

Media Educational Contents as Determinants of Knowledge, Attitudes and Participation of Nigerian Youths in Political Activities

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Certification

This is to certify that this study was conducted under my supervision by Anthony Apeh AMEDU (LCU/PG/000454) for the Award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree (PhD) in Mass Communication and Media Technology, Faculty of Communication and Information Science, Lead City University, Ibadan, Nigeria and that this work has not been previously submitted.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the Almighty God and all the young Nigerians who lost their lives in the 2020 ‘#endSARS’ Protest.

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Acknowledgement

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Abstract

The continued existence and growth of democracy in any nation is dependent upon the nation's level of political interest. The media, as the fourth estate of the realm, plays the educational function in a democratic society. Therefore, this study examined the media educational contents as determinants of Nigerian youths' knowledge, attitude and participation in political activities. The study was anchored on Agenda Setting theory, Social Responsibility theory, Cognitive Mobilisation theory and Cognitive Engagement theory. The study adopted the correlation survey research design and employed a questionnaire named 'Media Political Education Contents, Youths' Knowledge, Attitudes and Political Participation' (MEYAP) for data gathering. The sample consisted 540 respondents from the six geo-political zones in Nigeria, with states like Adamawa, Kogi, Kano, Enugu, Oyo and Delta selected through stratified and convenience sampling techniques. The data collected was coded and analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) with descriptive and inferential statistics. Findings show that Nigerian youths exhibited a high level of knowledge about political activities (83.3%). Moreover, the study demonstrated a significant negative correlation (-0.859) between media education contents and political participation among Nigerian youths. This implies that an increase in educational content leads to a decrease in political participation by 0.859. The study concluded that media education has a positive relationship with combined knowledge of politics and attitude of youths and participation in political activities. From the findings, several recommendations are proposed. First, political stakeholders in Nigeria should know that the knowledge of youths on political activities should be maintained and built on. Second, there is need to cultivate and sustain the interest of youths in political activities. Additionally, political actors and political stakeholders should know that it is only when there is combined knowledge and positive attitudes towards politics that the youths will participate in political activities.

Keywords: Media Political Education, Political Activities, Political Behaviour, Political Knowledge and Political Participation

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

The formation of the People's Union in 1908, the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1923, and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) in 1944 underscores the pivotal roles played by youths in various aspects of nation building in Nigeria¹. Also, the historical journey into the Nigerian state has established that the political participation of young people can be traced back to the 1930s, when Nnamdi Azikiwe established the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM). The source assents that the political figure also exposed the organisation to the concept of Pan-African awareness¹. The reign of Herbert Macaulay and the National Democratic Party in the Lagos Town Council was brought to an end as a result of the Nigerian Youth Movement's success in the elections for the Lagos Town Council.

In 1983, the NYM published the Youth Charter, which set out goals to unify the various tribes in Nigeria and to shape public opinion, fostering the necessary level of national consciousness to achieve this ideal. Following the publication of the Youth Charter, the NYM began to lobby for Nigeria's independence. Therefore, it is plausible to assert that young people were the driving force behind the establishment of the political parties that fought for the independence of the Nigerian state. For example, by the time Anthony Enahoro, who was 29 years old, moved the motion for Nigeria's independence in 1953, which was finally granted in 1960, he had already served as a member of Federal Parliament. One could argue that the choice made by the British government to grant independence to Nigeria in 1960 was in great part caused by the pressure that was put on them by the youth political movement. Therefore, Nigeria's independence can be attributed, at

least in part, to the determined efforts of young people who were in their late 20s and early 30s at that time.

Despite constituting more than 70 percent of the region's population, young people in Africa have a political participation rate that is appallingly low¹. This is despite the fact that political elites have arguably continued to recycle themselves in the political space over the years. The reason for this is that the level of political participation among young people in Africa is disturbingly low². Due to the fact that many young Africans have been excluded from the political sphere, they are exhibiting a decreased interest in taking part in political activities as they have developed high interest in migrating to the Western nations, a phenomenon popularly known as 'Japa' among youths. The situation in Nigeria is a stark reflection of the situation across Africa. In political institutions and procedures in Nigeria, such as parliaments, political parties, elections, and public administration, young Nigerians are not effectively represented².

It has been observed that young people have less political engagement and a lower level of political literacy in places where a significant number of young people appear to be involved in political activities, as they rarely ascend to prominent positions. Instead, they frequently become tools for older politicians, who use them to commit electoral violence and organise fleeting forms of protests^{3,4}. The disheartening trend also surfaced during the 2023 general election. At the time this study was conducted, numerous political parties had already selected flag bearers for various elective positions. A minority of young people aged 18 to 35 contested for various federal offices, but sadly, majority of them were defeated by older generations aged 35 and above, except for those who were the offsprings of politicians or former politicians.

Youths are anyone who between the ages of 15 and 24, while the World Bank considers young people to be those who are between the ages of 12 and 24⁵. The adolescent phrase is sometimes

referred to as the "transition from reliance to independence"⁵. Alternatively, youth can be viewed as the stage that occurs between childhood and adulthood, rather than a fixed concept that is determined by one's age. In the meantime, these age ranges have been regarded as being overly because of the political, societal, and economic realities that exist in Africa. As a direct consequence of this, Nigeria's National Youth Policy defines youth as individuals between the ages of 18 and 35⁶. Therefore, individuals between the ages of 18 and 35 are considered to be youths for the purpose of this study which is in conjunction with the definition of youths by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). In the context of this study, the terms 'youth' and 'young people' are used synonymously.

In this study, it is of utmost importance to acquire an understanding of the following concepts and variables: political education in the media, political involvement, political knowledge, and political attitudes. Political knowledge refers to the factual and accurate information stored in individuals' long term memories about politics and its various activities. This includes knowledge of the rules and principles governing political systems, the substance of politics, people and parties, which are the three broad areas of political knowledge⁵.

Also, political knowledge can be defined as an individual's familiarity with the history, events, current affairs, personalities, and institutions of politics, and these can be evaluated based on an individual's capacity to deliver accurate responses to a predetermined set of fact-based questions. A lack of political knowledge can lead to an incomplete comprehension of public policy, prejudice against members of underrepresented groups, and mistrust of political institutions⁶. A high level of political awareness results in citizens who are politically educated, vigilant, vocal, and competent to participate in the processes. They possess the necessary expertise for political involvement in order to maintain a viable and stable democratic system⁶. Acquiring political

knowledge also boosts a person's self-assurance and motivation to participate in public life. The different ways of measuring political knowledge include knowledge of current national and international events, political figures, institutions, and processes⁵. Democratic societies require citizens to have at least a moderate level of knowledge about political parties, leadership, political history, political economy, and institutional structures. This knowledge is essential for accepting political norms, being politically effective, understanding current political events, and actively participating in political processes⁵. It would be difficult for citizens, who lack fundamental understanding of politics, to comprehend political happenings and subsequently become engaged in public issues if they lack this information. As a result, higher levels of political knowledge give societies the ability to become more inclusive and responsive, which to a large extent, determine the attitudes of individuals towards political activities.

The evolution of one's attitudes necessitates an improvement, not just in the quantity of one's thinking, but also in its quality⁷. This maturation process leads to differences between the attitudes of youths and adults, particularly in the realm of "civic culture," which encompasses crucial attitudes such as political interest and trust.

Surveying people's interest and/or trust in politics is a common method used by academics to gauge civic culture⁸. The traditional depiction about these young people is that they tend to be more pessimistic, and distrustful of political elites in general⁹. There have been other longitudinal studies that all reached the same conclusion: younger generations are less conservative on cultural issues but not necessarily on economic concerns.

The continued existence and growth of democracies in any nation are partly dependent upon the nation's level of political interest among its citizens. A politically interested individual will pay close attention to various subjects related to public space or collective concerns, such as the

environment, public policy, human rights, elections, and other relevant factors¹⁰. Political interest can be simply explained as the degree to which politics is attractive to people in a given country. The level of political interest among young people is an essential factor because it is among the most reliable predictors of political participation¹¹. The reason for this is straightforward: young people in present-day society simultaneously represent a significant political potential and a dormant problematic element of the population. This is due to the fact that their political behaviour is less predictable than that of other social groups¹¹.

Political apathy, on the other hand, refers to a general state of indifference towards the events and governance of one's political locality. When citizens are politically apathetic, they show a lack of interest in activities such as elections, public opinion, and civic responsibilities¹². As a result, this can lead to lower voter registration, decreased voter turnout during elections, and reluctance to engage in protests against systematic failures. Additionally, people like this would also lack passion when participating in socio-political disputes, be unwilling to assist security agents with vital information, and become generally indifferent to government policies and programmes, regardless of their implications¹³.

People have a tendency to be less motivated to act when they perceive that their action may not generate the anticipated results¹². The sensation of efficacy is perhaps the fulcrum upon which human agency hangs. Studies have demonstrated that political efficacy is a strong predictor of political involvement, and it is an essential mediator between general self-efficacy and political participation¹³. In addition, political efficacy is a strong predictor of political engagement. An individual's conviction that his/her action can influence the overall political process is referred to as political efficacy. Such assurances typically include the internal feeling that individuals possess

the capacity and political competence to act (internal efficacy), and that the government will respond appropriately to their actions (external efficacy)¹².

When viewed as a whole, political participation refers to the involvement of citizens in the processes, occasions, or endeavours that have an impact on the selection of political representatives and the actions they make. It is a term that is used to refer to the numerous channels through which members of the general public are able to communicate their political opinions and/or exert influence on the political process¹⁴. Several factors influence the extent of political participation, including an individual's political awareness, education, social status, standard of living, environmental and social influences, adherence to the rule of law, and socio-cultural factors like religion and gender. Political participation and apathy both fluctuate due to the multifaceted nature of politics, which is influenced by a number of factors¹⁵. The concept of youth political involvement is made up of two separate terms: youth and political engagement. Because of this, it is necessary to explain the concept so that it may be understood more easily.

The term "political engagement" refers to "those acts by private persons that are more or less directly targeted at influencing the selection of governmental employees and/or the actions they take¹⁶." Again, political involvement is a term that may be described using a variety of characteristics, including the following:

- a) It is a form of action.
- b) It is not ordered by a ruling class or required by law; it is done on a voluntary basis.
- b) It is a term that refers to people in their capacity as amateurs or non-professionals; and
- d) It has something to do with politics, the state, or the government¹⁷.

The term "youth political engagement" is used to describe the involvement of young people in political activities, civic life, active citizenship, and the formation of policies¹⁸. This involvement can take a variety of forms, such as serving on a council of a local government, voting in elections, or taking part in the process of developing a budget for a local government¹⁸. Currently, the political engagement of young people in Nigeria is being hampered by a wide variety of obstacles compared to what was obtainable in the past, including a lack of awareness regarding the positive outcomes that can result from their involvement in politics. Additionally, issues like unemployment, social marginalisation, limited resources, and tools hinder young people's political engagement.

In comparison with what was obtainable in the pre-independence and the early post-independence era, when Nigeria was just emerging as a country, the few educated ones were youths, so they were highly encouraged to participate in political activities with a lot of opportunities, scholarships and even support from the British government.

This support prompted parents to take loans and invest in their children's education with confidence that there would be rewarding job prospects available upon graduation. Unfortunately, the current situation is characterised by a lack of good governance. The positive initiatives of the past were not sustained, as those who benefited from these good deeds did not put in place a mechanism for such continuity, and the absence of scholarships, grants, and support programmes for university students, along with growing population, has contributed to high levels of unemployment¹⁶.

Also, the issues of greed and corruption have led many individuals to pursue political offices but subsequently forget their duty to serve the people. This stands in contrast with the principles that motivated former leaders like Obafemi Awolowo, Tafawa Balewa Abubakar and Nnamdi Azikiwe

who served and protected the interest of the public. Regrettably, the present scenario is dominated by self-gratification, in which a few youths that are in politics do not even think of how to develop the nation but how to take advantage of the system. As a result of this, this discourages a large number of the youths from participating in political activities¹⁵.

Furthermore, the party structures are not well organised compared to what was obtainable in the post-independence era. The issue of monetisation of the political system can be traced back to the military era, especially between 1990 and 1999, when young millionaires emerged, some of whom became governors and are still actively involved in politics. This heavy influence of money in political activities is another factor that discourages the participation of youths in politics¹⁷.

The frustrations and anger among the youth towards a system that restricts their aspirations could arguably be linked to the 'EndSAR' protest in 2020, where young Nigerians voiced their demands for change, even at the cost of their lives, with the chants of 'no retreat no surrender'. From the outcome of such protest, it can be arguably said that the youths are willing to participate but do not trust the political process and the political class which has increased the already high level of political apathy¹⁶.

Historically, looking at the formation and establishment of the early newspaper, radio and television stations, it is apparent that their primary aim was to educate the masses. For instance, on October 31, 1959, Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) was established as an educational tool for the masses.

It is widely accepted that the media serve as both the public square and the lifeblood for the development of democratic norms and ideals¹². Free media outlets make a wide variety of information available to the public and provide political knowledge by providing access to credible and understandable resources. These resources include portrayals, news, reports, and discussions in public spaces about social and political affairs. These media formats/portrayals should be able

to deliver crucial information about major political and social issues through the use of several media formats, including textual (newspaper), auditory (radio news), audio-visual (television) news channels, and social/news media (multi media)¹². Equally, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Media Action claims that a strong relationship between the media and the public is required for a well-functioning democracy. This is due to the fact that an informed citizenry is essential for the purpose of holding political leaders accountable¹⁵. Because the media serve as society's watchdog, it is the responsibility of the media to direct the attention of the public and interests of individuals towards governance matters and public issues. It is generally accepted that the media have the ability to inspire political consciousness, renaissance, and interest among individuals, particularly the youths, by giving truthful and in-depth coverage of political actions, policies, and programmes. A political awakening of this magnitude would, in turn, raise the threshold for public political participation and deflate political indifference, particularly among young people¹⁸.

The idea of political education, which is one of the time-honoured subjects in the history of political thought, is making a comeback in the conversation that is taking place in modern Political Science. Contemporary scholars are more likely to agree that well-designed institutions are insufficient, and that a well-ordered polity requires citizens with the appropriate knowledge, skills, and character traits¹⁹. This is a change from previous generations of academics, who were less likely to reach this consensus. Ever since Plato and Aristotle first brought up the topic of political and civic education, it has been abundantly obvious that the type of regime in power, affects the political education that is provided. Citizens with the necessary knowledge, skills, and character traits for democracy would not be suited for a non-democratic political system. Notably, the low-

information rationality theory revealed that citizens who have a low level of information are unable to follow the public discussion of issues and are less likely to take part in the political process¹⁹.

Scholars have arrived at a variety of conclusions regarding the meaning of the term "political education," despite the fact that it has been studied extensively. In the classical studies of socialisation, the phrase 'political education' was used interchangeably with the term 'political literacy' which refers to the objective of political education. In a similar manner, a person's capacity to effectively fulfil his/her responsibilities as a citizen is directly correlated to his or her level of political literacy, which can also be referred to as political education. It also entails understanding fundamental principles and facts necessary for comprehending arguments in public discourse. It can also be referred to as political awareness, which is the degree to which an individual pays attention to politics and comprehends what he or she has come across in the realm of politics. Political literacy refers to political expertise, while political awareness refers to the extent to which an individual pays attention to politics. Some scholars defined political education as the opportunity for knowledgeable engagement in political activities. They argue that education for democracy involves the study of politics for the purpose of encouraging civic participation, as well as the development of virtues, and political knowledge through the provision of opportunity for service learning or active learning in the community¹⁸. Political education employs the concept of education for democracy, which is an education that is based on the study of politics for the purpose of encouraging civic participation.

However, despite being an agency of the Federal Government of Nigeria, Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is not solely responsible for educating eligible voters. Political parties, civil societies, religious and traditional institutions, and the National Orientation Agency (NOA) should all work together with the electoral body to achieve this goal.

Mechanisms should be established to address complaints when someone's name is omitted from a voter list, and attention must be paid to combatting violence and vote rigging while upholding the transparency of the voting process. For the purpose of making the exercise more successful, all information pertaining to the elections should be made public in advance¹⁹.

Political participation among young people in Nigeria may be traced to the beginning of the formulation and implementation of patriotic movements. Early youth activists like Anthony Enahoro, Samuel Ladoke Akintola, and Remilekun Fani-Kayode were instrumental in Nigerian nation-building. This can be seen from the formation of the pressure groups that metamorphosed into political groups, as shown by the discourses on the state of the Nigerian nation-building. Newspapers such as *The Lagos Times*, *African Challenger*, *Lagos Observers*, *Lagos Echo*, *The Lagos Weekly Record*, and *West African Pilot* were more politically oriented because they published fiery editorials which greatly irritated the colonial establishment. Thus, the British saw the press in Nigeria as a 'stabilisation factor' because the press allowed radicals to voice their impatience audibly in Lagos and Ibadan, which enabled the elites in the North to gradually get involved in the prospect of independence. Also, the Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) concentrated on educating the people about political developments in the country and beyond. Nowonder the British government's decision to grant independence to Nigeria was widely believed to have been influenced, at least to some extent, by the protests and pressures brought about by the media and various political organisations, made up of young nationalists who used the media as a means to voice their concerns.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Presently, there is substantial evidence to suggest that young Nigerians are being marginalised from the political sphere, and partly, as a result, they are currently not participating in politics as expected. In the light of this, it can be observed that Nigerian youths are not adequately represented in formal political institutions and processes, such as the parliaments, political parties, elections, and public administrations. Despite the enactment of the “Not Too Young to Run act” by the former President, Muhammadu Buhari, in 2018, the youngest senator is still 42 years old as at the time of carrying out this study and no member in the House of Representatives is below the minimum age requirement of 36 years.

While some researches have been conducted on elections and political processes, there remains a significant gap in the area of political education through the media and engaging young Nigerians. Media stakeholders have expressed concerns about the role of the media, whether they prioritise their owners’ interests and promote the government agenda.

Additionally, people are also wondering if there are forms of media political education contents targeted at the Nigerian youths. The extent of young Nigerians’ exposure to political education through the media and their knowledge about Nigerian political activities are subjects of inquiry.

Questions are raised on whether there is any positive attitude showcased by Nigerian youths towards political activities, whether there is a high level of participation of the Nigerian youths in political activities, and if there is any relationship between media educational contents on knowledge, attitude, and participation among Nigerian youths in political activities. Currently, there is no conclusive evidence to address these questions comprehensively. This study, therefore,

investigated the relationship between political education, through the media, and the knowledge, attitude, and participation of young people in Nigeria's current political activities.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study was to examine the relationship between media educational contents and Nigerian youths' knowledge, attitudes and participation in political activities. The specific objectives are to:

- i. identify the forms of media political education contents targeted at Nigerian Youths;
- ii. ascertain the level of youths' exposure to media political education contents;
- iii. ascertain the level of knowledge of Nigerian youths regarding political activities in the country;
- iv. assess the attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities;
- v. ascertain the level of participation of the Nigerian youths in political activities;
- vi. determine the relationship between exposure to media educational contents and knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths;
- vii. determine the relationship between media educational contents and attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities;
- viii. determine the relationship between media educational contents and political participation among Nigerian Youths in political activities and
- ix. determine the relationship between media educational contents and combined knowledge, attitude and participation among Nigerian youths in political activities.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were posited in relation to the research objectives:

1. What are the forms of media political education contents targeted at the Nigerian youths?
2. What is the level of youths' exposure to media political education contents?
3. What is the level of Nigerian youths' knowledge on political activities?
4. What is the attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities?
5. What is the level of participation among Nigerian youths in political activities?

1.5 Hypotheses

The following null hypotheses were postulated:

Ho1: There is no significant relationship between media educational contents and knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths.

Ho2: There is no significant relationship between media educational contents and attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities.

Ho3: There is no significant relationship between media educational contents and political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities.

Ho4: There is no significant relationship between media educational contents and combined knowledge, attitudes and participation among Nigerian youths in political activities.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study would have a substantial impact on the fields of political communication and development communication. To begin with, there is a dearth of academic research on the topic of how the knowledge, attitude, and participation of young people in Nigerian politics are affected by media political education.

This study tries to assess the relationship among media political education, political knowledge, attitudes, and engagement of young Nigerians. By identifying existing gaps, this research would provide valuable insights to political stakeholders, including the government, non-governmental organisations, civic organisations, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), and political parties. These media political contents can educate youths about politics and transform their negative attitudes into positive ones, and increase their participation in political activities. If the study is successful in this endeavour, it is expected to contribute to a higher level of political engagement among young people leading to a better representation in Nigerian political activities.

Furthermore, the significance of the study also lies in the fact that it would be relevant, after a combination of academic empirical contributions to scholars and researchers, managerial implication for policy makers on electoral processes such as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), and for practical contributions for youths and youths' organisations such as Yiaga Africa. The conceptual model would add to the theories that are used to measure the political education provided by the media, as well as the knowledge, attitudes, and involvement of young people in politics. In the end, it would offer a clear knowledge source for other stakeholders, including the universities.

Furthermore, the empirical findings would help the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and media organisations, both of which would be expected to design suitable contents and programmes to address political education for youths. These contents and programmes will be designed to enhance the knowledge of youths, which in turn can change their attitudes toward political participation.

The results of the study are expected to raise the awareness of young people in Nigeria and across Africa on the importance of the electoral processes and decision making in political activities, which would ultimately lead to the development of the nation as a whole. This highlights the study's importance in addressing critical issues relevant to the youth population.

Moreover, the research would not only be useful to the study of mass communication but also other fields of study by adding to the existing body of literature in the fields of political communication, development communication, governance, and media studies, thereby providing a foundation for future researchers working in various related fields.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study's participants consisted of 52,200,000 Nigerians aged between 18 and 35. The scope of this study centred on Nigerian youths. Knowledge, attitude, and participation of Nigerian youths were the dependent variables for this study. These variables comprised (factual information on politics and political activities, knowledge of party politics' rules, substance of politics, people and parties, information on national and international politics, political leadership, personalities and governance, political institutions and processes, political norms, history, economy, and institutional setting. The study covered a total of thirty-six (36) states, representing the six (6)

geopolitical zones of the country. To ensure representation, six (6) states were chosen for data collection.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

The major limitation of this study is the used of convenience methods in selecting the sample which would necessarily limit the applicability of the findings to the generality of Nigerian youths.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

Key concepts and variables, as used in this work, are defined as follows:

Media Contents: In the context of this study, media contents are data, text, images or sound disseminated through books, magazines, newspapers, social media, websites, mobile applications, radio and television.

Media Education: This has to do with the process of teaching, learning and acquiring knowledge of systematic instruction through media programmes or media contents which can be formal or informal.

Media Political Education Contents: In this study, media political education contents are informative and educative contents on politics which are in data, text, images or sound disseminated through books, magazines, newspapers, social media, websites, mobile application, radio and television.

Media Political Education: In line with the study, this is the process of teaching, learning and acquiring knowledge of systematic instruction on governance or political events and activities through media programmes or media contents which can be formal education or informal education.

News Media: In this study, news media have to do with media outlets that focus on delivering news on governance, politics and political activities to general audiences or target audiences such as youths or young people; these media include newspapers, newsmagazine, radio, television, online newspapers, news blogs, news video, live news streaming.

Nigerian Youths: In the context of this study, Nigerian youths comprise both male and female citizens of the Federal Republic of Nigeria who may be literate or illiterate, between the ages of 18-35 years, spanning across its six (6) geo-political zones.

Political Activities: In line with the study, political activities are seen as events or happenings directly related to the success or failure of political bodies like the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), political parties, candidates for partisan political offices, or partisan political groups.

Political Apathy: In this research, political apathy has to do with lack of interest or lukewarm interest, as well as indifference of youths or young people towards political activities or processes.

Political Attitudes: In the context of this study, political attitudes have been seen as the opinions and values of youths or young people on political events, issues, organisations, political parties, and political stakeholders such as politicians, party leaders and party structures.

Political Behaviour: This has to do with participation in politics or political affairs such as voting, attending meetings or rallies, expressing viewpoints or political preferences /interests and involvement in political processes.

Political Communication: It is the exchange of political ideologies by political communicators to their audiences who are typically the electorates. Like the regular communication process, it

also uses both the traditional media and the new media. Politicians, however, have started employing fake news and hate speech in their political messages.

Political Education: In this study, political education ensures a degree of behaviour modification that determines a relationship between attitudes, behavioural intentions and behaviour towards politics. It can also be seen as process whereby youths or young people learn several matters such as how to socialise within the political culture, how to think and act on politics and government, how to adapt to the political process, how to shape the political system and how to make decisions.

Political Interest: It has to do with the favourable disposition of respondents to specific media messages, events, issues or individuals at any given time. Political interest is a product of a person's preferences, ideological orientation and media exposure and experiences.

Political Knowledge: This refers to information about political affairs regularly covered by various mass media agencies. It may encompass both basic knowledge, including rudimentary principles or background information about leaders, parties, or institutions, and current knowledge on ongoing political development.

Political Media: In this study, political media is seen as coverage, packaging and dissemination of all aspects of government and political activities, events, personalities, political parties and organisations.

Political Participation: This has to do with the active engagement of youths or young people in political events or activities like political rallies, campaigns, meetings, writings, voting and involvement in political activities, among others.

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Chapter Two

Literature Review

Literatures reviewed were conducted under the following sub-headings:

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.3 Review of Empirical Studies

2.4 Conceptual Model

2.5 Summary of Gap in Literature Reviewed

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Concept of Political Knowledge

Political knowledge can be described as "the range or extents of factual information about politics and political activities stored in an individual's long-term memory. This political knowledge can be categorised into three main areas: "rules of the game," "substance of politics," and "people and parties"¹. It is the capacity to deliver accurate responses to a predetermined series of fact-based questions that serve as a measurement of one's knowledge of political events, persons, affairs, histories, and institutions¹. A lack of political education leads to a simplistic comprehension of public policy, prejudice towards members of underrepresented groups, and mistrust of political institutions². A high level of political knowledge, on the other hand, results in citizens who are politically informed, vigilant, vocal, competent and vibrant in political activities. These citizens have the expertise necessary for political engagement, which is necessary to maintain a viable and stable democratic system². There are some citizens who are politically inattentive because they lack the information and abilities necessary to make sense of the political environment and because

of this, they are unable to participate in politics in a meaningful way. In Uganda, one of the elements that were recognised, as one of the factors that inhibited the ability of the population to hold government officials accountable, was a lack of political understanding. Students constituted the largest category of voters in Nigeria, accounting for 26.57% (22 million) of the country's total voters³. Citizenship and Civics Education is taught at different educational levels enhance students' understanding of the political and social context of their world. This information has the potential to boost their self-assurance as well as their motivation to participate in public life. In addition, a meta-analysis of political knowledge measurements indicated that they covered various aspects, including knowledge of current national and international events, political figures, institutions, and processes¹. In addition, the researchers came to the conclusion that democratic citizens and societies require at least moderate levels of knowledge regarding political parties, leaders, history, economy, and institutional setting in order to accept political norms, be politically effective, understand current politics, and actively participate in political processes. Citizens who lack even a fundamental understanding of politics will have a difficult time comprehending current political happenings and will be less likely to participate in public affairs². As a result, better overall levels of political knowledge give societies the ability to become more inclusive and responsive.

2.1.1.1 Media and Political Knowledge

It is a common practice to view the mass media as both essential "oxygen" for democratic governance and the "public square" necessary for the development of democratic norms and principles³. Free media outlets make a wide variety of information available to the general public and provide political knowledge through credible and accessible resources. These resources include portrayals, news, reports, discussions, and other related issues about social and political

affairs. Whether textual (e.g. newspapers), aural (e.g radio news), or audiovisual (e.g television), news outlets should all be able to deliver crucial information regarding significant political and social issues¹. According to a separate analysis by BBC Media Action, a functional democracy cannot exist without a positive relationship between the media and the general public. This stems from the recognition that an informed populace is essential in maintaining political accountability¹. The function of the media as an important agent of political socialisation in the society can be likened to that of the family, the educational system, the political system, religion, and occupation. As the primary source of news and information for the majority of the public, access to the media has a substantial relationship with both knowledge and attitudes. A positive correlation exists between the consumption of political news and an individual's level of political awareness. Acquiring political knowledge hinges on utilising and having access to news media. Educational functions of both traditional and new forms of media have contributed to a rise in the level of intellectual complexity as well as political interest in many countries¹. Therefore, the media are instruments for the dissemination of political information and the consolidation of democratic institutions². Citizens' political awareness, which is essential for political participation, increases in direct proportion to the frequency with which they consume news via television, radio, newspapers, or the internet. It is likely that citizens will have a better understanding of recent happenings as a result of the widespread availability of news and political information on the internet and satellite television. A study demonstrated that the results of search engines and web portals that combine news and entertainment topics in their headlines can result in unintentional exposure to political information². Generally, there is a strong positive correlation between this knowledge and political knowledge. In a paradoxical turn of events, a different study found that increased diversity in media options (such as access to cable television and the internet) widens

the gap in political knowledge and voter turnout between people who are more interested in the news and those who are more interested in entertainment⁴. According to the findings of a study that was conducted on 1,100 undergraduate students in Japan, paying attention to and being exposed to newspapers is a better predictor of political awareness and participation than watching television⁴. In a similar vein, a study carried out in Canada found a positive correlation between the consumption of newspapers and political knowledge⁵. Newspapers and magazines appear to have lesser influence on the political behaviour of citizens due to the combined effects of television, radio, the internet, and social media⁴. Additionally, satellite television is responsible for a 20% decrease in political knowledge as a direct result of viewers' preference for entertainment shows. It was revealed that citizens now have option because of the availability of many sources of information disseminated over a variety of platforms, including the internet, social media, television (both local and satellite), radio, newspapers, and magazines. That tends to make it more difficult to access political information. However, the opinion of some academics is that even if people who consume news are more interested in topics such as entertainment, sports, among others, they would still be exposed to political information as a result of the mere process of examining the sources of information that they use. The election of Barack Obama in 2008, the Iranian post-election protests in 2009, the *#OccupyWallStreet* movement in 2011, the Arab Spring movement of 2010-2012, and the *#BringBackOurGirls* campaign in 2014 are all examples of how social media can be used effectively for political mobilisation and enlightenment⁴. Much like the cases in Nigeria where young people harnessed platforms like *Facebook*, *X*, *WhatsApp*, and blogs *#Occupy Nigeria* to influence fuel price reductions and monitor elections in 2015, similar social media tools, including *Facebook*, *X*, and *WhatsApp* were employed⁵. The quick ascent of social media as significant news sources, which contribute to an informed

populace, is a phenomenon that is currently in full swing. #NextLevel #Atikulate and #TakeItBack(at the federal level), #Penkelemese and #Omituntun (in Oyo State), and #Otogee (in Kwara State) were among the campaign hashtags and media slogans used during the 2019 general elections in Nigeria to mobilise voters and campaign for political power. While media seems to boost voters' capacity to follow politics, the gap in voters' political awareness is also widening as many individuals who use social media are distracted by the entertainment and communication aspects of these platforms². The aforementioned studies found either insignificant or negative primary effects, with political awareness influenced by factors such as age, gender, and education where access and usage of news media is tied to those factors. The present-day youth spend most of their time surfing the internet and watching television, but very few of them read the newspaper. On the other hand, older people in the United States tend to have a higher level of political knowledge than younger people⁵. Similarly, a study that compared responses to political knowledge items in the 2000 Canadian Election Study of Gallop polls from 1956 came to the conclusion that younger Canadians now had a lower level of political understanding than people did 45 years earlier. In conclusion, the Civic and Political Health of the Community People in Canada forty-five years ago had a greater level of political knowledge than the younger people in the country do today. According to the Civic and Political Health Telephone Survey, which was carried out by the Centre for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), involving a representative sample of 1,765 Americans concluded that approximately 60 % of respondents aged 15 to 25 show signs of political apathy lacking significant knowledge about politics.

2.1.2 Concept of Political Attitude of Youths in Nigeria

In the same way that research on political engagement has increased our understanding of how political views grow; contributions to the field of political attitudes have broadened our awareness

of how the political attitudes of young adults differ from those of adults. This section focuses on growth, maturation, and the stability of attitudes in order to explore how youths form political attitudes. It does this by taking into account the various methods to socialisation as well as the contested inputs from other domains. An individual's "learning of social patterns related to his societal positions as mediated through various agents of society" encapsulate the concept of political socialisation⁷. Despite this being a widely used definition of political socialisation, it is surprising to find that the majority of researchers have predominately focused their attention on the influence of families while ignoring the various agencies that make up society. In addition, a study points out that in the early days of dedicated research on political socialisation, the focus was mostly on shared party affiliations, participation in voluntary organisations, or the genuine political interest of children and their parents' possible influence on it⁸. This was the case in the early days of dedicated research on political socialisation. Researchers have been confronted repeatedly with the same methodological dilemma due to the limited range of issue beliefs among youths, which hindered the generation of meaningful inferences for political sciences⁹. On the other hand, children are incapable of expressing their political beliefs and partisanship¹⁰. Because of this uncertainty, researchers decided to shift their focus from children to adolescents and young adults. This was done because the issue beliefs of adolescents and young adults were easier to access due to the wider scope of methods that were available for data collection⁷. A fundamental hypothesis, well-supported by biological evidence, has been the primary impetus behind socialisation research: infants and adolescents are distinct from adults in terms of their brain structure, sensor-motoric skills, temperaments, reactivity, semantic networks, and behaviours⁸. Adults, on the other hand, have these same characteristics.

During the era often referred to as the "golden age" of research on political socialisation, the Columbia and Michigan schools dominated the discourse. Both schools came to the conclusion that a person's political membership as well as his/her attitude towards institutions and the authorities had a substantial correlation with the interests that his/her parents had, and that these interests did not change significantly over the course of a lifetime⁷.

The research on socialisation was comparable to the research on the inheritance of preferences or opinions; practically all of the research was conducted solely in the United States and was plagued by selection biases due to the fact that the participants were predominantly white middle-class Americans. The prejudice was primarily compensated for by those who attempted to answer the question of why people of colour felt they have less political efficacy throughout successive generations. The researchers raised some intriguing concerns, but they were unable to establish any potential causative mechanisms¹¹. The researchers looked at the distinctions between families in the United States and France and came to the conclusion that the purpose of political socialisation within families is influenced by the specific country context; this is still the case today⁷.

However, political socialisation is not only dependent on the country in which a person was raised; it also depends on the political circumstances of that country. This gives rise to the subject of generational reliance, or more specifically, the question of whether or not it makes a difference whether young individuals themselves or their parents were exposed to a certain political framework. The findings of the numerous studies that have been conducted on this subject indicate that an individual's political socialisation is shaped not only by their personal experiences but also by the broader context, including the transmission of political ideas from parents to children¹². Through this method, researchers have demonstrated that "if parents are politically active and

engage in political discussions with their children, the transmission rates significantly increase, particularly on themes of broad political significance and salience"¹¹. In this place, possibilities for socialisation with other parents can be found at recurring political events as well as more sporadic events¹⁰.

In addition to this, socialisation may also be noticed through a person's social status; it is not limited to the transfer of values and norms directly from parents to their children⁸. As a result, a variety of debates has become ingrained in the process of socialisation. Before the 1990s, research was plagued by two implicit assumptions, both of which were flawed: firstly, that political opinions, attitudes, and assumptions held today would, for the most part, remain the same tomorrow; and second, that learning early in life is more important than learning later in life. Instead, they contend that the attitudes of teenagers do evolve, frequently in significant ways, and do not necessarily become fixed simply because the adolescents have reached 18 or moved out of their parents' homes, as recent longitudinal investigations have shown¹⁰.

The concept that fathers have a major role in the transmission of political party preferences was challenged by a study. The study discovered that there was a gender-specific difference in the transmission of these preferences, which demolished decades of research that had been done previously. Their study in the Netherlands demonstrated that girls were more likely to share their mother's political party preference, but sons were more likely to share their father's preferences⁹. This influence of a mother on her daughter was also proven in a Canadian context 15 years later, when the subject of women was the focal point of the discussion¹¹. The composition of families shifts over time, and as a result, there are an increasing number of families with different compositions, such as those with stay-at-home parents, patchwork parents, or single parents. This may contribute to increased individualisation as well as an increase in the diversity of issues. The

conclusion that socialisation in today's world obviously takes place under different circumstances as a result of a study casts doubt on the majority of findings from earlier studies about the impact of parents⁹. Many of the fundamental assumptions of socialisation theories could not be reproduced using more advanced approaches, and as a result, research still has considerable blindspots. "The issues, techniques, and assumptions have evolved as a result of forty years of scholarly research, political experience, including regime change into and out of democracy, and new political sensitivities"¹¹. The Political Socialisation Theory has a difficult time living up to the promises it makes: "correlations between parents and their (mostly biological) children, with no way of separating the effects of the environment the parents provide from the effects of the genes they provide, and no way of separating the effects of the home environment from the effects of the environment outside the home." In other words, there is room for interpretation in the evidence¹⁰.

Hence, it is clear that parental influence is not the sole determining factor. Even though most academics continue to operate on the assumption that family does have some influence, they do not yet know how significant that influence is. Other settings for socialisation, such as schools, peer groups, and the media, attract a significant amount of attention. Because of this, researchers, particularly in more recent studies, make an effort to maintain the framework conditions in a consistent manner. For example, they may examine samples that differ in only one aspect, such as the type of school attended. This should make it easier to distinguish the effects of the numerous elements from one another. Cases from Finland demonstrate that school is a factor, albeit not the most significant one, in people's lives. Instead, the impact of one's peers is in the forefront, in addition to the influence that one's family has. It has also been demonstrated that "peers, via conversation and diversity, are even more influential and successful in creating greater political participation" than the family. Having said that, a significant part of this responsibility falls on the

shoulders of the media. Researchers have only recently begun to assess the influence of social media on the process of political socialisation. Earlier studies dealt with the influence of various forms of media, such as television news or newspapers. The argument regarding social media would be that they are characterised by fewer distinct boundaries between non-political and political activity, hence reducing the thresholds of political engagement¹³. This perspective applies particularly to the context of social media.

In addition to studies on parental and other social transmission, as well as structural transmission, a branch of multidisciplinary research that focuses on the genetic inheritance of attitudes and norms is constantly expanding¹³. This line of research is becoming more prominent, investigating how attitudes, norms, and values develop within twins, parents and their offspring, either in a setting in which there is continuous exposure to the parent or sibling, as well as a setting in which there are deliberate discontinuities in their biographies. Both of these settings are examined. Furthermore, the findings show that there is reason for optimism: "If both the father and the mother hold a highly intensive belief in a just world, the probability that their child will also hold a strong belief in a just world is very high⁸." This finding comes from a study that was conducted in the United Kingdom. It is essential to emphasise that researchers also caution against drawing excessive conclusions from their findings, and that this tendency is present in the majority of genetic association studies.

In line with a more interdisciplinary view, psychologists define attitude as "a person's general evaluation of an object (where 'object' is understood in a broad sense, including persons, events, products, policies, institutions, and so on)" In other words, attitude is "a person's overall assessment of an object¹⁴."

However, social scientists have a difficult time working within the confines of this definition, as it is overly broad. For an attitude to form, the result of the evaluation that was described above would need to remain unchanged throughout the course of time, and it would also need to be consistent with the evaluation that came before it¹⁴. The findings of a study seem to indicate that stability is the most important component of an attitude, despite the fact that some individuals noted that stability is not required for attitudes¹². On the other hand, it has been suggested that attitude growth throughout maturation is not the same thing as changing an attitude; this raises the question of what occurs to evaluation during this time.

"Changing one's attitude needs not only a shift in one's thinking but also a shift in one's thinking quality¹⁰." As a result of this maturation process, the perspectives held by young adults are distinct from those held by adults in a variety of policy domains. However, which attitudes are being referred to here? "Civic culture" encompasses a vital set of attitudes, such as political interest and political trust. Depending on the research design, researchers frequently measure civic culture by surveying political interest and/or political trust⁹. The traditional depiction of young adults would be that they are less interested in politics, have a more pessimistic outlook, and do not trust political elites in general¹². The findings of multiple longitudinal research all point to the same conclusion: younger cohorts are less conservative on cultural matters, but this is not the case when it comes to economic issues.

Ethnocentrism and egalitarianism are two subfields that fall under this umbrella term. Also, it seems that young individuals are less materialistic than their older counterparts, with one study suggesting that this may be due to the process of maturity's interference with attitude stability¹⁰. In their environment, the attitude consistency of the youngest group, whose members were aged 18 and 25, was the least consistent. On the other hand, other people think that the attitudes of teenagers develop early and are likely to remain stable into adulthood¹³. The majority

of young adults appear to have a consensus regarding aspects of good citizenship such as voting, assisting others, and participating in groups, according to one study's findings, which found common ground between both domains. In the UK, a study found that young people are less likely to vote and even less likely to register for it in the first place. Additionally, the study found that there is still a lack of studies that explicitly investigate young people's orientations toward political behaviours over a long period in order to depict development¹⁰. In addition, longitudinal studies accounting for changes indicated that there was no consistent pattern to the outcomes.

The limited research that has been done reveals that the perspectives of young people appear to be distinct from those of adults. In particular, the relationship between development, maturation, and the consistency of one's attitudes appears to be one of the most researched topics; however, it only provides a few insights, and their demand for more longitudinal studies in this field can only be supported by the findings of the existing research.

2.1.2.1 Political Interest and Youths in Nigeria

It is essential for the continued existence and growth of democracies in any nation that political interest be maintained. One way to express someone's political interest is to ask them how much they find politics appealing, both personally and in comparison to other people in their country or nation. The same author goes on to clarify that "a politically concerned citizen will provide particular attention to one or many themes linked to public space or collective concern, such as the environment, public policy, human rights, or an election, to name only a few," which are just a few examples. It is essential that young people have an interest in politics because this has been shown to be one of the most reliable predictors of political engagement¹⁶. The youth in today's society simultaneously represent a large political potential and a latent troublesome element of the population. The political conduct of youth is less predictable than that of other social groups since

they are more politically engaged. Young people have a participation rate that is significantly lower than the average for political institutions and processes¹⁵. In addition, in comparison to the older persons, they tend to claim more frequently that they will not cast a ballot. A recent study found that only 10% of young people in Croatia have a significant interest in politics, while 54% of young people in Croatia said they have absolutely no interest in it¹⁷. This shows that there is a need for an increase in political interest among young people because such low involvement poses a threat to the future of representative democracy. A democratic society might be doomed not only by young people's lack of interest in politics but also by their ignorance of political issues. There is a generational gap between young people and older people, but there is also a gender gap between men and women in terms of their interest in politics. The level of interest that men have in politics, current events, and government is higher than that of women. This disparity can be attributed to a variety of factors (including situational, structural, and sex-role socialisation). On the other hand, researchers observed no gender differences in the impacts of political interest on changes in autonomy, relatedness, and competence¹⁸. This is a contradictory finding to the previous one. Friends and parents have almost the same amount of influence on the growth of political interest among children; however, teachers have a less amount of influence. In addition to this, a person's interest in politics tends to grow as they move out of their parents' home. The good impact of social networks on political interest is also mentioned, along with Barack Obama's candidacy for president when he was 19 years old. The level of interest in politics among high school students is growing. In addition, "the widespread availability of communication tools in today's society, such as social media, has provided young people with more outlets than ever before to find out about, discuss, and participate in politics¹⁷." The recent decline in political interest and electoral participation among young people in mature democracies has motivated a number of researchers

to question the influence that the Internet has on political participation among the younger population²⁰. This task was motivated by the fact that many researchers have recently questioned the impact that the Internet has on political participation among the younger population. When political interest and social networking are considered together, it becomes clear that social networking sites give politically apathetic users the opportunity to "uniquely experience politics through politically mobilising action and messages by their peers and incidental exposure, which could help promote political interest."¹⁶. Countries with a high degree of youth indifference in politics run the risk of having a generation of young people who are politically illiterate and may be unable to manage effectively in the future²⁰.

2.1.2.2 Voting Behaviour of Youths in Nigeria

Voting behaviour is a sort of political conduct, and a clear understanding of the behaviour or conduct of voters, which illuminates the how and why of the decisions made in picking a leader, has become a key focus for political scholars²¹. In order to conceptualise voting behaviour, political science and political psychology as related fields of study are fundamental in the study of human behaviour, particularly in regards to the choice of candidate, and further examined the manner of emotional impact enabling voters' preference of a particular candidate over the other²². A valid deduction on behaviour regarding voting decision takes into consideration certain factors like race, gender, culture, and religion. Voters will always prefer one candidate to another, regardless of their political awareness and the complexities involved, and voters will always prefer one candidate to another. In addition, political socialisation, tolerance for a variety of political ideas, and the impact of the mass media can unquestionably have an effect on voter behaviour²³. As a consequence of this, the idea of voting behaviour can be understood most effectively when seen in terms of attitudes, beliefs, knowledge structures, and the manner in which information is

processed. For instance, people tend to experience less stress in societies or locations where they are guaranteed unrestricted access to the voting booth²¹. In addition, social influences, such as those coming from the mass media and pressure organisations, play significant roles in deciding the outcomes of elections and the voting behaviour of individuals. The question that needs to be answered today is how one can differentiate between social impacts and other types of environmental factors in the most effective way. Therefore, the quality and legitimacy of a democratic process can be determined by the degrees to which voting decisions are influenced by both internal and external pressures²¹.

2.1.2.3 Political Apathy and Media Use

A general state of disinterest towards the events and governance of one's political locality is the definition of the condition known as "political apathy." An attitude of such apathy toward political activities, such as elections, public opinion, and civic responsibilities, is typically reflected in the attitudes of the population of a state toward those activities²⁴. As a result, an individual who is politically apathetic lacks interest in the social and political affairs of his or her nation, and as a result, this individual is more likely not to register as a voter, refuse to cast a vote during public elections, and not participate in protests against systemic failures. Such a person would also lack enthusiasm when participating in socio-political debates, be unwilling to assist security agents with useful information, and become generally indifferent to government policies and programmes regardless of the consequences that may result from such a government's actions²⁵.

