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

**Sumera Memon[1], Mohd. Sobhi Bin Ishak[2], Norsiah Binti Abdul Hamid**

Department of Media Management School of Multimedia Technology and Communication

Universiti Utara Malaysia

Malaysia

Email: [1]sumeralrk@gmail.com; [2]msobhi@uum.edu.my

## Abstract

*Young people are often characterized as apathetic and disconnected from the political world. Undoubtedly, their low rate of participation in general elections has increased concerns amongst researchers as well as policy makers. This concern has stimulated researchers to explore the factors which weaken or discourage youth engagement in political activities. Thus, this study assesses the role of family communicative environment, peer group communicative environment and school communicative environment as types of political socialization agents of political participation of youths. A cross-sectional survey was conducted among 288 social science students in Pakistan. Questionnaires were used to collect data and the collected data was analyzed using SPSS 23. The findings revealed that family communicative environment and peer group communicative environment positively influence the political participation of youths. However, school communicative environment was found to influence political participation negatively. This study provides an empirical justification for the potential of family and peer group as agents of political socialization for enhancing political activities among youth in Pakistan.*

**Keywords**: *Family, School, Peer Group Communicative Environment, Political Participation*

**Introduction**

Rising concerns about political participation and its implications for the proper functioning of democracy have encouraged scholars and policy makers to explore what weakens or encourages people to engage in political activities. Scholars have increasingly examined the factors that influence youths to participate in political activities. This is because youth have been found to be apathetic to politics (Putnam, 2000). Recently, PEW (2014) cross-national studies showed young people are significantly less likely to vote compared to older individuals. In 21 out of 30 countries, youth are reluctant to participate in political activities. Lack of political participation among youth is a global phenomenon, and despite the attainment of democratic governments, advanced communications and technological achievements, the generational gaps between youth and older people remain ultra-high. In fact, Norris (2003) opines that youth are more active in cause-oriented politics, such as demonstrations, boycotts or buying products for political causes. Yet, these youth do not seek to understand how their representatives are chosen or the process of formulating public policies.

Conversely, media and communication studies point out that compared to previous youth cohorts, today's young people are less knowledgeable about the substance of politics (Delli Carpini, 2000; Mushtaq, Abiodullah, & Akber, 2011). This age group is also less likely to consume public affairs news compared to their older counterparts. Consequently, scholarly concerns have grown over the challenge of generational replacement (Putnam, 1995). Therefore, it is necessary to refocus academic efforts on the study of the political socialization agents of political participation of youths (Hively, & Eveland, 2009), including the understanding of the role of the family, peer group and school communicative environments, and their influence on youth participation in political activities.

Previous studies have claimed that the family, peer group and school are political socialization agents, which are likely to make young people more or less inclined towards

political activities (York, & Scholl, 2015). Therefore, this paper sets out to examine the influence of political socialization agents such as the family, peer group and school communicative environments on political participation among Pakistani youths.

**Literature Review**

2.1 Family Communicative Environment

The family plays a significant role in political participation for a range of reasons. Most prominent is that it exposes youth to social and political values and norms, thus providing a rationale for participation. 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 assume that "I am a member of X party" (Michael et al., 2004). In support of the former, numerous researches have revealed that there is a high level of uniformity in party choice, political preference, attitude and behavior amongst parents and their offspring (Sani & Quaranta, 2015; Cicognani, Zani, Fournier, Gavray, & Born, 2012).

By and large, the family discussion environment is a key factor for political socialization. Actually, there are two sub-factors under the family communication environment; first is concept-oriented and second is socio-oriented, and the latter suggests a harmonious environment through escapism and overt disagreement on topics. In contrast, the former suggests an open conversational environment where children are encouraged to express their concerns and ideas, as well as share views on controversial topics (Shah, Rojas, & Cho, 2009). We expect concept-oriented environments to be engendered, where parents encourage youth to give their opinions on issues, and where youths feel free to express their concerns and ideas, and argue on controversial issues. Such democratic environments foster youth civic and political skills, and as a result, increase knowledge and political participation (Shulman & DeAndrea, 2014). A family communication environment based on concept orientation is considered to be key to

political socialization (Lee, Shah, & McLeod, 2013). Therefore, we conceptualize concept-oriented environment as family communicative environment and hypothesize that;

