NEW AND CONVENTIONAL MEDIA USAGE AND POLITICAL AWARENESS AMONGST EDUCATED YOUTH

MS Thesis

Research Scholar

Qurrat-ul-ann Malik

Reg No: 4-FSS/MPhilCMC/F07

Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Masrur Alam Khan

Center for Media and Communication Studies

International Islamic University, Islamabad

i Journalism — social aspect
ii Mass media — political aspect

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Thesis has been submitted as partial fulfillment of MS in Media and Communication studies to the Center for Media and Communication Studies, International Islamic University, Islamabad.

2009

Dedication

I dedicate this to my Grand Father, Malik Allahyar Khan (1927-2008)
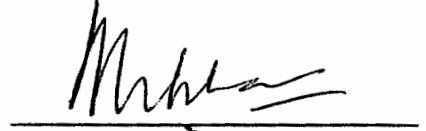
who always had faith in me

Final Approval

It is certified that we have read this thesis submitted by Qurrat-ul-Ann Malik. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University, Islamabad for MS in Media and Communication studies.
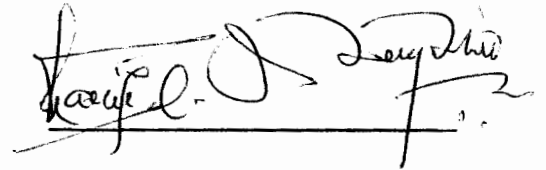
Viva Voice Committee

Supervisor:
Prof. Dr. Masrur Alam Khan

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External Examiner:
Prof. Dr. Sharif Al Mujahid

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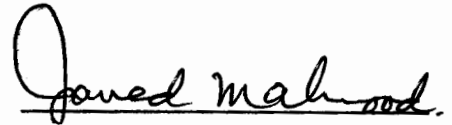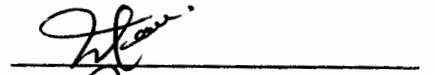**Internal Examiner:**
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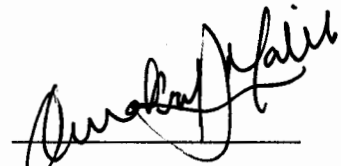
Dean FSS
Prof. Dr. Nazarul-Islam

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RUKHSANA ASLAM
Head of Department
Centre for Media & Communication Studies
Women Campus, IIU, Islamabad

Declaration

This thesis has been submitted as partial fulfillment of MS in Media and Communication Studies to the Center for Media and Communication Studies. I solemnly declare that this is my original work and no material has been plagiarized and any material quoted from a secondary source has been provided with proper citations and references.

Qurrat-ul-Ann Malik

Reg No: 4-FSS/MPhilCMC/F07

Dated: March 2010

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Acknowledgement

First and foremost, this research would not have been possible without God's help and the support of the students who were willing to fill out my questionnaires even though it was exam time in most of their universities. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Shehrbano Malik (NUST), Mohsin Rehman (NUST), Ahsan Riaz (Fast), Sardar Muhammad Mujtaba (Fast) and Sara khan (FJWU) from their respective universities who took out time to help me.

The constant support provided to me by my family including my parents, my husband Asad, as well as my siblings Faisal and Zara has been very helpful. My children, Fatima and Muhammad Khaki Jan could not help me in my endeavor but have given meaning and purpose to my life.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the help and support of the faculty and staff at IIUI who gave me guidance and help whenever I needed it.

Abstract

The aim of the research was to find out and compare the usage of conventional media as well as new media to determine which is more effective in creating political awareness amongst the educated youth. The youth in Pakistan have traditionally been politically very active but trends have changed now and the focus has shifted towards making money and not on bringing a positive change in society. The youth of today, will be the citizens of tomorrow, if they do not have awareness and regard for the issues of our country, than there is no hope. Thus, it is important to instill in them the ideals of democracy and participation. They have to learn their own importance and realize the crucial role that they will have to play in the future. Political awareness is the means towards creating political socialization amongst children and youth to transform them into effective citizens of a democracy. In this regard, media has the potential to play a very important role because it has become a very significant influence on our lives. Although there has been a lot of comparative research between conventional media and new media to determine their own unique characteristics and potentials, this research focused on finding out which is more effective in instilling the ideals of citizenship or political awareness amongst the youth. It also focused on the socio-economic factors and gender as predictors of media use.

The study was quantitative in nature, and involved a survey from the educated urban youth as they are the only ones to have an awareness and access to new media. At first, a pilot study was conducted to determine the validity of the instrument. The pilot study was done with a sample of 30 students who were not made a part of the main

sample. The final questionnaire comprised of 44 closed ended questions as well as questions pertaining to demographics. Reliability test revealed that the instrument had a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.767. The questionnaire itself was divided into three parts; the first part was aimed at finding out the patterns of conventional media use which in turn included questions about the three primary conventional media, namely newspapers, television and radio. The second part related to the patterns of new media use while the third part was aimed at testing the level of political awareness of the respondents.

The main variables in the study included conventional media and new media, in the context of the research, new media referred to the many different forms of electronic communication that have been made possible through the use of computer technology with particular focus on internet which includes web sites, chat rooms, e-mail, blogs, e-newsletters, online communities and web advertising etc. On the other hand, conventional media referred to the various forms of electronic media like television, radio, films etc., as well the different forms of print media like newspapers, books, periodicals and magazines etc. The second variable in the study was Political Awareness which referred to an acknowledgement of an interest in politics. It is the first step of political socialization and refers to having knowledge as well as interest in the political scenario. It leads to the formation of values and beliefs that correspond to ones political views. The third variable was the term educated youth which referred to those students who have done their intermediate and are studying in a university and have access to all the different kinds of media.

According to a rough estimate, the university going student population of the twin cities is between 100,000 -150,000. Using Non-probability convenient sampling, 100 students each from the four largest universities of Rawalpindi/Islamabad including International Islamic University (IIUI), Fatima Jinnah Women University (F.J.W.U), National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), and FAST National University (FAST) were given the questionnaires. Graduate level students from within the universities were used as volunteers for their distribution and collection. Out of the 400 questionnaires that were distributed, 308 were found to be valid and complete and were thus included in the final analysis. The data was than fed into an SPSS format and co-relation coefficient and T-test were performed to find out the answers to the research questions.

The first research question related to whether new media was the more commonly used medium amongst the educated youth. Results showed that new media was being used extensively but not exclusively. The second research question related to whether educated youth who use new media more are more politically aware. Results showed that those respondents who relied on either new media alone or both new Media as well as Conventional Media to gain knowledge and information about politics had greater political awareness. Furthermore, results indicated that those who relied on both the media were more politically aware as compared to those who relied on new media alone.

The third research question related to whether socio-economic status influences new media use for the purpose of political awareness. The data revealed that the socio-

economic status of the respondents did not play a strong role in how they were using the media. The third hypothesis was disproven which also negated the notion of the knowledge gap hypothesis. The last research question related to whether gender influences new media use for the purpose of political awareness. Results showed that gender played a very strong role and there was a radical difference in how males and females were using new media. Politics has generally been considered a male domain and females admit that they are not interested in it but by doing so, they miss out on an opportunity of being answerable for their future.

It can be concluded that new media has become a great source for creating political awareness amongst the youth which can be further extended by generating the interest of females and allowing them greater participation in the political processes.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research was to find out which medium is a more effective agent of political awareness amongst the educated youth. McQuail (1994, p. 45) states that the media is not only a 'product' and a 'reflection' of the history of its own society but it also plays a part in that history. Thus, it is not merely a passive observer but plays a very significant role in society which cannot be undermined. According to Mwesige, (2004) mass media is very important for political integration, mobilization, national unity and economic development in any nation state, the state can only function properly and the whole setup can be run in the best possible manner if the media performs its function in an appropriate manner. He further says that the media has to provide credible and reliable information and rise up to the challenges of democratic participation and sustainability. According to Orgeret (2004) understanding the link between a nation state and its media becomes even more important in newly democratized countries especially because of an era of increased globalization. Hooghe (2004) is of the opinion that structural social changes, like secularization, globalization or individualization have an impact on the political attitudes and behaviors of the entire population. Further, citizens' support is necessary if the media is to continue to play its role as a critique and watchdog in the society (Lee, Chan & So, 2005). All this points towards the integral relationship between media and society.

Orgeret, (2004) defines democracy as the process of self-ruling within given geo-political boundaries and where there is widespread agreement on the identity of 'the nation' or 'the people'. Freedom and democracy are one of the most important rights of the individual, they are the stepping stone towards an ideal state. However, the concept of a true democracy does not merely focus on rights but on responsibilities as well (Bachen et al., 2008). It is the duty of the citizens of a democracy to protect it which can only be done if they have sufficient knowledge and awareness. It is not only the duty of the state to protect and look after the interests of its citizens; they too have to protect the system. Simple acts like voting seem to be insignificant but they are the lifeline of democracy. Of late, there has been a shift in the attitudes of the public all over the world, for e.g. there has been a relative decline in voter turn outs (Wass, 2005; Hooghe, 2004; Dunsmore & Lagos, 2008) which if taken in extremes would render the whole notion of a democracy meaningless.

Political Awareness is an integral part of the process of political socialization where children and youth are educated and transformed into effective citizens of a democracy. Political socialization research has focused on the various factors which influence the process of socialization (McLeod & Shah, 2009). Parents, siblings and peers are the primary agents of socialization. School also plays a vital role in the socializing process (Hively & Eveland, 2009). However, of late media has become an integral part of our lives, be it the television blaring in the living room, radio in the car, internet or the variety of print mediums like magazines and newspapers that are available. In such a scenario, children and young adults absorb a lot of information

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through all these mediums. According to Gimple (2003, p.15) adolescence is one of the few periods during the life cycle when there are nearly universal opportunities to collect and absorb political facts and information. However, the messages that they take in from these mediums vary in quantity and quality. Scholars have realized the potential of all these mediums, and increasingly, research is focusing on the influence of all these different forms of media on the processes of political socialization at large and political awareness in particular. (Hoffman & Thomson, 2009; Dunsmore & Lagos, 2008; Kim & Johnson, 2006)

Although conventional media has retained its place amongst the younger generations, yet, new media has emerged as a powerful force (Sun, & Rubin, 2008; Kim & Kim, 2007; Jackson & Lilleker, 2007; Albarran et al., 2007 and Bachen et al., 2008). New media particularly the internet provides a unique opportunity to the users as unlike conventional media, they are interactive and have room for feedback. Thus, any research targeting especially the youth has to focus on new media as well.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Role of Youth in Pakistan's Political History.

