



Exposure to News & Current Affairs on Private TV Channels & Political Socialization among Young, Urban Pakistanis

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By

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Declaration of Independence

I hereby declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work. All the material and sources used are duly acknowledged as references. This work is original and does not violate copyright laws.

Abstract

This study aimed at investigating association between exposure to private news and current affairs TV channels and political socialization of young urban Pakistanis (N=300). Exposure to private news TV channels along with state-controlled news TV channels, public and private news radio channels, newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines and social media (Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp) was measured. Political socialization was operationalized as political interest, internal political efficacy and political participation (electoral and non-electoral). Descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyze the data. Descriptive analysis revealed that private TV news channels were the dominant source of political information for the participants of the study. In inferential analysis, news consumption variables of each medium, was separately regressed with political interest, internal political efficacy and political participation. The findings revealed that among all the sources of news and current affairs, exposure only to private news TV channels were positively associated with political interest, internal political efficacy, and non-electoral political participation. Exposure to news and current affairs on any medium had no association with electoral (voting) participation of the respondents.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

First decade of the 21st century was quite eventful for Pakistan. A lot happened in every sphere of life, especially in the field of media and politics. In 2002, the then military dictator, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, deregulated broadcast media in the country through an ordinance. The act abolished monopoly of state-owned television; Pakistan Television (PTV) and established dual broadcasting system; state-controlled and private broadcasting in the country. The deregulation transformed media landscape of the country and gave new impetus to the broadcast industry especially TV news media. New TV and radio channels were allowed to operate in the country by the private sector and since then, Pakistan has seen phenomenal growth in the number of TV channels and viewership. Currently there are 99 private channels in the country as compared to the three state owned TV channels before 2002. Among the total, 29 are news channel, providing news and current affairs programs 24/7 (PEMRA, n.d.).

Despite deregulation, Pakistani government retains monopoly of the terrestrial transmission. Only the state broadcaster is allowed to use the air-free transmission whereas the private TV channels are allowed to broadcast on cable, satellite and internet. In spite of such restrictions, statistics shows that viewership of private TV channels gradually surpassed the viewership of state-controlled PTV. In 2012, PTV News was on the top of the most viewed news channel of the country (Gallup Pakistan's Media Cyberletter 2012, p. 2) but the following year a survey revealed that all the top ten news channels were private TV news channels (Television viewership Overview, 2013). In 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017 private news TV channels dominated the scene and attracted more audiences. A typical viewer spent 94 minutes a day watching news and current affairs programs (Television Viewership in Pakistan, 2019).

In January 2017, out of a population of 207 million people, television viewership in Pakistan stood at 135 million out of which 74 million watch cable and satellite TV channels while the rest 61 million are terrestrial viewership (ConentAsia: Pakistan, 2017). The number of TV viewers

was approximately 64 million in the country in 2004 (Gallup Pakistan's Media Cyberletter 2009, p.2).

However, the growth and reach of cable and satellite TV channels is not uniform across the country. In rural areas, unavailability of modern technologies especially cable television render PTV as the main source of televised information. In urban centers, private television has strong presence due to the availability of better distribution system of TV programs through cable networks (Kamboh 2019, p. 159).

These news channels broadcast news and current affairs programs 24/7 and offer breaking news, hourly news bulletins, headlines, current affairs programs, documentaries, special reports, talk shows and political satire programs (Yusuf, 2013, p. 23). These programs offer insights on the current social, political, economic and important issues of the country. Recent analysis of these talk shows revealed that politics is the most discussed topic on these shows while the overwhelming majority of the guests invited were politicians. The top ten talk shows in terms of viewership and ratings were aired from the private TV news channels and none belonged to the government controlled- PTV (Gallup Pakistan, 2020).

Besides national level TV channels, Pakistani media scene has witnessed the emergence of regional level TV channels. These channels broadcast programs in local and regional languages to appeal the ethno-linguistic diverse communities living in different provinces of the country. These regional channels report on the local issues including local politics and thus promote politics at grassroots level. Yusuf and Shoemaker (2013) contended that "in this context, regional-language media provides new and greater opportunities for the Pakistani media to open up a new space for grassroots demand, hold local government accountable and foster a sense of inclusion among marginalized communities" (p. 15).

Private news TV channels provided space to the previously marginalized groups of the society by providing platform, which was denied when the government had monopoly on the airwaves. Private news TV channels highlighted everyday problems of common persons and thus received high credibility among the masses. Media became the most favorable institution in the country and received the highest approval ratings (International Republican Institute, 2007-2009;

PEW Research Center, 2014).

This great transformation in citizens' access to information through private TV has multiple implications for the political orientations of people. Private TV news channels have created awareness among people regarding their political and constitutional rights and exposed the authoritarian behavior of the respective governments. One such example and landmark achievement of media especially private news TV channels to restore and strengthen democracy was the "Lawyers Movement" (Ghias 2010, pp. 985-986). In March 2007, the military dictator-turned-President, General Pervez Musharraf imposed emergency in the country and removed the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry from his office (Iqbal, 2007). A nationwide protest of lawyers, politicians, and civil society brought the Chief Justice along with the 60 deposed judges back to office (Sengupta, 2007). Private TV channels extensively covered these protests and offered opinions and analysis on the issue. The government had to take off air the vocal TV channels to control the situation (Naqvi, 2011, p. 114). Analysis of the role of media during the movement endorses the notion that it can play a decisive role in the political arena and protection of democratic institutions of the country (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p.27). Yusuf & Shoemaker (2013) analyzed the role of media in the lawyers' movement and noted that media's role, especially of private TV news channels in the movement "cemented a popular perception of the media as a key political stakeholder and an important democratizing force" (p.9).

In 2008, when democracy was restored in the country, the private news TV channels became a big political stakeholder. It played the role of watchdog and scrutinized the conduct of public representatives and public officials. Mega corruption scandals involving public officials and politicians were reported (Wafayi & Aziz, 2012). Previously, the state-owned PTV did not report on the critical political happenings in the country or in case it did, it furthered the official version of the events. "Media (private news TV channels) play a new and important role, resulting in greater transparency with intense press and electronic coverage of policies that were formerly made behind closed doors" (Cohen, 2011, p. 17).

Besides, these TV channels provided an opportunity to the opposition parties to express their concerns and make the ruling party accountable. The move was unprecedented in the media

history of the country. Michelson (2011) noted that prior to the 2008 general elections “the private channels formed a platform for the representatives of the opposition parties who were largely excluded from state television” (p. 36). For the first time elections were contested in the presence of free and plural media environment which enabled the dissenting voices of the opposition politicians and new entrants in politics to be conveyed to the electorates directly through private TV channels (Yusuf & Shoemaker, 2013)..

After liberalization of broadcast industry, unprecedented developments in the political sector of the country have been witnessed. Pakistan achieved a milestone when the democratically elected government of 2008 completed its term in office. This was the first time in the political history of the country that an elected government had completed its term in office and handed over the power to another democratically elected government. The 2013 elections were not only historic because it marked the democratic transition in the country but it was extraordinary in a sense that the voter turnout in the elections was the highest since 1970 (Report on the General Elections-2013, p. 2). This elected government too completed its term and transferred power to the incumbent in the July 2018 elections. This trend harbingered continuity and consolidation of democracy in the country.

The remarkable aspect of these elections was the participation of youth in the politics. Pakistan has one of the highest percentages of young people in the world and 64 percent of its population is below the age of 30 (Pakistan National Human Development Report, 2017, p. 2). In 2013 elections, nearly half of the registered voters belonged to the 18 to 35 age group (Commonwealth Observer Mission Report 2013, p. 18). As many as 30 million new voters cast their votes in this election (Ahmed & Skoric, 2015, p. 139). Similar was the situation in the 2018 elections where 46 percent voters were young people and majority of these youth cast their votes (Khan, 2018).

The above discussion makes it obvious that private TV channels in Pakistan have diversified the quantity of political information in the country. Political information now reaches to more people as compared to the era before the privatization of television. Receivers spend considerable amount of time watching news, current affairs programs, commentaries, and talk shows. People participation in political activities has increased and their perception regarding political leadership has improved. Increasing voter turnout especially among youth in the last three

general elections is indicative of political development in the country. The opening up of private TV news channels and greater political participation of youth are indicative of a process called political socialization. Next section of this chapter discusses the process of political socialization.

1.2 Political Socialization

Political socialization is a process through which an individual develops political orientations, attitudes and behavior over a period of time. There are two broad approaches to study the process; 'individual learning perspective' and 'structural functionalist approach' or 'system-level perspective'. The individual learning perspective maintains that political socialization is a learning process where an individual through various agencies learns about the politics, political system and internalizes its norms and values. In the system level perspective, political socialization refers to as 'cultural transmission', where social system provides means to instill system-appropriate values, attitudes and behavior in its members.

Past studies identify the phase in an individual's life during political socialization begins. The classic era scholars (Hyman, 1959; Greenstein, 1965; Easton & Hess, 1965; Almond & Verba, 1963) were of the view that the process begins early in the childhood. Children at early age come in contact with political authorities, events and personalities, which form their general beliefs and attitudes towards them. They argue that these belief and attitudes formed in the formative phases of these children's lives are so strong that they govern most of their adult lives. This perspective is labeled as 'primacy perspective'. However, the later lot of scholars challenged the view and argued that politics is the prerogative of adult life. When a child reaches adulthood, he/she not only transforms physically but also mentally, socially, economically and politically. Besides cognitive development in adulthood, some political roles and behaviors are age-specific. During adulthood, roles and responsibilities diversify and an individual experiences different circumstances during his life span (Sigel, 1989; Stecknerider & Cutler, 1989; Lafferty, 1989; Laufer, 1989). These experiences affect an individual's orientations, attitudes and behaviors. Political socialization, they argue, can thus occur at any stage of an individual's life and is therefore 'open ended or life-long'.

The process of political socialization is mediated through various sources. Some of the major sources of political socialization identified in the literature are family, peer groups, educational and political institutions, and media. All these agencies play their part in the process individually or in combination at some point of an individual's life depending on its availability.

What constitute a politically socialized individual? Or simply how political socialization can be measured? Literature review shows different answers to the question.

1.2.1 Measuring Political Socialization

Political socialization scholars investigated different aspects of the process depending on the nature of their studies. Some investigators worked on a specific feature while others adopted a holistic approach. Dunsmore and Lagos (2008, pp. 1-10) see "awareness of political issues" as a measure of political socialization. Tan (1980, pp. 241-248) operationalized political socialization as political knowledge and involvement in political campaigns. Martin (2009, pp. 706-731) see feelings towards government as an outcome of political socialization. Atkin and Gantz (1978, pp. 183-197) operationalized political socialization as political knowledge, interpersonal political discussion, interest in public affairs and political information seeking.

Recent scholarship stressed the need to broaden the horizon of political socialization as the traditional outcomes of political socialization lack in fully capturing the phenomenon. These scholars called for the inclusion of informal processes of political socialization (McLeod, 2000, p. 47; Shah, McLeod & Lee, 2009, p. 102). Informal processes of political socialization may include attitudinal and behavioral aspects such as volunteering, personal efficacy and interpersonal trust (McLeod, 2000, p. 47). Boyd et al (2011, pp. 1167-1179) in their study treated the outcome of political socialization as civic duty, civic efficacy, neighborhood social connection, and civic participation.

Besides, some other scholars stressed the need to include the informal processes like development of critical and reflective abilities of individuals which are necessary for processing political information, formulation and expression of opinions, respect for diverse point of views and group decisions, and logical reasoning (McLeod, 2000, p. 47). In a later work, Shah, McLeod and Lee (2009, p. 102) called the acquisition of the above cited qualities as

“communication competence”. “The study of political socialization must move beyond examinations of knowledge and norms to consider how young people acquire the basic motives and skills needed to participate meaningfully and effectively in public life” (Shah, McLeod & Lee, 2009, p. 102).

Review of the relevant literature indicates that individual studies are often focused on a particular aspect of socialization and don't cover the full spectrum of the process. However, meta-analysis studies somehow reveal that political socialization can be measured in three broad areas; cognitive, affective and behavioral (Atkin, 1981; Carpini, 2004). Atkin explained that cognitive component involves political knowledge and information. Affective outcomes of the process are political interest, attitudes towards leaders, opinions on political issues, sense of political efficacy and party identification. While behavioral category includes inter personal discussions regarding politics, campaign participation. Atkin's classification is based on the outcomes of political socialization of children and did not deliberately include voting in elections and other non-electoral political participation. However, studies dealing with adults include voting as measurement of political socialization (Carpini, 2004).

It is beyond the means and scope of this study to measure every dimension of political socialization. Therefore, keeping in view the particular context of Pakistan, political socialization measurement will be restricted to some aspects of the affective and behavioral components of the process. An ideal study would include the cognitive category too along with affective and behavioral aspects to understand the phenomenon in the best possible manner. However, researchers hesitate to take this course of investigation owing to the fluidity and transient nature of cognitive aspect of political socialization (Martin 2009, p. 24). Cognitive category, therefore, has been deliberately dropped from the study.

Based on observation of media especially private news TV channels in Pakistan and democratic development, this study will examine the affective and behavioral aspects of the process. The affective elements of political socialization in the study are 'political interest' and 'internal political efficacy' while behavioral aspects include both electoral (voting) and non-electoral participation. There are valid scales to measure these constructs which have been utilized in this study.

1.3 Problem Statement

This study aims to explore relationship between news and current affairs programs consumption on private TV channels and political socialization of the young urban Pakistanis. The country, as a result of deregulation of broadcasting industry, has seen greater diffusion and consumption of political information through private news TV channels. Simultaneously, political developments started taking place in Pakistan. After a hiatus of ten years, democracy was restored in the country. Consecutive elections of 2008, 2013 and 2018 and increasing participation of the youth in political activities heralded consolidation of democracy in the country. There is anecdotal evidence that liberalization of TV industry has played a positive role in the political socialization of the public. However, the role of these private broadcast channels in the political socialization of Pakistanis especially the youngsters has not been scientifically explored. This study aims to fill that gap in the literature by examining the relationship between private television news channels and political socialization of the youth in the country.

Previous studies examining the role of media and political socialization have predominantly focused on democratically advanced countries such as the U.S., the UK and Western Europe. These studies show that privatization of broadcasting industry specifically televised news media has exerted both negative and positive influences on the political socialization of audiences. A deeper look at the studies reveal that ‘context’, in which the studies are undertaken, mediate these influences. Media environment and political and cultural milieu arbitrate influences of private news TV channels on measures of political socialization. For instance, in the American context, TV news media are predominantly privately owned with a very weak public TV industry. Commercial logic in production of political information substituted serious news for infotainment and thus lowered political knowledge and political interest, increased political cynicism, harmed political efficacy and lowered voter turnout (Robinson, 1976; Cappella & Jamieson 1997; Graber 1990; Putnam, 1995; Putnam, 2000; Gentzkow, 2006; Ismail, 2011; Owen 2012; Morris & Forgette, 2007; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Curran et al, 2009; Patterson, 1980; & Shehata, 2013).

In Western European countries, privatization of TV exerted mixed results. Studies carried out in individual countries show that exposure to news on private TV channels resulted in lower political knowledge and political participation in one Germany (Schulz, 2005) while increasing political knowledge and political interest in Sweden (Prat & Stromberg 2005). However, studies dealing with the European Union as a whole, came up with the conclusion that in the countries with strong public service broadcasting, introduction of private news TV channels exerted negative influences on the measures of political socialization but the countries with no or weak public broadcasting, private news TV channels positively contributed to political socialization of the viewers (Aarts & Semetko, 2012; Curran et al 2009; Toka & Popescu 2009; Holtz-Bacha & Norris, 2001). Extensive research thus leads to the hypothesis that privatization of televised news industry showed encouraging results in political socialization of the viewers in countries with weak or no public broadcasting and lower press freedom (Toka & Popescu, 2009).

However, little is known about the relationship between privatization of TV news industry and political socialization in countries with different political systems, political cultures, and media environments such as Pakistan. Recently, a number of scholars confessed that the base of political socialization is narrow and limited (Loveless, 2010; Sapiro, 2004; Oates, 2012; Waisbord, 2012). They called for expanding the boundaries of political socialization to countries other than consolidated democracies of the world. The current study adopts such an approach, considering the unique political and media environment in Pakistan.

To address the issue, this research project is conceived around the question “do exposure to private news TV channels has any association with political socialization of young urban Pakistanis”? Technically, the study composed of two components; exposure to private news TV channels and measures of political socialization. Exposure refers here to news and current affairs contents on private news TV channels while measures of political socialization are political interest, internal political efficacy and electoral and non-electoral participation. Respondents of the study are urban youth 18 to 34 years old Pakistanis.

In order to better understand association between private news TV channels and measures of political socialization, all the dominant sources of news and current affairs information in Pakistan have been included in the study. Relationship between each medium and political

socialization measures has been checked to examine the role of private news TV channels in the process.

Previous research has shown that the demographics of gender, age and education influence the relationship between media exposure and the process of political socialization. Therefore, these three variables have been taken into consideration while investigating relationship between every medium and measures of political socialization.

This study is concerned with the relationship of private televised news media and political socialization at individual/micro level but findings of the study will be discussed in the specific political and media system of Pakistan to understand how the macro level factors influence the process at micro level.

1.4 Hypotheses

Based on the anecdotal evidences regarding establishment of private news TV channels and democratic development in Pakistan, this study presents the following hypothesis.

H1: Majority of the urban population exposes to private news and current affairs TV channels for political information.

H2: Exposure to news & current affairs programs on private TV channels leads to higher levels of political interest.

H3: Exposure to news and current affairs on private TV channels increases internal political efficacy”

H4: Watching news and current affairs on private TV channels leads to higher non-electoral political participation”.

H5: “Exposure to news & current affairs on private TV channels lead to higher electoral political participation”.

H6: *Demographics of gender, age and education mediate the impact of exposure to news & current affairs on the political socialization variables.*

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study makes many contributions to the literature on TV and political socialization. For example, the current research work is one of the limited studies undertaken outside the US and western European democracies. Many scholars echoed the concern that literature and hence understanding regarding the process of political socialization is limited because the focus of the studies were predominantly the US and mature democracies (Sapiro, 2004, pp. 5-6). Therefore, this study will enhance knowledge about the process of political socialization in developing countries. Though, this research work mainly deals with deregulation of TV and its impact on political socialization of audiences but the media landscape and political setting in which the research study is carried out, makes this study important in many ways. Following is a brief discussion about why and how this research work is significant.

This study tries to understand the effects of deregulation of television on political socialization in a country where the state strictly controlled the industry. Previous studies were done in the contexts where televised news media were either predominantly private (the US) or where strong public TV existed (Western Europe). Literature review in chapter four revealed that in the US where broadcast media are predominantly in private ownership, TV has exerted negative influences on the political attitudes of the audiences. In the western European context where before the deregulation strong public broadcasting system existed, introduction of private news TV exerted mixed effects on the measures of political socialization. However, exploring the effects of deregulation of TV in other countries where TV was state-controlled is relatively new. Therefore, this study will add to the literature in the area.

The current study is also significant to the literature on media and democratization. Little is known about the role of media in political socialization during the democratic transitions. Literature in the field hinges on two assumptions; uncertainty, and fluidity of the political, economic and social institutions in the countries undergoing democratic transition, increases the influence of media to socialize the citizens to democratic norms, attitudes and behaviors (Jebri,

Stetka & Loveless, 2013, pp. 16-18). Gross (2002), for example, noted that “media can play an instrumental role in resocialization and modernization by teaching a new way of participating in politics and socioeconomic life by encouraging new individual and national inspirations” (p. 90). However, there is dearth of research studies to back these claims and the current study is an important addition to the scarce literature in the field.

Political system of Pakistan is currently in transition to democracy. Deregulation of TV industry preceded the opening of democratic processes in the country and analysts believe that greater media diffusion led to the restoration and continuation of democracy in Pakistan. This study will add to the current knowledge about the role of media in transition to democracy and socialization of individuals to the democratic attitudes and behaviors.

1.6 Thesis Overview

This research work deals with consumption of news and current affairs on private TV channels and its association with development of political attitudes and behavior of young urban Pakistanis. This study, guided by the theory of political socialization, will be carried out in the specific political and media environment of Pakistan. Therefore, it becomes mandatory to structure this dissertation around the relevant independent (exposure) and dependent (political attitudes and behavior) variables, literature, and the media and political environment of Pakistan. The dissertation proceeds as follow.

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter (the current one) provided context for the study, presented the research problem, its significance and explained the concept of political socialization.

Chapter Two: Political Socialization

This chapter provided a broad and systematic overview of the concept of political socialization. It mentioned the origin of the field and its evolution over the period of time. The chapter mentioned a range of definitions, approaches and theoretical issues of the concept. It then discussed the process of political socialization and the mechanism involved in the development

of political orientations, attitudes and behavior of an individual. Three main sources of political socialization; family, peer groups and schools have been discussed thoroughly in chapter two.

Chapter Three: Media and Political Socialization

In chapter three an extensive overview of the research about the role and mechanism through which media influences the process of political socialization has been discussed. In the beginning, it presented research literature that established media as one of the vital sources of political socialization and then moved on explaining how media exert influences on the foundational values, norms, attitudes and behaviors of individuals. Last section of the chapter dealt with the association of media and dependent variables of this study; political interest, internal political efficacy and political participation.

Chapter Four: Television and Political Socialization

This chapter specifically reviews major research studies in the area of TV and political socialization. It gives a systematic review of the literature in the field. The chapter starts with the pioneer studies mostly focused on children and adolescents. However, as this study deals with adults, relevant literature on the relationship between TV exposure and adults have been reviewed in detail. Theoretical approaches such as media malaise and mobilization theories have been reviewed to understand the mechanism through which TV affect political socialization of individuals. Focus of attention then shifts to the structural and regulatory changes in televised news industry and its relationship with political cognition, attitudes and behaviors of the viewers. Since these structural changes occurred in different countries with different political and social systems at different times, therefore, this chapter reviewed literature in both developed and developing democracies. Studies conducted in the United States of America, Europe and some developing countries were analyzed for greater understanding of the relationship between news and current affairs consumption and patterns of political socialization. End of the chapter is devoted to the deregulation of TV in Pakistan and how this trend interacted with the political orientations, attitudes and behavior of the audiences in the country.

Chapter Five: Media in Pakistan

This chapter offers an overview of the media landscape in Pakistan. It provides a systematic overview of print and electronic media development in the country. It then focuses on the ownership of major media groups in the country. The chapter then discusses the regulatory framework of the media and press freedom in Pakistan. Last section of the chapter explains how deregulation of broadcast media shaped TV industry specifically establishment of news and current affairs TV channels, its diffusion and viewership trends in Pakistan.

Chapter Six: Political Culture of Pakistan

Chapter six tells the reader about the peculiar political culture of Pakistan and how it interacts with the political socialization of individuals. It opens with a brief description of the political structure of Pakistan and then moves on discussing formation of the prevailing political culture of the country. The role of political elites, political parties, historical events, and the social and cultural factors in shaping the political culture of Pakistan has been debated. End of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of interaction of political culture and political socialization of Pakistanis.

Chapter Seven: Research Methods

This chapter presents the methods and procedures used to explore the research problem. It discusses sampling procedure, problems associated with data collection in Pakistan, instruments of data collection, operationalization of variables, survey procedure, sampling area and validity and reliability of the scales used in the study.

Chapter Eight: Results

This section reported findings of the statistical analysis of the data. It first presented description of sample size and its demographic characteristics, response rate, refusal rate, and comparison of sample size with census data. The chapter then elaborates on findings of independent variable of news exposure trends and dependent variables of political interest, internal political efficacy, and political participation through descriptive and inferential statistics. Last part of the chapter,

documents results of relationship between predictor and outcome variables carried out through linear regression.

Chapter Nine: Discussion and Conclusion

Last chapter of the thesis discusses results of the study within the particular context of Pakistan. It expands on the why and how of the findings of the predictor and outcome variables of the study keeping in view the political and media environment of the country. It discusses the theoretical implications of the study, presents the limitations and recommendations for future research. At the end it offers a brief conclusion of the dissertation.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Studies in the social sciences especially those dealing with human behavior are prone to limitations and this study is no exception. Though, great care has been taken to carry out the project in the best possible manner, however, lack of financial resources and time constraints, this research study is limited in terms of scope and methodology.

This study has been carried out in Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan. Findings of the study, therefore, cannot be generalized across the urban centers of the country.

The data utilized in this study is non-probability in nature. Unavailability of latest census data led to the selection of this method. Despite repeated requests including online procedure, telephone calls and a personal visit to obtain latest information regarding demographics of the population, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics declined the request citing the reason they were not allowed to share the data of latest census carried out in 2017. The only information I received was the total population of the city and ratio of male and female.

Due to lack of financial resources and time constraints, this study relied on cross sectional data. Data gathered at multiple times would have put confidence in the results but unfortunately, resources did not permit it. Owing these limitations, the findings of the study are hard to generalize. However, being a pioneer study, it will contribute to literature on media and political socialization in a developing country.

Chapter 2: Political Socialization

In this section, an attempt has been made to provide the reader a comprehensive overview of the field of political socialization. It mentions the origin of the field and its development over the years. It tries to present the perspectives of scholars from different fields on the process of political socialization. It discusses how an individual during his life cycle learns about politics. Role of the three important sources of political socialization; family, peer group, and school are deliberated in detail while the fourth agent of political socialization; media, will be dealt in the coming chapter.

2.1 Political Socialization

A politically organized society that wants to survive must socialize its younger generations to follow willingly the norms, attitudes, and behaviors of their political system. Easton and Dennis (1969, p. 4) argued that a political system persists if majority of the people accept and follow its decisions. The political system, therefore, employs a host of methods to garner support for itself and maintain it at some minimal level. The system tries to win the support of the masses and their trust by “shaping their orientations and behavior patterns at the earliest feasible moment after birth into the system” (Easton and Dennis, 1969, p.5). In case of delinquency of its citizens, the existence of the whole system lands in trouble. Therefore, it becomes paramount function of the society to train its successive generations to learn, internalize, practice and transmit these political norms, attitude and behavior to the future generations (Sigel, 1965, pp.2-3; Graber, 1997, p.191). The question, how to politically socialize the young members of a social system, remained the prime concern of the intelligentsia and political elites throughout the human history. “Philosophers and practicing politicians as long ago as Plato- and probably long before that have devoted thought and effort to the question of how to bring about such engagement” (Sigel, 1965, p.3).

Studies regarding training of the younger generations into system appropriate political behavior started well in the start of the 20th century when Charles E. Merriam studied formal aspects of civic education in 1920s. Research related to political behavior, personality and politics, national

character studies were conducted during the first half of the twentieth century to investigate the phenomenon which would later be known as ‘political socialization’. Perhaps one of the well-known studies in the field of political socialization is that of Newcomb’s which is related to formation of political attitudes (Greenstein, 1969, pp. 8-9). Hollingshead (1949) and Stevenson & Stuart (1958) worked on children’s perception of social class and race (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977 p. 209). These studies were put under the rubrics of ‘civic education’, ‘lessons in patriotism’, ‘training for citizenship’, or ‘character-training’ but were not called political socialization until Herbert Hyman (1959) collected certain earlier studies and reanalyzed it in terms of their political implications. Hyman, thus laid the foundation of the field of political socialization (Greenstein, 1969, p.9; Bender, 1967; Greenstein, 1970; Connell, 1972; Brauen & Harmon, 1977; Merelman, 1972; Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977; Atkin 1981; Niemi & Hepburn, 1995; Sapiro, 2004; Martin, 2009; McLeod & Shah, 2009; Settle, Bond & Levitt, 2011; Ojedaa & Hatemi, 2015). Modern scholars prefer to call this training process as ‘political socialization’ rather than civic education for the latter has too deliberate a connotation (Sigel, 1965, p.3).

The term ‘political socialization’ has a diverse background and is interdisciplinary in nature (Hess and Easton, 1960, p.633; Langton, 1969 p.3; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, pp. 15-16; Merelman, 1972, p.135). Having its roots in education, scholars from different fields like social psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, psychiatry and recently communication and media studies, contributed to the field. Therefore, the term is open to a variety of definitions and interpretations and needs clear conceptualization and explicit theorization for better understanding (Kudrnáč, 2015, p.3). Similarly Langton (1969) commenting on the variety of work in the field of political socialization, noted that “considering the varied perspectives and sources of information, differences in interpretation (of the term political socialization) are not surprising” (p. 9).

2.1.1 Definitions of Political Socialization

According to The International Encyclopedia of Communication, political socialization is “the processes through which democratic societies instill the proper norms among their members to maintain social institutions and practices” (2008, p. 3749). A review of the literature on political socialization indicates that scholars treated the phenomenon from two broad perspectives;

individual learning and system-level perspective. In the former case, the scholars view political socialization as a learning process through which an individual learns about the political system, internalizes its norms and values through different agencies like family, school, peer group and mass media. While in the system level perspective, political socialization is viewed as “cultural transmission”, where the social system provides means to inculcate system appropriate values, attitudes, and behavior in its members. However, these approaches are complementary and each type of study drawing on the findings of the other (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, p. 13; Sapiro, 2004, p. 3).

Herbert Hyman (1959) dealt political socialization from the psychological perspective of individual learning. Hyman explains that political socialization of individual involves “learning of social patterns corresponding to the societal positions as mediated through various agencies of society (p.25)”. Similarly, Sigel (1965) see political socialization as “gradual learning of the norms, attitudes and behavior accepted and practiced by the ongoing political system” (p. 2). Easton and Dennis (1969) defined political socialization as “those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior” (p. 7). Dawson and Prewitt (1969) defined political socialization as “the processes through which a citizen acquires his own view of the political world” (p. 6). Later, Dawson et al (1977, p. 33) defined political socialization as "the process through which an individual acquires his particular political orientations, his knowledge, feelings and evaluations regarding his political world". Paletz, Owen, and Cook, (2010) referred to political socialization as “political learning through which masses build up attitudes, values, beliefs, opinions, and behaviors that are helpful in becoming good citizens” (p. 249). Schwarzer (2011) defined political socialization as “the mechanism through which individuals find their place in the political community and nurture their norms and attitude towards the political objects, actors, symbols and process” (p. 2). Graber (1997) defined political socialization as “learning about structures and environmental factors and internalizing of customs and rules governing political life” (p.191).

Some researchers probed political socialization from the ‘structural functionalist approach’ or simply ‘system-level perspective’. These scholars are of the view that social and political systems provide means to politically socialize its members with the obvious aim of maintaining

itself (Langton 1969, p.3). For example, Almond (1960, p.26) noted that political socialization is the area where multiple factors interact to define the political world of individuals. Almond remarked that Hyman's approach stressed only the latent dimensions and considers it a "learning process" while ignored, manifest, rational, indoctrinative aspect of political socialization. Political socialization cannot be explained by a theory grounded in analytical theory of personality and psychoanalytical oriented anthropology but needs to be seen in terms of multiple sources of socialization in a society including the political system. Almond (1960) defined political socialization as "the process of induction into the political culture" (pp.27-28). Langton (1969) sees political socialization as a process which "refers to the way society transmits its political culture from generation to generation" (p. 4). Dawson and Prewitt (1969) define political socialization as, "the way in which one generation passes on political standards and beliefs to succeeding generations" (p. 6). Dawson and Prewitt (1969, p. 15) explained that society through its socialization mechanism constraints the anti-social tendencies in a child and encourage him to become part of the society by accepting its norms, values and behaviors. The scholars are of the view that through political socialization, a social system introduces an individual to the political world and helps him form political attachments, political rules and practices, political personalities, policies, symbols and behavior. Through this process, an "individual acquires a complex of beliefs, feelings and information which help him comprehend, evaluate and relate to the political world around him" (p.17).

A close review of these definitions makes it clear that at least four features are common in them: political socialization is (1) a learning processes through which (2) the individual (3) learns political attitudes and behavior from generation through generation, (4) influenced by political socialization agents.

Broadly speaking, political socialization, as a field, is the bi-product of macro and micro level phenomenon. The macro level political socialization research investigates how organized societies and systems instill appropriate norms, values and behaviors in its citizens while the micro level research deals with how individuals learn and internalize patterns of behavior of the society they live in (Sapiro, 2004, p.2-3). From the 'system-level' perspective, political socialization is seen as means of creating support for the existing political system while from the

‘individual-learning’ perspective, researchers investigate; when, and how individuals acquire political knowledge, their effect on the opinions, attitudes, and behavior of the people. Although these two approaches differ in knowledge goals but their societal goal is same (Sapiro, 2004, p. 3). The goal towards which the political socialization tries to achieve “is the development of individuals who accept the approved motives, habits, and values relevant to the political system of their society and who transmit these norms to future generations” (Patrick, 1977, p. 192).

2.1.2 Approaches to Political Learning

As mentioned earlier, scholars, whether following the individual learning perspective or system level perspective, agree that political socialization is a learning process. They are interested to know how new members of a social system acquire political cognitions, orientations, attitudes and behaviors. Researchers argued that political learning occurs mainly through two ways; deliberate and non-deliberate or incidental way. Deliberate learning can further be divided into formal and informal teaching. Sigel (1965, pp. 109) explained that civic education in schools is the example of formal teaching while a father’s discussion with his son regarding the merits and demerits of a trade union is an instance of non-formal teaching. Accidental learning, Sigel describes is of two types; politically relevant lessons and social values which are not political in nature but has consequences for politics. Incidental learning of politics can occur through different ways like direct observations of political phenomena, listening to others’ political conversations and life experiences. The other type of incidental political learning is social values, morality and other the like, which are not intrinsically political in nature but bear on an individual’s future behavior related to politics. For example “how a family teaches its young about the evil of or the justification for violence and aggression carries in it the seeds for later views on capital punishment, war and peace, and a host of other political issues” (Sigel, 1965, pp. 5-6). Thus, an individual learns from adults the philosophical, social and political values and the necessary skills to practice these values. Sigel explains that most of incidental learning occurs without the person knowing it and happens in a casual, non-politically charged manner as compared to the deliberate political teachings (Sigel, 1965, pp. 4-7).

Political socialization can be direct and indirect. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp. 63-80) explained that acquisition of politically relevant norms, values and behaviors occur mainly in two ways;

direct and indirect. Direct form of political learning happens in a number of ways including manifest teaching, indoctrination, imitation, observation, identification and self-experiences in the political world. Direct political socialization refers to the processes when transmitted orientations are specifically political in nature while the indirect political socialization is two tiers process. Indirect political socialization is not initially political but has political consequences. For example, a child, through socialization, learns about obeying authorities in general but later on, this learning translates into a more specific political way. A child, whose parents are permissive, forms a view of the government as permissive and vice versa (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969, pp. 63-64). The researchers specified four ways in which direct political socialization occurs; imitation, anticipatory political socialization, political education and political experience. Research in the behavioral sciences indicates that most of the human behavior is imitative in nature and individuals learn the attitudes and imitate the behavior of those with whom they want to live with (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969, p. 64). Anticipatory socialization, according to Dawson and Prewitt, closely resemble imitative learning where individuals who aspire for high political positions imitate the values and behaviors of the people associated with such positions. Similarly, in some cases, parents and teachers paint such a clear picture of a good citizen for the children that they can prepare themselves for it. Political education is one of the most overt aspects of direct political socialization and is performed by a multitude of the agencies including; parents, teachers, government, and a variety of groups and organizations. Another type of direct political socialization is of an individual's self-experiences with the politics. A person learns about politics when he comes in interaction with political personalities, structures and events (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969, pp. 64-79).

Political socialization is also indirect. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp. 67-73) outlined three distinct type of indirect political learning; interpersonal transference, apprenticeship and generalization. Interpersonal transference occurs when individuals transfer predispositions acquired in non-political situations to political objects. For example, children through their socialization in families and schools, develop general authority orientations in their relationships with parents, teachers and through observations in their social environments. These authority orientations are quite general and non-political in nature but as the children grow and come into contact with the political world, they transfer non-political authority orientations onto the figures

in political system. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp.67-68) explained that children raised in authoritarian families learn submissiveness and obedience and upon entry into political world submit blindly to the political authorities. On the other hand, children who experience democratic environments at home take part in decision-making and do not follow blindly the political authorities.

The second way of indirect political learning as specified by Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp. 69-72) is apprenticeship which closely resemble the interpersonal transference but differ in one important way. Apprenticeship occurs when “the behavior and experiences in non-political situations provide the individuals with the skills and values which are used in a specifically political context” (p.69). These non-political activities are considered as practice for political activities. These non-political experiences provide skills to the individuals to find their way in the political world. Different groups and organizations provide apprenticeship opportunities to the individuals especially children and young adults. Dawson and Prewitt for example cite scouts, specialized clubs, leagues, youth and play groups which serve as apprenticeship settings where children and young adults learn skills which have political ramifications.

The third method of indirect political learning is ‘generalization’. According to Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp.72-73), generalization occurs when “political attitudes developed as social values are extended towards specifically political objects” (p.72). The researchers elaborated that general belief system of an individual has covert political contents. In many countries, for example, in Mexico, general ineffectiveness is expressed as an attitude of political alienation. Italians’ general distrustfulness of fellow citizens leads them to see politics and politicians as suspicious. Africans with no education see natural catastrophes with resignation and apply the same feelings to the government that politics and center of political power are beyond their control.

2.1.3 Age and Political Socialization

Two viewpoints dominate the literature regarding the suitable age for political socialization. These perspectives are ‘primacy perspective’ and ‘open-ended or life-long perspective’. The classic era scholars were of the view that political orientations and patterns of behavior form

during the early childhood (Hyman 1959, pp. 25-26). This early political orientation formation was labeled as “primacy perspective” (Searing, Wright & Rabinowitz, 1976, p. 84). Hyman (1959, pp. 25-26) noted that though politics is the prerogative of adult life but persistent political behavior of adults over time indicates that they have been modified with course of their development. Hyman was of the view that psychological study of political behavior in adult life could answer the underlying process of its formation and modification over time with different experiences (Hyman, 1969, p.18). He thus argues that this observation directs the attention of researchers to search the roots of adult political behavior in childhood. The researcher explained that politics for children should not be taken in absolute terms but in precursive form.

Greenstein (1967, p.32) mentioned that American children below the age of nine learnt political roles. Jennings and Niemi (1968, pp. 443-445) argued that politically relevant attitudes develop as early as children reach second grade. By that time, they explained, the students have developed stable attitudes and small changes occur after the fifth grade. Moreover, students in the ninth grade had political knowledge, discussed politics, engaged in preliminary political activities and had established stable opinions about their country and system. Easton and Dennis (1969, pp. 106-107) stated that children learn about the structure of political authorities at early age. These researchers stressed that political orientations developed at early stage are durable and the behavior of adults is a bit more than an extension of the early childhood socialization (Hyman, 1959; Hess & Easton, 1960; Jennings & Niemi, 1968; Moeller & Vreesi, 2013). Searing, Wright and Rabinowitz (1976, p. 84) analyzed 16 years survey data of American electorates and concluded that learning in the formative phase of life of an individual are profoundly entrenched and very small changes occur during adulthood (pp. 112-113).

However, primacy perspective of political socialization faces severe challenges, for example, if the political socialization process is restricted only to childhood and early life then how a child, who has very selected view of politics, would interpret the real life political experiences when he grows up? The circumstances under which he had been socialized will remain the same when he enters more practical life? Will he perceive the existing situation the way it was in childhood when he was not exposed to much more political realities? How he can remain the same when he becomes adult and becomes free from the parental and teachers influences?

In order to look for answers to these questions, some scholars in the field, tried to entangle the puzzle. They proposed a life-long model of political socialization and argued that political socialization is not merely confined to childhood but remains continue throughout life span of an individual (Sigel, 1989; Sears and Levy, 2003, Sapiro, 2004; Niemi and Sobieszek, 1977; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969). Sigel (1967, p. 9) argues that political learning not only take place in early life but it is a life-long process as individuals take on more active political roles as adults.

An individual, when reaches adulthood, he not only transforms physically, but mentally, socially, economically and politically. For example during the course of time, as a child matures, his cognitive skills become sophisticated and his ability to reason logically improves and he is in a better position to apply the abstract thinking into concrete situations. Specific political behaviors like voting and holding a political role in a system are quite age-specific. However, the classic era research in the field, in most part, ignored the patterns of political socialization in adulthood. Sigel (1989, pp. 1-2) argues that changes occur in the political attitudes, issue preferences, interest and involvement in politics during the adult life span. Sigel noted that various variables in adult life like occupational roles, social roles, historical events, life experiences, and generational effects intervene in these age related political changes and it is difficult to separate age related political changes from these variables (Sigel, 1989, pp. 3-8). Steckenrider and Cutler (1989, pp. 70-72) contended that workplace environment, roles, and role transitions affect the individual's political beliefs, lifestyle, social status, and even self-image. Similarly, Lafferty (1989, pp. 106-109) concluded that workplace conditions create political ideologies among the workers which affect their political outlook.

Situational and contextual factors do affect the process of political socialization during adulthood. Morris, Hatchet and Brown (1989, pp.272-301) analyzed the 1960s Civil Rights Movement in America where black Americans struggled against discrimination and vied for equal rights. The researchers documented that the movement gave birth to the politics of protest and generated mechanisms and opportunities that socialized black American and affected their political behavior.

Some historic events in a particular phase of history bring new opportunities for political learning which in turn shape political attitude and behavior of the individuals in that social

setting. Feminist Movement in America served as an agent of political socialization among the American women (Carroll, 1989, pp. 307-308). Carroll (1989, p.316) contended that the women's movement brought three distinct changes in gender relations which in turn had consequences for political socialization; greater public acceptance of women's entrance in political activities, parity between women and men's political behavior and increased integration of women into public life enhanced discrepancy of men and women political perspectives.

Sometimes abrupt changes like wars cut members of a society from their past and induce them into a new situation. Adults especially the young ones who are in the critical phases of political and social development, the war and its traumas interrupt these processes. This phenomenon affects the political orientations, attitudes and behaviors of these adults. Laufer (1989, pp. 415-448) analyzed literature on the postwar psychosocial developments of the war veterans of the World War I, World War II, Korea and Vietnam. Laufer concluded that 'war experiences' worked as a filter in the post war scenario, through which these individuals interpreted the subsequent events. Thus, the political orientations and attitudes of a particular individual at a given time are influenced by the war experiences. Laufer hypothesized that "the war experience as a life-organizing (traumatic) event represents a constant potential for psychosocial disruption, it also potentially alters the perceived meaning of the event and hence the development of political attitudes and orientations" (p.446).

Owing to the globalization, immigration has become a common phenomenon in today's modern world. An immigrant may enter a host society as an adult but for that social set up, he is just like a child, for him authority looms large, information is limited and behavioral involvement seems remote (Hoskin, 1989, p. 347). An émigré has to develop new political orientations, attitudes and behaviors befitting the new social and political set up. In order to assimilate in the new society, he has to go through a long and rigorous process of desocialization and resocialization, which may occur simultaneously. Hoskin (1989) identified five factors which influence political socialization of immigrants. These areas include; "individual motivation to emigrate, the immigrant's initial position in the host society as defined by socioeconomic skills and cultural affinity, group activity, political information and attitudes and political behavior" (p. 348). Hoskin elaborated that duration of stay in the host country is a major determinant in formation of

an émigré political outlook and behavior. The immigrants, who are committed to stay permanently, participate in the political activities of the host country while those who are not committed show less interest in the politics (Hoskin, 1989, pp. 348-361).

As evident from the literature, political socialization is in essence an interactive process that is characterized by change and continuity, contrary to the earlier notion presented by the classical researchers that political dispositions freeze at the adolescent age. An individual, over the course of life, faces a number of new tasks and enters a variety of new roles for which childhood socialization is not adequate. As the individuals climb up the ladder of age, they not only go through physical and emotional changes like cognitive and emotional modifications but their environment (social, technological, migration, war and other life changing events) also changes. Some of these factors bring drastic changes in individuals' lives while other may bring slight modifications. However, at least, these changes irrespective of its intensity remain continue throughout the life course (Sigel, 1989, pp. 458-459).

2.2 Agencies of Political Socialization

Researchers have been trying to investigate how individual develop political orientations, attitudes and behavior and consequently listed family, peer groups, schools and media as some of the major agencies of political socialization (Hyman, 1959; Greenstein, 1965; Langton, 1969; Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977; Beck, 1977; Atkin, 1981; Graber, 1997; Marshal, 1998; Sapiro, 2004; Owen, 2008; Paletz, Owen, Cook, 2012). The sources, which help in formation of political orientations, attitudes and behaviors, are called agencies of political socialization. These agencies greatly vary in their potential to influence the political outlook of the individuals during different life cycles but they all contribute in understanding about politics and influence political attitudes and behaviors. These agencies are further divided into primary and secondary agents of socialization. Primary agencies are those where individuals develop political orientations. Family is one of the primary agencies of political socialization. Secondary agencies are those that have less direct effect on the process of political socialization of individuals like schools, peer groups, religious institutions, and the media. A quick preview of the research in the relative performance of the socializing agents is as follow.

2.2.1 Family in Political Socialization

Much of the initial work in the field of political socialization is dedicated to the study of family in the process (Hess & Easton, 1960; Hyman, 1959; Hyman, 1969; Davies, 1965; Langton, 1969; Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977; Brauen & Harmon, 1977). Hyman (1959, pp. 69-72) mentions that family is the primary agency of political socialization which transmits politics to the children and exerts significant influence on their political orientations. A number of scholars agree that family provides stability to the political system by inculcating political loyalty and attachment to the nation and government (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, p. 121; Jennings and Niemi, 1968, p. 169) and shaping basic political orientations of the children (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969, p.106).

The reasons, the scholars cited for such tremendous impact of family on the children are the latter's dependency on parents, intimacy between parents and children, child-parent communication, direct and non-direct political experiences in the family. Besides, the family's structure, its socio-economic status and involvement of parents in politics have been studied to know the pattern of political socialization among the children.

The researchers argued that family plays an important role in the political socialization of a child in a variety of ways. For example, childhood is a critical period during which the child's political-self is being developed; family almost has monopoly on the means and sources that shape the child's political orientations. Davies (1965, pp. 11-12) explained that the family's need satisfaction function of a child is probably the main reason that shapes individual's thinking and persuade him to act like his family. Parents' role in the child's early development of mental process plays a crucial part. As the child grows, he establishes his own identity and simultaneously starts the process with whom he wants to be identified. It is the family which helps an individual to develop his self-identification by relating himself to the people in his immediate surrounding (family). This self-identification developed in the family help influence the maturing individual to form his political self; his relationship with the political world (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, p. 109). This process continues and remains viable throughout an individual's life, and even the aged people cannot escape the influences of the childhood family (Davies, 1965, pp.11-12). Family provides means to nurture a mentally blank baby into his own personality and "most of the individual's political personality- his tendencies to think and act

politically in particular ways- have been determined at home, several years before he can take part in politics as an ordinary adult citizen or as a political prominent” (Davies, 1965, p.11). Dawson and Prewitt (1969) term the relationship and personal ties among the family members as intense during the early phase of life. These ties play crucial role in making family as the most potent source of political socialization because the intensity of emotionally attachment among the family members is directly related to the political and social development of its members.

Scholars are of the view that family induces a child in the political world through indirect political socialization. They argue that non-political experiences carry latent political consequences (Almond and Verba, 1963, pp.325-326; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, pp. 63-64; Langton, 1969, p. 22) and when a child experiences authority patterns in the family, it may create certain predispositions toward political attitudes within him. These social attitude and personality traits condition the way in which the individuals respond to more explicit political phenomenon (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, p. 108). Almond and Verba (1963, pp. 324-374) concluded that authority patterns (non-political) in the families influence the political attitudes of the children. They explained that children, who were provided an open family environment where they could freely express their opinions and had voice in the decision making, considered themselves as more competent citizens as compared to the ones who did not had such environment in their families.

Social and economic position of the family also affects the individual’s political outlook. Family’s social and economic status determines the location and relationships of an individual in the social world. He inherits his ethnicity, religion, social status, cultural and economic, educational values and a host of other statuses from the family which have direct bearings on the political outlook of the individual (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, pp. 105-118).

Studies have also suggested that a family’s political involvement influences its members especially the children. A highly politicized family exerts greater influence on the political involvement of the children in politics. The intensity of these influences tends to be stronger when the political views of its members are homogenous and decreases when their views are heterogeneous.

The political milieu of the family especially, the parents' partisan values on politics greatly influence the political outlook of the child. McAllister and Kelley (1985, pp. 111-118), for example, examined the family influence on the electorates' political partisanship; party identification, over time. The researchers analyzed the respondent's first and current partisanship, and first and current vote. The findings revealed that family socialization and political partisanship of the parents influenced the electoral behavior of the individuals during their first vote but the family influence subsided in the second vote as the individuals matured.

Esau and Roman (2015, pp. 1-18) in a study conducted in South Africa, studied 275 youth between the age of 13 and 22 years to know the relationship between parent-child communication, family active citizenship and its effects on youth active citizenship and political attitudes. Result of the study revealed that there is a strong positive relationship between parent-adolescent communication, family active citizenship and youth active citizenship.

Some scholars probed relationship between family structure (one parent and two parents) and political socialization of children. Studies have shown that success of the process vary systematically with family structure. Family with two parents provides more conducive environment for political socialization of children as compared to single parent family (Hener, Rainer, & Siedler, 2016, pp. 633-656; Davies, 1965, pp. 13-14). Jennings & Neimi (1968, p. 169) too are of the view that family structure conceivably affect the transmission flow of certain political values from parents to children. However, some studies found no relationship between structure of family and better prospects of political socialization (Dolan, 1995).

Some scholars studied parental influences on the political socialization in comparative contexts. For example, based on the comparison of Belgian, Canadian and Romanian survey data about parental influence on adolescents' political participation, Quintelier, Hooghe, Badescu,(2007) concluded that parents' political participation patterns play an important factor in political socialization of their siblings but showed different results for established democracies (Belgium and Canada) and new democracy (Romania). The models developed to empirically test the hypothesis were more successful and robust for Belgium and Canada as compared to Romania. Quintelier et al., (2007, p.25) suggested in established democracies, parents can transmit their

value patterns and behavior in an approximately direct way to their children but it is not the case for Romania where parents themselves were socialized in a different and undemocratic era.