**H1** Family communicative environment significantly influences the political participation of Pakistani youth.

## 2.2    Peer Group

Friendships and integration into the peer group do have beneficial impacts on political participation. Associated factors such as common interests, social position and age are also essential for social capital (Lee et al., 2013). In fact, association with peers who have different opinions and backgrounds is thought to foster political and civic skills as well as uplift civic and political zeal (Harell, Stolle, & Quintelier, 2008). Similarly, Mutz and Mondak (2006) suggested that for the distribution of information and political mobilization, informal networks of friends and acquaintances have been highlighted as mainly advantageous. To date, the likelihood that youth's political attitude and political and civic participation are affected by their peers has been largely unexplored (Amnå, Ekström, Kerr, & Stattin, 2009). However, in some studies, there are contrasting conclusions (Quintelier, Stolle, & Harell, 2011). For instance, Kuhn (2004) analyzed the Brandenburg Youth Panel Study of Political Socialization and demonstrated that young adopt deviant behaviors in peer communities, such as voting for extremist parties and being willing to use violence in political actions. On the other hand, Pattie and Johnston (2009) found that individuals follow their peer's political affiliations and participate in political activities accordingly.

Given these points, Scheufele, Hardy, Brossard, Waismel-Manor and Nisbet (2006) reviewed and assessed the conflicting scholarship on peer group political participation and asserted the presence of methodological errors linked to inadequate theoretical conceptualization. Rejecting the notion of discouraging the influence of peer groups, they

emphasized that peers hold different backgrounds and opinions and promote joint deliberations, while such joint deliberations create communicative environments. Hence, in such communicative environments, peer groups are being challenged by non-like minded individuals, who constrain them to reconsider and refine their social and political stances (Harell et al., 2008). This makes them more competent and active for future discussions and political participation. Therefore we hypothesize that;

**H2** Peer group communicative environment significantly influences the political participation of Pakistani youth.

## 2.3 School Communicative Environment

The school plays a vital role in equipping students with important skills and resources needed for political participation (Verba, Schlozman, Brady, & Brady, 1995). Reviews of investigations have showed that more years of schooling is connected with political cognition, hence greater political participation (Langton, 1967; Scheufele, 2002; Youniss, 2011). Moreover, while differentiating the college-attended and non-college experienced youth, Flanagan, Levine, and Settersten (2009) found that voter participation among college or school graduates was three to four times higher than that of non-college youth. They further indicate that majority of 2008 American general election voters were college students or graduates. This is because the environment of the university or school engenders political stimulation, which reduces the cost of voting and gives normative support for political participation (Jong, 1981; Misa et al., 2005).

Conversely, Torney-Purta (2002) discussed an 8-year study of the International Association for the Evolution of Education Achievement (IEA) in 30 countries. Its results show that schools can be beneficial in preparing students for participation in civil society as

well as in political activities by ensuring a climate of openness for the discussion of issues underlining the significance of voting and elections, debate on current issues and the structure of government (Quintelier & Hooghe, 2013). Therefore, we believe that a communicative environment in schools creates an effective political learning opportunity rather than a one-way teaching strategy. Hence, we expect that the school communicative environment is fundamental to improving youth competence and active participation in political spaces. Thus we hypothesize that;

