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



DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA 2018



## Awang Had Salleh Graduate School of Arts And Sciences

Universiti Utara Malaysia

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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 kendiri 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**

**AVE** Average Variance Extracted

**CMM** Communication Mediation Model

**DDB** Doyle Dane Bernbach

**ECP** Election Commission of Pakistan

**FAFEN** Free and Fair Network

HEC Higher Education CommissionIC Interpersonal Communication

**IEA** International Association for Evolution of Education Achievement

ti Utara Malaysia

**IMU** Informational Media Use

**ISTAT** Italian National Institute of Statistics

JUI Jamiat Ulema-e Islam

MNA Member of National Assembly
MPA Member of Provincial Assembly

O Orientation

**PK** Political Knowledge

PML (F) Pakistan Muslim League-Functional

**PML (N)** Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)

**PN** Peer Norms

PP Political Participation
PPP Pakistan People's Party
PS Political Socialization
PTI Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

R Response S Stimuli

SALU Shah Abdul Latif University
SEM Structural Equation Modeling

SL Situated Learning

**SLT** Situated Learning Theory

**SPSS** Statistical Packages for Social Sciences

TV Television

UK United Kingdom

**UNDP** United Nations Development Program

**UoS** University of Sindh

**USAID** 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 infleuncial agent of political socialization. Parents are belived 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

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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.

Strongly Disagree 1 Disagree 2 Somewhat Disagree Disagree 3 Neither Agree of Disagree 4	r Somewhat Agree Strongly Agree
---	---------------------------------

#### **SECTION B: CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES**

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

My parents admit that kids know 2 3 5 6 7 **06** more about some things than parents do.

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.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or		mewh Agree	Ag	ree	Strong Agree	•	_
$N_0^1$		Items 3	Disagree 4	SD	ð	SWD	NA_	sw <sup>7</sup>	A	_SA
							or			
							DA			
	Learning abo	out how gove	rnment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Discussing/d social issues	ebating polit	ical or	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
03	Participating	in political a	ctivities	Чt	2	3	147	si <sub>3</sub>	6	7
	Following the		rt of a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Being encoura	aged decide	about	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.

Strongly Disagree 2	Somewhat Disagree 3	Neither Agree or Disagree 4	Somewhat Agree 5	Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------------------------	------------------------	------------	------------------------

## SECTION D: INFORMATIONAL MEDIA USE

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

Neve 1	r Rarely Occasionally Sometimes 2 3 4	Freque 5		Us	ually 6	y	Eve tim	•
No.	Items	N	R	0	S	F	U	ET
01	How often do you watch national netword TV news to get information about events public issues and politics?		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?	tara	2 8	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?	r 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.

Never 1	Rarely 2	Occasionally 3	Sometimes 4	Frequently 5	Usually 6	Every time 7
------------	----------	----------------	-------------	--------------	--------------	--------------------

#### **SECTION F: POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE**

No.	Items	N	R	O	S	F	U	ET
01	How often do you talk about political issues with family members?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
02	How often do you talk about political issues with friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
03	How often do you talk about political issues with adults outside their family?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
04	How often do you talk about political issues with people who disagreed with them?	ra	2 Ma	3 ala	4 ysi	_5	6	7
05	How often do you talk about political issues by exchanging emails with friends and family?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
06	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
07	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

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

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?	Muhamma d Ishaque Dar	Pervaiz Rasheed	Muham mad Yousif	Shaikh Rashid	Don't Know
02	What is the name of the education minister of Pakistan?	Zahid Hamid	Akram Khan	Muham mad 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 proportio n	Bigger proportio n	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	Parliame nt	Supreme court	Senate Chairma n	Don't Know
09	Which body is responsible to hold election?	Election Commissi on of Pakistan	Pakistan army	Supreme	National Account ability 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 Universiti Utara Malaysia
	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**

STATEMENT SHOWING NUMBER OF STUDENTS (MALE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF SINDH, JAMSHORO
FEMALE) ADMITTED IN VARIOUS COURSES OF STUDIES DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2015