Both a person's perception of their own political efficacy and the circumstances in which they find themselves playing a political role can have a considerable impact on the level of political engagement they demonstrate²⁴. While political efficacy refers to an individual's conviction in the effectiveness of his or her participation in a democratic process, situational political involvement

is more closely related to how relevant an issue is thought to be and how much of a contribution it makes to political outcomes²⁴. Due to the fact that both of these aspects have a tendency to be greatly influenced by the accessibility of accurate information and greater civic education, the mass media continue to be an essential component of a democracy that is able to function properly.

The function that the media play in informing and mobilising people for democratic processes is generally considered to be an extremely important one. As a consequence of this, their reports have a tendency to exert a significant amount of impact on the political behaviour of individuals. In addition, the ability of the media to influence public opinion by supplying the content and environment of political discourse has serious repercussions for democracies²⁵. This is due to the fact that, much like a sword with two edges, the media carries the potential to either raise the degree of political engagement or raise the level of political apathy. In this context, supporters of the media mobilisation theory argue that there is a positive association between the usage of the media and engagement in political processes²⁵. In contrast, proponents of the school of thought known as "media malaise" say that greater public political scepticism and poor political behaviour are both connected with increased media consumption²⁶.

The mass media, in its role as the society's watchdogs, direct the attention of the public and focus public attention on matters pertaining to governance and public issues. It is thought that the media have the potential to inspire political consciousness, renaissance, and interest among citizens, including the youths, by giving coverage of political actions, policies, and programmes that are factual and in-depth. A political awakening of this magnitude would, in turn, raise the threshold for public political participation and deflate political indifference, particularly among young people²⁴.

One of the many outlets of the media that is devoted to the dissemination of information on a variety of topics, including politics, is the newspaper. Therefore, getting news from a newspaper is one of the strongest predictors of political participation. It is therefore, expected that the level of involvement or apathy that young people have toward politics would be influenced by their exposure to political content in the media²⁴. Individuals who place a high amount of reliance on mass media, particularly television, are more likely to have lower levels of subjective efficacy and, as a result, increasing levels of political apathy, according to research²⁶. Television is the medium that has received the most attention. Given the overlapping link that exists between people's perceptions and their actions, it is possible that the way young people perceive media-political information may have an effect on the political behaviour they engage in²⁵.

2.1.2.4 Political Efficacy, Political Apathy and Media Use

It might be argued that the human ability to exert agency is precariously balanced on the experience of efficacy. When people have the impression that the actions they take might not provide the consequences they want, they typically have less motivation to take those actions²⁴. Previous research has demonstrated that political efficacy is an important mediator between general self-efficacy and political involvement, as well as a strong predictor of political participation itself. The belief that an individual's actions can have an effect on the political system as a whole is what is meant when talking about political efficacy. These assurances typically involve the internal feeling that individuals possess the capacity and political competence to act (referred to as "internal efficacy") and that the government will respond correctly to their activities (referred to as "external efficacy")²⁴.

A study that aimed to extend the frontiers of efficacy as a determinant of political involvement found that people are less likely to participate in politics if they place a low valuation on the

rewards gained from political involvement in comparison to the rewards expected from other types of human activities²⁸. This finding extends the frontiers of efficacy as a determinant of political involvement. People are less likely to get involved in politics if they believe that the alternative they are facing will not make a significant difference (unchallenged alternatives), if they doubt that their action can bring about significant changes in the outcome of political processes (self-deprivation), or if they believe that their knowledge is too limited for effective political engagement. Individuals are also less likely to get involved in politics if they believe that the alternative they face will not make a significant difference if they believe that the alternative they face will (relative ignorance).

The media form dependence bloc and the specific media usage bloc are two schools of thought that are frequently brought up in discussions regarding the potential influence that the media could have on the political efficacy and political involvement of individuals²⁴. Studies have shown that people may be politically immobilised by television viewing due to the peculiar form (rather than content) of television that promotes more entertainment than information and education. In general, dependence on certain forms of media (such as television or the newspaper) tends to manifest variations in people's world views and political orientations; therefore, studies have demonstrated that people may be politically immobilised by watching television. The total amount of time spent viewing television was found to have a negative correlation with civic participation in a study of the same nature; however, certain types of television, such as national news programmes, were found to encourage knowledge acquisition as well as civic engagement²⁹.

People's political behaviour can be influenced by both the form and the content of the media, according to the opposing school of thinking. This is due to the fact that conscious use of the media can serve as a bulwark or a potential mechanism for reducing the demobilising effect of the media.

The type of media consumed rather than the total amount of time spent with a medium is a better indicator of whether or not a person is politically engaged. Other studies have shown that the Internet is a powerful tool for promoting political participation due to the peculiar nature of online technologies. Furthermore, the Internet is a stronger predictor of newer forms of political participation, such as participating in online polls, in comparison to traditional forms of political participation, such as participation in public political debates³⁰. Other studies have shown that the Internet is a powerful tool for promoting political participation due to the peculiar nature of online technologies.

2.1.2.5 Political Efficacy and Digital Media

Significant research on the internet and political participation has found a correlation between information seeking behaviour and motivation and an increase in political efficacy. Political efficacy is defined as the belief that "political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change³¹." The pursuit of information has been linked to both connectivity to online political information and effectiveness in political engagement. The perception of increased social connectivity as a reward for using social media was found to have a positive correlation with higher levels of political efficacy among college students in China³². The significance of political efficacy to the maintenance of democratic principles and ideals is receiving a growing amount of scrutiny. The influence of information, including that which is political, entertaining, and educational, on the development and growth of an individual's political efficacy has been well established. For instance, those who reported using their smartphones more frequently for informational purposes also reported higher levels of political efficacy³¹. Utilisation of print media, trustworthiness of internet information, credibility of the media, and openness to dissenting viewpoints were found to be the most accurate indicators of political efficacy.

Additionally, this is comparable to the results obtained before. For instance, it has been suggested that the use of both conventional newspapers and social media platforms for the purpose of political communication are indicators of how effective a politician is. It has been found that having access to the internet as well as exposure to it is positively associated with a sense of political efficacy among citizens during elections³³. The political effectiveness of Tunisian internet users can be positively predicted by whether or not they use the internet for political objectives. The preceding discussion makes it abundantly clear that citizens' perceptions of the effectiveness of their government have a significant role in determining the extent to which they continue to participate in political processes³⁴. Therefore, it is important to research the consequences of using social media, having protest experiences, participating in political activities, and developing a sense of efficacy. The United States has been the setting for the majority of these investigations, which is one of the reasons why the current study was necessary. This work makes an important contribution to the field of political communication since it gives empirical results from a growing democracy in a country in Sub-Saharan Africa using mixed methods of data³⁴. The findings come from a place in which democracy is still relatively new.

2.1.2.6 Political Participation and Apathy

The level of political awareness and socialisation, social status in society, standard of living/level of well-being, social status in society, standard of living/level of well-being, environmental and social influences, the extent to which observing and guaranteeing the principles of rule of law and socio-cultural, which includes religious and gender factors, are all factors that can determine and influence politics. Political participation and apathy both fluctuate because politics itself is determined and influenced by a number of factors³⁵.

Each of the aforementioned factors has an impact on levels of engagement or indifference in relation to the environment, as well as society and state institutions and settings. In actuality, countries that have more open and better state institutions, particularly those that are more democratic, are likely to have more people participating in politics as a result of the inclusiveness and openness shown by both the state and political operators. Because they are, to some extent, less confined economically, people whose quality of living is reasonably steady are more likely to participate in political events, processes, and issues, as well as act on or react to such events and issues. This suggests that poverty lowers the level of political engagement and is more associated to low participation and apathy as a result of the fact that citizens in poorer countries concentrate on and spend more time looking for ways to satisfy their fundamental needs.

In addition to this, studies have shown that those who have higher socio-economic status are more likely to participate in political activities than people who have lower socio-economic status³⁵. This indicates that political participation has a direct link to socio-economic well-being; and mass poverty has a tendency to generate citizens' general loss of confidence in state authorities due to ineffective government policies, leading to disrespect, general political apathy, and social disillusionment among citizens³⁶. Moreover, Participation in politics is also influenced by a person's degree of education; this is because educated citizens who are able to read, write, comprehend, and evaluate topics are more inclined to take part in political processes. Those who are not educated, on the other hand, might not be able to comprehend or analyse issues and events and may not understand the attitude of governments in states such as Nigeria. Education and awareness are determining factors which encourage citizens to have respect, confidence, and more interest in the activities of government, as opposed to irresponsible and unpopular authoritarian governments, which make citizens more unwilling to engage. Increased political engagement is the

result of many factors, including improved political culture and socialisation, raised levels of awareness, accountability, transparency, responsibility, and inclusion.

In light of the data presented above, there is a very substantial connection between civic education and engagement in politics in Nigeria, as well as the development of trust in the legitimacy of a political system and regime. Increased levels of confidence and engagement in political activities would result from the fulfilment of pledges by governments and the fulfilment of state and political responsibilities. From this point, political trust can be created, leading to more participation, stability, advancement, and development. However, the overall effects of poor political participation or apathy include the following: alienation and distance between the citizens and politics as well as leadership and the state system; the absence of or a poor system of check and balances on the state and the system; a loose and irresponsible political system; the breeding of irresponsible political/leadership/regime; and the entrenchment of poor political culture and orientation. As a consequence of these aforementioned factors, constitutionalism will ultimately fail, and political socialisation, culture, national integrity, and orientation will deteriorate³⁴.

2.1.3 Political Participation

Political participation can be defined as the involvement of citizens in the acts, events, or activities that have an impact on the choosing of political representatives and/or the actions done by those representatives. It is a reference to the numerous channels through which members of the public are able to communicate their political perspectives and/or exert their influence on the decision-making process³⁷. It refers to the participation of individuals, who need not be actively involved, in any political process in order for a collective choice to be reached. To put it another way, political participation requires citizens to actively engage in the discussion of socio-political and economic issues, which are used as criteria for selecting potential leaders³⁸. It may also involve

evaluating the capacities of the incumbents and pushing for methods to alleviate the issues that plague society in order to make the nation more prosperous. Activities such as political discourse, political campaigns, voter registration, the actual voting, writing and signing petitions, attending civil protests, joining interest groups that engage in lobbying, political advocacy, monitoring and reporting cases of violation of the electoral process including fraud, rigging, intimidation, violence, monetary inducements, underage voting, and other such activities are examples of political participation.

Traditional media served as a fertile ground for the growth of political campaigns and other electioneering activities in the years leading up to the arrival of new media. Prior to this period, political rallies, personal contacts, and speeches were commonly utilised for the purpose of mobilising electorates' support on political issues. This was made possible, in large part, by the force of the mass media. Individuals who were interested in participating in political activities had to be prepared to take more risks, pay higher costs, and make significantly more financial investments during that period.

The procedure required a significant investment of time and resources, as well as much prior knowledge and current awareness. Because of the pervasive poverty in Africa, citizens were unable to participate in political gatherings and, in some cases, were unable to travel far enough to exercise their voting rights. According to a report by the WorldBank in 2005, 50.9% of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa survives on less than \$1.25 per day. A financial constraint of this nature has the potential to prevent citizens from participating in political activities, particularly those that require financial investment³⁹. Within this context, where poverty is widespread, time becomes an important factor that determines whether citizens will devote their time to personal activities that guarantee their immediate survival or to political participation that does not promise an immediate and tangible material outcome for them. In other

words, time becomes a factor that determines whether citizens will choose to spend their time on personal activities that guarantee their immediate survival or on political participation that does not promise immediate pecuniary gains for them. The active engagement of residents in the political process was and continues to be severely hindered as a direct result of this issue, along with those of insecurity and dread around the possibility of an outbreak of violence.

However, the arrival of social media in the past few years has rapidly changed the situation, with the introduction of online platforms that serve as a new "political capital" where people now turn to and participate in political discourse³⁷. This is a result of the fact that we now have access to more information than ever before. The capacity of social media to boost participation thanks to its connectedness and textual/audio-visual characteristics appeal is what has made it a primary source of personal orientation, anonymous interactivities, and social community on a variety of issues that involve politics and political discourse. Social media have become a main source of personal orientation, anonymous interactivities, and social community on these issues. To give just one example, technologies such as *Facebook*, *X*, and *YouTube*, as well as *2go*, Global Satellites for Mobil Communication (GSM)-SMS/calls, and *Blackberries*, amongst others, have made political engagement significantly simpler, more efficient, and even more cost-effective than it has ever been.

The beauty of contemporary liberal democracy is that it allows for the participation of everybody and everyone in a variety of different capacities, with the goals of giving governance more meaning and ensuring more accountability. Participation in politics, either directly or indirectly, is one of the essential components of liberal democracy, which is one of the reasons why it functions so closely to a consensus-based form of government. It may manifest itself as a readiness to vote other people into power corridors, participation in political contests, or an active involvement in

political argumentation with the goal of strengthening governance⁴⁰. When citizens (both the leaders and the led) have a common ground and a favourable atmosphere to share views and sentiments about the business of governance, the political system is strengthened, and citizens at all levels and capacities are encouraged to take part in the effort of moving the state forward either as contestants or supporters. When citizens have a common ground and a favourable atmosphere to share views and sentiments about the business of governance, both the leaders and the led can share views and sentiments about the business of governance. Having a medium of interaction for the sharing of political views, interests, and sentiments can, however, have both negative and positive implications. For example, it may discourage reactions from some uninformed electorate, thereby creating a negative impression about politics; on the other hand, it may encourage political participation.

The dominant political culture of a specific group or nation has a significant influence on the level of political involvement within that group or nation. Some nations and countries have advanced political cultures, but the majority of developing nations and countries are still battling with bleak political cultures. These cultures are somewhere in-between traditional political cultures and foreign political cultures, and as a result, such nations have inconsistent political progress and democratic development⁴⁰. From the experience of the researcher, the involvement of individuals or groups in politics (also known as political participation) was inextricably linked to the traditional political history and attitudes shared by the groupings (ethnic groups and tribes) that comprise a nation, particularly in emerging nations. According to the findings of a number of studies, the dominant political culture is responsible, at least in part, for an individual's attitude toward their engagement in the political process. Again, a small number of studies have backed up the assertion that an individual's perspective on political engagement is influenced by the political

orientation of their family, which, in turn, is influenced by culture and the indigenous traditional political system⁴⁰. It has been observed that ethnicity, social status, and religious affiliation play a significant role in the political participation of individuals and groups in Nigerian politics. However, the emerging issues between politics and other phenomena such as traditional media and social media among the youth remain a factor to be unrivalled especially in Nigeria, as one of the developing and young democratic nation among other nations across the globe, where political participation has been found to be generally low and discouraging among the electorates⁴⁰.

2.1.3.1 Youth Political Participation

It is necessary to provide an explanation of the concept of youth political participation in order for the concept to have any sense at all. The concept of youth political participation is composed of two separate terms: youth and political participation. The concept of youth has been defined in a variety of ways throughout the course of literary history. For example, the United Nations defines youth as anyone who is between the ages of 15 and 24, whereas the World Bank defines youth as anyone who are between the ages of 12 and 24. The era between childhood and adulthood is one of "transition from dependency to independence"⁴¹. An alternative interpretation of youth is that it is a stage that occurs between childhood and adulthood, rather than a fixed concept that is determined by one's age. In the meantime, these age ranges have been regarded as being overly limited because of the political, societal, and economic realities that exist in Africa. As a direct consequence of this, Nigeria's National Youth Policy from 2009 classified youth as individuals between the ages of 18 and 35 years⁴². Therefore, for the sake of this research, the term "youth" refers to those who are between the ages of 18 and 35 years old. In addition, the phrases youth and young people are sometimes used synonymously.

Another problematic topic that can be found in the literature is that of political engagement. The term "political participation" refers to "those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take⁴¹." It can be characterised by a variety of characteristics, including the following:

- 1) It is an activity;
- 2) It is voluntary and is not directed by a ruling class or mandated by law;
- 3) It refers to people in their capacity as non-professionals or amateurs; and
- 4) It is related to the government, politics, or the state⁴³.

The term "youth political engagement" refers to the involvement of young people in political processes and activities, as well as in civic life, active citizenship, and the formulation of public policy. This could be done in a variety of ways, such as serving on the council of a local government, voting in elections, or taking part in the process of developing the budget for a local government⁴¹.

The political engagement of young people in Nigeria faces a plethora of obstacles, the most significant of which is a general lack of awareness regarding the positive outcomes that might result from their engagement in politics. The author continues by stating that other challenges that young people face, such as unemployment, social marginalisation, and inadequate capability, resource, and tool availability, are listed in passage⁴³. The popular uprisings that occurred in the Arab States in 2011 and 2012 demonstrated the need of including young people in formal politics. Novel concepts and innovative leadership have the potential to assist countries in transition such as Nigeria in overcoming the habits of dictatorship. In addition to this, it is essential to place emphasis on the growth of individual capabilities. When doing so, one should give the highest consideration to the capabilities of organisations as well as the degree to which an environment

makes it possible for individuals as well as institutions to participate in political processes. A study that asserts that the majority of young people in Nigeria are vulnerable to enlistment for violence against a government because of the dismal level of youth political participation in Africa and Nigeria in particular lends credence to this argument. The study was conducted by researchers from the University of Nigeria in Nigeria. A good example of this is the participation of young people in the formation of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone.

Voting in an election is only one aspect of what is meant by "youth political participation." The following types of political activity could be undertaken by young people:

- i. Participation as a practice that is founded on rights;
- ii. Participation as a tool for increasing the sense of agency in young people;
- iii. Participation as a means of ensuring the effectiveness of policies, practices, and services; and
- iv. Participation as a tool for the growth and development of young people.

In addition to the traditional methods of political participation such as voting, campaigning, holding a membership, performing volunteer work, and participating in civic responsibility, demonstrations, and community participation, new methods of political participation have been documented in the literature⁴². These methods go beyond the traditional methods of political participation. They are as follows:

- i. **Hacking and Distributed denial of service (DDOS) attacks:** This type of protest is intended at disrupting the operation of a target's computer system.

Bringing offline servers and imposing access restrictions on internet services;

- ii. **Clicktivism and Slacktivism:** In both movements, participants are asked to click on particular websites in order to indicate that they agree with a particular statement. Nevertheless, there are situations when it is voluntarily done;

iii. **Campaigning via the Internet:** The use of social networks to launch a movement and attract supporters is gaining popularity, and this trend is expected to continue.

iv. **Crowdsourcing and Crowd Funding:** These two concepts are based on the idea of using a group of people, or the "crowd," as a feedback mechanism for ideas, feedback, and the creation of projects as well as financial assistance.

v. **Liquid democracy/Liquid Feedback:** This new system gives users the ability to make a collective decision by allowing each individual the opportunity to vote and 'democratically' choose their representative; and f. **Bar Camp:** This is an online conference system in which the participants themselves design the programme and its sessions⁴¹.

All of the preceding is evidence that the idea of youth political engagement is developing over the course of time. As a result, this topic merits ongoing investigation and the formulation of new policies.

2.1.3.2 Youths Political Participation in Nigeria

It is clear from looking back at the history of the Nigerian state that young people have always been at the forefront of many different aspects of national life. It is possible to infer from the establishment of the People's Union in 1912, the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1923, and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons NCNC in 1944 that young people took the lead in the formation of the political parties that fought for the independence of the Nigerian state⁴⁴. The creation of Nigeria was, in fact, in a large degree, the work of the youths. However, it appears that this function has been taken over by members of the political elite, who, over the course of the years, have undoubtedly continued to replicate themselves in the political scene. The Nigerian Youth Movement was established in the 1930s, which marked the beginning of young people's active participation in Nigeria's political life (NYM). Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was

also the founder of the New York Movement, first brought Pan-African consciousness to the association. The domination of Herbert Macaulay and the National Democratic Party in the Lagos Town Council was brought to an end as a result of the Nigerian youth Movement's success in the elections for that body⁴⁴. In 1983, the NYM published the youth Charter, which outlined the goalsof unifying the tribes of Nigeria in order to work toward a common ideal, educating the public opinion in order to develop the level of national consciousness that is required to reach this ideal,and then beginning to agitate for the independence of Nigerians. These goals were published withthe intention of unifying the tribes of Nigeria in order to work toward a common ideal. The Britishgovernment's decision to grant independence to Nigeria in 1960 was influenced, to a significant part by the pressure that was brought on by the youth political group⁴⁴.

Young people in Nigeria, both men and women, are becoming increasingly interested in political activities in higher institutions such as universities, polytechnics, and colleges of education⁴⁴. The term "political participation" can refer to either formal or informal involvement in political processes. Youths are not adequately represented in the formal political institutions and processesin Nigeria; the majority of the elective and appointed political positions are dominated by the oldpeople in the country. This situation in Nigeria seems to be different from what obtains globally, as only 1.65% of parliamentarians around the world are in their 20s¹⁴. Both are beneficial to democracy and should be supported. 11.87% of the population is in their 30s. The typical age of amember of parliament around the world is 53 years old. The facts shown here indicate that youngpeople in Nigeria are underrepresented in political office posts. Nigerian youths are either ignoredor disenfranchised from the process of elected politics and government, or when they are involvedat all, they are mostly mistreated and abused to accomplish the exorbitant and perverted political ambition of a segment of the lawless and selfish Nigerian political class⁴⁴.

As a bridge between the present and the future, how adults in a society behave, especially those in positions of power, as well as the roles they assign to this significant segment of the population will, to a large extent determine whether or not that society is progressing or moving in the direction of impending doom⁴¹. It is a generally accepted fact that youths are the indispensable and dynamic portion of the population of any nation. Young people are exploited by the political class rather than being meaningfully involved in government; the political class in Nigeria uses Nigerian youths to conduct election violence. These young people have been turned into instruments by the politicians in order to orchestrate trouble during political campaigns and elections, start intra-party and inter-party conflicts, and engage in other politically motivated acts of violence such as kidnapping, hostage taking, and violence related to cults. In the Nigerian elections of 1964, 1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 as well as in 2015, it has been suggested that Nigerian youths have been persuaded to commit electoral violence, and there are fears that this pattern may continue⁴². In addition to the fact that the manipulation of young people by political elites has put at risk the opportunities for Nigeria's youths to contribute to politics and governance, this practice has also had the unintended consequence of negatively affecting the perceptions of Nigeria's youth regarding the importance of political participation. There are a lot of young people who do not even think they are worthy of making a contribution to politics that's worth anything, and as a result, most of them just participate in politics on a local level or as spectators.

2.1.3.3 Levels of Political Participation

Getting active in political participation requires an investment of money, time, energy, and other resources. However, the quantity of these resources that individuals and groups are able or willing to dedicate to political involvement varies greatly. There are certain individuals whose involvement in political affairs is more extensive and productive than that of other people. The

concept of political engagement may essentially be broken down into three primary classifications: parochial, subject, and participant levels.

Voting, seeking to persuade another voter to vote in a particular manner, wearing a party badge or flashing a party sticker are the primary acts in which parochial participants engage. Due to the fact that these activities require a comparatively low investment of time, effort, and resources, the greatest number of individuals are able to participate in politics at this level as opposed to either of the other two levels. The vast majority of Nigerians are only interested in local politics. On the other hand, some people are still relatively indifferent and have absolutely no interest in participating in politics; those individuals are nearly wholly ignorant of the political environment that surrounds them. Participants in the study also took part in a variety of other activities, including, but not limited to, attending political meetings or demonstrations, making financial contributions to political campaigns, and hiring public officials or political leaders, among other things⁴⁰.

When it comes to time and resources, participants in these kinds of activities incur significantly higher expenditures than spectators do. Scholars argue that participants at this level engage in transitional activities because there is a general tendency for participants at this level either to descend to spectator (parochial) activities or ascend to gladiator (participant) activities. In other words, participants at this level either ascend or descend. The Participant, also known as the Gladiator Participant, engages in a variety of activities, some of which include the following: holding a public or party office, running for public office, soliciting party friends, contributing time or other resources to a campaign, and appealing for party friends. Costs associated with participation at this level of politics are greater than those associated with participation at the other

two levels. Once more, the level of political participation that is the most effective is known as the participant or gladiator level.

The existing body of research offers several broad classifications of the electorate; non-participants are defined as individuals who do not have complete interest. They do not have a voter's registration card. The conditions that must be met for effective political participation are as follows: there must be accurate information and data on governmental operations; there must be effective political mobilisation by designated agencies; the electoral system should be free without cumbersome process; citizens should believe that their opinion on national issues influences governmental decisions and actions; and citizens should believe that the government has their interests at heart.

2.1.3.4 Development of Political Participation and Repertoires

Over the course of the past several decades, there have been major advancements in the field of study pertaining to political participation. However, as a result of the input from multiple disciplines, it is now less clear what the fundamental core assumptions and definitions are that make up the term "political participation" (PP)⁷. This is despite the fact that the input from multiple disciplines has contributed to the expansion of our understanding of the field.

This section therefore, provides a brief history of the term and provides an answer to the fundamental question of what constitutes participation in political processes. The three actions that are most often recognised as qualifying as PP are signing a petition, joining a political party, and casting a vote. However, that's about the extent to which agreements go. In order to provide a solution to the topic of how one may define PP, one must travel back in time a few decades. "Poliarchy: Participation and Opposition," participatory politics (PP) is a crucial component of contemporary democracies because it enables citizens to hold their rulers accountable⁷. Having

said that, a clear definition of his idea of involvement. His definition of participation only implicitly covered actions that took place within the given institutional framework of a nation. This means that activities such as consumerism or simply hitting the "like" button would not be considered participation, despite the fact that they could be seen as holding governments accountable. "Those acts by private persons that are more or less directly targeted at influencing the selection of governmental employees and/or the actions they take," the researchers define political engagement as participation in political processes is open to private persons, and it is not limited to voting or joining political parties; rather, it can take the form of a variety of other actions as well⁷. Voting, action in political campaigns, communication with public officials, and participation in cooperative or communal activities are the components of their proposed typology. This definition has paved the way for the examination of actions such as protests, strikes, or petitions as activities that occur in politics through ways other than elections. Examples of these types of actions include. As a result, PP has the potential to influence both the procedure by which policies are formulated and the services that are given by governments, such as educational or medical care.

The ever-expanding collection of indicators has consequently resulted in charges of conceptual stretching, which essentially means that the conception is too all-encompassing and, as a result, is not appropriate for researchers. In the first phase of the research, the ideas of PP held by the vast majority of authors shared three elements in common: The actions need to be taken by private citizens, not by politicians; these actions need to be voluntary, which means that structural forces that require citizens to take certain actions would not count as participation; and the actions need to target governments, institutions, organisations, or Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs). These three components are considered to be the "hard core" of virtually every modern definition

of PP. A study that traces the publishing of landmark studies between the years 1940 and 1990 provides a succinct summary of the development of political participation repertoires throughout that period. During the 1940s and 1950s, the primary focus of PP was on activities related to voting and campaigning⁴⁵. However, in the early 1960s, what would eventually be referred to as "standard" styles of PP began to emerge. It was during this period that "political engagement was largely viewed as activities concerned with traditional conceptualisations of politics as campaigning by politicians and parties and with well-accepted contacts between individuals and public officials⁷." In the 1970s, these conventional forms were broadened, and at the same time, "unconventional" forms came into being. These were forms that did not conform to the conventions of society in the 1970s. These unorthodox expressions included things like rejection and protest, in addition to new social movements like women's rights and pacifism movements⁷. Later on, in the 1990s, the line that used to demarcate the political and non-political sectors of modern society was eventually erased. This occurred because the political involvement repertoire eventually expanded to encompass "civil" activities such as volunteering and social engagement⁷. In today's world, new varieties of PP have surfaced, which presents a challenge for PP researchers. The new forms use behaviour that is not political in order to convey political beliefs, and what was once considered to be unconventional or confronting to elites is now seen to be the norm. Because of this, the difference between conventional and unconventional forms of PP is no longer able to adequately describe these forms⁷.

In addition, citizens' political involvement has shifted in the recent past and contends that these shifts characterise today's PP repertoire and have contributed to the differentiation between institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of PP. The first major change is that "the agencies or institutions through which citizens are mobilised and participate have been modified," due to

the proliferation of new social movements and advocacy networks⁷. The second point is that as ties to political and civic groups become weaker, more people are participating in their communities in personalised ways. The distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised participatory politics is becoming increasingly common. This distinction distinguishes between forms of PP that take place within an institutional framework (such as voting or party membership) and those that take place outside of an institutional framework (e.g., protest or boycotting). Given that young adults are disproportionately more likely to participate through non-institutionalized means, this distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalized PP is particularly important for any kind of research on youth participation.

There is never an end to the process of either adapting to or being challenged by new forms of engagement. Participation in this arena through the use of the internet is one of the more recent innovations. The discussion of whether or not offline engagement can be equated to internet participation is a continuing and active one⁷. Researchers should look for the following characteristics of participation in order to "see one": it should be an activity; it should be voluntary and not ordered by a ruling class or required by law; it should refer to people in their role as non-professionals or amateurs; and it should concern government, politics, or the state.

This description is the bare bones of the concept, on top of which further variations are layered, namely "two extra versions based on the objective (politics/government/state or problems/community), and two based on circumstantial evidence (contextual and motivating)"¹⁰. "The upshots of this conceptual map are five kinds of political engagement that are clear from an analytical standpoint¹⁰.

Therefore, the first form (the minimal definition) places more emphasis on the context of participation than on the results of that participation, whereas the second and third forms deal with the objectives of the activities rather than relying on the objectives or intentions

of the people taking part in the activities. The political nature of the activities is determined using contextual information in the fourth form, and it is not until the very end of the process (form five) that the objectives or goals of the participants are taken into consideration in order to determine a type of political participation. According to the authors, this demonstrates that "the advantage of following these decision rules is not only that we can distinguish between political acts that fit into definitions with stricter or looser requirements, but also that we can systematically exclude those who do not meet the definitional requirements⁹."

2.1.3.5 Digital Media and Political Participation

It was found in early research in political communication that there was a negative correlation between the use of digital media and political participation in the United States of America. Researchers found that Americans were "bowling alone," and that this was having an effect on political participation and democracy³¹. Television and other forms of digital and electronic media were among the factors that contributed to this negative trend in the United States. There is a direct correlation between technology and the decline of social capital. This suggests that technology, along with other factors, is contributing to the deterioration of the lives of American citizens and the communities in which they live.

In a similar vein, the free market is working against democracy by turning the digital media against it, and online political engagement is killing activism³⁹. Because it does not focus on how technology and technology use are framed by political issues and issues that concern the development of society, the logic of self-centered participation that is encouraged by social media can represent a threat rather than an opportunity for political groups, which is quite the opposite of what one would expect it to do in terms of empowering individuals. Concerns of this nature

include wars on a worldwide scale, the expansion of global capitalism, the establishment of a surveillance society, and financial crises in the capitalist system.

In contrast, internet users are drawn to certain forms of democratic knowledge and participation.

Digital media was successful in exposing Americans to a broader political perspective, while certain sectors of the American population that did not normally engage in politics offline engaged in politics through the internet⁴⁶.

The role of the internet in democracy, particularly in young democracies, is to provide pluralistic competition, participatory, and political liberties for those who feel stifled in mainstream politics and for those who want to express themselves politically but do not have access to traditional political institutions. The proliferation of internet use paves the way for improved methods of communication and increased availability of relevant information. In turn, this boosts political involvement, which in turn leads to more democratic governance³¹.

There was a robust positive association between the internet and political engagement among young people all across the United States of America, Australia, and the United Kingdom, and it was found that student political activity online was an important predictor of other forms of political participation.

This was a novel insight into the role that participatory media plays in the process by which young people become politically engaged. It is also possible to make the case that using internet media has a favourable correlation with higher levels of political participation³⁹. It is now a well-established fact that active engagement in the dissemination of political information via the internet has a significant bearing on the success of political campaigns. It has been discovered that several Internet technologies, most notably social media, play an important part in the presidential elections that take place in the United States of America. Access to the internet and online exposure to information about presidential elections in nations such as the

United States were found to have a strong association with political efficacy and involvement in studies. The internet and the technology it enables not only encourage users to participate in political discourse online but also make it easier for them to do so in person. It is essential to keep in mind that the use of the internet by itself is not likely to drastically disrupt the patterns of political participation that already exist; nonetheless, it may help enable the establishment of new avenues for interaction.

Researchers believe that there is a correlation between the ability to use the internet and social media and higher levels of political involvement. They also believe that the ability to express one politically online amplifies the consequences of political participation that takes place offline.

Research has also shown that the advent of digital media and the technology it spawned has made it easier for citizens in Africa to participate politically and in civic life. It has also been mentioned that simple, low-cost, and cost-effective information and communication technology (ICT) tools are being utilised to organise local individuals in Western Uganda and to ignite their intuitiveness and belligerence in order to participate in the process of good governance. In a similar vein, an experience-based model that promotes the use of multiple information and communication technologies (ICTs) increases citizen democratic participation in countries with limited ICT resources. This is due to the fact that online platforms have the potential to increase citizen political participation and engagement, which can then lead to social movements and protests. In addition, Nigerian political hopefuls made extensive use of social media technologies, particularly *Facebook*, in order to amass the support of the voters and to aid the electorate in participating in the election. *Facebook* was particularly effective in this endeavour. However, engagement and mobilisation were restricted to only those people "who had Internet or mobile phones with online apps"⁴⁶. It has also been argued that the use of social media can increase social capital and political

participation as well as the engagement of young people in Nigeria and other countries such as Kenya and the United States, particularly during the period devoted to voting for national elections³⁹. In fact, political participation and engagement can be improved to a considerable amount with the internet, which also presents a new opportunity for participation, particularly for underrepresented groups.

2.1.3.6 Political Advertising and Political Participation

A sort of advertising known as political advertising is one that targets voters and citizens with the intention of persuading them to vote for a certain candidate, political party, or political ideology. The term "political advertising" refers to any form of advertising that makes an effort to influence or comment on a topic that is currently the focus of a significant amount of political debate. In the context of this article, "political advertising" refers to advertising or marketing communication that focuses on a political party, representative, or candidate; advertising that focuses on political issues or issues of public interest; and advertising that focuses on government policies (regardless of whether the government itself publishes or broadcasts the advertisement or another party does). This category can include advertising that is sponsored by the government, political parties, lobby groups, and other types of interest groups⁴⁸.

Political advertising may be dated back to 1952, when Rosser Reeves assisted President Eisenhower in winning elections by placing a large number of spot commercials during his political campaign⁴⁷. This is considered to be the beginning of political advertising. Promotion of political parties and candidates for political office can also be accomplished through the use of political advertising. Political advertisements, jingles, or commercials can assist or set the tone or agenda for what to say and who to support or vote for on Election Day. Jingles and commercials can also be used interchangeably⁴⁷. It is anticipated that advertisements for political candidates

that appear in the newspaper medium would pass the regulating process of the Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON).

However, in terms of the effect that the media has all over the world, political advertising might not sway individuals who already have a firm opinion about a candidate, but it might be the decisive factor for voters who are still on the fence. The impact of the media can be enormous, especially in presidential races, where the outcome of the election is determined by less than one percent of the electorate. In today's society, political advertising is given more weight in central elections because these contests receive more coverage in the mainstream media. This is not unrelated to the fact that the mass media have become the primary source of information on the campaigns for other lower elections in democratic societies all over the world⁴⁸.

2.1.3.7 Youths and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

The United Nations' theme for the International Day of Young People in 2007 was "Be Seen, Be Heard: Youth Participation in Development," and it could not have come at a more appropriate time. It is the most appropriate wake-up call to a continent and most especially Nigeria, where youngsters are considered an expandable section of the population⁴⁴. It is also the most appropriate wake-up call to a country. Young people are vital to society and bring a fresh perspective. Their immense energy and drive must be packaged and directed toward playing a constructive role in the process of governance and development in Nigeria. They are the incubators and driving force for innovation, change, and advancement in all human societies. Furthermore, no society can experience positive change and advancement if its youths are not strategically and constantly invested upon, empowered, and engaged. If Nigeria's political class does not instill a meaningful democratic culture in the country's youth, the country's democratic experiment will not be able to survive. Therefore, the actions of the political elites in Nigeria, in addition to the roles that they

give to the country's young people, go a long way toward demonstrating whether or not Nigeria is going toward the democratic consolidation of its institutions or not.

2.1.3.8 Differences between Youth and Adult Political Participation

There is no need for a separate definition of youth political involvement; rather, the many forms of political participation used by young adults is of central relevance. There is no need for a separate definition of youth political participation. In light of this, the question arises as to the degree to which the PP behaviour of young adults differs from that of other age groups and demographics⁷. When looking at the study done in the past, it is clear that there is a generational divide between young adults and adults. Numerous studies find that young adults score the lowest in virtually every aspect of political involvement; as a result, the impression is created that young people are not politically involved to the same extent as older generations. This perception is based on trends such as the level of youth membership in political parties, which is decreasing, as are the rates of voting in elections, where young adults have the lowest rates, and these rates continue to decrease just as the level of voting in elections among young adults is decreasing. It is possible to capture the disengagement of young people in politics by stating that "young people are less concerned with politics, less politically knowledgeable, do not participate in social or political activities, are more apathetic, and have low levels of political interest"⁷. Despite the fact that this portrayal appears to be accurate, the research continues to be divided on the subject of young adults' lack of interest in political participation. At this juncture, it is necessary to provide clarification for three primary questions.

In addition to the fact that as young people develop, they gain more experience with the electoral and political process, there are some stages of adulthood that have been shown to have an effect on the behaviour of political engagement. These include, among other things, getting married,

graduating from college, and finding work in one's field. Some authors argue that these findings mainly apply to the influence of voting turnout, and that the influence of lifespan effects on other types of political engagement can only explain modest differences. However, other academics disagree with this interpretation of the findings. On the other hand, not all researchers hold this point of view.

According to findings from studies conducted in the field of non-institutionalized involvement, lifecycle effects are also pertinent in this context. In particular, they involve one's personal availability and make reference to "the absence of personal limitations that may increase the costs and hazards of movement participation, such as full-time job, marriage, and family commitments." The study of social movements reveals significant influences on young adults, particularly in the way that the removal of certain kinds of barriers makes it easier for them to participate in the movements⁷.

The concept that pre-adult socialisation has lasting impacts on political socialisation is the cornerstone of the generation effects theory, which can be summarised as "generation effects" for short. In this sense, the period that is significant for the development of political thinking in an individual is the adolescent years of that individual. Building on this line of reasoning, some authors have the assumption that because young adults of today are less engaged in their communities, they will never achieve the same degree of political participation as the elderly of today.

This could be due to the fact that young adults in today's society have a harder time achieving the traditional milestones of adulthood, which in turn leads to an irreparable delay in the process of becoming politically active. Studies have shown that young adults still possess the features that set them apart from older generations, and it is anticipated that this will result in the existing electorate

being replaced by a generation of political participants that are more apathetic about their participation⁷.

One such explanation for why people of different age groups are said to behave differently is that different generations have varied conceptions of what it is to be political or to behave politically. Every researcher has the responsibility of grounding his/her work in a precise definition. At the same time, the population that is being surveyed needs to use and acknowledge this particular definition of the political, as well as the concept of what constitutes political engagement. To put it simply, this is the point when young people and adults begin to diverge from one another. Do older persons and younger adults have the same definitions of political activities? In most cases, research demonstrates a distinction may be made between the definitions of researchers and survey participants. For instance, one study found that just 18% of respondents to a poll considered a list of activities to be political, despite the fact that the researchers themselves considered the activities to be political. Because of this, a number of researchers are advocating for a more inclusive definition, which they believe would result in higher levels of political participation⁸. The topic of what constitutes political involvement is equally pertinent when considering non-institutionalised forms of political participation. There is a possibility that young adults will not see their behaviours as political, despite the fact that they are political. As a result, it is not just about the individual understands of politics and what constitutes the political, but also about their consciousness of engaging in political activity. Because of this, young adults have a lower level of interest in politics compared to adults. This is because young adults do not consider politics to be important to their lives because of their narrow definition of the term. In this context, "the low political involvement rate among youth is a by-product of their narrow idea of politics and their impression that politicians do not actually care about their concerns."

The disengagement of young people in politics is therefore not due to a lack of interest on the part of the youth themselves, but rather to the way politics is organised. As a result of this, more and more studies are being conducted to determine how young adults define political engagement as well as what they consider to be political participation⁷.

They demonstrate that earlier research employed a concept of participation that is insufficiently broad and that, for instance, the subject of non-participation as an act of political action has not been fully addressed up till this point. A study that looked specifically at the differences between the ages of participants found that young adults and adults seem to have similar political attitudes, with the exception that young people have fewer opportunities to participate politically⁹. This conclusion was reached as a result of the study that specifically examined the differences between the age groups. In addition, they argue that there are disparities in the engagement in particular kinds of political participation, such as the fact that young individuals tend to participate more in forms that are not institutionalised. This leads one to the conclusion that "it seems as if the problem of youth political engagement is less of a matter of whether they participate, and more of a matter of where they participate."

2.1.3.9 Ethnic and Religious differences in Youth Political Participation

Studies have shown that there are racial and ethnic disparities in political engagement, both in the conventional sense (voting and other forms of participation) and in the non-conventional sense (showing up for rallies). The most important takeaway from this research is that people from minority groups are typically less likely to vote than people from majority groups⁴⁰. Because of this, the viewpoints and preferences of minority groups are unable to be fully represented in government⁴¹.

A lower socio-economic status, elite mobilisation techniques, neighbourhood surroundings, discriminatory laws, psychological alienation, and a lack of civic or political skills have been linked as possible explanations for these disparate levels of involvement.

However, other sets of research have revealed that inequalities in involvement rates based on ethnicity vary depending on the topic. The model of the issue-specific motivator serves as the foundation for this. According to this model, the extent to which members of a racial or ethnic group act to express their opinions more or less than members of other racial or ethnic groups depends on the issue about which they are expressing opinions as well as the value or importance placed on such an issue. In other words, the degree to which members of one racial or ethnic group act to express their opinions more or less than members of other racial or ethnic groups varies depending on the issue. For example, if a group is interested in a political event or believes that it is important to either its fundamental beliefs or its continued existence, then the likelihood of that group fully identifying with or participating in such an event becomes exceedingly high⁴³. Again, the political atmosphere that surrounds an issue, concept, or event can have a significant impact on a group's level of motivation to engage in and express its viewpoint regarding that problem, concept, or event. This can vary from group to group. To be more specific, a group may be driven to participate either by the possibility of a policy change in an unfavourable direction or by the possibility of a policy change in a favourable direction. Both of these possibilities are feasible. Overall, the issue-specific motivator model suggests that the level of interest or importance a group places on an event, issue, or concept in politics, as well as the political climate that surrounds them, could be a determining factor in the level of awareness or knowledge and engagement in a political event, issue, or concept that exists among that group.

There are varying degrees of "minority" statuses across all of the various racial and ethnic groups. There are "big minorities" such as the Ijaw (ten percent), Kanuri (four percent), Ibibio (three and a half percent), and Tiv (two and a half percent). Because of these factors, Nigeria has become a stage for ethnic conflicts, the majority of which have been fought over political and economic resources. Certain minority ethnic groups feel they have been sidelined and deprived of these riches. This squabble is further complicated by religion, particularly Islam and Christianity, the adherents of which are largely distributed along ethnic lines, thereby affirming the position that religion thrives in Nigeria to accentuate regional and ethnic identities⁴⁵. This squabble is further complicated by religion, particularly Islam and Christianity, whose adherents are largely distributed along ethnic lines. The purpose of this study was to determine, with a particular emphasis on young people, the similarities and contrasts that exist across Nigeria's various religious and ethnic groupings in terms of understanding of and support for political restructuring.

2.1.3.10 Curricular and Pedagogical Strategies for Promoting Politics and Political Participation in Nigeria

Education plays an important supporting role in the growth of both individual people and the societies in which they live. Without education, the very concept of human capital as well as the idea of economic growth will amount to nothing. Education is equally important for the generation of economic activity and social transformation. Any society that makes the acquisition of a basic education a national priority can, in a short period of time, transform the quality of lives of its citizens. This transformation takes the form of repositioning them to live decent lives that can add value to the quality of life of the individual citizens, which will automatically leave quality impressions on the developmental aspirations of the state. The improvements that come with basic education have the potential to launch citizens out of environmental poverty traps, help minimise

responsibility, and alternatively contribute to the diversification of assets for the emancipation and empowerment of the people⁴⁷.

It is possible to attest to the singularity of education as the centre of development by the fact that its focus is on the complete development and emancipation of man, who, through education and in a variety of different forms, converts and transforms resources into various forms for the satisfaction of members of the society. Education has both intrinsic and extrinsic values, which means that it can be valued for its own sake in the sense of the fulfilment that it gives to the individual that has it, and it can also be valued as a means of survival for the individual due to the numerous emancipatory and uplifting opportunities that come the way of the person that has it.

It is interesting to note that when education is geared toward fostering politics and political engagement, additional chances can be made available to citizens as well as their respective states for the purpose of exploring all of the potentials of education to their fullest extent. Knowledge of politics and participation in it opens up in a people ways and skills through which they can tap and explore hidden treasures that are available in the state as a result of their own civic efforts, and there are many ways in which a consciously designed educational provision that targets politics and improving political participation can assist citizens in evaluating such hidden treasures in the state⁴⁷.

Giving political education the appropriate amount of attention within the curriculum is a good place to start if anyone wants to make conscious efforts to promote politics and political involvement in Nigeria. Nigerians can be made aware, through the prioritisation of political education, that participation in politics can be a platform upon which they can influence the day- to-day activities of government and, as a result, achieve the dreams of their lives both individually and collectively, if they are sensitised to the fact that this can be the case. It is not an exaggeration

to say that politics is ever present in deals at all levels, including the local, national, and international levels, as well as dealings between individuals and between individuals and their respective states⁴⁸. This is evident due to the fact that the mark and impressions of politics can be seen in decisions that lead to the exploitation of resources, a formula for the sharing of the resources of the state, decisions that govern educational and financial institutions, the relationship between one group and another in a state, the police, the army, the navy, foreign relations, and other institutions. The information presented above suggests that there is no aspect of the lives of citizens of a state that is not shaped or influenced by politics. This, in all honesty, makes a case for or provides justifications why good education should afford citizens sufficient opportunities to understand the fundamentals that shape and influence their living conditions and the quality of their lives⁴⁹.

