Political Activism in Public Universities of Punjab: Online News Impacts



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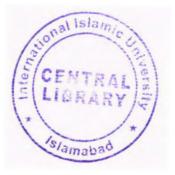
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Political Activism in Public Universities of Punjab: Online News Impacts

By

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IN THE NAME OF

"ALLAH"

WHO IS THE MOST BENEFICENT & THE MOST MERCIFUL

DEDICATED

To

Beloved Prophet of ALLAH "HAZRAT MUHAMMAD"

Peace Be Upon Him

Acknowledgement

Bow my head before "ALMIGHTY ALLAH" the Omnipotent, the Omnipresent, the Beneficial who presented me in a Muslim community and also bestowed and blessed me with such a lucid intelligence as I could endeavor my services toward this manuscript. Countless salutations are upon the HOLY PROPHET MUHAMMAD (May Peace Be upon Him), the fountains of knowledge, who has guided his "Ummah" to seek knowledge for cradle to grave.

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Muhammad Ramzan

Declaration

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I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of MS entitled "Political Activism in Public Universities of Punjab: Online News Impacts" is entirely my own work, that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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Certificate of Approval

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the role of online media in the political activism of youth in the public sector universities in the Province of Punjab, Pakistan. Keeping in view the debate on media and politics, I closely examined whether online news affect youths' political belief and attitudes or reinforce the existing beliefs and participatory trends through the dissemination of ineffective messages. The key aim of the study, thus, was to place the debate on the role of media in the political activism of youths and political changes in Pakistan. The study was carried out by employing quantitative research methods with some consideration to qualitative techniques. The study universe was public sector universities in Punjab. A total of 300 students from three different universities (The University of Punjab, Government College University Faisalabad and Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan) were selected with the help of convenient sampling technique. Structured questionnaire, with some open ended questions, was used as tool of data collection. The results indicate that online news or the access to online news by universities' youths offers a new pathway to their political participation and change in their political affiliation and attitudes. There is, albeit slow but visible, change in youths' political attitudes. Youths seem to have challenged the traditional structure and political affiliation. The findings suggest that youth, despite their continued financial dependence on their parents, have been using their "agency" (their capacity to act independently and to make their own free political choices) in the political support.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Pakistan, with 63 percent of the country's population under the age of 25, has a long history of student politics. However, for the last four decades state institutions and political parties have significantly altered student politics, leading to a situation where youth (students) have become apolitical. This apathy on the part of youth could have a significant impact on the future of democracy and political process in Pakistan (Rumi and Nauman, 2013). Nevertheless, recently (as observed in 2013 general election) a mobilized and promising role has been seen among youth towards politics. Rumi and Nauman (2013) argue that the encouraging turnout in the May 2013 election in general and youth political participation in particular promises to be more influential than ever before. This change is mainly attributed to media's role in youth political activism.

This study examines the impact of online news on youth political activism. The study focuses on the role of online news in promoting political activism and participation in the real political world among youth. Media in general and electronic media in particular, have got the prime importance in the lives of young Pakistanis. It is an established fact that media informs people, influences them, shapes their opinions and attitudes about their social world. Electronic media has increased people's awareness of the different events and happenings around the world (Straubhara and Larose, 2001).

Communication technology has devoted itself to the development and diversification of news media, which have evolved from print to electronic, and from

electronic to online media (Murdoch, 2005) which has speed up the information dissemination (Margolis & Moreno, 2009). It is affecting almost all aspects and I nstitutions of societies. Therefore, it is important to unpack the effects of mass media on people's political behavior. So this study examined the impact of online news on political activism, especially among university students. The study attempted to explore the ways in which young citizens participate in political activities.

As discussed earlier and reiterated here that one third of Pakistan population is under the age of 25. Their political socialization is basic necessity for the democratic future of the country. Media in general and online media in particular are widely accessed by youth today. It will not be a sweeping statement to assert that online news is one of the major sources of information for university youth. Online media is activating university students' political behaviors. Following the developed world, Pakistan's mainstream media has launched news websites to access the online media user which emphasis a shift from traditional news medium to online text with digital images and video clips (Murdoch, 2005). Most of the newspapers and TV news channels have established news websites that are available to the Internet user (see methodology chapter for details). Each news website represents different schools of thoughts and seems to support a particular political party, i.e. The Nawa-i-Waqt group is the representative of the pronationalists. They argue that it is protecting the ideological boundaries of Nazria-i-Pakistan. The Jang group is of the same age but claims as at on the other end as Nawa-i-Wagt. The Express is the voice of liberal school of thought. Their presentation is considered as unbiased and objective. Drawing on insights from this initial discussion on online media, the statement of the problem of this research may be stated as under.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The impact of mass media on youth has been subject of research for the last three decades. Much research has been carried out on media and youth in the Western context (Lessige, 2003; Wellmgu, 2001). However, online media influence on youths' political activism is either neglected or less researched in Pakistan. This study, thus, aims to examine how online news is consumed by youth (students) in the public sector universities of Punjab Pakistan. It also aims to highlight how online news shapes their political ideology and beliefs. The attempt is to know whether online news has effects on youth political activism or not. Keeping in view the impact of the online news on youths' political participation and activism, the exact topic of my research was approved as: *Political Activism in Public Universities of Punjab: Online News Impacts.* I have tried to examine the issue under consideration with the following objectives.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- To examine how and what news are consumed by universities youth.
- To study the effects of online news on youths' political beliefs and ideologies.
- It explores how youth (university students) use news websites.

1.4 Research Questions

- Do online news in Pakistan politically mobilize the youth?
- Do online news change or reinforce the youth political beliefs?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The impact of online news on political activism and participation has been a debated issue in the last 3 decades. Some argue that online news is replacing the traditional modes (newspaper and TV channels) as modes of news and information and political communication whereas claim that online news does little to help mobilize people, especially youths. However, most acknowledge that youths are active through the online news (see Hindman, 2009). This study claims that students increasingly spend leisure time in front of the television or the computer. This results in a steady decrease of societal participation and establishing virtual communication (Vergeer. M & Pelzer.B. 2009). The trend is more common in youth specially students of universities. The reason is that university students have easy access to Internet and know how to utilize online media.

1.6 Organization of the Study

Chapter one deals with the introduction of the study. It also consists of the statement of problem, study's objectives, research questions and significance of the study.

Chapter two represents detailed literature review. It discusses the work of national and international scholars under the umbrella of media impacts on youth political activism. It covers both theoretical and imperial literatures.

Chapter three present research methodology. The methodology reveals how the research was conducted. It gives detailed explanation of each methodological step that was taken for conducting this study. Each step is justified with theoretical stance from literature in research methodology and research philosophy. It explains why I opted for one method and not the other.

Chapter four represents the analysis and discussion of primary data collected from the respondents. The data is presented in tables with interpretation. The data presentation and discussion is substantiated with literature where available.

Chapter five consists of findings, conclusion and suggestions. The study findings are summarized with reference to major findings and suggestions.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

The previous chapter was on introduction to the study. The current chapter reviews theoretical and empirical literature relevant to the topic. The chapter is divided into two parts. Part one is the comprehensive literature review that encompasses both theoretical and imperative literature. Part two is theoretical framework. The theoretical framework has been established from the key concept derived from the theories and philosophy regarding media and its impact. The theoretical framework has been developed to as a rachitic for the analysis of data and its interpretation. The theoretical frame has been used to make sense of field data. The forthcoming discussion gives a success account of theoretical and empirical literature review.

Part One

2.1 Online Media and Political Activism

Internet is multidimensional and multipurpose instrument in advanced societies. Internet connects people to the information and one other. Internet is online means of connecting people with people. It is a tool of communication with the active user. It is not only a source of dissemination of information but active means of people interconnection. This is one of the sophisticated Information and Communication Technology (ICT) to create correlation with latent voters. It also upholds someone party's vision. It had played the vital role in mobilizing different movements i.e. in 2003, ten million people was mobilized for "virtual march" through the website "MoveOn" to protest against US invasion on Iraq. Bush in 30 seconds was a commercial created in anti. Bush electoral campaign. MoveOn lunched it on the site.

This commercial spread across borders within limited time and changed the scenario. (Kenix, 2011).

Similarly, in 2006, students in Los Angeles were organized to protest over the anticipated amendment in U.S. policy for immigration through the website namely "MySpace". These movements activated the masses in various parts of world especially in America (Scholz, 2008).

It is argued that activism has become dependent on the use of internet technology i.e. whether on desktop, laptop or mobile devices. Activists currently come up with new thoughts and ideas, envision projects, and direct them on Internet. They don't disappear from the playing ground for the incorporated executives, who know collective intellect and disseminated vision fairly well. Use your thoughts and imagination. Don't launch a website, start up a group of people. Step out of the digital wilderness; change the world (Scholz, 2008).

