

**News Media and Political Socialisation of
Young People: The Case of Bahrain**

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the influence of various forms of media (old and new) on the political awareness and socialisation of secondary school students in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Data were obtained from focus groups conducted in eight schools and a survey of 1,179 respondents aged between 15 and 22 years from 12 schools located across Bahrain.

This study found that young Bahraini males (teenagers and young adults) displayed more political interest, greater political knowledge, greater political involvement and greater trust in politicians than did young Bahraini females. There were also significant differences between residence areas in terms of trust in politicians. Young Bahrainis with greater political involvement achieved higher political knowledge scores and the young Bahrainis who had greater religious interests also had greater political interests.

Parents, peer groups, religious interest, people in the media and teachers contributed significantly in forming political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among young Bahrainis. Male students had significantly more confidence and trust in the government, the judiciary, parliament, Bahraini TV broadcasting and Bahraini domestic news websites than did their female counterparts. The internet and parents were the sources that contributed the most in forming political knowledge among young Bahrainis.

This study found that watching TV and using the internet were positively correlated with political interest and involvement. Furthermore, the results indicate that the internet, newspapers and TV had a significant influence on political knowledge, political involvement and political interest among Bahraini young students. Areas of residence influenced young Bahrainis' preferences for channels and websites with in terms of whether they lived in Sunni or Shiaa governorates. Generally, religious interest and sect play an important role in political socialisation and political life in this small country.

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Dedicated to my mother and late father
Who have brought me up to what I am today.
To my small family, my wise wife and tiny kids
To all my loved ones.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Under the title of "Dialogue between two kids", a letter was published in one Bahraini newspaper¹ by parents wanting their two children to participate in a summer program in 2009. They said:

First day: one boy asked another in a loud voice, in a Bahraini accent,²- Are you Bahraini or Bahraini³?

- I am Bahraini and I am proud.

On the second day, the same boy asked my son: what is your name?

-Ahmed Al-Alawi⁴.

-Are you Sunni or Shiaa?

- I am Sunni, but I'm no different from you.

- What did you say? There is no Alawi (Family) Sunni.

- There are Sunni families and Shiaa families named Al-Alawi.

- But we will enter paradise and you will not.

The same boy asked: Who is the 'Ameer Almoamenen'⁵?

-The other boy could not answer.

¹ Al-Watan newspaper. Sun, 26 Jul, 2009, Issue, 1324 and Mon, 27 Jul, 2009, Issue, 1325, year: 4.

² This local accent used by Shiaa people in Bahrain.

³ Bahraini in the local accent means Shiaa, so the boy mean by this questions: Are you Sunni or Shiaa?

⁴ There are families of Sunni and Shiaa who have the same surname in the Arabic Gulf. Al-Alawi is the surname of a family belonging to the Imam Ali Bin Abi Talib, the fourth Caliph (leader) of Muslims after the Prophet Mohammed, and is associated Shiites and that he was deserving of succession of those before him, and that is one of the greatest differences between Sunnis and Shiites.

⁵ Which means: Who is the leader of the Muslim people?

On the third day, the same boy said ‘We don’t believe in the Hadith of Abohuraire and Albukari⁶, and we see all companions⁷ as guilty. They will not go to heaven...

This situation arises frequently, especially in mixed schools in Bahrain, where young people come from different backgrounds. For many decades, there have been two coexisting sects In Bahrain. Co-exist in all walks of life: at work, at school and so on. Some of them accept this coexistence, while others do not. The reason for choosing this research topic is that it addresses a subject that is both very sensitive and extremely important.

In light of the dramatic changes in the agencies that influence political socialisation, and the technological and communications revolution that is reflected in the virtual world of new media, the factors that influence political socialisation have also changed. Except in the United States, much of the world, including the Arab countries and Arabian Gulf countries in particular, are still not interested in these studies regarding the link between new media and political awareness and involvement, in spite of its extreme importance.

Previously, after parents, peer groups and school were the critical agencies in political socialisation formation. However, the situation has now changed, and the various media, particularly new ones, side with religious groups in being opposed to all agencies of socialisation, Furthermore, the new media facilitate recruitment of the new generation to religious groups and political ideological recruitment, young people listen to them more than they listen to their parents.

⁶ Which means: We don’t believe in messages from the Prophet Muhammad which are said by Abohuraire and Albukari, who are considered as Sunni scholars in Hadith tellers.

⁷ Companions mean the men who lived in the same period as the Prophet Muhammad.

Studies of political socialisation help states to know the circumstances surrounding the new generation, which will become the leaders of the future, to find out the real problems and seek to remedy them. The country needs laws that will act as a deterrent to those wishing to damage the community's fabric, and to protect the rights of individual communities from infringement, especially concerning the external agendas that still threaten Bahrain with daily divisions, such as the Iranian media.

Among the largest problems was the absence of any kind of studies into these issues and the lack of any attempt by the authorities to understand the real situation of the Arab youth. This has been the cause of the explosion of the revolutions in Arab countries, and has been reflected in a tremendous increase in political awareness and political attention, which was revealed in the form of activity and participation by political actors to overcome autocratic regimes and replace them with democratic systems that will show an understanding that has been buried for decades.

This study explores these aspects of the role of media in political socialisation through a case study of secondary school students in Bahrain. The study involves comparative empirical analysis of patterns of students' media consumption, as well as their political awareness, attitudes and engagement, in the context of patterns of sectarianism.

The aim of this study was to identify the sources of such influence on political socialisation, highlight the types of influence and examine the extent to which they are influential. Furthermore, the study discusses political socialisation in the context of the effects of old and new media. In addition, this study examines two issues that have not yet been investigated clearly in the literature, the first being the impact of religious groups on political socialisation and the extent to which these groups use different media tools in mobilizing and rallying young people to follow their agenda.

The second issue examined in this research is the influence of sectarianism in determining the political attitudes, knowledge and political socialisation in general among young people in each group.

This research aims to understand the background to the concept of political socialisation and how is it formed among all of these groups of young people. Is it through traditional socialisation agencies such as the family, peer groups and schools, through traditional and new alternative media, or through other agencies altogether?

1.2 Objective of the Study

This work examines the nature of political socialisation among young, well-educated people in Bahrain and considers the range of variables in their lives that contribute towards their political awareness and understanding. This research is an investigation of political knowledge and awareness, political attitudes, interest and active involvement in political affairs and activities among male and female secondary school students with the age range of the target population between 14-22 years old. Given the relative scarcity of previous research of relevance in Bahrain itself (as well as elsewhere in the Arab world), this work has been guided by models of political socialisation developed in the West. As such, part of the challenge here has been to establish whether these models have any relevance and can be applied to the Bahraini situation.

In the Arab world politics is closely bound up with religion. This means that factors such as religious interest, groups and leaders play an important role in determining political attitudes and knowledge and therefore form an integral aspect of the political socialisation process among young people in Bahrain. This factor will also be examined alongside the political socialisation agents more traditionally identified by

western models of political socialisation, such as the family, schools peer groups, political parties and the mass media.

1.3 What is Political Socialisation?

Before we can explain the factors that play a part in political socialisation, we must understand what it is we are studying. What do we mean when we talk about 'political socialisation'? A number of viewpoints have been offered in the past by those who have written about this subject. Langton (1969:3), for example, described the process of 'socialisation' as "the individual's learning from others in his environment the social patterns and values of his culture". He added that 'socialisation' is a "process in which individuals incorporate into their own attitudinal structure and behaviour patterns the ways of their respective social groups and society". Dawson and Prewitt (1969) described political socialisation as ".. the name given to the processes through which a citizen acquires his own view of the political world".

This understanding of 'socialisation' leads us to ask what exactly the term 'political socialisation' means. In the widest sense, political socialisation can be defined as "The way society transmits its political culture from generation to generation" (Langton, 1969: 4). Langton (1969:5) further identifies the process of the development of political socialisation as "the process mediated through various agencies of society, by which an individual learns politically relevant attitudinal disposition and behaviour patterns." These agencies, according to Langton, "include such environment categories as the family, peer group, school, adult organizations, and the mass media". Easton and Dennis (1969) understood political socialisation as, "Those development processes through which persons acquire political orientation

and patterns of behavior". Moreover, Dawson & Prewitt (1969) argued that, "Political socialisation processes operate at the individual and community levels".

Hence, the term 'political socialisation' refers to the developmental processes correlated with social and political life and associated with the ways in which individuals acquire political awareness, attitudes (such as knowledge and interest, respectively) and behavior (election participation and partisan identification). (Hyman, 1959; Langton, 1969; Hess & Torney, 1967; Atkin & Gantz, 1978)

Having established in broad terms what it means, we must next consider how political socialisation can be measured and how it can be explained through measurable socialisation agents. Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Greenberg (1970) and Jaros (1973) have all studied political socialisation in terms of the ways in which individuals acquire their political views: from where can they obtain the knowledge, values, attitude and beliefs of the average citizen, and by which patterns of social or political life?' Political socialisation is the study of political learning' (Jaros, 1973), through 'social and psychological process' (Langton, 1969). The development of political socialisation engages an 'interaction-acquisition' process between the individuals being socialized and the agencies which serve as the 'vehicles of socialisation', and the forms of political behavior, awareness and attitudes that they learns (Langton, 1969:8).

Five basic questions generated by Greenstein (1965), and used in micro-level investigations, merge some of the fundamental elements from the range of 'conceptual formulations', with a focus on explaining political socialisation patterns. These questions are "Who learns (Learning differs according to the social and psychological

characteristics of the individuals socialized)? What is learned⁸? From whom (the agents of political socialisation, such as family, peer group, school and so forth)? Under what circumstances (government, political environment, educational practice and others, and at which level of awareness does learning take place)? With what effects? (What are the effects of the political learning process in any political system on the system itself?⁹(Greenstein, 1965). This set of questions has become the typical approach for many scholars, who accordingly asked the same questions in their works (Langton, 1969; Mitchell, 1969; Easton & Dennis, 1969; Jaros, 1973; Greenberg 1970; and others).

1.4 The Importance of the Study

The recent events subsumed under the heading of the ‘Arab Spring’ in 2011 and afterwards witnessed the overthrow of Arab governments in several Arab countries and pressure to introduce radical political changes in other countries in the region. Young people were heavily involved in these events and frequent references were made also to the part played by new digital communications technologies as instruments of change. These events drew the attention of the world to Arab politics. They have also raised questions about the kinds of governance and type of politics Arab people now wish to follow. These questions in turn bring us back to the issue of political socialisation. The Arab Spring events give an impression that Arab countries have politically active and engaged citizens. To what extent though are these citizens knowledgeable about political processes? If their ideas about politics and political

8 "Easton and Hess offer a classification of the objects about which individuals learn: incumbent leaders, the regime, and the community" (Greenstien,1965).

9 P. Lasswell's Formula (1948) used same questions in his models of the general process of communication.

change are poorly informed, their expectations of the life changes wrought by a change of government might be unrealistic. This could then eventually fuel further internal tensions later on that will undermine the establishment of a more democratic society.

Long before the Arab Spring, Suleiman (1987) observed that political values and beliefs and attitudes towards government officials are so sensitive that many people in the Arab world have been reluctant to talk openly about them. Government authorities have also been highly sensitive to criticism of their activities. This has also restricted and tolerance for research into such matters. In the few Arab countries where such study is authorized, highly complicated bureaucratic processes must be navigated before permission to conduct this kind of research will be granted. Any suggestion that a project might be critical of government generally led the authorities to refuse to allow investigation, often alleging that it would constitute a threat to the security of the state.

There have been many investigations of political socialisation, but these mostly derive from the West and then mainly from the USA. The majority of them have been related to elections. There is a dearth of research on this subject from the Arab world. (see Farah and Al-Salem, 1977). Recent changes in this region underline the importance of understanding how the citizens of Arab countries become politically aware.

Bahrain has lived with enormous political changes, particularly in the last decade, and its sectarian situation means that this kind of investigation is even more important for the country and for its different communities and sects, as it will help these different sects and the authorities to understand each other and to move forward to improve the society.

At the present time, large demographic changes are taking place in Bahrain, where the population has almost doubled in a small area of land, with limited resources. The size of the population had reached 1,234,571 at the last census¹⁰, divided among Bahraini citizens, whether Sunni, Shiaa, small Christian and Jewish communities and other categories that had been granted citizenship (568, 399), and other categories, such as the large foreign labour force of approximately 666,172¹¹ - that is, more than half of all the inhabitants in Bahrain. In other words, Bahrain has become a multi-religious, multi-confessional and multi-cultural society.

This study does not ignore the role of traditional agencies in political socialisation, such as parents, peer groups and schools, which are adopted by the majority of scholars and researchers, such as Hyman (1959), Easton and Hess (1962), Almond and Verba (1963; 1965; 1989), Greenstein (1965), and Hess and Torney, (1967). However, this research seeks to examine other agencies that have emerged in recent times, such as the growth of digital media, as well as the influence of Islamic socialisation. In addition, this study examines two issues that have not yet been investigated clearly in the literature, namely the impact of religious groups or Islamic socialisation on political socialisation and the extent to which these groups use different media tools in mobilization and rallying young people to follow their agenda.

Within the political socialisation literature, very few researchers have examined the role of religious groups, interests or leaders in this domain. Hess and Torney (1969) and other scholars (such as Glantz, 1959; Gold, 1953; Greer, 1961)

¹⁰ Summary result of the 2010 census, Kingdom of Bahrain, Central Informatics Organization, General Directorate of Statistics and Population Registry, Directorate of Statistics.

¹¹ Ibid.

investigated the relationship between religious affiliation and political behaviour and participation. Nevertheless, this kind of research is still limited to Western countries.

In the Arab and Moslem world, as pointed out by Dhaher (1982), the family and religion are the foremost influence in the minds of younger and older group. This thesis examines the influence of sectarianism in determining political attitudes, knowledge and involvement among young people in Bahrain. In other words, this research tries to identify the significant sources of political socialisation in different governorates in Bahrain.

The impact of sects has not yet been examined in any research into political socialisation. In Islamic religion, sects play an important role in the socialisation process, particularly in the Shiaa sect, the nature of which depends on the 'Marjea'¹² in shaping awareness and activism in religious, political and social life among Shiaa followers. Therefore, this study will open the door for such research in different countries that have both Sunni and Shiaa people and face the same problems of coexistence, such as Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen and Syria, as this kind of research has the potential to help their society.

Furthermore, from the 1970s until the 1990s, many scholars in this field investigated the role of old media in political socialisation, such as Chaffee, Ward and Tipton (1970), Atkin and Gantz (1978), Atkin (1981), Furnham and Gunter (1983), Chaffee and Yang, (1990) and Putnam (2000), while other scholars investigated the role of new media in this domain, such as Blumler (1999), Neuman and Robinson (2001), Borgida and Stark (2002), Weare (2002) and other institutions such as the Pew Research Centre. This research examined both of these media forms and their

¹²See page: 284.

role as gatekeepers of information for different sects living in different governorates in Bahrain.

Finally, the further importance of this study derives from the fact that it comes one year before the political turmoil in Bahrain (February 2011), and it experienced the effect of what happened during the Arab Spring of 2011 in surrounding Arabic countries such as Tunis, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

The growing sectarianism in Bahraini society is causing a series of problems such as political unrest and internal clashes between Shiaa protesters and policeman, including the deaths of a number of people since 1995, in addition to the growing incidence of sectarian confrontations with the police and with other sects in the society. The matter here is that young people were the largely victimised and considered to be the most affected from internal political conflict regarding to their involved and punished from these internal clashes.¹³

From this point, we can start to identify the research problem, which is how those different communities in the small country of Bahrain use alternative traditional and new media for recruitment, external and internal, and this study sets out to measure all of these issues scientifically and objectively.

This research will try to understand the background to the concept of political socialisation and how is it formed among all of these groups of young people. Is it is through traditional socialisation agencies such as family, peer groups and schools, or

¹³ Al-Awar, S. (2012) *Understanding the truth behind*

Bahrain<http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/04/22/209418.html>(accessed (10/05/2012))

it is through traditional and new alternative media, or through other agencies altogether?

1.6 Statement of Research Questions

This research will investigate a number of major research questions about political socialisation in Bahrain.

[1] What is the status of political awareness and understanding among young people in Bahrain?

[2] To what extent does this political awareness and understanding vary between different population sub-groups defined by gender, socio-economic class, and religious group?

[3] What are the key agencies of socialisation that play a part in shaping young people's political awareness and understanding in Bahrain? Further sub-questions can be asked about specific agencies:

[a] What is the role of family?

[b] What is the role of schools?

[c] What is the role of peer groups?

[d] What is the role of the mass media such as radio, television and newspapers?

[e] What is the role of religious organizations?

[f] What is the role of online media, including web sites run by media, political and religious organizations, blogs and micro-blogs, and social media sites?.

1.7 Theoretical analysis

To inform this research, a number of model of political socialisation have been examined for their relevance to explaining socialisaiton processes. Four prominent

early models that emerged before the 1980s and four later models from the 1990s were selected for close analysis in terms of their potential relevance to the Bahraini situation. All these models derive from research in western democracies. Hyman (1959), Hess and Torney (1967), Easton and Dennis (1969) and Dawson and Prewitt (1969) were presented as pre-1990 models, while McDevitt and Chaffee (2002), Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006), Lee (2006) and Zaff and Eccles (2008) were used as post 1990 models. The early models focused on local agencies such as the family, school and peer groups. The later models introduced mass media as important instruments of political socialisation.

The agents of political socialisation identified by these models will be mapped onto those identified by young people interviewed in Bahrain. In this way, we will be able to identify the relevance of these western models to the Arab world and also determine whether in the case of some models they still have currency anywhere given the changes that have taken place in political processes since those early models were first conceived.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter has introduced the research, its objectives and the subject area within which it is located. The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the definition and conception of the term ‘political socialisation’.

The second chapter presents a profile of the Kingdom of Bahrain, with general overviews of its geographic, political and economic situation. This chapter will also discuss the development of Bahrain’s political system and media forms, both old and new media, as it examines the literature on Islamic socialisation and political

socialisation in Arab countries and the effect of old media and new media on people according to Arabic research within this domain.

Chapter three provides the review of political socialisation literature through review and analysis of four pre-1990 and four post-1990 theoretical models of political socialisation, including the theoretical and empirical basis for the thesis. This chapter will also explain the investigation's intention to encompass two main components. The first addresses the outcome of political socialisation for the individual, and the second focuses on the roles played by various social groups and associations. This chapter also analyses early studies of political socialisation throughout the key formative stages of the development of this field.

Chapter four describes the methodology of the study, including the procedures followed to obtain and analyse the data. It mainly discusses the thesis design and justifies the choice of focus groups and survey methods. Furthermore, the sampling design and selection, population and location, the data collection process and the sites and timings of data collection, questionnaire design and administration, data analysis techniques and research ethics are also discussed.

Chapter five presents an analysis of the focus group discussions. The main themes discussed in this chapter include political interest, political involvement, political knowledge, source of information and sectarianism and tolerance. All of these themes, including different discussion titles, are presented in this chapter.

Chapters six and seven present the analysis of the survey data. The socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the Bahraini students are investigated. The level of political knowledge, interest and involvement are also measured. The government performance, trust in politicians, religious interest and sectarianism are examined as well. Chapter seven analyses television consumption with regard to

Chapter 1 Introduction

political news, as well as the different uses of media forms, whether old or new media. This chapter investigates the students' use of television, newspapers and other forms of old media, as well as the use of new media forms such as the Internet and social networks.

Chapter eight concludes the study by providing a summary and general discussion of the findings. The general discussion is based upon the main findings from the focus group and survey findings. The chapter concludes with a discussion of this study's contribution to knowledge, the limitations of the study, and finally suggestions for future research in this field.

CHAPTER TWO

BAHRAIN: A COUNTRY PROFILE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a general overview of the country. It presents a thorough discussion of Bahrain's geographic situation and its importance as a contemporary economic country, both in the Arabic Gulf and in the Arabic and Moslem world. This chapter provides a history of the development of the political system in this country from its independence from the British Commonwealth colony in 1971 until the present time. It discusses the history and the development of different forms of Bahraini media. Finally, this chapter examines political and Islamic socialisation in the Arab world, focusing on the definition and the concept of Islamic socialisation.

2.2 General Overview

Bahrain lies in the middle of the Arabian Gulf, near the east coast of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia¹⁴. Bahrain is considered to be one of the most open countries in the Arab Gulf region in economics, politics and woman rights¹⁵, while at the same time, its society is affected by external forces and surrounding variables. It should also be noted that Bahrain is considered to be the poorest in natural resources amongst the Gulf States. Nevertheless, the first regular school in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)¹⁶ was established in Bahrain in 1919.

¹⁴ BAHRAIN IN FIGURES 2006, Issue 24, December, 2007, Kingdom of Bahrain, Central Informatics organization, General Directorate of statistics and population Registry, Directorate of Statistics.

¹⁵ Councillors face the music after Bangkok jaunt, *Gulf Daily News* (via Bahrain.tv) 16 March 2006 <http://www.bahraintourism.com/default.asp?action=article&id=277>

¹⁶ Bahrain is a member in the Gulf Cooperation Council who established in 1981 which includes six countries: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait and Oman.

According to the UNESCO report *Education for All*, issued in January of 2008, the illiteracy rate in Bahrain is just 2.7%, which is very low compared to other countries in the region, particularly Arab Gulf countries. The same report demonstrated that school attendance in Bahrain is almost 100%. This is because education in the nation is compulsory. Furthermore, Bahrain has the fastest growing economy in the Arab world¹⁷ and has the freest economy in the Middle East.¹⁸ Out of 157 countries around the world, Bahrain has the 25th freest overall economy (*Education for All*, 2008).

Bahrain is vulnerable to external factors, such as events in Iraq, Iran and Lebanon,¹⁹ because it has citizens from a wide range of countries and cultures. As mentioned earlier, the size of the population had reached 1,234,571 according to the census of (2010), divided among Bahraini citizens (568,399) and a large foreign labour force of approximately 666,172: that is, more than half of all the inhabitants in Bahrain.

In fact, most Bahraini people are Sunni and some Shiaa people assert that the roots of the sectarian divide in Bahrain stretch back to continued Iranian interference and ongoing Iranian statements against Bahrain since 1957.²⁰ Iran has historically

¹⁷ Named by the City of London's Global Financial Centers Index (2008).

¹⁸ According to the Index of Economic Freedom (2006).

¹⁹ This is because the majority of the Shiaa people in Bahrain belong to Iranian, Iraqi and Lebanon references of sectarian jurisprudence. In this mixture of different categories, all of whom are Bahraini citizens, there is a major influence from Saudi Arabia and other countries in the Gulf as a Sunni force, and from the Iranian regime, which still exports revolution, but using soft methods rather than military confrontations.

²⁰ Iran's parliament passed a bill in November 1957 declaring Bahrain to be the 14th province of Iran. On February 23, 1979, thousands of Shiites in Bahrain staged a massive demonstration to support the

asserted allegiance to the islands of the Bahrain archipelago (Sick, 1995). Iran still supports some Shiaa political societies and figures on the implementation of the internal foreign agenda. Hence, this agenda collides with the identity of Bahrain as a country belonging to the Arabic Gulf, and this occurs not just in Bahrain but in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) as well²¹.

The essential point that needs to be clarified here is that through all the official population statistics of the Kingdom of Bahrain no mention is made in any detail about the proportion of the population between Sunnis and Shiites: despite the fact that many websites and books refer to different rates, this is not supported with scientific evidence from any official body.

Interestingly, one important demographic factor not addressed by the 2010 Census, demonstrating its continued political sensitivity in the country, is the distribution of Sunni and Shia in Bahrain. Though unofficial, some external estimates suggest a majority of Shia in the general population, while other external estimates suggest a majority of Sunni in the general population; however, the most widely

Iranian revolution and its leader Khomeini. "Bahrain's journey from kingdom to province". MEED. 17 March 2011.

http://www.meed.com/countries/bahrain/bahrains-journey-from-kingdom-to_province/3090822.article. Retrieved 22 March 2011

The Front received material and media support from Iran. Its activities, initially confined to media propaganda directed from its office in Tehran, widened to include demonstrations. The Front then provided military training, and in December 1981, Bahrain foiled a *coup d'état* to overthrow the regime and set up a republic.

At the same time, and following the same pattern, a group of Shiites formed the Islamic Bahrain Freedom Movement in 1982to overthrow the establishment in Bahrain and set up a republic ruled under the politico-religious model of Wilayat Al Faqeeh (the Rule of the Jurisprudent).

²¹ Look at pages:293-294.

adopted and the latest official unpublished statistics, issued in November 2010 reported that Sunni people represent 51% of the general population, while Shiaa represent 49% of the Bahraini people²².

Historically, there have been three sectarian estimates in Bahrain. The first was reported by Taylor (1818), who estimated that the Bahraini population was 23,600 divided between 57.6% Sunni and 42.4% Shiaa people²³. The second sectarian estimate was completed by Hennell (1838), who suggested that the Bahraini population was 31,000, divided between 51.7% Sunni people and 48.3% Shiaa²⁴. Finally, Lorimer (1905) estimated that the Bahraini population was 99,275, divided between 59.4% Sunni and 40.6% Shiaa people²⁵.

On 14 August 1971, Bahrain declared its independence from the British Commonwealth; then, in September of the same year, it was granted accession to the League of Arab States (Alzayani, 1994; 265). In 1972, due to popular pressure, a constituent assembly was formed to draft a permanent constitution for the country. December 1973 saw the adoption of the Constitution in its final form, with Bahrain's first elections for the National Council to be held in the same year. However, that experiment did not last long because of a dispute between the government and the

²² Population Demographic Characteristics in the Kingdom of Bahrain - Research Study about the Sectarian Characteristics-, Central Information Organization, November, (2010), Bahrain. (Unpublished report)

²³ Extracts from brief notes containing historical and other information connected with the islands of Bahrain and other ports and places in the Arabian Gulf; prepared in the year 1818 by Captain Robert Taylor, Assistant Political agent in Turkish Arabia, from selections from the records of the Bombay Government, No. XXIV, New Series, 1856, pp22-29.

²⁴ R/15/1/71, Bushire Residency Files, Hennell to Willoughby, no. 15, 2 March 1839, pp77-78.

²⁵ Lorimer, Gazetteer, Part7, Volume II, Geographical-Statistical, pp237-238.

members of parliament. Therefore, an Emiri decree was issued to dissolve the Council in August 1975 (Al-Eid, 2006; 33-36).

In 1999, the political power moved to the new Prince (the current king) Hamad bin Isa Al-Khalifa after the death of his father, Shaikh Isa bin Salman Al-Khalifa. On 15 February 2001, the Bahraini people voted for a new trend, with a 98.4% majority voting in favour of changing to a democratic system.²⁶ In 2002, there was a new qualitative shift in the country's political system, with a transition from Emir Governance to a Kingdom, with the Emir becoming the King. A new political system was imposed upon the nation, with power being given to the people to a certain extent²⁷. This, in turn, had the effect of increasing the openness of society and the influence of the media. The media played a growing role in reporting on political matters and contributing to the public's political awareness²⁸. The changes were reflected immediately in the young people's way of life, especially given that the official statistics indicate that Bahrain is a young society in the sense that the youth represent the majority²⁹.

²⁶ The National Action Charter of Bahrain is a document put forward by the King of Bahrain in 2001 to return the country to constitutional rule. This document also instituted elections for parliament, released all political prisoners, and gave women the right to vote.

²⁷ This occurred as a result of the nation's voting on the National Action Charter in 2002, 2006 and 2010, which allowed all this change in the political system of the Kingdom of Bahrain.

²⁸ "Kingdom of Bahrain, A Year of Achievement", Ministry of Commerce, (2003:11).

²⁹ According to the Estimated Population of the Kingdom of Bahrain by Age Group, Nationality and Sex-Census 2010, the number of Bahraini people aged 10 to 39 years was 293,837 (Central Information Organisation, 2010).

In light of these developments, this research will focus on a particular theme: a growing number of youths are encountering problems such as sectarianism, which has reached the level of racism, and are being affected by the 'new' citizens. At the same time, there is openness about using the media to varying degrees and at various levels. This influence of various media forms has shaped the political awareness amongst secondary school students in the Kingdom of Bahrain.

Thus, Bahrain is open economically³⁰, socio-culturally, and politically, and as an island nation near the shore, it has found itself in a constant state of flux and facing continuous challenges, which has made it difficult to merge its two positions: an open society and also a conservative one. As a result, since oil was discovered in 1932 until the present day³¹, Bahrain has been moving forwards, facing new challenges and undergoing new development in diverse fields, particularly in the media.

This political breakthrough, as well as having certain advantages, also has a number of disadvantages, mainly with regard to the exploitation of the openness of the media in disseminating a spirit of hatred and racism among the people of one nation, yet the involvement of large numbers of young people who are mobilized politically in damaging ways may impact negatively on the future of the society and the degree of coexistence among these different groups

³⁰Bahrain is the oldest centre for financial services and banking in the Gulf region, particularly taking the initiative in the granting of work permits and the establishment of the banking units (offshore) since 1975, as Bahrain is a regional centre and is of global significance as regards Islamic banks (Alqasimi and Alboaini, 1999, 53).

³¹ Though the contribution of oil in Bahraini national income is very small compared to rest of the Gulf countries oil (Alqasimi, 1999; 53).

This research investigates the influence of various forms of media (traditional and new) on the political awareness and socialisation of secondary school students in the Kingdom of Bahrain. The study began by measuring political socialisation through knowledge of different types of political awareness, such as political attitudes (including political interest, efficacy and knowledge), cynicism and distrust, television exposure and Internet use, political involvement, action and participation, and finally efficacy and satisfaction among secondary school students, both boys and girls, stating the age range of the target population. The aim of this study was to identify the sources of such influence on political socialisation, highlight the types of influence and examine the extent to which they are influential.

Furthermore, the study discusses political socialisation in the context of the effects of traditional and new media in an area of conflict, and external and internal challenges to coexistence. In addition, this study examines two issues that have not yet been investigated clearly in the literature, namely, the impact of religious groups on political socialisation and the extent to which these groups use different media tools in mobilizing and rallying young people to follow their agenda.

The second issue examined in this research is the influence of sectarianism in determining the political attitudes, knowledge and political socialisation in general among young people in each group. In other words, this investigation tries to identify the main source of political socialisation in each group and compare them across the small country of Bahrain, which has limited space and resources but a large border, making it vulnerable to many challenges.

The growing sectarianism in Bahraini society is causing a series of problems and internal clashes, including having caused the deaths of a number of people since 1995.

The research aims to understand the background to the concept of political socialisation and how is it formed among all of these groups of young people. Is it through traditional socialisation agencies such as the family, peer groups and schools, through traditional and new alternative media, or through other agencies altogether?

2.3 Media in Bahrain

The environment of politics and media in Bahraini society is considered more advanced than in other countries in the region; nevertheless, other countries in the Arabic Gulf that were established after Bahrain have become more expansive particularly in the television sector compared with Bahrain. For instance, Qatar developed the Al Jazeera news channel in 1996, Saudi Arabia developed the Al Arabia news channel in 2003, and Kuwait developed several private channels, such as Alrai (2004), Al watan (2007) and so forth; in the meantime, the Bahraini media are still under government control.

Radio started in Bahrain in 1941³², while Bahrain TV began to be broadcast in September 1973 by a management company named RTV; it was the first colour TV broadcast in the Arab world (Al-Eid, 2006, 72). In January 1993, Bahrain Radio and Television became a public corporation, and currently, the Bahraini Government 'undertakes the control of the media sector', particularly radio, television and the news agency (Al-Rumaihi, 2002: 119). The visible media role in Bahrain has not allowed yet the establishment of new private channels. However, as this role will be approved

³² Abu Raad said that the Bahrain radio services started in November 1940 (2004, 102-104), stopped in 1945, then were launched again in 1955 and went through various stages of development between the years 1958 and 1982 until there was a major change in 1993. Also Al-Eid stated that the Bahrain radio station was one of the first radio stations to have emerged in the Arabic Gulf. (2006, 67)

soon, the near future will witness a major shift in the provision of open private channels in Bahrain.

In the newspaper sector, Bahrain was among the first countries in the Gulf to realise the importance of this kind of communication and information, and after 1884, it produced many exceptional journalists who led this sector in different stages, such as Abdullah Alzayed³³, Mahmood Almardi, Ali Syaar and others. However, the efforts of these people were damaged regularly by colonial rule; the British colonial rulers closed down many newspapers due to the newspapers' attitudes, whether they differed from the colonial view during the Second World War or because of the nationalist voice which threatened colonialists' existence³⁴.

In addition, prior to 2002, there were just two Arabic and two English newspapers whereas currently, since the 2002 political reform, the number of newspapers has reached seventeen: five are published daily and three weekly, two are English newspapers, and ten are electronic newspapers and magazines³⁵.

It is not just the traditional media that have increased: new media, such as the Internet, have also expanded significantly since the reform project in 2002. In other words, people have started to use their freedom in different ways, and the media represent one of these ways. The Internet has played an important role in increasing Bahraini people's political awareness and political participation and involvement, in particular in developing communication materials; this is especially true of the new-

³³The first newspaper in Bahrain was established in Mars (1939) by Abdullah Al Zayed, and was called *Jahredat Al-Bahrain* (Bahrain Newspaper)

³⁴ More than ten newspapers from 1939 until the 1960s were closed , the majority of them by the British colonial rulers.

³⁵ Official correspondence with the Press and Publication, Information Affairs Authority, Kingdom of Bahrain, Num:خ-21/2011.

age mobile phones, whereby people use different virtual social networks by BlackBerry, iPhone or othersto find the latest news and to communicate.

In addition, the electronic services are developing rapidly; for this reason, in the 2010 UN e Government Development Report, the Bahraini e-Government ranked first in the Middle East, third in Asia and 13th worldwide³⁶.

According to the Bahraini Telecommunications Regulatory Authority report, by the end of 2010, there were about 188,000 Internet subscribers, all of whom were broadband subscribers, while this figure had been just 14,956 in 2004. The same report states that the number of broadband subscribers increased by 19% between 2009 and 2010 and indicates that about 85% of households in Bahrain now have fixed broadband (2010, 30).

With regard to discussion forums, Facebook, and Twitter, it is possible to observe the other face of the sectarian conflict. The numbers of subscribers to these networks have increased on a daily basis. According to the official Facebook website, the number of Bahraini people using this social network reached 289,680 in August 2011. This figure had increased dramatically, by about almost 30.9%, in just one year, which means that more people become a members in this network regularly. This increase is not limited to Facebook; Twitter has attracted many Bahraini citizens and has become part of the daily media feast, particularly after the recent political problems in February 2011. According to Arab Social Media Report³⁷, Bahraini males more likely to use Facebook than females by 58% for male and 42% for female, while Bahraini people in age between 15-29 more likely to use Facebook than people in age

³⁶ Bahrain e Government official site <http://www.bahrain.bh>

³⁷ Dubai School of Government. May 2011, Vol. 1, No. 2.

over 30 years old by 62% for young and young adult and 38% for adult. According to same study, Bahrain's Facebook penetration rates are on par with the Top 20 countries in the world, representing a pervasive use of Facebook in Bahrain society with 36.83%. (Facebook penetration above 30%)

The same report stated that the number of twitter users in Bahrain between (Jan. 1 - March 30, 2011) it was about 61,900 users with (5.01) of Twitter penetration, and the number of tweets in same era reached to (1,350,000). The number of twitter users in Bahrain and their tweets increased dramatically according to the Bahrain sectarian problem since 14th of February until now. As the Arab Social Media Report also pointed out, Bahrain is among top countries in terms of Twitter user penetration with 7.53% (Twitter penetration above 5%). This figure indicates a high use of Twitter in Bahrain society relative to other Arab countries.

The same report stated that the total number of Facebook users in the Arab world stands at 27,711,503 (as of April 5, 2011), up from 21,377,282 (January 5, 2011), having almost doubled since the same time in the previous year (14,791,972 in April 2010) (Ibid). At the beginning of April 2011, the country average for Facebook user penetration in the Arab region was just over 7.5%, up from just under 6% at the end of 2010. The number of Facebook users in the Arab world increased by 30% in the first quarter of 2011. GCC countries still lead the Arab world in respect of Facebook users as a percentage of population.

In addition, the most popular trending hashtags across the Arab region in the first quarter of 2011 were (#egypt) (with 1.4 million mentions in the tweets generated during this period) than (#jan25) (with 1.2. million mentions), than (#libya) (with 990,000 mentions), than (#bahrain) (640,000 mentions), which is mean that the Bahraini sectarian problem make people more interact with these kind of social

network. Consequently, this report considered Bahrain and other GCC countries such as Qatar, the UAE and Kuwait along with Egypt dominate the top five countries in terms of both Twitter users and volume of tweets.

The use of discussion forums in Bahrain has been associated with major debates regarding their misuse or abuse; for instance, the Media Affairs Authority blocked many forums³⁸ due to the abuse in recruitment or mobilization, their call to violence, vandalism and property damage, and their advocacy of hatred.

The number of these forums is not small; however, the majority of them are not active. The active forums are those associated with local political issues more than with other issues; for example, Sunni people have their own forums as do Shiaa people. In general, these forums have become the mouthpiece of each sect in Bahrain, and each of these forums has members belonging to same sect; for example, one of the biggest and most famous forums belonging to Sunni people is the Bahrain Portal forum. This forum has more than 111,000 members, more than 2,058,877 participations, and more than 921,663 topics. In addition, the Sanabis Cultural Forum is one of the biggest and most famous forums belonging to Shiaa people. This forum has more than 104,000 members with more than 2,941,538 participations and more than 220,447 topics³⁹. Other forums have fewer members than these, however, one can mention here that the majority of forums belong to Shiaa villages in Bahrain and are given the names of these villages. Nevertheless, many were blocked due to the reasons mentioned above. These membership and participations figures are high

³⁸ Blocked Websites list in Bahrain (Child Safety), sTyLo. 24 June 2010. <http://stylosoft.com/blocked-websites-list-bahrain-child-safety/>.

³⁹ All figures taken from the official forums sites, September, 2011.

compared to the size of the population. Moreover, to understand better the reality of this conflict, some Shiaa people have hacked into some Sunni forums and some Sunni people have hacked into some Shiaa forums for sectarian reasons.

Regarding this problem, broadcasting or publishing in neighbouring countries by various media forms had a negative influence on the conflict.⁴⁰ Further online channels, newspapers and websites from nearby countries had an impact in increasing the conflict and militarization of the two sects, Shiite and Sunni alike.

2.4 Political and Islamic Socialisation in the Arab World

The study of political socialisation in the Arab world has not been widespread. There are few textbooks or research papers on this subject from the region. In addition, one can observe that the term 'political socialisation' is not very common in Arabic works. Only very little can be found written about this topic, and what information there is, is in simple, transported from foreign studies.⁴¹ This indicates the low popularity of this topic in Arab countries; nevertheless, in Bahrain and in all other Arabic countries, this subject is becoming more important, especially after the Arab revolution of spring 2011.

Abu Raad (2004) cited a few studies available in Egypt, such as the study by Abu saif (2001) which examined the 'awareness of political and electoral students'.

⁴⁰*Bahrain blames "foreign agenda," Hezbollah for unrest*, Middle East News, Mar 25, 2011, 12:15.
http://news.monstersandcritics.com/middleeast/news/article_1628703.php/Bahrain-blames-foreign-agenda-Hezbollah-for-unrest.

⁴¹ One rare book was found, entitled 'The political socialisation of a child: pre-school, applications and educational activities' by Amal Kalaf, Cairo, 2006; however, other books discussing this topic had only short sections regarding some issues of socialisation.

This research was ‘a field study on a sample of students from Cairo University’. The study found that 72.3% of participants were more likely to watch political programmes than other kinds of programmes. Another study was by Hamada (1995) who examined the use of media forms and political participation among Egyptian people. This study found a decline in electoral participation and a low level of political knowledge among the participants. Suleiman (1985) wrote one study, *Socialisation to Politics in Morocco*, and other researchers have written various works discussing socialisation in Tunisia (Tessler and Hawkins 1979) and socialisation in Egypt (El-Manoufi)⁴². Other researchers have written articles about different issues involved in socialisation among Palestinians (Kuroda and K. Kuroda ,1972; E. Farah, 1980; and Sayigh 1977). One important thing which could be mentioned here that with regard to previous studies, many of them in particular Master dissertation or PhD thesis, written by Arabic researchers were not available in accessible sites which could have helped any researcher in the investigation of this area of study. The researchers should go to the different universities in different countries to find out any related researches.

Research by Farah and Al-Salem (1977) found a relatively strong relationship between government responsiveness and students’ confidence in the government’s political ability. Its authors also reported clear and positive association between political trust and efficacy and a strong association between government responsiveness and efficacy. Al-Salem(1981) found that students steadily lose the sense of political involvement in their self-concept as they grow older. He also found that religion plays a significant role in the lives of Gulf Arabs.

⁴² (Translated from Arabic by Elie Chalala, Political Science Department University of California at Los Angeles).

Farah (1979) found there was a strong association between government responsiveness and internal efficacy in Kuwait. Dhaher also completed two studies in this period. The first, 'Culture and Politics in the Arab Gulf States' (1981) revealed that, in spite of the respondents' ages or gender, their father held a foremost place in their minds. The second, 'Gulf Arab Youth: Self-Image and Role' (1982), demonstrated that religion and the family were the uppermost priority for the students, with females placing religion slightly above family⁴³.

Abdulla and Omran (1997) discussed the political culture of UAE University. They found that the political knowledge of Emirati university students ranged from medium to low and indicated that there were important differences between males and females regarding their political knowledge, with males showing the greater level of knowledge.

2.5 Islamic Socialisation

Any researcher, either Arabic or foreign, into socialisation subjects in Arabic countries will soon detect an obvious confusion in the use of the concept of socialisation. Some Arabic researchers use socialisation as a synonym for Islamic socialisation; therefore, their work focuses on Islamic socialisation as the main idea in socialisation. For instance, the book by Ganem (2006) is titled 'Religious socialisation of the child'; however, the contents of this book, while clearly about socialisation, view the subject from an Islamic perspective. Another example is a book belonging to the Executive Office of the Council of Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs in the

⁴³ The results of studies by Al-Salem (1977, 1981), Dhaher (1981, 1982) and Suleiman (1985) in more detail are available in the results chapter.

GCC countries, with the title ‘Declaration of the Arab and the Gulf media of socialisation’; again, the contents of this book are entirely about Islamic socialisation. A further instance is the book by Altuwaijri (2001) titled ‘Family and socialisation in Saudi Arabian society’; the writer should have titled the book ‘Islamic socialisation in Saudi Arabian society’ because he writes solely about the Islamic socialisation in Saudi society. All of these writers understood socialisation and its agencies as it is associated with Islam in every part of the concept. One can find many other texts in Arabian libraries discussing socialisation from an Islamic prospective; however, a lot of these books are written by religious men (Shaikh), not by scholars or specialists in the science of socialisation. This leads to the confusion mentioned above.

This confusion is also obvious in works by researchers who have written in Western universities. For instance, Suleiman (1985), in his research ‘*Socialisation to Politics in Morocco*’ provides an in-depth discussion of this issue; however, he fails to give an exact description of this kind of socialisation with regards to the Moroccan people. Suleiman comments, ‘They are strongly Muslim, both by commitment and by identity. Islam is their religion and they are part of the Muslim “nation”. Their countryman’s belief in God (i.e., Islamic faith) is the most important source of pride for them as Moroccan citizens. To the extent that Arabs are Muslim, then they are included in the students’ purview and vision, as expounded above. However, if the two groups, Muslims and Arabs, are presented as separated categories between which to choose, the Muslim bond proves much stronger (1985, p.140). Undoubtedly, this kind of socialisation, namely, Islamic socialisation, is the same as that found by Dhaher (1982) and Al-Salem (1981) in their research⁴⁴.

⁴⁴More details in result chapter regarding to the ‘Religious Interests and Political Interests’ page: 211.

2.6 What is Islamic Socialisation?

As stated above, there has been confusion when it comes to providing a clear concept of Islamic socialisation and socialisation in general among many writers and researchers in the Arab and Muslim world. Nevertheless, there is a group of researchers and scholars in sociology and education who have discussed these concepts in detail and in a very clear way.

Abu Jado (1998)⁴⁵, along with writers such as Musa (1998)⁴⁶, researched this topic. Having discussed socialisation in general, Abu jado then allocated one chapter to identifying and discussing Islamic socialisation. Musa stated that Islamic socialisation means raising a child as a human being involves configuring and integrating all aspects of the various physical, mental, spiritual and ethical principles in accordance with Islamic educational methods (p. 105). He cited Alnahlawi's definition of Islamic socialisation, saying that Islamic socialisation means educating the individual to have faith in God and surrender to His law; it also involves self-education regarding good deeds and an approach to Islamic life along with educating society by giving the right advice and practising it (p. 106).

The oldest and most famous scholars in Islamic history talked about this meaning as well. Al Ghazali (1058-1111) in his famous book 'Revival of Religious Sciences', Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) in his well-known book 'Ibn Khaldun's Introduction', and Ibn Sena (980-1037) in his book 'The Politics', all emphasise the importance of teaching children the Holy Quran to nurture the meaning of faith; they also talked about the importance of the family, school, peer groups and the mosque in ensuring a child benefits from good Islamic socialisation(p:106-107).

⁴⁵ In his book 'Psychology of Socialisation'.

⁴⁶ In his book 'Socialisation: the Islamic perspective'.

Musa concluded that socialisation in Islam refers to the ongoing process of education acquired by the individual regarding the values derived from the principles of Islam and the teachings of the Islamic approach of the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (Al hadeeth Al nabawi Al Shareef) (p: 111).

Abu jado divided Islamic socialisation into seven components: spiritual education, physical education, social education, mental education, psychological education, moral education and, finally, sexual education. All these components participate in creating infants' and young people's Islamic socialisation.

2.7 Summary of the Chapter

In Bahrain, it is possible to consider questions about possible media influences on political attitudes and social structures in a more conceptually and empirically grounded manner. In particular, Bahrain offers the opportunity to explore the possible role of the media in political socialisation.

For many centuries, Bahrain was subject to claims of control by neighbouring countries, particularly Iran, and also subject to European colonialism, being under British control for much of the 20th Century before achieving independence in 1971. Thus, whilst Bahrain can be seen as comparatively open politically, economically and socio-culturally, it has found itself in a constant state of flux and facing continuous challenges, which has made it difficult to merge its two positions: an open society and also a conservative one. It is also, in a sense, a young society in that the youth represent the majority of the population, making research into young people's socialisation particularly pertinent in the case of Bahrain, hence this study's focus on secondary school students.

The most significant development in the Bahraini media to date has been the emergence and growth of new media, particularly internet access and usage.

Even given all those advanced features of life, the challenge of peaceful coexistence among the sects remains as a major issue; therefore, it was of interest to study political socialisation among young people in Bahrain as an Arab and Moslem country, inhabited by different sects, where the privacy of the nature of its socialisation is controlled by religion as a crucial factor in this kind of community. The next chapter will discuss theoretical approaches to political socialisation research and the role of the media in this context.

To conclude, this general overview of the nature of political, geographic, economic and media development as a Moslem and Arabic country compared to Western countries, This cultural context in the Islamic East countries is based on Islamic socialisation, which controls all aspects of life, including the influence of other political agencies such as parents, peer groups and others.

In Arabic and Moslem societies, including Bahrain, there is a strong and very obvious influence of religion, as discussed previously, falling under the broad title of Islamic socialisation, which controls people's socialisation and serves as a gatekeeper of information. The literature on political socialisation in the West, generally ignores the religious agency, which means that any researcher should recognise this important difference in cultural context between the Islamic East and the West.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology of this thesis, including the research questions, research design, focus group and survey discussions, the rationale for using focus groups and surveys for this study and the issue of age in political socialisation research. The next chapter will also cover the population and location,

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sampling and sample size, conducting the focus groups and survey, administering the questionnaire, the data-gathering period and the pilot study.

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: POLITICAL SOCIALISATION MODELS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical approach to political socialisation research with regard to the number of specific models of socialisation from the West; then it considers how well some of them might be used as frameworks to guide this research data analysis for Bahrain. To focus the theoretical underpinning of this study, eight models of political socialisation have been selected. A review of the wider political socialisation literature indicated the prominence of these models in the field. Four models were selected from an early era before the 1980s and four other models were developed later from the 1990s. One of the key changes that took place over time between these two ‘eras’ was the growth of mass media and changes to political communications practices. In many developed countries, the period between the 1970s and 2000s witnessed dramatic growth in the range of different media and a growth of new delivery platforms including the internet and mobile communications.

Four early theoretical models belong to Hyman (1959), Hess and Torney (1967), Easton and Dennis (1969) and Dawson and Prewitt (1969) were presented as pre-1990 models. Four later theoretical models belong to McDevitt and Chaffee (2002), Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006), Lee (2006) and Zaff and Eccles (2008) were used as post-1990 models.

These theoretical models can help the researcher to know more about long-term influences on political orientation, such as the family (particularly the parents), school (particularly the teachers) and peer groups, which are the main agencies in political socialisation. Political behavior theories can help researchers to examine the

short-term effects on political orientation, such as the role of the media during election periods. Moreover, these kinds of theories might assist the researcher to understand the influence of social groups on political outcomes.

Research about political socialisation research has been dominated by studies conducted in the United States (Hyman, 1959; Dennis, 1973; Greenstein, 1965; Langton, 1969; Jaros, 1973). This raises a question about an American bias in the political socialisation field, as noted by Dennis (1973: 7). Can American (or European) research yield models for understanding political socialisation processes that can be applied in countries with different political cultures, such as those situated in the Arab world? In the previous chapter, we saw that Islamic socialisation does not simply provide a framework for religious and social behaviour, but also sets the conditions for the political systems that are acceptable in the Arab world. The same close relationship between religion and politics does not exist in western democracies. This immediately identifies a critical distinction that might render western models of political socialisation incomplete when applied in the Arab world.

3.2 Theoretical Models of Political Socialisation

3.2.1 Pre-1990 models

3.2.1.1 Hyman (1959)⁴⁷

Basically, the works may be classified into four types depending on whether the indicators of political participation are: level of political knowledge, choice of ego-ideals, media behavior, or reactions to direct questions on political interest and involvement. (Hyman, 1959: 21)

Four conditions characterizing the formation of attitudes suggested by Gordon Allport were used by Hyman. Attitudes appear through (1) the 'accumulation' and growth of skills, then become more precise through (2) the 'individuation' or diversity of previous diffuse attitudes in the face of experience and/or (3) through the incidence of trauma and/or (4) through approval directly from parents, peer, teachers, and others.

Hyman (1959) pointed out that in the present research into political behavior, psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists have played essential roles as well as traditional political scientists (p:1). Varieties of micro-level theories include psychological and sociological theory and strands of behavioral science theory. Jaros (1973) mentions a number of theories under the umbrella of micro-level theory, such as psychoanalytic theory, learning theory and cognitive development theory.

