

## SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL MOBILISATION IN NIGERIA'S ELECTORAL DEMOCRACY: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Mnzughulga, James Terseer, Dr. Anthony Ogande, & Dr. Josiah Sabo Kente

Department of Mass Communication,  
Faculty of Communication and Media Studies, Nasarawa State University  
Keffi, Nasarawa State  
[teejimmymnzuulgha@gmail.com](mailto:teejimmymnzuulgha@gmail.com)

### Abstract

The emergence of the social media and other digital technologies have changed the face of political mobilisation, not only in Nigeria, but also across the globe. Before the emergence of the social media, political parties and their candidates usually deployed conventional ways of mobilising the electorate during political campaigns; in most cases, serious civic engagements could not take place, because the crowd, in some cases, rented, usually dispersed after the rally. But today, with the social media, a political party, its track records, candidates, manifestoes, actions and inactions, as well as promises/utterances can be scrutinised by the people it wishes to govern. It follows therefore that the utilisation of the social media in political mobilisation has led to further expansion of the public sphere as well as the democratisation of the political space. However, there are still some challenges associated with using the social media for political mobilisation, such as the emergence of hate speech, fake news, and other vile languages. The author, therefore recommended that during the electioneering process, especially the campaign period, major stakeholders, including the platform owners should set the rules of engagement of using the social media; and that any resort to hate speech, fake news, and vile language should be meted with the appropriate sanctions.

**Keywords:** Social media, Political mobilisation, Nigeria, Electoral democracy, Issues, Challenges

### Introduction

From time immemorial, the relationship between politics and the media has been like that of Siamese twins; the media become vibrant during the electioneering process, while political actors rely on the media for publicity and the coverage of their activities. Political parties depend on the media especially for the mobilisation of their supporters and other electorate for elections particularly. In Nigeria since the return of democracy in 1999, political parties and their candidates in various representative positions have been using different avenues, including the media to mobilise voters for participation in the elections. They deploy various strategies to persuade voters to cast the ballot in their favour, during the highly competitive

political campaigns (Ngugi and Kinyua, 2014). With the 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution which birthed the emergence of the social media, with such affordances like choice, connection, creation, conversation, collaboration, and curation (Pavlik and McIntosh 2015), these Web-based technologies have become pervasive platforms of communication for use among different political parties during elections (Aghogho, 2020). Social media have emerged as a powerful tool for election campaigns, revolutionising the way political messages are disseminated and received by the masses; enabling users to connect with voters directly, fostering two-way communication and facilitating dialogue

between candidates and the electorate (Chunav, 2023).

The emergence, growth, and popularity of the social media and other digital tools in political mobilisation has gained much traction to the extent that today in Nigeria, especially during the 2023 Presidential Election, we had some powerful individuals known as “social media influencers” who were paid huge sums of money to influence the voting decisions of the electorate, and in the process engaged in massive disinformation just to hoodwink the electorate. Using such popular social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, TikTok, WhatsApp, X, (formerly Twitter), and YouTube, among others, political parties and their respective candidates have learnt how to deploy these digital tools to reach the youth especially, who not only form the biggest demographic on the social media, but also constitute the demographic with the highest voting strength in Nigeria. The social media, it is important to note, are Web-based digital technologies that facilitate the sharing of ideas, thoughts, and information through virtual networks and communities. Lindgren (2017), lends credence to the above by noting that the democratised and interactive architecture of the social media is what have made them to be amenable to political mobilisation. According to Kemp (2023), cited in Nnaane (2023), “the top ten social media platforms in terms of user-base are as follows: Facebook (2.96 billion); YouTube (2.51 billion); WhatsApp (2 billion); Instagram (2 billion); WeChat (1.31 billion); TikTok (1.05 billion); Messenger (931 million); Douyin (715 million); Telegram (700 million); and Snapchat (635 million)”.

Political mobilisation on the other hand, refers to the process whereby the electorate are informed, educated, sensitised, and motivated into taking a course of action that is geared towards achieving a political

goal, which in most cases has to do with voting for a particular political party and/or candidate (Fasunwon, 2019). There is no disputing the fact that the social media and other digital platforms such as the Internet and the World Wide Web have also opened up massive opportunities for political actors to mobilise their members, followers, and sympathisers to gain political mileage. According to Hakan and Scaramuzzino (2023), the social media constitute technological structures, just as political parties have structures from the national level down to the ward level. They based their argument on the mediatisation theory, which explains how deeply embedded the media, including the social media have become, into societal structures and how almost most people have become inseparable from their different social media platforms. The researchers note that deploying the social media for political mobilisation leads to “digital resource abundance”; a situation whereby the social media have the capacity to mobilise large numbers of people and attract wide interest and support within a short period of time.