The youth in Pakistan have traditionally been politically very active. The freedom struggle that lasted from 1857-1947 mainly relied on the energy and efforts of the younger generation who made innumerable sacrifices for the cause of independence. They bore jail terms and beatings yet they remained undeterred from their mission. Even though, at that time, there were very few means of communication and those too

were under the control of the British government, yet, the youth of the sub-continent managed to put up a very dynamic freedom struggle.

After independence, the youth of the newly created Pakistan did not sink into oblivion; they raised a voice against injustice and oppression at each point in the history of our country. It was the movement led by students that toppled the very powerful regime of Field Marshall Ayub khan. Later, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's rise to power was also due in part to his popularity amongst the youth of that era. When, General Zia-ul-Haq imposed his dictatorship on the country, it was the students who put up a fight and bore all kinds of atrocities for their beliefs. However, in the last twenty years, youth and particularly students have turned away from politics, there is certain disillusionment with the whole process and the emphasis has been on getting an education, finding a job, improving ones own life and not on bringing a positive change in society as a whole. Student politics has gradually come to be associated with violence and gang war amongst other things and is not seen as a stepping stone towards creating effective citizens of a democracy.

1.1.2 Pakistani Media: Changing Contexts

In the sixty years since independence, Pakistani media has come a very long way. There has always been a very vibrant press in this region which even a succession of dictators could not subjugate, however the electronic media was the domain of the government. Till the dawn of the new century, the government had full control over radio and television broadcasting but the arrival of satellite television channels broke

its monopoly. Initially, these channels were only allowed to telecast entertainment programs but gradually they started to focus more on news and current affairs. This resulted in a massive influx of television news channels. At the same time, the number of FM radio stations has also increased and they too are airing news content.

Initially, only the print media was generating political interest amongst the masses but of late television and radio have also joined in, they have now given the public a platform on which they can discuss and analyze the major problems of the country without any serious censorship. Thus, the public is far more aware now than it was a decade ago political issues have become the main concern not only amongst the educated classes but also amongst the deprived majority.

Although new media has had a very short history in Pakistan yet it has witnessed massive growth. In particular, the use of internet is increasing day by day, according to Shafique and Mahmood (2008) although internet penetration in Pakistan is relatively low yet its numbers are growing. They deem the numbers of internet users to be around 12 million Internet users (7.2 percent of the population) by the end of 2006. However, they lay a great deal of stress on the low bandwidth that is commonly used because broadband is only available in the major cities. However, wireless broadband Internet has also been introduced networks in many major cities. There are now 1,898 cities with Internet access in Pakistan, of which 1,166 are in Punjab Province, 202 in Sindh Province, 420 in North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), and 110 in Baluchistan Province (Shafique and Mahmood, 2008). All this indicates that

new media particularly the internet is gradually emerging as a dominant force which would be shaping our futures.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The aim of the research was to find out and compare the usage of conventional media as well as new media to find out which is the more effective medium for creating political awareness amongst the educated youth.

1.3 Objectives

1.   To identify the patterns of mass media use amongst the educated youth

2.   To compare the usage of conventional media to new media amongst the educated youth.

3.   To determine which medium is more effective in creating political awareness amongst the educated youth.

4.   To find out the influence of socio-economic factors on media use for the purpose of political awareness.

5.   To find out the influence of gender on media use for the purpose of political awareness.

1.4 Research Questions

1.   Is new media the more commonly used medium amongst educated youth?

2.   Do educated youth who use new media more are more politically aware?

3.   Do socio-economic factors influence new media use for the purpose of political awareness?

4.   Does gender influence new media use for the purpose of political awareness?

1.5 Hypotheses

1.   New media is the more commonly used medium amongst the educated youth.

2.   Educated youth who use new media more are more politically aware.

3.   Socio-economic status influences new media use for the purpose of political awareness.

4.   Gender influences new media use for the purpose of political awareness.

1.6 Significance of the Research:

The youth of today hold the reins of the future, if they are active, interested participants in the political process, it would lead to a healthy democratic system in the future. It is very important to create a politically active citizenry. At the same time, the media in Pakistan is in a state of transition and there is not enough research to ascertain which medium is being more commonly used by the youth of Pakistan. Thus, to create greater political awareness and participation, an apt medium has to found. The aim of this study was to find out about this ideal medium so that it could be used more effectively to target Pakistani youth and instill in them the ideals of democracy and political socialization. The research would be helpful for academics as well as policy makers.

1.7 Limitations of the research:

The main limitation of the research related to the inaccessibility of new media to a majority of the country's large population. Although the numbers of educated youth are increasing day by day, resulting in a greater usage and reliance on new media yet the numbers do not seem to correspond to the total population. Thus, the results can only be applied to limited and fortunate elite. Secondly, a longitudinal study of the changes that are taking place in the attitudes of the youth would have been more apt but due to time and financial constraints, the present research was limited to a single survey

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Theory of Media Dependency

The Theory of media dependency is based on the uses and gratification approach. It was developed by Ball-Rokech and Defleur in 1976 and it states that the more dependent an individual is on the media to fulfill his needs, the more important the media will be for that individual. Thus, the basic surmise of the theory is that individuals do not depend on all media equally. Loveless (2008) in following this approach hypothesized that that citizens of a country going through turmoil or transition start to depend on the media for reassurance as well as to gain relevant information. They not only gain information, but are also influenced by it. However, with the process of time if stability returns to the country, the reliance on media decreases In this regard, his research focused on how citizens use the mass media in democratizing countries in the context of this theory. However, Loveless (2008) focused only on the first aspect, in his research; he only studied whether the citizens of a country in transition show a greater reliance on the media and left the other aspect for a later study.

According to Loveless (2008) the periods of political, social, and economic transformations place heavy informational demands on citizens, and thus their

motivation to search for relevant information to make sense of their surroundings is heightened. Loveless (2008) believes that citizens' active searching for information indicates engagement with the transition process and shows that they are willing to adopt new norms and values which would lead to greater political socialization.

The research adopted the survey method and analyzed the data from six Central and Eastern European countries, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria between 1996 and 1997 to find out the individuals' media use. Results showed that the citizens in countries undergoing democratization gave preference to mass media as sources of information which is in accordance with the theory of media dependency. This shows that mass media have a very strong role in the socialization process.

Sun, Rubin & Haridakis (2008) in their research discussed the links amongst demographics, motivation for using the Internet, cognitive and affective involvement, as well as Internet dependency by integrating the theory of uses and gratifications with media dependency research. The methodology that was used involved a survey and a sample of 471 was collected through quota sampling which was than subjected to data analysis. The researchers found that over 80% of the participants typically used the Internet for e-mail or general Web browsing. The researchers argue that the Web serves as a better information tool than does e-mail. As a communication tool, e-mail affords opportunities to express oneself and interact with others. The researchers concluded that that the gratification opportunities that the e-mail affords (e.g., fast speed, convenience, less expensive) are important reasons for people's preference for

using e-mail. The second research question asked about the relative contribution of antecedent factors to predicting Internet dependency, the researchers found that younger people were more likely to exhibit Internet dependency than older participants while there was a clear demarcation between the preferences of men and women, with the former opting for web browsing while later prefer the use of e-mail.. Further, the researchers found that motivation and involvement were far more important predictors of Internet dependency than were demographics, this, in their opinion is consistent with uses and gratifications' emphasis on the role motivation and involvement play in the media effects process. Sun, Rubin & Haridakis (2008) also found that the motives to interact socially and to control others' behavior were strong predictors of cognitive involvement, and the motive to fill time, relax, and escape was a strong predictor of positive affect, that is, feeling cheerful, pleased, delighted, calm, relaxed, and at ease. Thus, the study concluded in support of the uses and gratifications argument that certain factors intervene in the media uses and effects process between motivation to communicate and outcomes of communication behavior such as media use.

2.1.2 Uses and Gratification Approach

The uses and gratification approach developed by Blumer & Katz states that the media users play an active role in selecting their media and are thus goal oriented in their media use. In this regard, Jackson & Lilleker (2007) analyzed the use of e-newsletters. They stated that political parties are increasingly attempting to communicate to sections of the electorate directly, in order to relay targeted messages

and e-newsletters are often being used because they facilitate this strategy. This research focused on the receiver, explicitly taking a uses and gratifications approach to understanding the function of e-newsletters for the UK electorate. The research used a web-hosted survey which was filled out by the subscribers of publicly available e-newsletters for both the Conservative Party ('News From Conservatives.com') and the Liberal Democrats (Liberal Democrat News). 381 completed questionnaires were returned from the former party while 635 were received from the later. The questionnaire mostly included closed ended questions with a few exceptions. Their findings suggested that the majority of the receivers of the e-newsletters were committed party members who desired to receive information directly from the party that would help them in their campaigning and activist roles. However, they found that there was also a minority of less-active, politically interested, subscribers who also used e-newsletters to aid their voter choice. The data thus suggested that e-newsletters are able to encourage subscribers to develop and build relationships with a political party, possibly becoming more active in their support than simply offering a vote at election times. All this was in accordance with the theory of uses and gratification as the information provided by the e-newsletters gratified their needs therefore they used this option.