⁴⁷Among all of these researchers in the political socialisation arena, the distinguished efforts of Herbert Hyman (1959) stand out, particularly his seminal book "Political Socialisation: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior" (Greenstein 1965; Dawson & Prewitt, 1969; Greenberg, 1970). Hyman's book became a "main impetus to current interest" (Greenberg, 1970), and stands out as "the first systematic review of the finding that appeared in this field" (Dawson & Prewitt 1969). In this book, Hyman "performed the valuable service of assembling certain of the earlier studies and reanalyzing them in terms of their political implications" (Greenstein 1965). Furthermore, Hyman examined and re-analyzed a significant number of studies of political behavior in pre-adult life, and he established the new foundation of political socialisation research.

However, in my opinion, the theories of political behavior are more related to individual level theory in order to understand and quantify and explain the impact that defines citizens' political views, levels of participation and ideology. These theories can help the researcher to know more about long-term influences on political orientation, such as the family (particularly the parents), school (particularly the teachers) and peer groups, which are the main agencies in political socialisation. On the other hand, political behavior theories can help researchers to examine short-term effects on political orientation, such as the role of media during election periods. Moreover, these kinds of theories might assist the investigator to understand the influence of social groups on political outcomes.

The theoretical gap between the different research realms is greatly criticized by researchers concerned with both political socialisation and the purposes of the mass media of communication (Hyman, 1974; Chaffee et al., 1970; Dennis, 1973). These scholars argue that even though there has been a great deal of study both on political socialisation and on adolescent media use, these domains rarely overlap.

Hyman (1959:52) noted that a main group of works which provides evidence on socialisation agents of the 'individual into politics' engage the determination of intra-family associations in 'attitude or behavior'. Hyman (1959:64) also emphasized the essential role of the family in the individual's political orientation and participation, and he considered the individual's political orientation as a 'product of socialisation within the family'. Similarly, Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977:118) also talked about the impact of the political orientation and political learning in the formation of political socialisation in children through their family.

In his early work on political socialisation, Hyman (1959) presented a large body of literature related to the family and political orientation in the US. He

discussed some studies using samples of high school children and their parents, such as Bassett (1948), Helfant (1950) and Remmers and Weltman (1947). Bassett asked 87 high school children and their parents in a small city about 'Likelihood of war', and he found negative relationships and no significant differences between agreements detected and supposedly random pairs of individuals (p: 53-54).

Hyman model examined different aspects of political socialisation for instance sub-group differentiations in pre-adult life, the process underlying the establishment of particular socialisation patterns including the development of political participation and political orientation with age. He also investigated the agencies of socialisation into politics and the political stability of change and the role of other agencies of socialisation.

Hyman (1959) considered the family as a foremost agent of political socialisation. He investigated the family with two types of socialisation, political orientation and political participation.

Hyman (1959) stated that the main category of researches offers evidence on agents of socialisation of the individual into politics engages the determination of intra-family associations in attitude or behavior. When kids and their parents are evaluated independently, accords in political outlooks are established, which supports the deduction that the family transmits politics to the children.

Hyman stated that the degree of such impact can be established by appropriate comparison of these associations under diverse situations. For instance, by comparing associations for kids of different ages, delicate features of the socialisation process can be created.

Hyman's (1959) model illustrates that where the family impacts are not solidified, the outcomes are different from those examples where both parents

reinforce one another. He suggested that the dialogue of the family as a differentiated political formation and the probable contradictory effects brought to bear on the child by the two parents increases the matter of the relative significance of father against mother as a socializing influence on politics.

Hyman studied the tendency of adolescence, who talks about politics indirect conversation to either the father or the mother. Two age levels and both sexes were studied. The result was that the father was the target for such communication much more often than the mother. He suggested that the politically active participants were considerably more likely to have active fathers, active mothers, and active relatives. The contribution of both father and mother, again, underscores our previous comments on the relevance of the entire family structure to political socialisation. Hyman stated that a more sophisticated analysis strengthens this situation. If an index of a "politically active family" is acquired by scoring participants as to whether more than one member of their family was active, it is found that the active participants are more probable to have come from families where some members were active.

The model of Hyman was chosen in this study because he considers the family as the foremost agent of political socialisation. This result was approved by Al-Salem (1981) and Dhaher (1982) who examined the political socialisation in the Arab region during that period. The role of parents, brothers and sisters in Arab and Moslem countries was considered to very crucial whether in political socialisation or in other aspects of life such as education, employment and marriage. Hyman investigated political orientation and participation of young people, both of which were examined and measured in this study.

3.2.1.2 Hess and Torney (1967)

Hess and Torney suggested four models that define in different ways the attainment, change, and stabilization of political attitudes. These are not just descriptive models but devices for investigating the attitudes children bring to the socialisation process and the ways they use experience in the progress of political roles (1967: 19-22).

Hess and Torney's (1967) model consisted of four models, Accumulation Model, Interpersonal Transfer Model, Identification Model and Cognitive Development Model. First, they presented the Accumulation Model. This model claims that the gaining of political role expectations is led by the addition of units of information, knowledge, attitudes and activities. Teaching and experience are the basic features of this model of socialisation.

Hess and Torney's (1967) model investigated some areas that until then had not been examined by other researchers. Their model covered traditional agencies, such as family and school, but they also examined other agencies that might influence political socialisation in regions other than the US, such as religious affiliation and different large social settings including ethnic origin, geographical region and social class. In addition, they decided to examine the individual characteristics or child's personal behavior. In my opinion, the different models used by Hess and Torney were more comprehensive than many other models in political socialisation.

Hess and Torney (1967) examined the differences between social classes in society and the differences between cultures, ethnicities, and geographical regions, which could shape different political attitudes, behaviors, knowledge and so on, whereas the majority of studies published in that period examined the basic political socialisation agencies, such as parents, peer groups and school. It is possible that the models presented in Hess and Torney's research in 1967 can be used in different

circumstances with the addition of some measurements, specifically those related to culture, class, and region. The child's behavior, attitudes and involvement are seen as an accumulation of the precise and direct learning which has taken place. These separate achievements are not essentially transmitted to the young person as consistent conceptual systems.

The second part of their explanatory model is the Interpersonal Transfer Model, as discussed previously. This model adopts the view that the child's methods show obvious political socialisation by them already having a fund of experience in interpersonal associations and gratifications. By virtue of their experience as a child in a family and as a student in a school, a young person develops multifaceted associations with figures of authority.

The third part has been called the Identification Model. This model stresses the child's imitation of the behavior of some important other person - usually a parent, or a teacher - even though the adult has not tried to encourage the child to see things from their perspective. This model has been used most widely to clarify the gaining of political party awareness by offspring who assume their parents' partisan viewpoint. Similarly to the Transfer Model, this adopts the view that attitudes which have been shown towards one person are transferred and hence apply to a new object.

The Cognitive-developmental Model, which is the part, is expected to deal mainly with certain types of concepts and information and sets limits on the understanding that can be learned about political phenomena. The child's conceptions of the political world are changed by his/her current cognitive structure.

It is worth adding here that Hess and Torney (1967:116) paid more attention in their investigations to the influence of religion and ethnicity and other new elements on political socialisation, while other authors did not mention these factors

at all. Hess and Torney (1967) argued that socialisation contexts fall into three general types. As discussed earlier, they called the first type the Accumulation Model and suggested that this type influences children through the direct teaching of political attitudes and values by parents. The second type encompasses large social settings, including social class, ethnic origin and geographical region, which according to the authors, is the most important of these social contexts while the third and last type is related to the child's personal or individual characteristics (1967: 93-94).

Hess and Torney (1967) investigated different aspects of this era, for example, the participation of children in political life, attachment to the government and respect for the law, the family and the school as agents of socialisation, the effects of religious affiliation and peer group participation.

Hess and Torney produced a noteworthy study (1969: 116); they examined 'The Effects of Religious Affiliation and Peer Group Participation', extending the research of others who had discussed the same influence with an older age group. Hess and Torney cited in this part of their book several studies that examined the relationship between religious affiliation and political behavior and participation. They quoted some studies (Glantz, 1959; Gold, 1953; Greer, 1961) of 'adult voting behavior' which recognized a strong correlation between 'church membership and political participation'. These studies found 'Catholic voters' are particularly expected to be linked to the 'Democratic party' even when elements like education, ethnicity, social class, union membership, and urban residence are controlled in the studies (Ibid). Another study cited by Hess and Torney was by Scoble and Epstein (1964); in the Wisconsin primary voting, they found a relationship between religion and voting for Kennedy even when 'social class and education' were controlled (Ibid).

Hess and Torney summarized their finding in the same part of their book, and they pointed out that if the impact of religious affiliation on children is controlled as it is in adults, the influence on responses in these data would emerge only on questions dealing with political party orientation and the election (Ibid). The authors reported that the 'Denomination of religious affiliation has relatively little effect on basic attachment to the country and government in the elementary school years' (p: 117). They also found a strong relationship in children between 'religious membership and partisan affiliation and an even stronger relationship to candidate preference' (Ibid). Furthermore, and at all class levels, they found 'Catholic children' chosen the 'Democratic party' more repeatedly than did 'Protestant children' with, they noted, 'the difference in choice being smallest within eight-grades of high-status level, where the community is most likely to be Republican in partisan sympathies' (Ibid).

The same scholars concluded that 'Religious affiliation and family membership have their most marked effect upon the same aspects of political socialisation' and added that there are slight mean differences among children from 'different religious groups' generally in 'political orientations and attitudes'; there are modest differences in 'participation and active involvement' (Ibid). One can mention here that the role of religious belief upon political socialisation in the Middle East.

At this point, after the extensive literature that has examined traditional agencies of political socialisation, one can ask this question: is this Western literature relevant to understanding political socialisation in Bahrain or in other Arabic or Moslem countries?

Dennis (1973) talked about American bias in political socialisation research; however, it might be not just American bias but also a general Western bias. The majority of these studies of elections and parental preference have discussed the

different political socialisation between White and Black, and investigate this socialisation since the First and Second World Wars in particular regions and circumstances, so the generalization of results in this case is not accurate with regard to the situations in different countries.

In my opinion, as stated by Dennis (1973), the largest body of providers to this area in Western countries, particularly in America since 1960, has been political scientists, while as mentioned in the second chapter, many of the providers in Arab and Moslem countries are religious men, not political scientists or specialists in the science of socialisation. This matter indicates that socialisation science is of more interest to religious men in Arabic and Moslem countries because they have found overlaps with Islamic socialisation.

The gap here is obvious: in Bahrain and other countries in the Arabic and Moslem world, the social circumstances and family have different effects, meaning that the description of some agencies in the East is not the same as in the West. For instance, the role of religious agencies in the East is totally different from that in the West; and the nature of relations between parents and their children or between brothers and sisters in the East is totally different from that in the West. Researchers should be more concerned about these differences.

Many research papers in Western countries have examined the association between religious and political socialisation, such as Easton and Hess (1967), who paid more attention in their investigations to the influence of religion and ethnicity and other new elements on political socialisation, as mentioned previously. Nevertheless, this kind of research remains as a rarely investigated area and did not continue and develop in Western countries, Hence, it would not serve any other

culture, due to the fact that Moslem culture has its unique and distinctive norms that are culturally specific to the context investigated.

Furthermore, this gap describes the weakness of the political socialisation literature that has been constructed to serve the Western cultural context in providing one culture and one religion. For instance, as regards political life in Arabic and Moslem countries, there are many reasons why it might be difficult to detect political socialisation to the same extent that it can be detected in Western countries. Firstly, the practice of politics is different. Most countries there do not have truly political parties to drive political life, as happens in the West. Nevertheless, although there may be many societies or groups that object to the political system, there are certain limits beyond which they cannot act. Secondly, the freedom of the media is quite different, for instance, from that in Western countries, where the media are an independent industry; in Arabic countries, the media are still under the control of the Arabic governments.

In a true democracy, where the opposition parties have a say in government, there is clear political communication and public communication between the populace and politicians. Furthermore, obvious media concern for both the government and the opposition can be observed, for the simple reason that in the not too distant future, the opposition party might come to power. This kind of society has flexible political movement to allow the alternation of power. Thus, the media try to show both sides and achieve a balance between them. Therefore, politicians have good opportunities to establish effective political communication with the populace. This form of political communication does not happen properly in Arabic and Moslem regions.

On the other hand, there have been different classifications of peer groups, such as the work of Dawson and Prewitt (1969, 1977), who divided socialisation agents into two groups: primary and secondary. This can be generalized to understand the core of groups; nevertheless, the nature of each group can be different from one area to another.

As it is in Christianity there is Catholic and Protestant, and both of them have different sects, other religions have same branching, for instance in the Islam there are Sunni people and there are Shi'ites, among Sunni people there are many groups and partisanships as it is in Shi'ites. Hence, we cannot generalize the result here about the effect of religious on political behavior or participation; however, it could be essential that to acclimatization the measurement tools regarding to the nature of country and the nature of variety of religions and denominations there, in order to avoid an American (European) bias in the political socialisation field as it is noted by Dennis (1973: 7).

Generally, it is evident that the political socialisation literature 'reveals a remarkably uneven development with a lack of clear directives', as Niemi and Sobieszek (1977) pointed out. The majority of studies have examined agents of political socialisation with regard to elections and the realm of politics, whereas the source of those agents is the social sphere. Studies of the influence of these agents are uneven and volatile.

Further, as Furnham and Gunter (1983) pointed out, quoting Jennings and Niemi (1971), many European studies, including the British ones, have been conducted by political scientists rather than psychologists, and this is not just the case in Europe, but also in the US, where this field was developed. Currently, it is evident

that studies of this type are most often conducted by research and study centers rather than researchers from academic universities.

The four models by Hess and Torney were originally based on the investigation of political attitudes and values of young people. These two variables are examined and measured fairly in this study.

3.2.1.3 Easton and Dennis (1969)

Easton and Dennis (1969:391) highlighted four concepts as being the most outstanding outcomes of early findings about children's views of political authority: politicization, personalization, idealization, and institutionalization.

Easton and Hess (1962) focused on political orientation, producing a framework entitled 'Types of Political Orientation'; this framework contains vertical and horizontal elements. The vertical elements comprise the levels of the political system, which include community, regime and government while the horizontal elements comprise 'Basic aspects of political orientation', which include three types of political orientation that provide a way of conceptualizing research with regard to political socialisation. These three types are knowledge, values and attitude.

With regard to Easton and Dennis (1969), they suggested that two theoretical models have proposals that are significant to childhood learning by involving such learning with political consequences. The first is the Allocative Politics Model, which pursues an association with policy outcomes. The other is a System Persistence Model, which considers the stability and sustained existence of political systems. Easton and Dennis believed that the second model is very important with regard to the primacy of childhood learning being comparatively enduring

throughout a person's lifetime and with regard to how the basic orientations developed throughout childhood structure the future learning of the beliefs regarding specific issues. Easton and Dennis purposely attempted to relate socialisation data to wider models of political process.

Returning to the Easton and Dennis models, the Allocative Politics Model is basically concerned with clarifying policy outputs: who gets what, how, when, and why in democratic politics. In general, the Allocative Politics Model assumes that the political orientations of the majority of the public are important indications of political demands, and, thereby, policy outcomes.

Two alternative connections are proposed in the literature, one of which is behavioral constraint. Easton and Dennis try to link orientations with a subclass of request variables which do not include issue beliefs. They focus instead only upon a second and alternative connection between orientations and demands. A frank statement of the complete Allocative Politics Model would start with childhood learning. Childhood political orientations would continue into the adult years, and therefore be directly associated with precise issue beliefs. That is, the association between many support orientations and system stability is mediated by issue beliefs. Secondly, with regard to the system theory of political socialisation (Macro-level theory), as mentioned by Dawson et al. (1977: 17), system theory in political science has been elaborated upon in the writing of David Easton. Later, Easton and Dennis (1969) applied the system theory to the study of political socialisation.

In his system theory, Easton directs attention to a 'critical fact': political systems are inclined to 'persist through time'. That is, 'the group of people who at one time consider themselves as belonging to the same national political community tend to continue to believe that, as do their children after them'.

In system theory, there are different types of support that become significant: specific support and diffuse support. Specific support means the support that people grant when they are receiving something concrete in return, while diffuse support means unconditional support. It is the generalized confidence and trust people grant to political systems or objects. In this kind of support, we find loyalty and patriotism in times of war or economic adversity (Dawson et al., 1977: 19). Diffuse support is the essential social cement that keeps a political system together despite 'hard times and internal conflicts' (Dawson et al., 1977).

According to Dawson et al., (1977), the study of political socialisation wears two hats: firstly, how do people obtain the traits and perspectives that make them this rather than that kind of political person? Secondly, what are the outcomes of political socialisation procedures for the political system that result in a stable or unstable politics, a democratic or dictatorial regime, a fair or an unfair rule?.

Easton and Dennis (1969) commence with a fundamental supposition about the consequences of early childhood political socialisation, stating that "Those children who begin to develop positive feelings toward the political authorities will tend to grow into adults who will be less easily disenchanted with the system than those children who early acquire negative, hostile sentiments" (P: 106-107). Easton and Dennis, cited by Dawson et al., analysed 'what American grade school children learn and feel about political authorities' and their findings can be recapped under four headings: politicisation, personalization, idealization and institutionalisation (1977:21).

However, there are some weaknesses in this theory, such as its inclusion of numerous ancient and mainly unverified principles of political thought, many unverified though broadly shared assumptions, derivative from the rest, a long list of

socialisation processes that might be effective but about which there is no evidence, and half-true experiential generalizations.

Easton and Dennis explained the relevance of socialisation for political research, and found it to exist in four types: the first was the non-theoretical option (1969:19), meaning that theories of politics do not cover this complicated association between socialisation as social behavior development and political science. In my opinion, this complexity has increased since the impact of the media has been introduced into the equation. This matter leads this study to gather different theories from different domains to reach the best reading of the research target.

Easton and Dennis's (1969) model identified some agents of political socialisation which play a significant role among young people. They found that adult, school, community and political system shaping political orientations, knowledge, values and attitude. They found previous agents can develop positive or negative feelings toward the political authorities. For example, with regard to this study, it is clear that the governorates that were populated by a majority of Sunni people, like the Southern and Muharraq governorates, were more patriotic and more loyal to the system and had more trust and confidence in the government than did other governorates whose populations were mixed or that were populated by a majority of Shiaa people, like Northern governorate.

This study looked at different uses of political concepts according to individual and system levels of analysis, with a particular focus on the individual level. They acknowledged that political orientation plays an important role and strongly influences parents and families in shaping the political socialisation of children of all ages, whether in the short or the long term.

Easton and Dennis have written a much longer research monograph, focusing upon one single issue: children's belief in the legitimacy of political authority. The first five chapters of their research presented their theory, which, in this form, is mainly a set of categories under which relevant variables may be listed, rather than a set of cause-and-effect propositions. The major body of their book is devoted to the presentation of their descriptive data on children's attitudes toward political authorities, mostly gathered from white urban American children in the early 1960's.

Easton and Dennis (1969, 106-107) stated, 'Those children who begin to develop positive feelings toward the political authorities will tend to grow into adults who will be less easily disenchanted with the system than those children who early acquire negative, hostile sentiments'. To link this citation closely to the theoretical framework of this study, in the last political crisis in Bahrain, demonstrators who belonged to the Shiaa killed a group of Sunni people, policemen and foreign workers, and occupied a major hospital in the country; also, they chanted words of violence and racism, such as clamouring for the death of the ruling family and other statements calling for the expulsion of those citizens who had been naturalized during the past two decades.

In the other words, these feeling or these demands revealed by the study's findings, paint a clear picture of the influence of political orientation and political learning in the young participants' responses about political interest, knowledge, involvement, and trust and, finally, the participants' opinions about the Bahraini government.

Furthermore, Western research does have relevance to understanding political socialisation among young people in Bahrain, but there may be distinctive

environmental factors in Bahrain that cause young people to be more politically involved than their age counterparts in western democracies.

Easton and Dennis examined political authority and orientation through the impact of community and government towards young people. Based on the political authority and orientation variables, two variables specifically in addition to other variables, were used in this study such as government performance and the political attitudes towards political system.

3.2.1.4 Dawson and Prewitt (1969)

Dawson and Prewitt (1969, 1977) divided socialisation agents in their model into two groups: primary and secondary. Both groups serve as important agents of social and political learning. Dawson and Prewitt suggested that the primary groups assist the individual to view the social world (including the world of politics) via the 'context of his primary relationships'. They found that primary relationships 'draw individuals into more general groups and transmit the political outlooks of these groups to the individual'. Also, they stated that primary groups play a powerful role in determining political orientations and that this kind of group sends out and enforces the orientations of particular related structures.

The model of Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1969 & 1977) displayed obvious categories of political learning agents, methods and stages and so could help any researcher to understand the political socialisation map for their participants, whether those people are living in the West or elsewhere. They differentiated socialisation agents in their model into two groups, that is, primary and secondary,

and they presented essential questions to identify the details of different agents of political learning.

The authors considered the family, close work associates and close friendship groups as the best instances of primary groups. On the other hand, the secondary groups supply the primary group's social and political context. Dawson and Prewitt pointed out that these secondary groups have political interests and involvements, as well as playing a role in political learning as different agents such as family, school and peer groups. They claimed that the secondary groups are "particularly influential during youth and adulthood, as the influence of family and school wanes". In addition, they alleged that secondary groups frequently attempt to educate and influence their members to follow their political position. Both of these scholars considered these groups as important in reinforcing political values correlated to the social and economic groupings. They also argued that the citizen learns political norms from their ethnic, religious, tribal or occupational primary groups that exist within the larger group.

The effect of political socialisation through these kinds of group can proceed in four ways, according to Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson: "(1) They can engage in direct political education and indoctrination efforts, (2) They serve as sources of indirect political learning, especially the apprenticeship type of learning, (3) They serve as political reference groups somewhat in the way that the societal groupings do, and they often serve to tie individuals in with various societal grouping, (4) They provide a framework in which primary relationships develop, and those primary relationships, in turn, influence political outlooks" (p:185).

Furthermore, Dawson and Prewitt argued that these groups intervene between the mass media and the population. They highlight the role of these groups in

the 'communication of political messages and the formation of individual political decisions' such as voting behavior⁴⁸, and state that this kind of communication plays a similar role in both primary and secondary groups.

Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977:94) suggested two methods of political learning: transmission and development. The first refers to the transmission of an existing political culture from one generation to another by different agencies, such as family and school, while the second focuses more on the development of the individual's own political awareness and the formation of a particular method of thinking on the subject of politics and political relationships.

The media do have a noticeable impact upon people's thoughts and behavior and also play a clear role across all life cycles, from childhood until adult learning (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977:193). Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977:198) found that the media "acts [sic] to crystallize and reinforce lessons passed on by the family, schools, peers, and other agents of political learning". The same scholars found the communication media to be significant in transferring various political messages about everyday political events, in addition to their role in expressing the foremost consensus values of the society, both directly and indirectly (Ibid).

One can state that the bulk of political socialisation studies until about 1973 examined family, school and peer groups as the main agents which influence political socialisation (orientation and learning), particularly of political attitudes, behavior and partisan affiliation (Jennings & Niemi, 1974; Niemi, and Sobieszek, 1977). Niemi and Sobieszek (1977) added that the majority of early socialisation researchers examined 'children's awareness of and reactions to political authority figures'.

⁴⁸ A range of early studies examined voting choice, such as the work of Lazarsfeld and his colleagues on 'The People's Choice', (1984) and the work of Berelson and his colleagues, 'Voting' (1954).

Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977: 121) discussed the important role of family regarding political authorities and partisan attachment, and pointed to the various efforts to 'measure the level of parent-offspring correspondence in partisan attachments'. Langton (1969:22) agreed on the unique roles of parents in transmitting political culture, and pointed out that the research in the US found high inter-generational agreement in party identification and electoral behavior.

How is it effective? And effective toward what? The existence and articulation of political positions on the part of the parents? The consistency of parental outlooks? The relationship between the offspring and parents? All of these questions were asked by many scholars such as Jaros (1973: 94) and others, when they discussing the role of the family in the socialisation domain, in order to understand the real role of the family as agent in political socialisation. What evidence is there that the family socializes non-consensus attitudes? What evidence is there that the family structure or characteristics are important in creating orientation toward political affairs or political authority? (Hess & Torney, 1967: 93-94; Jaros, 1973:94; Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, 1977:126)

Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977:168) considered school as a supplier of knowledge about the political world, and they found that school transmits attitudes and the 'consensual values' of the society (with the exception of youth organizations affiliated with political parties and special subgroup schools). The effect of school as such an agent of political socialisation begins at elementary school and continues through high school and college respectively

Peer groups also can alter political orientation, as they are significant agents in political and social learning, and this influence becomes more important and widespread in modern and highly developed societies (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969)

The media do have noticeable impacts upon people's thoughts and behavior and also have clear role across all life cycles, from childhood until adult learning (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977: 193)

Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977: 198) found that the media "acts to crystallize and reinforce lessons passed on by the family, schools, peers, and other agents of political learning". The same scholars found the communication media to be significant in transferring various political messages about everyday political events, in addition to their role in expressing the foremost consensus values of the society, both directly and indirectly (Ibid).

Many studies have looked at these questions: what is the influence of the media on political socialisation? What are the significance of political events and political activities for political socialisation? (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, 1977: 189) Some of them provided important answers to these questions, particularly later studies; however, some, especially early works, did not provide significant findings that stressed the reality of the role of the media in political socialisation

Many scholars provided different observations and inferences in evaluating the mass media as a political socialisation agency. Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977: 195) presented four comments regarding this relationship. First, the media perform as transmitters of political cues created by other agencies. Secondly, the information transmitted by the mass media goes into a two-step flow. Thirdly, the media tend to reinforce existing political orientations rather than create new ones. Finally, the messages of the mass media are received and interpreted in a social setting, and in the context of socially conditioned predisposition (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson 1977: 195). Many works have found that communication media tools such as television, newspapers, radio and others play a progressively more significant role in

our lives and convey many kinds of messages that effect and shape our political orientations (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, 1977).

Dawson and Prewitt claimed that the family commonly stands out as the most significant agent determining the direction and extent of political learning, and peer groups are presumably the most effectual political socialisation agents in later life.

In Dawson and Prewitt's work on education and schools, the probable influences are listed and characterized, such as teacher, classroom ritual life, curriculum, social composition of the school, and so forth, but it includes no systematic data on their effects. They concluded that the "factors are many and complex."

This model for Dawson and Prewitt (1969) was developed further in comprehensive research by Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977).

The work of Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1969 and 1977) served as a comprehensive and insightful introduction into political science research and teaching. In their 1977 study, they suggested that political socialisation has consequences for both the individual and the political system. In the next table, the authors illustrate the different ways in which a political concept might be used depending on the level of analysis. From the system perspective, Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson stated that political socialisation could be defined as the 'process through which citizens acquire political views that become aggregated in ways that have consequences for the political life of the nation' (p: 14).

Despite the fact that there is a problem in the theory of political socialisation research, as stated by Easton and Dennis (1969), Jaros (1973) and others found out that it is possible to demonstrate a link between some individuals' political attitudes and behaviors, such as political interest, knowledge, trust and involvement, and the

origin of some theories. Also, it seems clear that political socialisation has consequences for both the individual and the political system, as Dawson et al. (1977) stated.

Furthermore, Prewitt and Dawson demonstrated the use of political concepts according to individual and system levels of analysis particularly through three kinds of political concepts, namely, loyalty, tolerance and democracy, Table 3.1. All these kinds were investigated in this study with regard to Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson's work. This study examined these political concepts in order to make a comparison between Bahraini Sunni and Shia participants' perspective about this kind of issues.

Table 3.1: Use of Political Concepts

Political Concept	Individual-Level Analysis of Political Socialisation	System-Level Analysis of Political Socialisation
Loyalty	Does a child learn to trust and have confidence?	In trying to get citizens to obey the law, does the government depend on the loyalty and patriotism of citizens, or must it use force and coercion?
Tolerance	As citizens grow up, do they accept or reject members of different races, ethnic backgrounds, regions, religions, and so on?	Are national politics characterized by cooperation or conflict among the social groups that make up the society?
Democracy	What meaning does a citizen attach to the act of voting?	Is there widespread intelligent political participation in choosing the authorities and shaping the policies that govern the nation?

Use of Political Concepts According to Individual and System Levels of Analysis: Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977: 15)

Besides, during this essential period in political socialisation research (from 1959 until the 1970s) and in the years before, only a few works investigated the role of the mass media as a significant agent of political socialisation. Dennis, in his Bibliography (1973), identified only eight works examining the mass media as agents of political socialisation, among approximately a thousand works, one of these being that of Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977). Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977) added a new chapter to the second edition of their book "Communication Media and Political Experience" which had not been included in the first edition of this publication (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969). In this addition to their investigation, in which they examined the comparisons of popular use of information, they focused on children of different nationalities, that is, American, British, French, German, and Brazilian, and children from Arab and Moslem regions, such as Lebanon and Turkey.

Three main variables had been tackled by Prewitt and Dawson (1969), namely political orientation, learning and concepts. These variables are going to be used to examine the effect of those variables on political socialization agents among young Bahrainis.

3.2.2 Summary of the pre-1990 Models

The early models as shown in next table were focused on interpersonal forms of communication that took place within families, in school settings, among youth peer groups, among adult social contacts, and with societal institutions mainly through meetings or speeches and lessons. There is little or no mentioning of mediated forms of communication. Later models, to be discussed next, showed that while the above variables still have some political currency, mediated communications (e.g., mass

media, political publications, electronic communications) have become more significant.

Table 3.2: The Significant Socialisation Agents Identified By pre-1990 Models

Agents	M 1	M 2	M 3	M 4
Family	X	X	X	X
School	X	X	X	X
Peers group	X	X		X
Geographical region		X		
Social class		X		
Community			X	
Government			X	
Religion		X		X
Ethnic		X		X
Close work associations				X
Social group				X
Tribal				X

**M1=Hyman (1959). M2=Hess and Torney (1967). M3=Easton and Dennis (1969), M4= Dawson and Prewitt (1969).*

3.2.3 Post-1990 models

The media do have noticeable impacts upon people's thoughts and behavior and also have clear role across all life cycles, from childhood until adult learning (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977: 193). Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977: 198) found that the media "acts to crystallize and reinforce lessons passed on by the family, schools, peers, and other agents of political learning". The same scholars found the communication media to be significant in transferring various political messages about everyday political events, in addition to their role in expressing the foremost consensus values of the society, both directly and indirectly (Ibid).

Check your paragraph indents. I have corrected a lot of these already, this section will present different models discussed the role of the media in political

socialisation. The media were largely ignored as a significant part of in the early development stage of the political socialisation domain by scholars writing about this in the 1960s and 1970s. Beginning in the 1970s, the new stage of political socialisation research began to investigate this question: Do the mass media play a role in political socialisation? A small number of studies had examined this question before that, such as Hyman's book "Mass Communication and Political Socialisation: The Role of Patterns of Communication" in 1963 and Richard Fagen's book "Politics and Communication" in 1966 (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, 1977: 191); nevertheless, the most important investigations of this question and the most valuable results emerged from the 1970s onwards.

Across, the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and since then, the media, particularly newspapers and television, engaged researchers in the political socialisation field as potentially significant agents in this context (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, 1977; Atkin and Gantz, 1978; Atkin, 1981; Chaffee and Yang, 1990; Dunsmore and Lagos, 2008 and others). From then until now, the media has developed in rapid and successive steps. Modern communication technology has invaded the media landscape; consequently, media tools have become divided into traditional forms such as television, newspapers and radio and so-called "new media" mostly comprising the various forms of information storage and communication on the internet, including blogs (1997), discussion forums (1996), Facebook (2004), Twitter (2006) and others.

As a result, studies of political socialisation have increasingly tracked this evolution in order to examine the effects of all these types of media developments in the context of shaping the political attitudes and behaviors of citizens in different countries. While numerous scholars have investigated the effects of traditional media on political socialisation (such as Atkin and Gantz, 1978; Atkin, 1981; Gunter 1985;

Chaffee and Yang, 1990; Berman and Stookey, 1980; Morris and Forgette, 2007; Clarke and Fredin, 1978; Churchill and Moschis, 1979; Kazee, 1981; Furnham and Gunter 1983; Perez-Linan, 2002; Evan and Sternberg, 1999 and others), other researchers have examined political socialisation through new media (e.g., Lee, 2006; Lenhart, Madden, Macgull and Smith, 2007; Tambini, 1999; Borgida and Stark, 2002; Moussa, 2003; Dimaggio, Hargittai, Neuman and Robinson, 2001; Tolbert and Mcneal, 2003; Weare, 2002; Polat, 2003; Gennaro and Dutton, 2006; Blumler, 1999 and others). This chapter examines the role of 'old' and 'new' media in political socialisation.

As it is mentioned above, many studies have looked at specific media-related questions: what is the influence of the media on political socialisation? What are the significance of political events and political activities for political socialisation? (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson, 1977: 189)

Some of them provided important answers to these questions, particularly later studies; however, some, especially early works, did not provide significant findings that stressed the reality of the role of the media in political socialisation. For example, in 1975, Roberts, Pingree and Hawkins published a study titled "Do the mass media play a role in political socialisation?" but their findings did not answer this question clearly. They emphasized the role of parents rather than media upon political socialisation, and also noted that the function of the mass media in this field 'cannot be understood in isolation from various other factors', such as salient political events, age and the child's 'communication environment' impacting the formation of the growing child's image of the political process. However, they did not provide clear opinions on the main study question. Buckingham (1999) agrees with this idea and states that earlier research on these issues was fairly contradictory.

Many scholars provided different observations and inferences in evaluating the mass media as a political socialisation agency. Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977: 195) made four observations regarding this relationship. First, the media perform as transmitters of political cues created by other agencies. Secondly, the information transmitted by the mass media goes into a two-step flow. Thirdly, the media tend to reinforce existing political orientations rather than create new ones.

Finally, the messages of the mass media are received and interpreted in a social setting, and in the context of socially conditioned predisposition (Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson 1977: 195). Regarding this final point, and as cited by the abovementioned authors, Friedson (1953) noted that there are clear relationships between mass communication and social processes, particularly in social communication between individual involved in social activities (p.198).

Very few studies used complex multivariate designs to examine the influence of media variables in the presence of statistical controls for non-media variables, such as one study done by Lee (2002) who used Path Analysis to examine the mediating role of traditional news media and the news web in the political socialisation of Korean immigrations in America including non-media variables such as education, length of stay, English fluency and other demographic variables.

It is claimed on the basis of empirical evidence that mass media can be an influential instrument of political socialisation (Niemi and Sobieszek, 1977; Atkin and Gantz, 1978). The researchers of the late 1960s and early 1970s suggested that mass media were not only a basis for political information but also may have had a considerable impact on political values, attitudes and opinions (Jennings, 1967; Chaffee et al., 1970; Dominick, 1972; Hollander, 1971). Kononova et al. (2011) stated not only that mass media were the foremost sources of information for young people,

hence impacting their political socialisation, but also that these effects exceeded those of parents and school (Niemi and Sobieszek, 1977; Chaffee et al., 1977). It could be true that the effects of media on political socialisation became particularly significant after the advent of television, as stated by the same authors.

3.2.3.1 McDevitt and Chaffee⁴⁹ (2002)

In their investigation, McDevitt and Chaffee (2002) advanced the argument about the increasing number of theorists who were calling for a revival of research into political socialisation based on the premise that children are involved in their own civic development. They developed the argument proposing a model of family communication that contradicts the functions of parents and children as conservatively understood in political socialisation.

They first challenged various interrelated assumptions about the nature and direction of the impact of the family. Then, they documented indications of “trickle-

⁴⁹ Chaffee having published by himself or in collaboration with others more than ten papers investigating this relationship and its effect. Steven H. Chaffee has made many attempts to examine the role of the media in political socialisation between the 1970s and the late 1990s. Throughout these works, he develops his views about this topic. Chaffee, Ward and Tipton (1970) noticed that political media had been investigated by a number of communication studies. They found that the areas of teenager media use and political socialisation research 'rarely overlap'. They referred to Jennings and Niemi's (1968) research, which made efforts to relate teenagers' media use to political socialisation, involving media use as political news as a form of political activity, rather than as an agent of political socialisation, and they found 'increased media usage for public affairs and politics'.

up influence”, in which child-initiated discussion - stimulated by a civic curriculum - prompts the parents to increase their civic ability through augmented knowledge gain, news media use, and opinion formation.

McDevitt and Chaffee (2002) pointed out that the parent’s reaction reflects their wish to uphold a leadership function in the family, and more significantly from a theoretical outlook, it reveals the basic forces of family adaptation that can make the home an influential ‘incubator of citizenship’. They suggested that political progress happens when the family system modifies to re-establish equilibrium in reaction to exogenous factors or expansion needs that impel alteration. The eventual objective of McDevitt and Chaffee’s (2000) work is to offer a practical model of family political communication. They apply theoretical standpoints from the evolving body of literature to demonstrate how political communication aids the family objectives of ‘autonomy’ and ‘cohesion’ throughout numerous periods of the family life cycle.

Empirical research of political behavior has mainly found that families make slight changes in the direct transmission of political orientations to their children, and only lately have scholars illustrated that civic education can contribute noticeably to the political knowledge and values of high school students (Niemi and Junn, 1998).

McDevitt and Chaffee (2000) talked about ‘revisiting assumption[s]’ about political socialisation, and they stated that in this instrumental outlook of the family, scholars expected to show how parenting plants political ‘trust’ and ‘allegiance’ in the children along with political orientations, for instance, partisan identification in young people (Hess and Torenny-Purta, 1967). The propensity was to confirm the family only insofar as it endorses political involvement outside of the home. The objectification of children was apparent in models that tried to clarify how the young person might be transformed by institutions into an ideal citizen (McDevitt and Chaffee: 2000).

A ‘social interaction’ approach to political socialisation in the family offers an alternative to the direct transmission model. Waller (1938) found social interaction is conceptualized as a reciprocal impact and he suggested that “the behavior of one individual is the cause and effect in the relation to the behavior of others” (p: 16).

The research of primary groups in political socialisation requires that investigators develop theories of group-level progressions and impacts and strategies for measuring these influences.

With regard to “trickle-up” socialisation, as it is called by McDevitt and Chaffee (2000), they discussed how parent-child interactions modify as the child enters adolescence and has increased cognitive and social abilities. Clausen (1968) stated that the growing adolescent interacts with a rising number of socializing agents as the “widening world of childhood” spirals out from the home. McDevitt and Chaffee (2000) investigated the information and pointed out that for both children and adults, the reading of newspapers increases when the media content is used in interpersonal communication. They suggested that the results from the children’s voting study showed that student-initiated debate stimulated increases in parents’ TV news viewing, newspaper reading, and attention to news.

Furthermore, the same scholars examined the formation of opinion and suggested that children of voting parents, basically, improved the strength of their feeling about candidates, developed stronger partisan identification, and were more likely to express opinions about campaign matters. McDevitt and Chaffee (2000) presented two distinct dimensions of parent-child communication, which they called “socio-oriented” and “concept-oriented”, as identified by McLeod and Chaffee (1972). With regard to Chaffee, McLeod, and Wackman (1973), in concept-oriented homes, where parents encourage children to express opinions liberally, children are

more likely to gain knowledge, to read newspapers, to form opinions, and to take part in political debate and campaigning, whereas in socio-oriented families, such consequences are uncommon; parents stress deference and social harmony, encouraging the young person not to bring up subjects that might insult their elders. The consistency of these results had led a lot of researchers to consider of parent-child communication forms (FCPs) in purely top-down terms.

McDevitt and Chaffee (2000) demonstrated in their work a functional model of family political communication. They stated that the civic development of a family is, to a certain degree, unintended, and family communication forms themselves, rather than the conscious direction of children or parents, appear to impel development. Conventional models of causality, integrating individual and dyadic variables, can only work in the clarification of procedures that seem to operate at the level of the whole family system.

Functional model descriptions try to answer “what is the purpose of such – and-such” (Pavitt, 2000). Sociologists have used functional clarifications when the outcomes of a behavior seem to be causes of that behavior. Functional models are proposed when a situation produces stability or consistency of outcomes of activities but there is a vast diversity of the behavior causing those outcomes (Heider, 1958).

Day, Gilbert, Settles and Burr (1955) suggested that theorists of human development commonly define the objectives of the family system in terms of social cohesion and individual autonomy.

Functional explanations regarding McDevitt and Chaffee’s research (2000) define how systems endure homeostasis despite the factors that caused disruptions in previous forms of behavior. Stinchcombe (1968) explicated a functional model with three components: homeostatic balance (H), the structure of activities (S) that tends to

maintain homeostasis and tension (T) that upsets H and consequently indirectly leads to changes in S.

Therefore, the functional model explains what the family does - and what the parent attempts to do - while “trickle-up” socialisation is only an outcome of that progression to restore H. Parents may not even be conscious that any of this is occurring; they are doing their job as parents on behalf of system evenness.

Finally, McDevitt and Chaffee (2000) focused on political communication during the family life cycle; they suggested that a parent’s reaction to a politicized young person signifies just one scenario proposed by a functional model of political communication in the family. There are two dimensions for developing conceptual categories: the nature of exterior stimulation and the changing family construction. They define three life-cycle stages as it is mentioned above: the primary period of spousal communication, parenting of children, and the following years of marriage related to midlife and old age. In all of them, the family life cycle is considered by developmental needs that accord with specific forms of intra-family impact and changes in political communication triggered by external impacts.

Additionally, as it is mentioned above, Chaffee with his colleagues presented different models in political socialisation field since 1970s. Chaffee, Jackson-Beeck, Durall and Wilson (1975) summarized some empirical studies conducted by Kraus and Davis (1976) and Chaffee et al. (1970) into four points as follows: "1. The mass media constitute the principal source of political information for young people. 2. The dominant mass media in political learning are newspapers and television; the relative contributions of these two media vary with the age and socioeconomic status of the sample. 3. Young people attribute to the mass media considerable influence on their political opinions, in addition to informative power. And finally, Intergenerational

differences in public affairs media use persist into adulthood; the child does not adopt the political-media norms of the parent" (p: 227-229). Chaffee and his colleagues noted that virtually all of the studies concerning mass communication and political behavior had dealt with adults rather than with young people who were in the process of socialisation.

McDevitt and Chaffee's (2002) functional model of family political communication examines numerous consistent assumptions about the nature and direction of the family influence. They presented two tables in this model; one of them explained the mechanism of parental growth and the second referred to the interaction of family life stages. McDevitt and Chaffee stated that a large part of political socialisation remains to be discovered within the framework of a functional model of family political communication. Theorists can classify stages of alteration in political communication by discovering the interactions between family's life cycle phase and exogenous stimulation.

McDevitt and Chaffee's (2002) document indicated the importance of "trickle-up influence", in which child-initiated discussion - stimulated by a civics curriculum-prompts the parent to rise the civic capability via increased knowledge acquire, opinion formation, and news media use. This study used this model because the family is the foremost agent of political socialisation among young Bahraini people and because McDevitt and Chaffee's model investigated assumptions, some of which are discussed in this study. The assumptions cover the areas of children acquiring civic orientations, political influence flow, trickle-up politicization and environment. For instance, the first two assumptions is that "Children acquire civic orientations through modeling and direct attitude inculcation" and "Political influence flows downward only, from societal institutions to children". The other assumptions

included untimely political socialisation studies, however did not address the likelihood that the political voices of young people may influence the parents. The assumption by McDevitt and Chaffee (2002) defined this as “trickle-up politicisation” and establish there is sufficient potential for youth to not merely follow the parents political identification and political behavioral models. Socialisation, or re-socialisation of the parents is also probable. The environment that makes this ‘trickle-up’ influence likely is school.

School intervention was found not only to promote youth to be politically interested and knowledgeable, but it also assisted and lead them to a more motivated discussion in school (McDevitt, 2005; McDevitt and Chaffee, 2002).

This study has confirmed that the parents and different media forms have a significant effect on political knowledge, political involvement and political interest among Bahraini students; both of these agents were measured in McDevitt and Chaffee’s model. Nevertheless, even if political communication or socialisation during the family life cycle were happening everywhere, the distinctiveness of each region or society is still controlled by the nature of society whether it is in East or in West. For instance, the structure of family, the influence factors inside the family and the nature of external stimulation are not similar between one country and another. However, this study reports some results that might also be very common in the Arab world. For example one result suggested that student-parent discussion is more significant than youth media use in stimulating parental search for information.

Different models are presented in this study, but each uses the same method to classify political socialisation groups, stages and mechanism of parental growth. While Dawson and Prewitt (1969, 1977) classified socialisation agents in their model into two groups, namely, primary and secondary, McDevitt and Chaffee (2002)

divided the mechanism of parental growth through family communication into three stages: before, during and after discussion with a child. Once a teenager has indicated a wish to talk about civic affairs, a parent's interest in politics can be encouraged in the processes that happen before, during, or after the next conversation; during each time period, the procedures might take the form of cognitive, behavioral, or affective activity.

Likewise, McDevitt and Chaffee (2002) defined three life-cycle stages: the early period of spousal interaction, the parenting of youths, and the following years of marriage correlated with midlife and old age. In each case, the family life cycle is categorized by developmental needs in accordance with precise forms of intra-family impact and alterations in political communication caused by external impact.

Additionally, Zaff and Eccles (2008), in their study, presented figures to represent the models of positive citizenship development during political socialisation; in both figures, they showed three stages: early adolescence, late adolescence and finally, adulthood.

It is noticeable that, for all three previous models, the measurements were designed to serve Western culture. It could be that researchers can use some of them in different cultures and in different regions; nevertheless, a different style of measurements and political socialisation agencies and forms should result in changes to the models. For instance, as these models focused on primary and secondary groups or positive citizenship development, it might be that these models can be used in West and East alike; however, the details of these models need to be modified so they can be used in different cultures. For instance, while close friends or work associates were considered as the primary group in Dawson and Prewitt, the results of this research showed peer groups were considered a secondary group, and while no one talked

about work associates, religious interest and the Internet had taken primary positions as influential agents in political socialisation among Bahraini students.

Different Western models, such as those discussed above, have used the influence of ethnicity while others have used the influence of religious interest, such as Catholic or Protestant. In the East, there is a need to change some measurements and to develop others; for example, many countries, with multiple sects and religious diversity, differ from Western culture, so many measurements need adjustment to be valid in Eastern regions. This need for adjustments is frequently the case for different aspects of political socialisation, in political knowledge, interest, involvement and others.

3.2.3.2 Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006)

Another model, developed by Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006), offers the perhaps most inclusive investigation to date of media use in young people and how it relates to civic and political behavior. The researchers performed a nationally representative telephone survey among 1,501 young people aged between 14 and 22, and reported their habits for 12 different uses of mass media and their awareness of current national politics and time spent in civic activities. They found that media use, whether information- or entertainment-oriented, assists civic engagement while news media are particularly effective in promoting political awareness. While excessive use of media interferes with both political and civic engagement, on the whole, the impact of media use is supportive for each outcome. Pasek and his colleagues emphasised the point that 'mass media have been lauded as a critical source of political knowledge' by many scholars, such as Carpini and Keeter (1996) and McLeod, Rush, and Friederich

(1968); even so, they pointed out that the media, in demanding entertainment television, have also been criticized as the cause of civic disengagement, as Putnam stated in 2000.

According to many scholars, media influences are often considerable; however, they vary by type of media and outcome (Pasek et al. 2006). These authors considered that the media serve as a second mediating process in the knowledge function. Consideration of the media unavoidably supplies information about common interests and agendas that can additionally encourage social participation. The authors agreed with many researchers who have noted that news media should be mainly able to offer information about significant political and social matters, and anticipated textual (newspapers), auditory (radio news), and audiovisual (television news) channels to play a function during this mechanism. Yet, they noted that other media may also promote political knowledge.

Pasek and his colleagues presented an initial analysis of civic engagement by Putnam (2000), who found that 'television was the clear scapegoat'. Putnam's investigation of cumulative tendencies since 1965 found that 'television accounted for as much as 25% of the decline in civic engagement'. Like other scholars, such as Norris (1996) and Volgy and Schwartz (1980), Putnam found positive associations between the use of televised news and civic engagement. Hooghe (2002) pointed out that even though the majority of studies have found that time spent watching television is related to lower participation and knowledge, there is evidence that television use is nonlinearly related to civic participation, positively associated at low levels of use, and then negatively related as use increases. Another study cited by Pasek et al. (2006) is that of Norris (1996), which stated that 'much of the confusion

concerning the effects of television stems from the fact that many researchers have treated television use in the aggregate' (p:118).

Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) examined five aspects of televised media use with regard to Norris's suggestion, these aspects distinguish between news (national and local) and entertainment (following shows and watching movies) as well as overall hours spent. The researchers talked about the passive relationship between reading and television viewing and Internet use, and also mentioned earlier works that found that magazines play a role in the political development of young people. They also mentioned studies that argued that films influence young people's beliefs and attitudes, commencing in the 1930s.

Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) survey was conducted in 2004. The results showed that nearly all of the media variables were positively associated with civic activity. They found also that political awareness was most strongly correlated with informational media, such as Internet use, followed by newspaper reading. Positive awareness was found to be linked to watching national nightly TV news or cable news' three forms of media were not significantly associated with political awareness: these were local television news, radio news and reading magazines. In addition, they found negative relationships between the number of hours engaged in watching television and political awareness. Reading newspapers was also positively associated with political awareness; however, it was not a major predictor of civic activity. The study concluded that overall, the impacts of the media were positive and significant, and that media use is related to greater involvement in civic activities and higher levels of political awareness.

This study reached some conclusions that contrast with the findings of Putnam (1993, 2000). The results of Pasek et al were more encouraging about the

function of the mass media as facilitators of civic and political engagement than Putnam and others have reported. Pasek et al. (2006) also suggested that 'young people's use of mass media may help to stimulate development of both social and political action' (p: 130), while Putnam (1993, 2000) highlighted the role of informal social networks as the source of social capital. Pasek et al. (2006) pointed out that adolescent use of media assists the progress of those social networks. The total amount of television viewing in this study was positively associated with civic activity, which meant that Pasek et al. (2006), in contrast to Putnam (2000), found that on the whole, the impact of television was favourable to civic activity. However, the corresponding finding for political awareness was less positive. Moreover, they found that whereas watching the national news increased knowledge, watching movies on television and following specific shows decreased awareness, leading to an overall interfering effect. In sum, their findings stated that mass media play a powerful role in facilitating mutual interests in adolescence and eventually help to uphold more civic and political action than would otherwise occur.

Another model used in this study is that of Pasek, Kenski and Romer (2006). Previous work examined offers the most inclusive examination to date of media use by young people and how it relates to civic and political behavior. The model of Pasek et al. (2006) was applied to almost the same number of participants as in this study and who belonged to the same age group, that is, between 14 and 22 years old.

Pasek et al.'s study (2006) is linked to this study regarding the kind of socialisation agents and media use to examine civic activities. The research covers political socialisation from different aspects, such as political knowledge and involvement, and using different forms of media including traditional and new ones. Also, they distinguish between different types of news - local and national - and

entertainment as well as the number of hours spent overall, all of which are used in this study.

Pasek et al. (2006) study provides the most comprehensive examination to date of media use in young people and how that use relates to civic and political behaviour. The authors investigated different kinds of media use which are: newspaper, TV news programmes, radio, the internet, movies, movies that's broadcast on TV, movies published on DVD or video cassette, movies at theatres, read a book, and read a magazine. This study used different kinds of media forms such as: newspaper, TV news programmes, radio, the internet, entertainment generally, and magazine, while it doesn't divide movies into different categories. It does not consider reading of books.

