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Patterns of Political Perceptions, Attitudes and Voting Behaviour: Influence of Media

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Abstract

This study is conducted to measure the influence of media over the voting behavior of electorates. As the population of Pakistan consists of rural and urban areas therefore sample has been taken from both areas with an assumption that rural areas are less influenced by media as compared to urban and so there would be certain specific patterns being practiced by both sides. A convenient sample of 100 respondents was collected from the two sides with equal representation of both and a well-structured questionnaire was administered using face to face data collection technique. The findings reveal that majority of the people in rural area vote on the basis of personality and 'biradari' while in urban area majority of people tend to vote on the basis of performance and policy.

Key Words: Voting behaviour, influence of media, urban area, rural area, 'biradari'.

Introduction

The experience of fair elections as well as independent media is not an old subject for Pakistan. The very first opportunity that media received to play its role in generating political awareness among public, although restricted and new born, is in the General Elections of 2002 which were held under the strict and biased control of Musharraf government. But media's impact with its full maturity and resources can be witnessed through the part it played in the General Elections of 2008 and 2013.

Several factors contribute towards the formulation of voting behavior of electorates with varying intensities. This may range from a number of social identities including class, religion, race, ethnicity, gender, language, occupation as well as political campaigns, affiliations with some association, peer groups, and support for specific ideology, policy or agenda. But these can't be claimed as the only forces because any experience, history, political culture, values or direct socialization through civic courses can also help shaping a specific voting behavior. Also with the development in technology the influence of many factors such as media boosted with ease of access, wider distribution and sophisticated

techniques of communication (Muhammad, 2014). Owning to its potential to influence and the part played by media it is now considered as fourth branch of government. Dr Raja Mohammad khan in "Media as a responsible pillar of state" states that, "This Fourth Estate is most important as people need the media to provide them with a fair and accurate reporting of all happenings; locally as well as around the globe" (Muhammad, 2014).

Media is a critical agent of socialization and keeps the two way flow of communication smooth acts as a bridge between the masses and the government. Media when free and independent of outside interventions can induce significant changes which may alter the whole course of future. Media can generate support or opposition among public over some issue or for some policy, it can mobilize the masses for any cause by injecting its importance and developing a general consensus. It can propagate unity among masses by indicating their collective problems and promoting collective goals.

It provides public with the information regarding what policies political parties or candidates are pursuing, what is their claimed or hidden agenda and their opinions on certain political issues. Media specifically television and newspapers keep their readers and viewers informed with new updates and developments. Usually it's a major source on which citizens rely for information. As Pippa Norris states the belief of liberal theorists in her book:

"The existence of an unfettered and independent press within each nation is essential in the process of democratization, by contributing towards the right of freedom of expression, thought and conscience, strengthening the responsiveness and accountability of governments to all citizens" (Norris, 2008).

On the other hand political parties also rely on media channels to identify public demands and problems, their patterns of behavior, attitudes towards politics and opinions concerning different political issues. Political parties attempt to make such policies that can generate maximum support among masses for them and so use media as one of major source to be aware of their preferred objectives. If media is not free it can also be misused by political actors to mobilize support for their preferred policy than of public.

General Elections after the Introduction of Media: A Background

In any governmental form when people are granted with their right to vote it is predetermined that the future is going to be decided independently by the electorates and the state will be ruled by the will of people. All over the world voting is the most common way of political participation and most effective as well (Sides, Shaw, Grossmann, &Lipsitz, 2011). This expresses public will, approval or rejection of any policy or agenda by selecting or refusing a political party or candidate. This is the frequently used way of political accountability of leaders or parties. In Pakistan unfortunately we only witnessed 10 General Elections in the 66 years of history (Askari & Shafi, 2013). Most of the period is covered by Martial Laws and authoritative rule. Previously the only widely perceived fair elections of 1970's resulted in the disintegration of Pakistan while three elected governments could not complete their tenure and were toppled down by the hidden forces. Although General Elections of 2002 established a government that completed its tenure but the health of polls results was widely suspected. These were the first General Elections after the imposition of Martial Law by General Musharraf and thus described by Dr. Shafi in "The First Ten General Elections" as regression from oversight to military rule:

"General Musharraf established a faction of Muslim league and promoted it as the dominant Muslim league which was named PML and became known as PML-Q.The party made its debut for the 2002 general elections and was helped by military and its intelligence agencies without much of a fig-leaf during the elections" (Askari, & Shafi, 2013).