**H3** School communicative environment significantly influences the political participation of Pakistani youth.

### Proposed Framework
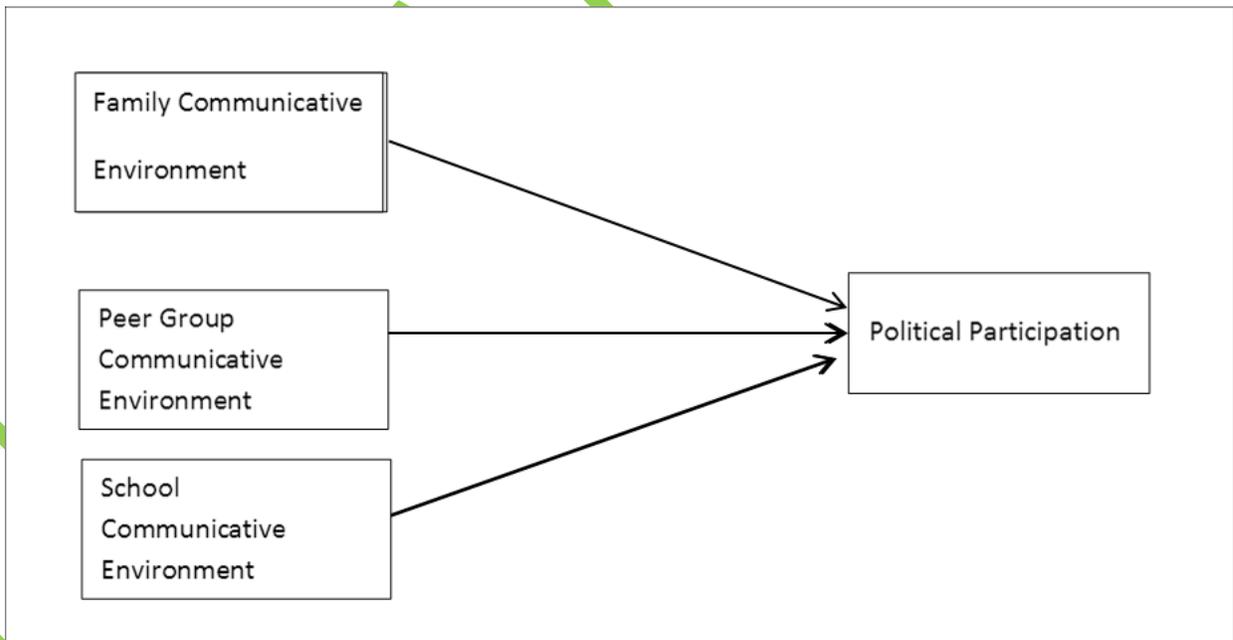
**Methodology**

In this study, data was collected through survey questionnaires administered to 288 students in three universities located in Sindh, Pakistan. The sample includes undergraduate, masters and PhD students drawn from the faculty of social sciences. The social science student sample was chosen because Stolle, Hooghe and Micheletti (2005) claimed that they are prone to participating in political activities. To measure the parameters of this study, this research drew on established measures from previous studies. Thus, six items were adopted from Ritchie and Fitzpatrick (1990) to measure family communicative environment, six items were adopted from Lee et al. (2013) and Zhou (2009) to measure the peer group communicative environment, five items from Kwon et al. (2014) were adopted to measure the school communicative environment and eleven items were adopted from Jung, Kim and de Zúñiga (2011) to measure political participation. To achieve a representative sample of respondents, a systematic stratified sampling procedure was employed.

**Findings**

Data analysis was conducted with the use of SPSS 23 to analyze the demographic profiles of the respondents, explore and replace missing data, evaluate normality of data and detect and treat the outliers in this study. The descriptive analyses of the respondents' information revealed that majority of the respondents were male (64.6%, 186), followed by female students (34.7%, 100). With regards to respondents' ages, it was revealed that majority of respondents were within the age range of 18-25 years, which constitutes 52.8% (152), while 24-28 year respondents represented 35.8% (103) of the sample population. These two age groups put together constitute above two-third of the entire sample, followed by the 29-34 year age range, who were 8.7% (25). Lastly, 4 (1.4 %) were 35 years of age and above. Hence, this distribution validates that this research has youth respondents with the majority below the age of 35. With regards to respondents'

universities, the results revealed that 45.5% (131) of respondents were from University of Sindh, 28.5% (82) were from Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur, while 26.0% (75) were from the University of Karachi. Lastly, the descriptive statistics revealed that 40.6% (117) were Bachelors students, while 40.3% (116) were Masters Students. As such, an almost equal number of Bachelors and Masters students were respondents of the study. Additionally, 19.1% (55) were M.Phil students.

The descriptive statistics for the family communicative environment variable revealed 4.86 mean score for all items, measuring the construct with standard deviation of 1.109. In general, the mean value of all items is above 4, hence results indicate that the variable has moderate importance. Moreover, Table 1 displays the mean value and standard deviation of each item. The highest mean scored 5.30 for item 3; "My parents often ask my opinion when the family is talking about something", whereas the lowest mean value scored for item 6; "My parents admit that kids know more about some things than parents do", which scored a very low mean; 4.33. Hence, the remaining 4 items ranged between these two values.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Family Communicative Environment (N=288)

| No. | Items | Minimum | Maximum | 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; 7 =Strongly Agree

The descriptive statistics for school communicative environment revealed a 4.75 mean value and a standard deviation of 1.105 for all the items. Hence, the mean score was higher than the average level of the 7-point Likert scale (4). This shows that the variable has moderate importance. Likewise, the mean value and standard deviation of each item can be seen from Table 2.  The maximum 5.08 value was for the item "Discussing/debating political or social issues", while the minimum 3.89 value was for the item "Participating in political role playing".