Kim & Kim (2007) in their research studied new and old media uses among Korean adolescents and their political engagement including political interest, political knowledge, political talk, and political participation. They used the survey method and 317 respondents from two schools in Gwangju, South Korea filled out their

questionnaires. The findings revealed that Korean adolescents' political media uses are based on four distinct motivations—guidance, surveillance, social utility, and entertainment. Korean adolescents are more likely to engage in politics when they use political contents of new and old media with the motivations of guidance and social utility, but not with the motivations of surveillance and entertainment. They also found that Internet use has become the dominant way for political engagement, as compared to uses of their traditional media such as newspaper, TV, and radio. Internet use with the motivations of guidance or social utility is the strongest predictor of adolescents' political engagement.

Albarran et. all (2007) in their study analyzed why younger audiences are leaving terrestrial radio for new technologies like MP3 players, Internet radio, and satellite radio. Their research presented findings from a survey of 430 undergraduate students regarding their uses and gratifications of these new technologies. A research design utilizing both qualitative and quantitative approaches was used to understand the listening preferences of young people. Focus groups were used to gather qualitative data on uses and possible gratifications among new listening technologies. The information derived from the focus groups was used to prepare a questionnaire for a larger study involving a wider sample base. The sample that was used consisted entirely of young adults age between the ages of 18-24. According to the researchers, even though traditional radio has continued to thrive despite challenges from a number of competing technologies, yet it faces a challenging task especially amongst young adults. The researchers intended to establish how young people listen to music

and explore their uses and gratifications regarding listening. They observed that young people are able to choose their content from a vast menu that is as diverse as the motivations driving their selections. They say that these motivations include sensation seeking, need for information, withdrawal, and theme of the content among other types of characteristics. They found that in terms of uses, this research clearly shows the MP3 technology to be the preferred listening format and traditional radio to be only useful in specific situations (primarily in the car) and only preferred as a source of news and information. In regard to gratification as well, the researchers found a greater preference for MP3 player, and streaming media as compared to terrestrial radio. Aside from its ability to deliver news and information, traditional AM/FM radio did not fare well in regard to gratifications obtained by young listeners. What was significant was the finding which showed that nearly 50% of the sample stated a complete disregard for radio. This research shows that young adults have a clear perception of their needs and will abandon a medium if it does not gratify them.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

2.2.1 Political Awareness

Political awareness is an attitude which encompasses many factors like having interest as well as knowledge of an issue which in this case is politics. According to Gimpel (2003) an informed, knowledgeable citizenry is very important for democracy. He defines political knowledge as the capacity of citizens to recall facts about what government is and does. Thus, knowledge of fundamental facts about

government and politics is essential for interpreting information in news broadcasts, understanding details about important events and actions taken by public figures, and making inferences from news stories that translate into judgments about whom or what to support or oppose. He further says that citizens who possess the least political knowledge are those who are least likely to participate in a wide variety of political activities and thus they do not inform their representatives of their needs. People who know more about politics are much more willing to engage in political discussions. Thus in his opinion, knowledge and discussion of a subject are reciprocally related as discussion of politics shows one's level of political knowledge as well as being the means to gain additional information so discussion is a social activity while knowledge a measure of what people remember.

Kim & Johnson (2006) studied the effects of emerging online media use for political news and information on political attitudes during the 2004 general election in South Korea. The researchers are of the opinion that compared to the mass media; the Internet allows the public to gain a wider range of news and information and offers a more convenient means to directly contact government officials and political figures. According to Kim & Johnson (2006), in Korea like most countries around the world, traditional print and broadcasting media have also always played a dominant role in providing political knowledge and in forming political attitudes of the public. However, they say that in recent years particularly during the 2002 presidential campaign, the influence of the Internet has considerably increased. To confirm this, the researchers used purposive sampling techniques by posting the questionnaire on

relevant websites like those of the four main political parties, political webzines, discussion forums, and NGO websites during the two weeks before the National Assembly election on April 15th 2004. As a result, 249 politically interested Internet users responded. The independent variables in the study were reliance on traditional media and reliance on the Internet media sources. While the dependent variables employed for this study were political interest, campaign interest, levels of political involvement since becoming Internet users, strength of party affiliation, and the likelihood of voting.

The respondents of the study by Kim & Johnson (2006) reported high levels of political interest and attitudes. They reported high levels of political and campaign interest, and nearly all of the respondents indicated a strong intention to vote. Almost all respondents indicated an increase or high increase of political involvement in politics since they became Web users. The findings also showed that during the 2004 election, internet users in Korea relied on independent Web-based newspapers the most, followed by television, its online version, and newspapers. Although the study confirmed that a majority still rely on traditional sources of news, independent Web-based newspapers have emerged as a major source for Internet users particularly during the election campaign in Korea. The researchers have interpreted the findings to be an indication "shift in media power in Korea" because increasingly, younger Korean Internet users have started to show distrust in the traditional media and are resorting to the internet as an alternative.

Gimpel (2003) believes that news media are a primary source of political information for adults, thus children who see informational programs on television typically wind up being more knowledgeable about politics and current events than those who do not. However, inspite of an increase in the number of mass media outlets there is still a considerable decrease in knowledge about politics and current events. He further says that although viewing television news can increase political knowledge and interest in politics, but it can also reinforce existing attitudes. He is of the opinion that that consumption of television news can lower an adolescent's sense of efficacy given that the broadcast media have a stake in maintaining public doubts about government. Because people pay more attention to negative information or "bad news" and are less likely to absorb "good news," network television news organizations have a strategic interest in covering negative news as it helps them in maintaining market share. Exposure to television news also has been previously associated with political malaise. He quotes that the media's scandal-obsessed coverage of politics and politicians that contributes most directly to citizens' cynical and passive attitudes about public life. He has thus stressed on the importance of the study of political socialization amongst the youth of today because news media exposure today cannot mean what it meant thirty years ago as news content has changed and media choices have multiplied.

Dunsmore & Lagos (2008) in their research used a very different approach to ascertain students' awareness of political issues. The researchers used the class room model in which they asked the students to make a video on any political issue of their

own choice. The researchers then observed their classroom discussions as well as analyzing the content of the videos. The students who participated in the study showed a remarkable knowledge and creative interpretation of political events through the lens of late-night talk shows and reality television which in the opinion of the researchers indicate that the 'mediated landscape' intersects with the process of political socialization in complex ways. Dunsmore & Lagos (2008) suggest that the entertainment media are not merely escapist entertainment, but are a source of political knowledge for youth. Although they cannot be substituted for quality political news, yet they are highly relevant to youth political socialization and thus they should be taken into account. They concluded that providing a validating environment for young people to construct political issues and permitting them to use entertainment forms of media for their self-expression can be effectively used for this purpose. It can also help in eliciting political knowledge and awareness from young people.

Hively & Eveland, (2009) in their study examined how adolescents become informed participants in a democracy. The researchers are of the opinion that political cognition should be treated as a multidimensional construct. The main focus of the research was to determine how discussion frequency, elaboration, and network diversity are related to factual and structural knowledge about politics among adolescents. They discussed these in the light of how schools and parent/families affect the various elements of political discussion. This study was conducted in an urban high school district in Ohio between 2004 and 2006. In this longitudinal study, at first surveys were filled out at

home by the families of the 598 students and they were later contacted through telephone which resulted in a response from 202 families. Results suggested that frequency of discussion is related to both factual and structural knowledge, whereas discussion elaboration is related only to structural knowledge. The multilevel models suggested that aspects of both schools and families are related to discussion frequency, elaboration, and network diversity.

Political awareness is an integral part of the process of political socialization. Gimpel (2003) describes political socialization as the process by which new generations are inducted into political culture and learn the knowledge, values, and attitudes that contribute to support of the political system. He elaborates that socialization has two fundamental components that are not totally independent of each other: a participation-enabling component and a side-taking component that involves the formation of attitudes. Participation is enabled most directly through discussion, knowledge, and efficacy. It also can be facilitated by the crystallization of opinions on divisive issues. He further says that it is through exposure to various socialization agents that citizens develop a relationship with their government and political leaders. Wass (2005) defines political socialization as a learning process where an individual assumes various political attitudes, values and patterns of actions stemming from his or her environment. Further, he quotes Almond & Verba and says that at the macro level, political socialization is a crucial mechanism for the development of the political culture that enables democratic institutions and practices to function or for development of the political system. At the micro level, political socialization refers

to the patterns and processes which individuals engage during their development and learning processes, and which contract their relationship to the political context around them. According to Kim & Kim (2007), political socialization of adolescents includes the processes of acquiring basic knowledge about political procedures and issues, learning how to articulate thoughts and opinions about political issues, gaining basic skills to share the political thoughts and opinions with others, and developing motivations to participate in political activities as responsible citizens.

Gimpel (2003) believes that People are politically socialized by the information they receive. This information certainly varies over time, but it varies more regularly across space, as communities and their constituent parts structure the content and flow of politically relevant messages in distinctive ways. He further says that even within a particular age cohort, socializing messages will be received differently, with greater impact on some than on others depending on the attributes of the individuals themselves and characteristics of the places where they live.

According to Gimpel (2003) certain events can become a catalyst for the development of political values, offering "occasions for socialization." He says that prominent socializing events can be of two types: some have the effect of stimulating national unity, while others divide the nation, sharpening and even redefining partisanship. Adolescence is a time when young people begin to understand and remember political events and their outcomes thus whenever there is universal alarm about an issue; it leads to their political socialization. He says that adolescence is one of the few periods during the life cycle when there are nearly universal opportunities to collect

and absorb political facts and information through coursework in social studies and history. Thus, for these adolescents understanding the sources of variation in the retention and recall of political information is critical because it predicts levels of political interest and participation in their later life.