The other successful step towards democracy was taken with the conduction of 2008 General Elections and completion of the resultantly established regime being termed by Dr. Shafi Gelani as transition to democracy and rule of law. He further states:

> "From first to eighth General Elections all were flawed with one or more of three forms of rigging: pre-poll, polling day, post-poll. The General elections of 2008 were seriously flawed due to pre-poll rigging through what was known as National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO)"(Askari, & Shafi, 2013).

While the current government claims to be truly public representative however the valadity of General Elections of 2013 is broadly challenged and alleged of rigging. Before the General Elections of 2013 took place the state institutions were not found involved in illegal activities to influence elections' outcomes and thus the pre-poll rigging was not expected to defect the elections (Askari, & Shafi, 2013). However after the elections the polls were widely challenged and accepted to be manipulated with post-poll rigging.

Media's Impact and Voting Behaviour

Elections as the source of representation of collective decision by voters and the influence of media in shaping the electorates preferences in candidate selection as well as in other political attitudes are inseparable and unavoidable. The influence of media as one of the several factors shaping voting preferences was identified as early as in 1940's and 1950's but these primitive studies over media suggested only marginal role of media over the voters choice (Lazarsfald *et. al.*, 1948; Barelson*et. al.*, 1954). Tranaman and Mcquial (1961) has suggested in "Culture, Society and the Media" that the role of media continued to claim its influence as

the diffusion grew and it started to win public trust over political insight, thus begins to shape the public preferences (Bennett et. al., 1990).

The recent work by Jim Willis "The Media Effect: How the News Influences Politics and Government" (2007) revealed the Studies of the 1968 presidential elections in US and found a perfect correlation between the type of issues covered and broadcasted by media and the voters concern for the same issues (Willis, 2007). George A. Comstock and Erica Scherer's work published on "The Psychology Of Media And Politics" (2005) discovered that the diffusion of mass media changed the balance of factors effecting the voting decisions of public and by 1970's this became the predictor of the voters choice (Comstock & Scherer, 2005).

In his study Macleod finds that media stimulates the interpersonal discussions among public and that leads them to decide which party to vote (Macleod *et. al.*1979). Also in the British General elections of 1970 the influence of media was found complex (Blumler and Macleod 1979). Later Turn out studies in US which were conducted to analyse the rise in the decline of voters turnout suggested that those even who abstain from voting were well informed and were politically well aware of and suggested that listening and attention to hard news influenced the voter's choice (Macleod *et. al.*, 1981).

Joseph Klapper in the "Effects of Mass Communication" (1996) suggests that Media affects the voting behaviour more through a nexus of various factors and influences than directly but in specific situations it also has direct impacts (Klapper, 1960).

Further influence of media was confirmed by Noelle Neumann "Spiral of Silence" (1984) in which she studied that Christian democratic party lost the elections because of the television news caster's biased reporting and claiming the unfavourable opinions about party (Neumann, 1984). The assumptions about media's role continued to reinforce by later conducted and published works as William Lockleys Miller in his book "Media and Voters" also focused over the media influences over the political attitudes and specifically over the voting behaviour by conducting a five penal survey to judge voter perceptions and opinions (Miller, 1991).

Teixeira (1992) also suggested that many media campaigns and reforms influence the voting behaviour of electorates and increase the turn out than just the social status and other variables. Moreover Everett Rogers in study over the "Inter-Media Processes and Powerful Effects of Media" (1994) finds that media plays an important role in agenda setting, prioritizing the audience preferences as to which news is important and hence influences their voting choice (Rogers, 2002).

Roumeen Islam in her work" Information and Public Choice: From Media Markets to Policy Making" finds that Media content may affect policy because it influences the weight people place on different political issues while voting and as the policy makers have to accommodate the well informed voters (Islam, 2008). In 2009 Jennings Bryant and Dolf Zillmann published a collection of works, in which Macleod and Kosicki's work was published. In their study they focused on the influence of media over the voting behaviour along with the interpersonal communications. With the studies approved the role of media does exists the more research was focused on its ways of affecting voters. As revealed in "Media and Society: Critical Perspectives" by Graeme Burton that it would be totally wrong to claim that media publicity has no impact over the voting preferences and the election's outcome. But how and why it has impacts are yet to be discovered (Burton, 2010).