2.2 Political Campaign through Web/Internet

Online campaign has become more influential through means of news channels and news websites (Lessig, 2003). Study of Internet utilization revealed that majority people still depend on TV as a key source of news. Leaders, workers of political parties and media organizations utilize online means to mobilize the voters to promote the candidate and motivate common people to actively participate in elections (Jacobs, 2005). Today a lot of people are whirling toward the Internet to get election results and news as compare to past (Rainie, 2005). Some scholars, *i.e.* Wellman (2001) and Weber (2003), claim that Internet is capable of impacting political behavior through activism. It is asserted that grassroots political activists have increased enormously over the decades (Wayne, 2000). Bennett (2003) suggests that the Internet might be advantageous to resource—poor organizations that do not traditionally have

access to mass media outlets. Garrett (2006) discusses ways in which online means of communication ease activism in different ways. It trims down the expenditure of distributing information. It identifies the endorsement of joint identity, participants split alike concerns and participants are a fraction of a larger group of people.

2.3 Digital Technology and Political Campaign

Rasmus Kleis Nielsen (2010) argues that politics through digital means fully consolidates the view point and stance of the enthusiasts. The basic reasoning is that we need to quit the idea that online media using digital technologies will carry on a drastic break with the history (Bradley, 2009). On the basis of his previous researches about U.S. political campaigns, Nielsen (2010) argues that online technologies have not drastically changed political scenario but is relatively a practical prosthetic and is a slow practice. It is much cheaper and faster that leads to different types of activism. Especially, it initiates the political activity in the people (Nielsen, 2010). Technology is communally constructed. Users construct the values and meanings of technology by how they use it in common life. Digital world allows citizens to exchange views and messages. It also allows people to take action in opposition to powerful structure of the world (Joyce, 2010).

It is important to point out that very young use digital technology more than any other aged people. Scholz (2008) argued Online News and political system are playing vital role in strengthening the democratic participation, contribution and civic sense among the users. It is connecting general public and other fragment of the humanity. The prime impact of information societies is facilitating civic of political activism. Internet and online means of communication is spiraling social engagements in concerned groups. Online means are more than ordinary media channels of political engagement epitomize by voting, election campaigning and parties (Norris, 2005). Digital technology is considered an instrument

facilitating unconventional channels of civic engagement, distant e-voting in elections, and mobilizing communities that have virtual association. It is also bracing levels of masses that are taking part in public dealings (Barber, 1998; Budge, 1996). Internet rapidly expanded in the United States during the mid-1990s. Radical potential of digital technologies for democracy continues to be expressed by enthusiasts today (Gilder, 2000; Rash, 1997; Rheingold, 1993; Schwartz, 1996).

It is common argument that the knowledge civilization stimulates wide range of citizen forethought in affairs of country. Internet works similar to a virtual agora. It is argued that it is alluring as a normative model but less believable. A lot of viewers argue that there is extensive divergence in who engaged in digital politics (Davis, 1999; Davis & Owen, 1998; Wilhelm, 2001). The experimental studies and survey conducted in many countries shows that people who get benefit or advantage of electronic civic engagement are often activists who already predisposed to take part via customary means of political involvement (Hill & Hughes, 1998; Selnow, 1998; Toulouse & Luke, 1998).

2.4 Political Activism through SMS/Mobile Phones

In economically and technologically developed societies SMS plays very important role in the lives of people. SMS became a fast moving tool for the organization of rapid actions. SMS has played a key role in any type of protest that may cause social change in government (Scholz, 2008). In Philippines massive protests were coordinated through SMS in 2001. In 2005, the scandal "Hello Graci" created crises in electoral process. An audio recording regarding this scandal became a mobile phone ring tone. In the year of 2004, Institute for Applied Autonomy (IAA) established set up for "TexMob" in two cities of USA. The information was disseminated by SMS in a certain groups of people (Scholz, 2008).

2.5 Political Activism among Internet User

According to Donald Matheson (2004), media and journalism has not developed different forms in reaction to the new situation given by the internet. One swiftly emergent form, distinctive to the World Wide Web (www), is the weblog. It argued that in this institutional product of the relation between journalists and users, of the claim to authority made in the news text and of the news text as product, provides historians of both journalism and new media with a case study of the adaptation of journalism to new contexts (Sage Journals, 2005).

Internet grants scope of new dimensions of understanding, distribution of knowledge and contribution in political debate. Tolbert and MacDoland gives arguments that internet provides information, organizes the movements and engages those people who are presently dynamic and utilize online means for their definite concerns like religion, sports and politics (MacDoland & Tolbert,2008; Norris, 2000;2001; Ward, Gibson & Rusoli, 2003). The basic roles of the users who enthusiastically utilize online means play an essential role. Online means would be used mostly for political involvement by the people who are previously active and associated via conventional channels (Best & Krueger, 2005; Delli Capini, 2000).

With the advent of internet and online media, the gearshift over tone of voice of tale tellers have become challenging. It has permitted for a propagation of present being and directorial ideologies to a true mass media audience. At this time mediated tones have diffuses in such a way that it is arguing for decided flow of a definite dominant compel from the mass media across the world. The proliferate market place in exemplified by how audiences access information.

Forty percent of Americans used the web in some capacity for their 2008 presidential election news on a regular basis. In 2010 a great majority (77 percent) of active internet users read

variety of blogs (Technorati, 2010), and one-third of voters under 40 planned to get most of their political news in 2010 from a range of sources on the internet and online sources (Rasmussen 2010). Substantive proportion of citizens getting their information not only from online news websites but also from bloggers, viral e-mails, social networking sites, citizen journalists, web pages, corporate messaging and campaign websites. There is less control over informational messages as compared to mainstream press. These have been considered as alternative media sources (Linda Jean, 2011).

2.6 The Introduction of Internet as Tool of Political Activism

The surfing of internet and World Wide Web (www) has altered the mode of election campaigns and environment of election communication. The internet and online media has offered, and keeps on to present, comparatively economic opportunity for information, propagation and reception. Website is one of the well-established means of online information reception and dissemination in campaigns of all type. Now the websites have grown to be a customary element of British election communication and election campaign since 1997(Gibson and Ward, 1998).

2.7 The Prevalence of Online News across Media Organization

The online news of some media organizations are accessible to a small number of people (James, 2006). Internet as a source of political awareness is slowly emerging and getting popular (Rainie, 2005).

It is argued that news websites are the most important and effective tool of mobilization in elections. Websites with political news have become a very important part of election campaigns in technologically advanced societies (Gibson and Ward, 1998). It is not only one

of the established means of disseminating political news but also an effective means of receiving news (James, 2006).

2.8 Importance of Websites for Political Campaign

Websites is indispensable for political campaign in contemporary societies. Political parties are compelled by the need of time to properly use of websites and other media sources to disseminate their message, reports, news and events and circulate enthusiast appeal to their followers (Webb, 2007). People actively and progressively consume these websites during electoral process and election campaigns. There is an increase in the use of websites regarding political awareness (Lusoli and Ward, 2005). This growing rate of consuming internet shows the increasing trend of online media among the new generation.

It is argued that in order to sustain its dominant position, print and broadcast media are moving significant segments of their operations online where they can compete directly for advertising revenue and audience not only with mounting journalistic enterprises like Huffington post or town hall but also with more intently focused web publications as well as diverse bloggers and social networks (Webb, 2007). Simultaneously, the utilization pattern of audiences is shifting. Escalating proportions favor use of multimedia rather than print to congregate information about any subject from current events to entertainment. Moreover, they increasingly demand of ftexibility regarding when, where and how they can access media and its content (Michael, 2010).

2.9 The Impact of Online Media on People

Most of the news stories about civic affairs are on hand from the viewpoint of established in institutional leaders. Citizens who do not usually follow politics intimately are probable to be

bare to proponents' viewpoints rather than to its substitute that may be shared by the mass of common public, including thoughtful individuals & groups who are not component of the existing political establishment (Noelle-Neumann 1984). Even trendy and scholarly past account of political and public relationships that attribute viewpoints of commonplace people rather than those of political, societal & economic elites remain comparatively uncommon (Terkel, 1997; Zinn, 1999).

Online media have played vital role in mobilizing and activating people politically. The call for changing political scenario in virtual world leads to real change in the actual world. (El-Nawawy & Khamis, 2012). It is easy to send any news or message all over the world through Internet. These communication technologies have expedited the active participation of youth in politics (Ghannam, 2011:4). According to a survey by the time magazine, almost one third of the Middle Eastern educated people turn to the internet for expression of their political opinion. Social media have accelerated and upraise the revolutions all over the Middle East (El-Nawawy & Khamis, 2012). Online media as a source of information have played role in giving political initiative to the large segment of the public (Tung, 2011). The concern of this study is to analyze how the educated youth are using online media in Pakistan.

Main stream media is moving its operations to online sources to maintain the distribution of political power among ruling politics. It is also affecting the political beliefs of citizens (Margolis & Moreno-Riaño, 2009). Internet and related ICTs have great potential because these are accessible and open for worldwide communication. Political power profoundly redistribute to the common man from the elite who is making decisions. This possibility cannot be dismissing that internet and Information and Communication Technology will fulfill the classical democrat's dream. Historical pattern shows that communication media of the future will set up the democratic elites and migrate their effects (Margolis & Moreno-Riaño,

2009). They will attain new means of ICTs or co-pt those users that will be considered as plausible challengers (Meisel 1962). The same technologies also have power enhance and protect democratic privileged positions of the specific political class (Margolis & Moreno-Riaño, 2009).