Some scholars, however, do not agree with the powerful effects of family on the political socialization of children. Connell (1972) re-examined inter-generations surveys data collected in the USA from 1930 to 1965 to study the effects of family on the socialization of children. Connell observed methodological flaws in conducting these surveys and found that using inappropriate statistical tools had weakened the validity of data collected that renders findings of these studies, questionable. For example, in some surveys, people were asked to recall “their parents’ opinion” and in another instance, children were asked to take the questionnaires home with them and persuade their parents to fill it. These methods of data collection were obviously poor and made the results weaker. Connell concluded that processes in a family were mostly unrelated to the formation of certain opinions and parents and children developed their opinions in parallel rather than in series by experiencing similar patterns of life. Younger generations in a family may acquire some ideas of commonly acceptable opinions but the notion that “specific opinions generally come with mother’s milk is- for America, 1944-1968- rather decisively disproved” (Connell, 1972, p.330).

As children come of age and grow older, the influence of family weakens and other sources of political socialization replace parents. Hyman (1959, p.105) though believed in the strong influence of family on the political orientations of children, however, argued that various studies documented change in the political orientations of children as they grow. When children move along the ladder of age, other agencies of socialization intervene and resultantly, these agencies exert their influence on the growing individual. Hyman explained that peer group is one of the agencies that bring such change.

2.2.2 Peer Groups and Political Socialization

Peer group is “a group of people of approximately the same age, status, and interests” (Oxford Dictionary Online). In our daily lives, in different social settings, for example, classroom, neighborhood, work and sports, we are surrounded by a broad range of people (peers). Like family, peer group is the primary agent of socialization (Chandler, 1974, p. 689; McClosky &

Dahlgren, 1959, p. 757). Peer groups are formed in a variety of situations. However, the most obvious and prevailing peer groups are found in families, friendship circles and occupational spaces (McClosky & Dahlgren, 1959, p. 757). Peer groups are distinct from other agents of socialization in many aspects. For example, unlike family, schools and other social groups, peer groups are structured informally with almost equal authority patterns among its members. Their relationship is characterized by face-to-face personal interaction and coteries (Chandler, 1974. P. 689; McClosky & Dahlgren, 1959, p. 757). Interpersonal relations and emotional ties often govern these relationships (Carlson, 1975, p.68). The strength of intimacy among the peer groups is directly proportional to the homogeneity of social and political outlook of its members. In most part, interaction among the peer groups is on daily basis, therefore the frequency of interaction and familiarity among them exerts substantial influence on social and political attitudes (McClosky & Dahlgren, 1959, p. 757).

Peer groups represent the single most obvious primary group alternative to the family, and it is from its primary, face-to-face interaction that it may, like the family, is a powerful social learning mechanism. This means that the peer groups provide an extensive and usually emotional form of close contact between individuals- all of which maximizes not only quantity of access but also susceptibility to persuasion (Chandler, 1974, p.689; Reitz, et al, 2014, p. 279). Since interaction among the peers in a group is characterized by regularity and familiarity, therefore “it is mainly in these groups that our social and political attitudes are anchored” (McClosky & Dahlgren 1959, p. 757). Interpersonal relationships among the peers in a group influence their decision making both political and nonpolitical. These relationships serve not only as networks of communication but also work as sources of pressure to conform to the group way of thinking and acting besides as source of social support (Katz, 1957, p. 77). Scholars have cited different reasons and ways in which peers effect socialization of each other. Lombardi (1963), for example, noted that peer groups offer, “appropriate social roles, norms, values, and attitudes for group members, and thus facilitate group conformity patterns and means of gaining acceptance” (308). Besides, fear of expulsion from the group keep its members in line with the group values, attitudes and behavior (Lombardi, 1963, pp. 307-309; McClosky & Dahlgren (1959, 759). Campbell (1980, p. 325) is of the view that as long as group valence is high, an individual does

not want to break away from the group and he will act according to the group norms to receive his peers' approval.

Some scholars probed the timeline during which peers exert their influence on its members. They are of the view that peer group effects on socialization are stronger during adolescence and early adulthood. Research studies indicate the importance of peer groups influence during the developmental stage of life, for example, Lombardi (1963, pp. 307-309) concluded that peer groups exert substantial influence on the attitudes and behaviors of the members during the formative phase of life. Similarly, Brown, et al (1986, p. 95) found that age was an important factor in determining the influence of peer group on its members. He reported that effects of peer groups on the members is high during the adolescence years and gradually decreases with years.

The question to what extent group membership influences an affiliate's orientation, attitudes and behavior? Research on the role of peer groups in political socialization is sparse (Chandler, 1974, p.687; Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977, p. 220; Teden, 1980, p. 136). However, the available literature gave mix results regarding the influence of peer groups on the political socialization.

Many studies documented the role of peer groups in political socialization. Chandler (1974, pp. 687-700) examined the nature and extent of peer group socialization. The researcher found that active involvement in peer groups helped in formation of political orientations among the individuals. Quintelier (2015, pp. 51-69) analyzed comparative influence of five socialization agencies; parents, peers, schools, media, and voluntary associations on political participation of adolescents and young adults. Findings of the study revealed that peer groups and voluntary associations were significant sources of political participation while family and schools were least influential in politically mobilizing adolescents and young adults. Klofstad (2011, p.5-6) found that individuals who engaged in civic talks with their peers were more likely to participate in voluntary civic organizations and voting in elections than the individuals who did not participate in such talks. Katz (1957, pp. 61-78) found that interpersonal relationship and communication among the peers exerted substantial influence on the political behavior of the members. Quintelier, Stolle, and Harell (2012, pp. 868-881) studied diversity in peer groups and its influence on their political participation. Findings of the two-wave panel survey revealed that political diversity among members of the peer groups enhances political participation.

Some researchers do not agree with the idea that peer groups have any influence on the political socialization of its member, except in the cases where group members are actively engaged in political activities (Carlson, 1975, p. 78). Schmidt, Shelley, and Bardes, (2008, pp. 222-223) contend that political attitudes, in most part, are influenced by peer groups when its members are directly involved in political activities. Similarly Harvey (1972, p. 576) reported that capacity of the peer group to politically socialize its members depended on the extent of group politicization. Campos, Heap and Lopez de Leon (2015, pp. 1-23) panel study corroborated the above findings and found that when a group is actively engaged in politics, it affects the political affiliation of the members.

Some scholars relegated the role of peer groups to merely reinforcement of the values indoctrinated by the family. McClosky & Dahlgren (1959, p. 769-771) are of the view that roots of political preferences of the individuals lay in their families while peers, friends and spouse serve as reinforcing agents. In a similar vein, Tedin (1980, pp. 136-154) found that influence of family was higher as compared to peer group because family's political influence and communication surpassed that of peer group.

Like any other area of research, peer group effects on political socialization are also marred by complexity. For example, the observation that members of a particular group behave alike, is quite puzzling. It is not known whether similarity of preferences bring people together or group dynamics helps converge individual preferences. Secondly, peer groups are multidimensional; its composition, dynamics, position in the life cycle of its members and end objectives of their association greatly vary and hence it becomes very difficult for the researchers to examine the influence of peer groups on political socialization. Chandler (1974, pp. 689-690) contends that to measure the influence of peer groups on its members is challenging. Many background variables like religion, social status, dependency on parents and influence of other social groups stipulate the process of socialization that makes it difficult to specify the exclusive peer groups' effects. These background variables confound and reinforce the socialization capacity of the peer groups because peer groups operate concurrently with family and school.

The very nature of the group itself creates problem in carrying out research. Evans, Oates, and Schwab (1992, p. 969) stated that endogeneity or the self- selection of peer groups and the

exogeneity or the peer groups in which the members come as a result of circumstances, exert considerable influence on the potential effects of peer groups. Besides, it is not clear that which peer groups exert the most influence on the behavior of an individual; the one that is formed in the community where a person lives, the school he attends, or the self-selected group of close friends.

The relatively limited research in the area of peer group and political socialization does not locate the true extent of peer groups' influence on the political knowledge, attitudes and behaviors on its members. The only area where scholars found a positive correlation between peer groups and political socialization is the situation where members of the group are politically engaged. Structure of the group, its objectives, inter-group communication, affinity among its members, and position in the life cycle are some of the factors that determine the influence of peer groups. Besides, strength of other sources of political socialization, which operate simultaneously alongside the peer group, for example, family, school, media, do affect the peer group's influence in the area.

2.2.3 Schools and Political Socialization

Research as well as general observations reveal that variations exist in the educational systems across nations in terms of structures, contents, and quality (Owen, Soule, & Chalif, 2011, p. 2; Ainley, Schulz & Friedman, 2009, p. 26; McFarland & Thomas, 2006, p. 404). Keeping in mind such diversity, it is pertinent to specify the nature of education and the political system to establish a relationship between them in that particular setting. This study deals schools as "institutionalized interactions of youth in the formal educational system prior to university" (Ehman, 1980, p.100) and the political system under consideration is a democratic setup.

Societies attempt to communicate and instill in its citizens approved political values and behavior (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, p.76; Greenberg, 1970, p.5). Therefore, they devise mechanism to educate the masses in appropriate political values. The importance of civic education has long been recognized by the early philosophers like Plato and Max Rafferty (Greenberg, 1970, p.5) and subsequently educationists and politicians has been viewing civic education as a tool for conveying knowledge and values necessary for good citizenship (Dawson

and Prewitt, 1969, p. 147). Good citizens are well informed, have knowledge about social and political system of their countries, possess critical thinking ability through which they analyze the social problems within the ambit of existing social values, and have the ability to work alone as well as in groups (Bernstein, 1971, p.456). The modern societies perform these tasks through political education in schools.

Scholars have termed schools at par with and sometimes more powerful than the primary political socializers such as family and peer group (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, p. 178). Citing the importance of education in general, Dawson and Prewitt (1969, p.145) observed that schools provide opportunities to politically socialize children and shape their political orientations. Hess and Torney (1970, pp.71-72) argues that schools play leading role in teaching attitudes, ideas, and beliefs about the functions of a political system. Dawson and Prewitt (1969) argued that the age at which children receive political education and the lengthy stay, make schools crucial agency of political socialization.

School environment is multidimensional phenomenon as it provides both direct and indirect means for the political socialization of children. Dawson and Prewitt (1969) for example, argued that school curricula, ritual activities, teachers and interaction with peers, all are at play within the schools to develop political orientations of the youngsters. Review of literature on the link between schools and political socialization reveal that scholars have generally probed four areas to assess the role of school as agent of political socialization. These areas include formal instruction and rituals, influence of teachers, effects of peer group and hidden curricular (Beck 1977, p. 128). A brief examination will bring forth the accumulative effect of the overall schooling on the political development of students.

2.2.3.1 Curricula and Political Socialization

Classroom curricula especially civic education in schools is the manifest attempt of the democratic societies to instill democratic political orientations and attitudes among the children. Dawson and Prewitt (1969) explained that school curricula are possibly one of the major instruments to politically socialize the children. The researchers elaborated that civic education

entails that part of education that emphasizes the ways in which good citizens take part in the national politics.

Scholars are divided on the potency of civic curricula in inculcating political orientations, attitudes and behavior among the students. Some researchers are of the view that classroom curricula have negligible relationship with development of political knowledge, orientations and attitudes among the students. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp.148-150) cited several studies which point towards lack of association between civic education and political socialization among the students. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, p. 151) reported that students who attended civic courses differed slightly from those not taking the courses. Ehman (1980, p. 99) noted that school curriculum is instrumental in transmitting knowledge but do not affect political attitudes. Philips (1969, pp. 99-111) noted that civic education curricula and programs failed to yield an impact on the development of political attitudes. Civic courses did not make significant effects on the political orientations of the majority of the students (Langton & Jennings, 1968, pp. 852-867; Beck 1977, p.131). Ehman (1969, pp. 569-580) found that teaching traditional civic curricula exerted little influence on the political attitudes of the students. In another study, Ehman (1988, pp. 99-119) noted that school curricula, in comparison with family and the media, is an vital agent for transferring political information to youth and its importance increases with increase in years of schoolings. However, its role in effecting political attitudes and behaviors is less central. Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter, (2003, p.278) reported that courses related to civic education produced mix results regarding interest in politics among the students.

However, latest research poises the field as a promising area for the scholars to probe the phenomenon afresh (Torney-Purta, 1999, pp. 256-260; Galston, 2001, pp. 217-232; Torney-Purta, 2002, p.203; Patrick, 2000, p. 2). These scholars argue that curricula are vital sources of political socialization but research in the past was carried out in a different situation. Both, the education system and the notion of citizenship have changed considerably over the time (Torney-Purta, 1999, p. 256). Galston (2001, pp. 223-226), for example, noted that civic education produces competent citizens and is positively influence political socialization of young adults. In another study, Galston (2004, pp. 234-264) contended that civic education enhances support for

democratic values, promotes political knowledge and increase political participation among the students.

Some factors increase the effectiveness of civic curricula in influencing political socialization of the students. Interactive and activity based civic education is more likely to develop interest of the students in politics and help them comprehend, internalize and reproduce the learned lessons. (Leming, 1996, pp. 1-4) found that interactive and activity based curricula produced stronger attachment to the political beliefs, attitudes and democratic values among the students. Partick, (2000, pp. 1-5) documented that specifically formulated instructional programs if handled skillfully can promote civic competence of the students. Fesnic (2015, pp. 966-978) found that civic education as a whole has significant positive effects on the development of political attitudes. Contents of curricula, perceptions of teachers towards democracy, class environment, competency of teachers and teaching methodology affect the students' democratic attitudes. Some studies suggested that civic curricula exerts substantial influences on students' participation in civil society and democratic process, if the classroom environment is open, practice-oriented and the teachers emphasize on political participation (Torney-Purta, 2002, p. 210).

2.2.3.2 Hidden-curricular Activities and Political Socialization

Hidden-curricular activities are essential part of the schools' environment. These activities are correlated with the curricula and participation in such activities is voluntary on the part of the students (Van Nice, 1950, p. 110). Glanville (1999, pp. 282-283) divided hidden-curricular activities into two broad categories; Instrumental activities and expressive activities. Instrumental activities are related to the improvement of specific social, physical and intellectual skills of the students. These may include working for the school newspaper, student council, taking part in the students' government, political clubs, debates, drama society, vocational educational clubs, and youth organizations. Expressive activities include taking part in different sports, subject related clubs like science, history and arts clubs, bands and orchestra, dance, and hobby clubs. However, nature and range of these hidden-curricular activities vary from school to school (Beck and Jennings, 1982, p. 101).

A review of the hidden-curricular activities in schools and its association with the political socialization yield mix results. Zibblatt (1965, pp. 20-31) noted that it is the social trust not the hidden-curricular activities in the school which affect attitudes of students towards politics. Glanville (1999, pp. 279-290) commented that the thesis which support the strong relationship between hidden-curricular activities and political socialization suffer from the fallacy of not controlling the intervening variables like sociability, political interest, and leadership attitudes. These variables have profound implications on the political socialization of individuals and condition the effects of the hidden-curricular activities. Controlling for these variables, in fact, can truly determine the exact influence of hidden-curricular activities on the political development of students.

Another line of research found high correlation between hidden-curricular activities and development of political orientations and political participation among students. Ehman (1980) reported that schools are considered to be the grounds where future citizens practice political participation patterns and develop different political predispositions. He concluded, "participation in school governance and hidden-curricular activities is positively related to political attitudes of students" (p. 110). Beck and Jennings (1982, pp. 101-102) argued that taking part in hidden-curricular activities influence later political participation in a number of ways; nurture civic orientations that promote adult political activity, direct experience in political association that ease up entry into adult activism, and implanting activist orientations. A number of studies supported these findings. For example, Ehman (1980, p.113) found that involvement in hidden-curricular activities are positively related to formation of political attitudes in the students. Glanville (1999, pp. 279-290) argued that participation in hidden-curricular activities increases political participation in early adulthood. Kirilin (2003, pp. 2-13) found that participation in hidden-curricular activities influence political and civic behaviors. Zaff, Moore, Papillo, Williams (2003, pp. 599-630) found that students who persistently participated in hidden-curricular activities excelled pro-social behaviors in young adulthood. Hart, Donnelly, Youniss and Atkins (2007, pp. 197-219) found that hidden-curricular activities and community services are strongly related to volunteering and voting in early adulthood. Hidden-curricular activities provide opportunities to the young people to participate in their schools and

communities. The students who participated in hidden-curricular activities were more civically engaged than their contemporaries (Carnegie Corporation, 2003, p. 27).

2.2.3.3 Teachers and Political Socialization

Teachers are one of the most important parts of schools. Several characteristics of teachers make them important in influencing political orientations of students. Teachers, generally, enjoy respect and authority in the classroom; teachers interact at the critical juncture of the students' lives; the formative years of political development and the extended period of interaction between teachers and students. These characteristics make role of teachers worthy of consideration for political socialization researchers. Importance of teachers in the study of political development of children increases because teachers are the first political figure a child interacts with outside his family.

Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp. 159-160) view the role of teachers in the political development of children in two broad perspective; disseminator of political values and sources of learning political culture. They explained that teachers avoid partisan values and disseminate political views and beliefs that are in harmony with the political values of the country. Ponder (1971, pp. 363-367) argued that schools are politicized institutions and teachers convey both social and political values of the society to the students through their roles and actions. In another study Dawson and Prewitt (1969, p.161) found that majority of students termed their teachers the most important sources of instruction about citizenship.

Research on the teachers' role in political socialization of the students suggests that teachers can influence political orientations of students in a variety of ways. Ehman (1980, p. 113), for example, mentioned that credibility of a teacher may be a significant feature in determining his influence on the students. Besides, a teacher who provides an open forum for debate on controversial issues in classroom is positively linked to the development of political attitudes among the students. Teachers supplements and boost effects of curricula when they make clear connection between the classroom instruction and concrete actions. For instance, a teacher telling the students about the importance of vote may not invoke reaction in students but teaching them the importance of voting in the current scenario and a citizen's duty to vote increase the

likelihood of casting vote in future. Similarly, when teachers clearly come up with ways to solve community problems, majority of the students reported that they will volunteer (Carnegie Corporation, 2003, p.23). Another study in the United States of America concluded that “If teachers encouraged students to select the community issues they investigated, they tended to achieve higher levels of civic development” (Partick, 2000, pp. 1-5). Teachers also affect political development of students by emphasizing on politically relevant learning; obedience and competitiveness. Teachers assigned great importance to compliance to laws and rules. They promote competition among the student through a variety of means especially reward and punishment (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, p. 165-166).

2.2.3.4 Classroom Environment and Political Socialization

Different classroom rituals like saluting a flag, singing national anthems, paying tributes to national heroes, celebrating national events, and exposing to patriotic symbols, all of these activities transmit political values. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp. 155-158) argued that educationists and policy makers place great emphasis on such rituals as they think continuous exposure to such symbols will inculcate in students greater loyalty and respect to a nation and help form patriotic feelings in them.

So far, investigations on the role of classroom environment have received little attentions of the researchers (Campbell, 2008, p. 439). Campbell elaborated that in order to fully capture the influence of civic courses, the researchers not only have to take into consideration the number of civic courses taught in the classroom but the circumstances under which it is taught. Ehman (1980, p. 108) pointed out that the ways teachers and students interact in the classroom carry important implications for the political learning among the students. Open or less authoritative environment, opportunities to discuss controversial topics and respecting each other ideas develop democratic values (Hess, 2002, pp. 11-13). Some researchers are of the view that open classroom environment can influence students’ motivation and provides opportunities to gain political knowledge (Owen & Riddle, 2015, p. 7). In a study conducted in 23 European countries, Torney-Purta (2002, p. 135) confirmed that open classroom environment where teachers and students discussed social and political issues, fostered civic knowledge among the students. Open classroom environment provides opportunities to the students to become informed voters in

adulthood (Campbell, 2008, p. 15). Weinstein (2014, p. 49-51) found that open and engaging classroom environment and opportunities of civic learning strengthened political efficacy among the students which promoted active citizenship.

Some scholars argue that since most of the studies lend support to the open classroom environment in enhancing civic knowledge and promoting democratic values in the students. Still, it is not clear whether the openness of the classroom environment encourages to discuss political or social issues, or, the students who are politically active take the initiative and engage in discussion (Campbell, 2008, p. 451; Persson, 2015, p. 587). In order to establish the causality of effects, Persson (2015, pp. 587-601) carried out a panel study. Results of the study established that openness of classroom environment increases political knowledge among the students and not the other way around.

2.3 Summary

Political socialization is a developmental process through which an individual acquires political cognitions, orientations and patterns of behavior. Scholars are of the view that there are two mechanisms through which the process works; teaching perspective and individual learning. In teaching perspective, social or the political system makes arrangements for teaching political orientations to its members. The second perspective is concerned with the individual's own learning of political values, attitudes and behaviors as member of a political setup. In both the cases, scholars agree that political socialization is a learning process and can be direct and indirect. Various sources feed the process. Major among these sources are family, peer groups, school and media. All these sources play their part in different phases of an individual's life cycle individually and in combination. However, some scholars believe that political orientations developed in early phase of life are durable and govern the adult life of an individual. They call it the primacy perspective. Another group of scholars is the view that political socialization is an open process and remains continue throughout an individual's life span. The later viewpoint is labeled as life-long model of political socialization.

Chapter 3: Media and Political Socialization

In this chapter an attempt has been made to deliberate on the role of media in the process of political socialization. This section is divided into two parts. The first part discusses how media made it to the position of political socialization agency and briefly overviews the major studies in the field. The second portion is devoted to the ways in which media exert influence on the measures of political socialization.

3.1 Media as an Agency of Political Socialization

Much of the early work in the field of political socialization was focused on family, school and peer group. The classic era scholars like Hyman (1959) in his pioneering work on political socialization referred to media as one of the agencies of political socialization. Similarly, Greenstein (1965) also noted, “mass media shape and reinforce adult political values and also are a prime source of children’s political learning” (p.72). However, the successive scholarship ignored media as a potential politicizing source (Chaffee, Ward & Tipton, 1970, p. 647; Kraus, 1973, p. 395; Buckingham, 1997, p. 349; Atkin and Gantz, 1978, p. 185; Brains & Wattenberg, 1996, p. 172; Atkin, 1981, p. 301). A plethora of studies examined the influence of media especially TV violence on children but its role in political learning was largely overlooked (Conway, Wyckoff, Feldbaum & Ahern, 1981, p. 165; Adoni, 1979, p. 84). Scholars were reluctant to approve of the area as worth investigating due to dearth of research on the links between mass media and political socialization. Niemi & Sobieszek (1977) asserted that “the evidence does not make clear whether mass communication has an effect on political development or whether, as commonly supposed, it serves primarily to reinforce attitudes developed elsewhere” (p. 223).

However, with the advent of modern technologies, especially in the communication sector, mass media made it to the list of potential political socializer because of its universal presence in modern societies (Beck, 1977, p.134). Gradually, consensus among the scholars developed that exposure to and absorption of information of political nature enters into the life of young individuals through mass media well before they find opportunities for overt political behavior

like participation in active politics (Chaffee, Beeck, Durall, & Wilson, 1977, p. 223). The maiden work on the role of media in political socialization by Chaffee and his associates in 1970 found a positive relationship between media and political socialization of adolescents. Graber (2007) commenting on the development of the field, referring to the work of Chaffee et al concluded that research in the 1970s, “finally established that the media play a crucial role in political socialization” (p. 11).

A decade after the Chaffee, et al study, some sporadic studies in the field were conducted which established mass media as an important politicizing source. For example, Atkin and Gantz (1978, pp. 183-197) in a longitudinal study investigated relationship between TV viewing and its effects on political socialization on children in the US. The study reported that mass media especially TV viewing positively influenced political socialization of children in four ways; TV viewing increase political knowledge, facilitate interpersonal discussion regarding politics, stimulate interest in public affairs, and stimulate information seeking in children. Two years later, in a longitudinal study, Tan (1980, pp. 241-248), found that media use influence political orientations. The results revealed that exposure to mass media, especially newspapers, enhance political knowledge and participation.

Some studies investigated the influence of media use on the cognitive, affective and behavioral aspects of political socialization. In a study on the use of news media impact on children’s political socialization, Conway et al (1981, pp. 164-178) found that news media consumption alone, and in combination with knowledge about the political process, are significant determinants of political attitudes and patterns of political participation. Similarly, Garramone and Atkin (1986, pp. 76-86) compared the political socialization effects of four media source; radio news, newspaper news, TV news and magazine news. The study investigated relationship between news media exposure and political knowledge and political behavior. Results of the study confirmed that consumption of news is correlated with political knowledge and behavior. The scholars argued that though variations in the potential of political socialization exist among the four media sources but as a whole, these sources are effective in politicization of young adults. In a study on relationship among media use and certain aspects of political disaffection, political efficacy and participation, Pinkleton, Austin & Fortman (1998, pp. 34-49) found that

active media use was positively correlated with political efficacy and voting behavior of the respondents. In another study, Kononova et al (2011, pp. 302-321) examined the role of mass media in the process of political socialization among international students in the US during the 2008 presidential elections. The researchers investigated the effects of newspapers, television and online news on the affective orientations (political interest, feelings towards presidential candidates and their policies, political efficacy, and trust in politics) and behavioral outcomes (intentions to participate in American politics). A month prior to the 2008 presidential elections, a sample of 1500 international students were invited to take part in an online survey in which from 151 students from 42 countries participated. Analysis of the data revealed that heavy media users had higher political efficacy and intention to participate in the American politics as compared to light media users. Newspapers reading and TV viewing were positively related to political efficacy and political participation while internet has negligible effects on any indices of the political socialization.

Some studies proved that mass media, in comparison to the family, are more influential in the political socialization of adolescents. These studies argue that adolescents are not passive receptors of parental influence nor they inherit political orientations of their parents. Adolescents while forming political identity and ideology go through a tough mental process---- central route of decision-making (McDevitt, 2005, p. 80). McDevitt proposed a model of developmental provocation to explain this phenomenon. He argues that mass media stimulate adolescents' interest in election campaigns after which they turn to parents for discussions. On the basis of this discussion, adolescents, compare, contrast, reflect and debate on the issues. McDevitt (2005, pp.73-79) conducted a panel study in Lubbock, Texas during the 2000 US presidential elections. A sample of 620 students (7-9 grades) was administered questionnaires one week prior and one week after the elections. The study reported that media stimulated child-initiated conversations with parents. These discussions helped adolescents formed their political identities (party identification). While the parent-initiated discussion/communication proved weaker predictors of political identification among adolescents.

In a recent study Moeller and Vreese (2013, pp. 309-325) investigated the role of mass media in the formation of political attitudes and political mobilization of adolescents (14-20 years of age).

The study was based on the data analysis of European Social Survey conducted in 31 European countries during 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2010. A total of 6935 respondents were selected for analysis. The researchers investigated influence of news and entertainment exposure on the outcome of political socialization; political trust, signing petitions and consumer politics in a multi-level regression analysis. The study found that exposure to news media encourages higher political participation among those older than 21 years of age while use of entertainment content creates political cynicism and disengagement among adolescents.

Some studies found that that mass media effects on the political orientations of audience are powerful but these effects are usually indirect. Shah et al (2005, pp. 535-536) argue that mass media (newspaper, radio, TV and internet) use provide basis for political discussion which can lead to civic participation. They contended that “informational uses of media, influence participation through their effects on discussion and reflection about politics” (pp. 535-536). Based on the data from the US national panel survey conducted in February 1999, June 2000, and November 2000, the researchers selected 5,000 respondents and mailed questionnaires to them in the above three intervals. Media consumption of the audience was measured as newspaper hard news, TV hard news, online information search, interpersonal political discussion, interactive civic messaging while civic participation was seen as taking part in club meeting, volunteer work, community project and joining a social group. Analysis revealed that all the informational media use were related to the offline and online political communication and civic participation. Shah et al argued that consumption of informational media spur both interpersonal and online political discussion (interactive media messages) which in turn encourages civic participation.

Similarly, Boyd et al, (2011, pp. 1167-1179) in their study on news media use and civic engagement found that news media use stimulated interpersonal communication which in turn encouraged participation in civic activities. Boyed et al analyzed the data of ‘Study of Positive Youth Development (PYD), a large longitudinal investigation assessing U.S. adolescents. A sample of 728 students was surveyed twice. Participants were asked to indicate their media use of politics and current affairs through local TV, national TV, newspapers, radio and internet. The survey also asked the respondents to indicate the extent and frequency of interpersonal

discussions regarding politics and current affairs with their parents. The researchers measured civic engagement of the participants in four areas; civic duty, civic efficacy, neighborhood social connection, and civic participation. Results found that news media use is predictive of interpersonal communication, which in response encouraged civic participation in all the four areas. The study suggested that news media use is related to civic engagement through an indirect path of interpersonal communication. McLeod and Shah (2009, p.3) also shared this conception of indirect influences of mass media on political socialization. McDevitt's (2005, p. 80) model of developmental provocation also provides support to the indirect effects of mass media in political socialization of young children. McDevitt noted that exposure to mass media encourages children to take interest in politics and in turn, they discuss the political and current affairs issues with parents. These interpersonal political discussions form the basis for political orientations and participation of the children.

The above-cited studies provide ample proof that mass media are important source of political socialization and indicate that exposure to mass media, affect different dimensions (cognitive, affective and behavioral) of the process. Political socialization is a multi-stage process. It involves reception of politically relevant messages (cognitive effects), formation of attitudes (affective effects) and the explicit political behavior like involving in political discussions, campaigning, and casting vote (behavioral effects) (Atkin, 1981, p. 307). These studies mainly investigate media effects on a particular aspect of politicization but do not provide a holistic approach to explain the whole range of processes involved in the formation of complex political behavior of individuals. Part of the solution lies in a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of political socialization. Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991) argue that fields of studies investigating individual and collective human phenomenon "one of the most pronounced features ---- is the great range of research perspectives that operate concurrently" (Cheon et al., 1993, p. 108; Lin, 2004, p. 72). Simple stimulus response theories are not sufficient to explain the multidimensional phenomenon of political socialization embedded in the cultural milieu and therefore needs contributions from others scholarships. The very nature of political socialization thus becomes multi-disciplinary (Hess and Easton, 1960, p.633; Langton, 1969, p.3; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, pp. 15-16; Merelman, 1972, p.135). Scholars from different fields of studies including

social psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, psychiatry and media studies contributed to the field.

The following section will present multidisciplinary studies on the association between media and the measures of political socialization including political norms, attitudes and behavior.

3.2 Media Use and Political Norms, Attitudes, and Behavior

Some theories of psychology especially of human behavior and meta-analysis of the political socialization studies can better explain the role of media in the process of political socialization. Before analyzing the relationship, explanation of what constitute a politically socialized person makes sense. Carpini (2004, p. 396) on the basis of analysis of previous research studies pointed out that a democratically engaged (politically socialized) individual is expected to possess four characteristics; (1) the individual must support the democratic norms and values, (2) has logical attitudes and beliefs regarding the political and social world (3) holds firm and informed opinions on major public issues, and (4) is involved in both direct and indirect activities aimed at influencing the quality of public life for oneself and others. The researcher contended that “underlying all these elements is the assumption that citizens also have the skills and resources necessary to develop informed values, attitudes, and opinions, connect them together, and translate them into effective action” (Carpini, 2004, 396). In a similar vein, Atkin (1981, 307-317) in his meta-analysis studies of media and political socialization noted that exposure to mass media affect at three distinct levels of orientations; cognitive, affective and behavioral. Atkin explained that cognitive orientations involve political knowledge and information. Affective orientations are political interest, attitudes towards leaders, opinions on political issues, sense of political efficacy and party identification. While behavioral orientations formed as a result to media exposure are, inter personal discussions regarding politics, campaign participation. Atkin intentionally excluded the extreme form of political behavior (voting) from his analysis because the researcher was primarily concerned with adolescents. However, Atkin, mentions that “adolescents have rather limited avenues for expressing overt political behavior” (p. 316) and in the very opening sentence of his work, the researcher noted that “formal participation in the political system is reserved for adult citizens” (p. 299).

Based on the work of Carpini (2004,) and Atkin (1981, 299-328), the process of political socialization entails a number of elements including possession of political norms and values, attitudes and beliefs, political opinions and political behavior. These elements/steps are the building blocks of the process of political socialization and the hierarchical steps affect the succeeding ones. In order to evaluate the role of media in the process of political socialization, it is necessary to check the influence of mass media on every element of this process; political norms and values, political attitudes and beliefs, and ‘political behavior.

3.2.1 Political Norms and Values

“Values and norms are evaluative beliefs that synthesize affective and cognitive elements to orient people to the world in which they live” (Encyclopedia of Sociology, online). Norms and values carry beliefs about approval and disapproval of human behavior, are specific to time and environment and susceptible to change. Though norms and values are used interchangeably but in some instances they are differentiated. Generally, norm is a shared belief that persons ought or ought not to act in a certain way (Gibbs, 1965, p. 589). Morris (1956) defined norms as “generally accepted, sanctioned prescriptions for, or prohibitions against, others' behavior, belief, or feeling, i.e. what others ought to do, believe, feel- or else. Norms must be shared prescriptions.... norms always include sanctions” (p. 610). Schwartz & Bilsky (1987) are of the view that “values (a) are concepts or beliefs, (b) pertain to desirable end states or behaviors, (c) transcend specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (e) are ordered by relative importance” (p. 551). While values “specify the relative worth that is attributed to or imposed upon various aspects of human behavior or objects. Social values permit the ranking of things along some desirability scale (Flinn, 1970, pp. 983-984). Broadly, norms have four aspects; polarity, conditionality, intensity and consensus (Jasso & Opp, 1997, pp. 948-949).

Like the social world, norms and values provide foundations for the political conduct of the individuals. Scholars argue that political values and norms guide the political behavior of individual (Jasso & Opp, 1997, p. 949). Jasso & Opp, contend that citizens consider collective action in society as a norm and participate in it. The sense of civic duty to participate in voting, protest, and justice are some of the political norms. Carpini (2004, p. 396) is of the view that

political norms and values include internal and external efficacy, political and social trust, political interest, civic duty, and political tolerance.

The following section will discuss effects of media on the political efficacy, political trust, and political interest of individuals.

3.2.2 Political Efficacy

Political efficacy refers to the people's beliefs in their ability to understand and participate effectively in governance (Coleman, Morrison & Svennevig, 2008, p. 771, Corrigan-Brown & Wilkes, 2014, p. 411; Miller, Goldenberg, & Erbring, 1979, p. 67). Political efficacy can distinctly be divided into two types; internal and external (Craig, 1979, p. 225). Internal efficacy refers to the individual's feeling of personal political effectiveness or the belief that he can bring changes in the political process while external political efficacy is the individual's belief about the government's responsiveness to the citizen's voices (Iyengar, Norpoth, & Hahn, 2004, p. 164; Lee, 2006, 416; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 140). Political efficacy is one of the deeply rooted political norms and values (Balch, 1974, p. 2; Carpini, 2004, p. 398; Coleman, Morrison & Svennevig, 2008, p. 772). Many research studies indicated that political efficacy is the strongest predictor of political involvement (Balch, 1974, p. 10; Coleman, Morrison & Svennevig, 2008, p. 772; Craig, 1979, p. 225; Jung, Kim, & Zúñiga, 2011, p. 414).

Carpini (2004, p. 398) argued that a number of demographic, contextual and cultural factors affect political efficacy but media play a definitive role in its development and expression. Numerous research studies revealed that media play an important role in the formation of political efficacy (Pinkleton, Austin & Fortman, 1998, p. 42; Jung, Kim, & Zúñiga, 2011, p. 414). McLeod, Scheufele, & Moy (1999, p. 330) concluded that reading hard news in newspaper and watching it on TV leads to higher political efficacy. Corrigan-Brown and Wilkes (2014, pp. 408-421) examined relationship between media exposure and political participation. The analysis revealed that exposure to mass media especially newspapers, radio and TV, over time, increases political efficacy of the receivers which is then materialized in political participation. Coleman, Morrison, and Svennevig (2008, p. 787) in their exploratory study conducted interviews with seven focus groups in Leeds, UK to investigate relationship between news media use and

political efficacy. The researchers concluded that participants' use of media increased political efficacy.

Many scholars argue that media contents are directly responsible for the development of political efficacy (Carpini, 2004, p. 398). Miller, Goldenberg, and Erbring (1979, pp. 67-84) examined relationship between media contents and its influence on the political efficacy of the readers. Their study utilized the survey data and content analysis of 8900 front pages of 94 newspapers from the 1974 American National Election Study. Negative coverage was coded for each newspaper. Analysis of the data revealed that readers of the newspapers containing high degree of negative criticism of the politicians and political institutions believed that government was unresponsive as compared to the readers of the newspapers carrying less critical contents of the government. Robinson (1976, p. 418 & p. 428) contended that TV news viewing is associated with lower level of political efficacy in the US because TV news is too much critical and negative of the government. Similarly, Pinkleton et al, (1998, p. 46) found that media contents are crucial determinants in formation of political efficacy.

Some scholars have tried to investigate comparative influences of different news media outlets on the political efficacy of the audiences. Findings shared by Miller & Reese (1982, pp. 227-248) and Becker & Whitney (1980, pp. 95-120) confirmed that individuals who read newspapers possess greater level of political efficacy as compared to those who watch TV news. A growing body of evidence supports the use of online media creating positive feelings towards politics. For example, some studies reported positive association between internet use and political efficacy (Johnson & Kaye, 2003, p. 18; Wang, 2007, p. 392; Kenski & Stroud, 2006, p. 184-185). Entertainment TV programs to some extent create political efficacy depending on how the contents are presented. Baumgartner & Morris (2006, p. 362) investigated effects of popular TV comedy show in the US; *The Daily Show* on the candidates evaluation and efficacy and found that the effects were mixed. The researchers explained that the show increased internal efficacy of the audience but lowered their external efficacy.

Carpini (2004, p. 399) argues that exposure to negative media political advertising reduces political efficacy. However, other scholars do not share the Carpini's view. Motta, Fowler, (2016, p. 23) noted that investigations into the field of political campaign advertising produce

mixed results. Some researchers are of the view that viewing negative campaign advertisements lower viewers' sense of political efficacy. For example, Lau, Sigelman and Rovner (2007, p. 1184) in his meta-analysis of negative political campaigns confirmed that negative political campaigns lowers political efficacy. Lau et al noted that decreasing voter turnout is one of the possible consequences of negative political campaigns. It also reduces support for the political system, damp the public's general mood and at worst diminish satisfaction with the government. Their findings revealed that negative political advertising adversely affect political efficacy. Another group of researchers believes that negative political advertising has non-to-minimal effects on the political efficacy of the individuals. For example, Pinkleton et al (2002, p. 24) found no effect of negative campaign advertisements on political efficacy. While Motta and Fowler (2016, p. 23) are of the view that though negative political advertising may harm the political efficacy specifically and attitude of the voters towards the political system in general but such effects are small with special reference to the US.

3.2.3 Political Trust

Political trust is the "evaluations of whether or not political authorities and institutions are performing in accordance with the normative expectations held by the public" (Miller & Listhaug, 1990, p. 358). Political trust is the driving force for political participation (Moy & Scheufele, 2000, p. 744; Hetherington, 1998, p. 792; Gershtenson & Plane, 2007, p. 1; Catterberg, 2003, p. 173) and its absence has detrimental effects on the political system (Abramson & Finifter, 1981, p. 298) and even question legitimacy of the political system (Hetherington, 1998, p. 792; Moy & Hussain, 2011, p. 2).

Findings of the impact of media use on political trust give mix results (Carpini, 2004, p. 400). Some scholars argue that attending different mediums of mass communication produce unlike results on political trust. Becker & Whitney (1980, pp. 95-120) in order to assess audiences' media dependency and its impact on knowledge about local as well as national government, comprehension of government and trust in leaders, conducted interviews with 548 household heads in Franklin County, Ohio, USA in 1977. The researchers found that the respondents relying on newspapers for information were better knowledgeable about government and were having more political trust in government than the respondents who relied on TV.

Political trust in the United States of America and European countries is gradually shrinking (Dennis & Owen, 2001, p. 399; Hetherington, 1998, p. 792; Lee, 1998, p. 135; Luengo & Maurer, 2009, p.39). Media and specifically TV use are blamed to be associated with lower political trust in modern Western nations particularly in the United States of America (Hetherington, 1998, p. 794; Moy & Scheufele, 2000, p. 744; Robinson, 1976, p. 411). However, research in developing countries where politics and media are in transition show positive association between media use and political trust. A research study conducted in Taiwan during 1994 revealed that media use both newspaper and TV leads to higher trust in government (Gunther, Hong, & Rodirquez, 1994, pp. 632-633). In another study conducted during the democratic transition in Kosovo, Camaj (2014, pp. 201-202) concluded that informational media use has dual effect on political trust; online use of political information has a negative while radio and newspapers have positive relationship with trust in political institution mediated by attribute agenda-setting.

Some researchers tried to locate the factors that moderate media effects on political trust, for example, how different types of media contents consumed by individuals with varied personal characteristics mediate the political trust. Avery (2009, pp. 410-433) found that newspaper reading and TV viewing produce different results for the persons having varied levels of political trust. Individuals, having low level of political trust when exposed to news media of both newspapers and TV did not become more or less trusted. However, those with higher political trust when read newspapers exhibited more trust in politics while TV news viewing lowered their trust levels. Demographics also exert influence on political trust. Moy & Scheufele (2000, p. 751-752) claimed that “political trust is not at all a function of media use; rather, it stems from education and political ideology (751)” and the media use increases social trust; interpersonal trust which motivates individuals to participate in political process.

Nature of political information also has ramifications for political trust. For example, Moy & Scheufele (2000, pp. 751-752) are of the view that during election years political coverage changes which may positively or adversely affect the level of political trust. The “horserace” phenomenon in election campaigns’ coverage may reduce the level of trust of those more

trusting in politics or alternatively the euphoria of elections may increase the political trust of those less trusting.

3.2.4 Political Cynicism

Political cynicism refers to the “absence of trust at the level of the institutions of government and/ or the regime as a whole” (Vreese, 2005, p. 1). Camilla & Jamieson (1997) employed the concept in politics and contended that political cynicism “implies that the self-interest of political actors is their primary goal and the common interest is secondary at best or played out only for its political advantage” (p. 142).

Literature reveals that media contribute to the formation of political cynicism in a variety of ways. Excessive negative coverage, use of framing and priming and, changing focus of election reporting are some of the factors, which contribute in forming political cynicism among the citizens.

Scholars observed that too much violence, negativity, political scandals and anti-institutional themes portrayed in media were creating detachment of citizens from the politics (Robinson, 1976, p. 410-411). A number of studies corroborated the findings of Robinson. For example, Cappella & Jamieson (1997, pp. 29-34), Vreese, (2004, pp. 203-205) and Ansolabehere, Iyengar, Simon, & Valentino (1994, p. 835) found that exposure to negative contents in media develops political cynicism. Vreese (2015, p.3) found that negative media coverage adversely affects political participation. The presence of incivility adversely affects political trust about politicians, parliament and political system (Mutz and Reeves, 2005, pp. 6-7).

Scholars have tried to investigate how media produce and promote political cynicism in audiences. A number of approaches have been presented to explain this relationship but literature on the topic bring forth four main ways through which media create and influence political cynicism; strategic news framing, political priming, style of news presentation and context.

Framing is one of the key concepts in understanding media effects on the audiences (Camilla & Jamieson, 1997, pp. 56-57; Vreese, 2005, p. 51). Frame is the central organizing idea through which people makes sense of relevant events (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p.3). Gitlin (1980, p.

7) defines frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse”. Vreese (2005) defines frames as “an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic” (p. 53). Framing refers to the “process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue” (Chong & Druckman, 2007a, p. 104). The researchers explained that media discourse or contents come as “interpretative packages’ which gives meaning to an issue and ‘frames’ are at the heart of these interpretative packages. There are varieties a ways through which journalists frame news. It includes using explicit changes in titles, selection of wordings, and using cue words (Camilla & Jamieson, 1997, p. 44). “News frame highlight certain aspects of news and downplay others through selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” Camilla and Jamieson (1997, p. 77). Salience and selection in news coverage affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events (Vreese, 2005, p. 52) and has consequences for public opinion because it promotes “particular definitions and interpretations of political issues” (Shah, Watts, Domke, & Fan, 2002, p. 343). Vreese (2005, pp. 54-56) based on extant literature, divide frames in two broad categories; issue-specific frames and generic frames. The former deals with specific topics or events in the media contents, while, the latter deals with different topics, over time, in different cultural contexts.

Scholars have investigated impact of both issue-specific and generic frames on the audience. Findings on the issue-specific frames are mix. Cappella & Jamieson (1997, p. 160) study, for example, found that issue-specific news frames has no effect on political cynicism. Chong & Druckman (2007, p- 103-126) concluded that the effects of issue-frames are conditioned by certain personal characteristics like education. When competing views on an issue is presented in the media, the more knowledgeable persons establish a frame, which is consistent with their own values while those with less knowledge are susceptible to be affected by the point of view on the issue brought by the media. Shah, Watts, Domke & Fan (2002, p. 339-370) examined the influence of issue frames in the US media. Their study revealed that media coverage used framing of some issues, which positively affected evaluations of Americans about their president. Similarly, Shehata (2013, p. 172) concluded that issue-specific frame reduces political cynicism and promote institutional as well as political interest.

On the other hand, many studies found strong negative relationship between generic news frames on the political cynicism. A variant of generic news frame (strategic news frame) is specifically relevant to instigating political cynicism (Shaheta, 2013, p. 172; Vreese, 2005, pp. 55-56). In their landmark study, spiral of cynicism, Cappella & Jamieson (1997, p. 33) explained that due to the pervasive use of strategic frames, “the public’s experience of their leaders becomes biased toward attributions that induce mistrust. Strategy coverage invites precisely such attributions and results in activation of political cynicism” (p.142). Schuck, Boomgaarden, and Vreese (2013, pp. 287-311) tested the effect of strategic frame use and political cynicism in comparative perspective. In a multi-method and comparative cross-country study conducted in 21 European countries. The researchers found that the use of strategic news frame also exists in other countries albeit in different ways. They concluded that the influence of strategic frame news is conditioned by individual and contextual factors. First, the individuals with less knowledge of election campaign become more cynical when exposed to media contents containing strategic frame use. Secondly, in countries with high quality of governance, use of strategy news produces higher level of political cynicism as compared to the countries where the quality of governance and democracy is low.

Another factor, which comes into play in the process of creating political cynicism, is the concept of ‘political priming’. Priming occurs “when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments” (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11). Political priming is the “ability of new information to alter the standards by which the public evaluates political leaders” (Krosnick & Kinder 1990, p. 500; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63). These scholars added that media provide information based on which citizens evaluate political leaders. Consequently, these evaluations become basis for the political preferences of public and hence affect their participation in political process (Vreese, 2004, p. 45). In his landmark study, Vreese (2004, pp. 45-64) studied the effect of news priming on the evaluation of government and political leaders during the 2000 Danish Euro referendum. The study found that mass media excessively covered the referendum but negatively evaluated the political leaders. Consequently, this negative evaluation of political leaders in media substantially declined the performance rating of political leaders by politically less involved respondents.

Media content presentation and style contribute to political cynicism especially during election campaigns. Hallin (1992, pp. 4-24) analyzed TV reporting of elections campaigns from 1968 until 1988. The researcher found that reporting and presentation style of election campaigns has undergone tremendous changes. For example, due to time constraints, length of sound bites has been cut short substantially. Use of short sound bites cannot put the views of the politicians and candidates in perspective and hence contribute to political cynicism. Subjectivity in TV news reporting contributes to political cynicism. Hallin observed the reporters in the past used to be objective and presented the view of the politicians and incumbents but the recent reporting of electoral campaigns are much more subjective. These factors, Hallin remarked, contribute to political cynicism.

Another element of media content and its impact on political cynicism is the change of focus from issues to winning and losing of candidates. Broh (1980, pp. 514-515) calls this phenomenon “horse race” journalism (the focus of news stories is centered on image, personality, and election strategy not on the main issues). Hallin found that horse race has been institutionalized in recent coverage of election campaigns while its use was sparse in the election reporting of 1968. Inclusion of “polling” who is winning and who is losing, forecasting outcomes of elections, made the elections as a sporting event where media divert attention of the public from the real issues to the irrelevant and less important aspects of elections. In time series analysis, Hahn and Iyengar (2002, p. 27) found that frequent exposure to hard news enhanced confidence in the government while consumption of horserace and strategy news created political cynicism.

3.2.5 Political Interest

Political interest is both a precursor and necessary condition of participation in the political world (Boulianne, 2011, pp. 147-148; Carpini, 2004, 404; Stromback & Shehata, 2010, p. 575; Davis & Owen, 1998, p. 180). Literature on media use and political interest reveals that a positive relationship exists (Carpini, 2004, p. 4; Drew & Weaver, 2006, p. 31) but this relationship has not been widely studied (Carpini, 2004, p. 404, Stromback & Shehata, 2010, p. 575). Generally, roots of political interest are “in socioeconomic factors- in having educated parents, a good education, and a high-level job, as well as organizational membership” (Verba,

Schlozman, & Brady, 1995, p. 494). However, the comparatively brief work on the role of media in generating political interest generates different perspectives. For example, one group of researchers argues that individuals who are more interested in politics will pursue public affairs and news in the media (Avery, 2009, p. 417; Carpini, 2004, p. 404; Dimitrova, Shehat, Stromback, & Nord, 2011, p. 105; Drew & Weaver, 2006, p. 31; Wolfsfeld, Yarchi & Samuel-Azran, 2016, p. 2096). While another group holds that mass media to some extent generate political interest (Curran, et al., 2014, p. 819; Davis & Owen, 1998, p. 185; Shehat, 2013, p. 172; Atkin, Galloway, & Nayman, 1976, p. 327; Lecheler, & Vreese, 2017, p. 557).