NomanYaser and Muhammad Nawaz Mahsud in their study "Effects of Exposure to Electronic Media Political Content on Voters' Voting Behavior" collected data from urban and suburban of Lahore city using face to face interview techniques. The results revealed a positive correlation after statistically analysing the data. It was found that most of times people specifically of low age, the males, people who were highly educated and urban voters sought the media political content as a source of guidance to modify and shape their voting pattern. It also graded different media sources, on the basis of being preferred by voters in 2008 General Election, placing television above all. The conclusion proved the research hypothesis "the more the voter spends time on the type of mass media political content, the more the likelihood of acquiring political information" (Yaser, Mahsud & Chaudry, 2011).

Many of the factors contribute in the formation of voting behaviour of electorates, media is one of them, but in case of inaccessibility towards media the role of other factors is greater like personal affiliations, party loyalty and more significantly of *'Biradari'* (Shawar, Durre & Asim, 2012). They studied the voting behaviour of people towards different political parties in District Faisalabad. This was also confirmed by Dr. Mughees Ahmed and Fozia Nadeem in their work "Social system influences political system: A comparative study" (Ahmad & Nadeem, 2004).

Simon Schwartzman suggests in his study "Voting Behaviour and Elections" that exposure to mass media is related to all the background variables that come with turnout and stability of voting patterns (organization membership, education, socioeconomic status, sex, and the like) and there is a tendency for the voter to select the media and to perceive the information that confirms his previous preferences. The mass media, and all the climate of the political campaign, are able to 'reactivate' the dormant political attitudes, so that undecided voters return to old loyalties and neutrals take a stand (Schwartzman, 1968).

Theoretical Perspective and Its Implication over Pakistani Society

Considering the prevailing situation in Pakistan i.e. the high saturation levels of media consumption and its reflection in the public attitudes as well as in political opinions suggests the implication of certain mass media theories such as Cultivation, Agenda Setting and Modernization over Pakistani society. The Cultivation theory suggests that media and in specific television shape or cultivate

the ideas of social reality of the audience. The overall impact of immense television disclosure delicately and gradually constructs the views of individual and finally the entire culture. According to Gebner, the already existing norms and values are promoted by Media. This through upholding and promulgating these values links the individuals of society with one another. In Pakistan a larger portion of population relies on broadcast media such as television and radio to acquire information than newspaper.

Cultivation theorists attempt to differentiate in two kinds of television spectators as heavy and light viewers. The distinction is simply based over the time they spent over television which will define the chances of being influenced i.e. heavy viewers are those who spent enormous time over television which tends to be their main source of information and hence see the world through the eye of television. This category is more prone to influence in particular about the things they do not have personal information (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). On the other side the light viewers are less influenced due to their reliability over more than one source.

In 1976 an important media theory named as "Dependency theory" was given by Sandra Ball-Rokeach and Melvin DE fleur. The theory incorporates a number of viewpoints from the psychology, social system and research from uses and gratification theory. This theory also involves a relative philosophy displaying the conventional concern regarding contents of message and its impact over listeners.

The theory suggests the existence of a vital association amongst the viewers, mass media and social system. This believes that people rely over information provided by media in order to fulfill their requirements and to acquire definite ends. But one's dependence on media is not equal. There are two conditions which affect the amount of media dependence. Firstly people get more reliant on the medium which fulfill most of their necessities than over a medium displaying the opposite case. This points out that people who cannot read can consult the television/radio broadcast for information while those who find the reading convenient prefer the newspaper. This justifies well the incomparable difference of numbers between the listeners and readers of Media sources in Pakistan. There could be any reason underlying this distinct consumption patterns as well as levels of Media absorption such as low literacy rate or little affordability. The second condition is social stability. For example in the situations of instability such as clashes and transformations the existing values, norms and system are challenged as people are compelled to reassess and take new decisions. At this kind of time when tension is high people have to stay well informed which increases their dependence over media.

As per the Modernization theory the changes in the voting behavior occur through the process of Modernization which is carried out mainly by the enormous use of mass communication. This takes place as consumption of mass communication that exposes the consumer to a larger and all sided sphere of politics where he is more enlightened to go for a decision or at least decides in his best knowledge. This theory is particularly true for Pakistan after the public is being intensively as well as extensively exposed to media. Hence electorates vote with a certain mindset they have developed over time by the influx of information. On the word of theory this exposure gradually starts inflicting influence over the society's patterns of thinking and behavior which finally shows up affecting their political participation. Thus, it may break the traditional ties or conventional affiliations and set a new.

