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**THE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AGENTS ON  
PAKISTANI YOUTHS POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**



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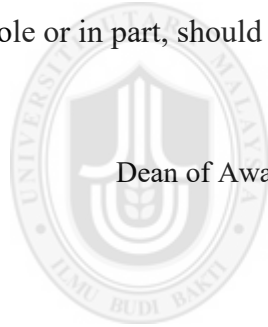
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## Abstrak

Penyertaan politik telah mendapat perhatian penyelidikan akademik dan bukan akademik. Kajian terdahulu menunjukkan terdapat beberapa agen sosialisasi yang bertanggungjawab terhadap penyertaan politik yang rendah dalam kalangan belia. Selain itu, kajian-kajian lain juga mencadangkan beberapa faktor seperti penggunaan media bermaklumat, komunikasi interpersonal dan pengetahuan politik sebagai penentu penyertaan politik. Walau bagaimanapun, kajian terdahulu tidak menegaskan mengenai hubungan antara agen sosialisasi, pengetahuan politik dari segi pengetahuan politik faktual, dan pemboleh ubah lain berkaitan komunikasi dalam meningkatkan penyertaan politik. Didorong oleh Teori Pembelajaran Terhad (SLT) dan Model Pengantaraan Komunikasi (CMM), kajian ini meneliti kesan agen sosialisasi politik ke atas media dan penyertaan politik belia Pakistan. Kajian ini juga menyelidik kesan pengantara Interpersonal Communication (IC) dan Pengetahuan Politik (PK). Dengan menggunakan kaedah kuantitatif, hipotesis yang dibangunkan dalam kajian ini telah diuji dengan data yang dikumpul melalui kaji selidik keratan rentas seramai 228 orang pelajar universiti di Pakistan. Data yang dikumpul melalui soal selidik sendiri dianalisis menggunakan Permodelan Persamaan Struktur (SEM). Dapatan kajian menunjukkan Persekitaran Komunikasi Keluarga (FCE), Aktiviti Kelas (CA), dan Norma Rakan Sebaya (PN) sangat mempengaruhi Penggunaan Media Bermaklumat (IMU) dan Penyertaan Politik (PP). Selain itu, IMU mempunyai pengaruh yang signifikan terhadap PK melalui IC. Begitu juga IMU mempengaruhi PP melalui IC. Di samping itu, PK tidak memberi kesan langsung dan tidak langsung kepada PP. Kajian ini secara teoritikal menyumbang dengan cara mengetengahkan kepentingan penggunaan media bermaklumat dan komunikasi interpersonal untuk meningkatkan penyertaan politik dalam kalangan belia. Secara praktikal, kajian ini menyumbang dengan memberikan pandangan kepada pemegang taruh kerajaan dan bukan kerajaan untuk melabur lebih banyak dalam ejen sosialisasi politik. Pihak pemegang taruh politik juga seharusnya menggunakan media dan komunikasi interpersonal secara bermakna untuk menyebarkan maklumat politik bagi meningkatkan penyertaan politik belia di Pakistan.

**Kata kunci:** Sosialisasi politik, Penyertaan politik, Model pengantaraan komunikasi, Teori pembelajaran bersituasi, Penggunaan media bermaklumat

## Abstract

Political participation has been in the forefront of academic and non-academic research. Previous studies have shown that there are a number of socialization agents which are responsible for the low political participation among youths. Besides, few studies have also suggested factors, such as, informational media use, interpersonal communication and political knowledge, as the determinants of political participation. However, previous studies have not been emphatic on the connection between socialization agents, political knowledge in terms of factual political knowledge and other communication-related variables in enhancing political participation. Driven by the Situated Learning Theory (SLT) and the Communication Mediation Model (CMM), this study examines the effects of political socialization agents on media and political participation of Pakistani youth. This study also examines the mediating effects of Interpersonal Communication (IC) and Political Knowledge (PK). Using a quantitative method, the hypotheses developed in this study were tested with the data collected through a cross-sectional survey of 228 university students in Pakistan. The data collected using a self-administered questionnaire was analyzed using the Structural Equation Method (SEM). The findings reveal that Family Communicative Environment (FCE), Classroom Activities (CA) and Peer Norms (PN) significantly influence Informational Media Use (IMU) and Political Participation (PP). In addition, IMU significantly influences PK through IC. Similarly, IMU significantly influences PP through IC. Additionally, PK has no significant direct and indirect effects on PP. This study theoretically contributes by highlighting the importance of IMU and IC to increase PP among youths. Practically, this study contributes by providing insights for governmental and non-governmental stakeholders to invest more in political socialization agents. Also, political stakeholders must use the media and IC means efficiently for disseminating political information to increase PP of youth in Pakistan.

**Keywords:** Political socialization, Political participation, Communication Mediation Model, Situated Learning Theory, Informational media use.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>AVE</b>	Average Variance Extracted
<b>CMM</b>	Communication Mediation Model
<b>DDB</b>	Doyle Dane Bernbach
<b>ECP</b>	Election Commission of Pakistan
<b>FAFEN</b>	Free and Fair Network
<b>HEC</b>	Higher Education Commission
<b>IC</b>	Interpersonal Communication
<b>IEA</b>	International Association for Evolution of Education Achievement
<b>IMU</b>	Informational Media Use
<b>ISTAT</b>	Italian National Institute of Statistics
<b>JUI</b>	Jamiat Ulema-e Islam
<b>MNA</b>	Member of National Assembly
<b>MPA</b>	Member of Provincial Assembly
<b>O</b>	Orientation
<b>PK</b>	Political Knowledge
<b>PML (F)</b>	Pakistan Muslim League-Functional
<b>PML (N)</b>	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
<b>PN</b>	Peer Norms
<b>PP</b>	Political Participation
<b>PPP</b>	Pakistan People's Party
<b>PS</b>	Political Socialization
<b>PTI</b>	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
<b>R</b>	Response
<b>S</b>	Stimuli
<b>SALU</b>	Shah Abdul Latif University
<b>SEM</b>	Structural Equation Modeling
<b>SL</b>	Situated Learning
<b>SLT</b>	Situated Learning Theory
<b>SPSS</b>	Statistical Packages for Social Sciences
<b>TV</b>	Television
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Program
<b>UoS</b>	University of Sindh
<b>USAID</b>	United States Agency for International Development

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

The processes of involving youth in politics have gained much attention from scholars since Hyman (1959) first conceptualized political socialization as the, “learning of social patterns which correspond to the position of youth in the society, mediated through various agents of society” (p.18). In this study, political socialization refers to the process by which the individual’s attitudes, beliefs and values relating to the political system of which he/she is a member, are favorably shaped towards his/her role as a citizen within that system. This process, in other words, refers to the role of socialization agents, which includes family, school, friends and media (Hyman, 1959; Wass, 2005). The role played by socialization agents is therefore an important role in the political development and participation of youth (Kudrnáč, 2015; Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014).

Many previous works have dealt with the family, especially parents, as the primary and the most influential agent of political socialization. Parents are believed to pass on their political ideology or party identification to their offspring, and thus the strong correlation found in numerous empirical studies between parents’ and offspring’s votes and trust as well as civic and political participation (Ekström & Östman, 2013; Quintelier, 2011; Ventura, 2001).

In addition, the school, as a place for open political discussions in the classrooms, has been established as the second most crucial socialization agent. Therefore, many previous studies have convincingly established a significant effect of school on

political knowledge of youth which has subsequently increased or decreased their political participation (Campbell, 2008; Simon & Merrill, 1998; Youniss, 2011). These studies have affirmed that the types of political discussions that are anchored in classrooms among youth have led to their adoption of democratic norms and increased their political efficacy as well as political participation (Min-Woo, Wilcox, & Shah, 2014). Likewise, the role of the peer group in the political socialization of youth has been well established (Campos, Heap, & Leon 2013; Ekström & Östman, 2013; Kuhn, 2004; Quintelier, Stolle, & Harell 2012). The role of peer group in terms of age has also been reported as playing an influential role in developing social norms for interaction and political-related behavior (Lee, Shah, & McLeod, 2013).

Similarly, media and communication studies have demonstrated that in modern democracies, mass media influences citizens' political perceptions and attitudes by cultivating and motivating the general public, and especially the youth, to participate in the way the world works and understand their role in it (Putnam 1995; Schmitt-Beck, 2003). Central to these conclusions is the normative underpinning that mass media serves as a powerful resource for citizens in a democracy, by providing information, exposing individuals to a broader range of experiences beyond their immediate world and providing an arena for public debate (Schmitt-Beck, 2003). More recent studies have suggested that the family communicative environment, peer groups, democratic classroom environment and use of conventional and non-conventional media (TV, printed newspapers and online newspapers) stimulate political discussion and expression among youth, which in turn, boost civic and political participation (Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014).

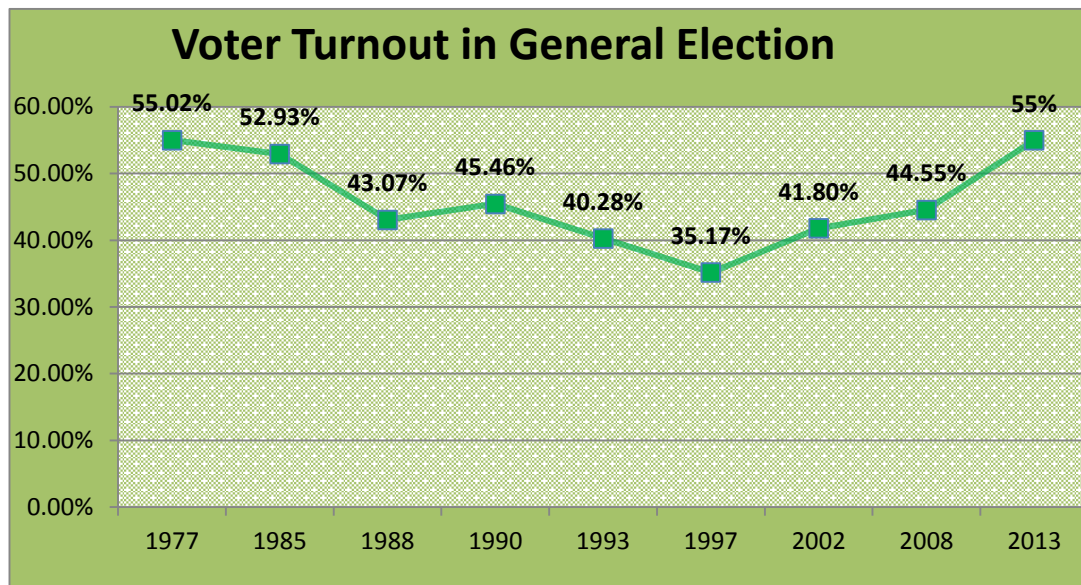
In this context, this study embodies the interplay of informational media use (TV, print newspapers and online newspapers) and most importantly, the family communicative environment, peer group and classroom political-related activities, in the process of the political socialization of youth, through the mediation of the effect of interpersonal communication and psychological variables (knowledge) on political participation.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Previous studies have demonstrated that youth are apathetic and disconnected from the political world (Murcia & Guerrero, 2016; Šerek & Umemura, 2015). According to many of these studies, youth are less engaged in politics than ever before. A clear-cut example from a stable democratic country is the United States, where electoral turnout of youth nosedived from 50.9% in 1964 to 38.0% in 2012 (File, 2014). Similar evidence is found in European countries, such as Germany and the United Kingdom (Dalton, 2006; Henn & Weinstein, 2006), where electoral participation of their youth has reduced as youth have been less likely to join political parties or even participate in the political processes.

Similarly, in Pakistan, voter turnout has been very much low except for 2013 when it was 55% (Kayani & Rafi, 2013). However, 45% of citizens did not use their right in the governing process in the 2013 general election. Historically, as shown in Figure 1.1, the general elections voter turnout was: 53% (1985), 43% (1988), 45% (1990), 40% (1993), 35% (1997), 42% (2002) and 44% (2008).

Figure 1.1. *Voter Turnout in General Elections of Pakistan*



The chronological downturn of voter turnout has left Pakistan at the bottom fifth among 169 democratic countries (Kayani & Rafi, 2013, see Appendix H). Equally, it was highly expected by the Election Commission of Pakistan that youth in the age range of 18 to 35 years, who comprise almost half of the total number of registered voters, did play a vital role in the 2013 elections (Kayani & Rafi, 2013). However, the 55% voter turnout did not represent adequate participation of youth (Election Commission of Pakistan, 2014). In this regard, very few studies have focused on examining the factors which are responsible for the fluctuations or declining participation of youth in political activities. Therefore, this study examines the role of political socialization agents in political participation.

Further, scholars and policymakers have expressed great concern with the declining commitment of citizens, more specifically of youth, in political participation across developed countries, such as the United States (Norris, 1999); Canada (Bell & Lewis,

2015); and Britain (Henn & Foard, 2012; Van Deth, 2014). Similarly, the lack of youth commitment and participation in politics is an issue of great concern, among others, in developing countries (Mahr, 2014). Political participation is at the forefront of academic and non-academic research (Andersson, 2015; Pew Research Center, 2014). Meanwhile, the few studies that have previously delved into political participation of youth, have submitted that one of the reasons for the lack of political participation among the youth is the lack of political knowledge (Azeez, Ashraf, Juni, Haider, Ali, & Kareem 2014; Aurangzeb & Keyzers, 2008; Iqbal, 2012; Kaid, McKinney, & Tedesco, 2007; Moller, 2013; Murcia & Guerrero, 2016; Mushtaq, Abiodullah, & Akber, 2011). However, these studies have not been emphatic on the connection between political knowledge in terms of factual political knowledge on economic issues, political issues, political leaders and their positions, policies and government institutions and political participation (Fraile, 2011).

Additionally, researchers have noted that the level of political knowledge is equivalent to the low level of political participation among youth (Murcia & Guerrero, 2016; Šerek & Umemura, 2015; Weber & Koehler, 2017). In view of this, the media and political socialization agencies have been identified as equivocal sources of information and knowledge about political processes and political institutions (Andersson, 2015; Moller, 2013; Murray & Mulvaney, 2012; Schwarzer, 2011; Shah, McLeod, & Lee 2009; Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014).

On the other hand, political socialization agents, such as family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms, have not been exhaustively studied in the context of participation in Pakistani politics by youth. For instance, studies have not really revealed how family communicative environment, as a significant

socialization agent, influences active political participation of youth (Lee et al., 2013). Similarly, researchers have not deeply examined classroom activities, such as how the debate on social and political issues anchored in university classrooms, influence political participation of youth (Min-Woo et al., 2014). Also, studies have not really revealed how peers, who have homogenous norms towards political activities, evoke each other to actively participate in political activities (Campos, Heap, & de Leon, 2017; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2011).

Lee et al. (2013), Min-Woo et al. (2014) and Shah, McLeod, McLeod, and Lee (2009) observed that these socialization agents, i.e., family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms, play a considerable role in the cultivation of civic and political participation. Therefore, researchers have noted that it is important to consider the role of these political socialization agents to understand why so many youths are socialized in a way that leaves them feeling like they have no part in the political system (Fraile, 2011; Moller, 2013; Weber & Koehler, 2017). For instance, the body of literature has advanced that political socialization agents, such as the family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms, shape informational media use, which enhance the level of political participation (Ekström & Östman, 2013; Gordon & Taft, 2011; Lee, Shah, & McLeod, 2013; McLeod & Shah, 2009; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Pacheco & Plutzer, 2008; Valenzuela, Bachmann & Aguilar, 2016). In that regard, it is imperative to refocus scholarly efforts on the role of political socialization agents on information media use and political participation (Bennett, Wells, & Rank, 2009; Hively & Eveland, 2009; Lee, 2017; McLeod & Shah, 2009).

Equally, during the past decade, vigorous consideration in socialization has emphasized the role of political talk in families, among peers and in schools. These studies have highlighted general family communication patterns as an essential variable (e.g., Chaffee, McLeod, & Wackman, 1973), and more recent academic studies centered on the process of political socialization have extended this by examining interpersonal discussion about politics in the family, among peers, in the classroom and informational media use (e.g., Ekström & Östman, 2013; Jung, Kim, & de Zúñiga, 2011; McDevitt, 2006).

In an attempt to further the explanation on the relationship between socialization agents and information media use and political participation, Lee, Shah, and McLeod (2013) proposed interpersonal communication as an intervening variable between the relationships, “which alert the comparative weight citizens give to numerous considerations that make up the definitive evaluation” (Cho, 2005). This study further recommended the addition of political knowledge as a mediating variable in the relationship between socialization agents, informational media use and interpersonal communication and political participation. Hence, this study heeds the call from previous researchers to examine the mediating role in the relationship between “psychological variables (e.g., knowledge)” (Lee et al., 2013, p. 689) and the effect of communication on participation. Such suggestions aim at discerning how political knowledge mediates the relationship between socialization agents, like informational media use and interpersonal communication and political participation (Jung, Kim, & Zuniga, 2011; McLeod et al., 1999). Therefore, this study attempts to provide an answer to this by examining the mediating role of political knowledge.



Furthermore, McIntosh and Youniss (2010) observed that studies in the area of political socialization and political participation, have not been well theorized. As a result, McIntosh and Youniss (2010) recommended that an investigation into the role of political socialization agents in shaping political participation can be studied from the perspective of the Situated Learning Theory (SLT). Relatedly, Sapiro (2004) argued that older models of political socialization need to be revised in the light of new political realities, although studies, like Korthagen (2010) and others (Ponti, Lindstrom, Dirckinck-Holmfeld, & Svendsen, 2004) have made much progress in advancing the SLT. However, McIntosh and Youniss (2010) noted that studies in the realm of political socialization and participation have employed the advanced model of the SLT. Therefore, this study applies the SLT in testing the effect of political socialization agents (family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms) on media and political participation.

The SLT is especially relevant to explain the relationship between political socialization and political participation because it proffers that specific environments (family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms) and mass media provides opportunities for extending political knowledge for subsequent participation (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1948, as cited in Eveland & Thomson, 2006). However, McLeod and his colleagues (1999) argued that the influence of the media on the relationship between political socialization agents and participation is not direct but indirect through interpersonal communication. Therefore, the Communication Mediation Model (CMM) is integrated into the SLT to test the direct and indirect effects of the above-mentioned constructs.

Methodologically, most of the previous studies (Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Holtz-Bacha, 1990; Kim, 2018; Kuhn, 2004; Lee et al., 2013; Livingstone & Markham, 2008; Min-Woo et al., 2014) in this area have utilized secondary data for their analyses. Moreover, extant literature has not incorporated the perceptions of youth and their actual knowledge about political institutions. Therefore, this study employs a cross-sectional survey approach to examine the knowledge and opinions on political socialization and political participation of Pakistani youth.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

To explore the research problems explained above, this study has the following research questions:

- i. What is the effect of family communicative environment on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan?
- ii. What is the effect of classroom activities on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan?
- iii. What is the effect of peer norms on informational media use and political participation of youths in Pakistan?
- iv. What is the effect of informational media use on interpersonal communication and political knowledge of youth in Pakistan?
- v. What is the mediational effect of interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) on the relationship between informational media use and political knowledge and political participation of youth in Pakistan?

- vi. What is the meditational effect of political knowledge on the relationship between informational media use and interpersonal communication and political participation of youths in Pakistan?

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The main objective of this research is to determine the effect of political socialization agents (family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms and informational media use) on the political participation of Pakistani youth and examine the mediating effect of political knowledge. The specific objectives of this research are:

- i. To examine the effect of family communicative environment on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan.
- ii. To assess the effect of classroom activities on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan.
- iii. To evaluate the effect of peer norms on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan.
- iv. To determine the effect of informational media use on interpersonal communication and political knowledge of youth in Pakistan.
- v. To examine the direct and indirect effects of interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) on the relationship between informational media use, interpersonal communication and political knowledge and political participation of youth in Pakistan.

- vi. To assess the direct and indirect effects of political knowledge on the relationship between informational media use and interpersonal communication and political participation of youth in Pakistan.

### **1.5 Scope of the Study**

This study examines the effect of four essential political socialization agents (family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms and informational media use) on political participation of youth in Pakistan. Also, this study examines the effects of informational media use and interpersonal communication on political participation of youth in Pakistan. Finally, this study examines the mediation effect of political knowledge on the relationship between informational media use and interpersonal communication and political participation of youth in Pakistan. As such, university students from social science faculties from three multi-disciplinary universities in Sindh, Pakistan were surveyed. The rationale behind surveying social science students is that social science students are more likely to be politically motivated because politics and political-related matters naturally fall under the purview of their area of specialization; thus, they are expected to be active participants (Banwart, 2007; Bell & Lewis, 2015; Claes, Hooghe, & Stolle, 2009; Eveland, 2004; Eveland & Thomson, 2006; Memon & Pahore, 2014; Misa, Anderson, & Yamamura, 2005; Murray & Mulvaney, 2012).

The data collection was effectuated in this study by using a pen-and-paper approach. The questionnaire was administered to respondents in their university premises, ranging from lecture halls, library and departmental buildings. The data were analyzed using both descriptive statistics for assessing the central tendencies of the data and

Partial Least Squares- Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) for specifying the measurement and structural parameters of the proposed theoretical model.

### **1.6 Significance of the Research**

The results reported in this study offer a number of significant contributions at theoretical, practical and methodological levels. In other words, by demonstrating the importance of political socialization agents, such as family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms in stimulating informational media use by youth, evoking their participation in political issues through face-to-face communication and online messaging, increasing their political knowledge and enhancing their participation in political activities, the following significances are proffered.

Firstly, at the theoretical level, this study is in contrast to the existing studies on political participation which have considered how political socialization agents influence youth to participate in the political realm from the perspective of the SLT. These studies have been strictly guided by the theoretical model of SLT which is currently devoid of other important socialization agents, such as informational media use. Therefore, this study extends the SLT model by incorporating informational media use as an important socialization agent and essential for improving political participation among youth.

Another important theoretical significance offered in this study is that it strengthens the SLT through the integration of the CMM by explaining and introducing complete processes of political socialization and political participation of youth. The review of the current body of literature on political participation has revealed that not many

studies have tested the direct and indirect effects of socialization agents, informational media use, interpersonal communication and political knowledge on political participation. Therefore, by incorporating the SLT model with the CMM, this study validates the theoretical model, which broadens the extant theoretical insights into how political socialization agents are encouraging youth to be active media users and participants in the political realm.

At the methodological level, this study provides a significant contribution by employing a second-generation data analysis technique, such as PLS, which has not been previously used in most research. Previously, the multiple regression analysis only checked the direct effects one by one. Thus, this study validates the proposed compressive model using a second-generation analytical technique. By doing so, this study proffers a rigorously validated model.

Lastly, at the practical level, this study boosts the understanding of governmental (the Election Commission of Pakistan) and non-governmental (Youth Parliament of Pakistan; Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) Pakistan) organizations on how to improve citizen participation, more specifically youth, who fall under the age range of 18 to 35 years and make up almost half of the total number of registered voters to participate in the general election of Pakistan. Also, the findings of this study provide practical contributions that can help media organizations to include meaningful and educative political information that could increase the level of political knowledge and awareness among youth, which can subsequently propel them to participate in political activities.

## **1.7 Conceptual and Operational Definitions**

The conceptual and operational definitions of key terms used in this study are presented as follows:

### **1.7.1 Political Socialization**

Conceptually, political socialization refers to the life-long process by which the individual acquires knowledge, norms, values and behavior relevant to the on-going political system of which he/she is a member and to his/her role as a citizen in that system. In this process, various agents (family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms) play pivotal roles towards encouraging the media consumption behavior and boosting the political zeal among youth. As Kudrnac (2015) denoted, political socialization is not childhood-persistent. The attitudes and preferences learned in early childhood are relatively not stable and they do not persist. Yet, the ageing effect makes an enormous difference to the level of attitudinal change, which most likely underestimates the potential for attitudinal change in adulthood. Hence, in this study, political socialization is operationally defined as a life-long process in which individuals acquire knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and values relating to the political system through the family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms.

### **1.7.2 Family Communicative Environment**

Family Communicative Environment is operationalized as an open discussion climate in the home, which can encourage media use among youth as well as increase their level of political knowledge and political participation. It denotes the contribution of youth to family decisions through family conversations as well as acceptance of

disagreement among youth, parents and other adults. As McLeod (2000) pointed out, family communicative activities play an important role in the political life of youth. Therefore, knowing the influence of such a family environment is necessary for democratic participation. Some scholars have referred to this variable differently. Chaffee et al. (1973, as cited in McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002) conceptualized the family communicative environment as the concept-oriented household where parents encourage young people to express opinions freely. Similarly, Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990) operationalized it as a conversation-orientated communication pattern which denotes individual ideas, beliefs and feelings. This type of family pattern is similar as it also encourages youth to express opinions openly as well as to challenge the views of others.

### **1.7.3 Classroom Activities**

In this study, classroom activities are operationalized as the activities associated with democracy and politics, which encourage the youth to follow news on the media and be involved in political activities, e.g., debating, within the context of the school. Torney-Purta (2002) affirmed that classroom activities, in particular, foster civic and political knowledge of students, which in turn, increase the competence of youths to participate in the political world.

### **1.7.4 Peer Norms**

Peer norms are concerned with the extent to which the youth perceive their peers as valuing knowledge about current affairs as well as political activities. Many scholars have conceptually defined peer norms differently. For instance, Zhou (2009) called it subjective norms to find out the peer influence on political behavior. On the other hand,



Lee et al. (2013) conceptualized it as peer surveillance norms to scale out peer pressure on information consumption behavior. This study operationalizes it as peer norms which give importance to political knowledge and political activities of youth.

### **1.7.5 Informational Media Use**

In this study, informational media use denotes the consumption of news content from the TV, print newspapers as well as online newspapers, by youth. Conceptually, Moeller (2013) and Shah, Cho, Eveland, and Kwak (2005) said news media use, which has social and political effects, enhances the political knowledge of youth and also increases their political participation. Moreover, Shah et al. (2005) asserted that such informative content use results in more than just educating the youth. They also foster a basis for interpersonal political discussion and online political messaging. Hence, in this study, news media use is operationally defined as informational media (content) use, which can lead to interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) and increase political knowledge and political participation of youth.

### **1.7.6 Interpersonal Communication**

Interpersonal communication encompasses both face-to-face political communication and online political messaging (Lee et al., 2013). Conceptually, these variables are fundamentally different in nature. Online messaging about politics provides an opportunity for addressing joint concerns as well as asynchronous messaging, in which turn-taking occurs over weeks. On the other hand, face-to-face political communication needs a physical setting, which can be with the people (e.g., family, co-workers and friends) who live nearby (Stromer-Galley, 2003).

This study operationalizes interpersonal communication as the frequency of interpersonal communication through both modes of communication (face-to-face and online messaging), which are operationalized as interpersonal communication in this study. It can lead to a broader perspective of politics, thus increasing political knowledge and participation of youth in the political world.

### **1.7.7 Political Knowledge**

Conceptually, political knowledge contains both long-term and short-term information about government institutions, issues, political actors and history. Short-term information refers to current affairs while long-term information applies to factual information which does not change immediately (Fraile, 2011).

For this study, political knowledge is operationalized as the types of information which only involve long-term information about politics, which youth learn not only from the media but also from family, school and peer groups. Thus, political knowledge encompasses information about government institutions (e.g., provisional assembly and how things operate there), about leaders and their positions as well as about policies and their importance (Fraile, 2011).

### **1.7.8 Political Participation**

Janda, Berry, Goldman, and Hula (2009) defined political participation as conventional and non-conventional political behaviors. Conventional political behavior suggests people's practices within institutional channels which are permissible to the dominant culture, while non-conventional political behavior suggests people encounter the political institutions and their dominating norms. However, both are fundamental and democratic rights of citizens.

For this study, political participation is operationalized as engagement in both conventional and non-conventional political activities, such as voting, signing petitions, attending political rallies and contacting selected public officials. Hence, these political activities are directed at selected government officials as well as supporting or influencing government policies.

### **1.7.9 Youth**

The United Nations (2015) defines youth as a period from dependence to independence, around the ages between 15 and 24 years. The age varies according to the country and region. For example, the National Youth Policy of Nepal (2010) defines youth as women, men and third gender individuals aged 16 to 40 years. Contrary to that, the African Youth Charter outlines the age of youth as between 15 and 35 years.

However, in Pakistan, youth age ranges from 18 to 35 years (Kayani & Rafi, 2013). This age range is similar to the Nigerian position (Nandigir, 2012). Thus, this study defines youth as Undergraduate, Master's, MPhil and PhD students between the ages of 18 to 35 years.

### **1.8 Chapter Summary**

This chapter is designed to give the foundation on which the entire study is based. It starts with an overview of the background of the study. It explains the research problem which needs to be solved. Moreover, following the research gaps, research questions and research objectives are stated to show what the study is about. Finally, this chapter presents the significance of the study, limitations of the study as well as the operational definition of terms.

Generally speaking, the aim of this chapter is to provide the basis for the evaluation of political participation of youth and its responsible political socialization agents (family, classroom activities and peer norms), in order to reach academic conclusions and accordingly make recommendations to deal with the problem of the democratic participation of youth in the political world in the best way possible.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to critically review the relevant literature and theories related to the current study's variables, including the SLT and the CMM. In particular, this chapter reviews the understudied variables ranging from Political Socialization Agents (Family Communicative Environment, Peer Norms, Classroom Activities and Informational Media Use), Interpersonal Communication, Political Knowledge and Political Participation. Subsequently, empirical studies that explain the role of antecedent variables (political socialization agents) and the mediation effect of interpersonal communication and political knowledge on political participation are reviewed towards the development of the research model and hypotheses.

#### **2.2 Political Participation**

Empirical studies in political science, communication and media have discussed political participation. Conventionally, they emphasize voting alone as a proxy for political participation. As Verba, Nie, and Kim (1978, p.1) affirmed, "by political participation, we refer to those legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of government personnel and the actions that they take". In the same year Hansen (1978, p.1482 & 1483) suggested that political participation entails, "actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or support government and politics".

After fifteen years, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) realized that political participation goes beyond elections, and they interpreted the concept in their book

“Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics” as a behavior intended to influence government’s public policy making, such as demonstrations, citizens’ involvement in political campaigns, contacting government officials, community service and donating money to candidates. Hence, the concept of political participation here describes intentional behaviors which influence political processes by engaging in various political activities.

However, in some respects, this concept has been overlooked. While differentiating the forms of participation, Valenzuela, Park, and Kee (2009) argued that community service comes under the umbrella of civic engagement. Accordingly, Ekman and Amnå (2012) demonstrated that there is a misperception surrounding the concept of civic engagement and political participation and the catch-all concept is considered to be civic engagement. Similarly, O’Neil (2006) suggested that civic engagement includes physical and psychological dimensions of political activity related to civil society, and it creates the foundation for supportive behavior in society.

Generally, Janda, Berry, Goldman, and Schildkraut (2012, p. 174) defined political participation as, “those actions of citizens that attempt to influence the structure of government, the selection of government officials, the policies of the government or the support of government and politics”. It contains both conventional (voting and contacting public officials) and non-conventional political participation (demonstrations or protests). Likewise, Cicognani, Zani, Fournier, Gavray, and Born (2012), Dalton, Van Sickle, and Weldon, (2010) and Quaranta, (2012) categorized the concept as conventional and unconventional political participation. Meanwhile, Mcleod et al. (1999) defined conventional and unconventional political participation as institutionalization and non-institutionalization political participation. Similarly,

Ekman and Amnå (2012) referred to it as formal political participation and extra-parliamentary political participation. Likewise, Stolle and Hooghe (2011) interpreted it as conventional and repertoires political participation. They included various objectives and modes of political activity. In the same vein, Janda, Berry, Goldman, and Hula (2009, p. 131) broadly explained it as conventional political participation, which is common political behavior that uses institutional channels which are acceptable to the dominant culture. On the contrary, non-conventional political participation is uncommon political behavior which encounters the political establishment and dominates norms. As can be seen, political participation encompasses the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to participate in a political campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government.

### **2.3 The Concept of Political Socialization**

Several social scientists have defined political socialization. Initially, political socialization was eponymous with Hyman (1959). He described political socialization as the learning of social patterns corresponding to ones' societal positions as mediated through various agents of society. After one decade, Hess and Torney (1967, pg.6) defined social learning and socialization as, "the process whereby a junior or new member of a group or institution is taught its values, attitudes and other behavior". In the same decade, Langton and Jennings (1968 as cited in Quintelier & Hooghe, 2011) explained that political socialization is the process, mediated through various agents of society, by which an individual learns politically relevant attitudinal dispositions and behavior patterns. These agents include such environmental categories as the

family, peer group, school, adult organizations and the mass media. Similarly, Gimpel, Lay, and Schuknecht (2003, pg.13) defined it as the process by which new generations are inducted into political culture, thereby learning the knowledge, values and attitude that contribute to the support of the political system.

Comparatively, all these definitions of political socialization are slightly different in their wording. They, however, refer to the same, unidirectional process of gaining norms, values and attitudes about the political system, both at the individual (learning) and community (political cultural transmission) levels (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969, p. 13).

However, contrary to these conceptions of political socialization, Sigel (1965) proposed political socialization as, “the process by which persons learn to adopt the norms, values, attitudes and behaviors accepted and practiced by the ongoing (political) system” (p.1). This definition is useful because it specifies the areas in which political socialization takes place, through norms, values, attitudes and behaviors. The description also makes clear that political socialization is a normative process (the specific political system also shapes citizens within the system).