2.10 Internet as Political Tool

Internet is considered a political tool (McLaughlin, 2003). Online activism in the fields of politics influences the political information and world voting behavior (Bond, 2013). The structure of online media allows the user to use or access information at a very low cost. Online means of communication offers certain merits for establishing political objectives. It enables the political actors to receive the news as well as easily disseminate political information (McLaughlin, 2003). The structure of the Internet & the growing reliance upon these networks for key infrastructures may enable "hacktivists" and cyberterrorists to influence political decisions of public (Denning, 2000). A significant attention has been given to the technological capabilities of the Internet to persuade politics in the course of cyber-attacks (Gunkel, 2001).

The networks and internet communication structures constitute the new societal morphology (Castells, 2000). There is realization that online media presents something new for the masses and internet is cause of change in Middle East. Non-state actors and movements in the Middle East use such means for certain political action against constraints internet access non-state actors (McLaughlin, 2003). Online media not only has impact on process of production and conception but also on political norms of the society. Internet is a tool having great potential (McLaughlin, 2003). The element of transparency is also there as a lot of sources are available on internet. The new discussion of media war, net war and a new political order enabled by

the internet and ICTs provide a broad theoretical framework (McLaughlin, 2003) for the analysis of political behavior.

2.11 Role of Blogs in Political Activism

A blog is a discussion or informational site published on the World Wide Web (www) and consisting of discrete entries ("posts") typically displayed in reverse chronological order (the most recent post appears first). Pew (2005 a) argued that there was an exponential growth in the reader of political blogs in 2004 and 2005. By the year 2005, out of 32 million (almost 27% of total population) of the blogs user, 9% were reading the blogs of political affairs during US presidential elections 2004. They used the political information for their political needs (Schwartz, 2005).

Through blogs the news stories, having public interest, are being published. News scandals were uncovered for capturing the huge amount of user. More news were covered by these blogs as compare to main stream media (Scott, 2008).

The news stories having public interest were being disclosed, as a result a lot number of user rush toward such blogs. These blogs and news sources covered such contents that are not according to the policy and taste of main stream media. Sometime, news stories having great magnitude are being broke by such blogs (Scott, 2008). Investigative stories are normally broken by news blogs. Different liberal bloggers investigate the news story liberally (Lesix Nexis, 2007).

The concept of blogging normally starts from bloggers' own life. Most of the issues discussed are associated with their personal lives and like that, only 11% of the total blogs deal with politics, government and public life (Scott, 2008). Bloggers engage themselves in telling the stories that have already been discussed. They do not tell their own stories (Cole, 2004).

Bloggers are also important in news dissemination. They have broken down the monopoly of news in Iran, UAE, Hong Kong and Bahrain. The political activists in and outside the Bahrain spread material containing guidelines for political action (Scholz, 2008).

Blogs are also one of the most important means for expression of one's political opinion. In fact blogging did not impinge on the main stream news agenda of the online and offline media agenda (Gibson, 2005). Blogs and online media provides boundless freedom to its users. It also facilitate the easy entrance and easy exit of the users (Margolis & Moreno, 2009).

These blogs are also important in this regard in motivational messaging. The political affiliated persons consume political blogs. They also have love for writing. These blogs have some material to motivate the social value and political understanding as well as these bloggers are motivational for such a job (wallsten 2005). This motivational approach as strengthen the political campaign gains the share and participation of audience in form of comments and feedback. The self-determined responsibility of the bloggers and viewers increases with the passage of time (Ekdale et al. 2010; Kenix, 2011).

2.12 Online Media Affecting Turnout Ratio

Voter activism experiments in the past showed that most of the methods used to contact the voter are less influential on the voting or turnout rate. However, the online source has ability to reach millions of the masses. These online means have little effects but may yield deep behavior changes for a wide range of the people (Bond, 2013).

The emergence of internet in information societies results in social and political activism in the messages. It has ultimate effects on voter and their political activities. The turnout in election has been steadily increasing in United States election from day to day (Bond, 2013). The users of the online media considered being an active voter, but there is no surety that they will actually participate in electoral process (Bond, 2013). Online media has played an important role in political activism. Almost 0.60% growth in turnout has calculated from 2006 to 2010 in USA by online communication and social messages (Bond, 2013). It really cultivates the need for information induces expression of political view point and validate turnout. Some previous researchers conclude that online media messages are not so effective but a lot number of factors (sample size, status of IT etc.) are considerable in this regard (Bond, 2013).

2.13 Hegemonic Nature of Media

Hegemony in this case means the success of the dominant classes in presenting their definition of reality and view of the world in such a way that it is accepted by the subordinate classes as common sense reality.

Leadership or predominant influence exercised by one nation over others, as in a confederati on. The social, cultural, ideological, or economic influence is exerted by a dominant group. "The supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership'" and "The 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the neo classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent." Gramsci (1971) p.215 in Storcy (1994). Hargittai deducted through his studies that internet users, use the online media content. These contents have impact on the people. These contents are heavily influenced by the companies having resources (Scott, 2008).

2.14 Movement for Islamic Reforms in Arabia (MIRA)

This study examines ways in which citizens participate in political activities. One of the key ways is Internet. Internet connects people to the information and one another. Online media is a tool of communication with the active user. This is a sophisticated ICT to create correlation with latent voters. It also upholds someone party's vision (Lessig, 2003).

Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA) consumes all lawful and peaceful sources including communication, information and political and pressure groups to achieve the Islamic Reforms in kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Movement for islamic reform in arabia, 2003). Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia's website is providing information and activating its members/workers in and outside the Kingdome of Saudi Arabia (KSA). Its main objective is to influence the Arabians politically. There was a sensor ship on contents of Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia's website, so they used e-mail as a resource of communication, with the list of supporters. These e-mails were not only a source of communication but a lifeline for the survival of Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (Rentz, 2007).

Movement for Islamic Reforms in Arabia is utilizing the online means of communication to gain the support and help for its cause. Movement for Islamic Reforms in Arabia's main goal is to mobilize the public through online means. All the contents are public oriented. These contents are for Arabians because they are in Arabic. Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia is gaining the support transmitting political programs regarding Islamic Reforms (MIRA, 2003). The nature of contents is creating a domestic support for Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia. It is not only recruiting supporters but maintaining them. Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia's basic goal ought to establish a net ambitious supporter in Kingdome of Saudi Arabia to build political pressure (Abukhalil & Haddad). Online method allows

Movement for Islamic Reforms in Arabia to interact and communicate quickly with a lot of internet user at a time with nominal cost (McLaughlin, 2008).

Movement for Islamic Reforms in Arabia has gained support through online media to erode Saudi region. The contents of the website are delegitimizing or attacking the Saudi ruling family (Movement for Islamic reform in arabia, 2003). Movement for Islamic Reforms in Arabia website providing transparent reports online is not subject of state-run mainstream media. So people rush towards such site which gives a balanced report or work as watch dog. Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia is strengthening the supporters nationally or within boundaries of Saudi Arabia. It could not gained support internationally, because most of the contents are in Arabic.

Movement for Islamic Reforms in Arabia's political programs via online media and from other sources is potential threats for the Saudi region. Saudi region was extremely slow in promotion of information technology as they were strengthening the Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia's cause. Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia is considered as anti-state actor. It is one of the online news source or websites that are banned in Kingdome of Saudi Arabia (McLaughlin, 2008).

Movement for Islamic Reforms in Arabia (2003), recently launched a new source of online communication. This new online source of communication provides audio chat and discussion board. User once registered then may do audio chat and can discuss at discussion board. The discussion board provides areas for politics and different affairs of state. In case of communication with members, e-mail supports and coordination of certain actions become easy to perform in any emergency situation (McLaughlin, 2008).

2.15 Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan

In 1999, the Muslim Brotherhood develops its website in the state of Jordan. They started using internet activities on large scale. This website of Muslim Brotherhood is activating the workers by providing some information on political activities as well as domestic issues and problems within Jordan (McLaughlin, 2008). The third ground where Muslim Brotherhood was providing the platform was foreign politics. Through all of these activities, Muslim Brotherhood had mobilized its supporters for their own issues and problems within Jordan (Abukhalil & Haddad). Muslim Brotherhood also has gained support at national and international level for the Palestine's cause (McLaughlin, 2008).

The purpose of online activity was to gain the support of Jordanians. They designed the website in such a way that any of the internet users could easily use or obtain the contents. This activity of political mobilization involves both call for any political action and establishing a support base. Speeches and conferences through conventional media reach in limited audience in limited time. But internet allows mobilizational material around the clock (Al Sharif, 2014).

Muslim Brotherhood and its website, containing mobilization material, deal with Arab region.

The online matter of organization waters the Jordanians politically. They criticize the policies of Jordan and take action by mobilizing Jordanians (McLaughlin, 2008).

2.16 Internet is not useful for Political Activism

There is an exponential growth in the field of communication channels. Electronic media using internet and digital technology have got the prime importance. But some researchers are contrary to this satisfied pattern of the social science. They argue that communication through

online means is less effective. It is argued that the relationship in virtual society is weak as compared to face to face interaction. Most of the internet users are unaware to the term blog or political blog. So the political contents transmitted through online means are not helpful in shaping the political thinking of the individuals (Lazer, 2009).