Developed by Dr. Max McCombs and Donald Shaw the Agenda Setting Theory believes that focusing some issues over others and frequent repetition of a message by media does influence the voter's preferences. Thus people begin perceiving the most discussed topics as most important. In 1972's edition of "Public Opinion Quarterly" a research was published by McCombs and Donald L. Shaw. This research was conducted during the 1968 presidential elections in US, which discovered a perfect correlation between the types of issues covered or broadcasted by media and the voters concern for the same issues. Moreover Everett Rogers in study over the "Inter-Media Processes and Powerful Effects of Media" (1994) found that media plays an important role in agenda setting, prioritizing the audience preferences as to which news is important and influences their voting choice (Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

Methodology

This study is aimed at analysing the impact of media over the voting behaviour of citizens. The universe of this research is Lahore city with its adjacent rural areas. A convenient sample of 100 respondents was collected with 50 as the representative of urban area and 50 from rural area. While sampling Unequal Unit Sampling Method was used as the target subjects of this study are the voters mainly. A valid questionnaire was prepared as the instrument of data collection which was generated after a thorough literature review and keeping in view the native public voting patterns. This instrument was well structured and consisted on close ended questions with dichotomous, multichotomous as well as check all that apply questions. This questionnaire was administered face to face and was translated into English and Urdu for respondent's convenience. Descriptive analysis such as percentage distribution, frequency distribution analysis and cross tabulation was made by using SPSS.

Results and Discussions

Part 1

In order to inquire about the sources of information on which electorates rely questions were asked and 54% of people expressed their source as media, 16% replied with peer groups, for 8% the source of information was family and 3% used other sources. While 6% people replied with both media and peer groups,

11% with media and family both only 1% replied with peer groups and family and 1% replied with all the sources of information. In an analysis across the location majority of urban people i.e. 41% said their source was media while majority of rural area answered their primary source as peer groups.

Tab	Table 1: Frequency of watching political talk shows in a week							
				Valid	Cumulative			
		У	Percent	Percent	Percent			
Valid	once	15	15.0	15.0	15.0			
	twice	17	17.0	17.0	32.0			
	thrice	43	43.0	43.0	75.0			
	not at all	25	25.0	25.0	100.0			
	Total	100	100.0	100.0				

How often people listen to the political talk shows when asked for the purpose of understanding their connectivity, 15% replied with once,17% with twice,43% replied with thrice and 25% do not watch political talk shows at all.

1	Table 2: Frequency of reading political content in a week						
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Valid	daily	29	29.0	29.0	29.0		
	twice a week	14	14.0	14.0	43.0		
	weekly	21	21.0	21.0	64.0		
	monthly	5	5.0	5.0	69.0		
	never	31	31.0	31.0	100.0		
	Total	100	100.0	100.0			

In the answer of how often they read political contents, 29% of the respondents replied with daily, 14% with twice a week, 21% weekly, 5% monthly and 31% do not read political contents at all.

	Table 3: Frequency of casting vote						
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Valid	non voter	7	7.0	7.0	7.0		
	once	40	40.0	40.0	47.0		
	twice	24	24.0	24.0	71.0		
	thrice	29	29.0	29.0	100.0		
	Total	100	100.0	100.0			

When asked how many times thay have voted, 40% replied with once,24% with twice,29% thrice and 7% with non-voters but this include those people who intentionally abstain from voting due to lack of trust over political candidates and media.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	hard loyalist	34	34.0	34.0	34.0
	soft loyalist	26	26.0	26.0	60.0
	floating	35	35.0	35.0	95.0
	non voters	5	5.0	5.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table 4: Categories of voters

In the answer of how loyal they are with their party, 34% people replied with hard loyalist, 26% with soft loyalist, 35% consider themselves as floating voters and 5% are non-voters who deliberately didn't vote.

When asked if they always vote the same party then 34% people replied with yes and 65% answered no. On the other hand when people were asked if they ever changed their party then 60% replied, yes whereas 40% said they never changed their party.

After this filtration question for those who have changed their party they were further asked to whom they held responsible for this change, 23% replied with media, 24% with social affiliations, 12% with personal differences and 6% with other. While 5% replied, media and social affiliations, and only 1% replied social affiliations and personal differences. After analysing across locations it was found that majority i.e. 18% in rural area held social affiliations responsible for this change while on urban side 16% as the majority believed it was media.