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for School Communicative Environment (N=288)

| No. | Items | Minimum | Maximum | 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, 7-Strongly Agree

The descriptive statistics for peer group communicative environment scored a mean value of 4.38 for all items that were measured, with standard deviation of 1.071. As the mean is above the average of the 7-point Likert scale (4), that means the variable has moderate importance. Correspondingly, the mean value and standard deviation of each item can be seen from Table 4. Accordingly, the mean values of the items ranged from 5.59 to 3.50. The highest mean value was for the item "Among my friends, it is important to vote", whereas the lowest mean value was for the item "Among my friends, it is important to sign a political petition".

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for Peer Group Communicative Environment (N=288)

| No. | Items | Mini | Maxi | 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, 7-Strongly Agree

The descriptive statistics for political participation shown in Table 4 revealed that 53.8% of respondents (155) do not participate in political activities, while 46.2% (133) participate in political activities. It indicates the lack of importance given by the respondents to political activities. Thus, the descriptive statistics results of respondents' participation and insufficient participation in political activities were determined by summing up the score of 11 political participating items in SPSS. After summing up each respondent's items score, the mean value was calculated for all respondents, which resulted in 4.26 as the mean score. After having a mean value for all respondents, it was further recorded into different variables for creating the additive (composite) index to categorize all respondents within two groups (i.e. participating and non-participating). Hence, respondents who scored a mean between 0 and 3 were categorized as non-participating while respondents who scored between 4 and 11 were categorized as participating.

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics for Political Participation (n=288)

| No. | Items | Frequency | Percent |
|-----|-------|-----------|---------|
| 01 | Not Participating | 155 | 53.8 |
| 02 | Participating | 133 | 46.2 |

Moreover, correlation analyses between exogenous constructs understudied are shown in Table 4. The results show significant and positive correlations between the exogenous constructs.

Table 5: Correlations

| Variable | FCE | SCE | PGCE |
|----------|-----|-----|------|
| Family Communicative Environment (FCE) | 1 | | |
| School Communicative Environment (SCE) | .504** | 1 | |
| Peer Group Communicative Environment (PGCE) | .347** | .346** | 1 |

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

To evaluate the influence of political socialization agents on political participation, multiple regressions were assessed. Table 6 displays the findings of the multiple regressions. From the results, it can be concluded that the proposed model in this study is statistically significant with the following values (F= 4.712, P < 0.01). Besides this, the R2 value (R2 = .047) also indicates that the model is fit and statistically acceptable. The result implied that political socialization agents (Family Communicative Environment, School Communicative Environment and Peer Group Communicative Environment) collectively explain 47% of the variation in political participation. Hence, there is a significant and positive influence of political socialization agents on political participation. Additionally, the

result presented in Table 6 demonstrates that peer group communicative environment has the highest and most significant contribution among other political socialization agents ($\beta$ = .166, t = 2.627, Sig = 0.01), explaining 16.6% of the variation in political participation. This is followed by family communicative environment ($\beta$ = 0.117, t = 1.701, Sig = 0.10) with a significant and positive contribution, where the variable explains 11.7% of the variation in political participation. However, school communicative environment ($\beta$ = -.196, t = -2.852, Sig = .005) has a significant but negative contribution, and explained 19.6% of the variation in political participation.

Table 6: Multiple Regression of Political Socialization Agents and Political Participation (PP)

| Model | Coeff.(B) | Std. Error | Beta (β) | t | Sig | Decisions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Constant) | 3.358 | .831 | | 4.042 | .000 | |
| Family Communicative Environment > PP | .270 | .159 | .117 | 1.701 | .090 | Supported |
| School Communicative Environment > PP | -.454 | .159 | -.196 | -2.852 | .005 | Rejected |
| Peer Group Communicative Environment > PP | .398 | .151 | .166 | 2.627 | .009 | Supported |
| R² | | | | | .047 | Supported |
| Adjusted R² | | | | | .037 | |
| F Change | | | | | 4.712 | |
| Sig | | | | | .003*** | |

*** P < 0.01

With regard to underlined objectives of the current study, the findings showed in Table 6 also discussed the analysis of the formulated hypotheses of the study. In addition, the formulated hypotheses of the highlighted objectives were discussed separately.