This study examined different kinds of internet with regard to its popularity among young people in Bahrain. Moreover, the study of Pasek et al. (2006) focused more on different kinds of media use while it ignored the significance of the influence of other major agencies on political behaviour such as the family, school, peer groups and others.

One can notice here that the early models in political socialisation were more associated with traditional agencies such as family, peer groups, etc, while post models were more associated with new forms of agencies that could influence political socialisation of young people such as new media tools. This study investigated traditional and new agencies with regard to the nature of the Arab region.

3.2.3.3 Lee (2006)

Two works published in 1975 on the issue of tele-voting and the 'electronic debate project' in Reading to examine the democratic potential of cable TV in Columbus, Ohio and Pennsylvania in the United States, commenting that both projects showed that 'the use of interactive services such as tele-voting was minimal and had decreased significantly as time went by' (Moss, 1978). According to Lee (2006), Campbell et al., (1954) first initiated and defined the concept of political efficacy as "the feeling that individual political action does and can have impact upon the political process, i.e., that it is worthwhile to perform one's own civic duties" (p: 416). Many researchers divide the concept into two distinctive sub-areas—internal political efficacy and external political efficacy.

According to Lee, two studies have thus far used survey evidence to measure information technology and participation rates directly, one completed exclusively with citizen communication with government (Bimber 1999) and the other examining political behavior outside the U.S. (Norris 1999), Both of them reported little effect from technology.

In the same year, Newhagen (1994) examined media use and political efficacy and provided various insights about the dynamic association between the two. The internet can be divided into three kinds of use, according to Newhagen's study. First, there is political information related Internet use, which is akin to television news watching or newspaper reading. Secondly, interactive contact with public sector agencies such as emails with public officials and/or visiting public sites can be construed as matching the aspect of listening to interactive talk radio shows in Newhagen's study. Thirdly, there is entertainment-oriented Internet use such as shopping and searching for product information and visiting adult sites.

Lee (2006) conducted a study with 119 undergraduate students taking communication studies classes at a large private university in the United States. A total of 53 per cent of participants were female and 47 per cent were male, with an age range of 17–25 years. All of them received a class credit for participation. Regarding Internet use, Lee (2006) found that participants used the Internet for an average of 91 minutes per day; they spent around 23 minutes visiting websites linked to school work, such as class homepages, 17 minutes visiting entertainment websites such as movie, game, music and adult sites, and 12 minutes visiting news network websites such as CNN, MSNBC and the New York Times. Most respondents (82%) did not visit public websites such as political party sites, elected officials' homepages local and federal government sites.

With regard to news-gathering habits, Lee found that participants spent an average of 19 minutes per day watching TV news and 14 minutes per day reading newspapers. Lee asked respondents to choose their main news source: online news sites were as popular as TV news, as 29 per cent of participants preferred online sites as the major source of news, whereas 3 per cent selected TV news. In addition, 26 per cent selected newspapers and 15 per cent preferred radio, while small numbers chose magazines and other sources as their main source of news. Lee (2006) entered a range of variables in the following order: demographics like age, income and gender, traditional news media such as TV news and newspapers, political membership and experience, and then Internet use.

The results of this research indicated that online news sites are becoming a primary news source for U.S. college students. This result stated that college students obtain more internal political efficacy as they grow older. Income and gender were not significant predictors and showed no association with internal political efficacy. In

contrast to Newhagen's (1994) findings, traditional media use did not predict external political efficacy among college students.

Lee's (2006) results identify two remarkable trends in college students' Internet use and news-gathering habits. Firstly, the study indicates that a substantial amount of college students' daily activities are devoted to using the Internet: more than 90 minutes per day are spent on Internet-related activities. This shows that the Internet has become an integral part of college life. Secondly, this research supplies strong evidence that online news websites are becoming the primary news source for U.S. college students. Bearing in mind the rapid increase of Internet use and computer diffusion, it appears that the effect of online news media on political socialisation of younger generations will become more critical.

Lee's study examines the association between TV news watching, newspaper reading and three forms of internet use (information, entertainment, and interactive contacts) and two forms of political efficacy (external and internal) among U.S. college students.

Lee (2006) study is another example of model which used different forms of media to examine one aspect of political socialisation such as political efficacy among college students. Lee's study is one of the earliest researchers to investigate the use of internet with regard to information, entertainment, and interactive contacts. He detected not just the significance of the internet in political socialisation but also the importance of the online news websites which were becoming the chief news source for U.S. college students.

For Bahraini young people, on the other hand, the internet with all of its benefits whether as a source of news or as an entertainment tool started to play an important role in people's life just a few years ago, in particular after the political

unrest in 2011, which means that there is an influence gap between this kind of tools and political socialisation among people not only in the West but also in the East.

This kind of research, even if it ignored other basic agencies of political socialisation, focused on the new media, an area which was forgotten by the researchers. Only a small number of researches published recently investigated the influence of online websites, new social media such as Facebook and Twitter on different aspects of political socialisation such as political knowledge, interest, efficacy, participants and so on.

This thesis will apply the same variety of measurement tools used in Lee's study that deals with similar kinds of new media tools.

3.2.3.4 Zaff and Eccles (2008)

Zaff and Eccles (2008) spread the theory by arguing that a more systemic approach is wanted, in which a civic context is improved to encourage citizenship. Zaff and Eccles hypothesized that existing in a consistent civic context leads to civic involvement in late adolescence and this persists into young adulthood. The scholars used a longitudinal, varied dataset to examine this hypothesis. They found that social interactions with parental styling of civic behaviors, peers, and cultural features, such as ethnicity-specific practices, cumulatively result in a higher level of civic movements in adolescence and that a sustained context that contains these factors results in a higher level of civic movements in adulthood. The implications of their findings are debated with regard to the growth of policies and programs.

Zaff and Eccles (2008) showed how the original context model demonstrates the mechanism through which they theorized that continued civic involvement is

shaped. The first element is the civic context in which adolescence progresses. The civic context contains parental and peer impacts, religious involvement and cultural and ethnic traditions. Zaff and Eccles also considered individual-level factors, for instance, gender and ethnicity, along with the values of the adolescent as a mediator that may expect civic involvement.

The second module is civic opportunities in youth. This module is mediated by the individual's collectivist/altruistic attitudes. The opportunity could be community service, environmentalism, political volunteering, or any other optimistic citizenship movement; however, in the current work, the authors limited the scope of activities to volunteering and civic involvement.

The third module involves an awareness of contributing to a civic activity in youth. They hypothesized that the fourth component partly leads to participation in civic movements as an adolescent. The fifth component, then, is whether the individual becomes involved in civic movements as an adolescent.

Zaff and Eccles (2008) in their work revised their civic context model which was based on the finding of two previous analyses that inspected the first and second halves of the full model, respectively (Zaff, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Michelsen, 2002a, b). They made these amendments so it would be possible to integrate the outcomes into the full model and to appropriate the best obtainable date. Both earlier analyses used hierarchical regression to test mediation models.

Studies have theorized that programmes to encourage optimistic citizenship should begin with a chance for young people to contribute to civic movements, for instance, political volunteering or community service. In their study, Zaff and Eccles (2008) expanded this theoretical outlook by arguing that programmrs to encourage civic involvement want to start by concentrating on social associations in adolescents'

lives with parents and peers and the environment in which adolescents live, for instance, schools and neighbourhoods, as well as focusing on encouraging civic values. They hypothesized that these impacts in early adolescence lead to civic involvement in late adolescence, which in turn anticipates civic involvement in young adulthood. Zaff and Eccles found that parents, ethnicity, and peer groups, are all significant contributors. Individual-level factors, such as communalistic values/displaying altruism, are also significant. These findings have policy implications and possibly are significant for programs, suggesting that civic involvement initiatives should use an additional holistic method rather than only realizing civic programs for adolescents.

Zaff and Eccles (2008) presented a model of positive citizenship development. Most of socialisation variables which are used by Zaff and Eccles (2008) were adopted in this thesis. The variables, such as parental participation, cultural socialisation, positive peer characteristics, youth religiosity and youth ethnicity, play a significant role in political behaviour and socialisation among young people worldwide; however, the level of influence of each of them depends on the nature of the region.

In spite of its significance in this field, especially in Arab region or other regions associated with religious institutions like Latin American societies or even some European communities, there have not been enough significant studies about the correlation between religion and ethnicity on the one hand and political socialisation on the other. This is not only true in the Christian communities, but also in the Arab and Moslem regions, where very rare studies examined this kind of research with regard to the questions of religiosity or ethnicity. Sectarian issues causing conflict between Sunni and Shiaa' people are increasing dramatically due to the Iranian

interference in the Arab and Moslem world, and became more evident than before, mainly after the American invasion of Iraq and particularly during the Arab spring revolutions.

This study will benefit from Zaff and Eccles (2008) model in the measurement of these kinds of variables namely parental participation, cultural socialisation, positive peer characteristics, youth religiosity and youth ethnicity.

3.3 Summary of the pre-post Political Socialisation Models

The first model in table 3.3 for Hyman (1959) demonstrates one of the models that investigated the traditional agencies of political socialisation. The family, school and peer groups in particular, as well as other variables, were examined by the majority of models as shown in table (3.3). Some models, like Easton and Dennis, focused more on the role of parents. However, this doesn't mean that other agents are not important, because this element depends on the objectives of the researchers.

In 1967 and the year after, some work began to investigate different agents that might affect political socialisation such as geographical region, religion and ethnic, such as Hess and Torney (1967), Dawson and Prewitt (1969) and Zaff and Eccles (2008), who were from very few works that examined these agents among young people in the West.

It could be true that these kinds of agents are not very effective on young people political socialisation in many countries in the West. Nevertheless, in other parts of the world, like the Arab region for instance, these sorts of agencies play a crucial role in political behaviour, knowledge, involvement and so on.

Table 3.3: Predictors of Political Socialisation

Agents	M 1	M 2	M 3	M 4	M 5	M 6	M 7	M 8
Family	X	X	X	X	X			X
School	X	X	X	X	X			
Peers group	X	X		X				X
Geographical region		X						
Social class		X						
Community			X					
Government			X					
Media					X	X	X	
Religion		X		X				X
cultural socialisation								X
Ethnic		X		X				X
Close work associations				X				
Social group				X				
Tribal				X				
Book						X		
Magazine						X		

**M1=Hyman (1959). M2=Hess and Torney (1967). M3=Easton and Dennis (1969). M4=Dawson and Prewitt (1969). M5=McDevitt and Chaffee (2002). M6=Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006). M7=Lee (2006). M8= Zaff and Eccles (2008).*

In fact, the prominent works investigated and developed by researchers since the 1920s in this realm were American, and were in the same region and culture. This means that the researcher needs to be careful to generalize any outcome to other cultures and region. From this point, one can ask this question: Do the theoretical models developed in the West apply to the East? This question and others lead the reader to determine the limitations of this kind of research, as claimed by many scholars.

Table 3.3 shows that three models (2, 4 and 8) belonging to Hess and Torney (1967), Dawson and Prewitt (1969) and Zaff and Eccles (2008) were more

comprehensive than other models presented in the previous table. They investigated diverse political socialisation agents, while other models such as models (6 and 7) for Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) and Lee (2006) were more comprehensive in examining different media tools on political socialisation.

Regarding the various studies published in the period between the 1970s and 1990s, it is clear that the role of media in political socialisation has not been theorised adequately. Nevertheless, a new generation of socialisation works are more focused on media use agency than before.

In table 3.3, the agent of media use means that all the forms of media can be used by children or youth and influence their political knowledge, attitude or behavior. For instance, Pasek et al. (2006) investigated almost 12 types of media and its association with civic and political behavior for young people.

They examined newspaper, TV news programmes, radio, the internet, movies, movies that broadcast on TV, movies published on DVD or video cassette, movies at theatres, read a book, and read a magazine. This study uses different kind of media use such as newspaper, TV news programmes, radio, the internet, entertainment generally, and magazine, while it doesn't divide the use of movies into different categories. It also does not consider reading of books. Lee (2006) work examined the influence of TV news watching, newspaper reading, and three forms of Internet use (information, entertainment, and interactive contacts).

Additionally, other studies that examined media use in political socialisation selected just one or two or three types of media use. For instance, the studies of Atkin and Gantz (1978) and Atkin (1981) were focused on the influence of TV on different aspects of political socialisation. The study for Byrne (1969) investigated the relationship between the TV and newspaper exposure of children and their attitudes

toward political authority. However, the investigations about the association between different aspects of political socialisation and new forms of social media such as Twitter, Facebook and others, is still going very slow even though its significance and influence are obvious on new generations. For this reason, this thesis applies different measurements to cover new forms of media which were not covered at all in the Arab region while it was slightly covered in the West.

On the other hand, these eight models of political socialisation, while they investigated different agencies that could influence political attitudes, behaviour, knowledge and so on among young people, they also investigate different aspects of political socialisation with respect to the model purpose.

The model of Hyman examined political behaviour, orientation, knowledge and participation through the influence of family, school and peer groups agencies. The model of Hess and Torney examined political attitudes, behaviour and participations through the impact of family, school, peer groups, religion, ethnicity, geographical region and social class.

The third model of Easton and Dennis examined political authority and orientation through the impact of community and government, while the next model of Dawson and Prewitt investigated political and social learning, interest and involvement through the influence of family, close work association, peer groups, school, religion, ethnicity, tribal and social group.

Moreover, the next four models of post-1990 started by model number (5) for McDevitt and Chaffee (2002), which examined civic development and political orientation through the influence of family, school and media tools. The next model for Pasek et al. (2006) investigated many aspects in political socialisation. These are political awareness and knowledge, civic and political behaviour, social and political

participation. The researchers examined these aspects through the influence of different forms of media tools. Lee also investigated political efficacy and knowledge through the influence of different types of media tools, whereas the last model examined civic involvement and social interaction through the influence of parental participation, cultural socialisation, peer groups, religion and ethnicity.

In the different models structures, different agencies were investigated and identified. All of them applied different measurements tools which could help this study to select and evaluate its findings.

This study has adopted several models in order to investigate political socialisation among young Bahrainis. These eight models have been chosen irrespective of whether they were pre- or post-1990. But because they were associated with this study in some way, though, some measurements and some concepts are more obviously related to the research than others.

One can ask here, why all of these models were from the West not the East? The answer is that because this kind of research had not been developed in the Arab region, and these Western models measurements can help any researcher to create models that are more suitable with his region. This study aimed to investigate political interest, knowledge participation, government performance among young Bahrainis. One part of this thesis involves in-depth discussion with targeted representatives in group settings. These group interviews will provide them opportunities to articulate their political awareness and engagement in their own terms. The interviews will be used to explore the sources to which they have turned for their political information.

To conclude, it is recognized throughout previous models that the early models pre-1990 were focused on interpersonal forms of communication that took place within families, in school settings, among youth peer groups, among adult social

contacts, and with societal institutions mainly through meetings or speeches and lessons, whereas post-1990 models were more concentrated with media forms. In the years after, new forms of media became more effective. The time factor in this context is very crucial during social circle life. In specific period and/or region, one can relate specific culture applicable to be more impacted by precise agents into their behaviour.

Additionally, with respect to the political socialisation variables that were examined in previous eight models, one can summaries that some models investigated same political influence variables, for instance Hyman (1959), Hess and Torenny (1967), Dawson and Prewitt (1969), Pasek et al. (2006), Lee (2006) and Zaff and Eccles. All of them investigated political participation, efficacy among young people in their works, while other scholars such as Hyman (1959), Easton and Denies (1969), McDevitt and Chaffee (2002) examined political orientation. Some researchers like Hyman, Hess and Torenny and Pasek et al. were more interested in political behaviour. Nevertheless, other scholars examine different variables.

For this study the models of Hess and Torenny (1967) and Pasek et al. (2006) were more associated with this thesis. The main purpose of using mainly these two models from this period is that the model of Hess and Torenny investigated political attitudes, behaviour and participations through the influence of family, school, peer groups, religion, ethnicity, geographical region and social class and the majority of these agents and variables were play a significant role in socialize young people in Bahrain with regard to focus groups interviews and survey results. On the other hand the development of political socialisation research meant researchers had started to examine different media use or tools throughout different political socialisation agents, this matter was very obvious in Pasek et al. (2006) work which examined

different tools of media old and new one. Both of them were investigated deeply in this thesis.

This study found that the parents have a major influence on Bahraini young people, with a score of 87.25%, alongside television exposure (82.5%) and the Internet (90.5%) as a source of political knowledge, while religious groups have become more effective in influencing political interest, knowledge and involvement among Bahraini young people. This finding means that parents and religious groups play a crucial role in the political orientation and political learning of Bahraini young people; therefore, it could be true that they also shape young peoples' political attitudes and behaviors as individuals, which affects their political views and their political involvement.

It could be that the majority of political socialisation research, even from this new generation of researchers, still investigates traditional forms of media, such as television, newspapers and the internet; however, they still consider just the Internet in general and do not go into any detail regarding the new and very important forms of the Internet, for example, social networks such as Twitter, Facebook and so forth. However, many research centres have investigated these forms of media generally in different political occasions, such as elections or the recent Arab spring revolutions.

For this reason, researchers in different cultures or in different regions reflect on this kind of research measurements in different environment and different regions; they use the Mosque instead of Church and they use the Sunni or Shia sects instead of Catholic or Protestant communities.

3.4 Missing Socialisation Agents

The eight models of political socialisation have identified a list of agents that have been supported by empirical research as sources of political influence in the context of the developing political awareness and engagement of young people. These models were developed in the Western world and even in that region their comprehensiveness for today has been called into question by dramatic recent developments in digital communications technologies that have introduced a number of new platforms for political communication. A brief review of relevant literature is presented below to reinforce this point. As this will show a range of online media tools are used in the context of political communication that receive no reference in any of the models of socialisation reviewed above. This is true even of the later models examined here.

The main purpose of using models from different periods is that the development of political socialisation research meant researchers had started to examine different media use or tools throughout different political socialisation agents.

It would be unusual to discover research that investigates any issue of political socialisation regarding different sects, whether Sunni or Shia, because this kind of division does not exist in Western countries. Nevertheless, this kind of division is very common and currently very significant in Arab and Moslem countries, particularly with Iranian interference in many such countries.

It could be that the majority of political socialisation research, even from this new generation of researchers, still investigate traditional forms of media, such as television, newspapers and the internet; however, they still consider just the Internet in general and do not go into any detail regarding the new and very important forms of the Internet, for example, social networks such as Twitter, Facebook and so forth.

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Furthermore, if the relationships between political socialisation and the use of media have still not been resolved, the association between political socialisation and the news media is more ambiguous, as mentioned earlier, while it is becoming clearer in terms of political socialisation and newspapers. The question here is, can we trust all of these results? And to what extent can we do this?

Likewise, one can ask here that, does the use of all these forms of media, whether old or new, occur in the same way for different states or regions? In other words, do political and social conditions have a different impact on the use of new media forms in different countries? For instance, America has more electronic access to a wider range of entertainment and information sources than ever before (Dizard, 2000). America has a democratic system in terms of using these forms of new media, as will be discussed later; nevertheless, can we see the same patterns in Third World countries or those countries that do not have any technological infrastructure that can help society to use normal media forms rather than new media technology?

Additionally, in this age, which has been dubbed the information age, revolutionary technology has made the media more freely obtainable than ever before. Outlets such as Facebook, Twitter, Wikipedia, MySpace, YouTube and many more may be accessed on cell phones, and the news media update breaking news within

mere moments of its launch. In the new media age, society has the capability to actively connect with the media by sending interesting newspaper articles, commenting on blogs, tweeting different messages and YouTube videos to mates and inciting activism through social networks. Nowadays, society is no longer an inactive audience of the media; in the new media environment, society and the community are actively involved in the media in different ways.

3.5 Arab World Relevance of Models

The Arab world is different politically from the western world. There are factors that play in the political arena in Arab countries and have little influence over politics in western democracies. Religion is perhaps the key factor. As indicated in the previous section, the emergence of new media in the western world have changed the political landscape in a way that has rendered the efficacy of many political socialisation models. Digital communications technologies have created new media landscapes in the Arab world and, as illustrated by the events of the Arab Spring, have also come to play an increasingly prominent role in Arab politics.

This kind of research on the relation between media use and political socialisation is very rare in Arabic countries including Bahrain, while the studies which investigated the use of media particularly the use of radio, newspapers and television was more common since 1980s specifically in Iraq, Egypt, Tunis and Syria such as the studies of Labe (1984) Alnajar (1983) Al abed (1983, 1984 and 1989), Muaawad (1998), Kahaddour (1999), Alhusaini (2005) and others. Even the researches cited in this study with regard to media use such as Musaiger (2006) or Al-Eid (2006), both of them examined the use of media in general, not relate to any of political factors.

On the other hand, different models completed in the Arabic Gulf region investigated different aspects of political socialisation such as Farah and Al-Salem (1977), Farah (1979), Al-Salem (1981) and Dhaher (1981, 1982). For instance Farah and Al-Salem (1977) examined political efficacy and trust, and the action orientations of University students in Kuwait. Also, Al-Salem (1981) examined the issue of identity in selected Arab Gulf States. Dhaher did two researches there associated with culture and politics among young people in the Arabic Gulf countries. Previous studies were more associated with some areas not considerably related with this thesis. However, some evidence and measurements were used, in particular that which related with the family and religion influence in Arabic Gulf countries. Besides, the researchers can take benefits from these studies by understanding that how this kind of research is going in this region more than adopted models one can use it as it is without any improvement.

The majority of these studies applied survey method, though other researchers applied more than one method such as Al abed (1989) who used the survey with content analysis to measure children's use of television among different Arabic countries. Other researcher was Alhusaini (2005) who examined the effect of TV programs in child life.

As a result, there is a lack of this kind of research in the Arabic world in particular with regard of media use studies (Kahaddour, 1999; Muaawad, 1998; Al-Eid2006). The majority of Arabic study examined this field were looking for the influence of different TV programs particularly Western programs on children attitude or behaviors. Kahaddour (1999) stated that this kind of research were limited there because most of researches related to the Academic domain which completed as a PhD or Master degree works and to get precise purpose not to develop this kind of

research as a significant part of society improvement. Other weakness stated by Kahaddour (1999) was that this kind of researches there suffering from the individual character, which is mean that the level of standard is not strong enough.

There are many reasons why attempts to generalize one statement about the relationship between media use and political socialisation is inequitable. Firstly, the research environment differs from one region to another by religion and culture, such as the difference between West and East. Secondly, many of these studies that have presented different results about this relationship have been carried out during election periods; hence, it would be not accurate to take these results as a general outcome because the circumstances during elections are totally different than other times. In election periods, the people are influenced by different media tools, society and the family, and all pay close attention to different political issues at that specific time; therefore, not only is political information refreshed but also political involvement could be engaged at the same time.

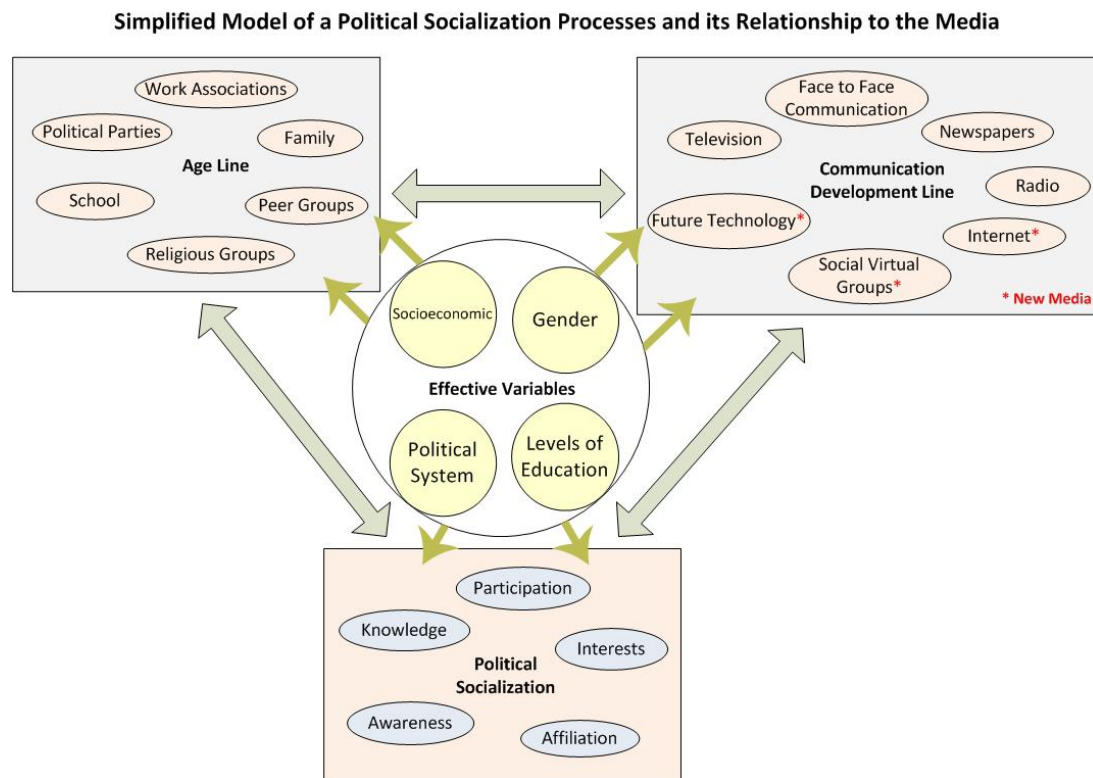
Another important matter associated with the validity of these results relates to the age groups targeted in previous research. As mentioned earlier, many studies in this domain have been applied among elementary school students aged 11, 12 and 13 years and slightly younger or older, and a number of them used just one survey method to get their data. Some of them used telephone surveys to collect data; therefore, it is difficult to accept all of these general outcomes in light of these weaknesses. In fact, many researchers in this field avoid this weakness by using more than one method, such as Buckingham (1999), who applied survey and focus group interviews, and even some earlier Arabic studies, as well as more recent work, used more than one method to achieve more accurate results, such as Al abed (1989), who

combined a survey with content analysis, and Alhusaini (2005), who used a survey and focus group.

It is obvious that more than one method are helpful as a supplement (Morgan (1988, p. 10) and give the results more accuracy. However, it is also clear that the will is likely to become a significantly important place in defining future possibilities for citizenship (Buckingham, 1999). Further, even if this relationship is not supported by a number of studies since the 1970s, some Academic PhD research done in the U.S. during the last decade has explored this strong relationship, such as Lee (2002).

Finally, it can be easy to understand previous chapters through a simplified model of the political socialisation process and its relationship to the media. Demographic factors are at the heart of this model; designed by the researcher and taking into account previous research into political socialisation agencies, the model demonstrates the amount of influence each agency - parents, peer groups, school, religious groups, different media forms - has over young people. In all these agencies, the demographic factors affect the amount of political socialisation in each individual's behavior regarding their political knowledge, interest, involvement and so on. This model is designed to provide a snapshot of the process of political socialisation and its relation to all these factors. Nevertheless, this relationship between the political socialisation process and the media with regard to the age line, the communication development line and effective variables (see the following simplified model) can be used as a general model in this process; however, the nature of different regions and cultures across the world must be borne in mind by any researcher who wishes to examine this kind of research, for the numerous reasons stated earlier in this chapter.

3.1 Simplified model of the political socialisation process and its relationship to the media



3.6 Summary of the Chapter

The eight models presented in this chapter examined political socialisation pre and post 1990s in different ways, covering multi-agencies of political socialisation. There is a rich and extremely diverse literature of political socialisation, hence, other models or studies presented after these basic eight models were closely correlated in different ways with different measurements in this study.

In order to introduce the influence of different variables and factors in the Arab world, particularly in Bahrain, this chapter contains sections that argue age should be considered as a factor of political socialisation along with different methodological approaches, new forms of communication, generational and national differences, differences of use and different political effects of the Internet.

All of these sections have discussed these topics from both Western and Eastern perspectives. Therefore, the different studies presented earlier, even if they have not focused on basic models used, aim to explain the significance of all these areas in the future, particularly among the new generation.

In sum, the debate about the nature of the role of the media in political socialisation is still ongoing and has not yet reached a specific outcome. After a decade of attention to the contributions of the family, school and peer groups to political socialisation, beginning in the 1970s, adolescent use of the media has received significant attention (Atkin and Gantz, 1978; Atkin, 1981) and as Buckingham (2000) noted, research has indicated that it is strongly associated with political socialisation (Dunsmore and Lagos, 2008).

This finding is not the end of this argument. While scholars emphasize the role of media in this domain, nevertheless, they still doubt the evidence. Patterson and McClure (1976) and others found that exposure to television news is simply not informative regarding political issues (cited in Chaffee and Kanihan, 1997).

Several researchers have found that the news media are an essential information source for children (Atkin et al., 1976; Byrne, 1969; Conway et al., 1975). Studies on the effect of news media on children's political attitudes have been more limited. Nevertheless, whilst the evidence is less plentiful, a number of researches have stated that the news media can influence affective as well as cognitive orientations (Chaffee et al., 1970; Conway et al., 1975). The social levelling influence of television on political knowledge has been discussed (Neuman, 1976; Gantz, 1978); however, research to date has not sustained this prediction (Chaffee and Kanihan, 1997). An early study of this issue by Dawson et al. (1977: 194) pointed out that 'Television is not geared to play an active role in political learning', whereas later

works, such as Lowden et al. (1994), noted that television's impact is not limited to personal information, certainly including different subjects and knowledge.

A further point that warrants mention here is that investigators in this field have demonstrated that boys are more attuned to political news and more involved politically than are girls, and that socioeconomic status is slightly related to these variables (Atkin, 1981). Furthermore, many scholars have stressed the need to ensure accuracy, validity and clear measurement in this kind of research in order to acquire trustworthy and accurate results (Chaffee et al., 1970 and others).

To sum up, Atkin and Gantz in 1978 mentioned the example of the CBS network, which created a new concept in news presentation, and specifically 'designed spot news broadcasts for child audiences'. Before that Edward Barnes who was deputy head of BBC Children's Television launched in 1972 first mooted the initiative of short news bulletin for younger spectators. A few years ago, the Al-Jazeera Children's Channel developed same concept, which means that the relationship between television news and children might become clearer in the future.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the research methodology for the study. The chapter presents the research questions and the research design, which involves two techniques: focus groups interviews and a survey. The rationale for the selection of these research techniques and the advantages and limitations of these tools will be described in detail. The methods of data collection are presented, the two kinds of research methods are justified and the population, location, sampling and sample sizes for the survey and focus groups are explained in detail. The chapter also discusses the approaches to the analyses of the data collected via the two techniques, including identifying the design and administration, the running of the pilot study, procedures, timing of data accumulation for the focus groups and the survey methods.

A large amount of the research on the associations between political socialisation and news consumption is fairly problematic because, in some cases, political socialisation is operationalized mainly in terms of political knowledge (Atkin, 1981; Martin, 2011). Such research, while presenting interesting results on news consumption as a predictor of political knowledge and other significant outcome variables, does not incorporate a key factor of Hyman and others' definitions of political socialisation relative to the stability of the results.

Martin (2011) pointed out that an individual's recent events knowledge can vary from day to day or week to week, depending on his or her current levels of news attention.

In addition, this study examined different aspects of the political socialisation domain with regard to media news, such as political interest, knowledge,

involvement, trust and opinions of the government and politicians and others, as many scholars have done (eg. Chaffee et al., 1970; Pasek et al., 2006 and others).

On the other hand, this study used representative samples of all the different areas and governorates in Bahrain to avoid any weakness in the research sample. Also, this study combined two methods in order to avoid any misunderstanding or misinformation that might arise when the researcher is using a telephone survey or just one kind of method among this age group.

4.2 Research Questions

The main question for this study was: *“What is the role of news media broadcasting and new media in political socialisation (Interest, Knowledge and involvement) among groups of young citizens in Bahraini society?”* Additionally, a total of nineteen research questions were formulated for this study. Many of these research questions were based on the questions used by researchers in other studies, while some of them were based on focus group interviews. The research questions were answered in both the focus groups and survey responses⁵⁰.

Many questions were replications of earlier political socialisation research, some of this study's questions were new and different in nature from those used in other studies completed in this domain.

4.3 Research Design⁵¹

⁵⁰ For more details about research questions look at page number 12-13.

⁵¹ Following several researchers, the majority of the questions in this field were adopted from American National Election Study (ANES) survey from 1964-1992 (in Craig, 1996, p. 295-300)

The research used a combination of methods. It began with focus groups and followed on with a survey. The focus groups enabled open-ended questions to be presented to explore the ways young people in Bahrain articulated their political awareness and opinions. The dearth of prior relevant evidence meant that this exploratory method was essential and helped to inform the design of the survey questionnaire. The survey was designed to provide more normative data about the status of political awareness among young people in Bahrain. Having said that the survey itself did not compile a random or representative sample, but it did recruit a large sample of young students from across different geographical locations and religious sectors of the community.

As mentioned by Lawal (2009), a focus group is a systemic questioning of several people to acquire qualitative data. This approach is drawn from a non-positive paradigm and uses an inductive approach (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Fontana and Fray, 2005)

Fern (2001) found that it is virtually impossible to obtain a workable typology of focus groups in which the groups are both mutually collectively exhaustive and exclusive. He found that also, the differentiation between theoretical and applied focus group study is significant because many of the concerns about methodological topics such as generalizability, quantification, reliability and degrees of freedom and validity pertain to theory-testing research.

On the other hand, according to McNeill (1990: p19), a social survey is a way of acquiring large amounts of data, typically in statistical form, from a big number of people in a comparatively short time. He added that it may be 'explanatory or descriptive', or a mixture of these.

Marshall and Rossman (1999) stated that researchers administer surveys to some sample of a population to study the distribution of characteristics, beliefs or attitudes. He added that the essential purpose of survey research is to explain and clarify statistically the 'variability of certain features of a population'. The same authors suggested three types of survey: personal interview, telephone and mail, and pointed out that the type of questionnaire instrument is determined by the information wanted.

Marshall, Rossman (1999) stated that any method of data collection, from 'observation to content analysis, can be and has been used in survey research' (p: 130).

4.3.1 Focus Group Discussions

The use of focus groups as a method for collecting research data commenced in the 1930s and they continue to be important instruments in both communication and political research⁵². The function of focus groups is either to discover the possibilities of future research, or to assist in the interpretation of other research consequences, like survey data or other quantifiable studies. This study used the focus group method in order to build a comprehensible survey that could help to explore different variables in the political socialisation field for Bahraini students aged between 15 and 22.

Focus groups were used to explore in an open-ended fashion the issues to be investigated by the study. The dearth of prior Middle Eastern or Bahraini evidence on the subject of youth political socialisation meant that qualitative research was needed

⁵² Beverly D. Sypher, 'The Focus Group as a Research tool' in *The 1992 Presidential Debate in Focus*, eds, Diana B. Carline, and Mitchell S. McKinney, M.S (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 37-51.

to examine the ways young people might talk about relevant issues. This type of data would provide useful information in its own right and also valuable insights to guide the design of a survey questionnaire where a more prescriptive, structured and standardised form of measurement would be used. The aim of the focus groups was to collect data to improve our understanding of how the participants' political socialisation functions in the interpretation of Bahraini students, and to add depth to the cluster analysis.

4.3.1.1 Rationale for Using Focus Groups for This Study

The flexibility and interaction between participants of focus groups provides the data with added richness, and helps the researcher to add questions to a survey or delete others depend on the respondents' understanding. This was what happened in this study. Additionally, Wimmer and Dominic (2005) pointed out that the focus group is a research strategy not only for understanding audiences and attitudes but also behaviour; similarly, Puchata and Potter stated that the objective of a focus group is to bring out respondents' feelings, attitudes and awareness about a chosen subject. (2004)

Lederman explains one effectual way to apply a focus group to collect a group of like-minded individuals that is strategically associated to the research questions. The students' ages were chosen in this study to connect the focus groups, aiming to offer arguments that could elaborate on respondents' levels of political socialisation with regard to their reactions, understanding and responses.

The focus groups used in this study were used to collect qualitative data. The mixture of research techniques has also been adopted by other scholars, such as Yates (2004, p. 171), who noted that focus groups are frequently used as the 'qualitative

element' within a larger 'quantitative' work like a survey. Furthermore, Morgan (1988, p. 10) found that focus groups are helpful as a supplement to both quantitative and other qualitative methods.

In spite of all previous fact about the focus group method, very few researchers in political socialisation area have applied this kind of method as support in their studies. Those who have include Buckingham (1999) who conducted interviews with 72 students in three socially diverse schools in Britain and the USA, with a total of 42 focus group interviews. Another example is the recent thesis by E. Buehler (2004) from the University of Kansas in America.

4.3.2 Survey Methods in Political Socialisation and Media Research

Burns (2000) and Reinard (1994) stated that in quantitative research, a survey is an empirical study that uses questionnaires or interviews to reveal the descriptive characteristics of phenomena.

Thus, for the aim of this work, it is appropriate to use a survey in a positivist paradigm through a structured close-ended questionnaire. In addition, it is appropriate to use focus group interviews to collect descriptive in-depth information about respondents' attitudes towards political socialisation.

The focal difference is that each approach will manage different features of the issue and construct different forms of data that may complement each other in terms of developing knowledge about participants' attitudes. Focus group give the researcher a clear view of the level of political knowledge, interest and involvement among Bahraini young people and the surveys enable him to deploy standardised and structured question and answer formats that yield data that can be entered into multivariate forms of analysis relevant to the exploration of specific hypotheses.

Many researchers such as Machin (2002) and Hansen, Cottle, Negrine, Newbold, & Halloran (1998) have found that this kind of method dominates communication research and is of central importance in this field. Also, Gunter found that surveys have become a prominent feature of media study and behavioural phenomena are counted and measured numerically using this methodological tool (2000).

It is noteworthy that the majority of studies in the political socialisation domain used survey methods, whether face-to-face interviews such as Di Gennaro and Dutton (2006) or telephone interviews such as Atkin's research in 1972 and Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006). Numerous surveys have been conducted among different schools in America, in order to examine political socialisation among children, teenagers and young adults, as shown below. As stated previously, the survey method in political socialisation research was approved by the Chaffee et al. study (1990), and by other outstanding scholars in the field of political socialisation, such as Hayman (1959), Greenstein (1965) and Easton and Dennis (1969). The survey method was used also in other works in political socialisation and mass media study, whether linked with traditional media forms such as Atkin and Gantz (1972), Conway et al., (1981) and others, or linked with new media forms such as more recent studies by Shah et al. (2001), Tolbert and McNeal (2003), Polat (2005) and Di Gennaro and Dutton (2006).

4.3.2.1 Rationale for Employing Survey Method for This Study

The advantages of the survey method have been powerfully presented by scholars, experts and researchers, particularly in the political communication field, as mentioned in the last paragraph. Singletary Jr., Bruce and Straights (1999) stated that

surveys present the mostly effective means of social explanation among all the approaches to social research, as they offer detailed and precise information about large and heterogeneous populations.

The same researchers argued that the flexibility of survey research offers easy data collection in relatively natural settings, and also allows an extensive range of themes to be covered and a diversity of questions to be asked and inspected. This flexibility enables surveys to be used to gather large amounts of data from big samples. Hansen et al. (1998) found that the survey method proffers scholars a method to achieve a substantial quantity of information from a large number of people rapidly and at comparatively small expenditure per individual. Scholars feel confident that public attitudes, statements and civic opinion are founded upon information gathered from a large number of people (Ibid). Hence, this study applied this kind of method because it targeted a large number of Bahraini students from all governorates in the country in order to cover the diversity of the population with respect to the students' sects, culture and attitude.

Additionally, Schroder, Drotner, Kline and Murray pointed out that its reliability and replicability means that survey research has made considerable contributions to the advancement of arguments over scientific discourse (2003). Another merit of survey research is that it is the most popular of research techniques. Everybody is conversant in answering survey questions (Priest, 1996). This makes its use easy and straightforward for most research in the political socialisation domain and enables high rates of reliability and replicability.

Moreover, one of the purposes of this study is to measure participants' demographic characteristics and attitudes to various political socialisation variables, and according to Weaver (2008), if the plan of study is to assess various personal

characteristics such as gender, age, education and so forth, then the survey should be the selected research method. Finally, the survey method was used in this study after conducting focus group interviews, which means that the survey is based on an examination of students' understanding and knowledge about the case, which has contributed to the rich data in this research.

4.4 Political Socialisation and Age

Throughout the field of political socialisation studies, one can notice that there are four age categories that are particularly targeted by researchers: Firstly, the elementary school years between the ages of nine and fourteen. This age group has been examined by many scholars in the US and in other places, such as Hyman (1959), Greenstein (1965), Easton & Hess (1967), Easton & Dennis (1969), Beck, Bruner and Dobson (1975), Atkin and Gantz (1974) and Conway et al. (1981).

The second category investigates political socialisation factors among people aged between fourteen and twenty-two, particularly the high school and pre-adult stages, such as Stradling's work in 1977, Dominick (1972), Garramone and Atkin (1986), Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) and Di Gennaro and Dutton (2006).

The third group consists of pre-adult students or college and university undergraduate students aged between eighteen and twenty-two or slightly older, such as Hirschberg and Gilliland (1942), Allport (1929), Frank and Pinner (1965), Maccoby, Matthews and Morton (1954), Jaros (1973) and Niemi and Sobieszek (1977). The last category of research has examined mixed age groups, such as Roberts, Pingree and Hawkins (1975), who targeted students aged between eleven and

fifteen. Another such study was by Buckingham (1999), who targeted the students in aged between eleven and twelve, thirteen and fourteen and sixteen and seventeen.

This study deals with students aged between 15 and 22 years, in keeping with the vast majority of political socialisation studies. Niemi and Sobieszek (1977) stated that this is this age at which an understanding of political ideas and a developing awareness and political attitude of young people occurs, and they consider this stage as a crucial age for the development of political socialisation.

4.5 Population and Location

This study was conducted among Bahraini young people from 12 secondary schools⁵³ out of a possible total of 25 secondary schools in Bahrain from April to May 2010. The 12 schools were spread over five governorates in the Kingdom of Bahrain⁵⁴.

According to the last Bahraini Census, completed in 2010⁵⁵, Bahrain's population is distributed in the nation's five governorates as follows with regard to the number of population in each governorate: Capital Governorate (26.7%), Central Governorate (26.4%), Northern Governorate (22.4%), Muharraq Governorate (15.3%) and finally Southern Governorate (8.2). However, this does not mean that the schools

⁵³ In Bahraini secondary school, all students must chose one of these five specializations for boys and one of them except for the Industrial and Religious specializations for girls.

⁵⁴ These secondary schools are as follows, boys schools: AL Hedaya Secondary School, Isa Town Secondary School, Shaikh Khalifa Institute, Ahmed Al Omran Secondary School, East Riffa Secondary School and Religuois Inttitute, while girls schools were that Al Hed Junior High School, Al Ahd Al Zaher Secondary School, Jedhafs Secondary School, Khawla Secondary School, Setra Secondary School and West Riffa Secondary School.

⁵⁵ These figures taken from the official site of Central Information Organisation, Kingdom of Bahrain, December 2011, http://www.cio.gov.bh/CIO_ENG/SubDetailed.aspx?subcatid=256.

in each governorate must be attended by students from the same governorates. The distribution of students to the schools by the Ministry of Education in Bahrain depends on the type of specialization chosen by the students and on the availability of transportation to the nearest school with a vacancy.

4.6 Sampling and Sample Size

4.6.1 Focus Group Discussions

This study applied focus group interviews in eight Bahraini Ministry of Education secondary schools, out of a possible twenty-five. This number included four boys' schools and four girls' schools⁵⁶, with eight students in each school. This study applied used eight focus groups, each with at least eight students except for one school in which only seven participated. This approach was adopted from Morgan, who supports 'six to eight participants in each group' (1998, p. 1)⁵⁷. So the total sample size for focus groups in this study was 64 participants were divided between 32 boys and 32 girls.

According to Hansen et al. (1998), participants who are involved in focus group interviews must be able and willing to give the requested information. Consequently, a purposive sampling technique was used to create the sample for gathering the qualitative data.

4.6.2 Survey

⁵⁶ These secondary schools are as follows, boys schools: AL Hedaya Secondary School, Isa Town Secondary School, Shaikh Khalifa Institute, East Riffa Secondary School; girls schools: Al Hed Junior High School, Al Ahd Al Zaher Secondary School, Jedhafs Secondary School, Khawla Secondary School.

⁵⁷ Hansen et al. (1998) stated that 'it would be difficult to justify fewer than six groups' (p. 268).

As mentioned previously, the students in different Bahraini secondary schools do not reflect the population in each governorate. Thus, this study applied a purposive sampling technique according to Singleton & Straits, who stated that “In situations that preclude random selection, purposive sampling is an acceptable alternative” (1999, p. 159).

As stated earlier, the research survey was conducted among Bahraini students from 12 secondary schools. The schools were spread over five governorates in the Kingdom of Bahrain and were divided equally between boys and girls on the basis of two schools in each governorate; however, this distribution was not entirely distinct, as there is a specialist Industrial Institute located in the Muharraq Governorate, which includes students from all governorates in Bahrain. Additionally, the Religious Institute, located in the Capital Governorate, also includes students from all governorates in Bahrain. This confirms why a purposive sampling technique was used: this is due to the small size⁵⁸ of the country and the overlapping distribution of schools in different governorates. The same thing happened in the Central Governorate, where that survey was applied in one school, whereas another secondary school located between the Southern Governorate and the Central Governorate included a large number of students from both governorates, and this again relates to the overlap between the governorates due to the size of the country. Another reason to

⁵⁸Bahrain's total area is 757,50 Sq. Km for 2008. Bahrain In Figures 2007-2008, Central Information Organization, Kingdom of Bahrain, Issue (25) – April, 2010. Taken from Central Information Organization official website, December 2011.

http://www.cio.gov.bh/CIO_ENG/SubDetailed.aspx?subcatid=120

select these schools was due to the Ministry of Education in Bahrain's recommendation, because they claimed that some schools were not able to apply this kind of research because previous experience had shown that the students would not cooperate with the researcher.

This study was conducted among 1,179 Bahraini students: this number is more than double of what Wimmer and Dominick suggested. These researchers found that a sample size of 500 could be regarded as very good (2000, p. 93). They stated that multivariate research needs larger samples than univariate research because it analyses multiple response data. This issue was also pointed out by Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee, who suggested that 'a large sample is more representative' (2006, p. 107). Also, selecting a large sample size means that there is greater probability of representing all the varied and diverse characteristics of the population. Besides, Miller claimed that it is an obligatory command of any sample that it be required to be as representative as possible of the general population (2002). For these reasons, this research chose a large number to obtain the reliability of the representative sample of the total population, and it was required to offer the populations of the selected five governorates and twelve schools the same opportunity to be chosen for the sample.

4.7 Data Collection

4.7.1 Focus Groups

4.7.1.1 Data Collection Instrument

The focus group instrument was used in this study to obtain a clear understanding about Bahraini students' political awareness, knowledge, interest and involvement in order to assist in designing the questionnaire in the best and most appropriate way for their age, understanding and level.

The data collection instrument for focus groups should have a prearranged agenda used in each and every argument, allowing the focus group members to chat about the agenda as they desire while the moderator looks for arguments, outlooks and reactions of the participants. Nevertheless, the questions on the agenda should be formulated in a way that makes it possible to change and modify them, as this is a broad and highly flexible approach and the dialogue may also put forward further issues and subjects of inquiry to be pursued, as pointed out by Alreck & Settle (1995, p. 397).

The focus group instrument used in this study contained eighteen questions organized into five sections; each section had the flexibility to add related questions to explore different areas, and some opened questions were included in order to gather participants' opinions without any direct direction. These sections were as follows⁵⁹:

Section 1: *Political Interest*

This section contained two questions that aimed to examine the respondents' political interest, whether in local, regional or international political issues.

Section 2: *Political awareness, Knowledge and Understanding, including Government performance and religious interest*

This section was important because it measured the respondents' awareness, knowledge and understanding of different issues, whether inside or outside the country. This section contained eight questions that investigated all of the abovementioned variables, included their opinions towards the Bahraini government and towards essential issues facing Bahrain today, such as freedom of speech and equal opportunity in life. During these questions and the political involvement questions, religious interest was examined as well.

⁵⁹ A full copy of the focus group questions is available in appendix 1.

Section 3: *Political Involvement (including religious interest)*

This section contained three questions looking for Bahraini students' participation in different activities, whether in the school or in their community. Additionally, these questions looked for the kinds of activities the participants liked to attend or participate in, and politicians they admired, locally or far away.

Section 4: *Source of news and information, including use and trust of media forms*

In this section, the respondents were asked two main questions about their sources of news and political information and whether they trust Bahraini news sources or not. Also, the students were asked about which media or news services they most trusted and why.

Section 5: *The Sectarian and Tolerance*

The last section was about the extent to which sectarianism had spread among Bahraini students and extended through Bahraini society. This section contained two questions.

4.7.1.2 Administration of the Focus Groups

4.7.1.2.1 Number of Groups and Participant Recruitment

As reported previously, this study conducted eight focus groups with eight students in each group, except for one group of seven. The focus groups were chosen evenly between both sexes in Bahraini secondary school students from five governorates. The participants were selected randomly by the school administration with regard to the different specialisms and ages. The focus group interviews were held during school time between 8.00 am and 1.00 pm.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Look at APPENDIX 1(p:339).

4.7.1.2.2 Arrangement and Implementation and the Moderator and his

Function

Before starting any of the focus group interviews, the researcher took a few minutes to introduce himself and the objective of the research. The meaning and aim of the focus group interviews were explained to attract students' attention in order to acquire positive participation. During the focus group interviews, the researcher played the position of moderator. The focus groups were run by asking prearranged questions and allowing the students to discuss and debate the issues raised under researcher's directions. The average duration of the focus group interviews was one to one and a half hours. The moderator strove to create a helpful environment and encouraged the students to raise their points of view and their opinions regarding the subjects under discussion.

Additionally, during the focus groups, the researcher raised more questions where necessary to clarify points raised or achieve the aims of the sessions.

Table 4.1: Time, location, duration and number of participants in focus group interviews

Sampling Unit	Sex	Date and time	Venue	Participants	Duration
AL Hedaya Muharraq Gov.	Boys	13-12-2009 10:30 am	In the school	08	01:10
Isa Town Central Gov.	Boys	16-12-2009 10:30 am	In the school	07	55:00
Shaikh Khalifa Institute Muharraq Gov.	Boys	14-12-2009 08:30 am	In the school	08	01:05
East Riffa Southern Gov.	Boys	15-12-2009 08:30 am	In the school	08	01:10
Al Hed Muharraq Gov.	Girls	10-12-2009 10:30 am	In the school	08	01:15
Al Ahd Al Zaher Norther Gov.	Girls	20-12-2009 09:00 am	In the school	08	01:25
Jedhafs Norther Gov.	Girls	16-12-2009 10:30 am	In the school	08	01:20
Khawla Capital Gov.	Girls	17-12-2009 10:30 am	In the school	08	01:30

4.7.1.2.3 Recording the Focus Group Data

Hansen and Newbold (1998, pp. 276-277) suggested that the principal data generated by focus group are the variable responses, opinions, statements, interactions of the participants and arguments. Hence with regard to the nature of focus group data, all

focus group interviews were recorded on a digital recording device after seeking permission from the school administration and students. All interviews were transcribed onto a computer database for analysis purposes. This method was adopted by Alreck & Settle (1995, p. 404). Morgan also supported this method and suggested that audio-recording is the most common way of making the focus group conversation analysable. (1998, p. 56)

4.7.2 Survey

4.7.2.1 Designing the Questionnaire

The survey instrument contained mostly closed-ended questions. The survey instrument was developed based on the objective of the study and on the literature review. As mentioned previously, the majority of studies in political socialisation have applied this kind of method since the 1950s, such as Hayman (1959), and even before. Basically, the survey instrument was categorized into eight sections as follows:

Section 1: *Students' socio-economic and demographic characteristics:*

In this section, seven questions were used to measure the Bahraini students' personal characteristics. The variables that were investigated were: age, gender, mother's and father's education levels, mother's and father's occupation and area of residence. These variables offered useful data on the respondents, and associations between these variables and other independent variables were investigated as part of the study.