	Table 5: The time span of change in voters behaviour							
What is	the time span of abange in your behaviour?	locati						
what is	What is the time span of change in your behaviour?			Total				
	n/a	8	15	23				
	before the introduction of free media	5	3	8				
	after the introduction of free media	17	17	34				
	indifferent	19	15	34				
	Total			99				

The time span into the change of their decision was also measured as for 34% after the introduction of free media, 8% before the introduction of free media and 34% were indifferent towards this change. As this question was targeted to those only who had experienced a change so out of the filtered subjects on both sides 17% as the highest value believed that this change occurred after the introduction of free media and held it responsible.

In the answer of the question which type of talk shows inspires them the most, 11% people replied with different party leaders facing each other, 29% replied with leaders facing public, 13% preferred political leaders interview,14% preferred public discussion forum,9% replied with programs hosted by analysts. For the same question 4% replied with all the types and the remaining 6% replied with several combinations. Also majority of the rural i.e.18% replied with the leaders facing public and majority of urban people 11% also preferred the same.

When people were asked to identify their voting behaviour then 49% replied with policy oriented, 45% were inspired by the personality of the leader and 2%

said they were affected by the media campaign. While 2% said their behaviour was both inspired by the personality as well as with the policy. Here a high percentage which voted in favour of personality of leader "26%" belonged to rural area while the high percentage of urban area voted in favour of policy oriented voting behaviour.

Also when respondents were asked to check which media gets their attention the majority of the subjects i.e. 70% answered with TV, 14 percent with newspapers and 1% with social websites. Moreover 6% people responded with both newspapers and media, 1% replied with TV and radio, and 3% with TV and social websites. Here again it was seen that people didn't bother to read political contents and prefered TV more in rural areas.

Part 2

This part seeks the answer of what are the eligibility criteria for the respondent to vote and found that majority had voted either in favour of performance or *biradari*. Those from rural area favoured *biradari* and personal affiliations while majority in urban area associated the positive values with the performance.

Table 6: Preference to performance						
				Valid	Cumulative	
		Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent	
Valid	very much	61	61.0	72.6	72.6	
	somewhat	17	17.0	20.2	92.9	
	neutral	1	1.0	1.2	94.0	
	not really	5	5.0	6.0	100.0	
	Total	84	84.0	100.0		
Missing	System	16	16.0			
Т	otal	100	100.0			

When people were asked to rate all the options on the basis of what is the eligibility criteria for them to vote, then 84% replied with performance in which 61% rated very much,17% as somewhat,1% were neutral and 5% rated not really. The majority voting in favour of this option belonged to urban area and this revealed their rational voting behaviour.

While 85% respondents rated '*biradari*' with 28% very much, 21% somewhat, 7% neutral, 10% with not really and 19 percent rated as not at all. While 16% people didn't rate it as compare to performance. Although more rural population gave high importance to '*biradari*' it showed strong traditional bonds which guided and shaped the voting patterns.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very much	16	16.0	21.1	21.1
	somewhat	21	21.0	27.6	48.7
	neutral	7	7.0	9.2	57.9
	not really	21	21.0	27.6	85.5
	not at all	11	11.0	14.5	100.0
	Total	76	76.0	100.0	
Missing	System	24	24.0		

Table 7: Family influence

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very much	16	16.0	21.1	21.1
	somewhat	21	21.0	27.6	48.7
	neutral	7	7.0	9.2	57.9
	not really	21	21.0	27.6	85.5
	not at all	11	11.0	14.5	100.0
	Total	76	76.0	100.0	
Missing	System	24	24.0		
Total		100	100.0		

When asked to rate if they vote their party due to parents vote the same party, then 76% people replied with 16% very much, 21% with somewhat, 7% with neutral, 21% not really and 11% with not at all. It showed that almost third of the population was somehow affected by the parents voting decision.

Table 8:Benefit seekers						
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	very much	5	5.0	6.8	6.8	
	somewhat	23	23.0	31.5	38.4	
	neutral	7	7.0	9.6	47.9	
	not really	21	21.0	28.8	76.7	
	not at all	17	17.0	23.3	100.0	
	Total	73	73.0	100.0		
Missin	System	27	27.0			
g						
	Total	100	100.0			

When asked to rate the benefit seeking option as the eligibility criteria, 73% respondents replied with 5% as very much, 23% somewhat,7% with neutral, 21% not really and 17% with not at all. This suggested the minority of people looking for benefits while majority do not seek their personal benefits.

