at 95% confidence level. Figure 3 indicates that increase in income increases the probability that the respondent would believe in outcome categories 1 and 2; whereas it decreases the probability of respondent believing in outcome category 4. However, the relationship does not seem to be statistically significant for outcome category 3.

Figure 3. Fitted Probabilities of Ordinal Categories of Confidence in Courts with 95% Confidence Intervals across the entire range of Income

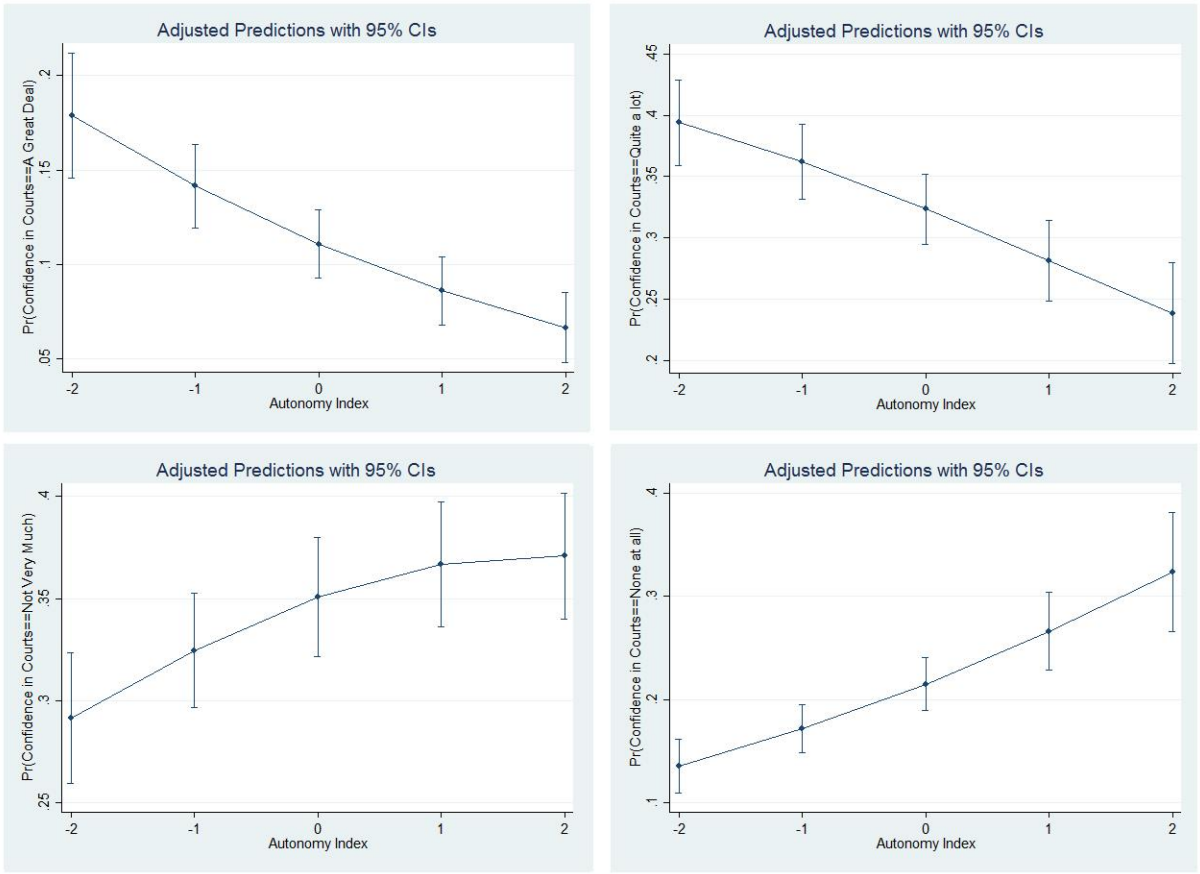


The unemployed people are less likely to have confidence in courts than the employed people and the relationship is statistically significant for outcome categories 1, 2, and 4, but not for outcome category 3. Sindhi people are less likely to have confidence in courts compared to Punjabi people and relationship is significant for all outcome categories. The dummies of KPK and Baluchistan do not have significant beta coefficients which means the likelihood of people from KPK and Baluchistan believing in courts is not statistically significantly different from the people of the Punjab.