A third view is that media stimulate as well as reinforce political interest of the users. Boulianne (2011, pp. 147-162) using simultaneous equation modeling of 3-wave panel data from the American National Election Study of 2008 and 2009 investigated the role of TV, newspaper and internet in stimulating as well as reinforcing political interest. The study found that media cast effect on shaping people's sense of civic duty, arouse interest in public affairs and motivated people to participate in the political process. The study also highlighted that people who were interested in politics, followed public affairs in newspapers, TV and on internet. Similarly, Stromback & Shehata (2010, p. 575-597) studied the relationship between media use and political interest. Their study is based on 3-wave panel data carried out during the 2006 Swedish election campaign. Analysis of the study proved the reinforcement and stimulation hypothesis. Exposure and attention to public affairs in mass media has a positive causal impact on political interest and political interest has a positive causal impact on attention to political news.

Some scholars found that news in different media has varied relationship with political interest. For example, Guggenheim, Kwak, & Campbell (2011, p. 306) found that newspaper reading as compared to TV news viewing, generate political interest. Similarly, Boulianne (2011, pp. 149-162) noted that four attributes of mass media; accessibility, information sharing capability, diversity of information and degree of effort and attention required to access information condition stimulation of political interest. He argued that newspaper, TV, and internet demand different levels of efforts to access information and need different levels of attention to use the information. Besides their information sharing capabilities, diversity of information are different in various mediums of mass communication. Therefore, their capacity in arising political interest

also varies. The author concluded that more politically interested individuals turn to TV for public affairs but the medium itself does not stimulate political interest in the viewers. On the other hand, newspapers and online news reading stimulate political interest into those individuals who do not have prior political interest. Davis & Owen (1998, pp. 180-182) noted that attending public affairs in different types of media; TV, radio, newspapers, and internet generate different degrees of interest in the audience.

Though research in the area is sparse but it is predominantly focused on news and public affairs. Very little is known about the scientific relationship between non-public affair media use and its impact on political interest (Carpini, 2004, p 405).

3.2.6 Political Attitudes and Beliefs

In strict psychological term, attitudes and beliefs are “ a subset of a group of constructs that name, define, and describe the structure and content of mental states that are thought to drive a person's actions” (Richardson, 1996, p. 103). A number of social psychologists combine the construct of attitudes and beliefs when dealing with human behavior (Richardson, 1996, pp. 103-104). Attitude refers to "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (Allport, 1967, p. 8). Belief is “a way to describe a relationship between a task, an action, an event, or another person, and an attitude of a person toward it” (Eisenhart, Shrum, Harding, and Cuthbert, 1988, p. 53). Petty & Cacioppo (1986, p. 127) defined attitude as “general evaluations people hold about themselves, other people, objects, and issues”. In a similar vein, Katz (1966) defined attitudes as “the specific organization of feelings and beliefs according to which a given person evaluates an object or symbol positively or negatively” (p. 150).

In the political domain, attitudes and values can be referred to all-encompassing views of an individual towards social and political world. Carpini (2004, p. 396) elaborated that political attitudes and beliefs can include an individual’s ideological orientations, political partisanship, perceptions of equality and freedom, commitment to personal as well as collective rights, and views on race and diversity.

Carpini (2004, pp. 406-407) explained that political beliefs and attitudes share two key concepts; ‘cognitions’ and ‘affect’. Cognition is the way individuals’ process and use information and deals with issues of attention, perception, learning & memory, thought, language, reasoning and problem solving (Shuell, 1986, p. 414). These factors then shape beliefs about the external stimuli to which the individuals are exposed and it may be things, people, places, ideas or situations. Carpini contends that the constructs of belief, affect and behavioral intentions are interrelated. For example, a person’s opinion and behavioral intention is the blend of what one feels about a person, issue, place, idea or situation and what one apparently feels to be true about a person, issue, place, idea, or situation. Carpini on the basis of review of psychological models of attitude formation concludes that two assumptions are very important; “first, beliefs (what one thinks is true) are the mainspring of attitude formation, connecting values, and affect to produce attitudes and behavioral intentions. Secondly beliefs can be based on more or less accurate information” (p. 407).

The process of attitude formation is complex and may involve many factors but mass media contents serve as the basis for forming attitudes and beliefs (Salomon, 1994, pp. 1-4). Media contents form the basis of its effects and scholars stressed its evaluation because of its assumed role as “cause or antecedent of a variety of individual processes, effects, or uses people make of it” (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2014, pp.4-10). The following section will deliberate on the informational value of mass media and how it helps in gaining political knowledge on the basis of which political attitudes and beliefs are formed.

The process of political attitudes and beliefs formation begins with political cognitions (knowledge or information). Much of the citizens’ political knowledge comes from media (Carpini, 2004, p. 408; Ceron, 2015, p. 488; Stromback & Shehata, 2010, p. 576; Davis & Owen, 1998, pp. 3-26). Media information provides “much of the raw materials that make up social and political beliefs, attitudes, and schema” (Carpini, 2004, p. 408; Drew & Weaver, 2006, p. 26; Lee & Cappella, 2001, p. 378).

Once an individual receive personally relevant or important information, the individual devote considerable attention to process it at a deeper level (Park & Young, 1986, p. 11) and evaluate different aspects of the information (Bettman, Capon, Lutz, 1975, p. 269) which subsequently

translate in formation of his attitude (Regan & Fazio, 1977, p. 30). The Elaboration Likelihood Model of persuasion is one such attempt to explain the formation of attitudes. Petty and Cacioppo (1986, pp. 123- 162) explained that when an individual exposes to information, he adopts two ways to process it, central route and peripheral route. By following central route, an individual carefully considers and evaluates the true merit of the information and forms his attitude towards the object, person, and issue, or whatever carried in the information. While in the peripheral route, some simple cues in the information like the credibility of the source, and attractive personality form the basis of his decision. The attitudes may be positive or negative depending on the attribute of the message or information (Bettman, Capon, Lutz, 1975, p. 276).

Many theories and media techniques such as media dependency theory, agenda setting theory, framing and priming techniques led credence to the proposed relationship between media exposure and political attitude formation. Research has shown that dependency on media for information and emphasis on some issues have clear implications for both attitude development and change (Ball-Rokeach & Defleur, 1976, p. 10). McCombs & Shaw (1976, pp. 176-187) argued that people learn about issues from the media and the importance given to an issue in media corresponds to that of the audience. They hypothesized this role of media as ‘agenda setting’, “the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues” (p. 177). Priming and framing (discussed above) in the media contents also considerably affect political attitudes of the audience. Domke, Shah & Wackman (1998, pp. 51-52) argues that priming effects activate mental constructs which affect the individual’s evaluations (attitudes). Similarly, media framing by highlighting some dimensions of issues while ignoring others also exerts substantial influence on the attitudes of the individuals. Domke et al (1998) argue that media emphasis on some political issues “interacts with voters' values and predispositions to guide individual issue interpretations” (p. 53).

Many studies reported that mass media play an important role in the formation and change in audiences’ attitudes. For example, Adoni (1979, pp. 84-106) on the basis of data collected from 841 high school students in Israel, found that mass media directly and indirectly influence formation of political attitudes. In direct way, exposure to newspapers, TV, and radio has been found positively associated with the development of civic attitudes towards political system. In

indirect way, strong ties with friends and parents encouraged usage of mass media and perceived utility of mass media in development of political attitudes. In a study, Entman (1989, pp. 347-370) found that individuals' ideological (political ideology) inclinations determine exposure to liberal or conservative media outlets (selectivity in exposure) and these exposure have varied effects on the political attitudes of liberals, moderates and conservatives. However, diversity in information and exposure to the information with a leaning towards opposite ideology than that of the reader produces positive effects on the political attitudes. They also found that media effects on the attitude were stronger for unfamiliar issue than that of the familiar ones.

Kiousis & McCombs (2004, pp. 36-57) investigated relationship between media coverage, public salience and the strength of public attitudes. They compared the data on media content with public opinion data collected by University of Michigan's National Elections Studies during the 1996 US presidential elections regarding 11 political figures. Results suggest that increased media attention to political figures is associated with higher levels of public salience and attitude strength. In another study, Lee and Cappella (2001, pp. 369-394) studied relationship between exposure to news and formation of public's attitudes towards Republican and Democratic parties in the US. Five surveys were conducted with a sample of 678 regular listeners and 988 non-listeners of political talk radio to assess its effects on the political judgments of respondents during the primary phase of the US presidential election campaign of 1996. Regular listeners were further divided on the basis of their political ideologies of which 283 were listeners to liberal or moderate political talk radio programs while 139 were listener to a conservative political talk radio program. Findings of the study suggested three conclusions. When an audience listened to a concentrated, one-sided message, his agreement increased with the position advocated in the talk radio program. Exposure to talk radio program resulted in changed political attitudes. This study confirms that exposure to mass media affect political attitudes of the receivers.

3.2.7 Political Behavior

Political behavior is the expression of firm, stable and informed opinions. Changes in attitudes and beliefs lead to overt action and behavior (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976, p. 16; Crespi, 1977, p. 293; Friese, Bluemke, & Wänke, 2007, pp. 252-253). Multiple analysis of the causal-

modeling approach confirmed that external and external dimensions of foundational values influence attitudes and opinions, which in response, influence behaviors (Homer & Kahle, 1988, p. 638). Carpini (2004, p. 418) contended that a democratically engaged (politically socialized) individual expresses his political behavior through a variety of means; voting, membership in political and civic institutions, contacting public officials, volunteering in community and taking part in protests and demonstrations.

Carpini (2004, p. 418) concluded that though it is difficult to understand the relationship between media and political participation in its entirety but the overall research findings in the field show a positive relationship. Research at least has shown that more active citizens follow public affairs and politics in the media, read newspapers, watch and listen to the news and surf internet (Wolfsfeld, Yarchi, & Samuel-Azran, 2016, p. 2101; Becker & Dunwoody, 1982, pp. 214-215). Becker & Dunwoody (1982, pp. 212-218) conducted an interesting study in the USA to show the relationship of exposure to media and political behavior. The researchers noted that public affairs use lead to political cognitions which in turn leads to political behavior.

Media contents exert positive as well as negative impact on the political participation of the users. Positivity and negativity are two of the many attributes of information and “informative attributes attract selective attention at input and also carry extra weight in the final impression” (Fiske, 1980, p. 889). Fiske argued that one reason for this extra weightage of negative information is its unusualness. Research has shown that negative information carry more weight than comparable positive information when it comes to the evaluation or judgment of a person, object or event (Kellermann, 1989, pp. 149-150). Lau (1982, pp. 355-356) contended that effects of negative information is of two different types; negative information is comparatively more important than positive information in forming impressions in decision making and consequences of negative evaluations are greater in comparison to the consequences of positive evaluations. However, negative information is a double edge sword and it can result in both negative and positive evaluations depending how a voter evaluate it and thus play an important role in candidate preference decision (Faber, Tims, & Schmitt, 1993, p. 68). Some studies found correlation between exposure to negative campaign information and its adverse effect on the voting decisions of the voters. Becker & Dunwoody (1982, pp. 212-218) observed that during

the 1979, in the mayoral and council elections in Columbus, Ohio, USA, eight candidates were running for local body offices. Two of the eight candidates, a women and man, got involved in a public feud. The man resigned from the ticket following the revelation that the he was married and had an affair with the women. Media continuously reported the affair throughout the election campaign in negative tone. The study found that media users' knowledge about all the candidates were high including the councilwomen and garnered support for all of them except her which resulted in lower votes for her. Similarly, Faber, Tims, & Schmitt (1993, pp. 67-76) in their study of 1988 US Senatorial elections examined the impact of negative advertisements on the voters' preferences for the candidates portrayed negatively in the ads. Among the six negative campaign ads, four were selected; two each from the Democratic and Republican candidates and a total of 286 eligible voters were interviewed on phone. Results found that negative information in the ads exerted substantial influence on the voting preferences of the respondents but these effects were conditioned by respondents' attention and involvement.

A vast array of research findings indicates that exposure to different types of mass media affect political behavior to a varying degree because the inherited characteristics of each medium news reporting are different. For example, election coverage on TV emphasizes on the personality and image of the candidates while little attention is paid to the real political issues. On the other hand newspapers' reporting of election coverage carry in-depth details of the policy issues and emphasizes less on personal characteristics of candidates (Broh, 1980, pp. 514-515). Respondents who cited TV as their main source of public affairs and political information, personal qualities of the candidate accounted a major source of their voting intentions while those relied on newspaper for public affairs, cited issue preferences as cause of their political participation albeit weak (McLeod, Glynn, McDonald, 1983, pp. 37-58). Tan (1980, pp. 241-248) conducted two-wave interviews in Texas, USA one week after the first debate and one week after the US presidential election of 1976. The study intended to investigate the influence of newspaper and TV use on interpersonal political discussions, political knowledge and campaign participation. Analysis revealed that the more active respondents used newspaper and not TV for political knowledge and newspapers more than TV led to acquisition of political knowledge and campaign participation. Similarly, Scheufele (2002, pp. 46-65) analyzed data from the 1990 American Citizens Participation Study and found that newspapers' use of hard

news is positively correlated to political participation while such relationship for TV hard news is quite weak. Similarly, Wolfsfeld, Yarchi, and Samuel-Azran, (2016, 2096- 2115) in a study based on the responses of 1125 respondents in Israel found that active media users had the highest level of political knowledge, efficacy, interest, and participation in politics while the non-media users were lacking in all these categories. Smit-Lovin (1979, 23-50) interviewed 1127 adults both male and female residents of North Carolina, USA to probe their media usage and political participation. The study found that media use influenced political behavior of both male and females albeit to different degrees.

Apart from active media usage and its impact on political behavior, perceptions towards media also have important consequences for political outcomes. Cohen & Tsfaty (2009, 359-378) in a series of studies found that presumed media importance exerts substantial influence on strategic voting- when a voter casts his vote to a candidate who is apparently in a winning position instead of his preferred candidate. In the first study, the researchers analyzed the data gathered from 1219 respondents in 2003 and 2006. Results suggested positive relationship between presumed importance of media and strategic voting. The data gathered in this study was based on self-reported measures, which could possibly produce overstated estimates regarding the relationship. In order to counter the bias, the researchers conducted a follow up study. Some 519 undecided voters were interviewed on telephone. Analysis of the responses corroborated the findings of the first study- presumed importance of media is positively associated with strategic voting.

3.3 Conclusion

The field of political socialization emerged during the late 1950s where heavy emphasis was on family, school and peer group but the belief of 'limited media effect' among the scholars' community restricted the inclusion of mass media in the leading sources of political socialization. However, in the 1970s the emergence of new theoretical approaches, research methods and introduction of new communication technologies brought media as potential source of politicization. Chaffee et al study (1970) on the role of media in political socialization

provided impetus to the scholars to change their thinking. Scores of studies in the field emerged since then investigating various aspects of media-politics relationship.

Since the nature of political socialization is interdisciplinary and scholars from the field of sociology, social psychology, political science and media studies contributed in understanding the process. A review of these studies establishes that continuous and persistence exposure to political content on the media for a considerable period develops political norms and values of the individual. These include internal and external political efficacy, political and social trust, political interest, civic duty, and political tolerance. Once these foundational values develop, it stimulate the further steps of the process of politicization; the development of political attitudes and beliefs. Political attitudes and beliefs can be seen as individual's ideological orientations, political partisanship, perceptions of equality and freedom, commitment to personal as well as collective rights, and views on race and diversity. Development of attitudes and beliefs helps form an individual's political opinion. Political behavior is the manifestation of internalization of all the foundational values and rank last on the spectrum of the process of political socialization. It includes membership in political and civic institutions, contacting public officials, volunteering in community, taking part in protests and demonstrations, and voting. Multidisciplinary research establishes that media influence the cognitive, affective and behavioral aspect of the political life of individuals and hence is one of the dominant sources of political socialization.

Chapter 4: Television and Political Socialization

This chapter is exclusively devoted to review the literature and research studies regarding the role of TV and political socialization of individuals. The chapter is mainly divided into two sections. In the first part, relevant pioneer studies and major theoretical approaches have been reviewed to grasp the mechanism through which televised contents influence the political socialization of individuals. The second part, then, deliberates on central theme of this research work; how privatization of TV affects political learning, political attitudes and behavior of the receivers in a developing democracy? To achieve the end, this section first analyzed the studies conducted in advanced democracies of the world including United States of America, Europe and some other countries and then moved to the studies undertaken in some of the developing countries. Last part of the chapter shed light on the TV industry in Pakistan and how privatization of TV in the country affected the political orientations of the people.

4.1 The beginning of the fare

When the field of political socialization was in the offing, television was in its infancy. Therefore, scholars working in the field did not consider the medium influential in instilling political attitudes (Kraus, 1973, pp. 390-400). However, media scholars believe that the introduction and spread of TV in 1960s added a political dimension to the field of media studies (Esser, 2008, p. 2894). Keeping in view the unprecedented penetration of TV in society, Gerbner et al (1982) noted, “people are now born into the symbolic environment of television and live with its repetitive lessons throughout life” (p. 102). As a result, “many of those now dependent upon television have never before been part of a shared national political culture” (p. 102).

Kraus (1973, pp. 390-391) contended that TV diffused with a rapid pace in the social system and children were spending comparatively more time with the medium than with other sources of socialization; family, peer group, and teachers. Consequently, the children who attend to the news on TV may be having more knowledge about politics. News programs are rich in political diet and include coverage of the political process, elections, activities of the political parties, discussion of public policy programs, deeds and misdeeds of public officials, information

regarding government expenditures and much more (Conway et al, 1981, p. 166). Greater access, exposure and heavy doses of political diet presented a strong case for the medium to be considered as a vital source of political socialization. Despite the fact that TV being a common social and cultural tool in the society, researchers, largely ignored it as source of political socialization (Kraus, 1973, p. 400; Rubin, 1978, p. 125; Volgy & Schwarz, 1980, p. 153).

Literature review on the topic reveals that work in the area was initially focused on children and adolescents. The reason of this focus was the predominant belief among the classic era socialization scholars. They believed that political orientations formed during childhood are long lasting and guide much of their adult political behaviors (Greenstein, 1967, p.32; Hyman, 1959, pp. 25-26; Hyman, 1969, p.18; Hess & Easton, 1960, pp. 632-644; Easton & Dennis, 1969, pp. 106-107; Jennings & Niemi, 1968, pp. 443-445; Moeller & de Vreesi, 2013, pp. 312; Searing, et al, 1976, pp. 112-113). Following is brief review of the research on TV and political socialization among children.

4.2 TV in Political Socialization of Children & Adolescents

Keeping in line with the general tradition, initial research in the area of TV and political socialization focused on children and adolescents. Scholars contended that in 1960s TV became a common household phenomenon. In households where TV was available, political information and opinions entered a developing child's life. TV "almost forcibly intruding into the youngsters' daily lives with information that is neither sought nor of much immediate usefulness" (Chaffee, Beeck, Durall, & Wilson, 1977, p. 223).

Research findings reveal that exposure to TV in childhood help develop affective political orientations; view of the political system and leadership. Byrne (1969, pp. 140-142) reported that for the adolescents students with lower socioeconomic and rural background, TV rather than newspapers was a source of information. Exposure to TV created positive views on the government among the children. Rubin (1978, pp. 125-129) found that exposure to public affairs on TV among 9 to 13 years old children documented positive relationship on political knowledge, attitude towards public authorities, political efficacy. Conway et al (1975, pp. 531-538) studied relationship between use of mass media; including TV and political knowledge and

identification with a political party among the students of grade four to grad six. The study concluded that mass media use including TV increases political knowledge and sense of party identification among children at the concrete stage of cognitive development. Atkin and Gantz (1978, pp. 183-198) found positive correlation between TV news use and measures of political socialization among the elementary school students. The study showed that TV news use positively influenced four key variables of political socialization; political knowledge, discussion related to news events, interest in public affairs and seeking further information about events in the news. Similarly, Atkin (1981, p.314) reviewed literature on the role of media in political socialization of children and adolescents and found that TV news and public affairs programs were the most important source of political information followed by newspapers and other media. Survey shows that TV and other media were listed on top for political learning and have contributed much than school, family and friends.

Although, research points towards a positive association between exposure to news and public affairs and political socialization among children of young age but this relationship, changes when children enter into adolescence. Some scholars attribute this shift in effects to the maturity of cognitive skills where enhanced cognitive abilities encourage critical thinking of the individuals (Conway et al, 1975, p. 532; Easton & Dennis, 1969, pp. 106-107) and the benign image of politicians formed during childhood starts evaporating. These cognitive changes occur due to increase in age. Studies in political socialization recognize age as one of the important variables (Sigel, 1989, p. viii). Hawkins, et al, (1975, p. 420) and Rubin (1978, pp. 125-129) noted that exposure to political contents on TV have different outcomes for the viewers with varied ages. Age is an important criterion that affects both viewing patterns as well as conditions consequences of political contents. Atkin & Gantz (1978, p. 188) observed a similar pattern of exposure in elementary school students. The researchers observed that though children expose to public affairs in their elementary school but it monotonically increases with age.

Many studies support these findings. For example, Moeller & de Vreesi (2013, pp. 309-325) reported that TV watching has different outcomes for children of different ages. Young children had high level of trust in government but when they grew older, their political orientations change and their level of trust in government declined. Similar, Rubin (1978, pp. 125-129) noted

that children of early age exhibited more trust in government, attachment to the country and loyalty towards authorities, however, with increasing age, exposure to TV news exerted negative impact on those variables. Berman and Stookey (1980, pp. 330-340) interviewed 600 adolescents aged 13 through 17 years to investigate TV viewing and their feelings towards the government. Data analysis revealed that the more an adolescent exposed to TV, his support for all levels of government dwindled. In an innovative study to investigate the persistence and continuity of political orientations among children, van Deth et al (2011, pp. 147-173) conducted qualitative interviews with 634 elementary school students in grade one. Interviews were conducted in autumn 2004, start of first year in school and summer 2005, end of academic year. Political orientations were operationalized as political knowledge, issue awareness and normative aspects of political socialization. The study investigated the internal structure of attitudes among children to evaluate the degree to which they hold consistent and meaningful orientations in these three areas. Findings suggested that children acquire political orientations during the early stages of their lives but adolescence is the phase where individuals obtain their political orientations and competence.

However, since 1960s, some scholars have been advocating for life-long model of political socialization and it was in late 1980s researchers started considering adults in the studies of political socialization. Sigel (1967, p. 9) for example, argued that political learning not only take place in early life but it is a life-long process as individuals take on more active political roles as adults. Sigel (1989, pp. 1-2) further explained that changes do occur in the political attitudes, issue preferences, interest and involvement in politics during the adult life span. Later on, some scholars observed that politics is a complicated phenomenon and the audiences need certain level of cognitive abilities to make sense of the political contents in the media (Chaffee et al, 1990, p. 267; Garramone & Atkin, 1986, p. 79; Austin & Pinkleton, 2001, p. 222; van Deth, 2011, p. 149). Studies suggest that researchers should be “cautious about studying most political topics with children under fourteen” (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995, p. 9). However, a recent study carried out in Netherlands suggests that though adolescents (13-15 years) gain much familiarity with politics but is not the sufficient age for understanding complexities of the political world (Nieuwelink et al, 2017, pp. 1-16).

Proponents of life-long model of political socialization questioned the primacy perspective that political attitudes formed in early childhood are durable and in most part influence political behavior of the adult life (van Deth, et al 2011, p. 149). Commenting on the early research on children and political socialization, Conover and Searing (1994) concluded that “political socialization has lost its children, lost its identity, lost its theoretical rationale, and lost its following in the profession” (p. 24).

The above literature review provides insights into the patterns of political socialization among children and adolescents; however, the focus of this study is adults. Therefore, the following section is devoted to the association between exposure to televised news and current affairs and the measures of political socialization among adults.

4.3 TV and Political Socialization of Adults

Research findings in the area of TV and political socialization of adults exhibits that exposure to TV exerts both positive and negative consequences on the political cognitions, attitudes and behaviors of the audiences (Curran et al, 2014, pp. 815-833). The causal mechanism of exposure to TV and its subsequent influences on the political attitudes and behaviors are guided by two broad theoretical approaches; mobilization theory and media-malaise. Studies that follow the mobilization theory approach advocate that exposure to TV, improves political learning, political attitudes and behaviors of the audiences while the proponents of videomalaise theory blames TV for lack of political knowledge, political trust, political cynicism, and apathy among the viewers.

4.3.1 Mobilization Theory

TV, in the current high-choice media environment, is still the dominant source of news (Robinson, Zeng & Holbert, 2018, p. 296). The medium is the most favorite source of news and public affairs worldwide. According to Pew Research Center, a median of 70 percent citizens in the seven countries of Western Europe get their news at least daily from TV (Matsa, 2018). In the USA, TV maintains as the top source of news and current affairs consumption though its use has been declining (Shearer, 2018). Keeping in view, greater access and enhanced viewership of TV news and public affairs, researchers have documented some positive effects of TV news

viewing on various elements of political socialization process. Researchers argue that exposure to political information sources have positive influences on cognitive and behavioral dimensions of the citizens (Newton, 1999, p. 581).

Most of the research studies in the past concluded that TV has less political effects as compared to the other sources of news media particularly newspapers. Gary & Pride (1972, p. 435) referring to the dominant thinking about TV minimal effects in political sphere, contended that Joseph Klapper (1960) statement “mass communication does not ordinarily serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects” and the research findings that media merely reinforces already existing attitudes, guided future research in the field. They argued that most of the political effects of TV contents are studied in comparison with newspapers and newsmagazine but TV is qualitatively different from other news media, and comparison of its contents with other news media, does not seem a rational choice. The study suggested an investigation taking into account TV news characteristic, new thinking about effects and characteristic of audience could expose TV as more potent source of political knowledge and changing political orientations of the audience.

Another group of scholars is of the view that while measuring the political effects of TV, researchers should take into consideration the contents. Moeller & Vreese (2013) found that exposure to TV contents especially news produces mobilizing effects while watching entertainment creates demobilizing effects. They conducted a study to see the effects of mass media on the political socialization. The study analyzed data of the European Social Survey ($N = 6935$) collected during 2002 and 2010 in 31 European countries. The study examined the effects of exposure to news and entertainment contents on three dependent variables of political trust, signing petitions and consumer politics by using multi-level regression analysis. Findings of the study warranted both mobilizing and demobilizing effects of the media; exposure to news contents was associated to higher political participation among adults while use of entertainment contents stimulated distrust in politics that led to lower levels of political engagement among adolescents. Norris (1996, pp. 474-480) argued that people who expose to news and current affairs programs turns out to be better informed and actively involved in civic engagements and politics. Contrarily, watching entertainment programs encourages disengagement of the audience

from the community, civic life, and politics. Norris found that the more people watch general TV contents, the less they were interested in the politics and less likely to engage in political discussions. However, the result highlighted that those who regularly watched news were more likely to engage in every type of political activities. This study proved that “we should not blame television watching per se for political disengagement, as Putnam suggested (1995 b), but rather the contents of what people are watching” (Norris, 1996, p. 477). In a later work, Putnam (2000) also pointed that watching news and current affairs programs have a positive correlation with civic engagement.

Many studies suggest that exposure to TV news and public affairs programs enhance political information of the audiences. Moeller et al (2013, p. 313) argues that expansion in the reach of TV and greater exposure of the audiences to the political contents on TV has improved political knowledge of the audiences. Chaffee & Frank (1996, pp. 52-53) contended that unlike the past research which emphasize a minimal role of TV in providing political information as compared to newspapers, recent research findings suggest that television is at par with that of newspapers as a source of political information albeit in different ways. Garramone & Atkin (1986, pp. 76-86) investigated the impact exposure to four types of mass media; TV news, radio news, newspaper and newsmagazines and its impact on the political knowledge and political behavior of 280 young adults in the US. Contrary to previous research, the study found that exposure to TV was strongly correlated with political knowledge and political behavior of young adults. Pasek et al (2006, pp. 121-132) documented that watching news on TV increases political awareness of the viewers and enhance their civic engagement.

Watching news and current affairs on TV is positively associated with political attitudes and behavior of the audiences like political interest, political efficacy and political participation. Strömbäck and Shehata (2019, p. 488) in a panel study found that watching public TV increases political interest among the viewers. However, the scholars pointed that it is unclear whether the citizens who are interested in politics turn to watch TV news or the other way round. Miller and Reese (1982, pp. 234-247) found that watching public affair and news on TV is positively associated with political activity and political efficacy of the viewers. Miller and Reese findings were based on the survey data obtained from 2402 individuals, a representative sample of the US

population. Political activity index consisted of eight items; interpersonal discussion about elections, trying to influence voting choices of others, participation in political gatherings, working for a political party or candidate, wearing campaign button, putting a campaign sticker on one's car, monetary support to a political party. Political efficacy was seen as the respondents' belief that they have a say in government affairs, their vote can bring change, their feelings that they were unable to make sense out the government and its policies, public officials do not really care about people, and public representative lose touch with the masses once elected to office. Analysis revealed that reliance of TV news and public affairs is positively associated with political activity and political efficacy of the viewers. Drew and Weaver (2006, pp. 25-42) examined the relationship between exposure & attention to various news media including TV and its impact on political knowledge, political interest and voting intentions among the US citizens. The researchers found that exposure and attention to political information was a strong predictor of learning candidates issue positions, developing interest in election campaign and mobilize the receiver to vote.

Similarly, watching news and public affairs on TV has positive effects on political socialization of young adults in an indirect way. In a study of young American adults, Austin and Pinkelton (2001, pp. 221-240) found that watching news and current affairs on TV with parents improves adults' political trust and behavior if the parents positively mediate in the process. In another study, Hoffman & Thomson (2009, 3-21) found that not only exposure to traditional news but also to non-traditional source of political information like the political satire--- late night comedy show on TV has positive relationship with political socialization. The study revealed that watching local news, national news and late night comedy shows increased political efficacy of the young adults, which in turn, enhances their political participation. Some studies suggest that besides news and current affairs the overall structure of network television affect the viewers' political orientations. Gerbner et al (1982, pp. 104-107; 1984, pp. 284-285) in their landmark study of 'Cultural Indicator'; a project on the trends in TV contents in the US and its effects on viewers' conception of reality. The study thus documented strong effect on the political orientations of the audiences especially of heavy viewers.

Another important characteristic of TV, through which it exerts influence on the political socialization of the viewers, is its ability to reach the apolitical citizens. People who are less interested in politics like the young, immigrants and the less interested citizens rely heavily on television for political information. Schulz, Zeh and Quiring (2005) noted that apolitical voters turn to TV for political information and are thus become susceptible to its effects. Similarly, Kazee (1981, pp. 507-518) examined the longitudinal effects of TV news exposure on the political interest of the audiences. The analysis revealed that individuals with low level of political interest were heavily dependent on TV to get information about the politicians and changed their attitudes on the basis of information received from television. Kazee presented two arguments for the susceptibility of politically disinterested people to TV news effects. First, TV is the main medium of political information for people with little political involvement and thus has a huge impact on them. Politically motivated individuals dig deeper and seek a variety of information sources before forming an opinion. Secondly, politics is of little importance for the politically less interested citizens and the process of reception and evaluation is not a complex process for them as compared to the individuals who are highly interested in politics. Political parties keeping in view the factor, encourage their representative to attend TV talk shows, discussion programs and even entertainment programs to reach as many floating voters as possible (Schulz et al, 2005, p. 66). Exposure to these political discussions and talk shows improves the public political knowledge (Chaffee et al, 1994, pp. 316-317).

TV news increases knowledge about politicians and political personalities. In an analysis of news stories of American television newscasts, Graber (1990, pp. 137-139) found that TV news stories widely utilize close ups of public figures to evoke emotional response from the audiences. Emphasis through close ups on the personality of political figures increases audiences' political interest, help them form opinions about political leaders and electoral choices. Similarly, visual information is better recalled by the audiences as compared to verbal information. In an experiment to test the verbal and visual recall rate of TV news contents, Graber (1990, pp. 144-145) showed TV newscasts to 48 participants and tested their recall of the visual and verbal themes immediately after the exposure. There were significant differences in recalling rates of verbal and visual them. Visual themes were recalled by majority of participants while a few recalled the verbal themes.

Election periods provide learning opportunities for the audiences in a variety of ways such as news coverage of campaigns, political advertisements, and televised presidential debates. Drew and Weaver (2006, p. 26) contended that coverage of these events on TV exert positive influences on the political socialization of the viewers. Political advertising on TV allow politicians and political groups to gain direct access to the citizens. TV, thus transform the way in which politics is conducted and the way it is perceived. Politicians and incumbents thus exhaust maximum resources, time and energy to reach to the public through TV and therefore utilize the skills of the experts in marketing and advertising (Graber, 1996, pp. 92-93). Political advertising on television increases information about candidates and exerts substantial effect on the voting preferences of the audiences (Gerbner et al, 2011, pp. 135-150).

The important role of TV in the political campaigns has changed the behavior of the candidates, the parties, the electorates and the media (Schulz et al, 2005, p. 55). There is a general belief among the political socialization scholars that political campaigns offer recurring periods of acceleration in the process of political socialization because these campaigns provides knowledge on political process and how the political system works (Hawkins, et al, 1975, p.407). Elections provide substantial opportunity of political learning to the audiences and their mass media use increases (Conway et al, 1981, p. 70). Besides, it reaches majority of the voters (Kurtzleben, 2015). Apart from catering to the informational needs of active citizens, Clarke & Fredin (1978, p. 158) explained that in the closing days of elections, TV assumes a source of political information for those apathetic citizens-who remain indifferent to political developments most of the time and just want to pay attention to the passing political parade. Empirical evidence suggests that media campaign, in some measures, contribute to political cognitions (Chaffee et al 1994, p. 309) and political behavior (Schulz et al, 2005, p. 63). Chaffee et al (1994, pp. 305-324) using a correlational design investigated the impact of campaign information on the audience party-issue knowledge, personal knowledge about candidate, and candidate-issue knowledge. The overall findings reported that TV campaign exposure improved audiences' knowledge of party-issue, personal knowledge about candidate, and candidate-issue knowledge.

Political debates are a special feature of the election campaigns in many Western countries. Kraus and Davis (1981, pp. 273-290) made a comprehensive review of the US election debates studies and contended that political debates are useful source of political information and participation for the voters in many ways. These debates influence the undecided voters who are less attached to any political party. Empirical evidences suggest that such individuals rely on information conveyed by these televised debates. The researchers pointed out that majority of the viewers who attended to these debates gain increase in their knowledge about the candidates and issues. Besides, opinions of the viewers are susceptible to change and TV news considerably contributes in this shift (Joslyn and Ceccoli (1996, pp. 141-170).

4.3.2 Media Malaise Theory

Contrary to the mobilization effects, another stream of research shows that exposure to TV news and current affairs exert negative influences on the measures of political socialization of the audiences. Research has shown that exposure to televised news and current affairs contents results in lack of political knowledge, decreases political trust, create political cynicism and lowers political participation.

Scholars have pointed out many factors for the negative influences of TV news and current affairs on the political socialization measures. Some of these factors are related to the viewers while some are the inherent characteristics of the medium. The rest are related to the contents, production processes and type of ownership.

Viewing patterns of the audiences can also be blamed for the lack of political influences of television. Hart (1996) noted that individuals often watch TV in a distracted way. Audiences are “only half-aware of the pictures dancing before our eyes” (p. 118). In another study Graber (1990, pp. 140-145) found that audience employ schematic processing while watching TV news stories to make sense of the issues, events or themes. Schematic processing allows the audiences to rely on previously stored images in their memory and exert minimum effort to go through the process when come in contact with new information. Graber conducted an experiment to ascertain how people get information from TV news. She found that audiences usually escape the tiresome task of news processing. Viewers avoid overloaded information and give attention

to a limited number of basic themes discussed in the news. Viewing TV is a ritualistic phenomenon in average American household so its sounds and sights make it a part of the environment and hence taken for granted. The presence of highly saturated media market, viewers have a plethora of alternatives to choose from the political information available to them. Morris (2007) argued, “by simply clicking the remote control or computer mouse, the individuals can access any one of the countless sources that best fits their personal preferences” (p. 710). Increased news sources thus lead to fragmentation of audiences that have varied consequences for the political socialization of individuals. For example, Owen (2012, p. 402) noted that for a democratic government to function, a shared understanding of issues and concerns is required but the audiences’ fragmentation due to proliferation of media choices lead the people to selective exposure which can restrict an environment of consensus among the public.

Some of the characteristic of TV also adversely affect the measures of political socialization among the viewers. Hart (1996, pp. 109-119) argues that some subtle characteristics of TV are responsible for this lack of political participation. Hart commented that TV presents such a huge amount of vicarious political experiences to the audiences that they feel little need to participate in political activities. The loads of political experiences they watch on TV give them a sense of being aware and virtually participating because TV viewing “simulates political interaction and offer those simulations as surrogates for political involvement” (pp. 113-114). The researcher explained that political contents on TV give the impression that a large number of people are active in politics, which creates the phenomenon of ‘Cameo Politics’ in the audiences. Cameo politics creates a curious effect and “rather than drawing people into the public sphere, it tells them that another sentry is already on duty” (p. 117) and hence inhibits political participation.

In another study, Graber (1990, pp. 134-156) found that TV news carries too much verbal and visual information and the audiences find it difficult to process it and in fact distract the viewers from comprehending and interpreting the information. As a result, “given the extremely rapid rate at which the information is presented, information losses become inevitable” (p. 137). Hart (1996) reached a somewhat similar conclusion. He stated that the verbal material of the political content on TV rarely invite audiences’ reflection. The flow of TV carries the audiences along its

tides and “drift lazily across the social and political landscape, we pay less and less attention to any one programming segment and are therefore more and more susceptible to the psychological aggregate building up within us” (p. 118).

Graber (1996, pp. 93-96) blames the contents and format of television for the negative effects on the political socialization. She argues that TV news and current affairs contents and political advertising are brief which do not allow in depth analysis of the events. Brevity of the contents makes the story ideas abstract and hence lead to confusion. In order to gauge how TV contents and its presentation style inhibit political learning, Graber (1990, pp. 134-150) analyzed 189 evening newscasts and 150 national and local newscasts of four American network channels; ABC, CBS, NBC, and PBS during the first four months of 1985. Findings revealed that TV stories are usually brief containing little information and therefore are lacking in context and explanation. Hallin (1992, pp. 4-24) in an extensive analysis of network evening news broadcast in each US presidential elections from 1968 to 1988 found that nature and style of TV news has changed dramatically over the years. These changes have lowered viewers’ trust in government and political institutions. Hallin’s study presented many explanations for this phenomenon. His analysis revealed that news presentation style has undergone many changes during 1968 until 1988. Length of sound bites in TV news reporting which on average was 43 seconds in 1968 shrunk to 9 seconds in 1988. The sound bites in 1968 used to carry the view of the politicians and incumbents and reporter’s role was very passive but sound bites of 1988 are much more mediated by reporters. Reduced size sound bites lack the capacity to put the views of the politicians and candidates in perspective.

Many scholars investigated how TV news and current affairs produces political cynicism in audiences and presented a number of explanations. Among the major factors are strategic news framing, political priming, style of news presentation and context. Such techniques are widely used in TV news reporting. Use of such techniques creates political cynicism in the audiences (Schuck, Boomgaarden, and Vreese (2013, pp. 287-311; Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, pp. 56-57; Vreese, 2005, p. 51; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p.3; Gitlin (1980, p. 7; Chong & Druckman, 2007a, p. 104; Shah, Watts, Domke, & Fan, 2002, p. 343; Druckman (2007, p- 103-126; Shehata

(2013, p. 172; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11; Krosnick & Kinder 1990, p. 500; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63).

Scholars are of the view that political cynicism is the consequence of exposure to negative contents in media (Cappella & Jamieson 1997, pp. 29-34; Vreese, 2004, pp. 203-205). Which in turn affect political attitudes of the audience (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, Simon, & Valentino, 1994, p. 835; Robinson, 1976, p. 410-411) and unfavorably affects political participation (Vreese, 2015, p. 3). The presence of incivility in media contents lowers the individuals' political trust, trust in politicians, parliament and the overall political system (Mutz and Reeves, 2005, pp. 6-7).

Robinson (1976, p. 410-411) observed that TV contents carry too much violence, negativity, political scandals and anti-institutional themes which encourages political alienation in the viewers. Robinson's study confirmed that watching TV news creates political cynicism. Analysis of the study produced a range of findings all of which were pointing to the negative effects of TV on the political world. Robinson termed this effect as "videomalaise" (p. 427). Robinson (1976, pp. 409-432) noted that individuals who are dependents on TV news for information exhibits high level of political cynicism. Robinson, while explaining the roots of general political apathy prevalent among the young Americans, remarked that the traumatic events of 1960 and 70s and its presentation on American television could best explain the political malaise in the nation. Robinson explained that these events itself adversely affected the perceptions of the Americans but TV was the major culprit in creating the sense of political malaise. TV news exacerbated the effects of these events. Robinson claimed that "had the same amount of information about these events been conveyed through any medium other than network journalism, the change would still have been less pronounced" (p. 425). He further noted that "television is part of the message-not all of it- and that, given the uniqueness of its audience, mode, and content, television has been, for more than a decade, at the core of our growing political malaise" (p. 425). Robinson explained that abnormal size of the TV news audience; advertents and inadvertents, high credibility of the TV networks, the contents and its interpretative character, negativistic emphasize in TV reports, anti-institutional themes, emphasize on conflict and violence were responsible for the political malaise in America. The news stories laden with such negativism when reach a large segment of the American population who were susceptible to its effects, the

viewers, especially the inadvertent, may turn against the group most directly responsible for the mess, feel unable to deal with a political system and hence produces in them political distrust, apathy and lowers their political efficacy. Similarly, Graber (1990, pp. 152-153) found that TV news contents carry scary images, bloody scenes of wars, court trials of corrupt political leaders, political scandals, diseases and disasters etc. These news stories are embedded in emotional scenes that often appeal to negative feelings of horror, fear or sadness. The effect of all this, Graber commented, is “the negative mood with which it infuses political news may account for the public often negative feelings about the political world” (p. 153).

Another element of media content and its impact on political cynicism is the change of focus from issues to winning and losing of candidates. Broh (1980, pp. 514-515) calls this phenomenon “horse race” journalism (the focus of news stories is centered on image, personality, and election strategy not on the main issues). Horserace coverage is “mass media coverage of political campaigns that focuses on the overall political spectacle, the who’s ahead/who’s behind mentality of a race, instead of providing essential political information” (Williams, 2008, pp. 310-311). Hallin (1992) found that horse race has been institutionalized in coverage of election campaigns while its use was sparsely-to-non in the election reporting of 1968. Inclusion of “polling” who is winning and who is losing, forecasting outcomes of elections, made the elections as a sporting event where media divert attention of the public from the real issues to the irrelevant and less important aspects of elections (Patterson (1993). This attribute makes TV comparatively superficial medium for political information and give it comparatively less advantage in stimulating voters’ interest in politics (Patterson, 1980, pp.25-27). Hahn & Iyengar (2002, p. 27) found that frequent consumption of horserace and strategy news created political cynicism.

During 1980s, television industry across the globe saw major structural and ownership changes. Private sector was allowed to establish TV channels and resultantly the industry saw a robust growth. Privatization of the industry and particularly news media brought about many changes in the production of news contents and viewing patterns of audiences. This trend changed the earlier patterns of contact between the audiences and TV. Commenting on the changes in the 1980s, Sanz (2012, p. 5) observed that the cultural codes of power and control used to shape TV

production until 1980 but now (after privatization of TV) TV contents are the product of consumerism. Similarly, Owen (2012, pp. 401-414) observed that in the new media environment, commercial logic has a greater role in shaping the production of political information which emphasizes on infotainment agenda rather than serious news. How such changes influenced the process of political socialization of television viewers? The following section is dedicated to analyze the studies done in the area.

4.4 Privatization of TV and Political Socialization

In 1980s, a wave of privatization of broadcasting industry emerged in the western democracies (Bortolotti & Pinotti, 2008, p. 331; Norris, 2000, p. 1). Guided by the theory of neo-liberalism, the idea of privatization was aimed at reducing the level of regulations that was deemed to improve business efficiency and enrichment of consumers' choice (Yarrow et al, 1987, pp. 324-325). Broadcasting industry, like any other business industry, was believed to conform to the rules and economic behavior and could perform well in free market environment (Noam, 1987, pp. 163-187). Besides, technological development, especially introduction of satellite and cable channels, digitization and improved system of distribution justified the deregulation of broadcast industry (Moshe, 2012, p. 68; Naom, 1987, p. 180; Sanz, 2012, p. 16). It was widely believed that privatization of broadcasting will increase quality of programs and enhance viewers' choices (Ismail, 2011, p. 20; Papaviassopoulos, 1994, p. 50; Sanz, 2012, p. 5). Resultantly, a boom has been witnessed in the number of TV channels in different Western countries.

TV industry in the United States of America remained mostly commercialized in nature with a few public owned television channels (Gentzkow, 2006, p. 931; Ismail, 2011, p. 10). American media system, since its beginning, is market oriented in nature with little interference by the state. Its public broadcasting is underscored with an audience share of only two percent (Curran et al, 2009, pp. 6-7). In the UK, until the early 1980s, British audience had access to only three terrestrial TV channels but in 2008, they had access to more than 200 digital and five terrestrial channels (Gurevitch 2009, p. 169). In Europe, the number of TV channels including all its formats; terrestrial and satellite, increased from a few hundreds to more than 9,800 in 2010 (European Audiovisual Observatory, 2011). A similar growth in the number of private TV

channels has been witnessed in Australia and Latin America (Sinclair, 2014, p. 223). In Australia, the state used to regulate media through licenses and with the passage of time adopted a more deregulatory framework (Jolly, 2007, pp. 1-66).

Liberalization move and technological advancement not only brought major shifts in the TV industry but also influenced access and viewing patterns of the audiences. On one hand, privatization of broadcast industry resulted in multiplication of TV channels, segregation of contents, introduction of marketing and business strategies in political communication particularly in political advertising and election campaigns. On the other hand, liberalization move enhanced the viewership base of TV and on the other hand, it affected viewing patterns of the audiences. Research studies have demonstrated that all these changes have varied consequences for the political socialization of the audiences.

Before the introduction of deregulation, TV news contents were uniform and presented a shared political world to the audience (Gerbner et al, 1984, pp. 283-300; Katz, 2009, p. 7). The growing number of commercial TV channels led to the segregation of TV contents and audiences. Scholars believe that media contents are crucial variables in studies of political communication (Reese & KookLee, 2012, p. 253). TV viewers, now, have more choices than ever before with the option what, when, and how to watch. Consequently, it enhanced fragmentation of audiences (Joint Research Centre of the European Commission, 2012, p. 7). As compared to the past, families used to gather around the TV and watch the same programs; the viewing patterns of the audiences were relatively stable (Gerbner et al, 1982, p. 104). TV viewing today is much less distinctive cultural activity (Gurevitch et al, 2009, p. 169) and introduced individualization. Livingstone (2004) puts today's viewing patterns of audience this way, the "activity of viewing ... is with reading, shopping, voting, playing, researching, writing, and chatting. Media are now used anyhow, anyplace, and any time" (p. 76). These trends, Gurevitch et al concluded, have diminished the role of TV as public sphere.

Availability of increased political information repertoire influenced the viewing patterns of the audiences. Owen (2012, pp. 401-414) contended that in a highly saturated political information environment, individual may selectively attend to the information which are in line with their political predisposition, interest, and ideology. This selective exposure, Owen argues, encourages

the substitution of serious political information for the contents that do not help or have little impact on the balanced political personality of the individual. Based on the commercial logic, producers, in a highly competitive media environment, design media contents to cater to the needs of specific segments of the audiences, which lead to media contents and audience fragmentation. This scenario poses serious challenges to the formulation of a unified political outlook of individuals. Similarly, Morris and Forgette (2007, pp. 91-107) contended that the growing number of viewing alternatives on television, majority of the news viewers act like ‘news grazers’; with no set pattern of watching TV news and switching from channel to channel. Result of these changed viewing patterns led the audience to escape more in depth and serious political content and increased viewing of soft news that is superficial in coverage, dramatic and emotional. Walker and Bellamy (1991, pp. 422-431) in an exploratory study found that news viewers selectively avoid serious news about politics, politicians and relevant political news. Morris & Forgette (2007, pp. 91-107) found that “when news grazers are watching the news on television, it is the political and policy-oriented shows that will prompt them to click to another station, but news with a softer orientation will not” (p. 101). The result of such viewing patterns lead to less political knowledge and less electoral participation in the form of voting. Similar views are expressed by Gurevitch et al (2009, p. 166) contended that in a highly saturated media environment, viewers ditch serious political contents for diversionary contents.

However, a cursory look at the studies undertaken in different advanced democracies specifically the United States of America, Europe and the United Kingdom shows that privatization/deregulation/liberalization of TV news industry exerts different effects on the political socialization of the citizens of these countries. Researchers attributed these changes to the specific political milieu, cultural contexts and media landscape in these countries. Currently, there exist three main media systems in the democratically advanced western countries; public broadcasting, private broadcasting, and dual broadcasting system (both public and private). Research has shown that media are organized differently in these systems that have varied consequences for the political socialization of consumers in these countries. Research has shown that public TV devotes more attention to public affairs and fosters political knowledge and political interest of the audiences than private TV broadcasting do (Curran et al, 2009; Strömbäck & Shehata, 2019).

The following section will present a brief overview of some of the major studies undertaken in the USA, European Union especially Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Denmark and the UK to show how structural changes in TV industry led to the differential patterns of political socialization keeping in view their distinct political and media systems.