S#	DISCIPLINE		Part-I			Part-I	l .	0				Previou	8		Final(	P)		M.Phi	1	1	Ph.I	D	GR/	AND T	OTAL			
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	М	F	Total	М	F	Total	М	F	Tota	M	F	Tota
1	Economics	107	16	123	82	6	88	64	12	76	61	11	72	32	10	42	26	9	35	14	6		-	+	1012	392	72	
_	General History	30	3	33	22	1	23	6	2	8	4	3	7	1	0	1	1	0	1	-		0	1	0	1 0	64	_	-
3	Gender Studies	114	6	20	9	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	7		0	0	26	-	3
4	Home Economics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	-	1 0	0	20	- 5	3
_	International Relations	66	14	80	53	5	58	37	5	42	34	6	40	22	4	26	11	3	14	- 4	0	1	-	0	0	227	37	264
6	Library & Information Science	88	21	109	75	12	87	0	0	0	0	0	0	58	27		0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	221	60	
7	MLIS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		30	14	0		-	-		-	0		-	-
8	Mass Communication	103	19	122	77	22	99	60	12	72	54	19	73	49	9	,	17		23	10		-	-	0	0	30	14	
9	Political Science	59	12	71	39	4	43	24	0.00	30	32	_	38	11	1	12	5	2	7	2	-	13	- 0	0	0	172	90	100
10	Psychology	1	0	19// 1	2	0	2	3	1	4	3	1	4	7	1	8	0	0	,	0	0	4	- 0	0	0		33	-
11	Public Administration	96	11	107	72	6	78	55	9	64	45	7	52	74	18		50	7	57	16		22	- 0	0	0	16	3	19
12	Sociology	75	12	87	53	10		53	11	64	68	_	74	28	2	30	17	2	19	31	_		1	1	2	409	65	
13	Social Work	57	8	65	49		-	66	10	76	75	_	86	11	0	11	0	3	-	6	_	39	0	0	0	325	51	376
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	272	38	
15	Pakistan Study	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	- 0	- 0	0	0	0	51	27	78	51	27	78	9	0	10		- 0	0	154	10	
16	Women Development Studies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		10	0	- 1	10	2	0	2	113	55	168
	Development Studies	Õ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12		10	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	Criminology	79	7	86	63	4	67	50	0	50	Ó	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	_	12	_	-	0	12	0	12
	Sub Total	824	130	954	624	78	702	455	71	526	416	74	490	344	102	446	216	75	247	107	31		0	-	0	192	11	203
VE	NING PROGRAM	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	М		Total	M	F	Total	M	E .	Total	M	75 F	Total	M	51 F	138	-		12	2995	564	3559
16	Public Administration	0	0	0	0	0	_	13	0	13	51	1	52	m 0	- ^	Total	m	Γ 0	Total	M	1	Total	M	F	Total	М	F	Total
17	PGD-Public Administration	Ó	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.0	64	_1	65
18	Criminology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	0	43	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	. 0	0
	PGD-Community Development	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	0	0	10	1	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	58	1	59
	Grand Total	824	130	954	624	78	_	468	71	539	467	75	542	387	102	489	231	76	263	107	31	138	0	0	12	3117	566	3683

# 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						July 2014 to June 2015]			
				Pakistani Foreign Students Student			Pakis Stud			eign lents	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Main Campus	Economics	4	<b>Bachelor</b> 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) 5 <sup>th</sup> Year (9 <sup>th</sup>	31	4			43	2		
			Semester)								
	UTARA	2	Master 16 years of Education:1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	9	0			5	3		
6			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	6	1			9	0		
VER		NA SA	Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu								
Z	TI SE TI	118	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	1			~				
0		//-/	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
	ESIU SUU BE	y Uı	3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	tai	a M	lala	ays	ia			
	BUDI BE	1	M. Phil 1st Year(1st Semester)	30	2			31	4		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	18	1			30	2		
		1	PhD  1st Year (1st 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)								
			Total	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			3 to Jui		[July 2014 to June 2015]				
				Pakistani Foreign Students Students		Pakis Stude			eign lents			
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Main Campus	International Relations	4	Bachelor 1st Year (1st 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)									
	UTAR	2	<b>Master</b> 16 years of Education:1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	2	1			2	0			
/		3	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	2	0			2	1			
ERS		JE	Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu									
713		SX	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)				7					
5			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
/°		// -	3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
	BUDI BA	1 01	M. Phil 1st Year(1st Semester)	6	0	ala	ys	8	1			
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	5	1			6	0			
		1	PhD  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			
			Post Graduate Diplomas									
			Others If any (please specify)									
			Total	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									
				Pakistani Foreign Students Students		Pakis Stude			eign lents		
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Main Campus	Media Studies	4	<b>Bachelor</b> 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:1st Year (1st Semester)	2	0			4	2		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	6	0			1	0		
/	ST UTARA	3	Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu								
18		1/5	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)								
IVE			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
Z	118811		3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
/-		)·/1 —	M. Phil 1st Year(1st Semester)	0	0	le b	)VS	10	1		
	BUDI BA	9 01	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	001	C1 1	1011	-90	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)								
			Total	125	3	0	0	149	7	0	0
											284