However, today’s waves of research criticize the Sigel definition for some reasons. Firstly, in Sigel’s explanation, the individual is viewed as a passive object upon which norms, values, attitudes and behaviors are imposed. However, recent theorizing clearly shows that individuals are active participants in their political socialization (Amnå, Ekström, Kerr, & Stattin, 2009; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002; Sears & Levy, 2003). By searching out information about politics and its issues, negotiating its significance and



selecting the political experiences citizens want to participate in, they play certain roles in the development of their political identities (Moller, 2013).

Secondly, Sigel's definition ignores the political socialization agents (family, school, peers and media) which play a significant role in the process of political socialization. Thus, social scientists still predominantly accept the Hyman concept of political socialization agents. Lastly, Sigel's definition portrays its development procedure with static results.

Supporting Sigel's point of the development process with a static outcome, some psychologists (Hess, 1967; Greenstein, 1965; Langton, 1969) have claimed that political socialization takes place early in life, and stops nearly afterwards. Dennis (1968, p. 99) called it the primacy principle; "the earlier the person adopts a given set of political orientations, the less likely it is that these orientations will be eroded later in life". Similarly, Sears and Levy (2003) called it the "persistence model"; "the residues of pre-adult learning persist through life, perhaps even hardening with time". In some cases, this persistence has indeed been demonstrated with regards to partisanship and party identification; for example, early orientations have proven to have reliable and lasting effects (Murray & Mulvaney, 2012; Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977).

However, various scholars have questioned the persistence of political learning from early childhood through the life cycles of citizens. They argued that socialization is experienced later on in the life cycle, and age and period have equal effects on individuals' political development. Furthermore, it is likely that the persistence hypothesis might be valid for some orientations and some forms of behavior, while it

is less successful in explaining other attitudes (Hooghe, 2004; Kudrnac, 2015; Moller, 2013). Similarly, Niemi and Jennings (1991) revealed that partisanship is relatively stable; however, it cannot be assumed that it persists. Adding to this point, they stated that other factors influence partisanship, such as the economic situation, the behavior of political leaders, implemented policy, scandals, etc. Also, they claimed that most of the political socialization research was undertaken in the United States during a period when partisanship was both strong and stable with a unique form of electoral competition based on the dominance of two large parties.

Similarly, political scientists and communication scholars have argued that, “the formation of political attitudes continues after the individual becomes an adult and enters his political role” (Almond & Verba as cited in Quintelier & Hooghe, 2011). Moreover, Torney-Purta (2004, p. 471) stated that, “one of the sources of interdisciplinary misunderstanding is that most psychologists have to be convinced that anything happening after age 12 makes a difference”. However, they all seem to agree with Almond and Verba’s observation that political socialization starts from early childhood through adolescence into adulthood (Schwarzer, 2011). Hence, life-long learning models, attention to generational differences and consideration of a broader range of public-spirited behaviors, characterize the current, third wave of political socialization scholarship (Jennings, 2002; Kudrnac, 2015; McLeod & Shah, 2009; Moller, 2013).

Within the ambit of political socialization studies, the process of transmission of political information, attitudes, beliefs and values is carried out through socialization agents, among which family, friends, school and media, are regarded as essential agents. Socialization agents involve not only a similarity to the person who is the

subject of socialization in correlation terms but above all, having a real influence on youth or adolescents. As in any behavioral study, both direct and indirect effects are likely to be operating in the process of political socialization. For that, the family is viewed as a more persuasive operative which directly and indirectly influences the political behavior of youth.

#### **2.4 Family and Political Participation**

The family is broadly viewed as a standout amongst the most persuasive operators of political socialization (Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014). Family, especially parents, have a special role in enhancing civic and political participation (Cicognani, Zani, Fournier, Gavray, & Born, 2012). It is the basic social agent that shares its social values with the youth (Liebes & Ribak, 1992). In addition, Niemi and Sobieszek (1977) suggested that youngsters are in fact impressions of their guardians; in any case, they are pale reflections, particularly in the partisanship and voting domains. Similarly, Block, Haan, and Smith (1969) implied that the concept of activism was advanced, maybe inadvertently, by parents who urged youngsters to be independent, responsible and self-expressive. Using the “ISTAT (Italian National Institute of Statistics) Multipurpose Survey – Aspects of Daily Life”, Sani and Quaranta (2015) affirmed that there are strong similarities between the youth and their parents in party selection, political inclinations and their attitude as well as behavior. They further found that the pattern of political participation of youth resembles that of their parents.

Further, by using the social learning theory, Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009) asserted that if parents are politically engaged and frequently discuss politics with the young people, transmission rates rise substantially, hence, indicating the direct influence of parents on the political development of youth.

While differentiating direct and indirect impacts of parents' socialization, Kuhn (2004) speculated that parents are role models; they influence indirectly their offspring's political attitude and behavior, mostly in terms of party selection and affiliation with party. In contrast, direct influence of parents in the form of parenting style, family communication environment and emotional relationships, are measured in terms of party selection and affiliation with party. Scholars have claimed that the family communication environment is the key factor of political socialization (Chaffee et al., 1973, as cited in Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014).

While elaborating on the family communication environment, Shah and his colleagues (2009) affirmed that there are two scopes in the family communication environment: first, is concept-oriented and second is the socio-oriented environment. The socio-oriented environment suggests a harmonious environment through escapism and overt disagreement on topics. Accordingly, in socio-oriented communication environment, there is an interest in parents telling their offspring to avoid controversy and arguments on political issues, hence, indicating the parent's commands and discouraging open communication (Fujioka & Austin, 2002).

In contrast, concept-oriented environment suggests an open conversational environment, where youth are encouraged to express their concerns and ideas as well as share views on controversial social and political topics. Such an open conversational environment leads to higher use of public affairs information in the mass media by the youth, which increases their political knowledge and encourages participation in the political world (Lee et al., 2013; Moschi, 1985; Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990; Valenzuela et al., 2016).

Recent empirical evidence has suggested that the concept-oriented family communication pattern plays an important role in the involvement of youth in the political world (McLeod, 2000; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990; Sani and Quaranta, 2015; Valenzuela et al., 2016). This is because under the concept-oriented pattern, which is referred to as family communicative environment in this study, parents encourage youth to give opinions on an issue and youth feel free to express their concerns and ideas and argue on controversial issues. Such a democratic environment fosters civic and political skills and the search for more information for future discussions by youth, which in turn, increases their participation in political activities (Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014).

## **2.5 Family Communication Environment and Informational Media Use**

The study by Steven Chaffee and colleagues recognizes the role of family communication pattern as an antecedent to news media consumption and political engagement (Lee et al., 2013; York & Scholl, 2015). This family communication pattern have been frequently theorized and empirically tested as agents in political socialization studies (Austin, 1993; Lee et al., 2013; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002; McLeod, 2000; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990). Family communication pattern has two dimensions, namely, socio-oriented and concept-oriented dimensions. Families high on the concept-oriented element encourage youth to express their convictions, defend their points of view and consider different sides of an argument; however, families high on the socio-oriented element favor consensus, harmony in interpersonal relationships and respect for parents (Ritchie & Fitzpatrick, 1990; Valenzuela et al., 2016).

Previous studies have consistently shown that youth from concept-oriented families are politically active, have greater motivation to consume news and are more exposed to media (Austin, 1993; Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Shah et al., 2009; Valenzuela et al., 2016; York, & Scholl, 2015). A family communication environment based on the concept orientation is a, “key to civic and political socialization, because it opens young people to the exploration of opposing perspectives and rewards discussion as a norm” (Lee et al., 2013, p. 673). Hence, such an open communication environment leads youth to use media for discussion which can affect the communication patterns of families thus it can be vice versa.

Additionally, in concept-oriented communication pattern, parents show their reactions to media messages, both positive and negative, while encouraging rational discussion of media content with their offspring (Fujioka & Austin, 2002). Actually, in concept-oriented communication pattern, parents are more likely to provide broader contextual information and use nondirective statements, including questioning about and commenting on what they see in the media (Messaris & Kerr, 1983). In concept-oriented family communication, parents not only express themselves but also they ask the opinions of youth on the media messages.

The development of a preference for public affairs content, which refers to the type of contents that deals with matters of public interest and social concern, such as news and public/political talk shows, arguably lies at the center of political socialization (Kim, 2018). Engagement with public affairs content through media potentially empowers youth to acquire information about these topics (cf. Atkin & Gantz, 1978; O’Keefe & Liu, 1980). Hence, such informational media use by youth has been shown to be a catalyst for a wide range of political outcomes, as it promotes knowledge on issues of

social concern needed for participating in democratic processes (Jung et al., 2011; McLeod, Scheufele, & Moy, 1999).

Similarly, some investigations have advocated that youth can influence the adults around them, especially their parents and peers, possibly because of their political talk and the way their presence can prompt their guardians to become good citizens (Sapiro, 2004). Moreover, by evaluating quasi-experimental studies, McDevitt and Chaffee (2002) rejected the concept of parent-to-child influence and submitted that there is a “trickle-up influence” within children-to-parent communication. Clarifying this, they advocated that children initiate political talks with their guardians when they have extra-curricular citizenship activities, like debates and mock votes in school, with the result that political development happens, while the family environment regulates equilibrium in response to exogenous stimulations.

## **2.6 School and Political Participation**

Verba and his colleagues (1995) asserted that the school plays a vital role in preparing students with the essential skills and resources needed for political participation. Similarly, reviews of investigations have recognized that more years of schooling relate to political cognition, and hence, greater political participation (Langton, 1967; Scheufele, 2002; Youniss, 2011). Moreover, while differentiating between college-attended and without-college-experience youth, Flanagan, Levine, and Settersten (2009) found that voter participation among college or school graduates is three to four times higher than the non-college attended youth. They further indicated that majority of the 2008 American general election voters were college students or college graduates. This is because of the environment of universities or schools is the political

stimulant, of which reduces the cost of voting and gives normative support for political participation (Jong, 1981; Misa et al., 2005).

Similarly, Finkel and Ernst (2005) analyzed the special USAID sponsored program “Democracy for All”, and found that the school has the most significant effect on political knowledge. On the other hand, exposure to civic and political learning has weaker outcomes on democratic values and skills. Dean (2005) analyzed the content of textbooks and curricula of social studies, and also evaluated the teaching and learning practices in different schools. This study advises that inadequate instruction limited to facts from books and covering some topics in detail disconnects students from outside of the school and the real worlds, thus making students passive learners. However, this pertains only to specific factors associated with the school and classroom participative culture (Finkel & Ernst, 2005; Torney-Purta, 2002). Further, Quintelier and Hooghe (2013) emphasized that the democratic climate in the school, especially concerning openness in classroom discussions and debates, positively relates to political and civic knowledge, trust, political efficacy, political participation and attention to political affairs. It creates the feeling of political empowerment (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001).

Moreover, active learning strategies in which students relate to the “real world” which reflect on their actions, will lead them towards political commitment (Quintelier, 2010). Similarly, Torney-Purta (2002) discussed the results of a longitudinal study which spanned eight years of study of the International Association for the Evolution of Education Achievement (IEA) in 30 countries; they indicated that schools can be beneficial in preparing students for participation in civil society as well as in political activities by ensuring an open classroom climate for the discussion of issues,



underlining the significance of voting and elections, debating on current issues and teaching the structure of government. Thus, such learning environments ask students for more information, the results of which they use on online and offline media (Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013).

## **2.7 School and Informational Media Use**

Schools, in general, and classroom activities, in particular, play a crucial role in developing the news consumption habits and in fostering civic and political engagement (Min-Woo et al., 2014; Torney-Purta, 2002). Moreover, Lee et al. (2013), Simon and Merrill (1998) and Samaniego and Pascual (2007) advocated that schools should rigorously teach civic principles and skills to students and make an open classroom climate for discussion and debate on political issues. As a result, they use media to collect information. For instance, in terms of a discussion climate in class, Hess (2002) indicated that discussion of controversial public issues enhances news consumption and participation in the political world. Besides, Woo et al. (2014) suggested that politically associated curricular and extracurricular activities, such as learning about how governments work and participation in political role-playing, encourages youth to monitor news media. This can also improve youth involvement in student governments and school media (Eccles & Barber, 1999).

By and large, these kinds of curricular and extracurricular activities often encourage youth to monitor current affairs at the local, national and international levels, thus providing an informational base to the development of deliberative motivation and skills (Lee et al., 2013). Sometimes, these classroom activities stress on advanced preparation and information gathering for the next class (McAvoy & Hess, 2013; Simon & Merrill, 1998). However, if students are required to discuss politics as part

of their class assignments, it is possible that this could have longer-term effects and lead to more frequent discussion and elaboration due to the excitement it could generate (Campbell, 2005; McDevitt & Kiouisis, 2004). Moreover, teachers can influence socialization effects of the media, not only directly via asking what youth need to watch, but more importantly, by discussing media content (Deth, Abendschön, & Vollmar, 2011).

Overall, curricular and extra-curricular activities, such as debates on social and political issues, learning structures and functions of government as assignments, can lead youth to collect information through media (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Torney-Purta, 2002).

## **2.8 Peer Group and Political Participation**

Friendships and integration into the peer groups do have beneficial impacts on political participation. Acquaintances that have common interests, social positions and age are essential for social capital (Lee et al., 2013). In fact, association with peers and having different opinions as well as backgrounds, can foster political and civic skills as well as uplift civil and political zeal (Harell, Stolle, & Quintelier, 2008). Additionally, involvement in peer groups also expands informal social networks of youth. As a result, they are more likely to consume political information through the media and to be the target of appeals for political action. Similarly, Mutz and Mondak (2006) suggested that for the distribution of information and political mobilization, informal networks of friends and acquaintances are mainly advantageous.

To date, the political attitude and political as well as civic participation of youth being affected by their peers, have been largely unexplored (Amnå, Ekström, Kerr, & Stattin,

2009). In some studies, there are conflicting conclusions (Quintelier et al., 2012). Some evidences point to the fact that individuals follow their peers' political affiliations and directions of participation in political activities (Pattie & Johnston, 2009; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2011; Scheufele, Hardy, Brossard, Waismel-Manor, & Nisbet, 2006); while other studies have shown redundant, adverse or little effects (Kuhn, 2004; Mutz, 2002). For instance, Kuhn (2004) analyzed the Brandenburg Youth Panel Study of Political Socialization and demonstrated that young people adopt deviant behavior in peer communities, such as voting for extremist parties and the willingness to use violence in political actions. When differentiating the influence of parents and peers on pre-adult political attitude, Tedin (1980) suggested that pre-adults follow their parents because politics is not crucial in peer groups.

Furthermore, Mutz (2002) claimed that heterogeneity in peer groups creates problems in political activity participation. She further elaborated that, "exposure to those with political views different from one's own also creates greater ambivalence about political actions, thus making it more difficult to take decisive political action" (p. 851). Additionally, Campos and his colleagues (2013) conducted experimental studies on peer groups in the classroom setting, and found no effects on individual political identification; however, they noticed that involvement in political activities of individuals has initially, an influence on least engaged peers' political knowledge, voting, as well as participation in political activities via sharing political information within the peer group.

Given these points, Scheufele and his colleagues (2006) reviewed and assessed the different research studies on peer groups' political participation and asserted that methodological errors might have been linked to an inadequate theoretical

conceptualization. Rejecting the notion of discouraging the influence of peer groups, they emphasized that peers hold different backgrounds and opinions, thus prompting joint deliberation, political knowledge and subsequently, political participation. Similarly, Harell and his colleagues (2008) stressed that different views of youth within peer groups constrain them from reconsidering and refining their social and political stances as an after-effect of possibly being challenged in their opinions by non-likeminded others. Moreover, Verba and his colleagues (1995) highlighted that peer groups are mainly considered as fostering civic skills, which boost public spirit and voluntarism, while increasing political efficacy and trust in government institutions.

Javaid and Elahi (2014) differentiated the urban and rural peoples' attitude and voting patterns. They found that rural people rely more on peer groups for political information. Similarly, McLeod and his colleagues (1999) analyzed the survey data of a 389-adult sample and established that those young people who interact and give importance to knowledge are more likely to be exposed to information about people and politics while being the targets of political recruitment. Of course, youth build political learning associate gatherings that constitute communities of discourse (Torney-Purta, 2002). Similarly, Lee and his colleagues (2013) found that the more people discuss civic and political matters with their peers, the more likely they are to be updated with news, which in turn, shapes their political knowledge and participation in politics.

## **2.9 Peer Group and Informational Media Use**

In general, a peer group is one of the political socialization agents that is defined as an antecedent to new media use (Lee et al., 2013; Wang, Yu, & Wei, 2012). Peers exert

a significant influence on the beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of their members (Gunther, Bolt, Borzekowski, Liebhart, & Dillard, 2006). Additionally, belonging to the same age group often causes youth to behave similarly, while having similar preferences naturally cause them to associate with each other.

However, empirical literature almost always has focused on the negative rather than the positive influence of peers, such as watching violent and anti-social media content, smoking cigarettes and sexual initiation (Gunther, Bolt, Borzekowski, Liebhart, & Dillard, 2006; Kuhn, 2004; Mutz, 2002; Nathanson, 2001; Richards, 2010). Additionally, rejecting the peer influence on consuming informational media, Tedin (1980) asserted that peers do not discuss politics and public affairs; in fact, they are more interested in music, clothing and hairstyles.

In contrast, some scholars have argued that peer influence can also work in a positive direction, by discussing the civic and political matters and following news (Verba et al., 1995). Having different views and backgrounds with shared interests, social position and age, are thought to foster media use, political and civic skills as well as public and political eagerness (Harell et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2013). These peer groups significantly influence the beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of their friends (Gunther et al., 2006; Wang et al., 2012). Hence, in such groups, there are social norms about interaction and behavior. Peer groups which maintain norms that support discourse of public affairs content are likely to be encouraged to consume and reflect on the informational content of media (Campos et al., 2017; Harell, Stolle, & Quintelier, 2008; Lee et al., 2013). Hence, violations of the norms are frequently sanctioned by ridicule or prohibition, while following these norms is encouraged by more social integration (Adler & Adler, 1995).

Additionally, Lee et al. (2013, p.673) asserted that, “if youth interact with peers who value knowledge and discussion of public affairs content, they are likely to be encouraged to consume and reflect on news content”.

## **2.10 Media Use and Political Participation**

In democratic systems, mass media potential to encourage citizens for political participation is ill-balanced (Yoon, 2003). As Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli, (1980) argued, the increasing use of media and consistency of bad news cultivate a fearful and untrusting public, although the TV is blamed for strengthening extra cynical viewpoints of citizens toward politics and society, thus labeling it a malaise (Patterson, 1999 as cited in Hooghe, 2002). Similarly, Putnam (1995) claimed that the decline in civic participation and social capital is because of the rise of the TV, although television was being considered the clear scapegoat until Norris’ (1996) article “replied Putnam”, in which she contended that Putnam utilized aggregate survey time as the measure of TV watching and disregarded the way diverse media and content may impact differently. McLeod (2000) measured the content and form of press instead of measuring time spent. He stated that newspaper reading, specifically public affairs, has markedly positive and stronger effects on political learning and participation. Likewise, by analyzing cross-sectional survey data, Hooghe (2002) documented that reasonable time spent on watching television does not appear to decrease participation. In comparison, watching news and entertainment programs has an adverse effect on political and civic attitudes. Similarly, using the Learning Theory and Media Malaise, Moeller (2013) compared entertainment and the informative content of media and demonstrated that entertainment media exposure has an adverse impact on political participation of youth, as they avoid signing political petitions or

joining political campaigns as a result. Also noteworthy is the negative influence on the political trust of youth. This may be the reason spending more time on entertainment media causes a reduced inclination towards political activities. However, an adverse effect remains for life, though entertainment media consumption may reduce. Hence, watching public affairs content regularly and attentively may increase political participation (Sotirovic & McLeod, 2001; Norris, 1996).

Perhaps, more importantly, political socialization is a life-long process, even though this process starts from parents, schools and peer groups, in alignment with McLeod (2000) and Lee et al.'s (2013) suggestion that it is an interdependent and interconnected process. Communicative environments established in the family probably help to figure out whether a child will be confidently involved in classroom activities, use news media and take part in political peer group discussions. Equally, classroom curricular and extra-curricular activities in which students are exposed to news media as assignments or take part in debates, can spur these actions outside of school settings, hence encouraging varied forms of political participation.

Thus, mass media is an informal political socializing agent. It dramatically influences political participation by producing public affairs news, informing people about governmental processes, as well as informing them about public policy controversies (Adeel-Ur-Rehman, Ahmed, Zafar, & Shahzad, 2013; Zhang & Chia, 2006). Since most individuals are not directly involved in politics, they come to know about politics via the media. Thereupon, the political world reaches individuals as a "second-hand reality," shaping people's first political cognition, yet changing them over time. Today's youth use media for an average of six hours daily (Strasburger, 2009) for factual information, and they depend on news content of media (Hollander, 2005; Shah

et al., 2013). Many studies have been conducted to know which medium is more influential in influencing youth in the political domain, hence increasing their democratic participation. TV social dramas that portray controversies in connection to real life have been observed to be positively linked to social and political engagement (Shah, 1998). Similarly, televised debates have a strong influence on political knowledge and participation (Valenzuela, 2011). Besides this, late-night comedy shows have been found to increase internal political efficacy, which in turn, increases political participation (Hoffman, & Thomson, 2009). Hence, most studies have referred to news viewing as strongly predictive of a positive influence on political interest, political knowledge and participation of citizens (McLeod et al., 1999; Shah, 1998; Valenzuela, 2011), because it delivers information as it occurs. Moreover, Javaid and Elahi (2014) asserted that despite the upsurge in the availability of the Internet, a large proportion of the population in Pakistan relies on visual broadcast media, specifically TV news, the best examples of which are the 2008 and 2013 general elections.

Additionally, Peer, Malthouse, and Calder (2003) compared textual (newspaper) and visual (TV) media, and emphasized that the visual medium slightly influences voting while the textual medium strongly influences voting behavior. Newspaper reading has been consistently found to increase civic and political participation (Lee et al., 2013; McLeod et al., 1999; Norris, 1996; Yoon, 2003; Zhang & Chia, 2006). Supporting this view, Merritt and Rosen (1995) asserted that newspapers, in particular, can serve as essential agents of conveying information necessary for individuals to participate in politics. Furthermore, TV provides the initial awareness of an issue, while newspapers offer information on that issue in detail (McLeod et al., 1999). Due to this, it has been



viewed as a relatively reliable predictor of political knowledge and political participation (Pasek et al., 2006).

Furthermore, the Internet has turned into a vital component of our daily lives, particularly for the youth, whereas initially, the emergence of online media was viewed as a risk to political socialization (Möller, 2013). However, in the past decade, the Internet has also been blamed for damaging face-to-face social interactions (Nie & Erbring, 2000). The scholarly arguments on the power of the Internet for the political socialization of youth now concentrate on its opportunities (Coleman, 2008). In this case, recent studies have suggested information-oriented use of the Internet, such as the sourcing of social and political information through online newspapers, online TV and interactive messaging through social media, offer users opportunities for civic recruitment and further encourages political participation (Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014). Moreover, by analyzing Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB) lifestyle survey data, Shah, McLeod, and Yoon (2001) affirmed that unlike newspapers and TV, American youth use the Internet regularly for information and surveillance motives. Moreover, they found that the Internet influences trust in people and increases civic and political participation. Lee et al (2013) advocated that conventional online news (online newspapers and national online TV) plays a dynamic role in boosting civic and political participation of youth through interpersonal communication.

## **2.11 Media Use and Interpersonal Communication**

A number of studies have claimed that mass media does not directly influence an individual's political preferences and beliefs. Instead, media produces the psychological foundation for assessment by, "altering the comparative weight people give to numerous considerations that make up the definitive evaluation" (Cho, 2005).

Moreover, Schäfer (2015) asserted that the earlier Lazarsfeld model explains interpersonal sources (opinion leaders) which interpret media messages within interpersonal networks.

Additionally, Shah et al. (2005) tested the citizen communication mediation model and found informational media use (online and offline) influences democratic citizen activities, such as civic and political participation through interpersonal communication. Hence, media use for political participation works indirectly through interpersonal communication and increasing levels of knowledge of politics, which in turn, influence the levels of political participation (McLeod et al., 1999). Similarly, Park (2014) asserted that interpersonal communications on political issues help people make sense of the information acquired from the mass media, simultaneously boosting the level of competence of their political beliefs.

On the whole, interpersonal communication is a vital element in democracy since it draws people to matters of public interest. It stimulates the exchange of ideas and opinions and the blending of various standpoints. All the while, unclear arguments are elucidated, conflicting opinions are compromised and competitive ideas are justified to guarantee public support (Park, 2014). Interpersonal communication can happen through physical or virtual form. Physical communication refers to face-to-face communication, whereas virtual communication invariably refers to online messaging. Face-to-face political communication mainly happens with family, friends, co-workers and others within one's social network, and is supposed to expose individuals to a somewhat broader variety of viewpoints and support citizens in interpreting media messages and make meaning of public affairs (Lee et al., 2013). Online communication (messaging) shares some of these features, although it also allows for

the exchange of opinions with a much broader and dispersed array of people and an asynchronous discussion, in which “turn taking” takes place over days or weeks (Kwon, Park, & Kim, 2014).

Moreover, many studies have found that informational media use and interpersonal political communication work together to motivate media users to get involved in various forms of political activities (McLeod et al., 2001; Shah et al., 2005). News media provides a resource (political knowledge) for political discussion and create opportunities to encounter diverse viewpoints that might not present in one’s network.

### **2.12 Media Use and Political Knowledge**

Political knowledge has been hypothesized and tested in many studies as a consequence of media use (Eveland & Thomson 2006; McLeod et al., 1999). Literature has taken for granted that media is an important source of political information for the general public (Eveland, Hayes, Shah, & Kwak, 2005; Jung et al., 2011). Delli-Carpini and Keeter (1996, p. 185) expressed that, “the common belief is that much of one’s observed knowledge about politics must come, at least initially, from the mass media”. Although individuals could learn basic knowledge in high school or college government classes, where else would individuals obtain information about current presidential candidates or the major political issues of the day other than news media? Since most individuals are not directly involved in politics, they come to know about politics via the media. Thereupon, the political world reaches individuals as a second-hand reality.

Additionally, Adeel-Ur-Rehman, Ahmed, Zafar, and Shahzad, (2013) and Zhang and Chia (2006) asserted that the media is an informal political socialization agent. It

educates people about governmental processes, as well as informs them about public policy controversies. Similarly, exposure to political ads increases political knowledge and spurs involvement in political activities (Cho, Shah, McLeod, McLeod, Scholl, & Gotlieb, 2009; Goldstein, & Freedman, 2002). Similarly, Hollander, (2005) suggested that youth seek out media to keep up with political campaigns and are more likely to be associated with recognition of campaign information.

Additionally, many studies have claimed that mass media does not directly influence individuals' political preferences and beliefs. Rather, the media positively influence political knowledge and participation through its impact on political discussion (online political messaging and face-to-face discussion) (Cho et al., 2009, Kim, 2018). This indicates the idea of the Lazarsfeld model, which explains that interpersonal sources (opinion leaders) interpret media messages within interpersonal networks (Schäfer, 2015). However, the idea of interpersonal communication is less about opinion leaders' influencing. More specifically, this idea is shared with the CMM, which suggests the centrality of expression through deliberative and collective consideration (McLeod et al., 1999).

### **2.13 Interpersonal Communication and Political Participation**

Interpersonal communication has been conventionally studied as the foremost mediator between news media consumption and political involvement (political knowledge and political participation). Because sometimes media content is supposed to be multifaceted, biased, unreliable or inadequate, learning and understanding need additional elaboration by interpersonal exchanges (Scheufele, 2002). Therefore, Eveland and Scheufele (2000) advised that interpersonal communication may determine individuals' knowledge concerning complex political matters, political

processes and actors. Hence, individual involvement in political discussions of what they watched on TV, read from newspapers and heard from radio will increase knowledge and understanding.

Additionally, previous studies, like the “two-step flow” of communication (Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, 1948, as cited in Eveland & Thomson, 2006) in politics, have advised that the media is no more a “magic bullet”; thus, its influence is indirect through interpersonal communication (Eveland & Thomson, 2006). This concept advocates that people gain information through discussions with others in much the same way as they get from the media. Similar to that opinion, Greenberg (1964) suggested that the real information dissemination takes place via interpersonal communication. For instance, Paletz (1984) reviewed the work of Lemert and asserted that mass media does not provide “mobilized information”, such as information about public meetings or information about how and where to vote as well as how to get permission for holding rallies. Therefore, interpersonal political discourse may overwhelm this lack in media content and encourage citizens to make sense of ways of participation.

The Uses and Gratification Theory offers unique insights into the relationships between new media use and “social utility” or “interpersonal utility”. This refers to individuals' motivation for consuming media content to obtain information which they intend to share with others and can use as arguments when talking with people (Greenberg, 1964). Eveland, Martin, and Seo (2004) confirmed the relationship between media discussions and political knowledge by offering three potential theoretical explanations, i.e., exposure explanation (Two-Step flow of communication), the anticipatory elaboration explanation (Uses and Gratification) and

the discussion-generated elaboration explanation (self-generated and conversation-partner generated). From the three potential variables, they found that anticipatory elaboration explanation (U&G/interpersonal utility) is the most reliable predictor of political outcome variables. Therefore, those who participate in political discussions are more motivated to keep up with the news than those who do not (Scheufele, 2002). Hence, such conversations with others, in turn, crystalize their understanding and highlight gaps in their knowledge. Hence, they go for more information, thereby promoting civic and political participation (McLeod & Shah, 2009).

Conventionally, interpersonal communication incorporates face-to-face communication and online civic or political messaging (Shah et al., 2005). These modes of communication are characteristically different. As Baek, Wojcieszak, and Carpini (2012) asserted, face-to-face political communication inherently takes place with family, acquaintances, close friends and others within physical settings. Hence, it is thought to open individuals to a relatively extensive scope of viewpoints, benefit one's interpretation of media messages and help to make sense of public affairs. On the other hand, online political messaging provides a range of features, such as asynchronous communication, where days, weeks and even months of communication by turn-taking occurs (Möller, 2013). Moreover, it allows youth to communicate their messages with a more extensive as well as a more dispersed array of people. It also reduces the expenses of mass expression (Lee et al., 2013). To explain, online political messaging grants the possibility of many-to-many communication and communication beyond geographical boundaries, permits youth an unprecedented control over content and lets them find and share information in more natural ways (Baek et al., 2012). Thus, online messaging does not constrain youth to communicate only with those who live nearby (Stromer-Galley, 2003).

## **2.14 Interpersonal Communication and Political Knowledge**

Interpersonal communication is positively related to political knowledge (Hively & Eveland, 2009). Discussing politics more often may produce more facts and more structuring of political concepts in comparison to discussing politics less often (Hively & Eveland, 2009). Through interpersonal communication, citizens acquire knowledge about issues and problems and learn of opportunities and ways to participate. Interpersonal communication is closely related to the information dissemination function of media and mobilizes individuals toward local and national political participation (McLeod et al., 1999). Hence, this indicates that people get knowledge about social and political issues through interpersonal communication.

Moreover, a prominent base for a claim of the relationship between interpersonal communication and political knowledge has been rising fast in recent years (Bennett, Flickinger, & Rhine, 2000; Jung et al., 2011; Kwak et al., 2005). Scholars are trying to advance theoretical explanations for this relationship that has moved beyond the simple two-step flow explanations that suggest that interpersonal communication is merely a channel for gaining second-hand information from the opinion leaders (Eveland, 2004; Scheufele, 2002). For instance, by employing the OSROR model, Cho et al. (2009) claimed that interpersonal communication enhances citizens' political knowledge. Similarly, Shah et al. (2007) tested the OSROR model and asserted that elaborative and collective thinking leads to increased political knowledge.

Eveland et al. (2005, p. 425) stated that, "in practice, knowledge of politics is dependent on communication". This communication, most of the time, happens within interpersonal networks that serve to promote participatory behavior, both by conveying important mobilization and a sense of civic duty and obligation (McLeod

et al., 1999). Notably, McLeod et al. (1999) referred to the interpersonal network as communication with neighbors and friends in the physical setting. However, recent studies have suggested that people can communicate over a wide area through online interpersonal communication, referred to as online messaging (Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Möller, 2013). To explain, online messaging offers sharing features through which people can distribute their political views over a wide area. Also, it permits asynchronous messaging which can go on for days or weeks. Lastly, it eases communication by reducing the cost of expression. Thus, online messaging does not constrain youth from communicating only with those who live nearby (Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Möller, 2013; Stromer-Galley, 2003). On the other hand, face-to-face political communication needs a physical setting which can be with the people (e.g., family, co-workers and friends) who live nearby (Stromer-Galley, 2003). Taken together, both online messaging and face-to-face communication are important factors for enhancing citizens' knowledge on political issues.

### **2.15 Political Knowledge and Political Participation**

Generally, political knowledge is viewed as the main mediator between interpersonal communication and political participation (Pasek, et al., 2006). Schäfer (2015) pointed out that knowledgeable and competent people form the backbone of democratic politics. Similarly, McLeod and Sotirovic (2001) asserted that knowing essential certainties about political issues helps people in any event to orient themselves in the political realm, assists to frame political preferences and links the problems to public officials. Similarly, political theorists agree that citizens must at least know the basic facts about the core institutions of democracy and the actors engaged in politics (Vettehen, Hagemann, & Van, 2004). Delli-Carpini, and Keeter (1996, as cited in O'



Neill, 2006) emphasized that increased political knowledge and information lead individuals to make political judgments that are different from those they would make without information. This is because those with little information, for example, can overcome their information shortfalls by looking to knowledgeable friends for advice, using party labels as clues for political agendas, or evaluating candidates and leaders from their personality traits or social backgrounds. Such arguments are not without their critics (Gidengil et al., 2004, as cited in O’Neill, 2006).