Important Note: This study, by no means, implies a comparative outlook. It is beyond the scope of this study to review research carried out in every developed democracy and show how liberalization of TV in these countries influenced the level of political socialization of its citizens. However, a few major studies will be reviewed to support the main argument of this study.

In the American context, the role of private TV channels in the political socialization is disappointing (Aarts, & Semetko, 2012, p. 186). Jolly (2007, pp. 1-67) noted that deregulation experience in America is overall negative in impact on the political socialization of its citizens. American TV is responsible for creating political cynicism (Camilla & Jamieson, 1997, pp. 56-57; Druckman (2007, p- 103-126; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63; Krosnick & Kinder 1990, p. 500; Robinson, 1976, pp. 409-432; Schuck, Boomgaarden, and Vreese, 2013, pp. 287-311; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11; Shah, Watts, & Shehata, 2013, p. 172; Vreese, 2005, p. 51), eroding social capital (Putnam, 1995, pp. 664-683; Putnam, 2000), substitution of political information for entertainment (Gentzkow, 2006, pp. 931-972), introduction of commercial strategies in political communication like ‘horserace’ (Broh, 1980, pp. 514-529; Iyenger, Norpoth, & Hahn, 2004, pp. 157-175) and use of strategic news frames (Patterson, 1980, pp. 25-27; 1993, pp. 1-309). Besides American journalism focuses on political scandals, paparazzi news (Norris, 2000) and carry too much violence, negativity, political scandals and anti-institutional themes (Hawkins et al, 1975, pp. 406-422; Robinson, 1976, p. 410-411). Therefore, TV in America created political apathy, encouraged less civic engagement, lowered social and political trust, produced political cynicism, and depressed voting turnout among the masses.

In most of the European countries, during the 1980s commercial broadcast media was introduced (Schulz, 1998, pp. 527-543; Holtz-Bacha, 2004, pp. 463-477). The move intensified the need for discussion and justification of these policy measures (Schulz, 1998, p.527). Proponents of commercialization were of the view that plurality in TV news channels will create well-informed

citizenry and will hence prepare the ground for a healthy democratic environment (Holtz-Bacha & Norris, 2001; 123-140). While some researchers recorded concerns that should public service broadcasting be abandoned to the market forces of commercial television? What would be the fate of political contents both in quantity and in quality under the market forces? How audience will behave in a diversified media with plenty of information? (Holtz-Bacha, 2004, p. 465). It was feared that just like the American experience, heavy doses of entertainment on commercial television, would alienate people from the political information and will lower public participation (Prat & Stromberg, 2006, p. 2).

How commercialization of TV news industry exerted different influence on the political knowledge, attitudes and behavior in the Western European countries having a different political and media system than that of America. Here it is pertinent to mention that unlike the United States of America, majority of the European countries had a well-established public broadcasting system (Aalberg et al, 2010, pp. 255-271; Aarts & Semetko, 2012, p. 187; Curran et al, 2009, pp. 5-26; Norris, 2000). Research on the effects of privatization of TV in Europe produced mixed results and supported both the mobilization and media malaise effects.

Many research studies confirmed the fears that private TV channels driven by the commercial logic will bring similar negative consequences as that of the US for the political socialization among the viewers in Europe. Schulz (1998, pp. 536-537) investigated the impact of increased access through commercial broadcast media especially television in Germany and found that high attention to media contents in radio and newspapers increased German citizens' interest in politics and their understanding of the political world but television failed to give impressive results in both interest stimulation and understanding of politics. Besides, exposure to television news and current affairs programs developed negative stereotypes regarding politics. Schulz argued that these effects may be due to German commercial televisions increased focus on negative news coverage like scandals, sensationalism and violence. The avant-garde viewers who expose to a variety of commercial television are more at risk of this malaise than those who are avid viewers of news and current affairs information on public televisions.

In a study in Netherlands, based on the four years panel data of the Dutch Parliamentary Elections Study (1998-2000), Aarts and Semetko (2012, pp. 186-196) investigated the impact of

commercialization of TV on the political knowledge, attitudes and behavior of the viewers. The study found that commercialization of TV news industry in the country expanded the base of news viewership. However, the viewers who intensively exposed to private TV channels for news scored less on the index of political knowledge, attitudes and behavior as compared to the viewers of public TV channels. Similarly Curran et al (2009, pp. 5-26) investigated effects of privatization of TV news in four western democratic countries with different media systems. These countries included Denmark, Finland (with strong public broadcasting system), the UK (mixed broadcasting system with both private and public) and the US (private broadcasting). The researchers investigated the relationship between media systems, the delivery of news and current affairs programs and citizen's awareness regarding public affairs. Analysis revealed that public TV devotes more attention to public affairs and international news and foster greater knowledge in these areas than the market model of TV broadcasting.

Holtz-Bacha and Norris (2001) conducted a study to know the preferences of Europeans for public and commercial television and its impact on their political knowledge. The study analyzed the Eurobarometer survey data of 1996 where 65,000 interviews were conducted with citizens of 15 European countries to investigate the effects of commercial and public television on political knowledge of the people. The finding revealed that although there were great inter-state variations in time of introduction of commercial television in these European countries, television channels, media systems, and population size etc. Yet, people who preferred to watch public television scored high on the political knowledge index in comparison to those who exposed to news on commercial television. The overall results confirmed the fears of the opponents of commercial television that it will bring harm to the public sphere. Similarly, Based on data from the four Swedish panel surveys (2010-2016), Strömbäck and Shehata (2019, pp. 473-493) found that exposure to news on public TV increased political interest among the viewers while commercial TV news did not exert any influence.

However, some studies in the European countries showed that privatization of television enhanced political knowledge and electoral participation among the viewers. Research shows that Europeans in comparison to Americans were better informed about the world affairs (Dimock & Popkin (1997, p. 223; Iyenger et al, 2009, 341-358; Curran et al, 2009, pp. 5-26).

The scholars attributed these differences to the varied mechanism through which TV in these two continents imparted political knowledge.

Schulz, et al (2005, pp. 55-88) conducted a study in Germany to analyze the effects of increased supply of news due to enhanced media repertoire, elevated role of television in political communication and changed election campaign strategies on voters' behavior. Their study analyzed the data of 1994, 1998 and 2002 elections and monthly politbarometer. Schulz et al argued that deregulation of broadcast media in Germany has changed the campaign style and electoral behavior of Germans. The researchers found increasing trend of scandals, attack journalism, negative news about candidates, and horse-race techniques in election reporting in German media. However, the long-term analysis of media show that there is no surge in bad news regarding candidates and the effects of changing style of reporting on the people's perception regarding politics is mixed. The scholars allayed the fear that deregulation of television in Germany, as in the US, will cast negative effects on the general health of democracy. The overall results of the study show no sign of "Americanization" in Germany after the advent of private media sector as feared. The scholars argued that there are considerable differences at institutional as well as communication cultures between the US and Germany. Though American campaign techniques have made their ways into many countries but country specific characteristics and differences in political and media system as well as differences in approach on the part of voters, political competence and orientations, has created hybridization not Americanization of election campaigns in Germany. Schulz et al (2005, pp. 55-88) are of the view that finding of their study refute the earlier results of the survey data where German private television were blamed for the declining trust of electorate in political system by promoting negative political stereotype. They argue that these findings were based on cross-sectional data or survey trends marked by large intervals that obviously decrease its importance. The time series data of politbarometer though paint a gloomy picture of decreasing support for the political system of the country but during the election campaigns people's trust in government increases and election communication does not contribute to alienation of voters from the political process.

Some research findings indicate that introduction of private television in some EU countries led to partial convergence of political information between public and private TV channels. Pfetsch

(1996, pp. 427-451) studied television news comparing the presentation of politics in 1985-86 shortly after the deregulation of TV in Germany and in 1993 when the dual broadcasting system was well developed in the country. The researcher found that though marginalization of political contents on private TV continued but political coverage in the news genre converged with that of public TV. Pfetsch explained that strong competition between public and private TV channels in Germany moved private TV channels towards the public TV channels in the amount and structure of political information within the news genre.

In a comparative study of six western democracies, Belgium, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the US, Aalberg et al (2010, pp. 255-271) investigated the effects of commercialization of TV and the flow of political information. The data for this study has been gathered from the four major; two public and two private broadcasters in these six countries, over a period of thirty years (1987-2007). Based on political systems, Aalberg et al divided these countries in two categories; democratic corporatists (European countries) and liberal democracies. The former category included Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden while the UK and the US have been placed in the liberal democracy category. The researchers contended that in the democratic corporatist countries and the UK, a strong public broadcasting system exists while in the USA, private TV channels are dominant. The data analysis shows that since 1987 (privatization of TV) an increase has been recorded in the flow of political information in all these countries partly because of privatization of TV industry. However, comparatively speaking, quantity of news and current affairs programs, its reach and presentation timings is different in democratic corporatists and liberal democratic countries. In democratic corporatist countries both public and private TV sectors prioritized political contents and allotted it a major chunk of their broadcast time not only in daytime but also during prime time. In comparison, liberal democratic countries, the quantity of news and public affairs programs was less and most of the political information was presented at daytime while duration of news and current affairs program during the prime time was also less. This study confirmed that organization of TV in different countries with different political and media system exerts varied consequences for the political socialization of audiences.

Prat & Stromberg (2005, pp. 1-26) conducted a study in Sweden to probe the influence of commercialization of television in the political sphere. The study utilized survey data of Swedish Election Studies of 1988 and 1991 before and after the introduction of commercial television in Sweden. The study, contrary to the past findings, found that people who watched commercial television were more knowledgeable than those who did not watch. Interestingly, young and little informed people, gained more information. Commercial television did away with informational marginalization phenomenon by expanding in viewer's base, enhanced voter information and their participation in politics. Prat & Stromberg (2005, p.23) found that democratic malaise effects associated with television are not true because less informed individuals opt to watch commercial TV and hence the effects are positive in character. The researcher suggested that such studies in countries where TV remained under the strict control of the government would yield more positive result (Prat & Stromberg, 2005, p.24).

In another study to know how the macro characteristics of broadcasting media (public versus private TV channels) exert influence on the citizen's political knowledge in a varied national context Toka and Popescu (2009, pp. 1-32) analyzed the impact of public and private TV channels on the political knowledge of the citizens of European Union. The study utilized data of the 1999 and 2004 European Election Studies based on the responses of 30,000 European citizens across the continent living in different media environments. The study found exposure to news and current affairs programs on both public and private TV channels enhance political knowledge, but only among the less interested citizens. While watching news and current affairs on private TV channels exerts more positive effects than private TV channels but the difference is not substantial and varies greatly across context. Public TV, in those European countries, where it is independent of commercial revenues and entrusted with the responsibility of informing public, are more effective in informing public. However, private TV channels are effective in those countries where public TV channels are not independent of commercial constraints and where the level of press freedom is low.

The above studies make it clear that TV role in the political socialization of viewers is conditioned by macro-level factors like the type of political system, media system and social values of the society. In his article 'End of Television', Katz (2009, pp. 6-18) hinted that TV

effects can truly be gauged once the technological aspects of the medium, the social institutions including the political system which govern the operations of the medium, are defined. He contended that in order to investigate TV's impact, first one have to understand what TV is. He defined TV as a (1) technological apparatus (2) embedded in a social institution consisting of rules, roles, and organizations in an environment of other social institutions (3) featuring a repertoire of output (call it contents) and (4) characterized by typical "situation of contact in which it is apprehended" (pp. 6-7). Katz's observations explicitly outline that there is little chances to come up with a universal theory of TV news and political socialization because huge variations exist among the nations in terms of political, social and media structures. Oates (2012, p. 471) took the discussion further and argued that besides every media system has unique feature within a specific country like ownership, regulation and distribution are cultural-specific. Therefore, investigation of TV and political socialization at individual national level make sense.

4.4.1 Deregulation of TV and Political Socialization outside the US and Europe

As evident from the above literature review, majority of the studies in the media and political socialization are the US and Europe-centric (Loveless, 2010, pp. 457-474; Sapiro, 2004, pp. 1-23; Waisbord, 2012, p. 437). A growing number of scholars are calling for expanding the boundaries of political communication to the new democracies of the world. Waisbord (2012, p. 437) argued that the third wave of democratization, privatization of media systems and introduction of digital technology offer tremendous opportunities to expand the analytical range of the field and to engage with conceptual debates. This approach will contribute to the theoretical development of political socialization by analyzing cases and findings across the globe. Similarly Mancini & Hallin (2002, p. 514) proposed that prospects of comparative studies in media are bright and it will help in development of social theory. Loveless (2010) argued that "the topic has been understudied; and many of the as assumptions that have been made about what mass media can do in countries in transition are speculative and lack empirical evidence" (p. 457).

Nevertheless, some researchers tried to expand the studies of political socialization to developing democracies or the countries to democratic transition. These studies are sporadic and done in varied social, political, and media systems. Therefore, these studies lack the prospects of

providing a clear model of relationship between news and public affairs consumption and its association with political socialization of the citizens. However, review of these studies indicates that in comparison with developed world, the effects of TV especially its deregulation exerted encouraging results on the political development of the viewers in the developing countries.

In study of exposure to TV news and political partisanship in eight Latin American countries, Linan (2002, pp. 571-588) discovered that exposure to TV news in developing democracies has positive influence on the political socialization of the citizens. Oates (2012, pp.461-471) analyzed political communication in post-soviet countries and noted that the state-controlled media play little role in the political engagement of the citizens. However, under the 'glasnost policy' of Mikhail Gorbachev (1986-1991), Russian TV channels were allowed to independently report on the political happenings. Oates concluded that TV news channels played a role in mobilization of masses during that period. Similarly, a study of political socialization in Russia, Enikolopov et al (2011, pp. 3253-3285) examined the role of the only independent national TV channel, NTV, on voting behavior during the Russian 1999 parliamentary elections. At the cumulative effects level, the researcher found that availability of NTV exerted considerable effect on the voting outcomes.

A research study conducted in Taiwan during 1994 revealed that media use both newspaper and TV leads to higher trust in government (Gunther, Hong, & Rodirquez, 1994, pp. 632-633). In Algeria, the introduction of private TV channels improved the public space and exerted positive influences on the political landscape of the country (Hadj-Moussa, 2003, pp. 451-468). In Indonesia, Hill (2007, pp. 5-28) found that deregulation of TV in the country brought positive influences on the public opinion and political participation. Opening up of traditional and new media in South Korea transformed public communication and helped consolidation of democracy (Rhee & Kim, 2012, pp. 415-426).

The above discussion reflects that the role of private news TV channels in political socialization of viewers is media and political system-specific, which leaves little room for generalization of the universal model of TV and political socialization. The preceding section will elaborate on the deregulation of TV news industry in a developing democracy- Pakistan.

4.4.2 Privatization of TV in Pakistan and Political Socialization of Audiences

As the literature review established, research in the domain of political socialization, is sparse in developing countries where Pakistan is no exception. Therefore, this study can be a good starting point for political socialization research in a developing country. Before analyzing the role of private television channels in the political socialization of audiences in Pakistan, it is pertinent to review current situation of the industry, its operation, contents, reception and consumption. The analysis will bring in focus the potential of private television channels in influencing the political norms, values, attitudes and behavior of the receivers.

Government of Pakistan deregulated TV industry in 2002 and thus established a dual broadcasting system in the country. Private TV channels and state-controlled Pakistan Television (PTV) are broadcasting programs of different genres including news and current affairs, entertainment and sports. PTV retains monopoly on the terrestrial transmission while private TV channels are received through cable and satellite receivers. Due to urban-rural divide in terms of telecommunication infrastructure, private TV channels are still an urban phenomenon. Unavailability of cable networks in the rural parts of the country gave way to the state-controlled air-to-free PTV in the rural areas of the country. Monopoly on airwaves makes PTV as the largest broadcaster in the country (Kamboh 2019, p. 159).

Before the deregulation in 2002, television industry was the monopoly of the government. There were only three TV channels under the umbrella of Pakistan television (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p. 21; Yusuf, 2013, p. 29, Media in Pakistan, 2009, p. 21). The governance structure and financial model of PTV renders the broadcaster subservient to political interference and therefore lacks an independent editorial policy (Yusuf, 2013, pp. 29-30). Hassan (2001, p. 130) remarked that all the governments since 1964 have used PTV for one-sided crude propaganda in the name of information and education. The network ignored the opposition political parties and carried pro-government news at the expense of public interest. Lack of independent editorial policy and biased presentation of political and social reality on PTV tarnished its credibility. Pakistani public were searching for alternative independent news sources (Yusuf, 2013, p. 33). BBC Urdu service was a popular source of independent news in Pakistan during the 1990s (Mezzera & Sial, 2009, p. 24). Besides, an increasing number of Pakistanis were turning to the satellite dish

receivers to watch CNN, BBC and other international television channels for independent news (Yusuf, 2013, p. 33).

After the deregulation, Pakistan has seen phenomenal growth in the number of private TV channels and in viewership. Now there are 99 private channels in the country as compared to the three state owned TV channels before 2002. Among the total 99 channels, 26 channels are news channel, providing news and current affairs programs 24/7 (PEMRA, n.d.). A remarkable steady increase in number of TV viewers has been recorded after the deregulation of the industry. In 2004, there were 63 million TV viewers in the country (Gallup Pakistan's Media Cyberletter 2009, p. 2) but in 2017, television viewership in Pakistan stood at 135 million. Out of the total, 74 million watch cable and satellite TV channels while the rest 61 million are terrestrial viewership (ConentAsia: Pakistan, 2017).

Pakistani private news TV channels broadcast news and current affairs programs 24/7 and offer breaking news, hourly news bulletins, headlines, current affairs programs, documentaries, special reports, talk shows and political satire programs (Yusuf, 2013, p. 23). These programs offer insights on the current social, political, economic and important issues of the country. Recent analysis of these TV talk shows revealed that politics is the most discussed topic on these shows while the overwhelming majority of the guests invited were politicians. The top ten talk shows in terms of viewership and ratings were aired from the private TV news channels and none belonged to the government controlled- PTV (Gallup Pakistan, 2020).

Besides national level TV channels, Pakistani media scene has witnessed the emergence of regional level TV channels. These channels broadcast programs in local and regional languages to appeal the ethno-linguistic diverse communities living in different provinces of the country. These regional channels report on the local issues including local politics and thus promote politics at grass root level. Yusuf and Shoemaker (2013) contended that "in this context, regional-language media provides new and greater opportunities for the Pakistani media to open up a new space for grassroots demand, hold local government accountable and foster a sense of inclusion among marginalized communities" (p. 15).

Private news TV channels provided space to the previously marginalized groups of the society

by providing platform, which was denied on the government controlled TV channels. Private news TV channels highlighted everyday problems of common person and thus received high credibility of the masses. Media became the most favorable institution in the country and received the highest approval ratings (International Republican Institute, 2007-2009; PEW Research Center, 2014).

This great transformation in citizens' access to information through private TV has multiple implications for the political orientations of people. Private TV news channels have created awareness among people regarding their political and constitutional rights and exposed the authoritarian behavior of the respective governments. One such example and landmark achievement of media especially private news TV channels to restore and strengthen democracy was the "Lawyers Movement" (Ghias 2010, pp. 985-986). In March 2007, the military dictator-turned-President, General Pervez Musharraf imposed emergency in the country and removed the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry from his office (Iqbal, 2007). A nationwide protest of lawyers, politicians, and civil society brought the Chief Justice along with the 60 deposed judges back to office (Sengupta, 2007). Private TV channels extensively covered these protests and offered opinions and analysis on the issue. The government had to take off air the vocal TV channels to control the situation (Naqvi, 2011, p. 114). Analysis of the role of media during the movement endorses the notion that it can play a decisive role in the political arena and protection of democratic institutions of the country (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p.27). Yusuf & Shoemaker (2013) analyzed the role of media in the lawyers' movement and noted that media's role, especially of private TV news channels in the movement "cemented a popular perception of the media as a key political stakeholder and an important democratizing force" (p.9).

In 2008, when democracy was restored in the country, the private news TV channels became a big political stakeholder. It played the role of watchdog and scrutinized the conduct of public representatives and public officials. Mega corruption scandals involving public officials and politicians were reported (Wafayi & Aziz, 2012). Previously, the state-owned PTV did not report on the critical political happenings in the country or in case it did, it furthered the official version of the events. "Media (private news TV channels) play a new and important role, resulting in

greater transparency with intense press and electronic coverage of policies that were formerly made behind closed doors” (Cohen, 2011, p. 17).

Besides, these TV channels provided an opportunity to the opposition parties to express their concerns and made the ruling party accountable. The move was unprecedented in the media history of the country. Michelson (2011) noted that prior to the 2008 general elections “the private channels formed a platform for the representatives of the opposition parties who were largely excluded from state television” (p. 36). For the first time elections were contested in the presence of free and plural media environment which enabled the dissenting voices of the opposition politicians and new entrants in politics to be conveyed to the electorates directly through private TV channels (Yusuf & Shoemaker, 2013).

After liberalization of broadcast industry, unprecedented developments in the political sector of the country have been witnessed. Pakistan achieved a milestone when the democratically elected government of 2008 completed its term in office. This was the first time in the political history of the country that an elected government had completed its term in office and handed over the power to another democratically elected government. The 2013 elections were not only historic because it marked the democratic transition in the country but it was extraordinary in a sense that the voter turnout in the elections was the highest since 1970 (Report on the General Elections-2013, p. 2). This elected government too completed its term and transferred power to the incumbent in the July 2018 elections. This trend harbingered continuity and consolidation of democracy in the country. The country’s vibrant and watchful media was one of the factors that helped brought this change in the political arena (Media in Pakistan, 2009, p.16). Keeping in view the role of Pakistani media especially private TV channels in political development and mobilizing masses, Christine Fair (2009) observed that the “only hope for Pakistanis is that the media {private TV channels} will continue to mobilize people. The media have done a great job, even if they are at times very unprofessional, and have to come to term with the limits between journalism and political engagement” (p.16).

Peshimam (2013) analyzed contents of three private TV news channels during the 2013 general elections and found that these channels formed euphoria during the elections. The language of the news bulletins of these TV channels went beyond the norms of objectivity and openly

supported the democratization process in the country. They appealed to the masses to go to the polls and cast their vote in the elections by extolling the importance of voting and elections. Ziauddin, a practicing Pakistani journalist for more than four decades, put the role of private TV channels this way, “they’ve never done it before (promoting the elections in this manner). Even in the 2008 elections, I thought the media was lukewarm. Media were not at all in the forefront, let alone asking people to come out and vote” (p. 38). The media openly supported the democratization process around 2013 general elections in the country. “Not only did the news media actively campaign in favor of the continuation of the democratic process, but most, if not all, media houses, for the first time, actively promoted the act of participating in the process” (Peshimam, 2013, p.41).

The remarkable aspect of these elections was the participation of youth in the politics. Pakistan has one of the highest percentages of young people in the world and 64 percent of its population is below the age of 30 (Pakistan National Human Development Report, 2017, p. 2). In 2013 elections, nearly half of the registered voters belonged to the 18 to 35 age group (Commonwealth Observer Mission Report 2013, p. 18). As many as 30 million new voters cast their votes in this election (Ahmed & Skoric, 2015, p. 139). Similar was the situation in the 2018 elections where 46 percent voters were young people and majority of these youth cast their votes (Khan, 2018).

As observed elsewhere in the world, the commercial logic of private media, questions have been raised about the quality of its contents in Pakistan. Media analysts, commentators and scholars believe that Pakistani private news TV channels lack professional ethics and their coverage is often sensational, biased, and misleading. The widespread sensationalism in Pakistani media especially private TV channels has spurred a debate in the various circles of the society (European Journalism Center, n.d.). Michaelsen (2011, p. 35) noted that with deregulation, Pakistani media landscape saw an unprecedented growth in the number of private TV channels and demand for professional journalists increased manifold. Journalists in the country were not prepared to handle their new responsibilities in a professional way. Journalism institutions did not train their graduates to cope with the demands of broadcast journalism nor media organization provide in-house trainings for their employees which opened the way for lack of professionalism in the broadcast sector. Husain (2018), the Executive Director News, Express

News, a private media organization in Pakistan, echoed similar views and stated that the fast developing private TV sector needed trained professionals in the field which were not available in the country. A few renowned journalists trained in the print media joined the fleet but demand was much higher. Consequently, lacking of professionally trained journalist “provided an opening for glib-talking men and women who could sit in front of a camera and spin a web of enticing content not weighed down by the dictates of accuracy and factuality”.

Some researchers pointed out that financial model of the industry is responsible for lower quality of journalism on private TV channels. Yusuf (2013, pp. 68-69) argues that private TV channels in Pakistan are financed through advertising revenue only. Ownership and management of these channels pressure journalists to produce contents that increase ratings of their respective TV channels. Meeting the requirements, journalists produce poor quality contents that are sensational and lack accuracy. Fierce competition among the TV channels for breaking news to obtain better ratings further deteriorate the quality of journalism (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p. 39; Michaelsen, 2011, p. 35). Political and economic interests of the TV channels owners restrict private TV channels to report independently and offer free and impartial news and comments (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p. 18; Pintak, et al, 2017, p. 2).

Despite lacking professionalism and sensational nature of private TV channels, observers believe that privatization of television industry in Pakistan exerted positive influences on political culture of the country. Ziauddin, editor of daily The Express Tribune, expressed the hope that given its historical background, Pakistani media have made unprecedented accomplishments and it will take time to achieve excellence and put things in order. “They will improve; they are bound to improve. People are not going to accept irresponsible freedom for a very long time. Self-correction is needed. It will come. There has been a debate over a code of ethics etc. – but where the media is today is a great thing for Pakistan. And I have great hopes for the media in this country” (p. 39).

The above discussion makes it obvious that private TV channels in Pakistan have diversified the quantity of political information in the country. Political information now reaches to more people as compared to the era before the privatization of television. Receivers spend considerable amount of time watching news, current affairs programs, commentaries, and talk shows. People

participation in political activities has increased and their perception regarding political leadership has improved. Increasing voter turnout especially among youth in the last three general elections is indicative of political development in the country. The opening up of private TV news channels and greater political participation of youth are indicative of a process called political socialization.

Based on the above literature review and media environment in Pakistan especially the phenomenon of privatization of televised news industry, this study is interested to explore association between consumption of news and current affairs and its influence on the indices of political socialization of young urban viewers. To test the proposed association, six hypotheses have been formulated.

4.5 Hypotheses

As private TV channels are urban-centric, it is therefore assumed that these channels are the favorite source of political information for the young urbanites.

H1: Majority of the urban population exposes to private news and current affairs TV channels for political information.

As the literature review established that exposure to media including TV is associated with the measures of political socialization; political cognitions, attitudes and behavior. Political cognitions or political knowledge is an important outcome variable of political socialization but is ephemeral and transient in nature. Therefore, cognitive outcomes of political socialization in this study have been deliberately left out. Enduring and long-lasting measures of political socialization formed during continuous exposure to televised news and current affairs over the years have been included. Political attitudes and behavior have proven to be fairly stable outcomes of political socialization and satisfy the Hyman's (1959) criteria. Hyman argued that the political socialization is 'relatively stable phenomenon, invulnerable to transient, environmental stimulation'. Two political attitudes, political interest and internal political efficacy have been proven to stable over a period of time (Miller, Goldenberg & Erbring, 1979, p. 76; Prior, 2010, p. 750) and therefore included in this study. Keeping in view the increased

political activities including voting among the Pakistani youth during the last one decade, this study presumes that exposure to news and current affairs exposure positively influenced the political attitudes and behavior of these youth. Therefore, H1 and H2 have been formulated to investigate this relationship.

H2: Exposure to news & current affairs programs on private TV channels leads to higher levels of political interest.

H3: Exposure to news and current affairs on private TV channels increases internal political efficacy”

The attitude of political interest and internal political efficacy are strongly correlated with political behavior (Coleman, et al, 2008, p. 772; Corrigan-Brown & Wilkes, 2014, pp. 408-421; Jung, et al, 2011, p. 414; Prior, 2010, pp. 747-766; Strömbäck & Shehata 2010, pp. 141-156; Shehata & Amna, 2017, pp. 1-23; Van Deth, 1990, pp. 275-312; Van Deth, 1991, pp. 201-214). Therefore, this study presumes that:

H4: Watching news and current affairs on private TV channels leads to higher non-electoral political participation”.

H5: “Exposure to news & current affairs on private TV channels lead to higher electoral political participation”.

As the previous research has indicated that three variables; gender, age and education mediate the influence of media use on the indices of political socialization. The same is expected in the context of Pakistan and there the H6 has been formulated to inspect this relationship.

H6: Demographics of gender, age and education mediate the impact of exposure to news & current affairs on the political socialization variables.

4.6 Conclusion

Keeping the trend in the political socialization research, initial focus of the researchers was on children and adolescents. Most of the studies found that during childhood, exposure to political

contents on TV improved political learning among children and created positive outlook towards political figures and institutions. However, when children reach into adolescence and then adulthood, the benign image of political leadership and institutions, decreases. Scholars presented two explanations for this shift in TV effects on adolescence and young adults; development of critical abilities in growing children and increase in negative political news.

Research on exposure to televised news and public affairs among adults produces mix results. Some scholars found that watching political contents on TV improves political learning, political attitudes and behaviors of the audiences. Other research concluded that exposure to TV news and current affairs programs results in lack of political knowledge, political trust, political cynicism, and creates apathy among the viewers. Many studies corroborated these contradictory findings. The studies that supported the mobilization effects of television put forward that the medium is the most favorite source of political information worldwide. It reaches to the apolitical audiences and those with least interest in the politics. Due to its audio-visual qualities it catches interest of the audiences and its information is easily comprehended. Illiterate and audiences with low level of education and immigrants learn easily from TV.

The studies that support the media-malaise effect of television put forward that many characteristics of the medium and receivers result in demobilizing effects. On the part of individuals, TV viewing is a ritualistic phenomenon and they take for granted its information. They watch TV in a distracted manner and hence pay little attention to the contents. The use of remote control made it easy for the receivers to sift through the channels and enable him to evade serious political information. Besides TV is intrinsically a medium of entertainment and the receivers substitute political information for entertainment. Political contents on TV are brief and superficial lacking in depth information, analysis and details. The use of short sound bites in news reporting, rise of interpretative journalism, heavy emphasis on negativity, game schema, use of strategic news frames, horse race journalism, and political scandals result in lower political knowledge, creates political apathy, cynicism, lower political efficacy in the audiences and hence restrict their participation in elections.

Television industry underwent structural changes during the 1980s. The move exerted significant influences on the contents and presentation of political information and hence on the political

socialization of the audiences. Private sector established new TV channels and hence information repertoire increased. Though the move apparently enhanced political information but lowered its quality. Based on commercial logic, private TV channels, in order to maximize profits, segregated TV contents to reach maximum number of the audiences. Segregation of contents led to audiences' segregation which in turn hampers the formation of a unified political outlook of the audiences. Privatization led to the introduction of marketing and business strategies in political communication. The move encouraged sensationalism in journalism, introduction of soft news and entertainment contents which negatively affected the political knowledge, attitudes and behavior of the audiences.

However, an overview of the studies conducted in different advanced democracies of the world specifically the United States of America, Europe and the United Kingdom shows that privatization of TV sector exerts different effects on the political socialization of the citizens of these countries. Researchers attributed these changes to the specific political milieu, cultural contexts and media landscape in these countries. Studies show that in countries where TV is overwhelmingly owned by the private sector, it exerted negative influences on the political socialization of the audiences. Countries with strong public broadcasting system countered the negative influences of private TV channels and in some cases improved quality of political information on private TV channels.

In case of developing countries including Pakistan; privatization of television exerted encouraging results on the political socialization of masses. Television broadcast in Pakistan was controlled by the state. Monopoly over broadcasting has created an information vacuum in the country as the state television offered censored and selective news to the masses. Introduction of private TV channels was welcomed by the public. These TV channels increased production and consumption of political information. Marginalized and previously excluded segments of the society including the political opposition found a voice on these channels. Consequently, private TV channels increased political knowledge of the masses, sensitized them regarding their legal and constitutional rights, gave them a sense of inclusiveness, increased their political efficacy and motivated them to participate in electoral process.

Chapter 5: Political Culture of Pakistan

Most of the studies in the field of political socialization are carried out in the context of stable democracies. Knowledge of how individuals acquire political values, attitudes and practices is limited outside these advanced democracies. Variations in the political systems across the countries restrict the applicability of the models, theories and knowledge developed in a limited number of countries. Different political and social systems provide varied mechanisms to politically socialize its citizens. All the major agents of socialization, in different societies, vary in their structures, operations and relationship that are likely to shape the political orientations and practices in different ways. The socialization processes in these countries are moderated by the political, social and normative practices. These arguments call for context- specific studies of political socialization and necessitate the study of the political culture in which the study is being carried out.

This chapter aims at understanding the specific political culture of Pakistan. In the initial section, the political system of the country has briefly been discussed to bring clarity and context to the topic. The preceding section presents definition and understanding of the concept ‘political culture’. The next part of the chapter discusses the factors that shaped the political culture of Pakistan especially the political history, social and culture norms and the political processes. The last section elaborates how the political culture of Pakistan affects patterns of political socialization of individuals.

5.1 Political Structure of Pakistan

The government of Pakistan is a federal government established by the constitution of Pakistan with four federating units of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, Baluchistan, and Sindh. The government consists of the executive, legislature and judiciary. The Constitution defines the powers and duties of each organ of the state. A brief introduction of the major state organs and its operations are mentioned below.

5.1.1 Constitution

The constitution proclaims Pakistan to be Islamic Republic with parliamentary system of government. The constitution guarantees fundamental rights including freedom of speech, thought, religion, assembly, association and press and equal opportunities for all its citizens. Under the constitution, president is the head of the state and is elected by the Electoral College consisting of members of both houses of parliament (National Assembly and Senate) and four provincial assemblies for a term of five years. Prime minister is the head of government and elected by the National Assembly, members of which are elected by popular vote.

Soon after the creation of the country in 1947, the Constituent Assembly was tasked to frame new constitution for the country. In 1954, the final draft of the constitution was prepared but Governor General of Pakistan dismissed the Assembly. In 1955, the second Constituent Assembly was created which introduced the first constitution of the country in the Assembly in 1956. The Governor General and the Assembly approved the constitution which came into effect on 23rd March the same year. In the light of the 1956 constitution, general elections were scheduled for early 1959 but President Sikandar Mirza abrogated the Constitution and declared Martial Law in 1958. General Ayub Khan was appointed as Chief Martial Law Administrator who appointed a Constitution Commission in 1960 to draft a new Constitution for the country. The committee framed a new constitution which was promulgated on 1st March 1962. In March 1969 in another military coup, General Yahya Khan imposed Martial Law and abrogated the constitution. The dictator issued a Legal Framework Order under which the first ever general elections were held in December 1970. Due to political differences on the election results, East wing of the country seceded from Pakistan and became Bangladesh in 1971. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who got majority seats in the National Assembly of West Pakistan became the President and civil Chief Martial Law Administrator. In 1972, an Interim Constitution was adopted by the National Assembly. Later on, the Assembly formed the Constitution Committee to frame a new Constitution for the country. The Committee drafted the Constitution which was unanimously passed by the Assembly and promulgated on 14th August 1973. Until today, the country is governed under the Constitution of 1973. Even the military regimes of General Zia (1977-1988) and General Musharraf (1999-2007) did not abolish the constitution rather held it in abeyance for

some time and then restored it. Since its promulgation in 1973 the successive governments both military as well as civilian, introduced 25 amendments to the Constitution (National Assembly of Pakistan).

5.1.2 Legislature

Legislature in Pakistan is bicameral; the lower house and upper house. The lower house is called the National Assembly and upper house is the Senate. The National Assembly has 342 members out of which 272 are directly elected through adult suffrage while 60 seats are reserved for women and ten for representatives of minorities (non-Muslims). The reserved seats for women and minorities are allocated proportionally to all the parties winning more than five percent of the directly elected seats in the National Assembly (National Assembly of Pakistan). Senate, the upper house, has 104 members, indirectly elected by the provincial assemblies of the four provinces.

5.1.3 Elections (Provincial Assemblies, National Assembly and Senate)

Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), a constitutionally established institution in 1956, has been mandated to supervise and conduct the general elections for Provincial and National Assemblies, Senate and Local Governments. ECP is headed by the Chief Election Commissioner as its chairperson (a judge or retired judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan) and four appointed members from the four provinces. The members must be judges of four High Courts of the four provinces. All these members and chairperson are appointed by the President with consultations of the Supreme Court and High Courts.

5.1.4 Provincial and National General Elections

Provincial and National Assemblies election are held simultaneously where citizens of Pakistan, in their respective constituencies, cast two votes; one for Provincial and one for National Assembly candidate. All the federating unites of Pakistan have been divided into 272 National Assembly constituencies or electoral districts. These electoral constituencies are made on the basis of population as per the latest census. For the National Assembly, Punjab has 141 constituencies, followed by Sindh with 61, KP is divided into 51 while Baluchistan has 15 and

Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) has three constituencies. Besides these National Assembly seats, 60 women parliamentarian are selected from the four provinces. The seat breakup for female are also set on the basis of population. Out of the total, 33 female parliamentarians are selected from Punjab, 14 from Sindh, nine from KP and four from Baluchistan while the ICT has no seat for females. In order to ensure representation of minorities (non-Muslims) 10 seats are reserved for them. The total number of National Assembly seats thus stands at 342.

To form the government, a party or coalition of parties, must secure simple majority of 137 members of the National Assembly (50 percent of the 272 elected members). Prime Minister is then elected by the party having majority in the National Assembly. The prime minister then selects his cabinet to carry out the business of government.

Number of constituencies in all the federating unites is different. Punjab has been divided into 297 constituencies; Sindh has 128, KP 115 while the number of constituencies in Baluchistan is 52. While for female and minorities 66 and eight seats are reserved respectively in Punjab Assembly, 31 and nine in Sindh Assembly, 26 and four in KP Assembly, while in Baluchistan these numbers are ten and three respectively. The parties, which get the majority of seats in the Provincial Assemblies, elect their chief ministers.

In order to contest election a candidate must be citizen of Pakistan registered as voter, not involved in heinous crime and having the age of 25. While an electorate must be citizen of Pakistan, registered to vote in a particular constituency and must be of 18 years of age.

5.1.5 Senate Elections

Elections to the Senate are indirect. Unlike the National Assembly where provinces are given representation on the basis of population, Senate of Pakistan gives equal representation to all federating units. Every Provincial Assembly elects 23 members (14 general, four women, four technocrats, and one non-Muslim minority seat in each province) for the Senate while eight members are elected from Federal Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and four members are elected from the Federal Capital by the National Assembly. Tenure of the members of the Senate is six years, however, one half of the members retire every three years. In case of any

constitutional amendment, two third majorities of the total members in both the houses of the National Assembly and Senate is required (Senate of Pakistan).

After the elections of Provincial and National Assemblies and Senate, the President of Pakistan is elected. President of Pakistan is the head of state and elected by the Provincial Assemblies, National Assembly and Senate.

5.2 Definition of Political Culture

The concept of political culture is diverse in nature as theorists from different disciplines like anthropology, sociology, psychology and political science worked in the area. Some scholars like Almond and Verba adopted “behaviorialist” approach to define the concept while others like Clifford Geertz followed an “interpretivist” course to explain political culture (for greater details please refer to Bove, 2002, pp. 1-18). However, after its emergence in the modern empirical political science in the late 1950s and early 1960s, mainly through the work of Almond and Verba, the term political culture, has been seen mainly through the behaviorialist tradition by the succeeding generations of scholars.

According to Almond and Verba (1963) political culture refers to the “specifically political orientations-attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the self in the system” (p. 13). Almond and Verba identified three modes of political orientations; cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations. Cognitive orientations are knowledge about political objects and beliefs. Affective orientations deal with feelings, attachment, involvement or rejection about the political objects. While evaluative orientations refer to the subjective judgment and opinions of the subjects towards the political objects. Almond and Verba (1963), on the basis of analysis of five political systems including the United States, Great Britain, Mexico, Italy and Germany, identified three types of political cultures; parochial, subjective and participant political culture.

Almond and Verba explained that these three categories are ideal in nature and many political cultures do not fit in one category or the other. Locating the political culture of Pakistan in the three categories is problematic. There is scarcity of knowledge about the political orientations of

the people in the country (Shafqat, 1990, p. 42; Syed, 1978, p. 1251; Weinbaum, 1996, p. 640). Scholars found difficulty in locating the political culture of Pakistan in the above categories. For example Shafqat (1990) noted that political culture of Pakistan is “characterized by disharmony between democratic ideals and the autocratic reality on the ground” (42). In her work, ‘Citizenship in Pakistan: state, nation and contemporary faultlines’, Marie Lall (2012) concluded that citizens in Pakistan are politically aware but their participation in the political processes are very low and hence they are “parochial in action but not in their understanding” (p. 74). It is difficult to find any systematic study which investigates the political orientations of the masses in Pakistan. Weinbaum remarked that lack of availability of literature on the political orientations of people in Pakistan is understandable as most of the literature on subject consists of interpretations of events and focused on dominant political personalities. However, for the purpose of this study, it is necessary to look into the historical experiences and values of Pakistani society with specific relation to the political system. This approach will help explain how through historical experiences, these orientations, values and belief system developed and gained acceptance in the society and resultantly became a general frame of reference for political sentiments and political behavior.

5.3 Political History of Pakistan

In order to understand the political culture of Pakistan, it is necessary to glean it through the historical political experiences of the land. A brief political journey of Pakistan will present the historical legacy and mechanism that shaped the political course of the country.

Pakistan came into being when the British left the subcontinent in August 1947. The British rule in the Indian subcontinent lasted for nearly two centuries and left lasting impressions on the future political development of the region. After the independence, political institutions in the newly established country were conceived on the model of Western nation-state that provided for the parliamentary system of government (Newman, 1962, p. 353). It was expected, as remarked by Almond and Verba (1963) that with the passage of time, values and orientations of the masses regarding the political structure, system, institutions and processes will take on the characteristics related with similarly structured polities in the stable democracies of the world. However, the

leaders of the country found themselves in a new situation because of their unfamiliarity with the democratic setup. The colonial-era law; India Act of 1935, with a few amendments was adopted to run the country. However, the British raj introduced a predictable legal system, bureaucracy, modern education and infrastructure in the subcontinent (Rahman, et al. 2018, pp. 1-2) but did not introduce the ideals of representative government and equality before law (Weinbaum, 1996, p. 641). During the colonial period, the subcontinent was ruled through viceregal system, which provided small or no provision for public awareness and involvement. The viceregal system was formulated to rule over subjected population, maintain law and order and collect taxes (Weinbaum, 1996, pp. 640-641).

Besides the colonial-era political legacy, there were a multitude of challenges which hindered the cultivation of democratic norms and values in the nascent state. The early death of the founding father of Pakistan and Governor General, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and first prime minister, Liaqat Ali Khan created a political vacuum in the country (Choudhury, 1963). Power hungry and self-centered political elite dominated the political scene of the country whose' squabble for power greatly affected politics in the country (Newman, 1962). Besides, some historical factors, like confrontation with India, struggle for power between the East and West wings of the country, economic challenges, rehabilitation of refugees from India, impeded greatly the potential of the new state to steer the political system towards democratization (Weinbaum, 1996, pp. 652-653).

It took nine years for the leadership of Pakistan to draft constitution, and from 1947 until 1956, the country was governed under the India Act of 1935 with a few amendments. The country saw its first constitution in 1956, which received little appreciation from the political parties. During this political vacuum, authoritarian forces strengthened their roots, tradition of violation of democratic norms matured, and the drift between the political parties widened which left the parliament unable to assert its supremacy (Rizvi, 2007, p. 3).

The ensuing years saw political instability in the country. The military continuously sneaked into the politics of the country and toppled many heads of governments. In 1958, Field Marshal, Mohammad Ayub Khan, the then military chief declared martial law in the country. He abrogated the constitution of 1956 and thus cut the political bud in infancy (Shuja, 2007, p. 28). A referendum elected Ayub Khan as president of Pakistan. In 1962, Ayub Khan authored a new constitution and promulgated it (Khan, 1965, p. 112). Ayub Khan was an antagonist to the core

and despised the political forces in the country. Ayub Khan dictatorial rule lasted for 11 years during which the political processes came to a halt.

In 1969, Pakistan saw another turbulent period of its political history. Ayub Khan stepped down in the face of countrywide protests against his policies. Gen. Yahya Khan was made Chief Martial Law Administrator, who promised to hold fair and free elections in the country. The first ever elections were held in 1970 on the basis of Adult Franchise and it was decided that the winning party would draft the new constitution of the country. The election results created a deadlock among the contesting parties from East and West wings of the country which led to a civil war. Resultantly, Pakistan lost its East wing; Bangladesh (Kundi, 2003, p. 27; Indurthy 1991, p. 360). Gen. Yahya Khan transferred power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto whom party had won majority seats in West Pakistan. Bhutto, as a civil Marshall Law administrator, formed the government and drafted a new constitution in 1973.

In 1977, general elections were held in which Bhutto was declared victorious but the opposition parties launched countrywide protest on the pretext of rigging. Sensing an enabling environment to intervene, the military stole the power once again and General Zia ul Haq declared martial law in the country. The General ruled the country for another 11 years (Shafqat, 1998, pp. 284-286). Bhutto was implicated in a murder case and was hanged to death (Aziz, 2019). General Zia continued with his repressive praetorian rule until he was killed in a mysterious plane crash on August 17, 1988 (Indurthy, 1991, p. 312).

The succeeding decade (1988-1999) saw restoration of democracy in the country but due to frequent dismissal of four governments (three by the civilian presidents under the military era law and fourth one by direct military coup in 1999); no elected government completed its term in office (Yasmeen, 1994, p. 573). In 1999, the military chief, General Pervez Musharraf, declared Martial Law in the country (Goldenberg, 1999). The dictator ruled the country until 2008 (Mohmand 2014, p. 13). Rizvi (2007, p. 13) is of the view that during all this democratic transition from 1988-1999, the military commanders closely watched the situation and made sure that their professional and corporate interests were not threatened. The fate of the political autonomous actions of the politicians remained largely on their ability to keep aboard the military elites. Zaidi (2005, p. 5176) is of the view that the decade old era of democratic

transition in Pakistan was in reality a manipulation of political actors. Army through its secret services created political parties, formed political alliances and played key role in dismissing the elected governments.

A new era of democratic development ushered in the country when General Musharraf, in the wake of countrywide protests, stepped down. General elections were held on February 18, 2008 and Pakistan People Party (PPP) formed the government. During its tenure PPP restored the parliamentary form of government and undone the amendments of the dictatorial regime through the 18th constitutional amendment. PPP became the first political party in the political history of the country to complete five years term. It was unprecedented and a milestone towards political stability in Pakistan.

Elections were held on May 11, 2013 for national and provincial assemblies of the country. The general election is seen by political analysts and observers as historical land mark in the constitutional and democratic journey of Pakistan. Despite being the bloodiest election in the history of Pakistan in which 60 politicians and political workers were killed. Liberal and secular parties could not carry out their election campaigns due to terrorist threats (Baqai, 2014, pp. 77-78). Despite these challenges, voter turnout was recorded as historical high, 53 percent (highest ever since the first general election in 1970). The PPP government too completed its tenure and in the 2018 elections, handed over power to the newly elected political party; Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI)

These historical experiences greatly impede the way for development of democratic institutions and providing an enabling environment for the democratic culture to flourish in Pakistan. However, the recent political developments show that the democratic processes in Pakistan has gained roots and on course of development. Scholars are still cautious to predict the future of democracy in the country and are of the view that it has not reached a level where a reversal to the authoritarian rule could be ruled out. Pakistan has a long way to go to achieve a viable and durable democracy (Rizvi, 2015).

5.4 Political Parties and their role in Political Socialization

Pakistan is a multiparty democracy where several political parties compete for mandate in the National and Provincial assemblies. Currently 126 political parties are registered with Election Commission of Pakistan (www.ecp.gov.pk). Some mainstream political parties existed prior to the creation of the country. After gaining independence, due to its ideological, ethnic, regional, linguistic, social, and cultural diversity, new political parties emerged from time to time. Some of the parties survived, some merged with other parties and many died down. The major mainstream political parties of the country are Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN), Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf (PTI), Jamiat-e- Ulemaa Islam (JUI), Jumaat-e-Islami (JI). Major regional political parties are Awami National Party (ANP), Muttahid Qaumi Movement (MQM), Sindh United Party (SUP), Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party (STPP), Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz (JSQM), and Awami Jamhoori Party (AJP), Pushtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP), Balochistan Awami Party (BAP), Baluchistan National Party (BNP) and Baluchistan Awami Party (BAP).

Muslim League, the party that led the movement of Pakistan emerged as the leading political party of the after the creation of the country (Cohen, 2016, p.195). It had the capacity to steer the country towards becoming a strong democratic nation but some exogenous as well as endogenous factors impeded its potential. The early demise of its founding members, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, created fissures in the party (Newman, 1962, p.354). As early as 1948, signs of divisions appeared in the party and within a year, it disintegrated into many factions (Alavi, 1972, pp. 63-64; Paracha, 2017). Besides, top leadership of the Muslim League was migrants from India. Their strong support bases among the masses were in the areas that did not join Pakistan (Newman, 1962, p.354). This factor along with the indirect election of political parties to the constituent assemblies further kept away the political leadership from the masses. Over all from 1947-58 political parties remained elitist and had little interaction with the masses.

Muslim League was ruling the country without having a strong opposition (Innes, 1953, p. 307). Its leaders remained busy in blame game, changing loyalties and maintained little contact with

the masses (Saikia, 2014, p. 298). Resultantly, the party weakened and this gape was fulfilled by the bureaucracy and military. The country, which adopted the democracy, with the objective of making it strengthening in future had become a military-bureaucratic oligarchy (Rizvi, 2003).