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education				[July 2013 to June 2014]				[July 2014 to June 2015]		
				Pakistani Foreign Students Students			Paki Stud			eign lents		
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Main Campus	Pakistan Studies		Bachelor 1st Year (1st 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	Master 16 years of Education:1st Year (1st Semester)	49	5			56	15			
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	30	10			49	5			
AL U	TARA		Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu									
13/			1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)									
<b>E</b> T			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
		Unive	M. Phil 1st Year(1st Semester)	15	0	avs	ia	24	1			
ON B	UDI BAR	01110	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	10	1	.,,,		15	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)									
			Total	104	16	0	0	144	21	0	0	
											285	

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July 2013 to June 2014]			ne	[Jւ		014 to June 2015]		
				Students S					stani lents		eign lents	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Main Campus	Political Science	4	Bachelor 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	Master 16 years of Education:1st Year (1st Semester)	2	0			6	2			
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	0	0			2	0			
	UTAR		Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu									
/		4	1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)									
12			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)				$\leq$					
IVE		\ <u>\$</u>	3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)									
ND		1	M. Phil 1st Year(1st Semester)	4	2			5	2			
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	2	1	45		4	2			
	BUDI BA	1	PhD  1st Year (1st Semester)	0	0	lai	a y s	0	0			
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)	0	0			0	0			
			Post Graduate Diplomas									
			Others If any (please specify)									
			Total	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]				[Ju	ly 201 201	4 to Ju 15]	ne
				Pakistani Foreign Students Students			Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Main Campus	Sociology		Bachelor 1st Year (1st 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	Master 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		
	TITAD		Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu			4.50					
/	AL COMMON	2	1st Year (1st Semester)								
18		1/2/	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
N S			3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
NO NO		STA	M. Phil 1st Year(1st Semester)								
/°		()	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)		- 1						
`	BUDI BE	y 01	PhD	ara	IV.	ala	ysi	d			
			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)								
		_	Total	21	3	0	0	25	7	0	0

Name of Campus/ Department	Subject	Year of Education	Level of Education	[July	[July 2013 to June 2014]				ıly 201 201		ne
				Pakistani Foreig Students Studen			Pakistani Students		Foreign Students		
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Main Campus	Gender Studies		Bachelor 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	Master 16 years of Education:1st Year (1st Semester)	1	4			2	2		
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	9	2			1	4		
	TITAD		Master (H) 16+ yrs. of Edu								
/			1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)								
/a			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
		12	3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
N	TEI	SIA	M. Phil 1st Year(1st Semester)								
/°			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
	BUDI B	9 01	PhD  1st Year (1st Semester)	tar	a M	ala	ys	ld			
			Already enrolled Maximum upto 5 years of enrollment)								
		1	Post Graduate Diplomas	3	4			2	4		
			Others If any (please specify)								
			Total	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							4 to Ju 15]	ıne	
				Pakistani Foreign Students Students		Pakis Stud			eign dents		
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Main Campus	Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali	5	<b>Bachelor</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Year (1 <sup>st</sup> Semester)	43	2			49	3		
	Bhutto School of		2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)	25	1			43	2		
	LAW		3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)	26	1			25	1		
			4th Year (7th Semester)					26	1		
			5th Year (9th Semester)								
			Master 16 years of Education:1st Year (1st Semester)								
			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
	- T 4		<b>Master (H)</b> 16+ yrs. of Edu								
	AT UTARA		1st Year (1st Semester)								
/2			2 <sup>nd</sup> Year (3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
VE		18	3 <sup>rd</sup> Year (5 <sup>th</sup> Semester)								
IN	TE T	SIA	M. Phil 1st Year(1st Semester)								
\.		//-/ —	2 <sup>nd</sup> Year(3 <sup>rd</sup> Semester)								
	BUDI BN	<b>9</b> Ui	PhD ersiti U	tar	a M	lala	ays	ia			
	8UDI 1		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)		_					_	
			Total	94	4	0	0	143	7	0	0 249