Hoffman & Thomson (2009) analyzed the effects of television viewing on high school students' civic participation. The main concern of the study is to access the notion that if the youth pay too much attention to late night comedy shows like 'The Daily Show; it might be harmful towards the aim of creating an "active, efficacious citizenry". The methodology that was employed was a survey which was distributed amongst the high school students of all the 18 schools located in a school district. The students had to complete the survey at home with parental consent and than return it. The response rate was low, only 201 out of the 6,238 responded however; the sample was fairly representative of the population. The researchers analyzed the influence of the two mediating factors, political efficacy and political cynicism on the dependent variable of civic participation. Hoffman & Thomson (2009) quoted Zimmerman, (1989, p. 554) in defining political efficacy as "the belief that one has the skills to influence the political system". Further, they used a broad criterion for calculating civic participation, in which they included participation in student government or debate club, involvement in any kind of youth organizations like sports leagues or boy scouts, volunteering for places of worship, school, youth programs or civic group. Hoffman & Thomson (2009) define political cynicism as the belief that

politicians and the government do not work in the best interests of citizens and cannot be trusted.

The research by Hoffman & Thomson (2009) only analyzed the influence of television viewing which included late night comedy shows as well as local and national TV news. Thus the researchers stressed on the fact that future research should assess the comparative role of the Internet as well as television in socialization. The researchers are of the opinion that it is because of the amount of time given to politics, along with the inclusion of humor that the younger viewers of these late night comedy shows feel that they gain an understanding of politics. Results demonstrate that viewing late-night TV and local TV news had a positive, significant effect on civic participation, and political efficacy played a major role in encouraging civic participation.

Wass (2005) in his research examined the differences in the socialization into political participation between four generations in Finland. The methodology that was employed was through survey data gathered after the parliamentary elections of 2003. It took the form of personal interviews as well as questionnaires that were distributed. The final number of respondents was 753.

Wass (2005) is of the opinion that low voter turnout amongst the young is not a passing phenomenon but a generational feature partly due to a "demobilizatory socializing process" which he says is common to the younger age bracket. Further, hie observed that the role of family and the childhood environment as socialization

agents has declined with time. He measured the attitude of the young age groups towards participation in the political process. He observed that a fair majority have a positive attitude towards participation, however, he found that only 23 per cent of 15 to 29 year-olds believed that their generation's political influence would grow in the future which is a very pessimistic view of things. Wass (2005) further observed that politics had played a very small role during the formative years of the younger generation but it still had a positive attitude towards political participation. Thus he says that low voter turnout is probably not due to a lack of political socialization.

Kim & Kim (2007) also found that Internet use has become the dominant way for political engagement, when compared to uses of other traditional media such as newspaper, TV, and radio. Also, internet use with the motivations of guidance or social utility is the strongest predictor of adolescents' political engagement. Van Aelst & Walgrave (2002) studied the role being played by new media in global protest by conducting an analysis of relevant websites. The researchers believe that participation in politics is being facilitated through the use of ICTs. Further, they say that political action is made easier, faster and more universal by the developing technologies because ICTs lower the costs and obstacles of organizing collective action.

Albarran et. all (2007) in their study analyzed why younger audiences are leaving terrestrial radio for new technologies like MP3 players, Internet radio, and satellite radio. Their paper presented findings from a survey of 430 undergraduate students regarding their uses and gratifications of these new technologies. A research design utilizing both qualitative and quantitative approaches was used to understand the

listening preferences of young people. Focus groups were used to gather qualitative data on uses and possible gratifications among new listening technologies. The information derived from the focus groups was used to prepare a questionnaire for a larger study involving a wider sample base. The sample consisted entirely of young adults age 18-24, where the likelihood of new media use and adoption is expected to be high. The study discussed the theoretical and practical implications of the findings, and the potential impact on terrestrial radio.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research design

The study was quantitative in nature and involved a survey from the educated youth in an urban center as they are the only ones to have an awareness and access to new media. The results were than tabulated using SPSS and correlation-coefficient and Independent sample t-test were applied to find out the answers to the research questions. The aim was to find out the patterns of media use of the respondents as well as assessing their knowledge of political issues to ascertain whether any of the media and new media in particular was playing any role in the process of creating political awareness.

3.2 Universe

The universe of the study was the educated, urban youth of Pakistan who have access to most of the commonly used mediums of Mass Communication. According to the Pakistan Demographic Survey (2003) Pakistan's is approximately 138 million out of which approximately 11.3 million are young adults living in urban areas. However, not all of these are educated and the percentage of those who have entered a university is even lower.

3.3 Population

After visiting the web sites of all the major universities in the twin cities, a rough estimate of the population was placed at around 100,000 to 150,000, which were all undergraduate, graduate and post graduate level students studying at both the public and private sector universities. For the sake of the research, the population that was analyzed comprised of students from the various public sector universities in Islamabad and Rawalpindi as they are representative of a cross section of society.

3.4 Sample

The sample was drawn from amongst the graduate and post graduate students from each of the four largest universities of the twin cities including International Islamic University (IIUI), Fatima Jinnah Women University (F.J.W.U), National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), and FAST National University (FAST). These universities had been selected because their student population is quite large and the students come from all the different strata of society from all over Pakistan. The sample size had been selected because there was relative homogeneity in the sample, i.e., they were all educated, from the same age group and resided in an urban area.

The sampling method that was used was the non-probability convenient sampling method. Graduate level students from each of the four universities approached the students and asked them to fill out the questionnaires. Four hundred questionnaires were distributed out of which 313 were returned, however, only 308 were found to be complete and valid.

3.5 Instrumentation/Questionnaire

Initially, a pretest of the questionnaire was administered to a sample of 30 students from IIUI to explore the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, test its ease of administration, and to establish the research procedures. Analysis of the pretest results included a review of the means of important variables as well as the question wordings such as the options given alongside the questions. Minor changes in wording were made to the questionnaire and the pretest data were not used in the analyses of research questions and hypothesis.

The questionnaire that was finally administered to the sample comprised of 44 questions along with relevant demographic information with the aim of finding out the level to which new media was being used as compared to traditional media to gain political awareness. Reliability test revealed that the instrument had a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.767. The questionnaire itself was divided into three parts; the first part was aimed at finding out the patterns of conventional media use which in turn included questions about the three primary conventional media, namely newspapers, television and radio. The questions included whether the respondents read newspapers to determine the usage patterns. Furthermore, they were asked for how long did they read the newspaper in a week as well as the name of a frequently read newspaper. They were also asked in which location they usually read newspaper and were given the options of home, university library, Restaurant/Cafeteria, Waiting areas and while traveling. The respondents were asked which section of the newspapers they read most often and were given the option of Front page, Editorial, Op-ed, Letters to the

editor, Sports page, Comics, Horoscope, Entertainment section, Metro page. In the final coding, the first four were classified as political sections while the last five were classified as non-political sections. Respondents who selected two or more from both the section were classified as having read both the sections. The respondents were also asked how often they read political news in newspapers.

There were questions about another conventional media i.e. television. The respondents were asked which Television News channels they watched most often. They were also asked how many hours in a day did they spend on watching Television News. They were given the options of none, Less than 1 hour, 2-4 Hours and more than four hours. Furthermore, they were asked how often they watched television shows devoted to political issues. These questions were aimed at finding out the patterns of television use amongst the youth.

The respondents were also asked which radio channel they listened to. They were also asked how often listened to news on the radio as well as the number of hours of listening to radio news. They were given the options of none, less than 1 hour, 2-4 Hours, more than four hours etc. The respondents were also asked how often they listened to political discussions on the radio. The aim was to develop a comparison of all the media.

To determine the level of interest in politics while using conventional media, the respondents were asked what kind of political news they focus on most often out of international politics, national politics, regional politics, local politics as well as

giving the option none of the above to have an accurate assessment of the level of interest in politics. They were also asked how much time the respondents gave to political news as compared to other news stories. They were asked whether they gave all their time, three quarters of their time, half their time or merely a quarter of their time. They were also asked how often they focused on national politics alone to develop comparisons with their score of political awareness.

The second part of the instrument related to the patterns of new media use amongst the youth. The respondents were asked for how long they had been using the internet in particular as well as asking them the duration of their use in a week. They were given the option of less than a year, 1-4 years and more than more than 4 years to determine the length of time since the advent of new media amongst the masses. The duration of use was calculated on a weekly basis to develop a brad criterion as many of the respondents could not have easy access to the internet. To develop a comparative scale, the respondent were asked what kind of political news they focus on most often out of international politics, national politics, regional politics, local politics as well as giving the option none of the above . Similarly other questions were included in relation to new media like how much time did they give to political news as compared to other news stories as well as being asked how often they focused on national politics alone while using new media. The respondents were also asked how often they read online political newspapers, the names of such online newspapers, whether they read any blogs online and whether they had a blog of their

own. All these questions were include to reinforce the manner in which new media was being used

The third part of the instrument related to the level of political awareness of the respondents. The most significant questions in this part related to which was their primary source for political awareness as well as asking them which news source they trusted the most. The respondents s were given various options like television, radio, newspapers, newsmagazines, blogs, e-mail, chat rooms, discussion forums, e-newsletters, online bulletin boards, online communities, online Newspapers, websites and web advertising. During the data entry process, television, radio, newspapers and newsmagazines were coded as conventional media and blogs, e-mail, chat rooms, discussion forums, e-newsletters, online bulletin boards, online communities, online Newspapers, websites, web advertising etc. were coded as new media. Along with coding them collectively, all these media also coded individually to ascertain their popularity.

Political awareness constitutes interest as well as knowledge. To ascertain the level of interest of the respondents in the political process, they were asked whether they discussed politics with their friends and family. Interest can also be ascertained by the level of participation. Thus, the respondents were asked whether they had joined political forums like political club, Students' council, Political campaign etc. Similarly, a parliament session is an occasion where the whole political process becomes evident. Thus, the respondents were asked whether they had ever attended a parliament session as the audience and had the opportunity to witness the democratic

process first hand. Finally, the most important function of the masses in the political process is to vote in the election, the youth were asked whether they had voted in the last election to find out the ratio that was politically more aware.