The researchers also argue further that there are three ways in which social media platforms set conditions for online mobilisation. These are: (1) “resources”, (2) “discourses”, and (3) “social positions”. Concerning the shaping of resources, the researchers note that social media platforms have become one of the most prominent ways of resource mobilisation for social movements, activists, and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) globally; that “liking”, “sharing”, and “retweeting”, have become key tactics in the hands of social media users as they try to mobilise people for a common goal and also to influence the political process. Further, Hakan and Scaramuzzino (2023), argue on that in terms of shaping discourses, the social media, either overtly or covertly, shape what

issues are being canvassed in the form of algorithms, even if it is partially; or by so doing, determine the kinds of information that will be visible to users. It follows therefore that online mobilisation has to respond to social media platforms as a digital ecosystem that creates opportunities or constraints regarding particular topics, agenda, or discourse. It is in the light of this that Kaun (2017, p.471), identifies Facebook, Instagram, and X as dominant “techno-discursive spaces”, because they constitute key platforms for the current formation of agenda, ideas, and frames that political actors try to pursue. Finally, concerning shaping social positions, Hakan and Scaramuzzino (2023), equally argue that social media shape social positions and the social organisations of political actors. So, the focus of this study is to carry out an appraisal of social media and political mobilisation in Nigeria’s current democratic trajectory, vis-à-vis the issues and challenges involved.

### **Literature Review**

One of the beauties of electoral democracy is that it affords the people the right to exercise their franchise in a democratic manner. And one of the features of participatory democracy is the ability of the people to have a say in who governs them, even if the majority will have their way. So political mobilisation enables political parties to shore up their social capital which they believe should ultimately conduce to electoral victory; and the social media have become an important tool in this political matrix. According to Boulianne, Kok-Michalska, and bimer (2020), the social media have more capacity to produce important political ramifications than the conventional means of political mobilisation. They argue further that any country that has an unfettered democratic practice, will discover that the social media give the people more voice to engage in debates about the electioneering process, something that the mass media do not have

the capacity to do. The use of social media in politics as Madueke, Nwosu, Ogbonnaya, Anumadu, Onykwelu, and Okeke (2017), observe, has continued to grow in recent times. Since Barack Obama broke the world record in the history of social media use for political purpose during the 2008 US presidential elections, many nations and politicians across the globe have continued to embrace the platform to mobilise their citizens and candidates towards active participation in the political process. Nigeria had the first real test of social media use for political participation during the 2011 General Elections (Madueke, *et al.*, 2017). The use of social media offers numerous advantages for election campaigns, empowering candidates and parties to effectively connect with voters, shape public opinion, and achieve their electoral goals (Chunav, 2023). Chunav continues by identifying some key pros of utilising social media in election campaigns: expanded reach, direct and authentic communication, cost-effective campaigning, real-time engagement, targeted messaging, amplification of campaign messages, enhanced grassroots mobilisation, data insights and analytics, monitoring and response to issues, fundraising opportunities.

In spite of the numerous advantages of social media in fostering politics, democracy and good governance in Nigeria, they equally have their challenges. No doubt, social media platforms can be misused in disseminating unfiltered/unverified information, hate messages and rumours which are inimical to strengthening democracy. The increasing use of social media and other online tools has indeed led to greater privacy, monitoring as well as regulation challenges. Chunav (2023), again attest that while social media offers significant advantages, they also come with some potential drawbacks and challenges for election campaigns. He argues that there are

some demerits of using the using social media in election campaigns: spread of misinformation, echo chambers and polarisation, negative campaigning and online harassment, privacy and data concerns, overwhelming information overload, dependence on platform algorithms, lack of context and nuances, potential for hacking and manipulation, reduced face-to-face interaction, and digital divide and accessibility.