It is important to point out that any priority in educational provision to Nigerians that makes political education a priority will quickly turn out to be great assets in the ways that citizens can quickly and progressively master strategies for peace building, conflict resolution, reaching compromise, and negotiating their ways for the purposes of becoming as maximally relevant as possible to themselves, their communities, their region, and Nigeria as a whole. It is possible to say that any curriculum that aims to accomplish the aforementioned goals has placed an emphasis on educating the populace, in particular about the ways in which the people's acceptance of politics and active participation in it can serve as a foundation for realising the goals they have set for themselves on the economic, moral, social, environmental, scientific, and technological fronts. Another factor that can serve as a morale booster for the promotion of politics and political involvement in Nigeria is the fact that political problems are prioritised in virtually all academic

fields, including the social sciences, management sciences, and the humanities, with very few exceptions⁴⁹.

A culture for the sustainable development of the Nigerian state may have been consciously established in areas where people understand that peaceful change can be a norm through their participation in politics. The maintenance of this culture can "be a ready-made social control mechanism or weapon for building and sustaining strong social institutions in the social environment," and one major benefit that the society stands to gain is that by making political education and politicking more accessible, the society stands to gain the ability to build and sustain strong social institutions⁵⁰.

The study of social studies is closely connected to political education in the pursuit of utilising curricular and pedagogical innovations in the creation of the appropriate awareness for mobilising and sensitising Nigerians to be more involved and active in politics and participating in politics. This quest is part of an effort to improve political participation in Nigeria. In order for any group to compete successfully in politics and participate in it, that group must first acquire a thorough understanding of the fundamentals as well as the strategies for organisation and mobilisation. Furthermore, that group must put into practise the skills of critical thinking and an analytical mindedness, which are fundamental values that the learner develops through the study of social studies. Learners can be provided with new frontiers or platforms that can adequately and existentially sensitise them on how a people can get to any level they want for improvements in their lives through politics and participation in it by combining the skills of mobilisation and organisation with the practical skills of analytic mindedness and critical thinking that come with the study of social studies. This combination of skills comes as part and parcel of the study of social studies. Because social studies, by its very definition, focuses on happenings and problems

in society, and because its interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches create room for any good teacher and good learner to explore for illustrating, demonstrating, and emphasising any happenings or problems of his interests in society, all of these goals are attainable⁵¹.

When approached from the perspectives of morality and moral education, particularly when the focus is on better human relations in particular and relationships between a state and her citizens in general, it is possible that curricular and pedagogical innovations and strategies for promoting political participation in Nigeria can make an impact that is both durable and long-lasting. This is the case when the subject matter in question is addressed in Nigeria. Anyone who is familiar with the way politics played in Nigeria can be well convinced that it is played without any iota, trace, or symptom of morality. Political participation in Nigeria is for amassing wealth, and not to initiate or engineer policy measures for uplifting the citizens, which directly or indirectly can translate into the sustainable development of the Nigerian state. This is because the politicians in Nigeria are there for themselves, their wives, relations, sons and daughters, or those who are close to them.

This has led to the situation where politics and participation in it, in Nigeria, are for amassing wealth. As is to be expected, one unfortunate development that has resulted from the foregoing is that the attitude of the politicians in Nigeria has brought about suffocating poverty in the midst of plenty with the suffering majority resorting to anti-social practices across all dealings including politics and participation in it, all in an effort to survive. Because the amassing of the wealth of the Nigerian state by those entrusted to oversee the fair sharing of such wealth corresponds to executive robbery and stealing, the subjecting of Nigerians to miserable lives and death by instalment by the Nigerian state is state sanctioned genocide.

The resulting general misery and biting poverty despite the promises of democracy and participation in democratic politics can be a focus of moral education. As a result, the instruction

of moral education can be redesigned to stimulate or raise moral questions on the appropriateness, suitability, or otherwise of wealth acquisition that turns out to threaten the possessors of such wealth on the one hand and cause monumental hardship and misery to the general populace on the other⁵¹. If moral education were to shift its focus in this direction, it would be consistent with its time-honoured and heritage of teaching students how to think independently, which is a skill that goes hand in hand with the generation of ideas for dealing with moral dilemmas. This change, which is brought about by knowledge of morality and moral education, is capable of positively altering the outlook of Nigerians regarding politics and participation in it. Morally, raising awareness on these issues and making Nigerians aware that their current circumstances can be improved through their participation in politics can encourage political participation⁵⁰.

Aside from advances in the curriculum, there are pedagogical innovations and methods that, if made the norms and focal points in the education system in Nigeria, can go a long way toward fostering politics and political involvement. These innovations and strategies include: For the purpose of sensitising and conscientising Nigerians in preparation for active political involvement, any pedagogical innovation and method that makes thinking and critical thinking its focus can be considered a sure bet and a step in the right direction. The significance of thinking and critical thinking across all academic disciplines, as well as the appeal to thinking and critical thinking in the solution of all of man's problems, is an important resource that justifies the aforementioned claim and serves as a key resource⁵¹.

It is true that every human being possesses the capacity to think; nevertheless, the form of thinking that is considered to be critical thinking is defined as "the ability to build up and organise ideas,

including the ability to logically demonstrate how such ideas might be employed in solving issues"⁴⁷.

In a related vein, critical thinking is predicated on reasonable reflection that is centred on the decision of what to believe or do. The ability of the person who engages in critical thinking to rely on it in solving all of his problems, as well as the tendency of the person who indulges in critical thinking to see reasons for his actions or inactions and only be guided by reason in his or her actions or inactions, are fundamental characteristic features associated with critical thinking. In addition, critical thinkers have the ability to rely on it in solving all of their problems. These points point to or suggest that critical thinking can be directed or practiced on another item or things, such as educational provision. This is what is suggested in the previous sentence.

In general, educational programming that is focused on the development of critical thinking skills can be of tremendous benefit to Nigeria. However, the Nigerian people stand to benefit even more if critical thinking skills are especially focused on politics and engagement in politics in Nigeria. The notion that one can grasp the many reasons for the numerous political decisions that influence activities and why one's own region may be the way it is by engaging in critical thinking is supported by the fact that such an understanding is possible for an individual. Depending on which side one is, having this awareness may pose a problem for additional actions to be taken.

Since politics and participation in it are present in determining what a state and its people become, focusing critical thinking skills on them can existentially be like presenting a people in a state with a choice or choices on possible outcomes. The reason for this conclusion is that politics globally and participation in it are key in achieving other values that are fundamental in the sustainable development of a people and their state, including determining true citizenship. Another reason for this conclusion is that politics globally and participation in it are key in achieving other

Awareness on the potentials of politics and political participation through critical thinking-based educational provision can create the much-needed awareness that can kick start active participation in politics or alternatively provide platforms for proffering solutions for resolving the many not-too-good behaviours that surround politics, political participation, and politics in general. This is because no right and rationally thinking human being can choose evil or wrong options when there are right options.

Effective communication and language education may also be the subject of pedagogical innovations and techniques for boosting politics and political engagement in Nigeria. This is one possibility among many others. The fact that ineffective communication and language use can work against politicians who honestly and ordinarily may have something to offer that can add value to the quality of life of Nigerians provides impetus for this. On the other hand, effective use of language and communication can improve and enhance the chances of politicians who may not have anything to offer in terms of contributing to the improvement of the quality of life of Nigerians. In fact, one observation that has been recognised globally as one of the reasons why people dislike politics and participation in it, especially in Nigeria, is the fact that politics and participation in it, involve a great deal of linguistic manipulations that politicians can exploit to get votes from the masses and then deny when they are called upon or reminded of such statements. This is an observation that has been recognised globally as one of the reasons why people dislike politics and participation in it. The fact that most policy documents that originate from politicians in Nigeria are completely ambiguous to the point that they are laced with layers of interpretation that make it impossible to put them into action is evidence that this position is correct. This is further compounded by the fact that a reasonable percentage of the masses in Nigeria are not

literate in the language that is used by the politicians⁴⁸. The fact that this is the case is what proves that this position is correct.

It is true that politics incorporates within its framework elements of cunning, tricks, cleverness, and shrewdness and politicians demonstrate all of these characteristics through their skilful manipulation of language, something with which the majority of the electorate or electors do not have equal competence. The fact that politicians mislead the electorate or electors through language and that this, in turn, causes apathy toward politics and participation in politics by the masses of Nigeria, is a cause for concern that is so serious that any genuine effort to promote politics and participation in it in Nigeria should start with providing the masses of Nigeria with robust linguistic and communication competence, with which they can decode or decipher what the politicians present before them. This is due to the fact that language is intrinsically linked to culture, and the fact that Nigeria is home to a diverse range of both cultures and languages necessitates that stakeholders in Nigeria's educational system refocus their attention on communication and language education in order to facilitate easy and effective participation in political processes.

Any effort that is aimed at promoting politics and political participation in Nigeria by utilising pedagogical means has the potential to inculcate skills for solving many political problems among the masses of Nigeria. These problems paint the political landscape in Nigeria, as a battlefield, and as an activity that can be carried out without appealing to moral or rational considerations. It is common knowledge that political parties and politicians in Nigeria financially support militia groups and provide them with firearms and other potentially lethal equipment. Using these tools, the militia groups then unleash mayhem on innocent Nigerians, whom the Nigerian state expects to participate in politics in order to foster Nigeria's democratic growth and development. This is

an open secret. This contradiction deserves to be the focus of education, particularly by using education to create the necessary awareness in the form of sensitising the relevant state institutions on possible roadmaps for containing and checkmating such aberrations or abnormalities. Specifically, this contradiction deserves to be the focus of education. This can be accomplished by educational institutions holding seminars, workshops, and symposia. If they do so, the general populace of Nigeria will have reasons to believe, and as a result, have a safe landing space, and hope that the education industry in Nigeria can still meet up to its traditional roles. This will be accomplished by the education industry in Nigeria by not turning a blind eye to the social ills and evils that have characterised the political scene in Nigeria.

As part of these efforts, the education sector in Nigeria can step up its efforts to construct bridges that would allow collaboration and negotiation between political parties, elected officials, and voters to become the norm for the country's long-term economic growth. The current dispensation and regime, in which Nigeria is rapidly becoming a theatre of war, particularly for political parties and politicians, while the Nigerian masses are losing the dividends of democracy, is regrettable. As a result, the education industry, philosophers of education, and political theorists should view this as challenge. In fact, the promotion of politics and participation in it, in Nigeria to a level that is appropriately suitable for the giant and colossal status of Nigeria, in the comity of states, requires a change of gear where educational endeavours, across disciplines, can use a multidisciplinary approach to incorporate the teaching and promotion of politics and political participation in Nigeria. This can be accomplished by incorporating the teaching and promotion of politics and political participation in Nigeria into educational endeavours across disciplines. After all, politics is what ultimately decides and forms the future of everything, including the many different fields. Therefore, any individual or organisation that is going to be affected by the influence of a system

or process should engage in the process of establishing what that system or process ought to be like. People all around the world place a high value on education, and one explanation for this phenomenon is that education plays a pivotal role in both man's will to survive and his quest to gain knowledge. A social environment that is strong and dynamic can be a great help in boosting a person's desire for survival as well as their quest for knowledge. Through politics and active participation in it, man has the ability to purposefully promote or bring about a social environment that is vibrant and robust. On the other hand, apathy toward this society-shaping practice and institution is rapidly becoming a global norm, and this development makes a case for or challenges education to come to the rescue. Through the implementation of forward-thinking curricular and instructional practices, the educational system is able to accomplish this goal. Giving priority to school subjects like political education, social studies, critical thinking, and moral education, etc., and emphasising the kick starting of positive attitudes towards politics and participation in it can produce the necessary turn around in learners that can give the expected dividends just as teaching learners to existentially see their destiny in their own hands and shaping it to their own taste through participation in politics can awaken interest. This goal can be accomplished by any competent educator who is able to combine pedagogy and curriculum in a professional manner. The repositioning of education to the point where it is used to practically solve the problems of society, particularly problems such as politics and participation in it, which are central to the accomplishment of other higher values that promote the sustainable growth and development of man and his society, is what is required for this to become a reality on the part of the various stakeholders. This should be the new course of action that educators and other stakeholders in education follow in terms of the way that education should go.

2.1.3.11 Bases of Political Participation

Participation is the foundation upon which every political system is constructed, and it can take place on a variety of levels, including running for elective office, donating money to parties and candidates, working on political campaigns, and voting, to name just a few of the many possibilities that citizens engage in leading to either direct or indirect participation in political processes. In addition to choosing the leadership and determining the course of action, they also have an impact on the state's policies, activities, and programmes as well as the behaviour of politicians. Citizens participate in politics in the manner that is most convenient and least expensive for them³⁵. However, traditional participation in politics is generally declining across the globe, especially in light of the use and proliferation of online and social media facilities. At the same time, the other aspect of political participation, such as protests and demonstrations, is now more commonly associated with young political participants⁴⁹. In the majority of developing democracies, political involvement is generally done out of fear or for opportunism rather than genuine feelings of belonging and as a civic obligation³⁵. This is because political participation is seen as a perfunctory activity. As a result, there is a worrying trend toward a lower level of public participation in politics throughout the world, particularly in emerging countries.

It has consequently been determined that the pyramid of political engagement is made up of activists, participants, observers, and the apolitical, who are located at the very base of the pyramid and do not take part in anything political. Similarly, political parties, interest groups, and the formulation and implementation of public policies are some of the most important tools of political participation.

However, many Nigerians have now developed the habit of political apathy, which can be defined as a feeling of contempt, dejection, and a lack of interest in politics and political events, as well as an attitude of non-participation which distances them from politics and the

system. It has been a source of frustration for Nigerians, for a significant portion of the country's history, that politics and the search for democracy has remained elusive. This is the case in spite of the efforts, resources, and numerous trials that have been made, and not only in terms of participation, but the entire experiment with the politics and democracy. A study described the system as a "machine" that was designed to be a vote-catching device with the intention of facilitating access to power and state resources. Aside from the apathy with which Nigerians tend to participate, both the citizens and the politicians are mostly interested in manipulating the system to achieve their own personal interests. In the everyday setting of Nigeria, politics is an act that might involve manipulation, lying, and the giving or taking of graft, among other things. In a similar vein, the comprehension of and engagement in Nigerian politics in pre-colonial and post-colonial Nigeria are rife with dreams and expectations, but they are ultimately dashed by disappointments³⁵.

Some of the most important tools for involvement include political parties, interest groups, and the design or implementation of public policies. The higher the investments in social and governmental systems, the greater the likelihood that people will participate in politics and have an impact⁴⁷.

However, all of the aforementioned achievements and others have been undermined in Nigeria, particularly at the hands of politicians, political parties, and the leadership of the state. This has led to low involvement and disinterest among those involved. Apathy about politics has increased throughout time among Nigerians, and this has had an effect on the entire political system. As a result, more questions than answers have arisen on the reasons for the low level of engagement or apathy among Nigerians.

It is abundantly clear that there are conventional/normal modes of political participation such as voting, engaging in election campaigns, party membership, political meetings with the leadership,

writing letters, and participating in group actions; and there are unconventional modes of political participation such as terrorism, sit-ins, boycotts and strikes, protests, demonstrations, writing complaints, petitions, and/or protest letters amongst others. As a result, the foundations for political participation in Nigeria are as follows: the political party; the community (defined by shared racial, linguistic, and ethnic characteristics); the neighbourhood (defined by shared residence and proximity); the class (defined by shared status, income, and occupation); and the faction (defined as a group of individuals united together)³⁵.

i. Voluntary Form of Political Participation

The willingness of citizens to engage in activities such as running for elective office, funding political party activities, campaigning, following up on issues, participating in party rallies and symposia, establishing a political party or group, voting, and demonstrating are examples of forms of participation that are considered to be voluntary.

ii. Push/Pull Factors of Political Participation in Nigeria

There are several other forces at play in Nigerian politics that contribute to the push-and-pull dynamic of engagement. The factors, on the other hand, can be different depending on the time, place, and circumstances, but they can also be linked with one another. As a result, the participation rate in Nigeria is determined by a variety of factors, each of which contributes to the overall picture.

iii. The Pull Factors to Political Participation in Nigeria

The pull factors that entice political participation in Nigeria include: access to power; monetary benefits; regionalism; ethno-religious sentiments; socio-societal influence; relative political

stability; extent of state/leadership commitment; family social status/ prestige; access to elites; average/high standard of living; geographical location; need for change; selfish interests; desire to maintain status quo; relative inclusiveness; roles of the social media; and popularity/legitimacy of state policies and programmes³⁵.

Iv. The Push Factors of Political Participation in Nigeria

The push factors that keep people from participating in Nigerian politics include socio-societal inequality, poverty, poor governance, a low level of political socialisation, long-term effects of military rule, a lack of civic education, and the monetisation of politics. Other push factors include the autocratic nature of parties, political instability, electoral malpractice, elites' manipulation, misconceptions of politics, and monetisation of politics.

2.1.3.12 Social/Public Media and Political Participation

The public media is one of the most essential platforms for both political engagement between elected officials and the population as well as the platform for addressing political topics, which in turn indirectly creates opportunities for political awareness⁴⁰.

Public media outlets in industrialised countries are responsible for providing citizens with political education and guiding them in making informed political decisions. At the same time, the role that the public media plays in the activation of political consciousness among the populace is significant.

Because the politically powerful take control of the media when they are elected, the public media in the majority of developing countries have played the role of socialising individuals into a particular political orientation. This is because the politically powerful use the media as an instrument to project their “assumed perfect image” in front of the citizens. The political leaders of the majority of African countries, such as Nigeria, tele-guide the news media and other public media by dictating the kind of news that are appropriate for public consumption, and this is the

case in Nigeria as well. The majority of the time, the news outlets that not comply with the government's directives end up losing their operate licence to continue. The subject of open accessto information as well as the dissemination of information is still being debated inside the Nigerian parliament at the present time, which is indicative of the political climate in Nigeria (The so called Private Information Bill). The fact that those in control of the public media use these to consistently display their interests before the public while at the same time pushing to the background materialthat does not favour their interests, regardless of how truthful it may be, is of the utmost importancehere. This circumstance is one of the elements that are dragging Nigeria in the direction of one party system despite the uncountable number of political parties that are being registered by INEC(Nigeria's electoral body). This is the case despite the fact that Nigeria has a history of multi-partysystems. In a similar vein, this circumstance becomes a problem for the way in which the citizensview the media outlets and the political matters that are displayed by these news media; this, to a large extent, affects the chances of media outlets becoming a platform of motivation for political participation among the citizens, particularly the youth⁴⁰.

2.1.3.13 Youths' Mobilisation and Participation

Mobilisation is a process that can be thought of as candidates, parties, activists, and groups inducing other people to join in politics in order to win elections, pass bills, and have an influenceon policies⁷. People may be contacted by political organisations, which would then present them with a particular chance for political activity. Before involvement of any kind to take place, mobilisation is typically an essential step that must take place first. A further definition of politicalmobilisation would be the process by which citizens organise other individuals for the purpose ofexerting pressure on political representatives. Therefore, a movement could be anything that ultimately leads to a change in policy. For instance, when a newspaper writes about problems

within a government, a lot of people read it, and it gets picked up by the politicians who will start working with it, and in the end they are able to change the composition of the government. It could be anything as simple as signing a petition in the hopes of influencing public policy in a particular direction.

Participation and active involvement are essential components of mobilisation. Before potential participants may take part in the activity, they must first be notified and then recruited. In point of fact, the processes of mobilisation and recruitment are necessary preconditions that need to be satisfied before citizens may become engaged in any sort of civic or electioneering activity. In the most recent few years, these methods of mobilisation have undergone a quick transition from a direct process to an indirect process. Mobilisation agents have increasingly utilised new electronic media and the Internet to reach out to possible participants. This is in place of depending on face-to-face interactions or print media to communicate with potential participants.

In a recent study, researchers differentiated between direct and indirect forms of mobilisation. Canvassing in the streets, advocating on television, sending direct mail and making phone calls are all examples of direct mobilisation. Through participation in social networks that individuals have subscribed to, indirect mobilisation can take place. Citizens are indirectly mobilised by members of their families, their friends on the football team, or the congregations of churches or mosques to which they belong. Participation in social networks generally denotes a person's accessibility and readiness to respond to requests for participation in activities organised through those networks. When political leaders make contact with citizens through social media or networks of friends, neighbours, and co-workers, it is an example of an indirect form of mobilisation. According to this interpretation, the mass media play the role of catalysts in the process of political mobilisation. This question serves as the investigation's focal point.

2.1.3.14 Political Socialisation and Political Participation

The social phenomena of politics can be categorised as an AGIL according to Talcott Parsons (Adaptation; Goal maintenance; Integration and Latency maintenance). This, by implication, is an inalienable aspect of the social structure that, in order for it to work well, must be acknowledged by the members of the society. In order for it to be recognised in any community, the members of that society need to be socialised into it. If this does not occur, then it becomes the job of the few who, for reasons other than orientation, seize the opportunity. A variety of channels, which are collectively referred to as agents of political socialisation, are responsible for the actualisation of political socialisation. There is the family, the school, the peer group, the mass media, the professional associations, and the political parties. It is essential to realise that the role of the family in today's modern democratic society extends far beyond the simple act of introducing the child to the political system as a phenomenon. This is true despite the fact that the family is responsible for the most fundamental aspect of political socialisation, which entails primarily exposing the child to the phenomenon of leadership and power struggle in the society. However, it is essential to acknowledge that the family is responsible for this aspect of political socialisation. It currently entails, in the contemporary democracy, the inculcation in the child the political values of the society in general and the practical motivation of the child into political involvement through vicarious learning⁴⁰. Children and teenagers who accompany their parents to the polling station to cast their votes are more likely to develop an interest in participating in political activities themselves, according to findings from empirical research⁴⁰.

The children, the youth, and the adults are technically introduced to the complexities of politics as a part of the social system by educational institutions, particularly at the earlier stage (such as primary and post primary levels). This is done without bias or sentiments about any political party

or group. Individuals and groups are introduced, through the medium of educational institutions, to the imperatives of politics as part of the social system and for the survival of society in general; the role of the citizens, as well as the role of society, in maintaining and reinforcing the sanctity of the political system. Beyond the theoretical perspective of the role that educational institutions play in political socialisation, the utilitarian value of such is appreciated in the way that it guides citizens into the political system as contestants and electorates⁴⁰. This value is appreciated in conjunction with the role that educational institutions play in political socialisation.

Discussion of political issues and interests among peer groups, based on individuals' level of knowledge about politics and background, is yet another factor that accelerates the process of pushing people into appreciating the political system as a phenomenon and, ultimately, into political participation. The interactions that take place between the members of a peer group and the discussion of political issues before, during, and after elections and other political events function as a revitalising element that draws the youth to political participation and shapes their political orientation⁴¹.

The proliferation of mass media provides an advantageous chance for both politically active and politically inactive persons to be informed on the practical worth of participating in political processes. Individuals and groups are taken along, and by implication urged into political participation, in the industrialised nations where media outlets work without prejudice and media freedom is provided for the distribution of true information about the activities and programmes of the government. It is anticipated that the channels within a society, and particularly within a contemporary democratic society, will function as a connecting valve between the political class, the government, the electorates, and the electoral system, thereby facilitating more interactions that are fruitful and increased political engagement.

To speak more in sociological terms, professional organisations are the tertiary orientation platform for the individual members of the organisation. Politically speaking, the role that this organisation serves is that of informing its members about the significance of political attitudes in relation to the interests of the group that is being considered⁴⁷. The end outcome of these factors is that members of various groups end up identifying themselves with particular political ideologies and political parties. To summarise, the duty of the professional organisations is to enlighten individuals about the individual and social benefits of engaging in politics.

It is true that the agents of political socialisation that have been mentioned above are one-of-a-kind tools that can encourage political participation. Despite this, the situation is not as theoretically possible as it sounds in practice in all countries, particularly among the developing countries. If all the agents of political socialisation are as theoretically and practically utilitarian as they sound, then they will generate a centripetal force that will encourage political participation. This is assuming that all other factors remain unchanged. Political socialisation is a phenomenon that is met with stiff resistance in most families in developing nations such as Nigeria. This is due to the widespread belief that politics is generally viewed as the activity of a few selected individuals who are morally corrupt⁴⁸. In addition, children have a greater propensity to receive negative impressions about politics and governance from their families, and as a result, they tend to view politics as uninteresting, with the exception of the financial ties that are associated with it, such as the distribution of money during voting and the theft of public funds by those who have access to power.

Political socialisation is trivialised within the educational institutions, from primary to tertiary institutions, as the impression runs through the institutions that the individual does not count in Nigerian politics regardless of whether or not you vote. This perception permeates the educational

institutions. In the long term, this results in the production of young people who are antagonistic toward political engagement in general and who act as agents that exacerbate the issue of political godfatherism⁴⁹. The same impression spreads throughout the peer networks of today's young people, reinforcing their already poor attitude toward participating in political processes. In terms of political socialisation, the members of each peer group are the product of their families and the educational institutions they have attended. As a result, the members of each peer group, in essence, show the attitudes and sentiments to which they have been exposed.

In theory, the public media channels in Nigeria are statutorily charged with the responsibility of providing objective reporting of political events, programmes, and activities. Furthermore, these channels are expected to provide an equal playing field for all of the political parties and ideologies in terms of the projection of their strengths and weaknesses. Nonetheless, the public media outlets in Nigeria have transitioned into tele-guided instruments of the few dominating persons and political parties there, which have led to a growing level of scepticism regarding the objectivity of the public media in the country⁴⁷.

The disposition of people and groups toward political engagement in light of the fact that public media outlets play a role analogous to that of an instrument in political socialisation. This is due to the fact that the public sources should function as an equal playing field for the government and the political parties in their efforts to urge people to participate in the political process.

Individual, religious, and ethnic sentiments in Nigeria are engulfing professional organisations and the political parties, which should be creating a platform to strengthen political participation. Meanwhile, in Nigeria, professional organisations and the political parties are engulfed by individual sentiments. Because of individual, religious, and ethnic dominance, these groups have become the ground for neutralising the consciousness for political engagement in Nigeria. Instead

of fostering political participation, these groups have been successful in doing the opposite. While the political parties in Nigeria play on the chord of hatred and animosity, the professional organisations in the country play on the cord of destabilisation in the interest of whichever individual, religious group, or ethnic group has the most significant influence over the organisation⁴⁸.

Individuals receive information about the power exchange and exchange hands of power in the context of political activities in the society through interactions with family, school, and peer groups. This is the onus of political activities in the society. These influences, which come from the parents and other members of the home, the educational institution, and the influence of peers, become a factor that shapes an individual's or even a group's comprehension and awareness of the issue of power struggle in society⁴⁰. In situations in which an individual is caught between liberal democracy and a weak political orientation, political involvement becomes a challenge that calls for an almost complete reorientation of the individual who is engaged in the activity. There is a great deal of empirical data to suggest that the voting patterns of parents and the attitudes of their children and other youngsters about voting are two elements that are directly related to one another. Other studies regarding political behaviour have come to light, with the results suggesting that the voting behaviours of the youth are carried over to the adult population.

When people are young, they watch how their parents and other members of their households vote and how political topics are discussed and perceived. This has a significant impact on how they will behave in the later stages of their lives. In a similar vein, there is a correlation between the impact of peers and various aspects of political participation, such as the selection of a political party, the act of voting, and the running for political office. In spite of this, tertiary orientations

such as employment place orientation and membership in professional organisations have been associated to an individual's inclination for political activity.

There is evidence that different levels of political socialisation are the conglomeration of the different political orientations of families. This means that the family is more or less the major germinating ground for political orientation and socialisation in both developed nations and developing nations. Although there may be variations in the way and circumstances in which an individual may be influenced to participate in politics, there is still evidence that there may be variations in the way and circumstances in which an individual may be influenced to participate in politics. More than anything else, the relationship between political socialisation, access to the media, and political involvement has not yet been determined in developing nations such as Nigeria, which is yet a young democratic nation⁵¹.

2.1.3.15 Social Media-Induced Civic Volunteerism and Political Participation

The term "political involvement" refers to significant stakeholders engaging in a variety of activities with the intention of exerting influence over a political system, political process, and public policy⁵¹. Citizens' political engagement, on the other hand, is a product of both their innate political aptitude and the acquired political capacity they have gained as a result of their political socialisation⁵². Politics and political involvement are closely linked to the dissemination of information and the sharing of ideas among citizens since politics is a communicative practice. The youth's political disenchantment, which followed the hijacking of the mainstream media by powerful political, economic, and corporate elites, among other disempowering and marginalising problems, thus elevated social media to the status of the Fifth Estate, an alternative political public sphere and societal sentinel that caters to the information and opinion expression needs of youth and triggers a multitude of political behaviours⁵². Therefore, studies have recorded many forms of

political engagement among young people, in particular with regard to how shifting media ecology impacts the types of political and civic activities that are interesting to young people⁵¹. Others see the emerging participatory culture as a "political nursery" that prepares young people for more inclusive actions that are capable of sustaining participatory culture^{52,53,54}. While some academics believe that an excessive reliance on social media will be harmful to the future of classical democracy, others believe that it will be beneficial.

Studies that were conducted in the past that downplayed the contribution of social media to political participation were premised on the idea that the sites house like minds whose narrow perspective, due to political homophily, leads to the creation of a communication ecology known as a "echo chamber," in which people are only talking to and hearing themselves in an environment devoid of opposing viewpoints⁵³. This idea was used as the basis for the studies. Another argument against the political significance of social media results from the possibility of 'filtering,' which describes a situation in which audiences of social media platforms are likely to select and click on soft, entertainment news at the expense of hard news, which contributes to political knowledge and stimulates political interest and participation⁵¹. In addition, it has been suggested that the primary purpose of using social media platforms is for social contact, rather than for gathering information. If these arguments are correct, then the expectation that social media are capable of facilitating consumption of a variety of political news from many outlets is highly unlikely. This is because audience members who are confined to a narrow information sphere and/or who heavily consume content that is light and entertaining are not likely to appropriate the social media for political ends⁵¹. On the other hand, research has shown that using social media for gathering information has a positive impact on political participation. According to one study, "social media may be conducive to greater political engagement in various ways, including by providing

information about political issues, by offering social cues that motivate citizens to take action, and by reducing the costs of collective action"⁵³.

Scholars have considered the mediating roles of political will, interest, and capacity of the people. For example, they have emphasised the limited influence of social media, which are communication tools, on political participation, which is interest driven action. In addition to the contradictory perspectives on the significance of using social media for political participation, scholars have also considered the mediating roles of these factors. The influence of social media on political participation is not restricted to the simple act of disseminating information; rather, it encompasses the way in which the platforms stimulate online and offline conversation that mobilises a wider audience, including those individuals who do not use the digital platforms. Although academics have cast doubt on the capacity of social media platforms to single-handedly stimulate civic and political participation, they are in agreement regarding the plausibility of the effects of these platforms when used in conjunction with other variables, such as the characteristics of users, personal motivation, and other psychological factors. Access to the expressive, communicative, and mobilisation resources made available by social media could, in fact, be a determining factor in political engagement, according to the civic volunteering resource-based model that was discussed earlier. In Nigeria, as in many other countries, the usage of social media helps to increase visibility, raises awareness, makes it easier to communicate ideas, and prepares young people for the problems of holding the government accountable through movements like Occupy and the utilisation of hashtags⁵³. All of these things point to a significant amount of potential and demonstrate that social media can have specific participation repercussions in certain contexts and with particular kinds of citizens.

2.1.4 Political Communication

The research on political communication has occupied a prominent place in the academic domains of communication studies as well as political science. In recent years, the industry has seen substantial transformation because of continuous technical breakthroughs, which have contributed to the dissemination of data pertaining to the news, music, movies, education, advertising, and other fields. It encompasses printed newspapers and periodicals, as well as their digital counterparts, as well as television, radio, billboards, telephones, fax machines, and the Internet. It outlines the many different channels through which people in society connect with one another. Due to the fact that it encompasses all forms of communication, the term "media" can be used to refer to anything from a simple phone conversation to the evening news broadcast on television. Any information source that is disseminated to the general audience is considered mass media (masses). It is possible for it to include sources such as newspapers, magazines, the internet, television, radio, and other media. The term "social media" refers to a collection of online communication channels that enable groups to communicate with one another, share material, and collaborate.

Politics, in its most inclusive sense, refers to the activity by which individuals create, maintain, and alter the general norms that govern their lives. The activities of politicians, as well as activities such as voting (in national, regional, or local elections), through which ordinary citizens connect with the state, are all examples of politics. Politics also refers to the interactions that take place between governments in the international arena. The activities (or careers) of politicians hardly scratch the surface of what politics is all about. "The procedure by which information is sent from one individual to another"⁵⁴. Transmission of verbal and nonverbal messages is included in the process of communication. It is made up of a communication sender, a communication receiver,

and a communication channel. During the process of transferring communication, there is a possibility that the clarity of the message will be interfered with or distorted by what are often known as barriers. The act of transferring information, sentiments, beliefs, attitudes, opinions, and other related issues from a source to a recipient, with or without the inclusion of feedback, is the definition of communication. The politician is the sender of messages in the political communication process, and the electorate is the recipient or recipients.

Conversation and contact are at the heart of political life. In its most general sense, the term "political communication" refers to the function that communication plays in the political process. It is possible for it to take place in a number of different formats (formal or informal), in a number of different locations (public and private), and through a number of different media (mediated or unmediated content). It encompasses the production and generation of communication by political actors, as well as the transmission of political messages through direct and indirect channels, as well as the reception of political messages. The dissemination of political information among and between political elites, mass media organisations, and the general public is what it meant when talking about political communication.

Communication in politics is a process that involves not just political institutions and actors but also the news media and, most crucially, the people who are being communicated with. Every single piece of political communication that is generated by parties, interest groups, or the media is directed toward citizens with the goals of informing them and swaying their opinions. When it comes to political communication, what really matters is how these three different groups communicate with one another. Communication flows within the realm of politics move in a number of different directions, including downward from governing authorities to citizens,

horizontally between political players, including the news media, and upward from citizens and groups to the political institutions. In a nutshell, political communication is concerned with being actively engaged with local, regional, state, national, European, and international issues and how the power of information, persuasion, and strategic message design can be used to understand and affect outcomes at those levels, particularly in the area of governance and governmental and societal behaviour. Additionally, political communication is concerned with how the power of information, persuasion, and strategic message design can be used to understand and affect outcomes at those levels.

The study of political communication emerged as an important subfield of both political science and communication in the twentieth century, with research focusing on the influence of the news media on public opinion and voting behaviour; the theories of agenda-setting, framing, and priming effects; the tactics and efficacy of political campaigns; the effects of negative political advertising; the discourse and deliberation among the mass public; the speeches and rhetoric of various political figures. Further, the early studies of democratic discourse, carried out by Aristotle and Plato, marked the beginning of political communication. Nevertheless, contemporary political communication is founded on an interdisciplinary foundation that draws on principles from a variety of fields including communication, political science, journalism, sociology, psychology, history, and rhetoric, amongst others.

The term "political communication" refers to an interactive process that involves the dissemination of information among politicians, members of the news media, and members of the general public. The process acts in a horizontal direction in linkages among political players, in a vertical direction from public opinion toward the authorities, and in a downward direction from governing institutions toward the citizenry. Since the early 1990s, several significant developments have

fundamentally altered the process of political communication. These developments are particularly postwar trends in the mass media moving away from the traditional world of newspapers, radio, and television broadcasting and toward the Internet. Political communication has always been a central component of the process of electing officials and formulating policies. Many interpretations of the nature of these tendencies are presented, and reflections are offered on the implications those interpretations have for the ongoing process of socioeconomic and political growth around the world.

2.1.4 1 Elements of Political Communication

i. **Ideology:** The candidate or political party's ideology is the most important concept that a political communicator (candidate or political party) conveys to their audience (electorates). Typically, this takes place during campaign rallies, manifestos, and other forms of political advertising such as on television, radio, posters, billboards, handbills, and fliers, etc.

Destutt de Tracy, a French philosopher, is credited with the invention of the term "ideology" around the year 1795. The idea of "ideology" is bandied around quite frequently in both the popular media and the social sciences; nonetheless, the term is infamously imprecise. Its everyday usage is generally pejorative and typically refers to the dogmatic, foolish, or politicised ideas of other people: we have the truth, and they have ideologies⁵⁵. It has been suggested that it refers to the overarching science of ideas, the goal of which was to elucidate and advance public thought. Ideology is a system of ideas and beliefs about human conduct that has typically been simplified and manipulated in order to obtain popular support for certain actions, and which is typically emotionally charged in its reference to social action⁵⁴. Ideologies can take many forms, including political ideologies, religious ideologies, and philosophical ideologies.

ii. **Propaganda:** The purpose of propaganda is to influence others by manipulating their underlying biases in order to gain emotional responses from those individuals. Propaganda is "the more or less systematic effort to manipulate the beliefs, attitudes, or actions of other people by means of symbols" (such as words, gestures, banners, monuments, music, clothing, insignia, hairstyles, designs on coins and postage stamps, and so on)⁵⁶.

An effort or the authority by which an initiating communicator intends to manage the attitude and actions of others by playing on their pre-existing bias with messages designed largely to appeal to their emotions and/or irrationality is known as propaganda.

iii. **Persuasion:** A person can seek to persuade others through either their words or their actions to do a certain action or to avoid from taking a certain course of action. To convince someone of anything implies an attempt to influence them to act in a certain way. Political communicators use persuasion to convince electorates to choose their candidate or party over others by making promises of what they will do bearing in mind that this is what the listeners want given that perhaps the incumbent has failed in this regard. They do this by making promises of what they will do bearing in mind that this is what the listeners want given that perhaps the incumbent has failed in this regard. "An effort to sell political ideas and garner political support"⁵⁴.

2.1.4.2 The Changing Role of Political Communication

Communication on the political level is just as vital to democracies as holding elections. Elections would lose some of their significance if there were no opportunities for the sharing of information or for political debate. This idea is widely accepted within the framework of democratic theory, and it was eloquently articulated by Robert Dahl, who argued that "within reasonable limits as to time, each member of the electorate must have equal and effective opportunities for learning about relevant alternative policies and the likely consequences of adopting those policies"⁵⁷. Access to a

variety of viewpoints, along with the capacity to voice one's own opinions and take part in public discourse, are necessary components for the vitality of democracies and the legitimisation of democracy as an admirable form of government. Dahl calls for a more educated public discourse, one in which the focus is placed more on analysing the merits of competing views than on ensuring that the most powerful individuals prevail. Over the course of the previous few decades, political communication in many Western cultures has undergone substantial shifts, paralleling the social and economic shifts that have taken place in those societies. Because of many of these developments, Dahl's ideal is going to be very difficult to realise in actual democracies.

A research defined modern democracies as societies that hold regular and free elections with universal suffrage. It referred to these societies as contemporary democracies. There are a variety of democracy indexes that assess the number of societies like this, and the number shifts from one year to the next. However, the core group of such societies often includes the majority of Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand, as well as a handful of countries in Asia and Africa, and the majority of these countries fall under the broad and elusive bracket known as "liberal democracy"⁵⁷. It is sufficient, however, to acknowledge that liberal democracy is a contentious term. Furthermore, some people have argued that liberal democracy and representative democracy have been superseded by "monitory democracy," which refers to all of the various commissions, review panels, and other extra-parliamentary committees that structure and oversee the democratic process. However, the term liberal democracy is the one that is most commonly used, and it provides a framework that is recognisable to the majority of democratic thinkers.

Before moving on to the roles of agenda setting, framing, and priming in political communication, the importance of reinforcement in political communication. During the decades before the rise of television as the preeminent medium for political communication, the Reinforcement Thesis was

the preeminent school of thought. The basic premise was that different groups and social classes in society each had their own distinct set of political beliefs and values, and that these beliefs and values were instilled in children by their parents. It was also believed that political views were passed down through families, with parents passing on their political beliefs to their offspring. The Reinforcement Thesis effectively argued that the transfer of political views within the family protected voters against attempts to change people's basic preferences through political communication. This was done by arguing that voters were protected by the transfer of political views within the family. An illustration of this would be the function that the party press served in the first few decades after World War Two in several western nations. These papers addressed the many members of the party as well as the social groups that it sought to influence. Therefore, the primary purpose of these publications was to strengthen support for the party line rather than to convince members of other groups to adopt it.

Even though there was access to opposing points of view, the assumption was made that people were not interested in reading about those points of view. Dahl fought for other policies, and the public had equal and effective opportunities to learn about those ideas; yet, the public was not interested in taking advantage of those possibilities. During the first few decades after World War 2, reinforcement was a reflection of the widespread partisanship that existed. Beginning in the 1970s and continuing onward, partisanship gradually faded away as it was replaced by commercialisation, fragmentation, and globalisation. The alterations will be broken down into their component parts in the next section. In light of this context, democratic theorists like Carole Pateman and others created theories about participatory democracy as a means of fighting back against the trend toward fragmentation and polarisation⁵⁷. When there was an increase in commercialisation and fragmentation, the interests of marginalised groups, in particular, were

overlooked. Because of this, a natural progression of participatory democracy led to the creation of theories in support of representation of marginalised groups and a need to construct stronger democracies as opposed to the thin liberal democracy that is currently the dominant form of government. The critical evaluation of the fragmentation and polarisation of liberal democracy is an ongoing argument that is still active with a wide variety of participants. This debate has been going on for quite some time. One thing that many of the authors have in common is an interest in enhancing the democratic procedures that are now in place, which is also the purpose of this piece.

The second function of political communication is the establishment of an agenda. The topics that voters discuss and the concerns that are being brought forward are both being influenced by the media. Every day, decisions are made by various media outlets regarding which subjects to present to their audiences. The editors always keep their audience in mind when making judgments like these, and with the proliferation of social media and the Internet, it is now easy to track which problems are most frequently consumed by the audience. The readers have an impact on which issues will be prioritised by the editors since the editors are more likely to select issues that will generate more "clicks" and be read by a wider audience than issues that will receive less attention. The setting of today's agenda takes place in the context of significantly more interaction than was typical in times past. On the other hand, one could criticise the value of this kind of engagement because it places more focus on clicks than it does on the actual subject matter.

Thirdly, the media determines how a problem is portrayed and which components of a problem should be emphasised by framing how a problem is presented. Because of the increasing commercialisation of the media, editors are being forced to examine what aspect of a problem is likely to be the most interesting to their readers. A media outlet can only guarantee that their readers (who are also their consumers) will continue to purchase their goods if they offer the most

interesting aspects of an issue. The setting of the agenda is a strong instrument that media outlets use in their efforts to try to sway public opinion in one direction or another. Particularly with regard to media outlets whose owners actively promote a particular political viewpoint. Herein lies the conundrum that the media must navigate: on the one hand, freedom of speech enables a wide variety of perspectives to be presented in the public debate; on the other hand, sensational and conflict-oriented presentations of groups and political issues have the potential to contribute to the erosion of civic traditions that are essential to the growth of democracy. Robert Putnam's seminal study of Italy is considered to be the definitive work on the subject of civic traditions. In this study, Putnam demonstrates the critical role that civic traditions play in maintaining social cohesion and the dire consequences that can result from their absence. In the same vein, research on majority and consensus democracies highlights the significance of civic traditions when it comes to the development of thriving democracies. When it comes to the way in which issues are presented in the context of the public discourse, this places a significant burden of responsibility on the shoulders of editors and media outlets.

In conclusion, priming has the potential to affect how an issue is understood during the course of an election campaign or the public conversation in general⁵⁷. A candidate or a media outlet might strive to be connected with specific topics and certain ideas by emphasising certain words and issues, giving voters certain associations that might alter their political views over the course of time. This can be done by emphasising certain issues and phrases. It is possible for voters to more easily recognise the political messages that certain candidates want to present to the public if certain issues are primed over time. Because the attention span of voters is often short and difficult to capture due to the many competing issues, priming certain issues over time is one strategy that can be used.

Politicians, media outlets, and other actors who seek to exert some form of influence over the general populace, use these four channels of communication to convey their political messages to the public. In addition, these four methods highlight both the positive and negative aspects of the public discourse that takes place in modern countries. In modern democratic states, the importance of the media cannot be overstated. The vast majority of political discourse takes place within the context of the mass media, with television maintaining its position as the most influential medium for the better part of four decades. If politicians are unable to get the attention of editors and journalists, it will be difficult for them to engage the audience they are trying to reach. The power that the media wields over access to the audience of voters and politicians is significant. To this day, it is not entirely known how effective political communication can be in swaying the opinions of people. The argument in favour of the reinforcement thesis is compelling, and despite the fact that party press has been declining for several decades, polarisation has been growing in recent years. Polarisation has been on the rise in many democratic societies, particularly since the global financial crisis that began in 2008. These considerations demonstrate that political communication is subservient to the way in which the mass media is operating, and thus demonstrates the limits of equitable and effective possibilities to learn about alternative policies, as Dahl emphasised earlier. Because of the way that the media is structured, public discourse and communication on political issues are less ideal than what would be desirable from a democratic point of view. Hague et al. draw a connection between these four factors and the ways in which commercialisation, fragmentation, globalisation, and the Internet altered political communication and public debate⁵⁷. The increasing commercialisation of the media has, in many democracies, coincided with the weakening of the party press and national radio⁵⁷. The fall of the party press and public broadcasting has led to a reduction in the influence of national parties, while the expansion and

gain of influence by private media empires have occurred simultaneously. Insofar as public radio and the party press continue to exist, these news organisations have also recognised the necessity to adopt a more business-like approach to the way they cover politics. A concentration on politics as entertainment rather than as intelligent public conversation could result from commercialisation of the political process. The audience may also feel that their issues are heard and given time in the public discourse if popularisation is successful.

One example of fragmentation is the huge variety of programmes and news outlets that are currently accessible to choose from. It is becoming increasingly simple for the general population to ignore media channels that present viewpoints that are in opposition to their own and to select only those media outlets that support or confirm their viewpoints. The trend toward more diversity and pluralism in society as a whole is mirrored by the various media channels, which are adapting to reflect this development by presenting a diverse array of programming and points of view on political issues. A consequence of fragmentation, similar to that of commercialisation, is that it lessens the likelihood of being exposed to counterarguments and of generating an intelligent public discourse. In modern democracies, it appears to become increasingly elusive and difficult to realise an intelligent public discourse.