The instrument also contained seventeen questions that were meant to assess the political knowledge of the respondents. The questions were in the form of statements which were either correct or incorrect and the respondents were expected to earmark them as such. Each answer was coded 1 if respondents checked the right answer and 0 if they checked the wrong answer. The questions themselves were of two types but were randomly placed. The respondents were asked about the system of governance in Pakistan and various issues pertaining to it as well as questions about issues and personalities that have recently appeared often in the media. The knowledge of the respondents regarding the system of governance was accessed through statements like the voting age in Pakistan, the number of seats in Pakistan's Senate and National Assembly, the electoral college of the Senate, the criteria to be a member of the national assembly, the duration between presidential elections, the powers of the president in relation to Article 58-2b, the structure and organization of the federal government as well as the parliamentary system etc.

The instrument also contained questions about events, organizations and personalities that appear often in the media in the recent past such as whether Shah Mehmood Qureshi was Pakistan's Foreign Minister, whether Justice Abdul Hameed Dogar was the present Chief justice of Pakistan, whether Ms. Fauzia Wahab was the present Speaker of the National Assembly, whether Maulvi Fazalullah was the leader of the

Tehrik-e-Taliban Swat movement and whether the acronym MQM stood for the 'Mohajir Qaumi Movement'. Other issues which have appeared often in the media were also made a part of the instrument like whether the Supreme Court of Pakistan had suspended the ban on former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from holding office and contesting elections the name that the military had given to the Swat operation etc.

3.6 Data Analysis

Out of the four hundred questionnaires that were distributed, three hundred and eight were found to be valid and complete which were made a part of the final analysis. The data was than fed into the SPSS format. To find out the answer to the hypothesis, correlation-coefficient and independent sample t-test were applied to find out the answers to the research questions.

3.7 Variables

3.7.1 Conventional Media/ New Media

The term New Media refers to the many different forms of electronic communication that are made possible through the use of computer technology. Conventional Media refers to media forms that came prior to the digital revolution such as the various forms of electronic media like television, radio, films etc., as well the different forms of print media like newspapers, books, periodicals and magazines etc. New media mainly includes web sites, chat rooms, e-mail, online communities, web advertising,

DVD and CD-ROM media, virtual reality environments, integration of digital data with the telephone, such as Internet telephony, digital cameras and mobile computing etc. However, in this research, only the use of internet which includes web sites, chat rooms, e-mail, blogs, e-newsletters, online communities and web advertising was discussed as it afforded the greatest means to influence the process of political awareness. Part of the aim of the research was to determine the patterns of media use of both the conventional and new media. The respondents were asked various questions pertaining to the time they spent on using each media and the purpose for which they used it most often. The respondents were also asked to evaluate on a comparative scale to determine which of the media fulfilled their needs most often.

3.7.2 Political Awareness

Political Awareness refers to an acknowledgement of an interest in politics. It is the first step of political socialization and refers to having knowledge, understanding and interest in political issues. Zaller (1992: 21) defines political awareness as the extent to which an individual pays attention to and understands political information. It leads to the formation of values and beliefs that correspond to ones political views. The respondents were asked their level of interest in politics and as well as testing their knowledge of politics, political issues that have been hyped by the media as well as legal issues pertaining to politics. The aim was to have a quantitative assessment of the level of political awareness of the respondents.

3.7.3 Educated Youth

For the purpose of the present research, the term educated youth was meant to refer to those students who have done their intermediate and are studying in a university. As mentioned earlier, according to a rough estimate, as an official one is not available, there are approximately 100,000-150,000 university students living in the twin cities. Most of these students have access to all the different kinds of media and best personify the information revolution that has overtaken the entire globe.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The number of questionnaires that were distributed was 400; however, only 313 were returned which meant that that the response rate was 78%. However, only 308 were included in the final analysis as the remaining five were either incomplete or the responses were unclear. The data that was thus compiled revealed that 51 % of the respondents were male while 49 % were female.

The respondents ranged in age from 18 to 25 years old ($M = 22$, $SD = 1.797$). Out of these, 20% were 20 years old, 19% were 21 years old, 16% were 22 years old, 13% were 23 years old, 11% were 19 years old while the remaining, 10 % were 18 years old, 7% were 25 years old and 4% were 24 years old.

Respondents' annual family income ranged from less than Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 50,000 or more (M=50k+, SD= 1.034). Almost 40% of the respondents belonged to households with a monthly income of Rupees fifty thousand and above (50K+), 26% were in the 25-49K category, 25% were in the 15-24K category while only 10 % belonged to household where the monthly income was rupees ten thousand or less. This anomaly can be investigated further to determine whether the number of students who make it to the universities belong to middle or high income groups while lower groups do not get such opportunities.

The respondents were asked whether they read the daily newspaper, an overwhelming 82.5% stated that they were newspaper readers, however, from the time spent on reading the newspaper in a week, it was evident that newspaper is given only a cursory consideration as almost 62% said that they read the newspaper for a total of less than thirty minutes in a week. 19% read it for a total duration of between 30- 60 minutes, 12% read it between 1-2 hours while only 7% read it for over 2 hours.

Another important conventional media is the television; the respondents were asked how many hours they spent on watching television in a day. For this purpose the criterion developed by George Gerbner was used according to which individuals who watched more than 4 hours of television in a day were classified as heavy viewers, however, amongst this age group only 7 % came into this category perhaps because of their hectic educational routines. 26% watched television for the duration of 2-4 hours, 9% claimed that they did not watch the television at all while 59 % said that they watched television for less than one hour. As regards to radio, 33% said that they spent less than one hour in a day, 9% said that they spent between 1-2 hours while only 2% said that they spent more than 2 hours.

New media particularly the internet has gained a strong foothold in the lives of the Pakistani youth as well. 56% of the respondents stated that they had been using the internet for over four years. However, as mentioned earlier as a majority of the respondents belonged to affluent households, they were bound to have such access. 26 % stated that they had been using the internet for a period of 1-4 years while 18 % stated that they had been using it for less than a year. To determine the patterns of

internet use, the option of time duration was kept short, the highest option was over two hours in a week, 57% responded that they used the internet for this duration thereby determining that were regular internet users. 17%said that they used it for a period of 1-2 hours, 12% stated they used it for a period of 30-60 minutes while 14% stated that they used the internet for less than 30 minutes, thereby determining that they were not regular users of the internet.

Table 4.1

Comparison of Conventional and New Media

Media Usage	Usage Pattern					
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Regularly	Total
Political News in the Paper	47	58	98	57	48	308
Political TV Shows	35	85	108	56	24	308
Radio News	168	68	50	17	5	308
Political radio discussion	211	50	38	7	2	308
National politics while using conventional media	53	69	101	59	26	308
National Politics while using New Media	125	68	74	29	12	308
Online News-paper	136	75	57	28	12	308

To better understand the usage patterns of conventional and new media, the table given above shows that most of the educated youth does not use any of the media to gain political awareness to a great extent. On being asked how often the they focused on political news alone in a newspaper, 47 out of the total 308 said that they never did so while 58 said they read political news only rarely while 98 out of 308, said that

they focused on political stories alone only sometimes. On the other hand 57 out of 308 said that they often focus on political news stories while 48 said that they were regular readers of political news. The respondents were also given the option of selecting sections which they read most often, these included the front page, editorial, op-ed, letters to the editor, sports page, comics, horoscope, entertainment and metro page. These were later coded as political sections which included the front page, editorial, op-ed, and letters to the editor while the sports page, comics, horoscope, entertainment and metro page were coded as non-political sections. Furthermore, the responses showed that 123 out of 308 focused on political section alone, 80 focused only on non-political sections while 105 read both the sections. This shows that newspaper is a medium which is being used for information gaining by the youth. These findings show that a significant number of the newspaper readers focused on political sections of the newspapers.

On being asked how often the respondents watched politics based television shows, 108 out of 308 said they sometimes watched such shows while 85 respondents stated that they watched such shows only rarely while 35 out of 308 said that they never watched such shows. On the other hand, 56 out of 308 said that they often watched such shows while 24 respondents said that they were regular viewers of such shows.

Radio is also a commonly used conventional mass medium but 168 out of a total of 308 of the educated youth respondents stated that they never listened to news on the radio. Furthermore, 68 stated that they rarely listened while 50 said that they sometimes listened to radio news. Only 17 out of the total said that they often listened

to the radio while only 5 claimed to be regular listeners of radio news. A similar trend was observed as regards to political based radio discussions. The data revealed that a vast majority, i.e. 211 out of 308 never listened to discussions on the radio, 50 rarely listened, 38 respondents sometimes listened while merely 9 out of the total 308 listened to such discussion often or regularly.

To reinstate these trends, the respondents were asked how often they focused on national politics alone while using conventional media, 53 out of 308 said that they never focused on political news stories as compared to other kinds of news stories, 69 stated that they rarely focused on such stories, according to 101 they sometimes paid attention to such stories, 59 said often while 26 out of 308 stated that they often focused on national news stories.

As regards to new media, the response showed that 125 out of 308 stated they never paid any attention to national politics, 68 stated that they rarely paid any attention to national politics while 74 stated they focused on national politics only sometimes. On the other hand, only 41 out of 308 stated they focused on national politics often or regularly. The respondents were also asked how often they read online newspapers, 136 out of 308 stated that they never read online newspapers, while 75 said rarely and 57 said that they sometimes read online newspapers. A mere 40 responded that they read online newspapers often or regularly. The 136 who have never visited an online newspaper probably do not know that such a genre exists.

Thus, it can be deducted that a small number uses conventional media to gain knowledge about national politics frequently while the frequent users of new media for the purpose of political awareness are even lower. Furthermore, television appears to be the dominant source for political information for the educated youth.