This experimental study is closely associated with ordinary effects of online social influence. Scholars (Christakis & Fowler, 2009) suggest that the communication through online means may not be effective. So, online communication is less effective in bringing about social change (Lazer, 2009; Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Bond, 2013). They argue that relationship developed through online blog may be long lasting or short time (Christakis & Fowler, 2009) (21).

The mobilization through both the means (online and conventional communication channels) has more effects than just conventional channels. The delivery of messages through familiar faces to the receiver is dramatically effective. Individuals are more influential than that of information through other channels or sources (Bond, 2013).

Almost 64 percent of the total internet users did not visit any blog on internet regarding politics and other affairs of life. The users who use blogging sites, e-journals and other online sources for political information were single digit (Diana 2004; Jardin 2004; Le Meur 2004; Phil 2004; Top weblog posts 2004). A study was conducted after two months of the memo gate; it was found that sixty two percent of the internet users in USA are not aware even with the word "Blog" (Pew, 2005).

Some researchers i.e. di Gennaro & Dutton; Park & Perry (2008) argued that internet does not take part in transforming the political participation. Nielsen (2010) criticized the great potential discourse of the optimists who claim that the changes digital activism will bring

forever. Unlike the 2004 US presidential election such media houses have no impact on political engagement of the voters. Studies of politics-oriented online chat rooms, conversation groups and announcement board have failed to function as deliberative forums. They, instead serving as place to reinforce likeminded due to their "easy entrance and easy exit" (Davis, 1999; Davis & Owen, 1998; Wilhelm, 2001).

2.17 What is Social Construction?

Social constructionism has involved sociology to understand phenomena of nature and construction of reality. It is an attempt to understand the nature of reality. Social constructionism is closely associated with post-modernism. This theory has linked with Bacon's hyperbolic doubt, that how observations are a true mirror of the perceived of world (Murphy, 1998). Actually social constructionism is relativist stance opposing realist (Hammersley, 1992). Grounded theories profoundly influenced by social constructionism. The understanding is necessary for better4 evaluation of the nature and to measure the validity of arguments (Andrews, 2012). This is the consistency of idea of Luckmann, Berger and Hammersley (1992). They argued that the reality is constructed and defined socially. This reality based on subjective practice of day routine (Andrews, 2012). It is argued that knowledge constructed through communication and interaction among the individual of society. Luckmann and Berger (1991) argued that the society is bloom of reality that is objective and subjective.

2.18 How Construction is Used in Media

The Social Construction of Reality is a primary argument for how and why individual view the surroundings in a specific way and what function media plays in molding the thought. Reality includes in the concept of objective independent existence. The social construction of reality considers subjective experience either through media exposure or by media dictation (Andrews, 2012).

The notion of Social Construction of Reality aims at dramatic and deep effects of mass media. Media actually symbolize the public knowledge of incidents and event and folks are incapable to differentiate between mediated and real events (Lang & Shapiro, 1991). Certainly, the media has created the entire culture i.e. pop culture which restrains the taste of the major part of society. The ontological postulation of the theory social construction of reality proposes that is at the very natural world of human subsistence (Andrews, 2012).

The postulation that human effort to formulate sense out of the world has subsisted since Greek thinkers discusses the meaning of reality and life. Plato, in his analogy "The Cave" (a history guide about construction of reality) verified how puppets in cave tried to give sense to the world through shadows (The Republic, 1958). Viewer checked his "realities" with other observers similar circumstance in their in process of assigning meaning (i.e., social construction of reality). There is a divergence in today's society. Mass media can function in bringing diverse individuals' meanings into agreement. A very powerful and simple loom to the social construction of reality, one can hypothesize that folks know reality as media portray and show them (Andrews, 2012).

Part Two

Theoretical frame of Work

The purpose of searching a theoretical framework for research work is to find out a place where a researcher can put his work. Since social science deals with human society and studies social relationships, it is sometimes not very easy to find a specific theoretical framework for a research study under taken. In the field of mass communication, this situation becomes more complex because mass communication deals with the mass media in collaboration of the Sociology, Philosophy, Psychology, Economics, Political Science, History, Cultural Science, and International communication. That is why Mass Communication is considered inter disciplinary subject. Scholars from other fields like Sociology, Philosophy, Psychology, Economics, Political Science, History and even literature, study communication from the perspective of their original subjects. But the problem is that they go back to their respective fields without trying to integrate their findings with other theorists. Due to this attitude, no interactive approach could develop in Mass Communication. Another problem that students of mass media usually face, while writing a theoretical framework is that, research and this field has not a much old tradition. It started at the end of 1st world war (Sultana, 2001). Reviewing the literature gives me the qualifying grounds to employee inoculation and uses and gratification theories as theoretical frame of work.

Inoculation Theory (developed by social psychologist William J. McGuire) explains more about how attitudes and beliefs change. More importantly, it explains how to keep original attitudes and beliefs consistent in the face of persuasion attempts. Inoculation Theory continues to be studied today by communication, social psychology, and social science researchers.

McGuire and Papageorgis's theory basically posits on the medical analogy as its name shows. According to this theory there are many unchallenged beliefs of the people which can be swayed once if they are attacked because the people are not used to defend themselves.

Inoculation theory states that to prevent persuasion it is necessary to strengthen preexisting attitudes, beliefs, or opinions. First, the receiver must be warned of an impending attack. This establishes threat (or a recognition of vulnerability) and initiates defenses to future attacks. Therefore, the idea is that when weak argument is presented in the inoculation message their process of refutation will prepare for stronger persuasion later. It is critical that the attack is strong enough to keep the receiver defensive, but weak enough not to actually change those preexisting ideas. This will hopefully make the receiver actively defensive and allow them to create arguments in favor of their preexisting thoughts. The more active the receiver becomes in his or her defense the more it will strengthen their own attitudes, beliefs, or opinions (McGuire, 1970)

According to medical point of view, the approach of inoculation is more effective than supportive treatment. It creates resistance against the attacks which hits a person's unchallenged beliefs (Sevein & Tankard, 1992).

There are two basic key components to successful inoculation. The first is threat, which provides motivation to protect one's attitudes or beliefs (Pfau et,al, 1997a). Refutational preemption is the second component. Refutational preemption is the cognitive part of the process. It is the ability to activate one's own argument for future defense and strengthen their existing attitudes through counter arguing. (Pfau, 1997)

The theory Uses and gratifications is a more humanistic methodology regarding media use. Blumler and Katz (1974) proposes that the media consumers play a vigorous part in selecting and using media contents. It qualifies the complications and problems involved in the claims that mere media exposure leads to certain behaviors, sometimes without a user's conscious control. Consumers take a lively part in process of communication. They are goal oriented in consumption of media contents. Theorist argued that media users try to find out a media source for the best fulfilment of their needs. Uses and gratifications assumes that the media user has alternative selections to gratify their needs.

Blumler and Katz believe that there are as many reasons for utilizing the media, as there are media users. Theory argues that the media users have a free will to choose channel, how they will use the media contents and how it will affect them.

The theory Uses and gratification shows the optimist's interpretation of the media. The theory argues that the media have an unconscious impact on human lives. The impression that we utilize the media to gratify a specified need does not look to fully identify the influence of the media in society. The application of Uses and gratification theory can be grasped in routine life such as selection of political news and surfing the news websites. We also choose music and other media contents not only that fit to our specific mood but also empower our conscience intentions.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In mass communication research various methodologies (quantitative, qualitative or mixed methodology) are employed. "The use of quantitative method or qualitative method in a study depends on the nature of the issue under consideration and the skills of the researcher (Ullah, 2013:172)". Drawing insight from Ullah (2013) argument, the methodological approach in this study was dominantly quantitative. However, some consideration was given to qualitative. Albeit, the study is dominantly quantitative, but the little attention to qualitative method allow me to say that this research was carried out by employing mixed methodology. It is important to explain why I opted for mixed methodology.

Although, dominantly news are researched by employing qualitative method (Tuchman, 1991), but in this study I have attempted to combine qualitative as well as quantitative approach for researching the impact of online news on political activism in public sector universities of Punjab. The decision of combining qualitative and quantitative methods was to have a deep, comprehensive and detailed understanding of the issue under consideration (McQuail, 1987; Ullah, 2013). The way of collecting, analysing and mixing both qualitative and quantitative research and methods in a single study is to understand a research problem (Creswell, J. 2007)

Having said this, the forth coming discussion explains what methodological steps were employed in conducting this research study. I also elaborate why and how each methodological step was adopted and dealt with this research study.

3.2 Universe of the Study

The universe of this research was public sector universities of Punjab. The study was confined to three universities: The University of Punjab, Government College University Faisalabad and Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan. The study was further restricted to five key areas of academic specialization. The selected academic areas/departments were:

- · Mass Communication
- Political Science
- Medical Science
- Pure/Applied Science
- Management Sciences

These faculties/departments were selected to make the study more representative. It is important to mention here that these universities were selected through purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling, also known as judgmental technique, means selecting respondents, universe or units that serve the purpose of the study (see Ullah, 2013 for details discussion).

3.3 Population

Students of the selected universities in general and those of the selected departments in particular constituted the study population. It was difficult to cover the entire population. Therefore, a sample of 300 hundred students were selected through convenient sampling technique.