Because of globalisation, firstly, information may reach every corner of the globe within a matter of minutes after it has occurred, and secondly, it is more difficult for state media and other players to persuade the populace by spreading propaganda. Access to the internet makes it more difficult to conceal or manipulate information because the general public is able to easily access news sources from other countries to verify the veracity of, for instance, state propaganda or the statements of another individual who wants to portray a topic in a particular light. As a consequence of this, the changes may signal the beginning of a public discussion on a worldwide

scale. The dissemination of ideas and perspectives is accessible to people all around the world. These shifts can be traced back to the proliferation of popular culture and sports on a worldwide scale. Even if there is a consistent flow of new ideas and widespread usage of the internet and other forms of social media, language continues to be a significant barrier to the development of a global public⁵⁷.

The proliferation of social media platforms and Internet use has made it possible to engage an audience in previously unimaginable ways. Voters can contact politicians directly and politicians can reach their voters directly. Direct communication between voters and politicians has the benefit of preventing the public discourse from being shaped by editors and commercial channels, which is a disadvantage of indirect communication. Instead, the electorate is free to speak and criticise politicians without interruption, and politicians are given the opportunity to learn, through trial and error, which modes of communication are most productive for them. By avoiding the conventional lines of communication, one could potentially revitalise public discourse and heighten the interest of the general public in politics. Concurrently, because there aren't any editors or anyone to monitor the public discourse, it may end up mostly reinforcing already-held opinions (prejudices) rather than debating different policies and points of view.

To create a public discourse in which the audience is supplied with different policies and forced to reflect on alternatives to their own views, the tactics of the media, when taken along with the changes that have been observed in democratic countries, present a number of significant obstacles. In the realm of social media, reinforcement is of the utmost importance, whereas in the world of commercial media sources, views, clicks, and market share are the most important metrics. As their major purpose is to transfer their political perspective and strengthen their position, politicians themselves have little incentive to foster an intelligent public discourse

because their primary goal is to strengthen their position. Overall, very few of the actors have any motivation to put the quality of the public discourse and the quality of democracy as their top priority. However, none of the institutions or actors inside the system have much of an incentive to support the quality of the debate or the democracy itself, despite the fact that media and public debate are essential components of democratic systems. In conclusion, all these points to a scenario that appears to be one that is difficult to change or improve due to the fact that these incentives and systems are firmly ingrained in the structure of our communities.

2.1.4.3 The Traditional Media and Politics

Politicians need the media to communicate with citizens. Media organisations rely heavily on political stories as a key source of news and commentary. The more that media platforms and outlets have proliferated – to the point where we inhabit a 24-hour real-time news⁵⁸.

i. **Television:** Because it mixes sight and sound and has the ability to "repeat," television is the most effective medium for persuasive communication because of its "repetition" ability. Television is utilised by politicians for the purposes of political advertising and maintaining public relations throughout election cycles. Even political rallies are broadcast live, politicians and political parties pay a lot of money for live coverage of events like this. The candidates for president of the various parties will appear on live television during election years in order to participate in presidential debates that are organised by television networks. During these debates, the candidates will explain to voters what they want to accomplish as president, why they want to accomplish it, how they want to accomplish it, and when they want to accomplish it. Candidates for president get the chance to address voters in general, not only members of their respective parties, during presidential debates, in contrast to political rallies and other campaign events. In addition to this, it gives voters the best possible opportunity to hear directly from the candidate of

their choice, as opposed to reading words written in the newspaper by media aides or other hired employees. It also requires the candidates to be logical and prevents them from engaging in back-and-forth tactics with words that are full of bogus news and hate speech directed toward their opponents in an effort to demarket them, as can be seen on campaign grounds⁵⁸.

Because it can send sound and picture to a large audience at once, and because it is captivating and dramatic in its nature, television has proven to be an effective tool for political communication because of its ability to mobilise and persuade the people to behave in a given manner and to perform certain actions. Television is a comprehensive medium that combines audio and visual elements, such as colours and movement, and appeals to both the visual and aural senses. It is intriguing enough to hold the attention of the vast majority of viewers. Because of this, the government and several other private groups pay a significant amount of attention to it. The media, specifically television, plays the role of an intermediary between the government and the people. This is because the media provides assistance to the government in communicating its plans and policies to the people, while also allowing the people to communicate their reactions, feelings, and concerns to the government.

ii. **Radio:** Politicians launch a big media campaign using the radio to spread their new campaign slogans and advertising jingles for their political parties. The primary audience consists of low-income people with low levels of education, the vast majority of who live in rural areas. The vast majority of jingles used in political advertising are performed in the speaker's original language or in a kind of Pidgin English. The audiences now have a variety of options to choose from, especially with the proliferation of private FM radio stations across a number of states in Nigeria⁵⁸. The wireless transistor radios in people's homes, GSM handsets, and car radios are the only forms of

radio that Nigerian audiences are able to enjoy, at this time, because web radio has been slow to catch on in the country.

iii. **Cinema:** Although rare, but politicians in a desperate bid to be elected or re-elected can use the cinema medium for political advertising in this digital age. Their political message(s) can be delivered before the movie starts with everyone's eyes glued to the big screen.

iv. **Music:** Music is a type of artistic expression that conveys meaning via the use of tonally pleasing sound or other acoustic signals. When it comes to music, several cultures have developed a wide variety of styles to fit their needs. People have used music as a means of communicating ideas that may have been difficult to express verbally or through other channels throughout the course of human history. According to a study, "it is equally true that music in itself does not oppress; neither is it democratic nor anti-democratic⁵⁸." Certain specific injustices are, without a doubt, fair game for political criticism in regard to their impact on the musical society"⁵⁹. To put it another way, music is not democratic or anti-democratic in and of itself; the question is how people will use it to achieve their goals. Every single piece of music is created inside a specific historical, cultural, and social environment. As a consequence of this, something that is acceptable in one political setting may be deemed unacceptable in another. To be more specific, political music is employed to address critical problems that are confronting a society. It is persuasive to members of the public in addition to those who hold positions of power and authority. Over the course of history, musicians have utilised it to move people to take action.

The conventional limits and formats of radio, television, compact discs, digital video discs, or Digital Versatile Discs have been rendered obsolete as a result of advancements in technology within the music industry as well as a marriage between the music and computer technologies. This has made it possible for the music listening experience to extend beyond these media.

Recently, music has been made available on iPod, iPad, mp3 players, GSM phones, and PCs (web radio).

iv. **Newspaper:** In addition to using pictures to augment news coverage of political campaigns and features and stories on each issue, newspapers also employ photographs. Additionally, a newspaper is able to conduct straightforward news reporting and investigative journalism on a candidate. The publishing company of the newspaper may also choose to pen an editorial in which they highlight certain facts about a candidate or speculate on the likelihood of a candidate being elected. The term "media," which is the plural form of "medium," refers to the communication channels via which we disseminate the print media. Politicians who aspire to elective seats also pay some good writers to write favourable pieces about them for publication. It's possible that some of the cartoonists working for the newspaper house will opt to create a cartoon that parodies the peculiarities of the administration and politics of the current day. Cartoons are humorous line drawings that are published in newspapers that make fun of political events and policy. People now read newspapers in a more hurried and selective manner, spending less than 20 minutes on a 30-page daily on average, as a result of the proliferation of new media technologies, which led to the development of online newspapers and highly specialised electronic media.

Since its inception, print media has always been performing the function of disseminating information to the audience, and the newspaper, which is the oldest form of publication and can be easily accessed at a cheaper rate, is the medium that has held this duty the longest. In contrast, during the time period when printed material first emerged, publications like newspapers and magazines were able to provide readers with information that was previously out of their reach. People depend on these printed materials to understand and grasp the scenario of what is happening in the country. These printed materials feed reader's precise information about new decrees, orders,

and other relevant issues all over the world. Although technology has taken over the world and a whole lot of print media headlines can be found on electronic media, the exceptional value of print continues to remain unrivalled. Prior to the invention of radio and television, print was always the primary source where information was disseminated. This trend continued all the way up until the present century, and print has never lost its important value in the society.

v. **Books:** Books describing politicians' political careers and experiences are often penned by the politicians themselves or by others on their behalf. In addition, people can engage with readers by writing a book about a politician's administration or rule, which they then publish. In one of Olusegun Obasanjo's books titled "My Watch," the former president of Nigeria used derogatory language to describe Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, who had previously served as Vice President of Nigeria. Obasanjo wrote that Abubakar is "too corrupt," "desperate for power," and "always believes in his money to buy his way through in all situations." It is possible that this had an effect on Atiku's political image, which, in turn, hindered his chances of becoming Nigeria's president once he stepped down from duty as the country's Vice President in 2007⁵⁸.

vi. **Billboards, Posters and Fliers:** During election campaigns, this is a common practice, with politicians and political parties publishing posters and pamphlets to sway voters in their favour and generate support for their candidates. At the end, the fliers are handed out at campaign rallies, whereas the posters are affixed on walls in key locations such as bus stops and other public spaces. In addition, billboards are created and placed in strategic locations at intersections and other areas with heavy traffic in order to attract the attention of drivers.

2.1.4.4 The New Media and Politics

The advent of social media has brought about significant shifts in the manner in which political discourse is carried out all across the world. Social media platforms such as *Facebook* and *X* are

being used by political institutions like politicians, political parties, foundations, organisations, and political think tanks in order to communicate with voters and engage them in the political process. People from all walks of life, including politicians, "pundits," and thought leaders, are able to share their perspectives, interact with a vast network, and make connections with others who share their values and perspectives⁵⁸.

Industrialised democracies as well as those in emerging democracies can benefit from the hybrid aspects of online media outlets because these features allow politicians infinite access to diverse kinds of target audiences⁶¹. The application of new media in political campaigns is not a recent development; nonetheless, the weight that it carries has progressively grown over the course of time. For instance, in Nigeria during that election cycle, incumbent President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan utilised Facebook as a campaign tool, despite the fact that Facebook was not a widely used election campaign medium in Nigeria at that time. By the year 2015, it had gained greater popularity and was being utilised by a large number of people, particularly younger people. By the year 2019, even election campaigns for Local Government Chairmen were being done using socialmedia platforms.

Before the advent of social media, the conventional media had the ability to largely decide what information should be disseminated to the general public and establish the parameters for the topics that should be discussed in public forums. Certain topics are pushed to the forefront of public consciousness by the mass media. They work to shape the public's perception of political figures. They continually display things that imply what persons in the public should feel, believe and know about, various topics. They maintained that a relatively limited number of news producers for mass media dominated the market, and as a result, viewers only receive information regarding topics that the media deems to be significant enough to be covered. The traditional media's role in

setting the agenda has been significantly hampered by the rise of social media, which gives politicians a forum in which they can communicate directly with the people in their constituency as well as potential voters, cutting out the middleman that is the traditional media.

The all-pervasive existence of social media in today's world has allowed it to seize control of practically every facet of modern-day human life. The fact that social media has been around for no more than a decade adds to the sense of mystery surrounding this topic. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the introduction of social media has ushered in the most significant change to the media landscape since the printing press was invented. The political class as a whole, as well as individual leaders and contenders for various political seats, has taken to social media in a big way⁵⁸. This is because they are fully conscious of the pervasiveness of social media.

The continuous revolution in information and communication technologies (ICTs) has radically affected the terrain of democracy as well as the way in which individuals participate in political processes. The changes have permeated through almost every level of society, affecting political institutions, political actors, citizen groups, and mass media⁶². From the configuration of media systems to the decision-making of the voting public, the changes have had an effect on almost every aspect of society. Since its introduction in 1992, new forms of media have gradually assumed a position of prominence within the electoral process in the United States. Even while the vast majority of voters still get their election news from television, digital communication outlets have become increasingly common. The advent of new media has caused shifts in the campaign methods of political parties, candidates, and political groups. These shifts have also impacted how the media covers elections and influenced voter participation. The new media have exerted a significant amount of impact on the election process. Campaigns serve as a testing ground for new political applications that can be carried over into post-election politics and help to establish new

standards for how media politics should be conducted in future elections. The social media innovations that came to the forefront during the 2008 presidential contest became standard practice during the 2010 midterm elections. These innovations also paved the way for a more prolific development of political applications for handheld devices than was the case in 2004, when the Bush campaign used handheld devices to show campaign ads door to door. The environment of the election media has become increasingly diversified, specialised, and fragmented as a result of the continual advancement of technology and the proliferation of the number of social media platforms. In addition to *Facebook*, *X*, and *YouTube*, there is now a variety of other platforms that promote campaign activity. Some of these sites include *Reddit*, *Pinterest*, *Snapchat*, and *Vine*.

Internet and social media use is pervasive in all spheres of life in the modern era. As social media has grown into new areas, it has begun to garner interest from people of all ages, even if it is primarily a topic of interest to younger generations. In addition to allowing people to socialise with one another, it fulfills a variety of personal and societal requirements, such as those related to communication, knowledge, and amusement. In the realm of politics, the allure of social media lies in the fact that it can be accessed without much effort and is appealing to a large number of people. Not only may members of the general public use social media to participate in political activities and run political campaigns, but politicians can also use these platforms to easily carry out their official responsibilities. Social media accounts are used to present election-related activities, including election campaigns, public announcements, and several other types of activities for the general public. Because individuals pick political parties based on how closely they align with the ideology of that party, and because they can spread that ideology to vast communities through social networks, it is now increasingly common to speak of large groups of people rather than individuals. Making their own propaganda and using it in an effective way is a

strategy that can help politicians get more votes, particularly those who are trying to sway the opinions of young people. On the other hand, the absence of this appears to be indicative of the usage of social media in a subconscious manner.

As a result of the ability of social media platforms to disseminate vast amounts of information to a wider audience and the success that business industries have had in marketing their products to a wider customer base in an efficient and effective manner, politicians today have a tendency to embrace social media communication as their strategy for communicating with the potential audience that they have. Alongside more traditional forms of media, social media have recently emerged as primary channels through which political campaigns are conducted in order to win over the support of potential voters, to increase financial support for political parties, and for a variety of other political goals.

The revolutionary and pervasive use of social media platforms such as *Facebook*, *YouTube*, *X*, and *MySpace* in the presidential elections for the United States in 2008 and 2012 has been hailed as the seminal moment in the development of modern political communication.

- i. **Blogs:** A journal is the equivalent of a diary in the twenty-first century. Blogs date back to the 1990s and have existed primarily for the purpose of sharing content. This content is most frequently presented in the form of text entries to a journal, which are typically written by a single author and may include images and hyperlinks. They make it possible to integrate interactive and connective functions, the most essential of which are the comments that are put below the articles.
- ii. **Facebook:** This is the social network that has the most active users, with more than 1.87 billion individuals actively logging in each day. It was established in 2004 as an online platform with a private membership for students at Harvard University; it opened its doors to the general public in 2006. Facebook makes it possible to share a wide variety of content, including text posts,

photographs, videos, and links without any restrictions. In addition to this, it gives users access to a wide variety of tools and applications, such as online minigames, tools for fund-raising, and targeted advertising. Because Facebook permits interaction between a politician and their followers, many politicians have created profiles and pages on the platform in order to communicate directly with their constituents. On the other hand, due to the hectic nature of their schedules and, at times, their lack of familiarity with the inner workings of social media, politicians frequently choose to delegate the management of their social media pages to a third party. The politician is aware of and gives permission for the dissemination of any and all information that may be found on his page or account.

iii. **X:** The application was initially released in 2006 and has since evolved into an online news and social network that enables users to post and share short messages (which were initially limited to 140 characters but have since been increased to 280 characters). As of November 2017, there are approximately 317 million users of the application⁵⁸. *X*, in contrast to *Facebook*, makes it possible to follow any person so long as the account is not protected in any way. *X* is primarily used for quick messages by politicians, while *Facebook* is utilised for the writing of lengthy letters.

iv. **YouTube:** Founded in 2005, it permits viewers to watch videos with material that spans a wide variety of categories, including music, television, debates, and even themes related to politics and education. While registration is required in order to upload videos, there are almost no restrictions on who may watch them. Because of YouTube's close ties to Google's business operations; contributing content could turn out to be a very lucrative endeavour. To bolster their self-assurance and demoralise their opponents, politicians can boost their confidence by uploading videos of their campaign rallies with massive crowds to the video-sharing website YouTube. These videos demonstrate the politicians' acceptance and overwhelming popularity in the political sphere. On

the other hand, there are occasions when the majority of these people in the throng are party regulars or rented people, and some of them leave with only a meagre N2, 000. When it comes to the incumbent, and particularly when it comes to candidates for the governorship post, certain civil servants and associations are compelled to be present at the location to greet them in order to avoid the possibility of being sanctioned. They close off a number of key routes, and at the end of the day, their media aides write on a variety of social media platforms. "This state stands still for JohnDoe merely to express to users of social media the acceptability of their candidate.

v. **Web Pages:** sources of information are no longer the only function served by sources through which political parties can show themselves to the public. They make things like microblogging, opinion polls, the organisation of get-togethers, and the presenting of audio-visual content easier to do. Parties have the ability to construct areas of their websites that are accessible solely to members, to interface their websites with social media sites, and to enable newsfeed subscriptions.

2.1.4.5 Fake News, Hate Speech and Political Communication on Social Media

The public, which until recently was considered to be the recipients of messages, is now also functioning as producers due to the proliferation of social media platforms (such as *Facebook*, *X*, *WhatsApp*, and other similar platforms). This has resulted in the democratisation of communication. The social networking platform is available to anybody who possesses a device, an account to log into, and either internet data or access to the internet. In the course of human history, communication has never before been both better and more entertaining.

Fake news, hate speech, and misinformation are permeating all platforms of social media today.

Concerns have been raised regarding the potential for certain content on social media to influence audiences in a way that makes it difficult for them to differentiate between truth and fact, as well as between news and propaganda⁶³. This is a result of the growing number of people who rely on

social media as a source for news. A piece of fake news may be an old story or picture that has been recirculated and presented as though it were recently published. This is done with the intention of misleading the public and driving them to a state of panic. It is true that the event had place, however the report that it took place recently is not accurate and is therefore bogus. For instance, photographs of the Jos religious crisis that occurred in 2010 were shared online in 2014 and 2015 as if they were contemporary occurrences. This occurred on multiple occasions. There are three distinct varieties of fabricated news, they are stated as follows:

- i. **Disinformation:** This is false information which is deliberately created to cause harm. For example, the news of someone's death to a family member could cause harm, as one could immediately have stroke, high blood pressure or even die on hearing the news⁶⁴.
- ii. **Mal-Information:** This is information based on reality but shared to inflict harm, often by moving it from the private to the public sphere. For example, news of someone's ordeal to a dear one, which is true, but was shared to cause harm, as it could lead to the sudden demise of another⁶⁴.
- iii. **Misinformation:** This is false information not created with the intent of causing harm. For example, a student who comes to tell fellow students that exams would be starting next week, whereas it has not yet been fixed. The intent of this is not to cause harm, but to encourage them to study for their examinations⁶⁴.

Freedom of expression is being eroded as a result of the open nature of the Internet and social media, as well as the lack of comprehensive regulation and limits imposed by authorities in Nigeria and the wider world. Words that encourage hatred and violence against persons on the basis of their membership in a particular social or demographic group are examples of hate speech. Even proponents of the right to free speech recognise that hate speech demands a different

approach, particularly when it is directed at marginalised groups who are unable to defend themselves effectively in the arena of ideas.

Any expression of speech, gesture, behaviour, conduct, writing, or display that has the potential to inspire individuals to violent or discriminatory action is considered hate speech. In essence, these kinds of comments strip people of their dignity and have the potential to provoke environmental disturbance, similar to the threat posed by Boko Haram in the country⁶⁶. The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination defines hate speech as the following: (a) any dissemination of ideas based on racial or ethnic superiority or hatred, regardless of the means used; (b) incitement to hatred, contempt, or discrimination against members of a group on grounds of their race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin; (c) threats or incitement to violence against persons or groups on the above grounds.

Fake news and hate speech are gaining traction in the Nigerian political landscape, particularly in the realms of social media and broadcast media. The terms "fake news" and "hate speech" cannot be used interchangeably because they refer to very different phenomena⁶⁴. However, in the context of Nigeria, both terms are frequently used interchangeably, particularly in circumstances involving disinformation and informative media material. Fake news and hate speech have received expressive support from two crucial causes "that nurture and perpetuate [their] continuing existence, namely politics and ethno-religious conflicts"⁶⁸. Both of these factors have contributed to the continued presence of fake news and hate speech.

Both the 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria have been marked by an increase in the dissemination of false news and in the use of hate speech. It is now much more important to have a comprehensive grasp of the pattern of use, as well as its ramifications and potential countermeasures. Therefore, in line with efforts to understand, focuses on the 2019 elections in

Nigeria by apprehending fake news and hate speeches in the lead up to, during, and after the election in order to provide a road map for countering the malodorous effects on the polity⁶⁹.

This phenomenon has reached new heights; however, a study found that in the lead-up to Nigeria's 2019 elections, as the campaign has heated up, fake news about both President Muhammadu Buhari and his main opponent, former Vice President Atiku Abubakar, started circulating on *Whatsapp*, *Facebook*, and *X*. This study was conducted in advance of the elections. It has been disseminated intentionally by shrewd campaign professionals as well as unintentionally by thousands of voters who are unaware that they are being targeted, and 70 at moment, every move that they made was being misconstrued purposefully by willing political media on the social media, in order to confuse the people and maybe earn cheap political points by de-marketing oppositions before of the election. This misleading information pertains to a wide variety of subjects and can take a number of distinct forms. On the more subtle end of the spectrum, there are examples such as Buhari's aide stating that Atiku only avoided arrest on his US visit because of diplomatic immunity; or an opposition official posting news that "800 companies shut down" despite the fact that the story predated Buhari's term in office. Both of these examples are examples of subtle political manoeuvring. On the most outlandish end of the scale, there are reports that President Buhari has been replaced by a clone from Sudan or that Kim Jong UN wants to re-colonize Nigeria⁷⁰. Both of these claims have been debunked.

2.1.5 Political Education

The concept of political education, which is one of the most time-honoured debates in the history of political thought, is making a comeback in the realm of modern-day Political Science. Scholars of today are more likely to agree that well designed institutions are not enough, and that a well ordered polity requires citizens with the appropriate knowledge, skills, and traits of character⁷¹.

This is a shift from previous generations of academics, who were less likely to reach this conclusion. Ever since Plato and Aristotle first brought up the topic of political and civic education, it has been abundantly obvious that the type of regime affects the political education that is provided. Citizens with the specific knowledge, skills, and character traits necessary for democratic politics are not as likely to be found in countries where political systems are not democratic. An examination of the low information rationality theory revealed that citizens with low levels of information are unable to follow the public discussion of issues and are less likely to participate in the political process⁷¹. This was proved by the fact that the idea was tested.

Before the elections in 2015, a political party that is now considered to be an opposition, the Progressive Action Congress (PAC), issued a call to politicians and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), urging them to give priority attention to voter education in order to improve Nigeria's electoral process. In an interview that took place in Abuja, the National Chairman of the Party, Charles Nwodo, stated that a lack of respect for the significance of voter education was to blame for the violence that occurred during previous elections, as well as a significant number of invalid votes. According to him, "It is unfortunate that Nigeria operates a fire brigade approach in some of its undertakings, especially as regards voter education," He blamed INEC for not beginning to engage in voter education exercises until the elections were about to start.

Scholars have arrived at a variety of conclusions regarding the meaning of the term "political education," despite the fact that it has been studied extensively. In classic studies of socialisation, the word political education was frequently used interchangeably with the phrase political literacy to refer to the purpose of political education. In a manner not dissimilar to this. A person's capacity to effectively fulfil their responsibilities as citizens is directly correlated to his or her

level of political literacy, which can also be referred to as political education. It is possible to describe it as the fundamental ideas and facts that provide an essential condition for understanding the subject matter of the public discourse. Political literacy to be political expertise, but a research referred to it as political awareness. Political awareness refers to the degree to which an individual pays attention to politics and comprehends what he or she has experienced in this realm. In addition to this, Carol and Celia have conceived of political education as the opportunity to participate in political activities in an informed manner. They argue that education for democracy is education that is based on the study of politics with the purpose of encouraging civic participation, as well as the development of virtues, and political knowledge through the provision of opportunities for service learning or active learning in the community. Political education employs the concept of education for democracy, which they define as education that is based on the study of politics for the purpose of encouraging civic participation.

However, INEC should not be the only body responsible for educating potential voters; political parties, civil societies, the media, religious and traditional organisations, and the National Orientation Agency should all work together with the electoral body to accomplish this goal. The government ought to be willing to provide funding to organisations like these as part of the voter education campaign. If this is done, the process of filing complaints when an individual's name is left out of a voter's list, the dangers of violence and rigging, the means by which voters can protect their votes and the means by which votes can be counted will be generally understood and mistake will be avoided. In order to make the process more effective, it is imperative that all information pertaining to the elections be made public in advance.

The organisations that provide education to adults are in a privileged position to foster the civic and political awareness as well as the skills that are necessary for participation and involvement

in democratic societies. It's possible that attending a public forum or study group is the method of adult political education that's most widely used and well-liked. Deliberation on political problems also has the ability to influence the political discussion network as well as the behaviour of citizens in their political conversation. In order for democratic individuals to fully participate in public life, it is necessary for them to have a grasp of significant policy problems. For example, the first step in addressing the needs for democratic development in a polity is for the polity to educate itself and the public about democratic principles and to create an environment in which more people are contributing to development by registering to vote and voting to prepare the ground for greater citizen's voice in decision making, increased pursuit of equity and equality. This project, aimed at increasing capacity, should have community-based organisations (CBOs) organised by both men and women as its primary goals. The younger generation is taken into account and ought to be given a significant part to play in reversing the effects of voter apathy and disinterest in the political process. By forming a partnership between the state and civil society, both of which are tasked with the responsibility of information dissemination, voter education, and mobilisation of the public for the elections in 2015, can be accomplished.

The terms "political education" and "political literacy" are consequently interchangeable for the purpose of this study of work. It is the process of passing on and acquiring political knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are necessary for participation in the political process in an informed manner. In the context of this discussion, a politically educated citizen is someone who has obtained the fundamental political knowledge and awareness that enhances the citizen's participation in traditional political activities such as registering to vote, voting in elections, running for political office, joining a political party, and discussing political issues. To put it

another way, the fundamental problems of democracy and sound administration ought to be the primary focus of political education.

For the purpose of assisting voters in better appreciating the connection between the elections and the social development challenges facing the polity, these ideas are situated within the context of sustainable democracy and development. An investigation of the developmental impacts of poor voter registration, low turnout at elections, and rigging can be accomplished by utilising a combination of short lectures, brainstorming, and group work, for instance. This allows for the major concepts to be explained and implemented in the process. In political education, topics such as the requirements for free and fair elections, the functions of elections, and the necessity of having elections are all given the appropriate amount of attention. The Constitutional and Legal Frameworks for Elections, as well as the opportunity to understand the Constitution and Laws Protecting the People's Mandate, the roles of the different layers of Government, the structure and functions of INEC, the Judicial System, the Political Parties, Law Enforcement and Security Agencies, Civil Society Organisations, Faith-Based Organisations, the Media, Communities, and Individual Citizens, are all equally vital to the understanding of Political Education⁷¹.

2.1.6 Media Literacy

Media literacy has survived through the years largely as a grass-roots movement which, slowly but surely, has developed around the world¹⁰⁵. While it has often been present on the “margins” of school curriculum, thanks to the steadfast support of global organisations such as UNESCO, media literacy continues to gain recognition and legitimacy worldwide. Yet because media literacy is rarely institutionalised in education systems and not taught consistently, there is often little understanding of the foundation and basic concepts of media literacy and how these concepts evolved. The concept "media literacy" is not new, nor does the notion of "new media" affect the

essence of what media literacy is, since all media, new and traditional, benefit from a critical approach to analysis and production. What is timeless and unique about media literacy? It is a discipline that provides a distinct framework for critically examining and producing media. The concept of media literacy has been associated with quality of life, citizenship rights, social integration, and social acceptance. Besides, media literacy is expressed as obtaining information from the media (television, radio, newspaper) and critically evaluating the received data¹⁰⁶.

Literacy is not just about learning the alphabet; in other words, it is a skill that cannot be expressed as writing or reading the meaning of any concept. In this context, the jobs in which almost all occupational groups are occupied can be called literacy. These occupations give clues about the limits of the concept of literacy. Since today, transferring or receiving any information using technology and media are literacy activities, more than one literacy field is in the coordination here. As can be seen, media literacy, information literacy, and technology literacy are concepts that both support each other and cannot be separated from each other¹⁰⁶. As it is known, some symbols are seen on the screen for a short time at the beginning of the programmes broadcast on National TV channels and during the advertisement breaks. These symbols, called “smart signs,” were designed by the Radio and Television Supreme Council to give information about the related television programme’s content and the age limit¹⁰⁷.

2.6.1 Media Literacy and Its Relationship with Other Literacy Areas

Especially in the definitions made in the 2000s, it is noteworthy that information literacy is associated with all of life and other literacy areas, and its benefits are highlighted¹⁰⁸. A good example is the definition made in the final declaration of the international information literacy meeting held in Alexandria in 2005. Information literacy is the ability to search, evaluate, use and create information in all areas of life to enable individuals to achieve their personal, social,

professional and educational goals. It is stated that this literacy is a necessary condition for participatory citizenship, social acceptance, new knowledge production, personal and corporate development, and lifelong learning¹⁰⁶. Also, information literacy is a combination of library literacy, computer literacy, media literacy, technology literacy, ethics, critical thinking, and communication skills¹⁰⁶.

2.6.2 Information Literacy

Information literacy is a type of literacy that covers almost all literacy fields, including media literacy, which is the central theme of this research. The information literacy concept was first introduced in the USA in 1974 by Paul G. Zurkowski, the Information Industry Association¹⁰⁶. The first definition made by Zurkowski, the father of the concept, focuses on the information literate individual.

Information literacy is an essential skill for the 21st century. It is known for its features such as lifelong learning, processing existing information, following daily developments, contributing to personal and professional development, adapting to time, generating new knowledge, facilitating job finding, and adapting to the information society¹⁰⁷.

2.6.3 Technology Literacy

Technology education's ties with science and engineering fields have gradually strengthened, and technology literacy has become an essential part of the school curriculum named "STEM:(Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics). Following the STEM-related technology literacy requirement's approval, technology literacy has become a rich publication, mostly formulated by engineers and national scientists. This focus has also struggled with understanding technology that has become widespread as an "applied science" in the STEM field¹⁰⁹. Leaders in educational field have refocused on industrial arts and started lobbying to keep them current and

valid, technology and engineering should provide a rigorous education with hands-on, design- based roots and apply STEM skills, and positions it as a valuable stakeholder among core areas¹¹⁰.

2.6.4 Computer Literacy

Computer literacy are individuals who can actively use computers, other hardware and computer applications that replace computers. Using computer applications is to know the use of simple applications such as operating systems, word processors, spreadsheets, and data presentations¹⁰⁶. Also, computer literacy and information literacy are often confused about their similarities, and it is found that information literacy is used in the same sense. However, computer literacy, as stated above, is an essential skill based solely on computer use. Information literacy is a broad concept that also includes computer literacy. Today, it is challenging to be information literate without being computer literate. Computer technologies are indispensable in sharing skills such as storing information, accessing information, and using and transmitting the information.

2.6.5 Visual Literacy

Visual literacy is to understand visual elements such as photographs, figures, maps, and graphics and apply skills related to them. It also includes the individual's mastery of self-expression, learning, and using visual information types. Visual literacy is a necessary condition not only for media literacy but also for Internet literacy. For example, since the Internet contains many visual elements and has a graphical interface, it requires some basic skills¹⁰⁶. Network literacy is often used synonymously with "Internet" and "Web" literacy. They are the skills required to access and use any information in a networked environment. A network literate person is aware of various network services and resources. It can access information on the web using multiple access resources and tools. They can easily benefit from network services that facilitate daily life and

increase life quality¹⁰⁶. As the relationship between some other literacy, network literacy is also part of information literacy, as access and use of information in the network environment require network literacy skills. A similar situation is observed between network literacy and computer literacy. Computer literacy is a prerequisite for network literacy. When studies on environmental sensitivity, environmental pollution, or ecological problems and studies on water pollution, watersensitivity, or water problems are examined, it is seen that data collection tools differ from each other. Although there are laws and regulations to raise awareness of air, water, and environmental pollution, the subject also has an education dimension¹¹¹. In this context, it is also necessary to gain educational behaviour. Today, there are many applications within the scope of skills training in the field of educational sciences. In particular, environmental literacy, environmental problems, ecological awareness, and environmental education are the most conspicuous types of these¹¹².

In recent years, environmental literacy skills that individuals should have are generally expressed as accessing sources of information about the environment, analysing environmental problems from various angles, understanding the role of different human behaviours in ecological issues, and critical thinking. There are studies in the literature on diverse themes on environmental pollution. Among these, there are also studies whose theme is “water literacy”¹¹³. There are also studies on “environmental literacy” such as water policy, water pollution in the ecosystem, river pollution, conscious water consumption behaviour, environmental education, and water pollution, ecological sustainability, environmental problems, and perceptions of water pollution¹⁰⁶.

2.6.6 Library Literacy

Library literacy is defined as the ability to use the library effectively and experience. It refers to using different methods when searching for any information in the library, quickly access the data

it is looking for, and appropriately using the information resources. In this context, it is a part of information literacy and a good duo with media literacy¹⁰⁶.

2.6.7 New Media Literacy

Areas Along with the new meanings attached to the concept of literacy, new perspectives on the text's boundaries and scope, such as the way the text is read, have emerged. Another point to be emphasized is the mobility in terms of the development of new literacy. The digital tools that are given as new examples today will only be given as new examples for today. It is quite remarkable. Developments in the modern world have brought rapid changes, new areas of expertise, and new literacies. Literacy types in the different disciplinary compilation are as follows: "Network Literacy, Moral Literacy, American Literacy, Constitutional Literacy, Computer Literacy, Scientific Literacy, Geographic Literacy, Environmental Literacy, Digital Literacy / Digital Literacy, World Literacy, E-Literacy, Economic Literacy, Critical Literacy, Information Technology Literacy, Ancient Literacy, Newspaper Literacy, Visual Literacy, Graphic Literacy, Internet Literacy, Cultural Literacy, Mathematical Literacy, Media Literacy, Library Political Literacy, Cinema Literacy, Agricultural Literacy, Historical Literacy, Technology Literacy, Television Literacy, Consumer Literacy, Legal Literacy, Investment Literacy, Civic Literacy, Web Literacy"¹⁰⁶.

The universe serves as a metaphor for the human mind, with its ever-expanding and still incomprehensible aspects. Literacy has a powerful effect on the meaning-making and learning that occurs in the universe of our minds. Thanks to literacy, we begin to see and understand the images and ideas encountered in all text types. Literacy is crucial in learning in terms of content. All teachers have an essential role in their students' literate lives. It is necessary to know what this role entails for effective teaching in content areas. In doing this, a few key concepts related to literacy,

education, and learning should be clarified. These are teacher activity, standards-based planning, differentiated teaching, new literacy, adolescent literacy, content literacy, disciplinary literacy. These literacies, reading, and learning strategies are essential to support students with high needs¹¹⁴.

2.6.8 Sub-Literacy Related to Media Literacy

When looking at literacy, definitions, and applications related to media literacy, two different approaches stand out in general. The first of these is literacy types with the word media in their name, for example, Social Media Literacy, Commercial Media Literacy, Critical Media Literacy, etc. The second group is media literacy in terms of implementation, for example, Advertising Literacy, Newspaper Literacy, Cinema Literacy, Internet Literacy, etc.

2.6.9 Social Media Literacy

Under media literacy, various literacy concepts such as digital literacy and ICT literacy can be addressed. Social media is an Internet-based application, but these literacy concepts are not limited to social media applications. Although the literacy situation regarding new media tools is described as “new media literacy” in some sources, it does not fully cover the situations related to social media use. On the other hand, while media literacy focuses on analysing and evaluating information (online/offline), social media literacy focuses on the production, sharing, collaborative creation, and on-demand processing of information online. Social media literacy can be defined as effectively managing digital identity in social networks, consciously producing content, analysing and making sense of content/messages shared on social networks¹⁰⁷. In media literacy education, discussion groups, forums, and mailing lists of various organisations primarily serve teachers to learn from each other theoretically and practically. These places provide many benefits for

students, such as information exchange and cooperation according to their interests. YouTube has been the most well-known site for video sharing. Founded in 2005, YouTube has a robust infrastructure when Google purchased it in 2006¹⁰⁶.

2.6.10 Advertising Literacy

Advertising literacy is a new literacy field that most closely resembles media literacy and is known as a subgenre. It takes its inspiration from media literacy and has a wide range of media content. There is not much research on advertising literacy in the literature. When a few existing studies are examined in terms of quality, they have some shortcomings because they cannot notice the digitalized media every day.

2.6.11 Media Literacy Training

In recent years, media literacy education has been given as an elective course in all schools' curriculum in primary, secondary, and higher education. It cannot be said that the teachers are adequate in these lessons. There are two reasons for this. The first reason; since media literacy is a new program, teachers' competencies or readiness are not complete. The second reason is that many schools do not have the equipment required for this course or are not sufficient. RTÜK, in some years, has trained nearly one hundred teachers in media literacy from all cities in Turkey. It is aimed for these teachers to share their media literacy training with the teachers in their cities or to convey this training to them¹⁰⁷. As a result of the researches conducted by RTÜK, it was revealed that the media literacy course could not be carried out efficiently, and the renewal of the curriculum and textbook was started in 2013. Later, the curriculum was renewed. On 11.12.2013, it was accepted by the "Board of Education and Discipline" under the name of "Middle School and Imam-Hatip Secondary School Media Literacy Course Curriculum". As a result of this, "It

was decided not to use textbooks for the curriculum to be implemented as of the 2014-2015 academic year, but to use teaching material instead.” Efforts are underway to prepare instructional materials and for teacher education to operate in the online environment. Thanks to media literacy training, people (adults, teachers, and students) can access reliable information. Children can be made aware of media content appropriate to their needs. People can be protected against Internet addiction, health threats, violent media content, and pornographic content they encounter in any media. It can be ensured that people realize that they can question or criticise the media content of the movies, advertisements, and Internet sites they watch.

It can be ensured that children who start using social media know their rights and responsibilities and how to act in the face of cyber-attacks. At the same time, they can be made to think about their safety and the people around them while producing media products. Within the framework of moral ethics, they can ensure that they observe universal and local values and take an active role in controlling media content¹⁰⁷. Although teaching activities have been conducted with distance education using teaching technologies, including media literacy, for a long time, it has been observed that the success achieved is not as effective as informal education. The biggest reason for this is that many students and teachers started to use distance education applications after the COVID-19 pandemic¹¹⁰. Although educational institutions’ internet infrastructure is sufficient, people who connect to the Internet from their homes are not satisfied with the internet services they receive. However, technological facilities are used more in distance education¹⁰⁶. Besides, it is known that media literacy, one of the innovative teaching technologies that play a leading role in distance education, contributes to increased success when supporting formal education. It is already known that technology contributes to many direct and indirect contributions to the education system¹¹¹. Such that, using applications and platforms for online learning, instant access

to technological developments, utilizing virtual laboratories, creating simulation environments, and accessing scientific knowledge are just a few of them. Considering that discipline-based education leads to the emergence of memorised thoughts, interdisciplinary solidarity becomes necessary. Accordingly, it is thought that the principles of visual literacy, information literacy, electronic literacy, internet literacy, and multi-layered literacy should be used functionally in media literacy teaching. Media literacy courses, which are taught in the light of the mentioned literacy principles, are expected to have a more comprehensive perspective. According to the results obtained from research on “Thematic Analysis of Studies in the Field of Media Literacy Education”. As a result of the content analysis, it was revealed that the examined studies focused on the media literacy course and media literacy level themes, and the survey model and quantitative data analysis methods were used predominantly in the reviews. Including media literacy education in education faculties, making media literacy courses compulsory at secondary school, and teachers receiving in-service training are the prominent suggestions in the studies. In addition, these new types of literacy, which emerged due to developing technology and living conditions, have become a part of social life. Considering that education aims to transfer the knowledge taught at school to life, it is possible to conclude that the literacy types mentioned here should be used effectively in other lessons. Other branch teachers should also know the mentioned literacy. From this point of view, we think that in training other branch teachers, especially during undergraduate education, courses on other literacy areas should be given and the media literacy course

2.1.7 Mass Media and Political Education

Individuals are able to acquire their unique political orientations together with their knowledge, feelings, and assessments of their political reality by participating in modern liberal democracy, which is one of the most attractive aspects of this form of government. The mass media are

essential actors in the society because of their functions as agents of political socialisation. They have this quality in common with other establishments such as the family home, the educational system, the political system, and the working environment.

The media are not simply technologies that organisations, parties, or individuals can choose to use or not use as they see fit because "a significant share of the influence media exert arises from the fact that they have become an integral part of other institutions' operations, while they also achieved a degree of self-determination and authority that forces other institutions, to greater or lesser degrees, to submit to their logic"⁶⁵. It would appear that the pervasiveness of the media has forced many social institutions, including cultural practices, to change or adjust their nature, function, and structure.

The effect of being exposed to the media has, in general, a politicising influence, which may be measured in terms of both attitudes and behaviours with regard to political participation. Those who are more exposed to the media are more likely to be "interested in politics, vote, discuss politics, belong to organisations, have more opinions and more political information, have a firm party preference, adopt their party's views on current issues, as well as have strong candidate preferences"⁶⁶.

There are three fundamental premises that underpin the psychocultural approach to the study of political socialisation. These include the following beliefs:

- (1) that the significant socialisation experiences that will affect later political behaviour take place quite early in life;
- (2) that such experiences are not manifestly political experiences, but they have latent political consequences; and

(3) that the socialisation process is a unidirectional one: the more "basic" family experiences have a significant impact upon the secondary structures of politics, but are not in turn affected by them. The distance between early experiences of socialisation and politics is considered as being too wide and complex to be condensed down to such straightforward analysis, hence these assumptions have been criticised for making that assumption. It is important to highlight, however, that the psychocultural approach to political socialisation established the fact that pre-adult experiences are, in fact, a significant source of political attitudes. This finding is notable. However, a study confirms that even though early socialisation experiences significantly affect an individual's basic personality predispositions and may therefore affect an individual's political behaviour, numerous other factors intervene between these earliest experiences and later political behaviour. This is the case, even though early socialisation experiences significantly affect an individual's basic personality predispositions. The authors identified some nonpolitical sources of the belief that one has a voice in governmental affairs⁶⁷. They did not deny the importance of the political system itself as a source of an individual's political attitude; however, they did identify some nonpolitical sources of the belief that one has a voice in governmental affairs.

According to the findings of a research project that spanned five countries, the United States, Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico authority figures and the role that an individual plays within the family, the school, or the job may be considered training for the performance of political roles because it is likely that the individual will generalise from the former roles to the latter roles.

2.1.7.1 Political Socialisation, Culture, Ideology and Orientation

Political socialisation, culture, ideology, orientation and enlightenment also determine political participation⁶³. The term "political socialisation" refers to the influences and experiences that persons have that allow them to describe their political orientation as either liberal or conservative.

This is something that each and every state and political system absolutely must have. In general, Nigerians lack a sound political socialisation and culture, and the reasons for this absence include key aspects such as ethnic variations, historical development, socio-economic systems, traditions, motives, emotions, symbols, and norms of a people⁶⁴.

On the other side, political culture is the tie that binds politics and society together. It is the channel through which these two domains communicate with one another and form ties with one another. This culture is impacted by a sense of national identity. To that end, broadly speaking, political culture can be classified into four levels which are as follows: mature, low, minimal, and undeveloped. It should be noted that a country can only have a mature political culture if it possesses an approved process of power transformation, public recognition of sovereign authority, and citizens who are politically conscious. In fact, these are extremely low and are only sporadically recorded in Nigeria. This is largely due to the absence of a political culture that is both all-encompassing and focused on the nation as a whole. As a consequence of this, there is dissatisfaction with political expectations, which frequently leads to negative political attitudes that, in turn, have a detrimental impact on the political culture and the functioning of the system in Nigeria. In addition, the term "political orientation" refers to "those collective sentiments that govern the public's general outlook towards politics as a field of practice, as an abstract science, and as a general guideline for the attainment of community or national power"⁶⁵. This definition was provided by the American Political Science Association.

Therefore, the lack of or absence of a clear or vague political ideology and orientation, as well as the denial of internal democracy within Nigerian political parties and the system, are all factors that influence the negative trend, which in turn results in low participation and apathy in Nigerian politics. This is due to the incoherent nature of Nigerian political parties, which are characterised

by vague constitutions, copy and paste manifestos, incredible candidates, weak party machineries, and a near or complete absence of internal and external democratic principles within and among the parties⁶⁸. This is directly connected to the incoherent nature of Nigerian political parties. There is a significant connection between national identity, which is defined as "the way in which we view our national-self-worth and is the measure of pride in one's nationality," and political and regime orientations, as both are frequently inseparable and reinforce one another⁶⁹. In addition, political and regime orientations are greatly determined and affected by the citizens' feelings and the extent of their national identity.

2.1.8 Manipulated 'Old' Media

- i. It is a well-known fact that politicians play a prominent role in the environment of traditional media, specifically in that they lead articles in political and sometimes tabloid news.
- ii. They are engaged in a never-ending battle with other newsmakers for the highest possible placement in news feeds.
- iii. Additionally, they are embroiled in a long-running fight with other politicians in order to make their viewpoint the predominate one in news feeds.
- iv. Political figures are persistent in their efforts to establish their own agendas.