The independent nature of personality has a negative relationship with confidence in courts at 99% confidence level. The increase in the level of autonomy on the autonomy index

increases the probability that the respondent would have confidence in courts (i.e., people tending to remain independent are less likely to have confidence in courts). The marginplots in Figure 4 show that the relationship between independent nature of personality and confidence in courts is significant for all the outcome categories. The figure shows that probability of having 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' of confidence decreases as the score on autonomy index moves from -2 to 2; whereas the probability of having 'not very much' or 'none at all' confidence increases as the score on autonomy index increases. In simple words, people with independent nature of personality are less likely to have confidence in courts.

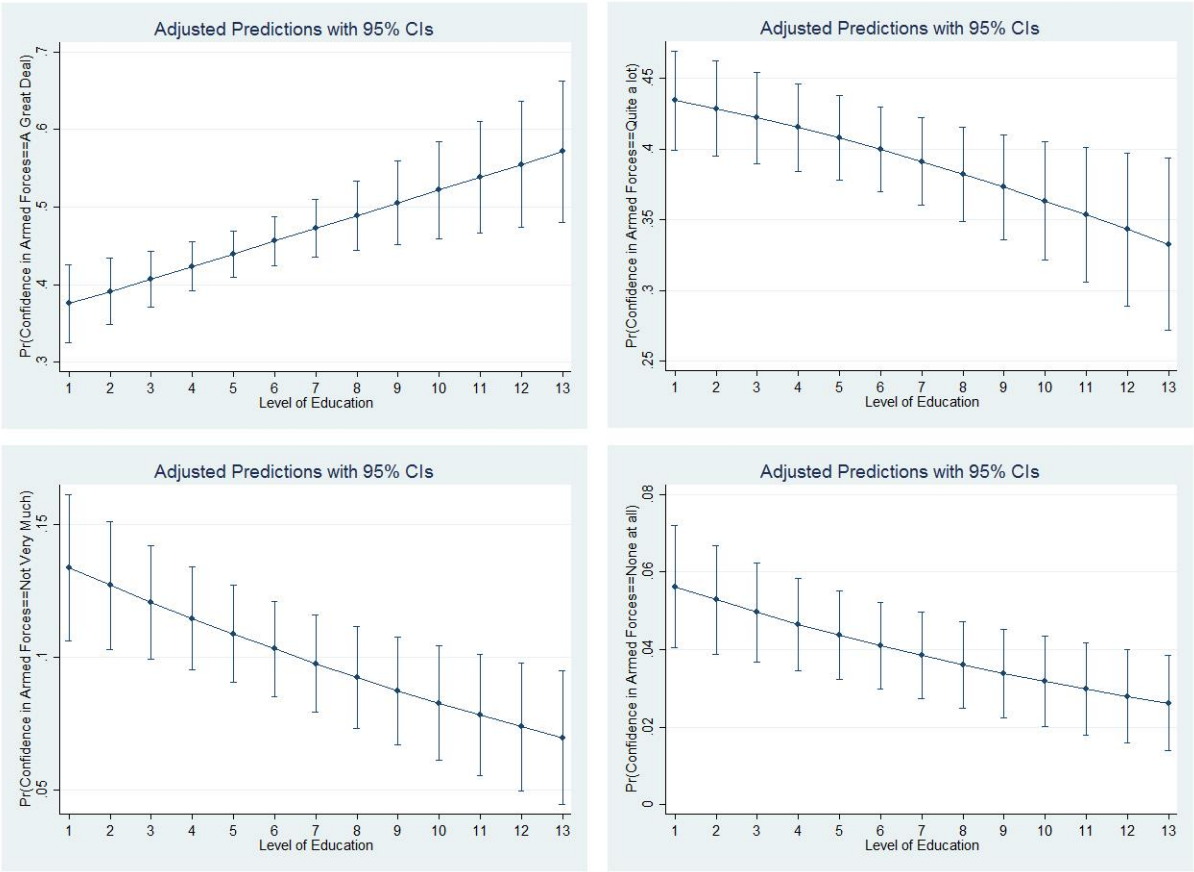
Figure 4. Fitted Probabilities of Ordinal Categories of Confidence in Courts with 95% Confidence Intervals across the entire range of Autonomy Index



Confidence in Armed Forces: Model 4 indicates that sex, education, income, religiosity, independent nature of personality, and Baluchistan dummy have statistically significant relationships with confidence in armed forces. The male respondents are more likely to have confidence in armed forces than female respondents and the relationship is significant for all the outcome categories of dependent variable. Education has a positive relationship with confidence