Essentially, information about what is going on in the political world is a prerequisite for meaningful participation. Individuals who are not adequately familiar with the political realm depend on mediators to give them the pertinent information with which to build their political knowledge. Conversely, the media is the most frequent and predominant source of information. Zhang and Chia (2006) proved that informative media use dramatically stimulates political participation by producing information about political and social affairs, as well as providing information about public policy controversies.

Additionally, political conversation is also viewed as a source of political information (Greenberg, 1964). There is a sustained focus on which channel; either media or political discussion, informs the public and impacts public opinion more. More recent studies have assessed various media, for instance, informational media – whether online news, TV news, recreational media and print media forms – which deliver information about political and social issues, but their effects on individuals’ knowledge and their opinions are positively and indirectly mediated through online and face-to-face conversation (Lee et al., 2013; Pasek, et al., 2006; Shah et al., 2014). After all, communication breeds communication (Schäfer, 2015; Valenzuela, 2011).

## **2.16 Theoretical Framework**

Theoretically, all happenings are explained and studied for clarity and understanding. Thus, theories are employed to help researchers to understand, clarify and place phenomena under study in proper perspective. Therefore, this study applies the SLT and CMM to enhance the understanding of the processes of political socialization of Pakistani youth. The SLT is used as the underpinning theory while the CMM supports it in driving the work. Both theory and model are considered as foundations of the study, due to their explicitness and significance to the issue under investigation.

### **2.16.1 Situated Learning Theory (SLT)**

For this study, the SLT is one of the underpinning theories. Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger propounded the SLT in 1991. The SLT posits that learning sits squarely in the process of co-participation, not individual heads. This theory posits that learning does not only occur by listening but also by doing, talking and experiencing (McIntosh & Younis, 2010). The concept is based on the Activity Theory, proposed by a Russian psychologist, Vygotsky in 1978; he emphasized the social context of thinking – the mind's activities cannot be separated from the public behavior, or from the social context in which they take place.

Situated Learning means an activity of persons acting in settings, which is synonymous with apprenticeship, where a learner is apprentice and teachers, parents and peers are masters (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.29). It exemplifies the idea of political socialization of youth through parents, peers and teachers by active participation. It represents the civic learning, norms and skills of youth through the involvement in family, classroom and peer activities. These activities are accomplished in a physical setting/context and

via interaction. Hence, it reflects the expansion of motivation, interest and viewpoints of learners.

Additionally, the SLT itself highlights that initially, young people learn through membership in communities of practice. A “community of practice” is a group of individuals who focus on activities resulting in the acquisition of skills and knowledge - inherently political learning (James, 2007). Meanwhile, the problem of lack of voting and no participation in political activities at all is attributed to lack of political knowledge and can be seen through such communities. However, the SLT proposes that youth learn political values through membership in communities. Such communities can be schools, peer groups and families. For instance, McDevitt, (2006) claimed that many studies have proven that the family is a fundamental human community; its members are united and unique; and each contributes different inputs for socialization of youth into politics through political conversations or discussing the issues of the day.

Quintelier and Hooghe (2013) stated that the school is a community, and is a primary agent for preparing the students to play essential roles in democratic societies. Ideally, young people who join school communities gain more political knowledge, thereby engendering political participation (Langton, 1967; Scheufele, 2002; Youniss, 2011). Similarly, joining peer groups that hold diverse viewpoints can enhance political knowledge and political participation (Scheufele et al., 2006), even though these communities provide tools and recreational media to support, extend and recognize mental functions (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.82). Similarly, Lee and his colleagues (2013) found that classroom debates and expressing views on social and political activities underscore the utilization of online and offline media. Thus, such utilization

of the Internet and traditional media for obtaining information lead youth to read newspapers or watch TV news. In a similar vein, Min-Woo et al. (2014) found that belonging to peer groups having diverse opinions and backgrounds, promotes joint deliberation, and such reflections underscore increased information consumption from online and offline media. Accordingly, use of media for political discussions advances political knowledge, thus promoting political participation.

Furthermore, the SLT represents the idea of individuals obtaining habits, identities, knowledge and skills through persons acting in communities of practice. Such communities of practice are composed of collaborative, participatory and dialogue-rich learning environments that capture the individual within a concrete social situation of political learning and development. Conversely, instructors, parents and peer groups who advocate such approaches believe there is a “culture” of learning that can be cultivated. For instance, if Pakistani youth have such rich learning and participatory culture, which provides them with a free and open exchange of ideas as well as the opportunity of conversational disagreement at home, in classroom settings and among peers, they will undoubtedly become competent enough, and such can prompt them to explore opposing perspectives and rewarding discussions, thereby engendering political participation. Notably, it illustrates formal education in school settings and informal learning at home and among peers, which accordingly, increase political knowledge and help youth to become competent to participate in politics.

Generally speaking, James (2007), as well as Collins and Duguid (1989), pointed out that political knowledge is a set of tools. To be used effectively, there must be a context. For that, there should be a collaborative, interactive and activity-based culture and the environment in which the activity occurs must be suitable. For instance, if

Pakistani parents socialize young people that voting is their right in the context of real-world situations through open conversational disagreement environments, such interactive and intersectional political learning will have a long-term effect on political participation of youth, rather than through providing abstract knowledge.

This work focuses on the ongoing formation and utilization of the abilities of youth. The emphasis is not on transferring skills and political knowledge from the individuals who know more to the individuals who know less; yet collaborative activities mediate different perspectives of co-participants to create, acquire and converse the meaning. Subsequently, collaborative activities make youth active participants who influence parents, peers and teachers' perceptions of political and current issues, thus changing their voting choices. Civic learning here is not only top-to-bottom (parents to youth); it can also be bottom-to-top (youth to parents) (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002) and peer-to-peer (McDevitt, 2006). Similarly, the SLT predicts that masters of learning are co-learners when they interact with young people, while also changing their practices and perceptions (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p.15).

Therefore, participation in political discussions is an essential kind of situated learning activity. Since verbal utilization involves various participatory abilities, it is a standout amongst the essential elements of access to interaction in social life. For instance, in the context of "freedom of speech", we do not learn new things by restraining differing points of view and opinions; yet, if we permit these thoughts to be communicated openly and attempt to assess their value or lack thereof, our understanding of the concepts or issues will be strengthened. Thus, many political talks of youth on issues and other current affairs with their parents have been found to show higher political knowledge, hence engendering political participation. Similarly, youth whose teachers

discuss politics and current events with them, orchestrate youth discussions of controversial topics and create “open classrooms” where diverse student opinions are heard and respected. Such students score higher than other students on measures of political knowledge and different civic and political outcomes (Andolina et al., 2003; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Similarly, when teachers and peers engage youth in open political discussions, they are more able to envision themselves as political actors who can effect change by looking into informed policies (Youniss & Yates, 1997). In brief, political discussions and other activities that enable youth to participate in meaningful, cooperative activities towards political ends, constitute a potent means of political socialization and the incorporation of youth into civic and political life.

#### **2.16.2 Communication Mediation Model (CMM)**

For many decades, scholars followed the Pavlovian Stimulus-Response framework to examine the direct effects of media on political outcome variables, like knowledge and participation. Nonetheless, media and communication researchers deny such conceptions of media as a “magic bullet” or “hypodermic syringe” (Eveland & Thomson, 2006). McLeod, Scheufele, and Moy (1999) developed a CMM, which defines the concept of informational media use and political talk that channel the impact of background disposition and orientation on political knowledge and participation. This model was primarily developed from the Markus and Zajonc (1985 as cited in Lee 2017) cognitive, social psychology OSOR (Orientation–Stimulus–Orientation–Response) framework. The OSOR framework postulates that the effect of viewers’ preexistent (antecedent) orientations, such as cultural, structural, motivational and cognitive characteristics of the audience affect (O1) their media use

(S) and how they are exposed to media content or how they interpret media messages (news elaboration) (O2) and their response to that (R) (Eveland, Shah, & Kwak, 2003).

Initially, the aim of the CMM was to recognize the ways people's (predisposition) norms and values influenced political participation via informational media use and political conversation. Adding to this framework, Eveland et al. (2003) conducted a panel study to test the second (O) thoroughly while combining the cognitive mediation model and claimed that news attention and news elaboration do not lead to direct participation. Hence, they introduced the cognition (knowledge) variable.

Moreover, Shah, Cho, Eveland, and Kwak (2005) further enhanced the OSOR framework by adding Internet use and online political messaging. This model contributed in two ways: firstly, it places communication among people as a mediator between information-seeking through the mass media and democratic outcomes, such as political participation. Secondly, it emphasizes that online pathway to participation supplements existing offline channels. Hence, this hypothesized model, framed as a citizen communication model, suggests that media strongly influences political participation, albeit not directly. It changes through face-to-face and online political talk.

The contributions of the cognitive mediation model and citizen communication model led to the researchers re-reviewing the CMM. Later, Cho et al. (2009) advanced the OSOR model by adding (R) "Reasoning". Cho and his colleagues stated that:

"Currently, the S-O portion of the model is a jumble of factors, including news consumption, thinking and talking about issues, and cognitions and attitudes that arise from this process. Mental elaboration and interpersonal discussion are particularly difficult to situate in this framework. They are not stimuli in the formal sense since they have been found to be causally antecedent of

exposure to mass media (Eveland et al., 2003; Shah et al., 2005). However, they are also not conventional outcome orientations in the sense of altered attitudes or developed cognitions. Instead, they are between stimuli and outcome orientations, indicative of efforts to form an understanding and reason through ideas” (Cho et al., 2009, p. 218).

Presently, researchers are looking more intently at the second O which has not been thoroughly studied. Lee and his colleagues (2013) suggested psychological variables, such as political knowledge (O2) in the OSROR model. This study responds to that suggestion, and adds other antecedents, such as family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms (O1) to map the direct and indirect relationships of informational media use (S) and interpersonal communication (R) with political knowledge (O2) and political participation (R). Additionally, McLeod et al. (2009) asserted that the model should be tested among young adults, as some studies have adopted this age group. Hence, this study is also more concerned with the young adults, and responds to that call.

### **2.17 Conceptual Framework**

The two theoretical models discussed above provide support for this study, which led to the development of a conceptual model for the political socialization of Pakistani youth. By merging the insights suggested by both the SLT and the CMM, this study recommends the conceptual framework as in Figure 2.3. It reports the relationships of three groups of variables with political participation: antecedents of political competence and skills (family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms) of youth; and media use and political participation, which are supported by the SLT. On the other hand, informational media use (TV news, printed newspapers and online newspapers), interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging), political knowledge and political participation are supported by the CMM.



Accordingly, the integration of SLT and CMM comes at the point of interpersonal communication. This is because the SLT does not support such a notion. On the other hand, literature, as discussed above, suggests that media is no more a magic bullet, thus influencing political behavior of youth through interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) (Eveland & Thomson, 2006; McLeod et al., 1999). Thus, such a concept is supported by the CMM.

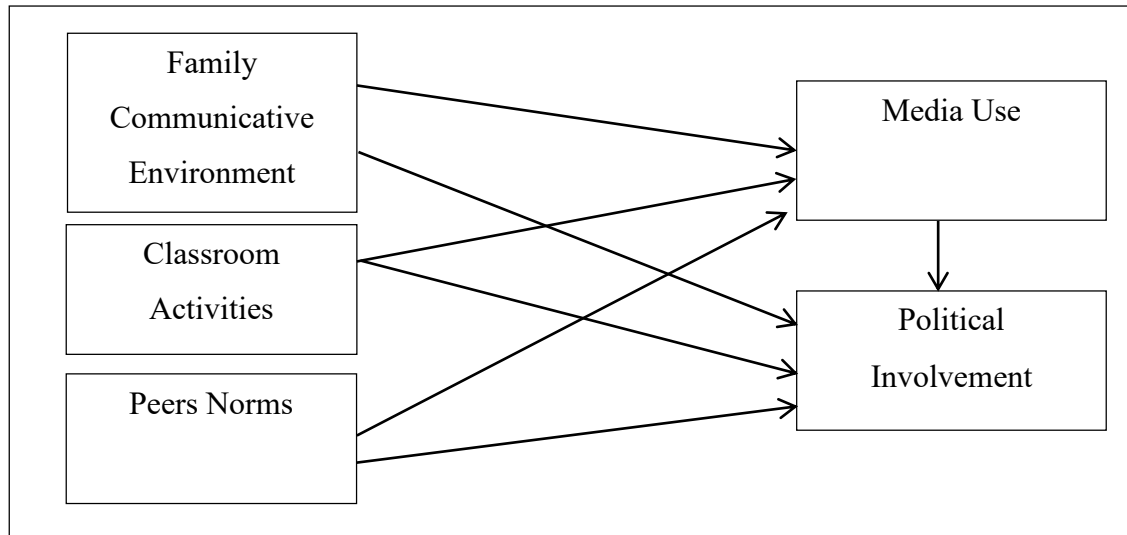
Notably, all variables studied are supported by the theory and model, which are jointly proposed as the conceptual model for investigating the patterns of political participation, since the SLT is mostly used for classroom learning, which also supports the concept of political socialization. To explain, the SLT highlights communities of practice, like parents, peers and classrooms, which are composed of interactive, participatory and dialogue-rich learning environments. Similarly, a new wave of studies on political socialization suggests that family, classroom and peer group interactive environments make competent and skillful political participators of young people. This also suggests an open discussion environment where everyone has the opportunity to take part in conversations, thereby keeping young people connected to the world by consuming informational media content. On the other hand, the CMM postulates that informational media use and interpersonal communication channels impact the background disposition and orientation of political knowledge and participation, such as family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms on political behavior. Accordingly, these background dispositions are antecedent variables in this study. For consuming informational content, individuals have interpersonal utility motives. Such motives increase their attention and consumption level of news content, which in turn, increase their political knowledge and participation in the political world.

Consequently, it is essential to develop hypotheses for the current study, which will provide a clear understanding of the direct and indirect relationships among the variables.

## **2.18 Hypothesis Development**

### **2.18.1 Family Communicative Environment**

These reviews of the SLT and the CMM and their numerous iterations have led to the two different models which enlighten political involvement (knowledge and political participation). For instance, Figure 2.1 shows the SLT that predicts a direct link between family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms, media use and political involvement. To explain, in a family communicative environment, youth develop the underlying motives and skills that are needed to value and engage with news media, including the ability to understand and process journalistic information (Fujioka & Austin, 2002; Valenzuela, Bachmann, & Aguilar, 2016; York & Scholl, 2015). Parents often encourage critical analysis of media content; establish rules about specific media experiences; or share media exposure with their children, thus influencing media use (Valenzuela et al., 2016). This entails the existence of contexts in which they can explore their ideas, form and express opinions and develop attitudes and understanding about the political world. In such dialogue-rich environments, individuals construct and reconstruct with others' explanations and stories that make sense of their experiences, and locate them in political, social, cultural and historical contexts (Haste, 2004). Hence, trickle-up influences occur between parents and their offspring (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002).



*Figure 2.1.* Processes of Political Socialization (adapted from the Situated Learning Theory)

Family communicative environments are where parents encourage youth to give opinions on issues and where youth feel free to express their concerns and ideas while arguing on controversial topics. Such democratic environments foster the civic and political skills of youth, and they search for more information for future discussions, thereby increasing political knowledge and encouraging political participation (Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014). Accordingly, for a country like Pakistan, which intends to consolidate its democracy, the family communicative environment is essential.

In general, the family, especially parents, play a significant role in this endeavor for various reasons. Most prominent is that it exposes youth to social and political values and norms, hence providing a tool for participation (Fujiok, & Austin, 2002). Additionally, it transforms the political structure and identities which help youth to understand the political world. For instance, if parents vote for the same party regularly, their children will ultimately feel that “I am a member of X party” (Michael et al., 2004). Numerous research studies have revealed that there is a high level of uniformity in party choices, political preferences, attitudes and behaviors amongst parents and their offspring (Sani & Quaranta, 2015; Cicognani et al., 2012).

The family is the focal area for creating social capital through constant and positive communicative environments. Hence, it reflects the idea that youth gain psychosocial modification when they interact with the family freely. Thus, the consequences of facilitating a free communicative environment for discussions on political matters in the family have been viewed positively by various scholars (McLeod, 2000; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014). A valid exception to this scenario is the work of McDevitt and Chaffee (2002), who documented that the free communicative environment is a kind of domestic “public sphere”, where young people and their parents freely discuss and identify societal and political problems. Hence, such a domestic public sphere prompts information-seeking behavior among folks and their offspring. On the whole, such information-seeking behavior increases consumption of the informational content of the media (Valenzuela et al., 2016), hence reflecting a situational increase in the parents’ and young people’s political involvement. It embodies the idea of the freedom of expression that parents allow, which further liberalizes the pursuit and practice of democracy.

Moreover, the SLT already emphasizes the vital role of the family in making young people active, competent and skillful by involving them in discussions, by ensuring communicative, interactive and dialogue-rich learning environments. The notion of such a learning environment, which motivates youth to consume media content, increases political knowledge and participation in political activities. As youth have capabilities and readiness to absorb more information about people, politicians and social and political issues, they also become more critical of the system as their dissatisfaction with government policies also induces their participation.

Against this background, the family communicative environment of respondents allows discussing social and political issues at home, which is essential for this study. Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed which answer the first research question of this study:

**H1a** Family communicative environment has a positive and direct influence on information media use among Pakistani youth.

**H1b** Family communicative environment positively and directly influences political participation among Pakistani youth.

### **2.18.2 Classroom Activities**

The school is also well recognized as a community for preparing the students to play a role in democratic societies by offering opportunities for political participation (Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013). Students develop and adopt democratic values and norms by practicing various forms of democratic activities in school. In essence, Torney-Purta (2002) established that the school, in general, and classroom curricula and extra-curricular activities, in particular, foster students' civic and political learning. For instance, debates on social and political issues, learning structures and functions of government as an assignment, lead them to collect more information through the media (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002). It is also suggested that an open classroom climate where teachers encourage students to express their views, is positively associated with information searching, which in turn, increases political knowledge, self-efficacy and political participation (Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013). Moreover, Finkel and Ernst (2005) suggested that compared to traditional civic instruction, the right pedagogical and classroom climate situations increase political

and civic skills of youth, thereby reflecting the views of growing political competencies.

Correspondingly, the SLT highlights the school as a community which provides a participatory culture for obtaining civic habits, skills and knowledge by involving youth in democratic practices. The SLT emphasizes more on the learning curriculum than the teaching curriculum, because the learning curriculum is a kind of learner-centered classroom, in which all pupils practice debates on social and political issues, learning structures and functions of government as group work, which involves lively cognitive processes, for instance, discussing, problem-solving, reasoning, decision-making and evaluation. Consequently, such practice-based learning environments motivate learners to become active (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 97) and use tools of mass media (online and offline), thus increasing political knowledge and endorsing political participation.

The Pakistani government increasingly aims to consolidate the democratic system and classroom activities (debates, learning processes and functions of government, following news as assignments) which are influential for educating youth about civic and political skills and norms, which motivate youth to consume more information from the media, hence engendering political knowledge and participation. Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

**H2a** Classroom activities positively and directly influence informational media use among Pakistani youth.

**H2b** Classroom activities have positive and direct influence on political participation of Pakistani youth.

### **2.18.3 Peer Norms**

Generally, the peer group is also perceived as an essential community that affects political participation, political preferences and political identities, while stimulating information-seeking behavior. This is because they have the same characteristics in terms of age and social class (Lee et al., 2013). Therefore, political participation is determined by peer groups, although the motivation for seeking more information leads youth to use the media, which in turn, may shape political talk, the effect of which could also be vice versa (Campos et al., 2013).

Participating in political activities or not participating at all is a hallmark of peer groups. This is because many studies have proven that, like parents, schools and the media, peer groups are also responsible for socialization of youth about social and political norms and values. Consequently, Verba et al. (1995) highlighted that peer groups predominantly, are believed to increase civic and political skills of youth, which in turn, enhance their voluntarism and political efficacy as well as trust in government organizations, hence increasing political participation. This study is concerned with the equal participation of citizens in the democratic process in which they emphasize the socialization of citizens through various agents. In fact, among all other agents discussed in this study, the peer group has the most significant influence.

Consequently, McLeod et al. (1999), Torney-Purta (2002) and Harell and his colleagues (2008) upheld that the peer group is a strong predictor for enhancing different political activities because it tells us how individuals can be politically active. Youth who are members of peer groups give importance to social and political matters and are willing to pay more attention to the informative content of media; thus, they are more likely to participate in political activities and vice versa.

In that case, the SLT supports such predictions, as it already maintains jurisdiction over an essential part of the peer community, where the knowledge about politics spreads exceedingly rapidly and effectively (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 93). Hence, this community provides an open platform for discussion and ensures the right perspectives (all equally share their views and experiences) (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 83). Such social interaction demands more information from peers, thus persuading youth to consume more information about people, culture, politics and society (social and political norms) from the media, which in turn, increases political competence in youth, thus making them active participants.

Moreover, the decline in political participation is a result of lack of political knowledge as can be seen through such agents. Tedin (1980) claimed that peer groups do not discuss politics; they are more interested in music, clothing and hairstyles. This may be because diverse viewpoints can create problems while addressing social and political issues (Mutz, 2002).

Not all relationships between peer groups, the motivation for media use and political participation, are positive. Kuhn (2004) blamed peer affiliations for shaping risky and deviant behaviors, such as using violence in elections, watching violent media content, smoking cigarettes and fighting others with weapons. He also stated that these peer groups disengage young people from regular activities, like voting for the right parties, hence, calling to question the democratic potential of peer affiliations.

Rejecting the idea of the culpability of peer affiliations, Brody et al. (2001) maintained that peer group is not mainly responsible for the negativities above. On the other hand, youngsters who do not obtain emotional provision from their parents and lack proper



socialization in citizen norms and values will join deviant peer groups. Rationally, this is because conventional peers reject such youngsters.

McLeod and his colleagues (1999) emphasized that ideal democratic citizens should give importance to politics and public affairs and exchange views with their acquaintances. Similarly, Lee et al. (2013) claimed that peer groups play an influential role in developing social norms about interaction and behavior. Hence, youth who interact with peers who value knowledge and political activities often discuss public affairs content, and are likely to be encouraged to consume and reflect on news content and collectively participate in political activities. Those who violate the norms are often sanctioned by ridicule or exclusion, while those who conform are more socially integrated (Adler & Adler, 1995).

Against this background, peers who have surveillance and political activity norms, as well as collective peer norms are essential for this study. Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

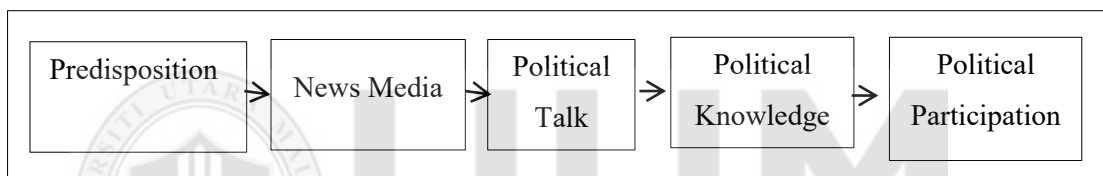
**H3a** Peer norms positively and directly influence informational media use of Pakistani youth.

**H3b** Peer norms positively and directly influence the political participation of Pakistani youth.

#### **2.18.4 Informational Media Use**

The incorporation of news use in the family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer group designates the centrality of public affairs media for practicing youth social and political norms, values and communication skills. On the other hand,

the CMM suggests that people's predisposition (cultural, structural, environmental and motivational characteristics) have a consequence on political action through informational media use and political conversation (See Figure 2.2); whereas, the SLT suggests that environments of individuals shape their exposure to mass media and its impact on their political knowledge for subsequent participation. However, in the CMM, interpersonal communication mediates the relationship between news media use and political participation. Thus, the logic behind this is that by elaborating and through collective thinking, youth make strong political orientation and this accordingly will increase political knowledge (Jung et al., 2011).



*Figure 2.2.* Structural Paths Predicted by the Communication Mediation Model

Moreover, McLeod and his colleagues (1999) established that communication channels, such as newspapers, the television and the Internet, prompt other communication channels, like interpersonal communication. After all, the media is no more a “magic bullet” (Lazarsfeld et al., 1948, as cited in Eveland & Thomson, 2006). It embodies the idea of the indirect effect of media on political participation through interpersonal communication. However, it is necessary to explain the types of media separately, as this will provide a better understanding of which medium is more influential to socialize youth in the political domain, and definitely, such separate descriptions lead to elaborate participation in the democratic process.

### **2.18.5 Television Informational Content Use**

Watching television news is beneficial for increased levels of political knowledge, participation and efficacy. Hence, learning through television news encourages people to become more active in politics (Norris, 1996). Moreover, Adeel-Ur-Rehman, Ahmed, Zafar, and Shahzad (2013) asserted that in Pakistan, television news is the primary source of information and socialization of youth in the political world because television news provides information as it happens. They also asserted that people judge policy and politicians' trustworthiness through television news channels. Even Pakistani politicians rely on media to recognize public demands as well as to know what issues are causing problems and where (Javaid & Elahi, 2014). This is because as compared to other media, Pakistan has 90 privately-owned stations and other state-owned channels. It means there is a boom in television networks (Ricchiardi, 2012).

Lin (2002) conducted a study among university students in Seoul, South Korea and argued that television news content is more adverse, thus contributing to inefficacy and cynicism. Similarly, Robinson's (1976) famous term, 'video malaise', explains that exposure to disproportionate television news as well as person-based stories of government figures causes distrust and creates feelings of cynicism. However, the main highlight has been on television journalism for introducing the deleterious changes in tone and content that consequently disseminate inefficacious and distrustful attitudes toward politics and politicians. Similarly, Mutz and Reeves (2005) conducted three laboratory experiments by exposing the civil and uncivil content of talk shows and news content to undergraduate students of political science courses and the adult community, asserting that television presentations of political actors do not influence political attitudes of youth, whereas uncivil exchanges of journalists affect political trust. Hence, such uncivil exchanges not only affect the politicians but levels of support

for the institutions of government will also be decreased. Thus, the study refers to televised journalism, and not the television itself.

Moreover, by conducting two wave-panel studies, Holtz-Bacha (1990) took political programs and entertainment programs to test if both of them are correlated with political alienation. This author rejected the thesis of 'video malaise' and claimed that political programs are related to the less-alienated views of politics. In fact, such programs help to understand the issues or policies, in turn, increasing political participation. Hooghe (2002) underlined that television news programs are positively related to the political attitude of people, whereas entertainment programs and commercial stations promote the culture of political cynicism, thus cultivating less civic-minded value patterns.

#### **2.18.6 Newspapers Informational Content Use**

Newspaper reading has been found to be continuously and significantly related to increasing political activism (Lee et al., 2013; McLeod et al., 1999; Norris, 1996; Zhang & Chia, 2007). As Möller (2013) asserted, the print press provides information through which young people familiarize themselves with politicians and processes and construct political knowledge. Likewise, Pasek and his colleagues (2006) speculated that the informational content of print media is positively related to political awareness, which has positive and motivational effects on youth. Accordingly, many studies have suggested that the textual medium is superior to the visual medium (Fraile, 2011; McLeod et al., 1999; Shah et al., 2001; Valenzuela, 2011; Zhang & Chia, 2006) because of the covering of a sheer amount of information by the news story. Notably, having prevailed with the inverted pyramid style, newspapers offer the reader the worthiest news at the top, this in turn, hooking the readers (Yoon, 2003).

Additionally, by using the National Annenberg Risk Survey of Youth data, Pasek, Kenski, Romer, and Jamieson (2006) speculated that media, more specifically, space media, play a role in promoting social ties by creating common interest groups, thus gradually but firmly establishing a sense of community. Likewise, Zhang and Chia (2006) asserted that the more they read public affairs from space media, the more they trust other people and government institutions, thus feeling a sense of connectedness. However, the effect is also the reverse, as the more they believe others and feel connectedness, the more such connectedness stimulates the use of conventional media.

Despite being advantageous for promoting the democratic culture, this medium faces the crisis of diminished readership. McLeod (2002) claimed that newspaper reading habits are a principal aspect of political socialization. Thus, declining readership may be the leading cause of increased lack of political knowledge and avoiding participation in democratic processes.

#### **2.18.7 Online Informational Content Use**

Pasek et al. (2006) conducted a study on media consumption habits and reported that 58.3% of young people aged 14 to 22 years use online media to get information as well as are frequent and active participants of civic activities. In fact, online news consumption, in general, tends to exert a stronger influence on political engagement than does traditional news use (Lee et al., 2013). Moreover, Eveland and William (2004) affirmed that the consumption of online news may partially counteract the cause of diminishing print media. This may be due to the interactivity and new chances to share and converse the information (Coleman, 2008). Online news provides readers with an opportunity to comment on articles, and sometimes such comments shape the discussion environment, where readers start to engage in debate. Moreover, it provides

an option to share such articles on social networking sites and hyperlinks, which offer an opportunity to know in-depth that specific subject (Möller, 2013). Such features engage users, encourage repetitive visits and finally shape online communities.

Additionally, Yusuf, Dragomir, Thompson, Watts, Chan, Nissen, and Tambini (2013) claimed that the online newspaper version provides new, potentially broader audiences for offline newspapers, yet without any remarkable financial advances. This is because many people prefer to read on different platforms (Fortunati, Deuze, & De Luca, 2014). Online newspapers provide the chance to catch a story when it happens. Hence, such immediately picked information makes young people active. Likewise, Mitchelstein and Boczkowski (2010) asserted that engaged and informed inhabitants are more likely to take part in the practices of democracy. Hence, the free availability of online newspapers gives a chance to be competent, while consequently making informed decisions on public policy and taking part in political activities. Under this separate discussion of informational media use, the following hypotheses are formulated:

**H4a** Informational media use (television informational content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) among Pakistani youth positively and directly influences their interpersonal communication.

**H4b** Informational media use (television informational content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) of Pakistani youth positively and directly influences their political knowledge.

### **2.18.8 Interpersonal Communication**

Recent studies have suggested that informational content consumption through television, offline newspapers and online newspapers, do not directly influence the political beliefs, participation and preferences of the people, because every news content is often thought to be complicated as well as biased. Therefore, understanding requires further elaboration by interpersonal communication (Scheufele, 2002). On the other hand, Eveland and William (2004) asserted that people have some motives to consume news, such as to pass time and for entertainment, but more often, they use it for interpersonal utility. This suggestion embodies the idea that people use news for interpersonal utility. In such interpersonal utility, a person's expectation of an imminent discussion is an internal motivation that then upsurges cognitive elaboration on informational content. To explain, cognitive elaboration refers to the time gap between the time a person is exposed to the media and when the actual talk takes place. At that time, people's expectation of later discussions of social and political conversation leads them to devote more efforts to thinking about that news, to see the relevance for them and their partners' discussion. So, it is likely that they compare such with those who have interpersonal utility motivations, which will involve more intellectual elaboration on the news than those who have different motives.

Moreover, Mutz and Martin (2001) asserted that informational media use allocates resources (knowledge) for political discussion and generates opportunities for exposure to viewpoints unavailable in one's social network. Similarly, McLeod and his colleagues (1999) noted that because of time constraints, television news does not provide in-depth information, and people prefer to know such through interpersonal communication. Besides this, they emphasized that political discussion supports the contextualization and elaboration of the informational content of news to the extent

that it can contribute to personal confidence in their insights about parties' issues and positions. Therefore, interpersonal conversation facilitates political learning more effectively. Moreover, McLeod et al. (1999) also stated that political talk online and offline helps to contextualize informational content by alluding to the comprehensive view of the political world, while messaging online and face-to-face exchange by people from different backgrounds provide high-quality information. Such excellent quality contextualization of information increases cognitive action and reflection, thus increasing political knowledge and stimulating participation.

More recent studies have asserted that there are two types of political conversation: face-to-face political discussion and online messaging (Lee et al., 2013). This is because engaging in political discussions face-to-face is inherently different from messaging about politics online. To explain, Möller (2013) asserted that online messaging offers the sharing feature, through which people can distribute their political views over a wide area, even though it permits asynchronous messaging, in which "turn-taking" happens over days or weeks. Notably, online platform messaging eases communication by reducing the cost of expression. It also allows imparting many-to-many, one-to-many and many-to-one kinds of communication, which collectively take the framework of meaningful participation (Gil de Zúñiga, Veenstra, Vraga, & Shah, 2010). As such, it refers to the idea of extending one's social network, which might not be possible in everyday life. Lastly, online messaging blurs the border between communication and participation (Moller, 2013). Hence, following the discussion above, the hypotheses below are generated:

**H5a** Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) has positive and direct influence on political participation of Pakistani youth.



**H5b** Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) has positive and direct influence on political knowledge of Pakistani youth.

McLeod and his colleagues (1999) claimed that online messaging and face-to-face communication, generally referred to as interpersonal communication, play a mediating role in explaining the influence of informational media use on political participation. Similarly, Chan and Lee (2016) argued that the importance of media use in political participation is medium-specific. Hence, this specifies the idea that interpersonal communication functions as a significant mediator (Shah et al., 2007). Moreover, a sizable body of research has supported this argument that news media use does not predict political participation. It nevertheless exhibits an indirect relationship through interpersonal discussion, possibly because news content provides talking points with which to initiate and sustain conversations, which in turn, facilitate participation (Cho et al., 2009; Jung et al., 2011; Min-Woo et al., 2014). Accordingly, one can articulate the following hypotheses concerning the direction of the impact:

**H5c** Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) mediates the effect of informational media use on political knowledge of Pakistani youth.

**H5d** Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) mediates the effect of informational media use on political participation of Pakistani youth.