The first three components are designed to assist politicians in constructing the news for the audience, while the fourth component is intended to assist in gaining a better perception of the information. In this view, the media are not merely the channel; the grammar, syntax, and stylistic considerations that are necessary for media competency may be found in the formats that they use. In the meantime, the system of media has its own impact on various political actors. When compared to the state of politics nearly fifty years ago, the current state is both more spectacular and more personalised. The primary organisational principle behind the news about the political

scene is something that has been variously referred to as "horse-race politics" or "video-clip politics." The arguments are condensed and shortened, the visual components are brought to the foreground, and sound bites are a key component since they are what the public uses to judge what is going to happen politically. As a result, it would appear that political actors have "cracked the code" of the media. Politicians are able to position their news and opinions on the most influential section of the media industry by utilising this knowledge of media logic, which allows them to do so. Because of this tendency, political actors have the appearance of being "media jugglers" who have the ability to control journalists and editors and even give the impression that they are "tricking" the news media anytime they want to.

Although the methods of communicating political information on old and new media are relatively the same, the reasoning that motivates politicians to use new media is rather distinct. When contrasting traditional and contemporary forms of media, it is possible to differentiate between two separate cultural expressions: the narrative and the database⁶⁹. The events are related to one another in order. A clear context and audience are required for it to work properly. In order for the politician to successfully persuade or manipulate its supporters, he or she must first do their research, after which they must characterise the situation and the audience as precisely as possible. The database in the new media is organised in a hierarchical structure; therefore, politicians need to adopt an approach that is completely different from that of the old media. The information in the database is structured and presented in accordance with a value structure and algorithm that have been predetermined⁶⁵. These characteristics produce a landscape that is distinct from what it was in older media, and the representatives need to determine who they are in this new setting.

2.1.7.1 New Media Landscape

The appearance of a landscape that was once familiar has been transformed as a result of new media. The connection between the many participants in political communication is impacted by the emergence of new communication technologies. In the past, there was a hierarchy between the various actors, which allowed for the political system, media system, and citizens/voters order to be set up. However, the political system of today is opening towards the citizens, and the new networking of civilians has brought the two actors to almost the same level as that of the media. In the past, there was a hierarchy between the various actors.

The idea that political communication can be linked to the development of mass democracy and mass communication serves as the premise upon which this section is built. In this part of the discussion, the researcher will go on to assert that the proliferation of new communication technologies contributes to the democratisation of the process of political communication⁷¹. These shifts have occurred despite the fact that there has been no fundamental shift in the defining characteristics of societies that compelled the political system to relinquish its initial role. It is not necessary to change the socio-political arrangements in order for there to be a shift in political communication; all that is required is for citizens to have the expectation that their government officials will be present on the internet. This applies only to ideal conditions, in which we assume high and predictable economic and cultural development. At the same time, it is imperative that we should not overlook the fact that advancements in technology have made it possible for politicians to take advantage of the rapid and adaptable replenishment of news 24 hours a day. The transmission of political information has also been subject to a number of shifts as a result of the development of various information and communication technologies. "Information and communication technologies make vast quantities of data accessible to the general public. This

potential shift in quantity may bring about a corresponding shift in quality"⁶⁹. This indicates that large data sets need to be in the hands of parties or politicians in order for them to know how to communicate with their constituents.

In this environment, citizens play a more significant role in the communication of political ideas due to the development of new communication tools. Civilian networks are now able, with the assistance of information networks, to send immediate responses not just to politicians but also to business entities, offices, celebrities, and other such individuals and groups. This is also true in the opposite direction, which means that anybody and anything, including the political system, the economy, and culture, may be a part of a network and establish interactions with other networks. In the case of users of modern information and communication technologies, we might speak of inactive-active networks⁶⁷.

Individuals are able to readily participate in the development of politics with the assistance of information networks, which allows them to participate with the same level of activity as the media. The manner in which users interact with the networks will ultimately define the group to which they are assigned. Active participants (or networks) are internet citizens, also known as "netizens," who are familiar with the working methods of the social networks within their fields of interest, and in some cases, they are also able to manipulate them. Active participants (or networks) are also known as "netizens." [Citizens of the internet] are also known as "netizens." On the other side, inactive participants (or networks) have a greater familiarity with the offline world, which enables them to exert a greater amount of influence there. Social networks, in the case of individuals who do not actively participate in them, are extensions of their offline life. As a result, the new technology is utilised by them largely in the capacity of a tool that assists them in achieving their external aims. Active participants, in addition to using the networks themselves as tools, also

have goals within the networks themselves. We have only lately begun to educate ourselves on the various forms of activity that might occur online; yet, it appears that the norms of political communication are shifting. The new political communication and the age of new communication technologies both place a larger emphasis on civilians as the target audience for their messages. In today's political communication, the role of civilians means political activity. This activity can take the form of online or offline political participation, demonstrations, or in the worst case scenario, riots (see connection between social media and the Arab Spring or the most recent events in Egypt). The fact that these sorts of communications are so adaptable makes them valuable since it helps individuals get closer to their desired 'goal.'

2.1.8 Uses and Prognosis of Deployment of Social Media in Political Mobilisation in Nigeria

It is possible to gain a better understanding of the role that social media can play in political mobilisation by looking at it through one of these four lenses: the political umpire, such as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC); the political actors, such as politicians and political parties; the political objects, such as the electorates; and the political observers and commentators, such as civil society organisations, activists, international observers, and the mass media. The above major stakeholders may have already deployed the social media for effective political mobilisation, and they may also be able to do so with relative ease. There are several examples of such cases in both history and research. During the 2011 general elections in Nigeria, for example, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) used social media primarily to share information on the elections and receive feedbacks from the public on the performance of election officials; politicians and political parties used social media primarily to reach out to voters and canvass for support; voters used social media to report their experiences and receive information related to elections; and civil society organisations (CSOs) used social media to

communicate with voters. Report has similarly shown that political parties, independent political advocacy and interest groups, and political bloggers have recently exploited social media platforms including *Facebook*, *X*, and political blogs as platforms for mediating engagement with citizens. In a similar vein, citizens have utilised social media to canvass support for a candidate, discuss party manifestos and candidates' integrity and capacity, encourage peers and friends to come out to vote on election day, and monitor vote casting, result collation, and eventually the announcement of election results.

The participatory aspect of social media is an advantage that political mobilisation agents have continued to make use of in order to achieve successful results. It is important to keep in mind that the interactive character of social media platforms invites contributions and input from anybody who might be interested, thus obscuring the distinction between media and audience. Therefore, the communication platforms provided by social media enable citizens to interact with their political leaders on a local, community, state, and federal level. Through communicating, collaborating, and openly sharing information, citizens are able to raise their level of political consciousness, mobilisation, and political participation. As a result, social media make it possible for all of the stakeholders involved in the diffusion process of an innovation to become active participants in political discourse and narratives and possibly jointly influence their political destinies. This is because social media make it possible for all of the stakeholders to participate at every stage of the process. The power to facilitate people's participation with institutions is another capability that social media platforms possess⁷².

There are a variety of explanations for why people in Nigeria are turning more frequently to social media for the purpose of political mobilisation. Access to the internet is rapidly expanding around the world, and there is an increased availability of internet-ready smart phones and other

communication devices. Additionally, the evolution of web-based new media, such as personal websites, social networking sites, blogs, and e-newsletters, have redefined methods of political communication, which has led to a significant shift toward the use of social media in every political process based on individual gratifications. In the past, network television, the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), and national newspapers such as The Sun, The Punch, and The Daily Trust were the primary sources of information regarding politics. However, in today's world, social media have become major platforms for the dissemination of political information and information sharing, and they are doing so on a global scale. Social media are revolutionising the effectiveness of political administration, coverage, and reporting. This trend does not appear to be slowing down any time soon. The ease of use, speed, and reach of social media make it possible.

In addition, many politicians in Nigeria, including those in the government as well as those in the opposition, have a tendency to continue to take advantage of the seemingly endless opportunities presented by social media for online campaigning of any kind. They do this in order to mobilise the citizenry in support of or opposition to particular political campaigns, depending on the circumstances. For example, the government of President Muhammadu Buhari has made extensive use of social media to mobilise the population in support of his programmes such as the fight against corruption, the made-in-Nigeria products-campaign, and the fight against insecurity occasioned by the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group and herders attack. On the other hand, opposition parties and politicians have capitalised on the pitfalls of the administration in pushing for her set goals to mobilise the population in opposition to the administration's shortcomings. The usage of social media has not only led to an increase in the number of politically aware Nigerians, but it has also led to an increase in the number of Nigerians who are active participants and determinants in the majority of political discussions and actions.

In conclusion, the utilisation of social media for the purpose of political mobilisation is encouraged, particularly in light of the trend observed among Nigerian electorates and civil society to adopt the media as a weapon for the purpose of enhancing the effectiveness of political government. At other times, citizens organise themselves in response to what they believe to be political wrongdoing. For example, while President Buhari was on a medical vacation in London for a number of months in 2017, citizens such as Charles Oputa, also known as Charly Boy, led a campaign to mobilise the youths against the President's continuous stay abroad without resigning despite the fact that it was widely believed that he was unable to fulfil his duties as president. This was carried out as part of the campaign known as Our Mumu Don Do.

In other instances, civil society organisations such as the Bring Back Our Girls group, which was led by the former Finance Minister, Obiageli Ezekwesili, effectively utilised social media in order to mobilise the Nigerian populace as well as the rest of the world in order to put pressure on the government of Nigeria to intensify its efforts toward the release of the Chibok girls who were kidnapped and held hostage by Boko Haram. Omoyele Sowore, a former presidential candidate, used the Revolution Now campaign to mobilise people, create awareness, and agitate for improved government and equal distribution of resources⁷². He achieved this through leveraging social media platforms.

Equally, the protest using the hashtag "#ENDSARS," which has been fiercely disseminated and pursued on X and other social media platforms, lends voice to the evolving state of political consciousness in Nigeria. The plan was to organise the populace into a movement that would take action against what they referred to as police brutality and poor governance. It appeared that the plan was successful because individuals, particularly younger people, were effectively reached, and the attention of the world community and the media was drawn correspondingly. The

phenomena draw attention to the fact that the followers are actively taking on the task of political mobilisation and watchdog. Another recent illustration of this may be seen in the Nigerians' utilisation of social media to organise the populace and propel the movement against the RUGA regulations. Because of the uproar that was stoked by the various social media platforms, this was ultimately be scrapped.

As a result of the changes that Nigeria has experienced in the political landscape as a result of these of social media, a number of academics have speculated that the future would be filled with a complete civic takeover of politicking by the people who live in the country. It is projected that social citizens will further utilise social media for the sake of development in Nigeria, which is now ranked as the third most active African country on X among other social media platforms. Despite the fact that problems with accessibility and instances of abuse and misuse have been reported, people continue to emphasise that effective political mobilisation of any sort is attainable through social media⁷³. To this end, a study proposes that rather than disengaging, young people are compensating for their political mobilisation through action-oriented engagements and using the highly democratised space of social media to communicate, discuss, mobilise, and coordinate social actions aimed at holding power accountable⁷³. In other words, rather than disengaging, young people are engaging in action-oriented engagements.

2.1.9 Mass Mobilisation

The requirement to organise individuals into groups in order to guarantee their commitment and participation in development programmes is what gave rise to the concept of mass mobilisation. According to research that is currently available, the objective of mass mobilisation is to assist change by providing a sequence of activities that are organised within a broad strategic framework. People's active involvement in the process as it progresses from identifying a need to

implementation, as well as achieving the development objective and evaluation effort, is the result of the process, which involves dialogue and partnership with a wide spectrum of societal elements. The process has an outcome that is people's active involvement in the process. Involving the people in taking part actively and freely in discussions and decisions affecting their general welfare is one component of mass mobilisation. Another component of mass mobilisation is a process that engages and motivates a wide range of partners and allies at national and local levels to raise awareness of and demand for a particular form of development. For example, the successful transformation of development goals into societal action results from the motivation and organisation of various groups.

In all of these initiatives, the mass mobilisation process guarantees that members of institutions, community networks, civic and religious groups, and other groups work together in a coordinated manner to reach particular groups of people for discourse with predetermined messages. In other words, the goal of social mobilisation is to assist change through the participation of a variety of actors in a variety of initiatives that are interrelated and complementary.

In fact, the purpose of mass mobilisation is to raise people's levels of awareness or cognition of various political and other concerns so that they can positively apply their energy and actively engage in the social and political life of the nation. *Facebook*, text messages, and *X* are the three primary forms of social media that are being utilised in today's political climate to facilitate the majority of the mass mobilisation that is taking place. In point of fact, it appears as though the traditional media, which were primarily responsible for calling people into action for meetings and other social activities, have been overtaken by the social media, specifically block text messages, *Facebook*, and emails⁷³.

This is the case because the traditional media were primarily responsible for calling people into action.

Based on the reasons provided above, the term "mass mobilisation" could be defined as simply a method of encouraging people to take action and join in discussions around social concerns. The key to successful mobilisation is to find ways to inspire and motivate individuals to leave the convenience of their homes and participate in development activities. The proliferation of the internet has made possible an additional strategy that can be used to organise members of the public. The use of social media makes it possible for organisers such as professionals, civil society, and government, who are considered the major agents of social mobilisation, to involve others with similar mindsets in a specific desirable activity at a very low cost, and to take action. Joining a Facebook group or following a X feed at home is an alternative for folks who are not dedicated to the cause and do not wish to attend meetings, workshops, or rallies.

2.1.9.1 The Mass Media and Political Mobilisation

According to the findings of a report compiled by the Political Bureau, throughout the course of human history, there have been several instances in which significant efforts have been made to coordinate the participation of a large number of individuals in order to accomplish particular goals. In addition, the report conceived political mobilisation as a growth in the level of awareness, of a people, to certain set goals with the intention of achieving those goals⁷⁴. Political mobilisation has been conceptualised to mean the simultaneous engagement of large masses of people in activities that have a predominantly social or collective objective. In the same vein, political mobilisation is opined as a change in the attitudes, values, and expectations of people from those associated with the traditional world. It is a consequence of literacy, education, increased communication, mass media exposure, and urbanisation. As a result of what has been discussed thus far, political mobilisation entails the sensitisation of the populace, as well as an increase and improvements in their political consciousness, in order for them to bring about change in a political

process. It is the capacity to emotionally organise individuals, which ultimately results in the development of organic solidarity toward a particular course of action.

It is impossible to minimise the significance of the media's involvement in any democratic procedure. In any democracy that is going to last, journalists will serve as the guardians of the public confidence, because knowledge is power in this context. The dissemination of information is a key factor in the achievement of any meaningful development, and the provision of sufficient information is what can propel or bring about sustainable democracy.

In light of this, it is imperative that the mainstream media be taken seriously. Numerous research have come to the conclusion that the tools of mass communication are effective vehicles that have the capability of bringing about social change and, as a result, growth in societies where they are present.

2.1.9.2 Role of the Mass Media in Political Mobilisation

When it comes to channelling political mobilisation in order to further the cause of national development, it is a well-known and widely accepted reality that the mass media has a very essential role to play. This is due to the fact that the mass media is referred to as "a pivot of social interaction," with the goal of "using the power of mass information to tackle the problem of national cohesion and integration, two factors that are essential to the development of healthy political mobilisation. In the context of political mobilisation, the functions of the mass media might be summarised as "reporting and interpreting events, identifying problems, depicting people, and investigating support."⁷⁴ However, the political campaign in 2015 in Nigeria did not measure up to the standard that was anticipated. The mobilisation was marked by the misuse of the media by political parties and their candidates through the publication or distribution of unwholesome information transmitted to the public as

the truth. This was one of the characteristics that set it apart from other mobilisations. The Nigerian mass media has been politicised as a result of lending their support to the majority of the unfavourable aspects in the country's political system.

The majority of outlets in the mass media took sides in a conflict between two different regions, politicians, or political parties. They served in an official capacity as spokespersons for a number of the political parties that they are affiliated with. This stance did not allow for any impartiality, fairness, or justice to be exercised in the course of discharging their responsibilities to the general public.

According to the findings of a study, this behaviour may be traced back to the structure of ownership in the media and the relationship that its owners have with the political system. It is a widely held belief that the majority of owners of media outlets, who have political interests, prohibit their media organisations from adhering to the essential values of objectivity, fairness, and balance⁷⁴. This level of unprofessionalism is damaging to the development of a healthy political culture in the country, and that the mass media should internalise the concept of public interest in the performance of their roles in any electoral process.

In this regard, it is expected of the mass media to set the pace for an election process that is healthy and also to guarantee that they are guided by the public interest. The media has the ability to accomplish this by refocusing the objectives of political campaigns on the worthy objective of responsible democratic ideals that acknowledge the supremacy of the votes cast by the people. According to the findings of a study, the media should look for truths that are pertinent to political mobilisation in order to help those who are unable to observe or comprehend the events that affect them. This indicates that the media should interpret the campaigns based on the electoral demands

of the people. In addition, it is the responsibility of the media to steer the voting process in the direction of the laudable objective of national development⁷⁴.

To further support this claim, the normal expectation is that the mass media will concentrate on important issues that portend major ramifications for the people and the political decisions they make. It is the responsibility of the media, through their commentaries, editorials, articles, reviews, columns, and mass discussion forums, to pose pertinent questions that help elucidate confusing issues, particularly those that relate to policies and leadership, and to provide answers to those questions. Despite having the most power of influence when compared to other media, critics have singled out the mass media for failing to live up to the standard that was expected of them during the political mobilisation in 2015. Radio, on the other hand, broadcasts to each and every community in the nation and is therefore within easy reach of every household in the country, irrespective of their socioeconomic level. Television, for example, combines visuals and voice, whereas radio broadcasts to every town. The promotion of peace is essential to forward movement and development, and it is imperative that the mass media take the lead in this endeavour. The role that the mainstream media plays in all of this cannot be understated. Even though a lot of damage and hurt feelings have been caused by numerous mass segments, this halftime is a good opportunity for us to make amends and resolve to be better, fairer, and more professional in the second half of the game. If we spread hatred, we will only harvest more hatred and devastation. If we spread the message of love and peace, we will experience the same results. Let us make an effort, for the benefit of this country and the great people who live in it, to preach the latter through our various forms of media because in order to make progress and develop, Nigeria requires peace.

The Nigeria Constitution's Section 22: says that "The press, radio, television, and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this

chapter and to uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people", the press, radio, and television as well as other mass media agencies must always be allowed the freedom to support this chapter's fundamental goals⁷⁴. This suggests that mass media outlets have the right to convey information; yet, with that freedom should come accountability.

During the political mobilisation in 2015, unfortunately, the mass media, threw caution to the wind by allowing themselves to be compromised by desperate politicians and political parties rather than holding them accountable to the voters. This was a mistake. With the active support of the mass media, the political gladiators went beyond established and acceptable norms and practices, casting aspersions on political opponents that went beyond the scope of decency. The mass media have become notorious for their extreme partisanship, which is a violation of the standards of professional practice⁷⁴.

This puts a lot of pressure on massing stations, which cannot operate beyond 24 hours in a day, in contrast to the print media, which can easily increase pagination to accommodate pressure of space.

Political parties in Nigeria are typically in hot pursuit of prime time on the air waves during political mobilisation, and this puts a lot of pressure on massing stations. However, there is still an expectation that the mass media will treat all parties fairly. The Nigeria Massing Commission (NBC), an organisation that is statutorily responsible for monitoring the operations of electronic media institutions, came up with a solution to this problem by drafting the "Nigeria Massing Code," which outlines the requirements for public mass media. According to article 3.3.3 of the Nigerian Massing Code, "both sides to any matter of public interest shall be equitably given to promote justice." The fact that political parties and their candidates have used vulgar language, abusive words, and inciting, provocative, and highly divisive comments during live mass broadcasts of their campaign rallies on some of the nation's mass stations has become a source of

concern for observers of the media. This has occurred despite directives issued by NBC prohibiting such behaviour. As the governing body of the nation's mass media business, the NBC issued an order in May 2014 requiring all television stations in the country to provide the commission with a written notification at least forty-eight hours before the live transmission of any political programme. In it, it was said that the authorities were concerned that the content of political programmes was compromising Nigeria's unity and peace ahead of the general elections in 2015; this was indicated in the document. It maintained that its directive was due to a "rampant violation" of section 1.5.1 of the Nigeria Massing Code, which requires massers to submit quarterly programme schedules at least one week before the beginning of each quarter⁷³. The Nigeria Massing Code mandates that massers comply with this requirement.

In order for the mass media to play a positive role in political mobilisation, the following points should be taken into consideration: - The true test of their success is the quality of their contribution to entrenching a culture of accountability, transparency, good governance, and ultimately, the entrenching of a true and virile democratic culture.

- i. Voter education is a crucial component that guarantees the success of the political process, and the mass media must be seen to be doing this in order to fulfil their responsibility to educate voters. People in many regions of Nigeria today still display apathy toward political matters. This is mostly because they do not comprehend why it is necessary for them to take part in such an activity, and perhaps also because they are unaware of the rights that are guaranteed to them as citizens.
- ii. The Inclusion of Communication Education In order to counteract the effect of individuals who use the mass media to trick, deceive, and manipulate the general people, our government may want to consider including communication education as part of the curriculum for our secondary

schools. These classes ought to be developed to serve as a form of protection against the manipulation or deception that might occur in political arenas.

iii. It is the responsibility of the mass media to inform, educate, and investigate members of the general public. Objectivity in reporting should be the fulcrum on which this function's master component is balanced as it is being carried out. It is important to remember that despite the fact that the media play an essential strategic role in any society, the media can nonetheless be dysfunctional.

iv. The Nigerian press, as a vital force in this direction, should give the subject of national unity and security the attention it deserves and struggle to ensure Nigeria's continued existence as a corporate entity. Journalists should double check the facts and statistics that they report. There should be a divide between what is in the best interest of the country and what is in the best interest of businesses. Everyone ought to avoid engaging in activities that seek financial gain at the expense of the cohesiveness of the nation. According to the findings of the study, for the mass media to be effective in swaying the decisions of voters, it is imperative that they demonstrate impartiality, balance, equal opportunity, and access in their coverage of political mobilisation on the part of all political parties and candidates.

2.1.10 The Internet and Political Information

It has been argued, in the context of the dissemination of political information that despite the fact that the internet has altered the process by which political information is disseminated, in terms of actual political communication, the internet has increased information asymmetries and, in the process, has amplified the political impact of citizen actions, albeit in a variety of forms⁷⁵. This is because the internet has increased information asymmetries and has made actual political communication more difficult.

A significant component of the discussion concerning political communication is the dissemination of information that is politically pertinent. The study of political communication centres on the various methods and channels of expression that are political in character. It is defined as the strategies and goals of message senders to exert influence over the political environment⁵⁴. In this aspect, political communication encompasses message streams that include public dialogues, speeches on political matters, commentary and opinions, media coverage of political activities and actions, and most crucially, the responses and reactions of individuals to these things. At the micro, meso, and macro levels, it encompasses citizens' conceptions of legitimacy, authority, and sanctions; the allocation and distribution of public resources; and the social meanings of identity that emerge from discussions about the political nature of issues.

In the context of this article, the term "political information" refers to information that is of a political nature, that has political relevance, and that appears or is disseminated on the Internet. In particular, the term refers to information that is delivered via the internet. It is also important to note that we place a particular emphasis on political material on social media platforms that enable users to post comments and responses. This characteristic of social media platform must be emphasised because it is crucial since it is one of the aspects that binds the online public to any particular online political material. This relationship is established by taking into consideration the nature of the information, the nature of the access to the information, and the response environment of the information. In this sense, the internet gives functionality to the role of political information in the process of political communication. When viewed in this light, it points to what can be regarded as "the strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and action on political matters"⁵⁴. In this way, the internet gives functionality to the role of political information.

How, then, has the internet affected the transmission of political information in Nigeria, and how, in turn, has this affected the activities of the country's citizens? Information is critical to the process of forming behaviour patterns or behaviours, as demonstrated by the objective reality. In the context of elections and political rivalry, particularly in democratic practice and processes, public support is crucial not just for legitimacy but also to provide the process and the required legality. This support is especially important in democratic practice and processes. In this regard, citizen mobilisation has become increasingly dependent on the amount of information that is fed to the public, the content of the information, and the platform through which the greatest number of citizens are contacted in the most efficient and effective means. In addition, citizen mobilisation has become increasingly dependent on how much information the public is fed. The use of social media has fundamentally altered the way that political campaigns are managed strategically. It has evolved into a very significant medium through which politicians communicate with the electorate. It is not only for the distribution of manifestos and intended programmes, but also for the coalescing of supporters to take action on relevant issues, ranging from voting in elections to popular resistance to seemingly unfavourable policies, and mobilising in support of opposition politics.

Internet and social media are fundamentally built to take advantage of the individualised character of decision making in reaction to political information. This is in contrast to the atomisation of citizen action in response to political information, which occurs simultaneously. Because of the way social media platforms are set up, the information and content they provide is personalised for each user. Because of this, the internet preferences of a citizen would typically route political material with contents that suit that user's preferences to that user's page. In other words, the information would be sent to the website of that person. Because of this, the dissemination of

tailored political information to potential backers of a specific cause becomes even more dynamic and significant, which in turn makes potential mobilisation simpler. On the other hand, one could inquire as to the level of internet penetration in Nigeria and whether or not this level of penetration is sufficiently extensive to qualify as a significant medium for the distribution of political information. When we examine the fact that even the most prominent news outlets, across both conventional and new media, have shifted the majority of their activities online, the answer to this question could appear to be yes at first glance. However, organisations that are either pro- or anti-government, as well as platforms that are either supportive of or critical of the government, all use the internet as a means of disseminating information. Having this information, it is simply essential to ask how the proliferation of usage affects the citizens' ability to be mobilised for political action as it becomes an increasing necessity. How then are citizens inspired to act, and how can social media and the internet assist this amenability to act?

2.1.11 Nigerian Citizens and Political Mobilisation

Throughout history, political mobilisation has made effective use of the media by skilfully instrumenting its usage as a tool⁷⁶. The social media has developed into a platform for mobilisation as a result of the development of mass media, the rise of the internet, and new media. In this article, political mobilisation is discussed, as well as employed, in relation to social mobilisation and electoral mobilisation. This new development is brought to light by the platform's underlying capacity for implicit functionality. The engagement of the populace by political leaders in societies with large rural communities, ethnic or economic fragmentations, especially with governments that are distant from the people, provides these citizens with the feeling of contact with power and is frequently welcomed by these citizens. This is especially true in societies where governments are distant from the people.

Social media has evolved into a genuine platform for communication and interaction. It has been pointed out that in recent years, the social media has enabled politicians to directly bypass mainstream media and communicate with the public directly ⁷⁶. This is something that has been made possible because of the advent of these new technologies. A 'direct relationship' between political actors and potential viewers can be established through the use of social media in the context of electoral politics and political campaigns.

The preceding has a dual bearing on the topic at hand. To begin, it makes it possible for material to be disseminated that is likely to be prejudiced, unverified, and intended to serve the author's own self-serving and personal interests. Second, the citizens and the population that is the focus of this communication do not have any direct ways of validating the information and are therefore able to simply act on it. When taken together, these two aspects constitute a ticking time bomb that serves as both a litmus test for the viability of democratic practice and a recipe for anomic action, both of which have the potential to contribute to the fragmentation of society in situations where there is an increase in political activities such as elections. In what ways, then, has this transpired in Nigeria? How big of an impact did politicians' direct involvement with citizens through the internet have on the results of political mobilisation in the country, and how do individuals feel about their openness to being mobilised through the transmission of political information through the internet? During this moment in which we examine the interplay between citizens, political information, and mobilisation, the roles of logic and emotions become relevant. Are the cognitive and evaluative tendencies and orientations of individuals driven more by logic around the information that is accessed, or are they driven more by sentiments surrounding the concerns contained in the message?

The value of political mobilisation to political processes and action is only part of the story when it comes to the operational link between citizens and political mobilisation. As a matter of fact, it is an effort to rally individuals around a presumption of a shared interest, an interest that may be validated by the large number of individuals and citizens who are on board with it⁷⁴. The internet has been a driving force behind efforts to sway citizens' sympathies in the direction of what is viewed as the community's best interests. This has formed the foundation for the mobilisation of political forces. The practise of encouraging large numbers of participants to support or take action regarding problems that are politically important and relevant is referred to as mass mobilisation. The next section presents and analyses data pertaining to the aforementioned concerns in order to provide answers to the questions that were posed before⁷⁴.

2.1.12 Social Media and Political Activities

The proliferation of social media platforms has substantially bolstered the quality of all facets of human communication. The new technology, since it is participative, interactive, and cost-effective, has almost made any person who is capable of using it into a mass communicator. Marshal McLuhan made the prognostication in 1964 that the globe would one day become a "global village" in which events that occur in one region of the world would instantly and simultaneously be known in other regions of the world. This event proves that McLuhan was correct in his prognosis⁷³.

Today, a person can sit in the comfort of his bedroom and still have complete interaction with the outside world by simply pressing a button to gain access to information, entertainment, and events. In a piece that was written about this progression, it was observed that the emergence of new forms of communication have enabled human society become more aware of each other to a significant extent.

This is consistent with the claims made in a paper which state that as the media shrink the

world, people will become increasingly involved in one another's lives, and as people come to know more about others who were hitherto separated from them by distance, they will form new beneficial relationships⁷⁶.

Individuals, groups, organisations, and even nations are taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by social media and other e-media platforms in many parts of the world in the present day, to mobilise millions of people in support of their cause and to advance their agenda. In the realm of politics, it has evolved into a bona fide instrument for communicating with individuals and organising them in the direction of taking an active role in democratic initiatives and political processes.

With the introduction of new technologies over the past decade, politics has, without a doubt, undergone a substantial amount of change. Citizens are now able to discuss ideas, post news, ask questions, and share links as a result of the considerably better ability to share information made possible by it. With the use of social media, politicians are able to communicate with the general public in order to gauge the current climate of politics even before they launch their campaigns. It is possible that social media is the best instrument for determining a candidate's level of support, particularly among younger voters, and for developing the most effective phrase to utilise as a campaign slogan. A politician also has the possibility, through social media, to interact with the people in a more relaxed and informal manner. It is easier for politicians to transmit their sense of humour through the free connection provided by social media, which demonstrates to the public that they are approachable and easy to reach⁷⁵.

Politicians can reach out to citizens through the use of social media, which provides them the advantage of remaining in regular communication with their supporters while also giving them the appearance of being more personable. Many individuals now have the opportunity to actively

participate and get fully involved in the political discourse by adding their opinions on matters that are discussed on social media sites. This opportunity is made possible by social media. Therefore, advancing the principles of participatory democracy, which views the media as a forum for debate and contributes significantly to the process of making public-sphere journalism a reality. It makes it easier for voters to evaluate candidates for political office and increases transparency in government, which is a significant benefit to the democratic process.

2.1.12.1 Social Media and Political Mobilisation

It is crucial for politicians and political parties to have access to social media sources because these platforms allow them to garner support, stimulate engagement, and maintain an open and ongoing discourse. The most important benefit of social media is that it enables highly motivated people to more easily create conditions in which less motivated people can be effective without the need for those less motivated people to become activists themselves. This makes for an environment that is ideal for politicians to exploit. The political process as well as the strategies used in campaigns have already started to be affected by the growing influence of social media on both the public and political spheres. Politicians now make use of social media and the Internet, which in turn opens up a new playing field for grassroots politics⁷⁸.

It is important to keep in mind that political mobilisation is fairly crucial to both political participation and social engineering. Political mobilisation has been a key notion in both political and social discourse. The process of initiating citizens into a desired political activity by focusing on the highest political demands and expectations of the citizens is what is meant by political mobilisation. A group action that aims to raise political knowledge and consciousness in a certain political direction is called political mobilisation⁷⁶.

Mobilisation in politics can be defined as both an activity and a goal-oriented pattern of behaviour that is aimed in a specific direction. As a result, it is essential to every type of political activity, whether it is directed at the accomplishment of a particular objective or the pursuit of a path that is motivated by ideology. Because of this, it is an exceptionally effective instrument for bringing about social and political change.

The term "political mobilisation" refers to "the process by which candidates, parties, activists, and groups urge other people to join" in politics "in order to win elections, to pass bills, to change rulings, and to have an influence on policy." People may be contacted by political organisations, which would then present them with a particular "opportunity for political action." Majority of the time, mobilisation is essential steps that must take place before any kind of engagement can occur⁷⁰.

As a result of what has been discussed thus far, it can be deduced that political mobilisation refers to the process of educating the populace, elevating their level of knowledge and political consciousness, and enhancing the capabilities of the latter. In other words, political mobilisation might be considered to indicate the deliberate act of emotionally drawing people together and having them internalise the communality of social values, attitudes, and orientation in the interest of reaching a particularistic and articulated holistic objective⁷¹.

It is possible to look at social media as both a technological tool and a physical venue for growing and maintaining the networks that social movements rely on. The Arab uprisings are a prime example of how online social networks, made possible by various forms of social media, have evolved into an essential component of modern populist movements. The use of social media platforms does not just constitute the adoption or utilisation of neutral technologies by social movements; rather, the usage of social media platforms influences the way activists construct and

shape social movements⁷¹. The use of social media, in particular for the purpose of organising citizens to take part in political activities, has been shown to strengthen democracies all over the world. For instance, President Barack Obama of the United States ran a highly successful election campaign in 2008 that made effective use of several forms of social media. The election of Barack Obama as President of the United States in 2008 was notable for the extraordinary use of social media in the political campaign that he ran. The Obama campaign served as an eye-opening instance of how a talented team might make use of tools that were readily available. More than 15 social networks were actively utilised by the Obama campaign, which amassed a following of 5 million people through the use of social media.

2.1.12.2 Social Media Mobilisation in Nigeria

The successful uprisings that took place in Tunisia and Egypt in Africa have had an effect over the entire continent. Because of the domino effect that the internet has on its users and the concept that what works in one political system can be replicated in another to get almost the same results, Nigerians have also employed the strategy of mobilising people through social media in order to create awareness and effect political change in the country. In this section, findings on the causes, nature, and outcomes of the numerous mobilisations that took place in Nigeria are presented⁷⁷.

i. #NOT TOO YOUNG TO RUN: Given that in modern times, the level of political participation among young people as measured by membership in political parties and turnout during elections has been significantly low in both developed and developing countries, it seemed as though there was a political apathy among the younger generation. People who want to run for elective offices in Nigeria are required to be of a certain age, which may be the root reason of the country's low political involvement rate. The constitution of 1999 stipulates this age requirement. Even if the

Constitution had granted adult status to an individual at the age of eighteen, that individual was still not eligible to run for public office until he or she reached the age of thirty⁷¹.

However, in order to encourage participation among young people, a programme called "Not too young to run" was conceived of and brought into fruition by a coalition of over 40 youth-based organisations located in different parts of the country. The campaign known as "Not too young to run" sought to lower the minimum age requirement for candidates seeking electoral office in Nigeria and elsewhere throughout the world. The campaign started off with Tony Nwulu and Abdul-Aziz Nyako submitting bills and support to the National Assembly. Nwulu was in the House of Representatives, and Nyako was in the Senate. The argument for the global aspect of the demand was prompted on the assumption that while around fifty percent of the world's population is under the age of thirty, seventy-three percent of the world's population bans young people from standing for office, even though they may vote. As a result, the purpose of the movement was to "inspire people everywhere to run for elected office as well as raise awareness on the state of youth rights running for elected office around the world; advocate for the rights of young people to run for elected office" In particular with regard to Nigeria, the movement intended to address the candidacy restrictions that were based on age in the elections for the legislative and executive seats. Through the use of social media, it was possible to propagate and motivate young people to think about other forms of engagement in governance other than only voting. On various social media platforms, the fact cards that represented the group's results and years were posted. These cards were shared on social media platforms. In addition, the Non-too-young was granted support in the houses of the national legislative body. The proposed amendments to the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which were approved in 1999, are directed at the National Assembly and seek to change Sections 65, 106, 131, and 177. Section 65 of the bill proposed that 30 years

of age and 25 years of should be the benchmark for contestants into the Senate and House of Representatives respectively; section 106 amendment proposed that 25 years should be the qualifying age for the House of Assembly; section 131 of the bill proposed that aspirants seeking the position of President should be at least 30 years old; section 177 of the bill should also be amended to allow that those seeking the positions of Governors should be at least 30 years old; and section 106 amendment proposed that 25 The mobilisation was effective, as evidenced by the passage of the Not too young to run Bill by the Senate; Muhammadu Buhari, the President, subsequently gave his approval to the legislation⁷⁸.

ii. **#OCCUPY NIGERIA:** In 2012, in response to an increase in the prices of crude oil linked derivatives, the Nigeria Labour Congress and allied Unions staged a demonstration against the intention of the Federal Government to remove gasoline subsidies. As a result, the demonstration in Nigeria was a socio-political movement opposed to the increase in fuel pump price that was implemented by the Federal Government on January 1, 2012. A new facet was added to the demonstration that had been going on for the previous five days, which had started on January 2, 2012. In addition to the participation of organised labour, this activity took place across the majority of the country's cities and involved a large number of youths, groups, and organisations. The Nigerian people were mobilised to demonstrate against the increase through the use of social media. Social media was utilised to sensitise and mobilise Nigerians, particularly youths, to take to the streets in protest against the planned withdrawal of fuel subsidy. The demonstrations were led by the Nigerian Labour Congress, but the social media was responsible for getting people out onto the streets. As a result, numerous social media platforms such as *X*, *Facebook*, *Instagram*, and *YouTube* were utilised in order to inform, sensitise, and organise a large number of Nigerians to take part in the demonstration. As a result, the hashtag "*Occupy Nigeria*" was developed in order

to direct the attention of social media users and bloggers to the demonstration as well as information that was relevant to the demonstration.

The social space that was offered by social media for Nigerians to give voice to their complaints, frustrations, and objections to the increase in price of petroleum products and the economic problems that were being experienced by all in the country was supplied by social media. The information on the demonstration quickly spread throughout Nigeria at the time since Blackberries were popular there at the time. In addition, the vast majority of Nigerians were able to gain access to online newspapers, *X*, *blogs*, *Facebook*, and other social networking sites via their mobile phones. The availability of mobiles therefore provided an easier method of disseminating information on negotiations, as well as mobilising protesters and organising several points of protests at the same time, thereby overwhelming the security operatives who were given the task of curtailing the protests. Moreover, the information could be disseminated in a variety of languages, including English, Spanish, French, and Arabic. The spontaneous reawakening of Nigerians' awareness of the importance of their engagement in politics was symbolised by the social protest that took place in 1977⁷⁷. As a result, it brought to the attention of the electorate the fact that power belongs to the people, and that individuals in positions of authority receive their authority to rule from the people. The sensitisation and mobilisation of Nigerians through the use of social media demonstrated not just the strength of collective action as a weapon for halting and reversing the implementation of elitist governmental policies, but also the power of social media itself. Uwalaka, Temple, Rickard, Scott, and Watkins all supported the claim that the student protestors primarily used *WhatsApp*, *2go*, *Eskimi*, *Facebook*, *Badoo*, and *YouTube* to plan, coordinate, and video their participation in the protest. On the other hand, they discovered that Facebook was utilised for political goals the vast majority

of the time. The platforms of social media were utilised via phone mobile devices for the interaction, socialising, collective, and connective engagement required for mobilisation in preparation for the demonstration. The intensity and tenacity of the protests by Nigerians, as well as the internationalisation of the protests by social media, caused the Federal Government of Nigeria to abandon the intended rise and embrace a lower price regime. This was done in response to the pressure.

iii. **#END SARS:** The Special Anti-Robbery Squad is abbreviated as SARS. A group of police officers who have received specialised training and equipment to help them fight violent crime. However, when allegations of their criminal acts appeared to be ignored, Nigerians went to social media to expose the nefarious operations being carried out by their countrymen. Online users have uploaded a number of videos, photographs, and audio recordings that detail the violent behaviour of the law enforcement officials that are a part of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad. On *Facebook*, *X* profiles, and *Whatsapp*, Nigerians were urged to use the hashtag #EndSars and share their own experiences of violence against civilians. By way of illustration, Fredrick Sarlors tweeted the following: "The President @NGRPresident received our registered express letter 3 days ago. Before we proceed with the class action lawsuit, we would appreciate hearing back from you. We were of the opinion that the general people should not know about this and should not be led along. #EndSARS #Reform the Policing @ju Samlee o "You are in my thoughts and prayers today with the hope that you will not be the next person who causes the hashtag #EndSars to trend more on *X*.

The #EndSARS campaign was successful in getting the attention of the legislative branch of the government, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives reaffirmed that the House will investigate the operations of SARS⁷⁸ despite the blackmails that were being perpetrated by Force

Headquarters. However, the tragic death of Kolade Johnson, who was killed by the bullets of a SARS officer while watching a Premier League match between Liverpool and Tottenham Hotspurs in Lagos, strengthened and internationalised the social movement and political mobilisation of the populace against SARS brutality⁷⁹. Kolade Johnson was shot while watching the match between Liverpool and Tottenham Hotspurs in Lagos. As reported by the Daily Post, in response to the condolences offered by the President, angry tweets were sent forth.

As an illustration, the X account @Lekanskillz12 posted the following message: "Oga, what we need is the absolute removal of these nuisance elements of our police force." Enough avoidable condolences. EndSARS. Stop the cruelty of the police. In addition to this, the X account @idjthriller stated, "we're weary of apologising after lives have been lost. Stop SARS immediately".

The various social media platforms in Nigeria were utilised in order to enlist the participation of Nigerians in a protest that took place on April 5, 2019, all over the nation. The protesters requested that SARS and other specialised units be disbanded. Sahara Reporters cited Segun Awosanya as saying the following: "When our country is saddled with a Police Force that operates outside the bounds of law, without operational restraints – the culture of impunity, spawned by such inhuman chants of police officers as "I will kill you and nothing will happen" and "I must kill someone today." "When our country is saddled with a Police Force that operates outside the bounds of law, without operational restraint what we end up with are not only death squads that run the show, but also a police force that has turned rogue and is murdering and maiming helpless individuals⁸⁰.

Nevertheless, the malicious actions of the SARS in Nigeria were disclosed to a large number of people via the platforms of WhatsApp and the Facebook by using videos. Therefore, the pace of mobilisation for the abolition of SARS was stepped up to the point where it caught the notice of

Vice President Yemi Osinbajo. The initial step that was taken was to perform a comprehensive overhaul of SARS. Despite this, there was no let-up in the level of mobilisation in opposition to the dismantling of the anti-robbery unit. This mobilisation consequently forced the publication of rules to the activities of SARS, such that they were barred from participating in civil problems, as well as the search of individuals' phones and laptops without authorisation.

Despite the fact that the Vice President, in his capacity as Acting President, issued an order on August 14, 2018, stating that the unit should be disbanded immediately, the unit was not disbanded and was instead scheduled to undergo reorganisation within FSARS under the supervision of the Inspector General of Police. However, this arrangement did not also tame SARS, nor did it repair their tendency toward corruption, and the violence was simply mitigated rather than eliminated completely. The suggestions of the Presidential Panel set up for the reforming of SARS and the establishment of State and local government Police were, however, approved by President Muhammadu Buhari. In this line, the firing of 37 SARS operatives, as well as the prosecution of other 24 police officers, the reorganisation of the squad, and the renaming of it as the Anti-Robbery Squad (ARS) have all taken place. In addition, the payment of compensations to Nigerians who were brutalised, as well as the arrest and prosecution of two retired senior officers for the extrajudicial death of civilians, was approved in the year 1981. As a result, the #EndSARS movement is still going strong, and social media has played a role in helping to mobilise Nigerians in order to obtain the attention of the Legislative and Executive arms of government, which has led to reforms being implemented in the Police unit.

Iv. **PARTY CAMPAIGNS AND #O TO GEE:** During election seasons, political campaigns are by far the most visible and effective means of persuading voters to support particular parties and candidates. Campaigns can be carried out through a variety of channels, including door-to-door

canvassing, phone calls, campaign rallies, and compelling advertisements spread throughout many media outlets. However, a study has stated that many parties, candidates, and vote canvassers have taken a lesson from the approach of social media usage that Barack Obama used for electioneering campaigns⁷⁹. The study was conducted by the University of Michigan. The sharing of opinions through internet messaging and the degree of social relationships that already exist among those who communicate online both have the potential to politically mobilise young people to participate in political activities⁸². The unpredictability of power encouraged more people to use their mobile phones to keep an eye on the political campaigns that parties were running leading up to the 2019 elections. The words and blunders made by politicians have been widely disseminated around the internet. (E.g. Osinbajo and Peter Obi). Words were taken out of context and used to either disparage or garner support for the many candidates running for office. In an effort to rally support for various candidates, countless videos and photographs of supporters during campaigns filled the internet. At the same time, collapsed pavilions became a topic of conversation online.

During the election cycle of 2011, social media was utilised by political campaigns to facilitate the sending of voice and text messages to voters. Therefore, in preparation for the general elections in 2015, President Buhari and Vice President Osinbajo between them sent 197000 and 1230 tweets. These tweets indicated, among other things, that the All Progressives Congress (APC) became more lively and acceptable on social media than their primary adversary, the People's Democratic Party (PDP⁷⁹). The political opposition has been intimidated and discredited through the use of social media. As a result, the Facebook posts that insinuated that Alhaji Abubakar was extremely corrupt went viral in order to shift support away from him and toward his "credible and honest" political opponent, President Muhammadu Buhari. The falsified legations were supplemented with portions from former President Olusegun Obasanjo's book, "My watch," which was also cited as

having said that Atiku Abubakar could not visit the United States of America. Atiku needed to go to the United States of America in order to show that the pundits were wrong. It was also discovered through interviews with party Chairmen and youth leaders that the majority of the mobilisation of supporters from the grassroots level was accomplished through the use of WhatsApp messages. According to them, this was a more efficient method because the identical messages were transmitted to a variety of different groups, without the material being distorted in any way. In addition to this, it was less expensive, took less time, and assisted in the monitoring of the many different political cells⁷⁸. However, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) did not make use of social media in order to encourage people to vote. The presence of INEC was extremely little in comparison to that of other politicians and parties. This may have been a contributing factor in the low number of people who voted in the elections.