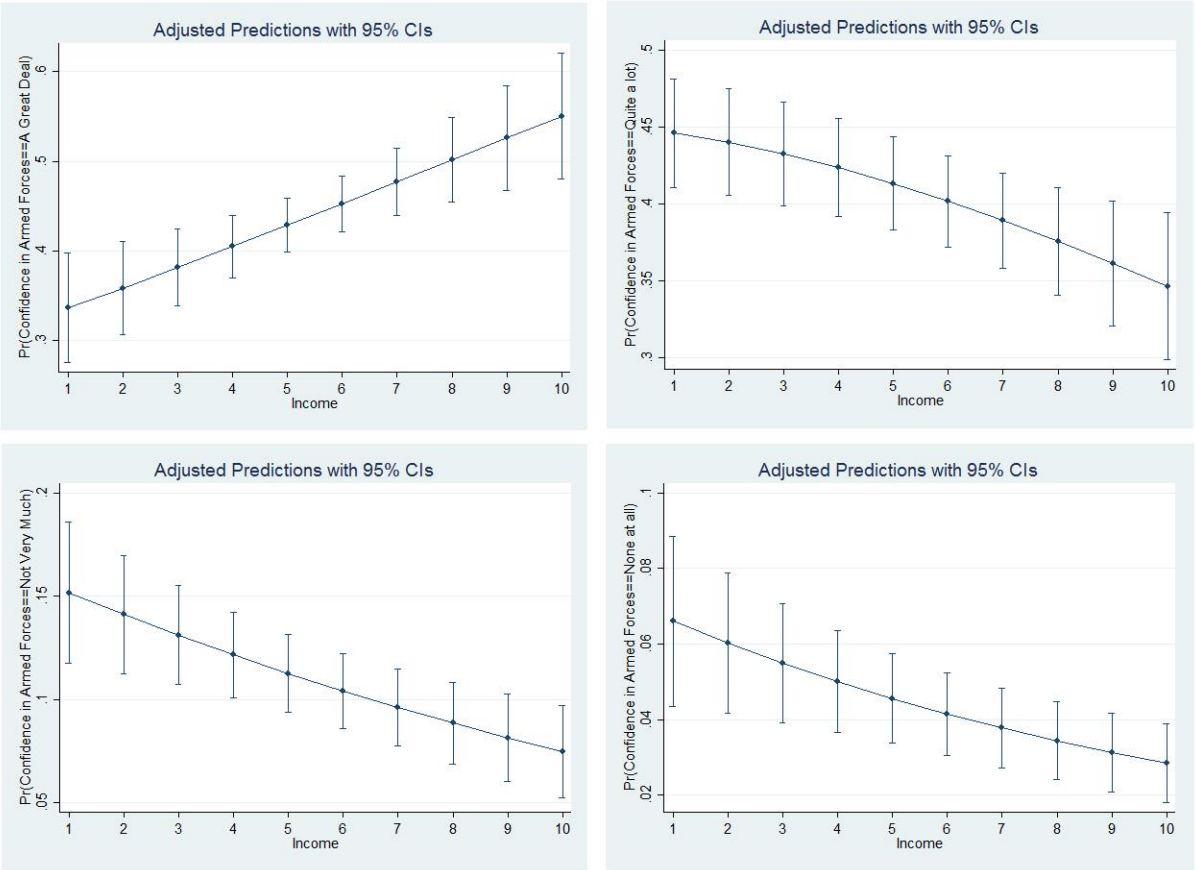
in armed forces at 99% confidence level. Figure 5 indicates that the relationship is statistically significant for all the outcome categories of dependent variable. The probability of having 'a great deal' of confidence in armed forces increases with the increase in education from illiteracy to master's degree. The probability of having 'quite a lot,' 'not very much,' and 'none at all' decreases with the increase in education.

Figure 5. Fitted Probabilities of Ordinal Categories of Confidence in Armed Forces with 95% Confidence Intervals across the entire range of Education