Thus, the political party system, which was elitist in nature, started its journey with a weak structure. In the later years, the successive imposition of Martial Laws in the country further weakened the political parties. The military dictators, Field Marshal Ayub Khan (1958-1969), General Yakhya Khan (1969-1972), General Zia (1978-1988) and General Musharraf (1999-2008) tried to weaken the politicians and political parties in their tenures (Mehmood, 2004, pp.121-142). These dictators cut the link between the political parties and masses and strengthened the system of Local Bodies Government. Ayub Khan, in order to undermine the influence of mainstream political parties, introduced a system called, 'Basic Democracy'. Local representatives used to elect 80,000 members of the Electoral College. The elections were used to contest on non-political party basis (Mukherjee 2016, p. 272). His predecessors; General Zia and General Pervez during their respective tenures kept continue the system with modifications. They called it the 'Local Government' system. The basic objective was to divert the attention of the people from main parties and to create the rivals for the political leaders (Salman, 2002, p. 56). Commenting on the non-parties based elections, (Andrew, 1999, p.131) noted that such a system, not only affected the national politics but also the basic spirit and nature of political parties. General Musharraf too, after promulgation of martial law announced Local Bodies elections on non-party basis. Furthermore, these dictators, split the political parties into many factions and coerce them to support the dictatorial regimes (Mehmood, 2013). These manipulations further weakened the political parties.

Political parties, however, thrived during the brief moments of restoration of democratic set ups in the country (1972-1977, 1988-1999, and 2008 until present). They mobilized the masses and restored civilian rule in the country (Ahmed, 2009; Hussain & Mujawar, 1996; Mukhopadhyay, 1971, p. 969). Their role, especially during the last two decades, became more pronounced. The democratically elected governments in 2008 and 2013 successfully completed their terms in office that ushered a new era of democracy in Pakistan. Political parties matured and offered resistance to the undemocratic forces.

5.5 Alleged Corruption, Nepotism, Inefficiency and poor governance

Since its inception, alleged corruption, inefficiency and misgovernance on the part of politicians have adversely affected the perception of Pakistanis regarding politics, political institutions and political leaders. Quantitative data is lacking to support such claims but it is a general perception among the Pakistanis regarding the politics and politicians. Politics and politicians are synonymous to corruption, deceit and opportunism in Pakistan. There is no denying of corruption, nepotism, inefficiency and poor governance among the political leadership of the country (Mahmood, 2003, p. 671; Weinbaum, 1996, p. 647) Soon after independence, allegation of corruption against the political leadership were surfaced. Newman (1962) commenting on the prevailing situation wrote, “There was some corruption, but it was not excessive, if measured by standards of an incipient democracy, let alone an Oriental one” (p. 354).

These issues were highly exploited by the military and overthrown the civilian governments on the pretext of these allegations time and again. However, very few genuine cases of political corruption were proved (Newman, 1962, p. 354; Peshimam, 2013, p. 12). Wilcox (1965) wrote that Major-General Iskandar Mirza, the first president of Pakistan proclaimed martial law in 1958 citing corruption and ineptness of the politician “the ruthless struggle for power, corruption, the shameful exploitation of our simple, honest, patriotic and industrious masses, the lack of decorum and the prostitution of Islam for political ends” (p. 142). These allegations are recurrent in nature and the successive military leadership used it to end the civilian governments. In 1977 when general Zia, the then army chief imposed martial law, the aim was to restore law and order situation in the country and to hold free and fair elections. The general later on postponed the elections to remove the corrupt political elements from the country (Ahmed, 1996, p. 374). During the Zia regime, when his handpicked prime minister, Muhammad Khan Junejo, tried to consolidate his position and did not show deference to the General’s policies, the prime minister was sacked on the alleged charges of corruption and law and order situation (Indurthy, 1991, p. 315).

From 1988 to 1999, four democratically elected civilian governments were elected and dismissed. The first three governments were dismissed under a military-era (Article 58-2b of the

constitution) law which empowered the president of the Pakistan to dismiss the government. The fourth government was terminated by a direct military coup d'état in 1999. During these 11 years civilian rule, the governments of both PPP and PML were dismissed two times each. The Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were dismissed on charges of corruption and mis-governance (Ahmed & Begum, 2015, pp. 87-88; Yasmeen, 1994, p. 574). Asif Ali Zardari, the spouse of former prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, served eight years jail on the charges of corruption and was released on bail in 2004 (Butt, 2019). In 1999 General Pervez Musharraf imposed martial in the country and ruled till 2008. In 2008 elections were held and PPP won majority seats in the national assembly and formed the government. It was the first government in the political history of Pakistan to complete its term in office. In 2013 general elections were held and PML (N) secured highest number of national assembly seats and formed the government. This government too completed its term and in 2018 general elections, PTI, led by cricketer-cum-politician became the prime minister of Pakistan. In 2017, Supreme Court of Pakistan dismissed prime minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif on the charges of corruption stemming from the reports of International Consortium of Investigative Journalists popularly known as Panama paper scandal. Though Nawaz Sharif name did not appear in the papers but three of his children were determined to have purchased luxury properties in London (Specia, 2017). In 2018, Nawaz Sharif was sentenced to seven years in prison on the charges of corruption (Rehman, 2019). Nawaz was accused of holding assets beyond his income and was unable to prove his ownership of a steel mill in Saudi Arabia which his family had set up in 2001 during their exile (Sayyed, 2018). Currently many opposition leaders are behind the bars on the charges of corruption. Analysts considered these charges and punishment as politically motivated as very little evidence of corruption has been proved so far.

Another factor which adversely affect the perception of the masses regarding the political institutions and actor is the charges of 'treason and anti-Pakistan' on the politicians. Since its establishment towering political elites have been labeled as un-patriotic, anti-Pakistan, and anti-Islam. Huseyn Suhrawardy, a Bengali politician and prime minister of Pakistan was declared a traitor. Fatima Jinnah, the sister of the founding father of Pakistan was termed as traitor and an agent working for Afghanistan. When she challenged the military government of Ayub Khan, a high-profile newspaper advertisement campaign sponsored by the government was initiated to

malign her. A towering politician, G.M. Syed, who campaigned for the country's independence, was imprisoned for more than a decade on the allegations of being anti-state and anti-Pakistan. Many elite politicians including Wali Khan, Attaullah Mengal, Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo were declared as traitors or foreign agents from time to time (Dawn, 2019). Benazir Bhutto, the first female prime minister of Pakistan was also alleged as anti-state. She served the country as prime minister for two terms. Nawaz Sharif, three times prime minister, too was accused as traitor and anti-Pakistan (Bilal, 2018).

Due to relatively greater freedom of press and expression during the civilian governments, media gave prominent coverage to these allegations, perception of Pakistanis about politicians, political institutions and politics, became negative. Media reports of the alleged corruption of politicians made part of the evidence dossiers against the politicians on the basis of which the civilian governments were dismissed (Peshimam, 2013, p. 11). The negative views of the masses regarding the political actors adversely affected the political culture of the country.

5.6 Ethnic Nationalism and Politics of Ethnicity

Pakistan is a large country with ethnic, cultural, lingual and regional diversity. In 1947, the country was a federation comprised of five provinces; Bengal, Punjab, NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Baluchistan (granted the status of province in 1972), and Sindh. Geographically the country was divided into two wings; East and West Pakistan. In terms of ethnic composition, the East Pakistan was homogeneous and Bengali was the major ethnic group predominantly speaking the same language (Ali & Rehman, 2001). In the Western part, besides some small ethno-linguistic communities, Punjabi, Sindi, Baloch, Saraiki, Mohajirs (referred to as Urdu speaking community) and Pakhtuns are the major ethno-linguistic groups in the country with their own indigenous cultural values (Ahmed, 1996, p. 3052). The West part of the country, as compared to the East wing, represents intra-provinces asymmetries in terms of socio-economic development.

During the campaign for Pakistan, ethnic, cultural and linguistic problems were overshadowed by the excitement of freedom. Islam, on the basis of which the country was created, was thought to be a unifying force for the country. When the euphoria receded, divisions started appearing in

the country along the lines of ethnicity, language and culture. “The emphases on an Islamic identity not only led to the creation of an anomalous and artificial state, but the urgency and resolve to build a nation state resulted in the official rejection of ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities” (Rehman, 2007, p. 409). The issue of ethnicity and language remained one of the major factors of political fragmentation in Pakistan (Ahmed, 1996, p. 3050; Shafqat, 1996, pp. 45-46) and main cause of political instability in the country (Kiran, 2012, p. 210).

State in itself is a resource and distributor of resources at the same time and in a multi-ethnic state, like Pakistan, to avoid ethnic conflicts, it becomes binding on the part of the state to ensure equitable distribution of resources among the ethnic groups (Ahmed, 1996, p. 369). Though Pakistan adopted parliamentary democracy as political system but the successive governments continued the centralist tendencies. The centralizing policies of the state created discontent in the nationalist ethnic groups who rebelled against the government from time to time. Khan (2001, pp. 28-29) argued that postcolonial elites in Pakistan started formation of nation building through the state machinery which was imposition of centralized form of government. This process merely replaced the British colonialism with native colonialism for the non-dominant ethnic groups.

Ethnic nationalism in Pakistan is the offshoot of anti-colonial nationalism. Khan (2001, pp. 28-29) argued that during the colonial era, nationalism was undoubtedly anti-state as it united the colonized people against a common enemy. However, after the creation of Pakistan, nationalism became statist. Vast literature on the facts, history, and causes of the ethnic nationalism in Pakistan exists. However, Ahmed (1996, p. 632) summarized the causes of ethnic nationalism in four categories; (1) demands for provincial and regional autonomy (2) fair allocation of resources (3) interprovincial migration (4) protection and promotion of regional languages and culture. An analysis of literature reveals that these issues remained at the heart of ethnic frictions which accentuated over time and resultantly led to violent ethnic conflicts in the country. One example is the cessation of East Pakistan in 1971. East wing had a population of 42 million while the West part had 34 million people at the time of independence. Greater population meant greater representation in the future legislature of the country for the Bengali ethnic group but other ethnic groups in the West wing were not relished to give them their due share in power

(Innes, 1953, pp. 303-304). Bengalis were given very little representation in the early cabinets formed during the first decade of the country (Shehzad, 2011, pp. 124-164). Similarly, the share of Bengalis in army, bureaucracy and other important administrative positions were nominal (Cohen, 2016, p. 192). In the 1970 general elections, Awami League of East Pakistan got a clear majority by securing 161 seats in the national assembly and PPP secured 81 national assembly seats. As a rule, Awami League had the right to form the government but civil and military elites were not willing to accept the rule of Bengalis (Cohen, 2016, pp. 196-197). Resentment and frustration grew within the ethnic group against this discrimination that led to the separation of East Pakistan in 1971.

Other ethnic nationalist groups; Balochi, Pashtuns, Sindis and Urdu speaking community too showed antipathy towards the central government from time to time and demanded for 'internal' self-determination (Rehman, 2007, pp. 409-410). The movement of Pukhtunistan in the Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (the erstwhile North West Frontier Province) was the testimony of the frustration existed among the ethnic Pashtuns (Giunchi, 2013, pp. 38-44).

The Baloch nationalist insurgency movement has been one of the worst examples of ethnic conflicts in the country. Since 1947, some ethnic Baloch nationalists revolted against the federal government and had been fighting against the law enforcement agencies. Main reasons for the insurgency are lack of provincial autonomy, exploitation of natural resources, economic deprivation, domination of people from other provinces on key positions and political isolation (Bansal, 2005, pp. 250-268).

The province of Sindh though accepted accession with the state of Pakistan during the partition of Indian sub-continent but soon after the arrival of refugees from India and interference of central government in the internal affairs of the province led to the resurgence of ethnic nationalism in the region. Khan (2001, pp. 158-200) wrote that Sindh ethnic nationalism got strength in the face of three factors; huge influx of refugees from India, making Karachi, the financial hub of the province part of the federal government, and greater interference of central government in the provincial affairs. The refugees who were comparatively better educated and skilled than the local Sindhis, occupied dominant positions in the government and resultantly local Sindhis felt deprived. The loss of Karachi resulted into huge loss to the province and the

interference of central government endangered the provincial autonomy. These moves created frictions between the central government and Sindhi nationalist leaders. Sindhi nationalist leaders saw these developments as attempts on eroding their ethnic identity and regional autonomy. Frictions between the central government and Sindhi nationalists grew alongside violent acts between the Mohajirs (refugees from India) and Sindhi nationalists. Veteran Sindhi nationalist leader G. M. Syed who played a leading role in the independence movement and accession of the province with Pakistan showed his resentment on the decision to join the country (Sayed, 1995, p. 122).

This diversity adds to and modifies the political culture of Pakistan (Weinbaum, 1996, p. 640). Ethnic diversity and nationalists movements in Pakistan kept its political culture fragmented and heterogeneous and restricted the growth of national integration. Besides violent ethnic conflicts, the nationalist movements gave birth to regional political parties to secure their regional and provincial interests. Mehmood (2014, pp. 5-7) argued that presence of cultural diversity, regional diversity, pluralism and different contesting ideologies gave birth to the multi-party system. Currently there are 152 registered political parties in the country (Election Commission of Pakistan). Among these 152 only five political parties have support at national level. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Muslim League (Nawaz) (MLN), Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI), Jumat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiat-e- Ulam-e-Islam (JUI) can be categorized as national level parties. Awami National Party (ANP) represents the interest of Pashtuns in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) claims to be protecting the rights of Mohajirs in Karachi (provincial capital of Sindh province) and in Hyderabad. While in the rest of the province of Sindh a number of nationalist political parties like Sindh United Party (SUP), Sindh Taraqi Pasand Party (STPP), Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz (JSQM), and Awami Jamhoori Party (AJP) besides some other small political parties exist. In Baluchistan, a number of nationalist political parties like Pushtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP), Balochistan Awami Party (BAP), Baluchistan National Party (BNP) and Baluchistan Awami Party (BAP) are the prominent nationalist political parties representing ethnic Baloch and Pakhtuns in the province.

The regional political parties had a closer link with the people as compared to the national ones but instead of promoting democratic culture in the country, these parties are concerned about the

specific regional interests. Mehmood (2014, pp. 3-4) commented that regional political parties, in order to gain support of the masses, choose the issues of regional and ethnic importance which are the sources of resentment and deprivation in the region. The regional political parties' politics is thus conflictual and divisive in nature which resultantly creates negative attitudes toward the central government and political institutions among the locals. Such moves of the regional political parties thus adversely affect the political culture of Pakistan.

5.7 Social and Political Structure

Political culture of Pakistan is the product of its peculiar social norms, values and political structures. During the course of history, the social norms and values heavily influenced the political structure of the country, which in turn, gave birth to a unique political culture. In order to explain this phenomenon, the study of the social and political structure of Pakistan, becomes necessary. In the social and political structure of Pakistan many actors play a dominant role. Prominent among these actors are the landowning elites, dynastic politics, clientelism or politics of patronage and the biradiri system. These actors influence the political culture of the country in many ways.

5.7.1 Landlordism

Landlords or landed elites are an integral part of the Pakistani politics and heavily influence the political processes in the country. This phenomenon is pronounced especially in the rural areas of the country. Landed elites entered into the political scene of the country during the British colonial period (Murtaza, 2012, pp. 329-330). During the colonial rule, the British administrative apparatus heavily relied on the landed elites for maintaining law and order and collecting revenues in return for state patronage (Javid, 2012, p. 119). After independence, the politics of Pakistan continued to be dominated by these landed elites. An examination of the social class and background of National Assembly members from 1985 to 1997 revealed that more than half of the elected representatives were landlords or tribal leaders. In the general elections of 1985, 1989, 1990, 1993 and 1997 the ratio of these landlords was 66, 75, 51, 63 and 60 percent respectively. Businessmen, urban professionals, religious leaders and retired military officer

formed the rest of the bulk respectively (for details see Shafqat, 1990, p. 44 and Javid, 2012, p. 227).

The landed elites use their opulence in terms of land and money to garner political support and dominate the political scene. These elites are not completely free to maneuver in the political arena but are subject to obligations and sets of hierarchies. They serve as a link between the government functionaries and the locals. Weinbaum (1996, p. 641) wrote that the landed elites play the role of power brokers. Lyon (2002, pp. 55-56) presented a detailed list of the functions these landowning elites perform to consolidate their political positions. Lyon explained that landlords help financially the locals in times of their distress, resolves disputes among them, use their influence to facilitate the tenants in court cases and show generosity with food and money. The tenants support the landed elites in the elections and after coming into power, these elites give allegiance to the ruling parties who promised to protect their material interests (Weinbaum, 1996. P. 641).

However, with the passage of time the position of these large land owing families is waning but their influence still exists and continue to play a major role in the power politics of the country (Rumi, 2011).

5.7.2 Dynastic Politics

Familial politics is deeply embedded in Pakistani politics. Pakistan's political elites have a narrow base coming mostly from a limited number of feudal families. Once these families enter into politics, they make headway for their next generations. Over the time, not much has been changed except giving space to fewer other specific powerful families from urban, religious and military backgrounds (Rumi, 2011). Nearly all the political parties in Pakistan have semblance of dynastic politics and since the general elections of 1970s, the whole political system of the country seems to be driven by the blemished concept of dynastic or inherited politics. Though quantitative data is unavailable but some analysts believe that more than half of the seats in both national and provincial assemblies have been passed from father to son and brother to brother and thus, these few families are keeping the business of politics firmly within the family (Dawn, 2017).

A perfect case in point is the Pakistan People Party (PPP). The founder of PPP, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (ZA Bhutto) was the son of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, an influential politician in the colonial era and feudal lord having 250,000 acres of land. ZA Bhutto remained chairman of the party since its inception in 1967 till his execution in 1977. His daughter Benazir Bhutto replaced her father and headed the party until her assassination in 2007. Her husband, Asif Ali Zardari and Son, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari became co-chairmen of the party and still maintain the post.

Similarly, the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) party is following the hereditary politics. Sharif family is heading the party since 1980s. The family is part of the urban-mercantile-industrialist elites. Nawaz Sharif remained the head of the party from mid 1980s until 2017 when a Supreme Court judgment disqualified him for the post. His brother, Shahbaz Sharif is currently heading the party while children of both Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif are being prepared to lead the party in future.

The religious parties are no exception when it comes to dynastic politics. The Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) which roots can be traced back to the pre-partition era is a religious conservative party. JUI split into many factions during different phases of its existence. Currently Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Fazal-ur-Rehman (JUIF) is the major offshoot of the JUI. Fazal-ur-Rehman, the current chief of the party, inherited this position from his father Maulana Mufti Mehmud. Now the son and brothers of Fazal-ur-Rehman are members of the parliament. Similarly, one of the factions of JUI; National Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) was headed by Shah Ahmed Noorani and after his death his son assumed leadership of the party. Jamaat-e-Islami, a relatively non-dynastic in structure, has seen siblings of its leader Qazi Hussain Ahmad (late) as members of parliament.

Similarly, nationalist parties too are dynastic in structure. In Khyber Pukhtunkhwa province, Asfandyar Wali Khan is leading a political party; Awami National Party (ANP). Asfandyar Wali grandfather Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a local landlord and ally of Indian National Congress founded Khuda-i-Khidmatgar movement during the pre-partition of India. After the independence, the movement culminated into a political party with different names until 1986. The son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, laid the foundation of Awami National Party in 1986. After Wali Khan, his wife and then son Asfandyar Wali Khan is leading the party. Currently, son

of Asfandiyar Wali Khan, Aimal Wali Khan is the politician in making and is expected to lead the party in future.

Besides these big families, some small families like Chaudary, Jatt, Mazari, Leghari, Marwat, Talpurs, Makhdooms, Jatois, Sardars, Khattaks, Rajpoot, Pirzadas, Qazi, Rana, Rao, Jadoon, Khar, Mazari, Gujjars, Gabol, and Bangash are the prominent political families and are in the legislature from generations.

The current government of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), led by Imran Khan, strongly criticized dynastic politics of PPP and PMLN before coming into power. However, after forming government in the wake of 2018 general elections, many relatives of its leaders were fielded to contest by-elections, thus contradicting its opt-repeated stance against dynastic politics. Many party members awarded tickets for the provincial assembly, national assembly and senate (Dunya News, 2018; Dawn, 2018; The Express Tribune, 2019).

The above discussion does not explicitly tell us about the cognitive and affective orientations of the masses as envisaged in the definition of political culture by Almond and Verba. Extensive surveys are required to map the political culture of a community or nation which in this case are non-existent. In the absence of such surveys, it will suffice for this specific study to suggest that political culture is the shared experiences and values of Pakistanis with specific relation to its political system. The above mentioned political history, political actors, institutions, political processes, and social norms, certain values, orientations and belief gained acceptance in Pakistani community and hence provided a general framework within which political sentiments and activities are formulated, expressed and translated into action. Under this general framework specific patterns of political behavior emerged which will be discussed in the following section.

5.8 Patterns of Voting Behavior

Given the peculiar nature of the social norms and political structures, a unique style of political behavior has been developed in Pakistan. A review of literature on the voting behavior of Pakistanis reveals that with the course of time different trends within the social and political structures of the country influenced its patterns. Prominent among these trends are patronage-

client relationship/ clientelism, baradari (social ties based on brotherhood, kinship, family, caste and tribe) and most recently the ‘constituency politics’.

5.8.1 Patronage

Political structure in Pakistan is based on patronage and clientelism (Akhtar, 2018, p. 19). Weingrod (1968) defined patronage as a “complex of relations between those who use their influence, social positions or some other attributes to assist and protect others and those whom they so help and protect” (p. 377). Patronage is based on the reciprocal relations between patron and clients. Weingrod writes that patron is a person with social or economic status who uses his influence to assist or protect some other person who then becomes his client and in return provides certain services for his patron. In the sphere of politics, especially in agrarian societies, clients seek a man with the ability and friendship relationship connections to protect them and a patron who accepts these duties, in return seeks political allegiances from the clients. The political patrons, for example, build roads in the locality of the clients or provide the clients or his relatives with the jobs. Akhtar (2018, pp. 20-24) is of the view that patronage is based on the principal of give and take and beneficial to both dominant and subordinate class.

Clientelism refers to the “proffering of material goods in return for electoral support, where the criterion of distribution that the patron uses is simply: did you (will you) support me?” (Stokes 2011, p. 649). Both clientelism and patronage are the electoral strategies to gain political support by individual politicians or political parties through the distribution of individual or public goods to the potential voters in Pakistan.

In some studies, scholars used the term ‘clientelism’ for the patronage-client relationship. Sayari (2011, p. 1) denoted that the concept of patronage and clientelism share a degree of overlap in its meaning and scope but differ in some aspects. Clientelism in general sense is used with reference to a relationship between two individuals of asymmetrical status and the patron in this relationship may or may not be a person holding an official position like a local chief or member of parliament. Thus the favors, a patron do to his client in clientelistic relationship may come from his own personal influence and not necessarily from the public resources. While in the patronage system, the relationship is based on the distribution of state resources by the office

holders. Most of the scholars in the field, do not share the concern of Sayari, and used the concept of patronage and clientelism interchangeably. The patronage-client relationship and clientelism both are at work in the political system of Pakistan.

In Pakistan, patronage system is the legacy of its colonial past (Javid, 2012, p. 26) and in the post-colonial era the state perpetuated the system (Akhtar, 2018, p. 22). Akhtar noted that patronage system in the country is neither an unassailable cultural fact nor a question of institutional failure but rather to be explained by the “historical-structural patterns imposed by state and capital” (p. 12). This system of patronage is the product of state and propertied class. The state machinery; legal, economic and administrative and the deepening of capitalism had greatly transformed the patron-client relations in Pakistan. Poverty, low literacy, and lack of access and understanding of the judicial and police system increase dependency of clients on the patrons. Patrons are high in socio-economic status and are well connected with the local administration, police and upper tier politicians especially in the government (Lyon, 2002, pp. 88-90). Patrons who are in most cases are landed elites and feudal lords use their historically reinforced positions and resources, provide favors to the tenants by resolving their disputes, facilitate them in courts and police and extend to them economic benefits. In return the clients offer their patrons political allegiance and support in elections (Javid, 2012, p. 225).

Akhtar (2018, pp. 1-28) elaborates that the British legacy of patronage system persists even in the contemporary politics of the country albeit undergoing many transformations. In the traditional patron-client relationship, patron used to be mostly the landed elites and clients were to be peasants. This system was, in most part, limited to rural settings of the country until 1970. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s ascension to power in 1971 led to the introduction of policies to establish civilian supremacy of the elected representatives on the bureaucracy. From 1947 till 1970 it was a rare practice for the politicians to intervene into the business of bureaucracy. The policies of Bhutto gave greater confidence and leverage to the politicians to establish civilian supremacy over the state institutions and thus a value change occurred in Pakistani politics (Shafqat, 1998, pp. 284-286). However, during the subsequent years of martial law of General Zia, the trend was reversed and bureaucratic supremacy over the political leaders was restored. The elections of 1979, 1983, and 1987 were held on non-party basis to weaken the existing political leadership.

This trend came to fore and promote new individuals and groups into the political arena of the country. The Zia administration, in order to win support for the new system, introduced a strategy through which members of the Local Bodies were given developmental grants to improve upon infrastructure, education and health in their constituencies. This initiative facilitated the emergence of local influential in the national political arena of the country and altered the traditional patron-client relationship (Akhtar, 2018, pp. 4-6). Through the utilization of these funds in their respective constituencies, the elected parliamentarians consolidated their positions and worked for their own supremacy. The government of Mohammad Khan Junejo, after the 1985 elections, kept intact the program and awarded five million rupees to every Member of Parliament to carry out developmental work in their constituencies. Shafqat (1998, pp. 285-286) wrote that with each passing elections these politicians accumulated more wealth as the developmental funds were not utilized properly, misappropriated and in some cases usurped. Voters too started demanding their due share in the pie in the form of jobs, resolve their problems and developmental work in the area. Interestingly, the trend did not abate instead saw increase in the coming governments. The current government of PTI led by Imran Khan, before coming to power in 2018 was opposing the grant of developmental funds to the parliamentarians and vowed to abolish it. After coming into power, the government discontinued the practice for a while but on 26 February 2019 approved 24 billion rupees for the developmental schemes recommended by each Member of Parliament in their constituencies (Haider, 2019).

Many studies proved the existence of patronage/clientelism in Pakistani politics (see for example, Shafqat, 1990, pp. 42-47; Weinbaum, 1996, p. 641; Akhtar, 2018, pp. 1-28). Wilder (1999) quotes former members of the Pakistani National Assembly from the province of Punjab as saying “people now think that the job of an MNA and MPA is to fix their gutters, get their children enrolled in schools, arrange for job transfers” (p. 196). Javed (2012), a columnist and researchers who performed the duty of an independent observer in the 2012 by-election in Multan; a southern city of Punjab province, detailed the events of the electoral contest. The seat fell vacant as Supreme Court of Pakistan disqualified the then prime minister, Yousaf Raza Gilani. The deposed prime minister’s son was given the ticket to contest the elections on the seat. Yousaf Raza Gilani, during his tenure, spent 150 billion rupees on the ‘Multan Beautification and Improvement Package’. Many projects including overhead bridges, road networks and

sewerage system was constructed through the fund. As the election drew closer, hoardings and banners were put up by various beneficiaries of the project thanking the deposed prime minister for all the development work he has done. Many local leaders of the party carried out door to door campaigns to remind the people about the developmental schemes completed by the former prime minister and how the election of his son will benefit them in future. Based on his observations, Javed noted, “the contemporary electoral theatre is built on a political economy of patronage and deference, and held together by acts of collusion and coercion” (p. 27).

Similarly, in his extensive study of electoral behavior of voters in Pakistan, Wilder (1999) concluded that people vote the candidates during elections, who are “helpful in personal needs and community development, or in other words, effective in providing patronage and development” (p. 195).

5.8.2 Kinship Networks

So far the above discussion centered on how the macro level politics in Pakistan where landed elites/ feudal, military and bureaucratic elites, politicians, ethnic groups and regional players helped shaped the political culture of the country. However, in order to understand the political culture of Pakistan, studies at micro level are also necessary to present the actors involved at the lower level and their role in the bigger picture.

Pakistani society is highly fragmented. This segregation is not only based on economic status but also on the heterogeneous social structure. There are numerous ethnic and linguistic groups and tribes who are further divided in sub groups, cast, creeds and various other small social groups. At the micro level, the smallest social group is the kinship network. Social organization in Pakistan, especially in rural areas and small towns, revolves around kinship. The basic institution of the kinship system in traditional areas of the country is ‘biradari’ (brotherhood) (Alavi, 1972, pp. 1-2). Biradari or kinship networks emphasize on two principles; same lineage of descent and fraternal solidarity. In the case of rural Pakistan where families live for a long period of time spanning many centuries, these kinship networks grow in size and in most cases reside on large swathes of adjacent pieces of land and hence in this sense biradari becomes indefinite in size. These kinship networks have been viewed differently by social anthropologists and labeled with

different names. For example Lyon (2012, pp. 125-127) used the term qoum, zaat, sharika, tribe, sub ethnic group etc. to describe these social groups. For the purpose of simplicity, this study will use the term 'kinship networks' to refer to the above mentioned categories. Kinship networks operate on the principles of 'descent' and 'fraternity' and cohesive in nature and action. The next section will focus on how these kinship networks affect the political culture of Pakistan.

Hence, elections in Pakistan are contested in specific constituencies, therefore, the role of these kinship networks become instrumental. Constituency refers to the specific territorial area demarcated by the Election Commission of Pakistan for electing members to parliament. Only the voters who reside within the specific constituency are allowed to vote in an election provided they are citizens of Pakistan and are registered with the Election Commission of Pakistan. Kinship networks living in these constituencies influence the electoral outcomes. When the members of a particular kinship network inhabit in a constituency, their decision defines the electoral outcomes. Having strong intra-group affinities, these social networks, take collective decisions and often support or oppose a particular candidate in an election (for greater detail please refer to Lyon, 2002, Mohmand, 2014, Javid, 2012, Javed, 2012, Alavi, 1972, and Ibrahim, 2009).

The role of social kinship networks into the political scene of the country came to prominence in the reign of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1968-1977) and the policies of the successive governments shaped the electoral behavior of these groups. Mohmand (2014, pp. 18-20) noted that marginalized segments of the society living in the rural areas of Punjab and Sindh found voice in the political arena of the country through the 'Islamic Socialism' of Bhutto. With the rise of PPP and introduction of land reforms, a huge number of these oppressed and downtrodden classes entered into politics. Bhutto encouraged inclusion of such classes in the Pakistani politics and brought them into his party. However, after the execution of Bhutto in 1977, the military dictator, General Zia reversed the trend and held the ensuing elections on party-less basis. The dictator-cum-president, through the introduction of grants 'development package' for the member of parliaments, changed the dynamics of electoral politics in Pakistan. The move ushered an era of clientelism in the country's politics. The kinship networks living in the constituencies adjusted to the new political order and started to demand their share of pie in the

developmental programs. They realized the role they can play into the political process. Many candidates from large kinship networks started contesting elections and in case they could not win election, they were able to negotiate with the winning party for economic and development schemes for their respective groups. A number of studies corroborated the role of social networks in the electoral politics of Pakistan (see for example Ahmad, 2009; Ahmad, 2012, Ahmad & Naseem, 2011 and Usman, 2016).

5.9 Conclusion

In summary, political culture of Pakistan is the artifact of its historical legacy, political processes, politicians, military, bureaucracy and social and normative norms. Though, the political outlook of the country was modeled on the Western parliamentary democracy and it was assumed that, with the course of time, values regarding state politics in the country will resemble with similarly structured polities of the Western democracies. The founding leaders of the country were highly educated and had the will and vigor to provide solid democratic base to the new country. However, they failed to prepare second tier leadership who could steer the country toward becoming a consolidated democracy. The early death of its founding fathers and absence of strong leadership adversely affected the development of democratic institutions. The inept and self-centered politicians squabbled for serving their vested interests. To fill the void army intervened and disrupted the already fragile political process in the country. Muslim league, after one years of the creation of the country disintegrated into several factions. The country, thus inherited a weak political party system. The military-bureaucratic nexus promoted centralism that was against the spirit of federalism. The smaller provinces showed their resentments and various ethnic, regional and linguistic groups felt betrayed and resultantly revolted against the state. Ethnic nationalism strengthened in the country and many regional and ethnic political parties emerged to protect their local interests. Ethnic nationalism prevented formation of a unified political culture. The social structure too impeded democracy to nurture in the country. Political elites, in most instances, come from the landed class or feudal families. Due to economic asymmetries, these feudals, through clientelism and patronage receive the support of lower classes. Besides, the traditional social order of the society is based on kinship networks which promote certain individuals from large clans and families and further weaken the

democratic base of the country. Keeping in view the above discussion, some scholars are of the view that political culture of Pakistan is “characterized by disharmony between democratic ideals and the autocratic reality on the ground” and is “semi-parochial”.

However, political culture is dynamic and undergoes constant change. Literature on the political development of the country shows that despite repeated intervals of punctuation of democratic process, Pakistanis showed resilience to safeguard democracy and democratic norms in the country. Various movements for restoration of democracy and continuity of democracy (though nominal) show the commitment and consciousness on the part of both politicians and masses for the development of competitive politics and stability of the democratic institutions. The successful transition to democracy at the end of last coup in 2007 is harbinger of democratic development in the country.

Analysis of the political culture of Pakistan is beneficial to this study in the sense that it makes explicit the general environment in which Pakistanis are being socialized. Though it does not explicitly tell us about the political attitudes of the people, but surely, provide enough explanation of the complex phenomenon.....political behavior of the people.

Chapter 6: Media in Pakistan

This chapter presents an overview of Pakistani media landscape. It discusses evolution of the media in the country and then briefly deliberates on its current situation. The chapter then moves to inform the readers about the ownership and regulatory frame work of media in Pakistan. At the end, it briefly shed light on the freedom of expression in the country.

Pakistani media are diverse in nature representing multicultural, multi-linguistic, multi-ethnic and socially & economically divided society. This diversity is reflected in the fact that media in the country can clearly be divided into regional and national categories. Regional media including TV, radio, newspapers and magazines are published in regional languages and cater to the needs of diverse ethnic groups. National or mainstream media offer contents in Urdu and English languages. Urdu media, particularly newspapers, TV and radio, are widely consumed across the country. English media on the other hand, have less consumption but popular in the urban educated elite of the country and are liberal, professional and urban-centric in approach. TV is the favorite medium of both entertainment and news and current affairs information. Print media, though diverse in nature, have limited circulation while radio specifically FM channels are entertainment oriented.

6.1 Historical Background of Media in Pakistan

The roots of media in Pakistan can be traced back to its colonial past. James Augustus Hickey, a former employee of East India Company, can be credited as pioneer of journalism in the Indian Sub-continent. His “Calcutta General Advertiser” popularly known as “Hickey Gazette” started publication in 1780 in the port city of Mumbai (Hassan, 2001, p.).

After the Hickey venture, a number of newspapers appeared in English language which used to primarily cater to the needs of the Englishmen living in India. Hassan (2001), while commenting on the history of journalism in Indian sub-continent divided the evolution of journalism in three distinct phases; beginning of journalism in sub-continent; missionary journalism and the growth of local journalism. The role, nature and purpose of journalism in these three eras were quite

different from each other. For example, in the beginning, newspapers used to cater to the needs of a limited class of English people. Though the press used to criticize the policies of East India Company and highlighted the corruption of its officials but the government was least concerned about it because the natives could not understand the contents of these newspapers and hence did not pose a threat to its authority.

Christian missionaries who came to India along with the East India Company, launched many newspapers, both in English and local languages for propagation of their faith. Missionary journalism was obviously quite different in nature and these papers were mainly concerned with the propagation of faith and not politics.

The third phase deals with evolution of native journalism which was a reaction to counter the missionaries' propagation and protect the native religion, culture and social values. Hurryhar Dutt was the first Indian who started a local newspaper "Jam-i-Jahan Numa" in 1822 and hence a series of native newspapers in many local languages appeared on the scene. Khan (2003) argued that the year 1857 was crucial for Indian journalism because it transformed the very purpose of the field and journalism in the region became more political. The war of 1857 and the subsequent events created a sense of Hindu and Muslim nationalism and hence their leaders used newspapers for nationalistic projections. The press in that era was politically aligned and could distinctively be categorized in Hindu and Muslim press. Hindu and Muslim leaders used their respective press for social reforms in their communities and winning independence from the British rule.

Press in Pakistan is the outgrowth of the pro-Muslim movement in Indian Subcontinent. Quid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, founding father of Pakistan, decided to launch an extensive campaign of the All India Muslim League to convey its message to the general public to mould their opinion with the help of a strong and vibrant press. After the Lahore Resolution, which was later referred to as Resolution of Pakistan, in March 1940, the movement for a separate land of Pakistan consisting Muslim majority areas in the Indian sub-continent, grew momentum. Devoted Leaguers came forward to propagate the view point of All India Muslim League through various newspapers. Many newspapers were launched to support the cause of Pakistan and after the creation of Pakistan in 1947; these newspapers were shifted to the newly

independent state. These newspapers, thus, founded modern day journalism in Pakistan. During the course of history, some publications became media conglomerates while some succumbed to the test of time and ceased publishing.

6.2 Contemporary Media in Pakistan

Following is a brief discussion of contemporary media in the country.

6.2.1 Print Media

Print media in Pakistan have relatively a small share in media audiences. However, it is diverse and published in many languages throughout the country. In terms of languages, the industry can be divided in three major categories; Urdu, English and regional publications. The focus and reach of these publications are different. Print media in the country are mostly privately owned and have their independent editorial policies. The industry is considered to be the most outspoken in the South Asia (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p. 10). However, low literacy rate, greater penetration of Television and internet have adversely impacted the reach and consumption of print media in Pakistan.

There are 619 registered publications including 339 daily newspapers, 101 weeklies, 23 fortnightlies, 149 monthlies, and 4 quarterlies. These publications are published in national and regional languages. Out of these 619 publications, 474 are published in Urdu, 67 in English, 17 in Sindhi, 15 in Pashto, 12 in Balochi, four in Brahvi, one is Punjabi while 29 in other regional languages (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2013). Although exact circulation figures of daily newspapers are difficult to calculate but according to some safe estimates, it stands around 6.1 million. However, newspaper readership can go up as contrary to these figures, in some cases, a newspaper copy is read by several people. Besides, almost every major newspaper in the country has its online edition as well, for which readership data is hard to find (Infoasaid, 2012).

A clear divide can be seen in the quality, approach, editorial policies and reach of the Pakistani print media. The Urdu language print media is popular among the masses and has national reach with conservative outlook. While the English newspapers are urban, elite-centric, liberal in approach and professionally sound in comparison to its Urdu counterparts. According to data, 75

percent of all newspapers sold (4.6 million per day) were published in Urdu while English dailies circulation was 11 % (671,000 copies a day), followed by Sindhi language 640,000 per day (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Although Urdu media in Pakistan have a wide circulation and play great role in formation of public opinion, English media, despite of its limited reach, exercise greater leverage among the elites, politicians, highly educated class and business community (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p. 19).

With a few exceptions, Pakistani print media is regionally focused and has firm readership in selected regions of the country, therefore lacking national audience largely. *Nawai-i-Waqt*, the third largest Urdu daily with half a million daily circulation, is concentrated on audience in Punjab. While Urdu daily, *Mashriq*, based in Peshawar, largely caters to the needs of masses in Khyber Pukhtoonkhwa province. English papers, in comparison, are more national in coverage with fair representation of all the four provinces of the country. Urdu newspapers' coverage represents a domestic focus, reporting on matters having consequences on daily lives of the public. English press covers both important domestic as well as international affairs.

Pakistani print media can be placed on a continuum of ideological affiliations, ranging from right, to center and left. Some large circulated newspapers clearly carry Islamic undertones in its news sections. Daily *Nawai-i-Waqt*, for example, is conservative in its approach and staunchly follows the nationalistic agenda of the pre-partition era. Shah (2010) points to the editorial of daily *Nawai-e-Waqt* in which it endorsed "a 500,000-rupee reward to kill alleged blasphemer Aasia Bibi, a Pakistani Christian, alleged of making reproachful comments about the Prophet Muhammad" (p. 2). Similarly, the largest circulated Urdu daily, *Jang*, has moderate conservative policies (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p. 16). Urdu press is sensational in nature and abundant in spewing conspiracy theories especially in the opinion sections. These fictitious and distorted facts pose the risk of being accepted as reality because the reputation of the writers of these opinion pieces is very highly among the readers. McMillian (2013, pp. 151-163), for example, analyzed the coverage of a controversial blasphemy law in Pakistani print media, following the assassination of Governor Punjab, Salman Taseer. The study concluded that Pakistani print media witnessed a clear division on the issue which was indicative of their ideological leanings. The English newspapers except daily *The Nation*, thoroughly addressed the issue of rising

extremism and how to reform the blasphemy law. Urdu press, on the other hand, covered the issue with religious glorification. Daily The Nation and its sister publication Nawai-i-Waqt coverage was overtly peddled with conspiracy theories. Analysts are of the view that editorial oversight in Urdu papers is less as compared to the English language press (Shah, 2010, pp. 1-5).

6.2.2 Radio

Radio in Pakistan is predominantly run by the government. Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (PBC) popularly referred to as Radio Pakistan manages the affairs of radio in the country. The long range, amplitude modulation (AM) radio stations are exclusively the property of state while the short range, frequency modulation (FM) are both government and private owned. Private FM channels are not allowed to produce news and current affairs programs and are entertainment oriented (Infoasaid, 2012). Radio Pakistan claims to cover 80% of the geographical area of the country almost reaching the entire population of the country and has 96 million listeners (Media in Pakistan, 2009). Radio listenership in Pakistan is clearly divided on geographical and socioeconomic lines. Radio is popular in rural areas with lower socio-economic segment of the society. However, FM network has much of listenership in urban centers of the country (Infoasaid, 2012; Media in Pakistan, 2009).

Radio Pakistan has 23 medium wave channels broadcasting programs in 23 local languages in the country (Infoasaid, 2012). Its external broadcast covers South Asia, South East Asia, Afghanistan, Central Asian States, West Europe, Iran, Gulf and Middle East, and Far East. It broadcasts programs in 13 International languages (<http://www.radio.gov.pk/external-service>). Radio Pakistan launched its news and current affairs channel in 2000 which was converted into National Broadcasting Service in 2008. It carries current affairs programs mixed with entertainment and cultural programs. The news and current affairs channel air 13 hours programs per day from the federal capitals and 8 hours daily programs from the provincial capitals. Central News Organization of PBC is mainly responsible for the news production. It airs 123 news bulletins/ broadcasts totaling 702 minutes in 29 languages a day. These bulletins are prepared for regional, national, and international level consumption. The contents of these programs include; hourly news bulletins, activities of government and opposition, talk shows, commentaries,

interviews, live calls and live coverage of important events (<http://www.radio.gov.pk/news-current-affairs-channel>).

Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation launched FM radio stations in the country and established a FM 101 channel in 1998 at the federal capital Islamabad. The umbrella of PCB FM Network expanded to the whole of Pakistan and today there are 34 FM channels in every nook and corner of the country (<http://www.radio.gov.pk/fm-station>). Besides, Radio Pakistan from time to time enters into agreements with international broadcasters such Voice of America (VOA), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Deutsche Welle (DW) to relay their programs in local languages in Pakistan (Infoasaid, 2012).

In 2002, government privatized broadcast media in the country and resultantly new FM channels were established by the private sector in the country. Currently there are 188 FM radio channels in the country (Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority). Coverage area of these channels is restricted 50 km radius and cannot air news and current affairs contents. The contents of these channels are predominantly related to entertainment. However, some private FM channels are allowed to produce local news and are encouraged to relay PBC's news (Infoasaid, 2012).

6.2.3 Television

Television is the favorite medium for entertainment and information in Pakistan (BBC, Pakistan profile-Media, 2017; Michaelsen, 2011, p. 32) and the number of television viewers are 135 million (ConentAsia, Pakistan, 2017). Television industry has dual ownership in the country; state controlled Pakistan Television and private television channels. The government still retains monopoly on terrestrial transmission and only state television is allowed to use the facility while private TV channels are received through cable and satellite. The delivery format creates urban-rural disparity in TV viewership. In rural areas, the free-to-air state TV is the mostly watched channels while in urban centers private TV channels are more popular (Gallup Pakistan, Media Cyberletter, 2014, p. 12). Pakistani TV channels present programs in Urdu, English and regional languages. However, Urdu language TV channels are the most popular across the country.

The state broadcaster, Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV) runs nine channels providing news, current affairs, sports and entertainment programs to the people in Pakistan and abroad. PTV Home is the most popular 24-hour entertainment channel of the network. The transmission is broadcasted across the country on terrestrial network and worldwide through satellite. PTV News is the satellite channel, broadcasting news 24/7. It can be viewed locally on terrestrial and globally on satellite. PTV National airs programs in different regional languages to represent the whole of Pakistan. AJK TV broadcasts programs specifically for the residents of Azad Kashmir. PTV Bolan channel exclusively broadcasts programs for Balochi, Pashto and Brahvi speaking communities in Pakistan. PTV Global provides entertainment and the latest news programs exclusively for the overseas Pakistanis living in the United States and Europe. The network also runs sports channel, PTV Sports, a 24-hour sports channel launched in 2012. PTV World is a 24-hour English Channel. It offers different programs ranging from news, current affairs, entertainment, infotainment, documentaries, and music to the audience across the globe. Recently, the network launched another channel, PTV Parliament. The channel telecast live proceedings of the parliament and Standing Committees to share more information with public regarding parliamentary proceedings (<http://www.ptv.com.pk/public/userView/ptvFamily>).

In 2002, television industry in Pakistan underwent structural changes and private sector was allowed to launch television channels. Private sector especially the established print media houses and businesses launched television channels. A boom was witnessed in the television industry of the country and within seven years the number of private TV channels reached to 89. These are specialized channels and offer programs in specific areas including entertainment, music, sports, religion and food. Besides, there are 26 news and current affairs TV channels in the private sector. These channels can be reached through cable and satellite receivers only. Improved telecommunication infrastructure in the urban areas of the country makes private TV channels accessible to the viewers in the cities and large towns. However where available, private TV channels are preferred over state controlled TV. One of the main reasons for the preference is the partisan and biased approach of the state broadcaster in favor of the government (Hassan 2003, p. 68).

Besides national level TV channels, Pakistani media scene has witnessed the emergence of regional level TV channels. These channels broadcast programs in local and regional languages including Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashtu, Sariaki, Hindku and Balochi to appeal the ethno-linguistic diverse communities living in different provinces of the country.

6.3 Media Ownership in Pakistan

Currently five media moguls own majority of the media outlets in Pakistan. Three leading media conglomerates are the established media groups having roots in the pre-independence era. Their proprietors were prominent journalists and launched newspapers with nationalistic agenda. The remaining two groups are new entrants into the field and the owners don't have journalistic background but are established businessmen. There is cross-media ownership and these groups publish newspapers, magazines, and have their radio and television channels. Media conglomerates in Pakistan have political affiliations and exercise influence in the sphere of politics and the society (Media in Pakistan, 2009). Following is a brief discussion about these groups.

6.3.1 Jang Group of Newspapers

The group has its origin in the late 1930s. Daily Jang, the flagship publication of Jang Group of Newspapers, started its journey in the pre-partition of British India. During the World War II, Mir Khalil ur Rehman launched the Urdu weekly 'Jang' (means war) in 1939 from Delhi. After three years of publication it was converted into daily newspaper in 1942. After the partition of British India, office of the daily Jang was shifted to Karachi, Pakistan. Hassan (2001, p.30) commenting on the growth of the group, credited Mir Khalil for its success. Mir had passion for journalism and he also possessed extraordinary business and management skills. The group founder had a craving for innovation and was fond of challenges. When he died in 1992, assets of the group were in billions of rupees.

Currently the group publishes four Urdu dailies; daily Jang, daily Awam, daily Awaz & daily Waqt and three English dailies; daily The News International, daily News (eveninger), and daily Pakistan Times. It also publishes two weekly English magazines; Mag Weekly (fashion

magazine) & The News on Sunday and two Urdu weekly magazines; Akhbar-e-Jahan & Jang Sunday magazine. Jang group is pioneer in introducing electronic media by launching first full fledged TV Network; Geo. The network owns four specialized TV channels; Geo News (Urdu), Geo Entertainment (Urdu), AAG TV (bi-lingual, English and Urdu Music channel), and Geo Super (Urdu, sports channel). Its flagship newspapers; Jang and The News International are the leading English and Urdu newspapers of the country. Daily Jang circulation is 850,000 copies a day. It is published from six cities across the country and publishes from London as well while The News International claims to be selling 140,000 copies daily (Infoasaid, 2012).

Ideologically the group is moderate conservative in its outlook; however, some scholars put it right of center while others of the view that the group does not have any specific policy objective in the long term (Mezzera and Sial, 2010, p.16).

6.3.2 Nawaiwaqt Group of Publications

The roots of Nawaiwaqt group too go to the pre-independence era. Majeed Nizami launched an Urdu fortnightly “Nawaiwaqt” on March 23, 1940. Majeed Nizami and Shabbar Hassan were its editors. In 1942, the fortnightly was converted into weekly and after two years into a daily. Majeed Nizami was a staunch supporter of Muslim League but declined the offer to sell the newspaper to the party. He, however, fully supported the cause for Pakistan through his newspaper. Like its contemporaries, the daily, grew rapidly and became a publication chain. It publishes one English daily; The Nation, and one Urdu daily; Nawai-e-Waqt. Circulation of the daily Nawai-e-Waqt is 500,000. The publication chain also owns four weeklies; Nida-i-Milat (Urdu), Family (Urdu), Sunday Plus (English), and Money Plus (English). It also publishes a monthly Urdu magazine for children; Phool. Like other media groups, it also ventured into electronic media and launched its own Urdu TV channel, Waqt TV (Mezzera and Sail, 2010). The Waqt Group is ideologically conservative and strictly follows the “nationalistic ideological discourse on which the country was built” (Mezzera and Sail, 2010, p.17). the group has distinctively three main policy objectives; to safeguard and uphold ideology of Pakistan which is based on Islam and two nation theory (Hindu & Muslim), to promote Pakistan as Islamic, democratic and welfare state, and to support Islamic causes including Kashmir and Palestine (Mezzera and Sail, 2010).

