Role of Media in Political Socialization: The Case of Pakistan

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Abstract

This Paper develops a framework of political socialization in Pakistan. This study is exploratory and explanatory in nature and investigates political socialization through media. Media is a lifeline of socialization. This study describes the terms political socialization and political communication. The field of political communication interacts between media and political systems at local, national and international level. Public opinion is made in democracy by voting and responding to polls besides participating in elections. Special emphasis has been put on electioneering campaigns, voting behaviors and role of media in creating political awareness.

Keywords: Political Socialization, Media, Political Communication, Public Opinion, Voting Behaviors

Introduction

"Political socialization through media is not a new phenomenon. Political scientists are sometimes interested in the media's role in politics. Media plays an important role in creating political awareness among the people and ensures their participation in the democratic process. It also plays a significant role in bringing changes in the society. Socialization is a long-term process that every human being undergoes as he or she becomes a functioning member of society. Socialization refers to the internalizing of all of the lessons from many sources concerning ways of behaving that are approved or expected by society, as individuals mature through every stage in the life cycle."[1]

Media is one of the agents that politically socialize masses. Radio and Television are playing significant role in a politically socialized life. Media is a source of information which not only affects daily activities of human life but also provides information about other events like developments being took place on national and international

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forums. The extent of media and its possible effect on general public have been acknowledged in various media research studies. The primary purpose of media is to ensure a well informed citizenry for our social and political structure. The mass media provides information and programs that can promote democracy. Communication system's democratization has not gained much attention in the individual countries despite of political awareness in masses. Media can ensure smooth functioning of a democratic system which is linked with media role for diffusion in field of innovations and information. The basic aim of democracy in Pakistan is to work for a democratic system representing opinion of the public. The development of democratic Government by the people is determined through interaction of democracy with public's aspirations regarding formation of Government in accordance with their desires.

      The political stakeholders like politicians, political parties etc play pivotal role in representative democracy through maintaining link between people and those having political powers. In this way, establishment of political power structure and various interests of citizens are balanced. Formation of public opinion and mobilization are caused due to involvement of media, political institutions and other networks. The process of socialization can be defined as creating a sense of interaction with world by gaining and adopting norms, values and traditions of other cultures. Adoption of other cultures is over-dominating our own culture in a process of socialization. Since our childhood, we acquire knowledge about how to behave in a socially acceptable manner. Some social segments have very powerful impact in socialization of young generations like family and (schools), whereas other institutions have also strong effect on process of socialization though not intentional. Now we are looking for the place of media in socialization. It has been observed that an average American high school student remain in front of TV for more time than in a class.[2] Mass Media is considered as strong agent of socialization.

Public Opinion
It is defined as "aggregate of individual attitudes or beliefs shared by some portion of adults. Public opinion is known in democracy through voting besides responding to polls as well as participating in protests and lobbing through interests groups." Public opinion is formed through political socialization in which people adopt opinions and values about political issues. The most important factor influencing people's political beliefs is the family. Children require parental support and pay due respect to their opinions. The influence cast by family is the

identification of particular political party. Education institutions and media also play an important role in political opinion formation.

Voting behavior and Political Preferences

The voting factors pertaining to demography and socio-economic fields like religion, Education, income, gender, geographic location and ethnic perspective influence decisions. Religion is a complex factor to define as an influence. However, it can be said that those who identity themselves as fundamentalists are having religious backgrounds. People form their opinion regarding casting of votes keeping in mind image of candidate, economic issues, party identification and other burning problems. Every country is divided into numerous ethnic, religious, and political groups. J. Konow observed in laboratory experiments that small stakes have small share in translation of large stake environment even outside the laboratory i.e. in the field observations.[3]

Objectives of the Study

Objectives of the research study were as under:-
- To understand the new style of political campaign in media and its effects in formation of political attitude.
- To know political socialization through media.
- To enquire media effects on the voting behavior

Literature Review

The use of political information through media has significant impact on voters' participation in political programs. Scholars have sensed profound changes in media and contemporary society with passage of time which gave birth to new kind of political communication that is different in quality from its earlier political communication research studies.[4] The political communication has been transformed in recent research studies and meanings of "Democracy" are being inquired and reviewed.[5]

After World War II, first two decades have been given the name of golden age of parties.[6] The prime source of debate and initiatives for social reforms were regarded for political system in this period. The party system was closely influenced from the existing social structure and in return many voters associated themselves with politics through strong affiliation with party identifications. A high level of confidence in political institutions was accompanied by consensus at this time during the age of high modernism.[7] Stable and strong political institutions and beliefs were the main sprouts for political communication.