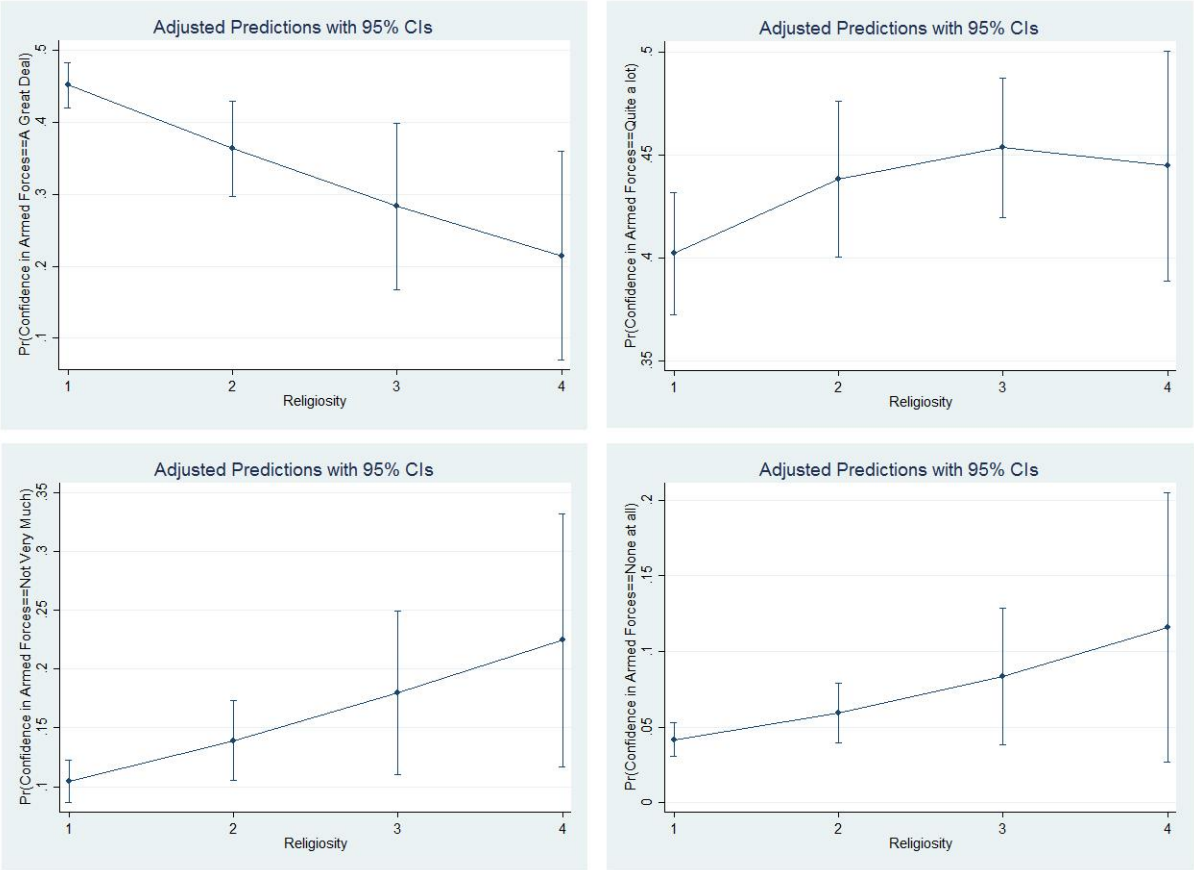
Income has similar relationship with confidence in armed forces as with confidence in government, parliament, and courts – increase in income increases the likelihood of having confidence in armed forces. Figure 6 indicates that the relationship is significant for all the outcome categories. The dummy of Baluchistan has a statistically significant beta coefficient for armed forces only while it is insignificant for confidence in other institutions. The people form Baluchistan are less likely to have confidence in armed forces than the people from the Punjab. The relationship is significant for all the outcome categories of dependent variable.

Figure 6. Fitted Probabilities of Ordinal Categories of Confidence in Armed Forces with 95% Confidence Intervals across the entire range of Income