But the situation was different when people were asked to rate the personal relations as eligibility of the candidate/party, then 73% people responded in which 11% rated very much, 25% somewhat, 4% rated neutral, 15 people with not really and 18% selected not at all. As result showed majority here voted for the personal relations either highly or somewhat.

Part 3

This part was structured to directly measure the influence of media over public voting decisions and to measure the extent of its consumption. Different questions were asked and diversity in the answers was observed. But a sharp cleavage was witnessed as the results were divided across locations. It was found that different media sources were consumed and agreed upon by the majority (not all) of urban population where it had penetrated deep. While on the other side the impacts and consumption was quite low as well as the trust in the rural population.

	Table 9: Media influence on voting behaviour							
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent			
Valid	very much	28	28.0	28.0	28.0			
	Somewha t	27	27.0	27.0	55.0			
	neutral	3	3.0	3.0	58.0			
	not really	18	18.0	18.0	76.0			
	not at all	24	24.0	24.0	100.0			
	Total	100	100.0	100.0				

In this part when people were asked if media influenced their voting behaviour, 28% replied with very much, 27 % with somewhat, 3% people were neutral, 18% responded with not really and 24% said not at all. 32% of urban population voted in favour of influence of media while 23% of rural population said it had influenced but few associated high positive values to it and most of them replied somewhat.

Table 10: Preference to candidate's personality						
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	very much	38	38.0	38.0	38.0	
	somewhat	38	38.0	38.0	76.0	
	Neutral	7	7.0	7.0	83.0	
	not really	9	9.0	9.0	92.0	
	not at all	8	8.0	8.0	100.0	
	Total	100	100.0	100.0		

In the answer of if they believe the appearance of candidate counts, 38% responded with very much, 38% said somewhat,7% said they were neutral about it, 9% rated as not really and 8% rated as not at all.

Table 11: Preference to personality							
Do you believ	e the appearance of candidate	1	ocation				
counts		rural	urban	Total			
	very much	23	15	38			
	somewhat	20	18	38			
	neutral	2	5	7			
	not really	3	6	9			
	not at all	2	6	8			
Total		50	50	100			

This showed that majority of rural population associated high positive values with the appearance than the urban and on both sides few were totally against it.

Table 12: Trust towards media sources							
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent		
Valid	very much	19	19.0	19.0	19.0		
	somewhat	31	31.0	31.0	50.0		
	Neutral	7	7.0	7.0	57.0		
	not really	16	16.0	16.0	73.0		
	not at all	27	27.0	27.0	100.0		
	Total	100	100.0	100.0			

When the respondents were asked to identify if they trust the different sources of information for deciding, 19% replied with very much, 31% with somewhat, 7% with neutral, 16% responded with not really and 27% said not at all.

Table 13: Trusting different sources of information for decision * Cross tabulation						
Do you trust the different sources of information for location						
deciding	deciding			Total		
	very much	7	12	19		
	somewhat	11	20	31		
	neutral	2	5	7		
	not really	11	5	16		
	not at all	19	8	27		
Total		50	50	100		

Here again the results showed that majority of rural population expressed lack of trust towards media while deciding on vote or other issues. On the other side the high positive values were seen in urban population response.

Table 14: Frequency of marking political marketing through media							
					Cumulative		
		у	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent		
Valid	very much	32	32.0	32.0	32.0		
	somewhat	28	28.0	28.0	60.0		
	neutral	5	5.0	5.0	65.0		
	not really	15	15.0	15.0	80.0		
	not at all	20	20.0	20.0	100.0		
	Total	100	100.0	100.0			

In the answer of if they think political marketing through media counts, than 32% people replied with very much, 28% with somewhat, 5% replied with neutral, 15% responded with not really and 20% with not at all.