Garramone and Atkin's study [8] bases analysis on two kinds of political knowledge and two forms of political behavior while effect of TV, Radio, Newspapers and newsmagazines were compared. Various age groups were exposed to media contents especially the political interest was examined in the research study. Results of the study revealed that broadcast news exposure was strongly related to political knowledge than print news exposure. The researchers also succeeded in proving that broadcast exposure was a better predictor of current issues rather than fundamental knowledge. On the other hand print news exposure equally predicts these two types of knowledge. The research showed that broadcast news exposure was closely related to the interpersonal discussion than anticipated participation whereas print news exposure was related to participation rather than discussion.

McLeod and his associates have categorized individual effects of media into four major types.
(i)   Opinion formation and changes.
(ii) Changes in cognition.
(iii) How individual understand the political system.
(iv) What is their participation? [9]

Pakistan has bounties of mineral resources and one of the richest nations of the world in this regard; however it has not the required expertise to exploit these resources. The Province of Balochistan is blessed with huge natural resources including natural gas, copper, gold etc. The Riko dik copper and gold reservoirs have become focal issue of media discussions since 2010. An agreement for exploration and drilling of gold and copper in Riko Dik reservoirs has reached between government of Balochistan and T.C.C. on ratio of 25%, and 75% respectively. The project has been challenged in Supreme Court of Pakistan by 26 Senators which shows that media has brought importance of issue in the eyes of parliamentarians and masses. The project was initiated in 1993, but stakeholders rose to the occasion in 2010 and 2011. This shows slackness on part of media as well as political system.

M. Khalid[10] draws a sketch of political system of the newly born Country Pakistan at the time of "its Independence" in 1947. The country adopted government of India amendments. The constituent Assembly of Pakistan was assigned task to frame separate constitution. This Assembly was indirectly elected by the provincial assembly. It was also the function of constituent assembly to work as the federal interim legislature. After that assembly held its first meeting during one and a half years and only prepared a draft of Objectives Resolution. Since then the country has functioned under interim legislature until 1973, when it

got a uniformed constitution**.** This shows that the media was in the control of government, and could not project the interest of the common people. In 2002, during Pervez Musharraf regime, the promulgation of PEMRA Ordinance allowed private channels to broadcast and telecast social and political issues existing in society.

If we take the issue of restoration of judiciary in Pakistan as an example, media played a pivotal role in creating political awareness among masses towards autonomous and independent judiciary, while on the other hand some of our political players were not in favor of restoration of judiciary. Media opted for people's aspirations and projected their agenda. Political talk shows and discussion programs played very effective role in creating political awareness in masses. During elections of 2007, media generated the opinion of common voters by presenting different parties' manifestos. The issues of election campaign and images of candidates are to be the major factors of voting. These are aimed for the voters to get information about the political parties. It raises a question about the source of information. It is evident that most of common people get their desired political information through political programs of media.

"Voting is a sacred act in democracy. Whatever its virtue, a political system cannot begin to call itself democratic unless its citizens, one and all, have the right to vote. By degrees, many societies have met this basic standard with each of their citizens empowered to elect representatives or vote directly on policy. But is that enough?"[11]

In William Riker and Peter Ordeshook's (1968) study on why people vote, the idea of relatedness is applied when they argue that participation in voting process provides individuals' satisfaction without their aspirations of affecting outcome of elections process. Mansbridge describes political participation as "necessary for personal development, to make one fully human, broad in outlook, and conscious of one's own interests".[12] Finkel, finds that voting and working on a campaign have different effects on individual satisfaction with democracy.[13]

Theoretical Framework
Framework of media role underpinning in political socialization is termed media contents' characteristics will determine almost the entire production which result in consumers of the media. Special attention is paid to political campaigning, media and political socialization, political participation and public opinion besides relationships between media and related organizations such as political entities and interest groups. Researchers are taking interest in studies regarding media uses in

elections campaigns as well as in processes of political marketing in government and media role play in local and other forms of governance.