Section 2: *Students' political attitudes and interests:*

This section contained a total of five questions, which aimed to measure Bahraini students' political attitudes and interest (see Box 4.1).

Box 4.1: The Political Attitudes and Interests Questions:

1. How much, if anything, do you feel you know about politics?
2. How interested are you in Politics?
3. How interested are you in local or domestic political issues?
4. How interested are you in regional political issues and events (for example: Palestine, Iraq and other parts of the Arab world)?
5. How interested are you in International or world political affairs?

These questions investigated their political interest in general and their interest in local, international and regional political affairs and issues. Drew and Reeves (1980a), among many researchers, examined the association between mass media use and political interest variables. These scholars found that interest in state, city and national public affairs is connected with local and national news viewing among audiences. In this study, the political interest question consisted of some items asking about the participants' interest generally in politics and particularly in local political issues and Bahraini politics⁶¹. The questions to measure the extent of political interest by the participants were derived from Drew and Reeves (1980a), Sigel and Brookes (1974) and Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996).

Sections 3: *Political knowledge and awareness:*

To measure the political knowledge of young Bahraini students, three kinds of question categories were applied in this study in a total of twelve questions, distributed as follows: five questions associated with local political information in Bahrain, four questions associated with Arabic and Islamic or regional political information and finally three questions related to international political information.

⁶¹ The same questions applied but with respect to the reign or nationality of researchers.

In addition, this section included two questions that asked the students for their views about their understanding of politics (see Box 4.2)

Box 4.2: The Political Awareness and Knowledge Questions:

1. Who is the Bahraini Foreign minister?
2. Who is the current Member of Parliament in your election area?
3. Which political society in Bahrain has the most members in the Parliament presently?
4. What is the length of a term of office for Bahraini Members of Parliament?
5. How many members are there in Bahrain's parliament?
6. Rajab Tayeb Ardogan is the president of which country?
7. Who is the Arab League secretary-general?
8. Nelson Mandela was the political leader of which country?
9. Who is currently the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom?
10. Who is currently the United States President?
11. Who is currently the President of Russia?
12. Who is currently the President of Iran?

The political socialisation scale was adopted from the Chaffee et al. study (1990). The political knowledge, interest and involvement questions were adapted or taken directly from previous empirical studies. Scholars and researchers have focused on political knowledge items such as the identification of political figures, recognition of political leaders' positions, and possessing knowledge about dimensions of politics. The questions to measure the respondents' levels of political knowledge were derived from different scholars such as Sigel and Hosking (1981), Lee (1984), Jennings and Niemi (1974 & 1981). Hyman et al. (1975) and Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996). The

compound score of political knowledge index was acquired from the summed scores of participants' correct or incorrect answers to the political knowledge questions.

Section 4: *Political Involvement in politics and political affairs:*

The students were asked eleven questions in order to measure their political involvement (see Box 4.3).

Box 4.3: The personal involvement in politics and political affairs Questions:

1. How frequently do you sign petitions?
2. How frequently do you boycott certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons?
3. How frequently do you urge someone to get in touch with a local councillor or MP?
4. How frequently do you present your views to a local councillor or MP?
5. How frequently do you go to political meetings?
6. How frequently do you take part in demonstrations?
7. How frequently do you picket or march?
8. How frequently do you donate money or pay a membership fee to a political party?
9. How frequently do you take active part in a political campaign?
10. How often do you discuss current political issues with any of your teachers?

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time. Others aren't that interested. *How often* would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs?

These questions were about certain political practices such as signing petitions, boycotts, political activities and demonstrations, pickets or marches and so forth.

Among the numerous forms of political involvement probable in a voting, democratic society (Zuckerman & West, 1985; Verba, Schlozman & Brady, 1995) and a political party, contacting an interest group, Congress, the White House or public officials have long been the most common acts of political involvement in the United States (Bimber, 1999). This study used this basic information to measure political involvement among Bahraini students: the survey asked participants about their engagement in a wide variety of political participations. The questions measured the extent of political involvement by the participants derived from Lyons (1970), Sigel and Hoskin (1981) and Jennings and Niemi (1998). A political involvement index was acquired from the summed scores of participants' responses to the political involvement.

Section 5: *Performance of the government and politicians and opinions about Bahraini political affairs:*

In this part of the survey, students were asked fifteen questions, of which six covered their opinions about the government's performance, while other questions were related to their opinions about politician, political affairs and the different authorities in Bahrain society.⁶² Besides, this section examined Bahraini students' trust towards their government and towards Bahraini politicians. These different questions were dispersed into different parts of the survey. This section was derived from the work of Rodgers (1974), Clarke (1973), Sigel and Hoskin (1981), Jinning and Nimmiemi (1981) and Miller, Miller, and Schneider (1980). In addition, other questions measuring trust or cynicism towards politicians were adopted from Kaid et al. (2000) and Rosenstone et al. (1997).

⁶²Look at APPENDIX 2 (p:360).

Section 6: *Use of traditional and new forms of media, including the use of television and newspapers and use of the Internet and perceptions of the news:*

This section contains nine questions including forty-one items targeting Bahraini students' use of these forms of media. There were twenty-three questions that aimed to measure the use of television, while ten items measured their use of the Internet. A further seven items targeted Bahraini perceptions of the news, whereas the remaining question measured newspaper use.

4.7.2.2 Use of traditional forms of media and perceptions of the news

This part of the research measured the participants' use of different media forms, whether traditional ones such as television, newspapers, radio and magazines or new media forms such as the Internet. Media use is defined as the frequency with which participants watched television in general, how frequently they watched some specific news channels such as Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera, Al Arabia and other channels in particular⁶³. Other media use is defined as the frequency with which participants watched local and international news and other kinds of programmes, and whether any of those channels were consistent with their views. Further questions asked the participants about their use of other traditional forms of media⁶⁴. Also, some items

⁶³ According to the different studies of political socialisation with respect to media use, the channels used depend on the respondents targeted. American researchers use America news channels and so forth. Hence, this study targeted Bahraini students due to the location of the study and targeted Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia news channels because they are famous and common news channels in Arabic countries. In addition, this study left empty space for students to fill in their choice of channels, then these choices were analysed manually in the results chapter.

⁶⁴ These questions and the measurement scales and tools available in appendix 2.

asked Bahraini students about their trust in Bahraini channels and other news channels.

The questions that measured the extent of traditional media use by the respondents were derived from Atkin and Gantz (1975), Delli Carpini & Keeter, (1996) and Jennings and Niemi (1998) and many of the scoring scales and questions were adopted from Chaffee et al (1990)⁶⁵.

4.7.2.3 Use of Internet

To investigate the use of the Internet among Bahraini students, the survey contained one part examining this by asking respondents about the frequency with which they browsed the Internet in general and in how often they specifically looked for news, whether local or international political news and issues. The survey also asked other questions about some specific uses of the Internet, such as email, discussion forums, chat groups and Facebook⁶⁶. The questions that measured the extent of respondents' Internet use were derived from the Pew Internet in American life project⁶⁷ and the general Web questions were taken from Ferguson & Perses. (2000)⁶⁸.

Section 7: Sources of news and political knowledge:

In this section, the students were asked five questions, including three sets of items that asked them about their sources of news and information in general, and their sources of political knowledge in particular. The participants were asked about their

⁶⁵ The bridging role of television in immigrant political socialisation. *Human Communication Research*, 17, 266-288.

⁶⁶ These questions and the measurement scales and tools available in appendixes 2.

⁶⁷ Daily Internet tracking survey: Nov and Dec. 2009. Available at <http://www.pewinternet.org/>

⁶⁸ The World Wide Web as a functional alternative to television. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 44, 155-174.

sources of political knowledge with regard to local political events and issues and international political events and issues. In all three sets of items, the participants were asked to choose among different options such as parents, teachers, religious leaders, friends, brothers and sisters and so forth and from different kinds of media. These questions that investigated sources of news and political knowledge among Bahraini students were derived from Hyman et al (1975) and Kowal (1998).

Section 8: *Sectarianism and tolerance:*

Sectarianism and tolerance here refers to young Bahrainis' opinions and feelings about the relationships among different groups in Bahraini society, mainly between Sunni and Shiaa, including attitudes and practices.

This study contained two questions that measured sectarian or tolerant responses towards others and also measured the perceptions of sectarian discrimination in Bahraini society. These questions were derived from Greenberg (1970a, 1970), Long (1976) and Abramson (1977). Other questions looking for the participants' opinions about sectarian integration were derived from Clarke (1973) and questions about sectarian distrust were derived from Colasanto (1988)⁶⁹. Finally, in the area of tolerance, questions were taken from Sigel and Hoskin (1981, p.247).

Section 9: *Interests and activities (meanly religious interest)*

This section aimed to measure religious interest among young Bahrainis. To obtain this target, it asked three questions, and other questions such as those about sources of

⁶⁹ The questions used in this study to measure sectarian attitudes among Bahraini students were derived from different scholars who applied these questions to measure the same problem in the form of racial attitudes.

information and political knowledge for Bahraini students were also relevant to his issue, as mentioned in section (7).⁷⁰

4.7.3 Administration of the Questionnaire

4.7.3.1 Method of Data Collection:

In total, 12 schools and 1,179 students were involved in this study, for which a questionnaire survey was administered by the researcher, who was present throughout the completion of the survey by groups of participants to ensure that the respondents could be encouraged to answer all the questions (Babbie, 1986) and to make certain that the respondents were not confused while filling the questionnaire (Babbie, 1995). In addition, according to Gunter, this kind of survey provides a 100 per cent response rate (2000).

Additionally, when administering a questionnaire in person, the researcher is able to note the participants' reactions to the questions, and through the interview method participants can be encouraged to answer all questions, and to do so as accurately as possible (Babbie, 1995; David and Sutton, 2004), and this is was very obvious during this study. There were very few errors or non-responses. Additionally, face-to-face interviews allow researchers to observe the participants in a way that helps them to measure understanding, follow up where it is useful to do so, add justification as needed and seek to expose the participants' accurate reactions, as supported by Singletary (1994).

While personal administration of questionnaires by the researcher is very beneficial, this approach requires more time to give details about the questions, and this makes face-to-face administration stronger and more appropriate for this type of

⁷⁰ Other outspread questions were used to support the main section in the survey 24 ,25,50,49 and 67.

study than other kinds of interviews (Ibid). Admittedly, this approach becomes more difficult when the research deals with large numbers of respondents; nevertheless, its benefits make this study and its results more powerful than others.

This research used face-to-face interviews to administer the survey among secondary school students in Bahrain. This study applied the same strategy for all participants in this study. Before starting, the researcher took 4 to 8 minutes to explain the object of this study as the first study of its kind in Bahrain schools, and explained the importance for everyone to give their thoughts and opinions about these issues that no one else had asked them about in school. Therefore, in spite of fact that this approach needed more time and effort, this strategy meant that the participants were more serious about completing every part of this survey and this was very obvious through their reactions and answers.

4.7.3.2 Pilot Study

A pilot study was undertaken with Bahraini secondary school students. It is widely considered that this is the best way to find out whether a research measurement is properly designed, to determine whether the survey approach is accurate, and to aid refine the survey items (Wimmer & Dominick, 1997).

Following the structure of the initial version of the questionnaire, a pilot survey of the original English-version questionnaire was translated into Arabic because the study targeted Bahraini students and their main language is Arabic. Then this translation draft was back-translated into English, to ensure that there were no differences in meaning or understanding. Both of these operations were completed by professional translators and of the two translations were identical.

Ten students were selected from different specialisms at Al Hedaya secondary school in Bahrain. The final draft of the Arabic version of the questionnaire was distributed among them. After explaining the aim of study, some of them started to read the questions and then to answer them, while others started to answer the questions directly. It was noted that most of the students were very interested in being involved in this survey, when they were asked why, they answered that it was the first time they had been asked their opinions on such sensitive and political issues.

The political knowledge, interest and involvement questions took time to answer, particularly the political knowledge, one as some participants had difficulty responding to them. This was mostly because the questions seemed to be a test of political knowledge. During the pilot study, the researcher reserved and tested the clarity and effectiveness of the survey and wrote down observational comments and questions or points that were raised by the students taking part, which led to a few modifications to the instrument, mainly in the wording of some questions to further clarify the questionnaire.

4.7.3.3 Data Gathering Period and Accumulation

Data for the survey were collected in Bahrain from April to May 2010 from twelve secondary schools spread over five governorates in the Kingdom of Bahrain. The students were interviewed in clusters as a class or more than one class in large halls in their schools.

4.7.3.4 Venue for the Data Collection

The survey was conducted in classrooms or in the large halls in the schools during school time. The procedure started with arranging appointments by telephone with these schools two weeks in advance, with permission from the Ministry of Education.

Then each school gave the researcher an exact time to apply this questionnaire, some of them in one appointment and others in two appointments. The participants started to answer the research questionnaire after the researcher's introduction, which included a definition of the research, and after explaining the nature of the research subject and purpose.

4.7.3.5 Time of Day for Data Collection

School hours in Bahraini government school are between 7.10 am and 1.15 pm from Sunday to Thursday. The school day is divided into two periods, the first being from 7.10 am until 10.30 am, and the second from 10.30 am until the end of the school day. Some schools ran this survey in one big group in the main hall under the researcher's supervision with some teachers to help the researcher to control the students, while others ran the survey in two groups divided between the two school periods. Each school sample consisted of almost 100 students from different specialisms and between the ages of 15 and 22. Each group needed 30 to 45 minutes to finish all survey questions. Nevertheless, two schools ran this survey over two days due to the pressure of the school day.

4.7.3.6 Checking the Completed Questionnaires

The researcher was present throughout the data collection process at each school to guide the students in case they needed explanations regarding any question in the questionnaire. The main aim of this approach was to identify any misunderstandings or confusion in order to resolve it immediately. The survey needed at least 25 to 30 minutes to complete, and if any students finished before that time, the questionnaire was checked to make sure it had been completed; most of the participants stated that they enjoyed participating in such surveys and they were keen to complete all

questions. Hence, just twelve respondents from a total of 1190 were excluded, either because their questionnaires were incomplete or because they were filled in incorrectly.

4.7.4 Analyses of Data

4.7.4.1 Focus Group Discussion Data

All focus group interviews were transcribed onto a computer database for analysis purposes: as pointed out by Morgan, ‘the fundamental data that groups produce are transcripts of the group discussions’ (1988, p. 10),⁷¹ and the data results of focus group was expressed verbally in qualitative form. Thus, the analysis of focus group data engages the researcher’s personal process of making sense of what was argued in the groups. Thus a ultimate written statement of the focus group discussion was constructed and discussed under the main topics and research questions that took place across the full set of groups, together with an explanation of the number of focus group interviews, and also the size and location of each focus group, the data and the time.

4.7.4.2 Survey Data

The survey data were analysed by computer using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS), version 18.0. In the context of statistical tests:

1. An independent-sample t-test was applied, which is appropriate while comparing the mean scores of continuous variables for two different groups of subjects (Pallant, 2007).

⁷¹ All focus group discussions were in Arabic and was translated into English.

2. A chi-square test of association was run, which is applied to determine whether or not two variables measured on nominal or categorical scales are correlated with each other (Colman, Briony, & Rod, 2008).
3. An ANOVA test (one-way analysis of variance) was applied: this test is designed for the analysis of data with three or more groups or conditions (Kinnear & Gray, 2009).
4. MANOVA tests (multivariate analysis of variance) were also used to test the effect of the independent factors in the study on the dependent variables of the study (Brace, Kemp, & Snelgar, 2009).
5. A Factor Analysis was run: this technique is used ‘for analysing the correlation between a number of variables in order to reduce them to a smaller number of underlying dimensions called factors and to determine the correlation of each of the original variables with each factor’ (Colman et al., 2008).

4.7.4.3 Significance Level

Ultimately, for all the analysis conducted in the research, the statistical significance was fixed at the 0.05 level. Singletary (2002) stated that this level “is a general standard to which most researchers subscribe” (pp. 198). This level is neither too conservative nor too risky, and has been observed to be followed by the majority of researchers who use this kind of statistical analysis.

4.7.5 Statement of Ethical Issues (Survey Research and Focus Group Interviews)

Before starting to undertake any of these research methods, the researcher signed the Research Ethics Form belonging to Leicester University; also, in Bahrain, before starting to visit the schools, the researcher signed another form related to research ethics, belonging to the Ministry of Education.

In both of these instruments the researcher was obliged to explain the details of the research, the objective and the aims of these methods, and the nature and time of respondents' participation. All participants were informed that they had full choice to contribute to the focus groups or the survey and were free to withdraw at any time. In addition, all participants were informed that they did not need to give their names, and that they should feel free to put forward any answers they believed without fear. Finally, all participants were notified that all focus group interviews would be recorded in order to derive the results and conduct the analysis, and they were made aware that the data would only be used in a fully confidential way and that they would not be identified.

4.8 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has provided a description of the research design. Then this chapter presented the nineteen research questions that were formulated for this research. Generally, this study design was based on two kinds of instruments, namely focus group interviews and a questionnaire survey. The choice of focus group discussions was made because of the nature of the research questions and the need to achieve a deeper understanding of the respondents' views. Furthermore, the survey method was selected due to its essential importance in communication research, its credibility and popularity in emerging scientific research and its successful application in the conduct of political socialisation studies. The population of the study consisted of participants

from twelve Bahraini secondary schools distributed across five governorates. As the research method for the focus group discussion, a set of pre-determined open-ended questions was formulated, while for the survey, a set of pre-determined closed-ended questions was applied among Bahraini secondary school students.

CHAPTER FIVE

FOCUS GROUPS ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The focus group interviews were completed between 10th and 20th of December 2009 in eight Bahraini Ministry of Education secondary schools, out of a possible twenty-five. This number included four boys' schools and four girls' schools, with eight students in each school. Thus, the total number of pupils who participated in this focus group study was 64: 32 boys and 32 girls. All focus group interviews were completed during school hours after seeking permission from all relevant departments of the Ministry of Education, including the Secondary Education Department and the Department of Scientific Research.

The focus group interviews consisted of eighteen questions⁷², and the average length of each focus group interview was one to one and a half hours. All interviews were recorded on a digital recording device after seeking permission from the school administration and students. All interviews were transcribed onto a computer database for analysis purposes.

The subject, purpose and objectives for the study were clarified for all participants before the beginning of the interview, and the freedom of participants to air their opinions or stay silent or withdraw was explained.

Among all the participants, just one preferred to stay silent rather than to withdraw in the middle of a session, while another student withdrew because he had an exam.

5.2 Analysis of the Focus Group Data⁷³

⁷² All focus group questions attached in Appendices 1.

⁷³ To know more about all focus group processes which have been used in this study, look at Fern (2001).

A comprehensive description of this method was presented in Chapter Four. The findings in this chapter will be combined with the findings derived from the survey instrument in Chapter Six and displayed analytically in Chapter Seven, in accordance with the main research questions.

5.3 Objectives

The focus groups were used to explore with young people in Bahrain their awareness and understanding of political affairs and the key sources of information about politics. This qualitative methodology facilitated an open discussion of political matters without constraining participants in the way they could respond. Focus groups do not comprise representative samples of the population from which they are drawn, but they can provide valuable insights into the way people talk about issues of interest in their own words. This approach was important in this research because there was a dearth of previous evidence to draw upon to guide the design of questioning about politics in Bahrain. Insights from this part of the study were used to support the design of the second part that used a more conventional survey design to examine political awareness and engagement.

These qualitative findings represent valuable data in their own right. Another purpose of this part of the study was to investigate the self-referenced agents of political socialisation and to map these onto the eight western models of political socialisation reviewed earlier in the thesis. It is worth reminding ourselves of these models and the agents of political socialisation they identified (see Table 5.1.).

Table 5.1: Predictors of Political Socialisation

Agents	M 1	M 2	M 3	M 4	M 5	M 6	M 7	M 8
Family	X	X	X	X	X			X
School	X	X	X	X	X			
Peers group	X	X		X				X
Geographical region		X						
Social class		X						
Community			X					
Government			X					
Media					X	X	X	
Religion		X		X				X
cultural socialisation								X
Ethnic		X		X				X
Close work associations				X				
Social group				X				
Tribal				X				
Book						X		
Magazine						X		

**M1=Hyman (1959). M2=Hess and Torney (1967). M3=Easton and Dennis (1969). M4=Dawson and Prewitt (1969). M5=McDevitt and Chaffee (2002). M6=Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006). M7=Lee (2006). M8= Zaff and Eccles (2008).*

5.4 Main Interviews Themes and Agents

The transcribed interviews were coded according to themes that have emerged through the focus group interviews. This chapter investigated the self-referenced agents of political socialisation among young Bahrainis, were got it throughout the focus group interviews. The prominent agents that emerged in these interviews are presented as a main titles in this chapter such as the influence of religious leader and organisation, family (parents), school and community. Also, other agencies such as TV, newspapers, new media tools and Government were illustrated as a main title.

Moreover, new agencies have been generated and suggested by young Bahrainis, however not mentioned in previous eight models. Such agencies included different titles underneath such as sectarianism and the use of media political matters and general activities format. All of these new agencies will be articulated in the summary table at the end of this chapter.

5.4.1 Family (Parents)

Focus groups interviews reported that 14 students stated that they got their information from 'people', especially from their *'father, mother, uncle and friends'*. One respondent from the Al Hedaia focus group –(M) stated, *'I ask my father because he is a reliable source of news for me .. I do not trust in the media because many of them publish rumours'*.

A large number of comments indicated that 'people', whether they were 'parents' or 'friends', were more trusted as a source of information than were 'newspapers' or 'television'.

Among the 64 students, just under half of the participants said that they knew one person or more in their family or the people around them who was involved in politics, whether in government or civic organizations, while the remainder said that they do not know anyone involved in politics.

All participants of both sexes in both the survey and the focus groups found this kind of question very surprising, because this is the first study examining this kind of topic throughout Bahraini schools. Therefore, some Shiaa participants, particularly boys, were really worried in focus group discussions about answering questions such as whether they knew anyone involved in politics, their opinions of the government or whether they were involved in any activities that benefited their community or their local area. This was because the majority of political problems that occur in Bahrain happen in Shiaa villages and areas, so

they were worried about giving information about any relation or any activities. However, while some focus group participants were very worried about answering some of the questions mentioned above in recorded face-to-face interviews, the participants felt freer answering the survey questions because their names were not required on the questionnaire. It should be noted that the majority of the participants knows many people in their family or community involving in this problem, so they hide any information they thought might affect their family directly.

Additionally, the answers for many of the questions were somewhat similar for both sexes. However, it was very obvious that the girls were far more daring in their answers in focus group discussions than were the boys, especially among Shiite students. The reason here might be that due to the greater pressure on the boys than on the girls, the girls felt more comfortable about offering their opinion freely.

5.4.2 School

A number of students said that their knowledge of politics came from their studies in school (Almuatana curriculum)⁷⁴; however, many students from different focus groups stated that they were not satisfied with this curriculum, either because it is not extensive enough or because of problems in the methods used to teach this kind of curriculum. These problems should be resolved by the Ministry of Education as it has the responsibility for both these issues in order to provide good opportunities that can help students to improve their political skills and abilities.

Some participants wanted to develop the education system and introduce political education to all schools in Bahrain.

⁷⁴Almuatana curriculum: Almuatana means ‘citizenship’, and this is one course taught in high school in Bahrain.

One question looked during focus groups interviews focused on how many students participate in any school activities, either as members or as officers. This question found that two-fifths of students participated in school activities, while thirty did not participate; eighteen students wanted to participate but they do not have the chance in their schools, as many boys in the East Riffa focus group said '*we do not have the opportunity in our school to be involved in any activities*'.

According to the students themselves, this matter depends on the school administration; while some schools have succeeded in involving students in school activities, others have failed. There is no discernible difference between boys and girls. This means that schools can play a significant role in political involvement among Bahraini students if they manage to increase the level of political knowledge and interest and thus political involvement among Bahraini students. This will improve students' interest and awareness and then increase their involvement in different political activities whether in school or in society.

5.4.3 Community

It can be noted here that it was very clear that the girls were far more daring in their answers than were the boys, especially in the Shiite school. Also, in response to students' answers, further questions asked them to clarify certain points, and a lot of them just repeated what they had heard in their communities, especially the Shiite students, without demonstrating any real understanding. For example, when I asked what they meant by a '*change in the constitution*' or queried their points about '*freedom in Bahrain*', some answered that they did not know. Moreover, in one Shiite girls' school, one girl said that she wanted one thing to change, which was for '*the relationship between the Shiites and naturalized citizens to become a normal relationship without enmity*'. Apparently she heard a dissatisfied reaction

from a fellow student when she expressed this opinion, which means that this kind of speech is not acceptable to some young Shia people. Nevertheless, the arguments during many of the focus groups indicated that most students want life to get back to normal but the political environment and some communities mobilized against this, particularly among people living in villages.

During focus groups discussion It was very obvious that, the influence of community on political knowledge and behaviour among young people in Bahrain is very significant particularly among young Shia people, because their community strongly linked with religious institution.

5.4.4 Religious Leader and Organisation

I'm very interested in politics, because I am a citizen and I represent a part of this people as a rights and duties, which engages our minds with what happening in the country, which be so closely to us. We live in a religious family and politics for me is a part of religion'. (Al Aahd Al Zaher focus group-F)

With regard to the previous citation, one can notice the extent of religious influence on the students. Additionally, 24 students, all Sunni, wanted to encourage people to '*adhere to the religion*' and wished '*to apply the law of God (Islamic rule) in the country*' (East Riffa focus group-M).

One question asked the participants about anyone in politics who they really admire or would wish to be like when they get older. The answers to this question clearly revealed the impact of religious, doctrine and the community on the participants' selections; therefore, general names will be mentioned rather than how they belong to a specific group. One name that was mentioned frequently was Barak Obama (four students); John Kennedy was mentioned once, as were the Syrian, Emirate and Omani presidents and Oprah Winfrey (the

famous American broadcaster); other names depended on the doctrine of the students. Sunni students admired foreign political figures such as Saddam Hussein (the former Iraqi president), Abdullah Al Nafisi (a Kuwaiti intellectual who is supportive of the resistance and liberation movements), Khalid Michal (President of the Political Bureau of the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas), Khattab (Arab field commander in the Chechen resistance against the Russians), Muhammad Abdulwahab (world religion founder of the Slafist called Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia), Abdullah Azzam (Arab field commander in the Afghan resistance against the Russians and a highly influential Palestinian religious scholar 1941-1989), Esmail Hanieh (President of the Hamas government in Gaza). They also admired some insider Sunni figures like Muhammad Khalid (a religious preacher, political and parliamentary Bahraini, who takes a hard-line position against Shiite violence and against Bahraini Shiite movements close to Iran) (two students), Jassim Al Saeedi (religious preacher, political and parliamentary Bahraini, takes a hard-line position against Shiite violence and against Bahraini Shiite movements close to Iran), and one big Sunni Society named the Al Eslah Society (two students).

Shiite students admired different politicians, such as Hassan Nasr Allah (the leader of Lebanese Shiite group Hezbollah) (eight students) and the Iranian president (four students), while they also admired some insider Shiite figures like Hassan Mushami (Shiite leader of the right, non-licensed by the State, with the views of young people calling for the use of violence against the state for the rights of the oppressed Shiite community as alleged) (seven students), Ahmed Al Esfor, Jalal Fayroz, Hussein Algallaf (Shiite political and religious figures) and one big Shiite political Society named the Alwefaq Society (two students).

The obvious effect of doctrine and religious community in the Sunni and Shiite students' selection can be observed here, as well as the kinds of politicians liked by the students, whether local politicians or foreign.

It is clear that the schools attended by mostly Sunni students, such as the Al Hed and East Riffa focus groups, suggested Sunni religious leaders or politicians, whether moderate or extreme, and a similar pattern was seen in the schools attended by mostly Shiaa students, such as the Al Aahd Al Zaher and Jedhafs focus groups, whereas in other schools that were attended by both sects, such as the Isa Town and Khawala focus groups, there were mixed answers. Nevertheless, just three students in the Al Hedaia focus group provided different answers: they stated that they admired *'Any person who has a clear principles and direction, and knows his way clearly, internally and externally'*.

Throughout these answers, it can be noticed that all students' answers were based on religious and sectarian perspectives, and the majority of them admired politicians or religious people, except a few students who had a more pure idea about the types of people who should admired.

Finally, it was very clear that, the Shiaa religious institutions and leaders abused the community, because they use it in served the sects not the nation or the country. For this reason one can find obviously that the answers of young Shiaa participants were very confused between the religious organisations and the community.

5.4.5 Government

Among all focus group participants, 11 students answered that they did not want to know more about any political issues, including how Bahrain was governed. Some of them suggested that they were *'not interested in these matters'* or that *'we do not need to know more about these things'*: these responses were frequent in many focus groups. Others found

their information about these issues *'to be sufficient, even if it was minimal'* (Al Aahd Al Zaher focus group-F).

Many students found they *'lacked information in all political matters'* and suggested that they needed to know more about everything. Other students in different focus groups alleged that *'we know what we have learnt from the Citizenship course curriculum at school'*. They said *'we have learnt about executive power (government), legislative power (parliament) and judicial power'*. All participants were asked about each type of power, such as that wielded by government or parliament; they seemed to confuse the concepts of the main authorities in the country, and only a few students remembered correctly.

Nevertheless, a large number of participants said *'we need to know more about executive power and the work of government'* including *'how the decisions apply to the people'*, while twenty students wanted to know more about *'legislative power'* and about *'the MPs' roles in society'*. Further, 15 students said they needed to know more about *'judicial power'*. Some naturalized students said that they *'did not have enough information about everything because we are new citizens'* (Kalefa Institute focus group-M). One girl suggested that *'we need to know more about our rights as citizens'* (Jedhafs focus group-F), to which another girl in the same focus group replied, *'what is the benefit of knowledge of rights without the benefit of them?'* A boy in the East Riffa focus group (M) clarified this problem from his perspective, pointing out that *'the errors are not made by us or by young people; the young know that if they could be heard and that this would have an effect, they would get moving and get involved, but we know that our voice will not be heard ... young people do not have an influence in society'*.

Some students suggested that *'we not interested in these matters because we did not get any benefit from showing an interest'* (Jedhafs focus group-F; East Riffa focus group-M).

Other participants alleged that *'we are not interested because we feel that our opinion and our political voice is not important'* (Khawala focus group-F); the same focus group also blamed *'the role of political elections'* because they cannot vote until they reach 22 years of age.⁷⁵

One student said that 'I am confident in the forums because I have the greatest confidence in the words of the people, rather than the words of the government'. Previous respondents indicated that new citizens and young people feel that the government do not provide them sufficient attention, as well do not supply them the basic country information for political rights in regards to citizenship or voting.

It was found that almost one fifth of students from the various focus groups were concerned about politics because it *'affects our future'* as they said, while fourteen students reported that they were not concerned about politics because they were not interested and thought that *'we are far away from politics so it does not affect us'* (Khawla focus group – F). Some students in several focus groups were sometimes concerned about politics for many reasons, such as the fact that government decisions might affect their future or that of their communities (East Riffa focus group-M; Al Hedaia focus group-M; Jedhafs focus group-F). The *'confrontation and burnings that occur in the country made us feel intimidated by the civil wars and conflicts'* (Khalefa Institute focus group-M), *'coups and security or regional wars'* (Khawla focus group-F).

Students in several focus groups (Khalefa Institute focus group-M and Khawla focus group-F) expressed their concern about these issues, but stated, in the words of one girl in the Khawla focus group, *'We tried to ignore it'*. Girls were more concerned about politics than were boys. The reason for their concern here is their thoughts about their lives in the future.

⁷⁵Different methods can be used to reduce the age for the right of vote to 18 years old.

Almost half of the participants from different focus groups understood politics as a relationship between government and citizens, government and judiciary or legislative parliament and the Shura Council⁷⁶.. Some students used the term '*ministries*' instead of '*government*', so they understood politics as a relationship between ministries (government) and parliaments and councils. Some students recognized politics as '*everything to do with the state*' (Jedhafs focus group-F). A lot of students from different focus groups said that '*politics controls everything in the state and in our life, laws and regulations*', and many of them also found their idea of politics to be more related to '*foreign politics*' such as relationships and problems among countries and wars. One student in Al Hedaia focus group (M) stated that '*Politics is a broad concept that depends on the political process in Bahrain, the parliament and foreign policy and relations between countries and the relationship of the people and government*'.

Furthermore, thirty-nine students suggested that they were interested in government and public affairs, while slightly more than half said that they were interested '*to an extent*' and some of them suggested that their interest '*depended on where students live*' (Al Aahd Al Zaher focus group-F) or depended on their '*social level*' (Kalefa Institute group-M).

Other students in several focus groups (Al Hed focus group-F; Kalefa Institute group-M) expressed almost same opinions, but alleged, in the words of girl in the Al Hed focus group, '*we are interested, but we can't do anything, so this problem makes us frustrated*', while yet other students suggested that '*our ages control our interest and concern*' (Khawala focus group-F).

⁷⁶Shura Council: Council consists of forty members appointed by the State, has the legislative powers shared by the Parliament with. Shura is the Islamic reformer in the government based on consultation and not exclusively the opinion.

Moreover, almost one-fifth of students suggested that they were sometimes interested and a few said they were moderately interested in the same matters; others also alleged that *'we were not interested, but as a result of events in our area, we have become more interested in these matters'* (Al Aahd Al Zaher focus group-F). Also, one fifth of students alleged that, *'because we are frustrated by politics in Bahrain, we do not care and we are not interested in these matters'* (Al Hed focus group-F).

It should be mentioned here that many students answered without verification and blamed the government all the time, whether their allegations were correct or not. Also, it should be mentioned that answers were somewhat similar for both boys and girls.

One student was concerned about *'coups on the ruling regime in the future ... the ambitions of the Iranian Foreign occupation of Bahrain'* (East Riffa focus group-M), while others suggested that *'the issue has affected the reputation of Bahrain and some students believe these actions are carried out by individuals who do not want stability for the country; they seek to discredit any demonstrations, so they move according to their own agenda'* (East Riffa focus group-M). Hence, some students said a *'lack of political awareness'* might lead to misunderstandings between Shiite people and the political system (government) in Bahraini society. Also, other students in several focus groups (Al Hed focus group-F; East Riffa focus group-M) expressed their concern about application of the law as stated by one girls in the Al Hed focus group *'the law is not strict, so the people acted with impunity'*.

It can be noted here that the focus group interviews were completed during December 2009, and all of the predictions made by students with respect of *'coups on the ruling regime'*, *'the ambitions of the Iranian Foreign occupation of Bahrain'* and *'individuals who do not want stability for the country'* have come about in Bahrain since February 2011 and are still happening at the time of writing in February 2012, which means that the students

were living these events and watching what was happening as a result of the sectarian strife from its inception, as it began to grow little by little until it exploded.

The same impression could be found among the majority of Shiite students, who had a pessimistic outlook, feeling melancholy and being against the state (government) without a reason; they found all the problems of the state were due to '*naturalization*' and '*the government*', indicating that nothing good occurred in the country because of '*the government*' and '*naturalized people*'. When asked about why or how, some answered but others did not. All participants felt that all of these issues affected their own lives, whether nowadays or in the future.

Furthermore, forty-four students, all Shiite girls, from different focus groups had specific demands stated in the words of one girls in the Jedhafs focus group, '*change the Royal family*' and for '*the ruler to be chosen through election and not be a hereditary position*'. Other students from different groups wanted to '*cancel naturalization*' because this would mean, from their point of view, the '*elimination of unemployment*'.

The focus group interviews for this research were completed in 2010, while the latest political unrest in Bahrain was in 2011; this means that the opinion of a large number of female Shia students about changing the Royal family in Bahrain came one year before the political unrest in which one of the main slogans raised in the demonstrations was the overthrow of the regime. This also means that the Shia students' socialisation will have changed significantly between the research being completed and the recent political unrest.

5.4.6 Old Media Tools

The next questions asked how much Bahraini students use and trust their domestic television news channels and newspapers.

'Newspapers' and *'television'* were cited by fourteen students (out of sixty-four who responded) and almost one fifth of students regarded these as trusted sources of information. One boy in the East Riffa focus group (M) suggested that *'... newspapers and television ... but I have more confidence in my parents'*. Eleven students expressed their opinions about watching TV in general they suggested that television is *'the main source of their information'*. Some girls in the Al Hed focus group –(F) stated *'I trust in the TV and the images but not newspapers or the Internet'*.

Nevertheless, many opinions from the Al Hedaia focus group (M) and the Al Hed focus group (F) concern about this issues, but claimed, in the words of one boy in the Al Hedaia focus group, *'we do not trust in our local media, if we need to, we watch international news channels such as Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabia because they present the news as it happens'*. So they watch television and trust in different international news channels but not Bahraini channels.

Moreover, Sunni students did not trust newspapers run by Shiite people and Shiite students did not trust newspapers run by Sunni people.

In general, 40 students trusted in some form of Bahraini domestic news, while 24 students distrusted all or some Bahraini domestic news. Students' answers to this question will be explained in more detail below. Thirty-eight students suggested that they trusted Bahraini newspapers, but more than half of them said that they only trusted them *'sometimes'*, *'not always'*. Just three students said that they trusted *'television'*, two of them *'sometimes'*, whereas almost one fifth of students did not trust in all Bahraini domestic news and five students from different focus groups alleged that *'check the news from other sources'* (Al Hedaia focus group-M; Al Hed focus group-F; East Riffa focus group-M), which indicates that they do not trust Bahraini domestic news implicitly.

It is noteworthy that Shiaa students who regularly read Bahraini newspapers always mentioned a specific newspaper named '*Al Wast*', which belongs to Shiaa people, while Sunni people mentioned other newspapers that belong to Sunni people, such as '*Akbhar Al Khaleej*', '*Al Ayam*' or '*Al Watan*'. This illustrates the existence of sectarian alignment and bias even between young people.

In addition, almost one-fifth did not trust '*Bahrain television*'. Furthermore, a few students do not trust 'newspapers', while another small number of them alleged that they '*do not follow the news at all*'. The answers to this question confirmed that boys trusted newspapers more than did girls.

Moreover, it can be mentioned here that Sunni students, whether boys or girls, trusted specific sources of Bahraini domestic news that were related to their community or their doctrine.

Additionally, the students' political participation in the use of media has changed considerably after the last political problem, because most of people have become involved in advocating for this cause from the viewpoint of their sects.

5.4.7 New Media Tools

In this section, students were asked how much Bahraini students used and trusted the websites, including electronic forums.

Twenty students trusted the Internet, particularly '*electronic forums*' (the most popular), while 24 students suggested that they did not trust all Bahraini domestic news, 18 of them did not trust the '*Internet*', particularly '*electronic forums*',

The answers to this question confirmed that the girls trusted the Internet and electronic forums more than did boys. Also, Shiite girls placed more trust in electronic

forums and one quarter of them suggested that *'we trust what we see in specific Shiite forums'* such as this comment from (Jedhafs focus group-F):

'I only trust the electronic forums; even if I see the news in another place, I believe only what I see on the forum'.

In addition, it is noted that after the recent political problems in Bahrain, the number of people using social networks has increased dramatically, as mentioned in second chapter.

These new forms of social communication have increased with the advent of a new generation of smart phones such as the iPhone and BlackBerry, which can be used to communicate messages via applications such as 'What's up?' making it easy to send and receive political messages and interact with other people and to move from the stage of using the media in political opinions to actively participating in demonstrations and political involvement. This became very obvious in Bahrain after 14 February 2011 in all communities and sects.

Moreover, in all, 22 students said they got their information about Bahrain affairs from the *'Internet'*, and four fifths of them gathered it from *'electronic forums'*. *'Newspapers'* were the second largest source of participants' information (almost one quarter of participants); some students alleged that they *'got their information from newspapers' webpages'* (Kalefa Institute focus groups-M), or *'international websites'* such as *'Aljazeera, Alarabia and the BBC'* (Kalefa Institute focus groups-M).

Currently, the Internet plays a major and significant role in young people's lives, particularly as the main source of information and thus in political participations in Bahrain. The Internet could be become more influential in the next few years with regard to its use in different social networks, such as Twitter, Facebook and so on. This kind of online political

involvement represents a major change in Bahraini society because many people of different ages have started to engage in this kind of political participation even in when viewed from the perspective of sect, particularly after the 2011 political unrest.

In other words, the Internet is no longer merely a source of information, but is also a source of mobility and participation in political activities, giving people the opportunity to invite, stimulate and incite political participation, and then to review and discuss the results. In addition, some people have used the Internet to introduce different political views and opinions, or, in some cases, to discuss different political programmes, which means something that has changed their opinion and led them to enjoy political involvement.

However, other students had a completely different outlook. Approximately half of the participants found the *'Internet'*, particularly *'electronic forums'*, to be *'more trustworthy'* than other sources of information, as stated by different students from several focus groups as follows: *'I trust the Internet more, because the television belongs to the government and it is impossible for it to present anything against the government'* (Jedhafs focus group-F).

Another student favoured *'Electronic forums ... enter (browsing) the (discussion) forum... and make sure about anything during the discussion'* (Kalefa Institute-M).

Other focus group students found *'people'* to be more trustworthy as a source of information, as many girls from the Al Hed focus group (F) stated: *'The nearest person, after that briefly and then the Internet for detail, the main source'*.

On the other hand, almost one-fifth of students said that they did not trust television, and nine students said that they did not trust the Internet or electronic forums; also five students alleged that they did not trust newspapers, and the same number alleged that they did not trust any of these sources.

Moreover, the girls trusted and used the '*Internet*' and '*electronic forums*' to get information about Bahraini affairs more than did boys, particularly in Shiite schools, whereas the boys trusted and used '*newspapers*' more than did the girls.

The data from the focus group interviews seemed to indicate that the Internet will become a more effective factor in political socialisation accompanied by television while other media forms, particularly traditional forms, such as radio and newspapers, will become less effective in the future among the younger generation.

5.4.8 Sectarianism

The issue of sectarianism is becoming increasingly obvious and more polarized and that in itself is a major problem.

In all, half of the students from different focus groups suggested that the biggest problem facing Bahrain today that they wished to change was '*sectarianism, discrimination, nepotism and cronyism*', and they wanted everyone to become '*equal at home without favouritism*'.

The majority of students found that '*sectarianism*' was the biggest problems facing Bahrain nowadays. They suggested that this problem was everywhere and started in the home, spreading to schools, universities and the workplace. It could be found among children, young and old people. In fact, almost one fifth of students found that other problems arose due to sectarianism, such as '*racism*' and '*discrimination*' between Sunnis, Shiites and naturalized citizens; a few Shiaa students alleged that '*these problems are also happening between Shiite people themselves*' (Kalefa Institute focus group-M).

The problem this finding reveals is that students in this age group have found sectarianism to be one of the major problems facing this small country. This means that this

problem will last for a second and third generation. Therefore, it is essential to seek a radical solution to the sectarianism in Bahrain society as this problem is becoming increasingly complicated, which will make resolving it more difficult with the passage of time.

While discussing this question, it appeared that the students' were influenced by their sects and their areas of residence. Some students understood the politics as the problems happening everyday between Shiaa people and the police, and the same understanding made a lot of them distance themselves from any political interest.

One question related with this section asked participants about people whose ideas are considered bad or dangerous by other members of the community, such as those who are against all newly naturalized citizens: students were asked 'if such a person wanted to make a speech in your community against them, should he or she be allowed to speak, or not?'

Twenty-eight students said that such a person '*should be allowed to say what they want*'; whereas slightly more than half of students said that '*they should not be allowed to say anything against other citizens*'. A small number of students did not answer this question. Nevertheless, 19 students from different focus groups suggested that '*they should be allowed freedom of expression to a certain extent*'; in other words, they can express their opinion, but within limits, '*words without attacking or infringing others*' and '*without exceeding the boundaries of religion and the legitimacy of the nation*'. Other students said that they would allow '*criticism within the limits of debate and dialogue*', provided it was '*without exposure to doctrine and is not a sectarian speech against Sunnis or Shiites or naturalized people because freedom of expression is guaranteed to all without abuse of other people*' (Isa Town focus group-M).

Four students had another opinion; they alleged that *'they could say what they want if they have the right'* and they noted that they were not against naturalized people, but felt that they took citizen's opportunities in life (Kalefa Institute focus group-M).

It is clear that the majority of students believed that all people in the country have the right to say what they want, as one girl in the Al Hed focus group focus group (F) pointed out: *'Let him speak as they he want, and if there are any replies, they should be given, because the suppression of speech may increase the problem and may make him feel persecuted, and then the problem will get worse. Everyone have this right but only if it does not harm others'*. Another student in the East Riffa focus group (M) felt that *'Full freedom of opinion may cause problems between Sunni and Shiites .. I would not let him'*, while another girl in the Jedhafs focus group (F) presented the main reason for her view as follows: *'I would allow him to express his opinion because this is an issue of personal freedom, but he must not show disrespect to others, because this might have repercussions and make matters worse'*.

If any researcher finds reluctance among young people in the area of politics, it likely that there is something wrong, whether inside society, from the government or both of them.

Additionally, it could be true that if this study had been conducted after the last sectarian political problem in 2011, the results might have been more radical from both sides. It would be difficult to test this assumption, however, because of the resulting sensitivity and acute rejection of alternative opinions, which might have led to confrontation.

5.4.9 Sectarianism and the Use of Media

The next topic is closely related to the previous one. It examines whether those people who suggested that any voice against other communities in Bahraini society should be permitted also think that this should be allowed on any form of media (T.V., newspapers, forum sites).

Thirty students from different focus groups suggested that they would not allow this voice to speak on any media forms, whereas two-fifths suggested that they would allow it. Eight students did not answer this question and the others suggested a wide range of comments; Twenty-eight students suggested that *'this kind of person could express their opinion, but with respect and without attacking others, without provoking hatred and without insults and infringements'* (Al Aahd Al Zaher focus group-F).

Other comments included the following: *'Anyone can express their opinion without exceeding the boundaries of religion and the legitimacy of the nation and without exposure to the doctrine and without regard to nationality to move away from sources of disagreement'* (Al Hed focus group-F).

A students in the Jedhafs focus group (F) suggested that they *'should be allowed a voice in electronic forums and newspapers, but not on television'* because television is much more popular than other forms of media. From the same viewpoints mentioned above, many participants in different focus groups (East Riffa-M; Al Aahd AlZaher-F; Al Hed-F) said that *'if they allowed this person to speak out, other people might have other opinions and might attack him the same way'*.

Overall, half of the students said that *'we do not have the same opportunities in our life as everybody else in Bahrain'*, while nineteen said *'yes, we do have the same opportunities as everybody'*. Fourteen students presented different answers to this question: some suggested that *'sectarianism exists and affects everything in the country'* (Al Hedaia focus group-M), but others (fourteen students) from the majority of focus groups said that

this *'depends on the people and their diligence'*. Moreover, eleven students suggested that there was *'discrimination, cronyism and nepotism in the country'* and *'people's family name might play an important role in their opportunities in life'* (Al Hedaia focus group-M).

Some students said that this problem was *'less prevalent than before'* (Kalefa Institute focus group-M), and yet other students said that there was *'unemployment'* and *'naturalized people take their rights'* (Jedhafs focus group-F). Girls were more pessimistic than boys, particularly in Shiite girls' schools. Also, the majority of students felt that nepotism, cronyism and sectarianism controlled different opportunities in Bahrain.

5.4.10 Political Matters and Affairs (Local and International)

The next most important issue, according to students' answers, was the *'confrontation between masked people and policemen'* and *'the accompanying sabotage and burning of garbage'*.

Some students were interested in internal and external politics, while others were interested only in international politics, and some were not interested in Bahraini and Arab politics at all. In my opinion, the kind of interest here is due to different effective factors, such as parents, region, and political culture. For instance, in Western culture, this issue would be seen more clearly in students' affiliation to a political party or in voting behavior, while in the East, it can be found in political interest or behavior.

One student who was more interested in international politics said *'International politics, as it affects a lot on the country from the interior problems such as crises and conflicts, and has an impact on the economy, the society and the people. Internal and external politics have an affect, but internal politics are the results of what is happening on the outside'* (Khalefa Institute focus group-M).

According to participants' answers, nineteen boys (out of thirty-two who responded) and twenty-four girls (out of thirty-two who responded) found politics to be more associated with internal occurrences such as confrontations that happened in the country, what was actually happening (negative and positive) in the country, such as internal problems, racism, doctrines and racial discrimination, defense of rights and freedom of speech. A few students found politics to be more related to education and the economic and health system in the country. Also, as mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, this kind of political understanding can be traced back to the student's political experience in their country or in their region; for instance, in some Western countries, political practices have supported the development of the country as it matures, while this is not the case in other countries because the political practices there are abused or misdirected by the regime or the people or both.

Almost half of the participants were interested in local politics; some of them said that *'we are more interested in this aspect than anything else because we live in this country and anything that happens will affect us'*, while almost one third of respondents suggested that *'we interested because there are many interior problems and all of them could affect us in the future'*.

'Foreign political issues affect local political issues. I say that because even the problems of vandalism are affected by other countries, to deliver their voice in the wrong way ... what happens inside is a reflection of the outside: we should care about local issues, but in ways that are more aware, because sabotage leads to a loss of reform and will not bring a solution to our situation' (Khawla focus group-F).

Almost one-fifth of respondents said they were only slightly or sometimes interested in these political issues, whereas fourteen students were not interested in these issues at all. For example, one students said *'We are interested in politics, but only in*

government decisions or other issues that benefit us or affect us directly' (East Riffa focus group-M). According to the students' answers, boys were more interested in local politics than were girls. The girls introduced different reasons to explain why they were not interested in politics, such as saying that *'burning of garbage and vandalism make us hate local politics'* (Khawla focus group-F). Other girls suggested that *'we knew the importance of politics; however, we try to avoid it because of interior political problems, so we focus on our studies at this age'* (Khawla focus group-F).

Another reason mentioned by girls in same focus group was that *'we know the importance of politics; however we do not participate in politics because it is partisan, sectarian and dominated by factional interests'*. One can notice here that the latest political unrest in Bahrain, which happened from 2011 until the current day, saw much sectarian and racist violence from different radical Shiaa political movements. This kind of political practices has caused many Bahrainis, whether Sunni or Shi'a, to hate political action because so much political action results in violence towards citizens and foreign labourers and the abuse of their political rights.