Table 15: Frequency of marking political marketing through media*Crosstabulation							
Do you th	ink political	location					
marketing t	hrough media						
co	counts?		urban	Total			
	very much	16	16	32			
	somewhat	9	19	28			
	neutral		2	5			
	not really	7	8	15			
	not at all	15	5	20			
T	otal	50	50	100			

Again dividing the subjects across location it was witnessed that on both sides people believed that it had influence but again majority of the urban population said that marketing through media really counted and almost half of the rural also believed that it did impact over the voter.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very much	42	42.0	42.0	42.0
	somewhat	33	33.0	33.0	75.0
	neutral	4	4.0	4.0	79.0
	not really	6	6.0	6.0	85.0
	not at all	15	15.0	15.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table 16: Frequency to share the news received from media

In the answer of if they share the news they receive from media, 42% people replied with very much, 33% with somewhat, 4% with neutral, 6% replied with not really and 15% said not at all.

Table 17: Frequency to share the news received from Media							
Do you s	hare the news you	locat					
receiv	receive from media?		urban	Total			
	very much	14	28	42			
	somewhat Neutral		17	33			
			1	4			
	not really	5	1	6			
	not at all	12	3	15			
	Total	50	50	100			

Sharp differences were seen when again results were compared on the basis of location and as showed above majority of urban citizens answered with high positive values while almost half of this number was true in case of rural side.

	Table 18: Frequency of referring talk shows to others							
		Frequenc		Valid	Cumulative			
		У	Percent	Percent	Percent			
Valid	very much	31	31.0	31.0	31.0			
	somewhat	27	27.0	27.0	58.0			
	neutral	3	3.0	3.0	61.0			
	not really	14	14.0	14.0	75.0			
	not at all	25	25.0	25.0	100.0			
	Total	100	100.0	100.0				

For the question if they refer talk shows to others, 31% replied with very much, 27% with somewhat, 3% with neutral, 14% with not really and 25% said not at all. More sharp cleavage was seen as the results were analysed across the locations and it was found that 37% of urban people did refer the news to others and only 21% in rural area including the low values.

Table 19: Frequency of agreement with the media stance						
			Percen	Valid	Cumulative	
		Frequency	t	Percent	Percent	
Valid	very much	12	12.0	12.0	12.0	
	somewhat	35	35.0	35.0	47.0	
	neutral	7	7.0	7.0	54.0	
	not really	21	21.0	21.0	75.0	
	not at all	25	25.0	25.0	100.0	
	Total	100	100.0	100.0		

And finally for the question if they agree with the media's stance on political matters, 12% replied with very much, 35% with somewhat, 7% with neutral, 21% with not really and 25% said not at all. Again the differences with double of the number of people agree the media stance in urban area than the rural.

Conclusion

Media has penetrated deep into our society through several channels but the only constraints that restrict its full potential is inaccessibility and lack of trust. The majority of the people in urban areas use media as the primary source of information and have high levels of consumption patterns or at least average for those even without having a keen interest in politics. On the other side the scenario is completely opposite and majority of rural population rely on peer groups and family as a source of information and the role of print media is also restricted due to illiteracy and lack of interest. With different ingestion of media on both sides the impacts, attitude and voting patterns of people are also dissimilar. As revealed through this study the majority of public in rural area vote on the basis of 'biradari' and personal affiliations, and in case they experience a change that is not mainly due to media but on the basis of personal differences and relations. Along with that the personality and appearance of leader counts a lot for them and a little importance is placed over media as mostly people do not agree with the stance of media (if in access). On the other hand majority of urban population, which utilizes towering level of information as a courtesy of media, tend to vote on the basis of performance and policy. Also they strongly believe that media does influence over citizens voting behaviour and do agree with the stance of media over many of the matters. This shows there exists a positive relationship between the two as the more public is exposed to media. The more they are politically aware, updated the more they tend to vote rationally. Media could serve to loosen the old existing bonds like 'biradari', it can enlighten people with enough information (if neutral) to make long-lasting decisions keeping a broader objective in view.

Suggestions

1. Media should promote programs such as civic education and voter's awareness because of its capability to reach audience and the potential to influence.

- 2. The most importance should be placed at the core issues of society than the one's being set by a specific party or group.
- 3. Media should avoid breaking news without previous confirmation.
- 4. The news should be brought to audience without any addition of elements such as suspense, glamour or bias.
- 5. All the facts regarding political affairs should be placed in front of public in order to adequately enlighten them for a wise decision making.
- 6. Instead of leg pulling all the media streams should promote a strong culture that encourages justice, positive deeds and public participation.
- 7. A well-defined code of conduct should be followed by the Mass Media and in any case the national interest at large should be kept supreme.

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