### **2.18.9 Political Knowledge**

Political knowledge has been theorized and confirmed in recent studies because of the informational content use and interpersonal political communication. Considerable empirical findings have suggested that informational content use is an indispensable

source of political information for citizens (Adeel-Ur-Rehman et al., 2013; Hollander, 2005; Schäfer, 2015; Shah et al., 2013). As Zhang and Chia (2006) affirmed, political knowledge is inherently dependent on informational content consumption. Moreover, the literature suggests a positive and strong relationship between political participation and political knowledge and informational content use (Pasek et al., 2006).

Similarly, interpersonal communication is also viewed as a contributor to political knowledge. Eveland and William (2004) suggested that discussion-generated elaboration on news content exerts a significantly positive effect on political knowledge, whereas modest amounts of exposure to television and newspaper news does not. Thus, interpersonal communication here reinforces the media message.

Moreover, O'Neil (2006) asserted that political knowledge is a political asset that can diminish the costs connected to political participation; factual knowledge of political parties, for instance, supplies one with the capacity to evaluate the platform that merges on one's position on issues, allowing for more active voting. Better informed political knowledge helps people to make political judgments (Sotirovic, 2001). Therefore, the more knowledgeable people are, the better they will understand the impact of public policies on their own lives, and the more likely they will be to vote based on performance (Fraile, 2011). Under this background, the following hypotheses are formulated:

**H6a** Political knowledge positively and directly influences political participation of Pakistani youth.

**H6b** Political knowledge mediates the influence of informational media use on political participation of Pakistani youth.

**H6c** Political knowledge mediates the influence of interpersonal communication on political participation of Pakistani youth.

Given the above discussion along with the generated hypotheses, the following conceptual framework showing the direct and indirect relationships among the variables of this study is as shown in Figure 2.3.



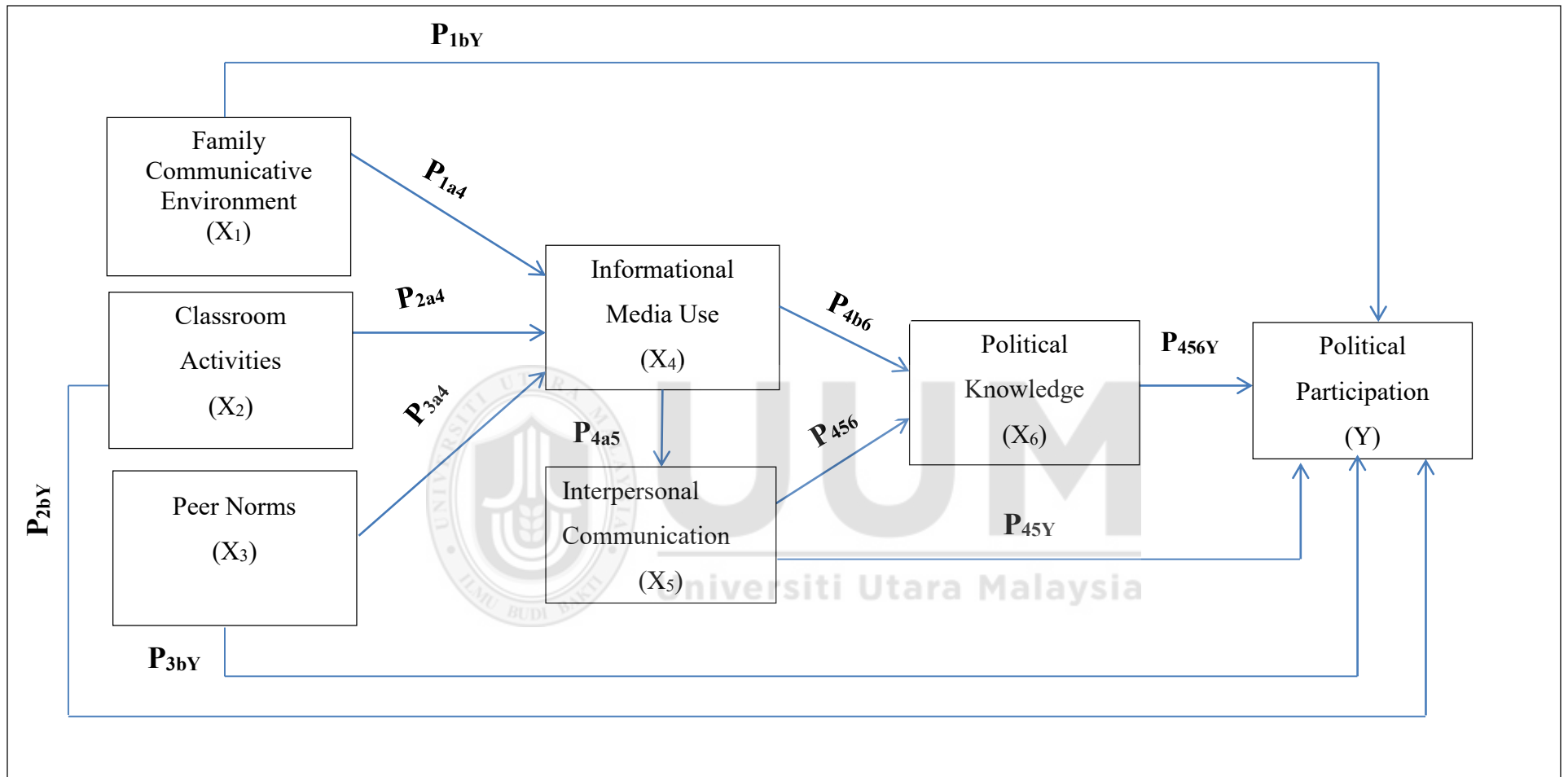


Figure 2.3. Conceptual Framework

## 2.19 Research Hypothesis

For responding to the first objective of the current study, the following hypotheses are generated:

**H1a** Family communicative environment has a positive and direct influence on information media use among Pakistani youth (P1a4).

**H1b** Family communicative environment positively and directly influences political participation among Pakistani youth (P1bY).

For responding to the second objective of this research, hypotheses are shown below:

**H2a** Classroom activities positively and directly influence informational media use among Pakistani youth (P2a4).

**H2b** Classroom activities have positive and direct influence on political participation of Pakistani youth (P2bY).

For answering the third objective of the present study, the following hypotheses are generated:

**H3a** Peer norms positively and directly influence informational media use of Pakistani youth (P3a4).

**H3b** Peer norms positively and directly influence the political participation of Pakistani youth (P3bY).

For answering the fourth objective of the present study, the following hypotheses are proposed:

**H4a** Informational media use (television informational content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) among Pakistani youth positively and directly influences their interpersonal communication (P4a5).

**H4b** Informational media use (television informational content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) of Pakistani youth positively and directly influences their political knowledge (P4b6).

To answer the fifth objective of this study, the following hypotheses are generated:

**H5a** Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) has positive and direct influence on political participation of Pakistani youth (P5Y).

**H5b** Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) has positive and direct influence on political knowledge of Pakistani youth (P56).

**H5c** Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) mediates the effect of informational media use on political knowledge of Pakistani youth (P546).

**H5d** Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) mediates the effect of informational media use on political participation of Pakistani youth (P54Y).

To answer the sixth objective of the current study, the following hypotheses are generated:

**H6a** Political knowledge positively and directly influences political participation of Pakistani youth (P6Y).

**H6b** Political knowledge mediates the influence of informational media use on political participation of Pakistani youth (P64Y).

**H6c** Political knowledge mediates the influence of interpersonal communication on political participation of Pakistani youth (P65Y).

## **2.20 Summary of Literature Review and Research Gaps**

This section presents the summary of the literature review presented in the various subsections above. The highlight of the review is firstly to describe the variables that are understudied in this research and their relationships as presented in the theoretical framework. The review focuses on the four most important socialization agents, which are family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer group and informational media use and the influence of each of these agents on political participation of youth in Pakistan.

In summary, it is noticed from the above literature review that previous studies on socialization and political participation have only focused on exploring the relative and the joint influence of various socialization agents on political participation (Owen, 2011; Peachey, 2017). In other words, they have not focused on the individualistic effects of the socialization factors, such as family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms, on political participation. More so, several political socialization studies have focused on understanding the primary agents by which political norms, values and behaviors became instilled within the adolescent and

childhood-persistent model (Kudrnac (2015). Very few studies have focused on youth and how their socialization environments influence their political behavior (McLeod et al., 2009).

Additionally, the above literature review shows that most of the early studies have employed the cognitive theory, developmental theory, learning theory and Freudian theory, to explain the interconnections between different types of socialization agents and political participation. Meanwhile, the discussions of these old models and theories are organized around three arguments. Firstly, Sapiro (2004) argued that research in the area of political socialization has mainly focused on the United States and Western Europe. Very few studies have been conducted on the other parts of the world. Therefore, theories and conclusions about how citizens become part of the fabric of their political communities and how they cultivate their political orientations have so far only been drawn from developed countries (Sapiro, 2004). Secondly, studies have widely focused on children's political socialization. However, other age groups, such as adolescents and those in early adulthood and later are the most important groups for initiating individuals to habits of political engagement. This is because in this age, they have opportunities to participate in various activities. Lastly, the origins of preferences matter, as the advent of online media and recent opportunities to choose specific content have made youth active users. Such realities need to be explored more in the light of new models.

Also, some studies on political participation are claiming that lack of political participation is because of lack of political knowledge (Moller, 2013; Murcia & Guerrero, 2016; Mushtaq, Abiodullah, & Akber, 2011), thus, questioning the social forces of political socialization in transmitting the political information to youth. As a



result, Lee et al. (2013) recommended testing the effect of political knowledge on political participation within the framework of the CMM. Lastly, the above literature review reveals that the CMM has been tested in the developed countries, more specifically, in the context of the United States (Lee, 2017). However, there is a lack of studies on the CMM from the perspective of political socialization and political participation in developing countries, especially in Pakistan.

Therefore, this study seeks to fill the above literature gap by introducing the political knowledge construct to test how these social forces of political socialization involve youth in various social and political activities within the context of a classroom setting. This study also tests how democratic communication norms prevalent in the family and peer networks contribute to propelling youth to consume informational media content that mulled over by being voiced back through interpersonal communication and such expression and discussion of political ideas outside school and family boundaries enrich youth political knowledge and exhilarate their political participation.

## **2.21 Chapter Summary**

This chapter critically reviews the relevant literature on family, school, peer group, media use, interpersonal communication, political knowledge and political participation. Specifically, the review of the above literature evinces that the antecedents of political socialization agents of youth are classified into three categories: family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms, which stimulate informational media consumption. Such informational content use has interpersonal utility motivation. This may, in turn, shape online messaging or face-to-

face communication. Hence, this scientific evidence provides support for the relationship between political socialization agents, media use and interpersonal communication and political participation (Lee et al., 2013; Shah et al., 2009). However, the results of these studies are far from conclusive, which suggests the need for introducing a mediator variable (psychological variable) in the relationships. Hence, political knowledge is the potential mediator to determine the relationships.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This section outlines the methodological guidelines of this investigation to answer the identified research questions in Chapter One. This study uses the SLT and the CMM, and therefore, the deductive approach is applied. Specifically, this chapter starts with the research philosophy, research design that guides the study, the population and sample size. The rest of the section includes sampling techniques, the procedure of conducting the investigation, the measurement scales, validity and reliability tests and data analysis method.

#### **3.2 Research Philosophy**

Research philosophy, also known as research paradigm, is the search for the understanding and underling of the world. It is a 'belief system or worldview that guides an investigation' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Research philosophy is commonly classified into the positivist paradigm and interpretive paradigm.

Positivist paradigm explains the assumption that social life can be represented quantitatively by gathering observable, empirical and measurable evidence; whereas the interpretive paradigm, also known as constructivism, stands on the assumption that human social life can be studied quantitatively through an array of means, including direct observation, interviews and case studies. Hence, following the purpose of this study, this research belongs to the positivist paradigm, which is a generally practiced research paradigm in social sciences research (Neuman, 2011). The deductive method

of investigation is applied to test the hypothesized model that is based on theories and empirical evidence (Creswell, 2004).

Accordingly, the first aim of the deductive investigation is to draw conclusions that are generalizable and which also allow for revision of theory. The objective of the current research is to test a hypothesized model which theorizes that the SLT and CMM are positively related to political participation, and political knowledge mediates the effects of factors of the SLT (family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms) and CMM (informational media use and interpersonal communication) on political participation. Hence, centered on the primary objective of this study, six research questions were put forward, and 15 direct and indirect effects were hypothesized.

Based on the research model developed, the current research focuses on theory testing and verification rather than developing a new theory, thus employing deductive reasoning using SLT and CMM as frameworks. Therefore, this makes positivist epistemologies and quantitative methodologies ideal in this form of research, based on objectivism as the underlying ontological and epistemological position.

### **3.3 Research Design**

This study uses a cross-sectional research design. Therefore, data was collected just once during the study (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2011; Sekaran, 2003). After that, data analysis and interpretation was conducted and the conclusions or inferences concerning the population of the study were made at a single point in time. Specifically, the quantitative approach was adopted to assess the structural

relationships among the seven variables: Family Communicative Environment, Classroom Activities, Peer Norms, Informational Media Use, Interpersonal Communication, Political Knowledge and Political Participation.

Additionally, this research generalizes its outcomes to the broader population. Therefore, the quantitative approach was used, in which the survey method was applied for data collection through a self-administered structured questionnaire. Such kind of positivism philosophy is perfect for generalizing findings to larger populations (Saunders et al., 2011). This also follows the objectives of the study, which aims at investigating the effect of family communicative environment, peer norms and classroom activities on informational media use and political participation of youth, and the mediating effect of interpersonal communication and political knowledge on political participation. Moreover, PLS-SEM in conjunction with SmartPLS was used to test the direct and indirect effects of the hypothesized variables, based on the SLT (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and CMM (McLeod et al., 1999).

### **3.4 Instrumentation**

The instrument for data collection for the current study is a self-administered questionnaire. Sekaran (2003) listed four advantages of a personally administered questionnaire. Firstly, the researcher can gather all the completed responses within a short period. Secondly, any question that the participants might have on any query can be answered immediately on the spot. Thirdly, the scholar also has the opportunity to introduce the study topic and motivate the participants. Lastly, as compared to the interview, the self-administered questionnaire is cheaper and takes up less time. Apart

from these advantages, a self-administered questionnaire can also reduce bias, low response rate and non-return incidents, which could occur through an online survey.

The questionnaire in this study consists of eight sections from Section A to Section H, with 57 questions, in which only close-ended questions are given to gauge the opinion of participants on the issues under study. It means participants responded by selecting an appropriate answer. Sections A to C contain the questions on antecedent variables (Family Communicative Environment, Classroom Activities and Peer Norms). Section D includes items on the independent variable (Informational Media Use), Sections E and F contain questions on mediating variables (Interpersonal Communication and Political Knowledge). Section G includes items on the dependent variable (Political Participation) and lastly, Section H consists of demographic questions (Age, Gender and Education).

### **3.5 Measurement of Variables**

Literature shows that numerous studies have used different types of measures to assess children and adolescents' political socialization. A few studies have measured the political socialization of youth (McLeod et al., 2009). This study employed validated scales to measure exogenous (e.g., family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms, informational media use, interpersonal communication and political knowledge) and endogenous (political participation) constructs for the political socialization of youth. To do so, this study employed the interval measurement scale with the 7-point Likert type scale response for most of the variables. Keyton (2015, p.156) claimed that larger numerical values are associated with the response choice that represents the most positive rating.

### 3.5.1 Family Communicative Environment

Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990) revised and added family communication patterns scale to measure the conditional use of socio-oriented and conversation-oriented scales. An arrangement of 26 inquiries was utilized to gauge family communication patterns; of this, 15 items were to test conversation-oriented scales in which parents encourage and welcome youth through the open exchange of ideas; while 11 items were used to test the socio-oriented scale which demonstrate parental power to authorize conformity by youth.

Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990) explained that using conversation-oriented dimension is two-fold: first, it explains that the open exchange of ideas among family members is positively related to the interest in politics, discussions on political issues and political knowledge; and secondly, it defines media consumption behavior by youth as consumer socialization. However, under the 15 items of conversation orientation, there are also two concepts, i.e., consensual and pluralistic orientations. The former suggests the family has a balance on both open exchange of ideas and authoritative parental control; and the latter emphasizes more on concept-orientation (open exchange of ideas). Thus, this study took six items of pluralistic open exchange of ideas to measure family communicative environment, similar to Austin and Nelson's (1993) study. However, other past studies have asked similar questions (Shah et al., 2009; Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014) but they also did not maintain the same 15 items; some of them have used nine (Huang, 2010), while others have used two (Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014).

### **3.5.2 Classroom Activities**

Classroom activities are beneficial for socializing youth towards participating in political activities (Torney-Purta, 2002). Therefore, to know the influence of classroom political activities that have effects on informational media use as well as what motivates youth towards participation in political activities, the Min-Woo et al. (2014) measurement scale was adopted. Five questions were asked using the 7-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) as anchors. The five questions are on “Learning about how government works”, “Discussing/debating political or social issues”, “Participating in political role-playing”, “Following the news as part of a class assignment”, and “Being encouraged to make up their mind about issues”.

### **3.5.3 Peer Norms**

Peer norms refer to the perceived social pressure to engage or not to engage in a behavior. It means patterns (standards) or a way of behaving or doing things in a way that is agreeable to most people in the group. The measures from Lee et al. (2013) and Zhou (2009) were adapted for measuring peer norms in valuing knowledge and political activities. Although they were measured through separate questions for valuing knowledge (Lee et al., 2013) and political behavior (Zhou, 2009), this study measured valuing information and political behavior collectively. Thus, both questions were merged. The 7-point Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) was used.



### **3.5.4 Informational Media Use**

Informational media use refers to consumption of news to examine the political socialization of youth through the media. Of late, researchers have been more concerned with what and how informational content consumption through a specific medium leads young people towards political activities (Shah et al., 2009). These researchers have attempted to understand more closely the difference between dosage and potency (Peer, Malthouse & Calder, 2003; Möller, 2013), which means that youth watch television informational content more extensively (dosage) than they read informational content from newspapers (Lee et al., 2013). Similar to the virtual world, online news uses influence (potency) as a socialization agent much more than offline news use, even though levels of consumption for online news remain low (Min-Woo et al., 2014; Pasek et al., 2006). Accordingly, general dosage and potency of informational content consumption through online and offline media were adapted (Pasek et al., 2006). Respondents were asked how often do they watch TV informational content, read online informational content and read traditional informational content through a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (every day) to 7 (never) as anchors. This is like previous studies (Jung et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014).

### **3.5.5 Interpersonal Communication**

Interpersonal communication refers to both face-to-face and online messaging. To test these constructs, the Min-Woo et al. (2014) measurement scale was adopted. To measure face-to-face discussion, respondents were asked how often they talk about political issues with family members, friends, adults outside their family or people who disagreed with them. A 7-point Likert type scale, ranging from 1 (never) to 7 (every

time) was used as anchors. Similarly, for online messaging, respondents were asked four questions on how often do they discussed political issues through forwarding, receiving and reading online newspaper web comments. Again, a 7-point Likert type scale, ranging from 1 (never) to 7 (every time) was used as anchors.

### **3.5.6 Political Knowledge**

The scale for political knowledge was based on factual political knowledge of youth, more precisely, “the range of factual information about politics that is stored in the long-term memory” (Carpini & Keeter, 1996, as cited in Dow, 2009). This suggests knowledge about rules, politicians, actors, and the related political issues of the polities and the ability of people to influence the political consequence (Fraile, 2011). There are two types of political knowledge which come under factual knowledge: first, general knowledge; and second, domain-specific knowledge. The former does not change in the short-term, while the latter changes in the short-term (e.g., current affairs). This study adopted the Fraile (2011) measurement scale, which is based on general long-term factual political knowledge.

Fraile (2011) explained the three main reasons for choosing this scale: first, compared to the short-term, available information can be more easily affected by just media content, while long-term information is expected to depend on education or socialization factors. Consequently, reporting the effects of political socialization agents with this kind of data increases the external validity of the findings; secondly, factual knowledge is an essential condition for understanding political issues, which is well-documented for the functioning of representative democracy (Fraile, 2011; Memoli, 2011). It helps people to better assess their interests as individuals and as

members of groups. It is also a key determinant of instrumental rationality (Carpini & Keeter, 1993); and thirdly, compared to short-term information which is available on pre and post-electoral platforms, it is good when researchers carry out studies during non-electoral periods. It is suitable for this study because it was carried out during a non-electoral period, although this is also similar to previous studies (Dow, 2009; Pasek et al., 2006; Scheufele et al., 2006; Schäfer, 2015). However, all of them asked questions which differed in terms of number of questions and also according to their countries.

Accordingly, this study asked 10 questions, comprising items on political institutions, actors and the significant political issues of the polities. Fraile (2011) suggested five responses, which include four multiple choice answers and the fifth one, which must be a “do not know” option. This is to minimize the chance of randomly guessing the correct answer by respondents (Dimitrova, Shehata, Strömbäck, & Nord, 2014). Moreover, incorrect answers and do not know responses are analyzed through the conventional index (Mondak, 1999). It refers to the count of just the total number of correct answers. Hence, all items were summed to form an additive index ranging from 0 (no correct answers) to 10 (all questions answered correctly) (Dimitrova et al., 2014; Memoli, 2011; Scheufele et al., 2006).

### **3.5.7 Political Participation**

For measuring political participation, the Jung et al. (2011) scale was adapted. They asked respondents if during the past two years, they had engaged or not in conventional political acts, such as whether or not respondents voted in the 2008 presidential election and attended non-conventional political activities, like a political meeting or

rally, worked for a political party or candidate, wore a campaign T-shirt or cap or called or sent a letter to elected public officials. Responses to each statement were yes or no, which is fundamentally a nominal or categorical (discrete at the measurement level) measurement scale (Scheufele et al., 2006). Hence, the descriptive statistics result of respondents' participation or insufficient participation in the political realm, was determined by summing up the score of 11 political participation items in SPSS. After summing up each respondent's items score, the mean value was calculated for all the respondents. Having found the mean value for all respondents, it was further recorded into different variables to categorize all the respondents into two groups (i.e., participating and not participating).

Other similar studies have used the same pattern of questions (Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2011; Scheufele, 2002) but did not maintain the same number of items; some asked four, some asked eight and others asked 11 questions. Accordingly, Jung et al.'s (2011) 11 questions were adapted for the current study.

Table 3.1

*Summary of Scales*

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Number of Items</b>	<b>Source(s) of Adoption/ Adaptation</b>
Family Communicative Environment	06	Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990); Austin and Nelson (1993); Huang (2010); Shulman and DeAndrea, (2014)

Table 3.1 Continued

Classroom Activities	05	Min-Woo et al. (2014)
Peer Norms	06	Zhou (2009); Lee et al. (2013)
Informational Media Use	05	Jung et al. (2011); Pasek et al. (2006)
Interpersonal Communication (Face-to-Face communication and Online messaging)	08	Min-Woo et al. (2014)
Political Knowledge	05	Fraile (2011); Pasek et al. (2006)
Political Participation	11	Jung et al. (2011); Scheufele (2006); Valenzuela (2012); Scheufele et al. (2006)

### 3.6 Location of Research

Sindh province was selected for this study. This is because Sindh province carries the highest number of public and private universities in Pakistan (Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, 2013). Furthermore, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan (2014) categorizes degree awarding institutes/universities according to their offered programs, such as General (multi-disciplinary), Engineering and Technology, Business Education, Agriculture and Veterinary, Medical and Arts and Design, which include both private and public universities.

For this study, out of 16 multi-disciplinary (public and private) universities of Sindh, all three public multi-disciplinary universities were selected, because public multi-disciplinary universities have more students than the private multi-disciplinary

universities (Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, 2011). Moreover, public multi-disciplinary universities offer various programs in different disciplines where young people attend courses on politics, media and communication, law, international relations, sociology, general history, Islamic Studies and commerce by the time they reach their final semester. Private multi-disciplinary universities do not offer so many courses (Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, 2011). Besides, in such universities, students come from different backgrounds (upper class – elite, upper middle class, lower middle class, working class and poor) to study together compared to the private multi-disciplinary universities, where majority of students comes from upper class – elite, upper middle class. These characteristics of public multi-disciplinary universities even cultivate understanding to help students live and work in an increasingly multicultural democracy (Misa et al., 2005). A brief introduction of the multi-disciplinary universities is given below.

### **3.6.1 University of Sindh**

The University of Sindh is one of the largest and oldest public universities in Pakistan, located in Jamshoro, Sindh. The university was established in 1947, the same year of the creation of Pakistan. It has seven campuses in different cities of Sindh. These campuses offer limited programs to the students. However, the main campus offers degree programs in 55 disciplines, with the highest student enrolment (25,322) among all universities in Sindh, Pakistan.

### **3.6.2 University of Karachi**

The University of Karachi is also considered as one of the prominent universities in Pakistan, located in the capital city of Sindh. The university was founded in 1951 as a

Federal University; later, in 1962, through a Parliament Act, it was redefined and presented to the Sindh province as the University of Karachi. It has 53 Departments, which offer Bachelor and Masters degrees, and in some disciplines, the University offers M.Phil and PhD programs. It has the second highest student enrolment (24,000) among all universities in Sindh province.

### **3.6.3 Shah Abdul Latif University Khairpur**

This University is the third public university and was founded in 1976. This university was basically established as a campus of the University of Sindh to provide education to the people of the northern area of Sindh. But in 1986, the university became full-fledged and became an independent university through the passing of a Provincial Assembly Act. It now has 26 departments with 11,213 students.

### **3.7 Population of the Study**

The population of this study comprises Pakistani youth who are between the ages of 18 and 35 years, totaling 40.1 million citizens in Pakistan, which is almost half of the total number of registered voters (Kayani, & Rafi, 2013). Also, youth represent the future in the broadest sense (Banwart, 2007; Kayani & Rafi, 2013; Sears & Levy, 2003); therefore, focusing on youth helps to provide insights into how to improve participation of youth in politics in the future.

Amnå et al. (2009) argued that media has become so imperative in the everyday lives of youth because media is now an integral part of family, peers and schools. Youth use media for an average of six hours per day (Strasburger, 2009). Therefore, young people are a compelling subject for the study of learning from the news (Eveland et al., 2004).

### 3.8 Sampling and Sample Size

According to Barbie (2012), sample is a subset of a larger population. In this regard, university students between the ages of 18 and 35 years were drawn from three universities in the Sindh region of Pakistan. Besides, Stolle, Hooghe, and Micheletti (2005) claimed that university students are an ideal sample for a study of this nature. This is because a high education level of the sample permits the assumption that the respondents have had a chance to familiarize themselves with a range of political participation tools. Likewise, Misa et al. (2005) asserted that education level contributes to the growth of critical aspects of citizenship, which are crucial in democratic societies. Moreover, literature has also suggested that education level relates to better informed political participation (Langton, 1967; Scheufele, 2002; Youniss, 2011).

Misa et al. (2005) claimed that social sciences students especially are ideal because they are more likely to be politically and civically engaged, even after they graduate from universities, due to taking courses in such areas. Likewise, Stolle, Hooghe, and Micheletti (2005) claimed that social sciences students are prone to participating in political activities. Similarly, other studies have indicated that social sciences students are ideal for such kinds of research (Banwart, 2007; Bell & Lewis, 2015; Claes, Hooghe, & Stolle, 2009; Eveland et al., 2004; Eveland & Thomson, 2006; Hively & Eveland, 2009; Memon & Pahore, 2014; Murray & Mulvaney, 2012). Therefore, this study sampled social sciences students aged 18 to 35 years as respondents from all the three multi-disciplinary universities.



Accordingly, G\*Power statistical analysis procedure was adopted for determining the appropriate sample for this study, which is the recommended approach in PLS-SEM (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2014). For doing so, an a-priori power analysis was conducted using G\*Power 3.1 software to determine a sufficient sample size (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007; Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) by using the following parameters: effect size ( $f^2$ ) (0.15), alpha significance level ( $\alpha$  err prob; 0.05), power ( $1-\beta$  err prob; 0.95), and six predictors (i.e., Family Communicative Environment, Peer Norms, Classroom Activities, Informational Media Use, Interpersonal Communication and Political Knowledge). These provided a 146-sample size to test regression-based models (See Figure 3.1; Faul et al., 2007, 2009).

Considering the possibility of a lower response rate, the sample size of 146 was increased by 40% (Salkind, 1997), resulting in a sample size of 205; this can also account for unusable questionnaires. Meanwhile, according to Creswell (2007), a high response rate is significant to generalize the study's findings to the population under study. To ensure maximum response rate, the researcher increased the number of respondents to 410 for all universities. Therefore, a total number of 410 survey questionnaires were distributed in this study.

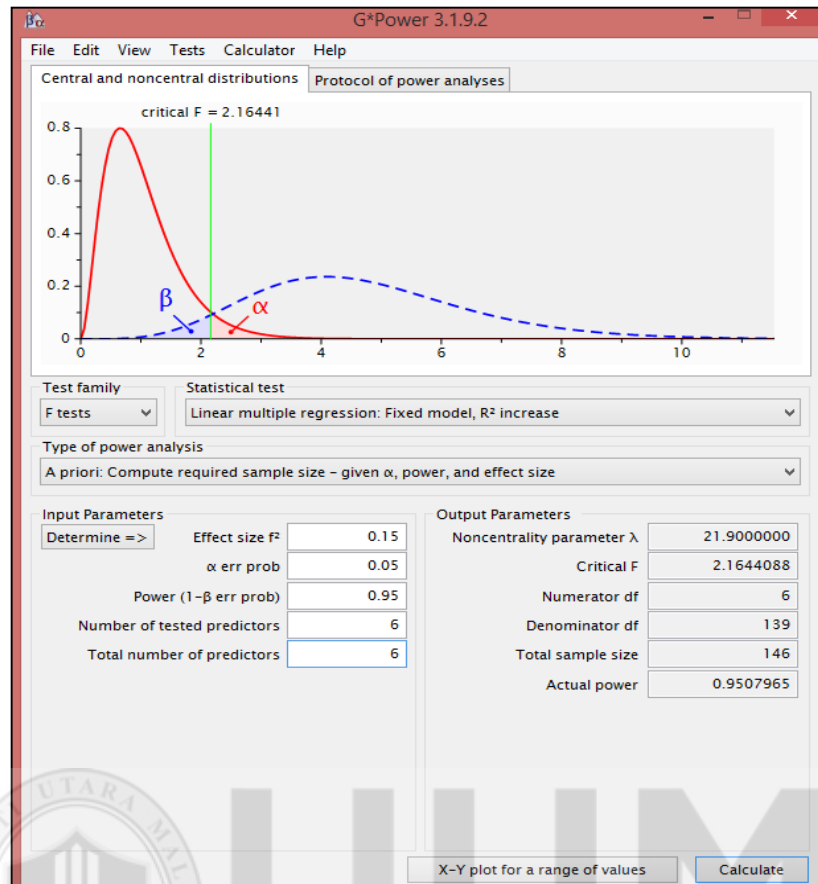


Figure 3.1. Output of a-Priori Power Analysis

### 3.9 Sampling Technique

In this investigation, to ensure equal distribution of social sciences students in three multi-disciplinary universities located in Sindh, Pakistan, the stratified random sampling technique was adopted to select the 410 pre-determined sample size. As stated by Sekaran (2003), “stratified random sampling involves a process of stratification or segregation, followed by random selection of subjects from each stratum”.

Stratified random sampling technique was used mainly for two reasons: first, to have a sampling frame of the population. Stratified random sampling (e.g., probability

sampling technique) is best for the current study because findings can be generalized to the whole population. Secondly, each university (the University of Karachi, University of Sindh and Shah Abdul Latif University Khairpur) consists of a different number of students under the Faculty of Social Sciences. It means there is heterogeneity across the three universities (in the context of a number of elements under each Faculty of Social Sciences) and homogeneity within the group (i.e., students). Therefore, for the proportion to be representative, the stratified random sampling technique was adopted (Kyton, 2015; Saunders et al., 2009; Sekaran, 2003).

Adoption of the stratified random sampling technique involves a series of stages (Kyton, 2015; Saunders et al., 2009; Sekaran, 2003). At the first stage, the population is defined. As mentioned earlier, the total population for the present study is 410. At the second stage, the stratum is defined. Logically, for the current study, the student enrolment of the faculties of social sciences of the three universities (the University of Karachi, University of Sindh and Shah Abdul Latif University Khairpur) is the stratum, which involves different numbers of elements. At the third stage, to ensure balanced representativeness, the percentage of components was drawn from each stratum by dividing the population in each faculty by the total number of the population and multiplying by 100 (e.g., 4,218 divided by 9,201 multiplied by 100 = 45.8%). Next, to determine proportionate representation, the share of the percentage was divided by 100 multiplied by the total sample size (e.g., 45.8% divided by 100 multiplied by 410 = 188).

In the final step, respondents were selected through systematic random sampling. The total population of each faculty of social sciences was divided by the proportionate

representation (e.g., 4,218 divided by 94 = 44.8). Accordingly, every 45<sup>th</sup> subject from the faculty of social sciences was a participant for the current study.

Table 3.2

*Proportionate Stratified Random Sampling of Respondents*

S/No.	Multi discipline university	Total Number of Elements in the Faculty of Social Sciences	%	Proportionate Representation
01	University of Sindh	4,218	45.8%	188
02	University of Karachi	2400	26%	107
03	Shah Abdul Latif University Khairpur	2,583	28%	115
04	Total	9,201	99.8%	410

### 3.10 Pretesting of the Instrument

The original instrument was designed and used in Western countries but not in Pakistan. Therefore, before conducting the pilot study, this instrument had to be examined for the quality of the survey instrument for its face validity with regards to the wordings, formatting, clarity, simplicity and ambiguity of the questionnaire items (Yaghmale, 2009). Lynn (1986) suggested two to 20 content experts. For the current study, an initial draft of the questionnaire was given to four experts to go through for face and content validation. These experts (Professors and Associate Professors from the University of Sindh, Pakistan) examined the quality of the survey instrument for its face validity regarding wordings, formatting, clarity, simplicity and ambiguity of the questionnaire items. Several corrections and improvements were suggested which

were noted and subsequently, reflected in the survey instrument before it was administered to the respondents.