Some students alleged that they were not interested in politics because of a *'lack of information'* (Khawla focus group-F), while another girl in same school described this matter as follows: *'A few weeks ago I participated in one political activity (lecture), I was not interested in politics before that at all. After this activity my interest grew. Even though I live in Bahrain, I do not know what is going on around me ... after this activity my interest in local political issues began'*.

In all, more than half of the students suggested that they were interested in international politics and the same number found international politics more influential and more serious than local politics. Many students mentioned different areas of conflict such as

'Palestine, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran', which interested them more than other political issues, as mentioned by one student in the Isa town focus group (M), who stated that 'I am more interested in international political issues because I belong to the Arab and Moslem world: therefore I care more about issues related to Palestine and Iraq, and am more interested in international issues. Home issues are important but they do not affect us as much as external issues'.

Bahraini people have special sympathy towards Arab and Moslem issues in Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and elsewhere. Bahraini people feel that they are linked with these people by the same religion. This was proved in one study by Dhafer (1982:88).

Some students were not interested in politics because they were frustrated and they felt that local politics did not really count as politics, according to interior political problems and so on, as one girl pointed out: *'The problems in Bahrain related to doctrines .. externally because there are obvious issues of Moslems and non Moslems, while internally it is overwhelmingly about sectarian and partisan issues, so I stay away so as not to align myself with them'* (Khawla focus group-F).

This topic sought participants' opinions about whether political matters affect their own lives and, if so, how. It was found that ten students believed that political matters do not affect their own lives, whereas fifty-four other participants (84%) found themselves affected by political affairs and nineteen students found these matters to have a *'significant impact'* on their lives. A small number of students found that these matters affected them sometimes or had a moderate effect.

Those students who believed that political matters did not affect their own lives alleged that *'there are frequent problems in the city, but these problems do not have any effect because we are accustomed to them'* (Jedhafs focus group-F).

Other students who had the same idea said that *'if people keep themselves away from politics, it will not affect them and vice versa'* (Kalefa Institute focus group-M).

This answer confirmed what was stated previously, that is, that the negative outlook of political issues including political activities and so on lead many students to have a negative attitude towards politics, meaning they decide to avoid the issue as much as possible. On the other hand, if the students growing up in such environment learn to appreciate political practices and consider them as a positive thing in order to save their rights and to develop their society, this view might be completely changed.

As mentioned above, the majority of focus groups found that political matters affected their own lives because they lived in the country so anything that happened would affect them directly, whether in their personal lives or in society in general. One student from Al Hedaia focus group (M) stated that *'This matter depend on the nature of the family ... for example, if a person is associated with any particular case (Palestine, Iraq), his life and his family's lives will be affected directly when something related to these issues occurs...'*. One girl from the Al Hed focus group (F) said the same thing but emphasised internal issues instead of international ones, arguing that if any person in the family was involved in any incorrect political activities, like violence against the police, for instance, the whole family would be affected by the loss of that family member.

Other students from different focus groups were very concerned about children and about the relationship between young friends, because sectarian problems in society affected them directly. This is particularly evident in light of the most recent problems in 2011, which resulted in many sectarian clashes and violence among students in thirty schools in Bahrain, according to one report issued by the Bahraini Ministry of Education. Most of this violence targeted naturalized students.

Numerous students suggested during the focus groups that political affairs have an impact on *'family, study, work opportunities, and the state situation in different fields'* such as *'education and the economy, living and family stability, and thinking about the future if security is lost'*. Besides, many students are very concerned about *'their'* and *'their country's future'*.

It might be true that students are most concerned about the interior political problems between Shiite citizens and the state: for instance, events such as confrontation between Shiite masked groups and the police in different Shiite areas around the country, with the subsequent burning of rubbish, vandalism, sabotage and loss of security, have become almost everyday occurrences. On the other hand, many students were very concerned about interior political problems such as citizenship being granted randomly. Some students suggested that these matters affect children at their schools, and the level of the impact depends on the family, the location in which they live and whether the person was involved in political life or not.

Furthermore, some students found that *'International politics affected their lives more than interior issues'* (Khawala focus group-F). This means that some students will be aware of America's power to control many political events throughout the world, including Arabic and Moslem regions, whether in a negative or a positive way.

Some Shiite students said that *'If there is trouble or unrest in the village, there is panic and fear in all the houses of the village, especially among children and the elderly, because of the tear gas and other methods'* (Al Aahd Al Zaher focus group-F). Since the political unrest of 2011 up to the current day, many Shiaa families have spoken on television or radio or have published articles in the newspapers criticising this problem in their village and asking the government to remedy it. This indicates that many Shiaa families have lost

control over their children with some radical Shiaa movements having greater influence over their children than the families have.

The majority of students found that the *'new citizenship'* takes away their *'rights'* and *'opportunities in work'*, *'house projects'* and so on. Some Sunni students believed that *'what is happening in Bahrain is stupid because people are provoking problems without any reasons'* (Khawala focus group-F).

At this point, it is important to point out that the idea of random naturalization for foreign workers and its impact on the Bahrainis people is supported by the majority of Bahrainis; nevertheless, some Shia movements deal with this political problem by racist methods including killing a group of foreign workers, violent assault on another group and attack on the property of other categories. This type of incident has been common since 2011. A small number of students found that a *'lack of information about internal politics has made us care less about politics'* (Khawala focus group-F). This answer displays a great similarity in views between boys and girls.

On the other hand, another category of participants found that external interference in Bahrain, particularly from Iran, was the most hazardous influence, and some students were concerned about *'national identity'* and *'affiliation'* and a *'lack of loyalty'*, which was abused by some people who wanted to achieve their own agenda. Other students in this category were concerned about *'the issue of wars'* in general, particularly *'regional wars'* such as the war between *'the Houthis (a Yemeni Shiite group) and Saudi Arabia'* (East Riffa focus group-M), which might affect other countries with Shiite communities in the Middle East, such as Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Lebanon.

5.4.11 General Activities Format

The participants were asked if they were involved in any activities that benefit their community or their local area.

Overall, slightly less than half of the students said that they were involved in different activities outside school, while half of them alleged that they were not involved in any such activities. A small number of students did not answer this question, and few girls suggested that *'we want to be involved, but we do not know how or where'* (Jedhafs focus group-F).

Some students in Shiite schools (including the 6% who did not answer this question), both boys and girls, had security fears about answering this question.

It can be noted here that the number of students participating in school activities is very similar to the number participating in activities in the region or community. The last answers refer to a class of students who like activities and seek to participate and another which does not want to participate in such activities, whether inside or outside the school, either because of concerns over their studies or because of a lack of desire to participate.

5.4.12 Summary of the Comparison between Early Models and Focus Groups Interviews

Table 5.2 demonstrated that three categories of agents. Firstly, is the agents identified by four early models. Secondly, is the agents identified by four new models, while the last categories are the agents identified by the thesis focus group interviews.

Table 5.2: Comparison of Political Socialisation Agents of Models to Focus Groups Results

Agents of Political Socialisation	Agents identified by Four Old Models	Agents identified by Four New Models	Agents identified by Focus Groups
Family	X	X	X
School	X	X	X
Peers group	X	X	
Geographical region	X		
Social class	X		
Community	X		X
Government	X		X
Old Media Forms		X	X
Religion, Religious Leader and Organisations	X	X	X
Cultural socialisation		X	
Ethnic	X	X	
Close work associations	X		
Social group	X		
Tribal	X		
Book		X	
Magazine		X	
Politician			X
Activities			X
Political Matters and Affairs			X
New Media Forms			X
Sectarianism			X
Sectarianism and the Use of Media			X

This table presented new agencies that influence young Bahrainis political socialisation, some of which were related to earlier and others to new models such as family, school and religion, while some of them were related to variables in old and new models such as peer groups and ethnic groups. In addition, table 5.2 illustrated few new agencies that have not been mentioned in the previous eight models, such as political matters and affairs, sectarianism and sectarianism through new media forms and general activities format. The

evaluation of all these models agents and their comparing with this thesis finding will be presented in the discussion chapter.

However, the family and the school still maintain their role among young Bahraini's, while the peer groups were replaced by other agencies such as community, government (political system). Also, as expected, the role of religious institutions or leaders became more effective than before.

The new factors raised here is the considerable influence of sectarianism among young Bahrainis. The importance of this agent became very serious due to the abuse of religious organisations, leaders and community particularly among Shiaa people.

Not surprisingly, the influence of the role of tribal in political socialisation among young people of Bahrain was minimal or absent, even the fact that this country is located among tribal Arab Gulf countries. This matter happened due to the diverse immigrations during previous decades which dissolved this kind of influence, nevertheless, this kind of agency could affected surrounding Arab Gulf countries more than Bahrain such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar of which are still keeping the role of tribal.

5.5 Summary of the Chapter

To sum up, the responses given in these focus groups revealed that these students had excellent political knowledge about the real problems that face Bahrain today, and they were factual and accurate in all political aspects, whether or not they were interested in politics.

In addition, more than 40% of these students were involved in different political? activities, whether at school or in the community. Additionally, almost half the participants said that they knew one person or more who was involved in politics; Bahrain is a small country and

the population is not large, so it is no surprise that many citizens have various relations and know a lot of people in different areas, even if they are not related.

In general, many of the students expressed frustration; however, the boys seemed to cope with these frustrations better than did the girls, according to their answers. Furthermore, the main concern for the majority of participants, both boys and girls, was interior political problems between Shiite citizens and naturalized citizens, such as the burning of garbage in the streets, vandalism and sabotage, particularly in Shiite areas around the country. They felt a lack of security and an uneasy coexistence between Sunni and Shiites citizens.

No one can ignore the serious problem facing Bahrain and mentioned by the majority of participants, which is the obvious effect of doctrine and the religious community on the Sunni and Shiite students. The answers to the question that asked them to name a politician they really admired or would wish to emulate highlighted the powerful influence of community and doctrine on their selections. The majority of students found sectarianism to be the biggest problem affecting their lives everywhere; even the foreign Sunni students concerned came from Iran, which is a Shiite country.

Moreover, it was recognized that the Shiite students' answers differed from one school to another depending on where they lived. The students who were living in purely Shiite villages answered more radically than others who lived in mixed areas.

Finally, different students' answers elucidated the fact that the majority of students, both Sunni and Shiite boys and girls, found that Bahrain suffers from other problems that might affect their opportunities in life, such as unequal opportunities among citizens.

It should be noted that it is not possible to generalize the results regarding the difference between West and East in political socialisation agencies, nor regarding the nature of the demographic characteristics, regional culture and religion. For instance, the nature of

parental influence in the East maintains its role throughout people's life, while in West, both boys and girls become independent at the end of adolescence.

To sum up, this kind of method in political socialisation research suffers from a lack of use in general. This is caused by the difficulty of comparing the results of this study with those of other studies whether by acceptance or rejection.

CHAPTER SIX

PREVALENCE OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AMONGST YOUNG PEOPLE IN BAHRAIN

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the survey conducted among 1,178 young Bahraini students. It describes the sample demographics and analyses and discusses respondents' interest in politics, political awareness and knowledge, political involvement, opinions about the Bahraini government, trust in Bahraini politicians and the government and participants' sources of information. This chapter also describes the sample demographics and analyses and discusses the different impacts of political agencies on Bahraini young people, particularly those with religious interest. In addition, this chapter examines the spread of sectarianism among young Bahraini students.

Despite the fact that the topics of political socialisation, civic culture, nationhood and the sense of nation-building are all new concepts in the Arab Gulf states (Dhafer, 1981:75), Bahraini students show more concern and interest in dealing with these topics, according to research completed in Arab Gulf states, with greater involvement than young people from other Arab Gulf states⁷⁷. As Dhafer stated, "Politically, the students, with the exception of the Bahrainis, are not active – the liberation of Palestine did not figure prominently in their goals – but they may well reflect the actual policy of their governments" (1982:88). This means that Bahraini young people are more likely to interact with political issues than their counterparts in other Gulf countries.

⁷⁷Al-Salem (1981) and Dhafer (1981, 1982) completed three studies in Arab Gulf states with regard to political socialisation among five of the six countries in the Gulf. In all of them, the respondents in Bahrain showed dramatically higher political interest than those in other the Gulf countries.

This survey⁷⁸ was conducted among Bahraini young people from 12 secondary schools out of a possible total of twenty-five secondary schools in Bahrain from April to May, 2010. The twelve schools were spread over five governorates in the Kingdom of Bahrain. A total of 1,190 students were contacted. Twelve respondents were excluded either because their questionnaires were incomplete or because they were filled in incorrectly. Data were analysed using the SPSS Statistical Package, generating both descriptive and inferential statistics.

Essentially this chapter is really concerned with measurement of general political interest, knowledge and involvement among survey respondents and how this was related to their demographic attributes.

6.2 Demographic Characteristics

6.2.1 Age and Gender⁷⁹

⁷⁸The survey included 68 questions, all of which have been approved by numerous scholars and researchers since the 1970s. For further details of the validation of the instrument, please see Methodology chapter.

⁷⁹Dhaher pointed out that “In Arabic the word for young children is *Jahil*, which means ‘ignorant’; this term is used until they are approximately 14 years old”. He added that “Children are not encouraged to express themselves or to entertain independent ideas, much less to comment on social or political beliefs” (1981: 67). He pointed this out in order to explain the marked contrast between the Arab Gulf states and the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy, and Mexico, from which participants aged 9 to 13 were chosen by Almond and Verba to participate in their study of civic culture. In my opinion, it might be correct that the students are not encouraged to express themselves or their opinions; however, this has now changed in some countries, while remaining the same in others, which means that the problem in this matter is located in the countries and their policies and freedom, as the young people in the Arab Gulf states or other Arab countries have full ability and knowledge to represent their opinions on different issues. This was very clearly evident in this study.

Suleiman (1985) found that boys were more likely than girls to be familiar with the definitions of political parties in Morocco (p: 131) and to give higher ratings to politicians than did girls among six professions (p: 138); however, he found little difference between boys and girls in their attitudes in general (ibid). Meanwhile, Dhaher found that the females ‘took a more serious attitude to the questionnaire than did the males’ (1981:67).

The present survey collected demographic data on age, gender, the education and occupation of mother and father and residential area⁸⁰. Respondents were divided almost evenly between females (52.8%, N= 622) and males (47.2%, N = 556) (See Table 6.1).

All respondents were aged between 15 and 22 years. Most respondents were aged 15 to 17 years (74.4%), with others aged between 18 and 22 (25.6%). Unequal ratios in the age of participants were due to the fact that the normal age of the target group at the secondary level is typically between 15 and 17 years old. If they are older than 17, then this could be either because they entered school at a later age or due to failure of any year of the school stages.

Since it was unlikely that a random or representative sample could be drawn, a number of schools that were judged to be typical of the school population in the governorates were chosen⁸¹.

⁸⁰ First, I could not collect individual information on the students’ socio-economic status because of privacy issues and the age of the respondents. Second, Niemi and Junn (1998) use one indicator of education for both parents in their study ‘‘Study of political socialisation in high school p: 74’’.

⁸¹The technique is known as ‘‘judgment sampling’’. For this and other sampling methods, see Eckhardt and Ermann (1977).

Table 6.1: Age and Gender Distribution of Respondents

Gender			
Age	Males	Females	Total
15-17	391(33.1)	486(41.3)	877(74.4)
18-22	165(14.1)	136(11.6)	301(25.6)
Total	556(47.2)	622(52.9)	1178(100)

6.3 Parents' Level of Education

Table 6.2 shows that almost half of the fathers and mothers of the participants had obtained a secondary level of education. The percentage of parents who had completed their postgraduate degrees, whether Masters' or PhD degrees, was very low, particularly for participants' mothers. Moreover, the percentages of those who said that they did not know the level of education for their parents or that their parents had less than secondary education was quite high.

Table 6.2: Distribution of Respondents by Level of Mothers' and Fathers' Education

Gender			
Mother's Education level	Males	Females	Total
Secondary	299(25.6)	357(30.6)	656(56.2)
Diploma	59(5.1)	51(4.4)	110(9.4)
Bachelor	77(6.6)	60(5.1)	137(11.7)
Postgraduate (Master, PhD)	15(1.3)	13(1.1)	28(2.4)
Don't Know or other	98(8.4)	138(11.8)	236(20.2)
Total	548(47.0)	619(53.0)	1167(100)
Father's Education level			
Secondary	249(21.4)	282(24.2)	531(45.6)
Diploma	66(5.7)	64(5.5)	130(11.2)
Bachelor	85(7.3)	89(7.6)	174(14.9)
Postgraduate (Master, PhD)	56(4.8)	60(5.2)	116(10.0)
Don't Know or other	96(8.2)	118(10.1)	214(18.4)
Total	522(47.4)	613(52.6)	1165(100)

() Figures in brackets are percentages.

6.4 Mothers' and Fathers' Occupations

The result shows that the biggest single percentage of the fathers of respondents (48.64%) worked as public servants, followed by private servants (18.93), and then in their own business (11.03%). Around one in six (17.13%) were retired and only a few (2.12%) were unemployed. Among the mothers of respondents, a majority (62.99%) were unemployed. Among those who did work, the biggest single percentage (17.83%) worked in public sector

employment, with others worked in the private sector (6.03%) or in their own business (4.84%). Others (7.4%) were retired.

Overall, the majority of participants' parents, whether male or female, reportedly worked in the public sector (66.47%), whereas the minority of participants' parents belonged to the free business sector (15.87%).

6.5 Political Interest

Table 6.3 shows that the Political Interest score among young Bahrainis was at 58.7%. Here, participants were asked five questions about their feelings about politics, and other questions about their interest in local, regional and international political issues. Overall, 78.6% of participants said that they were 'quite interested' in politics, whereas a few were 'not interested' (14.5%) or 'very interested' (6.9%) in politics. In the same section, the majority of respondents said that they were quite or very interested in regional political issues such as Palestine and Iraq (92.7%), local political issues (90.2%) and international political affairs (85.7%).

Table 6.3: Political Interest, Knowledge, Involvement, Opinions about the Government and Trust in Politicians

Variable	Mean	S.D.	Mean weight%*
Political interest	11.74	2.925	58.70%
Political knowledge	4.695	2.317	39.13%
Political involvement	27.084	8.271	50.15%
Opinions about government	26.222	5.259	62.43%
Trust in politicians	19.758	3.968	61.74%

* The mean weights are computed according to this formula: variable mean/ highest score for the variable X
100.

6.6 Political Knowledge⁸²

The total Political Knowledge score is the sum of the correct answers for 12 knowledge questions. To measure the political knowledge of Bahraini young students, three kinds of questions were applied, distributed as follows: five questions associated with local political information in Bahrain, four questions associated with Arabic and Islamic or regional political information and finally three questions related to international political information.

Table 6.4 illustrates that less than two-thirds of respondents gave the correct answers to questions associated with the length of a term of office for Bahraini members of parliament (60.7%) and the number of members in Bahrain's parliament (60.5%), and only just over half knew the current member of parliament in their election area (51.7%). Other questions on local political issues recorded low knowledge, particularly in respect of the

⁸² The questions used in the political knowledge section have previously been approved by many researchers undertaking similar research; nevertheless, the kinds of questions depend on the location of the researcher, which means that American researchers have used questions relevant to their society, while European researchers include British ones, have used questions related to their political culture and so on.

name of the political society⁸³ that has the most members in the parliament (33.2%) or the name of the Bahraini foreign minister (20.5%).

The next four questions measured young Bahrainis' knowledge of regional political information and revealed that more than three-quarters of the students participating knew the president of Iran (79.1%) and more than half of them known that Rajab Tayeb Erdogan is the president of Turkey (53.1%), slightly more than a third knew that the Amro Mosa is the name of the Arab League secretary-general (37.8%) and less than a third knew that Nelson Mandela was the political leader of South Africa (32.3%).

Even though the majority of participants knew the name of the American president (89.4%), almost three-quarters did not know the name of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (16.8%) or the current president of Russia (13.6%), which indicates a lack of knowledge of international political information.

⁸³Political society in Bahrain means 'Political Party', this is because that political party's role not authorised and not organized yet in Bahrain and in Gulf states in general. Nevertheless, Bahrain is the only Gulf country in which they operate political societies in accordance with the law.

Table 6.4: Political Knowledge of the Bahraini Young People

Questions	Frequency (Correct answers)	Percentage (Correct answers)
The United States President?	1053	89.4%
The current President of Iran?	932	79.1%
The length of a term of office for Bahraini Members of Parliament?	715	60.7%
The number of members in Bahrain's parliament?	713	60.5%
Rajab Tayeb Erdogan is the president of which country?	626	53.1%
The current Member of Parliament in their election area?	609	51.7%
The name of the Arab League secretary-general?	445	37.8%
The political society that has the most members in the Parliament presently?	391	33.2%
Nelson Mandela was the political leader of which country?	380	32.3%
The Bahraini Foreign minister?	241	20.5%
The current Prime Minister of the United Kingdom?	198	16.8%
The current President of Russia?	160	13.6%

6.7 Political Involvement (Personal Involvement)

Table 6.3 shows that the political involvement scores among young Bahrainis was (50.15%).

The participants were asked eleven questions in order to measure their political involvement.

These questions were about certain political practices such as signing petitions, boycotts, political activities and demonstrations and so forth.

As shown in Table 6.5, among the eleven practices of political involvement, almost half of the respondents said that they carry out some political involvement practices either ‘quite a lot’ or ‘sometimes’ more than others, namely boycotting certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons (82.2%), following what's going on in government and public affairs (72.1%), signing petitions (65.3%), discussing current political issues with any of their teachers (63.9%) and picketing or marching (51.8%).

On the other hand, the same table shows that more than half of the Bahraini young people had never carried out several of these forms of personal political involvement, namely attending political meetings (68.8%), presenting their views to a local councillor or MP (68.5%), taking an active part in a political campaign (59.5%), taking part in demonstrations (58.6%), donating money or paying a membership fee to a political party (57.8%) and urging someone to get in touch with a local councillor or MP (56.4%).

Table 6.5: The Political Involvement Practices of Bahraini Young People

Political Involvements Practices	Never	Only Sometimes	Quite a Lot
Attend political meetings	68.8%	27.7%	3.5%
Present your views to a local councillor or MP	68.5%	27.5%	4.1%
Take an active part in a political campaign	59.5%	34.9%	5.6%
Take part in demonstrations	58.6%	33.7%	7.6%
Donate money or pay a membership fee to a political party	57.8%	34.9%	7.3%
Urge someone to get in touch with a local councillor or MP	56.4%	40.4%	6.1%
Picket or march	48.2%	41%	10.8%
Discuss current political issues with any of your teachers	36.1%	55.8%	8.1%
Sign petitions	34.7%	53.6%	11.7%
Follow what's going on in government and public affairs	27.9%	59.6%	12.5%
Boycott certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons	17.8%	59.4%	22.8%

6.8 Government Performance

The results indicate that 62.43% of Bahraini young people were satisfied with their government's performance. This meant that more than half of participants were not satisfied with some government policies. In this part of the survey, students were asked six questions related to their opinions about government performance. The results demonstrate that the majority of respondents had an interest in what is going on in government and public affairs,

whether they have some interest (66.4%) or a lot (26.1%). More than half of young Bahrainis agreed with the statements “People in the government don’t care much about people like me” and “People don’t have a chance to say what they think about the government”.

Although many of students said that the people responsible for public affairs usually know what they are doing either sometimes (55.8%) or always (31.3%), many of them said that people running the government are only a bit qualified (60.9) or not qualified at all (29%). During this part of the research, the participants were asked three questions to measure their trust of people in general and of the Bahraini government and public officials specifically. The results revealed that the government was trusted by 79.7% of young Bahrainis, either sometimes (67%) or always (12.7), while public officials were not trusted at all (33.6%) or only trusted a bit (61%). On the other side, the participants said that in general, only a few people can be trusted (68.2%) or quite a lot of them can be trusted (22.3%).

6.9 Trust in Politicians

Political scientists agree that political trust is essential to any political system because it is conducive to system stability in that it provides discretionary power for political elites (Al-Salem, 1977:23). This means that the association between government performance and trust in politician is complementary and very strong.

Table 6.3 shows that trust in politicians among young Bahrainis is 61.74%, which was fairly good and close to the previous mean weight, which explains young Bahrainis’ opinions about government performance, including three questions that tested their trust in government and public officials and people in general (62.43%). Al-Salem (1977:26) found that trust in government tends to have a weak relationship to trust in people in general, and this study has found that this relationship is very weak. Al-Salem (1977) also found that Kuwaiti students were not ‘distrustful’ of their government but did not feel that the

government is ‘unresponsive’. He found a comparatively strong relationship between government responsiveness and student’s confidence in their political ability.

It is true that the gap between 1977 and 2010 is long, and hence a lot of political and other matters have changed throughout this period, particularly in Kuwait and Bahrain, because they are the two countries in the Arab Gulf who have almost fully democratic systems. However, Al-Salem’s findings indicate that students have felt free to criticise their governments since the 1970s and even before that, according to the movements for national liberation from colonization, which had been demanding political reform. These movements arose in the middle of the last century.

6.10 Gender Differences

Carpini (2000) found that both sexes were low interested in politics or public affairs, less knowledgeable about the matters or processes of politics and less likely to participate in politics further than voting (P: 341,342) Nevertheless, Prough (2008:62) argues that gender differences in political knowledge are also important, with reference to a number of studies (see, for example, Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson 2006; Delli, Carpini and Keeter 1989; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995; Verba, Burns and Schlozman, 1997; Burns, Schlozman and Verba, 2001) which consistently find that men are more knowledgeable than women about politics and government.

Table 6.6 shows that there were significant differences between males and females in political interest, political knowledge, political involvement and trust in politicians. These results showed that Bahraini males displayed more political interest, greater political knowledge, greater political involvement and greater trust in politicians than did Bahraini females. This finding is in agreement with Prough (2008, p.75) with regard to political

knowledge, but not with regard to trust in politicians, because Prough found no gender gap in political trust between boys and girls (p: 103).

The prominent finding here was the number of students who were interested in politics, whether they were males or females. The survey results show that a total of 76.2% of participants said that they were not very interested (61.7%) or were not interested at all (14.5%) in politics. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the numbers of participants of both sexes who were interested in domestic (37.5%) and regional political issues (50.8%) more than international political affairs (12.6%).

Table 6.6: Gender Differences in Political Interest, Political Knowledge, Political Involvement and Trust in Politicians

Factor	Males		Females		T value	P. Value
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		
Political interest	12.49	3.05	11.07	2.62	8.522	0.001 [*]
Political knowledge	22.32	4.64	20.26	4.02	8.053	0.001 [*]
Political involvement	29.04	8.91	25.33	7.23	7.729	0.001 [*]
Trust in politicians	20.52	3.74	19.08	4.04	6.328	0.001 [*]

The figure were marked by () is significant*

6.11 Age Group Differences⁸⁴

The results shown in Table 6.7 demonstrates that there were significant differences between respondents aged 15-17 and those aged 18-22 in their reported political interest, political

⁸⁴ To compare the age groups, t-tests were used to compare age groups in political interest, political knowledge, political involvement and trust in politicians: the results of the analysis are displayed in table (.1. Responders were grouped into two levels of age as follows: Teenagers: 15-17 and Young Adults: 18-22 years.

knowledge and political involvement, in favour of the 18-22 year age group. This result means that young Bahrainis aged between 18 and 22 years have more political interest, political knowledge and political involvement than those aged between 15 and 18 years.

This finding contradicts that of Al-Salem, who suggested that students “gradually lose the sense” of political involvement in their self-concept as they get older (1981). However, other research in Western countries, such as the work of Roberts, Pingree and Hawkins (1975), agrees with this study, finding that older children were more likely than younger children to be involved in communication behaviours relevant to politics, to have additional knowledge about ‘parental party affiliation’, and to be more accepting of ‘inter-party conflict’. The same table also shows that there were significant differences between respondents aged 15-17 and 18-22 in trust in politicians in favour of the 15-17 year age group. This means that young Bahrainis aged 15-17 have more trust in politicians than do those aged 18-22.

Table 6.7: Age Group Differences in Political Interest, Political Knowledge, Political Involvement and Trust in Politicians

Factor	15-18		18-22		T value	P. Value
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		
Political interest	11.612	2.924	12.116	2.903	-2.586	0.01*
Political knowledge	21.070	4.434	21.723	4.435	-2.194	0.05*
Political involvement	26.745	7.944	28.051	9.112	-2.193	0.05*
Trust in politicians	19.909	3.938	19.329	4.034	2.190	0.05*

The figure were marked by () is significant*

6.12 Comparisons between Areas of Residence⁸⁵

⁸⁵ To investigate the comparison between residence area groups, a one-way analysis of variance design was used, with area as the independent variable (six areas) and the four factors as the dependent variable.

While the tables below show that there were no significant differences between residence areas in terms of political interest, political knowledge and political involvement, they also show that there were significant differences between residence areas in terms of trust in politicians ($F=7.031, p<0.001$).

The results indicate that the participants from the Southern Governorate ($M=20.79$), followed by the Muharraq governorate ($M=20.18$), had more trust in politicians than did the participants from the other Governorates. The Central Governorate ($M=18.99$), the Capital ($M=19.34$) and the Northern Governorates ($M=19.39$) had the least trust in politicians. This finding contradicts, in part, Ross's (1973) findings. Ross argued that living in rural areas was positively related to political participation⁸⁶.

6.13 Parents' Education Levels⁸⁷

Respondents were grouped into six residence areas. These groups are Muharraq governorate, Capital governorate, Central governorate, Northern governorate, Southern governorate and those who did not want to mention their area of residence. Following that, a post-hoc comparison of means of the four factors across the six areas of residence was conducted using Scheffe's method.

⁸⁶ In analyses related to areas of residence, it is very common to use divisions such as 'rural areas', as mentioned before, because some governorates in the Kingdom of Bahrain contain clusters of Shiaa villages, while others are occupied by Sunni people, and this could help the reader to understand the differences between governorates according to the nature of the doctrine and the political culture.

⁸⁷ To answer this question, ANOVA was used to compare parents' education levels and political interest, political knowledge, political involvement and trust in politicians. The results of the analysis are displayed in Tables (6.8). Further, to investigate the comparison between the fathers' education levels, a one-way analysis of variance was used, with father's education as the independent variable (four levels) and the four factors as the dependent variables. Respondents were grouped into four levels of fathers' education, namely secondary level, Diploma level, Bachelor level and postgraduate level.

The result of the ANOVA comparison⁸⁸ demonstrates that there was no significant relationship between fathers' education levels and trust in politicians. On the other hand, there were significant relationships between fathers' education levels and political interest ($F= 5.159, p<0.001$), political knowledge ($F= 6.116, p<0.001$) and political involvement ($F= 4.259, p<0.01$). As shown in Table 6.8, the results indicate that respondents whose fathers have postgraduate education show significantly higher political interest, political knowledge and political involvement than those whose fathers have only secondary education.

Table 6.8: Fathers' Education Levels in Political Interest, Political Knowledge, Political Involvement

Fathers' Education Levels Factor	Secondary	Diploma	Bachelor	Postgraduate	F	P. Value
Political interest	11.40	11.65	11.89	12.55*	5.159	0.001***
Political knowledge	20.77	21.43	21.54	22.95*	6.116	0.001***
Political involvement	26.28	27.88	27.56	29.54*	4.259	0.01**

(* equals $P < 0.01$), (** equals $P < 0.001$), (* ranked according to the higher significant education level)

These analyses were repeated for mothers' education levels. The results of the comparison showed that there were no significant relationships between mothers' education levels and any of the four political factors: political interest, political knowledge, political involvement and trust in politicians.

⁸⁸ A post-hoc comparison of means of the four factors across the four levels of father education was conducted using Scheffe's method.

6.14 Parents' Occupation⁸⁹

The results of these comparison⁹⁰ show that there were no significant relationships between fathers' occupations⁹¹ and scores on any of the four factors: political interest, political knowledge, political involvement and trust in politicians. Similarly, there were no significant relationships between mothers' occupations and scores on any of the four political factors: political interest, political knowledge, political involvement and trust in politicians.

6.15 Political Involvement and Political Knowledge

The research question in this part enquired as to whether level of political involvement was related to political knowledge. Did respondents who reported greater involvement in politics also display greater knowledge about political matters? Pearson correlation was used to investigate this question and it was found that these two variables were positively correlated ($r = 0.42$, $p < 0.001$). This significant positive correlation means that the young Bahrainis with greater political involvement achieved higher political knowledge scores. This finding agrees with many previous studies that have found that political knowledge is a key predictor for engagement in politics (Delli, Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Neuman, 1986; Verba et al., 1997; Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2006). Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) found

⁸⁹ ANOVA was used to compare political interest, political knowledge, political involvement and trust in politicians on the basis of parents' occupations. To investigate the comparison between fathers' occupations, a one-way analysis of variance was used, with father's occupation as the independent variable (five levels) and the four political factors as the dependent variable. Respondents were grouped into five levels of fathers' occupations: unemployed, retired, free business, private servant and public servant.

⁹⁰ A post-hoc comparison of means of the four factors across the five levels of fathers' jobs was conducted using Scheffe's method.

⁹¹ These occupations were classified in five categories as follows: Public servant, private servant, free business, retired and unemployed.

that civic activity was strongly related to awareness, and they pointed out that whoever participates in civic activity is more likely to be politically engaged.

6.16 Religious Interests and Political Socialisation

This research question investigated the relationship between students' religious interests and their political interests. Pearson correlation was applied to examine this question and revealed that these two variables were significantly and positively correlated ($r = 0.23$, $p < 0.001$). This correlation meant that young Bahrainis who had greater religious interests also had greater political interests.

The survey also measured students' religious interests. Students were asked a series of questions concerning the religious interest of Bahraini students, for instance how often do they attend religious locations? How frequently do they watch religious programmes on television? What is the most influence source of their political knowledge?

The data showed that 55.5% of students attend religious locations regularly, while 34.5% of them attend religious locations but not regularly, and just 9.8% of them never went to religious locations. The data also showed that 69.2% of participants watched religious programmes regularly on television and religious leaders were the fourth source of political knowledge for Bahraini young people, whether rated as very important (46.4%) or quite important (49%).

There are very few studies that discuss the role of religious interest in political socialisation, including political interest, Abu Raad, in his study of Bahraini University students, found that 79.3% of participants said that the Mosque (the place where Muslims worship, exercise and pray) and the Friday religious speech play an 'important' or 'somewhat important' role in political socialisation among this population (2004; 137). Also, Al-Salem (1981) and Dhaher (1982) find that religion plays an important role in the lives of Gulf

Arabs. Religious interest plays an important role in political socialisation, and not just in Moslem countries: Karageorge (2003, 81) also found the same results in his study of political socialisation among Greek Americans and pointed out that among both male and female young people in his sample, church was the agent that exerted the greatest direct positive influence on their political awareness.

Hess and Torney (1967) also found a strong association in children between religious membership and partisan affiliation and an even stronger association with candidate preference. Zaff and Eccles (2008) claimed that participation in religious activities is also related to a greater likelihood of participation in community service activities (Serow and Dreyden, 1990; Youniss, McLellan, Su, and Yates, 1999).

6.17 Political Socialisation Agencies and their Influence on Political Interest, Political Knowledge and Political Involvement

This question examined the effect of the independent factors: parents\family, people in the media, religious groups, peer groups and teachers on political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among Bahraini young people. Therefore in this question, a general linear model rather than univariate analysis was used⁹² to calculate the impacts of these independent variables on the dependent variables.

Table 6.9 demonstrates that all the independent factors - parents\family, peer groups, religious groups, people in the media and teachers - contributed significantly in forming political interest and political knowledge (at 0.01) and in political involvement (at 0.001) among Bahraini young people.

⁹²MANOVA (multivariate analysis of variance) was used to test the effect of the independent factors on the dependent factors.

The independent factors that had the strongest influence on political interest, according to the same table, were religious groups (M=12.587), teachers (M=12.077), parents (M=11.716), people in the media (M=11.412), and finally peer groups (M=11.053). Moreover, independent factors that had strongest influence on the political knowledge were, in order, religious groups (M=22.587), parents (M=21.119), peer groups (M=21.045), people in the media (M=20.353) and finally teachers (M=20.154), while the independent factors that had the strongest influence on political involvement were religious groups (M=30.713), teachers (M=29.77), people in the media (M=27.588), parents (M=26.791) and finally peer groups (M=26.474).

It is worth mentioning here that religious groups have become more effective in political interest, knowledge and involvement, whereas peer groups have become less effective in political interest and political involvement.

Previous Western studies found that parents and the mass media were the most important sources of information and opinions in the development of certain political variables, such as political knowledge, efficacy, participation and party identification. (Chaffee, McLeod & Wackman, 1973; Dawson & Prewitt, 1969; Hyman, 1959; Greenstein, 1969; Jennings & Neimi, 1974; LIAO, 2003; Dominick, 1972; Hawkins, Pingree and Roberts 1975; Conway et al., 1981; Owen and Dennis, 1992; Quéniart, 2008 and others). However, little research on this issue has been conducted in the Arab Gulf states. One study by Abu Raad (2004; 135) asked Bahraini university students about the association between Bahraini society and political socialisation. The respondents answered that the state is primarily responsible for people's political socialisation (24.5%), more so than the media (18.9%), family (17.9), religious institutions (9.9%) and finally political parties (4.2%). In my opinion, this measurement classification is not clear because the researcher ignored the peer group and school as major political socialisation agencies, while he used the state (the country) as an

agency rather than the media, although the media in Bahrain considered as a part of the government, the same as schools. In my view, he should have used standard agencies to produce a clearer picture. Although Al-Salem (1981) and Dhaher (1982) agree with this research finding that religion and family were the foremost influences on both younger and older minds.

Table 6.9: The Effect of the Independent Factors on Political Interest, Political Knowledge and Political Involvement

Source	Mean	Depended Variables	F	P.Value
Religious groups	12.587	Political Interest	2.773	0.01 ^{**}
Teachers	12.077			
Parents	11.716			
People in media	11.412			
Peer groups	11.053			
Religious groups	22.587	Political Knowledge	2.910	0.01 ^{**}
Parents	21.119			
Peer groups	21.045			
People in media	20.353			
Teachers	20.154			
Religious groups	30.713	Political Involvement	3.287	0.001 ^{***}
Teachers	29.077			
People in media	27.588			
Parents	26.791			
Peer groups	26.474			

(* ranked according to the most effect sources), (** equals $P < 0.01$), (***) equals $P < 0.001$)

6.18 The influence of Schools on Political Interest, Political Knowledge and Political Involvement

The present research question enquires as to whether the school contributes in forming political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among Bahraini young people. The aim of this question is to examine the effect of the schools on all these factors, regardless of the differences among schools, which have already been discussed in terms of

gender and area of residence. MANOVA (multivariate analysis of variance) was used to test the effect of the independent factors on the dependent factors.

As mentioned before, this survey was conducted among twelve secondary schools in five Bahraini governorates and the result revealed that school contributed significantly (at 0.001) in forming political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among Bahraini young people.

This result supports some of the oldest and most famous works in the political socialisation realm, published by Hyman (1959), Hess and Torney (1967), Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977) and Jaros (1973), all of whom found the school to be the foremost agency in terms of political socialisation and political values, awareness and attitude among children and young people.

Table 6.10: The Effect of the School on Political Interest, Political Knowledge and Political Involvement

Source	Dependent variables	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F	P. Value
School	Political interest	228.375	3	76.125	9.116	0.001 [*]
	Political knowledge	357.624	3	119.208	6.150	0.001 [*]
	Political involvement	9516.806	3	3172.269	52.693	0.001 [*]

Figures marked by () are significant*

6.19 The Influence of Gender, Age and Area of Residence on Trust in Politics and Politicians, the Government, Parliament, the Judiciary and Bahraini Media Forms

The next question enquired about perceptions of the news in Bahrain according to the participants' gender and area of residence, their trust in politics and politicians, the government, parliament, the judiciary and Bahraini media forms. Based on focus group interviews, it was expected here that there would be different levels of trust among respondents according to their residential areas because those who are living in governorates with a Sunni majority would have more trust in these authorities than would others who lived in areas occupied primarily by Shiaa people.

To answer this question, two kinds of analysis have been used to examine whether there was a significant differences among respondents with regard to gender, age or area of residence. First, a MANOVA and the Pearson's Chi-squaretest was used to find out whether gender and age had a significant effect on these variables and it was found that the gender affected significantly on confidence in government (at.000), the judiciary (at.008), parliament (at.000), trust in Bahraini TV broadcasting (at.002) and trust in Bahraini domestic news websites (at.000) in the favour of male than female, while no significant differences were found between males and females with regard to their trust in newspapers and discussion forums. The same test was applied with age as the independent variable; however, no significant differences were found for any of the measures of trust.

Table 6.11: The Effect of Gender on Trust in the Government, Parliament, Judiciary and Bahraini Media Forms

Source	Variables	Sum of square	D.F.	Mean square	F	P. Value
GENDER	Confidence in government	28.629	1	28.629	28.864	.000*
	Confidence in the Judiciary	6.388	1	6.388	7.032	.008*
	Confidence in the Parliament	11.524	1	11.524	14.239	.000*
	Trust in Bahraini TV broadcasting	8.795	1	8.795	9.401	.002*
	Trust in Bahraini domestic news websites	14.408	1	14.408	20.661	.000*
	Trust in Bahraini Newspapers	1.822	1	1.822	2.423	.120
	Trust in Bahraini Discussion forums	.306	1	.306	.390	.532

Figures marked by () are significant*

Secondly, a one-way ANOVA was used to compare the five governorates in terms of trust in the Government, parliament, the judiciary and Bahraini media forms based on the participants' resident areas. As shown in Table 6.12, there were significant differences between residence areas in all factors displayed below in terms of trust, except for trust in Bahraini discussion forums and Bahraini domestic news websites.

Table 6.12 also demonstrates that the respondents in the Southern governorate had significantly higher confidence in all factors than respondents in other governorates, particularly with regard to their confidence in the Bahraini government. Respondents in the Northern governorate recorded less confidence in all factors except for trust in Bahraini discussion forums, which recorded the second highest mean after the Southern governorate.

Southern Governorate participants have the highest confidence in the government, while those from the Northern Governorate recorded significantly less confidence in the Bahraini government ($F(33.21) = 1.98, p < .000$). Additionally, in almost all factors, the participants in Muharraq governorate were second in terms of confidence.

There is an obvious gap in the results between the Southern and the Muharraq governorate on the one side and the Northern governorate on the other side. Table 6.12 also illustrates that the results from the Central and Capital governorates closely resemble each other. Consequently, it could be true that the respondents were divided into three categories, namely the Southern and Muharraq governorates, the Central and Capital governorates students and the Northern governorate.

Throughout these categories, the results for the governorates in each category were very close. This distribution explains why two of the Bahraini governorates (the Southern and the Muharraq governorates) have high levels of confidence with regard to these authorities and Bahraini media forms while other governorates (The Central and the Capital governorates) rank second in terms of confidence, while respondents from the Northern governorate have less confidence in almost all these authorities. The reason here is that the majority of Bahrain's Sunni people live in the Southern and the Muharraq governorates and the majority of Shiaa people live in the Northern governorate, while the other two governorates, the Central and the Capital governorates, contain a mixture of Sunnis and Shiaas.⁹³

⁹³ Since the ruling of Al-Khalifa (the current regime), for more than 200 years, Sunni people who are involved with the system of government in religion and sect are considered as a major guarantee for the survival of governance because they are mostly represent the Sunni Extension in the Gulf and the Arab and Islamic world. During the last three decades, since the Iranian Islamic revolution was launched and because of links among many Shiites in the Gulf, Lebanon, Iraq and Iran, the Shiaa in Bahrain, based on the Iranian revolution, have

Therefore the results indicate that the Northern governorate respondents trust discussion forums more than other kinds of media because they regard them as alternative media and as a free platform where they can say what they want.

initiated two failed attempts to overthrow the regime, one in 1981 and the other more recently in February 2011. We can add to this the events of the 1990s and in other years, with subsequent killings of police and other people, arson in the streets and attacks on public property, not to mention the ongoing espionage operations of Iranian spies in Bahrain and Kuwait, in addition to the historical political problem in the Gulf and the Iranian occupation of three UAE islands, as Bahrain is still considered by some to be part of Iran.

Table 6.12: The effect of areas of residence on the trust in the Government, parliament, the judiciary and Bahraini media forms

Variables	Southern Governorate	Northern Governorate	Central Governorate	Capital Governorate	Muharraq Governorate	Other	F	P. Value
Do you have confidence in the Bahraini government?	2.98	1.98	2.16	2.23	2.60	2.21	33.21	.000*
Do you have confidence in the Judiciary?	2.89	2.08	2.38	2.41	2.61	2.45	20.09	.000*
Do you have confidence in the Parliament?	2.71	2.19	2.28	2.35	2.27	2.25	10.02	.000*
Do you trust Bahraini TV broadcasting?	2.83	2.12	2.25	2.29	2.52	2.13	16.82	.000*
Do you trust Bahraini newspapers	2.73	2.39	2.57	2.53	2.65	2.54	4.12	.001*
Do you trust Bahraini discussion forums?	2.31	2.30	2.20	2.17	2.27	2.44	1.09	Not Sig
Do you trust Bahraini domestic news websites?	2.48	2.26	2.41	2.29	2.42	2.45	2.09	Not Sig

The figure were marked by (*) is significant

6.20 Sectarianism among Young Bahrainis

The data reported here examined whether sectarianism has spread differently in different areas of residence. Sectarianism here refers to young Bahrainis' opinions and feelings about the relationships among different groups in Bahrain society, particularly between Sunni and Shiaa,

including attitudes and practices. The focus group discussions revealed that almost all participants saw sectarianism as a major problem facing Bahrain today, so questions were asked in order to measure this problem in Bahrain society according to the participants' opinions.

To get the young Bahrainis' perspectives on this issue, survey respondents were asked about sectarianism, along with another question that more directly enquired about whether, in their view, a member of their community should be allowed to publish an article against other communities. They were also asked to give their opinions about the future relations among different groups in Bahraini society, including Sunni and Shiaa, which are the main communities there.

Chi-square analysis was used to compare responses to each statement across the areas of residence and no significant differences were found. The majority of respondents in all governorates agreed that relations among different groups in Bahraini society would get worse in the future. Those ratios were distributed as follows: 46.0% in the Northern governorate, 43.8% in the Central governorates, 42.8% in the Southern governorate, 39.1% in the Muharraq governorate and 35.4% in the Capital governorate.

Furthermore, Chi square analysis was used to compare responses to each statement across the age groups of participants and no significant differences were found. The statements were compared by gender in a further Chi square test and the results shows that half of the male participants said that article against other communities should not be published, while 43.0% of females expressed this opinion. Almost one third of participants, both female (34.0%) and male (31.1%), disagreed, believing that anyone who suggested an article against other communities should be allowed to express these views. Meanwhile, almost one quarter of females (23.0%) and 18.8% of males stated that they did not know.

Another statement asked respondents about their opinions on the relations among different groups in Bahraini society, particularly between Sunni and Shiaa people. Overall, 42.8% of females and 40.8% of male participants felt that relations would get worse in the future and more than one third (35.4%) of females and 28.5% of males said that relations would stay the same, whereas almost one third of male participants (30.7%) were more optimistic, indicating that relations would improve. Less than one quarter of female participants (20.8%) agreed with this opinion.

In both of these last two statements, by Chi square tests found significant differences between males and females, at $X^2(2, n= 1174) = 6.396^a$, $p=.041$ for the first statement and $X^2(2, n= 1161) = 13.327^a$, $p= .001$ for the second.

It should be mentioned here that some old research, such as Hess and Torney (1967), and some modern research, such as Zaff and Eccles (2008), examined political socialisation with regard to ethnicity or regionality; however, no research was found to have investigated the sectarianism aspect of political socialisation.

6.21 Sources of News and Political Knowledge

The following research question investigates which sources contribute most in forming political knowledge. Table 6.13 illustrates that the internet obtains the highest score in forming political knowledge among young Bahrainis (90.5%) – higher than Parents (87.25%) and TV (82.5%), whereas School (63.5%), Radio (62.5%) and magazines (62.0%) score the lowest.

Furthermore, the participants were asked about the main source they used to obtain news and information about local and international political events and issues. The results showed that the above ranking applied to sources of local and international news for young Bahrainis.

Conventionally, and particularly in Arabic states, including Arab Gulf countries, the family is not just a source of information and advice; it is also the source of economic, psychological and social security (Dhafer, 1981: p: 70). The family and parents still maintain their position as the foremost source of information and levels of political knowledge and political interest in different regions worldwide, particularly in the Arab States. It could be correct that the media become major crucial players among young people, whether in their traditional forms or new ones and whether in a positive (Garrazone, 1983; LaPlant, 1998) or a negative way (Jackson-Beech, 1979; Niemi and Junn 1998; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996).

One study that targeted students at Bahraini universities was conducted by Abu Raad (2004) who found that media (TV, newspapers and radio) were regarded as the foremost source of news and information by 63.8% of respondents, followed by family and friends with 17.5%. In my view, the in gap percentages in this study relates to the participants' ages, meaning that when the people grow up, they began to depend on other sources for news or information, but parents are still a major influence on young people and still have an influence on young adults alongside television exposure and the Internet, especially in the Arab states.

In their research, Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977) found the mass media, mainly television and cinema, were the most regularly mentioned as sources of information about foreign people for children in developed countries such as Germany, Canada, the United States and Japan while in the less modern nations, such as Lebanon, Turkey and Brazil, television was not mentioned at all. They found that in these less developed countries, parents and friends were most frequently cited as the main information sources.

Related research from the end of the last century agrees with the previous finding regarding the superiority of the internet over many political agencies as a source of information, such as Project Vote Smart (1999), Carpini (2000) and Cornfield and Horrigan (2004).

Table 6.13: Sources of Political Knowledge among Bahraini Young People

Source	Rank	Very important	Quite important	Not at all important	Mean
Internet	1	72.0%	26.1%	1.9%	3.62
Parents	2	63.5%	33.8%	2.7%	3.49
TV	3	51.9%	44.9%	3.3%	3.30
Religious Leaders	4	46.4%	49%	4.6%	3.19
Brothers & Sisters	5	45.3%	49.7%	5.0%	3.15
Friends	6	38.7%	55.8%	5.4%	3.05
Newspapers	7	31.9%	63.7%	4.4%	2.96
School	8	21.9%	61.2%	17.7%	2.54
Radio	9	19.7%	63.8%	16.6%	2.50
Magazines	10	15.7%	72.6%	11.7%	2.48

6.22 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has discussed the results of one part of this study's survey. It describes and analyses respondents' interest in politics, political knowledge, political involvement, opinions about the Bahraini government, trust in Bahraini politicians and the government, participants' sources of information, religious interest and sectarianism among young Bahrainis.

Moreover, this chapter has analyzed and discussed all previous factors in relation to the demographic characteristics with regard to the different impacts of a range of political agencies on Bahraini young people. With regard to the demographic characteristics, this chapter examined age, gender, area of residence, parents' level of education, and finally mothers' and fathers' occupations, with a particular focus on the first three characteristics.

The study found that the young Bahrainis' scores for political interest, political involvement, opinions about government and trust in politicians, including the government, varied between

50% and 62%, which means that the scores for these factors were moderate, while the score for participants' political knowledge was low (39.13%).