This empirical study falls under the umbrella of "Social Learning Theory". The idea of this study was to ascertain causes for the apparent appeal of media and its various contents by investigating audience about their thinking, feeling and realizing on the grounds of their personal use of media in voting.

Social Learning Theory
"People learn through observing others' behavior, attitudes, and outcomes of those behaviors. Most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action".[14]

Political Media
- Individual Contacts
  - Contacts with primary and secondary groups
  - Interactions through Phone and door to door.
- Contact through direct mail.
- Interaction through Newspapers, Television and Internet.

Other Campaign Contacts
Contacts through Voter Lists voter registration files
- Target message based on demographic information on voter lists.
- ID supporters.
- GOTV (Get out the Vote).
- Recently, absentee balloting requires additional organization to get away mail ballots.

Agenda Setting and Gate Keeping
- Choice of stories affects how people view the world (Priming: which stories are most important to evaluate candidates?).
- Iyengar and Kinder – found that placing a story in the news increased persons perceptions that the story was the "most important" issue and people began evaluating the president on that issue.
- Limits to agenda setting
  - People learn from their daily lives, too. Can't make an issue out of nothing, can't reduce an important issue to nothing.

> – However, perception of crime rate is tied to media coverage of events.
- Media report on stories of interest to people (ratings!).

Major Variables
Exposure to political communication is considered independent variable. Exposure is the choice of verbal and non-verbal (poster, sign board, billboard, wall chalking) communication. These are called the predictor variables. All the given TV channels are treated as independent variables. The predictor variables influence the criterion variable of impact. The watching political issues on Television, radio. Reading newspapers to keep update him/her of day to day happening.

Hypotheses
Hi: Greater is the exposure to the messages of elections campaign Greater will be voter behavior of costing the vote.
Hi: TV, radio channels and newspapers are more likely treated as sources of information.
Hi: Private TV channels are more significant than the other public channels in political Programs.
Hi: Good portraying of political issues guarantees strong Pakistan.
Hi: Political dialogues & the parameters of political participation are different.

Methods
This study is conducted in district Peshawar, the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. All the 92 union councils (UC) of district Peshawar were sampled systematically for the study. In this cross-sectional survey, it is retained to cover at least the exact number from each Union Council of the district. Union councils of the district are ordered according to the size of population (census 1998) and in each Council proportional-to-size sampling procedures were adopted. Due to limitation of budget and time the present study is restricted to districts' constituencies: "PF-1 (Peshawar-1) PF-2 (Peshawar-2) PF-3 (Peshawar-3) PF-4 (Peshawar-4) PF-5 (Peshawar-5) PF-6 (Peshawar-6) PF-7 (Peshawar-7) PF-8 (Peshawar-8) PF-9 (Peshawar-9) PF-10 (Peshawar-10) PF-11 (Peshawar-11)."

Multi-stage cluster sampling
As the name shows, it involves drawing several different samples from a selected population. It was practiced for the purpose to minimize cost of final interviewing.

Basic Procedure
First the sample is drawn of the areas. Initially large areas (including urban and rural) selected then progressively smaller areas within larger area are selected as sample. Eventually sampling ended up with sample of units such as constituency/ union council/village and used the method of selecting individuals from these selected units randomly.

Stratified Sampling
All people in sampling frame are divided into several "strata" (groups). A simple random sample or systematic sample is selected within each stratum. We have a formula as $(n/N) \times N_h)$ for the proportional allocation in which 'n' is the desired sample and 'N' is the population size for district/ UC and 'N_h' is the number of union Council.

Data Analysis
The analysis of the study was done through both types of statistics (descriptive & inferential). I have categorized the numerical information according to the nature of the question asked from the respondent for easy understanding.The method used was descriptive statistics, factor analysis of the correlation matrix, chi-square (X^2), principal component analysis ab $= i_{n,}$ p value and statistical significance, regression analysis, one-way analysis of variance, covariance matrix, t-test and *f*-distribution. The hypothesis to be tested was denoted by "H_O" as null hypothesis and the alternative hypothesis is denoted by "H_a".