**Hypothesis 1**: Family communicative environment significantly influences the political participation of Pakistani youth.

The result showed in Table 6 shows that family communicative environment ($\beta$ = 0.117, t = 1.701, Sig = 0.10) has a positive and significant influence on political participation. This result points out that open conversational environments where youths are encouraged to express their concerns and ideas, as well as share views on controversial issues can increase political participation of youth. Therefore, we can conclude that an increase in conversational environments among families will lead to an expected increase of 11. 7% in political participation. As such, these findings provide the evidence for supporting the above hypothesis.

**Hypothesis 2:** Peer group communicative environment significantly influences the political participation of Pakistani youth.

The findings presented in Table 6 show that peer group communicative environment ($\beta$ = .166, t = 2.627, Sig = 0.01) has the highest and most significant influence on political participation. This result indicates that peer group communicative environment is the main contributor to political socialization. Hence, peer group communicative environment is expected to stimulate a 16.6% increase in political participation. Hence, the results above provide proofs for supporting Hypothesis 2.

**Hypothesis 3:** School communicative environment significantly influences the political participation of Pakistani youth.

As can be seen from Table 6, the results demonstrate that school communicative environment ($\beta$ = -.196, t = -2.852, Sig = .005) has a significant but negative influence on

political participation. Therefore, this result implies that for every increase in the school communicative environment, there is an expected decrease of 19.6 % in political participation. As such, these findings provide a proof for supporting the hypothesis above.

**Discussions**

The results of this study revealed the significance of political socialization agents on political participation. More specifically, the findings revealed that both peer group communicative environment and family communicative environment have significant influence on political participation. The findings of this study also provide an instructive insight for researchers, policymakers and also the Election Commission of Pakistan on the implication of political socialization agents, particularly the peer group and family communicative environments. This study provides an empirical justification for the notion of the potency of the family and peer group as agents of political socialization for enhancing political activities of youth.

From the results, it can be concluded that peer group communicative environment is the key factor for youth political socialization. This is because peers have common interests, social positions and ages, which are essential for social capital (Lee et al., 2013). Therefore, we reject the notion of discouraging the influence of peer group, and emphasize peer group communicative environment, where peer groups who come from different backgrounds and have different opinions can promote joint deliberation, which enhance political participation (Scheele et al., 2006).  Furthermore, family communicative environment, where youth are encouraged to give their opinions on controversial issues and question their parents' ideas and beliefs, engender a democratic space where youth are confident enough to participate in political activities (Verba et al., 1995). Moreover, in this study, school communicative environment was found to significantly but negatively influence Pakistani youth's political participation. This may be because of the lack of participatory environments in schools. As Dean (2005) also claimed that inadequate instruction limited to facts from textbooks and covering some topics in detail disconnect

students from outside-school and real-world experiences such as participating in political activities. This indicates passive learning strategies in among Pakistani schools. However, if the Pakistani government ensures active learning strategies through the right pedagogical and communicative climate within classrooms, such communicative environments can be influential for youth's civic and political skills and norms, hence engendering political participation.

**REFERENCES:**

Amnå, E., Ekström, M., Kerr, M., & Stattin, H. (2009). Political socialization and human agency: The development of civic engagement from adolescence to adulthood. Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift, 111(1).

Cicognani, E., Zani, B., Fournier, B., Gavray, C., & Born, M. (2012). Gender differences in youths' political engagement and participation. The role of parents and of adolescents' social and civic participation, Journal of Adolescence (2011), DOI:10.1016/j.adolescence.2011.10.002.

Coleman, S. (2008). Doing IT for themselves: Management versus autonomy in youth e-citizenship. Civic life online: Learning how digital media can engage youth, 189-206. DOI: 10.1162/dmal.9780262524827.189.

Corrigall-Brown, C., & Wilkes, R. (2014). Media exposure and the engaged citizen: How the media shape political participation. The Social Science Journal, 51(3), 408-421.

Dean, B. L. (2005). Citizenship education in Pakistani schools: Problems and possibilities. International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education, 1(2), 35.