Table 4.2

Focus on Political News

Media Sources	Types of Political News					
	International politics	National Politics	Regional Politics	Local Politics	None	Total
Conventional Media	68	160	7	9	64	308
New Media	90	62	7	6	143	308

The respondents were also asked which area of political news they focused on most often while using conventional media. 160 out of 308 said that they focused on national politics, which is in accordance with the recent trends in our local media which give the most time and space to national politics. 68 stated that they paid attention to international politics while only 16 stated they paid any attention to regional or local politics which is also in accordance with media trends. 64 out of a total of 308 stated that they did not pay attention to any kind of political news.

In contrast to the patterns of conventional media use, 90 respondents out of the total of 308 stated they used the internet to learn about international politics, 62 stated they used it to learn about national politics while a mere 13 used the internet to gain information about local or regional politics. A vast majority i.e. 143 out of the total of 308 stated that they did not pay any attention to any kind of political news.

Table 4.3

Duration of Media use

Media Sources	Duration of Use				
	¼ of the time	½ of the time	¾ of the time	Full time	Total
Conventional Media	163	75	46	24	308
New Media	151	86	45	26	308

To reinstate these trends, the respondents were asked how much of their time did they spend on focusing on political news. In response, 163 out of the total of 308 said that they allotted only a quarter of their time to focus on political news. When this figure is looked at in the perspective of the number of television news channels and newspapers in circulation, it clearly indicates that the urban educated youth are not greatly interested in Pakistani politics. 75 said they spent half of their time in focusing on political news while 46 stated that they spent three quarters of their time to focus on politics. Only 24 respondents out of the total of 308 stated that all their time spent on conventional media was devoted to political news.

To determine how much of the time spent on using new media was devoted to political news a criterion similar to one about conventional media was used. In response, 151 out of 308 of the respondents stated they spent only a quarter of their time in using conventional media, 86 stated that they spent half their time, 45 stated they spent three quarters of their time in focusing on political news while merely 26 stated that they gave their entire time to focusing on political news.

Table 4.4

Sources for Political Information

Information Source	Media Sources				
	None	Conventional Media	New Media	Both	Total
Primary source	3	249	16	40	308
Trust worthy source	8	247	33	20	308

The respondents were also asked which was their primary source for political information, an overwhelming 249 out of 308 stated that conventional media was their primary source for political information. Out of these, 43% marked television, 8% marked radio while 23% marked newspaper as being their primary sources of information. Merely 16 respondents stated that new media was their primary source for political information; however, 40 claimed that they gave equal attention to new media as well as conventional media. In the use of new media, 4% marked online newspapers to be their most important source for political information while discussion forums, online communities and websites each received a marking of 2%.

The respondents were also asked which news source they trusted more. 247 respondents out of 308 claimed that they trusted conventional media, 33 respondents claimed that they trusted new media while 20 respondents claimed that they trusted both the new media as well as conventional media. Individually, 48% of the respondents considered television to be the most trust worthy medium while 24% considered newspaper to be the most trustworthy. Only 9% of the respondents considered radio to be trustworthy. On the side of new media, 4% of the respondents

considered political e-mails to be trust worthy while websites and online newspapers received 3% each.

Table 4.5

Discussion of Politics

Discussion Partners	Discussion Pattern					
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Regularly	Total
Discussion with friends	41	77	106	50	34	308
Discussion with family	44	82	102	46	34	308

Political discussion is an integral part of the process of political awareness (Hively & Eveland, 2009) as it is acknowledgement of their interest as well as proof of their knowledge. The data revealed that 118 respondents never or rarely discussed politics with their friends while 126 adopted a similar attitude with their family members. 84 out of 308 discussed such issues regularly or often with their friends while 80 out of 308 adopted a similar attitude with their family members. This shows a clear trend that the educated youth are not keen on political discussions.

Another indicator of an interest in politics is participation in bodies like political club, political forum, students council or political campaigns.35% of the respondents had never joined any of these, 62% claimed that they had participated in one of them mainly thee student councils in schools and universities. A mere 4% had joined any of the others. This is perhaps due to the lack of opportunities available to the youth to organize their own activities as well as the taboos associated with student politics in Pakistan.

Table 4.6

Political Participation

Political Participation	Responses		
	Yes	No	Total
Attended a Parliament Session	37	271	308
Voted in the last election	92	216	308

The parliament session is an occasion when the youth can gain an understanding of the political processes; they need to hear these sessions to realize the potential of their rights. However, according to the data compiled, only 37 out of 308 of the respondents had ever attended a parliament session even though the parliament building is in the vicinity of the university.

Democracy can only be sustained if the youth of a nation are active participants of the process, if they are disillusioned than there is no hope. The youth particularly are important because they take the course of democracy forwards, however, unfortunately the data revealed that merely 92 out of 308 of the respondents had voted in the previous election, however, there is some room for error as some of the respondents would not have been of age at the time of the last election therefore they would not have been able to participate. However, excluding this margin there is still evidence of apathy amongst the younger generation of Pakistan.

Table 4.7

Percentage of Correct Answers to Questions

No.	Question	% Correct
1.	Voting age in Pakistan is 21 years.	84
2.	Shah Mehmood Qureshi is Pakistan's Foreign Minister.	78
3.	The acronym MQM stands for the 'Mohajir Qaumi Movement'.	37
4.	Article 58-2b gives the President the right to dissolve Pakistan's Senate.	45
5.	The Supreme Court of Pakistan has suspended the ban on former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from holding office and contesting elections.	67
6.	The number of seats in Pakistan's Senate is 100.	43
7.	A candidate for Pakistan's National Assembly has to be a graduate, a Pakistani citizen and a Muslim.	35
8.	Maulvi Fazalullah is leader of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Swat movement.	58
9.	The Pakistani Parliament comprises of the Senate, the National Assembly, and the President	40
10.	Justice Abdul Hameed Dogar is the present Chief justice of Pakistan.	78
11.	According to the Parliamentary system in Pakistan, the President is the Head of State and the Prime Minister is the Head of Government in Pakistan.	69
12.	The military has named the Swat operation Operation Haq-Parast.	69
13.	Ms. Fauzia Wahab is the present Speaker of the National Assembly.	69
14.	The Electoral College of the Senate in Pakistan comprises of the National Assembly and the four provincial assemblies	63
15.	Presidential Elections in Pakistan are held every five years.	77
16.	The total number of seats in Pakistan's National Assembly is 350.	38
17.	The Federal Government in Pakistan consists of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary.	69

The instrument contained a test of the respondent's knowledge of Pakistani politics. There were 17 questions of varying difficulties; some of them were about issues that have been discussed regularly in the media. The results were pretty impressive, only

2.6% had a score of below 25%. 34% of the respondents scored between 25%-50% (below average), 50% scored between 50%-75% (above average), while 13% scored above 75% (good). The average score of all the respondents was 62%.

The questions were posed as statements which were either correct or incorrect. Individually each question got a different score. The statement about the voting age in Pakistan got the highest correct response, 84 % of the respondents answered correctly. This can be due to the fact that it was directly relevant to the respondents; most of them knew that the age limit for voting has been decreased from 21 years to 18 years quite recently. Other statements that got a high correct response rate were about the current Chief justice of Pakistan and the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Both these figures appear quite frequently in the media particularly with the advent of 24 hour news channels. Thus 78% of the respondents knew that Shah Mehmood Qureshi is Pakistan's Foreign Minister while the same number knew that Justice Abdul Hammed Dogar is no longer the Chief Justice of Pakistan. Another question that got a high correct response of 77% was about the presidential elections which are held every five years. Presidential elections got a lot of coverage over the past year after the resignation of president Musharaf and the election of President Zardari. 69% of the respondents correctly answered that Pakistan follows the Parliamentary System in which the President is the head of State while the Prime Minister is the head of the Government. A similar number also correctly answered that the Swat Operation is not called Operation Haq Parast. This had also received a lot of attention in the media over the past few months. 69% answered correctly that Ms. Fauzia Wahab is not the

Speaker of the National Assembly, the current Speaker, Dr. Fehmida Mirza also appears frequently in the media and is a well known figure. The Federal Government in Pakistan is composed of the Executive, the legislature and the judiciary which was answered correctly by 69% of the respondents. Another issue which got a lot of media coverage was about the suspension of the ban on former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from holding office and contesting election, 67% of the respondents correctly answered this question. 63% correctly answered that the electoral college of the senate comprises of the National Assembly and the four provincial assemblies. Another personality who got a lot of media coverage in recent months was Maulvi Fazalullah who was the leader of Tehrik-e-Taliban Swat, 58% of the respondents correctly answered this question.

The data revealed that there were a few issues about which the respondents did not have a clear knowledge. Although the issue of Article 58-2b has been under constant media scrutiny yet only 45% of the respondent knew that it relates to Presidential powers with which the president has the right to dissolve the National Assembly. Only 43% of the respondents knew that the number of seats in Senate is 100. Merely 40% of the respondents were able to detect that the Pakistani Parliament comprises of the senate, the National Assemble and the Prime Minster and not the president as was stated. Only 38% were able to detect that the number of seats in the National Assembly has increased from 350 to 384. Only 37 % were able to identify that the name of MQM has been changed from Muhajir Qaumi Movement to Mutahida

Qaumi Movement. Only 35% of the respondents were able to answer that a candidate for National Assembly does not necessarily have to be a Muslim.