Political Issues on Television, Radio and, Newspapers
H_o there is significant difference between TV, radio and newspapers for getting political information
H_a there is no significant difference between TV, radio and newspapers for getting political information

Factor Analysis of the Correlation Matrix
Factor analysis result of the correlation matrix shows that TV -0.421, 0.907 and -0.009 radio -0.989, -0.133, 0.066 while Newspapers -0.964, -0.260 and -0.064 respectively found correlated and there is a slight difference between on the margin of its non- relationship. The variance of the three variables is 2.0836 0.9080   0.0084   3.0000 and 0.695, 0.303, 0.003 and 1.000 while the coefficients is of TV -0.202, 0.999, -1.020, Radio -0.475, -0.146, 7.789 and Newspapers % of Variance -0.462, -0.286 and,-7.549. Findings reveal that with a very slight difference. It can be concluded that there is a difference and the H_o has not been rejected.

Table 1.1: Mostly used sources like TV, Radio Channels and Newspapers
Chi-squared (X^2) 7×3 contingent table
H_o TV, radio channels and newspapers are frequently treated
H_a TV, radio channels and newspapers are not frequently treated

TV	Radio	Newspapers
49.52	46.03	44.44
46.34	43.07	41.59
60.84	56.55	54.60
59.07	54.91	53.02
34.67	32.22	31.11
25.47	23.67	22.86
36.08	33.54	32.38

The results of X^2 indicated that the respondents watching, reading and listening political programs. The result of the X^2 significant with df= of 12 and P-value= 0.000 as alpha calculated value claiming 1.832 + 0.790 + 5.444 + with inference of   9.919 + 1.694 + 4.000 = 108.070. To check the significant difference we prefer level of significance to be set at 0.05.

Table 1.2: Watching political program on private TV channels in Pakistan
Principal Component Analysis AB = I_n
Eigen analysis of the Correlation Matrix which can be expressed as follows: $y_i=å(b_j x_{ij})$, where b_j is the "coefficient" of variable j, and x_{ij} is value of observation i of variable.

Eigen value	1.4480	0.5520
Proportion	0.724	0.276
Cumulative	0.724	1.000
Political Program	0.707	0.707
Private channels Program	-0.707	0.707

The result revealed that the hypothesis H_0: $\lambda_{from} = ... = \lambda_{to}$ that r (= to–$from$+1) of the Eigen values λ of the covariance matrix are equal. The remaining Eigen values are unrestricted as to their values and multiplicities. The alternative hypothesis to H_0 is that some of the Eigen values in the set are distinct. The difference between taking interest in political programs and private TV channels in Pakistan is less significant.

The result concludes that private TV channels are more significant than taking the interest in political programs.

Table 1.3: Frequency of Private TV Channels

	group one	group two
Mean	37.25	30.63
SD	19.59	14.23
SEM	6.93	5.03

Table 1.3 has indicated that P value and statistical significance: The two-tailed P value equals 0.4519 by conventional criteria; this difference is considered to be not statistically significant.

Confidence interval: The mean of shows equals 6.63
95% confidence interval of this difference: From -11.74 to 24.99
Intermediate values used in calculations: $t = 0.7738$
$df = 18$, standard error of difference = 8.562

Portraying political issues & guarantee strong Pakistan
H_o Portraying political issues and political institutions guarantee strong Pakistan is significant
H_a Portraying political issues and political institutions guarantee strong Pakistan is not significant
Findings shows that TV channel 0.900, -0.435 political institution 0.900, 0.435 and the Communality is1.000   respectively correlated and there is significant difference. The variance of the three variables is 1.6217, 0.3783 commonality 2.0000 and % Var 0.811, 0.189   1.000. The Factor Score Coefficients of both variables (0.555, -1.150) and the result concludes that private TV channels play due role in portraying political issues. With the given alpha 0.05, the null hypothesis is accepted.

Satisfaction with coverage of political issues
The finding indicates that with n=5 the M=56, MD=55, which reflects the variable falling within the area where there is an odd number of items in each data set. The measure of central tendency shows that 55 is the middle value. The StDev =10.58 as a normal distribution of data means that most set of data are close to the "average," and the variance = 112**.** We can conclude that the data is skewed with 0.17 and the respondents are satisfied with coverage of newspapers and magazines.