6.3.3 Pakistan Herald Publications

Pakistan Herald Publications, generally known as Dawn Group of Newspapers, has its root in the nationalistic and communalistic era of journalism during pre-partition of Indian sub-continent. Founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was the creator of the group which at that time had only one newspaper; Dawn, the official newspaper of All India Muslim League. After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, daily Dawn was moved to Karachi, Pakistan from Delhi. During the course of time it went on adding other publications including Star (English Language evening), monthly magazines; Herald, Spider and Aurora (marketing and advertising based). Daily Dawn is the flagship publication of the group and is the largest circulated English language paper in the country which claims a daily sale of 138,000 copies (Infosaid, 2012). The group is among one of the leading media houses to venture into electronic media by launching a TV channel in 2007, Dawn News (first in English and later on converted into Urdu) (Mezzera & Sayyal, 2010). The group also owns an FM radio channel, City FM 89. Besides it has a web based newspaper which can be reached on www.dawn.com. (Dawn, June 27, 2012).

Analysts believe that the group is staunchly following the vision of its founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Its publications are liberal and secular in outlook and its commitment to journalistic norms and ethics earned respect and trust worldwide.

6.3.4 Lakson Group/ Express Group of Newspapers

This group is comparatively new entrant in the field of Pakistani journalism unlike its other counterparts. A business conglomerate, Lakson, owns the group. The group launched an Urdu daily, Express in 1998. The daily is simultaneously published from 11 cities of the country and covers 24% of the market share in circulation (http://lakson.com.pk/?page_id=5&logo=6). The group also publishes English daily; The Express Tribune, the first internationally affiliated newspaper in Pakistan and is working in collaboration with The International Herald Tribune the global edition of The New York Times (http://lakson.com.pk/?page_id=5&logo=17). It also publishes a weekly Urdu magazine; Express Sunday Magazine. The group owns two TV channels; Express News (Urdu) launched in 2008 and English TV channel; Express 24/7

(http://lakson.com.pk/?page_id=5&logo=5). The group is modern and liberal in outlook and claims to present modern face of the country.

6.3.5 Daily Times Group

Late Salman Taseer, a businessman and former Governor of Punjab, laid the foundation of the group by launching daily Times (English) in 2002. The group recently launched an Urdu daily “Aaj Kal”. It also publishes a range of weeklies; Friday Times (English), Wikikid (English) for kids, Daily Times Sunday (English), and Aaj Kal Sunday Magazine (Urdu). The group also has share in electronic media and runs two TV channels; Business Plus, current affair and business (English) and Wikikid, a bilingual TV channel for kids. The group is liberal in its approach (Mezzera & Sayyal, 2010).

6.4 Freedom of Press in Pakistan

Freedom of press in Pakistan remained abysmally low throughout its history (Siraj, 2009, pp. 43-47). The country secured 145th position out of the 180 countries on World Press Freedom Index-2020 (Reporters Without Borders, 2020). Freedom House, an independent media watchdog ranked Pakistani media as ‘partly free’ (Freedom House, 2020). The International Federation of Journalists graded the country as the deadliest country for journalists in 2014 and 2016.

Threats to freedom of press in Pakistan are multi-pronged. The security agencies, government, political parties and religious groups are some of the major press freedom predators in the country (Jamil 2019, p. 59). Human Rights groups, both local and international, blamed state and anti-state elements for the deteriorating press freedom in the country and held them responsible for the use of violence against the journalists. Journalists have been harassed, beaten, detained, disappeared, tortured and killed throughout the history of the country (Niazi, 2006, p. 11; Pratt & Akhtar, 2013, p. 135). Since 1990, a total of 61 journalists have been killed in Pakistan. They were intentionally targeted and killed for their reporting (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2020). However, crimes against journalists are seldom investigated and the criminals generally enjoy impunity (Jamil 2019, p. 64).

The biggest of the threats to freedom of press come from the security agencies of the country (Reporters Without Borders, 2020). Military in Pakistan is quite powerful and reporting on the army is a taboo for the media. Journalists, who dare to cross the red line, often face consequences and cost them their lives (Ricchiardi, 2012, p.20). When journalists write about the army, its intelligence wing, Inter Services Agency (ISI), intimidate the reporters with dire consequence (Cheema, 2010). Human Right groups showed their concerns with deteriorating press freedom and torturing and forced disappearances of journalists in the country (Amnesty International, 2009). The rights group has claimed to receive many complaints about the security agencies especially the ISI, of abusing, threatening, harassing, attacks and intimidation of journalists (Boone, 2014).

The political parties too, coerce the media (Dawn, May 3, 2020). Many political parties have been involved in intimidating journalists on the pretext of inadequate coverage to their political activities and exposing their wrong doings (Dawn, December 18, 2014). There were many instances when workers of the political parties had beaten journalists, attacked press clubs, ransacked media offices, torched their vehicles, harassed media workers, and trolled journalists (Boone, 2014; Dawn, August 24, 2016; Reporters Without Borders, January 2, 2012). Religious extremists also attack media persons when reported critically (Reporters Without Borders, 2012).

Hassan (2003, pp. 156-160) describes that successive governments in the country, in order to kill the dissenting voices in media and manipulate it in their favor, used various suppressive means including newsprint quota, allotment of advertisements, press advices, anti-media legislations, termination of licenses, security demands and intimidations. Journalists were harassed, jailed, whipped and even killed when they spoke the truth and did not toe the line of the government. Governments used various legislations to muzzle freedom of the press. Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) ordinance was amended in 2007 to silence the TV channels criticizing the policies of the government. These amendments empowered PEMRA to seize the equipment of broadcasters and seal the premises without consulting a council of complaints. The amount of fine in case of violations of rules was increased from one million to 10 million. Journalists' bodies, civil society and politicians protested against these amendments (Dawn, 2007).

Pakistani journalists not only fell prey to the security establishment but militants, extremists and terrorists organizations also join the chorus (BBC, January 18, 2012). Many journalists covering militancy were killed (BBC, February 18, 2009; BBC, April 19, 2014; Daily The News, November 3, 2015). Militants target media persons for not giving adequate coverage to their point of view. According to a report of Committee to Protect Journalist, Pakistani Taliban vowed to keep continue attacks on media and waiting for the appropriate times. "Everyone will get their turn in this war, especially the slave Pakistani media" (Galhotra, 2016). Militant spokesperson while threatening media said, "we have advised journalists to be moderate and if they don't understand our advice, we send our explosives or suicide bombers" (BBC, November 27, 2012).

The repressive actions of the state and non-state actors and shrinking hope for justice, intimidation and threats, journalists are under extreme pressure to adopt self-censorship to stay safe. In Pakistan, "journalists and media houses are censoring themselves to stay safe as attacks, threats, harassments and intimidations continue unabated from all sides, including state and non-state actors" (Worthington, 2016, p.12).

Despite the challenges, Pakistani media is resilient and striving to uphold its freedom. Prominent TV news anchors' analyses are critical of the government policies and invite politicians to their programs for public accountability. Pratt & Akhtar (2013) argues that journalists in Pakistan are surrounded by various pressures from political, military, right wing and other elements. They are harassed, tortured and even killed but it is one side of the picture. Journalists are increasingly criticizing the government policies and even air programs on political satire where public representatives including the president, prime minister, cabinet ministers and politicians come under public criticism. Though still subject to repressive factors, media in Pakistan enjoy a greater freedom than it did in the past. Once considered "sacred cows", Pakistan army is criticized by media, which was once unimaginable to speak against (Elahi & Zia, 2008, p. 395). Many journalists who were tortured by the state agencies vowed to keep continue their job and expose their misdeeds (Cheema, 2010). Commenting on the resolves of the journalist, Ricchiardi (2012) commented that "a cadre of dedicated media practitioners continues to report on risky topics with remarkable bravery and strength" (pp.38-39). Pakistani media are now covering the issues considered as "untouchable" in the past. "Under this growing restrictive reporting

environment, PEMRA has issued dozens of warnings and notices, both general and specific, to news TV channels for criticism of the military, Saudi Arabia as well as reporting about banned organizations” (Worthington, 2016, p.90).

6.5 Media Laws in Pakistan

Just like the media industry, media laws in the country, date back to the colonial era. After the creation of the country, the colonial era laws were amended; abolished and new laws were framed as the situation evolved. Currently, media in Pakistan are regulated through a number of laws. Most prominent among them are; the Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration Ordinance 2003, Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) 2002, the Press Council Ordinance 2002, and Freedom of Information Ordinance 2002. Following is the details of these laws.

6.5.1 Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration Ordinance 2002

This ordinance provides processes and procedures for registration, subscription and authentication of declaration for printing presses, newspapers, news agencies and books. The ordinance was updated in 2007. Section five of the Ordinance deals with newspapers and news agencies and states, “no newspaper shall be published except in conformity with the provisions of this Ordinance” (PNNBR, p. 3). Similarly, the Ordinance states, “no news agency shall disseminate or defuse news except in conformity with the provisions of this Ordinance unless there subsists a declaration authenticated by the District Co-ordination Officer or deputy commissioner” (PNNBR, p. 3). The district administration has the authority to cancel the declaration of a newspaper and printing press but the aggrieved party has the right to appeal in High Court (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Pakistan, 2007). The law was termed ambiguous, messy and harmful for the freedom of press by the journalist community (Niazi, 2006, pp. 176-178).

6.5.2 Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) 2002

Under this ordinance, Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) came into being to oversee the affairs of electronic media in the country and regulate the distribution of

foreign and local TV and radio channels in Pakistan. In its preamble it states that the mandate of the ordinance is to; improve the quality of information, education and entertainment by enlarging the choices of the people to the Pakistani masses in the spheres of news, current affairs, religious knowledge, art, culture, education, socio-economic development, entertainment and a host of other subjects of public and national interest. According to the ordinance, PEMRA has the authority to determine the number of license to be issued in different categories and reserve the right to charge license and annual renewal fee as it deem appropriate. Besides, the Authority has devised a code of conduct for programs and advertisements for the broadcast media in the country. PEMRA has been given the authority to prohibit broadcast, suspend, impose fine and revoke license of any channel violating the rules laid out in the ordinance. However, a right of appeal in High Court was given to a licensee aggrieved by the decision of the authority (PEMRA Ordinance, 2002).

It was made binding that the licensee will ensure; respect the sovereignty, security and integrity of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, will ensure preservation of the principles enshrined in the constitution of the country, will not broadcast any content containing anything inciting to violence, terrorism, racial, ethnic or religious discrimination, sectarianism, extremism, militancy, hatred, pornography, obscenity, vulgarity or other material offensive to commonly accepted standards of decency and comply with rules made under this Ordinance.

The ordinance called for establishment of Council of Complaints at Islamabad, each provincial capital and the places where federal government may determine. These councils will receive complaints from citizens against the programs aired by private TV channels and have the powers to summon the licensee against whom complaint has been lodged and asked for his explanation on the matter. The ordinance was amended in 2007 authorizing the PEMRA to seize the equipment of broadcasters and seal the premises without consulting a council of complaints. It also raised the amount of fine from one million to 10 million. After the ordinance was promulgated, journalists, civil society, politicians and lawyers condemned the move and staged protest outside the prime minister secretariat in Islamabad (Dawn, 2007). The ordinance, after its enactment, has been amended multiple times.

6.5.3 Press Council Ordinance 2002

In 2002, the government issued an ordinance for the establishment of Press Council of Pakistan Ordinance with the mandate to implement 17-point “Ethical Code of Practice” for the press. The council can recommend to the government to cancel or suspend declaration of any paper and wire agency, which has committed violation of the directive of the council.

President of Pakistan has the discretion to appoint chairman of the council, besides, four members each will be appointed from the professional bodies of All Pakistan Newspaper Society (APNS), Council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors (CPNE), four members by the professional bodies of journalists; vice-chairman Pakistan Bar Council; chairperson or nominee of the higher education commission; one member by the leader of the house in the National Assembly; one member by the leader of the opposition in the National Assembly; one mass media educationist to be nominated by the Council; one women member to be nominated by the National Commission on the Status of Women in Pakistan.

The Council functions included preservation freedom of the press and maintaining highest professional and ethical standards pertaining to newspapers and news agencies. The Council is also authorized to revise, update, enforce and implement the Ethical Code of Practice for the newspapers, news agencies, editors, journalists and publishers as laid down in the schedule to this ordinance (Press Council of Pakistan, 2002).

6.5.4 Freedom of Information Ordinance 2002

The government of President Pervez Musharraf promulgated the ordinance in 2002. The ordinance aimed at to ensure transparency and freedom of information by improving access of the citizens to public records and make the federal government accountable to the people of Pakistan. The ordinance laid out the procedure of obtaining public record. Every public organization will designate an officer to deal with the matter. Any citizen of Pakistan can make an application to the officer concerned along with necessary documents and the applicable fee. The concerned official within a span of 21 days after receiving application is bound to furnish the requested information to the applicant (Transparency International Pakistan, 2002). However,

the official dealing with requests of information availability was empowered to restrict or deny furnishing information to the citizens in a number of cases. Niazi (2006, p.177) is of the opinion that the law provides a very limited definition of public records and extraordinary power rests with the government to withheld or deny information in majority of the cases. The ordinance is applicable only to the federal government and does not deal with the provincial records. The procedure laid out for obtaining information is tiresome and extraordinary long.

Chapter 7: Methods

This chapter explains methodology of the study and the methods used for data collection, variables; both dependent and independent, and instruments. It contains information regarding the process of data collection and the validity and reliability of the instruments used.

7.1 Sampling Procedure

In order to test the hypothesis, a pen and paper survey was conducted to measure use of news and current affairs programs on Pakistani private News and Current Affairs TV channels and its subsequent effects on the young Pakistanis. Questionnaires were administered to 408 Pakistani adults (18-34 years old) in Islamabad, the capital city of the country in the month of November 2018. Questionnaires were available in both English and Urdu; national language of Pakistan and in the cases where respondents were illiterate, they were asked to complete the questionnaire orally. Respondents were recruited through street intercept sampling in the five zones of Islamabad. The researcher along with a team of three trained local students visited different public places including public parks, streets, tea stalls, shopping malls, barber shops, grocery stores, taxi stands, bus stops, foot paths, shrines, public thoroughfares in each of the five zones of the city to recruit the potential respondents. This study utilized random selection of respondents to access a representative sample of young urban population aged between 18 to 34 years. The ethnic composition and sociodemographic characteristics of the sample were compared with the population census data of Islamabad.

7.1.1 Intercept Sampling

In Intercept survey, individuals are sampled “during set time periods at a prespecified set of locations where households in the target group are likely to congregate” (McKenzie & Mistiaen, 2009, p. 340). Intercept sampling is carried out by “selecting respondents by stopping them (i.e. intercepting them) in a public place (e.g. a shopping mall). Once a potential respondent is stopped by an interviewer, he or she can be screened for the criteria that determine the eligibility for the particular study” Butler (2008, p. 448). Intercept sampling is quite useful method of sampling harder-to-reach and urban population for the last half century (Bush & Hair, 1985, pp.

158-167; Miller et al. 1997, p. 657; Sudman, 1980, pp. 423-431). It is convenient (McKenzie & Mistiaen, 2009, p. 342; Nowell & Stanley 1991, p. 475), cost-effective (Bush, 1983, p. 3; Miller et al. 1997, p. 657; McKenzie & Mistiaen, 2009, p. 358), less time consuming method of data collection and yield high response rate (Graham et al. 2014, p. 453). In addition, intercept sampling; a non-probability sampling method, is useful in the situations where researchers are without funding and available sampling frame to identify potential participants (Flint et al. 2016, p. 106).

However, despite its obvious advantages, intercept sampling, there is scarcity of research in the area (Bush, 1983, p. 4; Bush & Hair, 1984, p. 158; Flint et al. 2016, p. 106). Intercept Sampling has its roots in consumer and marketing research (Bush, 1983, p. 124; Bush & Hair, 1984, p. 158; Nowell & Stanly 1991, p. 475; Sudman, 1980, p. 423) where researchers intercepted potentials respondents in shopping malls but, later on, its scope has been extended to other public places depending on the study. Public intercept methods have been used in national parks (Anderson et al. 2010, pp. (89-95); Ricard, et al. 2011, pp. 527-545); Rookey et al. 2012, (1404-1414), public parks (Campbell 2013, pp. 341-359), river recreation centers (Blahna & Reiter 2001, pp. (39-43); Loomis 2007, pp. (41-47), river sides recreational places (Ditton & Hunt 2001, pp. 295-301) and outside bars (Graham et al, 2014, pp. (449-455).

Many studies attempted to evaluate feasibility of the intercept sampling. Miller et al. (1997, pp. 655-658) evaluated the feasibility of a non-quota, street intercept survey method to study the high risk health issues in an African-American community. The researchers compared the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample surveyed through street intercept survey method, random-digit-dial telephone survey and the US census data. The results found that intercept survey method produced better results in terms of response rate, completion ratio, cost, effectiveness, and representation of socio-demographic characteristics of the population as compared to the random-digit-dial telephone survey and census data. Miller et al. recommended that street intercept survey is a feasible alternative to traditional population survey method and hard to reach urban population. In another study, Spooner & Flaherty (1993, pp. 195-202) compared three data collection methods; street intercept, telephone ring-in, and focus-group discussion for the study of young illicit drug users in Sydney, Australia. The study revealed that

all the three methods of data collection were feasible and gave reliable and valid information. However, street intercept method proved the cheapest in term of cost and lower susceptibility to volunteer bias compared to telephone ring-in method. McKenzie & Mistiaen (2009, pp. 339-360) designed an experiment to test the performance of three survey methods; Census-based, snowball and intercept survey in the study of migrant households (Japanese-Brazilian family) in Nikkei community in Brazil. The study found that intercept point survey and snowballing are unlikely to provide a representative sample of the whole population of migrants and are likely to over-represent the more community-oriented individuals. However, surveying different locations make an intercept survey more representative. Furthermore, compared to snowballing and census-based survey, intercept survey is much cheaper.

Despite its utility for specific research studies, Intercept sampling carries its weaknesses too. Miller (1997, p. 657) noted that sampling procedure of the intercept studies increases the chances of sampling error and bias in the respondents' selection. McKenzie & Mistiaen, (2009, p. 359) found that intercept sampling is associated with 'oversampling' of individuals who are regular to the public places and are more community-oriented. Similarly, Nowell & Stanely (1991, pp. 475-479) noted that data gathered through intercept sampling, may suffer from 'length-bias'; an individual who spends more time at a public place has more chances of being sampled. Besides, 'social desirability' and 'interviewer biases are some of the problems associated with intercept sampling method (Bush, 1983, p. 4). The researcher also reported that respondents in public places are often in hurry which negatively affects quality of data. Data gathered through street intercept sampling may underrepresent some segment of the population and over-represent the others (Butler, 2011, p. 2).

In order to avoid the above mentioned problems, this study adopted some measure to ensure diverse representation of respondents in the survey. Respondents were recruited according to their gender and ethnic share in the overall population of the city. Besides, great care was taken to include illiterate, low educated and highly educated respondents in the sample. Another measure to make the data more representative was surveying many locations during different days of the week and various times of the day. McKenzie & Mistiaen, (2009, p. 359) noted that

although the intercept method does not provide a representative sample of the whole population, surveying many locations and using reweighting does help to make it more representative.

In the context of developing country, like Pakistan, intercept sampling method, poses some peculiar challenges. Group responses are one such problem in traditional societies (Martin, 2009, p. 52). When a researcher asks a group of individuals to fill in the questionnaire, the respondents collaborate with each other in filling out the questionnaire. In order to avoid group bias, respondents were requested to separately fill in the questionnaire and do not collaborate.

7.2 Problems of Data Collection in Pakistan

Intercept sampling, in this study, was used for a number of reasons including unavailability of sampling frame and financial & time constraints. Though, non-probability sampling is not favored method for data collection among the researchers for many reasons. But using strict probability sampling is a luxury afforded to a few elite multinational research organizations (Cavusgil & Das, 1997, p.80). Reynolds et al. (2003, pp. 80-89) observed that use of probability sampling from a well-defined population is the best strategy which helps researchers to make inferences and generalize the results of the studies. Most of the time in international settings (developing countries) there are no up-to-date census to draw probability sampling for a research study and therefore, this sampling strategy (probability sampling) is not “ always a practical option for the researchers” (p. 84).

In most of the developing countries adequate and reliable population information are not available for the development of sampling frames and resultantly scholars have to rely on non-probability sampling methods in those countries (Malhotra, 1996, p. 26). Bulmar & Warwick (1993, p. ix) wrote that great variations exist in terms of conditions under which social research is carried out in the developed and developing countries. The standard guidelines for conducting research studies, especially survey research are prepared in the context of developed countries and when these strategies are followed in the developing countries, it often ignores the peculiar local conditions and problems. Therefore, many scholars suggested use of the research methods which better suit the local conditions. Similarly, Clark (2006, pp. 417-423) in his study ‘Field research methods in the Middle East’ surveyed 55 political scientists from North America,

Europe, Middle East, and North Africa who had conducted field work in Pakistan and other 19 countries of Middle East. These researchers reported they faced numerous challenges during their field work in those countries. Unavailability of reliable data and statistics were some of the major challenges these researchers encountered during their field work. Clark noted that during the field work these researchers were frustrated by “locating interviewees, data- the dearth of good directories and phone books, unreliable internet, outdated telephone numbers, lack of accurate addresses, restrictive opening hours, and cancellation of appointments” (p. 418). Most of the research, the researchers carried out was based on non-probability sampling techniques. A number of scholars carried out research studies using non-probability sampling in the developing countries. For example, Tessler and Nachtwey (1998, pp. 619-636) conducted a study in five Arab countries; Egypt, Kuwait, Palestine, Jordan & Lebanon. Data collected for the study was non-random in nature. Similarly Kousha & Mohseni (2000, pp. 259-289) assessed happiness level among the Iranians and their general life satisfaction. Data for the study was collected through snowballing- a non-probability sampling techniques.

Like other developing countries, Pakistan has weak infrastructure for data collection and lack in institutional setup. In Pakistan, Pakistan Statistics Bureau (PBS), the official agency of the country collect, compile and disseminate statistical information on population, economy, resources, society and culture. The bureau is mandated to undertake national population census and surveys every ten years since its establishment in 1950. However, the agency has so far conducted six national censuses (1961, 1972, 1981, 1998 and the latest 2017). After a gap of 19 years, PBS conducted the last population censuses between March and May 2017 but after the laps of two years, it has published only the provisional summary of the census and the detailed results have not been made public so far. Asad Elahi (2008, pp. 11-17), Ex-Secretary Statistics Division, Government of Pakistan, is of the view that data collection in Pakistan faces two broad problems; internal and external. Internal problems are “weaknesses of institutional and organizational set-up and lack of resources and infrastructure causing operational inadequacies, External category includes inability of the civil society, establishments or even of the administration to part or contribute in collection of reliable and timely data” (p.11). Commenting on the dismal status of data collection in Pakistan, Murtaza Haider, a Pakistani scholar based in Toronto, Australia wrote that unavailability of reliable data and statistics hampers research

activities in Pakistan. He noted that in Pakistan, authorities do not collect quality data on regular basis, even the Census which is a nation's primary data collection responsibility. In case the data is available with the state institutions, it is kept under lock and researchers have no access to it (Haider, 2014).

In the presence of such challenges, researchers, in the developing countries should take care of factors such as time and cost while carrying out research projects in these countries. "A parsimonious approach to factors of time and cost should guide any research endeavor" (Cavusgil & Das, 1997, p. 80). Owing to the above mentioned problems, the financial, time and practical limitations this study opted to utilize the non-probability sampling technique; intercept sampling for data collection.

Conducting random-digit dial survey in Pakistan is also problematic due to many reasons. Unavailability of phone directories and mobile phone numbers, lack of familiarity of Pakistanis with telephonic surveys, and completion of a lengthy questionnaire without any financial or other incentives are some of the problems in conducting telephone or mobile survey. During the last decade, fixed landline connection subscription in Pakistan has immensely decreased while use of the cellular phone increased exponentially during the same tenure. According to the website of Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) there are only three million basic telephone subscribers in Pakistan as compared to 159 million cellular phone users (<https://www.pta.gov.pk/en/telecom-indicators>) among the total population of 207.7 million. Similarly obtaining mobile phone number list is quite hard if not possible in Pakistan. Some cultural issues hinder to conduct random digit-dial survey in the country. Female family members often do not talk to strangers on phone (Gillespie & Hennessey, 2016, p. 229) while 50 percent of the sample size composed of females.

An online survey too was not feasible in Pakistan. Just 21 percent of the population in the country has access to internet (<https://wearesocial.com/global-digital-report-2019>). Besides internet access problems, obtaining email list, low response rate of email survey, unfamiliarity of Pakistanis with online survey could hinder execution of this project. Literacy rate is another issue which could prohibit completion of this survey as the sample contained both illiterate and literate respondents.

Similarly obtaining data through mail survey was also a challenging task. Some problems like unavailability of mailing lists, participation of female respondents in the survey, low response rate and literacy issue could impede mail survey. Besides, mail system in Pakistan inefficient and unreliable (Gillespie & Hennessey, 2016, p. 229). Though this problem could be countered through using registered mail service or courier service but that would have substantially increased cost of the survey.

7.3 Instrument and Variables

The questionnaire is a paper and pen survey available in both Urdu (national language of Pakistan) and English. The questionnaire consists of 89 questions and expected to take 20-30 minutes to fill in. To ensure the validity, the questionnaire was reviewed and evaluated by German and Pakistani academics. In addition, a pretest was conducted using both the English and Urdu versions of the questionnaire among the Pakistani community living in Berlin, Germany. Native Urdu speaking community members were requested to proofread the questionnaire and provide feedback on the survey tool. They pointed out some minor grammatical and translation mistakes which were duly incorporated.

Independent variables in this study consist of news exposure measures (frequency of exposure, amount of exposure, attention and which medium). Dependent variables of the study are political interest, subjective or internal political efficacy and political participation. These variables and their operationalization have been discussed in details in the following section.

7.3.1 Independent Variables

The main independent variable of the study is the exposure/consumption of news and public affairs contents on various media of mass communication. Following is a brief detail of the independent variable.

7.3.1.1 News and current affairs/ Political content consumption

Before embarking on the journey of investigating effects of exposure to news media on the audiences, this study deem it necessary to explain what exposure means and how it can be

operationalized. Slater (2004) defined media exposure as “the extent to which audience members have encountered specific messages or classes of messages/media content” (p. 168). Such definition of exposure refers to mere a person’s encounter with the messages. De Vreese & Neijens (2016) conceptualized encountering with media messages as “open eyes/ears in front of medium content” (p. 70). In this sense, exposure is a simple and straightforward concept and can easily be operationalized. However when exposure is studied in the context of its effect it “poses conceptual and measurement challenges” (De Vreese & Neijens, 2016, p. 70). Slater’s definition ignores important aspects like the mental and psychological processes; attention, comprehension and retention of the contents and its subsequent effects on attitudes and behaviors. Besides, important questions like why does a person expose to media? What are his motivations and goals? What is his level and frequency of his exposure? And under what circumstances the exposure happens? Conceptualization and operationalization of ‘exposure’, in this sense, becomes a complicated task and gain the central position.

Scholars concerned with media effects have devoted considerable thoughts and efforts to the concept of ‘exposure’. They presented a variety of conceptual and theoretical frameworks to investigate how this encounter exerts influence on the viewers or readers. They are of the view that many variables like mental efforts of a person, his motivation & goals, and intensity of the exposure are some of the factors that mediate effects of the messages.

Research studies show that it takes a great deal of mental efforts to process media messages. Chaffee & Schleuder (1986) called these increased mental efforts as ‘attention’ (p. 76). Chaffee & Choe (1979) found that addition of attention variable along with exposure variables in studies of media effects considerably boost impact of the messages especially for TV contents. Lasorsa & Wanta (1990, pp. 804-813) observed strong media effects when attention variables are treated along with exposure variables. Strömbäck & Shehata (2010) found that “by including attention as well as exposure measures, confidence in the results can be increased” (p. 593).

Some studies take into account motivations and goals of the audience during their encounter (exposure) with media messages. For example, Rubin (1984, pp. 67-77) noted that individuals exposure to media is based on their motivation and goals. He identified two types of audiences; habitual- more frequent and generalized users and selective users who encounter a specific genre

of content. Motivation and goals of these audiences are different but both groups use media to fulfill their specific needs. Uses and gratification theories of mass media shed light on this phenomenon (for details please see McQuail, 1994, pp. 1-29; Ruggiero, 2000, pp. 3-37; Severin & Tankard, 1997; Wimmer, & Dominick, 1994). Audiences who selectively expose to media are greatly affected by the contents (Knobloch-Westerwick & Johnson, 2014, pp. 184-196) while media effects for habitual users gave contradictory results.

Another issue associated with exposure is its intensity or frequency. Researchers have found that intensity or frequency (heavy and light) of exposure with mass media has differential outcomes in terms of influence (Gerbner et al, 1986, pp. 17-40; Gerbner et al, 2002, pp. 43-69).

Therefore, it becomes important to take into consideration the above cited factors when operationalizing the concept of 'media exposure' in the context of its effects. Many studies measured 'exposure to media contents' mainly carrying a single question by asking respondents their weekly exposure to media (Kwak et al, 2014, pp. 1-24; Wok et al, 2010, pp. 1-25; Hao, et al, 2014, pp. 1221-1238). Some other studies combined attention variable with exposure variables (Dilliplane, Goldman & Mutz, 2013, pp. 236-248; Drew & Weaver, 1990, pp. 740-748; Larsosa & Wanta (1990, 804-813; Strömbäck & Shehata, 2010, pp. 575-597). Besides, De Vreese & Neijens (2016, p. 75) suggested different strategies to fully tap different levels of 'encountering or exposure', for example, asking recall questions, including additional questions about level of attention while encountering media messages, check level of involvement or engagement while exposing to media contents.

A self-reported media exposure measure in surveys is prone to limitations and errors (Slater, 2004, p. 169; Stevens, 2008, p. 50). Mass media exposure forms basis of every media effects study and research has shown that this exposure brings some changes in the attitudes and behavior of the audiences (Prior, 2014, pp. 893-894; Slater, 2004, p. 168). Accurate estimation of respondents' exposure to mass media thus becomes a challenge for researchers. Prior (2014) for example observed that respondents sometimes misreport their media exposure which mislead findings of studies. He noted that "apparent media effects may arise not because of differences in exposure, but because of differences in the accuracy of reporting exposure. Null findings may reflect not the absence of media effects, but flawed measures of exposure" (p. 893). Similarly,

Slater (2004, pp. 168-183) stated that poor recall and recognition of the specific content to which a respondent exposed pose challenges to gauging media effects. Overestimation of exposure is another challenge to the self-reported media exposure measures. Lacour & Vavreck (2014, pp. 408-420) confirmed that respondents overstate their exposure when asked about their media use.

Subsequently, researchers tried to improve the measure and suggested numerous recommendations. For example, Price & Zaller (1993, pp. 133-164) recommended that instead of measuring a respondent's media exposure, his knowledge about the content to which he exposed is a better way to conceptualize media use. Slater (2014, p. 168) noted that as prior knowledge and involvement affect impact of media exposure different attitudes and behavior. Therefore these factors should be embedded in the scales measuring media exposure. Lacour & Vavreck (2014, pp. 408-420) recommended the use of people-meters to check the level of involvement during their exposure to media especially television. Althaus & Tewksbury (2007, pp. 1-58) proposed a composite media measurement scale which calls for inclusion of six main variables. These variables are exposure to media, news format preferences, habitual media exposure, processing goals and elaboration likelihood measures.

No doubt inclusion of the above stated variables enhances accuracy of media exposure scales but such efforts require financial support and time. Lacour & Vavreck (2014) noted that “survey researchers—because of limited budgets—have been constrained in their ability to remedy this disconnect” (408). However, careful formulation of media exposure measures can help compensate the disadvantages of the self-reported media exposure measures.

Keeping in view the above discussion, this study operationalizes news and current affair/political content exposure scales comprising four measures. These questions have been adapted from a battery of questions utilized by American National Elections Studies questionnaire and are thought to cover the major lacuna and criticism of the self-reported measurement of exposure. The first question is to probe the frequency of a respondent's exposure to news & current affairs/political contents in the traditional and modern media; newspaper, TV, news and current affairs/political talk shows on TV, radio, magazine (both on internet and physical). The question is “during a typical week, how many days do you spend on a Pakistani news medium?” In order to cover the heavy and light exposure problem, a second question is asked “during a typical day

when you read/watch news on Pakistani news medium, about how much time do you spend doing so”? Another question about the attention variable has been posed “how much attention do you pay to news/current affairs and political content on Pakistani news medium?” One question has been added to ask of the specific medium a respondent exposed to “which Pakistani news medium do you expose to the most? (Please list them in order of use, and list up to three”. The last question is expected to ensure accountability and check whether a respondent really exposes to a medium or not.

7.3.2 Dependent Variables

As discussed earlier, there are three main dependent variables in this study. These are political interest, political efficacy, and political participation both non-electoral and electoral. They have been operationalized in the following section.

7.3.2.1 Interest in Politics

Previous research has established that political interest is a necessary condition for political engagement in a representative democracy (for greater details, please see Prior, 2010, pp. 747-766; Strömbäck & Shehata 2010, pp. 141-156; Shehata & Amna, 2017, pp. 1-23; Van Deth, 1990, pp. 275-312; Van Deth, 1991, pp. 201-214). Verba et al (1995) noted that “citizens who are interested in politics-who follow politics, who care about what happens, who are concerned with who wins & loses- are more likely to be politically active” (p. 345). Koskimaa & Rapeli (2015, p. 143; Prior, 2010, p. 747) noted that political interest has strong correlation with political engagement of the citizens.

However, scholars have been facing difficulty in operationalizing the construct of political interest because of its multidimensionality. Van Deth (1990) explained the difficulty and noted that “terms like, political interest, involvement, and motivation have been used as synonyms, sometimes as dimensions of a more general or underlying concept & sometimes as specification of each other” (pp. 276-277). This confusion is visible in the definitions of the general as well as political interest. In general terms interest refers to, “the psychological state of engaging or the predisposition to reengage with particular classes of objects, events, or ideas over time” (Hidi & Renninger, 2006, p. 112). This explanation refers ‘interest’ to a cognitive state which does not

involve any manifestation of overt expression of the phenomenon. However, scholars concerned with political interest seem perplexed while carving out a clear cut operationalization of the variable. Van Deth (1990) defined political interest as “the degree to which politics arouses a citizen’s curiosity” (p. 278). Lupia & Philbot (2005) define the concept as “citizens’ willingness to pay attention to political phenomenon at the possible expense of other topics” (1122). Analysis of these two definitions reveals that political interest entails both cognitive as well as not-so-much obvious manifestation of engagement.

The Van Deth definition sees political interest as a ‘cognitive engagement’, free of some degree of concrete political activity while Lupia & Philbot definition calls for some action. However, most of the prestigious surveys including American National Election Study (ANES) and European Social Study (ESS) carry the single item scale for political interest ‘how interested would you say you are in politics’. Van Deth (1991, pp. 201-213) argued that the question posed in these surveys does not explain the veracity of the concept and suggested that another question should be included in the scale which indicate political interest of a citizen. He proposed that ‘political discussions with friends and relatives’ can possibly be indicator of political interest. In another instance, Van Deth (1990, pp. 275-312) proposed a six point scale to measure the concept. The scale included, subjective political interest measurement through asking respondent about their level of political interest, observation of respondent’s interest in filling out questionnaire, following politics in media, political discussions with friends, attending political meetings and inclination towards a political party.

Political interest, for this study, initially has been operationalized by adapting the framework proposed by Van Deth (1990, pp. 275-312). The question regarding attending political meetings has been deliberately dropped because it has been used as political participation instrument in this study while due to introduction of social media platform a question has been added to know how far citizens used social media for political discussions. Subjective political interest measured through the question “how interested would you say you are in politics, political discussion with friends and relatives when get together and contact online, following news & current affairs and politics in media, inclination towards a political party. But during the pretest, the scale failed to give valid results and therefore political interest was measured by the single

scale item used by ANES & ESS; “How interested would you say are you in politics”? Are you.....1. Very interested 2. Quite Interested 3. Hardly Interested 4. Not at all Interested and 5. Don’t know.

7.3.2.2 Internal Political Efficacy

Political efficacy is one of the deeply rooted norms and values (Balch, 1974, p. 2; Carpini, 2004, p. 398; Coleman, Morrison & Svennevig, 2008, p. 772). Numerous studies found that political efficacy is the strongest predictor of political involvement and participation (Balch, 1974, p. 10; Coleman, et al, 2008, p. 772; Corrigan-Brown & Wilkes, 2014, pp. 408-421; Craig, 1979, p. 225; Jung, et al, 2011, p. 414). Though a number of demographic, contextual, situational and cultural factors affect political efficacy but media play a substantial role in its development and expression (see for example, Carpini (2004, p. 398; Pinkleton, et al, 1998, p. 42; Jung et al, p. 414). There are scores of studies which certify the relationship between news exposure and political efficacy (Carpini, 2004, p. 398; Coleman, et al, 2008, p. 787; Johnson & Kaye, 2003, p. 18; Kenski & Stroud, 2006, p. 184-185; McLeod et al, 1999, p. 330; Miller, et al, 1979, pp. 67-84; Miller & Reese, 1982, pp. 227-248; Pinkleton, et al, 1998, p. 35; Wang, 2007, p. 392).

Political efficacy refers to the citizens’ beliefs in their ability to understand and participate effectively in governance (Coleman, Morrison & Svennevig, 2008, p. 771, Corrigan-Brown & Wilkes, 2014, p. 411; Miller, Goldenberg, & Erbring, 1979, p. 67). Defined by Campbell et al, political efficacy refers to "the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process, i.e., that it is worthwhile to perform one's civic duties. It is the feeling that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change" (Campbell et al., 1954, P.187). Examination of this definition reveals that political efficacy is composed of two distinct components- ‘political effectiveness’ and ‘system responsiveness’ (Craig et al, 1982, p.85). Craig et al labeled these two categories as ‘internal political efficacy’ and external political efficacy. Miller et al. (1980) noted that internal political efficacy "indicates individuals’ self-perceptions that they are capable of understanding politics and competent enough to participate in political acts such as voting" and external political efficacy "measures expressed beliefs about political institutions rather than perceptions about one's own abilities The lack of external efficacy . . . indicates the belief that the public cannot influence political outcomes because

government leaders and institutions are unresponsive to their needs” (p. 253). Expanding on the previous studies, different scholars explained that internal political efficacy refers to the individual’s feeling of personal political effectiveness or the belief that he can bring changes in the political process while external political efficacy is the individual’s belief about the government’s responsiveness to the citizen’s voices (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 140; Craig & Maggiotto, 1982, pp. 85-86; Iyengar, Norpoth, & Hahn, 2004, p. 164; Lee, 2006, 416).

Studies have shown that internal efficacy is closely associated with political and civic participation of an individual (Craig & Maggiotto, 1982, p. 87). Besides, external efficacy, as mentioned above, is related to governments’ responsiveness to citizens’ demands, therefore, it is transient in nature and thus depends on the performance of a government. This study will focus on ‘internal political efficacy’ of citizens.

Scholars have been operationalizing the concept in a variety of ways. Morrell (2003, pp. 589-602) analyzed different scales devised by researchers to measure the concept of internal political efficacy. The analysis revealed that five distinct measures have been utilized by researchers to measure the concept. However, this study will utilize the four-item scale developed by Niemi, Craig, and Mattei (1991). These items include: “I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics”, “I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country”, “I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people”, and “I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people”. Response options to these questions are agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, and disagree strongly. Niemi et al tested these four items on the data of 1987-1988 American National Elections Study and found it highly reliable to adequately measure internal political efficacy. Morrell (2003, pp. 589-602) tested these items on the 1992 and 2000 ANES data and confirmed that the measures developed by Niemi et al are highly reliable measures. The Niemi et al (1991) scale has been used in this study to measure internal political efficacy.

7.3.2.3 Political Participation

Literature review on political participation reveals that the concept has been constantly evolving and more and more dimensions are added to it since its emergence in 1940s. The concept of political participation, since then, remained subject to rigorous attempts at operationalization. Research on political participation reveals that many types, modes and dimensions exist in the literature. Van Deth (2001, pp. 1-19; 2014, pp. 349-367) commenting on the multidimensionality of the concept concluded that study of political participation has become the study of everything” (2001, p. 2). Van Deth remarks can be seen in the context of changing nature of democracy and citizens’ involvement in it. Introduction of ‘participatory democracy’ enhanced involvement of citizens and scope of government activities and responsibilities. The notion of political participation which was once restricted to voting and electoral involvement during the 1940s and 1950s was expanded to other political activities like signing petitions, violent protests to the non-political activities having political consequences like boycotting products etc. Political participation thus came out of the narrow set of political activities to becoming a part of social life and essential for every individual. van Deth mentioned that the European Science Foundation Network (ESF) on Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy’s questionnaire contained as many as 70 activities that have been considered as political participation in various studies. However, a synthesis of the conceptualizations will help the reader to understand the dimensionality of the political participation and will pave way for the researchers to operationalize the concept suitable for empirical testing. For this purpose a brief review is necessary to look how scholars have conceptualized political socialization.

Political participation refers to “citizen’s activities aimed at influencing political decisions” (Van Deth, 2001, p. 4). Norris (2002) noted that “any dimensions of activity that are either designed directly to influence government agencies and the policy process, or indirectly to impact civil society, or which attempt to alter systematic patterns of social behavior” (p. 16). Parry et al (1992) see political participation as “action by citizens which is aimed at influencing decisions which are, in most cases, ultimately taken by public representatives and officials” (P. 16). Verba, et al (1995) presented a somewhat similar definition of political participation. According to them political participation refers to the activity that has “the intent or effect of influencing government action-

either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make these policies” (p. 38). Some of the pioneer researchers in the field defined the concept as all those “activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the decisions they make” (Verba et al., 1971, p. 9; Nie & Verba, 1975, p. 2). Milbrath & Goel (1977) see political participation as “those actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics” (p. 2).

These definitions point to both the tacit as well as the manifest forms of political participation but it does not specify the activities through which citizens can influence political course in a country. Clarity of the terms like, ‘politics’ & ‘participation’ can enable scholars to devise instruments to measure it. The central question then becomes “what counts, and what does not count as political participation” (Hooghe, et al, 20014, p. 337). However, some scholars attempted to address the problem and come with clear parameters or at least a framework under which conceptualization of the term becomes possible. Scaff (1975, pp. 447-462) noted that the concept of political participation has been taken in contrasting terms. He attributed this contrast to the concept of citizenship advocated by the early political philosophers. Citizenship meaning and scope had been viewed differently which led to variations in conceptualization of political participation. On the basis of previous studies, Scaff concluded that the concept of political participation can be divided into two sub-concepts; ‘participation as interaction’ and ‘participation as instrumental action’. The former concept view politics as a “set of activities and relationship concerned with maintaining community, fostering cooperation among individuals and groups, and encouraging settlement of disputes through public communication” (p. 454). Political participation under this definition “appears to be identified with a particular combination of performed individual and group functions” (pp. 454-455). Political participation from instrumental action perspective is related to ‘influence and power’ as it emphasizes the notion of “protecting one’s rights and advancing one’s interests within a competitive context” (p. 455). Although conceptualization of political participation by Scaff is a valuable attempt to understand the various dimensions of the concept but it does not specify which activities can be classified under these two sub-categories of political participation.

Researchers tried to include both interactional as well as instrumental participation to operationalize the concept of political participation. For example, Verba et al (1971, pp. 32-33) developed a multidimensional scale to measure political participation. These scholars presented 'modes of political participation' according to which political participation can be measured through different activities which they grouped into four separate categories; (a) campaigning, (b) voting, (c) communal activities, and (d) personalized contacting. Later on, Kalaycioglu & Turan (1981, pp. 123-135) developed a ten item scale to measure political participation in international perspective. The scale comprised of two indicators of self-reported voting records of a respondent during last two elections, three indicators were related to campaign activities and involvement in mass political rallies, demonstration and other relevant activities, two indicators were included on contacts of constituents with public officials regarding community and national interest issues, two indicators were regarding interpersonal political discussions and last indicator was affiliation or membership in political parties.

In order to reach an acceptable criterion of what constitute political participation, Van Deth proposed a reductionist strategy and recommended inclusion of those activities which are specifically related to politics. But the problem is, as discussed above, is to pinpoint which activities should be considered as political? In order to map the dimensions of the concept, Van Deth (2014) operationalized political participation as "a voluntary activity by citizens in the area of government, politics, or state" (354). As per this definition, four elements; voluntary, activities, citizens and government are the cornerstone of political participation. He argued that all the political activities revolve around these four elements and their relationship with politics. On the basis of this definition, Van Deth proposed a conceptual framework of political participation and presented a seven-point scale. According to this scale an activity will qualify as an act of political participation if it answers the following questions (1) is the activity deals with behavior, (2) is the activity voluntary? (3) is the activity done by citizens? (4) is the activity located in the sphere of government/state/politics? (5) is the activity targeted at the sphere of government/state/politics? (6) is the activity aimed at solving collective or community problems? (7) is the activity used to express political aims and intentions of participants?

On the basis of this seven-point scale, Van Deth proposed three distinct operational definitions of political participation. These definitions are characterized by the type of relationship an activity has with politics. These definitions are ‘minimalist’, ‘targeted’ and ‘motivational’. The first definition is relevant to political participation due to its locus, i.e; its arena is political participation. He explained that if an activity meets the first four criteria of political participation scale, it will present the minimalist definition of the concept “a voluntary activity by citizens in the area of government, politics or the state” (p. 354). These activities include casting vote, submission of official petition, supporting a party or candidate, participatory budgeting. These activities were labeled by other scholars as conventional or institutional modes of participation or elite-directed actions.

The targeted definition does not fall directly in the locus of political participation but these activities which are not political in nature are relevant to political participation because its target is political. Van Deth explained that in modern democracies as the scope of citizens’ participation widens and new modes of political participation have been introduced. Most of apparently non-political voluntary activities of citizens have political consequences and are targeted towards state, government (politics). He suggested that such ‘targeted activities’ towards government or state qualify to be included in the realm of political participation. Questions number five and six deal with “targeted political participation”. Van Deth see such participation as “amateur, voluntary activities that are not located in, or targeted at, the sphere of government/state/politics can be considered as modes of political participation if they are aimed at solving collective or community problems” (p. 358). Such activities involve peaceful demonstration. Demonstrations may not be political in general terms but can be targeted towards political ends.

The third type ‘motivational participation’ is based on the ‘intentions and purposes’. Van Deth explained that some non-political activities can be considered as political because of their intentions and purposes have political consequences. Motivation participation includes ‘creative’, ‘expressive’, ‘personalized’ and ‘individualized’ modes of participation like boycotting. These activities are non-political but become political when the intention of the people involved is political and aimed at influencing government policies. Question seven is

related to motivational participation. Van Deth presented a long list of activities which fall in these three levels of political participation (please see van Deth, 2014, pp. 349-367).

Greater penetration of internet in the modern day social system has altered the traditional patterns of political participation. A growing number of studies established that online political activities have positive association with offline political participation. Modern day scholars suggested recognition of online political activities as actual acts of political participation. The world leading surveys including the ANES and ESS accepted the suggestions and utilizing measures for online political activities. For greater details please see Fezell, J. T., 2016, pp. 495-509; Gibson, et al. 2013, pp. 701-716; Hooghe, M., 2014, pp. 338-341; Jung N., 2011, pp. 407-430; Karen, M., 2008; Visser, S. & Stolle, D., 2014, pp. 937-955).

By now, it is clear what constitute political participation and can be operationalized with an ease. A plethora of scales are available to measure political participation in different studies. ANES and ESS surveys too carry measures for the concept. Political participation, in the context of this study, has been operationalized in both electoral and non-electoral participation categories including online political behavior. All the measures are adapted from ANES 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 questionnaires. One question regarding 'boycott' is adapted from the ESS source questionnaire.

Non-electoral Political Participation

A scale consisting of 13 questions have been devised to measure the non-electoral political participation of the respondents. These measures have been included keeping in view the non-electoral participation patterns among Pakistani citizens. It includes; contacting politicians or government officials for political purposes, participating in political demonstrations, signing petitions both in print or online, donating money to a political party or candidate, boycotting a product for political reasons, calling in a radio or TV show, writing to newspapers or magazines, sending political messages on phone and political contents on social media, persuading other people to support or vote a political party, working for a political party or candidate, attending political rallies or meetings and wearing campaign badges/caps/T-shirts/clothes and displaying party flags and stickers on vehicles & homes.

Electoral Political Participation (Voting)

A set of four questions has been used to measure the electoral participation of Pakistani citizens. The first question is aimed at to know whether a respondent is registered to vote on his current address. The question is ‘are you registered to vote in Islamabad?’ it is included as part of political activity because in Pakistan, it requires physical efforts on part of a citizen to go to local authorities and inquire about his vote registration. It not only shows his interest in politics but also his commitment to take part in political processes. Besides, Election Commission of Pakistan allows citizens to cast their votes in the constituencies where they are registered to vote. The two other questions, ‘did the respondent voted in the last three general elections held in 2008, 2013, and 2018?’ and ‘which party did the respondent vote for in the last general elections’?, are aimed to know the actual electoral participation of a respondent. The last question, ‘if a respondent did not vote in the last three general elections what was (were) the reason(s)’? This question was included in the questionnaire keeping in mind the population of Islamabad city. Generally, citizens living in the city come from different far flung areas of the country for jobs, education, business and some other reasons and are not registered to vote in their current constituencies. They may not be able to go to their constituencies for casting vote and exclusion of such measure is thought to render the findings misleading. One more measure has been added to this study “do you expect to vote in the coming general elections or not”? This measure is aimed at to know a respondent future political participation if he missed the chance during the last general elections to cast his vote due to some reasons.