The two political parties in Nigeria, the PDP and the APC, engaged in a war of wits and strategies during the elections in 2019, which took place in Nigeria. On the other hand, there was also a war between the two national leaders of these parties, Bukola Saraki and Bola Tinubu, respectively. Both were regarded as political godfathers and bigwigs who maintained a firm hold on their state's political power for an extended period of time. While Bukola Saraki inherited the political hegemony over Kwara from his father (who had held sway since 1983), Bola Tinubu is perceived to control and hold the four aces in Lagos since 1999. This is in contrast to the situation in Kwara, where Bukola Saraki inherited the political hegemony over Kwara from his father. The All Progressives Congress (APC) used the phrase 'O to ge' to shatter Saraki's grasp on Ilorin through the use of social media. Literally translated, "enough is enough" is the Yoruba phrase "o to ge," which translates to "let things be." The concept of democratic revolution served as the impetus for the beginning of the O to ge movement. Since the 1980s, members of the Saraki family has enjoyed

a position of political supremacy in Kwara state. In Kwara politics, the patriarch Olusola Saraki dominated the state and had firmly established himself as a political godfather. He decided who would become what, when, and how in the political landscape of the state. Therefore, as a result of his domination, his family guaranteed that they controlled both the political and economic institutions of the state. The establishment of a political dynasty by the Patriarch was continued with the rise to prominence of the Patriarch's son, Dr. Bukola Saraki, who served as both governor and senator. Concerned citizens of Kwara State, who believed that the Saraki dynasty's hegemonic hold over their state needed to be challenged, were the driving force behind the formation of the O to gee movement. The O to gee campaign therefore became a movement that galvanised followership for the candidate of the APC against the candidate of the PDP in the 2019 gubernatorial elections. The PDP nominee was viewed as the candidate of the Saraki family. In addition to this, the movement attempted to swing the support of Dr. Bukola Saraki, who was running for re-election to the Senate. In order to enlist the participation of Kwarans in the endeavour, the O to gee campaign relied heavily on the distribution of films via WhatsApp and Facebook. As a result, a musical video featuring Nollywood actors Yinka Quadri and Ronke Oshodi Oke criticising the Saraki family's monopoly on Kwara was distributed across a variety of channels. In addition to this, videos of Muslim clerics, who up until this point had been thought to support the Saraki family, criticising the continuation of the family's dynasty went viral as well. The social media mobilisation also included the addition of interviews with Dr. Bukola Saraki's sister, in which she insisted that her brother's political hegemony must be brought down. The videos of children and adults shouting derogatory names against Bukola Saraki and his entourage in Kwara during the electioneering campaigns were also exploited on various platforms in order to mobilise votes against him and his party, the People Democratic Party (PDP), in the 2019

elections. These videos were posted on various websites. This mobilisation led to Senator Bukola Saraki's loss in the national legislative elections, as well as the loss of his preferred candidate for governor of the state of Kwara. As a result, one could say that the mobilisation through social media against the Saraki regime's unyielding rule in Kwara was a tremendous success.

2.1.12.3 Social Media, Political Activism and Civic Volunteerism

Participation on the part of citizens is essential to democratic processes. Therefore, political philosophers and theorists believe an informed populace to be the lifeblood of democracy⁸³. Idolatry of the media system can be seen in both historical and modern civilisations as a direct result of the widespread conviction that knowledge is an essential resource in democratic participation processes⁸⁴. The mainstream media previously enjoyed a monolithic dominance over macroscopic communication; however, this authority has been challenged by social media due to the decentralisation of information generation and delivery that these platforms provide. Social media, as an alternative and extremely democratic domain of the media, are enabling venues for expression and mobilisation to formerly marginalised communities that have become indifferent as a result of elite dominance of the conventional media. It has been discovered that the use of social media is an important arena for both institutionalised and non-institutionalized forms of political participation⁸⁵. This is despite the fact that the use of social media provides citizens with communication gratification for an avalanche of different reasons. In light of the fact that various citizens require different impetuses to become politically engaged, it is of the utmost importance that critical political information be effectively communicated⁵². As a result, the amount of information that citizens have amassed over the course of their political socialisation has a direct bearing on the incentive that citizens have to participate in both electoral and non-electoral politics.

The political participation of young people, in particular in elections, has decreased to an unimaginable degree in this era, which is marked by a growing marginalisation of young people and a political despair that is caused by a shrinking attention to the issues of young people. These political species have, as an alternative, embraced a new variety of political behaviours and actions that allow them to voice their political grievances⁵². Because of this, the new kind of political activities that young people participate in are naturally compatible with the expressive, informational, interactive, and engaging characteristics of social media. Therefore, social media have evolved into not only arenas for political activism but also channels for the accumulation of political capital, which is essential for maintaining the political vitality of today's youth. In the past, academics have theorised about how inherent political capacities are related to political participation. Among the numerous theorisations of the connection between political motivation and political participation, the Civic Volunteerism Model (CVM) has yielded enormous empirical support, albeit in developed democracies⁵². This model suggests that people are more likely to participate in politics when they feel a sense of civic responsibility toward their community. The CVM provides an explanation of how the enabling resources available to citizens encourage political action and political involvement. At its inception, the model postulated that citizens' propensity for political participation is a function of resources (income, education, and skill), psychological engagement (psychological motivation propelled by political knowledge, interest, and capacity), and recruitment networks that encourage participation. Additionally, the model assumed that citizens' propensity for political participation is a function of recruitment networks that encourage participation. In more recent times, academics have argued for the need to elaborate the CVM so that it can take into account other participatory-inducing aspects in addition to its resource-based dimensions⁸⁶. Because

social media platforms offer a wealth of opportunities for political engagement, one may make the case that politically disillusioned young people can find solace in participating in civic service online. Young people in poor nations such as Nigeria are becoming socially and politically active, challenging the political status quo, holding power accountable, and expressing their political viewpoints⁸⁶ as a result of increased access to social media via low-cost Android handsets. This provides a strong motive for the political engagement of young people, as the CVM had envisioned. The youth's political marginalisation, which was bolstered by poor media representation and limited access, created game-changers out of social media, as the youth now leverage on the low-cost, expressive spaces to voice their complaints⁵². Social media created game-changers because of the political marginalisation of the youth. This current state of affairs necessitates a re-examination of CVM with the goal of crystallising its features in order to serve as antecedents and repercussions of the use of social media for political involvement. In practice, we argue that civic volunteerism and citizens' capacity to engage in politics could trigger the use of social media, which could then motivate young people to acquire the necessary resources, psychological engagement, and recruitment opportunities to become civically engaged and politically active.

2.1.12.3 Role of Social Media in Political Awareness

In a modern democracy, social media can be used by governments to involve citizens in decision making, and by civil society to engage people in specific issues. However, social media can also be used to broaden political participation by helping citizens to communicate with their representatives and with each other⁵². The use of social media as a formidable force for social engineering and political electioneering has continued to grow. The technology is participatory,

interactive and cost-effective. This has made it the medium of the moment as far as political communication and participation are concerned⁶⁸.

The role of youth in electoral activities cannot be over emphasised. They play active role in mobilising support for candidates and actual voting. They are the active participants of election violence and also the active users of social media. Disseminating useful information to youth in form of voter education is a means of forestalling incidences of election violence and electoral manipulations. Data released by statista.com indicated that there are 84.3 million internet users in Nigeria and that by 2019, there would be 93 million internet users. Chukwuemeka Afigbe, Manager Developer programme at Facebook revealed that about 26 million Nigerians now login on Facebook every month. Social media is indeed the best avenue for reaching out to majority of voters.

2.1.12.4 The Internet and Political Information Dissemination

Within the context of political information dissemination, there has been the argument that while the internet has changed how political information is distributed, in terms of actual political communication, the internet has increased information asymmetries and, in the process, amplifying the political impact of citizen actions, though in variegated forms⁷⁵.

The distribution of politically relevant information is a critical aspect of the discourse on political communication. Political communication focuses on the ways and means of expression that are of a political nature. It is characterised as the ways and intentions of message senders to influence the political environment. In this regard, political communication covers message streams that include public discussions, speeches on political issues, commentaries, opinions, media coverage of political activities and actions, and importantly, citizens' response and reactions to these. At the meso and macro level, it also covers citizens' perceptions on legitimacy, authority and sanctions,

allocation and distribution of public resources, and the social meanings of identity that emerge from discussions of political nature.

Political information, especially one distributed via the internet, is conceptualised in this study as information of a political nature, having political relevance and appearing or disseminated on the Internet. It is also necessary to point out that it emphasises the specific focus on political information on social media platforms that allow for comments and responses. The emphasis on this is important, as it is one aspect that connects the virtual public to any specific online political information. To simplify, this connection is made using the nature of the information; the nature of access to the information; and the response environment of the information. When viewed in this light, it points to what can be regarded as "the strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs, and action on political matters"⁷⁵. In this way, the internet gives functionality to the role of political information in the process of political communication.

How then has the internet shaped the dissemination of political information in Nigeria and how has this in turn influenced citizens' actions? As objective reality shows, information is important in shaping behaviour patterns or actions. In the context of election and political competition, especially in democratic practice and processes, citizen support is essential, not only for legitimacy but to give the process the needed legality. Citizen mobilisation in this regard has increasingly become dependent on how much information the public is fed, the content of the information and the platform through which the greatest number of citizens are contacted in the most efficient and effective means. The social media has strategically changed how political campaigns are run. It has become a very important platform on which politicians engage with voters. It is not only for the distribution of manifestos and intended programs but also for coalescing supporters to take

action on relevant issues, from voting in elections, popular resistance to seemingly unfavourable policies, to mobilisation in support of opposition politics.

While citizen action in response to political information is atomised, the internet and social media are structurally programmed to exploit the individualised nature of decision making in response to political information. From the way the social media is configured, information and content are tailored to each user. In this way, a citizen's internet preferences would ordinarily direct political information with contents that suit that user's preferences to that user's page. This makes it even more dynamic and significant for targeted political information to be disseminated to possible supporters of a particular cause, making potential mobilisation easier. However, one may ask how deep internet penetration in Nigeria is, and if this penetration is widespread enough to constitute a significant medium for political information dissemination. Prima facie, this question may be answered in the affirmative when we consider that even the major news outlets, both traditional and new media have largely moved operations online. But seemingly pro- or anti-government agencies, platforms that are sympathetic or antagonistic to the government all use the internet for information dissemination. With this knowledge, it becomes necessary to question how this spread in usage impacts on the amenability of citizens to be mobilised for political action. How then are citizens motivated to act and how does social media and the internet support this amenability to act?

2.1.12.5 Nigerian Citizens and Political Mobilisation

Historically, the media has been used, and successfully instrumented, for political mobilisation⁷⁵. With the evolution of mass media and the emergence of the internet and new media, the social media has evolved to function as a platform for mobilisation. Here, political mobilisation is explained and used in the context of electoral and social mobilisation. This emergence is

underscored by the implicit functionality of the platform. As a study notes, in societies with larger rural communities, ethnic or economic fragmentations especially with governments that are distant from the people, the engagement of the populace, by political leaders, through traditional or new media channels provides these citizens with the feelings of contact with power and is often times welcomed by these citizens.

This has made the social media a veritable platform for contact and engagement. It has been pointed out that in recent years, the social media has enabled politicians to directly bypass mainstream media and engage with the public directly⁷⁵. Within the context of elections and campaigning, the social media permits a 'direct linkage' from political actors to potential audiences.

The implications of the above are two-fold. First, it allows for the dissemination of information that may be biased, unverified and serving selfish and personal purposes. Secondly, the citizens and target population of these messages have no direct means of verifying the information and can act easily on them. When combined, these two factors provide a ticking time bomb that is at once a test for the viability of democratic practice as well as a recipe for anomic action that may contribute to fragment society in contexts of increased political activities such as elections. How then has this played out in Nigeria? How much has the direct engagement of citizens by politicians via the internet shaped the outcomes of political mobilisation in the country, and what do citizens think of their amenability to being mobilised through the dissemination of political information through the internet? While we question this interaction between citizens, political information and mobilisation, the role of logic and sentiments come into play. Are citizens' cognitive and evaluative tendencies and orientations driven more by logic around the information that is accessed or more by sentiments around the issues contained in the message?

The operational link between citizens and political mobilisation goes beyond the utility of mobilisation to political processes and action. It is in fact the attempt at coalescing individuals towards a perceived collective interest, one that may be justified through the number of individuals and citizens who support it. Drawing citizens to become sympathetic to the perceived collective interest has been given impetus through the internet. This has become the basis for political mobilisation. It is the process of motivating masses of participants towards supporting or taking action around issues of political importance and relevance. As a way of answering the above queries, data on these issues as raised are presented and analysed in the following section.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting describes a very powerful influence of the media – the ability to tell us what issues are important. As far back as 1922, the newspaper columnist Walter Lippman was concerned that the media had the power to present images to the public. McCombs and Shaw investigated presidential campaigns in 1968, 1972 and 1976. In the research done in 1968, they focused on two elements: awareness and information. Investigating the agenda-setting function of the mass media, they attempted to assess the relationship between what voters in one community said were important issues and the actual content of the media messages used during the campaign. Max McCombs and Donald Shaw concluded that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues of the campaign.

Agenda-setting is the creation of public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media¹⁰¹.

Two basic assumptions underlie most research on agenda-setting,

- i. The media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it.

ii. Media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important. The Agenda Setting Theory was formally developed in 1968 by McCombs and Shaw.

One of the most critical aspects in the concept of an agenda-setting role of media is the time frame for this phenomenon. In addition, different media have different agenda-setting potential. Agenda-setting theory is appropriate to help us understand the pervasive role of the media (for example, on political education systems).

The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.

The Agenda-setting is the process whereby the news media lead the public in assigning relative importance to various public issues. In this situation, the media's agenda influences the public agenda not by saying this issue is important in an overt way but by allocating greater attention, space and time to that issue, highlighting them prominently¹⁰². The application of agenda-setting has the potential to offer high versatility in political education and information for the youths. The field of political education places a significant focus on intrapersonal, interpersonal, organisational and community-change process theories. This is very much applicable in the education of young people on political activities by making information on political participation generally available and interesting. The media is seen as the oxygen of democratic governance, functioning as a public forum for nurturing democratic norms and ideals, free media outlets make a wide range of information accessible to the public and provide political knowledge through access to reliable and comprehensible resources such as portrayals, news, reports, and discussions, among others, about social and political affairs¹⁰².

The media, through its educative and enlightenment functions, brings to light different issues of importance on politics and governance. Political involvement and participation in the democratic processes are of utmost importance to the success of democratic engagement in any country. Different media are usually employed by civil society groups, electoral bodies, government and its agencies in the quest for maximum participation among the citizens of a given democratic society. Agenda setting does not ascribe to the media the power to determine what people actually think but it does ascribe to them the power to determine what people are thinking about. They set the agenda for political engagement and participation. Media draws attention to specific matters, encouraging individuals to think, be aware of, feel, and partake in them.

The rationale behind adopting the Agenda Setting Media Theory in this study is because it explains the role of the media in determining public's agenda on politics and governance through education and enlightenment. It further describes the influence of the media in molding and shaping the opinion of the public towards some topical issues, particularly on politics and governance. In fact, the main thrust of the agenda setting theory is that the media set agenda on burning issues in the society for public discourse.

Furthermore, the Agenda Setting Theory has been divided into two: the first and second levels of agenda setting. The first level of agenda setting deals with objects on the media and public agenda. This is the traditional domain of agenda setting research in which the media are seen as influencing what issues are included on the public agenda. The second level of agenda setting looks at attributes of these objects¹⁰³. At this level, the media not only suggest what the public should think about but also influence how people should think about the issue.

The elements involved in agenda setting include:

- i. The quality or frequency of reporting

- ii. The prominence given to the reports – through headlines, display, pictures and layout in newspapers, magazines, films, graphics or tuning on radio and television
- iii. The degree of conflict generated in the reports; and
- iv. Cumulative media specific effects overtime.

The media, especially social media, can shape events by using these elements in a particular way or refusing to use them at all¹⁰³.

2.2.2 Social Responsibility Theory

Social responsibility theory owes its origin to an American initiative that arose out of the 1947 Hutchins Commission on the freedom of the press. The emergence of this theory came as an attempt to provide restraint to the extreme press freedom advocated by the libertarian theory of 1947. The theory was proposed by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm in 1956¹⁰⁴. The primary objective of this theory is to ensure that the press does not abuse the freedom at its disposal. The social responsibility theory stated that the near-monopoly position of the media imposes on them an obligation to be socially responsible in discharging their duties to the society¹⁰².

The theory explains that the media owe the society a duty to discharge their responsibility responsibly. While highlighting the main principles, the social responsibility theory asserts that the media should accept and accomplish certain obligations to the society. Such obligations are education, information and entertainment¹⁰⁴. They include the effective discharge of the surveillance function, serving as a societal watchdog and disseminating information as factual as possible.

The Social responsibility theory allows for a free press without any censorship, but at the same time the content of the press should be discussed in public panel. The media should accept any obligation from public interference, professional self-regulations or both. The theory strikes a

balance between the authoritarian theory and the libertarian theory because it gives total media freedom while also imposing external controls in the other hand. Here, the press ownership is private. The social responsibility theory moves beyond the simple “Objective” reporting (factual reporting) to “Interpretative” reporting (investigative reporting). While the total news is factually accurate and truthful, the commission of the freedom press stated that “No longer giving facts truthfully rather than give a necessary analysed or interpretative report on facts with clear explanations.” This theory, regarded as a Western theory, incorporates elements of the libertarian principles. The underlying principle of the social responsibility theory is that the press should be free to perform functions as granted by the libertarian theory yet this freedom should be exercised responsibly¹⁰⁴. If the media fail to meet their responsibilities to society, the social responsibility theory holds that the government should encourage the media to comply by controlling them. While the media has the right to criticize government and institutions, it also has certain basic responsibilities to maintain the stability of society. In the same vein, the media has a right to criticize government and other institutions, but it also has a responsibility to preserve democracy by properly informing the public and responding to societal needs and interests. The media does not have the freedom to do as it pleases; it is obligated to respond to society’s requirement.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press, which formulated the Social Responsibility theory, highlighted the media’s failure to fulfill basic societal roles of providing information, enlightenment, watchdog functions, advertising, entertainment, and self-sufficiency. The Commission, however, called on the media to:

- i. Provide truthful, comprehensive and intelligent accounts of daily events in a meaningful context.

- ii. Serve as a forum for exchange of comments and criticisms.
- iii. Project a representative picture of the constituent groups in society
- iv. Be responsible for the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society.
- v. Provide full access to the daily intelligence.

These goals proved challenging for journalists who found these goals ambiguous and unattainable at the time. How should the forums operate? Whose values should be presented and clarified? How could they provide 'intelligent discourse about the day's events' in a nightly newscast of less than 23 minutes?

Perhaps this is one weakness inherent in the theory at the earliest stages.

From the foregoing, it is plausible that the fundamental principles of the social responsibility theory could be summarized thus: "be self-regulated, practice responsibly, or the government will control you". In other words, freedom should be exercised with utmost responsibility to societal interest.

The rationale for this theory, to this study, is that as the media owe the society a duty to discharge their duties responsibly. Given their freedom, they should provide some levels of education which is one out of the three main functions of the media, particularly about politics and governance, to the youths. By providing factual education on political activities, the media can influence the knowledge of youths on politics and governance, leading to a change from political apathy, hostility, prejudice to political efficacy, interest, awareness, trust, acceptance and sympathy. With this change of attitudes of among the youths, there will be increased participation in voting, campaigning, political party membership, voluntary work, political voluntary services, civic responsibility, public demonstrations and community services.

2.2.3 Cognitive Mobilisation Theory

Regarding the cognitive aspect of political education and participation, political scientists speculate that both education and political involvement mobilise political literacy as an internal process. Thus, cognitive mobilisation theory postulates that political education and political engagement act upon the individual to mobilise his mental capabilities in dealing with politics⁷¹. Cognitive mobilisation theory is the process through which people receive their cognitive cues to make decisions on voting and participation in other forms of political activities. Notably, political education has a strong effect because it reduces the costs and increases the benefit of voting in multiple ways. First, education increases the cognitive skills that facilitate learning about politics. Second, individuals with higher education levels receive more gratification from electoral participation⁷¹. Thus, political education, according to cognitive mobilisation theorists, helps people overcome the bureaucratic obstacle involved in the political process. It is not solely higher education that increases one's likelihood of participating in politics, but rather the socialisation process that is provided through education. The cognitive mobilisation theory of political literacy argues that political education increases engagement in politics by developing the citizens' cognitive skills which in turn enables them to process complex information about the political system and enhance their sense of civic duty⁷¹.

Cognitive mobilisation theory attributes that psychological factors inherent in human nature play a role in connecting education and political participation to political awareness. Political elites have a higher level of political sophistication than the political masses due to their involvement in politics. The rising education level in society would gradually increase the ideological consciousness of the citizens, especially at the lower level where lack of education may be more incapacitating⁷¹. Citizens with a low level of information tend to be less keen in participating in

politics whereas those with high information rationality are more keen on political issues such as public debates on policy, membership of political parties, voting, and political positions. In addition to promoting support for democratic principles, educational resource increases the verbal cognitive proficiency and related intellectual skills, which improves the ability to comprehend political events and acts in an instrumentally rational manner. People with higher level of political knowledge are more successful in linking their personal interest with public issues. Through its impact on cognitive ability, education not only greatly facilitates the acquisition of political information and skills but dramatically lowers the cost of gaining, pursuing and integrating political knowledge.

In demonstrating the cognitive mobilising capacity of political education agencies such as the media, it can be stated that development in technology and media have increased the public's political abilities. In Western democracies, the availability of media has equipped the electorate with greater information resources and increased their overall political sophistication. This has occurred through a process of cognitive mobilisation whereby citizens now have the resources and skills that prepare them to deal with the complexities of politics and reach their own political decisions.

Cognitive mobilisation involves two separate developments. First, the public's ability to process political information has increased through the higher levels of education and political sophistication among the electorate. Second, the cost of acquiring political information has decreased due to the expansion of media. Thus, cognitive mobilisation means that citizens now possess the political skills and resources that better prepare them to deal with the complexities of politics and reach their own political decisions without reliance on affective, habitual party cues or other surrogates. A study presented cross-national evidence that the cognitive mobilisation

process creates a new group of sophisticated independents and the proportion of the public that qualifies as these new independents are increasing in Western democracies. Similarly, the percentage of sophisticated nonpartisans has increased significantly in Europe over time. Wolf demonstrated a longitudinal growth in cognitively mobilised nonpartisans within the American, German and British electorates⁷¹. The rationale for this theory, to this study, is that when there is media political education it will gradually increase the ideological consciousness and provide adequately knowledgeable youths which will change their apothecial, hostility, prejudice and ignorant attitudes towards politics to political efficacy, interest, sympathy, acceptance and trust in the political processes. Afterwards, this may lead to political participation like voting campaigns, party memberships, voluntary work, civic responsibilities and demonstrations towards achieving a desirable goal of national development.

2.2.4 Cognitive Engagement Theory (CET)

The concept of cognitive engagement is the extent to which individuals are willing and able to learn about politics which eventually leads to participation. It involves the amount of efforts youths are willing to invest in seeking to participate in politics and also how long they persist in doing so⁹³. The Cognitive Engagement Theory (CET) was propounded by Ronald F. Inglehart in 1977 as Cognitive Mobilisation Theory. At that time, cognitive mobilisation theory basically centers on the idea that political participation is affected by an individual's education, access to information, political knowledge, political interest and policy satisfaction.

Education refers to whether individuals have more than the minimum levels of education, especially higher education. Access to information refers to how individuals use media to get political information. Political interest encompasses what propels youths to follow activities of government and to understand policymaking. Political knowledge entails their understanding of

the way the system works, while policy satisfaction pertains to the relevant policy information crucial for making participation-related decisions. Hence, societies with a higher proportion of educated youth are likely to have better-informed individuals, fostering greater political participation as an expression of contentment with governmental policies. Also, as the cost of accessing information decreases, youth engagement with media sources increases, leading to increased political participation. However, like every theory, CET also has its criticisms. A major criticism of CET is that, as a choice-based theory that involves information processing, it does not take cognisance of the fact that individuals might decide not to act on political information once they have acquired it, especially with the absence of incentives. Furthermore, it is still unclear why educated people should be willing to act on media information once they have got it. Better education may represent better cognitive ability but it cannot be directly translated into an automatic interest in politics. Thus, even if individuals are well educated and interested in politics, they may still need some resources for participation. The CET is rooted in choice conceptions of participation rather than structural conceptions of Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM). As a result, rather than participating in politics due to an individual's social characteristics, cognitively engaged citizens do so in terms of the choices which they make about involvement.

Hence, choice conceptions means that individuals make conscious choices about political participation. Possibly, cognitively engaged citizens are critical citizens, who, when unsatisfied by government policies, might mobilise for unconventional (i.e online political participation) forms of political participation. Nevertheless, they could also decide not to participate in politics at all due to their dissatisfaction with government policies.

Consequently, cognitive engagement results from an individual's access to information and his ability and willingness to use that information to make informed choices. Historically, cognitively engaged citizens are the good citizens who have an interest in politics and know how democracy works. They are critical citizens who are propelled to participate in politics if they are not satisfied with government policies⁹³.

2.3 Review of Empirical Studies

2.3.1 Media Contents and Youths' Exposure

The influence of the media, youths use, on their physical and mental health and development has been an area of significant concern to parents, educators, and researchers since the rapid penetration of television (TV) in homes and culture during the 1950s⁹⁷. Epidemiologic and experimental research over the ensuing decades have shown associations between screen media use and physical health issues like obesity, mental health risks like aggression, and developmental outcomes like attention to events around them and academic performance. In the present day, with multiple screens visible in virtually any indoor and many outdoor environments, with smartphones at our fingertips, and interactive media accessible even to infants, worries about the effects of TV within the confines of the living room seem quaint. Paralleling rising concern about influence of screen media on young people, innovative educators explored the potential of media as an educational tool for youths and the underserved. Researchers found that children exposed to educational TV have developed more pre-reading and pre-math skills, greater readiness for learning upon entering school, and were more prosaic than peers who watched entertainment⁹⁷.

Efforts by organisations of health professionals to sort through research findings and develop effective public health strategies addressing media production and consumption have been blunted by challenges due to limitations in research methodologies. The findings of harmful effects from

media use were limited by the research methodologies used “naturalistic” epidemiologic studies, asking children (or parents) to recall media usage and estimate its duration as well as laboratory experiments measuring immediate effects of specific content on small numbers of select subjects. Using Taro Yamane’s formula to select 100 students, a study examined the influence of television programmes on youth’s dressing pattern in Taraba State University, Jalingo, Nigeria. The study made use of focus group and quantitative survey for its methodology. 8 participants formed the focus group while 100 selected students were distributed questionnaires. The study data gathered for the quantitative survey were coded in SPSS version 22 and presented in tables with frequency counts and simple percentages while the focus group was textually analysed. The study revealed, among other things, that entertainment/musical programmes are the most preferred and watched programmes by youths. The study also revealed that youths imitate the hip hop/hippies and makeup/hairstyles shown on television programmes than any other form of dressing, and imitating such dressing makes them appear indecent⁹⁸.

A study examined the devastating impact of television on the youths’ academic performance, propensity for violence, unruly behaviour and the loss of moral and national values. The foundation of this study rested upon cultivation theory of mass media and observational learning and imitation behaviour theory. The study employed both quantitative empirical primary and secondary data. The study encompassed a population of 2,450 students aged 9-17 years from Command Secondary School, Ikeja Military Cantonment, while 250 students were chosen as a sample size, irrespective of their age, gender and academic level. The Purposive Random sampling method was employed to elicit information from the respondents. The study’s focus was on the exposure of these students to violent films and the awareness and knowledge on the rating and classification of films by National Film Corporation (NFC). From the findings of the study, it was

revealed that TV viewing hours has significant effect on the students' academic performance. It indicates that too many hours in front of the TV does not enable students bring out their full potential in their academics. Though, some researchers argue that the content of what is being viewed should actually be the major concern, while, others argue that when programs are educational, viewing might not be detrimental. Regardless the position taken, the type of programmes to which children are exposed should be screened and scrutinised carefully and properly to reduce the violence that are harmful to their social well-being and for national development⁹⁹.

A study examined news media exposure and political participation among young people. The study adopted two main instruments sample which were used as reference to design the research questionnaire; the European Social Survey, and Merdeka Centre (Malaysian respondents). The European Social Survey (ESS) is a set of constructed survey questions on communications and mass media in general social survey. Besides that, ESS is involved with conducting a systematic study of changing values, attitudes, attributes and behavioural patterns. Before the questionnaires were distributed to the respondents, the researcher had conducted a pilot test to ensure reliability and validity of the study's findings. Upon completion of the research instrument's preliminary test, the Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.95 was observed for news media exposure and political interest, highlighting their reliability. The study concluded that the reading pattern of newspaper among young people, as measured by the frequency of reading per week categorised students in the medium-level of media exposure. Students preferred to read Malay newspapers (*Berita Harian* and *Utusan Malaysia*) rather than English newspapers (*The Star* and *New Straits Times*). Also, despite, greater news media exposure, young people were uninterested to join political activities

as reported in this study. This phenomenon is closely related to young people's lifestyle who avoided complicated matters in their lives¹⁰⁰.

2.3.2. Media Contents and Youths' Knowledge on Political Activities

The free media outlets make a wide range of information accessible to the public and provide political knowledge through access to reliable and comprehensible resources such as portrayals, news, reports, discussions and more, about social and political affairs. Textual (newspaper), auditory (radio news), and audio-visual (television) news channels should be able to provide vital information about important political and social issues¹.

Just like family, school, political system, religion and occupation, the media play vital roles as agents of political socialisation in the society. Access to the media has significant relationship with knowledge and attitudes, because the general public gets their news and information from mass media. One's Knowledge of politics is dependent on access to, and usage of news media and a positive relationship between political news use and political knowledge. The educative roles of the traditional and new media seem to have increase political interest, discussion, and ideological sophistication in many countries¹. Therefore, the media are tools for political knowledge and democratic consolidation². The more citizens use the media, whether through television, radio, newspapers or internet to access the news, the higher their political knowledge which is crucial to political participation¹. The widespread availability of news and political information through platforms such as the internet and satellite television has the potential to improve citizens' knowledge of current events.

A study examined the influence of media on political knowledge amongst undergraduate students in Ibadan, Nigeria. The study, therefore, aimed to investigate if the use of media by students would have significant influence on their political knowledge. The Uses and Gratification Theory (UGT)

was used to explain how media is used to the advantage of people. Using cross-sectional survey research design, the study used a structured questionnaire to collect information on students' demographic, frequency of media access and knowledge of Nigerian politics from 246 randomly selected students of the Polytechnic, Ibadan (Mean age is 25.07 years, SD = 6.23).

Findings from this field of study pointed out that social media is the most frequently used media, followed by radio, television and newspaper. 31% of the respondents demonstrated a very high political knowledge while 3% had no political knowledge. Access to radio is the only significant correlation ($r = 0.42$, $p < 0.05$) and independent predictor ($\beta = 0.43$, $t = -3.98$, $p < 0.05$) of political knowledge, although access to radio, television, newspaper and social media are significant joint predictors of political knowledge ($R^2 = .18$, $F(4, 241) = 4.32$). This implies that radio is the foremost source of political knowledge amongst undergraduate students in Ibadan, Nigeria. It recommends that various media institutions and political analysts should take advantage of the social media to make more students politically knowledgeable¹.

2.3.3 Attitudes of Nigerian Youths towards Political Participation

Looking at the political participation and behaviour of young adults in, one is faced with a contradiction. Representatives of the disengagement paradigm within the literature underpin their argument with empirical findings, such as lower likelihood of young adults to vote in national elections, declining youth participation in political parties, and generally low levels of political interest⁷. On the other hand, the literature on an engagement paradigm of youth participation represents a more optimistic view as it is based on findings in the context of new forms of political participation, which are more appealing to, and are more frequently used by young adults⁷.

An investigation was carried out on the concept of youth participation and literature on youth political participation and political attitudes was examined. The research looked at political

participation behaviour of young adults in contemporary Europe, aiming to provide the readers with a map of different terminologies and logics that are used to discuss youth political participation. The study examined existing literatures through the lens of five guiding questions: What defines youth political participation? How does youth political participation differ from adult political participation? How do young adults develop political attitudes? How does youth political participation differ across Europe? What methods are being used to analyse youth political participation? This research goals were multifaceted, among which were to give an overview of the various definitions of “political participation” and to work out the specific features of youth political participation.

Furthermore, it aimed at shedding light on the state of youth political participation in the European context and the methods previously used to investigate this, in order to be able to identify gaps in the literature and to suggest avenues for further research. Also, the study noted that the current definition of youth political participation general largely aligns with political participation. However, the question remains regarding the particular forms of political participation used by young adults. The research recommended that other researchers should spend more time on this topic to resolve the mismatch between the definition of political participation and the perception of young adults regarding what is “political” and to review existing and upcoming datasets so that they can scrutinize this concept⁷.

In divergence, the survey research design examined if social media usage influences youths’ interest in politics. The purpose of the research was to determine the role of social media in shaping young people’s interest in politics and political issues. The survey was conducted using online questionnaire among young people aged 15 to 29. Results have shown that using Facebook for

political discussions has a significant positive influence on young people's interest in politics. Using X , however, has shown not to have significant influence on political interest of young people. The information obtained was analysed using the statistical software package SPSS version

21.0. Statistical techniques of unilabiate analysis (frequency distribution, central tendency measures) and multivariate analysis (reliability analysis, linear regression) were used.

The findings of the study established that using Facebook for political discussion has a significant positive influence on political interest. The more active young people are on Facebook in political discussion, the greater is their political interest. X in this case did not have any significant influence on political interest but X is not that widely used in Croatia as compared to other countries, hence its effects cannot be generalised. The results of the research could be helpful for politicians and political parties in forming their political and marketing strategies. Facebook can be a very useful tool to reach young people and get them to be more involved in politics. It is necessary to encourage young people to be more active on social networks in the political context and to develop their political interest because they are the ones who will shape the future of politics and the country at large⁹⁰.

A survey-based study examined the level of political participation and voting behaviour of Nigerian citizens during the 2015 General Elections in Benue State. The study, among others, aimed to investigate the role played by the Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC), in the mobilisation of citizens for the General elections, the factors that induced citizens' participation as well as the level of conformity of the political behaviour of the electorate with electoral guidelines. The study utilised the procedural theory of democracy and the standard Socio-Economic model that postulates the factors that intermediate between actors and their ability to participate. The

study concluded that effective political participation and the voting behaviour of citizens are tantamount to the effectiveness of the political process. Thus, it is recommended, amongst other things, that for political stability to be maintained, the electoral process must be accommodating, and allow for expression of the electoral freedom of the people as well as give cognisance to the fact that socio-economic wellbeing of the people is paramount. Also, the study revealed factors that accounted for the voting participation in the elections. The factors that had more influence on voters were; the credibility of the candidates, the desire to change the party in power due to poor performance, the use of the Smart card reader and fairness in zoning arrangement. Party image played the least impact in voters' decision to vote. Voting behaviour in the election was generally in conformity with INEC's electoral guidelines. Overall, voters were orderly during accreditation, voting, sorting, counting, and declaration of results⁹².

2.3.4 Level of Political Participation among Nigerian Youths in Political Activities

In a simple approach, political participation is citizens' involvement in the acts, events or activities that influence the selection of and/or the actions taken by political representatives. It refers to the various mechanisms through which the public express their political views and, and/or exercise their influence on the political process³⁷. It is the involvement of people, (not necessarily active) in any political process before a collective decision is arrived. In other words, political participation entails citizens' engagement in the discourse of socio-political and economic issues which serve as yardsticks for choosing would be leaders³⁸. It may also include assessing the capabilities of the incumbents and advocating ways of ameliorating societal ills for a more prosperous country. Political participation includes such activities like political discourse, political campaigns, voter registration, the actual voting, writing and signing of petitions, attending of civil protests, joining interest groups that engage in lobbying, political advocacy, monitoring and

reporting of cases of violation of the electoral process such as fraud, rigging, intimidation, violence, monetary inducements, underage voting, and more.

A study examined the relationship between youth political participation, good governance and social inclusion in Nigeria with evidence from Nairaland. The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between youth political participation, good governance, and social inclusion in Nigeria. Using a quantitative approach, 1,208 youth aged 18-35, selected from Nairaland, participated in the study. The study adopted an online survey design in its data gathering process from a convenience sampling of youth.

This method was embraced because of the following reasons 1) web-based questionnaires are less expensive to administer, can accommodate a large group, and give access to real-time information. The collected data was analysed using Spearman Correlation Coefficient and the findings indicate that there is a significant positive relationship between youth political participation and good governance in Nigeria ($r_s, (1206) = .615, p < .001$) Similarly, the study identified a significant positive association between youth political participation and social inclusion in Nigeria ($r_s, (1206) = .875, p < .001$). The study found out that youth political participation has a positive correlation with good governance and social inclusion in Nigeria, it further revealed that the majority of Nigerian youth are unemployed even though a larger percentage of them have either attained or are presently undergoing post-secondary education. The study emphasized the importance of youth involvement in politics, as their involvement will promote good governance, especially in the areas of transparency, accountability, and development. Likewise, their involvement in politics will effectively address inequalities and exclusions to create an inclusive society⁴¹.

Undergraduate perception of political participation in Nigeria was also examined. The research work aimed at investigating the perception of undergraduates on political participation in Nigeria. The study adopted the survey research method. The population of the study constituted 12,548 undergraduate students of Babcock University in Ogun State, Nigeria. A total sample size of 200 respondents was randomly selected for the study. Data was sourced from the respondents with the use of a structured questionnaire, and other secondary data were gotten from relevant text books, newspapers, magazines, journals, amongst others.

The study revealed that the political participation of youths in politics is a needed ingredient in the Nigerian political process, and such participation is likely to impact positively on national development if it is well managed. However, the participation of youths in politics, especially undergraduates, is not being maximised to yield the needed outcome, as they see themselves as instruments used by political actors, during and after elections, for selfish ends. Some of them are used as thugs, other as assassins, thieves, and several other unhealthy activities, which do not only jeopardise the lives of these young people, but impedes development in virtually all areas of governance⁴⁴.

A research on electoral violence and political participation in Nigeria (2007-2019) was examined. The main purpose of the study was to investigate these problems alongside their solutions. Four research questions guided the study. Descriptive survey research was adopted to guide the study. The population of the study consisted of all the eligible voters in Nigeria from the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) inclusive, with a sample of 300 respondents, including 50 persons from each of the eight selected states chosen randomly. The instrument was structured on a four-point scale with response options of Strongly Agree=4, Agree=3, Disagree=2, strongly disagree =1. Data collected were analysed using mean and standard deviation to answer the

research questions which determined the homogeneity or otherwise of the respondents meaning rating, t-test was used to test the hypotheses at 0.05 level of significance.

The findings show that election-related violence can negatively impact the participation of eligible voters in all the electoral processes and activities in Nigeria. The study also showed that such violence can generate negative excess returns, which will discourage political participation. Based on these findings, the study concluded that election-related violence can negatively impact the participation of eligible voters in all the electoral processes and activities in Nigeria. It is also important to note that effective recognition and use of corrective measures to enhance free and fair election should be some collaborative efforts among the, politicians, aspirants, security agencies, government in power, and INEC⁸⁷.

Using cognitive engagement theory (CET) as the theoretical framework, the study examined how the declining participation of youths has led to increased research interest in this area. The study further stated the conflicting results which have emerged from such researches, perhaps due to lack of proper theorisation of the concept of youth online political participation on social media. The study examined the CET from the perspective of online political participation on social media, embodying two separate trends.

First, is the decrease in the cost of acquiring information; and second, the increase in youth's ability to process political information which in turn enhances participation. This means that youths will have more political resources allowing them to deal with political issues and understand how democracy works in their society. Consequently, using CET has helped to clarify differing results as it contains variables such as access to political information on social media, political knowledge, political interest and policy satisfaction which better explains the concept of youth participation in online political activities on social media, hence decreasing the inconsistencies experienced in

previous researches. The study used CET to explain why youth online political participation has provided a better alternative to theories used in other researches where conflicting results emerged.

This is because variables of CET can appropriately explain the phenomenon of youth engagement in online political participation through social media. Therefore, it is clear that online political participation via social media makes involvement in politics easier, far less expensive and by extension an extra boost to cognitive engagement. This indicates the suitable applicability of CET to youth online political participation on social media⁹³.

A study evaluated the push/pull factors of citizens' participation in Nigerian politics. Citizens' participation in Nigerian politics is both integral and an indispensable part of every political system and development. The study uses secondary sources to collect data and perform qualitative analysis. The study is timely and significant in view of the critical roles which participation plays in shaping Nigerian politics, especially at the current moment when it is being characterized by apathy and lack of or insufficient participation.

The study used the qualitative method as collection and analysis of the data which were obtained from secondary sources. This method enables a study to digest issues from a flexible multi-dimensional approaches, using the qualitative techniques of research paradigm. The study concluded that political and state systems can neither be sustained, nor would they thrive without the citizens' participation and contributions in either conventional or unconventional ways. Political participation in Nigeria, together with its socio-political and economic development, remains unstable, uncertain and poor engagement on one hand, and growth on the other due to several factors. The identified push/pull factors have affected the political system in both positive and negative ways.

The negative effects of push factors are due to manipulation of ethnicity and religions, patron- clients relations at all levels of politicking, prebendal politics, the politicians intent to win elections at all costs/deployment of illegal and unpopular means of acquisition and usage of political powers, failure to meet up with political/state obligations excessive use of money in the political activities and processes; absence of clearly defined political parties' ideologies; ever declining trust between citizens and elites, including the politicians/political system. These have altogether inflicted negative consequences on the Nigerian political/state system, and a decline of both extent and level of the citizens' political participation. Most Nigerians have become disenchanted with the politics, politicians and the Nigerian state system itself, largely on the account of the system and politicians' attitudes. Therefore, the trend reflects unpopularity of the state system as well as disaffection with the attitudes of the politicians, and the political parties³⁵.

2.3.5 Media Contents and Youths' Attitudes towards Political Activities

The level of political participation among young people in Africa is disturbingly low, despite accounting for more than 70% of the region's population³⁰. Many African youths have been neglected from the political arena and are, therefore, showing less interest in active political participation²⁴. In the wake of the 2011/2012 Arab Spring that ousted several dictatorial regimes in African countries, there was the hope of increasing recognition of youths' creative skills and innovative ideas across the continent²⁴.

However, this recognition does not seem to have translated into greater political participation among young people, as evidenced by voters' turnout, joining or forming youths' political parties, and running for formal political leadership positions²⁴.

Nigeria is a clear reflection of the African situation. Young Nigerians are not adequately represented in formal political institutions and processes, such as parliaments, political parties,

elections, and public administration. Studies indicate that young people are less politically active than older adults. Where a considerable number of youths seem to participate in political activities, they seldom rise to prominent positions but often end up as cannon fodder to older politicians who use them to perpetrate electoral violence and organise short-lived protest movements like the *EndSARS* campaign of 2020. Although it may seem fashionable to see many Nigerian youths showing support for democracy, most of them tend to be less enthusiastic about how democracy works. Hence, the worrisome level of political apathy among them²⁴.

A study examined the influence of newspaper reports on the extent of political apathy among young people in Southeast Nigeria. The research a sample of 384 respondents selected through a multistage sampling technique. The study also evaluated the roles played by political efficacy and news perception to the extent of political involvement among youth. The study adopted the survey research approach, which sought to determine why people behave in specific ways. The study found out that the newspaper medium remains a significant source of political information to many Nigerian youths. However, the study added that many young people in the country hold a negative perception towards newspaper political reports because they feel such stories are not objective enough, inaccurate, filled with irrelevant content, and seldom motivate political participation. Also, reading political stories does not cause political alienation or cynicism. Instead, it tends to stimulate interest in politics and stir up the belief in the power of the masses to cause consequential political changes. More so, the study extends the frontiers of current knowledge of youths' civic engagement by demonstrating a relatively low level of political apathy among youths on issues relating to passive political involvement, such as engaging in political discussions or intention to vote in future elections. However, their apathy on issues concerning active political involvement, such as joining

a public protest or signing a public petition against poor governance, is high. Overall, obtaining political news from newspaper is positively related to a higher political efficacy but negatively associated with political apathy among youths. Similarly, a negative association exists between political apathy and youths' perception of newspaper political news. By implication, the study indicates that people's valuation and opinion on media products may influence how they relate with the larger society.

The results of the current study hold several implications for media research and practice. First, the findings underscore the imperative for the Nigerian mass media, particularly the newspaper, to focus more on reporting the most crucial political issues that will enable the public to take self-determined actions in line with the social responsibility principles of the press. Second, there is the need for the government and its agencies to fully recognise the constitutional and social functions of the press as the true conscience of society. The press is constitutionally charged with upholding the fundamental objectives and directive principles of the Nigerian state. Thus, the society should create an enabling environment for the press to hold the government and its agencies accountable to the people. Similarly, the government should be more receptive to legitimate civil disobedience and respond to protesters' demands within the ambits of democratic rules and constitutional provisions.

Furthermore, young people in Nigeria should make deliberate efforts to stir up their interest and involvement in politics to significantly increase their visibility in governance and abort the endless deferment of their leadership opportunities couched in the unpopular phrase, "the youths are leaders of tomorrow." Also, entities like INEC, political parties, Non-Governmental Organisations, Community-Based Organisations, Faith-Based Organisations, and similar bodies should make it a point of duty to sensitise young Nigerians, encouraging them to actively

participate in the determination of Nigeria's political future. Importantly, electioneering activities across Nigeria should be peacefully, fairly and credibly conducted. By doing so, elections can genuinely reflect the will of the masses, enabling citizens to express their opinions through the ballots. Arguably, the flagrant disregard for electoral laws and high-level impunity and corruption during polls constitute decisive factors militating against youths' political participation²⁴.

2.3.7 Media Political Education and Youths' Political Participation

The essence of education of any kind, political education inclusive, is to ensure a degree of behaviour modification that determines a relationship between attitudes, behavioural intentions and actual behaviour⁸⁶. Political education is a process whereby people learn several matters such as how to socialize within political culture, how to think and act on politics and government, how to adapt to the political process, how to shape political system and how to make decisions. Political education is a process whereby citizens internalise the set of values of the political system⁸⁶. The role of political education is the sensitisation of individuals to their rights, duties and obligations in order to ensure their protection.