3.4 Sampling and Sample Size

As mentioned earlier that 300 students were selected as study respondents for this research. The sample size was selected through convenient sampling techniques. Convenient sampling technique means drawing representative data by selecting respondents because of their availability and easy access. It is the type of non-probability sampling method that depends on the data collected respondents who are easily available and willing to participate (Sarantakos, 2005).

The reason for using convenient sampling method was the lack of detailed list of students. I was not given detailed list of the students by the university administration as well as departments. Keeping in view the time and resources constraints, I visited each department and requested the whole class for participation. So the students who participated willingly and who were available on my visit day were included in the study as sample size.

From the three selected universities, 100 students from each university were selected. Ten male and the same number of female students were selected from each of the five departments.

The Studied Universities				
Name of University	Frequency	Percent		
BZU	100	34		
GCUF	100	33		
PU	100	33		
Total	300	100		

Distribution of Respondents as per Departments			
Name of Department	Frequency	Percent	
Medical	60	20	
Mass Communication	60	20	
Political Science	60	20	
Commerce	60	20	
Science	60	20	
Total	300	100	

*See chapter four for detail.

It is important to mention here that the study involves a smaller subset instead of the entire population, the main object of the study was to analyze a smaller sample of the students that was possible to generalize to the universe or population. Drawing on Neuman, "if done well, sampling allows the researcher to measure variables on the smaller set of cases but generalize results accurately to all cases (Neuman, 1997: 202).

3.5 Data Collection

Data collection is one of the most significant process in any research study. Systematic and careful collection of data enhances the validity and reliability of the research. As discussed earlier, this research was carried out under the qualitative and quantitative paradigms, therefore both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection were used.

3.5.1 Data Collection Method

The data for this study was collected by employing survey method. Survey method is dominantly used for collecting quantitative data (see Neuman 1997). My decision of using

survey method was to cover the sample of 300 respondents with my limited resources and time. I visited each university and asked for the list of the students. However, I did not receive encouraging result. As an alternative strategy, as discussed earlier, I visited each selected department and distributed questionnaire to respondents with a request to fill it and return on the same day. Thus, I used a well-designed questionnaire for collecting data from respondents.

3.5.2 Data Collection Tool

The data for this research was collected through questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of close as well as open ended questions. After explaining the aim and objectives of the study to the respondents, the questionnaire were distributed among them for collection of relevant data. A total of 300 questionnaires were filled in by the respondents. Respondents were accessed in different areas of their respective universities, i.e. library, class room, cafeteria and sometimes department corridors. It is important to mention here that descriptive statistics (factual data) was created from the closed ended questions whereas qualitative data was generated from open ended questions. Key questions were revolving around three popular News Websites. These Online News Websites are

Nawa-i-Waqt http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/

Jang http://jang.com.pk/

Express https://www.express.pk/

3.6 Quantitative and Qualitative Data Analysis

Data Analysis is the process of systematically applying statistical and logical techniques to describe, condense, recap, evaluate and illustrate data. The data in this research was analyzed quantitatively as well as qualitatively.

were either absolutely similar or giving the same message. The themes were then cross-checked with tables' titles. The qualitative data was thus used to substantiate the argument and discussion of the tables (see the discussion under table 4.8 as example).

3.7 Limitations of the Study

It is very difficult for a researcher to conduct a perfect project. Normally, researchers have limited time and economic constraints, that results in certain limitations in the study. In this study, only a few news websites are selected, because all sort of sites of different media organization are too difficult to be analyzed. Similarly, it was difficult to cover all students in the three selected universities.

CHAPTER FOUR

Data Analysis and Presentation

The previous chapter gave a detailed picture of methodological steps adopted in this research. The current chapter presents the analyzed data with discussion. The data presentation is in tabular form. Each table is discussed in detail and connected with relevant review of literature. This is done by examining the available data and embedding the academic literature in discussion where it was considered appropriate. Engaging literature and theories with the field data was done with the aim to develop an argument whether online news is a source and genuine venue for political activism or an arena disseminating effective messages.

- Table 4.1 Distribution of respondents as per university and department.
- Table 4.2 Age and gender of the respondents.
- Table 4.3 Marital status of the respondents.
- Table 4.4 Respondents' status in their respective universities in term of full time or part time student.
- Table 4.5 Respondents' distribution on the basis of degree level.
- Table 4.6 Respondent's parents' education.
- Table 4.7 Respondents parents' occupation.
- Table 4.8 Respondents parents' and respondents' political affiliation.
- Table 4.9 Political affiliation of respondents' parents and activism.
- Table 4.10 Respondents going in line with or against parents' political affiliation.
- Table 4.11 Influence of media on respondents' political behavior.
- Table 4.12 Respondents' habit of reading online news.
- Table 4.13 Online news websites and students' awareness of political activism.

- Table 4.14 Online political mobilization and democracy.
- Table 4.15 Age analysis and respondents' political affiliation.
- Table 4.16 Age analysis of respondents and their parents' political affiliation.
- Table 4.17 Political affiliation by male and female respondents.
- Table 4.18 Male and female political affiliation with different political parties.
- Table 4.19 Gender analysis of political affiliation.
- Table 4.20 Utilizing online media by male and female respondents.
- Table 4.21 Gender analysis about political activism know how.
- Table 4.22 Gender analysis of respondents and their parents' political participation.
- Table 4.23 Respondents' political affiliation across universities.
- Table 4.24 Respondents and their parents' political affiliation with the same party.
- Table 4.25 Online media access by respondents across universities.

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3.6.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

Analysis of data is a manner of cleaning, inspecting, modeling, and transforming data with the aim to discover suitable information, suggesting conclusions, and supporting decision-making. Keeping view the quantitative analysis technique, I analyzed the collected data with the help of Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). I enter closed-ended survey responses into a data file of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) which performs statistical analysis and create tables and graphs. I did data coding. Data coding simply means converting the data in such a way that the statistical package to be used can handle the survey data accurately. Coding the data I assigned a number for each response choice (for example, "male" = 1, "female" = 2, etc.) and create a key explaining the coding for each question. The analyzed data in the form of statistics enabled me to describe trends in the data by using frequency distribution. The frequency, percentage and other relevant facts were briefly discussed where necessary.

3.6.2. Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data is analyzed in a variety of ways, i.e. qualitative content analysis, discourses analysis, narrative analysis etc. (see Neuman 1997; Ullah, 2013). Similarly, there are multiple ways to analyze respondents' talk about their experiences (see Aronson, 1995). Thematic analysis is one such way of analyzing qualitative data. Unlike closed-ended questions, openended questions were more difficult to code since it needs expertise to determine whether one response is similar to another. However, with the guidance of my supervisor, I surveyed the statements/responses that my study's respondents gave to open ended questions. I typed that and then clubbed similar responses together under appropriate theme which was developed from similar responses. After clubbing similar responses together, I merged statement that

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Distribution of Respondents as per University and Department

Table 4.1

Number of Students from each Selected University				
Name of University	Frequency	Percent		
BZU	100	34		
GCUF	100	33		
PU	100	33		
Total	300	100		
Distril	oution of Respondents as	per Departments		
Name of Department	Frequency	Percent		
Medical	60	20		
MCM	60	20		
Political Science	60	20		
Commerce	60	20		
Science	60	20		
Total	300	100		

Table 4.1 shows respondents distribution from the selected three universities and their departments. It is noteworthy to mention here that 33 percent respondents were selected from each of the studied university.

Similarly, 20 percent respondents from each department in the studied university were included in the study. The aim was to make the study as much representative as possible.

Age and Gender of the Respondents

Table 4.2

Age status of Respondents				
Age (years)	Frequency	Percent		
17-21	166	55		
22-26	119	40		
27-31	11	4		
32-36	4	1		
Total	300	100		
	Gender status of the Re	spondents		
Gender	Frequency	Percent		
Male	150	50		
Female	150	50		
Total	300	100		

Table 4.2 demonstrates the age and gender status of the respondents. Majority of the respondents (55% & 40%) were in age bracket of 17 to 21 and 22-26 respectively. There are only four respondents are in age bracket of 32 to 36.

Similarly, table 4.2 shows that 50 percent respondents were male students and 50 percent were females. Equal ratio of both genders was selected from each university to check the political behavior of male and female respondents.

Generally, female are believed to be apolitical. According to a survey by the Economic and Social Research Council female know less about politics and have little or no interest in politics regardless of gender equality (ESRC, 2013). Therefore, it was essential to study

females and their political behaviors in contemporary time as the election may 2013 has changed the scenario. The aim here was to know whether politics is still a male domain or the traditional notion of politics as male domain has been changing and a new gender egalitarian political sphere and interest are taking place.

Marital Status of the Respondents

Table 4.3

Frequency	Percent	
23	7	
276	92	
1	1	
300	100	
	23 276	23 7 276 92 1 1

Table 4.3 represents the marital status of the respondents. Majority (92 percent) of the respondents were unmarried. Only 8 percent of the respondents were married. Seven percent were currently in marital life and one respondent was divorced.