Results of the study indicate that religious groups have become more effective in political interest, knowledge and involvement, and other political agencies that were more effective in previous studies, such as peer groups, have become less effective in terms of influencing political interest and political involvement. Nevertheless, the school still maintains its role and contributes significantly in forming political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among Bahraini young people.

This study confirmed a decline in traditional media such as radio and magazines as a source of political knowledge, and also reductions in the importance of principal sources of political knowledge and information such as school. However, while family and parents still keep their place as the primary source of political knowledge, the internet and television have become more effective with the passage of time.

In relation to demographics, this study found significant relationships between fathers' education levels and political interest, political knowledge and political involvement. In terms of gender, this chapter indicates that Bahraini males displayed more political interest, greater political knowledge, greater political involvement and greater trust in politicians than did Bahraini females. The male students also had significantly more confidence and trust in the government, the judiciary, parliament, Bahraini TV broadcasting and Bahraini domestic news websites than did their female counterparts.

By age, this study found that young adult students (18-22) have more political interest, political knowledge and political involvement than do teenage students (15-17), while teenage students have more trust in politicians than do those aged 18-22.

By residential area, the current study found that students from the Southern Governorate, followed by the Muharraq governorate, had more trust in politicians than the

participants from the other Governorates. Additionally, the Southern governorates' participants had significantly higher confidence in the government, the judiciary, parliament, Bahraini TV broadcasting and Bahraini domestic news websites than did those from the Muharraq and other governorates.

Pearson correlations revealed that young Bahrainis with greater political involvement achieved higher political knowledge scores, and young Bahrainis who had greater religious interests also had greater political interests. Finally, this study found that all of the following independent factors - parents\family, peer groups, religious groups, people in the media and teachers - contributed significantly in forming political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among Bahraini young people.

CHAPTER SEVEN

POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND MEDIA USE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings from the same survey mentioned in the previous chapter, focusing on relationships between political factors and media exposure and consumption, which are described with sample demographics and analyses.

It also describes young Bahrainis' interest in news media, whether local, regional or international. Additionally, this chapter examines young Bahrainis' interest in news with different forms of media, whether print media such as newspapers and magazines, broadcast media such as television and radio or new media forms such as the Internet, including social networking sites such as Facebook, emails, discussion forums and chat groups.

Essentially this chapter is really concerned with measurement of the media use for young Bahrainis among survey respondents and how this was related to their demographic attributes.

7.2 Television Consumption

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 show the average amount of television watching reported by Bahraini young people, whether this entailed general viewing or specifically watching the news. Almost half of respondents (45.2%) reported watching television for two or three hours a day and almost one third (29.8%) watched television for four or more hour. Just under half of the respondents (43.1%) reported that they did not watch the news at all, whereas slightly less than half (45%) watched the news on television for up to 30 minutes a day.

The same statements were analysed by gender and the results show that only a very small percentage of Bahraini students did not watch TV at all (3.8%) and (3.7%) for males and

females respectively⁹⁴. Almost one third of female participants (31.9%) and more than one quarter of males (27.5%) were heavy TV viewers.⁹⁵ Also, slightly less than a quarter of females (23%) and 19.2% of males were light TV viewers, while almost half of male participants (49.5%) and slightly less than half of females (41.4%) were moderate viewers. Additionally, Table 10.1 shows that almost half of the female participants (48.6%) and more than one third of males (37.4%) do not watch the news on TV at all, while 48% of male participants and 42.6% of female participants reported watching the news on TV for up to 30 minutes a day.

A Chi square test was run to investigate the relationship between television watching in general and news, particularly based on the participants' age, gender and area of residence. There were no significant differences by age group and area of residence in consumption of television in general or watching news on TV specifically, but there were significant gender differences in television consumption ($X^2(3, n=1177) = 8.088^a, p=.044$) and watching news on TV ($X^2(4, n=1173) = 24.164^a, p=.000$).

A study completed by Al-Eid 2006 among Bahraini adults found that the highest levels found among Bahraini participants were one to two hours' television watching, with (33.2%), followed by two to four hours' television watching (25.1%).

Al-Eid's study agrees with this study's finding that females watch more television than do males, which means that females are more likely to watch TV, whether they are of school age or older. Al-Eid (ibid.) pointed out that this is likely to be because women usually stay in the house more than males. Another study conducted by Abu Raad (2004) among

⁹⁴ In Al-Eid (2006) study and Aburaad study 2004, same result were found with respect of few number of participants did not watch TV at all (2.2%) and (6.2%) respectively.

⁹⁵ Heavy viewers: Those who watch TV for four or more hours a day. Moderate viewers: Those who watch TV for two or three hours. Light viewers: Those who watch TV for one hour or less.

Bahraini university students found that more than half of the participants (67%) indicated that news broadcasting played an important or extremely important role in shaping their political awareness, and almost two thirds of participants (73.8%) reported that the television played an important or extremely important role in their political socialisation.

In a comparison between this study and that of Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006), while (43.1%) of Bahraini students reported that they did not watch the news at all, 25.9 % of participants in Pasek et al.'s (2006) study said that they never watched the national evening television or cable news. Also, while almost half of the Bahraini respondents (45.2%) reported watching television for two or three hours a day, 38.9% and 35.2% of the respondents in Pasek et al.'s (2006) study said that they were watching television 1 to 2 and 3 to 5 hours respectively.

Table 7.1: Distribution of the Respondents by Television Consumption and Gender

Usage	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Don't watch TV at all	21 (3.8%)	23 (3.7%)	44 (3.7%)
Four or more hours	153 (27.5%)	198 (31.9%)	351 (29.8%)
Two or three hours	275 (49.5%)	257 (41.4%)	532 (45.2%)
One hour or less	107 (19.2%)	143 (23.0%)	250 (21.2%)
Total	556 100.0%	621 100.0%	1177 100.0%

Table 7.2: Distribution of the Respondents by the Television News Consumption and Gender

Usage	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Do not watch the news at all	207 (37.4%)	301 (48.6%)	5.8 (43.1%)
Up to 30 minutes a day	266 (48.0%)	264 (42.6%)	530 (45.2%)
31 minutes to 1 hour a day	55 (9.9%)	45 (7.3%)	100 (8.5%)
More than 1 hour and up to 2 hours a day	18 (3.2%)	8 (1.3%)	26 (2.2%)
More than 2 hours a day	8 (1.4%)	1 (.2%)	9 (.8%)
Total	554 100.0%	619 100.0%	1173 100.0%

7.3 TV Channels and Political News

This question seeks to identify the TV channel that contributes the most in forming the local, international political news and the TV channels that are consistent with the political views of Bahraini young people. The channel options given in the questionnaire were Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera, Al Arabia and ‘other channels’.

The result illustrates that slightly less than half of the participants said they never watched international political news on any of the channels shown in the table. Slightly less than half of the respondents never watch local political news on the Al Arabia (44.2%) or Al-Jazeera (43.5%) channels, while a little more than a third do not watch the same kind of the news on Bahrain TV (38.0%) or on any other channels (34.5%).

Generally, the result shows that other channels contribute daily in forming local political news everyday/almost everyday (44.7%) and international political news everyday/almost everyday (34.2%), while Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia channels contribute a little more than a quarter in the formation of political news, whether local or international.

The last part of this question was about the TV channels that are consistent with the political views of Bahraini young people, and the results show that Al-Jazeera is seen to be the most consistent with these views (53.7%), followed by other channels (53.0%), Al Arabia (50.6%) and finally Bahrain TV (38.2%).

Participants were asked to specify other channels that they found to contribute in forming their local or international political awareness or were more consistent with their political views. The result illustrates that the channels that were watched most among Bahraini young people were the MBC channels⁹⁶, particularly MBC 2, followed by other Shiite channels⁹⁷ such as Al-Manar, Al-Aalam, Al-Kawther, Alforat and Al-Anwar channels. British news channels such as BBC and CNN were watched by few young Bahrainis. It should be mentioned that even though the MBC channel group and some of Shiaa the channels like Al-Anwar, Alforat or al-Kawther are not strictly news channels at all, some participants added them as main sources of their political news or awareness. It is also worth

⁹⁶A variety of channels (7 channels) belong to Middle East Broadcasting Centre, interested in entertainment programs, movies, television series, children's programs and social programs. The most famous one is MBC 2, which shows foreign films, particularly American ones.

⁹⁷There are more than 100 Shiite channels addressed to the Arab and Islamic world broadcasting from different places such as Iran, Lebanon, Iraq and Kuwait. Some of them belong to the Iranian regime, such as Al-Aalam, while others belong to Hezbollah, such as Al-Manar. Other channels belonging to other Shiite references (leaders followed) elsewhere.

noting that the majority of viewers of Shiaa channels were concentrated in Shiaa communities.

First, a Chi-square test was used to examine the differences among respondents with regard to their age and gender. There was a significant age⁹⁸ difference in watching the local and international political news on Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia. The young adult participants were more likely to watch local and international political news than were the teenager participants on Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia and in other channel.

Musaiger (2006) found similar results. He found that when Bahraini people became older, they were more likely to watch news channels, whereas young Bahraini people were more likely to watch entertainment programmes. Al-Eid's study (2006) found different results: he found that Bahraini channels were more favourable to Bahraini people than Al-Jazeera and Al-Manar. Al-Eid found that participants aged between 20-30 preferred watching entertainment channels: this concurs with the findings from the present study, which found that MBC 2 (a movie channel) was more attractive than other channels, including news ones.

⁹⁸ The young adult participants are participants between 18 and –22, while the teenager participants are those between 15 and 17 years old.

Table 7.3: Most Popular TV Channels for Political News by Age

Variables	15-17 (%)	18 - 22 (%)	Chi ²	P. Value
Local political news - Bahrain TV	44.3	51.0	13.965	0.05*
Local political news - Al Jazeera channels	42.0	50.2	21.927	0.001*
Local political news - Al Arabia channels	39.8	47.3	18.584	0.01*
Local political news – Other channels	57.0	66.0	18.103	0.01*
International political news - Bahrain TV	39.3	45.2	11.246	0.05*
International political news - Al Jazeera channels	42.6	49.0	17.448	0.01*
International political news - Al Arabia channels	40.0	48.2	22.052	0.001*
International political news – Other channels	49.5	55.2	10.997	0.05*
Consistent with political views - Bahrain TV	35.5	35.7	1.680	Not Sig.
Consistent with political views - Al Jazeera channels	40.8	44.7	11.560	0.01*
Consistent with political views - Al Arabia channels	40.3	42.2	3.563	Not Sig.
Consistent with political views – Other channels	41.3	42.2	2.005	Not Sig.

Figures marked by () are significant*

A Chi-square test was used to examine the most popular TV channels for political news by age and gender.

The results in table 7.3 shows that there were significant difference between young adult participants and teenagers in the reported use of Bahrain TV (18-22= 51.0%, 15-17= 44.3%), Al Jazeera channels (18-22= 50.2%, 15-17= 42.0%), Al Arabia channels (18-22= 47.3%, 15-17= 39.8%), Other channels (18-22= 66.0%, 15-17= 57.0%) with more male than female claiming to watch local political news. With regard to international political news, the same table shows that there were significant differences in the reported use Bahrain TV (18-22= 45.2%, 15-17= 39.3%), Al Jazeera channels (18-22= 49.0%, 15-17= 42.6%), Al Arabia channels (18-22= 48.2%, 15-17= 40.0%), other channels (18-22= 55.2%, 15-17= 49.5%). Also significant difference found in consistent with political views of Al Jazeera channels (18-22= 44.7%, 15-17= 40.8%), while no significant age difference between young adult participants and teenagers in the consistent with political views for Bahrain TV, Al Arabia channels and other channels.

Table 7.4 illustrates that there were significant gender differences in the reported use of Bahrain TV (M=51.8%, F= 40.8%), Al Jazeera (M= 53.8%, F= 35.2%), Al Arabia (M= 48.3%, F= 35.8%) and other channels (M= 61.8%, F= 56.8%), with more male than female claiming to watch local political news. With regard to international political news, the same table shows that there were significant differences in watching Al Jazeera channel (M= 53.3%, F= 34.7%) and Al Arabia channel (M= 49.5%, F= 35.3%) in favour of males.

Musuaiger (2006) found generally that males were more likely to watch news channels than were females. He found also that among those watching news channels, Bahraini males watch Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia more than females. Al-Eid (2006) found that males and females were more likely to watch Bahrain TV than Al-Jazeera or Al Arabia; the

same study found that Al-Jazeera was the second most favoured channel for Bahraini males, while Dreem (an entertainment channel) was the second favourite channel for females.

Table 7.4: Distribution of Respondents' Preferred TV Channels for Political News by Gender

Variables	Male (%)	Female (%)	Chi ²	P. Value
Local political news - Bahrain TV	51.8	40.8	46.376	0.001 [*]
Local political news - Al Jazeera channels	53.8	35.2	113.750	0.001 [*]
Local political news - Al Arabia channels	48.3	35.8	60.535	0.001 [*]
Local political news – Other channels	61.8	56.8	11.022	0.05 [*]
International political news - Bahrain TV	45.0	37.2	26.932	0.001 [*]
International political news - Al Jazeera channels	53.3	34.7	112.468	0.001 [*]
International political news - Al Arabia channels	49.5	35.3	72.919	0.001 [*]
International political news – Other channels	51.5	50.3	3.211	Not Sig.
Consistent with political views - Bahrain TV	38.0	33.3	25.394	0.001 [*]
Consistent with political views - Al Jazeera channels	45.7	38.5	45.933	0.01 [*]
Consistent with political views - Al Arabia channels	42.7	39.2	11.587	0.01 [*]
Consistent with political views – Other channels	41.5	41.5	1.917	Not Sig.

Figures marked by () are significant*

Gender differences were linked to attitudes towards the kinds of political news and towards news channels participants preferred. Male participants were more likely to watch local political news on Bahraini channels, and they were more likely to watch international political news on Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia channels. However, the female participants were

more likely to watch international political news on Bahraini TV. This study was consistent with another Bahraini study, by Musuaiger (2006), who obtained the same results, whereas it differs significantly from a Bahraini study by Al-Eid (2006), who did not find any difference between Bahraini males and females regarding their attitudes towards these channels. These results also concur with the findings from a Western study by Conway et al. (1981), which showed that boys are more likely to watch television news than are girls. Additionally, in this study, males and females obtained very similar scores for all forms of internet usage, while Al-Eid's study found that Bahraini females were more likely to use the Internet than were Bahraini males (2006). With regard to newspapers, the result of this study concurred with that of Al-Eid's (2006) study, which found that Bahraini males were more likely to read newspapers than were Bahraini females.

Secondly, a one-way ANOVA was used to examine which TV channel contributed most strongly in forming local and international political news and which channels are consistent with political views of Bahraini young people according to their area of residence. Table 7.5 shows that participants in the Southern and Muharraq governorates are more likely to watch the Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia channels for local and international political news than were those who lived in the Northern, Capital and Central governorates, particularly with regard to local political news on Bahrain TV for the Southern governorate ($F(8.338) = 3.14, p < .000$) and the Muharraq governorate ($F(8.338) = 3.13, p < .000$). Participants from the Northern and Capital governorates and to some extent the Central governorate were more likely to watch other channels for the same kinds of political news than were residents of the Southern and Muharraq governorates.

Musaiger (2006) found that Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia channels were more likely to be watched by people in Southern and Muharraq governorates, while Al-Manar was more likely to be watched in the Capital, Northern and Central governorates. This finding concurs

with the results presented above and also the findings shown earlier with regard to the preference for Shiaa channels among Shiaa students in Bahrain. Moreover, Musaiger also found that Bahrain TV was watched less among people in all Bahrain governorates.

Table 7.5 also shows that the views of respondents from the Southern and Muharraq governorates were more consistent with the Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia channels for political news compared to respondents from other governorates. Participants from the Northern, Capital and Central governorates held views that were more consistent with other channels. It is worth mentioning that the majority of Shiaa communities are concentrated in Northern, Capital and Central governorates.

In this table, one can notice the low mean scores for the Northern, Capital and Central participants with regard to consistency with the political views of Bahrain TV. Additionally, the results reveal significant differences among young Bahraini participants in terms of favourite TV channels for political news and with consistency of political views in terms of areas of residence (Table 7.5).

Table 7.5: Distribution of Respondents' Favourite TV channels for Political News by Area of Residence

Variables	Southern Governorate	Northern Governorate	Central Governorate	Capital Governorate	Muharraq Governorate	Other	F	P. Value
Local political news - Bahrain TV	3.14	2.56	2.42	2.38	3.13	2.39	8.338	.000*
Local political news - Al Jazeera channels	2.90	2.17	2.60	2.55	2.98	2.36	6.967	.000*
Local political news - Al Arabia channels	2.74	2.16	2.60	2.47	2.61	2.45	3.357	.005*
Local political news – Other channels	3.41	3.62	3.55	3.63	3.57	3.61	.260	.935
International political news - Bahrain TV	2.76	2.30	2.24	2.16	2.70	2.02	5.104	.000*
International political news – Al-Jazeera channels	2.83	2.23	2.59	2.71	2.84	2.16	4.616	.000*
International political news - Al Arabia channels	2.76	2.21	2.55	2.54	2.63	2.43	2.701	.020*
International political news – Other channels	2.94	3.12	2.99	3.26	3.06	3.04	.401	.848
Consistent with political views - Bahrain TV	2.49	1.92	1.94	1.87	2.30	2.02	13.597	.000*
Consistent with political views - Al Jazeera channels	2.79	2.29	2.42	2.35	2.65	2.35	6.945	.000*
Consistent with political views - Al Arabia channels	2.64	2.26	2.41	2.28	2.58	2.31	4.399	.001*
Consistent with political views – Other channels	2.33	2.61	2.51	2.65	2.38	2.74	2.504	.029*

The figure were mention by () is significant.

7.4 The Use of Media Forms: TV

With the next three questions, the study examined three main forms of media, namely television, the internet and newspapers.

Table 7.6: Most Frequently Watched Types of TV Programmes among Bahraini Young People

Programme Type	Everyday/ almost everyday	2-4 days a week	One day a week/ Less than once a week	Never
Entertainment Programmes	74%	11%	9.8%	4.8%
Youth Programmes	42.3%	21.3%	25.8%	10.1%
Local News	28.3%	15.7%	35.3%	20.5%
Religious Programmes	26.7%	21.6%	38.5%	12.6%
International News	26.5%	16.7%	37.5%	18.9%
Educational Programmes	17%	14.1%	40%	27.9%
Local & International Issues	14.1%	15.2%	47%	23.2%
Economic Programmes	5.5%	8.1%	35.2%	50.8%

The next question was about what types of TV programmes Bahraini young people usually watch. This question asked about different kinds of TV programmes, such as entertainment, religious programmes, local and international news, economics programmes and so on. Based on the results presented in Table 7.6, entertainment programmes (74%) and youth programmes (42.3%) were the most popular programmes among young Bahrainis, while the religious programs (26.7%), local news (28.3%) and international news (26.5%)

came after them. More than half of the respondents (50.8%) reported that they did not watch economic programs at all.

This concurs with Al-Eed (2006), who found that Bahrain people were more likely to watch entertainment programmes (60.7%). Alied found also that the news was the second most popular type of programme, being preferred by 31.7% of respondents, followed by religious programs, preferred by 4.3%. This result contrasts with the findings of Musaiger (2006), who found that Bahraini people in general were more likely to watch news channels, and that religious programmes, news programmes and then entertainment programmes were more desirable than other programs among Bahraini people. However, in terms of news watching, the present findings support those of Carpini (2000) who found that in the West, young people were less likely to read newspapers or watch the news compared with adults.

Table 7.7 illustrates that the popularity of the various types of television programmes was very similar between teenagers and young adult participants, and that the young adult participants watch all kinds of programmes more, with the exception of entertainment programmes, while Table 7.8 shows that the male participants are more likely than females to watch all kinds of programmes except for youth programmes. With regard to the relationship between age and viewing preference, Al-Eid's (2006) found that the percentage of people watching entertainment programmes falls with age, while the opposite is true for news programmes, which are watched more by older people

With regard to gender and viewing preferences, these findings concur with Musaiger (2006) in regard to the fact that Bahraini males watch more political news and news programmes than do females. Al-Eed (2006) found similarities between males and females in favour of watching entertainment programmes rather than news programmes, although more males preferred to watch news programmes.

Another Bahraini study was conducted by Abu Raad (2004), who found that political programmes were the favourite programmes among Bahraini university students (being favoured by 42% of respondents) followed by cultural programmes (40%). However, the measurement of programmes ignored entertainment programmes, which are generally found to be more attractive to people than other programmes. The researcher treated “entertainment” as one function of the Bahraini media, but he should have included it as an option when measuring the types of programmes that were attractive to Bahraini students. These results also concur with the findings from a Western study by Conway et al. (1981) that boys are more likely to watch television news than are girls.

Additionally, the results demonstrate that participants living in the Southern governorate were more likely to watch entertainment programmes, local news, international news, local and international issues than those from other governorates. The results also indicated that participants in the Central governorate watch more religious programmes and educational programmes than do those in other governorates, and participants in the Muharraq governorate watch more youth programmes, while those in the Northern governorate watch less international news and those in the Capital governorate watch less local news.

A Chi-square test was used to examine the significant differences among respondents with regard to their age and gender. The results indicated that there was a significant age difference in watching religious programmes, local news, programmes on local and international issues and economic programmes.

Table 7.7 shows that the young adult participants were more likely to watch almost all of the abovementioned types of programmes than were the teenage participants. Table 7.8 illustrates that there were significant gender difference in reported frequency of watching all of the abovementioned programme types above except for youth and Educational

programmes. This finding supports Musaiger's (2006) study, which found significant age and gender differences in with regard to preferences for channels and programme types, and supports Al-Eid's (2006) study, which also found significant age differences in the same measurement.

Table 7.7: The most frequently watched types of TV programmes among Bahraini young people by age

Programme type	15-17 (%)	18 - 22 (%)	Chi ²	P. Value
Entertainment Programmes	84.7	84.5	2.961	Not Sig.
Youth Programmes	65.7	67.3	13.529	0.05*
Religious Programmes	56.3	61.3	11.381	0.05*
Local News	53.0	59.2	21.605	0.001*
International News	53.5	57.3	7.265	Not Sig.
Educational Programmes	45.8	47.2	3.762	Not Sig.
Local & International Issues	44.7	50.3	19.200	0.05*
Economic Programmes	31.5	36.8	16.754	0.01*

Figures marked by () are significant.*

On the other hand, a one-way ANOVA was used to examine the types of TV programmes that Bahraini young people usually watch based on their areas of residence. There were no significant differences among five governorates in terms of frequency of watching any of the abovementioned previous programme types except that participants from the Southern governorate were more likely to watch international news ($F(2,370) = 3.50, p < .038$), and those participants who chose the 'other' option (because they did not want to mention where they live) were more likely to watch economic programmes ($F(2,638) = 2.20, p < .022$).

These findings agree with those of Byrne (1969), who found no significant difference between urban and rural children in their claims to watch television news

programmes. The same author found that American children had less exposure to newspapers and families of urban children take newspapers more often than the families of rural children. This last finding is cited to show the similarities and the differences between rural and urban children in their attitudes towards some media forms, which are reflected in different ways in this study.

Table 7.8: The most frequently watched types of TV programmes among Bahraini young people by gender

Programme type	Male (%)	Female (%)	Chi ²	P. Value
Entertainment Programmes	85.3	83.8	14.283	0.05 [*]
Youth Programmes	65.3	66.8	3.341	Not Sig.
Religious Programmes	61.7	54.0	32.483	0.001 [*]
Local News	61.0	48.8	64.948	0.001 [*]
International News	61.8	47.7	80.259	0.001 [*]
Educational Programmes	48.2	44.5	8.642	Not Sig.
Local & International Issues	50.2	42.3	37.104	0.001 [*]
Economic Programmes	36.3	29.7	36.785	0.001 [*]

Figures marked by () are significant.*

7.5 The Use of Media Forms: The Internet

Other media forms used by young Bahraini include the internet, and the participants were asked about the internet websites that they usually browsed. As illustrated in the next table (Table 7.9), more than a quarter of the respondents (29%) said that they never used the internet as a news source. Almost the same percentage said that they used the internet as a news source every day or almost every day (28.2%). The same table shows that slightly less

than three quarters of participants used email or participated in discussion forums or chat groups to talk about local political issues (71.1%).⁹⁹

Furthermore, the results illustrate that the majority of respondents have an email account (87.8%) and more than two-thirds of them have a Facebook account (69.6). Nevertheless, Table 7.9 shows that email was the most frequently used web site among Bahraini young people (64.3%), followed by Facebook (46.4%) and discussion and chat groups for local political issues (37.2%), which were used either every day or almost every day, whereas using email or participating in discussion forums or chat groups to talk about international political issues were the least frequent forms of online participation, with 48.7% of respondents reporting that they never do this at all. This result concurs with Al-Eid's (2006) study, which found that email was the most frequently used followed by obtaining information. This result, as Al-Eid pointed out, was the same for both sexes and for all ages.

Table 7.10 demonstrates that the young adult participants browsed all kinds of web sites more than teenage participants, with the exception of those dealing with local political issues. Nevertheless, all results for internet usage between young adult Bahrainis and teenagers were very close to each other, with slight differences in some forms of usage as follows: the young participants (77.1%) were more likely to browse discussion forum and chat groups than were the teenage participants (69.3%), whether for local political issues or for general use. Also, the young adult participants (74.8%) browsed news web sites more than did teenagers (69.1%).

Generally, Al-Eid (2006) found that Bahraini people aged between 20 and 30 were more likely to use the Internet than older people (50 years and over), and attributed this to the difficulty in learning to use new technology at this stage in life. In addition, the results show that a small percentage of male and female participants use discussion forums and chat

⁹⁹ The increasing internet usage in Bahrain is mentioned on second chapter.

groups for international political news (49.3% and 55.2% for males and females respectively). Similarly, Al-Eid (2006) found that Bahraini females were more likely to use the internet than were Bahraini males.

Table 7.9: Most Frequently Used Web Sites among Bahraini Young People

Web site	Every day/ almost every day	2-4 days a week	One day a week/ Less than once a week	Never
E-mail	64.3%	9.7%	13.8%	10.5%
Facebook	46.4%	8%	15.2%	30.2%
Discussion forums & Chat groups for local political issues	37.2%	12.6%	21.3%	28.7%
Discussion groups	35.1%	16%	22.2%	26.4%
Chat group	34.6%	11%	21.2%	32.8%
News	28.2%	12.2%	29.3%	29%
Local political issues	24.6%	13.7%	33.1%	28.3%
International political news	20%	14.9%	34.5%	30.2%
Political issues	16.6%	11.6%	35.3%	36.2%
Discussion forum & Chat groups for International political issues	19.1%	9.1%	22.3%	48.7%

Table 7.10 breaks down Internet usage by gender and illustrates that the male participants used email (79.0%), facebook (64.5%), discussion forum and chat groups for local political issues (51.0%) or general use, international political news (50.3%), political

issues (46.3%) and discussion forums and chat groups for international political news (54%), whereas females reported more browsing of news sites (42.7%) and local political issues (60.5%). males and females showed almost similar scores for all forms of internet usage.

As shown in Table 7.11 the internet usage figures for participants from the five governorates were very close to each other with regard to the use of email, Facebook, discussion forums and chat groups for local political issues and international political news and in discussion forums in general and for websites on general political issues.

However, participants from the Central governorate were less likely to use chat groups and participants from the Southern and Muharraq governorates were less likely to browse news websites in general and particularly those related to local political issues. Also, one can notice that in Table 7.11, the Northern governorate participants browsed international political news sites more than did participants from other governorates.

Table 7.10: Internet consumption broken down by gender

Web site	Male (%)	Female (%)	Chi ²	P. Value
E-mail	79.0	75.7	5.580	Not Sig.
Facebook	64.5	59.0	18.763	0.01
Discussion Forum & Chat groups for local political issues	51.0	49.7	4.796	Not Sig.
Discussion Forum	59.5	55.0	7.693	Not Sig.
Chat groups	56.8	52.0	26.682	0.001
News	52.0	52.3	0.181	Not Sig.
Local political issues	60.5	54.7	11.789	0.05
International political news	50.3	45.3	9.934	Not Sig.
Political issues	46.3	40.8	15.733	0.01
Discussion Forum & Chat groups for International political issues	42.7	40.0	11.772	0.05

Figures marked by () are significant*

Table 7.11: The web sites used most frequently by Bahraini young people by area of residence

Web site	Southern Governorate	Northern Governorate	Central Governorate	Capital Governorate	Muharraq Governorate	Other	F	P. Value
E-mail	4.70	4.46	4.97	4.28	4.71	4.49	3.196	.007*
Facebook	3.67	3.76	3.62	3.94	3.64	3.57	.515	.765
Discussion forums & Chat groups for local political issues	3.00	3.50	3.51	3.24	3.78	3.43	4.232	.001*
Discussion forum	3.32	3.42	3.62	3.29	3.49	3.32	.752	.584
Chat groups	3.23	3.48	2.93	3.54	3.21	3.20	2.249	.047*
News source	2.77	3.52	3.28	3.61	2.73	3.44	8.654	.000*
Local political issues	2.66	3.37	3.18	3.10	2.88	2.88	4.631	.000*
International political news	2.74	3.02	2.96	2.89	2.75	2.89	1.115	.351
Political issues	2.31	2.84	2.71	2.61	2.49	3.02	3.682	.003*
Discussion forums & Chat groups for International political issues	2.46	2.74	2.29	2.43	2.31	2.11	3.430	.004*

A Chi-square test was used to look at the differences among respondents with regard to their age and gender.

The results reveal that there were no significant age difference in browsing the internet except in Facebook (18-22= 62.3%, 15-17= 61.5%) and discussion forum and chat groups for local (18-22= 51.5%, 15-17= 49.8%), in favour of young adult participants.

Table 7.10 illustrates that there were also significant gender differences in the some web sites browsed. Male participants were more likely to look at many kinds of web sites than were females, particularly facebook (M= 64.5%, F= 59.0%), chat groups (M= 56.8%, F= 52.0%) Local political issues and political issues (M= 60.5%, F= 54.7%) and (M= 46.3%, F= 40.3%) respectively and, Discussion Forum & Chat groups for International political issues (M= 42.7%, F= 40.0%).

Additionally, a one-way ANOVA was used to investigate whether the internet web sites Bahraini young people usually browse differed on the basis of their areas of residence. The figures in Table 7.11 show that there were significant differences in the use of email web sites in favour of Central governorate participants ($F(3,196) = 4.97, p < .007$), while those from the Capital governorate were significantly more likely to use news sources and chat groups.

Discussion forums and chat groups for local political issues ($F(4,631) = 3.37, p < .000$) were significantly more likely to be used by participants from the Muharraq governorate and websites for international political issues ($F(3,430) = 2.74, p < .004$), local political issues ($F(4,631) = 3.37, p < .000$) and finally political issues ($F(3,682) = 2.84, p < .003$) were significantly more likely to be used by participants from the Northern governorate.

7.6 The Use of Media Forms: Newspapers

The last part of this section on media forms examined regular reading of newspapers among young Bahrainis. The results show that almost half of the participants read newspapers regularly (47%) while almost one third of them do not use this form of media regularly (32.4%). The results also show that, 44.5% of respondents read two newspapers or more on a regular basis.

Al-Eid (2006) found that more than half of Bahraini people (61%) read newspapers regularly, while 34.3% of participants read newspapers sometimes. Another study, conducted by Abu Raad (2004) on Bahraini university students, found that 63.5% of participants read newspapers regularly or almost regularly. Al-Eid found that the young adult Bahraini people aged between 20-30 were more likely to read newspapers than were older people (50 years and over). This finding is slightly different from that of Carpini (2000), who found that young adults are less likely to read a newspaper or watch the news.

The findings show that the young adult participants were slightly more likely to turn to newspapers in order to obtain news and information about local and international political events and issues or read articles about public affairs and politics than were the teenagers in the younger age group. Abu Raad (2004) reached the same result in his study: he found that half of Bahraini university students (50%) (young adult age) looked for political news and issues in newspapers.

The results reveal significant gender differences in the consumption of newspapers. A more marked difference is that male participants were more likely to obtain news and information about local political events and issues through newspapers (68.8%) than were females (63.3%). Males were also more likely to use newspapers to obtain news and information about international political events and

issues (M=68.3%, F=59.0%) and to read articles about public affairs and politics (M=58.8%, F= 51.4%). This result concurs with Al-Eid (2006), who found that males were more likely to read newspapers than were females. The same study found that Bahraini people in general (87.1%) and male participants in particular were more likely to read the news in newspapers. On the other hand, there were no significant differences between age groups or governorates in any of these variables. Pasek et al. (2006) pointed out that political awareness was more strongly correlated with informational media, such as Internet use than with newspaper reading.

In addition, the findings demonstrate that participants from the Central governorate turn to newspapers to acquire information on local political events and issues (86.9%) and to read articles about public affairs (83.5%) more frequently than did those from other governorates, while participants from the Southern governorate turn to newspapers in order to obtain news and information about international political events and issues (84.1%) more frequently than do those from other governorates. On the other hand, participants from the Capital governorate less frequently turn to newspapers to acquire news and information, whether about local or international political events and issues or to read articles about public affairs.

A Chi-square test was used to look for significant differences among respondents with regard to their age and gender, while a one-way ANOVA was used to investigate differences among respondents in newspaper consumption, whether for local or international political events and issues or to read articles about public affairs with regard to areas of residence.

Table 7.12: Newspaper consumption broken down by gender

Newspaper use	Male (%)	Female (%)	Chi ²	P. Value
Frequently turn to newspapers to obtain news and information about local political events and issues	68.8	63.3	14.472	0.01 [*]
Frequently turn to newspapers to obtain news and information about international political events and issues	68.3	59.0	37.827	0.001 [*]
Frequently read a newspaper articles about public affairs and politics	58.8	51.4	26.072	0.001 [*]

Figures marked by () are significant*

7.7 Political Interest and Involvement with Television and the Internet

This section explored the correlations between political interest and political involvement with TV and internet. Did respondents who reported greater TV watching or internet browsing also display greater political interest and involvement? A Pearson Correlation was conducted to obtain the association between watching TV and using the internet with political interest and involvement.

There were statistically small significant correlations between watching TV ($r=.460^{**}$, $n=1178$, $p < 0.01$) and using the internet ($r=.318^{**}$, $n=1178$, $p < 0.01$) with political interest (Table 7.13). There were also statistically small significant correlations between watching TV ($r=.496^{**}$, $n=1178$, $p < 0.01$) and using the internet ($r=.486^{**}$, $n=1178$, $p < 0.01$) with political involvement, which means that watching TV and using the internet were positively correlated with political interest and involvement among Bahraini young students.

This result with regard to the internet concurs with the findings of many previous researchers, such as Price and Cappella (2001), who found that more

politically interested and knowledgeable people were more likely to be engaged in online dialogues. Similarly, Horrigan et al. (2004)¹⁰⁰ demonstrated in their study that Internet users have superior exposure to political arguments. In addition, Weber and Bergman (2001) found that those persons who were involved in online activities were more likely to be involved in a variety of political activities. Moreover, Shah et al. (2001) supported this positive influence of the Internet on participation patterns, as did Tolbert and McNeal (2003), who confirmed this positive impact of Internet use on political participation based on the 1998 and 2000 elections and illustrated that individuals who use the Internet for political news are more likely to 'participate in politics'.

Paseket et al. (2006), in their research, found that those who use the Internet or read books for information most days of the week were more likely to report frequent involvement in civic activities than were those who never used these media.

7.8 Media Forms: Influence on Political Knowledge, Political Involvement and Political Interest

This section examined the effect of the independent factors (the internet, newspapers and TV) on the dependent variables of political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among Bahraini young people. A general linear model followed by multivariate analysis of variance was used¹⁰¹.

Table 7.13 displays that all the independent factors significantly affected political knowledge, political involvement and political interest (all at $p \leq 0.001$).

¹⁰⁰ This research was conducted by the Pew Internet and American Life Project in collaboration with the University Of Michigan School Of Information

¹⁰¹ MANOVA (multivariate analysis of variance) was used to test the effect of the independent factors on the dependent factors.

These results concur with the findings from a large number of previous studies. Numerous studies support the finding that television news exposure is strongly correlated with high levels of political knowledge and awareness (see, for example, Garramone and Atkin, 1986; Atkin, 1981; Atkin & Gantz, 1978; Wober, 1980; Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson, 2006; Stempel, 1986; Chaffee and Kanihan, 1997). A strong correlation between broadcast news exposure and political interest has also been demonstrated in a number of studies (Johnson, 1973; Atkin & Gantz, 1978). The positive association between high levels of political participation and high levels of news media use are endorsed by Buckingham (1999), Putnam (2000) and Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006).

As well as television, some researchers have found that reading newspapers is positively associated with political awareness (such as Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson, 2006; Stempel, 1986; Chaffee and Kanihan, 1997; Kanihan and Chaffee, 1996; Atkin, 1972; Martinelli and Chaffee, 1995; Chaffee et al., 1970 and Chaffee & Schleuder, 1986).

Additionally, many researchers have found that political knowledge is strongly correlated with using the Internet (see, for example, Davis & Owen, 1998; LIAO, 2003; T.LaPlant, 1998; Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson, 2006). Other works (Johnson and Kaye, 2003; Kenski and Stroud, 2006) have found Internet use to be correlated to higher levels of political knowledge and participation.

Pasek et al. (2006) stated that the associations between media use and civic activity indicated closely that all of the media variables were positively correlated with civic activity (p: 125).

Before ending this section, one can ask whether the different media forms have started to shape political knowledge and awareness more than traditional

agencies such as parents, school and peer groups. Has the attention of youngster in using the television or the internet to look for movies and entertainment programmes affected their interest towards political information or political news?

With the availability of huge numbers of TV channels and new social media tools, it is clear that, with regard to this study's results, large numbers of participants are obtaining their information, whether political or otherwise, through these forms of media. They select what they want, trust and agree with as sources of information. Hence, the traditional agencies of political socialisation, or at least some of them, and the traditional media channels such as government-controlled channels, have become less effective than new agencies chosen by young people. In addition, no one can ignore the function of different demographic characteristics, such as gender, age and residential areas, in identifying the levels and the types of influence of different agencies, as found in this study with regard to sectarianism and religious groups.

Table 7.13: The effect of media forms on political knowledge, political involvement and political interest

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	P. Value
Internet	Political knowledge	2514.440	51	49.303	2.703	.000 [*]
	Political involvement	21186.359	51	415.419	7.972	.000 [*]
	Political interest	1581.363	51	31.007	4.135	.000 [*]
Newspapers	Political knowledge	2668.249	4	667.062	38.435	.000 [*]
	Political involvement	19469.689	4	4867.422	94.533	.000 [*]
	Political interest	1874.539	4	468.635	67.860	.000 [*]
TV	Political knowledge	3151.678	39	80.812	4.622	.000 [*]
	Political involvement	21563.723	39	552.916	10.792	.000 [*]
	Political interest	2420.746	39	62.070	9.311	.000 [*]

Figures marked by () are significant*

7.9 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter describes and discusses the relationships between political factors and media exposure and consumption, illustrated with sample demographics and analyses. In addition, this chapter examines young Bahrainis' interest in the news media,

whether local, regional or international. It also inspects young Bahrainis' interest in news, focusing on three basic forms of media: print media forms, included newspapers and magazines, broadcast media, including television and radio, and the Internet, including social networking sites such as facebook, emails, discussion forums and chat groups. Like chapter nine, this chapter examined age, gender and the area of residence.

By gender, this study found that almost all participants of both sexes watched TV; the majority of them, whether they were males or females, were moderate viewers. This study found significant gender differences in television consumption and watching news on TV. However, it found that almost half of the female participants (48.6%) and more than one third of males (37.4%) do not watch the news on TV at all.

Although this study found that for international news, Al-Jazeera and Bahrain TV in particular were favoured by females more than males, the results indicated that Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia were more consistent with male political views rather than females.

With regard to local and international political news, this study found that males used the abovementioned channels significantly more than females, and that male participants were more likely than females to watch all kinds of programmes except for entertainment and youth programmes.

In other media forms, this study found that males and females showed very similar scores for all kinds of internet usage. Nevertheless, the previous chapter indicates that Bahraini young males were more likely to look at many kinds of web sites than were females for local political issues, discussion forums and chat groups in general, international political news and political issues. Moreover, this study reported

that males were also more likely to use newspapers to gain news and information about international political events and issues and to read articles about public affairs and politics than were females.

By age, the young adult participants were more likely to watch local and international political news on the Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia channels than were the teenager participants. Additionally, among a variety of types of television programmes watched and web sites browsed, the results reported a close similarity between young adult Bahrainis and teenagers in watching and using these forms of media, in favour of young adults more than teenagers.

This study also found that the young adult participants reported that they were more likely to turn to newspapers in order to gain news and information about local and international political events and issues or read articles about public affairs and politics than were the teenagers.

By resident area, this study found that young Bahrainis who lived in the Southern and Muharraq governorates were more likely to watch the Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia channels for local and international political news and their views were more consistent with those expressed on the Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia channels for political news than were those who lived in the Northern, Capital and Central governorates, whereas the participants from the Northern, Capital and Central governorates held views that were more consistent with other channels, particularly the MBC group channels¹⁰² and Shiaa Channels.

¹⁰² MBC group channels (entertainment channels) were preferred by these governorates and those who lived in Southern and Muharraq governorates as well.

These results indicate that entertainment programmes were the most popular programmes among young Bahrainis. Moreover, the study found that participants from the Southern governorate watched significantly more international news.

With regard to internet usage and area of residence, there were very close similarities among the five governorates. Nevertheless, this study found that Central governorate participants used web email sites significantly more than did those from other governorates, whereas those from the Capital governorate were significantly more likely to use news sources and chat groups. Also, this study found that the participants from the Muharraq governorate were significantly more likely to use Discussion forums and chat groups for local political issues and websites for international political issues and local political issues, while the participants from the Northern governorate were significantly more likely to use the internet for political issues.

On the other hand, this study found that watching TV and using the internet were positively correlated with political interest and involvement. Furthermore, the results indicate that the internet, newspapers and TV had a significant influence on political knowledge, political involvement and political interest among Bahraini young students.

The previous results illustrated that television, newspapers and the Internet have significant influence on political knowledge, political involvement and political interest among young Bahrainis. All of them were strongly correlated with political knowledge or awareness, and the high levels of news media use were strongly correlated with high levels of political participation, while only television news exposure showed a strong correlation with political interest among young Bahrainis.

This result indicates that a significant role was played by different forms of media in different aspects of political socialisation, particularly in political knowledge and involvement.

All forms of media used in this study had significant influence on political socialisation, particularly political knowledge and involvement, and also political interest to some degree. These results agree with the findings of many studies presented in detail earlier. Nevertheless, it seems that the association between young Bahrainis and these forms of media is not because they are interested in news media, but because they are exposed to the media tools in the home indirectly, as some of them stated spontaneously during focus group discussions. For instance, some of them stated that they were more likely to watch the news for less than thirty minutes a day when sitting with their family because their fathers wanted to see the news, they discussed political issues because their families did so at mealtimes, and they read newspapers because their parents brought them home. This finding cannot be generalised, however, because this might have happened to some but not to all of them.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, FUTURE RESEARCH AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This study explored the political awareness and influence of various forms of media on the political socialisation of secondary school students in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Political socialisation was measured in terms of knowledge of different types of political awareness, such as political attitudes (including political interest, efficacy and knowledge), trust in Bahraini politicians, media forms and the government, television exposure and Internet use, political involvement, action and participation, opinions about the Bahraini government, and finally, the sources of information among secondary school students, boys and girls according to the age range of the target population.

This study used the combined methodologies of survey and focus group data. The aim of the focus group was to assess the knowledge levels, understanding and activism of Bahraini secondary school students in the field of political socialisation. A further aim was to know more about their usages of different media forms with regard to political socialisation. All of these focus group data were used to inform the design the survey to be more accurate, comprehensible, explicable and easy for participants to answer.

The main research questions with which this research began were:

[1] What is the status of political awareness and understanding among young people in Bahrain?

[2] To what extent does this political awareness and understanding vary between different population sub-groups defined by gender, socio-economic class, and religious group?

[3] What are the key agencies of socialisation that play a part in shaping young people's political awareness and understanding in Bahrain? Further sub-questions can be asked about specific agencies:

[a] What is the role of family?

[b] What is the role of schools

[c] What is the role of peer groups

[d] What is the role of political organizations

[e] What is the role of the mass media such as radio, television and newspapers?

[f] What is the role of religious organizations?

[g] What is the role of online media, including web sites run by media, political and religious organizations, blogs and micro-blogs, and social media sites.

The work then proceeded by outlining eight models of political socialisation that have derived from research carried out in this field in western democracies.

Hyman (1959), Hess and Torney (1967), Easton and Dennis (1969), Dawson and Prewitt (1969), McDevitt and Chaffee (2002), Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006), Lee (2006) and Zaff and Eccles (2008). These models were used to identify key agents of political socialisation that have been empirically verified by past research. These socialisation agents provided a structure for the analysis of processes underpinning political socialisation in Bahrain. These models did not provide comprehensive frameworks for this purpose however. A number of new agents of political socialisation have emerged in recent years that do not feature within these models – even the those most recently developed. In addition, the

significance of religion on the political scene in the Arab world was another distinctive factor that western models give little prominence to.

The remainder of this chapter will be structured in terms of the three research questions. Overviews will be presented of the status of political awareness and engagement among young people in Bahrain and then of how this awareness and engagement varied between different population sub-groups. Then we will turn to the models of political socialisation and consider how effectively they provided a framework for the analysis of political socialisation in Bahrain. Finally, we will examine the contributions of this research and recommendations that flow from it for future research and for understanding political processes in Bahrain.

8.2 Overall Political Involvement and Awareness

The shifting political behaviour and attitudes which happened in Arabic countries after Arab Spring (2011), including Bahrain, has made people in the region, in particular young people, more active in political participation and involvement, because they feel that they can change any problems that stand in the way of freedom whether they be individuals or government institutions.

It is interesting to note that even though the students studied a subject entitled ‘Citizenship’ containing much information about the Bahraini parliament almost 40% of participants did not know the answer to the question about the length of a term of office for Bahraini members of parliament or know the how many members there were in Bahrain’s parliament. As it is mentioned in table 8.1, the same lack of political information was found when the survey assessed young Bahrainis’ knowledge of regional and international political information. The results showed that the majority of respondents knew the name of the American president and the

president of Iran, but that their knowledge about other questions in the same field was very poor.

The results of this study revealed that the students wanted to be involved in different activities if they had a good opportunity to do so. Students held in highest regard politicians from their own sects. Thus, Sunni students chose Sunni leaders whether people or societies and Shiaa students chose Shiaa leaders. Furthermore, the students generally admired radical individuals who held extreme opinions, whether local or international leaders. The political involvement of Sunni and Shiaa young people increased dramatically after the political problems of February 2011. After these political problems, many people in Bahrain, whether students or older people, became involved in politics either by participating in demonstrations or as new media activists. The major reason here was that they all wanted to support their sects against any local or foreign intervention.

Table 8.1: Overall political Knowledge and involvement

Political Knowledge (Correct Answers)	Political Involvement**
U.S President? XXXX	Attend political meetings: XX
Iran President? XXXX	Present your views to a local councillor or MP: XX
Bahraini Members of Parliament- length of a term? XXX	Take an active part in a political campaign: XX
Number of members in Bahrain's parliament? XXX	Take part in demonstrations: XX
Turkish president? XXX	Donate money or pay a membership fee to a political party: XX
Current Member of Parliament in their election area? XXX	Urge someone to get in touch with a local councillor or MP: XX
Name of the Arab League secretary-general? XX	Picket or march: XXX
Political society that has the most members in the Parliament presently? XX	Discuss current political issues with any of your teachers: XXX
Nelson Mandela - Political leader of which country? XX	Sign petitions: XXX
Bahraini Foreign minister? X	Follow what's going on in government and public affairs: XXX
UK Prime Minister? X	Boycott certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons: XXXX
Russia President? X	

*XXXX – 75%+, XXX – 50-74%; XX – 25-49%; X - <25%

**Sometimes + A lot.

Bahraini students' had a keen awareness of the real problems suffered by Bahraini society. Among the focus group participants, 54 students (84%) found themselves affected by political affairs and 30% of them found these matters to have a significant impact on their lives, which is a good indicator of their political awareness. It should be mentioned here that the majority of the participants showed concern about the sectarian problem and said they wanted the community to move beyond this major problem. Focus group participants openly criticised government performance and indicated whether they supported the government or not. They demanded more free speech and free opportunity, which means that they felt free to say anything and they understood their rights, particularly in the current climate and given their age.

Moreover, the active political involvement of young Bahraini is not related to political awareness particularly about political information. These results disagree to some extent with previous studies that have found that political knowledge is a key predictor for engagement in politics (such as Neuman, 1986; Delli, Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2006 and Verba et al., 1997). In addition, these results reveal that in some countries or areas, the level of political information is not as important as the influence of religious groups living in sectarian conflicts that have build up and led to the mobilization of sectarian groups which play an important role in controlling the level of people's political involvement.

In addition, in spite of fact that the survey results found that the young Bahrainis with greater political involvement achieved higher political knowledge scores, the results of this study reported a lack of political information, whether about local or international issues. In addition, although the students perceived a lack of political information, they reported that they had high levels of political awareness,

particularly with regard to local political issues and local political disagreement, specifically in the focus group discussions.

One should note that after the Arab spring revolution of 2011 in Tunis, Egypt, Libya, Syria and Yemen, the people's attention and following of events, including that of young people, has increased, because they turned from being receivers to being senders and makers¹⁰³ especially with the use of new social media networks which have greatly contributed to the destiny of such movements that have turned the globe to the Arab and Muslim word. The combination of high levels of internet access and literacy has seen a significant growth in the use of social networks amongst Bahraini citizens particularly with the growth in the use of internet-capable mobile phones as it is mentioned earlier; consequently, it is possible that the level of political interest, awareness and involvement increased dramatically after the Arab Spring revolution of 2011, not just in Bahrain but also among all Arabs, including young people who seem to take the lead in such movements.¹⁰⁴

8.3 The Relationships between Political Interest, Knowledge and Involvement

One can see that the relationships between political interest, knowledge and involvement are based on different individual values and civic contexts, activities and identities. It is also clear that the political values, practices and culture in general in the East differ from those in the West.

¹⁰³ Look at section of the Political Activism and New Media in this chapter.

¹⁰⁴ Dubai School of Government, (2011).

Table 8.2: The Relationships between Political Socialisation Agents and Political Interest, Knowledge and Involvement

Population Sub-group	Political Knowledge 1	Political Knowledge 2	Political Interest 1	Political Interest 2	Political Involvement 1	Political Involvement 2
Gender	M: + ve*	F: - ve**	M: + ve	F: - ve	M: + ve	F: - ve
Age	18-22: + ve	15-17: - ve	18-22: +ve	15-17: - ve	18-22: + ve	15-17: - ve
Residential area	+ ve		+ ve		+ ve	
Parents' Education Levels	+ ve		+ ve		+ ve	
Parents' Occupation	- ve		- ve		- ve	
Television	+ ve		+ ve		+ ve	
Newspapers	+ ve		+ ve		+ ve	
Internet	+ ve		+ ve		+ ve	
Religion	+ ve		+ ve		+ ve	
Sectarianism	+ ve		+ ve		+ ve	

*Positive relationship.