Flanagan, C., Levine, P., & Settersten, R. (2009). Civic engagement and the changing transition to adulthood. Retrieved from http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/ChangingTransition.pdf.

Harell, A., Stolle, D., & Quintelier, E. (2008). Network diversity and political participation: A complication or asset. Retrieved from http://www.researchgate.net/publication/228742162.

Hively, M. H., & Eveland Jr, W. P. (2009). Contextual antecedents and political consequences of adolescent political discussion, discussion elaboration, and network diversity. Political Communication, 26(1), 30-47, DOI: 10.1080/10584600802622837.

Hoffman, L. H., & Thomson, T. L. (2009). The effect of television viewing on adolescents' civic participation: Political efficacy as a mediating mechanism.Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 53(1), 3-21. DOI: 10.1080/08838150802643415.

Hooghe, M. (2002). Watching Television and Civic Engagement Disentangling the Effects of Time, Programs, and Stations. The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 7(2), 84-104. DOI: 10.1177/1081180X0200700206.

Jong Oh Ra (1981). [Review of book 'Who Votes?] The Journal of Politics, 43, pp 1303-1305. Available from:  http://www.jstor.org/stable/2130227 .

Kuhn, H. P. (2004). Adolescent voting for right-wing extremist parties and readiness to use violence in political action: parent and peer contexts. Journal of adolescence, 27(5), 561-581. DOI:10.1016/j.adolescence.2004.06.009

Kwon, M. W., Wilcox, D., & Shah, D. V. (2014). The Role of Recreational Media Use in Youth Socialization: Extending the Citizen Communication Mediation Model. Online

Journal of Communication & Media Technologies,4(1). Retrieved from http://www.ojcmt.net/articles/41/419.pdf.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). Situated learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation. New York: Cambridge university press.

Lee, N. J., Shah, D. V., & McLeod, J. M. (2013). Processes of Political Socialization A Communication Mediation Approach to Youth Civic Engagement. Communication Research, 40(5), 669-697. DOI: 10.1177/0093650212436712.

Lee, N. J., Shah, D. V., & McLeod, J. M. (2013). Processes of political socialization: A communication mediation approach to youth civic engagement. Communication Research, 40(5), 669-697.

McIntosh, H., & Youniss, J. (2010). Toward a political theory of political socialization of youth. Handbook of research on civic engagement in youth.

McLeod, J. M. (2000). Media and civic socialization of youth. Journal of Adolescent Health, 27(2), 45-51. Retrieved from http://is.muni.cz/el/1423/jaro2010/PSY222/um/11678300/Media_and_Civic_Socialization_of_Youth__McLeod_.pdf.

McLeod, J. M., Scheufele, D. A., & Moy, P. (1999). Community, communication, and participation: The role of mass media and interpersonal discussion in local political participation. Political communication, 16(3), 315-336. DOI: 10.1080/105846099198659.

Memon, B., & Pahore, M. R. (2014). Online Newspaper Exposure by Academics in the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Sindh, Jamshoro. International Journal of Asian Social Science, 4(1), 70-80.

Memon, B., & Pahore, M. R. (2015). Internet and Online Newspaper Accessing Behaviour of Pakistani Academics: A Survey at Sindh University, Jamshoro. Jurnal Pengajian Media Malaysia, 16(2).

Misa, K., Anderson, J., & Yamamura, E. (2005, November). The lasting impact of college on young adults' civic and political engagement. In Association for the Study of Higher Education Annual Conference, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Retrieved from http://www. gseis. ucla. edu.

Möller, J. E. (2013). Growing into citizenship: The differential role of the media in the political socialization of adolescents. (PhD Thesis University of Amsterdam). Available on http://dare.uva.nl/record/1/399984.

Mushtaq, I., Abiodullah, M., & Akber, R. A., (2011). Political Participation of the Educated in Pakistan. Journal of Elementary Education, 21(1), 25-42. Retrieved from http://results.pu.edu.pk/images/journal/JEE/PDF-Files/3_Ifra%20Abiodullah,%20Rafaqat_JEE%20Vol%2021%20no_1.pdf.

Mutz, D. C., & Mondak, J. J. (2006). The Workplace as a Context for Cross-Cutting Political Discourse. Journal of politics, 68(1), 140-155. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00376.x.