Albeit not direct aim of the study but an interesting finding is derived from the above table, i.e. the trend of late marriage among the youth is growing high as compare to past (Khan, 2010). Youthful cohorts are now espousing later in life. Late marriage has become the custom, mostly for men who may not marry until their late twenties or thirties (Singerman, 2007).

Respondents' Status in their Respective Universities in term full time or part time student

Table 4.4

Students' Status in the University				
Category	Frequency	Percent		
Full Time Student	258	86		
Student Cum Employee	42	14		
Total	300	100		
Students	' Status in the Universit	y Regarding Residence		
Category	Frequency	Percent		
	Frequency 132	Percent 44		
Category Hosteled Day Scholar				

Table 4.4 shows that 86 percent of the respondents were full time students. They were not employed. Only 14 percent respondents were employed or doing their part time business.

Similarly, the table indicates that 44 percent of the total respondents were living in hostels. They had easy access to internet and newspapers at hostels. Normally, there is no availability of television at the hostel rooms. Rests of the students (56 percent) were day scholars. Burgum (2015), found that hostel students are more politically active as compare to day scholars. The university campus has often been seen as an important site for the politicization and social movement of young people worldwide. The student societies provide the space for creative development and performance through which students are drawn into political activism (Burgum, 2015). These societies, Habermas would argue, operate political public sphere where students express their political choices and become active political citizens.

Respondents' Distribution on the Basis of Degree Level

Table 4.5

Degree	Frequency	Percent	
BS	174	58	
MSc/MA	91	30	
M.Phil.	34	11	
Ph.D.	1	1	
Total	300	100	

Table 4.5 shows level of degree respondents were enrolled in. It is found that 58 percent of the respondents are students of BS program. The respondents having masters' degree were 30 percent. As the level of class goes up the strength of the students gradually decreases. So the respondents belongs to M.Phil. level were 11 percent whereas only a single respondent had enrollment in Ph.D.

Respondents Parents' Education

Table 4.6

Degree	Fatl	ier	Mother		Respon	ndents
Fr	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Illiterate	14	5	45	15	0	0
Under Matric	27	9	49	16	0	0
Matric	50	16	65	21	0	0
Intermediate	67	22	61	20	0	0
Bachelor	82	27	56	19	174	58
MBBS	8	3	2	1	-	36
Masters	48	16	19	6	91	30
M Phil	2	1	2	1	34	11
Ph. D	2	1	1	1	1	1
Total	300	100	300	100	300	100

Table 4.6 gives a comparison of respondent's parents' education and respondent's education. As the universe of the study is Public Universities of Punjab. The findings show that all respondents were enrolled in Higher Education. Five percent fathers and 15 percent mothers of the respondents were illiterate. Nine percent fathers and 16 percent mothers were under Matric. About 16 percent fathers and majority (22 percent) mothers were matric pass. Some fathers (22 percent) of respondents have passed intermediate exams and 20 percent mothers of the respondents have passed intermediate. Majority fathers (27 percent) of the respondents were graduates and 19 percent of the respondents' mothers have passed graduation. Some parents are MBBS and respondents are also enrolled in MBBS. Majority (174 percent) of the respondents are also at bachelor level.

Respondents Parents' Occupation

Table 4.7

Nature of Job	Father		Mother	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Armed Forces	3	1	0	0
Business	134	45	0	0
Doctor	11	3	1	1
Driver	2	1	0	0
Employee	24	8	0	0
Farmer	29	9	0	0
Govt. Servant	42	14	4	1
Laborer	11	3	0	0
Police	4	1	0	0
Politician	1	1	1	1
Retired	8	3	0	0
Teacher	30	10	37	12
Advocate	I	1	0	0
House Job	0	0	257	85
Total	300	100	300	100

Table 4.7 reveals the occupational status of the respondents' parents. Majority fathers of the respondents were government servants. Majority (85 percent) mothers of the respondents were house wives. A few (12 percent) of the respondents' mothers were teachers in government and private schools.

Respondents Parents' and Respondents' Political Affiliation

Table 4.8

Political Party	Respondents' Parents Political Affiliation		Respondents' Political		
			Affiliation		
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
PMLN	128	42	83	28	
PMLQ	5	2	15	5	
PTI	119	39	158	53	
РРРР	13	4	13	5	
JUI	2	1	0	0	
JI	2	1	7	2	
MQM	1	1	4	1	
PAT	0	0	11	3	
Other	30	10	4	1	
No One	0	0	5	2	
Total	300	100	300	100	

Table 4.8 demonstrates the respondents' parents' political affiliation. The table shows that 42 percent respondents reported that their parents were in PMLN. Contrary to their parents, 28 percent of the respondents said that they were in PMLN. This shows a steady decline in the public snob of PMLN.

Table further reveals that only two percent of the respondents' parents were in PMLQ but there is a positive slop of three percent, which means five percent of the respondents have political affiliation with PMLQ.

PTI is one of the parties that have gained the support of the youth. Study findings revealed a considerable number (39 percent) of respondents' parents who were affiliated with PTI. Youth in great number (53 %) has also attached with PTI. It clarifies that more than half of the respondents were affiliated with PTI.

Table also reveals that there is no gain or no loss in the supporters of PPPP. PPPP is more consistent party with 13 percent of the total population. The reason that majority of the respondents told for joining PTI were: a) PTI has the ability to bring about change; b) PTI leaders have impressive personalities; c) PTI has good policies and no intention of corruption; d) PTI has greatly changed the political horizon of the people.

It is important to mention here that a great number (44 percent) of the respondents said that they were free in choosing or joining of a political party. The respondents mentioned many reasons for the decline of PMLN supporters. These reasons ranged from the leadership style to the level of corruption and nepotism.

Political Affiliation of Respondents' Parents and Activism

Table 4.9

Respondents' Political Affiliation				
Category	Frequency	Percent		
Yes	295 98		295	98
No	5	2		
Total	300	100		
······································	Respondent's Parents Stat	tus in Politics		
Category	Frequency	Percent		
Active	50	17		
Only Support	164	55		
Indifferent	86	28		
Total	300	100		

Table 4.9 shows that respondents have keen interest in politics of the country. They are well aware to the power of politics. A great majority (98 percent) is affiliated with political parties. Only two percent has no interest in politics.

Part 2 of the table 4.9 depicts that the parents of 17 percent respondents were active in politics, 55 percent were just supporters whereas 28 percent were indifferent. Above table clearly shows that there is an increased trend in political activity at university campus from parents to their new generation. The university campus has widely been regarded as a crucible for student protest and social movement activism worldwide (Burgum, 2015). They are more skilled and more active today.

Going in Line with or Against Parents' Political Affiliation

Table 4.10

Respondents and Parents Party is Same?				
Category	Frequency	Percent		
Yes	176	59		
No	124	41		
Total	300	100		
	Selection of Party is Inc	dependent		
Category	Frequency	Percent		
Yes	241	80		
No	59	20		
Total	300	100		

Table 4.10 shows whether youth follow the footsteps of their parents or going against them when it comes to political affiliation. The table reveals that majority (59 percent) respondents claimed that they are affiliated with and support the party their parents belong to.

The study findings also reveal that 41 percent respondents asserted that they belong to and support the political parties other than their parents were associated with. These findings, if read in conjunction with the findings of Table 4.8, suggest that there is slow and steady shift of traditional political behaviors and youth are making their own choices using their agency (see Smith, 2004).

The table also depicts that 80 percent respondents claimed that they were free in their political party choice. They explained their choices as: a) as no one forces to vote for this party or that; b) we are politically socialized to make independent decisions; c) pressure from parents or

relatives; d) due to democracy we are free to make choices; e) due to political inspiration; f) we take stand against corruption independently; g) no fear from ruling party, so we are free, h) no check and balance in voting system

The Influence of Media on Respondents' Political Behavior

Table 4.11

Di	d media attract to joi	n party		
Media attracts toward politics	Frequency	Percent		
Yes	267	89		
No	33	11		
Total	300	100		
Which	Media attract the Re	espondents		
Media that attracts	Frequency	Percent		
Print	20	7		
Radio	4	1		
TV	145	48		
Internet	81	27		
Other	17	6		
No	33	11		
Total	300	100		
Which I	orm of Discourses A	ttracts You		
Media form that attracts	Frequency	Percent		
Printed	39	13		
Sound	43	14		
Visual	108	36		
Picture	110	37		
Total	300	100		

Table 4.11 demonstrates the role of media in affecting political behavior of the youth. Table shows that a great majority (89 percent) respondents believed and asserted that media does affect youth political behavior. It has different angles to show the simple things. Media attracts the students towards politics and gives understanding of politics (NorthwesternUniversity, 2015).

The study findings also suggest that majority respondents were attracted by television. They argued that they have keen interest in TV but the influence of internet cannot be undermined as a considerable number (27 percent) of respondents have influenced by internet.

Findings show that TV and internet also key influencing factors when come to political behavior of the youth. Burgum (2015) argues that youth had grown up with such technology and treat internet, e-mail, websites as every day forms of communication and sources of information. These findings depict that online news resources and sources have reduced the trend and popularity of paper version of newspaper among the youth (Saleem, 2008).