Following the above, a number of empirical studies have been conducted in the past to establish the correlation between social media use and political behaviour of the electorate in different places. For instance, in a study by Asemah (2017), the findings were that the social media were used to a great extent for political campaigns during the 2015 presidential elections in Nigeria and that the social media contributed to the choice of candidates during that presidential election, but the extent was minimal. Lambe (2020) investigated the use of social media and youth' political participation during the 2019 Nigerian general elections and found that the youths were more active on online political participation than offline politics, even after civic activism, political education and political efficacy have been controlled.

*Similarly, a study by Pinheiro, Olatunji and Owolabi (2020) revealed that the use of social media for electioneering greatly influenced the electorates' behaviour towards voting pattern for their preferred candidates during 2015 general election. Also, it revealed that, the two leading political parties in Nigeria did use the social media much in the electioneering campaigns of the 2015 elections, and that the candidates of the two leading political parties utilised the social media and other platforms to engage the electorates more than traditional media; and that the messages they disseminated on*

the social media bordered mainly on announcement of programmes, personalities of the party flag bearers and their manifestoes. Nwosu (2020), in another study found that that X-platform fulfils a distinctive purpose of the public sphere in that it creates a space for critical reasoning that facilitates political change. Onyechi's (2018) revealed that cognitive, social and tension-free needs were motivations for using social media during the 2015 political campaigns by the respondents. Results also showed that there is a significant relationship between social media exposure patterns and students' participation during the 2015 political campaigns. Egielewa (2021) revealed in a study conducted that more educated Nigerians (graduates and postgraduates) follow Mr Femi Adesina on X-platform than Mr Shehu Garuba. Findings also revealed that Nigerian government officials concentrate their X-platform energies overwhelmingly on election and campaign issues rather than on other issues that are of utmost concern to X-platform followers.

Similarly, Morah and Uzochukwu (2020) revealed in a study that social media, especially Facebook, X-platform and WhatsApp augment interest, participation, interaction and socialisation among artisans and traders with regards to politics to a great extent. The findings, according to Morah and Uzochukwu (2020), however, contrasted the notion that media literacy is a barrier to social media use, which assumes that uneducated people may not be able to manipulate social media effectively. Results also demonstrated that social media could be an excellent strategy for futuristic political development in selected cities. In a study by Apalowo, Akerele-Popoola, Ajakaiye and Ojeka-John (2022), the findings were that social media contributed immensely to the peaceful Kwara State 2019 elections and gave NGOs increased networks which facilitated other campaign vehicles. Social media also made it

possible for instant reports of violent cases; hence, prompt interventions from security organisations. Ekwueme and Folarin (2017), in a study found that social media played a major role in mobilising people, creating awareness, as well as participation and circulation of information about candidates. Bello and Kolawole-Ismael (2020) found in a study that, through social media, the Ilorin South youth showed great concern and participation during the 2015 General Elections in Nigeria and, by extension, to the political development in the country. Alakali and Tarnongo (2011) revealed in their study that political aspirants that used social media channels for campaigns had much support from the youth. Okocha and Agbele (2023) in their study and found that Instagram, Facebook, and X were highly engaged platforms for democratic purposes in Nigeria as Nigerians now participate heavily in social demonstrations, contribute to political discussions, seek justice, and engage political leaders on democratic and social matters in the online space. Also, findings in a study by Dantani, Wika and Maigari (2017) were that Facebook, X, WhatsApp, blogs and LinkedIn, among others, serve as the channels through which civil rights and democratic activism are expressed. A study by Nweke (2023) revealed that majority of the audience are exposed to social media as a political tool and as such, have influence on their choice of candidates. Many of the respondents commend media projection because they perceived it to be an irreplaceable tool in political activities in Nigeria and the entire world. Nweke concluded that the respondents expressed satisfaction with the usage of social media in the electioneering process, especially political campaigns. Uwalaka (2021) in a study revealed that protest experience, and political efficacy significantly increased students' intention to join politics more than social media. Findings in a study by Aleyomi

and Ajakaiye (2015) were that the social media had positive influence to some extent, on the outcome of the 2011 general elections in Nigeria, considering its usage by various electoral stakeholders.