Norris, P. (1996). Does television erode social capital? A reply to Putnam. PS: Political Science & Politics, 29(03), 474-480. DOI.org/10.2307/420827 .

Pasek, J., Kenski, K., Romer, D., & Jamieson, K. H. (2006). America's Youth and Community Engagement How Use of Mass Media Is Related to Civic Activity and Political Awareness in 14-to 22-Year-Olds. Communication Research, 33(3), 115-135. DOI: 10.1177/0093650206287073.

Pasek, J., Kenski, K., Romer, D., & Jamieson, K. H. (2006). America's Youth and Community Engagement How Use of Mass Media Is Related to Civic Activity and Political Awareness in 14-to 22-Year-Olds. Communication Research, 33(3), 115-135. DOI: 10.1177/0093650206287073.

Pattie, C. J., & Johnston, R. J. (2009). Conversation, disagreement and political participation. Political Behavior, 31(2), 261-285. DOI 10.1007/s11109-008-9071-z.

Peer, L., Malthouse, E. C., & Calder, B. J. (2003, August). Estimating the effect of news media consumption on political participation. In Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA. Retrieved from http://www.researchgate.net/publication/229035858

Quintelier, E., & Hooghe, M. (2013). The relationship between political participation intentions of adolescents and a participatory democratic climate at school in 35 countries. Oxford Review of Education, 39(5), 567-589. : 10.1080/03054985.2013.830097.

Sani, G. M. D., & Quaranta, M. (2015). Chips off the old blocks? The political participation patterns of parents and children in Italy. Social science research,50, 264-276. Retrieved from DOI.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2014.12.002.

Scheufele, D. A. (2002). Examining differential gains from mass media and their implications for participatory behavior. Communication Research, 29(1), 46-65. DOI: 10.1177/009365020202900103.

Scheufele, D. A., Hardy, B. W., Brossard, D., Waismel-Manor, I. S., & Nisbet, E. (2006). Democracy based on difference: Examining the links between structural heterogeneity, heterogeneity of discussion networks, and democratic citizenship. Journal of Communication, 56(4), 728-753. DOI:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00317.x.

Shah, D. V. (1998). Civic engagement, interpersonal trust, and television use: An individual-level assessment of social capital. Political Psychology, 469-496. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792174.

Shah, D.V., Rojas, H., & Cho, J. (2009). Media and civic participation: On understanding and misunderstanding communication effects. In Bryant, J., & Oliver, M. B. (Eds.). Media effects: Advances in theory and research. Routledge.

Shulman, H. C., & DeAndrea, D. C. (2014). Predicting Success: Revisiting Assumptions about Family Political Socialization. Communication Monographs,81(3), 386-406. DOI: 10.1080/03637751.2014.936478.

The Pew Research Center (2014). Many in Emerging and Developing Nations Disconnected from Politics Participation Highest in Middle East. Retrieved on February 25, 2015 from http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/12/18/many-in-emerging-and-developing-nations-disconnected-from-politics/?utm_expid=53098246-2.Lly4CFSVQG2lphsg-KopIg.0&utm_referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F.

Tolbert, C. J., & McNeal, R. S. (2003). Unraveling the effects of theInternet on political participation. Political Research Quarterly, 56(2),175–185.

Torney-Purta, J. (2002). The school's role in developing civic engagement: A study of adolescents in twenty-eight countries. Applied developmental science,6(4), 203-212. DOI: 10.1207/S1532480XADS0604_7.

Valenzuela, S. (2011). The affective citizen communication model: how emotions engage citizens with politics through media and discussion. (Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin). Available on ProQuest Dissertation and Thesis Data Base.

Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., Brady, H. E., & Brady, H. E. (1995). Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics (Vol. 4). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Retrieved from https://books.google.it/books?id=YFiCO5f0BKAC&printsec=frontcover&hl=it&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Yoon, S. H. (2003). Communication and Context for Civic Participation: Incorporating Online Media, Interpersonal Network, and Community Context in Civic Socialization. (PhD Thesis University of Wisconsin—Madison). Available on ProQuest Dissertation and Thesis Data Base.

Youniss, J. (2011). Civic education: What schools can do to encourage civic identity and action. Applied Developmental Science, 15(2), 98-103. DOI: 10.1080/10888691.2011.560814.