Appendix D

Normality test Results

# **Normality Test**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Skev	ness	Kurt	osis
	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	UT2	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	BUDI	BEEN O	nivers	iti Utara	maiay	sia		

# Appendix E Multicollinearity Test Results

#### Correlations

				itions				
		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 <sup>*</sup>
	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 S	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 <sup>*</sup>	.079	.152 <sup>**</sup>	055	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.200	.179	.019	.180	.010	.353	
	N	288	288	288	288	288	288	288

<sup>\*\*.</sup> Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

<sup>\*.</sup> Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix F
Smart PLS Output of Measurement model

### F Square

Oquare							
	CA	FCE	IC	IMU	PK	PN	PP
CA				0.019			0.055
FCE				0.038			0.012
IC					0.014		0.029
IMU			0.170		0.015		
PK							0.001
PN				0.066			0.010
PP							

Construct Reliability and Validity

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

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

Universiti Utara Malaysia

## **Cross Loadings**

Closs Loadings			10 11411		DI	DV DD	
	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

December18, 2014

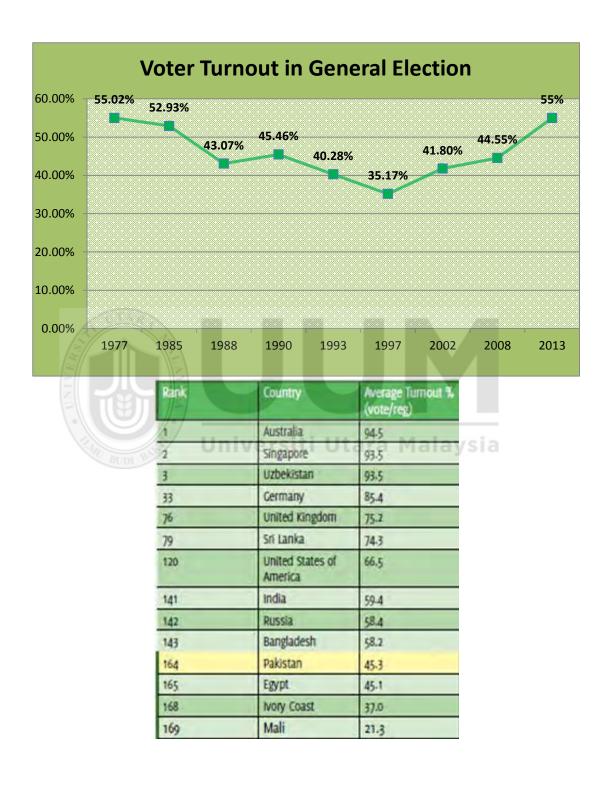
## **Political Engagement**

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

				Been an			Signed a	Phoned a	Posted	Posted
		Attended a	Participated				petition		online	online
		campaign	in an	member of	Contacted	l Participated	about a	show to	comments	links to
	an	event or	organized	a political	a gov't	in labor		express an		•
Middle East	election %	speech %	protest %	organization %	official %	strikes %	issue %	opinion %	issues %	articles %
Turkey	78	17	12	10	70	11	9	70	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
MEDIAN	61	35	24	23	11	17	11	15	13	14
Africa			12/	20					10	
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
MEDIAN	77	48	/18	24	12	9 7 3	V7.a	14	8	7
Latin America	-	BUDI BE	7					-		
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
MEDIAN	85	27	12	10	7	8	10	7	9	7
Asia	96	19	11	7		3	7	E	9	0
Thailand				6	_	4		5		8
Indonesia	89	21	5	_	5		2	5	3	4
India	88	33	19	14	22	17	14	9	6	7
Philippines	85	37	10 37	14	14	8	9	8 24	8	8
Bangladesh	78 71	48	3 <i>1</i> 9	32 13	33	31	22		20	21
Malaysia	71	30	9 7	13 4	14 8	5 6	7	7	7	6
Pakistan	69 85	13 30	10	13	8 14	6	7	7	7	7
MEDIAN	83	30	10	13	14	б	- /	/	/	/
Eastern Europe 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
GLOBAL MEDIAN	78	32	15	14	11	9	9	9	9	7

Appendix H

Voter Turnout in General Election of Pakistan



# 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
Total	63 out of 14,688 data points
Percentage	0.42%