A study by Aghogho (2020) revealed that although the social media were perceived to have positively influenced Nigeria's democracy by enhancing the flow of political information and awakening public political consciousness, the news and information being disseminated on social media platforms were noted to have increased the spate of hate speech and stoked political unease. Similarly, Akinlade (2018) carried out a study and found that Nigerian youth resident in the South-Eastern region of Nigeria, are very active on social media and these platforms have a positive influence on their voting behaviour; but that however, the social media do not have influence on their voting preferences. A study by Nwador, Dike and Henry (2020) revealed among other things that social media has significant influence on political participation. Except for voting in elections, campaign involvement and protest have significant relationship with political participation in Rivers State, Nigeria. According to a study conducted by Fasola and Oyadeyi (2021) 88.8% of the respondents were aware of social networking sites (SNS). While 79.8% were using social networking sites. The study also found that majority of the respondents were actively spending most of their time in online political discussions and in real life political issues with 59.3% of them voting the 2015 and 2019 general elections. The finding therefore showed a positive relationship between social media use and real-life political participation by youths. In another study, Omotayo and Folorunso (2020) revealed that social media was highly used by the youths for political participation. Facebook was the most used, followed by WhatsApp, Instagram, and X respectively. Majorly, the youths used social

media to participate in political advocacy, political campaigns, communicating with politicians, political discussions, monitoring and reporting electoral malpractices, public consultations, joining interest groups that engage in lobbying, blogging about political issues, and writing letters to public officials respectively.

Imhonopi and Urim (2021) revealed in a study that while social media facilitated citizen participation during elections in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, actual voter turnout was low. Also, the study showed that in spite of social media use by Nigerian citizens, democracy dividends are yet to be delivered to Nigerian citizens. And lastly, findings revealed that there appears to be a weak relationship between social media and citizens' participation in elections in Nigeria. Furthermore, Apuke and Tunca (2018) revealed in a study conducted that in the Nigerian 2011 and 2015 general elections, the social media were deployed due to their participatory nature. They note further that the social media were used as platforms for political campaign organisation, electioneering crusades, ideological trumpeting exercises, and mobilisation of voters. Specifically, in the 2015 elections, it was found that during the collation of results, citizen journalists and the civil society used social media to inform the public concerning the results in several states across the country. Further, Nnaane (2023), carried out a study entitled: "Comparative Study of Social Media and Political Mobilisation in the 2021 and 2023 Presidential Elections in The Gambia and Nigeria", and found out that in both countries during the elections, people spent at least seven hours on the social media daily just to monitor what was happening. Chinedu-Okeke, and Obi (2016), in their findings note that political campaigns through the social media had significant impact on the voters' decision-making as well as participation in elections.

## Theoretical Framework

This research is based on the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), and the Cognitive Mobilisation Theory. TAM was developed by Fred Davis and Richard Bagozzi in 1989 as an extension of Ajzen and Fishbein's Theory of Reasoned Action. The theory believes that when users are presented with a new technology, there are some factors that determine the decision on how and when to use such technology. These factors are: Perceived Usefulness (PU), which means the extent to which a person believes that using a particular technology would enhance his or her job performance; and Perceived Ease of Use (PEOU), which means the degree to which a person using a new technology believes that using it will be without stress. It follows therefore that the open, democratic, and flexible architecture of the social media, has made them the platform of choice among the political parties and their respective candidates, especially when it comes to socio-political mobilisation of the electorate during elections.

The Cognitive Mobilisation Theory on the other hand, is traced to the work of Ron Inglehart and also that of Russell Dalton. According to Inglehart (1970), cognitive mobilisation theory describes a broader process of the increasingly wide distribution of the political skills necessary to cope with an extensive political community. The theory believes that the spread of formal education among the people and the simultaneous increase in new forms of the media leads to the acquisition of new political values, new attitudes, and changes in political behaviour. Dalton (1984), has also contributed to this theory. So, the level of education of a people, in addition to their exposure to any form of new media, like the social media, will definitely lead to a change in their political attitudes, behaviour and values, that is why they see the social media as platforms of

political engagements, mobilisation, and participation.

### **Methodology**

This study, being a qualitative one, used secondary sources of data, such as books, journals, online resources, and reports.

### **Social Media and Political Mobilisation in Nigeria's Democratic Journey: Issues, and Challenges**

The deployment of the social media in the electioneering process in Nigeria actually started with the 2011 Presidential Elections. Learning from the relevance, potential and impact of the social media as a platform for political campaigns, mobilisation, and constructive engagements, the then President Goodluck Jonathan utilised the social media, especially Facebook, before he began campaign for the Presidential Election in that year. In fact, he announced his intention to vie for the office of the President of Nigeria on his Facebook page. Within just 20 days of joining the platform, he garnered over 100,000 fans. From that moment, politicians, and other political actors have found in the social media, a formidable platform of reaching the teeming youth, who constitute the bulk of the electorate in the country (Nnaane, 2015).