Respondents Habit of Reading Online News

Table 4.12

	Online News Rea	ading		
Category	Frequency	Percent		
Yes	256			
No	44			
Total	300	100		
	Website Respondent	Consume		
Website	Frequency	Percent		
Nawa-i-Waqt	21	7		
Jang	31	10 45 23		
Express	135			
Other	69			
No	44			
Total	300	100		
 ,	Time Consumption of the	Respondents		
Time	Frequency	Percent		
30 Minutes	172	57		
An Hour	61	20		
Two Hours	9	3		
More than Two Hours	14	5		
No	44	15		
Fotal	300	100		

Table 4.12 reveals whether youth are active news consumer or not. The table shows that a great majority of respondents (85 percent) were surfing news on websites. However not asked in detail but it is assumed that young people (students) active consumer of online news with particular interest in breaking news. The data depicts that youth in Pakistan pay attention to news. The students (15percent) who are not watching news websites may exposing their selves to the other contents of media such as sports, dramas, movies etc.

Part two of table 4.12 shows there is least viewer ship of new websites of Nawa-i-Waqt which is only seven percent. The least viewer ship is also due to limited viewership of the News channel Nawa-i-Waqt. Express has the largest number of viewers, which are 45 percent of the total respondents. News website Jang has 10 percent viewership of the total respondents. Some other news websites were also cited by a large number (23 percent) of viewers. Express is more famous in youth due to new trends in media. Consider to be less biased and less sensational.

- Nawa-i-Waqt
- Jang
- Express

Part three of table 4.12 depicts that most of the students (57 percent) are spending 30 minutes daily in surfing news websites. Normally, the students living at hostel have no activity except internet surfing, so most of the time is spend on internet while using facebook or any news website.

Online News Websites and Students' Awareness of Political Activism

Table 4.13

	Aware of Political A	ctivism	
Awareness of Political Activism	Frequency	Percent	
Yes	243	81	
No	57	19	
Total	300	100	
Resp	ondents Participates in (Online Activism	
Category	Frequency	Percent	
Yes	105	35	
0	195	100 Percent 35 65 100	
Total	300	100	
Responden	ts Political Discusses wi	th Family or Friends	
Political Discussion With Family	Frequency	Percent	
Yes	167	56	
No	133	44	
otal 300		100	

Table 4.13 shows respondents' political activism and their active role in mobilizing others. Table demonstrates that 35 percent respondents were aware of the political activism and were active in mobilizing others. Majority (65 percent) of the respondents answered that they did not use any online mean of technology for political activism.

It is also found that only 56 percent respondents discuss news, quotes and important statements with their friends and families. The rest of the respondents did not share any news or statement of the political news with their friends or families.

Online Political Mobilization and Democracy

Table 4.14

Websites as Source of Mobilization	Frequency	Percent
Yes	196	65
No	104	35
Total	300	100
	Online Media and De	mocracy
Category	Frequency	Percent
Yes	177	59
Yes	177	59 41

Table 4.14 depicts the future direction of youth through online news. The table elaborates that 65 percent respondents believed that online media is mobilizing the masses in right direction. It provides stimulus to the viewer to participate in the democratic process of the country. The findings also reveal that 35 percent of the respondents asserted that online sources have no role.

Part two of the table 4.14 shows that majority (59 percent) of the respondents perceived the news websites as true promoter of democracy. They think of online media as wide range sources that have international viewership, with a potential source of promoting democracy. Forty one percent believed that online media is not true and genuine source of promoting democracy.

Age Analysis and Respondents' Political Affiliation

Table 4.15

Political Party	17-21 Year		22-26 Year		27+ Year		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
PMLN	44	27	36	30	3	20	83	28
PTI	95	57	57	48	6	40	158	53
PMLQ	4	2	9	7	2	13	15	5
PPP	5	3	7	6	1	7	13	4
PAT	6	4	3	3	2	13	11	4
Other	12	7	7	6	1	7	20	7
Total	166	100	119	100	15	100	300	100

Value =14.143

Highly Significant

Table 4.15 shows that 30 percent of the respondents (age 22-26) are in PMLN. Almost 27 percent respondents are affiliated with PMLN with age of 17-21 years. Majority respondents (57 percent) of PTI are in age of 17-21 years. PTI affiliated respondents (22-26 years) are 48 percent. In PMLQ, PPP and PAT the affiliation by the respondents was increased as the age increased in majority cases.

Age Analysis of Respondents and Their Parents Political Affiliation

Table 4.16

Category	17-21 Year		22-26 Үевг		27+ Year		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	91	55	76	64	9	60	176	59
No	75	45	43	36	6	40	124	41
Total	166	100	119	100	15	100	300	100

Value = 2.351 Significant

Table 4.16 elaborates that the respondents in age bracket of 22-26 are more consistent as compare to other two. They are 64 percent of the having the same political party as their parents have. Only 55 percent respondents are in age bracket of 17-21 who are consistent in their political affiliation. Forty percent of the respondents of 27 plus have deviated from parent party.

Political Affiliation by Male and Female Respondents

Table 4.17

Category	Male		Fem	ale	Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	148	99	147	98	295	98
No	2	1	3	2	5	2
Total	150	100	150	100	300	100

Value = .203

Non-Significant

Table 4.17 shows that male are more interested in political activities, but the strength from female is only differ by one percent. Ninety-nine percent of the male respondents are affiliated with political parties and the percentage from female is 98. Only five respondents are not interested in any political party.

Male and Female Political Affiliation with Different Political Parties

Table 4.18

Category	Male		Female		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
PMLN	40	27	43	29	83	28
PTI	76	51	82	55	158	53
PMLQ	11	7	4	4	15	5
PPP	6	4	7	5	13	4
PAT	4	3	7	5	11	3
Other	11	7	4	3	15	5
No	2	1	3	2	5	2
Total	150	100	150	100	300	100

Value = 6.298

Significant

Table 4.18 depicts that 53 percent of the respondents are associated with PTI. Almost 51 percent male respondents are affiliated with PTI and female are more (55 percent) as compare to male. In PMLN majority are female that are 29 percent. In PMLQ there is lesser contribution of female respondents.

Gender Analysis of Political Affiliation

Table 4.19

Category	Male		Female		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	84	56	92	61	176	59
No	66	44	58	39	124	41
Total	150	100	150	100	300	100

Value = .880

Significant

Table 4.19 shows that there is tendency of change in political party of in male respondents. It is clear from the table that there are 61 percent female respondents affiliated with the same party as their parents have but male students are only 56 percent. Forty-four percent of the male has changed the political affiliation as their parents has.

Utilizing Online Media by Male and Female Respondents

Table 4.20

Category	Male		Fem	ale	Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	133	89	123	82	256	85
No	17	11	27	18	44	15
Total	150	100	150	100	300	100

Value = 2.663

Highly Significant

Table 4.20 describes that 85 percent respondents utilizing the online media but 82 percent female respondents are surfing the news website. The ratio of male (online media user) is 89 percent which indicates that the availability of online sources with male is comparatively better than of female.

Gender Analysis about Political Activism Know How

Table 4.21

Category	Male		Fem	ale	Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	118	79	125	83	243	81
No	32	21	25	17	57	19
Total	150	100	150	100	300	100

Value = 1.061

Significant

Table 4.21 shows that the respondents that are aware with the political activism through online media are 81 percent. Majority (83 percent) female respondents are aware with, but the ratio of male is only 79 percent. Only 19 percent of the respondents are not aware with political activism through online sources.

Gender Analysis of Respondents and Their Parents Political Participation

Table 4.22

Category	Male		Fem	ale	Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	57	38	48	32	105	35
No	93	62	102	68	195	65
Total	150	100	150	100	300	100

Value = 1.187

Significant

Table 4.22 shows that 38 percent male respondents participated in political campaign for their party. Comparatively this ratio is least in female respondents as they are 32 percent of the female respondents. Majority respondents did not participated in any political campaign. Non participants have major portion of female that is 68 percent.

Respondents Political Affiliation Across Universities

Table 4.23

	BZU		GCUF		PU		Total	
Category	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
PMLN	24	24	34	34	25	25	83	28
PTI	50	50	52	52	56	56	158	53
PMLQ	6	6	3	3	6	6	15	5
PPP	7	7	3	3	3	3	13	4
PAT	5	5	3	3	3	3	11	3
Other	8	8	5	5	7	7	20	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	300	100

Value = 7.636

Non-Significant

Table 4.23 describes that PMLN is the most prominent political party of GCUF having 34 percent affiliation by the respondents. Overall PMLN is on 2nd number political party of the university respondents. Only 24 percent of the respondents are affiliated with PMLN from BZU. PTI is the major party in university students. Fifty three percent of the respondents are affiliated with PTI. PTI gains strength when we move from Southern Punjab to Northern Punjab. In BZU 50 percent students are affiliated with PTI, GCUF shows 52 percent affiliation by respondents and PU's 56 percent students are politically affiliated with PTI. PPP and PAT are more social in BZU as compare to GCUF and PU. Only 7 percent of the respondents belongs with other parties rather than mentioned above.

Respondents and Their Parents Political Affiliation with the same Party.