### **3.11 Pilot Study**

After the face and content validity, a pilot study was conducted to predetermine the validity and reliability of indicators (Creswell, 2012). Reliability entails the extent to which an instrument is stable, trustworthy and dependable (Keyton, 2015); whereas validity is the extent to which the instrument measures what is intended to be measured (Lynn, 1986).

Subsequently, 100 questionnaires were distributed for the pilot study among the faculty of social sciences students in the University of Sindh. This is because they share the same characteristics as the population of the study (Keyton, 2015). From the 100 distributed, 82 were returned, which were used for reliability and validity analysis. Hence, the response rate for the pilot study is 82%. It must be noted that the 82 participants of the pilot study were not included in the main study.

To ensure the validity and reliability of indicators, the researcher determined the internal consistency, reliability and discriminant validity of the constructs by using Smart PLS 3.0 Software. Hair et al. (2014) recommended 0.60 to 0.70 threshold for the composite reliability coefficient. Similarly, Average Variance Extracts (AVE) must be 0.50 (Fornell & Larcker 1981). For achieving adequate discriminant validity, Fornell and Larcker (1981) further suggested that the square root of the AVE should be higher than the correlations among latent constructs. Table 3.3 shows the result of analysis of AVE and composite reliability coefficients of the seven latent constructs for this study.

Table 3.3

*Reliability and Validity of Construct (n=82)*

Constructs	Number of items	Composite Reliability	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Classroom Activities (CA)	05	0.812	0.519
Family Communicative Environment (FCE)	06	0.861	0.513
Interpersonal Communication (IC)	08	0.842	0.520
Informational Media Use (IMU)	05	0.829	0.542
Political Knowledge (PK)	10	1.000	1.000
Peer Norms (PN)	07	0.839	0.569
Political Participation (PP)	11	1.000	1.000

From the results of analysis (see Table: 3.3), AVE is between 0.51 and 1.00, which is greater than the threshold of 0.5 as suggested by Fornell and Larker (1981). Additionally, composite reliability is between 0.812 and 1.00, which is greater than the required threshold of 0.60 to 0.70 (Hair et al., 2014). Therefore, the instrument is valid and reliable. With regards to discriminant validity, Table 3.4 compares the correlations among the seven latent constructs with the square root of AVE.

Table 3.4

*Discriminant validity*

Latent Construct	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CA	<b>0.720</b>						
FCE	0.589	<b>0.716</b>					
IC	0.528	0.510	<b>0.721</b>				
IMU	0.525	0.688	0.542	<b>0.736</b>			

Table 3.4 Continued

PK	0.017	0.059	-0.104	-0.080	<b>1.000</b>		
PN	0.426	0.478	0.315	0.415	-0.106	<b>0.754</b>	
PP	0.037	-0.174	-0.040	-0.168	-0.094	-0.215	<b>1.000</b>

Note: Diagonals (In bold) represent the square root of the average variance extracted while the other entries represent the correlations.

Results show that the correlations among the latent constructs compared to the square roots of the AVE (values in boldface), and the square roots of the AVE, are all higher than the correlations among the latent constructs, hence suggesting adequate discriminant validity (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

Additionally, the researcher received feedback and comments from participants on wording, structure and length of the instrument, as during the pilot study, some issues were identified by the respondents. For example, in the initial draft, a sentence was written as “wore a campaign button or T-shirt”. Because the word “campaign” was not clear to the respondent, it was modified to “wore a campaign button or T-shirt related to a political or social cause”. Similarly, the item “displayed any campaign sticker or sign” was modified to “displayed a campaign sticker or sign related to a political or social cause” before administering to the main survey sample.

### 3.12 Data Collection Method

For the current study, the data collection process was done from May to August 2016. Firstly, data was collected from Shah Abdul Latif University Khaipur (from May 9 to May 18). After that, the researcher collected data from the University of Sindh (from

May 22 to June 10). Lastly, data collection was done at the University of Karachi (from August 21 to August 31).

Initially, an official letter was requested from the UUM College of Arts and Sciences (UUM CAS) for the purpose of introducing the researcher and explaining the purpose of the study. This letter enabled the researcher to get permission from selected university authorities before collecting data from respondents. Also, respondents' anonymity and confidentiality were assured in the questionnaire, so that their willingness to answer the questionnaire became higher.

The researcher collected data through a self-administered questionnaire from the social sciences faculties of three multi-disciplinary universities of Sindh, Pakistan. To do so, the researcher appealed to the respondents to fill out the questionnaire on the spot so that they can be collected immediately. During that process, respondents were also monitored in order not to ask or search for the answers online, more specifically on political knowledge questions. Also, to avoid the chances of missing data, the researcher and her assistant briefed the respondents about the academic nature and objectives of the research (Howell, 2007). Hence, this approach had advantages in two ways, as the researcher got high response rates and the return rate was also high.

### **3.13 Statistical Analysis Method**

Data analysis for the current study involved descriptive and inferential statistics (exploratory data analysis and PLS-SEM). Therefore, in analyzing the data for the present study, firstly, data was entered in the IBM-SPSS statistics software for exploratory data analysis, which entailed identifying the missing data and the possibility of the existence of outliers. This was done to make sure that the reduction



of data is up to the adequate sample (Hair et al., 2010). Subsequently, descriptive statistics was applied to describe the data at the primary level, whereas inferential statistics was applied to test the hypothesized model. A detailed discussion of applied statistical methods used in the current study is provided in the section below.

### **3.13.1 Descriptive Statistical Analysis**

Descriptive statistical data analysis contains the profile of respondents, such as gender, age, level of education and university, which are presented in the questionnaire as categorical in nature and nominal at scale level. In this analysis method, the frequency distribution and percentage were calculated to describe the discrete data.

Likewise, two variables (political knowledge and political participation) are fundamentally nominal or categorical (discrete at measurement level). Accordingly, to get the descriptive statistical result for each respondent's political knowledge, the score of 10 political knowledge items were first summed up in SPSS to form the additive index. After summing each respondent's item score, the mean value was calculated. To know how many respondents, have the political knowledge, the categories of "have knowledge" and "no knowledge" were created. However, this was only used for describing the level of knowledge among youth. For hypothesis testing, only the additive index was utilized in SmartPLS.

Similarly, the descriptive statistical result of respondents' participation and insufficient participation in the political realm, was determined by summing up the score of 11 political participating items. After summing each respondent's items score, the mean value was calculated for all respondents. After having the mean value for all respondents, it was further recorded into two different variables (i.e., participating and

not participating). However, this was only used for describing the level of political participation of youth. For inferential statistics, only the composite index was utilized in PLS-SEM.

### **3.13.2 Inferential Statistical Analysis**

The inferential data analysis method was used to analyze the influence of exogenous (family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms, informational media use, interpersonal communication and political knowledge) on endogenous (political participation) data. Such kind of data is continuous in nature, which was obtained from the items with an interval scale in the study's questionnaire. Thus, the inferential statistical analysis was carried out for exploratory data analysis and for testing the formulated hypotheses of the current study.

#### **3.13.2.1 Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA)**

Exploratory data analysis (EDA) was carried out in order to find out if the collected data for the present study was fit for the advanced PLS analysis. To do so, initially collected data was imputed into SPSS for data screening and preliminary analysis. Specifically, data screening includes checking for, finding and correcting errors in the data file (Pallant, 2011, p. 43). This also helps scholars to ensure that the key assumptions of multivariate analysis are not violated (Hair et al., 2007). Hence, non-response bias test, assessment and treatment of outliers, normality test and multicollinearity test were done in EDA for this study.

To explain, non-response bias test was carried out because sometimes, sampled respondents are unwilling or unable to participate in the survey, which may cause non-

response bias when results of respondents who answered the questionnaire differ in meaningful ways from those who did not. The reasons for these non-responses could be attitude, demography, motivation, personality or behaviors of sampled respondents, which may affect the outcomes of the study by limiting the generalizability of the findings from the sample to the population under study (Malhotra, Hall, Shaw & Oppenheim 2006). Therefore, non-response bias test was carried out for the current study.

For estimating the probability of non-response bias, Armstrong and Overton (1977) advised a time-trend extrapolation approach that requires comparing the early and late respondents. They argued that both late respondents and non-respondents have the same characteristics. Following Armstrong and Overton's (1977) methodology, this study categorized the respondents into two main groups: those who responded within 60 days were grouped as early respondents while those who returned after 60 days were considered as late respondents.

Moreover, the detection and treatment of missing values were also done in EDA. Although there is no acceptable percentage of missing values in a data set for making a valid statistical inference, researchers generally agree that a total missing rate of 5% or less in the whole data set is non-significant (Tabachnick & Fidel, 2007).

Equally, detection and treatment of outliers were carried out in EDA. This is because outliers are the extreme scores entered in data sets that might have a significant effect on analysis and conclusion of results (Hair et al., 2010). To detect outliers in data sets which appear to be outside the SPSS values, frequency tables were formulated for all variables using minimum and maximum statistics. Besides this, a conventional

technique used to identify the multivariate outliers' cases - Mahalanobias distance techniques - was applied. This requires plotting the Mahalanobias distance value against Chi-square percentile points to determine which cases are outliers (Pallant, 2011).

Likewise, a normality test was performed in EDA. This is because Hair, Sarstedt, Ringle, and Mena (2012) advised that studies should perform a normality test on the data. Highly skewed or kurtotic data can inflate the bootstrapped standard error estimates (Chernick, 2008), thus reducing statistical power, which is especially problematic given the PLS-SEM's tendency to underestimate inner model relationships (Wold, 1982, as cited in Hair et al., 2012).

Moreover, the correlation matrix of the exogenous latent constructs was examined in EDA. Because Hair et al. (2010, as cited in Hair et al., 2014) advised that collinearity does influence the regressions in PLS-SEM, researchers should evaluate the data and results for this issue. A correlation coefficient of 0.90 and above indicates multicollinearity between exogenous latent constructs. The correlation test was conducted using Pearson correlation. This is because in the current study, two variables (political knowledge and political participation) are dichotomous variables (Pallant, 2012). Lastly, in this statistical analysis method, mean and standard deviation were computed to measure continuous data, such as family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms, informational media use and interpersonal communication.

### **3.13.2.2 Partial Least Squares- Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM)**

In this study, PLS-SEM analysis was used to test the hypothesized model. PLS is a multivariate distribution-free (non-parametric) analysis technique which was introduced by a Swedish Professor, Herman Wold (Mateos-Aparicio, 2011; Hair et al., 2014). Precisely, the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression-based over the Maximum Likelihood (ML) method was used as estimation procedure in order to minimize the error term of the endogenous constructs in the analysis (Hair et al., 2014, p.14). Accordingly, the path modelling of exogenous variables and the endogenous variable was established based on the SLT and CMM (Hair et al., 2014; Lave & Wenger, 1991; McLeod et al., 1999).

While the PLS path modeling is the commonly preferred analysis technique in social sciences studies (Hair, Sarstedt, Pieper, & Ringle, 2012), it is also the most suitable technique in the current study for numerous reasons: firstly, as PLS path modelling is a non-parametric regression-based test which is similar to the conventional regression technique; it has the advantage of estimating the relationships between constructs (structural model) and relationships between items and their corresponding latent constructs (measurement model) simultaneously (Mateos-Aparicio, 2011; Hair et al., 2014).

Secondly, as some variables (political knowledge and political participation) have single-item measures, and other variables (family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms, informational media use and interpersonal communication) have multiple-item measures in this study, the combination of

different scales of measurement in this research (nominal and interval) make PLS ideal for the current study.

Thirdly, PLS is useful for explanation and prediction of the variances in the target variable by different explanatory constructs (Hair et al., 2012). Hence, since the goal of this study is to predict and explain the role of SLT and CMM in maximizing the likelihood of political participation of youth, such complex direct and indirect relationships led to considering the PLS-SEM for the analysis.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that if the study is prediction-oriented or an extension of a current theory, PLS path modelling must be employed (Hair et al., 2011; Henseler, Ringle, & Sinkovics, 2009; Hulland, 1999). In this case, this study attempted to model the political socialization agents and political participation by integrating the SLT and CMM, which are relatively new and less developed (Lee et al., 2013; McIntosh & Youniss, 2010).

More importantly, since in this study, the proposed model has multiple mediating relationships, these numerous mediating relationships can be tested through PLS-SEM simultaneously. Previous mediation was tested by examining variables and paths individually (Baron & Keny, 1986).

PLS-SEM requires two steps for checking the hypothetical model (Henseler, Ringle & Sinkovics, 2009): first, building and testing the measurement model; and second, building and testing the structural model. These are discussed accordingly below.

### 3.13.3 Assessment of Measurement Model

The measurement model is the component of the whole model in which latent constructs are prescribed. The latent constructs are unobserved variables implied by the covariance among two or more observed indicators. Actually, there are two types of measurement models: reflective measurement model and formative measurement model. The former assumes that measures represent the effects (or manifestations) of an underlying construct and the latter implies that the indicators cause the constructs (Hair et al., 2014). Thus, every construct in a hypothetical model uses the reflective measurement model. Therefore, reflective models were assessed. Hence, the assessment of the reflective measurement model started with evaluating the internal consistency reliability. Traditionally, the criterion for internal consistency is Cronbach's alpha, but as Cronbach's alpha assumes that all indicators are equally reliable, it means it will not prioritize the indicators accordingly. Also, Hair et al. (2014) suggested applying a composite reliability measure for internal consistency. Therefore, the present study used composite reliability for evaluating the internal consistency reliability. Composite reliability values of 0.60 to 0.70 are adequate in exploratory research (Hair et al., 2014).

Then, convergent validity was assessed to identify the degree to which measures are measuring the same construct. To do so, outer loadings of the indicators must be more than 0.708. Also, convergent validity was checked through AVE (Hair et al., 2014). The threshold value for AVE is  $>0.50$ .

Subsequently, discriminant validity was examined to check that the measures are indeed novel and not merely a reflection of other variables. It is the extent to which it

measures the constructs and is distinctly different from one another. For assessing discriminant validity, the Fornell and Larcker (1981) criterion was applied. To satisfy this requirement, each construct's AVE was compared with its squared correlations with other constructs in the model. According to the rule of thumb, each construct's AVE value should be less than the value of its square root.

Another popular approach for establishing discriminant validity is the assessment of cross-loadings, which is also called "item-level discriminant validity" (Henseler, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2015). Here "discriminant validity is shown when each measurement item correlates weakly with all other constructs except for the one to which it is theoretically associated". The criterion for an assessment was introduced by Chin (1998), such that each indicator loading should be higher than all of its cross-loadings. The summary of measurement model elements' cut-off values can be seen from Table 3.5.

Table 3.5  
*Cut-off Values of elements for a Reflective Model*

<b>Tested Elements</b>	<b>Cut-off Values</b>
Internal Consistency Reliability	Composite Reliability >0.70
Indicator Reliability	Outer Loadings >0.50
Convergent Validity	AVE >0.50
Discriminant Validity	Cross Loadings and Fornell & Larcker,

### **3.13.4 Assessment of Structural Model**

After achieving the reliability and validity of measures, the structural model was assessed (Hair et al., 2014). Through empirical data, it is essential to determine the



structural model to prove whether the study's theory or model is supported or rejected by empirical data. Hence, in assessing the structural model which involves testing the direct and indirect effects of the exogenous variables on the endogenous variable, the following were done: assessing the significance of path coefficients for direct effects of exogenous variables on the endogenous variable, assessing the indirect effect, evaluating the level of R-Squared values, determining the effect size and ascertaining the predictive relevance (Hair et al., 2014).

Initially, the path coefficient values were derived by the computing model, which provided the statistical basis for hypotheses testing to determine whether or not the hypothesized direct relationships are statistically significant. Path coefficients reflect the strength of the relationships between the exogenous and endogenous variables. Hence, path coefficients close to +1 indicate a strong positive relationship (and vice versa for negative values). The closer the estimated coefficients are to 0, the weaker the relationships (Hair et al., 2014). Hence, the significance of the direct path was determined by calculating the p-value using a bootstrap resampling method (5,000 samples).

Furthermore, bootstrap resampling method was applied for testing the indirect effect. This is because it is a robust method for testing indirect effects and computes more accurate confidence intervals (CI) of indirect effects ( $x \rightarrow m \rightarrow y$ ) than the frequently used methods, such as the causal steps strategy (Baron & Kenny, 1986) and the Sobel test. Bootstrapping does not impose the assumption of normality for sampling distributions (Preacher & Hayes, 2011). Also, it does not impose the condition of direct effect ( $x \rightarrow y$ ) test and its significance if the mediator is not included in the model.

By and large, for classifying and interpreting mediation results, the Zhao, Lynch, and Chen (2010) typology or decision tree was followed. According to Zhao et al. (2010), in a no-recursive three-variable causal model, there are three patterns consistent with mediation and two with non-mediation:

- i. “Complementary mediation: Mediated effect ( $a \times b$ ) and direct effect ( $c$ ) - both exist and point at the same direction.
- ii. Competitive mediation: Mediated effect ( $a \times b$ ) and direct effect ( $c$ ) - both exist and point in opposite directions.
- iii. Indirect-only mediation: Mediated effect ( $a \times b$ ) exists, but no direct effect.
- iv. Direct-only non-mediation: Direct effect ( $c$ ) exists, but no indirect effect.
- v. No-effect non-mediation: Neither direct effect nor indirect effect exists.”

After testing the mediating effects, the predictive power of the endogenous variables was assessed through  $R^2$  value. However, no specific threshold is defined for evaluating the  $R^2$ ; it depends on the type of research (Hair et al., 2010).

Subsequently, it was also necessary to know the effect size ( $f^2$ ) of specific exogenous on endogenous constructs. This is because by doing so, it can be evaluated whether the omitted construct has a substantive impact on the endogenous construct. To do so, in the first step, the exogenous latent variable was included (yielding  $R^2$  included), and in the second step, the exogenous latent variable was excluded (yielding  $R^2$  excluded).

$$f^2 = \frac{R^2 \text{ Included} - R^2 \text{ Excluded}}{1 - R^2 \text{ Included}}$$

Lastly, for assessing the predictive relevance of the model,  $Q^2$  value was obtained by using the blindfolding procedure. In this procedure, the cross-validated redundancy approach was used for the path model estimation of the structural model. Also,  $Q^2$  was assessed in the same manner as  $f^2$  to show the effect size of the predicative relevance.

The summary of the structural model's threshold can be seen in Table 3.6.

$$q^2 = \frac{Q^2 \text{ Included} - Q^2 \text{ Excluded}}{Q^2 \text{ Included}}$$

Table 3.6

*Cut-off values of elements for Structural Model*

<b>Tested Elements</b>	<b>Cut-off Values</b>
Effect Size ( $f^2$ )	0.02, 0.15, 0.35
Predictive Relevance ( $Q^2$ )	>0
Predictive Relevance Effect Size ( $q^2$ )	0.02, 0.15, 0.35

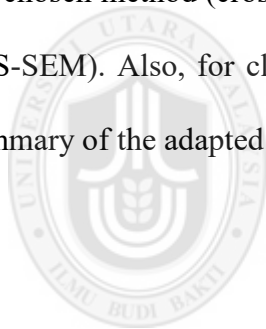
### 3.14 Ethical Considerations

For maintaining the integrity of the current study, it is important to consider ethical issues, which are often inherent in the process of obtaining the required data (Fisher, 2008). Therefore, permission was obtained before collecting data from the Deans of the faculties of social sciences and from each department's chairperson/chairman, which comes under the faculty of social sciences.

Moreover, Keyton (2015) and Scott (2005) advised that research must protect both participants' anonymity and data confidentiality. Although the results of the current study were published in academic journals, the identities of participants were unspecified, and all information collected during the research was neither shared with other participants nor individuals outside this study. Also, respondents in this study were volunteers and were free to withdraw at any point of the study.

### **3.15 Chapter Summary**

This chapter describes how relevant data was obtained to meet the objectives of the research discussed in Chapter One. Moreover, this chapter explains the suitability of the chosen method (cross-sectional study design) and statistical tools (e.g., SPSS and PLS-SEM). Also, for clear understanding, this chapter provides tables showing the summary of the adapted scales.



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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESULTS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the results of the analyzed data that were collected through questionnaires. Section one presents exploratory data analysis, which includes detection and treatment of outliers, normality test and multicollinearity test. Section two presents descriptive statistics of respondents; section three presents the assessment of the measurement model for determining the internal consistency reliability, indicator reliability, convergent validity and discriminant validity of the proposed research model. Lastly, section four presents the results of the structural model, i.e., significances of the path coefficients, mediating effects of interpersonal communication and political knowledge on the structural model, the R-squared values, effect size and predictive relevance of model fitness.

#### **4.2 Exploratory Data Analysis**

In this section, the statistical procedures to explore the data in this study includes data screening, non-response bias, missing value analysis, detection and treatment of outliers, normality test and multicollinearity test (Hair et al., 2014). The results of these procedures are presented in the following subsections.

##### **4.2.1 Response Rate of Distribution**

In this study, a total of 410 questionnaires were distributed to the students of the Faculty of Social Sciences of three public universities located in Sindh, Pakistan. The outcomes of this attempt yielded 333 questionnaires. Thus, 77 questionnaires were not

returned. This gives a response rate of 81% based on Jobber's (1989) definition of response rate. Of these 333 questionnaires, 45 were unusable because a significant part of those questionnaires was not filled up by the respondents. Accordingly, 288 usable questionnaires were left. This accounted for a 71% valid response rate. Sekaran (2003) suggested that a response rate of 30% is sufficient for surveys.

#### 4.2.2 Non-Response Bias Test

An independent sample t-test was conducted to discover any probable non-response bias on the main study variables, namely family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms, informational media use and interpersonal communication. The results of the independent-samples t-test can be seen in Table 4.1. The equal variance significance values for each of the five main study variables are greater than the 0.05 significance level of Levene's test for equality of variances (Field, 2009; Pallant, 2010). It indicates that the assumption of equality of variance between early and late respondents is not violated. Therefore, it can be concluded that non-response bias is not an issue in the study.

Table 4. 1

*Results of Independent-Samples T-test for Non-Response Bias*

						Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	
Response	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	F	Sig.	
FCE	212	4.75	1.115	.077	1.410	.236	
Early Response	76	5.17	1.036	.119			
Late Response							

Table 4.1 Continued

CA	Early Response	212	4.65	1.117	.077		
	Late Response	76	5.01	1.032	.118	.766	.382
PN	Early Response	211	4.29	1.074	.074		
	Late Response	76	4.64	1.030	.118	.040	.841
IMU	Early Response	212	4.51	1.119	.077		
	Late Response	76	4.58	.989	.113	2.013	.157
IC	Early Response	212	3.54	1.261	.087		
	Late Response	76	3.70	1.253	.144	.009	.925

#### 4.2.3 Detection and Treatment of Missing Value

This study had 63 randomly missing values. To explain, Family Communicative Environment, Interpersonal Communication and Political Participation had six missing values each. On the other hand, Classroom Activities had seven missing values, while Peer Norms had eight missing values. However, Political Knowledge had 29 missing values, which is higher than the others. Contrary to the above, no missing value was found in Informational Media Use (see Appendix I).

To treat these missing values, Hair et al.'s (2014) suggestions were followed. Firstly, questionnaires exceeding 15% missing values were excluded from the analysis for this study. Secondly, if respondents did not give a high portion of responses for a single construct, such cases were also removed. Subsequently, missing values having less than 5% in indicators were replaced using mean substitution (Hair et al., 2010, p.61).

#### **4.2.4 Detection and Treatment of Outliers**

To detect outliers in the data set, a Mahalanobis Distance was used to identify the multivariate outlier cases. Based on the 30 observed items for this study, the recommended threshold of chi-square is 43.77 ( $p=0.05$ ). Accordingly, after rearranging the Mahalanobis value on the SPSS in descending order, it was discovered that six respondents exceeded this threshold. Hence, following this criterion, six multivariate outliers (i.e., 35, 38, 127, 263, 269 and 271) were detected and consequently were deleted from the data set, because these outliers can affect the accuracy of data analysis techniques. Thus, after removing six multivariate outliers, the actual responses in the current study were 288.

#### **4.2.5 Normality Test**

A normality test was performed to detect the highly non-normal data. Following the guideline of Hair et al. (2014, pg. 54) for assessing the normality of data, this study got the values of two measures of distributions - skewness and kurtosis under the recommended range (i.e., greater or lower than  $-1$  or  $+1$ ) (See Appendix E). This indicates that the normality assumptions were not violated in this study.

#### **4.2.6 Multicollinearity Test**

The correlation test was conducted using Pearson correlation ( $r$ ). The results show that the correlations between the exogenous latent constructs are sufficiently below the recommended threshold values of 0.90 or more, demonstrating that the exogenous latent constructs for this study are independent and each independent variable contains unique information about the dependent variables (See Appendix F).



### 4.3 Demographic Profile of Respondents

The profile of the respondents in the sample was analyzed by using respondents' demographic characteristics in the form of their gender, age, university and level of education. Table 4.2 shows the frequency and percentage for each demographic variable. The breakdown of samples firstly reveals the gender of the respondents. Based on the results of the analysis, 186, representing 64.6%, are male whereas 100, representing 34.7%, are female respondents for the study. Similarly, the age of the respondents indicates that 18-25 years constitute 52.8%, while 24-28 years represent 35.8%. These two age groups put together constitute above two-thirds of the entire sample, followed by age 29-34 years, which is 8.7%.

Lastly, an analysis of the profile of the respondents in terms of the university where the respondents were enrolled in at the time of data collection reveals that 131, representing 45.5%, are from University of Sindh, whereas 82, representing 28.5%, are from Shah Abdul Latif University Khairpur. Lastly, 75 respondents representing 26.0%, are from the University of Karachi.

Table 4.2

*Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents*

	Frequency	Percentage%
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	186	64.6
Female	100	34.7
<b>Age</b>		
18 - 25 years	152	52.8
24-28	103	35.8

Table 4.2 continued.

29-35	25	8.7
<b>Education</b>		
Bachelor's	117	40.6
Master's	116	40.3
M.Phil	55	19.1
<b>University</b>		
University of Sindh	131	45.5
Shah Abdul Latif University Khairpur	82	28.5
University of Karachi	75	26.0

#### 4.4 Descriptive Statistics of Research Constructs

The descriptive statistics in the form of mean and standard deviation for each latent variable in this study are presented separately in the sub-sections below.

##### 4.4.1 Family Communicative Environment

This construct measured the open discussion climate in the home, in terms of freedom to talk about political and social issues with family members. It scored a mean value of 4.86 for all items measuring the construct with a standard deviation of 1.109. This value shows that the tendency of agreement among respondents is consistent. Table 4.3 displays the mean value and standard deviation of each item. The highest mean score of 5.30 is for the item 3 - "My parents often ask my opinion when the family is talking about something"; whereas the lowest mean value score of 4.33 is for the item 6 - "My parents admit that kids know more about some things than parents do".

Table 4.3

*Descriptive Statistics for Family Communicative Environment (n=288)*

No.	Items	Min	Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
01	My parents often ask my opinion when the family is talking about something.	1	7	5.30	1.526
02	My parents often say something like “You should always look at both sides of an issue”.	1	7	5.19	1.636
03	My parents often say something like “Every member of the family should have to participate in family decisions”.	1	7	5.10	1.619
04	My parents encourage me to question their ideas and beliefs.	1	7	4.67	1.877
05	My parents say that getting my idea across is important even if others don't like it.	1	7	4.58	1.708
06	My parents admit that kids know more about some things than parents do.	1	7	4.33	1.877

Scale: 1= Strongly Disagree to 7 =Strongly Agree.

#### 4.4.2 Classroom Activities

This construct has five items, which measured the activities in which respondents may experience certain types of societal behavior in a classroom. The descriptive analysis of the five items resulted in an overall mean value of 4.75 and a standard deviation of 1.105. Hence, the mean score is higher than the average level of the 7-point Likert scale (4). It specifies that the variable has moderate importance. Likewise, the mean value and standard deviation of each item can be seen in Table 4.4. The maximum 5.08 value is for the item - “Discussing/debating political or social issues”, while the

minimum 3.89 value is for the item - “Participating in political role-playing”. The remaining items are located between these two values in the following order.

Firstly, the item - “Learning about how government works”, has a mean value of 4.98, followed by the item - “Being encouraged to make up your mind about issues”, has a mean value of 4.91. Lastly, “Following the news as part of a class assignment”, has a mean value of 4.87. The mean values of the items indicate that respondents agree that they experience societal behaviors associated with democracy and politics in classroom settings.

Table 4.4

*Descriptive Statistics for Classroom Activities (n=288)*

No.	Items	Min	Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
01	Discussing/debating political or social issues.	1	7	5.08	1.603
02	Learning about how government works.	1	7	4.98	1.687
03	Being encouraged to make up your own mind about issues.	1	7	4.91	1.529
04	Following the news as part of a class assignment.	1	7	4.87	1.623
05	Participating in political role playing.	1	7	3.89	1.870

Scale: 1= Strongly Disagree to 7 =Strongly Agree.

#### 4.4.3 Peer Norms

This section considers peer norms, which relate to the level of youth perception about their friends as valuing knowledge regarding current affairs and also valuing political

activities. This variable score a mean value of 4.38 for all items that measured this construct with the standard deviation of 1.071. As the mean is above the average of the 7-point Likert scale (4), this means the variable has moderate importance.

Correspondingly, the mean value and standard deviation of each item can be seen from Table 4.5. Accordingly, the mean values of the items range from 5.59 to 3.50. The highest mean value is for the item - “Among my friends, it is important to vote”, whereas the lowest mean value is for the item - “Among my friends, it is important to sign a political petition”. The other items are situated between these two values in the following order:

Firstly, the item - “Among my friends, it is important to know what’s going on in the world” has a mean value of 5.27, followed by, “Among my friends, it is important to contribute money to a campaign” which has a mean value of 4.27. Similarly, the item - “Among my friends, it is important to attend political meetings, rallies, demonstrations, boycotts or marches”, has a mean value of 3.86. Finally, the item - “Among my friends, it is important to wear a campaign button or t-shirt” has the lowest mean of 3.82. The mean values of the five items indicate that respondents agree that their friends give importance to political activities and also give importance to know current affairs. However, they do not like to sign political petitions.

Table 4.5

*Descriptive Statistics for Peer Norms (n=288)*

No.	Items	Min	Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
01	Among my friends, it is important to vote.	1	7	5.59	1.490
02	Among my friends, it is important to know what's going on in the world.	1	7	5.27	1.689
03	Among my friends, it is important to contribute money to a campaign.	1	7	4.27	1.797
04	Among my friends, it is important to attend political meetings, rallies, demonstrations, boycotts or marches.	1	7	3.86	1.878
05	Among my friends, it is important to wear a campaign button or t-shirt.	1	7	3.82	1.736
06	Among my friends, it is important to sign a political petition.	1	7	3.50	1.792

Scale: 1= Strongly Disagree to 7 =Strongly Agree.

#### 4.4.4 Informational Media Use

This variable determines the news consumption from TV, print newspapers as well as online newspapers by the respondents. The descriptive analysis of the five items resulted in an overall mean value of 4.52 and a standard deviation of 1.085; this value is higher than the average level of the 7-point Likert scale (4), which shows the significance of this construct.

Table 4.6 presents the importance of each item of Informational Media Use. The highest value is for the question - "How often do you watch national network TV news to get information about events, public issues and politics?" whereas the lowest value

is for the item - “How often do you read online newspapers to get information about events, public issues and politics”. The mean score of the items ranges from 5.01 to 4.22.

*Table 4.6*

*Descriptive Statistics for Informational Media Use (N=288)*

<b>No.</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
01	How often do you watch national network TV news to get information about events, public issues and politics?	1	7	5.01	1.726
02	How often do you watch local TV news to get information about events, public issues and politics?	1	7	4.50	1.620
03	How often do you read printed copy of local newspaper to get information about events, public issues and politics?	1	7	4.45	1.808
04	How often do you read printed copy of national newspaper to get information about events, public issues and politics?	1	7	4.44	1.727
05	How often do you read online newspaper to get information about events, public issues and politics?	1	7	4.22	1.686

Scale: 1=Never to 7= Every time

#### **4.4.5 Interpersonal Communication**

This section focuses on Interpersonal Communication (face-to-face and online messaging) through the examination of the importance of eight items. This variable scored a mean value of 3.58 for all items that measured this construct with a standard deviation of 1.258, which is below the average level of the 7-point Likert scale (4).

This shows the insufficient importance given to this construct by the respondents of this study.

Table 4.7 illustrates the importance of each item on the Interpersonal Communication construct. The question - “How often do you talk about political issues with friends?” has the highest mean value of 4.76, while the item - “How often do you talk about political issues by exchanging emails with friends and family?” has the lowest mean value of 2.63. The other items’ mean values fall between these two items’ mean values.