The use of social media in political mobilisation has redefined the tenor of political communication, and reshaped the dialectics of civic engagements. Political participation has become and the plurality of opinions have made democratic debates to be livelier. Further, the public sphere which the social media have expanded has led to more interactions to the extent that User-Generated Contents (UGCs) arising from the ideological and political sparring on the social media find their way into the news reportage of the mainstream media (Nnaane and Olise, 2020). Also, the conventional political rallies as well

as the mass media sometimes become complementary to social media campaigns and mobilisation. To underscore the seriousness with which leading presidential candidates and their respective political parties got sentimentally-attached to the social media, during the 2023 Presidential Election in Nigeria, the social media became, not only contested sites, but battlegrounds for all manner of political brinkmanship.

For instance, the then presidential candidate of the All Progressives Congress (APC), and now President of Nigeria, as of today, has 795,000 followers on Facebook; 1.1 million followers on Instagram; and 2.5 million followers on X; his political party has over 70,000 followers on Facebook, and over 1 million followers on X. Further, the then presidential candidate of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, as of today, has 1.4 million followers on Facebook; 736, 000 followers on Instagram; and 5.2 million followers on X; while his political party- PDP, has 390,000 followers on Facebook, and 1.2 million followers on X. For the then presidential candidate of the Labour Party, Mr. Peter Obi, he has as of today, has 1.2 million followers on Facebook; 995,000 followers on Instagram; and 4.7 million followers on X; while his political party- LP, has 1 million followers on Facebook; and another 1 million followers on X ([www.statista.com](http://www.statista.com)). Be that as it may, the utilisation of social media has also left in its wake, the muddling of the political waters in Nigeria, with severe information disorder, such as misinformation, and disinformation. These challenges have been carefully identified as follows:

1. **Misinformation and Disinformation:** One of the foremost challenges encountered by political parties in Nigeria in utilising the social media for political mobilisation is the deluge of

misinformation and disinformation. False narratives and fabricated content circulate rapidly on platforms such as Facebook and X, while deepfakes (an audio, video, or even picture of an individual whose face has been digitally-altered and manipulated to replace another person's likeness, usually done with artificial intelligence to make it look real. Deepfakes are used mainly to spread information), thereby undermining the public sphere convey and leading to jaundiced expressed of political opinions.

2. **Polarization of Political Discourse:** Social media platforms often serve as echo chambers, amplifying divisive rhetoric and contributing to the polarisation of political discourse. In this regard, political parties and their respective candidates have faced challenges in navigating these polarised online spaces, as supporters and opponents alike entrench themselves in ideological echo chambers, hindering constructive dialogue and engagements.
3. **Digital Divide and Access Inequality:** Despite the widespread usage of social media in Nigeria, significant disparities exist in access to digital technologies and Internet connectivity, particularly in rural and marginalised communities. Political parties and their candidates, sometimes encounter challenges in reaching and mobilising voters in these underserved areas, exacerbating existing inequalities in political participation, and reinforcing the knowledge-gap hypothesis.
4. **Algorithmic Bias and Content Moderation:** Social media algorithms play a pivotal role in shaping the visibility and reach of political content. However, these algorithms are often opaque and prone to bias, potentially favouring certain types of content while suppressing others. Political parties face challenges in navigating algorithmic biases and content

moderation policies, which creates adverse negative effects on the visibility of their campaigns political mobilisation efforts.

## Conclusion and Recommendations

The focus of this study was to analyse the place of the social media in political mobilisation in Nigeria's electoral democracy, and with respect to some key issues and challenges arising therefrom. It is already trite in discussing the nexus between social media and politics that the utilisation of social media in political mobilisation has become a game-changer, whose ramifications on the political system have not been fully-unraveled. The democratisation of the political public sphere, the civic empowerment of the electorate, absolute majority of whom do not have access to the elitist conventional media to contribute to debates on topical democratic and political issues, and the crystallisation of ideas around shared values, have made the democratic journey of Nigeria right from 2011, when the social media became a defining feature of Nigerian electioneering process, to be rooted in the cross-fertilisation of ideas, a political ingredient that enables democracy to grow. In spite of the 25 years of this current democratic experiment (1999-2014), after some years of military interregnum, democracy is still unfortunately fragile because of the country's ethno-religious faultlines. Based on the above, the author recommends that during the electioneering process, especially the campaign period, major stakeholders, including the platform owners should set the rules of engagement of using the social media; and that any resort to hate speech, fake news, and vile language should be meted with the appropriate sanctions.