Table 1.4: Democratic system, coverage to politics and political issues
Chi-squared (X^2) 5×3 contingent table

93.53	86.67	79.81
92.81	86.00	79.19
51.08	47.33	43.59
37.05	34.33	31.62
25.54	23.67	21.79

Findings of the Chi-Sq have shown that 0.003 + 0.001 + 0.000 +and coverage to politics 3.043 + 0.186 + 5.466 + while the political issues 0.000 + 6.594 + 7.097 +, 0.421 + 0.052 + 0.217 +highlights the covariance of the variables 7.094 + 6.779 + 0.029 = 36.982. The result prescribes that with the df=8, and the P-value=0.000.

The result of X^2 indicates that democratic system, coverage to politics and political issues are correlated.

Negotiation, political dialogues and Political participation
Regression analysis determines the values of parameters negotiation, political dialogues Coef. 7.50 St.Dev 18.29 T 0.41 P 0.709 and the political participation in the same way 1.0326, 0.3490, 2.96, 0.060 respectively cause the function to best fit a set of data observations that you provide. S = 19.62 R-Sq = 74.5% R-Sq (adj) = 66.0 are the values of parameters which we observations. The summary describes the analysis of variance and shows evidence of a statistically significant linear relationship between the regression equation is = 7.5 + 1.03 political dialogues & political participation. Square mean 3369.4 F distribution 8.75 and the P=0.060.

Best sources of good media creating political awareness
One-Way Analysis of Variance
H_0 Sources of good media creating political awareness
H_a Sources of good media not creating political awareness
The result of analysis of variance showed that DF=8 sum of square 109, F distribution 0.12 and the P=0.737. Mean=54.80 of political awareness and 61.40 of sources from where they get information. The StDev of political awareness is 22.47 and sources from where they get information shows 35.96, while the Pooled StDev = 29.98. Findings supports the Null hypothesis (H_o) that sources of good media creates awareness among the voters or other people of the country in Pakistan.

Table 1.5: Understanding the cast of vote

Chi-squared (X^2) 3×3 contingent table

H_o understanding to cast vote for the part which raise voice for masses good life

H_a No understanding to cast vote

Electronic Media	Print Media	other Sources
34.27	29.08	26.65
32.75	27.78	25.47
31.98	27.14	24.88

The results of (X^2) Chi-Sq indicates = 3.706 + 1.722 + 12.628 + 4.585 + 0.053 + 7.123 + clearly pictures the tendency that the volume of correlation and covariance at the distance in terms of measure of dispersion but the over all aptitude of the variables are 0.030 + 1.266 + 0.956 = 32.070 DF = 4, P-Value = 0.000. It means that the masses are well aware of the fact that which party is sincere and which not. It is the other aspect of true picture that after winning the elections the parties lose the credibility.

Table 1.6: Media affect public opinion & build relationship between the people and Political entities

Eigen value	658.43	45.77
Proportion	0.935	0.065
Cumulative	0.935	1.000
public opinion	0.784	0.621
Media affects	0.621	0.784

Covariance Matrix of media affects and public opinion builds relationship between the people and Political entities. The cross matching of public opinion and proportion is significant. The relationship between the people and Political entities and media effects are also co-significant and correlate the strength of relationships. The basic realm of relation is Eigen-value 658.43, 45.77 Cumulative 0.935, 1.000 public opinion 0.784, 0.621 while media affects 0.621, 0.784.

Table 1.7: Transparent Election in Pakistan & Politically Socialization of the Masses

Transparent Election = 11.2 + 0.802					
Politically socialize=0.8019		0.4819	1.66	0.195	
Predictor	Coef	StDev	T	P	
Constant	11.22	29.30	0.38	0.727	
S = 26.53		R	Sq = 48.0%	R	Sq(adj) = 30.7%

Table 1.7 have Shown that transparent elections = 11.2 + 0.802 and the politically socialize=0.8019   0.4819   1.66   0.195 Coef 11.22 StDev 29.30 T 0.38 P< 0.727. SS = 1949.0, MS=1949.0 F ratio=2.77P-value =0.195. The result further describes that transparent election and political socialization of people acquire their perceptions and feelings about their political environment. It accounts for both the commonalties and diversities of political life. It is an approach to understanding both patterns of similarities and differences in political outlooks among the constituents of a given system.