A study examined the alleged decline in the rate of citizens' participation in political activities and explored the agencies and strategies used for implementation of political education programmes in Nigeria. The paper further examined some formal institutions for political education in Nigeria, the nature of programmes designed and the implementation strategies. The research adopted qualitative and descriptive methodology, and employed secondary source of data generation which utilising relevant documents from political education agencies, books, internet materials and journals. The secondary data was complemented with information elicited via structured oral interview with select management officials of political education institutions. The generated data were descriptively analysed.

The study's findings show that the implementation cum mobilisation strategies adopted by some government-established political education management agencies are elitist oriented and not suitable in a country with high rate of uneducated individuals who live in rural areas with limited access to information and communication technology. The study further revealed that one of the challenges facing political education programme implementation in Nigeria is high level of illiteracy. High rate of illiteracy, among the citizens, makes it difficult for political education agencies to easily mobilise the citizens for participation in political process. Also the study identified lack of synergies among the political class and the managers of political education institutions such as NOA. An interaction with the State Director and the Head of Programme unit at the National Orientation Agencies in Enugu State, showed that inadequate finance is a serious challenge facing the agency. Thus, the study advocates the adoption of grassroots-based mobilisation and sensitisation approach in executing programmes on political education in Nigeria⁹⁰.

A research examined the political communication strategies employed by political parties in during the 2014 Legislative election in Indonesia. The study discussed and analysed how these parties engaged in political communication during the election. In order to analyse the political communication process conducted by the political parties, the study used the theory of political communication with these indicators: sources (political communicator), political messages, media or political channels, influence or effect of political communication. The study adopted qualitative design or method and used primary data sources such as interviews and observations, as well as secondary data such as photo documentation and source literature obtained from other sources. From the research, it was made known that the political parties use the sources of political communication in the form of print media, electronic, outdoor media, and public communication

groups. Associated with the delivery of a political message, the political parties use multiple message channels, encompassing both textual and non-verbal elements. These message channels were closely associated with the media or political channels that are used by political parties, namely the print and electronic media.

The results of the study also showed that the influence of political communication by the political parties through the mass media are not always able to influence the attitudes or perceptions of society, because it needs to be seen also from the other side, that is, the perspective and needs of the community. From the results, the study concluded that political communication conducted by political parties, through a variety of media no longer have a dominant effect because audiences are active and independent⁸⁸.

Using cross sectional survey design, a research on media, political socialisation and participation was carried out. The study examined the media, political socialisation and participation, using South-South/South-Eastern Nigeria as a case study. The study focused on the youth and the public media outlets as the pillars for the future survival of democracy in the country. The study involved 625 undergraduate students from the South East and South-South Nigerian universities while a survey research design was adopted to collect data from the respondents.

The findings showed the strong relationship: between political socialisation within families and political participation ($P < 0.01$, $\rho = 0.451$), political socialisation at the educational institutions and political participation ($P < .00$, $\rho = 0.419$), access to public media and political socialisation ($P < 0.01$, $\rho = 0.284$) and attitude to political participation and actual political participation ($P < 0.01$, $\rho = 0.351$). The study also found out that political socialisation at the family/educational institutions, attitude to political participation and rating of the information on public news media can predict the future direction of political participation in the regions. On the contrary, in the

study, it was revealed that there is low level of political participation, political socialisation in the educational institutions, significant level of unfavourable attitude towards political participation and public news media in the regions.

However, the findings revealed some of the hindering factors which have affected the general political participation in Nigeria, among which are political socialisation at the family and educational institution, access to public and social media, perception of the news on the Nigerian public news media and attitude to party and political zoning at the national level. The study concluded that political participation and the public and social media are the interwoven factors crucial for the development and growth of democracy, especially in the developing nations, which ought to be observed with some level of keenness. Among the youth, in the present era, when technology has made information easy at various levels, care needs to be taken. The way they utilise the information sources and their effects on their attitude to social phenomenon such as political participation is very important in order to see how such can be utilised as a strategy to actualise the global agenda of democratic development and human right security⁴⁰.

In Jos city and its environs, investigation was carried out on the impact of mass media on political mobilisation process. The study sought to determine the level of interference of government in the activities of mass media on the political mobilisation process. The theoretical framework of this study was limited to the Agenda Setting Theory. The population consisted of all the staff of Plateau Radio Television Corporation Jos (PRTVC) who answered the simple but well-designed choice and open questionnaires. Descriptive survey research design was adopted for the study. The study encompassed a population of 385 staff of PRTVC, as Simple random sampling technique was used to carry out the study.

The sample size of 196 employees of Plateau Radio Television Corporation Jos was used to gather relevant information for analysis. The researcher used frequency and percentage as statistical tool for analysing the gathered data. The study established that without a vibrant press and free flow of information, government cannot fully function to its full potentials. It also revealed that freedom of the press is vital to the growth of Nigerian democracy. The research, thus, recommends that in order to ensure, efficient and unbiased political mobilisation by the mass media, there should be total autonomy, which would, in turn, ensure a free and independent press⁷⁴.

A similar study researched into social media and political participation among students in Nigeria. The study examined the impact of social media use, and protest experience in political participation and efficacy formation among students in Nigeria.

The study employed a sequential explanatory mixed methods approach, consisting of a 680 face-to-face paper survey responses and 34 semi-structured qualitative interviews with university students in Nigeria. The study revealed that protest experience, and political efficacy significantly increased students' intention to join politics more than the use of social media. Of the variables, political efficacy was the strongest predictor of intention to participate in politics. In addition, the study demonstrated that the experience of collective and connective actions increase the likelihood of further political participation among students in Nigeria. In conclusion, the study highlighted the significant use of social media as well as protest experience in political participation among students in Nigeria. The study showed that the mobilizing effects of protests not only help in political participation, at that point in time but also enhance future political participation. The study also added a Sub-Saharan African perspective within the broader global discourse on political communication and digital activism, underscoring the impact of social media use and protest experience in political efficacy formation. In all, this study illustrates the fact that the experience

of collective action, as well as social media use, increase the likelihood of further political participation, as well as, evaluations of the quality of governance³¹.

The influence of social media on youth participation in Nigerian politics, using a case of the 2015/2019 general elections, was examined. The survey research design was used for this study with questionnaire as the data gathering instrument. The research population comprised of youth drawn from the major cities in Western Nigeria. The data was analysed using simple percentage and differential statistics. It was revealed from the study's findings that 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 during the 2015 and 2019 general elections. The finding, therefore, showed a positive relationship between social media use and real life political participation by youths. The study concluded that technology is here to stay and the findings of the study showed that social media is, and will continue to play a substantial role in how youths view various issues generally, including politics. With social media, participation and actual engagement in politics increased as shown by the 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria. Youths are now not merely being used as thugs and disruptors of elections but also as participants in seeing that able and competent leaders are chosen to rule the affairs of the nation⁸⁹.

Considering the mobilisation theory thesis perspective, a study argued that political education programmes significantly relate with political participation. They mobilise the cognitive capacity and efficacy of individuals to process complex political events or information and engage actively in political activities. Also, the study demonstrated that electoral violence and other factors such

as cultural practices, family background, institutional and low level of political knowledge militate against political participation.

Electoral violence has led citizens to develop apathy towards political participation due to concerns about security. Therefore, to maximise the benefits of political education programmes and ensure sustainable democracy in Nigeria, the government and other political education agencies should develop a pragmatic political education framework. To arrive at this conclusion, the study employed cognitive mobilisation theory as its theoretical framework of analysis. Through the use of secondary sources, relevant data relating to the objectives of the paper were generated and analysed.

Consequently, the study stresses the need to institutionalise and intensify political education programmes at all levels so as to enhance political skills, knowledge and participation of the citizens. In addition, a reduction in the rate of electoral violence can as well be achieved through effective political education and strict implementation of electoral laws. Hence, for political education programmes to effectively mobilise the skills and knowledge of the citizens for active participation in political activities, there is an urgent need for the adoption of grassroots-based communication approach by political education agencies in order to disseminate political knowledge⁷¹.

A research on voters' education and credible election in Nigeria examined the different issues and challenges of 2019 general elections. The research examined the import of voters' education in credible elections and its attendant issues and challenges in Nigeria. The study was, however, sourced predominantly from secondary sources of data. The study recognised the significance of the creation of viable electoral institutions as well as, inauguration of an Electoral Crime Commission charged with the responsibility of prosecuting electoral offenders, especially in case of vote buying. Also, INEC must strengthen its operational capacity and procedures for the

collation of results. Besides, there is a need for inter-agency collaboration to ensure electoral security and transparency.

Electoral tribunal should ensure a completion of pre-election cases to reduce the number of petitions per time, and the need to reform the licensing system for the broadcast media to provide for media pluralism in the country and other election-related issues and challenges. Lastly, adequate and effective voters' education needs to take centre stage of all INEC activities in order to pave ways for credible elections in Nigeria. The paper stated that the task ahead of political parties, INEC and stakeholders in electioneering process in Nigeria is to continuously improve on voters' education before the next election, and not only during the period of election. There is also the need for inclusive electoral reforms that emphasise on political leadership dedicated to the rights of Nigerian citizens. Voters' education combined with national dialogue involving parties, the media, and related institutions are also encouraged²¹.

Another study examined the use of traditional modes of communication in the socio-political mobilisation of youths in the Khana Local Government Area of Rivers State. The study was rooted in the problem that the use of modern means of communication in Khana to mobilise and sensitise the youths to participate in political activities has not been easy as it has generated youth restiveness and violent killings in Khana. The symbolic interaction theory was adopted by the study. The study adopted survey research design, and the population of the study was 443,102 (derived from 2006 population census using a 3.2% projection rate). The sample size of 400 was determined from the populations using Taro Yamane statistical formula, while the purposive sampling technique was adopted by the study. Findings from the research showed that Khana Local Government has traditional media of communication that could be used for socio-political mobilisation of the youth, but these traditional modes of communication have not been effectively

used when it comes to the issue of youth socio-political mobilisation. Concluding that there are benefits in using traditional modes of communication for socio-political mobilisation, the researcher recommended that the traditional media of communication should be elevated by the government rather than neglected in favour of the modern media and that the role of the town crier who serves as the major source of information dissemination in Khana should not be assigned to only illiterate persons but rather should be extended to enlightened persons in the society to avoid distortion of information. In addition, it was recommended that the town crier should be remunerated by government to encourage effective dissemination of information and mass mobilisation among the youths⁹⁴.

With the adoption of mixed methods design, a study investigated the influence of media use on university students' political participation in South Africa. The study used semi-structured interviews which were conducted among five purposively selected members of the Student Representative Council, and simple descriptive and Pearson correlation statistics were used to analyse the quantitative data, while thematic content analysis was performed on the qualitative data. Using 372 participants, the study concluded that there is a strong and positive relationship between students' mass media use and their participation in politics, and therefore, recommended that political education through the mass media would be significantly required to improve students' interest and participation in politics. The potential advantage of the media, especially the social media, must be tapped by the university authorities, political organisations and other concerned agencies of government to increase university students' political knowledge, interest and participation in South Africa¹¹⁵.

A study investigated the influence of media on political knowledge amongst undergraduate students in Ibadan, Nigeria. The study adopted Uses and Gratification Theory (UGT) to explain

how media is used to the advantage of people. Using cross-sectional survey research design, a structured questionnaire was used to collect information on students' demographic, frequency of media access and knowledge of Nigerian politics from 246 randomly selected students of the Polytechnic, Ibadan (Mean age is 25.07 years, SD = 6.23) were the bases for the study. Using Descriptive and inferential statistics, the study find out that social media as the most frequently use media, followed by radio, television and newspaper.31% of the respondents had very high political knowledge while 3% had no political knowledge. The study concluded that that radio is the foremost source of political knowledge amongst undergraduate students in Ibadan, Nigeria¹¹⁶.

Social media as an information source of political learning in online education as examined by a study with focus on contribute to the lack of research on the topic of political material. The researchused a cross-sectional survey method involving 508 undergraduate students of a distance learningprogram. The study results showed that the use of social media influences political knowledge bymediating online discussions over different social media platforms. The more students use social media and discuss political issues, the higher their level of knowledge. The study implies that instructors can use social media to integrate the instructional design of relevant courses that facilitate political discussion for the acquisition of students' political knowledge¹¹⁷.

Investigating the use of social media for knowledge sharing among students, the study focused on knowledge sharing among students of the Polytechnic Ibadan. The study adopted stratified random sampling technique. Data was analysed for the study using frequencies and percentage distribution, Spearman's rank correlation, Kruskal Wallis test, and Chi-Square. The findings of the study are that *Facebook* and *Whatsapp* are the most widely used social media tools for knowledge sharing by the students. It further found significant relationship between social influence and attitude towards using social media for knowledge sharing, as well as a significant relationship between

attitude and use of social media for knowledge sharing. Based on the findings, the study recommended that institutions should exploit the proliferation of social media and its use to set up off-class student-student and student-lecturer discussion groups, which could help encourage and promote knowledge sharing, and thereby help students achieve good academic outcomes¹¹⁸.

A study investigated the attitudes of university students toward political participation and Democratic Values in Nigeria as well as four other selected democratic values – freedom and liberty, human rights/human rights protest, corruption resistance, and separation of powers in Nigeria, the study adopted descriptive survey design, with a tool entitled ‘Attitude towards Democratic Values Questionnaire (ADVQ)’, was used to collect data from randomly selected 250 undergraduate students (male = 120; female = 130) from a university in Nigeria. The study found that students reported an unwillingness to protest human rights violations as well as the tendency to accept bribes and campaign for the wrong political candidate for financial gains, despite general findings that indicated positive attitudes towards all selected democratic values among university students. The result of the variance analysis conducted to ascertain the influence of gender on attitudes towards democratic values showed that female students scored significantly higher than their male counterparts in all measured democratic principles, excepting human rights and separation of powers. The implications of these findings for a critical democratic education that emphasises critical consciousness, spatial voting, and socio-political resilience are discussed¹¹⁹.

Adopting Survey research design, a study examined the use of social media for political participation by youths in Oyo State, Nigeria. The study collected data from 322 youths in three Nigerian universities through the use of questionnaire. Findings reveal that social media was highly used by the youths for political participation, Facebook was the most used, followed by *Whatsapp*, *Instagram*, *X* and Yahoo Messenger, 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. Perceived usefulness, perceived ease of use, subjective norms, and computer self-efficacy significantly influence the use of social media for political participation, which suggests that these factors could be considered when promoting the use of social media for political participation among youths. Given the growing popularity and penetration of social media and the way they influence peoples' lives, the empirical findings of this study add to understanding how and why social media use will function in motivating citizens to be involved in political activities¹²⁰.

With the objective of determining the predictive value of media exposure on the political knowledge and behaviour of undergraduates in South-West Nigeria, a survey research platform was used.

Through a combination of stratified and multi-stage sampling, a comprehensive sample frame of 4,700 respondents was generated from a cluster of faculties/colleges from six universities. From the 4,228 copies of questionnaire returned and analysed, findings showed that contrary to earlier-held notions, exposure to the electronic media (radio, television and internet) predicted higher political knowledge and behaviour among respondents than the print media. The results also showed that there was a significant influence of exposure to the media on respondents' political behaviour ($t_{4226} = 2.365$).

The calculated t value of 2.365 was found to be significantly higher than the critical t value of 1.960 at 4226 degrees of freedom at 0.05 level of significance. The study also revealed that television was the most dominant source of political information among the respondents. Based on these findings, it was suggested, among others, that the government and media proprietors should synergise efforts to curb the incidence of poor reading

culture among youths through reduced costs and richer contents of the print media. The study recommended that undergraduates constitute a crucial portion of youths and the voting population. To this extent, deliberate policies must be initiated to widen their access to the mass media. While it is instructive and salutary that the miniaturisation of technology and media convergence liberalised access to the electronic media, especially the Internet, a lot still needs to be done by the government and other regulatory bodies to provide the requisite infrastructure to make these services available, as well as address the rising costs of phones, computers, iPads, Androids, tablets, among others, to make these devices more accessible to this class of Nigerians¹²¹.

Another study investigated political socialisation as a correlate of youths' political attitudes in Ekiti State, Nigeria. The study specifically examined the relationship between agents of political socialisation (family and mass media) and the political attitude of youths in Ekiti State. The descriptive research design of the survey type was used in this study. The sample was selected using multistage sampling procedure. A self-designed research instrument tagged "Political Socialisation and Political Attitude Questionnaire (PSPAQ)" was used to collect relevant data for the study. The data collected through the instrument were analysed using inferential statistics from Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Statistics and t-test at the 0.05 level of significance. The findings of the study revealed that family and mass media as agents of socialisation are related to youths' political attitude in Ekiti State. Also, the political attitude of youths was not gender-biased. Based on the findings of the study, it was recommended, among others, that public awareness on political processes should be regularly carried out by various media as this can go a long way to reduce the acts of incivility constituted by youths and bring about positive political attitude¹²².

In Pakistan, using youths as a case study, a paper examined social media and political awareness. The study was descriptive in nature and adopted a quantitative approach. The target population of

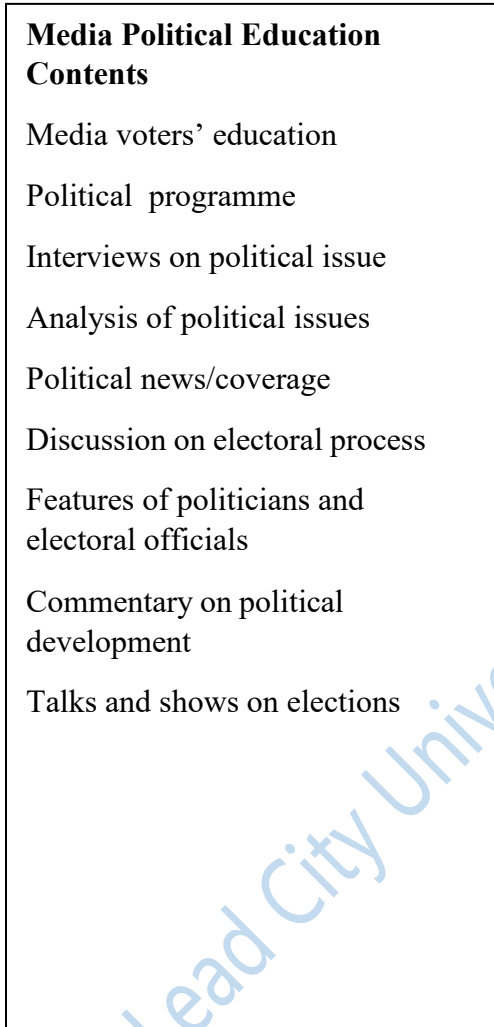
the study was students of BS and MS Programmes Public Sectors universities in Gujranwala division. The study collected data through the use of questionnaire and analysed it by applying descriptive statistics. The results of the study showed that social media plays a vital role in socializing the Pakistani youth, but the results of the test showed the lower level of political awareness among the students. The study recommends that educational institutions and public departments should share their authentic information via social media to create the political awareness among students.

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2.4: Conceptual Model

Dependent Variables

Independent Variable



Youths' Political Knowledge

- Factual information on politics and political activities
- Knowledge of listed rules of party politics
- Substance of politics, people and parties
- Currency on national and international politics
- Political leadership, personalities and governance
- Political institutions and processes

Youths' Political Attitudes

- Youths' Political Efficacy
- Political interest
- Political awareness
- Political trust
- Political acceptance
- Political sympathy
- Political Apathy
- Political hostility

Youths' Political Participation

- Participation in voting
- Participation in campaigning
- Political party membership
- Performing voluntary work,
- Participation in political voluntary services
- Involvement in civic responsibility
- Participation in public demonstrations

Fig 2.1: Conceptual Model for the Study

The research model for this study is based on the research topic with the independent variables being media-related political educational contents while the dependent variables are youths' political knowledge, attitudes and participation in political activities. The indices of media political education are media voters' education, media political contents and programmes, interviews on politics issue, analysis of political issues, political news/coverage, discourse on electoral processes, portrayal of politicians and electoral officials, commentary on political development and talks and shows regarding elections.

The first dependent variable of this study is youths' political knowledge, the following indices will be used to measure it; factual information about politics and political activities, knowledge of listed rules of party politics and political substance of people and parties, currency on national and international politics, political leadership, personalities and governance, political institutions and processes as well as political norms, history, economy and institutions. The free media outlets make a wide range of information accessible to the public. They contribute to political knowledge by offering reliable and comprehensible resources such as portrayals, news, reports, and discussions related to social and political affairs. Textual (newspaper), auditory (radio news), and audio-visual (television) news channels should be able to provide vital information about important political and social issues¹.

Youths' political efficacy, political interest, political awareness, political trust, political acceptance, political sympathy, political apathy, political hostility and political prejudice are the indices for measuring youths' political attitudes which is the second dependent variable of this study. Likewise, the third dependent variable was measured using voting, campaigning, political party membership, performing voluntary work, participation in political voluntary services,

involvement in civic responsibility, participation in public demonstrations and participation in community services as the indices.

The model specification for the study determines the relationship between media educational contents, Nigerian youths' knowledge, attitude and participation in political activities. The empirical model of the study was presented in equations where the dependent variables were measured using; knowledge, attitude and participation of Nigerian Youths. Also, the independent variable media educational contents was measured using print, graphics/digital graphics, electronics/broadcast, digital media and social media. The specification is illustrated as follows;

$$Y = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_1 + \alpha_2 X_2 + \alpha_3 X_3 + \alpha_4 X_4 + \alpha_5 X_5 + e$$

Where:

Y = Nigerian Youths' KAP in political activities (Dependent Variable)

X₁ = Print media (Independent Variable)

X₂ = Graphics/digital graphics (Independent Variable)

X₃ = Electronics/broadcast (Independent Variable)

X₄ = Digital Media (Independent Variable)

X₅ = Social Media (Independent Variable)

α_0 = Intercept of the Model

$\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3, \alpha_4$ and α_5 = Co-efficient of the independent variables, e = error term.

Considering the political participation behaviour of young adults in contemporary Europe, one is faced with a contradiction. Representatives of the disengagement paradigm within the literature underpin their argument with empirical findings, such as young adults being the least likely to vote in national elections, the decline in youth membership in political parties, and general lack of political interest⁷. On the other hand, the literature on an engagement paradigm of youth participation represents a more optimistic view as it is based on findings in the context of new

forms of political participation, which are more appealing to, and are used more frequently by young adults⁷.

Political participation is citizens' involvement in the acts, events or activities that influence the selection of and/or the actions taken by political representatives. It refers to the various mechanisms through which the public express their political views and, and/or exercise their influence on the political process³⁷. It is the involvement of people, (not necessarily active) in any political process before a collective decision is arrived at. In other words, political participation entails citizens' engagement in the discourse of socio-political and economic issues which serve as yardsticks for choosing potential leaders³⁸. It may also include assessing the capabilities of the incumbencies and advocating ways of ameliorating societal ills for a more prosperous country. Political participation includes such activities like political discourse, political campaigns, voter registration, the actual voting, writing and signing of petitions, attending of civil protests, joining interest groups that engage in lobbying, political advocacy, monitoring and reporting of cases of violation of the electoral process such as frauds, rigging, intimidation, violence, monetary inducements, and underage voting, among others.

2.5 Summary of Gaps in Literature Reviewed

This section presented an overview of relevant literature to the research topic under investigation. The section started with the conceptual review of variables related to media political education, youths' political knowledge, attitudes and participation in Nigeria. This was followed by the theoretical review in which agenda setting theory, social responsibility theory, cognitive mobilisation theory and cognitive engagement theory were adopted to support the study. The empirical findings cover areas on media contents and youths' exposure, media contents and youths' knowledge on political contents, attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political

participation, level of political participation among Nigerian youths in political processes, media contents and youths' attitudes towards political programmes and media political education and youths' political participation were well discussed, revealed and presented. This was followed by the presentation of the conceptual model and its discussion.

Erstwhile studies found out that entertainment/musical contents are the most preferred and watched programmes by youths. It also revealed that youths tend to imitate the fashion and hairstyles portrayed in the media, particularly in hip hop/hippies and makeup/hairstyles, often resulting in indecent appearances. Another study showed that attention has been drawn to TV viewing hours which have significant effects on the students' academic performance, indicating, that prolonged TV exposure - academic potential⁹⁹. Though, some researches the existence pattern of newspaper readership among students. Measured by level of total days that students read newspaper per week, the result revealed that students have been categorised into the medium level of media exposure and despite, greater news media exposure, young people are still uninterested in joining political activities as reported in the study. This closely related to young people's lifestyle who avoid complicated matters in their lives¹⁰⁰. The studies failed to reveal how media exposure through medium level affects the knowledge of youths, hence establishing the need for this study.

Another limitation of the previous similar research work is that it only examined the influence of media on political knowledge amongst undergraduate students in Ibadan, neglecting youths aged 16-35 and those beyond Ibadan, Nigeria. This implied that some youths were neglected in this study and some students not aged 16 were included in the research work, hence the need for this study.

Furthermore, it is shown that media and youth political knowledge is scarcely explored on how it affects political participation, creating a high demand for this study.

Previous investigation pointed out that using Facebook for political discussion has a significant positive influence on political interest. The more active young people are on Facebook in political discussion, the greater their political interest. *X*, in this case, did not have any significant influence on political interest due to its limited usage in Croatia compared to other countries; hence its effects cannot be generalised⁹⁰. In Nigeria, *X* can create more political interest than Facebook as *X* is seen as a political platform. A similar study found out that youth political participation has a positive correlation with good governance and social inclusion in Nigeria⁴¹. However, a mixed feeling was created as another research work stated that participation of youths in politics, especially undergraduate youths, is not being maximised to yield the needed outcome, as youths see themselves as instruments used by political actors, during and after elections, for selfish ends. Some of them are used as thugs, others as assassins, thieves, and several other unhealthy activities, which do not only jeopardise the lives of these young people, but impede development in virtually all areas of governance⁴⁴. Similarly, a study stated that young people in the country hold a negative perception towards newspaper political reports because they feel such stories are not objective enough, inaccurate, filled with irrelevant content, and seldom motivate political participation. Also, reading newspaper political stories neither causes political alienation nor cynicism but tends to stimulate interest in politics and stir up the belief in the power of the masses to cause consequential political changes. Frontiers of current knowledge on youths' civic engagement by demonstrating a relatively low level of political apathy among youths on issues relating to passive political involvement, such as engagement in political discussions or intention to vote in future elections.

Studies also pointed out that one of the challenges facing political education programme implementation in Nigeria is high level of illiteracy. High rate of illiteracy among the citizens

makes it difficult for political education agencies to easily mobilise the citizens for participation in political process. A similar study pointed out that influence of political communication by the political parties through the mass media are not always able to influence the attitudes or perceptions of society, because it needs to be seen also from the other side, that is, the perspective and needs of the community.

Based on the inconsistencies and controversies from the findings of previous similar research work, therefore, it become essential to investigate the influence of media political education on youths' political knowledge, attitudes and participation of youths in Nigeria in political activities. It is specifically beneficial to assess the level of media political education on youths' political knowledge, attitudes and participation of youths in politics. It determines how political education through the media can be used to educate youths and change them towards participating in politics. The study intends to establish if media political education influences youths' political knowledge, attitudes and participation of youths in politics like voting and party affiliation. The question then arises: Has media political education changed the attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political participation (voting and belonging to political parties)?

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Chapter Three

Methodology

This chapter presents the method and procedures that were adopted by the researcher to gather, analyse and present data. The following sub-headings were employed in the investigation: research design, population of the study, sample and sampling techniques, description of research instrument, reliability and validity of research instrument, data collection and the method of data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The study adopted the correlation survey research design. This design was considered to be appropriate to comprehend the goal of the research exercise because it enabled the researcher to have a comprehensive understanding about the population of the study, allowing the researcher to obtain general views and findings. Also, it was adequate for examining the relationship between four variables; one independent variable and three dependent variables. The correlation survey research design helped to appraise the consequences and interrelationship of the independent and dependent variables of the study. It also facilitated the collection of data through the measurement of central tendency, variation and correlation of the study, thereby helping the researcher to discover associations between variables.

3.2 Population of the Study

For this study, the population consisted of Nigerian Youths between the ages of 18-35 years, totalling 52.2 million individuals with 52.8% females and 47.2% males according to the data from the National Bureau of Statistics in collaboration with Federal Ministry of Youth Development¹. The population consisted of youths across the six (6) geo-political zones in Nigeria.

The selection of states for the study was based on their similar geopolitical histories and/or comparable ethnic groupings. The chosen states are as follows: North-East (Adamawa), North-Central (Kogi State), North-West (Kano), South-East (Enugu), South-West (Oyo State), and South-South (Delta State). These states considered focal points that would represent the various regions. For the purpose of this study, the state capitals, namely; Yola, Lokoja, Kano, Enugu, Ibadan and Port Harcourt were chosen as they best reflect both the zones and their respective states. The logic behind choosing these six cities is that, apart from being the state capitals, they regulate the political activities of their different states. For example, the state capitals house the secretariats of political parties, and manage INEC activities for their respective states.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Techniques

In order to answer the research questions, there is a need for the study to collect data from all cases. Thus, there was a need to select a sample since the researcher could not cover the entire population. The study applied sampling technique to reduce the number of cases. The study adopted multi-stage sampling procedure because of the nature of the population. Both stratified and convenience sampling techniques were used in selecting the respondents for the study. First, stratified sampling technique was adopted six (6) geo-political zones: North-East, North-Centre, North-West, South-East, South-West and South-South. The stratified sampling was further used to select six (6) states: Adamawa, Kogi, Kano, Enugu, Oyo and Delta States. Secondly, convenience sampling technique was used to freely select respondents from the six (6) states that the study focused on.

The sample size for this study was determined with the use of the Taro Yamane (1967) statistical formula, which relates the population size to the level of significance as illustrated below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e^2)}$$

Where

n = Sample Size Desired N =

Overall Population

e = Tolerated/assumed error limit 0.05 on the basis of 95% confidence level

Therefore,

$$\begin{aligned}
 n &= \frac{52,200,000}{1 + 52,200,000 (0.05^2)} \\
 &= \frac{52,200,000}{1 + 52,200,000 (0.0025)} \\
 &= \frac{52,200,000}{1 + 130,500} \\
 &= \frac{52,200,000}{130,501} \\
 &= 399.999 \\
 &= 400 \\
 &= 400 \text{ (plus 30\%)} \\
 &= 400 + 120 \\
 &= 520 \text{ (plus 120 respondents to give balanced representation to the} \\
 &\text{sample size)}^2. \\
 &= 540
 \end{aligned}$$

3.4 Description of the Research Instrument

To congregate data from the respondents, the primary source that was used was a questionnaire, called Media Political Education Contents, Youths' Knowledge, Attitudes and Political Participation Questionnaire (MEYAP). The instrument was a close-ended type with sections of the instrument utilising Likert scale format and options ranging from two to four, depending on each section. This method enabled capturing of relevant data from youths across the six states. The questionnaire included demographic variables and research questions. It was divided into four sections (A, B, C, D, E and F) in relation to the areas under investigation.

Section A: It gathered the demographic information of respondents including gender, age, educational background and state.

Section B: It gathered data on various forms of political education media contents, divided into print, electronics/broadcast, digital and social media.

Section C: It gathered data on the level of youths' exposure to media political education contents, evaluating their exposure and its extent.

Section D: It gathered data on the level of Nigerian youths' knowledge on political processes, such as factual information on politics and political activities, knowledge of listed rules of party politics, political substance, people and parties, currency on national and international politics, political leadership, personalities and governance, political institutions and processes and political norms, history and economy.

Section E: It gathered data on youths' attitude. The items in this section was measured using the indices such as youths' political efficacy, interest, awareness, trust, acceptance, sympathy, apathy, hostility and prejudice.

Section F: It gathered data on political participation, focusing on activities like voting, campaigning, political party membership, voluntary work, participation in political voluntary services, involvement in civic responsibility, participation in public demonstrations and participation in community services. From section B to Section D, each section of the questionnaire in Likert Scale, which requires the respondents to grade their options on a scale of 1- 4 as shown: Yes (coded 2) and No (coded as 1); Highly Exposed (coded as 4), Minimally Exposed (coded as 3), Not so Exposed (coded as 2), Not at All (coded as 1); True(coded as 3), False (coded as 2) and Not Sure (coded as 1); Strongly Agreed (coded as 4), Agreed (coded as 3), Strongly disagreed (coded as 2) and Disagreed (coded as 1), Highly Involved (coded as 4); Minimally Involved (coded as 3); Not so Involved (coded as d 2); Not at All (coded as 1).

3.5 Validation of the Research Instrument

The validation of the research instrument was deemed essential to ensure that the right tools were used, accurate measurements were taken, and that the research outcomes were coherent. In ensuring validity of the instrument for this study, face, content and external validity measures were implemented. To ensure face validity, the researcher, the supervisor and other senior lecturers in the Department of Mass Communication and Media Technology ensured that the instrument has a logical link with the research objectives. In content validity, the researcher used empirical methodology in order to make sure that the indicator footings had consistent uniformity in literature.

3.6 Reliability of the Research Instrument

To test the reliability of the research instrument in the study, copies of the questionnaire were retested on some sets of respondents in a different location (Abeokuta, Ogun State) outside the initially

selected states. The data obtained were subjected to Cronbach Alpha analysis to make necessary modifications on the questions.

Table 3.2 presents the number of copies of the questionnaire that were administered, retrieved and analysed along with the rate of responses. The instrument, named Media Educational Contents, Youths' Knowledge, Attitudes and Political Participation, was administered in order to collect data for the pilot study. The questionnaire was administered online to Nigerian youths in the six geo-political zones (South-West, South-East, South-South, North-East, North-West and North-Central) via Google Form. A total of 90 copies were administered online to the sampled respondents in each zone, all of which were retrieved and considered valid, resulting in a 100% response rate.

Table 3.1 Summary of Items Used in the Instrument and their Reliability Coefficient

Constructs	Number of Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Forms of Political Education Media Content	24	0.978
Youths' Exposure to Political Education Media Contents	24	0.993
Level of Knowledge on Political Activities	18	0.971
Attitudes towards political activities	22	0.992
Participation in Political Activities	28	0.974
Overall Reliability (Entire items)	116	0.976

3.7 Method of Data Collection

Copies of the questionnaire were electronically administered using goggle form with the link: <https://docs.google.com>.

Table 3.2: Instrument Response Rate

S/N	Research Instruments	Amount administered	Amount retrieved	Amount Validated	Rate of Response
1	Media Educational Contents, Youths' Knowledge, Attitudes and Political Participation	540	540	540	100%

Source: Pilot Study 2023

Table 3.2 presents the questionnaire that were administered, retrieved and analysed including the rate of responses. An instrument named Media Educational Contents, Youths' Knowledge, Attitudes and Political Participation was administered in order to collect data for the pilot study. The questionnaire was administered online to Nigerian youths in the six geo-political zones (South-West, South-East, South-South, North-East, North-West and North-Central) via Google Form; 90 copies each were administered online to the sampled respondents, all were retrieved and valid. Thus, the analysis was based on returned valid copies and this gave response rate of 100%.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

The collected data from the respondents were thoroughly checked for completion, coded, and entered for further analysis. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to process the data, which was then presented as frequency distribution for all items, in charts, tables, means, and standard deviations. While Pearson correlation was used to analyse the hypotheses of this study. The data collected was used to analyse the research questions and test hypotheses. These were used to test for the differences or levels of relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

Endnotes

1. National Bureau of Statistics, *Nigeria Population*, Available Online: <http://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng/index.php/2020>.
2. C. Andrade, *Sample Size and its Importance in Research*, **Indian Journal of Psychological Medicine**, 42(1), 2020, 102-103.

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Chapter Four

Results and Discussion of Findings

This chapter presents the results and discussion of findings which was based on the data collection and analysis with respect to the objectives (research questions and hypotheses) of the study. This chapter begins by showing the instrument's response rate, followed by the presentation and interpretation of data (demographic characteristics of respondents, research questions and hypotheses), and then the discussion of findings.

4.1 Demographic Information of Respondents

Table 4.1: Frequency Distribution of Respondents (N =540)

Demographic Variable		S/W	S/E	S/S	N/E	N/W	N/C	Total
Gender	Male	50 (55.5%)	48 (53.3%)	26 (28.9%)	75 (83.3%)	57 (63.3%)	54 (60%)	344 (57.3)
	Female	40 (44.4%)	42 (46.7%)	64 (71.1%)	15 (16.7%)	33 (36.7%)	36 (40%)	196 (42.7)
Age	18-20 Yrs	8 (8.9%)	7 (7.8%)	5 (5.6%)	4 (4.4%)	4 (4.4%)	11 (12.2%)	39 (7.2)
	21-25 Yrs	28 (31.1%)	42 (46.7%)	29 (32.2%)	18 (20%)	35 (38.9%)	14 (15.6%)	166 (30.8)
	26-30 Yrs	39 (43.3%)	28 (31.1%)	45 (50%)	62 (68.9%)	38 (42.2%)	52 (57.8%)	264 (48.9)
	31-35 Yrs	15 (16.7%)	13 (14.4%)	11 (12.2%)	6 (6.7%)	13 (14.4%)	13 (14.4%)	71 (13.1)
Education	SSCE/O ND	9 (10%)	36 (40%)	22 (24.4%)	43 (47.8%)	37 (41.1%)	13 (14.4%)	160 (29.6)
	B.Sc./HN D	52 (57.8%)	41 (41.6%)	57 (63.3%)	44 (48.9%)	51 (56.7%)	69 (76.7%)	314 (58)
	M.Sc	24 (26.7%)	9 (10.0%)	8 (8.9%)	3 (3.3%)	2 (2.2%)	5 (5.6%)	51 (9.6)

Ph.D	5 (5.6%)	4 (4.4%)	3 (3.3%)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (3.3%)	15 (2.8)
Total	90 (100)	90 (100)	90 (100)	90 (100)	90 (100)	90 (100)	540 (100)

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

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Key: S/W= South-West, S/E= South-East, S/S= South-South, N/E= North-East, N/W= North- West,
N/C= North-Central

Table 4.1 shows the demographic distribution of the respondents (youths) from the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria, namely: South-West, South-East, South-South, North-West, North-East and North-Central. From the Table, 50 (55.5%) of the youths in the South-West region are male respondents, while 40 (44.4%) are female respondents. In the South-East region, male respondents are 48 (53.3%) while the female respondents are 42 (46.7%). In the South-South geopolitical region, more female to male ratio of the youths was observed. 26 (28.9%) are male while 64 (71.1%) are female. Furthermore, in the North-East, 75 (83.3%) are male, while 15 (16.7%) are female. Similarly, in the North-West, 53(63.3%) are male, while 33(36.7%) are female. In the North-Central, 54 (60%) of the youths are male and 36 (40%) are female. This, therefore, implies that there are more male in the six geopolitical zones in this study. Also, Northern region (North-East, North-West and North-Central) has more male respondents more than the Southern region (South-West, South-East and South-South). However, the North-East have more male-to-female ratio than any other region while the South-South region has more female-to- male ratio than any other region. Furthermore, in the South-West, majority of youths fall within the 26-30 age group, accounting for 43.3% (39) of the respondents. The age group 21-25 constitutes 31.1% (28), 31-35 comprises 16.7% (15), and 15-20 represents 8.9% (8). In the South-East, the largest age group is 21-25, constituting 46.7% (42) of the respondents. The 26-30 age group accounts for 31.1% (28), 31-35 represents 14.4 (13), and 15-20 consists of 7.8% In the South-South, the majority fall within the 26-30 age group, amounting to 50% (45), followed by 21-25 at 32.2% (29), 31-35 at 12.2% (11), and 15-20 at 5.6% (5).

Similarly, in the North-East, majority of the youths, 68.9% (62), are within 26-30 years, 20% (18) of the youths are within 21-25 years, 6.7% (6) are 31-35 years, while 4.4% (4) are within 15-20 years. In the same vein, most 42.2% (38) of the youths, 42.2% (38), in North-West are within 26-30 years, 38.9% (35) are within the age of 21-25 years, 14.4% (13) of the youths are 31-35 years while 4.4% (4) are within 15-20 years. Also, a major part 57.8% (52) of the youths in the North-Central are within 26-30 years, 15.6% (14) are within the age of 21-25 years, 14.4% (13) of the youth are 31-35 years while 4.4% (4) are within 15-20 years.

Finally, while examining the educational qualifications, majority of the youths, 57.8% (52), in the South-West are graduates with B.Sc./HND, 26.7% (24) have Masters Degrees, 10% (9) have SSCE/OND certificates while 5.6% (5) of the youth have Ph.D. Similarly, most of the youths, 41.6% (41), in the South-East have B.Sc./HND, 40% (36) have SSCE/OND certificates, 10% (9) have M.Sc. degrees, while 4.4% (4) have Ph.D. degrees. In the same vein, 63.3% (57) which represent the majority of the youth in the South-South region are graduates (B.Sc./HND), 24.4% (22) have SSCE/OND certificate, 8.9% (8) of the youths have Masters Degree while 3.3% (3) have Ph.D. degrees. Furthermore, in the North-East, majority 48.9% (44) of the youths have B.Sc./HND certificates, 47.8% (43) have SSCE/OND certificate, 3.3% (3) have Masters Degree and none of the youths is a Ph.D. holder. Also, majority 56.7% (51) of the youth in the North-West region are also graduates, 41.1% (37) are SSCE/OND holders, 2.2% (2) have Master degree, while none have Ph.D. degree.

Additionally, most 76.7% (69) of the North-Central youths, 76.7% (69), are also graduates, 14.4% (13) have SSCE/OND certificate, 5.6% (5) have Masters Degree and 3.3% (3) have Ph.D. degree. This implies that majority of the youths in the geopolitical zones are graduates, which is an indication that the youths are educated and are either university graduates or polytechnic graduates.

Notably, youths in the North-Central have more graduates than other regions in this study.

However, the South Western youths are more literate than any other region combining the numbers of graduates, masters and Ph.D. holders combined. It can also be observed that the North-East youths are the least educated in this study.

4.2 Presentation of Data

Research Question One: What are the forms of media political education contents targeted at the Nigerian youths?

Table 4.2a: Forms of Political Education Media Contents targeted at the Nigeria Youths (N=540)

S/N	Items	Yes (%)	No (%)
Print			
1	Newspapers	405 (75.0)	135 (25.0)
2	Books	378 (70.0)	162 (30.0)
3	Booklets e.g. INEC, NGO	351 (65.0)	189 (31.7)
4	Magazine	394 (73.2)	146 (26.8)
5	Newsletters e.g. INEC, NGO	378 (70.0)	162 (30.0)
Graphics/Digital Graphics			
6	Billboards	435 (80.5)	105 (19.5)
7	Posters	448 (82.9)	92 (17.1)
8	Fliers	380 (70.3)	160 (29.7)
9	Cartoons	342 (63.4)	198 (36.6)
10	Van Display	408 (75.6)	132 (24.4)
Electronics/Broadcast			
11	Television	501 (92.7)	39 (7.3)
12	Radio	487 (90.2)	53 (9.8)
13	Music	448 (82.9)	92 (17.1)

14	Cinema	198 (36.6)	342 (63.4)
15	Audio Outside broadcast	369 (68.3)	171 (31.7)

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

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Table 4.2b: Forms of Political Education Media Contents

S/N	Items	Yes (%)	No (%)
Digital Media			
16	SMS	290 (53.7)	250 (46.3)
17	Digital billboards	421 (78)	119 (22)
18	Web Pages	448 (82.9)	92 (17.1)
19	Blogs	461 (85.4)	79 (14.6)
Social Media			
20	<i>Facebook</i>	514 (95.1)	26 (4.9)
21	<i>X</i>	461 (85.4)	79 (14.6)
22	<i>WhatsApp</i>	487 (90.2)	53 (9.8)
23	<i>Instagram</i>	474 (87.8)	66 (12.2)
24	<i>Telegram</i>	237 (43.9)	303 (56.1)

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.2 (a) and Table (b) show the forms of media used for political education contents targeted at the Nigerian youths in the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. Majority of the youths opined that they have accessed/seen political education contents through the following media: print media (newspaper, books, booklets, magazine, and newsletters); graphics/digital graphics (billboards, posters, fliers, cartoons, and van display); electronics/broadcast (television, radio, music, and audio outside broadcast). However, 343 (63.4%) opined that they have not accessed/seen political

education contents via cinema in electronics/broadcast medium. Furthermore, majority of youths opined that they have accessed/seen political education media contents via digital media (SMS, digital billboards, web pages, blogs); social media (*Facebook, X and WhatsApp*), while a good number have not accessed/seen political education media contents via *telegram*.

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From the foregoing, it can be deduced that the youths have accessed/seen political education contents more on social media than any other media, especially on *Facebook* (95.1%). A good number also accessed/seen political educational contents more on television (92.7%) than radio. Overall, 435 (80.5%) of the entire population accessed political educational contents on social media, 405 (75%) accessed via digital media, 403 (74.5%) accessed through graphics/digital graphics, 400 (74.1%) accessed via electronics/broadcast, while 338 (62.64%) youths have accessed/seen political education contents via print media.

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Research Question Two: What is the level of youths' exposure to media political education contents?