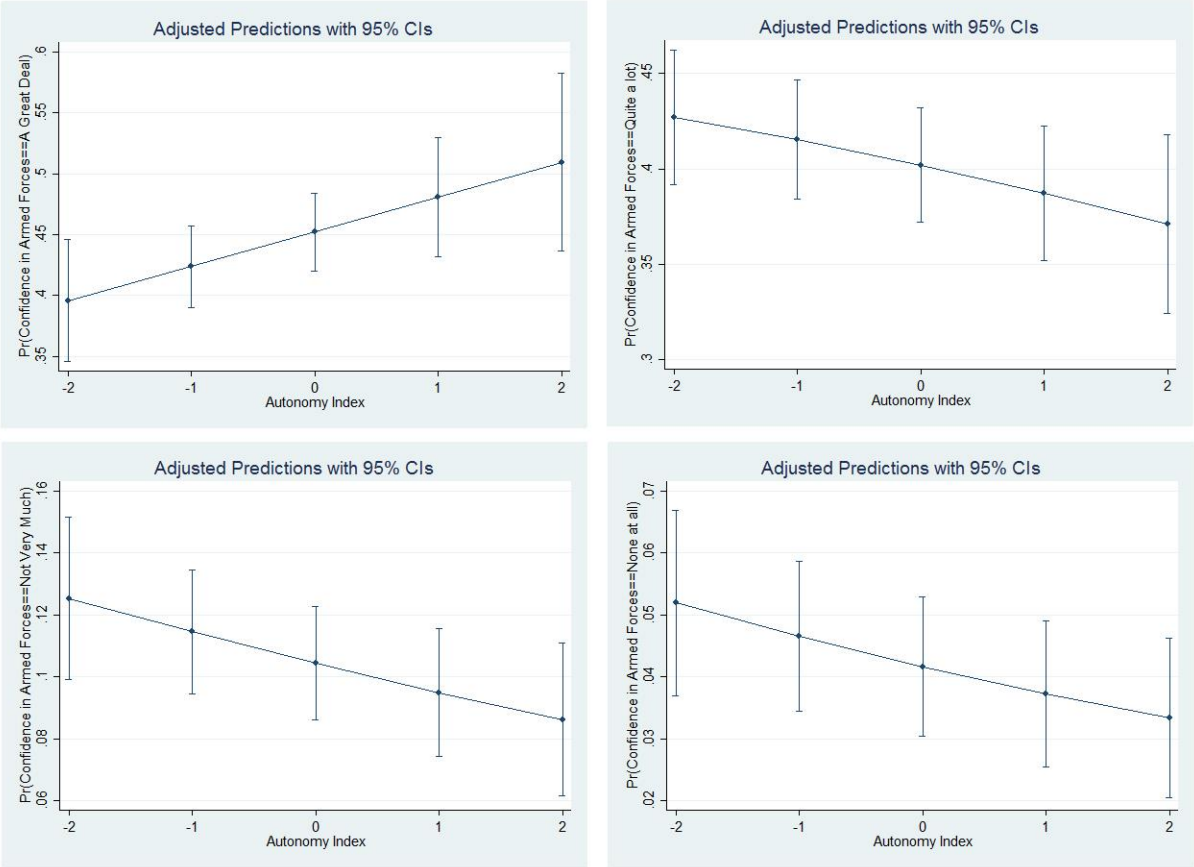
Religiosity has a statistically significant negative relationship with confidence in armed forces at 95% confidence level. Figure 7 indicates that the relationship is significant for outcome categories 1, 3, and 4, but not for outcome category 2.

Figure 7. Fitted Probabilities of Ordinal Categories of Confidence in Armed Forces with 95% Confidence Intervals across the entire range of Religiosity



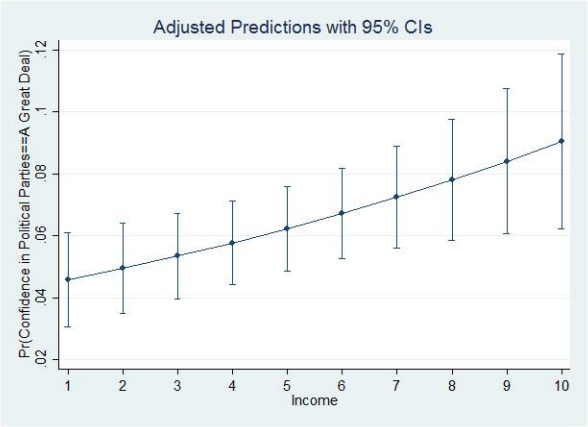
The independent nature of personality has a statistically significant positive relationship with confidence in armed forces at 95% confidence level. However, the relationship is only significant for outcome category 1 – the probability of having 'a great deal' of confidence in armed forces increases with the increase in score on autonomy index (Figure 8).