**Negative relationship.

For instance, the majority of political socialisation studies in the West are based on election practices, whether about interest, knowledge and involvement; however, this form of political participation is not common in the Arab and Moslem world, so models need to be changed for them to be applied in some of these countries.

It could be that the Arab and Moslem region is shifting to a completely different political space after the Arab Spring of 2011; however, these countries need long-term political process development in order to get rid of the old dictatorial political legacy or so-called 'deep state', and then proceed to exercise political development to serve this region and not restrict their progress.

The majority of the focus group members who were interviewed were between 15 and 18 years old, with a small number being between 18 and 21 years old. There were equal numbers of male and female participants, whether at school or as students. In the focus group data, discussions with regard to respondents' demographic characteristics and the gender differences between boys and girls are made clear in a number of participants' answers. While the arithmetic age of the participants in the survey was between 15 and 22 years, most respondents were aged 15 to 17 years (74.4%), with others aged between 18 and 22 (25.6%). The number of participants was equally divided between boys and girls, whether at schools or as students. As mentioned previously, this survey was conducted among 1,178 young Bahraini students from twelve secondary schools.

It describes the sample's demographics and analyses and discusses the respondents' interest in politics, political awareness and knowledge, political involvement, opinions about the Bahraini government, trust in Bahraini politicians and the government and participants' sources of information. The study survey collected demographic data on age, gender, parental occupation and level of education, and residential area; the survey sample was divided almost evenly between females (52.8%) and males (47.2%).

8.4 Demographic Factors

Generally, according to students' answers in focus group discussion, the girls were more interested in and knowledgeable about politics than were the boys, while the boys were more interested in local politics than were the girls. The girls knew the importance of politics, as shown by their answers; nevertheless, they tried to avoid

political issues because of the internal problems in the country. This showed them to be more concerned about politics than were the boys.

During the focus group interviews, the girls were more frustrated than were the boys in the majority of their answers irrespective of whether they were Sunni or Shiaa; they showed more anxiety about their future and about their graduate studies than about finding employment.

The last paragraph provides an explanation of the major problems that give rise to frustration and anxiety in the participants of both sexes. It could be true that the main concern for the majority of students of both sexes, were internal political problems between Shiite citizens and the naturalized citizens, such as vandalism and sabotage, the burning of garbage in the streets mainly in different Shiite villages and around the country, and they felt a lack of security and an uneasy coexistence between Sunni and Shiite citizens.

The survey results also showed that male students had significantly more confidence and trust in the government, the judiciary, parliament, Bahraini TV broadcasting and Bahraini domestic news websites than did their female counterparts. It might be because males, by their nature, are more involved in social activities so being able to give their opinion more quickly than can females.

Table 8.2 shows that Bahraini males demonstrated more political interest, greater political knowledge, greater political involvement and greater trust in politicians than did Bahraini females. This could be explained by males having more desire to be involved in these kinds of activities and programmes, and more concerned with this kind of participation and knowledge.

One can ask why students of both sexes appeared more concerned and interested in regional political issues (50.8%) than in domestic or international

political affairs. The reason is that sectarianism has made some of them turn away from being involved in or concerned with local political issues. Nevertheless, it could be true that this interest has changed in light of the most recent political upheaval (February, 2011).

Besides that, regarding news media use and trust, the focus group results could be divided into two categories. The first category introduced gender difference and that confirmed that boys used and trusted traditional media forms, such as newspapers, more than they did new media forms. Also, they trusted the traditional ones more than the girls did, while the results showed that the girls trusted new media forms, such as the Internet and electronic forums, more than did the boys. The second category introduced the gender difference with regard to the participants' sects.

The results show that Shiite boys and girls placed more trust in electronic forums, specifically Shiite forums, to obtain information about Bahraini affairs, whereas Sunni students, whether boys or girls, trusted specific sources of Bahraini domestic news which were related to their community or their doctrine.

To understand the reason for the previous results, it can be noted here that the majority of students said they did not follow Bahraini television because they did not trust it, in particular as regards information about Bahraini current affairs. As a result, Sunni students found newspapers more trustworthy because they considered them more independent than the Bahraini government television channel. In addition, they answered that they followed international news and sometimes local news on the other news channels, on TV channels and/or Internet channels, depending on whether they were Sunni or Shiaa.

Previous to the sectarian problems of 14 February 2011 in Bahrain,¹⁰⁵ Sunni students used and had more trust in channels like Al-Arabia, while Shiaa students put more trust in Shiaa channels, Internet websites and electronic forums; this is particularly true with reference to the girls. It was noted in the focus group interviews that the girls were more likely to believe what they saw on the electronic forums or in social network websites whether they knew the sources or not, while many interviewees pointed out that much of the news broadcast in these kinds of websites was not to be trusted, being more like rumours than reliable news.

With respect of age, the results presented in table 8.2 showed that young Bahrainis aged between 18 and 22 years have more political interest, political knowledge and political involvement than those aged between 15 and 18 years. Also, the result illustrates that young Bahrainis aged 15-17 have more trust in politicians than do those aged 18-22. This result means that as participants get older, they have a gradually increasing ability to understand politics, so they become more interested and involved in politics than when they were younger. Furthermore, the increase in age gives students greater experience, which enables them to evaluate politicians' performance and whether they are trustworthy or not. This result disagrees with the finding of one study completed in the Arabic Gulf by Al-Salem (1981), who suggested that "students gradually lose the sense" of political involvement, while it concurs with a Western study completed by Roberts, Pingree and Hawkins (1975); those researchers found that older children were more likely than younger children to be involved in communication behaviours relevant to politics, to have additional

¹⁰⁵ These data are mentioned here because many Bahraini people found Al-Jazeera channels covered Bahrain events in a biased way, especially the English version.

knowledge about 'parental party affiliation', and to be more accepting of 'inter-party conflict'.

It was very important to choose the appropriate age in order to help the study to get clear results; however, as mentioned in the methodology chapter, in this group, aged between fifteen and twenty-two years, there is a greater understanding of political ideas and developing awareness and political attitude, according to Niemi and Sobieszek (1977).

During the Arab Spring revolution of 2011, all channels broadcasted massive demonstrations that were intended to bring about political change in the region, and it was very clear that the majority of participants were teenagers and young adults. The same was true of Bahrain. During the political upheavals of 2011, the young people in both sects, Sunni and Shiaa, were the main impetus, and participated with great effectiveness, all of them supporting their sects in demonstrations, pickets or protest marches.

This issue became more apparent in the important role of teenagers and young adults in their participation in different media forms and in some activities targeted by each sect, such as boycotting certain trades or organising different demonstrations. While it is good that young people become more active in political involvements, it is not good if it sets them against each other.

It is also good that when students are involved in different political programmes and experiences, they will gain more political awareness, according to the results of this study, which confirmed the positive correlation between political involvement and a high level of political awareness. This could help the students to distinguish between their sects and political affairs, and might help society to reduce the sectarian divisions between Bahraini people.

Additionally, regarding TV consumption, the results demonstrate that the young adult participants were more likely to watch local and international political news than were the teenage participants. This result supports the Bahraini study by Musaiger (2006), which found that Bahraini young adults were more likely to watch news channels than were teenagers. In addition, this result supports Carpini's (2000) study in the West, which found that young people were less likely to read newspapers or watch the news than were adults. It does not concur with the Bahraini study by Al-Eid (2006), who found that Bahraini young adults aged between (20-30) were more likely to watch entertainment programmes. Moreover, this study illustrated that teenagers and young adults obtained very similar scores for all forms of internet usage.

With respect to the geographical location, this was significant in terms of trust in politicians. Shiaa people did not trust the government, and wanted to overthrow the government and the king, as could be seen from their cheers, shouts and slogans, while Sunni people supported the political system and call for non-violent political reform and rejected the imposition of opinions on others by force. With regard to the latest political problems in Bahrain (2011), the main reason for Shiaa involvement was a demand to overthrow the government and the entire regime, while Sunni people, with many other groups of Shiaas, rejected this demand. However, according to the results of this study, some students had more trust in politicians than in the government, whereas other students had more trust in the government than in politicians. Their decision was based on the sects of students. Only a few studies have examined political socialisation with regard to geographical characteristics. One such study is by Ross (1973), who found that living in rural areas was positively related to political participation. However, not many studies have

examined the political socialisation differences based on the participants' sects or doctrines.

8.5 Religious Interests and Political Interests

Religious groups have become an effective agency in political socialisation; this study found that young Bahrainis who had significant levels of religious interest also had significant levels of political interest. This finding is supported by the Bahraini study completed by Abu Raad (2004; 137), and supported by other studies completed by other Arabic Gulf researchers, such as Al-Salem (1981) and Dhaher (1982). In a rare study completed in Western nations to investigate the role of this kind of agencies, the study by Karageorge found that the church was the agent that exerted the greatest direct positive influence on Greek Americans' political awareness (2003: 81)¹⁰⁶.

When this study refers to religious interest, it means the sect to which students belonged: Sunni or Shiaas.

The first type or model of socialisation contexts, as suggested by the work of Hess and Torney (1967), is the Accumulation Model, which includes institutions, such as the family, school, and church. In the other words, they identified the family, school and religion as the primary direct source of teaching about political attitudes and values. However, they recognized social class, ethnic origin and geographical region as encompassing large social setting, as the second source, and they consider personal or individual characteristics as the third source of teaching about political attitudes and values.

¹⁰⁶ Another study has examined the impact of religious socialisation among youth (Bartkowski, 2007) or family (De Hart, 1990; Hunsberger and Brown, 1984).

This study found that family, religious interest, geographical region (sectarian communities), individual characteristics, and media use all play a major role in Bahraini political socialisation. In addition, many of them can be found to interoperate with other characteristics; for example, the type of sect influences the way the family or religious interest influences political socialisation. Also, the area of residence and the sect can affect the individual characteristics regarding political knowledge, interest and involvement. Therefore, different models of Western political socialisation still keep their importance; however, it is essential to understand that different political cultures and values play a critical role in various aspects of political socialisation, particularly in the East.

The next section discusses this difference with regard to the participants' resident areas.

8.6 Government Performance

Before examining the results related to government performance, it should be noted that almost half of the participants in both sects had good knowledge of and understood the relationship between government and citizens, government and the judiciary or the legislative parliament and the Shura Council. Many students said that politics controls everything in the state and in our lives. A majority, (61%) of students from different governorates said that they were interested in government and public affairs.

During the focus group interviews, the participants from different governorates and sects freely gave their opinion about different issues, such as whether opportunities and freedom of speech in the country exist; the majority of students suggested that opportunities in Bahrain were unequal among all citizens, and most of participants alleged that not everyone in the country had the same level of

freedom of speech. The answers from both Sunni and Shiaa participants showed that they blamed favouritism, nepotism, cronyism and sectarianism because they felt these controlled everything.

It could be true that the students' answers were based on their sects and that, therefore, some of them blamed the government for everything while others blamed people and some Shiaa political societies and their sectarian behaviour for these problems. A crisis of confidence was evident between Shiaa students and the government, and between Sunni students and some Shiaa political societies; this matter appeared more clearly during the recent political problems in 2011.

The political involvement of young people in that period supported their community whether they were young Sunnis or Shiaas. According to the survey results, almost half of the participants were satisfied with their government's performance, while the other half were not satisfied with some government policies. This result explains the divide mentioned above in the most recent political problems in the country. This means that almost all Sunni students supported the political system, while almost all Shiaa students opposed it.

It is also noted that while the Sunni students had various criticisms of the government and the political system, they supported it and wanted it, while almost all of Shiaa students said they did not want this government and this political system, and some radical groups among them rejected both the government and the king.

Moreover, it is very clear that this small disagreement between these students in different sects reflects the same big disagreement between different sects in the country.

8.7 Old Media Forms

Almost half of the participants watched news on TV for up to 30 minutes a day; the result also shows that fewer than half of the participants never watched international political news on any channel, and slightly more than a third did not watch the local political news on Bahrain TV, Al-Jazeera, Al Arabia or any other channel.

While the results demonstrate that Al-Jazeera and Al Arabia channels were those most preferred by Bahraini participants, the same results show that slightly under half of the respondents never watched local political news on these channels.

Comparing with Pasek et al.'s (2006) study with studies of Western young people, it was found that Western young people view more television than do Bahraini young people. Nonetheless, like Bahraini young people, they do not watch local television news; both sets of young people prefer movie channels or sources of information other than local television news. This revealed that these local channels still present their news programs in an ordinary style and target adult viewers, not young people. This makes this kind of program seem unrelated to this age group and maintains the distance between young people and this kind of source of political information.

It should be noted that, after Al-Jazeera channel's coverage of the political unrest of 2011 in Bahrain, people there had different opinions about this channel and others depending on the sect to which they belonged. Whenever either sect found that a channel demonstrated bias against their sect or in favour of the other, they immediately boycotted or protested against this channel. For example, when the BBC Arabic or Al-Jazeera English and Arabic Channels broadcast news and programmes in support of the Shiaa people, the Sunnis reacted against this channel; similarly, when the Al Arabia channel or Al Watan channel broadcast news and programmes in support of the Sunni people, it was the Shiaa people who reacted against this channel.

The most significant result was about the Bahrain national television channel; just over a quarter of the participants thought that the national channel contributed to the formation of political news whether local or international. While the same result indicates that other channels contributed daily to forming local political news (44.7%), the channels the participants watched depended on the sect to which they belonged. Therefore, it could be said that each sect has specific channels for the formation of their political news and that are more consistent with their ideology and beliefs.

One question was related to the participants' favourite channels, and they were given the option of filling in different news channels that had not been mentioned in the survey. The majority of the participants put a variety channels, but the most popular one was a movie channel named MBC2, while others put sports channels. This result confirms other participants' answers, which found that Bahraini students are more likely to watch and be interested in entertainment programmes (74%) whether movie or sports channels rather than other programmes or other news channels. This result could be due to the students' age and interests; nevertheless, it is also worth asking to what extent Arabic news channels have been successful in attracting the attention of people from this age range, and whether these channels have the freedom to attract Bahraini viewers from this age range. However, other channels were chosen in accordance with the participants' sects, as was mentioned in the results chapter.

This study's results show that 74% of all the participants of all ages watched entertainment programmes everyday or almost every day. This result agrees with the general finding of Al-Eid's (2006) study but disagrees with the general finding of Musaiger (2006), who found the participants were more likely to watch

news channels than other channels. Another study completed among university students in Bahrain found that political programmes were the favourite programmes among them (Abu Raad, 2004).

Pasek et al. (2006) mentioned research that claimed that movies influence young people's beliefs and attitudes, commencing in the 1930s. However, neither Pasek et al.'s (2006) investigation nor this study supported this finding. Nonetheless, both of them reported that the majority of young people were interested in entertainment programs, particularly movies.

The result showed that Bahraini students preferred to watch programmes on TV other than news programmes, however, almost half of them watched news on TV for up to 30 minutes a day. It could be that, on different levels, gender and age play an important role in Bahraini students' preferences and choices. This conclusion is supported by this study and by other Bahraini studies, such as Musaiger (2006) and Al-Eid (2004).

On the other hand, the results of this part of the study demonstrate that almost half of the participants read newspapers regularly (47%) while almost one third of them did not use this form of media regularly (32.4%). The prominent result here is that 44.5% of respondents read two newspapers or more on a regular basis. This means that almost half of the participants had more than one source of news. Also, the result reveals significant gender differences in the consumption of newspapers to acquire news about local political events and issues, international political events and issues, and articles about public affairs, all in favour of males.

The Bahraini studies one by Al-Eid (2006) and by Abu Raad (2004) found that almost two thirds of Bahraini people read newspapers regularly or almost

regularly. This means that even the Internet and TV are more attractive for Bahraini students; however, a large number were still interested in reading newspapers.

To sum up, these results concur with the findings of Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson, (2006), about that television news exposure that is strongly correlated with high levels of political knowledge and awareness and the positive associated between high levels of political participation and high levels of news media use. As well as television, Pasek et al.'s (2006) model have found same results that reading newspapers is positively associated with political awareness. Additionally, Pasek et al.'s (2006) model have found that political knowledge is strongly correlated with using the Internet which agree with thesis finding.

It is noted that the political awareness of every sect was based on different source of information belonging to their sects, whether TV channels, newspapers or new media forms such as discussion forums, facebook, twitter and so on. Therefore, they were interested or involved in political activity based on this sectarian culture. This matter was very obvious in the young Bahraini consumption of television, newspapers and new media forms, whether in focus group or the survey results. Also, in one question presented in focus group discussions, the students were asked about the politicians they admired, and it was very clear that their answers were divided between two groups on the basis of their sects.

8.8 New Media Forms

The results show that more than a quarter of the participants never used the internet as a news source, while almost the same percentage stated the opposite and said they used this form of media every day or almost every day. In spite of the fact that 71.1% of participants used the internet to talk about local politics, which gave a good

impression about their interest in such issues, 29% percent of students said that they never used the internet as a news source; this is a significant proportion. It might be that this is due to their age and because their interest is more in friendly chatting or using the internet for entertainment purposes.

This study found that email was the format most frequently used by Bahraini young people for discussing local political issues (64.3%), followed by Facebook (46.4%) and then discussion and chat groups (37.2%). Al-Eid's (2006) study reported that email was the format most frequently used by Bahraini people, of both sexes and of all ages.

Additionally, this study found that young adult participants browsed all forms of web sites more than did teenage participants, with the exception of those dealing with local political issues, and this confirmed an earlier suggestion that the age of students gave them more vision to look out different things, spending time not only on leisure. The result also shows that males and females obtained very similar scores for all forms of Internet usage, being only slightly in favour of males. This gave an indicator about the different media interest and use of male and young adult Bahraini students.

8.9 Key Predictors of Political Socialisation

Last group of research enquiries discussed these questions: What other factors influence the development of political interest, knowledge and activism for different groups of young people in the Bahraini society? And what are their main motives behind the political socialisation? These questions include the main sources of political knowledge and influence.

As mentioned previously, the finding of this study illustrated that the growth of political awareness, political interest and political involvement for Bahraini young students is based on different sources of information depending on the sects of users. The two sects use different forms of media to get political news: nevertheless, Sunni students seek channels, newspapers, websites and social networks belonging to their ideology and their beliefs, while Shiaa students seek media that are consistent with their ideology and their beliefs. Consequently, both of these groups obtain their political awareness from different aspects, and some of them on both sides adopt extreme opinions towards other sects.

It was predicted that the students from governorates inhabited primarily by Shiaa students would have more political knowledge, interest and involvement for reasons associated with nature of Shiaa beliefs as follows. The Shiaa people have a closed religious system based on the ‘Sayed’¹⁰⁷ or ‘Shaikh’¹⁰⁸ who is considered as the ‘Marjea’¹⁰⁹ or leader. These men, in Shiaa belief, lead people in all aspects - religious matters, politics and so on - and all of this guidance happens in ‘Maatam’¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁷ Who wears the black (Omama) turban, and whose religious authority is at the top of the Shiaa sect. The Shiaa people claim that his family lineage is linked with family of Sharif)

¹⁰⁸ Who wears the white (Omama) turban, and has the religious and political authority in the Shiaa religious system.

¹⁰⁹ Marjea means religious reference. Any Shiaa person must have a religious reference or a person who is representative of him in his country. The Shiaa people must follow this reference and must give him the fifth of their salary.

¹¹⁰ The Maatam is the religious place at which Shiaa people meet regularly in different Shiaa religious occasions with respect of death of imams or scholars. These religious occasions occur throughout the year, and most of them are dominated by grief and talk about historical incidents. Some of them are named Alaza and participants strike their bodies to express their grief over the deaths of historical figures. These practices are just for the minority Shiaa in Islamic world, in which the majority of

Shiaa people have numerous celebrations during the year and frequent sad historical religious events. The relation between Shiaa people and these ‘Sayeds’ or ‘Shaikhs’ is based on blind obedience in all things: therefore, according to the Bahrain political history, since the 1970s, the Shiaa people have been more organised in their political involvement, and their specific demands appeared clearly in the last political unrest in 2011, while Sunni students were further removed from the political environment, particularly the new generation. However, the results of this study were very surprising in this regard.

The results showed that there were no significant differences between residence areas in terms of This means that the prediction that Sunni students’ are not as politicised as Shiaa students is not accurate. Indeed, in some focus groups involving Sunni students, they presented more political awareness and boldness than did Shiaa participants.

people are Sunni, and some Sunni scholars regard them as heresy and superstition. Other Sunni scholars regard them as ‘kufr’ (outside of Islam) because they give rise to sectarianism and hatred among the people.

Table 8.3: Key Predictors of Political Socialisation

Agents of Political Socialisation	Agents identified by Four Old Models	Agents identified by Four New Models	Agents identified by Focus Groups	Agents Significant Predictors of Socialisation
Family	X	X	X	X
School	X	X	X	X
Teachers				X
Peers group	X	X		X
Geographical region	X			X
Social class	X			
Community	X		X	X
Government	X		X	X
Old Media Forms		X	X	X
People in the Media				X
Religion, Religious Leader and Organisations	X	X	X	X
Cultural socialisation		X		
Ethnic	X	X		
Close work associations	X			
Social group	X			
Tribal	X			
Book		X		
Magazine		X		
Politician			X	X
Activities			X	X
Political Matters and Affairs			X	X
New Media Forms			X	X
Sectarianism			X	X
Sectarianism and the Use of Media			X	X

Additionally, two more factors were found to be influential among Bahraini students in their political socialisation: these are sectarianism and Islamic socialisation. Both of them will be explained in detail in the next section. The source of information, including the effect of religious groups and media use, describes some aspects of this meaning.

8.10 Evaluation of Eight Models and Bahraini Model

The previous table presented the key predictors of political socialisation agents identified by the eight earlier models whether pre-1990 or post-1990, or political socialisation agents identified by focus groups or identified by the survey and focus groups of this thesis.

Comparing between previous models presented in table (8.3), one can find that many traditional agents such as parents, peer groups, school and religion were frequently mentioned in old and new research, while some of them were mentioned in pre-1990 studies such as geographical region, social class, community, close work associations, tribal and social group.

Other agents such as books or magazines were frequently stated in post-1990 models, and was examined in this thesis, however, the focus group results have not suggested those factors as a significant agents of political socialisation.

This study found many new influenced agents in political socialisation, whether during applying the focus groups or the surveys. These are politician, activities, political matters and affairs, new media forms, sectarianism and sectarianism and the use of media. New media forms and its varieties have not repeated regularly in this kind of investigations such as Twitter, Facebook, Forum and so on.

One can notice here that, some new agents become more significant than before because of differences between generation, culture and religion. For instance the agents of political matters and affairs and sectarianism had an influence among young people in Bahrain in particular after Arab Spring revolutions, whereas it did not have this level of impact before.

Next sections investigated all of these agents in depth with more explanation and reflection with the situation in Bahrain.

All agencies reported by young Bahrainis during focus groups interviews were rebated in the survey, however, the participants in the survey, because they were much more than those who participated in the focus groups, they reported many new agencies which had not been mentioned within small number of focus group participants. For instance, survey results reported teachers, peer groups, geographical region and people in the media.

In addition, the results of this thesis in both methods recorded sixteen agencies could influence political socialisation of young Bahrainis, some of them concur with previous models whether pre or post 1990 models, while others were new. In my opinion, most new political socialisation agencies impacted young Bahrainis and been influenced by Arab Spring revolution such as political matters and affairs and activities. However, other agencies like new media forms such as Facebook, Twitter and electronic forum, take their significant role on political socialisation with respect of shifting period, culture and technology. It was evident that new generation were using new forms of media.

Moreover, the influence of sectarianism agent among young people in Bahrain became worse not only during the political unrest in Bahrain 2011 but before that. Hence, the results of both methods show that very bad expectation of young

Bahrainis with regard of future relations between Sunni and Shiaa people in the country.

According to table 8.3 the models of Hess and Torney (1967) and Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) were beneficial in an explanatory framework for Bahrain more than other models.

The model of Hess and Torney investigated traditional agencies, such as family and school, religious affiliation and different large social settings including geographical region, ethnic origin, and social class. Besides, they examined the individual characteristics or child's personal behavior. Hess and Torney (1967) examined the differences between social classes in society and the differences between ethnicities, cultures, and geographical regions, which could form different political attitudes, knowledge, behaviors and so on. This model is very useful to apply in society that has considerable impact of all these kinds of individual characteristics and all these agencies which are associated not just in West, but in the East as well.

Furthermore, the model of Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) was also a very explanatory framework for Bahrain. The authors investigated the mainly wide-ranging examination to date of media use in young people and how that use relates to civic and political behaviour. Many results of this study supported by Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) work, and many measurement from the previous model were benefited in this study in particular those measurements that examine the use of different forms of media.

In my opinion, the different models used by Hess and Torney and Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006) were more comprehensive than many other six models presented in this study, and they are more flexible to apply in different culture and regions, among diverse kind of people.

On the other hand, the models of Easton and Dennis (1969) and McDevitt and Chaffee (2002) even though they identified some agents were similar to this study, they were least effective due to their political socialisation variables and agents. Both of them investigated family and school. Easton and Dennis (1969) was more focused in Government and community, while McDevitt and Chaffee (2002) focused slightly more on the media, however, they examine it in this model less than other model completed by Chaffee himself.

In the end of this discussion and with respect to the results of this thesis, the Bahraini model of political socialisation study covered traditional and new agencies of political socialisation, as well has covered different aspects of political socialisation variables. In application to other areas, this must examine the area to be associated in the sense of the region, culture and religion and more effectively.

Bahraini model should focus on family, school, community and religious institutions leaders, as well as they should be concerned with old and new forms of media. On the other hand, different political affairs and sectarianism also play an important role in this area as it is presented deeply in the next sections.

8.11 Source of Information, Media Use and Trust

The data regarding the sources of information gave a clear idea about what were the influential sources in students' lives, whether political or otherwise. The Internet, newspapers and individuals were the most frequently cited sources of information among the focus group participants, with use of the Internet and in particular, the electronic forums, being the most favoured.

The students who participated in the focus groups trusted the Internet, and particularly electronic forums, more than they trusted other sources. In addition, they

found people more trustworthy than others sources, and finally, they showed more trust in some media forms, such as newspapers and television, than in others. On the other hand, a number of students said that they did not trust any of these sources.

The results show that people, whether they were parents or friends, were more trusted as a source of information than were media forms. In addition, the girls used and trusted the Internet and electronic forums more than boys did and this was particularly true among Shiaa students; however, the boys trusted and used newspapers more than did the girls.

Once more, it should be noted that many students trusted or did not trust specific television channels. Moreover, Sunni students did not trust any newspapers or channels run by Shiite people and Shiaa students did not trust any newspapers run by Sunni people. With regard to this result, one can note that, nowadays, sectarianism controls the students' outlook about all components of the nation, whether powerful institutions or media forms.

With regard to Bahraini domestic news, according to the focus group interviews, 62% of students trusted in some form of Bahraini domestic news, whereas 38% distrusted all or some Bahraini domestic news. The majority of students trusted in some Bahraini newspapers more than in others, while fewer trusted the Internet and Bahraini electronic forums. However, the participants' answers depended whether they were Sunni or Shiite; Sunni students used and trusted Bahraini Sunni newspapers and electronic forums and Shiite students used and trusted Shiaa newspapers and electronic forums.

Besides, some focus group participants said that they did not trust any Bahraini domestic news, in particular the Internet and the television; the reason for

this is that each group of students tended to trust the media forms that were closest to their sects.

The table on page number 78 shows the stages of political socialisation studies since 1920 with causal factors and prominent works. Throughout these decades, the influence of political interest, knowledge and involvement remained stable, and played an important role in changing some regimes, particularly in the Arab world; however, the role and the impact of the agencies has changed year after year.

While the traditional agencies, such as the parents/family, schools, and peer group, were the major independent factors focused on by almost all the renowned scholars in this field until almost 1977, researchers and scholars like Chaffee, Atkin, Gantz and others subsequently, have tried since 1970 to answer the question: ‘Do the mass media play a role in political socialisation?’. Since 1990, a new generation of political socialisation studies, like Blumler (1999), and Neuman and Robinson (2001), and research centres, such as the Pew Research Centre, have examined the influence of new media, in particular, the Internet, on this field.

This shift means that independent factors, such as parents/family, peer groups, schools and others, will not maintain their position as the major agencies influencing political socialisation. Traditional media forms, such as television and newspapers, rather than new media forms, such as the Internet including different social networks, have turned out to be the major agencies affecting political interest, knowledge and involvement.

The results of the survey are consistent with what was mentioned above. The results reveal that different agencies, such as parents/family, peer groups, people in the media and teachers, contribute significantly in forming political interest, political

knowledge and political involvement among Bahraini young people. Religious groups were a new agency that has become a major influence with regard to the research results.

The research finding shows that those Bahraini students who had greater religious interest also had greater political interest. It is noted that religious groups have become more effective in influencing political interest, knowledge and involvement, while peer groups have become less influential in forming political interest and political involvement. It could be said that the religious group to which the participant belongs might have a strong influence in the Arab and Moslem world but not in the West; however, while this may have been valid previously, it is not the case currently. Nowadays, Western nations have become multicultural, with many second, third and fourth generation immigrants living there. Therefore, this kind of study helps any society in either the West or in the Arab world to understand this diversity. Thus, the result of this study in this area agrees with the Bahraini study by Abu Raad (2004) and with other Arabic Gulf studies by Al-Salem (1981) and Dhaher (1982), who found the same influence of religious group, religious interest and the family on Bahraini and Arabic Gulf young people. In my opinion, this kind of influence of religious groups and religious interest, as discussed earlier, falls under the broad title of Islamic socialisation, which controls the gates of information and before that the forms of these gates.

Furthermore, this study found that the school contributes significantly in forming political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among Bahraini young people. Hence, this result should be taken seriously in order to solve the sectarian problem among young Bahrainis through the use of special programmes and curricula. The oldest and most renowned studies in the field of political

socialisation support this finding, such as Hyman (1959), Torney (1967) and Hess and Jaros (1973). Nevertheless, with the rapid shift in the influence of political socialisation agencies, it is unlikely that the school will continue to have the same impact on students if the schools do not change the quality of the speech, tools and contents directed at the students, including political education as part of a curriculum and in practice.

The results from the data confirm previous findings: the Internet gains the highest score in the formation of political knowledge among young Bahrainis (90.5%), higher than parents (87.25%) and TV (82.5%). This same result illustrates the decrease in the influence of the traditional political socialisation agencies such as the school (63.5%), radio (62.5%) and magazines (62.0%). It is noted that the parental influence maintains its high position established by famous studies in this domain by Hyman (1959), Easton and Hess (1962), Greenstein (1965), Dawson and Prewitt (1969), McDevitt and Chaffee (2000) and others. As a result, it is probable that some agencies will disappear in the future while others, such as the parents and family, will still play an important role in political socialisation despite the occasional entry of new agencies.

It is noticeable that in the different political socialisation models presented previously, such as the model of McDevitt and Chaffee (2000), it was found that parents score in the “trickle-up influence” operation, and they act as gate-keepers for their children. Nevertheless, according to the results of this study, young Bahrainis were influenced from of political socialisation factors including parents, religious groups, sectarian communities and different media use, whether new or traditional, all participate in forming Bahrainis’ political orientation, learning and behavior, and this influences might expand in the future.

The last point to be noted here is a surprising result that emerged from the focus group discussions and to some extent from the survey, which is the level of political awareness among Bahraini students in both sects, particularly in their responses about the problems facing Bahrain these days. The majority of answers demonstrated good knowledge and awareness about these problems in both sexes and in both sects. Almost half of participants predicted a worsening sectarianism problem in the future, and this is what happened in 2011. From that time, the majority of students have become more involved in political events, primarily in support of their sects rather than in high political culture.

8.12 Key Predictors of Political Activism

In previous sections of this chapter, it was mentioned that sectarianism and Islamic socialisation play a significant role in political activism among young Bahrainis, particularly after the last political upheaval in February 2011. The study findings illustrate that both of them were controlling other political socialisation variables such as demographic factors, geographical location and media exposure; also, both of them shape the political interests, political awareness and knowledge among young Bahrainis. The reason here is that the religion and sects have become the focal point in all of these variables. In addition, this study found that parents have kept their position as crucial agents in political socialisation, because they are involved in religious socialisation and are part of the sects that influence their children at different ages.

Currently, you can hear sectarian opinions everywhere and from both sects, so this problem has become worse than before. In my opinion, this problem became worse due to the infringement of sectarian behaviour into the socialisation process, and this is very clear everywhere nowadays. It is particularly obvious when parents

participate in picketing or march in demonstrations and repeat sectarian shouts against other sects in the country.

8.13 Sectarianism among Young Bahrainis

This study predicts the extent of sectarian problems in Bahrain, with regard to the students' answers in focus group discussions before the survey instrument. The majority of participants, both male and female, felt that the relations between Sunni and Shiaa people would get worse in the future. This is what has happened since the last political sectarian unrest in February 2011.

The results show a surprising response to the question asking participants if they agreed with the suggestion that anyone in their community should be allowed to express or publish any article or voice an opinion against another community. Almost one third of the participants in both sexes said that society should allow people to express these views. Another surprising result was that almost one quarter of the participants responded to this question by saying that they did not know; this means that more than half of the participants were willing to accept any radical voice raised against other sects, and this has appeared clearly in this stage in Bahrain history.

This study found that the young Bahrainis were involved in some political activism, like boycotting certain products (82.2%), following what is going on in the government and public affairs (72.1%), signing petitions (65.3%), and picketing or marching in demonstrations (51.8%); however, these results were found one year before the last political unrest in 2011. It is very noticeable that since that year, everything has changed in the country: in particular, people's political activism in previous political activities, and unfortunately the majority of these activities are based on supporting one sect against the other. For instance, the Sunni people started to boycott certain products or shops belonging to Shiaa traders in objection to their

support of violence in the streets; also, it was very noticeable that after the political unrest in 2011, the number of political rallies, participation in political picketing or marching in demonstrations increased dramatically among both sects and involved different sexes and different ages, and each of them had very different political demands. The Shiaa sect stated that political reform was needed, while Sunni people demanded true political reform but in a peaceful way, not in the violent ways that Shiaa protesters use nowadays.

8.14 Political Activism and New Media

As has been repeated in different parts of this study, the Arab Spring revolution of 2011, including the Bahraini sectarian problem, increased the use of social media networking forms dramatically. The study completed by the Dubai School of Government after the Arab Spring revolution of 2011 found that Facebook penetration rates in Bahrain are on a par with the top 20 countries in the world, representing a pervasive use of Facebook in Bahraini society, with 36.83% (Facebook penetration of above 30%). The same study reported that Bahraini males are more likely to use Facebook than are females with 58% and 42% respectively, while Bahraini people aged between 15-29 are more likely to use Facebook than are people aged over 30 years with 62% for young people and young adults and 38% for adults.

Previous research has confirmed that the Bahraini attitudes about new media forms changed after the most recent political unrest in 2011; for instance, Twitter has become the most powerful medium. The study by the Dubai School of Government found that the number of Twitter users in Bahrain between 1 Jan. and 30 March 2011 was about 61,900 users with 5.01% of Twitter penetration, and the number of tweets in same era reached 1,350,000. The number of Twitter users and tweets in Bahrain increased dramatically due to the Bahrain sectarian problem since 14 February until

now. As an Arab Social Media report pointed out, Bahrain is considered among the top performing countries regarding Twitter user penetration with 7.53% (Twitter penetration above 5%). This figure indicates a high use of Twitter in Bahraini society relative to other Arab countries.

Furthermore, it was found that in the first quarter of 2011, the Bahrain hashtag (#bahrain) was the fourth most used, with 640,000 mentions after #egypt, (#jan25) and #libya, which means that the Bahraini sectarian problem has made people there interact more using this kind of social network.

Ultimately, most Bahraini people are Sunni and some Shiaa people assert that the roots of the sectarian divide in Bahrain stretch back to continued Iranian interference and ongoing Iranian statements against Bahrain. Iran has historically asserted allegiance to the islands of the Bahrain archipelago (Sick, 1995). Iran still encourages some Shiaa political societies and figures on the implementation of the internal foreign agenda. Hence, this agenda collides with the identity of Bahrain as a country belonging to the Arabic Gulf, and this occurs not just in Bahrain but in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) as well.

As stated by Sick (1995), historically, Iran occupied the islands of Abu Musa and two other small uninhabited islands known as Greater and Lesser Tunb from the 1970s. These Islands are located in strategic position across the shipping lanes at the mouth of the Gulf.

These Islands were claimed by the emirates of the Trucial States, and Iran signed an agreement with the rulers of those countries merely days before they were incorporated into the new confederation of the United Arab Emirates (UAE: Ibid)

After the Iranian revolution, Iran reaffirmed its intention to sustain its administration over the islands, and a number of influential clergymen made efforts to 'revive Iran's

claims to Bahrain, threatening to launch a movement to establish an Islamic government on the Iranian model' (Ibid).

In their model, Pasek et al. (2006) investigated 12 different uses of mass media with regard to the participants' awareness of current national politics and time spent in civic activities. Their work concluded that, in general, the influences of the media, including the Internet, were positive and significant, and that media use is associated with greater participation in civic activities and higher levels of political awareness. They found also that political awareness was most strongly correlated with informational media, such as Internet use, followed by newspaper reading.

This study dealt with new forms of new media using focus groups interviews or surveys; both methods found that new media play a critical role in political activism, and the results shown in the beginning of this section confirmed this opinion.

As a result, and as mentioned above, the sectarian situation in Bahrain plays a significant role in political activism there, whether by some Shiaa political movements who are working to establish an Islamic government on the Iranian model in Bahrain or by the rest of the population from the majority of Sunni and Shiaa people, including some Sunni movements who are working politically against this idea and defending Bahrain identity and Arabism from some radical Shiaa movements that have adopted the agenda of Iran.

8.15 Contribution of this Research

Along with political changes during the last two decades, large demographic changes have taken place in Bahrain, where the population has almost doubled within a small area of land that has limited resources. The population has become divided into three

groups, that is, Sunnis, Shiites and newly naturalized Bahrainis, in addition to the growing number of expatriate workers. Research into political socialisation in the Arab region and the world over, and particularly the effect of traditional and new media on this issue, has become more significant, and is now crucial, especially among the young people targeted in this research.

The importance of this type of research is evidenced by what happened in the Arabic states of the revolutions and changes in Spring 2011. Those countries and their authorities ignored their people's opinions and freedom, in particular those of the youth. These authorities ignored the people's ability to move toward democratic political changes which established a political awareness and rejected living under a dictatorship where there is no respect for people's rights.

Although there is an extensive literature on political socialisation, much of this research has derived from the United States and has centred on major political elections. The relevance of American studies as a contextual and theoretical backdrop to a study conducted in Bahrain needs to be questioned.

This study discusses political socialisation in the context of the effects of traditional and new media in an area of conflict and external and internal challenges to the coexistence of different sects. In addition, this study examines three issues that have not yet been investigated clearly or have received only limited investigation in the literature: the impact of religious interest and religious groups, particularly Islamic socialisation, on political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among young people, in particular, among Bahraini young people.

The second issue targeted for investigation in this research is the influence of sectarianism in determining the political interest, political knowledge and political involvement among young people in different governorates in Bahrain. In other

words, this investigation identified and compared the main source of political interest, political knowledge and political involvement in each governorate in Bahrain, which has limited space and resources but a large border, making it vulnerable to many challenges.

The model used in this study developed different measurements to deal with different religions and different sects with regard to political socialisation and how these measurements can be used in different countries with the same or similar situations; for instance, many countries in the Arab and Moslem world have religious or sectarian diversity, such as Moslems and Copts in Egypt; Moslems and Sunni Shiaa in Lebanon; Druze and others sects in Syria and Lebanon; Sunni Shiaa in Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Yemen; and the division between Catholics and Protestants among Christians. Therefore, this model can be used in different countries in this region and can be developed to be used in others regarding their diversity.

It could be difficult to generalize the same model and same measurements to all countries because, as mentioned previously, in some countries this kind of topic is considered forbidden.

The last issue is that earlier studies on political socialisation have tended to focus extensively on the roles played by television and newspapers. There is still scope for more research on political socialisation to examine the role played by new media, such as the Internet, particularly with electronic forums, Twitter and Facebook, which have become effective sources of political mobilization in countries such as Bahrain, particularly among young people.

This study gains particular importance because it is the first local study¹¹¹ to address this level of political socialisation and to include how political interest, knowledge and involvement are affected by media news at a PhD level; these specific categories are important, as they try to identify the different actors in a society that play a role in the delivery of that society's political socialisation, especially in light of the features of Bahraini society, with its mixture of sectarian groups and its vulnerability to influence from the surrounding environment.

The research has involved an in-depth search of previous studies that have discussed political socialisation in Arab countries, according to a Western vision or an academic English perspective, as found in one out-of-date book published by Farah and Kuroda (1987) in the US. This search collected thirteen articles discussing different topics of political socialisation, written by English writers and published in Western universities.¹¹² However, that search covered only a limited range of nations and was limited to journals and not PhD theses. Therefore, the present study will be the first work to investigate this area according to different variables and circumstances in different periods of time and different stages of media development in the Kingdom of Bahrain.

This study also gains importance because it set out to identify the sources of influence on political socialisation through various media that are targeted specifically at the age group of interest, a group which constitutes the country's future, as they will be at university within a few years and will join the labour market shortly thereafter. All of this information can contribute to identifying sources of influence to be used in

¹¹¹By topic it could be the first study not just in Bahrain but also in Arabic countries including Gulf region countries according to what I was able to obtain from different sources.

¹¹² "Political Socialisation in the Arab States".

treating the problems that have begun to spread through Bahraini society, causing strong sectarianism, especially given the external influences nearby, which cast a shadow over every nook and cranny in governing the relationship between Sunnis and Shiaas and “new” citizens in the country. In addition, it will enhance the socialisation of the positive sources and enable them to become more effective in delivering their messages.

The identification of more media access for that age group, both domestic and external, will provide new information about more of those means and how they are used to reach and influence young people.

The most important part of this study is the development of standards for the use of political socialisation that have been applied frequently in America and Western societies, but neglected in Arab countries. In this research, tools have been designed to serve those communities by developing a new instrument for measuring political awareness that will assist future researchers to measure this socialisation at different times and locations in other nations in the Arab world, particularly in the Arabic Gulf. The importance of this lies in adapting these tools for their potential application in the measurement of political socialisation in Arab countries, taking into account their different political systems, religions and other variables.

In some Western nations, like the US, more respect is shown to people and young people about these kinds of issues whereas the governments in Arabic countries does not care so much about their reputation among the people there. For this reason, no one there was expecting anyone to ask them questions about the government’s performance, for example, or whether they trusted their government or not. This study opened a door to Bahraini young to express their opinion about different political issues that concern them.

Among all Arabic countries, political issues are considered taboo in primary and secondary schools; just a few countries try to teach students by including in the curriculum national political awareness as a small part of History. In Bahrain, one subject that is obligatory in secondary school is 'Citizenship', which discusses some political issues regarding Bahraini society. However, with regard to the focus group interviews, the majority of participants criticized this curriculum, not only its content, but also the way it is delivered.

The Arabic spring 2011 make this kind of studies more important, cause of that, it become visible that the authorities and governments their do not listening to the people voices.

The results of this study evidenced that this age group has a great ability to understand and to evaluate political issues, whether local or international, which means that the Ministry of Education in Bahrain or in other Arabic countries could develop a curriculum to discuss this kind of issues in a free environment. By using this kind of curriculum, all of these countries could detect and observe any political crisis, and could observe any political or religious misdirection the young people or society might be receiving in order to solve it or at least understand what is happening in the country. In addition, this kind of curriculum could help the country to develop a clear political concept, values, behaviours and attitudes.

This thesis contributes in clear way not just in academic searches but also in different surveys from centres of research and studies. This kind of study gives societies clear indicators about people's thinking on different issues, and increases peoples' awareness with regard to listening to their opinions on different events such as elections, government's and politician's performances, and others, which helps people to be more active regarding political participation and not be just recipients.

This study tried to avoid the methodological weakness seen in other studies which depend just on surveys to cover this topic. A large number of political socialisation studies deal with young people; however, the majority of them do not use any other support methodology to confirm the accuracy and validity of the questionnaires in terms of understanding questions and assessing whether the appropriate age group and their political environment were targeted or not.

This thesis adds two things to political socialisation literature: the stages of development of political socialisation studies (1920-2011) with causal factors and prominent works. This study shows clearly the background to prominent works completed in this field by famous scholars and researchers who focused on specific topics in this domain.

In addition, this study presented a simplified model of political socialisation processes and their relationship to the media, including all aspects of this field found in the prominent works in books, articles and the latest American universities theses and dissertations according to the 'ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Database'¹¹³; this contribution will give any researchers the most up to date information on political socialisation research and other researches.

8.16 Wider Implications of this Research

8.16.1 Limitations of the Study

The previous studies have failed to provide a definitive answer or a clear conceptual relationship between political socialisation and the role of media¹¹⁴. Nor do they

¹¹³Look at (C. MILLER, J. SALKIND, 2002: 346).

¹¹⁴During this essential period in political socialisation research (from 1959 until the 1970s) and in the years before, only a few works investigated the role of the mass media as a significant agent of political socialisation. Dennis, in his Bibliography (1973), identified only eight works examining mass media as

provide clear opinions on this question: 'Do the mass media play a role in political socialisation?' This matter led Buckingham (1999) to point out that earlier research on these issues was fairly contradictory.

In spite of the fact that many studies obtained different results confirming a strong relationship between political socialisation and media use, such as Fagen (1966), Jennings and Niemi (1968), Niemi and Sobieszek (1977) and Dawson, Prewitt and Dawson (1977), researchers still have an unclear vision about this relationship. Not only that, even other researchers such as (Chaffee et al. (1970), Dennis (1973) and Hyman (1974) who conducted that a great deal of study both on political socialisation and on adolescent media use, said that these domains rarely overlap.

This confusion was the main reason for the theoretical gap between political socialisation and the media use. Even Chaffee's ten papers examining this relationship from the 1970s to the 1990s generated the conclusion that the areas of teenager media use and political socialisation research 'rarely overlap'. All of this previous researches has helped to draw a clear picture about this association, but its results do not help to theorise this relationship sufficiently.

agents of political socialisation, among roughly a thousand works. These works as follows: Bryne, (1969) " Mass Media and Political Socialisation of Children and Preadult", Chaffee, Ward and Tipton (1970) "Mass Media and Political Socialisation", Gerson, (1966-1967) "Mass Media Socialisation Behavior: Negro-White Differences, Hyman, (1963) "Mass Media and Political Socialisation: The Role of Patterns of Communication", Mitcheli, (1969) " Socialisation and The Mass Media in China and Japan", Mosel, (1963) " Communication Patterns and Political Socialisation in Transitional Thailand" and Shostack, (1969 and 1965) " Some influences of Television on Civil Unrest" and " Television and the Reactions of School Children to the Assassination".

In addition, it is clear that we cannot apply the theoretical models developed in the West to different cultures such as Arab or Moslem culture. For instance, Niemi and Sobieszek (1977) found that mass media are crucial sources of political information for adolescents, even to the point of replacing parents as the foremost sources of political learning. Previous scholars ignore different cultural, social and political reasons that might generate other results. In Bahrain or in other Arabic or Moslem countries, the roles of religious leaders and parents still maintain their positions as the foremost effective agencies in political socialisation, as stated by Dhaher (1982) and Al-Salem (1981) and as found in this study as well.

The study of political socialisation is not common in the Arab world. The majority of Arabic countries do not give people the freedom to criticize their government's performance or to say whether the people trust their government or not. The agreement by the Ministry of Education in Bahrain to allow an investigation of this topic in Bahraini secondary schools two years before the events of the Arabic Spring in 2011 shows good indicators about their anxiety about the country, and about the government's understanding of the problems in Bahraini society, and their attempts to know the political perspective of young Bahrainis about the country's problems in order to solve them.

The fieldwork of this study was carried out one year prior to the sectarian events that took place in Bahrain on Feb 14, 2011. The study revealed that a number of the participants' responses were approaching the uprising events that occurred in Bahrain last year. However, when the study was conducted, religious and political issues that were related to the distribution of Sunny and Shiite population in Bahrain society were taken into consideration. Due to the fact that there are two sects (Sunny and Shiite) in Bahrain society, the above issues were treated carefully for two reasons.

The first one was related to the researcher himself as he belongs to one of these two sects. The second one was related to difficulty in carrying out this study as some participants, regardless where they came from and what sect they belonged to, were hesitant to take part in answering the questionnaires.

They showed some doubts about the nature of the study itself and whether they could trust the researcher who aimed to help students and the Bahrain community in understanding the nature of the current political problem and solve it.

Moreover, the participants, who were involved in the questionnaire and the focus group interviews of this study, were a good representative of the Bahraini society. This was evident and was reflected in the results of the study. The results of this study represented different points of views, different opinions, and different political attitudes and movements from different sects, which either criticised or praised the government's acts. In addition, there is an important point that is worth mentioning here and that is some participants were reluctant to give their true responses in the focus group interviews, but not in the questionnaire. This might be due to their fear of the face to face interviews.

Before commencing the focus group interviews and the questionnaire, the researcher allocated a few minutes to explain the aims of these interviews and questionnaire and the importance of expressing one's opinions and views on political issues to all participants. This was considered a crucial step in this study to clarify any doubts that the participants might have about the objectives of this study as this might be the first time for them to express their own views on political issues and the government. In the focus group interviews, most of the Sunni, male and female, interviewees as well as the Shiite female interviewees expressed freely their opinions unlike the Shiite male interviewees who were hesitant and careful when answering the

questions. As for the questionnaire, all participants, regardless their sex or sect answered all the questions in a more relaxed manner as there were no recordings and their names were disclosed.

Finally, there were several limitations which made this study examining the influence of new media forms on political interest, knowledge and participation, particularly challenging. However, this will change dramatically during the next decade with regard to a revaluation of rapid acceleration of technology change (Accascina, 2002), such as iPhones and Blackberries and so forth, which will make connecting with social networks easier and faster than before, in particular in areas like Arabic countries, including the Arabic Gulf, with people following fast-moving events minute by minute.

8.16.2 Suggestions for Future Studies

Political socialisation studies began in the West; however, the major development in this kind of research took place in the US. It is easy to link American studies in this domain with other Western nations, while it would not be accurate or fair to link these studies with the different environment, culture and religion in Arabic countries. Therefore, this kind of study needs to be extended into the Arabic world to help people and systems understand each other.

Some traditional agencies, like parents and the TV, still maintain their position in Arabic countries; nevertheless, some new agencies, such as the Internet and religious groups, have become more influential than ordinary agencies.

Nowadays, this new virtual world has begun to change people's lifestyles and the style of political systems and leaders; for instance, the entire world watched what was

achieved by the social networks in the Arabic Spring of 2011 in Tunis, Egypt and Syria and other countries.