*Table 4.7*

*Descriptive Statistics for Interpersonal Communication (n=288)*

<b>No.</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
01	How often do you talk about political issues with friends?	1	7	4.76	1.640
02	How often do you talk about political issues with adults outside their family?	1	7	3.80	1.870
03	How often do you talk about political issues by forwarding or receiving a link to a political video or news article?	1	7	3.72	2.018
04	How often do you talk about political issues by reading comments by other people or comments posted on a news website or political blog?	1	7	3.65	1.932
05	How often do you talk about political issues with family members?	1	7	3.46	1.752



Table 4.7 continued

06	How often do you talk about political issues by sending or receiving text messages about politics?	1	7	3.43	1.909
07	How often do you talk about political issues with people who disagreed with them?	1	7	3.20	2.000
08	How often do you talk about political issues by exchanging emails with friends and family?	1	7	2.63	1.764

Scale: 1=Never to 7= Every time

#### 4.4.6 Political Knowledge

This variable is fundamentally nominal in nature. Because of this, it was not analyzed using mean and standard deviation. Hence, descriptive statistics for Political Knowledge was computed using frequency and percentage. The descriptive statistics result for respondents who have political knowledge and those who do not have political knowledge was determined by summing up the score of 10 political knowledge questions in SPSS. After summing up the respondents' responses, the mean value was calculated for all respondents. The mean values were calculated following the 0 to 10 anchors.

After getting the mean values for all the respondents, it was further recorded into a different variable for creating the additive (composite) index to categorize the respondents into "have knowledge" and "have no knowledge" categories. The respondents with the mean score less than  $\leq 3$  were grouped as "have no knowledge" and the respondents with  $\geq 3.5$  were grouped as "have knowledge". As a result, 77 respondents have no political knowledge, and 211 respondents have political

knowledge. The results in Table 4.8 show that the majority of respondents (73.3%) have political knowledge, whereas 26.7% do not have political knowledge. This indicates that most of the respondents have information about politicians, political parties, elections, government institutions, government policies and general political knowledge.

*Table 4.8*

*Descriptive Statistics for Political Knowledge (n=288)*

<b>No.</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
01	Have Knowledge	211	73.3
02	Have no Knowledge	77	26.7

#### **4.4.7 Political Participation**

Political participation is a categorical variable (discrete at measurement level). Therefore, this variable was analyzed using frequency and percentage. The results in Table 4.9 demonstrate that 53.8% of respondents do not participate in political activities; while 46.2% of respondents participate in political activities. It indicates the lack of importance given by the respondents to political events.

*Table 4.9*

*Descriptive Statistics for Political Participation (n=288)*

<b>No.</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
01	Not Participating	155	53.8
02	Participating	133	46.2

## **4.5 Measurement Model**

The assessment of the measurement model in this study included determining convergent validity and discriminant validity (Hair et al., 2011, 2014; Henseler et al., 2009). Convergent validity is established through composite reliability, factor loading, and AVE. The results of both convergent validity and discriminant validity are presented in the following sections.

### **4.5.1 Construct Reliability and Convergent Validity**

Convergent validity was evaluated through three measures. Firstly, the factor loadings of items were assessed. The results presented in Table 4.10 point out that the factor loadings are above the recommended threshold of 0.05 (Afthanorhan, 2013). Nevertheless, the interpretation of item validity was based on the rule of thumb provided by Afthanorhan (2013), who suggested that the outer loadings below 0.50 must be deleted. This is because those items contribute less towards the factors; hence, some items were deleted (FCE1, FCE6, CA4, PN3, PN2, PN, IMU5, IC1 and IC6). As a result, out of 51 items, nine items were deleted, which resulted in 42 items with factor loadings greater than 0.50. Accordingly, most of the items in Figure 4.1 have relatively good loadings; a minimum of 0.601 and a maximum of 0.845 loadings were observed for the items (See Table 4.10 and Appendix F).

Secondly, convergent validity was examined by assessing the AVE. The AVE values presented in Table 4.10 are high loadings ( $> .50$ ) on their respective variables, thus indicating the intended latent variable explains more than half of the variance of its corresponding items. Finally, internal consistency reliability of items was assessed through composite reliability measure. The results show that the composite reliability

coefficient of each variable ranges from 0.858 to 0.761, with each exceeding the minimum acceptable level of .70. (See Table 4.10).

Table 4.10

*Loadings, Composite Reliability and Average Variance Extracted*

<b>Latent constructs and indicators</b>	<b>Loadings</b>	<b>AVE</b>	<b>Composite Reliability</b>
<b>Family Communicative Environment (FCE)</b>		0.547	0.827
FCE2	0.662		
FCE3	0.845		
FCE4	0.754		
FCE5	0.683		
<b>Classroom Activities (CA)</b>		0.542	0.824
CA1	0.836		
CA2	0.766		
CA3	0.610		
CA5	0.714		
<b>Peer Norms (PN)</b>		0.519	0.761
PN4	0.745		
PN5	0.799		
PN6	0.601		
<b>Informational Media Use (IMU)</b>		0.589	0.851
IMU1	0.732		
IMU2	0.689		
IMU3	0.828		
IMU4	0.813		
<b>Interpersonal Communication</b>		0.502	0.858
IC2	0.755		
IC3	0.723		
IC4	0.721		
IC5	0.643		
IC7	0.725		
IC8	0.679		
<b>Political Knowledge (PK)</b>		1.000	1.000
PK	1.000		
<b>Political Participation (PP)</b>		1.000	1.000
PP	1.000		

Discriminant validity was evaluated by following two criteria. Firstly, the Fornell and Larcker criteria were evaluated by comparing the correlations among the latent

variables with square roots of AVE. The results presented in Table 4.11 indicate that the values of the square roots of AVE range from 0.502 to 1.000. However, the correlations among the latent variables compared to the square roots of the AVE (values in boldface) are greater than the correlations among latent variables, thus indicating adequate discriminant validity is achieved (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). It is noteworthy that both political knowledge and political participation are single item variables resulting from a composite index which was calculated by aggregating the scores of respondents' responses. For political knowledge, the variable is a composite of scores from 10 questions. Meanwhile, political participation is a composite of scores from 11 questions. The use of a composite index for measuring both political knowledge and political participation has been an acceptable convention among previous studies with similar objectives (Jung et al., 2011; Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2011; Scheufele, 2002).

Table 4.11  
*Latent Constructs' Correlations and Square Roots of Average Variance Extracted (the Fornell & Larcker criterion)*

<b>Latent Constructs</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
Classroom Activities	<b>0.736</b>						
Family Communicative Environment	0.412	<b>0.739</b>					
Interpersonal Communication	0.228	0.221	<b>0.709</b>				

Table 4.11 Continued

Informational Media Use	0.279	0.331	0.382	<b>0.767</b>			
Political Knowledge	0.041	0.023	-0.074	0.085	<b>1.000</b>		
Peer Norms	0.245	0.310	0.314	0.340	-0.072	<b>0.720</b>	
Political Participation	-0.135	0.087	0.179	0.063	-0.055	0.136	<b>1.000</b>

Note: Values shown in bold face represent the square roots of the average variance extracted (AVE).

Secondly, to get adequate discriminant validity, Chin's (1998) criteria were followed.

All indicators as presented in Table 4.12 (with boldface) are higher than the cross-loadings, thus demonstrating adequate discriminant validity is achieved.

Table 4.12

*Cross-Loadings (Chin's criteria)*

	<b>CA</b>	<b>FCE</b>	<b>IC</b>	<b>IMU</b>	<b>PK</b>	<b>PN</b>	<b>PP</b>
<b>CA1</b>	<b>0.836</b>	0.310	0.141	0.216	0.111	0.188	-0.168
<b>CA2</b>	<b>0.766</b>	0.231	0.116	0.192	0.009	0.120	-0.109
<b>CA3</b>	<b>0.610</b>	0.285	0.275	0.145	-0.068	0.257	-0.024
<b>CA5</b>	<b>0.714</b>	0.386	0.191	0.249	0.020	0.191	-0.067
<b>FCE2</b>	0.308	<b>0.662</b>	0.121	0.178	0.033	0.262	0.138
<b>FCE3</b>	0.330	<b>0.845</b>	0.269	0.332	0.067	0.249	0.082
<b>FCE4</b>	0.297	<b>0.754</b>	0.165	0.191	-0.100	0.213	-0.004
<b>FCE5</b>	0.289	<b>0.683</b>	0.055	0.233	0.022	0.195	0.031
<b>IC2</b>	0.166	0.231	<b>0.755</b>	0.457	-0.035	0.279	0.160
<b>IC3</b>	0.283	0.192	<b>0.723</b>	0.264	-0.071	0.195	-0.004

Table 4.12 Continued

<b>IC4</b>	0.231	0.199	<b>0.721</b>	0.211	-0.090	0.292	0.118
<b>IC5</b>	0.168	0.130	<b>0.643</b>	0.188	-0.078	0.218	0.098
<b>IC7</b>	0.083	0.042	<b>0.725</b>	0.176	-0.080	0.157	0.133
<b>IC8</b>	0.025	0.064	0.679	<b>0.138</b>	0.022	0.138	0.243
<b>IMU1</b>	0.278	0.358	0.228	<b>0.732</b>	0.031	0.261	-0.043
<b>IMU2</b>	0.194	0.155	0.245	<b>0.689</b>	0.053	0.168	0.030
<b>IMU3</b>	0.191	0.181	0.342	<b>0.828</b>	0.062	0.250	0.105
<b>IMU4</b>	0.195	0.295	0.344	<b>0.813</b>	0.106	0.335	0.092
<b>PK</b>	0.041	0.023	-0.074	0.085	<b>1.000</b>	-0.072	-0.055
<b>PN4</b>	0.218	0.248	0.134	0.254	-0.049	<b>0.745</b>	0.021
<b>PN5</b>	0.175	0.260	0.325	0.261	-0.107	<b>0.799</b>	0.152
<b>PN6</b>	0.136	0.154	0.197	0.217	0.012	<b>0.601</b>	0.110
<b>PP</b>	-0.135	0.087	0.179	0.063	-0.055	0.136	<b>1.000</b>

#### 4.6 The Structural Model

Subsequent to establishing a valid measurement model, the structural model was specified through the evaluation of the relationships between the exogenous variables (family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms, informational media use, interpersonal communication and political knowledge) and the endogenous variable (political participation). Table 4.13 and Figure 4.1 present standardized estimates that were examined for the purpose of accepting or rejecting the formulated hypotheses, which are represented by H1, H2, H3, H4, H5 and H6 along with sub-hypotheses under each hypothesis. The results presented in Table 4.13 indicate that out of the 10 direct hypotheses, two are rejected. The individual direct hypotheses result in relation to the study's questions and objectives are discussed as follows:

RQ1: What is the effect of political socialization agent (family communicative environment) on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan?

To specify, RQ1 has one object and two hypotheses (H1a and H1b). The results of the hypotheses are as follows:

H1a, which states that family communicative environment directly and positively influences information media use, is supported with the following values ( $\beta = 0.198$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). This implies that 19.8% variation in informational media is explained by family communicative environment. Therefore, this hypothesis is accepted.

H1b, which states that family communicative environment positively and directly influences political participation, is supported with the following values ( $\beta = 0.121$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). This implies that 12.1% variation in political participation is explained by family communicative environment. Therefore, this hypothesis is accepted.

RQ 2: What is the effect of political socialization agent (classroom activities) on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan?

To explain, RQ2 has one objective and two hypotheses (H2a and H2b). The results of the individual hypotheses are as follows:

H2a indicates that classroom activities positively and directly influence informational media use among Pakistani youth. The result (Table 4.13, Figure 4.1) reveals a significantly positive and direct influence of classroom activities on information media



( $\beta = 0.136$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). This suggests that 13.6% variation is explained by classroom activities. Hence, this hypothesis is supported.

Similarly, in examining H2b, which predicts that classroom activities have a positive and direct influence on political participation of Pakistani youth, the result reveals that classroom activities have a significant influence on political participation ( $\beta = 0.248$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). This implies that 24.8% variation in political participation is explained by classroom activities. Hence, the results support H2b.

RQ 3: What is the effect of political socialization agent (peer norms) on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan?

To clarify, RQ 3 has one objective and two hypotheses (H3a and H3b). The results of the individual hypotheses are as follows:

H3a states that peer norms positively and directly influence informational media use of Pakistani youth. The results (Table 4.13) show a significantly positive and direct influence of peer norms on informational media use ( $\beta = 0.246$ ,  $p > 0.01$ ). This suggests that 24.6% variation in informational media use is explained by peer norms. Hence, this hypothesis is supported.

Moreover, H3b, which predicts a positive and direct influence of peer norms on political participation, is supported with the value ( $\beta = 0.104$ ,  $p > 0.05$ ). This implies that 24.8% variation in political participation is explained by peer norms. Hence, this hypothesis is also supported.

RQ 4: What is the effect of informational media use on interpersonal communication and political knowledge of youth in Pakistan?

To specify, RQ 4 has one objective and two hypotheses (H4a and H4b). The results of the individual hypotheses are discussed separately.

Informational media use (television informational content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) among Pakistani youth positively and directly influence their interpersonal communication.

Hypothesis 4a, which indicates that informational media use (television informational content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) has positive and direct influence on interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online communication) of Pakistani youth. This is supported by the following values ( $\beta=0.382$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). This implies that 38.2% variation in the interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online communication) is explained by informational media use. Therefore, this hypothesis is supported.

Similarly, hypothesis 4b predicts that informational media use (television informational content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) of Pakistani youth positively and directly influences their political knowledge. The results (Table 4.13) show a significantly positive and direct influence of informational media use on political knowledge ( $\beta = 0.133$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). This implies that 13.3% variation in political knowledge is explained by informational media use. Therefore, this hypothesis is supported.

RQ 5: What is the meditational effect of interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) on the relationship between informational media use and political knowledge and political participation of youth in Pakistan?

To specify, RQ5 has one objective and four hypotheses (H5a, H5b, H5c, H5d). The result of H5a and H5b are presented in this section. However, the results of H5c and H5d, which tested the indirect effect of interpersonal communication on the relationship between political knowledge and political participation are presented in the mediating effects section.

H5a predicts the direct and positive influence of interpersonal communication on political participation. The result (Table 4.13 and Figure 4.1) reveals a significant and positive influence of interpersonal communication on political participation ( $\beta = 0.178$ ,  $p > 0.01$ ). This implies that 12.5% variation in political participation is explained by interpersonal communication. Therefore, this hypothesis is accepted.

H5b predicts the direct and positive influence of interpersonal communication on political knowledge. The result (Table 4.13 and Figure 4.1) reveals a non-significant and negative influence of interpersonal communication on political participation ( $\beta = -0.125$ ,  $p > 0.027$ ). This implies that 12.5% variation in political participation is explained by political knowledge. Therefore, this hypothesis is not accepted.

RQ6: What is the meditational effect of political knowledge on the relationship between informational media use and interpersonal communication and political participation of youth in Pakistan?

To explain, RQ6 has one objective and three hypotheses. However, only H6a results are discussed in this section. The other two hypotheses (H6b and H6c) results are presented under the mediating effects section.

H6a predicts a positive and direct influence of political knowledge on political participation of youth in Pakistan. The result (Table 4.13 and Figure 4.1) reveals a non-significant and negative influence of political knowledge on political participation ( $\beta = -0.026, p > 0.328$ ). This suggests that 2.6% variation in political participation is negatively explained by political knowledge. Hence, this hypothesis is not supported.



Table 4.13

*Structural Model*

<b>Hypothesis</b>		<b>Direct Effect (<math>\beta</math>)</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>T value</b>	<b>P Values</b>	<b>Findings</b>
H1a	Family Communicative Environment -> Informational media use	0.198	0.060	3.284	0.001	Supported
H1b	Family Communicative Environment -> Political participation	0.121	0.072	1.678	0.047	Supported
H2a	Classroom Activities -> Informational media use	0.136	0.063	2.173	0.015	Supported
H2b	Classroom Activities -> Political participation	-0.248	0.066	3.734	0.000	Supported
H3a	Peer Norms -> Informational media Use	0.246	0.060	4.062	0.000	Supported
H3b	Peer Norms -> Political participation	0.104	0.068	1.537	0.062	Supported
H4a	Informational media use -> Interpersonal Communication	0.382	0.047	8.047	0.000	Supported
H4b	Informational media use -> Political Knowledge	0.133	0.056	2.395	0.008	Supported
H5a	Interpersonal Communication -> Political participation	0.178	0.071	2.491	0.006	Supported
H5b	Interpersonal Communication -> Political Knowledge	-0.125	0.065	1.929	0.027	Supported
H6a	Political Knowledge -> Political participation	-0.026	0.058	0.445	0.328	Rejected

Note: \*\*\*Significant at 0.01 (1-tailed), \*\*significant at 0.05 (1-tailed), \*significant at 0.1 (1-tailed)

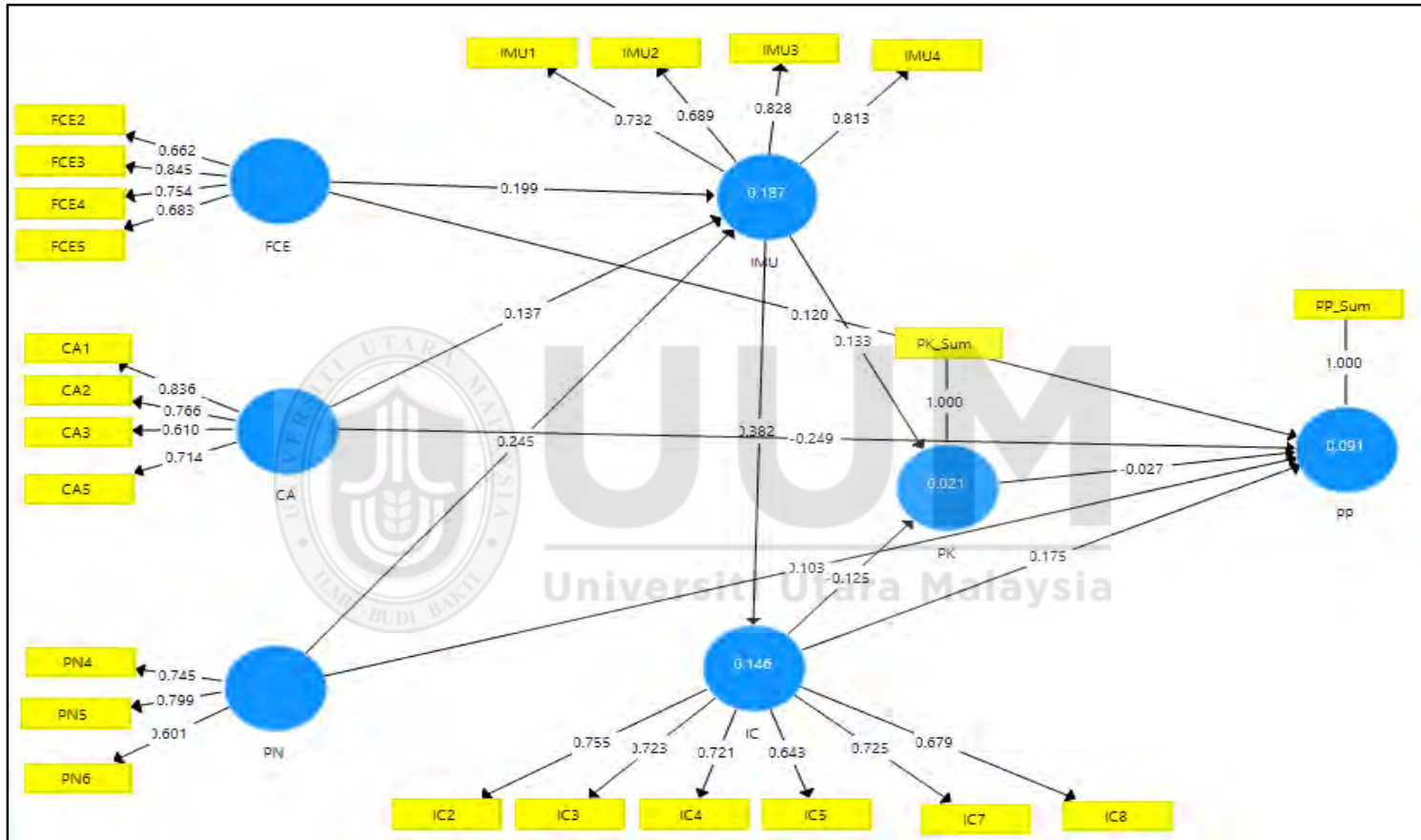


Figure 4.1. Structural Model with Mediators (Full Model)

#### **4.6.1 Testing the Mediating Effect of Interpersonal Communication and Political Knowledge**

Based on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> RQs of the study, the mediation effects of interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) and political knowledge were assessed. Additionally, the assumption of Zhao et al. (2010) was employed for the interpretation of the mediation effect. The bootstrapping results presented in Table 4.14 demonstrate that two out of four hypotheses are proven to be statistically significant. The hypotheses result of individual mediation effects concerning the study's questions and objectives are discussed as follows:

Objective five has two mediating effects and two hypotheses: H5c and H5d. H5c state that informational media use positively influences political knowledge through interpersonal communication. The results presented in Table 4.14 reveal that informational media use has a significant effect on political knowledge through interpersonal communication. This conclusion can be drawn from the fact that both direct effects with mediation ( $\beta = 0.133$ ,  $p > 0.008$ ) and indirect effects ( $\beta = 0.048$ ,  $p < 0.034$ ) are statistically significant. Hence, the interpretation of this result following Zhao et al. (2010) shows a competition mediation of interpersonal communication concerning informational media use and political knowledge. Based on this result, H5c is supported.

Similarly, H5d states that informational media use positively influences political participation through interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging). The results shown in Table 4.14 indicate that there is a significant mediation effect on interpersonal communication concerning informational media use on political participation ( $\beta = 0.070$ ,  $p < 0.008$ ). The evaluation of this mediation in

line with Zhao et al. (2010) reveals only an indirect mediation of interpersonal communication effect on political knowledge and political participation. Based on this result, H5d is supported.

Objective six has two mediating effect hypotheses, H6b and H6c. H6b propose that informational media use positively influences political participation through political knowledge. The results presented in Table 4.14 reveal that there is no significant and positive mediation effect of political knowledge ( $\beta = -0.003$   $p < 0.10$ ). Hence, the interpretation of this result following Zhao et al. (2010) shows no mediation of political knowledge effect on informational media use and political participation. Therefore, H6b is not supported.

Furthermore, H6c states that interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) positively influences political participation through political knowledge. The results shown in Table 4.14 reveal that interpersonal communication has a positive but insignificant influence on political participation through political knowledge. This conclusion can be drawn from the fact that both direct effects with mediation ( $\beta = -0.0178$ ,  $p > 0.006$ ) and indirect effects are significant; whereas ( $\beta = 0.003$ ,  $p < 0.353$ ) is not statistically significant. Hence, the interpretation of this result following Zhao et al. (2010) shows only direct non-mediation of political knowledge effect on interpersonal communication and political participation. Therefore, H6c is not supported.



Table 4.14

*Results of the Mediation Effects*

Hypothesis	Mediation Path	Beta Value	Std. Error	T-value	P-Value	Confidence Intervals		Decision
						Lower Limit (5%)	Upper Limit (95%)	
<b>H5c</b>	IMU -> IC ->PK	0.048	0.026	1.831	0.034**	-0.091	-0.006	Supported
<b>H5d</b>	IMU ->IC--> PP	0.070	0.029	2.429	0.008***	0.026	0.121	Supported
<b>H6b</b>	IMU ->PK -> PP	-0.003	0.006	0.543	0.294	-0.015	0.005	Rejected
<b>H6c</b>	IC -> PK -> PP	0.003	0.009	0.378	0.353	-0.009	0.019	Rejected

Another essential and commonly used criterion to evaluate the structural model is the coefficient of determination (R-Squared value) (Hair et al., 2011; Henseler et al., 2009). The results shown in Table 4.15 indicate that the research model explains 14.6% of the total variance in interpersonal communication and 18.7% of the total variation in informational media use. This suggests that the three sets of exogenous latent variables (i.e., family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms) collectively explain 14% variation in informational media use. Similarly, four sets of exogenous latent variables (i.e., family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms and informational media use) collectively explain 18.7% of the total variance in interpersonal communication. Likewise, the model explains 2% of the total variance in political knowledge and 9% of the total variance in political participation. This suggests that the five sets of exogenous latent variables (i.e., family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms, informational media use and interpersonal communication) collectively explain 2% variance in political knowledge. Similarly, the six sets of exogenous latent variables (i.e., family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms, informational media use, interpersonal communication and political knowledge) collectively explain 9% variance in political participation.

Table 4.15

*Variance Explained in the Endogenous Latent Variables*

<b>Latent Variables</b>	<b>R Square</b>
Interpersonal Communication	0.146
Informational Media Use	0.187
Political Knowledge	0.021
Political Participation	0.091

#### 4.7 Assessment of Effect Size

After determining the R-squared value, the third step was to determine the effect size ( $f^2$ ) of independent variables on the dependent variable by omitting specific independent variables from the proposed model. Hence, as can be seen in Table 4.16, the effect sizes for family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms on informational media use are 0.0406, 0.0172 and 0.0640, respectively. Hence, by Cohen's (1988) recommendation, the effects sizes of these three latent variables on informational media use can be considered as small, none and strong, respectively. Similarly, Table 4.16 indicates that the effect sizes for informational media use and interpersonal communication are 0.0184 and 0.0143 on political knowledge. Furthermore, Table 4.16 shows that the effect sizes for family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms, informational media use, interpersonal communication and political knowledge on political participation are 0.0121, 0.0539, 0.0099, 0.00, 0.0297 and 0.00, respectively. Again, following Cohen's (1988) recommendation for interpretations of the effect size, the results demonstrate that the effect sizes of these six exogenous latent variables on political participation can be considered as small, none, small, none, none, none, small, none, none, little and none, respectively.

Table 4.16

*Effect Sizes of the Latent Variables based on the Recommendation of Cohen (1988)*

<b>R-squared</b>	<b>R<sup>2</sup> Included</b>	<b>R<sup>2</sup> excluded</b>	<b>f<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Effect Size</b>
<b>Informational Media Use</b>				
Family Communicative Environment	0.187	0.154	0.0406	Small

Table 4.16 Continued...

Classroom Activities	0.187	0.173	0.0172	None
Peer Norms	0.187	0.135	0.0640	Small
<b>Political Knowledge</b>				
Informational Media Use	0.021	0.003	0.0184	None
Interpersonal Communication	0.021	0.007	0.0143	None
<b>Political Participation</b>				
Family Communicative Environment	0.091	0.080	0.0121	None
Classroom Activities	0.091	0.042	0.0539	Small
Peer Norms	0.091	0.082	0.0099	None
Informational Media Use	0.091	0.124	0.00	None
Interpersonal Communication	0.091	0.064	0.0297	Small
Political Knowledge	0.091	0.091	0.00	None
Note: 0.02= small, 0.15= medium and 0.35=strong effects				

#### 4.8 Assessment of Predictive Relevance ( $Q^2$ )

This study used the Stone-Geisser test to find out the predictive relevance of the proposed research model using blindfolding procedures (Geisser, 1976; Stone, 1974). The blindfolding method was applied to dependent variables (Interpersonal Communication, Political Knowledge and Political Participation), in this study. Hence, the cross-validated redundancy measure ( $Q^2$ ) was used to evaluate the predictive relevance of the proposed research model. The results of the cross-validated redundancy measure ( $Q^2$ ) presented in Table 4.17 for the endogenous latent variables demonstrate that the cross-validation redundancy measure  $Q^2$  for all endogenous latent variables (Interpersonal Communication, Political Knowledge and Political

Participation) are above zero, thus highlighting the predictive relevance of the model (Chin, 1998; Henseler et al., 2009).

Table 4.17  
*Construct Cross-Validation Redundancy*

<b>Total</b>	<b>SSO</b>	<b>SSE</b>	<b>1-SSE/SSO</b>
Interpersonal Communication	1,728.000	1,629.271	0.057
Informational Media Use	1,152.000	1,041.266	0.096
Political Knowledge	288.000	284.222	0.013
Political Participation	288.000	269.484	0.064

Note: 0.02= small, 0.15= medium and 0.35=large predictive relevance

#### 4.9 Summary of Findings

Having presented all the results of data analyses in the sections above, Table 4.18 summarizes the results of the hypotheses (direct and indirect effects) tested in the current study.

Table 4.18  
*Summary of Hypothesis Testing*

<b>Research Objectives</b>	<b>Hypothesis</b>	<b>Statement</b>	<b>Finding</b>
RO1	H1a	Family communicative environment has a positive and direct influence on information media use among Pakistani youth.	Supported
	H1b	Family communicative environment positively and directly influences informational media use among Pakistani youth.	Supported

Table 4.18 Continued

RO2	H2a	Classroom activities positively and directly influence informational media use among Pakistani youth.	Supported
	H2b	Classroom activities have positive and direct influence on political participation of Pakistani youth.	Supported
RO3	H3a	Peer norms positively and directly influence informational media use of Pakistani youths.	Supported
	H3b	Peer norms have positive and direct influence on political participation of Pakistani youth.	Supported
RO4	H4a	Informational media use (television informational content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) among Pakistani youth positively and directly influences their interpersonal communication.	Supported
	H4b	Informational media use (television informational content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) of Pakistani youth positively and directly influence their political knowledge.	Supported
RO5	H5a	Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) has positive and direct influence on political participation of Pakistani youth.	Supported
	H5b	Political knowledge has positive and direct influence on political participation of Pakistani youth.	
	H5c	Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) mediates the effect of informational media use on political knowledge of Pakistani youth.	Rejected
	H5d	Interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) mediates the effect of informational media use on political participation of Pakistani youth.	Supported
RO6	H6a	Political knowledge positively and directly influences political participation of Pakistani youth.	Rejected

Table 4.18 Continued

H6b	Political knowledge mediates the influence of informational media use on political participation of Pakistani youth.	Rejected
H6c	Political knowledge mediates the influence of interpersonal communication on political participation of Pakistani youth.	Rejected

#### 4.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter provides the general view of the nature of data and description of respondents' profile for the study. This chapter begins with an exploratory data analysis which contains data screening and preliminary analysis to ensure that the collected data is fit for further analysis. Then, the quality of data is assessed through the measurement model. Lastly, the significance of the path coefficients is examined using the structural model through which the main findings of the study are presented.

Generally, 15 hypotheses were formulated for this study; of the 15 hypotheses, 10 hypotheses were formulated to test the direct influence of exogenous variables on the endogenous variable. Thus, only four hypotheses were formulated to examine the mediating effects of interpersonal communication and political knowledge on political participation. However, from the 14 formulated (direct and indirect) hypotheses, 11 are significant and three are not significant.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The focus of this chapter is to discuss the main findings of the research presented in the prior chapter by relating them to the theoretical perspectives and previous studies on political socialization, media and political participation. Precisely, this chapter is organized as follows: Section 5.2 recapitulates and summarizes the main findings of the research by relating them to the main objectives. Section 5.3 presents the discussion of results in the light of the underpinning theory, model and previous literature. Section 5.4 highlights discussions on theoretical, methodological and practical implications of the study. Limitations of the study are recorded in section 5.5, and based on the highlighted limitations, future research directions are offered.

#### **5.2 Recapitulation of the Study's Findings**

The main objective of this study is to determine the effect of political socialization agents (family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms) on informational media use of Pakistani youth, while also engendering political participation. It also examines the mediating effect of political knowledge concerning interpersonal communication and political participation of Pakistani youth. Overall, this study succeeds in advancing the current understanding of the key determinants of political participation of Pakistani youth by providing answers to the following research questions:

- i. What is the effect of family communicative environment on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan?



- ii. What is the effect of classroom activities on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan?
- iii. What is the effect of peer norms on informational media use and political participation of youths in Pakistan?
- iv. What is the effect of informational media use on interpersonal communication and political knowledge of youth in Pakistan?
- v. What is the meditational effect of interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) on the relationship between informational media use and political knowledge and political participation of youth in Pakistan?
- vi. What is the meditational effect of political knowledge on the relationship between informational media use and interpersonal communication and political participation of youths in Pakistan?

Regarding the direct influence of exogenous latent constructs on endogenous latent constructs, the findings suggest that nine of the 10 formulated hypotheses of this study are supported. Precisely, the result of the PLS-SEM analysis shows that family communicative environment as an agent of political socialization positively and significantly influences informational media use of Pakistani youth. Equally, family communicative environment, as an agent of political socialization, has a significant and positive influence on political participation of Pakistani youth. Moreover, classroom activities as an agent of political socialization are also found to have a positive and significant influence on informational media use as well as on political participation of Pakistani youth. In the same vein, peer norms significantly and

positively influence informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan.

Findings further reveal that informational media use (television content, newspaper content and online informational content) has a positive and significant influence on interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) among Pakistani youth. Also, informational media use (television content, newspaper informational content and online informational content) positively and significantly influence political knowledge of Pakistani youth.

Results further reveal that interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) has a significant influence on political knowledge of youth in Pakistan. Also, interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) has a significant and positive influence on political participation of youth in Pakistan. However, contrary to expectations, political knowledge has a negative and non-significant influence on political participation of Pakistani youth.

Concerning the indirect effect of interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) and political knowledge, findings reveal that two out of four formulated hypotheses of this study are supported. Specifically, interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) mediates the effect of informational media use and political knowledge of Pakistani youth. Also, interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) mediates the effect of informational media use and political participation of Pakistani youth. However, political knowledge has no mediating effect on informational media use and political

participation of Pakistani youth. There is also no mediating effect of political knowledge in relation to informational media use and political participation.

### **5.3 Discussion**

This section focuses on illustrating the results of data analysis carried out in Chapter Four. This discussion is directed by relevant theories and findings of previous studies. The subheadings of discussion in this section are structured according to the research questions of this study.

#### **5.3.1 Influence of Family Communicative Environment as an Antecedent to Informational Media Use and Political Participation**

RQ 1: “What is the effect of political socialization agent (family communicative environment) on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan? ” In line with this research question, the first objective of this study was to assess the strength of the family communicative environment variable on informational media use and political participation of Pakistani youth. The influence of this agent on informational media use and political participation is discussed separately.