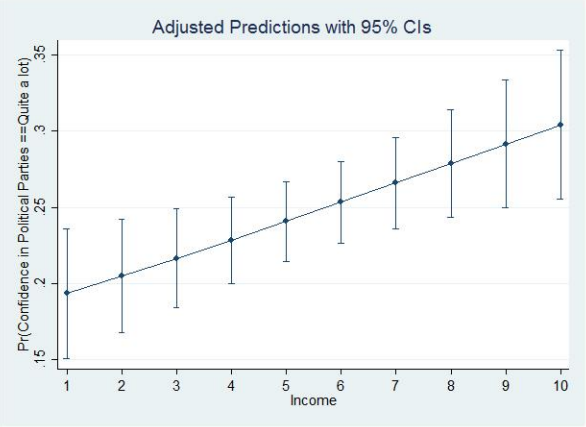
Figure 8. Fitted Probabilities of Ordinal Categories of Confidence in Armed Forces with 95% Confidence Intervals across the entire range of Autonomy Index

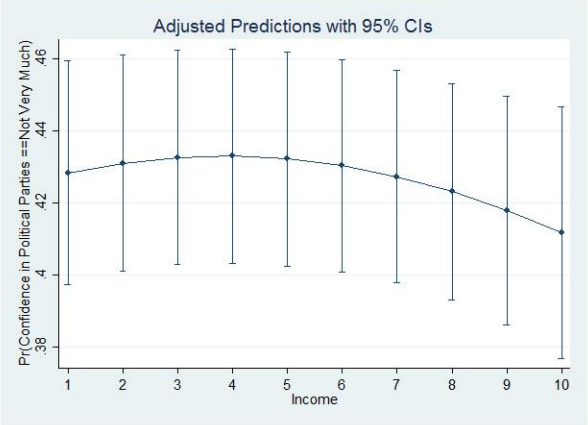


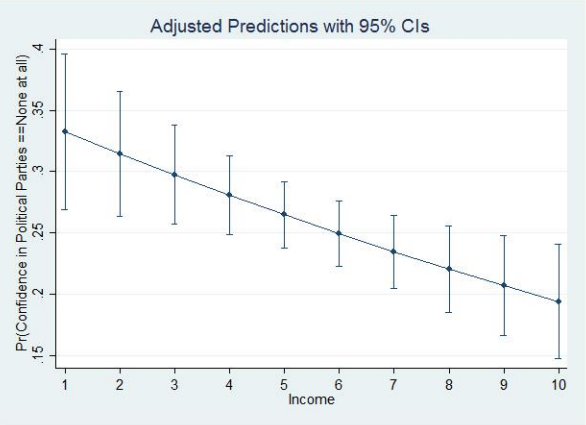
Confidence in Political Parties: The relationship of confidence in political parties is only significant with income and the KPK dummy. The relationship with income is like that of confidence in other institutions – as the income increases, the likelihood of having confidence in political parties also increases. The relationship is significant at 99% confidence level. Figure 9 shows that the relationship is significant for outcome categories 1, 2, and 4, and not for outcome category 3. The probability of having 'a great deal' and 'quite a lot' of confidence in political parties increases with the increase in income; whereas the probability of having 'none at all' confidence in political parties decreases with the increase in income. The people from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are more likely to have confidence in political parties than the people from the Punjab. The relationship is significant for all outcome categories of the depend variable.

Figure 9. Fitted Probabilities of Ordinal Categories of Confidence in Political Parties with 95% Confidence Intervals across the entire range of Income









Conclusion

The paper finds that age does not have a statistically significant effect on political trust in Pakistan, which is different from the earlier research that was divided on the direction of the relationship but found it to be statistically significant. The women have been found to be more likely to have confidence in government than men and less likely to have confidence in armed forces than men. Earlier research is also divided on the effect of sex on political trust. The results show that income and education have positive relationship which support the findings of Ingrid Schoon et al. who found SES to be positively associated with political trust. Unemployment was found to be negatively associated with political trust (negative relationship with confidence in government and courts) which makes intuitive sense as unemployment is considered to be negatively affecting one's perception of government performance.

The people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have been found to be more likely to have confidence in government, parliament, and political parties than the people from Punjab. The people from Sindh are less likely to have confidence in parliament and courts than the people from the Punjab. The province of Sindh, with the exception of Karachi, has very low level of

development and is not only ethnically divided but the ethnic identities are highly politically charged which explains their low level of political trust. While this result indicates their low level of trust in federal government and institutions, it also hints on low level of institutional performance of their provincial government. The people from Baluchistan are less likely to have confidence in armed forces than the people from the Punjab. This again makes intuitive sense as Baluchistan has a history of checkered relations with the armed forces.

Interpersonal trust has positive relationship with confidence in government and parliament, which supports Robert Putnam's study. Religiosity has negative relationship with confidence in armed forces. This is especially interesting as the general perception is that religious people support armed forces. Several books have been written establishing links of religiosity with support for armed forces. Independent nature of personality has positive relationship with confidence in armed forces and negative relationship with confidence in courts.