Table 4.24

BZU		GCUF		PU		Total	
Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
59	59	58	58	59	59	176	59
41	41	42	42	41	41	124	41
100	100	100	100	100	100	300	100
	Frequency 59 41	Frequency Percent 59 59 41 41	Frequency Percent Frequency 59 59 58 41 41 42	Frequency Percent Frequency Percent 59 59 58 58 41 41 42 42	Frequency Percent Frequency Percent Frequency 59 59 58 58 59 41 41 42 42 41	Frequency Percent Frequency Percent Frequency Percent 59 59 58 58 59 59 41 41 42 42 41 41	Frequency Percent Frequency Percent Frequency Percent Frequency 59 59 58 58 59 59 176 41 41 42 42 41 41 124

Value = .027 Non Significant

Table 4.24 depicts that majority (59 percent) of the students is affiliated with the same party as their parents are, which includes 58 percent from GCUF and 59 percent respondents form each of BZU and PU. The respondents that have changed their affiliation are 41 percent. The figure is not varying in the three universities. Forty one percent is a major figure in this regard.

Online Media Access by Respondents Across Universities

Table 4.25

	BZU		GCUF		PU		Total	
Category	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	87	87	90	90	79	79	256	85
No	13	13	10	10	21	21	44	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	300	100

Value = 5.167 Highly Significant

Table 4.25 shows that 90 percent respondents from GCUF are consuming the online media for getting information of politics. About 87 percent of the respondents are using online media from BZU. The respondents from PU (79 percent) are the lesser who are surfing internet for exploring the political news. Comparatively PU has greater number of the respondents that are not utilizing the online sources of media.

CHAPTER FIVE

Major Findings, Conclusion and Suggestions

This chapter sums up this research study by highlighting and debating some key findings. It shares the key findings and argument developed there in with social scientists, policy makers and media studies students. As discussed at various points throughout this study that over the two decades considerable studies across societies have been carried out by academicians addressing the relationship between media and politics, online news and political activism or how this medium affects people's political engagement. The research, I claim, was one of these efforts to shed light on the impact of online news youths' political engagement with and participation in politics in Punjab, Pakistan. Focusing on Political Activism in Public Universities of Punjab: Online News Impacts, following key findings were derived from the analysis. These findings are being discussed here in the framework of theories to place this study in larger academic debate in the field of media, politics and youths.

Youths and Media/ Online news: It is an established fact that mass media influences youths' minds and culture. Youth segment of the population in any country makes primal focus of television, print, internet/ online websites strategies to promote political, socio-economic behavior, and also shapes popular youth choices (see chapter 2). Keeping in view the stance of many studies, this study sought whether youth in Pakistan are attracted by the mass media, especially online sources of news or not. The study findings revealed that majority of respondents (85 percent) attracted by online news websites and they surfed them. Youths are active consumer of online news with particular interest in breaking news (see table 4.12). This means that online websites are among the suitable and effective sources of political

mobilization and bringing about change people's political beliefs and behaviors (see Brain, 2007).

Mass media and online websites are changing youths' political beliefs and behaviors: the nature of political activism and engagement in Pakistan is changing, in part due to mass media, including online news websites. Today, youths are more often communicating with and influencing each other outside of traditional political and social structures. Youths seem to be seeking greater influence and voice in political issues through electronic media. This means internet/online news websites are affecting political beliefs and behaviors of Pakistani youth. The study's findings show that a great majority (89 percent) respondents asserted that media does affect their political behavior (see Table 4.11). The study findings also suggest that majority respondents were attracted by television. They argued that they have keen interest in TV but the influence of internet cannot be undermined as a considerable number (27 percent) of respondents agreed that internet influenced them. Media attracts the students towards politics and mobilizes them towards political activities.

News websites as an engine of political change and motors of true democracy: it is fact that electronic media is the most influential medium for political mobilization in contemporary societies (see Bimber et al, 2013). The findings of this study affirm that online websites news in Pakistan is provide a forum to youth for political activism and stimulate their engagement in political life. A great majority (65 percent) respondents asserted that online websites news are sources of political mobilization. Similarly, 59 percent of the respondents perceived the news websites as true promoter of democracy. They claimed online media as potential source that has international viewership, with a potential source of promoting democracy (see Table 4.14 for detailed discussion).

Online news websites and youths' political activism: the study findings revealed, albeit less number, that youth are aware of the political activism and are active in mobilizing others. Nevertheless, the prevalence of this trend is not much practiced. The study also found that 56 percent respondents discuss news, quotes and important statements with their friends and families (see table 4.13).

5.2 Conclusion

The overall claim developed from the findings of this study is that online news websites and youth political activism is an intricate and complex phenomenon and needs a comprehensive national level analysis. Nevertheless, the study provided an important insight regarding the role and impact of online news websites and youths' political engagement in Punjab, Pakistan. It was found that youth in Punjab are making their independent choices of joining and supporting a particular party. There is a trend of moving away from the traditional clutches to free independent political choices. The findings vividly suggest that there is slow and steady shift of traditional political behaviors, i.e. youth are making their own choices using their agency (see Smith, 2004) and joining political parties different from which their parents support (see table 4.8 and 4.10). The findings suggested that online news websites are getting popular among youth, albeit with a slow pace. It can also be concluded that online news websites may not be considered and believed as solution for mobilizing Pakistani youth for solving the ills of our political systems. The belief that online news websites can be the best way to mobilize the youth and engage them in electoral process may be rethought in the context of Pakistan where youths have developed distaste for the politicians and political system. The study also highlighted methodological issues and challenges online news websites and political activism related research.

5.3 Suggestions

Media houses must address the question that is politics is such a social evil that is discussed in such manner in news. Contents should be presented in such a way that students must attract toward the field of politics for the betterment of the Pakistan. Presentation of the politics should at international must be mediated that it could not harm the good will of the politics of the country.

If online news media want to inform the masses then they have to stop misrepresentation of news stuff and it should concentrate on various issues like the constructive politics, national and international challenges in politics and other problems like illiteracy, crime and various hurdles in the way of political activism that are facing the under developed countries are facing.

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ANNEXURE

I, Muhammad Ramzan MS Student Department of Media and Communication Studies in International Islamic University, Islamabad, is conducting my MS research titled "Political Activism in Public Universities of Punjab: Online News Impacts". This study is totally academic and the data will be maintained as per the research ethics and will not be used for any purpose other than academics. I request all my respondents to honestly and carefully fill in the questionnaire.

1)	Age of the respondents in complete year							
2)	Gender of th	ne respondents:						
	(a) Male	(b) I	Female					
3)	Marital Stat	us of the respon	ndents					
	(a) Married	(b) U	Inmarried	(c) Divorced	(d) Any other			
4)	Current Stat	us of the Respo	ondents					
	(a) Full time	Students	(b) Student	cum employee				
5) 1	Do you reside	in hostel?						
	a) Yes	b) No						
6)	Which prog	ram are you e	nrolled in					
	(a) BS	(b) MSc/MA	(c) M. Phil	(d) Ph.D				
	Future plans	s						
7)]	Respondents'	father occupati	on					

8) R	Respondents' f	father education (in complete years)		
-	tespondents' r			•••••	
10)	Respondents'	mother education	n (in complete year	s)	
11)	Respondent'	s Parents politica	l affiliation with		
((a) PMLN	(b) PMLQ	(c) PTI	(d) PPPP	e) Other
12)	How do you s	ee your parents in	n politics?		
	(a) Active in	politics (b) Just	support a political	party (c) I	ndifferent
13)	Do you have	e political affiliat	ion with any party?		
	(a) Yes	(b) No			
14)	If yes, which p	party?			
16)	If yes as per q	uestion 12, what	did inspired to join	the party you a	affiliated with (give
		•			
 17)		cal party the same	e as your parents be	elong to?	
	(a) Yes	(b) No			
18)	Do you think	your choice of po	olitical party is inde	pendent?	
	(a) Yes	(b) No			

	If yes now you explain					
20)	Do you think media attracted you to join the political party?					
	(a) Yes	(b) No				
21)	If yes, which form of media attracted you?					
	(a)Print	(b) Radio	(c) TV	(d) Internet	e) Other	
22)	2) Which kind of news attracted you?					
	(a) Printed words (b) Wor	rds with sound	(e) Words with	visual (d) Pic	ture depicting a story	
23)	Do you read news or	Do you read news online?				
	(a) Yes	(b) No				
24)	If yes, which one website do you use (you may select more than one)					
	(a) Nawa i waqt	(b) Jang	(c) Ex	press	(d) Other	
-	5) If the answer to Q 24 is yes, then how much time do you spend on news websites daily?					
	(a) 30 minutes	(b) An hour	(c) Tw	vo hours	(d) More	
26)	Are you aware of political movement/activism through online media?					
	(a) Yes	(b) No				
27)	If yes, have you ever campaign?	yes, have you ever participated in any political movement /online mobilization ampaign?				
	(a) Yes	(b) No				

28)	If yes, explain what you did and how				

	Do you discus	s quotes/saying/discourses from online sources in your discussion with			
	a) Yes	b) No			
30)	If yes, how do	they react?			
•••					
31)	Do you think t	hrough news websites the youth can be mobilized in the right direction?			
	(a) Yes	(b) No			
	•				
	•				
34)	Do you think	online news websites can promote true democracy in country?			
	(a)Yes	(b) No			
35)	If Yes, explain				
	***************************************	······································			

36)	If no. why not				