##### **5.3.1.1 Family Communicative Environment and Informational Media Use**

The findings presented in this study reveal that a significant and positive influence of family communicative environment exists in informational media use among youth in Pakistan. Thus, it implies that political activity is encouraged when youth are encouraged to express their convictions, defend their points of view and consider dissimilar sides of an argument. Hence, such communicative environments in the home prompt information-seeking behavior among parents and offspring. On the

whole, youth have greater motivations to consume informational media content and are more exposed to the media. Such media consumption behavior generally remains for life (Kim, 2018; York & Scholl, 2015).

This finding is in line with the SLT (Lave & Wenger, 1991), and interactive and dialogue-rich learning environments in the family motivate youth to consume media. Also, the findings of the current study are consistent with and corroborate most of the previous studies (Austin, 1993; Fujiok, & Austin, 2002; Lee et al., 2013; Memon, Ishak, & Hamid, 2017; Shah et al., 2009; Valenzuela et al., 2016). These studies have shown over time that informational media consumption among youth stems from communicative, dialogue-rich environments in families. Therefore, the more communicative, dialogue-rich environments in families, the more the youth will be exposed to media (Lee et al., 2013). Thus, young people and their parents freely identify and discuss societal and political problems, which in turn, prompt information-seeking behavior among parents and offspring and vice versa. Therefore, it can be concluded that the more communicative, dialogue-rich environments in Pakistani families, the more motivation youth will have for informational media use.

### **5.3.1.2 Family Communicative Environment and Political Participation**

The findings of this study demonstrate that family communicative environment has a positive and significant influence on political participation of Pakistani youth. This implies that family communicative environment matters for socializing youth towards political activities, as youth are more likely to be politically active if their parents frequently involve them in political discussions through open and free exchange of ideas. Such environments reduce the cost for subsequent political participation. Durre-E-Shawar and Asim (2012) asserted that in Pakistani culture, the family is considered

a strong element and most people live in joint family systems. That is why family members have strong influence on all social and political decisions or matters.

Owing to the result of the finding of family communicative environment as an agent of political socialization in influencing political participation, this study is consistent with and corroborates the previous studies (Cicognani et al., 2012; Sani & Quaranta, 2015; Michael et al., 2004). Also, the finding of this study is in line with the SLT, which posits that communicative, interactive and dialogue-rich learning environments within the family make for active, competent and skillful youth, thereby increasing political knowledge and encouraging participation in political activities. As youth have capabilities, they also become critical of the system, as their dissatisfaction with government policies also induces their participation in politics. Therefore, the more democratic environments within the family, the more capabilities and motivation youth will have to participate in political activities.

### **5.3.2 Influence of Classroom Activities as an Antecedent to Informational Media Use and Political Participation**

RQ 2: “What is the effect of political socialization agent (classroom activities) on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan?” In line with this research question, the second objective of this study was to assess the strength of the classroom activities variable on informational media use and political participation of Pakistani youth. The influence of this agent on informational media use and political participation is discussed separately.

### **5.3.2.1 Classroom Activities and Informational Media Use**

The findings of this study reveal that classroom activities significantly influence informational media use among Pakistani youth. The results imply that classroom activities, such as discussing or debating political or social issues, learning about how the government works and encouraging decision-making on issues involving youth, encourage them to monitor informational content through online and offline media. Once youth are stimulated by classroom activity interventions, youth-initiated discussions occur on politics with family and friends, which are linked to long-term political socialization (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002; Simon & Merrill, 1998). Consequently, youth are introduced to the lifeblood of participatory democracy, namely discourse and debate.

Moreover, the finding of this study is in line with the SLT, which posits that when students have learner-centered classrooms, in which they practice lively cognitive processes, such as discussing issues, problem solving, reasoning, decision-making and evaluation in classroom settings, such practice-based learning environments motivate the learner to become active, and use the media for future discussions (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 97). Therefore, it can be concluded that the more the learning-based activities in Pakistani classrooms, the greater the score on informational media use by youth in Pakistan will be.

Also, the finding of the current study is consistent with and corroborates most of the previous studies on the influence of classroom activities on informational media use (Min-Woo et al., 2014; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013; Lee et al., 2013; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001).

### **5.3.2.2 Classroom Activities and Political Participation**

Classroom activities have a positive impact on the political participation of youth (Campbell, 2008). To explain, a classroom which fosters a free, open and respectful exchange of ideas, is positively related to young people's level of knowledge about democratic processes (McAvoy, & Hess, 2013; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013; Torney-Purta, et al., 2001). Discussion of political issues, which is frequently in an open classroom climate (Campbell, 2008) or classroom activities (Min-Woo, 2014), facilitate real-politic discussions of political issues, as opposed to the frequently uncritical and encyclopedic way of teaching (Brooks 2007; Campbell, 2008; Sears & Hughes, 2006).

As expected, this study evinces a positive and significant influence of classroom activities on political participation of youth in Pakistan. This implies that the activities associated with democracy and politics, such as debating and discussing political issues, introduce them to the lifeblood of participatory democracy. In fact, such classroom activities (i.e., learning how government works) increase the likelihood that youth will envision themselves as informed voters. However, lack of participatory activities in classrooms will have no outcomes on democratic values and skills (Finkel & Ernst, 2005). Therefore, the more the democratic and politics-based activities in classroom settings, the more competent Pakistani youth will be in participating in the political world.

The finding of the current study is in line with the SLT, which posits that the learning curriculum is better than the teaching curriculum (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This is because the learning curriculum involves a kind of learner-centered classroom, in which all pupils practice debates on social and political issues, learning structures and

functions of government as group work, which involve lively cognitive processes, for instance, discussing, problem solving, reasoning, decision-making and evaluation. Subsequently, this practice-based learning environment encourages the learner to become active, thus increasing political knowledge and engendering political participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 97). Also, the current finding is consistent with previous studies (Finkel and Ernst, 2005; Lee et al., 2013; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2002; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Quintelier, 2010; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013; Torney-Purta, 2002).

### **5.3.3 Influence of Peer Norms as an Antecedent to Informational Media Use and Political Participation**

RQ 3: “What is the effect of political socialization agent (peer norms) on informational media use and political participation of youth in Pakistan?” In line with this research question, the third objective of this study was to assess the strength of peer norms on informational media use and political participation of Pakistani youth. The influence of this agent on informational media use and political participation is discussed separately.

#### **5.3.3.1 Peer Norms and Information Media Use**

The findings of this study demonstrate that peer norms positively and significantly influence informational media use of Pakistani youth. This finding implies that Pakistani youth interact with those peers who value knowledge and discussions of public affairs content; therefore, they are more likely to be exposed to informational media use, thus indicating the media surveillance norms among youth. Such kind of informed exchange of views among peers increases thoughtfulness and openness, facilitating recruitment into collective actions. This finding is supported by Javaid and



Elahi (2014), who stated that majority of the Pakistani people depend on peer groups for political information. Also, Nathanson (2001) asserted that youth are more engaged with peers compared to parents in co-viewing and discussing the media content. Therefore, it can be established that the more the media surveillance norms among peers, the greater the score on informational media use by youth will be.

The result of the finding of peer norms influencing informational media use of Pakistani youth of this study corroborates the previous studies (Campos et al., 2017; Campos et al., 2013; Harell et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2013; McLeod et., 1999; Mutz & Mondak 2006), hence rejecting the negative influence of peers' associations for determining hazardous and deviant behavior, such as watching violent media content and smoking cigarettes (Gunther, Bolt, Borzekowski, Liebhart, & Dillard, 2006; Kuhn, 2004; Mutz, 2002 ) on their members. In fact, those who get involved in deviant behavior peer groups significantly fail to obtain emotional provision from their parents, who are also lacking in proper socialization in citizen norms and values (Brody et al., 2001). Therefore, this study rejects the indication of culpability of peer affiliation and provides evidence of positive influence of peer affiliation and positive informational media use as norms among them.

This finding is in line with the SLT, which posits that discussions and ensuring perspective taking among peer communities demand more information from members, thus encouraging youth to consume more information about people, culture, politics and society (social and political norms) from media (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

### **5.3.3.2 Peer Norms and Political Participation**

Peer influence is one of the most significant socialization agents. In fact, involvement in political activities is an outcome of affiliation to a peer group (Catalano & Hawkins, 1996; Verba et al., 1995). However, not all studies have supported such notions of encouraging and motivating agents for enhancing the positive attitude and behavior of its members (Gunther et al., 2006; Kuhn, 2004; Mutz, 2002). Notably, Tedin (1980) asserted that peers do not discuss political issues; in fact, they are more interested in music, clothing and hairstyles. This may be because people become confused in the presence of disagreements on social and political issues and so tend to participate less politically when in a heterogeneous group. Similarly, Kuhn (2004) claimed that membership in peer communities lead to risky and deviant behavior, such as using violence in elections and fighting with weapons, thus disengaging young people from conventional activities, like voting for the right party.

On the other hand, many studies have shown that bonding with peers involved in political behaviors increases the likelihood of involvement in political activities (Campos et al., 2017; Catalano & Hawkins, 1996). In fact, association with peers having different opinions and backgrounds with common interests, social positions, and age, is thought to foster political and civic skills as well as uplift civil and political eagerness (Harell et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2013). Hence, peer group plays an influential role in developing social norms about interaction and behavior, which are essential for building social capital (Lee et al., 2013; Putnam 2000). Thus, more importantly, if youth interact with peers who value civic and political activities, they are likely to be motivated to participate in the political domain. It indicates norms about interaction and behavior among these groups. Hence, peers who maintain norms which support

discussing public affairs content and value political activities are likely to be motivated to participate in the political domain (Lee et al., 2013). However, those who violate these norms frequently are sanctioned by ridicule or exclusion, while those who follow these norms are more socially integrated (Adler & Adler, 1995).

Expectedly, the findings of the study provide evidence of a positive and significant influence of peer norms on political participation of Pakistani youth. In fact, among other political socialization agents, namely family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms, peer norms is found to contribute more in terms of political activities. Thus, this implies that peers follow their friends' political preferences and behave accordingly. It indicates that they have norms of valuing the political world. This finding is supported by Durre-E-Shawar and Asim (2012b), who stated that the majority of the people vote according to their peer preferences. Also, Verba et al. (1995) claimed that peer groups can enhance the civic and political abilities of youth, which in turn, can boost their volunteerism, increase political efficacy and trust in government organizations and increase political participation. This study also finds that among all other agents, peers have the strongest influence on political participation of youth (Verba et al., 1995). Therefore, it can be established that having political norms within peer groups enhances the political participation of Pakistani youth. This finding of this study is consistent with and corroborates previous studies (Pattie & Johnston, 2009; Quintelier & Hooghe, 2011; Scheufele et al., 2006), hence rejecting the claims of redundant and negative influence of peer on youths' political participation (Mutz, 2002; Kuhn, 2004; Tedin, 1980).

Moreover, the current finding is in line with the SLT, which posits that peer norms provide an open platform for discussion, while such interactions demand more

information from peers, which in turn, increases political competence, thus making them active participants.

### **5.3.4 The Influence of Informational Media Use on Interpersonal Communication and Political Knowledge**

RQ 4: “What is the effect of informational media use on interpersonal communication and political knowledge of youth in Pakistan?” To this end, the third research objective of this study was to assess the strength of informational media on interpersonal communication and political knowledge of Pakistani youth.

#### **5.3.4.1 Informational Media Use and Interpersonal Communication**

The findings of this study demonstrate that informational media use influences interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) of youth in Pakistan. This implies that Pakistani youth exchange information and interpret media content with communication partners. Such interpersonal communication is the key source of political learning and plays a substantial part in shaping opinions of youth on political matters, political attitude and voting behavior (Cho, 2005).

The result is consistent with Anjum and Michele’s (2014) findings, which assert that most of the Pakistanis who are living in Canada watch Pakistani news for interpersonal utility. Similarly, Eveland and William (2004) emphasized that most people have interpersonal utility motivation. With such interpersonal utility motivation, people’s expectations of forthcoming discussion become an internal motivation that then encourages cognitive elaboration of informational content.

This finding is in line with the CMM, which posits that people have interpersonal utility motivation to consume media (McLeod et al., 1999; Lee, 2017). Consequently, it can be concluded that the more motivation youth have, the higher the impact on informational media use. Also, the finding of this study is consistent with and corroborates previous studies (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2010; Kim & Chen, 2016; Lee et al., 2013; Li, & Chan, 2017; Möller, 2013; Park & You, 2015; Reichert & Print, 2017).

#### **5.3.4.2 Informational Media Use and Political Knowledge**

Previous empirical studies have suggested that informational content use is an essential source of political knowledge for citizens (Adeel-Ur-Rehman et al., 2013; Hollander, 2005; Lee et al., 2013; Schäfer, 2015). Informational media use plays an important role in making youth civically and politically informed (Lee, 2015).

The finding of this study reveals that informational media use significantly influences political knowledge of Pakistani youth. This implies that informational media consumption from TV news, print newspapers as well as online newspapers, increases political knowledge of Pakistani respondents. This finding is supported by Frail (2011), who stated that those who are more exposed to political information in the media are significantly more knowledgeable. Similarly, the role of informational media use in predicting political knowledge is generally consistent with past researches (Adeel-Ur-Rehman et al., 2013; Eveland & Scheufele, 2010; Cho et al., 2009; Geers, Bos, & De Vreese, 2017; Goldstein & Freedman, 2002; Hansen & Pedersen, 2014; Jung et al., 2011; Zhang & Chia, 2006).

### **5.3.5 The Direct and Indirect Influence of Interpersonal Communication**

RQ 5: “What is the mediational effect of interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) on the relationship between informational media use and political knowledge and political participation of youth in Pakistan?” To answer this research question, the fifth objective of this study was to assess the direct and indirect effects of interpersonal communication on the relationship between informational media use and interpersonal communication and political knowledge.

#### **5.3.5.1 Interpersonal Communication and Political Knowledge**

Interpersonal communication (online messaging and face-to-face communication) increases citizens’ political knowledge (Jung et al., 2011). As Cho (2005) asserted, interpersonal communication is the key source of political learning and plays a substantial part in shaping opinions of youth on political matters, political attitude and voting behavior. Similarly, Hively and Eveland (2009) claimed that discussion on politics is positively related to political knowledge.

The findings of this study demonstrate that interpersonal communication (online messaging and face-to-face-communication) does not have significant influence on political knowledge of Pakistani youth. It implies that elaboration and collective consideration of youth do not increase their political knowledge. Perhaps, it may be because of not having a diverse network of respondents. Hively and Eveland (2009) asserted the diversity of one’s network will not necessarily predict knowledge of relatively consensual facts after control for simple frequency of interpersonal communication. However, network diversity should be positively related to knowledge because the disagreement and conflict that is likely to be present in such a

network should stimulate individuals to mull over the information and consider the implications of various bits of information to participate in the discussion (Hively & Eveland, 2009). Hence, this study investigated the frequency of interpersonal communication therefore testing the diversity network effect in future research could provide significant results.

### **5.3.5.2 Interpersonal Communication and Political Participation**

The finding of the study provides evidence of significant influence of interpersonal communication in political participation of Pakistani youth. This finding implies that elaboration and collective consideration of respondents, where individuals exert significant effort to comprehend political issues and organize their thoughts into articulate expressions, encourage their political participation. In a similar vein, Jung et al. (2011) asserted that participatory experiences and activities framed in online and face-to-face conversations encourage citizens' political participation.

This finding is in line with the CMM, which posits that interpersonal discussion (face-to-face and online messaging), where individuals are involved in collective and elaborative thinking, enhances such reasoning (R) behavior and encourages their political participation (Eveland, et al., 2003; Jung et al., 2011; MCLeod et al., 1999). Also, this finding is consistent with and corroborates previous studies (Cho et al., 2009; Geers et al., 2017; Goldstein, & Freedman, 2002; Hansen & Pedersen, 2014; Hively & Eveland, 2009; Jung et al., 2011; Shah et al., 2007).

### **5.3.5.3 Mediating Effect of Interpersonal Communication In Relation To Informational Media Use and Political knowledge**

The finding of this study reveals the positive and significant influence of informational media use on political knowledge through interpersonal communication of Pakistani respondents. This finding implies that informational media use provides talking points to respondents, which leads to interpersonal communication through face-to-face communication and online messaging, and such elaboration and collective consideration of respondents enhance their political knowledge. Similarly, Mutz (2002) asserted that informational media use allocates resources (knowledge) for political discussions and generates opportunities for exposure to viewpoints unavailable in one's social network; hence, this collective elaboration increases their knowledge.

The result of the finding on the influence of informational media use on political knowledge through interpersonal communication in this study is consistent with and corroborates the previous studies (Eveland, et al, 2006; Jung et al., 2011; McLeod et al., 1999; Scheufele et al., 2004). Also, the finding of this study is in line with CMM's new media attention (S) and news elaboration (R), which enhance political knowledge (O) (Chen & Chan, 2017; Eveland et al., 2003; McLeod et al., 1999).

### **5.3.5.4 Mediating Effect of Interpersonal Communication in Relation to Informational Media Use and Political Participation**

The finding of this study reveals the positive and significant influence of informational media use on political participation through interpersonal communication of Pakistani respondents. This implies that amplification and joint deliberation of respondents is necessary, where individuals exert noteworthy efforts to understand political issues,



and establish their thoughts into articulated expressions and political actions. Similarly, this interpersonal communication about public affairs with friends, co-workers and siblings, has been found to be a powerful mediator of the influence of informational media use on political participation (Chan, 2005; Chen & Lee, 2017; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2010; Li, & Chan, 2017; Möller, 2013; Park, 2014; Reichert & Print, 2017; Shah et al., 2005, 2007, 2009). Also, this finding is in line with the CMM, which posits that interpersonal discussion (face-to-face and online messaging) where individuals are involved in collective and elaborative thinking where such reasoning (R) behaviour is available, produce strong political orientation (Jung et al., 2011; McLeod et al., 1999; Shah et al., 2005).

### **5.3.6 The Direct and Indirect Influence of Political Knowledge**

RQ 6: “What is the mediational effect of political knowledge on the relationship between informational media use and interpersonal communication and political participation of youth in Pakistan?” To answer this research question, the sixth objective of this study was to assess the direct and indirect effects of political knowledge on the relationship between informational media use and interpersonal communication and political participation of Pakistani youth.

#### **5.3.6.1 Political Knowledge and Political Participation**

Political knowledge has been described as the ‘currency of citizenship’ and a necessary resource for effective political participation. As Galston (2001) noted, knowledge about politics stands out as a consistently strong factor shaping the decision to vote and participate in political activities. Similarly, Bidwell, Glennerster, and Parry

(2015) found evidence of strong and positive impact of citizens' political knowledge on voters.

Contrary to expectation, this study finds that political knowledge of respondents does not influence their political participation. It is surprising and yet notable that despite having knowledge about rules, politicians and other related issues of political entities, youth are not participating. This finding agrees with Durre-E-Shawar and Asim (2012b), who stated that Pakistani people have keen interest in political matters and party manifestoes, and they are knowledgeable about political matters and party agenda. Hence, these researchers claimed that the fact that people did not have identity cards, had no names on voting lists and feared violence during the 2008 and 2013 elections, were the major causes of non-casting of votes in these elections (Durre-E-Shawar & Asim, 2012b; Khan and Musarrat, 2014).

Similarly, Birner, Qureshi, Akramov, and Khan (2005) observed that many respondents did not vote because they did not have an identity card, were not registered as voters and their names were not on the electoral lists. Hence, not having an identity card is also a major reason for non-casting of votes.

Additionally, Mahmood, Sohail, Mushtaq, and Rizvi, (2014) and Mushtaq and Baig (2015) claimed that youth are knowledgeable. However, socio-economic factors hinder youth from participating in political activities (Khan and Musarrat, 2014). Similarly, previous studies (Cho et al., 2009; Eveland & Scheufele, 2010; McLeod et al., 1999) have claimed that socioeconomic conditions, such as education and income, have a significantly positive effect on political participation. Hence, higher-status individuals are likely to have greater political awareness, more political resources and

a greater sense of political efficacy, and hence, greater participation (Vedlitz & Veblen, 1980, p. 36). The reason for this insignificant influence may be the socio-economic factors.

#### **5.3.6.2 Mediating Effect of Political Knowledge in Relation to Informational Media Use and Political Participation**

Past empirical results have provided significant evidence of a positive effect of the level of informational media use on political participation via the mediation of political knowledge (Jung et al., 2011). This is possibly because public affairs news is full of news about governmental processes and public issues, which enhance political knowledge, hence engendering political participation (Zhang & Chia, 2006).

Contrary to the expectation, this study finds that informational media use does not influence political participation of youth via political knowledge in Pakistan. This is somewhat surprising because informational media use has long been believed to be a source of information which diminishes the cost of political participation by informing citizens about public affairs. However, this is again related to the socio-economic factors.

#### **5.3.6.3 Mediating Effect of Political Knowledge in Relation to Interpersonal Communication and Political Participation**

Generally, political knowledge is viewed as the main mediator between news media use and political participation (Pasek, et al., 2006; Min-Woo et al., 2014). Similarly, Schudson (1995, as cited in Eveland & Scheufele, 2000) asserted that the media has failed to provide 'mobilized information', such as information about public meetings, or information about how and where to vote, how to get permission for holding rallies

as well as information on who to contact, how to donate money, or where to voice one's opinion (Eveland & Scheufele, 2000; Paletz, 1984). Therefore, interpersonal political communication may overcome this lack in media content and encourage citizens to make sense of how to participate. Similarly, by using the OSROR framework, Jung et al. (2011) asserted that news exposure positively influences political participation through its impact on political discussion.

The result from this study demonstrates interpersonal communication does not influence political participation through political knowledge. This finding seems to suggest that political knowledge does not play a mediating role in explaining the influence of informational media use and interpersonal communication on political participation, nor does it directly influence political participation of respondents. Perhaps, there may be an additional physiological variable underlying the impact of communication behaviors on political participation besides knowledge. Other psychological constructs, such as political efficacy, may be an additional antecedent of political participation, as it is closely related to political participation (Jung et al., 2011).

Youth will not spend time and effort on forming political judgments unless they believe that they are capable of pursuing the desired outcomes. In other words, youth may perfectly understand the world of politics, but they will not participate if they do not feel able to do so (Weber & Koehler, 2017). Kaid et al. (2007) noted that college students largely attribute their lack of political participation to a lack of political knowledge. Hence, a perceived level of knowledge directly influences political efficacy, which in turn, enhances political participation (Jung et al., 2011).

Secondly, no significant direct or indirect effect of political knowledge may be related to the socio-economic factors (Cho et al., 2009; Eveland & Scheufele, 2000; Khan & Musarrat, 2014; Mahmood et al., 2014; McLeod et al., 1999) - improper electoral infrastructure, such as violence (Durre-E-Shawar & Asim, 2012b; Khan & Musarrat, 2014); and improper listing of voters and failure to own an identity card.

#### **5.4 Implications of the Study**

In this study, the conceptual framework is based on prior empirical and theoretical gaps recognized in the literature. These literature gaps are further supported and explained from two theoretical perspectives, namely the SLT (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and the CMM (McLeod et al., 1999). Also, political knowledge is introduced as a mediator variable to better explain the effects of the various media content and interpersonal communication on political outcomes. This study makes several theoretical, practical and methodological contributions in terms of media, political socialization and political participation.

##### **5.4.1 Theoretical Implication**

This research contributes to modelling the effects of political socialization agents (family communicative environment, classroom activities and peer norms) as the antecedents to informational media use, which further affect interpersonal communication, political knowledge and political participation. Explicitly, these relationships were modelled by integrating the SLT and the CMM to introduce complete processes of political socialization of youth (Figure 5.1).

Additionally, this study provides more empirical evidence in relation to the SLT. The proposed theory has mostly been used in empirical educational studies; the more the

discussion and collaborative activities and environment youth have in classrooms settings, the more the youth will reflect and interpret the real world, thus improving their political knowledge by consuming information and participating in activities. Hence, rather than focusing on educational settings of these variables, this study extends the theory to family communication and peer norms of these collaborative acts, especially in relation to media consumption and political activities. As a result, the SLT was extended by investigating family and peer groups' influence on media consumption and political participation of youth. The extension of the theory is important because limiting research to classroom settings will not adequately capture the broad picture of political socialization and political participation, especially for youth.

Another premise for extending the theory was based on the arguments of scholars about the effect of the peer group in socialization. These different arguments have led to three perspectives of socialization of youth in politics through peers: positive, negative and redundant effects (Campos et al., 2013; Kuhn, 2004; Mutz, 2002; Scheufele et al., 2006). Consequently, Amnå et al. (2009) claimed that the likelihood that political attitude and political and civic participation of youth are affected by their peers is largely unexplored. Hence, this may provide an answer to that call and also evidence of peer groups' effects on political activities of youth. In fact, this study finds that among other political socialization agents, peer norms is a prominent contributor. Furthermore, additional evidence for extending the SLT was based on the arguments of scholars about the direct effect of media on political participation of youth. The strongest arguments suggest that media does not work as a hypodermic syringe in stimulating the youth to participate in political activities. However, media

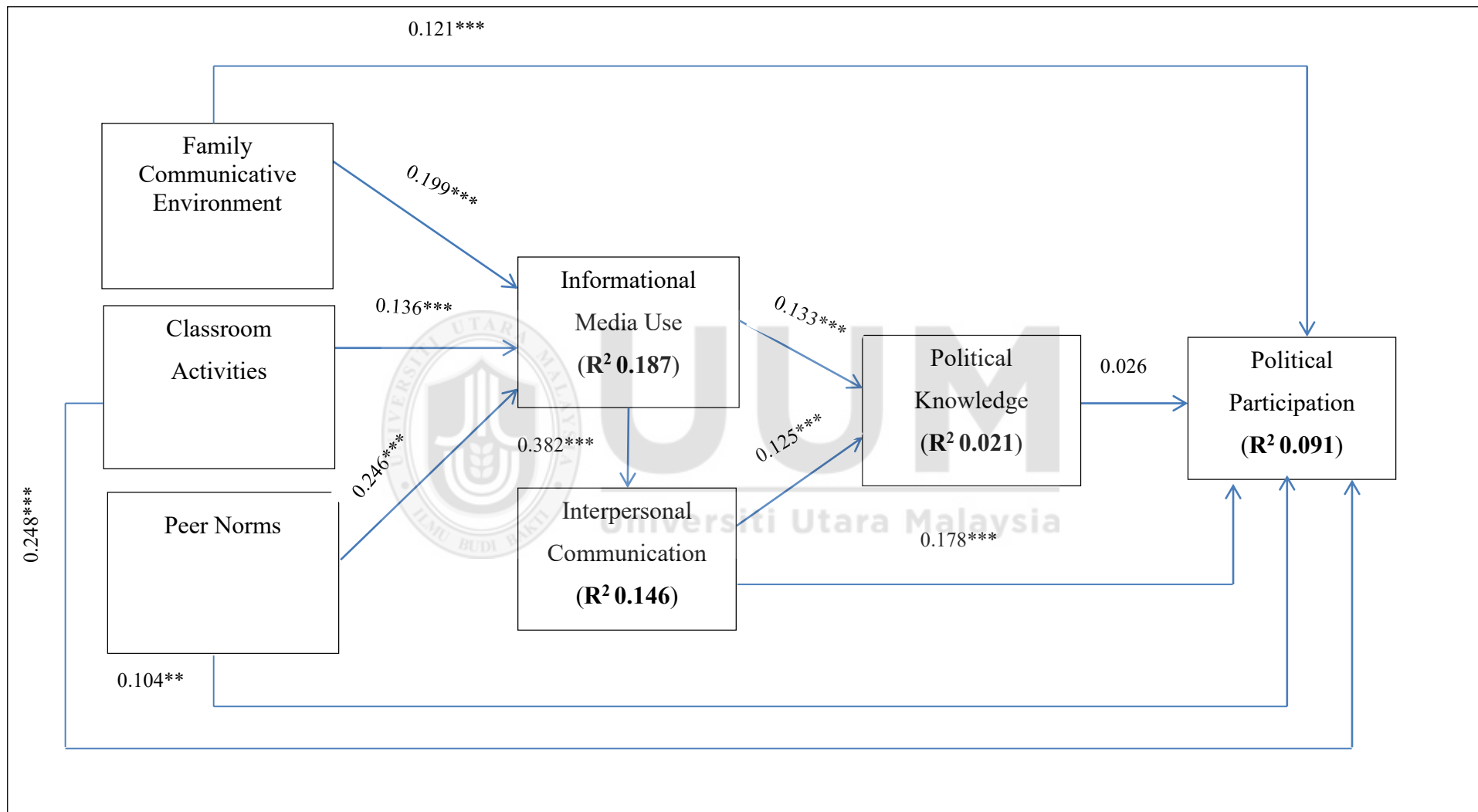


Figure 5.1. Validated Research Framework

stimulates conversation, conversation crystallizes opinion and opinion leads to action (Katz 1992), thus suggesting that the media's effects are strong but largely indirect, shaping participatory behaviors through effects on general and online discussions with others about news (Lee 2017). Therefore, in the framework of the SLT, the CMM was integrated to introduce a complete process of political socialization and political participation of youth.

Moreover, the CMM was also extended by introducing political knowledge as a mediating variable. Political knowledge was theorized as having a direct and indirect influence on political participation in the CMM. This was done to test the mediating role of political knowledge in explaining the significance of informational media use and interpersonal communication on political participation, and also, to examine the direct impact of political knowledge on political participation. This is because prior empirical studies (Hively & Eveland, 2009) have tended to use political knowledge only for testing the direct effect. However, the introduction of the mediating variable was necessitated by the fact that studies in this area have resulted in a non-definite connection between interpersonal communication and political participation (Lee et al., 2013), hence highlighting the need to bring mediating variables into these relationships as recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986). This research tried to fill this gap by introducing political knowledge as a mediator to explain the influence of informational media and interpersonal communication on political participation. This was done by creating two groups: those who have political knowledge and those who have no political knowledge. In doing so, this study finds that most of the many of respondents in the sample have significant level of political knowledge.



Hence, the findings of those who have significant political knowledge among the youth lend empirical support to the CMM, while the evidence of this study rejects the notion of no knowledge about the substance of politics by the youth, more specifically Pakistani youth. Pakistani youth know why and how the government process works, and who the winner of the political game is. However, having political knowledge and the fact that they are not participating in political participation, is explained in this study through empirical studies. Nonetheless, based on the results of this study, it can generally be concluded that political knowledge may not be a mediating variable in explaining the effect of exogenous variables on endogenous variables. Therefore, this study further adds empirical evidence to the body of knowledge in the CMM, which could serve as a basis for future studies on media, political socialization and political participation.

#### **5.4.2 Practical Implication**

Based on the research findings, the present study contributes several practical implications in terms of engendering political participation of youth, more specifically, Pakistani youth. The evidence of the current research indicates that family communicative environment, classroom activities, peer norms and democratic environment (which are fundamental to developing the collective power to influence the political system) are essential considerations to increase news consumption and political participation by youth. Hence, stakeholders, especially government and non-governmental organizations, can make considerable efforts in encouraging political participation by arranging healthier activities in schools (e.g., volunteerism and student unions) and through peer groups, e.g., scaffolding, work by the community's adults in schools, youth programs and other social institutions, which are critical for

helping youth participate in the real political arena contention. Hence, governmental (the Election Commission of Pakistan) and non-governmental (Youth Parliament of Pakistan; Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN) Pakistan) organizations which are working to mobilize voters, especially youth, must bring youth into the public arena of political action, whether by getting them to participate in politically-oriented activities or by engaging them in discussions or debates about real political issues in school settings and through peers.

Moreover, the findings suggest that media is not just used for information purposes, but also used for interpersonal communication (face-to-face and online messaging) purposes. Specifically, the use of online and offline media in the framework of the SLT and the CMM for political discussions, is generally found to be positively related to political participation. Thus, media is the main source of political information for youth. Therefore, stakeholders should make efforts to include meaningful and educative political information that could educate youth and propel them to participate in political activities.

Moreover, youth have been noted to be apathetic to politics (Putnam, 2000) and socio-economic and political factors do not push them to participate in politics (Mahmood et al., 2014). Also, Pakistani politicians have to recognize the importance of this demographic reality and encourage more youth as new voters who might step out to vote along with their parents and peers. In this situation, political parties of Pakistan should increase the representation of youth within their electoral and parliamentary processes, particularly those related to governance and the implementation of sustainable solutions for humanitarian and peace building initiatives, which can prompt political participation.

Additionally, in Pakistan, the eligibility for national parliament starts at 25 years (National Assembly of Pakistan, 2017). Thus, it creates a gap between the legal age of the majority (19% ECP, 2013) and voting age. On the other hand, 1.65% of parliamentarians around the world are in their 20s, and 11.87 % are in their 30s (UNDP, 2012). Hence, if the Pakistani government reviews and discusses the legal framework for reducing the age criterion for holding office, it will help to refer to developed countries' success (e.g., recently, Turkey has lowered the eligibility age for parliament from 30 to 25 years) (UNDP, 2012). Hence, such positive change can enhance youth representation, and of course, participation in political activities.

Lastly, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) should reform the political and electoral system of Pakistan and should take specific steps to increase voter turnout. First of all, the ECP should introduce online voting system or electronic system for voter registration, vote casting and vote counting, to reduce election fraud and promote accurate results, because electoral rigging is the norm in Pakistan. Secondly, during the 2013 general election, violence was observed by the media, scholars and other stakeholders, which created fear among citizens. Therefore, to reduce the chance for violence in upcoming elections, some severe security initiatives must be taken in more sensitive parts of the country.