4.1 Hypothesis Testing

4.1.1 H_1: New media is the more commonly used medium amongst the educated youth.

H_1 hypothesized that new media is the more commonly used medium by the educated youth of the twin cities. To determine this, the respondents were asked for how long they had been using internet which gives access to most of the forms of new media. The results showed that 56% had been using the internet for over four years while another 26% stated that they had been using the internet for a period of 1-4 years. Pearson's Correlations test was run to test whether a relationship existed between the lengths of time since the respondents started using the internet and the time spent on using the internet. The results (r=0.508, $p>$ 0.01) show that there is a positive and significant relationship which shows that the respondents who had been using the internet for a longer period tended to use it for a longer period of time (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8

Relationship of weekly use and the length of use of internet

	Length of use of the internet
Duration of internet use in a week	0.508**

$N= 308$, **$P< 0.01$ two tailed

Furthermore, 57% reported that they had been using the internet for more than two hours each week, which, was the maximum duration mentioned in the questionnaire while another 17% said that they used it for a period of 1-2 hours. To gain a perspective of these figures the usage patterns of most of the conventional media have to be analyzed. As mentioned earlier, 62% of the respondents had reported that they read the newspaper for less than thirty minutes in a week, while 59% reported that they watched television for less than one hour each day. When we compare these with the former figures, it is evident that new media is being used extensively but not exclusively by the educated youth of the twin cities. Thus, H_1 stands proven that new media is the more commonly used medium by the educated youth of the twin cities.

4.1.2 H_2: Educated youth who use new media more are more politically aware.

H_2 hypothesized that educated youth who use new media are more politically aware. To test this hypothesis, it was imperative to determine whether the sample population was politically aware and than find out the mediums that they used more often. When the sample population was tested on their political awareness, 63% of the respondents scored over 50% which is a fairly high score and one can safely say that the educated youth of the twin cities are well informed about Pakistan's politics. H_1 has already shown that new media is the more commonly used medium by the educated youth of the twin cities but we cannot automatically jump to the conclusion that as new media is used more often and the population is politically aware as well, thus the awareness is due to the use of new media. To test this, an independent sample t-test was

conducted to compare the level of political awareness for the use of conventional media and new media. It was found that there was a significant difference in the scores for those students who used no media or only conventional media (M=2.65, SD=0.569) and those who used either new media alone or both the medias (M=2.89, SD=0.705) ; t(306)= 2.75, *p*= 0.006. These results suggest that the respondents who relied on either new media alone or both the media to gain knowledge and information about politics have greater political awareness. However, within the latter category, those who relied on both the media for their information comparatively scored much higher (83%) than those who relied on new media (63%) alone.

Table 4.9

Primary Media Sources and level of Political Awareness

Media Sources	Level off Political awareness			
	Below 25%	25%-50%	50%-75%	75%-100%
None	0	1	2	0
Conventional Media	1	96	141	11
New Media	2	4	10	0
Both	0	7	24	9
Total	3	108	177	20

A similar trend was observed when the respondent's political awareness was cross-tabulated with what they considered to be trust worthy sources (Table 4.10). Data revealed that the respondents who considered both the media to be trustworthy sources of political information scored comparatively higher (75%) than those who relied on either the conventional media (66%) or new media (36%) alone.

Table 4.10

Political Awareness and Trust worthy News Sources.

News sources	Level off Political awareness			
	Below 25%	25%-50%	50%-75%	75%-100%
None	0	1	7	0
Conventional Media	0	84	149	14
New Media	3	18	11	1
Both	0	5	10	5
Total	3	108	177	20

Further more, results showed that those respondents who focused on either new media alone or both the media (M=2.66, SD=1.3) had a greater interest in national politics than those who did not use any media or only conventional media (M= 2.02, SD= 1.1); t(73.16)= 3.38, p=0.001. in addition, the later category i.e. users of conventional media (M=1.76, SD=0.945) on the whole tended to focus less on political news stories as compared to other stories in the media as compared to those respondents who used either new media alone or both the media (M=2.13. SD= 1.04); t(306)= 2.577, p=0.01.

After the application of an independent sample t-test, a significant difference in the level of political awareness was found between the frequent (M=2.75, SD=0.581) and non-frequent (M=2.54, SD=0.635) users of internet; t(128.4)= 2.63, p=0.01. Results showed that a greater number of the respondents who used the internet frequently had greater political awareness which goes on to show that using internet in particular does lead to an increase in the level of political awareness. All this leads to the

conclusion that H_2 stands proven as educated youth who use new media more are more politically aware.

Table 4.11

Weekly Use of Internet and level of Political Awareness

Weekly use of Internet	Level off Political awareness			
	Below 25%	25%-50%	50%-75%	75%-100%
Less than 30 mins.	2	15	25	1
30-60 mins.	0	22	12	3
1hr-2hr	0	20	32	1
More than 2 hrs	1	51	108	15
Total	3	108	177	20

4.1.3 H_3: Socio-economic status influences new media use for the purpose of political awareness.

H_3 hypothesized that socio-economic factors play a strong role in how new media is used for the purpose of political awareness. Before testing this hypothesis, it was imperative to determine the patterns of media use and their relationship with the socio-economic background of the respondents.

Independent sample t tests were conducted which showed that there was a significant difference between those students who came from more affluent households (M= 2.24, SD=0.697) and those from less affluent households (M=2.43, SD=0.766) regarding the number of hours that the respondents spent on watching Television news t(199.36) = -2.04, p = 0.038. Results showed that those belonging to the higher

income groups tended to focus less on television news as compared to those who belonged to lower income groups.

Similarly, independent sample t-tests also revealed that there was a significant difference between those students who came from more affluent households (M=1.69, SD=1.02) and those from less affluent households (M= 1.93, SD=0.974) regarding how often they listened to radio news $t(306) = -2.01$, $p = 0.045$. Results showed that those belonging to the higher income groups listened to radio news less often as compared to those who belonged to lower income groups. A similar trend was observed as regards to duration of listenership of radio news, $t(306)=-2.837$, $p=0.005$, as well as political discussion on the radio $t(177.38)=-3.38$, $p=0.001$.

When independent sample t-test was applied to test the influence of income on new media use, it was revealed that the only significant influence of income was in regards to the length of time since the respondents started using the internet $t(306)=2.966$, $p=0.003$. As new media in general and internet in particular is a new phenomenon in Pakistan thus, it is not surprising that those who belong to higher income brackets have been using the internet for a longer period of time. However, data revealed that there was no significant difference in the ratio of the level of political awareness of those respondents who belong to the higher income group and those who belong to the lower income group. Following table shows that 64 of the respondents who belonged to the lower income group were politically aware who comprise 60 % of the respondents belonging to the lower once group. On the other

53

hand, 133 respondents belonging to the higher income bracket had greater political awareness that comprise 66% of the total of the affluent respondents.

Table 4.12

Income and level of Political Awareness

Level of political Awareness	Income level	
	Lower income group	Higher income group
Greater political awareness	64	133
Less political awareness	43	68

Thus, 60 % of those belonging to lower income group and 66 % belonging to the higher income group were politically aware. The difference is not so great as to indicate that household income level is playing a significant role. As mentioned earlier those belonging to the higher income bracket have greater access to new media but as the level of awareness amongst both the classes is identical therefore, we can state the income level of the respondents was not influencing their use of new media for the purpose of gaining political awareness. Thus, H_3 is not proven.

4.1.4 H_4: Gender influences new media use for the purpose of political awareness.

Before testing H4, it is imperative to determine whether gender influences media use in general. In this regard independent sample t tests were conducted which showed that there was a significant difference between males (M=1.79, SD=0.887) and females (M=2.11, SD=

0.805) regarding the newspaper sections which were read more often t(278.7) = -3.152, p = 0.002.

It was revealed that male readers of newspapers gave preference to political sections while female readers were generally keener on non-political sections. A similar trend was also observed in regards to television viewing. As male TV viewers (M= 2.99, SD= 1.23) gave more preference to political based television shows t(288.7) = 2.55, p= 0.011 as compared to female television viewers (M= 2.67, SD= 0.91). Furthermore, it was revealed that female television viewers (M= 2.2, SD= 0.61) were not as keen on watching television news as compared to their male (M= 2.39, SD= 0.81) counterparts t(291.07)= 2.11, p=0.036. Males generally spent more time watching television news as compared to females. Taken together, the data revealed that males (M= 2.01, SD=1.03) in comparison to females (M= 1.53, SD=0.84) gave more of their time to political news as compared to other news stories when using conventional media t(299.5)= 4.55, p= 0.00. Thus, it can be interpreted that gender plays a very significant role in conventional media use for the purpose of political awareness.

As regards to new media use, the data revealed that males (M= 2.79, SD= 1.73) and females (M= 3.55, SD= 1.78) differed in the areas in which they focused more while using new media t(306)= -3.8, p= 0.00. A similar trend was observed regarding the time spent on political news stories t(301.412) = 5.104, p=0.00 as the usage pattern of males (M= 2.09, SD= 1.01) was different to that of females (M= 1.55, SD= 0.848). Data revealed that a greater number of female users of new media tended to

disregard political news stories as compared to males. Further, females (M=1.91, SD= 0.996) tended to focus less on national politics while using new media t(295.4)= 3.39, p= 0.001 as compared to males (M=2.35, SD= 1.272). Results showed that a greater number of females declared that they had no interest in any kind of politics as compared to males.

Another area where there was a significant difference between the attitudes of males (M=2.28, SD= 1.27) and females (M=1.79, SD=0.966) was in regards to online newspapers. Results revealed that males tended to read online newspapers more often than females t(292.12) = 3.33, p = 0.00. The data also revealed that t(224.1)= -4.39, p= 0.00 that a greater number of males (M=1.82, SD=0.388) had their own blogs as compared to females (M=1.97, SD=0.18). Results also showed t(274.1)= -2.86, p= 0.004 that males (M=1.83, SD=0.378) had attended parliament sessions more often than females (M=1.93, SD=0.25).

Table 4.13

Gender and level of Political Awareness

Level of Political Awareness	Gender	
	Males	Females
Greater political awareness	112	85
Less political awareness	46	65

And finally, results t(306)= 3.31, p=0.01 also revealed that knowledge of political issues of males (M=2.8, SD= 0.633) was better than that of females(M=2.58,

SD=0.547) (table 4.13). All this indicates that there are radical differences in the attitudes of males and females as regards to using media to gain political awareness. Thus, there is considerable support for H4 that gender influences new media use for the purpose of political awareness.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

All over the world new media is increasingly being used for generating activism as it has the potential of reaching a large number of people without the interference of a great many gatekeepers. The aim of the research was to determine whether conventional media was being replaced by new media to gain political awareness by the educated youth. New media is a relatively new phenomenon in Pakistan and is more accessible in urban areas as compared to rural areas. Another significant factor relates to its usage by a significant number of youth who have been able to adopt the new information technology.