## References

- Aghogho, J. E. (2020). Public Perception of Social Media Contributions to Political Participation Processes in Delta State, Nigeria. *Acta Universitatis Danubius*, 14(1), 108-124.
- Akinlade, A. A. (2018). The influence of social media on the voting behaviour of the youth in South East Nigeria. A Research Dissertation Submitted to the School of Postgraduate Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for an award of Master's Degree in Mass Communication.
- Alakali, T. T., & Tarnongo, O. M. (2011). An Assessment of the Utilisation of Social Media Mobilisation of Nigerian Youths in 2011 General Elections. A Case Study of Youths in Benue State. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 6(5), 32-44.
- Aleyomi, B. M. and Ajakaiye, O. P. (2015). The Impact of Social Media on Citizens' Mobilization and Participation in Nigeria's 2011 General Elections. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*, 17(2), 31-52.
- Apalowo, T. J., Akerele-Popoola, O. E., Ajakaiye, O. P. & Ojeka-John, R. (2022). Utilisation of Social Media for Peace Campaign during the 2019 Elections in Kwara State, Nigeria. *GVU Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, 7(2), 212-222.
- Apuke, O. D., & Tunca, E. A. (2018). Understanding the Implications of Social Media Usage in the Electoral Processes and Campaigns in Nigeria. *Global Media Journal*, 16(31), 1-8.
- Asemah, S. E. (2017). Use of social media in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. Mass Communicator: *International Journal of Communication Studies*, 11(3), 4-11.
- Bello, S. and Kolawole-Ismail, B. (2020). A Survey of Social Media Use for Political Participations among Ilorin-South Youths during the 2015 General Elections in Nigeria. *Journal of Language and Communication*, 7(2), 720-735.
- Boulianne, S., Koc-Michalska, K., & Bimber, B. (2020). Mobilizing media: Comparing TV and social media effects on protest mobilization. *Information, Communication & Society*, 23 (5), 642-664.
- Chinedu-Okeke, C.F., & Obi, I. (2016). Social media as a political platform in Nigeria: A focus on electorates in South-Eastern Nigeria. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 21 (11), 6-22.
- Chunav P. (2023). In what ways can social media be used in election campaigns? India's leading political campaign management agency. Retrieved from <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/what-ways-can-social-media-used-election-campaigns-chunav-parchar>.
- Dalton, R. (1984). Cognitive mobilization and partisan dealignment in advanced industrial democracies. *Journal of Politics*, 46, 264-284.
- Dantani, U., Wika, N. P. And Maigari, M. A. (2017). Internet revolutions, democratic globalisation and elections outcome in the twenty-first century: Echoes from Nigeria. *Glocalism: Journal of Culture, Politics and Innovation*, 3(5), DOI: 10.12893/gjcp.2017.3.5.
- Davis, F.D., Bagozzi, R.P., & Warshaw, P.R. (1989). User acceptance of computer technology: A comparison of two theoretical models. *Management Sciences*, 35 (1), 982-1003.
- Egielewa, E. P. (2021). Social Media and Political Communication: Analysis of Nigerians' Perception of Government officials' Communication on X-platform. *Redeemer's University*