#### **5.4.3 Methodological Implication**

The present study has many methodological implications. One of the methodological contributions lies in measuring peer norms. This study combined single measures previously used by other studies into one measure. Hence, peer surveillance norms and peer political norms, which were individually used to measure peer effect in previous studies (Lee et al., 2013; Min-Woo et al., 2014; Zhou, 2009) were all

integrated to measure peer surveillance norms and political norms together as peer norms in this study.

Additionally, the current study employed the PLS-SEM analysis to assess the reliability and validity of the latent variables. Firstly, for assessing the construct reliability and the internal consistency reliability, AVE and composite reliability were examined, whereas for validity, convergent and discriminant validity were examined. Precisely, indicator reliability and internal consistency reliability were established by factor loadings and composite reliability, while convergent validity was examined by assessing the values of AVE. Furthermore, discriminant validity was established by comparing the correlations among the latent constructs with the square roots of AVE.

Furthermore, for the proposed conceptual model, discriminant validity was also established through a cross-loadings matrix. This study used a robust approach (PLS-SEM analysis) to evaluate the reliability and validity of all latent constructs in the illustration of the conceptual model of the current research.

### **5.5 Limitations of the study**

Even though this study achieves all its highlighted objectives, this research is not without certain limitations. As such, the limitations of this study are discussed as follows:

Firstly, the limitation of this study is in the nature of its research design being a cross-sectional method using survey design. Due to the use of the cross-sectional survey approach, the findings of this research are based on primary data. Thus, the study only relies on the opinions and perceptions of respondents in measuring political

socialization agents, informational media use, interpersonal communication and political participation, which were captured at one point, thus not allowing causal inferences to be made from the population.

Secondly, this study examined the basic political socialization agents: family communicative environment, peer norms and classroom activities, which stimulate media use and participation of youth in the political world. However, the role of the community as an agent of political socialization is still understudied.

Thirdly, this study focused on students from the faculty of social sciences as respondents. However, this might provide an inadequate representation of opinion from other faculties, such as faculty of arts, natural science, commerce and business administration, pharmacy, and so on.

Finally, in testing the direct and indirect effects of political knowledge on political participation, this study finds that political knowledge does not directly or indirectly influence political participation through informational media use and interpersonal communication. Thus, the findings reported in this study could not establish a meaningful relationship between informational media use and interpersonal communication and political knowledge.

## **5.6 Recommendations for Future Study**

From the limitations listed above, this section presents essential recommendations for future researchers. Firstly, future researchers can employ a longitudinal research design, which will provide them with more useful results to measure the theoretical constructs at different points in time.

Secondly, future researchers can focus on the other political socialization agents, such as community, to explore how the community plays a role in socializing youth for the political process and experiences of youth.

Thirdly, future researchers may consider other respondents from other faculties, such as the faculty of arts, natural science, commerce and business administration, pharmacy, and so on, or from the general public.

Finally, future researchers can test other physiological (variables) mechanisms which underlie the impact of communication behaviors on political participation besides knowledge, such as news reflection and efficacy; these variables may be the other antecedents of civic engagement.

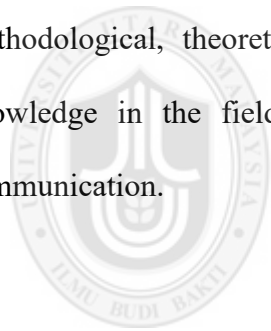
### **5.7 Conclusion**

This study employed a cross-sectional survey approach to examine the influence of political socialization agents on informational media and political participation of Pakistani youth. As such, the direct effect of political socialization agents, such as family communicative environment, classroom activates, peer norms on media use and political participation were examined. Also, indirect effects of interpersonal communication and political knowledge in relation to informational media use and political participation, were examined.

Generally, this study provides additional empirical evidence to the growing body of knowledge concerning the role of political socialization agents in socializing youth for media and political activity. Also, this study lends support to the critical theoretical propositions through hypothesis testing.

Despite having some limitations in this study, it successfully answers all the research questions. While many studies have examined the underlying causes of lack of political participation, the present study addresses the theoretical gap by integrating the SLT and the CMM to provide a complete framework for enhancing youth participation in the political processes. Also, the current study addresses other theoretical gaps by introducing political knowledge as a mediating variable.

In addition to the theoretical contributions, the results from this study provide some essential practical implications to the government and non-governmental and media agencies, as well as other stakeholders. To address the limitations of this study, many future research directions are suggested. Finally, the current research adds valuable methodological, theoretical and practical contributions to the growing body of knowledge in the field of political science, media, political socialization and communication.



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## **Appendix A**

### **Questionnaire**

Dear Participant,

I am a Doctoral student of Media Management at the School of Multimedia Technology and Communication, Universiti Utara Malaysia. I am seeking your cooperation to respond to the attached survey on **“The Role of Media And Other Basic Agents In Pakistani Youth’s Political Socialization: Merging The Situated Learning Theory And The Communication Mediation Model”**.

This survey is part of the university requirement for the completion of my thesis. The questionnaire will take about 10 minutes to complete. Instructions for filling it can be found on the questionnaire.

I would appreciate it if you could complete and return the questionnaire. Please be assured that all information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality and strictly used for academic purpose.

Thank you for your time, cooperation and participation.

For further enquiries, please you may contact any of the following:

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#### **SECTION A: FAMILY COMMUNICATIVE ENVIRONMENT**

This refers to an open discussion climate in the home, where you feel free to talk about political and social issues with family members. Please use the scale provided below to indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement by circling [O] it.

<b>Strongly Disagree</b> 1	<b>Disagree</b> 2	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b> 3	<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b> 4	<b>Somewhat Agree</b> 5	<b>Agree</b> 6	<b>Strongly Agree</b> 7
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### SECTION B: CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

No.	Items	SD	D	SWD	NA or DA	SWA	A	SA
<b>01</b>	My parents often say something like “You should always look at both sides of an issue.”	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>02</b>	My parents encourage me to question their ideas and beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>03</b>	My parents often ask my opinion when the family is talking about something.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>04</b>	My parents often say something like “Every member of the family should have to participate in family decisions.”	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>05</b>	My parents say that getting my idea across is important even if others don't like it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

<b>06</b>	My parents admit that kids know more about some things than parents do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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These are the activities in which you may experience certain types of societal behavior in classroom. Please use the scales provided below to indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement by circling [O] it.

<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b>	<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b>	<b>Somewhat Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Strongly Agree</b>				
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>				
<b>No.</b>		<b>Items</b>		<b>SD</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SWD</b>	<b>NA</b>	<b>SWA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>SA</b>

or  
DA

<b>01</b>	Learning about how government works	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>02</b>	Discussing/debating political or social issues	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>03</b>	Participating in political activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>04</b>	Following the news as part of a class assignment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>05</b>	Being encouraged decide about issues	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

### SECTION C: PEER NORMS

A peer norm means your perception about your friends as valuing knowledge about current affairs as well as political activities. Please use the scales provided below to

indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement by circling [O] it.

<b>Strongly Disagree</b> 1	<b>Disagree</b> 2	<b>Somewhat Disagree</b> 3	<b>Neither Agree or Disagree</b> 4	<b>Somewhat Agree</b> 5	<b>Agree</b> 6	<b>Strongly Agree</b> 7
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**SECTION D: INFORMATIONAL MEDIA USE**

No.	Items	SD	D	SWD	NA	SWA	A	SA
					<b>or</b>			
					<b>DA</b>			
<b>01</b>	Among my friends, it is important to know what's going on in the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>02</b>	Among my friends, it is important to attend political meetings, rallies, demonstrations, boycotts, or marches.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>03</b>	Among my friends, it is important to sign a political petition.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>04</b>	Among my friends, it is important to wear a campaign button or t-shirt.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>05</b>	Among my friends, it is important to contribute money to a campaign.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>06</b>	Among my friends, it is important to vote.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

This refers to your watching or reading news content from online and offline media.

Please use the scales provided below to indicate your frequency level for using informational media content with each statement by circling [O] it.

	Never 1	Rarely 2	Occasionally 3	Sometimes 4	Frequently 5	Usually 6	Every time 7		
No.	Items		N	R	O	S	F	U	ET
01	How often do you watch national network TV news to get information about events, public issues and politics?		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
02	How often do you watch Local TV news to get information about events, public issues and politics?		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
03	How often do you read printed local newspaper to get information about events, public issues and politics?		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
04	How often do you read printed national newspaper to get information about events, public issues and politics?		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
05	How often do you read online newspaper to get information about events, public issues and politics?		1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**SECTION E: INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION**

Interpersonal Communication consists of your talk (face-to-face and online messaging) about political and social issues with your family, friend and outsiders. Please use the scales provided below to indicate your frequency level of political talk with each statement by circling [O] it.

<b>Never</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Occasionally</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Frequently</b>	<b>Usually</b>	<b>Every time</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>

### SECTION F: POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

No.	Items	N	R	O	S	F	U	ET
<b>01</b>	How often do you talk about political issues with family members?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>02</b>	How often do you talk about political issues with friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>03</b>	How often do you talk about political issues with adults outside their family?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>04</b>	How often do you talk about political issues with people who disagreed with them?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>05</b>	How often do you talk about political issues by exchanging emails with friends and family?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>06</b>	How often do you talk about political issues by reading comments by other people or comments posted on a news website, political blog or social media?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>07</b>	How often do you talk about political issues by sending or receiving text messages about politics?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Political knowledge is the factual political information which you learn in home, school, from friends, and also from informational media use. It could be about

**08** How often do you talk about political issues by forwarding or receiving a link to a political video or news article? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

politicians or political parties, elections, government institutions, government policies or any general political knowledge. Please circle [O] an appropriate option.

No.	Items	Responses				
01	What is the name of the current finance minister of Pakistan?	Muhammad Ishaque Dar	Pervaiz Rasheed	Muhammad Yousif	Shaikh Rashid	Don't Know
02	What is the name of the education minister of Pakistan?	Zahid Hamid	Akram Khan	Muhammad Baligh ur Rehman	Aitzaz Ahsan	Don't Know
03	Name the second largest party in the national assembly?	PPP	PML (N)	PTI	JUI	Don't Know
04	Name the opposition party in Sindh assembly?	MQM	PML(F)	PTI	PML(N)	Don't Know
05	How much portion do you think a person on a low income pays in income tax?	Same proportion	Smaller proportion	Bigger proportion	Don't pay	Don't Know
06	Do you know who is entitled to vote in elections for selecting chief minister?	MPA	MNA	Common Public	President	Don't Know
07	For how many years National assembly is elected in Pakistan?	5 years	3 Years	6 Years	4years	Don't Know
08	Whose responsibility is to determine if the law is constitutional or not?	President	Parliament	Supreme court	Senate Chairmanship	Don't Know
09	Which body is responsible to hold election?	Election Commission of Pakistan	Pakistan army	Supreme court	National Accountability Bureau	Don't Know
10	Who is deputy speaker of national assembly?					



## SECTION G: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation is the political activities, which you have engaged in or not engaged during the past 2 years. Please circle [O] an appropriate option for each statement below.

## SECTION H. BASIC DEMOGRAPHICS

No.	Items	Yes	No
01	Voted in the 2013 general election	1	2
02	Spoke with public officials in person	1	2
03	Called or sent a letter to elected public officials	1	2
04	Participated in any demonstrations or protests	1	2
05	Attended a political meeting, rally, or speech	1	2
06	Encouraged someone to vote	1	2
07	Wore a campaign button or T-shirt related to a political or social cause	1	2
08	Displayed any campaign sticker or sign related to a political or social cause	1	2
09	Worked for a political party or candidate	1	2
10	Was involved in political action groups, party committees, or political clubs	1	2
11	Participated in any local actions	1	2

**1. Age**

- a. 18 - 25 years
- b. 24 – 28 years
- c. 29 – 35

**2. Gender**

- a. Male
- b. Female

**3. Education**

- a. Bachelors
- b. Masters
- c. MPhil
- d. PhD

**4. Ethnicity**

- a. Sindhi
- b. Punjabi
- c. Urdu Speaking
- d. Baloch
- e. Others (Please Specify).....

**5. District**

Please Specify.....

**6. Department**

Please Specify.....

## Appendix B

### Number of Students in University of Sindh

UNIVERSITY OF SINDH, JAMSHORO  
STATEMENT SHOWING NUMBER OF STUDENTS (MALE FEMALE) ADMITTED IN VARIOUS COURSES OF STUDIES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2015  
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

S#	DISCIPLINE	Part-I			Part-II			Part-III			Part-IV			Previous			Final(P)			M.Phil			Ph.D			GRAND TOTAL			
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	
1	Economics	107	16	123	82	6	88	64	12	76	61	11	72	32	10	42	26	9	35	14	6	20	6	2	8	392	72	464	
2	General History	30	3	33	22	1	23	6	2	8	4	3	7	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	64	9	73	
3	Gender Studies	14	6	20	9	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	7	0	0	0	26	11	37	
4	Home Economics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
5	International Relations	66	14	80	53	5	58	37	5	42	34	6	40	22	4	26	11	3	14	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
6	Library & Information Science	88	21	109	75	12	87	0	0	0	0	0	0	58	27	85	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	227	37	264	
7	MLIS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	14	44	
8	Mass Communication	103	19	122	77	22	99	60	12	72	54	19	73	49	9	58	17	6	23	10	3	13	0	0	0	370	90	460	
9	Political Science	59	12	71	39	4	43	24	6	30	32	6	38	11	1	12	5	2	7	2	2	4	0	0	0	172	33	205	
10	Psychology	1	0	1	2	0	2	3	1	4	3	1	4	7	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	3	19	
11	Public Administration	96	11	107	72	6	78	55	9	64	45	7	52	74	18	92	50	7	57	16	6	22	1	1	2	409	65	474	
12	Sociology	75	12	87	53	10	63	53	11	64	68	6	74	28	2	30	17	2	19	31	8	39	0	0	0	325	51	376	
13	Social Work	57	8	65	49	5	54	66	10	76	75	11	86	11	0	11	8	3	11	6	1	7	0	0	0	272	38	310	
14	Rural Development Studies	49	1	50	28	2	30	37	3	40	40	4	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	154	10	164	
15	Pakistan Study	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	51	27	78	51	27	78	9	1	10	2	0	2	113	55	168	
16	Women Development Studies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
17	Development Studies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	12	
18	Criminology	79	7	86	63	4	67	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	192	11	203	
	<b>Sub Total</b>	<b>824</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>954</b>	<b>624</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>702</b>	<b>455</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>526</b>	<b>416</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>490</b>	<b>344</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>446</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2995</b>	<b>564</b>	<b>3559</b>	
	<b>EVENING PROGRAM</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	
16	Public Administration	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	13	51	1	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	64	1	65
17	PGD-Public Administration	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
18	Criminology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	0	43	15	1	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	58	1	59	
19	PGD-Community Development	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>824</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>954</b>	<b>624</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>702</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>539</b>	<b>467</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>542</b>	<b>387</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>489</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3117</b>	<b>566</b>	<b>3683</b>	

## Appendix C Number of Students in Shah Abdul Latif University Khairpur

**Discipline/Subject wise active Enrollment (Both morning and evening programs) during: -**

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July 2013 to June 2014]				[July 2014 to June 2015]			
				Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		Pakistani Students		Foreign Students	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Main Campus	Economics	4	Bachelor 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	86	4			78	3		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	88	0			85	4		
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	59	2			60	0		
			4 <sup>th</sup> Year (7 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	31	4			43	2		
			5 <sup>th</sup> Year (9 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
		2	Master 16 years of Education: 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	9	0			5	3		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	6	1			9	0		
		Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)								
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
		1	M. Phil 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	30	2			31	4		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	18	1			30	2		
		1	PhD 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	0	0			1	0		
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)	7	3			7	3		
			Post Graduate Diplomas								
			Others If any (please specify)								
			<b>Total</b>	334	17	0	0	349	21	0	0
		Grand total									721

**Discipline/Subject wise active Enrollment (Both morning and evening programs) during:**

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July 2013 to June 2014]				[July 2014 to June 2015]			
				Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		Pakistani Students		Foreign Students	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Main Campus	International Relations	4	<b>Bachelor</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	65	2			68	2		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	65	0			65	2		
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	55	0			39	0		
			4 <sup>th</sup> Year (7 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	11	0			19	0		
			5 <sup>th</sup> Year (9 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
		2	<b>Master</b> 16 years of Education:1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	2	1			2	0		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	2	0			2	1		
			<b>Master (H)</b> 16+ yrs. of Edu								
		1	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)								
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
		1	<b>M. Phil</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year(1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	6	0			8	1		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	5	1			6	0		
		1	<b>PhD</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	0	0			1	0		
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)	3	1			3	1		
			<b>Post Graduate Diplomas</b>								
			Others If any (please specify)								
			<b>Total</b>	214	5	0	0	213	7	0	0
		Grand Total									439

**Discipline/Subject wise active Enrollment (Both morning and evening programs) during:**

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July 2013 to June 2014]				[July 2014 to June 2015]					
				Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		Pakistani Students		Foreign Students			
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Main Campus	Media Studies	4	Bachelor 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	49	2			61	2				
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	30	1			49	2				
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	18	0			12	0				
			4 <sup>th</sup> Year (7 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	20	0			12	0				
			5 <sup>th</sup> Year (9 <sup>th</sup> Semester)										
		2	Master 16 years of Education:1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	2	0			4	2				
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	6	0			1	0				
			Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu										
		1	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)										
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)										
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)										
		1	M. Phil 1 <sup>st</sup> Year(1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	0	0			10	1				
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)					0	0				
			PhD										
			1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)										
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)										
			Post Graduate Diplomas										
			Others If any (please specify)										
			<b>Total</b>			125	3	0	0	149	7	0	0
													284

**Discipline/Subject wise active Enrollment (Both morning and evening programs) during:**

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July 2013 to June 2014]				[July 2014 to June 2015]				
				Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Main Campus	Pakistan Studies		<b>Bachelor</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
			4 <sup>th</sup> Year (7 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
			5 <sup>th</sup> Year (9 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
		2	<b>Master</b> 16 years of Education: 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	49	5			56	15			
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	30	10			49	5			
			<b>Master (H)</b> 16+ yrs. of Edu									
			1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
		1	<b>M. Phil</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	15	0			24	1			
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	10	1			15	0			
			<b>PhD</b>									
			1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)									
			<b>Post Graduate Diplomas</b>									
			Others If any (please specify)									
			<b>Total</b>	104	16	0	0	144	21	0	0	285

Discipline/Subject wise active Enrollment (Both morning and evening programs) during:

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July 2013 to June 2014]				[July 2014 to June 2015]			
				Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		Pakistani Students		Foreign Students	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Main Campus	Political Science	4	<b>Bachelor</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	30	3			53	1		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	24	0			30	3		
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	11	0			16	0		
			4 <sup>th</sup> Year (7 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	4	0			5	0		
			5 <sup>th</sup> Year (9 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
		2	<b>Master</b> 16 years of Education:1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	2	0			6	2		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	0	0			2	0		
		<b>Master (H)</b> 16+ yrs. of Edu	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)								
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
		1	<b>M. Phil</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year(1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	4	2			5	2		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	2	1			4	2		
		1	<b>PhD</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	0	0			0	0		
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)	0	0			0	0		
			<b>Post Graduate Diplomas</b>								
			Others If any (please specify)								
			<b>Total</b>	77	6	0	0	121	10	0	0
									214		

**Discipline/Subject wise active Enrollment (Both morning and evening programs) during:**



Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July 2013 to June 2014]				[July 2014 to June 2015]				
				Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Main Campus	Sociology		<b>Bachelor</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
			4 <sup>th</sup> Year (7 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
			5 <sup>th</sup> Year (9 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
		2	<b>Master</b> 16 years of Education: 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	9	2			16	5			
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	12	1			9	2			
			<b>Master (H)</b> 16+ yrs. of Edu									
			1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
			<b>M. Phil</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
			<b>PhD</b>									
			1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)									
			<b>Post Graduate Diplomas</b>									
			Others If any (please specify)									
			<b>Total</b>	21	3	0	0	25	7	0	0	

Discipline/Subject wise active Enrollment (Both morning and evening programs) during:

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July 2013 to June 2014]				[July 2014 to June 2015]				
				Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Main Campus	Gender Studies		<b>Bachelor</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
			4 <sup>th</sup> Year (7 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
			5 <sup>th</sup> Year (9 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
		<b>2</b>	<b>Master</b> 16 years of Education: 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	1	4			2	2			
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	9	2			1	4			
		<b>Master (H)</b> 16+ yrs. of Edu	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
		<b>M. Phil</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
		<b>PhD</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)									
		<b>1</b>	<b>Post Graduate Diplomas</b>	3	4			2	4			
			Others If any (please specify)									
			<b>Total</b>	13	10	0	0	5	10	0	0	

**Discipline/Subject wise active Enrollment (Both morning and evening programs)during:**

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July 2013 to June 2014]				[July 2014 to June 2015]					
				Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		Pakistani Students		Foreign Students			
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Main Campus	Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto School of LAW	5	Bachelor 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	43	2			49	3				
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	25	1			43	2				
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	26	1			25	1				
			4 <sup>th</sup> Year (7 <sup>th</sup> Semester)					26	1				
			5 <sup>th</sup> Year (9 <sup>th</sup> Semester)										
		Master 16 years of Education:1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)											
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)										
		Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)										
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)										
			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)										
		M. Phil 1 <sup>st</sup> Year(1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)											
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)										
		PhD	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)										
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)										
		Post Graduate Diplomas											
		Others If any (please specify)											
		<b>Total</b>				94	4	0	0	143	7	0	0
													249

**Appendix D**  
**Normality test Results**

**Normality Test**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
FCE_Mean	288	2	7	4.86	1.109	-.222	.144	-.595	.286
CA_Mean	288	2	7	4.75	1.105	-.196	.144	-.565	.286
PN_Mean	288	2	7	4.38	1.070	.005	.144	-.773	.286
IMU_Mean	288	2	7	4.52	1.085	-.155	.144	-.690	.286
IC_Mean	288	1	7	3.58	1.258	.113	.144	-.627	.286
PK_Sum	288	0	9	5.17	1.844	-.693	.144	.484	.286
PP_Sum	288	1	11	4.26	2.564	.607	.144	-.485	.286
Valid N (listwise)	288								

## Appendix E

### Multicollinearity Test Results

#### Correlations

		FCE_Mean	CA_Mean	PN_Mean	IMU_Mean	IC_Mean	PK_Sum	PP_Sum
FCE_Mean	Pearson Correlation	1	.504**	.349**	.316**	.186**	.028	.076
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.002	.638	.200
	N	288	288	288	288	288	288	288
CA_Mean	Pearson Correlation	.504**	1	.348**	.299**	.289**	.007	-.079
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000	.900	.179
	N	288	288	288	288	288	288	288
PN_Mean	Pearson Correlation	.349**	.348**	1	.323**	.403**	-.066	.138*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000	.263	.019
	N	288	288	288	288	288	288	288
IMU_Mean	Pearson Correlation	.316**	.299**	.323**	1	.392**	.063	.079
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000	.284	.180
	N	288	288	288	288	288	288	288
IC_Mean	Pearson Correlation	.186**	.289**	.403**	.392**	1	-.065	.152**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.000	.000		.274	.010
	N	288	288	288	288	288	288	288
PK_Sum	Pearson Correlation	.028	.007	-.066	.063	-.065	1	-.055
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.638	.900	.263	.284	.274		.353
	N	288	288	288	288	288	288	288
PP_Sum	Pearson Correlation	.076	-.079	.138*	.079	.152**	-.055	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.200	.179	.019	.180	.010	.353	
	N	288	288	288	288	288	288	288

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

## Appendix F

### Smart PLS Output of Measurement model

#### F Square

	CA	FCE	IC	IMU	PK	PN	PP
CA				<b>0.019</b>			0.055
FCE				0.038			<b>0.012</b>
IC					<b>0.014</b>		0.029
IMU			<b>0.170</b>		<b>0.015</b>		
PK							<b>0.001</b>
PN				0.066			<b>0.010</b>
PP							

#### Construct Reliability and Validity

CA	<b>0.720</b>	<b>0.745</b>	<b>0.824</b>	<b>0.542</b>
FCE	<b>0.726</b>	<b>0.773</b>	<b>0.827</b>	<b>0.547</b>
IC	<b>0.812</b>	<b>0.872</b>	<b>0.858</b>	<b>0.502</b>
IMU	<b>0.768</b>	<b>0.783</b>	<b>0.851</b>	<b>0.589</b>
PK	<b>1.000</b>	<b>1.000</b>	<b>1.000</b>	<b>1.000</b>
PN	<b>0.527</b>	<b>0.541</b>	<b>0.761</b>	<b>0.519</b>
PP	<b>1.000</b>	<b>1.000</b>	<b>1.000</b>	<b>1.000</b>

#### Fornell-Larcker Criterion

	CA	FCE	IC	IMU	PK	PN	PP
CA	0.736						
FCE	0.412	0.739					
IC	0.228	0.221	0.709				
IMU	0.279	0.331	0.382	0.767			
PK	0.041	0.023	-0.074	0.085	1.000		
PN	0.245	0.310	0.314	0.340	-0.072	0.720	
PP	-0.135	0.087	0.179	0.063	-0.055	0.136	1.000

### Cross Loadings

	CA	FCE	IC	IMU	PK	PN	PP
CA1	0.836	0.310	0.141	0.216	0.111	0.188	-0.168
CA2	0.766	0.231	0.116	0.192	0.009	0.120	-0.109
CA3	0.610	0.285	0.275	0.145	-0.068	0.257	-0.024
CA5	0.714	0.386	0.191	0.249	0.020	0.191	-0.067
FCE2	0.308	0.662	0.121	0.178	0.033	0.262	0.138
FCE3	0.330	0.845	0.269	0.332	0.067	0.249	0.082
FCE4	0.297	0.754	0.165	0.191	-0.100	0.213	-0.004
FCE5	0.289	0.683	0.055	0.233	0.022	0.195	0.031
IC2	0.166	0.231	0.755	0.457	-0.035	0.279	0.160
IC3	0.283	0.192	0.723	0.264	-0.071	0.195	-0.004
IC4	0.231	0.199	0.721	0.211	-0.090	0.292	0.118
IC5	0.168	0.130	0.643	0.188	-0.078	0.218	0.098
IC7	0.083	0.042	0.725	0.176	-0.080	0.157	0.133
IC8	0.025	0.064	0.679	0.138	0.022	0.138	0.243
IMU1	0.278	0.358	0.228	0.732	0.031	0.261	-0.043
IMU2	0.194	0.155	0.245	0.689	0.053	0.168	0.030
IMU3	0.191	0.181	0.342	0.828	0.062	0.250	0.105
IMU4	0.195	0.295	0.344	0.813	0.106	0.335	0.092
PK_Sum	0.041	0.023	-0.074	0.085	1.000	0.072	-0.055
PN4	0.218	0.248	0.134	0.254	-0.049	0.745	0.021
PN5	0.175	0.260	0.325	0.261	-0.107	0.799	0.152
PN6	0.136	0.154	0.197	0.217	0.012	0.601	0.110
PP_Sum	-0.135	0.087	0.179	0.063	-0.055	0.136	1.000

# Appendix G

## PEW Research Centre Report

December 18, 2014

### Political Engagement

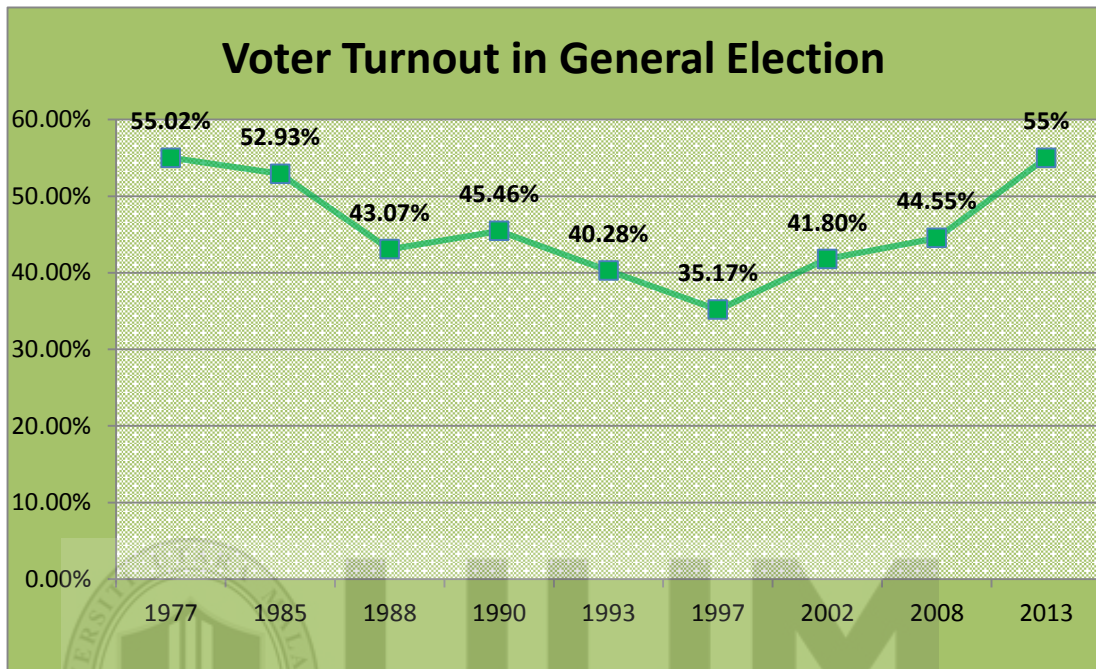
*People who have \_\_\_ in the past*

	Voted in an election	Attended a campaign event or speech	Participated in an organized protest	Been an active member of a political organization	Contacted a gov't official	Participated in labor strikes	Signed a petition about a political issue	Phoned a radio/TV show to express an opinion	Posted online comments on political issues	Posted online links to political articles
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Middle East</b>										
Turkey	78	17	12	10	7	11	9	7	13	13
Lebanon	63	38	36	25	11	18	13	9	18	17
Tunisia	63	22	13	5	7	14	7	4	13	9
Jordan	59	35	22	29	16	19	6	29	13	15
Palest. ter.	54	35	26	21	11	15	14	20	26	23
Egypt	53	46	47	41	23	36	50	39	6	7
<b>MEDIAN</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Africa</b>										
Ghana	81	40	10	21	6	9	2	10	4	4
Uganda	79	59	18	32	30	6	7	16	6	5
Kenya	78	65	24	26	19	16	7	21	12	11
Senegal	75	53	23	28	12	8	8	14	8	7
South Africa	71	28	15	17	6	11	8	11	8	7
Nigeria	70	36	20	24	11	18	4	16	14	10
Tanzania	–	48	10	20	31	4	11	9	5	4
<b>MEDIAN</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Latin America</b>										
Brazil	94	34	9	4	5	7	13	5	9	7
Venezuela	91	31	12	19	12	8	7	13	14	12
Nicaragua	90	47	17	28	15	9	14	9	9	7
Argentina	89	24	15	10	10	10	13	8	13	11
Peru	85	23	15	7	5	11	4	7	5	4
El Salvador	82	27	8	10	5	4	3	6	8	6
Colombia	76	37	9	8	9	8	10	5	9	7
Chile	74	24	27	10	7	17	10	7	15	13
Mexico	71	25	11	8	5	4	5	4	7	6
<b>MEDIAN</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Asia</b>										
Thailand	96	19	11	7	–	3	7	5	9	8
Indonesia	89	21	5	6	5	4	2	5	3	4
India	88	33	19	14	22	17	14	9	6	7
Philippines	85	37	10	14	14	8	9	8	8	8
Bangladesh	78	48	37	32	33	31	22	24	20	21
Malaysia	71	30	9	13	14	5	7	7	7	6
Pakistan	69	13	7	4	8	6	4	1	1	2
<b>MEDIAN</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Eastern Europe</b>										
Ukraine	79	19	18	7	19	9	10	3	7	6
Russia	76	12	7	8	20	6	11	8	8	6
Poland	75	20	16	10	35	14	31	9	9	8
<b>GLOBAL MEDIAN</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>



## Appendix H

### Voter Turnout in General Election of Pakistan

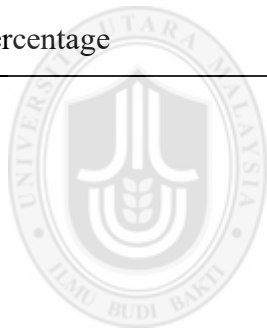


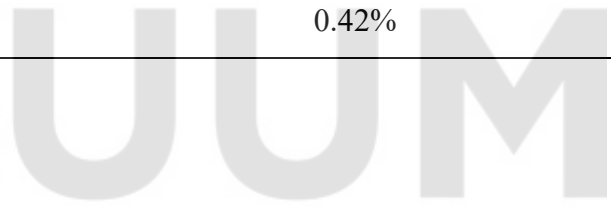
Rank	Country	Average Turnout % (vote/reg)
1	Australia	94.5
2	Singapore	93.5
3	Uzbekistan	93.5
33	Germany	85.4
76	United Kingdom	75.2
79	Sri Lanka	74.3
120	United States of America	66.5
141	India	59.4
142	Russia	58.4
143	Bangladesh	58.2
164	Pakistan	45.3
165	Egypt	45.1
168	Ivory Coast	37.0
169	Mali	21.3

## Appendix I

### Total and Percentage of Missing Values

Latent Variables	Number of Missing Values
Family Communicative Environment (FCE)	6
Classroom Activities (CA)	7
Peer Norms (PN)	8
Informational Media Use (IMU)	0
Interpersonal Communication (IC)	6
Political Knowledge (PK)	29
Political Participation (PP)	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>63 out of 14,688 data points</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>0.42%</b>



  
**Universiti Utara Malaysia**