The results of the research supported the notion that the youth are using this medium increasingly to gain political awareness. Gunther and Mughan (2000) believe that in countries undergoing a transition, political communication through the media facilitates democratization and re-socializes the masses to new democratic rules of the game. Thus, new media can be very helpful in this regard and is being used widely across the world (Eagles and Davidson, 2001; Kim and Johnson, 2006; Kim and Kim 2007; Bachen et al. 2008). Results of the research were very optimistic and demonstrated that there is a great deal of potential in this medium to bring about a positive change in out society.

As mentioned earlier, political awareness is the first step of political socialization, it is only when the youth of a country are politically socialized and mobilized that the

country can move forwards. The data has revealed that the sample youth had a great deal of knowledge concerning politics. However, one factor which stood out was in regards to the cumulative effects of media according to which the messages coming from each medium are re-enforced by the messages from other media. Furthermore, research has also revealed that one form of media is not in competition with other information outlets, but in reality, the various forms of media are complimenting one another (Lance, 2005; Lance and Benoit, 2009). Thus, the youth are gaining knowledge one way or the other which would be helpful for our country in the long run.

The third hypothesis related to how socio-economic factors influence new media use for the purpose of political awareness. It was revealed that in the selected sample, income level did not have any particular influence on the use of new media for the purpose of political awareness, mainly because there was relative homogeneity in the percentages of level of political awareness amongst the different income groups. This negated the notion of the knowledge gap hypothesis which had declared that "as the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases, segments of the population with higher socio-economic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, so that the gap in knowledge between the segments tends to increase rather than decrease" (Tichenor, Donohue and Olien, 1970). This is again a very hopeful sign which shows that new media unlike any of the other mass media has bypassed the income divide to become the true medium of mass communication. As regards to the process of political socialization, this

indicates that the potential of this medium can be explored further to bring about a qualitative change in society.

The last hypothesis related to the influence of gender on how new media is used for political awareness. Results showed that gender played a very strong role and there was a radical difference in how males and females were using new media. This is in accordance with the research by Nash and Hoffman (2009) who asserted that a knowledge gap exists between genders because of which men have been able to maintain their superiority. Furthermore, although men and women have achieved political equilibrium, yet the ever-present knowledge gap in this area demonstrates that inequity still exists. This was proven by the present research that males and female had different attitudes as regards to politics. It has been traditionally assumed that males have a greater interest in politics, or it is the men's domain so to say and women have generally stayed away or considered it to be very dull. The concept of equality and emancipation has not become as common in Pakistan as in the Western countries. Here gender roles are pre-defined and both sexes follow them. Thus, females do not express an interest in politics or knowledge of political issues. This too has negative consequences as females constitute a large portion of society, when they do not participate in the democratic process it is not representative of the whole society.

In conclusion, new media has a great deal of potential in terms of creating political awareness amongst the youth which can be explored further and effective measures can be taken to fully utilize its potential. Its unique characteristic allows for a deeper

understanding and can be used as a methodological approach towards generating political interest amongst the youth. Further, the research showed that the youth have a great deal of interest in political issues which is a very positive sign but they do not have the opportunities to participate fully in the democratic process. There is a general trend of dissatisfaction and discontent with the political processes due to which the youth are reluctant to enter into this arena and express themselves. However, to remove this anomaly effort can be made at the government as well as individual level by using new media as a platform for the youth.

Results showed that the problem areas existed in regard to the knowledge gap between genders because even though education is becoming common yet there is a drastic difference in the attitudes of men and women. In our society there are still predefined roles of genders and politics is considered to be an exclusively male domain due to which women do not participate in it. This needs to be rectified to fully develop the potential of this media.

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APPENDIX I
Center for Media and Communication
International Islamic University, Islamabad

NEW AND CONVENTIONAL MEDIA USAGE AND POLITICAL AWARENESS AMONGST EDUCATED YOUTH
<u>Questionnaire</u>

Gender: Male ☐   Female ☐

Age: _____

Institution: _____

Parents/ guardian's monthly income:

Upto 15,000 ☐   15,000- 29,999 ☐   25,000- 49,999 ☐   50,000 and above ☐

CONVENTIONAL MEDIA USE

1. Do you read newspapers?

   Yes☐   No☐

2. If yes, for how long do you read the newspaper in a week?

   Less than 30 minutes ☐   30-60 min ☐   1-2 Hours ☐   More than two hrs☐

3. Which of the following sections of the newspapers do you read most often?

   Front page☐   Editorial☐   Op-ed☐   Letters to the editor☐   Sports page☐   Comics☐   Horoscope☐   Entertainment section☐   Metro page☐

4. How often do you read political news in newspapers?

   Never ☐   Rarely ☐   Sometimes ☐   Often ☐   Regularly☐

5. How many hours in a day do you spend on watching Television News?

None ☐   Less than 1 hour ☐   2-4 Hours ☐   More than four hours ☐

6. How often do you watch television shows devoted to political issues?

   Never ☐   Rarely ☐   Sometimes ☐   Often ☐   Regularly ☐

7. How often do you listen to news on the radio?

   Never ☐   Rarely ☐   Sometimes ☐   Often ☐   Regularly ☐

8. How many hours in a week do you spend on listening to radio News?

   None ☐   Less than 1 hour ☐   2-4 Hours ☐   More than four hours ☐

9. How often do you listen to political discussions on the radio?

   Never ☐   Rarely ☐   Sometimes ☐   Often ☐   Regularly ☐

10. What kind of political news do you focus on most often?

    International politics ☐   National politics ☐   Regional politics ☐   Local politics ☐   None of the above ☐

11. How much time do you give to political news as compared to other news stories?

    ¼ ☐   ½ ☐   ¾ ☐   full ☐

12. How often do you focus on National politics alone?

    Never ☐   Rarely ☐   Sometimes ☐   Often ☐   Regularly ☐

NEW MEDIA USE

13. For how long have you been using the internet?

    Less than a year ☐   1-4 years ☐   More than 4 years ☐

14. For how long do you use the internet in a week?

    Less than 30 minutes ☐   30-60 min ☐   1-2 Hours ☐   More than two hrs ☐

15. What kind of political news do you focus on while using the Internet?

International politics☐   National politics☐   Regional politics☐   local politics☐   None of the above ☐

16. How much time do you give to political news as compared to other news stories?

☐   ½☐   ¾☐   full☐

17. While using the internet how often do you focus on National politics alone?

Never ☐   Rarely ☐   Sometimes ☐   Often ☐   Regularly☐

18. How often do you read online political newspapers?

Never ☐   Rarely ☐   Sometimes ☐   Often ☐   Regularly☐

19. Do you have a blog where you express your political views?

Yes☐   No☐

POLITICAL AWARENESS

20. Which of the following is your primary source for political information?

None ☐   Television☐   Radio☐   Newspapers☐   Newsmagazines☐

Blogs☐   E-mail☐   Chat rooms☐   Websites☐   Discussion forums☐

E-newsletters☐   online bulletin boards☐   Online communities☐

Online Newspapers☐   Web advertising☐

21. Which news source do you trust the most?

None ☐   Television☐   Radio☐   Newspapers☐   Newsmagazines☐

Blogs☐   E-mail☐   Chat rooms☐   Websites☐   Discussion forums☐

E-newsletters☐   online bulletin boards☐   Online communities☐

Online Newspapers☐   Web advertising☐

22. Do you discuss political issues with your friends?

Never ☐   Rarely ☐   Sometimes ☐   Often ☐   Regularly☐

23. Do you discuss political issues with your family members?

Never ☐   Rarely ☐   Sometimes ☐   Often ☐   Regularly☐

24. Have you ever joined any of the following?

Political club☐   Political forum☐   Students' council☐   Political campaign☐

25. Have you ever attended a parliament session?

Yes ☐   No ☐

26. Did you vote in the last election?

Yes ☐   No ☐

27. Voting age in Pakistan is 21 years.

True☐   False ☐

28. Shah Mehmood Qureshi is Pakistan's Foreign Minister.

True☐   False ☐

29. The acronym MQM stands for the 'Mohajir Qaumi Movement'.

True☐   False ☐

30. Article 58-2b gives the President the right to dissolve Pakistan's Senate.

True☐   False ☐

31. The Supreme Court of Pakistan has suspended the ban on former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif from holding office and contesting elections.

True☐   False ☐

32. The number of seats in Pakistan's Senate is 100.

True☐   False ☐

33. A candidate for Pakistan's National Assembly has to be a graduate, a Pakistani citizen and a Muslim.

True☐   False ☐

34. Maulvi Fazalullah is leader of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Swat movement.

True☐   False ☐

35. The Pakistani Parliament comprises of the Senate, the National Assembly, and the President

True☐   False ☐

36. Justice Abdul Hameed Dogar is the present Chief justice of Pakistan.

True☐   False ☐

37. According to the Parliamentary system in Pakistan, the President is the Head of State and the Prime Minister is the Head of Government in Pakistan.

True☐   False ☐

38. The military has named the Swat operation Operation Haq-Parast.

True☐   False ☐

39. Ms. Fauzia Wahab is the present Speaker of the National Assembly.

True☐   False ☐

40. The Electoral College of the Senate in Pakistan comprises of the National Assembly and the four provincial assemblies

True☐   False ☐

41. Presidential Elections in Pakistan are held every five years.

True☐   False ☐

42. The total number of seats in Pakistan's National Assembly is 350.

    True☐   False ☐

43. The Federal Government in Pakistan consists of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary.

    True☐   False ☐