7.4 Survey Procedures

Survey started in the second week of November 2018 and lasted for 35 days. Around 15 to 20 questionnaires were administered each day and completion took respondents 25-30 minutes. Every morning, I, along with three trained students, (including a female) used to travel to the center of the given zones and started to span out to other public places in order to cover maximum area and public in each zone. In order to obtain a diverse sample, respondents with different socio-economic backgrounds were approached and asked to participate in the survey.

The sample included employees, businesspersons, students, unemployed individuals, self-employed persons, shoppers, commuters, and visitors.

The process of survey started by approaching a potential respondent and after a brief introduction was asked to participate in the survey. When agreed, the respondents were handed an introductory factsheet which included information about the research project and contact information of the researcher and research supervisor. The respondents were asked to select from both Urdu and English versions of the questionnaire and in case the respondent was illiterate the questionnaire was read out to him and was filled by the researcher or students as per the answers of the respondents. Respondents were asked to provide their names if they feel comfortable. In the beginning it was communicated to each respondent that participation in the survey is voluntary and no financial or material incentives will be given to the participant.

Individuals who refused to participate in the survey were documented too. A number of their apparent characteristics and reasons for participation were noted down. Besides, ineligible participants were also documented. A few individuals, who showed their agreement to participate in the survey but were younger or older than the specified age limit (18-34 years). Their ineligibility was recorded and the survey was terminated.

The survey was carried out throughout the week including weekends and from morning till late in evening. The aim was to overcome the weakness of oversampling and length bias in the street intercept sampling technique. In order to avoid group responses as discussed in the above section, respondents were requested to complete the survey individually and do not collaborate with other persons.

7.4.1 Sampling Area

This survey was carried out in Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan. Having an area of 906.50 sq. km, Islamabad has been divided in urban and rural areas. Urban area of the city is referred to as Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) which spreads on 440.30 km² of land and is divided in five major zones while rural area covers 466.20 km². Population of ICT is 1,009,832 as per the provisional results of 2017 population census while 991,747 individuals live in rural areas (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics). Samples were recruited from the ICT part of the capital.

Choosing urban Islamabad as sampling area is due to high penetration of private News and current affairs TV channels (Infoasaid: Pakistan Media & Telecom Landscape Guide, 2012, pp. 53-54), population diversity, safety, literacy ratio, and relative ease to recruit female respondents. Islamabad is one of the most diverse cities of Pakistan in terms of population (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics; Capital Development Authority (CDA). Population of ICT is composed of all the major ethnic groups in the country. Besides, the diversity, safety was another factor to the selection of this city for carrying out this survey (Tanoli, 2016; “Crime rate in Islamabad” (2015). Literacy rate, compared to other cities is high (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics).

7.4.2 Sample Quotas

Though quotas were not used in the strict sense but an attempt was made to get a sample which matches with the census data of Pakistan. Therefore, care was taken to ensure that the sample did not overrepresent or underrepresent some segments. It would be time consuming and costly effort to get a sample which matched with the actual census data. Therefore, some demographic characteristics like gender and ethnicity was considered during sampling. The census data reports that male forms 53 percent share of the population while 47 percent are female. Sample of this study consists of 50.3 percent male and 49.7 percent female. Similarly the major ethnic groups in Pakistan; Punjabi, Pashtun, Sindi, and Balochi are 65.36, 10.51, 0.81, and 0.08 percent respectively of the total population of Islamabad. There are some other ethnic groups which collectively form 7.53 percent of the total population of Islamabad. The sample consisted of 60.3 percent of Punjabis, 12 percent Pashtuns, 07 percent Sindis, 4.7 percent Balochis while the share of other ethnic groups is 16 percent. Education, an important socio-demographic characteristic was also taken care of while collecting data. During the data collection process a deliberate effort was made to include illiterate, low educated and highly qualified respondents to see whether education has any effect on the political socialization of the respondents. For the most part, acceptable demographic figures were reached in the natural course of the survey but the data collected every day was monitored regularly to get an acceptable sampling comparable with the census and if it was lagging behind to fulfill the required criteria, efforts were stepped up to compensate it in the preceding phases of data collection.

7.5 Assessing Validity of the Political Socialization Scales

While it would be convenient to assume that the dependent variables of this study—political interest, internal political efficacy, and political participation both non-electoral and electoral—can be measured equally well in Pakistan as they are in the developed democracies, this is not necessarily the case. One of the greatest challenges to survey research involves lack of clarity on the survey tool (see for example Groves, 1987; Iyengar, 1983), and this is particularly true in international survey research (Seligson, 2005). Kaid & Holtz-Bacha (2006) wrote that “any study of political communication processes in an internationally comparative setting, must consider the differences in political structures and processes in political culture” (p.5). The scales of political interest, internal political efficacy, and political participation both non-electoral and electoral, as discussed in the above section, have proved to be reliable and valid measures but one cannot be certain that these scales will measure the phenomena with similar validity in an developing democracy with different political cultural & system like Pakistan. This study, therefore, analyzed the scales for validity and reliability.

There exist numerous ways to assess the validity and reliability of the measures. This study performed statistical tests like Cronbach’s alpha coefficients and Pearson’s correlation coefficient to assess the utility of the indices used in the current study. Scales for the dependent variables ‘political interest’ and electoral participation (voting) are single item scale and therefore its Cronbach’s coefficient cannot be measured. However, the scales of ‘internal political efficacy’ and ‘non-electoral participation’ are four and 13 items scale and therefore their reliability can be checked through Cronbach’s alpha coefficients. The internal political efficacy and non-electoral political participation scales appeared to have quite higher level of internal consistency. Cronbachs alpha for the internal political efficacy scale was 0.85 and 0.83 for non-electoral political participation. The scores are way high of the acceptable level of internal consistency (usually .70).

Another way to assess the reliability and validity of the dependent variables is to correlate them. Details of the Pearson’s correlation coefficients of the variables are mentioned in the preceding chapter.

7.6 Questionnaire

The questionnaire has been designed to collect data on the respondents' exposure to news and current affairs contents and their indices of political socialization; political interest, internal political efficacy, and political participation both electoral and non-electoral.

Exposure Variable

Exposure variable has been mapped out by using three questions:

Q.1 During a typical week, how many days you watch/listen/read/surf news and current affairs programs on a media source both online and offline? Please rank it on a scale from 0 day to 7 day a week.....day (s).

Q.2 During a typical day when you watch/listen/read/surf news and current affairs programs on a media source both online and offline, about how much time you spend? minutes.

Q.3 Please indicate your level of attention during exposure

1. A great deal 2. Quite a bit 3. Some4. Very little 5. None

These three questions have been repeated for private and state news TV channels, private and state radio news channels, newspapers, weekly news magazines, monthly news magazines, and social media (Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp).

Indices of Political Socialization:

Political Interest

A single question has been used to measure political interest of a respondent.

Q.1 How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you...

1. Very interested 2. Quite interested 3. Hardly interested 4. Not at all interested 5. Don't know

Internal Political Efficacy (IPE)

A set of four questions has been used to measure IEP of respondents.

Q.1 I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics.

Q.2 I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.

Q.3 I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people.

Q.4 I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people.

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement on 5-point Likert Scale in response to every question

1. Strongly agree 2. Somewhat agree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Disagree somewhat
5. Strongly disagree

Political Participation

Political participation has been split into two components; non-electoral and electoral.

Non-electoral Political Participation

Over the past five years or so, have you done the following activity (s) to express your views about something the government should or should not be doing? Please respond with 'Yes' or 'No'

Q1. Contacted a politician or government official regarding a political or social issue?

Q2. Taken part in a protest, march or demonstration?

Q3. Signed a petition on paper about a political or social issue?

Q4. Signed a petition on the internet about a political or social issue?

Q5. Donated money to any other organization concerned with a political or social issue?

Q6. Boycotted a product for political reasons?

Q7. Called a radio or TV show about a political issue?

Q8. Written a letter to a newspaper or magazine about a political issue?

Q9. Shared political contents on social media

- Q10. Persuade a person to vote for a particular party or candidate?
- Q11. Worked for one of the political parties or candidates?
- Q12. Attended any political rallies, meetings, speeches, dinners, or things like that...
- Q13. Wore a campaign button, or used a political party flag?

Electoral Political Participation

Two question have been asked to determine a respondent participation in elections

Q.1 Did you vote in last general elections held on 25th July, 2018? 1. Yes 2. No

Please mention the reasons if you wanted to vote but could not do so.....

Q.2 Which political party did you vote for in that election?.....

An additional question has been asked to determine the future electoral participation of the respondent

Do you expect to vote in the coming general elections or not? 1. Yes 2. No

Personal Information

Respondents were asked to furnish the following information:

Name: (optional) Age: Gender: Nationality:

Ethnicity: Education:

Chapter 8: Results

In this chapter, descriptive and inferential statistics are used to analyze the data. In order to make sense of the data, this section first elaborates on the sample, response & refusal rate, demographics and then moves on to the trends of news and current affairs consumption patterns of the individuals in the sample through descriptive & inferential statistics. In the first half of this section, the predictor variables (exposure and attention to news and current affairs to eight media outlets) and the outcome variables (political interest, internal political efficacy & political participation) have been analyzed through simple descriptive techniques. In the second part, various statistical procedures including linear regression have been performed to examine the influence of independent variable on the dependent variables.

8.1 Sample

A total of 300 young Pakistanis completed this survey in the Capital Territory Islamabad (ICT), Pakistan. Respondents were recruited from the five zones of ICT and were asked to complete a paper and pen questionnaire in Urdu or English during the month of November 2018.

8.1.1 Response Rate

Some 408 individuals were asked to participate in the survey and 319 of them agreed to complete the survey. The overall response rate was 72.1 percent. However, 19 questionnaires contained incomplete information resultantly were excluded from the sample. Overall response rate for women was 81.4 percent while for men it was 67.1 percent.

8.1.2 Refusal Rate

A total of 89 individuals refused to participate in the survey. Out of the 89 individuals 53 were male while 36 were females. Individuals who declined to participate in the survey were asked to give a reason. A majority of individuals cited “busy” (39 percent), “not interested” (21 percent), “do not live in ICT” (24 percent), while 16 percent of the individuals did not provide any reason for refusal.

8.2 Demographics

Sample of the survey consisted of male (50.3 percent) and female (49.7 percent). The median age of the respondents was 25 years. In terms of ethnicity, Punjabis were (60.3 percent), Pashtuns (12 percent), Sindis (7 percent), Balochi (4.7 percent), and others (16 percent) of the sample. Education level of the respondents was very much varied and included illiterate respondents (2.3 percent), individuals who finished elementary school education (7.7 percent), middle school education (7.7 percent), 10 years school education (9 percent), 12 years education (20 percent), 14 years of education (23.7 percent), 16 years of education (22.3), 18 years masters and above education (6 percent) and others (1.3 percent). Nearly 99.7 percent respondents were Pakistanis while only 0.3 percent had different nationalities. The sample composed of 98.7 percent of Muslims while 1.3 percent had other religious beliefs.

Table 8.1: Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Variables	Description	Sample Percentage	Census Percentage
Gender	Male	50.3	53
	Female	49.7	47
Age	18-22	26.3	-
	23-28	48.7	-
	29-34	25	-
Ethnicity	Punjabi	60.3%	65.36
	Pashtuns	12	10.51
	Sindi	7	0.81
	Balochi	4.7	0.08
	Others	16	7
Education	No Education at all	2.3 %	10.70
	Elementary School Education	7.7	19.78
	Middle School Education	7.7	17.56
	Matriculation	9	18.88
	Intermediate	20	11.65
	14 years Education	23.7	0.83
	16 years Education	22.3	13.28
	18 years and above education	6	-
Others	1.3	0.49	
Nationality	Pakistani	99.7	-
	Others	0.3	-

8.3 Comparison of Sample Demographics with Census Data

As mentioned in the previous chapter, it was not possible to obtain a representative sample of the population of Islamabad for this study due to lack of availability of census data. After a lapse of 20 years, government of Pakistan conducted the 6th Population Census in 2017 but after passage of two years, did not make public its results. Despite repeated requests and a personal visit to the office of Pakistan Bureau of Statistic in Islamabad, data could not be obtained. The only information available to the public and researchers is the provisional summary of the census results. The summary contains information about the number of total population, households and gender. The information regarding other demographics of the population like age, education and ethnic composition of the residents of the city were not available to obtain a representative sample. However, some previous data collected in 2007 & 2009 regarding ethnicity & education was retrieved from the archives of the Statistics Bureau of Pakistan to guide the study.

Table 8.1 compares demographic of the sample with the Islamabad census data. As shown in the table, some of the demographics of the individuals in the sample closely resemble population statistics of Islamabad. According to the latest census conducted in 2017, men form 53 percent while 47 percent of the Islamabad's population is females. In the sample 50.3 percent are males while 49.7 percent are female respondents. Similarly, ethnic composition of the sample is quite close to the overall population of Islamabad. The four major ethnic groups; Punjabi, Pashtuns, Sindi, & Balochi have 65.36, 10.51, 0.81 and 0.08 percent share respectively in the total population of Islamabad while Punjabis are 60.3 percent, Pashtuns forms 12 percent, Sindis are 7 percent, and Balochis are 4.7 percent in the sample.

The demographic which substantially differs from the population figure is education. According to the official statistics of 2009, 10.70 percent of the population had below elementary level of education, 19.78 had primary, 17.56 percent middle, 18.88 percent matriculation, 11.65 percent intermediate, 0.83 percent bachelor degree holders, 13.21 percent had master level education. Besides, 6.90 percent individuals were having diplomas and 0.49 held other qualifications. The sample constituted of 2.3 percent of those having below primary education, 7.7 percent primary education, 7.7 percent middle, 9 percent matriculation, 20 percent intermediate, 23.4 percent

bachelor degrees, 22.3 masters degree, 6 percent had qualification above masters and 1.3 had other qualifications.

8.4 News Consumption Patterns

In the following section news and current affairs use of the respondents are reported. Respondents were asked to indicate their sources of news and current affairs information, frequency of exposure to the sources in a typical week and approximate time of their exposure each time. Most common and popular news and current affairs sources like private and public news and current affairs TV channels, public and private news and current affairs radio channels, newspapers, weekly & monthly news magazines, online media including Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter were included in the questionnaire. Descriptive statistics and frequencies have been used to explain the news and current affairs consumption of the sample.

Besides traditional exposure to news and current affairs on TV sets, listening on radio sets, reading newspaper & magazines, many young individuals, in urban areas with better internet connectivity, receive their news diet from internet. Taking into consideration the rapid penetration of internet and trend of online consumption of news and current affairs in Pakistan, especially in urban centers, an additional question regarding online exposure to TV, radio, newspaper & magazines, was asked from the respondent. Therefore, the following figures include both online and offline exposure to news and current affairs information in aggregate.

News & current affairs information patterns of the sample are discussed below starting from private news and current affairs Pakistani TV channels.

8.4.1 Private TV News & Current Affairs Use

Exposure

Watching private TV news and current affairs channels is a vibrant phenomenon in Pakistan. A vast majority of young Pakistanis (92 percent) in the sample reported to watch news and current affairs programs on these channels. Exposure to these TV channels for political information was the highest as compared to other sources of news and current affairs information among the

young individuals in the sample. During a typical week, respondents reported that they watch news and current affairs programs on private TV channels for 2.44 days on average for about 44.45 minutes each time.

Table 8.2: Exposure Patterns of Respondents to Private News & Current Affairs TV Channels

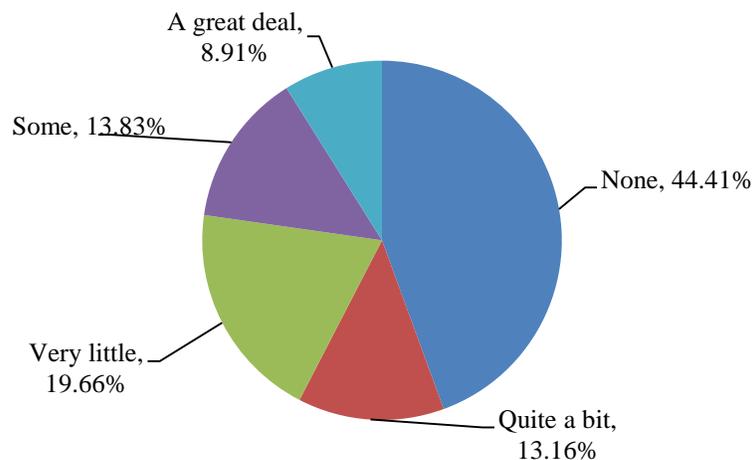
	Respondents watch private news & current affairs TV channels	92%
Private News & Current Affairs TV	Days per week news & current affairs exposure	2.44 days
	Mean time per week news & current affairs exposure	311.21 min
	Mean time per day exposure to news and current affairs	44.45 min

Attention

This study has taken attention ‘to news and current affairs programs’ into consideration. Media scholars have explored that strong correlation exist between exposure and attention when studied in the context of effects especially for TV (for details please refer to the previous chapter). Respondents in the sample were asked to report their level of attention during exposure to news and current affairs programs on different medium.

Results show that respondents in the sample, along with heavy exposure (in comparison to other news and current affairs sources) paid relatively high attention to news and current affairs programs on private TV channels. Mean of the average attention respondents paid during their exposure was 2.73 (SD=1.38).

Fig 8.1: Level of Attention to Private News & Current Affairs TV Channels



8.4.2 Public TV News & Current Affairs Use

Exposure

PTV News is the major public (state-controlled) news and current affairs channels with a reach to 78% of the Pakistani population. It airs contents in both Urdu and English languages. Public news & current affairs TV channels, despite having monopoly of free-to-air terrestrial broadcasting, lag behind in viewership as compared to private news and current affairs TV channels. Private news channels in Pakistan are accessible thorough satellite and cable networks only.

Despite the free availability of public news channels, its viewership is small in urban areas of the country. On average, less than half of the respondents in the sample reported to watch news and current affairs programs on public TV channels for less than a day in a week. Duration of their exposure is also small (10.14 minutes) per day.

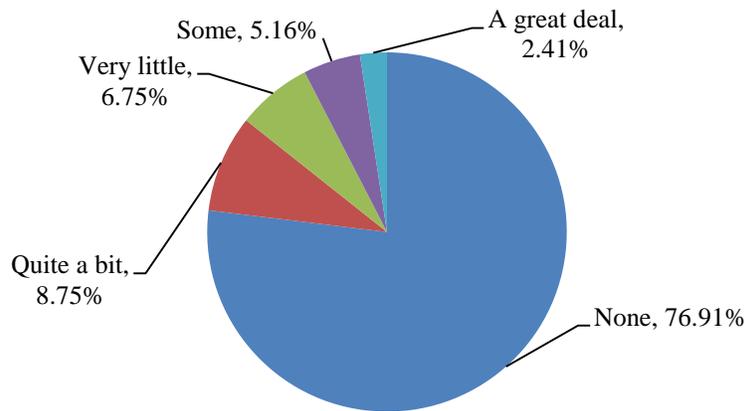
Table 8.3: Exposure Patterns of Respondents to Public News & Current Affairs TV Channels

	Respondents watch public news & current affairs TV channels	43%
Public News & Current Affairs TV	Days per week news & current affairs exposure	0.86 days
	Mean time per week news & current affairs exposure	71 min
	Mean time per day exposure to news and current affairs	10.14 min

Attention

Results show that more than three forth (76.91 percent) of the public news and current affairs TV viewers paid no attention at all during their exposure while only a negligible minority (2.41 percent) were highly attentive. The individuals who paid from little to some attention make the reaming 20.41 percent of the sample. Mean of the average attention the respondents paid to news and current affairs programs on private TV channels was 1.70 (SD=1.13).

Fig 8.2: Level of Attention to Public News & Current Affairs TV Channels



8.4.3 Private Radio News & Current Affairs Channels

Exposure

Radio news and current affairs programs consumption was the lowest among the sample. Only 23.66 percent of individuals in the sample consumed news and current affairs contents on private radio channels. Average exposure was 0.47 days a week for just six minutes a day.

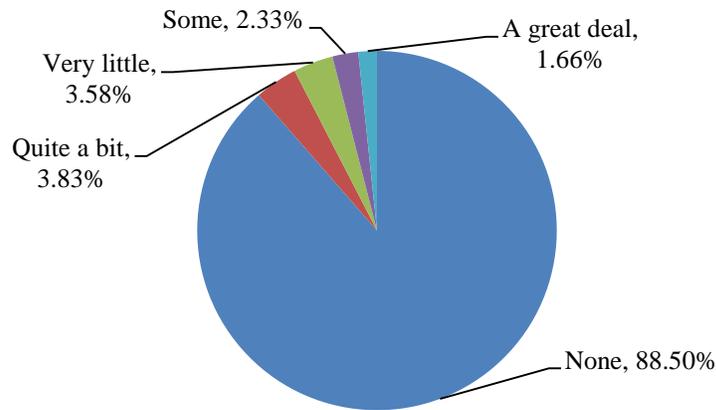
Table 8.4: Exposure Patterns of Respondents to Private News & Current Affairs Radio Channels

	Respondents listen to private news & current affairs radio channels	23.66%
Private Radio	Days per week news & current affairs exposure	0.47 days
News & Current	Mean time per week news & current affairs exposure	42.39 min
Affairs Channels	Mean time per day exposure to news and current affairs	6.05 min

Attention

Along with little exposure, attention level during exposure to private news and current affairs information radio channels was also low. Nearly 88.5 percent of those who exposed to the contents on private radio reported that they paid no attention while listening to news and current affairs information on radio. The remaining 11.5 percent who somehow remained attentive were; quite a bit (3.83 percent), very little (3.58 percent), some (2.33 percent) and very attentive (1.66 percent). Mean of attention for those who listened to news and current affairs contents on private news and current affairs radio channels were 1.36 (SD= 0.95).

Fig 8.3: Level of Attention to Private News & Current Affairs Radio Channels



8.4.4 Public Radio News & Current Affairs Channels Exposure

Exposure

Being a less preferred medium for news and current affairs information among the individuals in the sample, public radio fared not so well and had been ranked as the lowest medium for news and current affairs consumption. Merely 16 percent individuals said they listen to public news & current affairs radio channels for 0.39 days during a typical week. Their average listening time amounts to just 5.90 minutes a day.

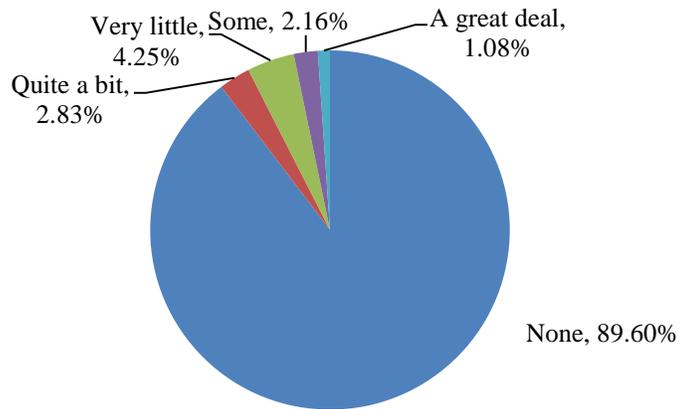
Table 8.5: Exposure Patterns of Respondents to Public News & Current Affairs Radio Channels

Public Radio News & Current Affairs Channels	Respondents listen public news & current affairs radio channels	16%
	Days per week news & current affairs exposure	0.39 days
	Mean time per week news & current affairs exposure	41.31 min
	Mean time per day exposure to news and current affairs	5.90 min

Attention

On the index of attention, public radio too lags behind all other media. A whooping majority (89.6 percent) of the listeners did not pay any heed to the contents. As many as 2.83 percent paid quite a bit, 4.25 very little, 2.16 some while only 1.08 percent of those who listen to the public radio paid a great deal of attention. Mean of attention to the medium was 1.29 (SD= 0.82).

Fig 8.4: Level of Attention to Public News & Current Affairs Radio Channels



8.4.5 Newspaper Exposure

Exposure

Newspapers appeared to be the third largest source of news and current affairs information for the individuals in the sample. On an average week 59.3 percent of the individuals read a newspaper. Majority of those who read newspapers are avid readers with higher frequency (seven days a week). Average exposure to newspaper of the individuals was almost 2 days a week for 19 minutes each time.

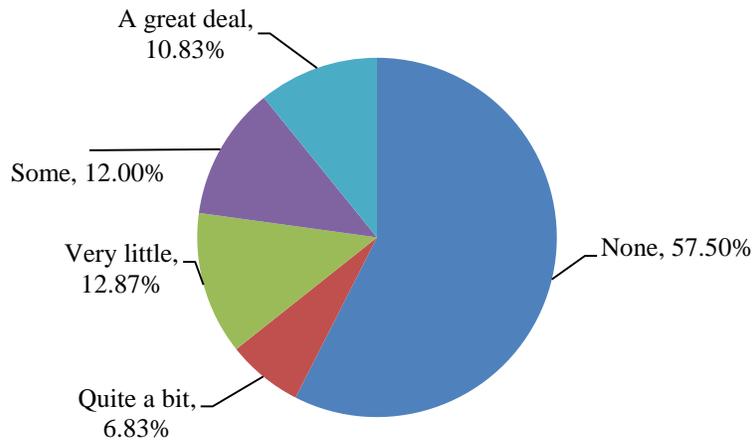
Table 8.6: Exposure Patterns of Respondents to Newspapers

Newspapers	Respondents read newspapers	59.3%
	Days per week news & current affairs exposure	1.99 days
	Mean time per week news & current affairs exposure	133.15 min
	Mean time per day exposure to news and current affairs	19.02 min

Attention

Majority of the readers (57.5 percent) paid no attention, 6.83 percent quite a bit, 12.83 very little, 12 percent somewhat while 10.83 were highly attentive during the activity. The enumeration of self-reported scale for measurement of attention variable seems somewhat absurd particularly for the readers of newspaper as reading demands high level of motivation and attention as compared to watching TV or listening to radio. Mean of the average attention to the daily newspaper are 2.26 (SD=1.49).

Fig 8.5: Level of Attention to Newspapers



8.4.6 Weekly News & Current Affairs Magazine Exposure

Exposure

Little higher than one fourth (27 percent) individuals read weekly news magazines during a typical week with an average of 0.55 days and spent 39.89 minutes per week reading with an average of 5.11 minutes per day. These magazines were both in English and Urdu languages.

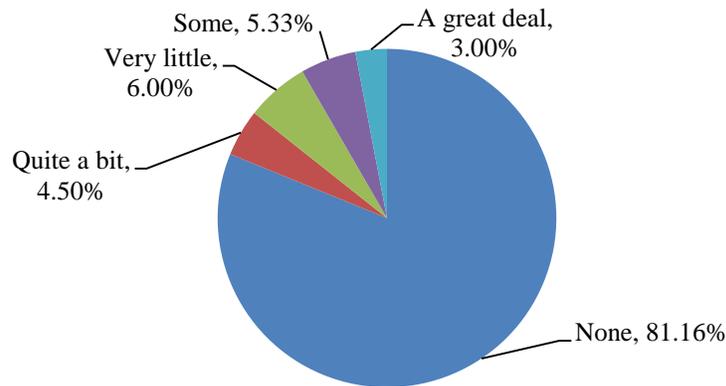
Table 8.7: Exposure Patterns of Respondents to Weekly News Magazines

Weekly News Magazines	Respondents read weekly news magazines	27%
	Days per week news & current affairs exposure	0.55 days
	Mean time per week news & current affairs exposure	35.89 min
	Mean time per day exposure to news and current affairs	5.11 min

Attention

Average attention during exposure to the weekly news and current affairs magazines stood very low. Majority of the readers reported to pay no attention at all (81.16 percent) while only 3 percent pay high attention. Readers who pay quite a bit attention make it to 4.5 percent, while 6 percent read the magazines with very little and 5.33 percent do it with some attention. Mean of the average attention stands at 1.56 (SD=1.11).

Fig 8.6: Level of Attention to Weekly News Magazines



8.4.7 Monthly News & Current Affairs Magazines Exposure

Exposure

Readership of monthly news & current affairs magazines is far higher than weekly news magazines and equal to the newspaper readership. As many as 59.3 percent individuals in the sample read a monthly news magazines for 0.55 days a week and spent 5.33 minutes a day on average. These magazines read by individuals in the sample are published in both Urdu and English languages.

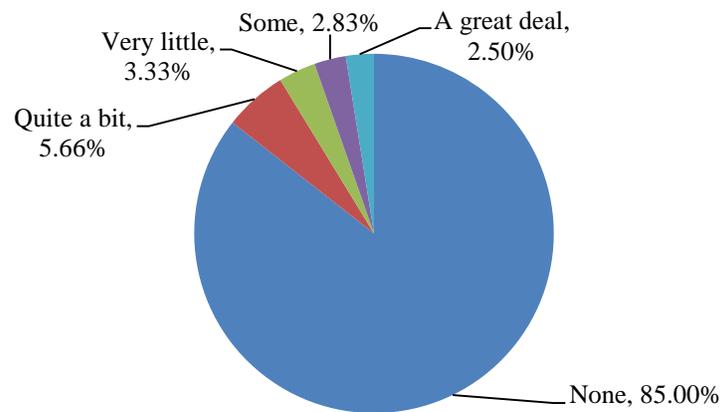
Table 8.8: Exposure Patterns of Respondents to Monthly News Magazines

Monthly News Magazines	Respondents read monthly news magazines	59.3%
	Days per week news & current affairs exposure	0.55 days
	Mean time per week news & current affairs exposure	37.36 min
	Mean time per day exposure to news and current affairs	5.33 min

Attention

On attention scale, readers of the monthly news magazines followed somewhat similar course as that of the weekly news magazines. A clear majority (85 percent) did not pay any attention while reading the magazines. Some 5.6 percent paid quite a bit, 3.33 percent very little, 2.83 percent paid some attention while only 2.5 percent read the magazines with high attention. Mean of the attention for monthly news magazines was 1.42 (SD=1.02).

Fig 8.7: Level of Attention to Monthly News Magazines



8.4.8 Social Media (Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter) News & Current Affairs Exposure

Exposure

The only rival of the private news & current affairs TV channel in Pakistan are the social media. It stood second as a source of news and current affairs for the individuals in the sample as 68 percent respondents use social media for the political information with an average of 2.67 days per week. Respondents spent an average of 83.57 minutes a day on reading, listening or watching news and current affairs information on social media. As evident from the figures, respondents exposed to social media more frequently than they did on any other medium. In terms of duration of exposure an average respondent spent 83.57 minutes a day making it almost double in comparison of time spent with TV.

Table 8.9: Exposure Patterns of Respondents to Social Media (Facebook, WhatsApp & Twitter)

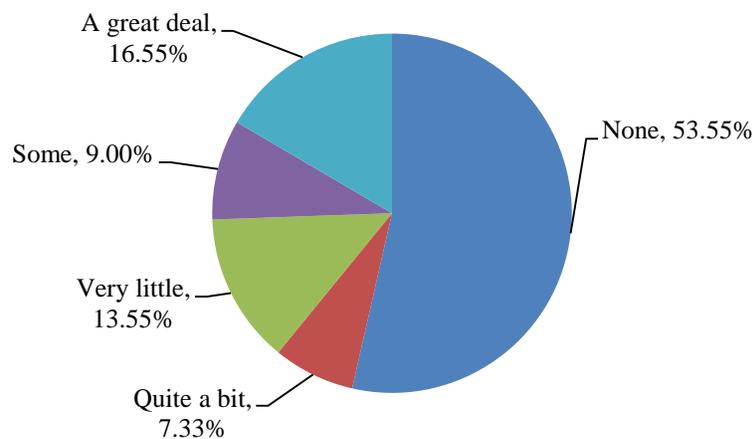
	Respondents expose to news & current affairs on social media	68%
Social Media (Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter)	Days per week news & current affairs exposure	2.67 days
	Mean time per week news & current affairs exposure	585.04 min
	Mean time per day exposure to news and current affairs	83.57 min

Attention

At attention level, more than half of the respondents (53.55 percent) paid no attention to the news and current affairs information they accessed via social media. Some 7.33 percent reported to

paid quite a bit attention, 13.55 percent exposed to the contents with very little attention, 9 percent reported they were somewhat attentive while 16.55 percent were highly attentive during their encounter with the information. Mean of level of attention to social media was 2.66 (SD=1.57).

Fig 8.8: Level of Attention to Social Media



Analysis of the exposure patterns of the respondents approved first hypothesis of the study; H1: *“Majority of the urban population exposes to private news and current affairs TV channels for political information”*.

8.5 Political Socialization

Political socialization in this study was seen in the context of three variables; political interest, internal political efficacy and political participation (both non-electoral and electoral). Tables 8.10, 8.11, 8.12, 8.13 present respondents’ reported levels of these three variables respectively. A number of the items in all these scales were reverse coded in order to make descriptive statistics for the scales meaningful.

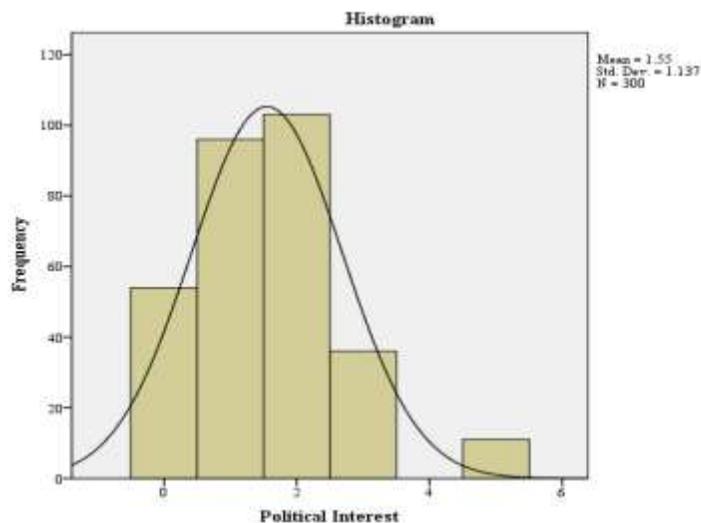
At first, frequencies and descriptive statistics are reported for the political socialization variables, and ANOVA test was carried out to examine differences in these political attitudes across many

demographics (age, gender & education) in the sample. After discussion of descriptive statistics, Inferential statistical techniques like multicollinearity and regression models examined the association between media exposure and the three main variables of political socialization.

8.5.1 Political Interest

Mean of the political interest score across the sample was 1.55 (SD= 1.13). Values of skewness (0.81) and kurtosis (1.14) are within the range which indicates normal distribution of the variable. Figure 8.9 provides a histogram mapping the frequencies of the score on the index of political interest.

Fig 8.9: Histogram of Political Interest Scores



Political interest in this study was measured utilizing a single scale item; “how interested would you say you are in politics? Are you.... Very interested, quite interested, hardly interested, not at all interested, and don’t know”. The five response categories of the scale were reverse coded in order to make the descriptive statistics for the scales meaningful. Only 18 percent of the respondents showed no interest at all while the majority reported to have some level of interest in politics. Among those who said they have interest in politics, ‘hardly interested’ have 32 percent share, ‘quite interested’ are among the majority with 34.3 percent share, ‘very interested

respondents' were 12 percent while 3.7 percent are those who did not know how interested they were.

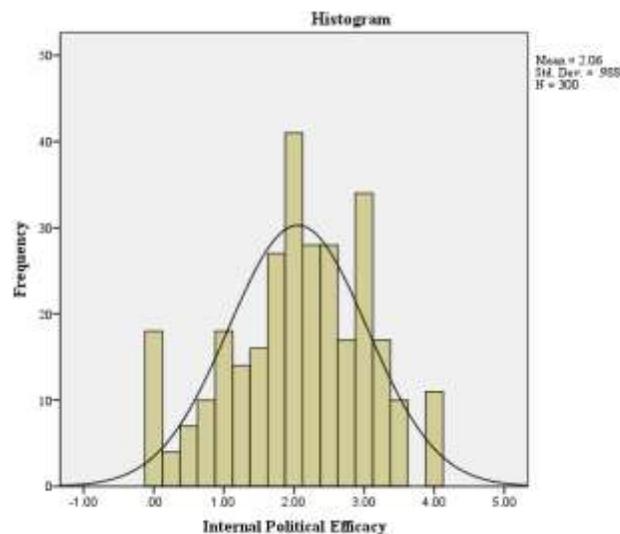
Table 8.10: Political Interest Scores of the Respondents

Political Interest	Percentage
Not at all Interested	18
Hardly Interested	32
Quite Interested	34.3
Very Interested	12
Don't Know	3.7
Mean: 1.55	SD: 1.13

8.5.2 Internal Political Efficacy

Mean of the item was 3.20 (SD=1.25). Results showed that the variable is normally distributed. Appearance of the histogram, skewness (-.29) and kurtosis (-.41) figures indicate that they are in normal range. Figure 8.10 presents a histogram mapping the frequencies of the scores on the internal political efficacy index.

Fig 8.10: Histogram of Internal Political Efficacy Scores



Internal political efficacy in the survey was assessed by using four items scale. Results showed that majority of the respondents agreed with all the statements on the scales and thus had higher internal political efficacy. Regarding the first item “I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics”, majority of the individuals in the sample agreed (44 percent agreed

somewhat and strongly agreed). Approximately one third of the sample (26.7 percent) neither agreed nor disagreed while 29.3 percent individuals disagreed (strongly disagreed or somewhat disagreed) with the statement.

Table 8.11: Internal Political Efficacy Scores of the Respondents in Percentage

Internal political efficacy	Strongly Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neither agree not Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree
I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics	22	7.3	26.7	26.7	17.3
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country	10.3	11.7	36.3	30.7	11
I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most of other politicians do	11.7	11.7	33.7	28.7	14.3
I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people	14.7	8.3	27.7	29.7	14.7

Agreement level for the second item “I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country” was also high among the individuals in the sample (41.7 percent somewhat agreed or strongly agreed). Less than one third in the sample showed their disagreement to the statement (22 percent disagreed somewhat or strongly disagreed). A sizeable number of individuals in the sample were indecisive (36.3 percent neither agreed nor disagreed) about the statement. Mean of the item was 2.72 (SD=1.13).

Majority of the respondents showed their agreement to the third item of the scale “I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most of other politicians do”. As many as 43 percent of the respondents agreed (somewhat agreed or strongly agreed) with the statement while the second largest category (33.7 percent) of individuals showed neither agreement nor disagreement to the statement. Less than a quarter (23.4 percent) reported that they disagree (disagree somewhat or strongly disagree) with the statement. Mean score of the item was 2.81 (SD=1.17).

The highest agreement had been shown by the individuals in the sample to the fourth item on the scale. Nearly half of the respondents (49.4 percent) agreed (somewhat or strongly) to the statement “I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people do”. A little higher than one quarter of the sample (27.7 percent), neither agreed nor disagreed with

the statement while only 23 percent of the respondent disagreed (somewhat or strongly) that they are better informed about politics and government than most other people do. Mean score on the item was 3.05(SD=1.18).

The internal political efficacy scale used in this study was internally consistent according to Cronbach's alpha. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .85, suggesting that the scale is as valid in Pakistan as it was in the democratically and technologically advanced countries of the world. High Cronbach's alpha score of the index mean that the results should be considered with confidence.

8.5.3 Political Participation

As discussed earlier, political participation were categorized in non-electoral political participation and electoral political participation. Results for both the categories are discussed in detail.

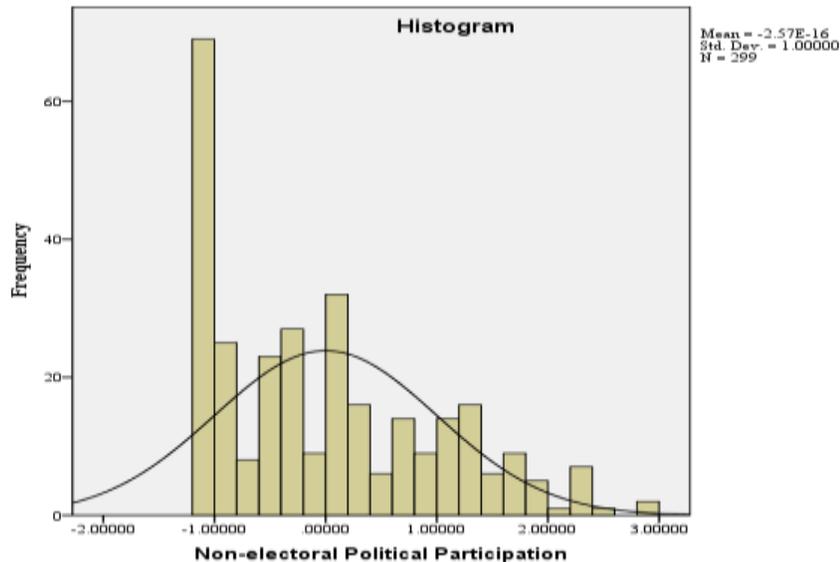
8.5.3.1 Non-Electoral Political Participation

Mean score for the non-electoral political participation was 0.51 (SD=0.50). Figure 8.11 presents a histogram plotting frequencies of the non-electoral political participation scores. While the distribution of frequencies may appear somewhat leptokurtic in shape but the skewness (0.69) and kurtosis (-0.44) values indicate that the data are quite within the domain of normality.

A scale of 13 items was developed to measure the non-electoral political participation of the respondents. Some individuals took part in more than one activity while some did not perform any of the listed activities. Results showed that overall individuals in the sample were not very much active in the non-electoral politics and took part in some activities more than the others. This phenomenon of taking part in some non-political activities more than others can be attributed to the particular political culture of Pakistan. The only non-electoral political activity which half of the respondents (51.3 percent) performed was sharing a message, posting video, audio or any content on Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter or any other social media about a political issue.

Less than half of the respondents (43.3 percent) reported to have attended political rallies, meetings, speeches, dinners, or things like that. More than half of the sample (56.7 percent) did not do any such activities. Mean score for this item was 0.43 (SD=0.50).

Fig 8.11: Histogram of Non-electoral Political Participation Scores



Around 40 percent respondents talked to other people or contacted them through telephone, mobile phone, Facebook, Twitter or any other social media, to persuade them to vote for a particular party or candidate. A clear majority (60.3 percent) abstained from doing so. Mean score of the item was 0.40 (SD=0.49). Respondents who wore campaign buttons or displayed stickers of a political party were 37.3 percent of the sample with a mean score of 0.37 (SD=0.48).

Less than a quarter (29.7 percent) of the individuals in the sample took part in protest march and demonstration. Mean score on the item was 0.30 (SD=0.46). Similarly 29.7 percent of the respondents donated money to a political parties or any organization concerned with social issues. Mean score on the item was 0.30 (SD=0.46)

While a similar number of respondents (28.3 percent each) participated in two activities; contacting a politician or government official & worked for a political party or candidate. Mean scores of these two activities were 0.28 (SD=0.45).

Nearly one forth (24.7 percent) of the respondents reported to have signed online petition with a mean score of 0.25 (SD=0.43). Participation of individuals in the sample in the four remaining

political activities; signing online petition, boycotting a product for political reasons, calling in a TV or Radio talk show/ current affairs program, and writing letters to newspaper was substantially low. Mean scores on these four scales were 0.19 (SD=0.39), 0.18 (SD=0.38), 0.11 (SD=0.31) and 0.10 (SD=0.30) respectively.

The scale devised to measure the non-electoral political participation was internally consistent. Cronbach's Alpha of the scale was 0.83 which indicates that the scale is valid too in Pakistan just like the countries with established democracies and the results can be considered with confidence.

Table 8.12: Non-electoral Political Participation Scores of the Respondents

Non-electoral Political Participation	Yes(%)	Mean	SD
Contacted a politician or government official	28.3	0.28	0.45
Participated in a protest march or demonstration	29.7	0.30	0.45
Signed petition on paper	19	0.19	0.39
Signed petition online	24.7	0.25	0.43
Donated money	29.7	0.30	0.45
Boycotted a product	17.7	0.18	0.38
Called a media outlet	11.3	0.11	0.31
Wrote letter to a newspaper	10	0.10	0.30
Shared political post on social media	51.3	0.51	0.50
Persuaded anyone to vote for a political party	39.7	0.40	0.49
Worked or a political party or candidate	28.3	0.28	0.45
Attended political rallies, meetings, speeches etc	43.3	0.43	0.49
Wore campaign button or sticker	37.3	0.37	0.48

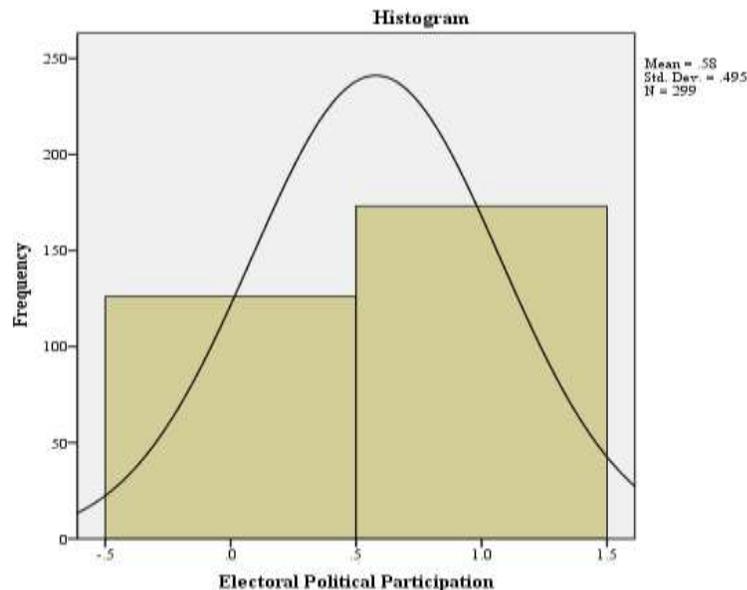
8.5.3.2 Electoral Participation (Voting)

Electoral participation of the participants was measured through a single item scale; did a respondent voted in the last general elections? Mean score of the index was 0.58 (SD=0.49). Figure 8.12 presents a histogram showing frequencies of voting behavior of the respondents. Appearance of the histogram, skewness (-0.32) and kurtosis (-1.91) indicate that the variable is nearly normally distributed.

Electoral participation of the respondents is complicated as only 37 percent of them were registered to vote in ICT (Islamabad). The clear majority 63 percent of the respondents were registered to vote in other parts of the country. The Election Commission of Pakistan allows the citizens to vote only in the constituencies where they are registered to vote. Though Election Day was official holiday

throughout the country and all public sector institutions remain closed to facilitate the citizens to cast their votes but practically it is difficult for those citizens who live in Islamabad but are registered in remote regions of the country. Results showed that 63 percent (188) respondents were registered to vote in other parts of the country.

Fig 8.12: Histogram of Electoral Political Participation Scores



Results showed that more than half of the respondents (57 percent) voted in the last general elections held on 25th July 2018 while 126 (42 percent) stayed away from polling their votes.

Table 8.13: Electoral Political Participation Scores of the Respondents

Electoral Political Participation	Yes(%)	Mean	SD
Voted in the last general election?	57.7	0.58	0.49

In order to better understand the electoral behavior of the respondents, an additional question was added in the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to mention the reasons if they wanted to vote but did not do it. Only 49 respondents (38.8 percent) of those 126 respondents who did not cast vote in the general elections reported they did not want to vote and therefore stayed away from the polling booths. The rest 68 (54 percent) wanted to vote but could not do it due to some reasons. A little above half of these 68 respondents, 36 (52.9 percent) said they were away from their electoral constituencies where they were registered to vote. There were 14 (20.6 percent) respondents who was on duty that day (Note: Public sector organizations and all educational institutions remained closed

on that day but still there were plenty of private institutions where people performed their routine duties including media industry, health institutions and public sector employees coordinating the electoral process). Among the other reasons respondents reported were; names not on voter lists 08 (11.7 percent), lost ID (5.8 percent), illness (2.9 percent), 04 respondents (5.8 percent) reported they could not find their favorite candidates to vote for and thus did not cast their votes while 09 respondents (7.19 percent) assigned no reason. The following figure explains the reasons cited by the respondents for not taking part in the electoral process.

Besides asking respondents to report whether they voted or not in the last general elections, a supplementary question was asked if the respondent voted, which political party he voted for. Out of those 172 respondents who voted, 163 mentioned name of the party they voted for. An overwhelming majority voted for Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf (PTI, the ruling party which won all the three national assembly seats in Islamabad), 16.5 percent reported they voted for Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) and 5.5 percent mentioned Pakistan People Party (PPP). PMLN and PPP are the major opposition parties in the National Assembly of Pakistan.

Regarding their future electoral political participation, an overwhelming majority (91.3 percent) reported they will cast their vote while only 8.7 percent ruled out any such participation.

8.6 Differences in Political Socialization across Demographics

As evident from the previous research that exposure to political information on different media outlets exert different effects across a range of demographics and levels of interaction, the political socialization variables in this study were checked for differences across gender, age, education and intensity of exposure. Two-way ANOVA analysis indicates that men appear to be more politically interested than women. Difference in the level of political interest between men and women was significant. Though variation across different age groups; group-I (18-22 years), group-II (23-28 years), group-III (29-34 years) did not prove to be of much significance but the test showed that respondents of age group-II were slightly more politically interested than the age group-1 and age group-2. In terms of education, those respondents who attained higher education (with 14 years of education and above) had slightly more interest in politics than low educated respondents (no education at all till 12 years of education). Variation across the

viewership groups was also significant. For the viewers who watched news and current affairs information on private TV channels (for 30 or more minutes each time) had more political interest than the low viewing group (watching news and current affairs contents on private TV channels for less than 30 minutes each time). Table 8.14 reports these differences.