In the Islamic and Arabic world, religious groups, leaders and interest play an essential role in creating people's political socialisation. This matter can be seen clearly in other countries located in Southern America, while it is not effective in the US or in other Western nations. In addition, this kind of influence exists clearly in some states that are suffering sectarian problems to varying degrees, such as Iraq, Lebanon, Bahrain and Kuwait.

Though this study is the only one examining this topic with this degree of detail in Bahrain and in the Arabic Gulf states, this topic needs more investigation not just in the Arabic Gulf but in the entire Arabic world in order to understand the collectivistic political awareness there, especially among those young people who will lead the society in the future. This kind of awareness could help the states and the people to create a new future with understanding of each other, because everyone has rights and duties.

There is a need to construct research around the growing use of the internet and social media sites in relation to discovery of political information and engagement in political discourses, especially on the part of young people. These digital technologies are penetrating the Arab world at a rapid pace and cannot be fully controlled by governments. There may be good reasons therefore for Arab governments to embrace these technologies themselves and to enable them to be used for open political debate. This will be a difficult step for most of them to take because these technologies and their political applications are perceived as a threat.

Ultimately, not only academic studies need to develop this kind of research in Arabic countries, but also there needs to be greater effort from investigation and

survey centres. These surveys might help to save the country and the people from any future risks, and develop people's responsibility towards their countries and nations, as have done some famous centres in the US and the UK, which have regular surveys about this kind of topic in order to help society, families and the academic university research at the same time, such as the 'Pew Research Center'.

8.17 Conclusion

It could be said that chapters of the sectarian story which was discussed at the beginning of this study are still being told. These chapters have helped form political interest, knowledge, and involvement and the Bahraini use of different media forms and their trust of government performance and so forth.

This study investigated the influence of a variety of forms of media on the political socialisation of secondary school students in the Kingdom of Bahrain. This study used the combined methodologies of survey and focus group data. In light of the dramatic changes in the agencies that influence political socialisation, and the technological and communications revolution that is reflected in the virtual world of new media, the factors that influence political socialisation have also changed.

Except in the United States, much of the world, including the Arab countries and Arabic Gulf countries in particular, are still not interested in these studies regarding the link between new media and political awareness and involvement, in spite of its extreme importance.

Previously, parents, peer groups and the school were the critical agencies in political socialisation. However, the situation has now changed, and the various media, particularly new ones, side with religious groups in being opposed to all agencies of socialisation. Furthermore, the new media facilitate the recruitment of the

new generation to religious groups and facilitate political ideological recruitment; young people listen to them more than they listen to their parents.

Studies of political socialisation might help states to know the circumstances surrounding the new generation, who will become the leaders of the future, to find out the real problems and seek to remedy them. Any disregard of this awareness will result in events similar to those that occurred in the United Kingdom in August 2011, where misunderstandings between the authorities and various groups of society led to clashes over the death of one person; because the young people did not feel that they had any connection with or involvement in the running of the country, they felt there was no willingness to deal with their problems. This transformed the issue from a problem with lifestyle to a political problem in an instant.

In the United Kingdom, there are second and third generation immigrants and political refugees of many nationalities, including Indians, Pakistanis, Libyans, Palestinians, Yemenis, and Somalis. Nevertheless, all researchers involved in this kind of study will come across obstacles regarding the privacy of these communities and will encounter difficulties in coming to know the problems facing them in order to make the process of integration with the community easier.

The problems revealed by the above example can be applied to many countries. In Bahrain, problems stem from the mix between the different components in the sects, Sunni and Shiaa, and the categories belonging to the two communities that were recently granted citizenship. The country needs laws that will act as a deterrent to those wishing to damage the community's fabric, and to protect the rights of individual communities from infringement, especially concerning the external agendas that still threaten Bahrain with daily divisions, such as the Iranian media.

In this study, no difference was found in the results for each method. The results almost always supported each other. However, the titles shown in the finding of the focus group were different from the survey results because the survey questions were more expansive than the focus group questions. In addition, not all the figures were mentioned in the discussion chapter as some of them were not relevant or not valid.

Generally, this study found that the demographic characteristics used in this study, namely, gender, age and residential area, were significantly influential in participants' responses throughout almost all aspects of this study. It is sectarian affiliation which affects the participants' answers in different parts of this study.

This study showed that watching TV and using the internet were positively correlated with political interest and involvement among Bahraini young students. It also found, as have many previous studies, that political knowledge is a key predictor for engagement in politics. Additionally, this study demonstrated that all the independent factors significantly affected political knowledge, political involvement and political interest. It is noted that the males were more affected and influenced by media and the political domain than were the females. This study confirmed the findings of previous studies completed in Bahrain and in Arabic Gulf countries since 1981 which have pointed out the role of religious groups and religious interest among Bahraini people including students.

Regarding the news media, this study showed that males are more likely to watch television news than are females, and this finding agreed with the findings of other Bahraini studies, such as Musaiger (2006), and Western studies, such as Conway et al. (1981).

Throughout this study, some of the Bahraini students' responses about the impact of parents or media forms, for instance, were similar to those of students in Western nations, whereas some of them were different; nevertheless, the result of the influence of religious groups and religious interest was obvious in Arabic Gulf countries including Bahrain, but it has not been examined clearly in West nations.

Among the largest problems in conducting the research was the absence of any kind of studies into these issues and the lack of any attempts by the authorities to understand the real situation of the Arab youth. This was the cause of the explosion of the revolutions in Arab countries, and has been reflected in a tremendous increase in political awareness and political attention, which was revealed in the form of activity and participation by political actors to overcome autocratic regimes and replace them with democratic systems that will show an understanding that has been buried for decades.

In Bahrain, this study will undoubtedly open the field to reveal further details about the awareness of young people and the impact of political and religious groups. In addition, it would be a big challenge to stop the triumph of doctrine and its role in involving the community in political awareness and interest and then in political participation for sectarian purposes. There is a need for the radical restoration of the damage caused by the recent civil disobedience, which has led the country to a position that is only a few steps from the sectarian conflict found in Iraq and Lebanon.

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APPENDIX 1

The focus group questions

Political interested

1. How much, if anything, do you feel you know about politics? What is politics really about as far as you are concerned?
2. How interested are you in Politics? [Follow up question] How interested are you in local or domestic political issues?
3. Is there anyone in politics who you really admire or would wish to be like when you get older?
4. Some people often think about what's going on in government and public affairs and others are not that interested. How much interest do you take in such matters?

Political involvement

5. Is there anyone involved in politics who you know?
6. Do you participate in any of the school activities, either as a member or as an officer?
7. If you do not already take part in any school activities, are you involved in any activities that benefit your community or the area where you live?

Political knowledge

8. Do you think political matters affect your own life? If so, how?
9. What do you think are the important issues facing Bahrain today? Then.. Do any of these issues affect their own lives?

(Create more jobs, Fight against crime, Protect freedom, Protect the country from sectarianism, Give people more say in political decisions, Develop the standard of living...)

10. Do you feel you need to know more about how Bahrain is governed? What do you think you need to know more about?

11. If you could change anything about Bahrain what would it be?

Source of information

12. When you want to get information about what is happening in Bahrain, where do you get it from? Are there some sources of information about Bahrain affairs that you trust more than others?

Media use

13. How much of the time do you feel you can trust Bahraini domestic news (Television, Newspapers, Websites..? Than.. Which media or news services are most trusted and why?

Sectarianism and tolerance

14. Some people say that the opportunities in this country are equal among all citizens (categories). What do you think?

15. There are always some people whose ideas are considered bad or dangerous by other members of the community, such as somebody who is against all the newly naturalized citizens. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your community against them should he or she be allowed to speak, or not?

16. Do you think everyone in this country has the same freedom of speech?

17. If some people in your community suggested that any voice against other communities in Bahraini society, should he or she be allowed to taken out this voice of any media forms (T.V, Newspapers, Forum sites).

18. Do you think you have the same opportunities in life in Bahrain as everybody else?

APPENDIX 2

Survey of Public Opinion about the News in Bahrain

This survey is concerned with the opinions of young people in Bahrain about the news and political issues. We want to find out about your interest in the news and in politics, and about your use of different types of news media.

The survey is being carried out by Ebrahim Hasan as part of his studies for a PhD at the Department of Media and Communication, University of Leicester, UK..

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. We are interested only in your person opinions. The questionnaire is completed anonymously and your answers cannot be traced back to you. So please try to answer every question as fully and honestly as you can.

Where none of the responses offered exactly reflects your view, please try to select the response that is closest to your feelings.

Please try to complete all of the questions. Thank you very much for assisting with this survey.

First here are some questions about yourself.

1. How old are you? [Please circle one number]

1. 15 – 17

2. 18 – 19

3. 20 – 22

2. Your gender is

1. _____Male

2. _____Female

3. Which of the following options best describes the amount of formal education your mother has completed? [Please choose one item]

1. Secondary school certificate
2. Diploma certificate
3. Bachelor's degree
4. Postgraduate (Master or PhD)
5. Other

4. Which of the following options best describes the amount of formal education your father has completed? [Please choose one item]

1. Secondary school certificate
2. Diploma certificate
3. Bachelor's degree
4. Postgraduate (Master or PhD)
5. Other

5. What is your mother's occupation? That is, what does she generally do?

Public servant	Private servant	Free business	Retired	Unemployed

6. What is your father's occupation?

Public servant	Private servant	Free business	Retired	Unemployed

Now, here are some questions about your political attitudes and interests

7. How much, if anything, do you feel you know about politics? [Please circle one number]

1. Not much at all
2. A little
3. Quite a bit
4. A great deal

8. How interested are you in Politics? [Please choose the option that best fits your interest level]

1. Very interested
2. Quite interested
3. Not very interested
4. Not interested at all

9. How interested are you in local or domestic political issues?

1. Very interested
2. Quite interested
3. Not very interested
4. Not interested at all

10. How interested are you in regional political issues and events (for example: Palestine, Iraq and other parts of the Arab world)?

1. Very interested
2. Quite interested
3. Not very interested
4. Not interested at all

11. How interested are you in International or world political affairs?

1. Very interested
2. Quite interested
3. Not very interested
4. Not interested at all

Now here are some questions that ask you about your general political awareness

12. Who is the Bahraini Foreign minister? [Please choose one option]

1. Shaikh Khaled Ben Ahmed Al Kahlefa
2. Shaikh Rashed Ben Abdullah Al Kahlefa
3. Shaikh Muhammed Ben Mubarak Al Kahlefa
4. Don't know

13. Who is the current Member of Parliament in your election area?

1. [write in name].....
2. Don't know

14. Which political society in Bahrain has the most members in the Parliament presently? [Please choose one option]

1. Al Menber Alwatani Aleslami
2. Alwefaq Alwatani Aleslami
3. Al Asal Aleslamia
4. Almustaqbal
5. Don't know

15. What is the length of a term of office for Bahraini Members of Parliament?

[Please choose one option]

1. Two years
2. Three years
3. Four years
4. Don't know

16. How many members are there in Bahrain's parliament? [Please choose one option]

1. 40 members.
2. 50 members.
3. 80 members.
4. Don't know

17. Rajab Tayeb Ardogan is the president of which country? [Please choose one option]

1. Lebanon
2. Turkey
3. Iraq
4. Don't know

18. Who is the Arab League secretary-general? [Please choose one option]

1. Hamad Ben Jasem Althani
2. Amro Mosa
3. Saud Alfaisal
4. Don't know

19. **Nelson Mandela was the political leader of which country?** [Please choose one option]

1. Nigeria
2. South Africa
3. India
4. Don't know

20. **Who is currently the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom?** [Please choose one option]

1. Gordon Brown
2. Nicolas *Sarkozy*
3. Tony Blair
4. Don't know

21. **Who is currently the United States President?** [Please choose one option]

1. George Bush
2. Hillary Clinton
3. Barack Obama
4. Don't know

22. **Who is currently the President of Russia?** [Please choose one option]

1. Dmitry Medvedev
2. Vladimir Putin
3. Boris Yeltsin
4. Don't know

23. Who is currently the President of Iran? [Please choose one option]

1. Mohammed Khatami
2. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad
3. Mir Hossein Mousavi
4. Don't know

24. How would you rate your own understanding of politics? Would you say it is

... [Please choose one option]

1. Very good
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor
5. Very poor

25. How much you agree or disagree with each statement: [Please choose one option]

Statments	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Ranking					
I consider myself well qualified to participate in politics					
I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country					
I usually feel sure of myself when talking with other people about politics					
I wish I knew more about politics and political affairs in general					
I feel I need to know more about how Bahrain is governed					

Now here are some more questions about government in Bahrain

26. Some people are very interested in what's going on in government and public affairs and others are not that interested. How much interest do you take in such matters? [Please choose one option]

1. Very great deal of interest
2. A lot of interest
3. Some interest
4. Very little interest
5. No interest at all

27. How much of the time do you think you can trust the Bahraini government to do what is right? [Please choose one option]

1. Just about always
2. Most of the time
3. Only some of the time
4. Never

28. To what extent do you believe that the people running the government in Bahrain are well qualified to handle the problems that we are facing in this country [Please choose one option]

1. Very much
2. Quite a lot
3. Only a bit
4. Not at all

29. How much do you feel that most **public officials can be trusted to do what is right without having to constantly check on them** [Please choose one option]

1. Very much
2. Quite a lot
3. Only a bit
4. Not much at all

30. How much you agree or disagree with each statement: [Please choose one option]

Statments	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Ranking					
Often politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on					
I don't think people in the government care much what people like me and my family think					
People like me don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government					

31. How often do you feel that the people responsible for public affairs usually know what they are doing? [Please choose one option]

1. They almost always know what they are doing
2. They usually know what they are doing
3. They sometimes know what they are doing
4. They seldom know what they are doing
5. They almost never know what they are doing
6. Don't know

32. 'When people like me get involved in politics, they really can change the way that the country is run' [Please say how much you agree or disagree with this statement]

5. Agree strongly
4. Agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
2. Disagree
1. Disagree strongly

33. Would you say that most people can be trusted, some people can be trusted or only a few people can be trusted? [Please choose one option]

1. Most people can be trusted
2. Quite a lot of can be trusted
3. Only a few people can be trusted
4. Nobody can be trusted

34. Please place yourself on the following seven-point scale to indicate your attitude toward politics and politicians

Not at all cynical 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely cynical

Not at all trusting 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely trusting

35. How much you agree or disagree with each statement: [Please choose one option]

Statments	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Ranking					
Other people my age seem to have an easier time understanding complicated issues than I do					
One never knows what politicians really think					
One can be confident that politicians will always do the right thing					
Politicians are more interested in power than in what people think					
One never trust what politicians say					

36. How much confidence do you have in the Bahraini government (political system)? [Please choose one option]

1. A great deal of confidence
2. Some confidence
3. Not very much confidence
4. No confidence at all

37. How much confidence do you have in the Judiciary? [Please choose one option]

1. A great deal of confidence
2. Some confidence
3. Not very much confidence
4. No confidence at all

38. How much confidence do you have in the Parliament? [Please choose one option]

1. A great deal of confidence
2. Some confidence
3. Not very much confidence
4. No confidence at all

39. Over the last few years, how much attention do you feel the government has paid to what the people think when it decides what to do? [Please choose one option]

1. A great deal of attention
2. Quite a bit of attention
3. Not very much attention
4. None

This part of the questionnaire asks you questions about your use of television

40. On average about how many hours a day would you say you spend watching television? [Please choose one option]

1. One hour or less
2. Two or three hours
3. Four or more hours
4. Don't watch TV at all

41. About how much time each day do you spend watching the news on television?

1. Do not watch the news at all
2. Up to 30 minutes a day
3. 31 minutes to 1 hour a day
4. More than 1 hour and up to 2 hours a day
5. More than 2 hours a day

42. How often do you turn to each of these channels for news coverage about local political issues?

Sources	Everyday	Most days of the week	Once or twice a week	Once or twice a month	Less often	Never
Bahrain T.V						
Al-jazeera channel						
Al-arabiya channel						
Other TV channel -----						

43. How often do you turn to each of these channels for news coverage about international political issues?

Sources	Everyday	Most days of the week	Once or twice a week	Once or twice a month	Less often	Never
Bahrain T.V						
Al-jazeera channel						
Al-arabiya channel						
Other TV channel -----						

44. How consistent would you say each of these channels is with your own political views?

Sources	Very consistent	quite consistent	not very consistent	not at all consistent
Bahrain T.V				
Al-jazeera channel				
Al-arabiya channel				
Other TV channel -----				

45. How frequent do you use this form of media [Please choose one option]

1. Television

Statements	Everyday	5-6 days a week	2-4 days a week	One day a week	Less than once a week	Never
Ranking						
How frequently do you watch local news on television (whether political news or other types)?						
How frequently do you watch local news on television (whether political news or other types)?						
How frequently do you watch International news on television (whether political news or other types)?						
How frequently do you watch programmes on local or international issues?						
How frequently do you watch Religious programmes on television?						
How frequently do you watch Youth programmes?						
How frequently do you watch Economic programmes?						
How frequently do you watch Educational programmes?						
How frequently do you watch Entertainment programmes (Sport, movies, music, comedy etc.)?						

46. How frequent do you use this form of media [Please choose one option]

2. Internet

Statements	Everyday	5-6 days a week	2-4 days a week	One day a week	Less than once a week	Never
Ranking						
How often would you say you browse Internet news sources?						
How often do you get news or information about local political issues from the Internet or through email?						
How often do you get news or information about the international political news from the Internet or through email?						
How often do you pay attention to information about political issues on the Internet?						
How often do you use e-mail or participate in discussion forums or chat groups on the Internet to talk about local political issues?						
How often do you use e-mail or participate in discussion forums or chat groups on the Internet to talk about international political issues?						
How frequently do you use e-mail on the Internet?						
How frequently do you use discussion forums on the Internet?						
How frequently do you use chat groups on the Internet?						
How frequently do you use Facebook on the Internet?						

47.*Here are some questions about your perceptions of the news in Bahrain* [Please choose one option]

Statements	Just about always	Most of the time	Only some of the time	Never
Ranking				
How much of the time do you feel you can trust Bahraini TV broadcasting?				
How much of the time do you feel you can trust Bahraini newspapers?				
How much of the time do you feel you can trust Bahraini discussion forums?				
How much of the time do you feel you can trust Bahraini domestic news websites?				
After watching a news story on the TV, do you ever try to find out more about it—like looking at other News channels or websites or asking someone questions?				
After reading a news story on the Internet, do you ever try to find out more about it—like looking at other News channels or websites or asking someone questions?				
After reading a news story in the newspapers, do you ever try to find out more about it—like looking at other News channels or websites or asking someone questions?				

This part of the questionnaire ask you about your personal involvement in politics and political affairs

48.[Please choose one option]

Statements	Quite a lot	Only sometimes	Hardly ever	Never
Ranking				
How frequently do you sign petitions?				
How frequently do you boycott certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons?				
How frequently do you urge someone to get in touch with a local councillor or MP?				
How frequently do you present your views to a local councillor or MP?				
How frequently do you go to political meetings?				
How frequently do you take part in demonstrations?				
How frequently do you picket or march?				
How frequently do you donate money or pay a membership fee to a political party?				
How frequently do you take active part in a political campaign?				

49. [Please choose one option]

Statements	Most days	Once or twice a week	Less often	Never
Ranking				
How often do you discuss current political issues with any of your teachers?				
Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time. Others aren't that interested. <i>Howoften</i> would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs?				

50. Do you participate in any of the following school activities, either as a member or as an officer? [Please choose one option]

1.....Service clubs

2.....Debate or speech clubs

3.....Student newspapers

4.....Religious society

5.....Media club

6.....Others.....

7.....Never.....

51. Do you ever talk about local political issues with any of the following people?

[Please choose one option]

Statements	Most days	Once or twice a week	Less often	Never
Ranking				
First, with your family? How often do you talk about local political issues with them?				
Second, how often do you talk about local political issues with your friends outside of classes?				

Here are some more questions about your political opinions

52. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Please choose one option]

Statments	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Ranking					
A strong Parliament is good for democracy					
Governments are elected on a mandate and should have powers to act on it					
The government does not spend enough time listening to the views of individual members of the public)					

53. How important do they think each of the following problems are for Bahrain today? [Please choose one option]

Statements	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all important
Ranking				
Creating more jobs				
Fighting against crime				
Protecting the country from sectarianism				
Giving people more say in political decisions				
Developing the standard of living				
Protecting the country from nepotism and cronyism				
Stopping the confrontations and burnings that occur in the country				

54. Are you a member of any society, group or club? [Please circle a number for any of which you are currently a member]

1. Sport club
2. Political society
3. Youth organization (Men or woman)
4.I do not belong to any of these outside of school
5. Others

55. In which city or rural community do you currently reside?

1. Muharraq
2. Jedhafs
3. Riffa
4. Manama
5. Isa Town
6. Hamad Town
7. Sitra
8. Zaeid Town
9. Other.....

56. Are you still living there?

1. Yes
2. No

57. How long have you been living in your current residence?

Less than one year	Between one year and up to two years	Between three years and up to five years	Between Five years and up to 10 years	More than 10 years

Here are some further questions about your interests and activities

58. How often do you attend religious locations? (Mosque, Maatem) [Please choose one option]

1. Daily
2. Several times a week
3. Several times a month
4. Not regularly
5. Never

59. Generally speaking, who do you think has the MOST influence over your life? [Please choose one option]

1. Parents
2. Teachers
3. Religious leaders
4. Friends
5. People in the media
6. Others

60. Generally speaking, how much influence do you think each of the following sources has over your political views? [Please choose one option]

sources	a lot	a little	hardly any	none at all
Parents				
Teachers				
Religious leaders				
Friends				
People in the media				

61. Generally speaking, how much do you think Bahraini young people are interested in Politics? [Please choose one option]

A great deal	Quite a bit	Not very much	Not at all

What are your most important sources of information?

62. How important of each sources of news and information for young Bahraini people? [Please choose one option]

sources	Very important	quite important	not very important	not at all important
Television				
Internet				
Newspapers				
Magazines				
Radio				
Parents				
Brothers or sisters				
Friends				
Religious leaders				
School				

63. How often these days you turn to each of these media to obtain news and information about local political events and issues? (You can choice more then one source)

sources	All the time	Quite often	Hardly at all	Never
Television				
Internet				
Newspapers				
Magazines				
Radio				
Parents				
Brothers or sisters				
Friends				
Religious leaders				
School				

64. How often these days you turn to each of these media to obtain news and information about international political events and issues? (You can choice more then one source)

sources	All the time	Quite often	Hardly at all	Never
Television				
Internet				
Newspapers				
Magazines				
Radio				
Parents				
Brothers or sisters				
Friends				
Religious leaders				
School				

65. How often do you read newspaper articles about public affairs and politics?

1. Every day or almost every day
2. Several times a week
3. Several times a month
4. Not regularly
5. Never

66. Please indicate all newspapers you read frequently (mark the space; you can mark more than one choice):

- 1..... Akbhar Al Kahleej
- 2..... Alayam
- 3..... Al wasat
- 4..... Al watan
- 5..... Al waqt
- 6..... Albelad
- 7..... Gulf Daily News (English newspaper)
- 8..... Bahrain Tribune (English newspaper)
- 9. (Do not read \ do not want read) newspapers

67. If some people in your community suggested that an article against other communities in Bahraini society, should he or she be allowed to taken out this article of any media voice (T.V, Newspapers, Forum sites)

- 1. Yes, he or she should be allowed to speak
- 2. No, he or she should not be allowed
- 3. Don't know

68. As you look to the future, do you think that the relations among different groups in Bahraini society will get better or worse?

- 1. Relations will improve
- 2. Stay the same
- 2. Get worse

Thank you very much for your participation in this questionnaire

APPENDIX 3

مسح للرأي العام حول الأخبار في البحرين

تهتم هذه الدراسة برأي الشباب في البحرين حول الأخبار والقضايا السياسية . إننا نتطلع لمعرفة اهتماماتك حول الأخبار والسياسة، واستخداماتك للأنواع المختلفة من وسائل الإعلام.

يُنقذ هذا المسح من قِبَل إبراهيم عبدالرحمن الشيخ حسن كجزء من دراسته لنيل درجة الدكتوراه في قسم الإعلام والاتصالات بجامعة ليستر في المملكة المتحدة.

ليست هنالك إجابات خاطئة وأخرى صحيحة في هذه الأسئلة، إذ ينصبّ إهتمامنا في التعرف على رأيك الشخصي فقط. يتم استكمال هذا المسح من دون معرفة هوية المشاركين أو أسمائهم، ولن يمكنك استعادة إجاباتك، لذا يرجى الإجابة على كل سؤال بشكل كامل وصادق قدر الإستطاعة، والإستفسار في حالة عدم فهم أي سؤال في الإستبانة.

في حالة ما إذا كانت أي من الإجابات المقدمة لا تعكس وجهة نظرك تماماً، يرجى محاولة اختيار الإجابة الأقرب الى وجهة نظرك ومشاعرك.

برجاء استكمال الإجابة على كل سؤال، وشكراً لك على المساعدة في إنجاز هذا المسح.

أولاً، أدناه بعض الأسئلة المتعلقة بك :

1. كم عمرك؟ (الرجاء وضع دائرة على واحد من الأرقام)

1. 15 – 17

2. 18 – 19

3. 20 – 22

2. نوع الجنس الخاص بك

1. ذكر

2. أنثى

3. أي من هذه الخيارات تصف بشكل أفضل المستوى التعليمي الذي وصلت إليه والدتك؟ (الرجاء اختيار إجابة واحدة)

a. تخرّجت من المدرسة الثانوية

b. درست في الجامعة ولكنها لم تتخرج منها

c. حضرت للدراسات العليا ولم تنتجزها

d. لا أعرف أو لا تنطبق الإجابة

4. أي من الخيارات التالية تصف بشكل أفضل المستوى التعليمي الرسمي الذي وصل إليه والدك؟ (الرجاء اختيار إجابة واحدة)

a. تخرّجت من المدرسة الثانوية

b. درست في الجامعة ولكنها لم تتخرج منها

c. حضرت للدراسات العليا

d. تخرّجوا ولكنها حضرت للدراسات العليا

e. لا أعرف أو لا تنطبق الإجابة

5. ما هي وظيفة والدتك؟ وماذا تفعل عادة؟

عاطلة عن العمل	متقاعدة	عمل خاص	تعمل في القطاع الخاص	تعمل في القطاع العام

6. ما هي وظيفة والدك؟

عاطل عن العمل	متقاعد	عمل خاص	يعمل في القطاع الخاص	يعمل في القطاع العام

والآن، هذه بعض الأسئلة حول مواقفك واهتماماتك السياسية

7. ما هو مقدار معرفتك بالسياسة؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. ليس كثيراً على الإطلاق

2. قليلاً

3. أعرف قدرًا لا بأس به

4. أعرف قدرًا كبيراً

8. ما هي اهتماماتك السياسية؟ (الرجاء اختيار الإجابة التي تصف بشكل دقيق مستوى اهتماماتك)

4. مهتم للغاية

3. مهتم جداً

2. لست مهتماً جداً

1. لست مهتماً على الإطلاق

9. ما هي اهتماماتك حول القضايا السياسية المحلية ؟

4. مهتم للغاية

3. مهتم جداً

2. لست مهتماً جداً

1. لست مهتماً على الإطلاق

10. ما هي اهتماماتك حول القضايا والأحداث السياسية الإقليمية (مثل القضايا المتعلقة مثلاً بفلسطين، العراق

والأجزاء الأخرى من العالم العربي)

4. مهتم للغاية

3. مهتم جداً

2. لست مهتماً جداً

1. لست مهتماً على الإطلاق

11. ما هي اهتماماتك حول القضايا والأحداث السياسية الدولية؟

1. مهتم للغاية

2. مهتم جداً

3. لست مهتماً جداً

4. لست مهتماً على الإطلاق

والآن، هذه بعض الأسئلة للتعرف على مستوى الوعي السياسي الذي تتحلى به

12. من هو وزير الخارجية البحريني؟ (الرجاء اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. الشيخ خالد بن أحمد آل خليفة
2. الشيخ راشد بن عبدالله آل خليفة
3. الشيخ محمد بن مبارك آل خليفة
4. لا أعرف

13. من هو عضو البرلمان الحالي في المنطقة الانتخابية الخاصة بك؟

1. (اكتب الاسم).....
2. لا أعرف

14. ما هي الكتلة السياسية في البحرين التي تمتلك حصة الأغلبية في البرلمان حالياً؟ (الرجاء اختيار إجابة

واحدة)

1. الأصالة الإسلامية
2. المستقبل
3. المنبر الوطني الإسلامي
4. الوفاق الوطني الإسلامي
5. لا أعرف

15. ما هي مدة ولاية أعضاء البرلمان البحريني؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. سنتان
2. ثلاث سنوات
3. أربع سنوات
4. لا أعرف

16. كم عدد أعضاء البرلمان في البحرين؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. 40 عضواً
2. 50 عضواً
3. 80 عضواً
4. لا أعرف

17. رجب طيب أردوغان رئيس وزراء أي بلد؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. لبنان
2. تركيا
3. العراق
4. لا أعرف

18. من هو الأمين العام للجامعة العربية؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. حمد بن جاسم آل ثاني
2. عمرو موسى
3. سعود الفيصل
4. لا أعرف

19. نيلسون مانديلا كان زعيماً سياسياً في أي بلد؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. نيجيريا
2. جنوب أفريقيا
3. الهند
4. لا أعرف

20. من هو رئيس الوزراء الحالي للمملكة المتحدة؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. غوردون براون
2. نيكولاس ساركوزي
3. توني بلير
4. لا أعرف

21. من هو رئيس الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية الحالي؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. جورج بوش

2. هيلاري كلينتون

3. باراك أوباما

4. لا أعرف

22. من هو رئيس روسيا الحالي؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. ديمتري ميدفيدف

2. فالديمير بوتين

3. بوريس ييلتسين

4. لا أعرف

23. من هو رئيس إيران الحالي؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. محمد خاتمي

2. محمود أحمدي نجاد

3. مير حسين موسوي

4. لا أعرف

24. كيف تُقيم فهمك للسياسة؟ هل تُقيم نفسك بأنك تمتلك فهماً (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. جيد جداً

2. جيد

3. ضعيف

4. ضعيف جداً

25. كيف تتفق أو تختلف مع كل عبارة من العبارات التالية؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	أوافق بشدة	أوافق	لا أوافق ولا أختلف	لا أوافق	لا أوافق بشدة
التصنيف					
أعتبر نفسي مؤهلاً للمشاركة في الحياة السياسية					
أشعر بأنني أمثلك فهماً جيداً بالقضايا السياسية الهامة التي تواجه بلدنا					
عادةً ما أشعر بنفسي عندما أتحدث مع أشخاص آخرين عن السياسة					
أود أن أعرف أكثر عن عن السياسة والشئون السياسية بشكل عام					
أشعر بأنني أحتاج لمعرفة المزيد عن كيفية الحكم في البحرين					

والآن هنالك المزيد من الأسئلة حول الحكومة في البحرين

26. هنالك البعض من الناس ممن يهتمون جداً بما يجري في الحكومة والشئون العامة، وهنالك البعض الآخر

ممن لا يهتمون بذلك، فما هو مدى اهتمامك أنت بمثل هذه الأمور؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. مهتم للغاية

2. مهتم جداً

3. أهتم بعض الشيء

4. أهتم قليلاً جداً

4. لا أهتم على الإطلاق

27. إلى أي مدى تعتقد بأنك تثق في أن الحكومة البحرينية تقوم بما هو صحيح؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. دائماً ما تقوم بما هو صحيح

2. غالباً ما تقوم بما هو صحيح

3. لا تقوم بذلك إلا قليلاً

4. لا تقوم بما هو صحيح أبداً

28. إلى أي مدى تعتقد بأن من يديرون الحكومة في البحرين مؤهلون بشكل جيد للتعامل مع المشكلات التي

نواجهها في بلادنا؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. مؤهلون بشكل جيداً جداً

2. مؤهلون بشكل جيد

3. مؤهلون الى حد ما

4. غير مؤهلين على الإطلاق

29. الى أي مدى تشعر بأنه يمكنك الاعتماد على المسؤولين الحكوميين في القيام بما هو صحيح دون الحاجة

الى مراجعتهم باستمرار؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. أثق بهم للغاية

2. أثق بهم جداً

3. أثق بهم بعض الشيء

4. لا أثق بهم إطلاقاً

30. الى أي مدى تتفق أو تختلف مع كل عبارة؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	أوافق بشدة	أوافق	لا أوافق ولا أختلف	لا أوافق	لا أوافق بشدة
التصنيف					
غالباً ما تبدو السياسة والحكومة أمراً معقداً على الفهم بالنسبة لشخص مثلي					
لا أعتقد أن المسؤولين الحكوميين يهتمهم كثيراً ما أعتقد أنا وعائلتي					
الناس مثلي أنا ليس لديهم أي فرصة للتعبير عما يعتقدونه بالنسبة لعمل الحكومية					

31. الى أي مدى تشعر بأن المسؤولين العامين يعرفون عادةً ماذا يقومون به؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. هم دائماً يعرفون ماذا يفعلون تقريباً
2. هم غالباً ما يعرفون ماذا يفعلون
3. هم يعرفون ماذا يفعلون أحياناً
4. هم نادراً ما يعرفون ماذا يفعلون
5. هم لا يعرفون أبداً ماذا يفعلون تقريباً
6. لا أعرف

32. عندما يشارك أناس مثلي في السياسة، فإنه يمكن تغيير الطريقة التي يتم بها إدارة البلد؟ (يرجى تحديد

إلى أي مدى تتفق أو تختلف مع هذا السؤال)

5. أوافق على ذلك بشدة

4. أوافق على ذلك

3. لا أتفق ولا أوافق على ذلك

2. لا أوافق على ذلك

1. لا أوافق بشدة

33. هل تقول بأن معظم الناس يمكن الوثوق بهم، بعض الناس يمكن الوثوق بهم، أم أن قليلاً من الناس يمكن

الوثوق بهم؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. أغلب الناس يمكن الوثوق بهم

2. يمكن الوثوق بعدد كبير من الناس

3. قليل من الناس يمكن الوثوق بهم

4. لا يمكن الوثوق بأحد

34. الرجاء وضع نفسك على مقياس من 7 نقاط لبيان موقفك حول السياسة والسياسيين

لست متشائماً على الإطلاق 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 متشائم بشدة

لا أثق بهم على الإطلاق 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 أثق بهم تماماً

35. الى أي مدى تتفق أو تختلف مع كل عبارة؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	وافق بشدة	وافق	لا أوافق ولا أختلف	لا أوافق	لا أوافق بشدة
التصنيف					
هناك البعض ممن هم في سني يفهمون القضايا المعقدة بشكل أفضل مني					
لا يدرك المرء أبداً بماذا يفكر السياسيون					
يمكن للمرء أن يثق في أن السياسيون سيقومون بما هو صحيح دوماً					
السياسيون أكثر اهتماماً بالسلطة أكثر من اهتمامهم بما يفكر فيه الناس					
لا يمكن للمرء أن يثق فيما يقوله السياسيون					

36. إلى أي مدى تثق في الحكومة البحرينية (النظام السياسي)؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. أثق بها تماماً
2. أثق بها بعض الشيء
3. لا أثق فيهم كثيراً
4. لا أثق بها تماماً

37. إلى أي مدى تثق في السلطة القضائية؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. أثق بها تماماً
2. أثق بها بعض الشيء
3. لا أثق فيهم كثيراً
4. لا أثق بها تماماً

38. إلى أي مدى تثق في البرلمان؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. أثق به تماماً
2. أثق به بعض الشيء
3. لا أثق فيهم كثيراً
4. لا أثق به تماماً

39. على مدى السنوات الماضية، إلى أي مدى، في تقديرك، استجابت الحكومة لما يعتقد الناس عندما تقرر

ماذا تفعل؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. استجابت استجابة تامة
2. استجابت الى حد ما
3. لم تستجب استجابة تامة
4. لا شيء

يستوضح هذا الجزء من المسح حول استخدامك للتلفزيون

40. كم ساعة في المتوسط عدد ساعات مشاهدتك للتلفزيون يومياً؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. ساعة واحدة أو أقل
2. ساعتان أو ثلاث ساعات
3. أربع ساعات أو أكثر
4. لا أشاهد التلفزيون على الإطلاق

41. كم ساعة في المتوسط عدد ساعات مشاهدتك للأخبار يومياً؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. لا أشاهد الأخبار على الإطلاق
2. حتى 30 دقيقة في اليوم
3. 31 دقيقة الى ساعة واحدة
4. أكثر من ساعة واحدة وحتى ساعتين في اليوم
5. أكثر من ساعتين يومياً

42. ما هو عدد المرات التي تبحث فيها عن كل من القنوات التالية لمشاهدة التغطيات الإخبارية المتعلقة

بالقضايا السياسية المحلية

المصدر	يوميًا	أغلب أيام الأسبوع	مرة أو مرتين اسبوعياً	مرة أو مرتين شهرياً	أقل في الغالب	لا أشاهد الأخبار على الإطلاق
تلفزيون البحرين						
الجزيرة						
العربية						
القنوات التلفزيونية الأخرى.....						

43. ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بالعودة الى هذه القنوات لمشاهدة التغطيات الإخبارية حول القضايا

السياسية الدولية؟

المصدر	يوميًا	أغلب أيام الأسبوع	مرة أو مرتين اسبوعياً	مرة أو مرتين شهرياً	أقل في الغالب	لا أشاهد الأخبار على الإطلاق
تلفزيون البحرين						
قناة الجزيرة						
قناة العربية						
القنوات التلفزيونية الأخرى.....						

44. كيف تتفق هذه القنوات مع وجهة النظر السياسية الخاصة بك؟

المصدر	تتفق تماماً	تتفق إلى حد ما	لا تتفق بشكل كبير	لا تتفق على الإطلاق
تلفزيون البحرين				
قناة الجزيرة				
قناة العربية				
القنوات التلفزيونية الأخرى.....				

45. ما هي عدد المرات التي تستخدم فيها هذه الوسيلة الإعلامية؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	يوميًا	5 - 6 أيام	2 - 4 أيام	يوم واحد في الاسبوع	أقل من مرة واحدة في الاسبوع	ولا مرة
التصنيف						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بمشاهدة الأخبار المحلية في التلفزيون (سواء الأخبار السياسية أو غيرها من الأخبار)؟						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بمشاهدة الأخبار العالمية في التلفزيون (سواء الأخبار السياسية أو غيرها من الأخبار)؟						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بمشاهدة البرامج التي تدور حول القضايا المحلية أو الدولية؟						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بمشاهدة البرامج الدينية في التلفزيون؟						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بمشاهدة البرامج الشبابية في التلفزيون؟						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بمشاهدة البرامج الإقتصادية في التلفزيون؟						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بمشاهدة البرامج التعليمية في التلفزيون؟						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بمشاهدة البرامج المسلية (الرياضة، الأفلام، الموسيقى، الموسيقى، الكوميديا) في التلفزيون؟						

46. ما هي عدد المرات التي تستخدم فيها هذه الوسيلة الإعلامية؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	يوميًا	5 - 6 أيام	2 - 4 أيام	يوم واحد في الاسبوع	أقل من مرة واحدة في الاسبوع	ولا مرة
التصنيف						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بالدخول على المواقع الإخبارية على شبكة الإنترنت؟						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تحصل فيها على الأخبار أو المعلومات المتعلقة بالقضايا السياسية المحلية على شبكة الإنترنت أو بالبريد الإلكتروني؟						
ما هو عدد المرات التي تحصل فيها على الأخبار أو المعلومات المتعلقة بالأخبار الدولية على شبكة الإنترنت أو بالبريد الإلكتروني؟						
ما هي عدد المرات التي تولي فيها اهتماماً بالمعلومات المتعلقة بالقضايا السياسية على شبكة الإنترنت؟						
ما هي عدد المرات التي تستخدم فيها البريد الإلكتروني أو تشارك في منتدى للمناقشة (المنتديات الإلكترونية) أو تشارك في مجموعات للدردشة عبر الإنترنت للتحدث عن القضايا السياسية المحلية؟						
ما هي عدد المرات التي تستخدم فيها البريد الإلكتروني أو تشارك في منتدى للمناقشة أو تشارك في مجموعات للدردشة على شبكة الإنترنت للتحدث عن القضايا السياسية الدولية؟						
ما هي عدد المرات التي تستخدم فيها البريد الإلكتروني على شبكة الإنترنت؟						
ما هي عدد المرات التي تستخدم فيها منتديات المناقشة على شبكة الإنترنت (المنتديات الإلكترونية)؟						
ما هي عدد المرات التي تستخدم فيها مجموعات						

					الردشة على شبكة الإنترنت؟
					ما هي عدد المرات التي تستخدم الفيس بوك على شبكة الإنترنت؟

47. إليك بعض الأسئلة التي تتعلق بانطباعاتك عن الأخبار في البحرين؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	دائماً تقريباً	في أغلب الأحيان	بعض الأوقات فقط	ليس أبداً
التصنيف	1	2	3	4
إلى أي مدى تشعر بأنه يمكنك الوثوق فيما يبثه تلفزيون البحرين؟				
إلى أي مدى تشعر بأنه يمكنك الوثوق فيما تنشره الصحافة البحرينية؟				
إلى أي مدى تشعر بأنه يمكنك الوثوق بما تناقشه منتديات المناقشة البحرينية (المنتديات الإلكترونية)؟				
إلى أي مدى تشعر بأنه يمكنك الوثوق بما تناقشه المواقع الإخبارية على المستوى المحلي؟				
بعد مشاهدتك للأخبار في التلفزيون، هل تحاول معرفة المزيد عن تلك الأخبار، مثل مشاهدة قناة إخبارية أخرى أو مواقع الإنترنت أو طرح الأسئلة على شخص ما؟				
بعد قراءتك لخبر ما في شبكة الإنترنت، هل تحاول معرفة المزيد من المعلومات عن ذلك الخبر، مثل مشاهدة بعض القنوات الإخبارية الأخرى أو المواقع أو طرح الأسئلة على شخص ما؟				
بعد قراءتك لخبر ما في الصحف، هل تحاول معرفة المزيد عن ذلك الخبر، مثل مشاهدة بعض القنوات الإخبارية أو المواقع أو طرح الأسئلة على شخص ما؟				

هذا الجزء من المسح سيتناول مشاركتك الشخصية في السياسة والشئون السياسية

48. (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	دائماً	أحياناً فقط	لم أقم بذلك تقريباً	لم أقم بذلك أبداً
التصنيف	1	2	3	4
ما هي عدد المرات التي قمت فيها بالتوقيع على عرائض				
ما هي عدد المرات التي قاطعت فيها منتجات بعينها لأسباب سياسية أو أخلاقية أو بيئية؟				
ما هي عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بحثً وتشجيع شخص ما بالإتصال بعضو المجلس البلدي أو عضو البرلمان؟				
ما هي عدد المرات التي تقدم فيها وجهة نظرك لعضو المجلس البلدي أو عضو البرلمان؟				
ما هي عدد المرات التي تقوم في بالمشاركة في لقاءات سياسية؟				
ما هي عدد المرات التي قمت فيها بالمشاركة في المظاهرات؟				
ما هي عدد المرات التي قمت فيها بالمشاركة في اعتصام أو مسيرة؟				
ما هي عدد المرات التي قمت فيها بالتبرع بالمال أو دفع رسوم عضوية لحزب سياسي؟				
ما هي عدد المرات التي قمت فيها بالمشاركة بفعالية في حملة سياسية؟				

49. (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	معظم أيام الأسبوع	مرة أو مرتين في الأسبوع	أقل من ذلك غالباً	لم أقم بذلك أبداً
التصنيف				
ما هي عدد المرات التي قمت فيها بمناقشة القضايا السياسية الراهنة مع المدرسين؟				
يبدو أن بعض الناس يتابعون الشؤون الحكومية والعامّة في أغلب الأوقات، بينما البعض الآخرون لا يهتمون بذلك. كيف تراك تتابع الشؤون الحكومية والمحلية؟				

50. هل تشارك في أي من الأنشطة المدرسية التالية، سواء كعضو أو كمسنول؟ (يمكنك اختيار أكثر من إجابة)

1. نوادي الخدمات

2. نوادي المناظرات أو الخطابة

3. الصحف الطلابية

4. الجمعيات الدينية

5. النادي الإعلامي

6. أخرى

7. لم أشارك قط

51. هل سبق لك وتحدثت عن القضايا السياسية المحلية مع أي من الأشخاص التاليين؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

واحدة)

البيان	معظم أيام الأسبوع	مرة أو مرتين في الأسبوع	أقل من ذلك غالباً	لم أقم بذلك أبداً
التصنيف				
أولاً، مع عائلتك؟ ما هي عدد المرات التي تتحدث معهم عن القضايا السياسية المحلية؟				
ثانياً، ما هي عدد المرات التي تحدثت فيها مع أصدقائك خارج مقاعد الدراسة عن القضايا السياسية المحلية؟				

واليك المزيد من الأسئلة التي تدور حول آرائك السياسية

52. هل تتفق أو تختلف مع العبارات التالية؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	أوافق بشدة	أوافق	لا أوافق ولا أتفق	لا أوافق	لا أوافق بشدة
التصنيف					
البرلمان القوي يعتبر أمراً جيداً للديمقراطية					
يتم انتخاب الحكومات بتفويض من الشعب ويجب أن تمتلك السلطات اللازمة للعمل بذلك التفويض					
الحكومة لا تتفق ما يكفي من الوقت للاستماع الى آراء أفراد المجتمع					

53. ماذا تعتقد فيما يتعلق بأهمية كل من هذه المشاكل بالنسبة للبحرين اليوم؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

البيان	هام للغاية	هام جداً	ليس هاماً للغاية	لا أهمية له على الإطلاق
التصنيف				
خلق المزيد من فرص العمل				
مكافحة الجريمة				
حماية البلاد من الطائفية				
اعطاء الناس صوت أكبر في القرارات السياسية				
تطوير مستوى المعيشة				
حماية البلاد من الواسطة والمحاباة والمحسوبية				
وقف المواجهات والحرائق التي تحدث في البلاد				

54. هل أنت عضو في أي جماعة، أو مجموعة، أو نادٍ؟ (يرجى وضع دائرة على الرقم على الجماعة أو

المجموعة التي تحتفظ بعضويتها حالياً)

1. نوادي الخدمات

2. جمعية سياسية

3. منظمات الشباب (الرجالية أو النسائية)

4. لا انتمي لأي منها خارج المدرسة

5. أخرى

55. في أي مدينة، أو أي قرية أو أي مجتمع ريفي تعيش حالياً؟

1. المحرق

2. جدحفص

3. الرفاع

4. المنامة

5. مدينة عيسى

6. مدينة حمد

7. سترة

8. مدينة زايد

9. أخرى.....

56. هل لا زلت تعيش هناك؟

1. نعم

2. لا

57. منذ متى وأنت تعيش في عنوانك الحالي؟

أقل من سنة واحدة	سنة واحدة الى سنتين	ثلاث سنوات الى خمس سنوات	خمس الى 10 سنوات	أكثر من 10 سنوات

وهذه بعض الأسئلة حول اهتماماتك ونشاطاتك

58. ما هي مرات تردّدك على المواقع الدينية "المسجد، المآثم"؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. يوماً
2. عدة مرات اسبوعياً
3. عدة مرات شهرياً
4. أذهب دون انتظام
5. لا أذهب إليها أبداً

59. بشكل عام، من تعتقد بأنه صاحب التأثير الأكبر في حياتك؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

1. الوالدين
2. المعلمين
3. علماء الدين
4. الأصدقاء
5. العاملون في أجهزة الإعلام
6. آخرين....

60. بشكل عام، ما هو تأثير كل من المصادر التالية على وجهات نظرك السياسية (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

المصدر	كثيراً	قليلاً	بالكاد	لا تأثير على الإطلاق
الوالدين				
المعلمين				
علماء الدين				
الأصدقاء				
العاملون في أجهزة الإعلام				

61. بشكل عام، هل تعتقد بأن الشباب البحريني يهتم بالسياسة (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

لا يهتمون على الإطلاق	لا يهتمون كثيراً	يهتمون بعض الشيء	يهتمون كثيراً

ما هي أهم مصادر المعلومات الهامة بالنسبة لك؟

62. ما مدى أهمية كل مصدر من مصادر الأخبار والمعلومات بالنسبة للشباب البحريني؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة

واحدة)

المصادر	هام للغاية	هام جداً	ليس هاماً للغاية	لا أهمية له على الإطلاق
التلفزيون				
الإنترنت				
الصحف				
المجلات				
الراديو				
الوالدين				
الإخوان والأخوات				
الأصدقاء				
علماء الدين				
المدرسة				

63. ما هو عدد المرات التي تتردد فيها هذه الأيام على هذه الوسائل الإعلامية للحصول على الأخبار

والمعلومات المتعلقة بالفعاليات والقضايا السياسية المحلية؟ (يرجى اختيار إجابة واحدة)

المصادر	في كل الأوقات	في كثير من الأحيان	بالكاد	لا أتردد على الإطلاق
التلفزيون				
الإنترنت				
الصحف				
المجلات				
الراديو				
الوالدين				
الإخوان والأخوات				
الأصدقاء				
علماء الدين				
المدرسة				

64. ما هو عدد المرات التي تتردد فيها هذه الأيام على هذه الوسائل الإعلامية للحصول على الأخبار

والمعلومات المتعلقة بالفعاليات والقضايا السياسية الدولية؟ (يمكنك اختيار أكثر إجابة واحدة)

المصادر	في كل الأوقات	في كثير من الأحيان	ليس بالكاد	لا أتردد على الإطلاق
التلفزيون				
الإنترنت				
الصحف				
المجلات				
الراديو				
الوالدين				
الإخوان والأخوات				
الأصدقاء				
علماء الدين				
المدرسة				

65. كم عدد المرات التي تقوم فيها بقراءة المقالات الصحفية المتعلقة بالشئون العامة والشئون السياسية؟

1. يومياً أو تقريباً كل يوم

2. عدة مرات أسبوعياً

3. عدة مرات في الشهر

4. ليس بشكل منتظم

5. لا أقوم بقراءتها على الإطلاق

66. الرجاء توضيح اسماء الصحف التي تقوم بقراءتها بشكل منتظم؟ (الرجاء وضع علامة صح في المساحة،

ويمكنك التصحيح أمام أكثر من صحيفة)

1. اخبار الخليج

2. الأيام

3. الوسط

4. الوطن

5. الوقت

6. البلاد

7. Gulf Daily News

8. Baharain Tribune

67. إذا اقترح بعض الناس في مجتمعك كتابة مقال ضد الطوائف الأخرى في المجتمع البحريني، فهل ينبغي

السماح له/لها أن ينشر ذلك في أي من وسائل الإعلام (التلفزيون، الصحف، مواقع المنتديات)

1. نعم، ينبغي السماح له/لها بالنشر

2. لا ينبغي له/لها السماح بالنشر

3. لا أعرف

68. وأنت تتطلع للمستقبل، هل تعتقد بأن العلاقات بين مختلف الطوائف في المجتمع البحريني ستتحسن أم

ستسوء؟

1. ستسحب العلاقات بينهم

2. ستبقى نفس الشيء

3. ستسوء العلاقات بينهم

شكراً جزيلاً لك على مشاركتك في هذا المسح