- Journal of Mass Communication*, 7(1), 52-63.
- Ekwueme, M. and Folarin, S. (2017). Role of Social Media in Electioneering: The Case of the Nigerian 2015 Presidential Election. Covenant University Conference of e-Governance in Nigeria (CUCEN2017) with the theme: “Governance and Public Service Delivery in Nigeria: The Role of Information and Communication technologies” pp. 299-311.
- Ezebuenyi, E. E., Ezegwu T, D. & Onuigbo, U. U. (2014). Cyber-Politics: Analysis of new media and political information management interface for electoral participation in Nigeria. *COOU Interdisciplinary Research Journal*, 1(1), 47-57.
- Fasola, O. S. & Oyadeyi, A. E. (2021). Influence of social media on youth participation in politics in Nigeria: A Case of the 2015/2019 General Elections. *Journal of Social Sciences and Public Policy*, 13(2), 1-21.
- Fasunwon, A.F. (2019). Social media and political mobilisation in Nigeria. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science (IJRISS)*, III (XII), 224-230.
- Hakan, J. & Scaramuzzino, G. (2023). Digital resource abundance: How social media shapes success and failure of online mobilisation. *Convergence: The Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 29(3), 586-601.
- Imhonopi, D., & Urim, U. M. (2021). Social Media, Citizens’ Participation in Elections, and the Proverbial Dividends of Democracy in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic. DOI: 10.4018/978-1-7998-4820-2.ch007.
- Kaun, A. (2017). ‘Our time to act has come’: Desynchronization, social media time and protest movements. *Media, Culture and Society*, 16(7), 1154-1168.
- Lambe, K. M. and B. O. (2020). Do social media matter? Examining social media use and youths’ political participation during the 2019 Nigerian general elections. *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 109(4), 441-457.
- Lindgren, S. (2017). *Digital media and society*. London: SAGE
- Madueke, O., Nwosu, C., Ogbonnaya, C., Anumadu, A., Onykwelu, V., & Okeke, S. (2017). The role of social media in enhancing political participation in Nigeria. *International Digital Organization for Scientific Research, IDOSR Journal of Arts and Management* 2(3), 44-54.
- Morah, N. D. and Uzochukwu, C. E. (2020). Social Media Use and Political Communication Challenges among Selected Entrepreneurs in Nigeria. *Nnamdi Azikiwe University Journal of Communication and Media Studies*, 1(2), 1-12.
- Ngugi, P. & Kinyua, C. (2014). The Concept and Philosophy of Community Radio Station in the Kenyan Context. *Journal of Mass Communication & Journalism*, 5, 233-246.
- Nnaane, B. & Olise, F.P. (2020) User-generated contents and professional journalism practice in Nigeria: Perception of journalists in select media houses in Abuja and Lagos. *Styles of Communication*, 12(2), 82-98.
- Nnaane, B. (2015). Evaluation of the perception and use of the social media among students in South-South, Nigeria. *Journal of Languages, Literatures and Communication Studies*, 2(2), 205-223.
- Nnaane, B. (2023). Comparative study of social media and political mobilisation in the 2021 and 2023 presidential elections in The Gambia and Nigeria. *Nasarawa Journal of Multimedia and Communication Studies*, 5(1), 15-26.
- Nwador, C. A., Dike, L. B., & Henry, O. (2020). Social media marketing and political participation of electorate in Rivers State, Nigeria. *International Journal of Management Sciences*, 8(2), 78-103.

- Nwosu, C. O. (2020). Political Participation in the X-platform sphere and the Nigerian 2015 and 2019 Presidential Elections: A cultural underpinning. Retrieved June 19, 2023 from <https://opus.lib.uts.edu.au/handle/10453/147456>.
- Okocha, O. D. and Agbele, D. (2023). Mediating democratic engagement: The impact of new media on Nigerians' involvement in political and civil life. In J. E. Chukwuere., D. Adom & J. J. Dyikuk (Eds), *Disruptive social media: Towards a Resilient Social Media Ecosystem in Africa* (pp. 1-22). Mahikeng, South Africa: Jozac Publishers.
- Omotayo. O. F., & Folorunso, B. M. (2020). Use of social media for political participation by youths in Oyo State, Nigeria. *JeDEM*, 12(1), 132-157. DOI: 10.29379/jedem.v12i1.585.
- Onyechi, N. J. (2018). Taking their destiny in their hands: social media, youth participation and the 2015 political campaigns in Nigeria. *African Journalism Studies*, 39(1), 69-89. doi: 10.1080/23743670.2018.1434998.
- Pavlik, J.V. & McIntosh, S. (2018). *Converging media: A new introduction to mass communication* (6<sup>th</sup> ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Pinheiro, O. S., Olatunji, O. S. & Owolabi, S. S.* (2020). Social media and behavioural changes of electorates during 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. *Villanova Journal of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities*, 2(1), Retrieved June 19, 2023 from <https://www.nigerianjournalsonline.com/index.php/VJSSAH/article/view/823>.
- Statista (2024). Nigeria: Active social media users. <https://www.statista.com>. Retrieved July 14, 2024.
- Uwalaka. T. (2021). The Impact of social media in political participation among students in Nigeria. *Humanities and Social Sciences*, 9(5), 145-154. doi: 10.11648/j.hss.20210905.13.