Internal political efficacy of the respondents in the sample differed significantly across different demographics and viewing groups. In terms of gender, males possessed significantly higher internal political efficacy than female respondents. Regarding age, the analysis showed an interesting trend. The lower age group scored higher than the middle and upper age groups and this difference is significant. Education too proved to be a strong mediator in internal political efficacy. Results showed that those respondents who were highly educated had significantly higher internal political efficacy than low educated respondents. A substantial difference between the high and low viewers was also found. Heavy viewers were having high level of internal political efficacy than those who exposed to news and current affairs information for a brief time. Table 8.14 reports the differences in political socialization across demographics.

Just like the internal political efficacy, the demographic and exposure levels of the respondents proved to be of important concerns for non-electoral political participation. The Two-way ANOVA tests revealed that men were significantly more active in the domain of non-political participation than women. Regarding age group differences, younger participants performed more non-electoral activities than the middle and higher age group and these differences were significant too. In terms of education, highly educated respondents took active part in non-electoral political process than low educated ones with a significant difference. A noteworthy difference between the heavy and light viewers was observed. The group who watched less political contents participated less in these activities while the heavy viewers fared far well in comparison.

Two-way ANOVA did not find any significant differences regarding the gender, age, education and viewership in electoral participation of the group.

The ANOVA results approved H6 which states that “*demographics of gender, age and education mediate the impact of exposure to news & current affairs on the political socialization variables*”.

Table 8.14: Composite Scales of Political Interest, Internal Political Efficacy & Political Participation

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Gender(F/M)	Age(L/M/H)	Education(L/H)	Viewing(L/H)
Political interest	300	1.55	1.14	1.69/1.41*	1.59/1.63/1.35	1.44/1.64	1.38/1.77*
Internal political efficacy	300	2.06	0.99	2.32/1.79*	2.26/2.19/1.58*	1.76/2.31*	1.78/2.43*
Non-electoral political participation	299	0.28	0.25	0.36/0.21*	0.34/0.29/0.21*	0.23/0.33*	0.22/0.38*
Electoral political participation	299	0.80	0.40	0.59/0.57	0.53/0.59/0.61	0.58/0.58	0.58/0.58

8.7 Association between News & Current Affairs Exposure and Political Socialization

In order to investigate relationship between news and current affairs consumption and political socialization variables (political interest, internal political efficacy and political participation), regression models were first run with exposure to news & current affairs variables, attention, and the demographic variables. News & current affairs variables in this study were private news & current affairs TV channels, public news & current affairs TV channels, private news & current affairs radio channels, public news & current affairs radio channels, newspapers, weekly news magazines, monthly news magazines, & social media (Facebook, WhatsApp & Twitter). “Attention” variable was attention paid during exposure to each medium. While the outcome variables were political interest, internal political efficacy and political participation (both non-electoral political participation & electoral participation).

In total, 32 regression models were run to investigate the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. In every model the demographic variables of gender, age & education and news & current affairs exposure variables along with the attention to each medium were separately regressed on each of the outcome variables of political socialization; political interest, internal political efficacy and political participation (both non-electoral political participation & electoral participation).

8.8 Computing Variables

In order to run the regression models, some variables like exposure, attention, and education were calculated.

8.8.1 Exposure to News & Current Affair

In the survey respondents were asked to indicate how many days during a typical week they exposed to news contents on a particular medium (the medium itself and online) and for how much time (in minutes) each occasion. The same question was repeated for current affairs programs. News and current affairs were used as separate categories as some people only expose to news, some to current affairs and some to both. The categories of exposure to news, current affairs, news online and current affairs online were combined to get one composite variable of exposure to news and current affairs.

Exposure variables were calculated by adding the number of days a respondent expose to the news and current affairs programs both on the medium and online and multiplied it with number of reported duration (in minutes) each time. For example, a respondent who reported to have watched TV news three days a week, current affairs contents for four days a week, watched TV news online for five days and current affairs programs for four days. The average exposure in number of days would be addition of number of all the days on which a respondent exposed divided by four. It gives an average score of four days a week. Suppose the approximate exposure duration was 30 minutes each time. Therefore, the total duration during the whole week would have been multiplication of average number of days (04) and approximate exposure duration each time (30 minutes). It makes the score of 480 for TV news & current affairs contents use of the respondent. In order to get per day score of the respondent, the total duration was divided by seven (number of days in a week). In the above example, to get daily consumption of news and current, total score of 480 would have been divided by seven. The same calculation was done for all of the news & current affair consumption on every medium cited above.

8.8.2 Attention

Just like the news consumption variable, respondents were asked to indicate their level of attention for the news, current affairs, news (online) and current affairs online on a scale from 1 through 5. The average score was derived by dividing the total score of the respondents by four. For example, a respondent reported to had attention level-3 during exposure to news on TV, attention level-4 while watching current affairs program on TV, level-4 for television news online and level-1 attention during encounter with television current affairs programs online. So the average attention level of the respondent would be sum of the all levels of attention divide by four. Average attention level for all the media was calculated in similar way.

8.8.3 Education

Education was coded into two distinct categories. The number 0 was assigned to the respondents who had no or low education (less than 12 years of education) and 1 was assigned to the category of respondents having 12 years or more education.

8.9 Multicollinearity among the Exposure Variables

In some instances, high statistical association among the independent variables or in statistical terms, multicollinearity, in a regression model, can mislead interpretation or partial correlations which make it difficult to understand what is really happening. Therefore, it is better to check multicollinearity of the independent variables. Keeping in view the highly saturated media environment one can assume with confidence that a person who watches news or current affairs on one medium may expose to other media of political information and therefore expectations of correlations of exposure cannot be ruled out. In a regression model, multicollinearity is measured by the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF). The value of VIF is 1 or greater than one. Researchers argue that if the value of VIF exceeds than 10, it is regarded as indicating multicollinearity. VIF values of all the predictor variables in the study are quite in range. Table 8.15 shows that multicollinearity among the exposure variable is not an issue in this study.

Table 8.15: Multicollinearity among the Exposure Variables

Variables	Private TV VIF	Public TV VIF	Private Radio VIF	Public Radio VIF	Newspaper VIF	Weekly Mag VIF	Monthly Mag VIF	Social Media VIF
Exposure	1.78	2.11	1.30	1.52	1.62	1.43	1.54	1.42
Attention	1.80	2.16	1.32	1.54	1.72	1.45	1.59	1.68
Demographics								
Education	1.06	1.02	1.03	1.03	1.07	1.03	1.03	1.22
Age	1.06	1.05	1.02	1.02	1.06	1.04	1.04	1.10
Gender	1.09	1.03	1.04	1.02	1.05	1.02	1.02	1.03

8.10 Association between Media Exposure and Measures of Political Socialization

8.10.1 Political Interest

Table 8.16 presents standardized betas and significance values for the eight regression models predicting political interest with news & current affairs contents consumption, attention, and the demographics variables of gender, age, & education.

In the first model, consumption of news and current affairs on private TV channels were significantly associated with political interest. In terms of demographic, only age appeared to be associated significantly with political interest. The model shows that age is negatively associated and reconfirmed the results of the ANOVA test reported earlier. The results showed that interest in politics decreases as age of the respondent increases.

The second model showed that neither exposure nor attention paid while watching news and current affairs on public TV was associated with political interest. While age and gender were strongly associated with political interest. Age was negatively while gender was positively associated with political interest. These findings endorsed the earlier results of the ANOVA test that respondents of younger age possessed high political interest while men were more interested in politics than women.

In model three, none of the predictor variables of private radio channels were associated with political interest while the demographic variables of age and gender were strongly associated with political interest. The findings showed that age had strong but negative association with political interest confirming the earlier results of ANOVA test.

The model four reported the standardized betas for public radio news and current affairs use and its association with political interest. Here too, none of the predictor variables were associated with political interest while the demographic variables of age and gender were related to political interest. Age was negatively while gender was positively associated with political interest. The earlier ANOVA test too confirmed that respondents of low age group were highly interested in politics but this interest waned when age of the respondents increased. Similarly men had higher political interest than women.

Model five showed that none of the predictor variables, nor the demographic characteristics of the respondents, had any association between reading newspapers and political interest.

In the model six, regression results showed that only the demographic variables were highly associated with political interest but neither exposure nor attention to weekly news magazines was related to political interest. The association of demographics in the regression model reconfirmed results of the ANOVA test that political interest in the young age group was high as compared to the old age group and men were more politically interested than women.

Regression results in model seven found that predictor variables of monthly news magazines had no association with political interest. In terms of demographics, age and gender were highly associated with political interest. Age had a strong but negative association while gender had both strong and positive association with political interest.

Model eight showed that the predictor variable of exposure to social media had no association while attention variable had a strong and positive association with political interest. In demographic variables, only gender had significant association with interest in politics.

Results of the regression models approved the second hypothesis of this study. H2: “*Exposure to news & current affairs programs on private TV channels leads to higher levels of political interest*”.

Table 8.16: Regression Model using Exposure, Attention & Demographic Variables Predicting Political Interest

Variables	Private TV	Public TV	Private Radio	Public Radio	Newspaper	Weekly Mag	Monthly Mag	Social Media
Exposure	.156**	.054	-.018	-.033	.072	.020	.037	-.058
Attention	.058	-.066	.023	.042	.122	.049	.030	.197***
Demographics								
Education	.045	.087	.075	.079	.055	.074	.076	.026
Age	-.099*	-.150**	-.142**	-.140**	-.096	-.129**	-.139**	-.087
Gender	.070	.130**	.117**	.119**	.094	.117**	.108*	.106*
R²	.074	.046	.039	.041	.069	.044	.043	.063

***p<0.01,**p<0.05,*p<0.10

Note: The values are Standardized Coefficients

8.10.2 Internal Political Efficacy

Table 8.17 reports standardized betas and significance values for the eight regression models predicting internal political efficacy with news & current affairs contents consumption, attention, and the demographics variables of gender, age, & education.

The first model shows that all the predictor and demographic variables have strong association with internal political efficacy. This association is positive for all the variables except the demographics of age.

In the second model, regression results show that watching news & current affairs information on public TV has strong and positive association while attention has no and negative association with internal political efficacy. All the demographic variables of gender, age and education has strong association while association between age and internal political efficacy is strong but negative.

The third regression model reports that none of the predictor variables of exposure and attention to news and current affairs on private radio channels have any association with internal political

efficacy. Gender and education have strong and positive association with the outcome variable while age has strong but negative association with internal political efficacy.

Regression results in model five show that exposure to newspaper has positive association with internal political efficacy while attention predicts no change in the internal political efficacy. All the demographic characteristics have strong and positive association except for the age which is strongly but negatively associated with the internal political efficacy.

Model five exhibits that exposure to weekly news magazines has negative and insignificant association with internal political efficacy while attention has strong and positively association with the outcome variable of internal political efficacy. Like-wise gender and education are significantly and positively associated with outcome variable while age association with internal political efficacy is strong but negative.

In model six, association between exposure to monthly news magazines and internal political efficacy is insignificant while attention has positive and strong association. The demographics of gender and education are strongly and positively associated while age is significantly but negatively associated with internal political efficacy.

In the last model, the regression result shows that exposure to news and current affairs contents on social media has no association with outcome variable while attention is strongly and positively associated with internal political efficacy. Association between gender, age and education and internal political efficacy is strong and positive except for age which has strong but negative association with internal political efficacy.

Results of the regression model 8.17 approved the third hypothesis of the study which states that *“Exposure to news and current affairs on private TV channels increases internal political efficacy*

Table 8.17: Regression Model using Exposure, Attention & Demographic Variables Predicting Internal Political Efficacy

Variables	Private TV	Public TV	Private Radio	Public Radio	Newspaper	Weekly Mag	Monthly Mag	Social Media
Average Exposure	.147**	.154**	-.001	-.015	.138**	-.044	.125**	.048
Average Attention	.149**	-.030	.057	.049	.095	.125**	.031	.193**
Demographics								
Education	.219***	.264***	.267***	.264***	.236***	.258***	.262***	.184***
Age	-.212***	-.252***	-.262***	-.264***	-.219***	-.253***	-.250***	-.203***
Gender	.189***	.244***	.251***	.250***	.215***	.244***	.244***	.227***
R²	.273	.228	.216	.209	.247	.219	.228	.244

***p<0.01,**p<0.05,*p<0.10 Note: The values are Standardized Coefficients

8.10.3 Non-electoral Political Behavior

In table 8.18, standardized betas and significance values are reported for the eight regression models predicting non-electoral behavior with news & current affairs contents consumption on private & public TV, private & public radio, newspapers, monthly & weekly news magazines and social media, attention while consuming these contents, and the demographics variables of gender, age, & education.

Results of the regression models show that only exposure to news and current affairs on private TV channels is the strongest and most significant predictor in non-electoral political behavior. This association is both positive and significant. Exposure to news and current affairs on public TV, private & public radio, newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines and social media have no significant impact on the dependent variable.

While attention to private TV, private radio, newspapers, weekly & monthly magazines & social media during exposure to news and political information, predicts positive and significant changes in non-electoral political activities. Attention to news and current affairs information on

public TV has no while attention to public radio has modest and positive association with the dependent variable.

In terms of demographics, education predicts strong and positive impact on non-electoral political behavior for all the media except social media. Age is significantly but negatively associated with the dependent variable for all the eight mentioned media outlets. Similarly gender is the significant predictor in non-electoral political behavior and this association is positive.

Regression model 8.18 confirms the fourth hypothesis of the study “*Watching news and current affairs on private TV channels leads to higher non-electoral political participation*”.

Table 8.18: Regression Model using Exposure, Attention & Demographic Variables Predicting Non-electoral Political Participation

Variables	Private TV	Public TV	Private Radio	Public Radio	Newspaper	Weekly Mag	Monthly Mag	Social Media
Exposure	.137***	.124	.039	.039	.061	.041	.063	.003
Attention	.114**	.068	.136**	.122*	.238***	.269***	.221***	.294***
Demographics								
Education	.144***	.166***	.157***	.157***	.112**	.133**	.139***	.057
Age	-.211***	-.225***	-.239***	-.238***	-.188***	-.202***	-.214***	-.165***
Gender	.207***	.265***	.261***	.269***	.228***	.259***	.260***	.247***
R²	.212	.207	.194	.191	.236	.251	.235	.231

***p<0.01,**p<0.05,*p<0.10

Note: The values are Standardized Coefficients

8.10.4 Electoral Political Participation

Table 8.19 shows that exposure to news and current affairs contents on all of the eight sources have no association at all with the voting. Paying attention to the political information on public TV predicts modest positive changes while attention to news & current affairs contents on social media though moderately but negatively related with voting behavior. Paying attention to the information on rest of media proved no significant association with voting activity.

All the three demographic variables; age, gender and education, none has any significant association with voting behavior.

Results of the regression models did not approve the last hypothesis of the study, H5: “*Exposure to news & current affairs on private TV channels lead to higher electoral political participation*”.

Table 8.19: Regression Model using Exposure, Attention & Demographic Variables Predicting Electoral Political Participation

Variables	Private TV	Public TV	Private Radio	Public Radio	Newspaper	Weekly Mag	Monthly Mag	Social Media
Exposure	.054	-.056	.057	.000	.032	-.025	.015	.049
Attention	-.101	.164*	-.014	.056	-.016	.107	.030	-.139*
Demographics								
Education	.014	-.007	.005	-.022	.000	-.010	-.001	.049
Age	.041	.081	.061	.032	.056	.067	.066	.027
Gender	-.011	-.039	-.024	-.016	-.022	-.029	-.028	-.014
R²	.009	.020	.006	.004	.004	.012	.006	.016

***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10

Note: The values are Standardized Coefficients

Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusion

This study aims at exploring relationship between news and current affairs consumption on private TV channels and the political socialization variables such as political interest, internal political efficacy, and political participation both non-electoral and electoral among the urban young Pakistanis. Findings of the study show that private TV channels are the dominant sources of political information for urban young Pakistanis. Exposure to these political information sources is highly associated with political interest, internal political efficacy and non-electoral political participation but do not have any relationship with the electoral political participation (voting).

The following discussion elaborates on the empirical results of this study in the specific political, social and media environment of Pakistan to enhance understanding about the process of political socialization in the context of a developing democracy. This chapter is divided in three main parts. In the first section, findings about the variables will be discussed and the later part will explain association between the exposure and dependent variables. In the last section, theoretical implications, conclusion and limitations are discussed.

9.1 News and Current Affairs Exposure

Urban young Pakistanis in the sample reported heavy exposure to both traditional as well as new media sources of news and current affairs. These findings are in contrast to the trends in the US and European countries where less number of young people are exposed to the news and current affairs content (Pew Research Center 2018; Jarvis, 2009, pp. 30-31). Among the various sources of news and current affairs available, private TV channels were the dominant sources of political information for a majority of the respondents (92%). Heavy reliance on private news and current affairs TV channels in Pakistan can be attributed to several factors such as its high penetration in urban areas, low credibility of state-controlled news TV channels, low circulation of print media, low literacy rate in the country, and burgeoning but still infant social media.

Analysis of the Pakistani media landscape reveals that private news TV channels far exceeds than other media outlets in terms of reach and political information in urban parts of the country.

For example, newspaper circulation in the country is dismally low. For a population of 207 million people in the country (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), the total circulation of newspaper in 2008 was 6.1 million and is further declining (Infoasaid 2012). In 2009 total number of newspapers and other print publications including weekly, monthly and quarterly magazines was 1039 which reduced to 695 in 2018 (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics Bureau). Besides, low circulations, low literacy rate restricts readership of print publications in Pakistan. According to the latest census conducted in 2017, literacy rate stands at 58 percent (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics). In Pakistan, a person is considered literate if he is capable to “read and understand simple text in any language from a newspaper or magazine, write a simple letter and perform basic mathematical calculation” (Sheikh, 2017). In the sample, more than half of the respondents (59 percent) reported to read newspaper during a typical week with a sizeable number who read newspapers both in printed and online versions seven days a week for an average 19 minutes each time. However, the national average of newspaper readership is quite low. On national level, only 19 percent Pakistanis read newspapers (Gallup Pakistan, 2019). The high percentage of newspaper readership in the sample is due to selection of respondents in urban area where printed newspapers and other publications are readily available and due to internet connectively online versions of these newspapers publications are accessible. Besides availability of these publications, literacy rate in the urban centers is high as compared to the rural parts of the country which affect the readership of these publications.

Weekly magazines get the lowest readership among the participants in the sample. On an average week, only 27 percent of the respondents reported to read a weekly news magazine for five minutes each. On the other hand, 59 percent respondents read a monthly news magazine but only for five minutes each.

Radio both public and private in the country is the least preferred medium for news and current affairs. Radio Pakistan, the state controlled radio channel having both amplitude modulations (AM) and frequency modulation (FM) channels extensively broadcast news and current affairs contents but like the state-controlled TV, it failed to attract attention of Pakistanis. In the private sector, there are no AM channels and all the private radio channels are FM. Private Radio channels are deemed an entertainment sources because there are a few channels which air news

and current affairs contents. In the sample, 16 percent respondents reported to listen to news and current affairs contents on Radio Pakistan while 27 percent listen to private radio channels in an average week. An average listener listen to news and current affairs contents on both public and private radio for six minutes a day.

Just like elsewhere in the world, use of social media (Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp) for news and current affairs is increasing in Pakistan as well. Results of this study show that social media emerged to be the second most important source of news and current affairs information in the urban centers of Pakistan. Almost two-thirds of the respondents (68 percent) reported that they watch, listens, and read news and current affairs contents on social media. All the major media sources including TV, radio and newspapers have their presence on Facebook and Twitter. An examination of their pages on these social media networks shows that a sizeable number of Pakistanis follow these media sources. For example, ARY News TV channels is followed by 17.1 million people on Facebook and 2.21 million on Twitter, 14.5 million Pakistanis follow Express News TV on Facebook and 2.6 million on Twitter. Geo News has 10.4 million Facebook and 1.66 million Twitter followers, while Sama News has 10.4 million followers on Facebook and 1.72 million on Twitter. Similarly daily Dawn, The Express Tribune, daily Pakistan have 2.6 million, 2.2 million and 1.3 million followers respectively on Facebook and 0.9 million, 1 million, and 0.14 million followers on Twitter. These figures though explains how many people in Pakistan are exposed to the news and current affairs on social media but when a person who follows these media on Facebook, shares the contents, it reaches to all his friends in the list and thus exposure to the content multiplies. This process thus makes the measurement of actual consumption of news and current affairs consumption through social media difficult. In absence of actual measurement, keeping the nature of the social media, it can safely be assumed that every social media user can at least expose to news and current affairs every time he logs in to these sites. Besides Facebook and Twitter, WhatsApp is one of the largest sources of the news and current affairs for Pakistanis. Though political information consumption through WhatsApp is difficult to measure but generally it has been observed that Pakistanis share and receive huge chunk of information through this site. On average, a respondent spent 84 minutes watching or reading news and current affairs on these social media sites which were of course a heavy amount of time.

Public television is state controlled and biased in its coverage. It is mainly used as a propaganda tool of the government and does not carry critical news about the government. It ignores the political opposition of the country and carries the officially endorsed news and current affairs programs. Due to its partiality, public TV in Pakistan lacks credibility and trust. Despite its free-to-watch availability of the state controlled PTV, Pakistanis prefer to watch alternative sources of information when available. According to the Gallup Pakistan survey, in 2017-18, in the urban centers of the country only 11 percent people watched public news and current affairs TV channels (Aurora Dawn, 2019).

In this scenario, private news TV channels became the natural choice of Pakistanis due to its rich and diversified political information diet. According to the latest surveys, in urban centers, 89 percent of Pakistanis watch these private TV channels for news and current affairs (Aurora Dawn, 2019).

Some situational factors too contributed to the increased reliance of Pakistanis on private news TV channels. When these TV channels were establishing or asserting their presence, Pakistan was in turmoil. There were political instability and the law and order situation was at its worst (please refer to the chapter 5 for detailed discussions regarding political development in the country). Security situation in the country remained grave. In the wake of 2001 terrorist attacks on Twin Towers in the US and the subsequent invasion of Afghanistan by the American and allied forces brought serious repercussions for Pakistan. Pakistan's alliance with the US and military operations in the Pakistan-Afghanistan boarder areas antagonized the terrorists groups who carried out extensive terrorist activities in the country. According to the South Asian Terrorism Portal, 63,898 Pakistanis were killed from 2001 to 2019 in different terrorist attacks. Bomb blasts and suicide attacks were carried out in every nook and corner of the country targeting civilians, military personals and installations, minorities, worship places including mosques and churches, markets, schools and universities. South Asian Terrorism Portal estimates the number of suicide attacks in Pakistan as 479, killing 7291 people.

This unusual situation created greater demand for news. Pakistanis wanted to keep updated on the political and security situation in the country and therefore needed media sources to tell them the stories. Private TV news channels extensively covered these events in their 24/7

transmissions. The trend of breaking news, live coverage, running commentaries, special reports, and experts' opinion in talk shows and current affairs programs make these channels favorite sources of up-to-date news and latest information for Pakistanis as compared to the other media of communication and information.

9.2 Measures of Political Socialization

Results of the study show that young urban Pakistanis in the sample possess high level of political interest and internal political efficacy while moderate levels of non-electoral and electoral participation. In the following section, findings of the study will be discussed with emphasis on the context in which the study has been carried out. Background details and possible explanation of the survey results will be offered.

9.2.1 Political Interest

A majority of the respondents (88 percent) in the sample were interested in politics. There are many explanations for this increased interest in politics; the beginning of third wave of democratization in Pakistan, increased political momentum in the country, failure of the respective governments to articulate interest of ordinary citizens and emergence of a third political party; Pakistan Tehree-e-Insaf on the political scene of the country.

Theorists presented numerous factors which influence political interest in a society. One of these factors is politicization of a society. Greater intensity of politicization in a society enhances political interest among its members. According to this perspective, political interest in a social system depends on saliency of societal and political arrangements (Van Deth, 1991, pp. 201-213). Pakistani society offered a variety of political arrangements to its citizens to involve in politics during the last decade and a half. The first and foremost is the successful transition to democracy and its continuity in the country. Completion of democratically elected governments' tenures in 2013 and 2018 manifests that the political system is viable and provides citizens the opportunities to take part in the political arena of the country. Another interpretation of the politicization of society is its ability to provide opportunities to the public to participate in politics. Van Deth & Elff (2004) refers to the phenomenon as "political system openness" (p.

487). They argued that if a political system provides easy entrances to politics; it attracts political interest of its citizens. This interpretation holds true in case of Pakistan. In 2012, 48 percent Pakistanis were interested in politics (Gallup Pakistan, 2012). However, a recent poll showed that Pakistanis are overwhelmingly interested in politics. The Gallup Pakistan survey showed that among millennial (18-30 years old) 94 percent Pakistanis are interested in politics, the ratio goes down to 91 percent among the cohort of people who are between the ages of 30-50 while it reduces further to 85 percent when individuals climbs the ladder of age to 50 years and above.

Though scientific studies are needed to investigate the factors which increased political interest among Pakistanis, however, the above discussed factors; continuity in the democratic process and activity which has greatly opened political spaces for the citizens to maneuver, poor governance of the political parties, and emergence of a new political party may have sparked the phenomenon. Historically, Pakistanis have shown enthusiasm for democracy and whenever democratic transition in the country began, they showed great zeal and support to the democratic process (see for example, Shafqat 1990 & 1998). Pakistani citizens responded actively to the opening of democratic processes and their involvement increased. Political history of the country is witnessed to this phenomenon whenever civilian government came to power (1970-1977, 1988-1999 and 2008 till date) an increased has been recorded in the political involvement of the people.

9.2.2 Internal Political Efficacy

Results showed that respondents in the sample possessed moderate internal political efficacy. Internal political efficacy was measured using Niemi et al (1991) four item scale; (1) I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics, (2) I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country, (3) I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people, and (4) I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people do. Response options to these questions were agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, and disagree strongly.

Findings revealed that majority of the respondents as discussed in the previous chapter agreed with all these four statements and hence possessed moderate internal political efficacy.

This phenomenon is characterized by many factors and therefore worthy of close examination. Literature on the topic reveals that internal political efficacy is a product of individual personality traits (Vecchione & Caprara, 2009, p. 490), and demographics such as gender, age and education (Ha et al, 2012, pp. 16-17; Schulz, 2005, p. 21). However, numerous exogenous factors like political interest, political discussion and political participation positively affect internal political efficacy.

Keeping in view situation in Pakistan, it can safely be presumed that this increased internal political efficacy among the respondents may be due to three reasons; (1) increased political interest among the respondents, (2) traditional structure of the social system where interpersonal discussion is one of the greatest modes of communication, (3) increased interaction with the politics especially at grassroots level.

As evident from the results of this study, respondents possessed relatively highly political interest. Previous research has shown that political interest positively affect internal political efficacy (Curran et al, 2014, p. 820; Schulz, 2005, p. 14). This increased internal political efficacy may be due to the high political interest among the respondents.

Previous research has also shown that interpersonal political discussion increases political self-efficacy (Schulz, 2005, p. 14). Pakistani society is traditional in structure and interpersonal discussion is still one of the dominant sources of information. Political discussion with peers and parents has positive effects on internal political efficacy. Recent research has shown that political talk or discussion positively influence internal political efficacy (Kim & Baek, 2018, p. 271). Given the traditional structure of the Pakistani society, it can be presumed that people frequently discuss politics with each other and hence their internal political efficacy increased.

Another explanation keeping in view the responses of the respondents to the statements; 'I consider myself to be well qualified to participate in politics' and 'I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people', could be increased interaction of the participants with politics. As many as 44 and 43 percent of the respondents agreed with these statements respectively. This high confidence among the respondents shows relatively their high internal political efficacy. This high confidence possibly may be due to their increased interaction with

the politics both at grassroots and national level politics. Currently there is a three-tier governance system in the country; national, provincial and local. In Pakistan, during different phases of its history, efforts were made to devolve politics at grass root level especially during martial law regimes. Local government system in these military regimes was the lifeline of the dictators but whenever democratic setups restored, provincial and national level politics took precedence over the local government system. Just like the previous dictatorial regimes of General Ayub Khan and General Zia, General Musharraf (1999-2007) too revived and strengthened local government system but unlike the past, when democracy restored in the country, the elected governments not only kept continue but strengthened the local government system with some changes. In the past, local government representatives used to contest on non-party basis but in the post 2008 scenario elections to local government is contested on party-basis (Malik & Rana, 2019, pp. 28-30). These changes brought politics at grassroots level and therefore enhanced the interaction of masses with the politics. This increased interaction with politics may have augmented self-confidence of the respondents.

9.2.3 Non-electoral Political Participation

Results of the study revealed that respondents moderately participated in the non-electoral political activities. A scale of 13 items was developed to measure the non-electoral political participation of the respondents. Respondents moderately participated in the non-electoral political activities and performed some activities more than the others. For example, only 10 percent of the respondents wrote a letter to newspapers and 11.3 percent contacted a media outlet regarding a political issue while 51.3 percent shared political post on social media, 43.3 percent attended political rallies, meetings or speeches. A sizeable number of the respondents (39.7 percent) tried to persuade someone to vote for a political party and 37.3 percent wore a campaign button or sticker. It can be inferred from the results that Pakistanis have a particular tradition of non-electoral political participation.

In Pakistani context, carrying out non-electoral political participation depends upon the system of governance. In the military-cum-civilian eras opportunities for the masses to participate in the political activities are restricted while in the civilian governments these opportunities are in

abundance. Since the 2008 elections, democratic system in the country has seen continuance and there are ample opportunities for the citizens to take part in.

Islamabad, from where the respondents have been recruited for this study, is the capital and political center of Pakistan. Some characteristics of the city both curtail as well as encourage participation in the non-electoral political activities. These characteristics distinguish the area from rest of the country and especially the urban centers of the country. For example, Islamabad houses National Assembly, Senate and other important political offices. Political parties, advocacy and right groups choose the area for rallies, demonstration, sit-ins to lodge their protests. Therefore, locals get more opportunities to participate in the non-electoral political activities like attending political rallies, speeches, wearing campaign buttons or stickers, signing petitions and participation in protest demonstrations than the citizens living in other parts of the country.

Besides these ample opportunities for non-electoral political participation, the factor which impedes participation in other non-electoral activities is the demographic composition of the population. People from all over the country come and live in the city either for jobs, education and business. Diversity in backgrounds and socio-economic statuses render the society to be more modern and heterogeneous rather than traditional as the case in majority of the areas of Pakistan. This diversity and heterogeneity has implications for non-electoral political participation among the people. As discussed in the chapter 'political culture of Pakistan', political parties in majority areas of the country are regional-centric and appeal to the ethnicity, language and local culture of the area to mobilize the people. However, the demographic mix of the population in Islamabad poses challenge for the politicians to interact with them and persuade them to participate in certain non-political activities. Missing such important links between politicians and masses may have resulted in lower participation in activities like contacting politicians for political issues, donating money to political parties, boycotting a product for political reasons, working for a political party or candidate or persuading someone to vote for a specific party or candidate.

9.2.4 Electoral Political Participation

As discussed in the result section, a simple majority (57.7 percent) of the total respondent voted in the last general elections. The results are quite close to the overall votes polled in the area. Islamabad has been divided into three constituencies; Islamabad I, Islamabad II and Islamabad III. The voter turnouts in these constituencies were 64.26, 56.53 and 54.24 respectively (Election Commission of Pakistan). The average voter turnout of these constituencies was thus 58.24 which put is close to the result of the data but higher than the national average of 51.7 percent. However, looking at the makeup of the respondents, only 111 (37 percent) of the respondents were registered to vote in Islamabad and the majority 188 (63 percent) were registered in other parts of the country. According to the rules of Election Commission of Pakistan, a voter can cast his vote in the constituency where he is registered. Though Election Day is public holiday in Pakistan and majority of the public and private offices remain off with a few exceptions to facilitate the voters to cast their votes. Voters who are registered within Islamabad and the adjacent areas can cast their votes but those residents who were registered in other far flung areas of the country cannot manage to make it to the polls.

Another phenomenon which makes the voter turnout look normal is the historical trend of polling votes in the country. Electoral participation in the country historically remained low (Lall 2012, p. 71; Haq 2018). In the general elections of 1988, the voter turnout was 42 percent which slightly grew to 46 percent in the 1990. In the next general elections of 1993, the voter turnout fell to 39 percent and saw further decline (35 percent) in the elections of 1997. In the 2002 general elections 40 percent of the registered voters polled their votes. The percentage recorded slight improvement in 2008 elections and stood at 44 percent. 2013 general elections were unprecedented in terms of voter turnout where 55 percent of the registered voters polled their votes while in 2018 general elections the turnout dropped to 51.7 percent (Haq, 2018).

After reverting to democracy in 2008, voter turnouts, compared to the previous turnouts in general elections in the country, improved which is cautiously optimistic but still nearly half of the voters remained absent from the polls. Studies on voting behavior of Pakistanis are limited (Akramov, Qureshi, Birner & Khan, 2008, p. 1) however some researchers found that lack of political literacy, corrupt nature of the politics (Lall 2014, p. 556), lack of service delivery,

poverty and deficit of trust in the government are some of the issues which alienate Pakistanis and especially the youth from politics who resultantly do not participate in electoral politics (Akramov, Qureshi, Birner & Khan, 2008, p. 1; Lall 2012, p.84). Keeping the above problems in mind, it can be inferred from the data that Pakistani youth favor democracy and willing to participate in the political processes as a whopping majority of the respondents (91 percent) were willing to vote in the next general elections. The level of cynicism among the respondents is very low. As much as 15 percent of those who participated in the survey did not want to vote in the 2018 general elections.

9.3 Exposure to Private News & Current Affairs TV channels and Political Socialization

Findings of the study suggest that news and current affairs exposure on private TV channels are highly associated with political interest, internal political efficacy and non-electoral political participation of the young urban Pakistanis in the sample. However, there was no statistically significant association between exposure to news and current affairs consumption and electoral political participation of the respondents. Following is an elaborate discussion on the political socialization measures and its association with exposure to news and current affairs consumption on private TV channels keeping in view the specific social, political and media environment of Pakistan.

This discussion will be divided into two parts. The first section will treat exposure to news and current affairs on private TV channels and its association with the variables of political interest, internal political efficacy and non-electoral political participation combined because these attitudes are highly correlated with each other. In the second part exposure to news media on private TV channels and electoral political participation will be discussed because of its unusual association.

High association between exposure to Pakistani private news and current affairs TV channels with political attitudes and non-electoral political participation seems obvious in the context of Pakistan. Today's politics is mediated and most of the political information people consume come from media. Before the coming of independent broadcast media, Pakistanis were virtually

living in information vacuum. Deregulation of TV not only added to the quantity and quality but also brought diversity in political information in an attractive way. To fill their 24/7 airtime, these news channels besides reporting national events focused on regional and local levels. Along with heavy doses of information, format of private news TV channels was attractive, educative as well as novel. Important happenings and current affairs information were first reported in the hourly news bulletins and kept abreast the people of every development on the issue. In the prime time slots, hot issues, emerging from the stories were deliberated and discussed in the talk shows and panel discussions on daily basis. The live coverage and breaking news phenomenon was something Pakistanis have never witnessed before.

Emergence of private news TV channels coincided with the opening of democratic processes in the country. Politics became center of attention of media especially for the 24/7 news and current affairs TV channels. These TV channels heavily reported political happenings, events and politicians and thus made the Pakistani politics as 'mediated' politics. Mediation of politics is a situation in which the media have become the most important source of information and vehicle of communication between the governors and the governed (Strömbäck, 2008, p. 230). In mediated political scenario, people rely on media resources for political information while politicians depend on media to reach out to public and know public opinion and trends in the society. Strömbäck explained that politics becomes mediated when media are the leading channels of political communication and as a result have impact on the receivers of these communications. Keeping in view the mediatization of politics in Pakistan and greater reliance of Pakistanis on private news TV channels, it can be argued that viewers of these TV channels are susceptible to the effects of the medium. High association between media exposure, particularly private news TV channels and political attitudes corroborates the 'mobilization theory' and 'virtuous circle' role of mass media.

However, causality is a major issue in the relationship between news exposure and political attitudes. Strong correlation between exposure to news media and political attitudes by no means show a causal path. For example, relationship between media exposure and political interest is mutually reinforcing. Research in the area shows that three routes are possible in the relationship between the two variables, (1) political interest is an antecedent of news media exposure, (2)

news media exposure stimulate political interest and (3) a reciprocal relationship between the two; political interest may lead to news media exposure, which in return, influence political interest (Strömbäck & Shehata 2010, p. 575; Strömbäck, Djerf-Pierre & Shehata, 2013, p.431; Holt, Shehata, Strömbäck & Ljungberg 2013, p.19; Curran et al 2014, p. 815; Strömbäck & Shehata 2019, p. 473; Wang 2007, p.381). Similarly, relationship between media use and internal political efficacy is also reciprocal. More politically efficacious people tend to media for political information and exposure to media increases internal political efficacy (Aarts & Semetko, 2003, p. 766). A host of studies show that association between media use and political participation are reinforcing (Holt, Shehata, Strömbäck & Ljungberg 2013, p.23).

Therefore, causality in this case is hard to determine. However, referring to the theories of media effects, researchers argue that it is likely that some personal preferences of the people lead them to news media exposure but it is also likely that media influence their preferences. Mass media thus become an important source of political socialization (Strömbäck & Shehata 2019, p. 476).

A consistence and over the period record or longitudinal studies of the level of political interest, internal political efficacy, and non-electoral political participation of Pakistanis would have enabled this study to speculate whether increase in information repertoire and the subsequent exposure levels with the arrival of private independent broadcast media influenced the political socialization measures or the other way round. Unfortunately such studies are non-existent. However, there are some indications which suggest that exposure to news media especially private news TV channels positively affected political attitudes and behavior of the viewers in Pakistan. Increased political participation and voter turnout in the country after the arrival of private news TV channels propose the direction of causality. Political attitudes including political interest, internal political efficacy and civic participation are generally considered as antecedents for political participation and voting (Strömbäck & Shehata 2010, p. 575). Increase in voter turnout and greater political activities in the country suggest that exposure to private news and current affairs positively influenced political socialization of the viewers.

Another reason which accounts for high association between media exposure and political attitudes may be the political and social contexts of Pakistan. Some scholarship advocates that mass media effects in the realm of politics are conditioned and mediated by a number of

powerful forces in the society. These forces are “bedrocks political values associated with class, religion, age, gender and education, as well as social networks and discussions, distrust of the mass media, and personal knowledge and experience” (Newton, 2006, p. 209). Building on Newton’s proposition, Tworzecki (2012, p. 457) argues that strength of these societal forces and values led to differential media effects in old and new democracies. In consolidated democracies, these political and social forces are strong enough to restrict the mass media ability to exert influences, however, as these forces and values are yet to establish or in infancy in the developing democracies, therefore media effects in such settings are ought to be the strongest.

Another explanation for this high association between media exposure and political attitudes in Pakistan is the nature and functions of other sources of socialization. New democracies still carry the socialization agents of the old regimes. These major sources of political socialization; family, educational organizations and peer groups, for example, have been shaping people norms, beliefs, habits, values and attitudes in support of the authoritarian regimes since ages. It will take a long time for these agencies to transform and inculcate democratic norms, values and attitudes among the citizens. Meanwhile, liberalized media thus become the major instrument of political socialization during democratic transition (Jebril, Stetka & Loveless 2013, p. 20).

The process of democratization too makes mass media a powerful tool of political socialization. Democratic transition is chaotic in nature and therefore requires deliberate media use to make sense of the situation and therefore their dependency on media increases (Loveless 2010, p. 461). According to media dependency theory, citizens of the societies in state of instability are more dependent on media for information and hence are highly vulnerable to their effects (Loveless 2008, p. 162). Research studies in the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe has shown that citizens in these countries purposively obtained political information from media (Loveless 2008, P. 177). Deliberate exposure to political information on mass media has shown positive effects on political attitudes of the viewers (Loveless 2010, pp. 469-470). Drawing on these studies, it can be presumed that exposure to private news TV channels in Pakistan increased during democratization and positively affected political attitudes of the viewers.

9.4 News Media Exposure and Electoral Political Participation

Findings of the study about voting and its association with news media exposure are surprising. Exposure to any news media sources listed in the study has no relationship with voting behavior of the Pakistanis. It is generally expected that changes in foundational attitudes lead an individual to overt action. The causal-modeling approach established that changes in values affect attitudes and opinions which ultimately influence behaviors (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976, p. 16; Crespi, 1977, p. 293; Friese, Bluemke, & Wänke, 2007, pp. 252-253; Homer & Kahle, 1988, p. 638). Findings of this study showed that the foundational attitudes and informal political behavior were associated with exposure to news and current affairs contents on private TV channels and it was expected that changes in these attitudes will positively influence voting behaviors of the respondents but no association between the two variables is astonishing.

Answer to this question can partly be found in the voting behavior of Pakistanis. Analysis of the literature reveals that socio-cultural and political factors are the dominant determinants of voting behavior in Pakistan. These socio-cultural factors are ethnicity, regionalism, language, patronage/clientelism, constituency politics and policies of the state. These factors, in greater part, shape the voting patterns of Pakistanis.

9.5 Contribution to Political Socialization Theory

Results of this study indicate that it has made modest contributions to the theory of political socialization. The findings presented in the previous chapter, in greater part, are in contrast to what scholars have found in the context of the advanced democracies. Why the findings are so different from the studies carried out in the consolidated democracies of the world? Majority of studies in the field of political socialization are done in the US and to some extent the European context (Loveless, 2010, pp. 457-474; Sapiro, 2004, pp. 1-23; Waisbord, 2012, p. 437). These scholars, worked in the context of developed democracies, and are limited in their “understanding of the process of political socialization—what agents are involved, when, and how, and what moderates socialization and learning—and not just in our knowledge of what is learned in different places” (Sapiro, 2004, pp. 5-6).

A growing number of scholars are calling for expanding the boundaries of political communication to the new democracies of the world. Waisbord (2012, p. 437) argued that the third wave of democratization, privatization of media systems and introduction of digital technology offer tremendous opportunities to expand the analytical range of the field and to engage with conceptual debates. This approach will contribute to the theoretical development by analyzing cases and findings across the globe. Similarly Mancini & Hallin (2002, p. 514) proposed that prospects of comparative studies in media are bright and it will help in development of social theory. Loveless (2010) argued that “the topic has been understudied; and many of the as assumptions that have been made about what mass media can do in countries in transition are speculative and lack empirical evidence” (p. 457). Sapiro (2004, p. 5) advocating for exploring the process of political socialization in third world countries, argued that the main sources of political socialization vary in their structures, operating norms and relationship to people’s everyday experiences in different societies. Resultantly, the patterns and degrees to which these socialization agents, in different countries, are likely to shape people’s political orientations and behaviors, in varied manner. This study, thus, makes modest contributions in understanding of the process of political socialization in the context of a transitional democracy-Pakistan.

Another contribution of this study to the theory of political socialization is the prominence of age in the process. Two perspectives; primacy and life-long perspectives dominate discussion in the process of political socialization. Classic-era scholars in the field believed that most of the political orientations and patterns of behavior form during childhood. These orientations and patterns are deeply entrenched and stable to the extent that they guide the adult political life of these individuals. However, the latter lot of scholars challenged the proposition and argued in favor of ‘a life-long perspective’. They believed that the process of political socialization remains continue throughout the life of an individual. This study dealt with adults and found that the process of political socialization is not only confined to the childhood but different experiences and circumstance during the adult life can affect orientations, attitudes and behaviors of individuals. This study, thus, supports the ‘life-long perspective’ of political socialization.

This study is also a contribution to the discussion about the role of public vs private news TV channels in the process of political socialization. Public news TV channels, generally, is associated with positive influences on the political attitudes and behavior of the audience while private TV channels due to the commercial logic and low quality contents are deemed to exert undesirable effects on the measures of political socialization. Results of this study documented positive role of private news TV channels in the process of political socialization in the context of Pakistan and thus supports the observations of Toka and Popescu (2009, p. 1) that private news TV channels are effective in informing public in countries where public broadcasting does not provide particularly large amount of information programs and with lower press freedom. Toka and Popescu research is based on data from six countries of Eastern and Central European countries while this study is carried out in Pakistan; a South Asian country with different social and political system. Findings of these studies combined with sporadic work carried out in different political contexts can lead to formulation of new theoretical concepts regarding the role of private news TV channels in different social and political contexts.

Another addition of this study is the role of media in consolidating or transitional democracies. Since, political system of Pakistan is in flux and in transition to democracy, this study, adds to the existing knowledge on the role of media in consolidation of democracy. This study, therefore, is an important contribution to the scarce literature in the area.

9.6 Conclusion

The study sought to understand the relationship between exposure to private news and current affairs TV channels and political socialization of young urban Pakistanis. This study discerns important theoretical issues and provides insight into the process of political socialization in a developing democracy.....Pakistan.

The study acknowledges substantial association between exposure to private news and current affair TV channels and political socialization of urban youth in Pakistan. Privatization of broadcast media in the country led to the spectacular ascension of news and current affairs TV channels. Meanwhile, restoration of democracy in the country created further opportunities for these TV channels in the form of relatively greater media freedom and increased political

activities to report on. These TV channels extensively covered political developments in the country and offered opinions and analysis on these issues. Due to absence of strong public broadcasting and comparatively weak print media, private TV channels became dominant source of political information in urban centers of the country. This great transformation in citizens' access to political information through private news TV channels mediatized the Pakistani politics. Heavy reliance on these TV channels made the audiences susceptible to its influences.

The study confirmed the existence of strong relationship between exposure to private news TV channels and the measures of political socialization; political interest, internal political efficacy and non-electoral political participation. However, it did not find any relationship between news consumption and voting behavior of the respondents. Analysis revealed that voting behavior of Pakistanis is independent of media influences and is guided by socio-political and situational factors. However, if politics in Pakistan becomes competitive, mass media may play a greater role in mobilizing the masses to poll their vote. This study therefore supports the 'mobilization theory' of mass media and indicates that news media are an important source of political socialization in the Pakistan.

Generally, this research work is indicative of the fact that deregulation of broadcast news media contributed positively in the process of political socialization of the citizens in the countries where public broadcasting is non-existent or controlled by the government. Besides, private news TV channels also effectively contribute in the development of political orientations, attitudes and behavior among the citizens in transitional democracies.

9.7 Limitations of the Study and Future Research Outlook

Research studies probing social phenomenon utilizing surveys always come with limitations so this work is no exception. However, utmost care has been taken to avoid the methodological caveats while conducting the survey to measure the phenomenon in the best possible manner. Mainly this research project is limited in terms of scope and methodology. At the very outset, two factors; time and money restricted the scope of the study but after the data analysis, I realized that there are things I wish I could do differently. However, this study, can serve as a guide for future research to take care of those thing I could not take care of.

Non-probability Data

As mentioned in the methodology section, the data utilized in this study is non-probability in nature and restricted to Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan. Therefore, the results of this study limits the prospects of generalization. This research work is the maiden attempt to investigate the phenomenon in the country with encouraging results. I wish I had the resources to obtain probability data and made the sample more representative of the urban population of the country at least. For independent researchers, getting probability data, as confirmed in this study, is extremely difficult if not impossible in Pakistan. However with modest resources of time and budget this limitation can be overcome. Future researchers should take care of these facts before planning for such studies.

Cross Sectional Data

One of the limitations of this study is reliance on data collected during one point of time. In order to investigate the influences of exposure to news media on political socialization in the best way, individuals' use of news media should be tracked for many years. Again, time and financial resources hinder the way of researchers to track individuals' media use patterns over a long time. However, this limitation could possibly be compensated by asking the respondents 'for how long are you exposing to a particular medium? This study did not include this simple question but future studies should track individuals' media use.

Non-inclusion of other Potential Contributors to the Process of Political Socialization

After analyzing the data, I realized that there are some social and cultural factors if taken into account might have important implications on the results. These possible contributors could be family, schools and religion.

In the traditional cultural setup of Pakistani society, the influences of these institutions can hardly be ignored. The structure and functions of a typical Pakistani family in most instances do not encourage democratic tendencies. It would be instructive if the respondents were asked about how their parents and siblings' contributed or restricted in their political socialization.

Schools or educational institutions have been recognized as important sources of political socialization in the previous research. Educational institutions overtly and covertly provide means for political socialization. I wish, I had included some questions in the survey regarding the school environment and the ways through which the participants had been politically socialized.

Pakistan is a predominantly Muslim country with 97 percent of its population as Muslims. Some religious sections oppose democracy in the country as governing system and deem it un-Islamic. Including questions to measure respondents' level of religiosity would have provided an insight into the interplay of religion into the process of political socialization in Pakistan.

The process of political socialization is an all-inclusive phenomenon. Different socialization agencies interact with and provide opportunities for political socialization in different phases of an individual's life. It is also expected that competing sources of political socialization influence an individual's political cognition, attitudes and behavior simultaneously. Family, educational and religious institutions thus become most of the important sources of political socialization especially in the traditional societies like that of Pakistan. No doubt, such endeavors require huge resources and expertise but the reward will be awesome equally. Future studies should take the process in its entirety.

Interpersonal Communication

Pakistani society, generally, is communally oriented with strong familial and social ties among its members. Chances of interpersonal political discussions are high in such settings and thus people learn about politics especially from friends and family members. Previous research in traditional societies points to the importance of two-step flow communication and hence attributes strong influences to the interpersonal communication in the process of political socialization. Unfortunately, this study did not consider interpersonal communication as a variable. Inclusion of this variable might have caused variance in the political attitudes of Pakistanis. Future research studies should consider interpersonal communication as variable in their work.

Other measures of Political Socialization

This study suggests that future research in traditional societies should focus more on the cognitive and affective aspects of political socialization instead of behavioral outcomes. Political behavior, as evident in this study, is heavily influenced by the local traditions, culture and situational factors. Therefore future researchers should focus on other facets of political socialization like views on democracy, judiciary, freedom of expression, human rights, support for democratic norms and values, civic sense, civic efficacy, opinions on political issues and party identifications etc.

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