Table 1.8: Free Media assure transparent Elections and can politically socialize the masses
(Answer to all choice)

	Important factor	Less important	Not important
Social status	90	143	67
Education	155	110	35
Income	133	150	17
All the above	206	86	9

The results of an unpaired t-test performed t=-0.453E-02 Sdev= 63.7 degrees of freedom = 10. The probability of this result, assuming the null hypothesis, is 1.00
Group A: Number of items= 6 indicates 35.0 67.0 90.0 110. 143. 155 and Mean = 100.
95% confidence interval for Mean= 42.06 thru 157.9 Standard Deviation = 45.6 Hi = 155. Low = 35.0
Median=100 rather the Average Absolute Deviation from Median = 36.0
Group B: Number of items= 6 reflects 9.00 17.0 86.0 133. 150. 206 and Mean = 100 95% confidence interval for Mean= 42.22 thru 158.1
Standard Deviation = 77.7 Hi = 206. Low = 9.00
Median = 110 while the average Absolute Deviation from Median = 62.8
We can easily concludes that the social status, education and income are the influencing factors which turn the decision of the voters against or positive about anyone during elections days.

Table 1.9: Popular Parties in Pakistan (Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan Voters)

X	Mean	Standard Deviation
*Pakistan Peoples Party	45.75	15.95
*Pakistan Muslim League (N)	45.00	22.41
*Pakistan Muslim League(Q)	27.50	11.12
*Pakistan Muslim League(F)	15.50	12.50

∗Muttahida Qaumi Movement	28.75	32.50
∗Awami National Party	28.50	19.23
∗Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal	24.75	7.63
∗Balochistan National Party (Awami)	12.25	12.01

∗Pakistan Peoples Party (Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan)
∗Pakistan Muslim League (N) (Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan)
∗Pakistan Muslim League (Q) (Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan)
∗Pakistan Muslim League (F) (Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan)
∗Muttahida Qaumi Movement (Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan)
∗Awami National Party (Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan)
∗Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan)
∗Balochistan National Party (Awami) (Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan)

Since the calculated *F* value, concluded that it is unlikely that all the eight main parties in the four provinces of Pakistan are not so much popular as we thought. With 7 degree of freedom the sum of square 40.72 MS =582 F ratio=1.75   and P value is 0.145. Result further shows that Mean & StDev of popularity have got major by the two parties (PPP & PML (N)) in terms of having majority in all the provinces of country.

Conclusion

This study has provided a considerable theoretical realization as well as imperative and informative material for all participating sectors in this work. Pakistan among parties within a variety of particular conditions; mainly relate to the central pillars of the public participation in political activities that were initially discussed in the theoretical part of this research. Impartial political programs are the essence of democratic system.

Though there is a potentiality to create a public awareness through media campaign but the people of Pakistan don't believe in the functional approach of development. The current political communication approach of the private channels affects positively the rise and development of the political public sphere in Pakistan but it is considered, in addition to the existing stance of mal-actors in the media organizations as a major obstacle that halts providing the functioning status of the developed public awareness. The present political communication approach of the Pakistan leadership towards the Foreign affairs is more complex as it may look like, in general; it is characterized by weakness, indiscipline, and a number of serious gap among various parties. The available political communication approach of the Pakistan leadership towards the best delivery of services stands presently at a

cross road. The tendency towards reforming policies especially in the war on terror is misleading. Media reflect the apathy and frame a friendly situation among political parties and pressure groups.

The widespread perception of politics being a non-consequential endeavor must be changed.. Pakistani civic journalism growth has been stunted by the turning away of the youth from politics. This situation leads to a one-dimensional understanding of citizenship and ignores systemic solutions to socioeconomic and political problems faced by the country. Focused and well defined policies are required to include the youth back into mainstream political processes. Only a sense of real participation in the system and a clear purpose of that participation can restore the young public's confidence in politics and keep them away from their present state of political alienation.

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