Table 4.3a: Level of Youths' Exposure to Political Education Media Contents (N=540)

S/N	Items	HE (%)	ME (%)	NE (%)	NA (%)	M	St.D	Remark
Print								
1	Newspapers	171 (31.7)	224 (41.5)	39 (7.3)	106 (19.5)	2.85	1.09	Minimally Exposed
2	Books	119 (22)	263 (48.8)	92 (17.0)	66 (12.2)	2.81	0.98	Not so Exposed
3	Booklets e.g INEC, NGO	66 (12.2)	263 (48.8)	119 (22.0)	92 (17.0)	2.58	0.96	Minimally Exposed
4	Magazine	53 (9.8)	250 (46.3)	53 (9.8)	184 (34.1)	2.50	1.01	Minimally Exposed
5	Newsletters e.g INEC, NGO	105 (19.5)	237 (43.9)	53 (9.8)	145 (26.8)	2.56	1.10	Minimally Exposed
Graphics/Digital Graphics								
6	Billboards	264 (48.8)	171 (31.7)	66 (12.2)	39 (7.3)	3.17	0.88	Minimally Exposed
7	Posters	237 (43.9)	198 (36.6)	26 (4.9)	79 (14.6)	3.10	1.04	Minimally Exposed
8	Fliers	145 (26.8)	290 (53.7)	26 (4.9)	79 (14.6)	2.93	0.96	Minimally Exposed
9	Cartoons	79 (14.6)	237 (43.9)	105 (19.5)	119 (22.0)	2.51	1.00	Minimally Exposed
10	Van Display	132 (24.4)	237 (43.9)	66 (12.2)	105 (19.5)	2.73	1.05	Minimally Exposed
Electronics/Broadcast								
11	Television	329 (61.0)	184 (34.1)	27 (5.0)	0 (0.0)	3.56	0.59	Highly Exposed
12	Radio	350 (64.8)	111 (20.6)	79 (14.6)	0 (0.0)	3.50	0.73	Highly Exposed

13	Music	198 (36.6)	250 (46.3)	66 (12.2)	26 (4.9)	3.15	0.82	Minimally Exposed
14	Cinema	79 (14.6)	134 (24.9)	171 (31.7)	158 (29.3)	2.24	1.04	Not so Exposed
15	Audio Outside broadcast	145 (26.8)	224 (41.5)	105 (19.5)	66 (12.2)	2.83	0.97	Minimally Exposed

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

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Table 4.3b: Level of Youths' Exposure to Political Education Media Contents (N=540)

S/N	Items	HE (%)	ME (%)	NE (%)	NA (%)	M	St.D	Remark
Digital Media								
16	SMS	105 (19.5)	172 (31.7)	158 (29.3)	105 (19.5)	2.51	1.03	Minimally Exposed
17	Digital billboards	132 (24.4)	237 (43.9)	145 (26.8)	26 (4.9)	2.88	0.84	Minimally Exposed
18	Web Pages	185 (34.2)	237 (43.9)	105 (19.5)	13 (2.4)	3.10	0.80	Minimally Exposed
19	Blogs	145 (26.8)	264 (48.8)	105 (19.5)	26 (4.9)	2.98	0.82	Minimally Exposed
Social Media								
20	Facebook	400 (74.1)	114 (21.1)	13 (2.4)	13 (2.4)	3.62	0.67	Highly Exposed
21	X	390 (72.2)	85 (15.7)	26 (4.9)	39 (7.3)	3.50	0.87	Highly Exposed
22	WhatsApp	401 (74.3)	117 (21.7)	12 (2.2)	10 (1.8)	3.65	0.88	Highly Exposed
23	Instagram	184 (34)	261 (48.4)	66 (12.2)	29 (5.4)	3.12	0.81	Minimally Exposed
24	Telegram	29 (5.4)	66 (12.2)	169 (31.3)	276 (51.1)	3.14	0.96	Minimally Exposed

Weighted Mean = 2.89; S.D = 0.92; Overall Decision = Minimally Exposed (Moderate)

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

KEY: HE = Highly Exposed (4), ME = Minimally Exposed (3), NE = Not so Exposed (2) and NAA = Not At All (1); St.D = Standard Deviation, M= Mean

*****Threshold:** mean value of 0.000-1.499 = Not At All; 1.500-2.499 = Not so Exposed; 2.500-3.499 = Minimally Exposed; 3.500 to 4.500 = Highly Exposed

Table 4.3 (a) and Table 4.3 (b) present the level of youths' exposure to media-based political education contents. The rating scale of 'Not At All (1)' to 'Highly exposed (4)' was used. The youths' exposure to media political education contents are segmented in groups, which is made up

of print media, graphics/digital graphics, electronics/broadcast, digital media, and social media. Five (5) items were used to measure each media. For print media, four (4) items were remarked "minimally exposed", while one (1) was remarked "not so exposed." The items remarked

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“minimally exposed” implies that most (45.1%) of the youths (45.1%) opined that they are minimally exposed to media political education contents via newspapers, books, booklets, newsletters from organisations like INEC, NGOs. A smaller percentage (24.3%) claimed no exposure at all, few (18.3%) felt highly exposed while very few (12.2%) were not so exposed to these materials. The item remarked “not so exposed” implies that most (48.8%) of the youths (48.8%) were also not so exposed to media political education contents via magazine.

Further, for graphics/digital graphics media, all the items were rated as “Minimally Exposed.” This imply that majority (45.4%) of the youths (45.4%) considered their exposure to political education contents through billboards, posters, fliers, cartoons and van displays as “Minimally Exposed.” 28.3% opined they are “Highly Exposed, 15.6% are “Not Exposed At All”, while 10.7% of the youth are felt n “Not So Exposed” to this form of media.

Also, for electronics/broadcast media, two (2) items were rated as “Highly Exposed,” two (2) items were remarked “Minimally Exposed,” and one (1) item was remarked “Not so exposed .” The items remarked highly exposed imply that majority (62.9%) of the youths opined that they are highly exposed to political education contents via television and radio which are the major electronic broadcast media. However, 27.4% are minimally exposed, while 9.8% are not so exposed to political contents via television and radio. Also, the two (2) items remarked minimallyexposed imply that most of the youths (43.9%) are minimally exposed to political education contents on music and audio outside broadcast, 31.6% are highly exposed to political music and audio outside broadcast, 15.9% are not too exposed, while 8.6% are not exposed at all to political education contents on radio, music and audio outside broadcast. The one (1) item remarked not soexposed implies that 31.7% and 29.3% of the respondents are not too exposed and never exposed, respectively to political education content via cinemas.

Additionally, for the digital media, all items were rated as “Minimally Exposed.” This implies that majority of the youths (34.9%) perceived their exposure to political education contents on digital media is to be at a minimal level. 26.1% felt highly exposed, 23.8% were not so exposed, while 15.2% had no exposure at all to political education contents on digital media (SMS, digital billboards, web pages and blogs).

Similarly, for social media, three (3) items were rated as “Highly Exposed.” one (1) item was remarked “Minimally Exposed” and “Not So Exposed,” respectively. For the items remarked “Highly Exposed,” this implies that most of the youths (73.5%) are exposed to political education content on social media to a very large extent, especially on *Facebook, X and WhatsApp*. The items remarked “minimally and “not so” exposed imply that the youths are also exposed to political education contents on other media platforms like Instagram to a minimal level, but were not as exposed on Telegram compared to *Facebook, X and WhatsApp*.

Additionally, Table 4.4 generally reveals that youths in the six geopolitical zones generally have minimal exposure to political education contents, though they have high exposure to political education contents in some electronics/broadcast media (television and radio) and social media (*Facebook, X and WhatsApp*). Hence, level of youths’ exposure to media political education contents is generally moderate.

Research Question Three: What is the level of Nigerian youths' knowledge of political activities?

Table 4.4a: Level of Nigerian Youths' Knowledge on Political Activities (N=540)

	Items	True (%)	False (%)	Not sure (%)	Remarks
1	Citizens need to be registered members of a political party to participate in elections	211 (39)	290 (53.7)	39 (7.3)	False
2	A citizen must be up to 18 years to vote in elections	524 (97)	13 (2.4)	3 (0.6)	True
3	To contest in any election, citizens need to be registered members of a political party	79 (14.6)	448 (82.9)	13 (2.4)	False
4	Snatching of ballot box is crime under the new electoral laws	514 (95.1)	13 (2.4)	13 (2.4)	True
5	There are campaign periods for political parties	501 (92.7)	13 (2.4)	26 (4.9)	True
6	Every political party should have ward leaders or officers	448 (82.9)	53 (9.8)	39 (7.3)	True
7	Direct primary is the only process of electing party members vying for elections	356 (65.9)	105 (19.5)	79 (14.6)	True
8	INEC decides the cost of party's interest forms	290 (53.7)	158 (29.3)	92 (17.1)	True
9	Party primary elections hold before general elections	474 (87.8)	53 (9.8)	13 (2.4)	True
10	Party conventions are conducted by INEC officials	211 (39)	237 (43.9)	92 (17.1)	False

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.4b: Level of Nigerian Youths' Knowledge on Political Activities (N=540)

Items	True (%)	False (%)	Not sure (%)	Remarks
11 INEC as electoral umpire selects party agents	198 (36.6)	211 (39)	131 (24.4)	False
12 The INEC chairman is independent of the president of Nigeria	356 (65.9)	105 (19.5)	79 (14.6)	True
13 Every State has three senators in Nigeria	316 (58.5)	66 (12.2)	158 (29.3)	True
14 A citizen can be a member of two to three political parties	79 (14.6)	369 (68.3)	92 (17.1)	False
15 A citizen can contest for two offices simultaneously in an election circle under the electoral law	132 (24.4)	303 (56.1)	105 (19.5)	False
16 As a member of a party, you can never join another party	171 (31.7)	316 (58.5)	53 (9.8)	False
17 Every member of a political party is allowed to elect party national officers	369 (68.3)	119 (22)	52 (9.8)	True
18 Elections results are only transmitted manually in the new electoral law	158 (29.2)	263 (48.8)	119 (22)	False

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.4 (a) and Table 4.4 (b) show the level of Nigerian youths' knowledge of political activities. The rating scale of 'Not Sure (1)' to 'True (3)' was used. From the Table, eleven (11) items were remarked "True" while seven (7) items were remarked "False." For the items remarked true, this implies that majority of the youths (55.4%) expressed their agreement with these statements, showcasing a considerable level of knowledge regarding political activities, 32.3% disagreed with these statements, while 12.3% of the youth remained uncertain about their knowledge of Nigerian youths' engagement in political activities. The items remarked "False" implies that most of the

youths (58.4%) opined false to the items that “citizens need to be registered members of a political party to participate in elections,” “To contest in any elections, citizens need to be registered members of a political party,” “party conventions are conducted by INEC officials”, “INEC as electoral umpire select party agents”, “a citizen can be a member of two to three political parties”, “a citizen can contest for two offices simultaneously in an election circle under the electoral law”, “as a member of a party, you can never join another party”, and “as a member of a party, you can never join another party.”

The table, therefore, generally implies that Nigerian youths display high level of knowledge when it comes to about political activities, with 83.3% of them exhibiting a good grasp of the subject matter.

Research Question Four: What is the attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities?

Table 4.5a: Attitudes of Nigerian Youths towards Political Activities (N=540)

No	Item	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	M	St.D	Remarks
1	I have the ability to influence politics in my State	132 (24.4)	263 (48.8)	132 (24.4)	13 (2.4)	2.95	0.77	Agree (Good)
2	I have the ability to make politics better in my State	156 (28.8)	324 (60)	60 (11.2)	0 (0)	3.15	0.61	Agree (Good)
3	I have interest in the politics of my State	132 (24.4)	198 (36.6)	184 (34.1)	26 (4.9)	2.80	0.87	Agree (Good)
4	I am politically conscious of my State	119 (22)	301 (56)	119 (22)	0 (0)	2.78	1.04	Agree (Good)
5	I trust in the political activities in my State	53 (9.8)	171 (31.7)	250 (46.3)	66 (12.2)	2.39	0.83	Disagree (Bad)

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.5b: Attitudes of Nigerian Youths towards Political Activities (N=540)

No	Item	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	M	St. D	Remarks
6	Political activities of parties in my State are acceptable to me	39 (7.3)	211 (39)	237 (43.9)	53 (9.8)	2.37	0.78	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
7	Personalities in politics of my State are acceptable to me	53 (9.8)	198 (36.6)	211 (39)	78 (14.6)	2.40	0.87	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
8	I have sympathy for politicians and political actors in my state	39 (7.3)	158 (29.3)	277 (51.2)	66 (12.2)	2.42	0.80	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
9	I am apathetic about political activities in my State	66 (12.2)	303 (56.1)	158 (29.3)	13 (2.4)	2.78	0.69	<i>Agree (Good)</i>
10	I hate anything politics in my State	66 (12.2)	132 (24.4)	237 (43.9)	105 (19.5)	2.29	0.93	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
11	I am biased when it comes to politics in my State	78 (14.6)	119 (22)	224 (41.5)	119 (22)	2.29	0.98	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
12	I have the ability to influence politics in Nigeria	158 (29.3)	185 (34.1)	158 (29.3)	39 (7.3)	2.85	0.94	<i>Agree (Good)</i>
13	I have the ability to make politics better in Nigeria	171 (31.7)	263 (48.8)	79 (14.6)	27 (4.9)	3.07	0.82	<i>Agree (Good)</i>
14	I have interest in the politics of Nigeria	171 (31.7)	171 (31.7)	185 (34.1)	14 (2.5)	2.93	0.88	<i>Agree (Good)</i>
15	I am politically conscious of Nigeria	171 (31.7)	277 (51.2)	66 (12.2)	26 (4.9)	3.10	0.80	<i>Agree (Good)</i>

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.5c: Attitudes of Nigerian Youths towards Political Activities (N=540)

No	Item	SA (%)	A (%)	D (%)	SD (%)	M	St. D	Remarks
16	I trust in the political activities in Nigeria	105 (19.5)	119 (22)	211 (39)	105 (19.5)	2.41	1.02	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
17	Political activities of parties in Nigeria are acceptable to me	92 (17.1)	145 (26.8)	184 (34.1)	119 (22)	2.30	1.03	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
18	Personalities in politics in Nigeria are acceptable to me	92 (17.1)	66 (12.2)	198 (36.6)	184 (34.1)	2.20	0.92	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
19	I have sympathy for politicians and political actors in Nigeria	79 (14.6)	66 (12.2)	211 (39)	184 (34.1)	2.29	0.80	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
20	I am apathetic about political activities in Nigeria	66 (12.2)	198 (36.6)	224 (41.5)	52 (9.7)	2.51	0.84	<i>Agree (Good)</i>
21	I hate anything politics in Nigeria	79 (14.6)	119 (22)	237 (43.9)	105 (19.5)	2.32	0.96	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
22	I am biased when it comes to politics in Nigeria	79 (14.6)	132 (24.4)	237 (43.9)	92 (17.1)	2.37	0.94	<i>Disagree (Bad)</i>
Weighted Mean = 2.56; S.D = 0.87; Overall Decision = Agree (Good)								

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Key: SA = Strongly Agree (4), A = Agree (3), D = Disagree (2) and SD = Strongly Disagree (1); S.D = Standard Deviation

*****Threshold:** mean value of 0.000-1.499 = Strongly Disagree (Very Bad); 1.500-2.499 =

Disagree (Bad); 2.500-3.499 = Agree (Good); 3.500 to 4.500 = Strongly Agree (Very Good)

Table 4.5 (a), Table 4.5 (b) and Table 4.5 (c) present the attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities. The rating scale of ‘Strongly Disagree (1)’ to ‘Strongly Agree (4)’ was used and twenty-two (22) items were used to access their attitude towards political activities. From the Table, twelve (12) items were remarked each for "Disagree," while ten (10) items were remarked "Agree". The items remarked disagree imply that majority of the respondents disagreed to the statements that "I trust in the political activities in my state," "political activities of parties in my state are acceptable to me," "personalities in politics of my state are acceptable to me", "I have sympathy for politicians and political actors in my state," "I hate anything politics in my state," "I am biased when it comes to politics in my state," "I trust in the political activities in Nigeria," "political activities of parties in Nigeria are acceptable to me", "personalities in politics in Nigeria are acceptable to me," "I have sympathy for politicians and political actors in Nigeria", "I hate anything politics in Nigeria" and "I am biased when it comes to politics in Nigeria."

The items remarked "agree" implies that majority of the youth agreed that they have "the ability to influence politics in their state", "have the ability to make politics better in their State," "have interest in the politics of their state, politically conscious of their state", "are pathetic about political activities in their state," "have the ability to influence politics in Nigeria, have the ability to make politics better in Nigeria," "have interest in the politics of Nigeria, politically conscious of Nigeria and are apathetic about political activities in Nigeria."

Thus, Table 4.5 generally revealed that attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities is positive but do not have good attitude towards political actors and activities both in their states and Nigeria.

Research Question Five: What is the level of participation among Nigerian Youths in political activities?

Table 4.6a: Level of Participation of Nigerian Youths in Political Activities

No	Items	HI (%)	MI (%)	NI (%)	NA (%)	M	St.D	Remarks
1	Education of the electorates	49 (9.1)	280 (51.9)	154 (28.6)	57 (10.4)	2.56	0.81	<i>Minimally Involved</i>
2	Attending party meetings	25 (4.6)	97 (34.1)	171 (31.7)	247 (45.7)	1.86	0.82	<i>Not so Involved</i>
3	Engagement in voter education	40 (7.41)	300 (55.5)	174 (32.2)	26 (4.8)	2.58	1.04	<i>Minimally Involved</i>
4	Payment of party dues	20 (3.7)	50 (9.3)	142 (26.3)	328 (60.7)	1.43	0.79	<i>Not At All</i>
5	Campaigning for political parties	26 (4.9)	198 (36.6)	117 (21.7)	199 (36.8)	2.20	0.90	<i>Not so Involved</i>
6	Promoting ideology of political parties	53 (9.8)	145 (26.8)	132 (24.4)	210 (39.0)	2.10	1.03	<i>Not so Involved</i>
7	Serving as party agents	26 (4.9)	92 (17.1)	198 (36.6)	224 (41.5)	2.22	1.06	<i>Not so Involved</i>
8	Serve as delegate to political parties	39 (7.3)	105 (19.5)	184 (34.1)	212 (39.1)	1.95	0.95	<i>Not so Involved</i>
9	Political activism	66 (12.2)	158 (29.3)	171 (31.7)	145 (26.8)	2.27	1.00	<i>Not so Involved</i>
10	Political Protest	53 (9.8)	131 (24.4)	158 (29.3)	198 (36.6)	2.15	0.96	<i>Not so Involved</i>
11	Political Rally	53 (9.8)	158 (29.3)	158 (29.3)	171 (31.7)	2.17	1.00	<i>Not so Involved</i>

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.6b: Level of Participation of Nigerian Youths in Political Activities

No	Items	HI (%)	MI (%)	NI (%)	NA (%)	M	St.D	Remarks
12	Sharing of political materials	78 (14.6)	119 (22)	145 (26.8)	198 (36.6)	2.15	0.75	<i>Not so Involved</i>
13	Voters' mobilisation prior to election time	79 (14.6)	184 (34.1)	132 (24.4)	145 (26.8)	2.37	1.08	<i>Not so Involved</i>
14	Voting process	105 (19.5)	264 (48.8)	26 (4.9)	145 (26.8)	2.61	1.09	<i>Minimally Involved</i>
15	Obeying electoral laws	289 (53.7)	145 (26.8)	53 (9.8)	53 (9.8)	3.24	0.99	<i>Minimally Involved</i>
16	Serve as INEC adhoc staff during voters registrations	105 (19.5)	79 (14.6)	237 (43.9)	119 (22.0)	2.31	1.03	<i>Not so Involved</i>
17	Serve as INEC adhoc staff during elections	105 (19.5)	53 (9.8)	224 (41.5)	158 (29.3)	2.20	1.10	<i>Not so Involved</i>
18	Educating younger generations on politics	119 (22)	224 (41.5)	145 (26.8)	52 (9.8)	2.76	0.92	<i>Minimally Involved</i>
19	Help to prevent political crime during elections	131 (24.4)	198 (36.6)	145 (26.8)	66 (12.2)	2.73	1.00	<i>Minimally Involved</i>
20	Participating in Occupy Nigeria Protest	39 (7.3)	132 (24.4)	250 (46.3)	119 (22.0)	2.17	0.86	<i>Not so Involved</i>
21	Participating in End SARS	39 (7.3)	224 (41.5)	145 (26.8)	132 (24.4)	2.31	0.93	<i>Not so Involved</i>
22	Party elections at ward level	39 (7.3)	132 (24.4)	266 (49.3)	103 (19.0)	2.22	0.91	<i>Not so Involved</i>
23	Voting during Local government elections	66 (12.2)	184 (34.1)	171 (31.7)	119 (22.0)	2.37	0.97	<i>Not so Involved</i>

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.7c: Participation in Political Activities

24	Voting during State house assembly elections	105 (19.5)	146 (26.8)	184 (34.1)	105 (19.5)	2.46	1.03	<i>Not so Involved</i>
25	Voting during National assembly elections	105 (19.5)	171 (31.7)	157 (29.3)	105 (19.5)	2.51	1.03	<i>Minimally Involved</i>
26	Voting during Governorship elections	171 (31.7)	198 (36.6)	119 (22.0)	52 (9.8)	2.90	0.97	<i>Minimally Involved</i>
27	Voting during Presidential elections	224 (41.5)	132 (24.4)	132 (24.4)	52 (9.7)	2.98	1.03	<i>Minimally Involved</i>
28	National Assembly public hearings	26 (4.9)	145 (26.8)	198 (36.6)	171 (31.7)	2.05	0.85	<i>Not so Involved</i>

Weighted Mean = 2.36; S.D = 0.96; Overall Decision = Not so Involved(Poor)

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

KEY: HE =Highly Involved (HI) (4), MI = Minimally Involved (MI) (3),Not so Involved (NI) (2)and NAA = Not At All (1); St.D = Standard Deviation, M= Mean

*****Threshold:** mean value of 0.000-1.499 = Not At All (Very Poor); 1.500-2.499 = Not so Involved (Poor); 2.500-3.499 = Minimally Involved (Moderate); 3.500 to 4.500 = Highly Involved(Good)

Furthermore, Table 4.6 (a), Table 4.6 (b) and Table 4.6 (c) show the level of participation among Nigerian youths in political activities. The rating scale of ‘Not At All (1)’ to ‘Highly Involved (4)’ was also used. Twenty-eight (28) items were used to access the respondents’ level of participation in political activities. From the Table, eighteen (18) items were remarked "Not so Involved," nine (9) was remarked “minimally involved” while one (1) item was remarked “Not at all”. The items remarked “Not so Involved” implies that majority of the youths opined that they are not so involved in; “attending party meetings”, “engagement of voter education,” campaigning for political parties,” “promoting ideology of political parties,” “serving as party agents”, “serves as delegate

to political parties”, “political activism”, “political protest,” “political rally,” “sharing of political materials,” “voters’ mobilisation prior to election time.” Similarly, they opined that they are not so involved in, serving as “INEC adhoc staff during voters’ registrations,” “serving as INEC adhoc staff during elections,” “participating in Occupy Nigeria protest,” “participating in End SARS,” “party elections at ward level,” “voting during local government elections,” “voting during Statehouse assembly elections” and “National Assembly public hearing.”. The items remarked minimally involved shows that the involvement of the youths is at minimal level viz; “education of the electorates,” “voting process,” “obeying electoral laws,” “educating younger generations on politics,” “help to prevent political crime during elections,” “voting during national assembly elections,” “voting during governorship elections” and “voting during presidential election.” Also, the item remarked “Not at all” implies that the youths are not involved “at all” in payment of party dues. The table, therefore, revealed that the level of participation among Nigerian Youths in political activities is low as majority opined “not so involved.”

4.2.2: Testing of Hypotheses

Ho1: There is no significant relationship between media education contents and knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths.

Table 4.7: Relationship between Media Education Contents and Knowledge of Political Activities among Nigerian Youths.

		Correlations	
		Media Education	Knowledge_of_Politics
Media Education	Pearson Correlation	1	.972**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	540	540
Knowledge_of_Politics	Pearson Correlation	.972**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	540	540

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

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

To ascertain the significant relationship between media education contents and knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths, Pearson Correlation was used with a two-tailed test of significance at $P < 0.01$ level. From Table 4.7, using default 5%, the p-value or Sig. value is 0.00, which is less than the p-value and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed). Hence, the study rejected the null hypothesis and concluded that there is a significant relationship between media education contents and knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths. The sample correlation is 0.972 (media education contents correlates with knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths at 0.972), which shows that the relationship is high. This implies that a

unit rise in media education contents will lead to an increase in knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths by 0.972.

Hence, the study rejects the null hypothesis H_{01} : There is no significant relationship between media education contents and knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths.

H₀₂: There is no significant relationship between media education contents and attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities.

Table 4.8: Relationship between Media Education Contents and Attitudes of Nigerian Youths towards Political Activities.

		Correlations	
		Media_Education	Attitude_of_Youth
Media_Education	Pearson Correlation	1	.861**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	540	540
Attitude_of_Youth	Pearson Correlation	.861**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	540	540

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

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Similarly, to assess the relationship between media education contents and the attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities, Pearson Correlation was also used with a two-tailed test of significance at $P < 0.01$ level. Table 4.8 shows a significant relationship between media education contents and the attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities. Using default 5%, the p-value or Sig. value is 0.00, which is less than the p-value and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed). The sample correlation is 0.861 (media education contents correlate with the attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities at 0.861), indicating a high and positive relationship.

This implies that as a unit rise in education content will lead to an increase in attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities by 0.861.

Therefore, the study rejects the null hypothesis Ho₂: There is no significant relationship between media education contents and attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities.

Ho₃: There is no significant relationship between media education contents and political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities.

Table 4.9: Relationship between Media Education Contents and Political Participation among Nigerian youths in Political Activities.

		Correlations	
		Media_Education	Political_Participation
Media_Education	Pearson Correlation	1	-.859**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	540	540
Political_Participation	Pearson Correlation	-.859**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	540	540

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

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.9: Relationship between Media Education Contents and Political Participation among Nigerian youths in Political Activities

Furthermore, to investigate the relationship between media education contents and political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities, the study also used Pearson Correlation with a two-tailed test of significance at $P < 0.01$ level. Table 4.9 showed a significant yet a negative relationship between media education contents and political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities. Also, using default 5%, the p-value or Sig. value is 0.00, which is less than

the p-value and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed). This implies that the sample correlation is - 0.859 (media education contents correlates with political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities at 0.859), signifying a high and negative relationship. This implies that for each unit rise in education content, there is a corresponding decrease in political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities by 0.859.

Hence, the study affirmed the null hypothesis H_{03} : There is no significant relationship between media education contents and political participation among Nigerian Youths in political activities. H_{04} : There is no significant relationship between media education contents and combined knowledge, attitudes and participation among Nigerian Youths in political activities.

Table 4.10: Model Summary of Relationship between Media Education Content and Combined Knowledge, Attitude and Participation among Nigerian Youths in Political Activities

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.975 ^a	.951	.944	8.08181

a. Predictors: (Constant), Social_Media, Print_Media, Digital_Media, Graphics_Digital_Graphics, Electronics_Broadcast

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

From Table 4.10, the value R Square is 0.951. This shows that 95.1% of the variation in combined knowledge, attitude and participation among Nigerian youths in political activities is can be attributed to the media education contents (social media, print media, digital media, graphics/digital graphics, and electronics broadcast). This means that the independent variable explains 95.1% of the variation in the dependent variables. The other 4.9% is explained by other factors outside the model and the error term.

From Table 4.11, the p-value is 0.000 which is much less than default 0.05 ($P < 0.05$). This high significance, with a p-value ($0.000 < 0.05$), holds true at 95% confidence level. Additionally, the F-value (135.863), significant at $P < 0.05$, rejects the null hypothesis that states “Media education contents do not have a significant relationship with combined knowledge, attitude and participation among Nigerian Youths in political activities.

Table 4.11: ANOVA Table of Relationship between Media Education and Combined Knowledge, Attitude and Participation among Nigerian Youths in Political Activities

ANOVA ^a					
Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	44369.905	3	8873.981	135.863	.000 ^b
Residual	2286.047	536	65.316		
Total	46655.951	539			

a. Dependent Variable: KAP_in_Political_Activities

b. Predictors: (Constant), Social_Media, Print_Media, Digital_Media, Graphics_Digital_Graphics, Electronics_Broadcast

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

From Table 4.11, the p-value is 0.000 which is much less than default 0.05 ($P < 0.05$). This high significance, with a p-value ($0.000 < 0.05$), holds true at 95% confidence level. Additionally, the F-value (135.863), significant at $P < 0.05$, rejects the null hypothesis that states “Media education contents do not have a significant relationship with combined knowledge, attitude and participation among Nigerian Youths in political activities.

Table 4.12: Coefficients of Multiple Regression Analysis of Relationship between Media Education and Combined Knowledge, Attitude and Participation among Nigerian Youths in Political Activities

Model		Coefficients ^a				
		Unstandardized Coefficients	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	36.927	7.393		4.995	.000
	Print Media	2.371	1.050	.348	2.259	.030
	Graphics/DigitalGraphics	3.367	1.377	.466	2.445	.020
	Electronics Broadcast	4.515	2.240	.513	2.016	.002
	Digital Media	7.433	1.976	.729	3.761	.001
	Social Media	1.297	1.652	.150	.785	.000

Dependent Variable: KAP in Political Activities

Source: Fieldwork, 2023

Table 4.12 shows the coefficients of multiple regression analysis of relationship between media education (print media, graphics/digital graphics, electronics broadcast, digital media and social media) and combined knowledge, attitude and political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities. The Table reveals the beta coefficient (β) and t- values for media education (print media, graphics/digital graphics, electronics broadcast, digital media and social media) among Nigerian youths in political activities (Beta = .348; t = 2.259; Significance = .030), (Beta = -.466; t = -2.445; Significance = .020), (Beta = .513; t = 2.016; Significance = .002), (Beta = .729; t = 3.761; Significance = .001), (Beta = .150; t = .785; Significance = .000, respectively) which are significant at $P > 0.05$.

These results imply that media education (print media, graphics/digital graphics, electronics broadcast, digital media and social media) explained the variance in knowledge, attitude and

political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities and, therefore, needed in the model.

In terms of the type of relationship (whether positive or negative) that exist between the significant predictors and the dependent variables, it is observed from the table that the media education contents (print media, graphics/digital graphics, electronics broadcast, digital media and social media) have a positive relationship with knowledge, attitude and political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities as depicted by their positive B value of 2.371, 3.367, 4.515, 7.433 and 1.297, respectively. This result implies that as media education contents (print media, graphics/digital graphics, electronics broadcast, digital media and social media) increase, 2.371, 3.367, 4.515, 7.433 and 1.297, respectively also increase in knowledge, attitude and political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities as depicted by the positive value of B. It, therefore, means that knowledge and attitude of political activities among Nigerian youths has significant relationship with education content through the media in this study.

Similarly, the computed empirical value of F-test is 135.863 which is significant at $P < 0.005$ ($p = 0.000$). It is, therefore, concluded that the F-test is statistically significant. The independent variables statistically and significantly predict the dependent variables. This, therefore, accomplished part of the research aim: "To examine the relationship between media political education contents and Nigerian youths' knowledge, attitude and participation in political activities. Hence, the null hypothesis should be rejected because the test is statistically significant. Therefore, the whole regression is statistically significant.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

This research investigated the relationship between media education contents and the Nigerian youths' knowledge, attitude and participation in political activities. Discussion of the findings presents the results of the research and relates them with theories and previous studies by other researchers for differences or similarities. In this study, demographic information of the respondents (youth in the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria) were analysed, five (5) research questions were answered and four (4) hypotheses were tested.

Results of the demographic data analysis of youths showed that male youth (57.4%) outnumber female youth (43.6%) in this study. Northern region (North-East, North-West and North-Central) has more male respondents than the South (South-West, South-East and South-South). The North-East has a higher male to female ratio than any other region, and the South-South region has a higher female to male ratio than any other region. This implies that there are more male youths than female youths in Nigeria in this study. This particular finding was also observed in a study on "Use of social media for political participation by youths," which also reported that males (56.2%) were more represented than females (43.8%)¹.

The results also showed that majority of the youths, 264 (48.9%), are between the ages of 26 and 30, 166 (30.8%) of the youth are between the ages of 21 and 25, 71 (13.1%) are between the ages of 31 and 35 while 39 (7.2%) of the youth are between the age of 15-20. This implies that most of the youths in this study are between the ages of 26-30.

Findings of the study further showed that majority of the youths, 314 (58%) have Bachelor's degrees as their highest level of education, which is an indication that most of the Nigerian youths are graduates. However, 160 (29.6%) have SSCE, 51 (9.6%) of the youths have Masters Degree, while 15 (2.8%) have a PhD. This suggests that some of the youths are advancing their qualifications

to the post graduate level. This result agrees with a study on “Influence of s Social Media on Youth Participation in Politics in Nigeria: A Case of the 2015/2019 General Elections,” which revealed that majority of the youths, 336 (32.8%), holds BA/B.Sc, 72(7.0%) are SSCE holders, 180 (17.6%) have NCE, 138 (13.5%) National Diplomas, 144 (14.1%) have Higher National Diplomas, degrees, 96 (9.4%) have MA/M.Sc., 21 (2.1%) have PhD. while 36 (3.5%) of the respondents do not have formal education².

Research Question One: What are the forms of media political education contents targeted at the Nigerian youths?

Findings from research question one showed that majority, 435 (80.2%) of the respondents, accessed political education contents on social media, 405 respondents (75%) accessed such content via digital media, 403 (74.5%) accessed through graphics/digital graphics, 400(74.1%) accessed via electronics/broadcast, while 338 (62.6%) of the respondents have accessed/seen political education via print media. While the findings show that majority, 343 (63.4%) and 303 (56.1) of the respondents, have not access/seen political education media contents via cinema.

Therefore, it can be said that majority of the youths have accessed/seen different political education contents on different forms of media except on cinema and telegram. This result corroborates previous findings to the effect that social media platforms such as *Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, X, Yahoo Messenger, Youtube and Google+* were widely used social media for political participation by the youths¹. The findings are also in line with a related study on “Use of Social Media for Knowledge Sharing among Students,” which revealed a significant relationship between social influence and attitude towards using social media for knowledge sharing, as well as significant relationship between attitude and the use of social media for knowledge sharing³. On the contrary, they diverge from a finding which stated that “today's young people spend most of

their time surfing the Internet and watching television, but very few of them read newspaper.” The findings of the study also revealed that substantial portion of the youths, 405 (75%), have accessed/seen political education contents through newspapers due to their newspaper-reading habits⁵.

Research Question Two: What is the level of youths’ exposure to media political education contents?

Findings from research question two revealed that majority of the respondents have minimal exposure to most of the social media forms examined, with the exception of *television, radio, Facebook, WhatsApp* and *X*, where they show high exposure to political education contents, while the respondents are not all exposed to political education contents in cinema and books. The overall conclusion drawn from these findings suggests a moderate level of exposure to political content, with the majority falling into the minimally exposed category.

Therefore, it can be said that the level of youths’ exposure in the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria to political education contents through the media is at a minimal level, though they have high exposure to media political education contents in some Electronics/Broadcast media (television and radio) and social media (*Facebook, X* and *WhatsApp*). This implies that the level of youths’ exposure to media political education contents is moderate (Weighted Mean = 2.94). The findings are partly in accordance with a study on “Efficacy of Feeling and Political Apathy among Youths in South-East Nigeria.”

Findings show that obtaining political news from newspaper is positively associated with an increased feeling of political efficacy ($r_s(379) = .567^{**}$, $p = <.05$)⁶.

Also, the findings that show minimal exposure by the respondents to the level of exposure to political contents in newspapers corroborates a study which stated that the existence pattern of newspaper readership among young people measured by the number of total days is that students

read newspapers per week and also revealed that students have been classified as having a medium level of media exposure⁷. Likewise, the findings show that the media is carrying out its social responsibility in line with the social responsibility theory, which explains that the media owe the society a duty to discharge their responsibility responsibly. The media should accept and accomplish certain media obligations to the society, education, information and entertainment. These obligations include the effective discharge of the surveillance function, serving as a watchdog for the society and disseminating information as factually as possible⁸.

Research Question Three: What is the level of Nigerian youths' knowledge of political activities?

Findings from research question three revealed that the majority of the respondents got sixty of eighty statements correctly, while the majority of the respondents failed to answer two questions correctly, such as 356 (65.9%) of the respondents saying "direct primary is the only process of electing party members vying for elections" and 290 (53.7%) of the respondents saying "INEC decides the cost of party's interest forms."

Thus, it can be said that the level of Nigerian youths' knowledge of political activities is good. This is because the majority of the youth answered the questions correctly. These findings corroborated with a study titled "The Influence of Media on Political Knowledge amongst Undergraduate Students in Ibadan." From their findings, 71% of the undergraduates are well-informed about political events in the country, as they got more than 80% of the questions correctly, which shows a high level of political knowledge⁹. Also, the findings affirmed the statement that "political knowledge is the capacity to deliver accurate responses to a predetermined series of fact-based questions that serve as a measurement of one's knowledge of political events, persons, affairs, histories, and institutions" and a meta-analysis of political knowledge measurements which indicated that the political knowledge covered knowledge on current national

and international events, political figures, political institutions, and political processes⁶. The findings prove that the youths are politically knowledgeable by accurately answering most of the question correctly. However, the result of this study opposes the findings of a work in Pakistan on youths' social media and political awareness, which reported a poor level of political knowledge, despite, how social media has politically socialized the students⁹.

Research Question Four: What is the attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities? The study's research findings indicated that the majority of respondents agreed with various statements, such as having the ability to influence politics in their state and Nigeria, being capable of improving politics in their state, having a vested interest in the politics of their state and Nigeria, being politically conscious of their state, and exhibiting political apathy. Additionally, respondents believed they could enhance politics in Nigeria, were politically conscious about Nigeria, and were apathetic toward political activities in the country. On the other hand, most respondents disagreed with statements about trusting political activities in their states and Nigeria, finding political activities of parties acceptable, accepting personalities in State and national politics, feeling sympathy for politicians, disliking anything related to politics, displaying bias in political matters, and finding political activities of parties in Nigeria acceptable.

Thus, it can be said that Nigerian youths believe they can influence political activities at state level and in Nigeria at large as the youths believe they can make politics better because they have interest in politics and were conscious of Nigeria's political dynamics.

However, the youths are apathetic about political activities in Nigeria and do not have sympathy for politicians and political actors as they don't trust political activities and personalities that resonate with them. Furthermore, youths dislike the way politics is played and they are biased

when it comes to politics as parties' activities are not acceptable to them. The attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities is positive (with Weighted Mean = 2.56; S.D = 0.87).

The findings are in line with a study on the attitude of university students towards selected democratic values in Nigeria which indicated positive attitudes towards all selected democratic values among university students¹⁰. A study on political socialisation as a correlate of youths' political attitude in Ekiti State, Nigeria, opposed the findings of this study which reported that youths' political attitude differs based on their educational status while education predicted youths' political attitude to a large extent as youths are not encouraged to participate in democratic processes except when they are financially induced¹¹. However, the findings contradict a study carried out in Croatia which findings stated that only 10% of young people in Croatia have a significant interest in politics, while 54% of young people in Croatia express a complete lack of interest¹². Also, a study stated that many African youths have been marginalised from the political arena and are, therefore, showing less interest in active political participation⁵.

Research Question Five: What is the level of participation among Nigerian Youths in political activities?

The findings of research question five revealed that the majority of respondents demonstrated minimal involvement in various aspects, such as educating the electorate, voter education, the voting process, adherence to electoral laws, political crime prevention during elections, and participation in different election types. On the other hand, respondents showed lesser engagement in attending party meetings, political campaigns, promoting party ideologies, serving as party agents or delegates, political activism, protests, rallies, sharing political materials, mobilising voters before elections, serving as INEC adhoc staff, participating in specific protests (Occupy Nigeria protest and End Sars), party elections at the ward level, and various voting scenarios,

including local government and state house assembly elections, and National Assembly public hearings. Notably, a significant portion of the 328 (60.7%) respondents did not contribute party dues. Hence, it can be said that the level of participation among Nigerian Youths in political activities is low, as majority opined that they were “not so involved” in the items. Although they are involved in education of the electorates, engagement in voter education, voting process, obeying electoral laws, educating younger generations on politics, helping to prevent political crime during elections, voting during National assembly elections, voting during governorship elections and voting during presidential elections. The result is corroborated by the finding, which revealed that the youth political participation is low and has a positive correlation with good governance and social inclusion in Nigeria¹³.

Ho1: There is no significant relationship between media education contents and knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths.

This study has four (4) null hypotheses that were tested from a Pearson Correlation with used of a two-tailed test of significance at $P < 0.01$ level. The result from the (Ho1) revealed that there is a significant relationship between Media education contents and knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths. The sample correlation is 0.972, which is high and positive and shows that the relationship is strong. Using default 5%, the p-value or Sig. value is 0.00, which is less than the p-value and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed). This, therefore, connotes that a unit rise in media education contents will lead to an increase in knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths by 0.97.

Hence, the study rejects the null hypothesis and concluded that there is a significant relationship between Media education contents and knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths.

These findings agree with a study that reported that 31% of the

respondents had very high political knowledge while 3% had no political knowledge. Also, access to radio is the foremost source of political knowledge amongst undergraduate students in Ibadan, Nigeria. It also identified that social media is the most frequently used medium, followed by radio, television and newspaper⁶. Also, the findings from this study corroborate the agenda setting theory, which sees the media as “the oxygen of democratic governance and the public square for the nurturing of democratic norms and ideals. The free media outlets make a wide range of information accessible to the public and provide political knowledge through access to reliable and comprehensible resources such as portrayals, news, reports, discussions and so on about social and political affairs¹⁴.

Furthermore, the findings from this study uphold a study that stated that “Knowledge of politics is dependent on access to and usage of news media and there is a positive relationship between political news use and political knowledge. The educational roles of traditional and new media seem to have increased political interest, discussion, and ideological sophistication in many countries. Therefore, the media are tools for political knowledge and democratic consolidation. The more citizens use television, radio, newspapers or the Internet to access the news, the higher their political knowledge. Widespread availability of news and political information on Internet and satellite television has the tendency to improve citizens’ knowledge of current events¹⁵. Furthermore, the findings have affirmed the Cognitive Mobilisation Theory, which states that “Cognitive mobilisation involves two separate developments. First, the public’s ability to process political information has increased with higher levels of education and political sophistication among the electorate. Second, the cost of acquiring political information has decreased due to the expansion of media. Thus, cognitive mobilisation means that citizens now possess the political skills and resources that better prepare them to deal with the complexities of politics and reach

their own political decisions without reliance on affective, habitual party cues or other surrogates”¹⁶.

H₀₂: There is no significant relationship between media education contents and attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities.

The result from hypothesis two shows a significant and positive relationship between media education contents and attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities. The sample correlation is 0.861 (media education contents correlate with attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities at 0.861), which is a high relationship. This implies that a unit rise in education contents will lead to an increase in attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities by 0.861. These findings uphold a study that revealed that exposure to the media had a significant influence on respondents’ political behaviour. The calculated t value of 2.365 was found to be significantly higher than the critical t value of 1.960 at 4226 degrees of freedom at 0.05 level of significance. The study also revealed that television was the most dominant source of political information among the respondents and exposure to the electronic media (radio, television and the Internet) predicted higher levels of political knowledge and behaviour among respondents¹⁷.

Also, the findings confirmed a study that examined the influence of newspaper reports on the extent of political apathy among young people in Southeast Nigeria; it stated that “reading newspaper political stories neither causes political alienation nor cynicism but tends to stimulate interest in politics and stirs up the belief in the power of the masses to cause consequential political changes. More so, the study extends the frontiers of current knowledge on youths’ civic engagement by demonstrating a relatively low level of political apathy among youths on issues relating to passive political involvement, such as engagement in political discussions or intention to vote in future elections”¹⁸.

Ho3: There is no significant relationship between media education contents and political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities.

Findings from hypothesis three showed a significant but negative influence of media education contents on political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities. Media education contents correlate with political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities at - 0.859, which is a high and also a negative relationship. This implies that a unit rise in education content will lead to a decrease in political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities by 0.859. The findings of this study are contrary to a study that stated that “one of the many outlets of the media that is devoted to the dissemination of information on a variety of topics, including politics, is the newspaper. Therefore, getting news from a newspaper is one of the strongest predictors of political participation. It is, therefore, expected that the level of involvement or apathy that young people have toward politics would be influenced by their exposure to political content in the media¹⁸.

Also, the finding contradicts a study that stated that “citizens with low level of information tend to be less keen on participating in politics, whereas those with high level of information rationality are more keen on political issues such as public debate on policy, membership of political parties, voting in elections, standing for political positions and canvassing for votes.”¹⁹ Findings further contradict a study that stated that “the more literate youths a society has, the better informed they will be, and in the long run, the more they will participate in politics to show their satisfaction with government policies.

Also, the lower the cost of access to information, the more youths consume information from the media, and the higher the level of political knowledge and interest among youths, which further leads to increased political participation²⁰. The finding further contradicts a study on “Influence of Social Media on Youth Participation in Politics in Nigeria,” using a case of

the 2015/2019 general elections, which showed a positive relationship between social media use and real-life political participation by youths²¹. Likewise, the findings contradict a study titled “University Students’ Media Use and Political Participation in South Africa,” which reported that mass media exposure is significantly associated with students’ participation in politics ($P < 0.001$) and also established that there is a strong and positive relationship between students’ mass media use and their participation in politics²².

Ho4: There is no significant relationship between media education contents and combined knowledge, attitudes and participation among Nigerian youths in political activities.

Hypothesis four revealed a significant relationship between media education contents and combined knowledge, attitudes and participation among Nigerian youths in political activities ($F = 489.672$, $P < 0.05$), which is much less than 0.05 and highly significant since p-value (is $.000 < 0.05$) at 95% confidence level. Also, the beta coefficient (β) and t- values for knowledge of politics (Beta = 1.359; $t = 18.545$; Significance = .000), attitude of youth (Beta = .933; $t = 6.122$; Significance = .000) and political participation (Beta = -.533; $t = -4.050$; Significance = .000) which are significant at $P > 0.05$. It was observed from the findings that political participation has a negative relationship with media education, as depicted by their negative B value of -.171.

This finding implies that as it increases, the dependent variable decreases. It, therefore, means that media education negatively influenced political participation in this study. Knowledge of politics and attitudes of youth have a positive relationship with media education, as depicted by their positive B value of 1.156 and .423, respectively. It, therefore, means that media education has a positive relationship with knowledge of politics and attitude of youth in this study. These results imply that knowledge of politics, attitudes of youth and political participation explained the variance in media education and, therefore, needed in the model. This result partly verifies the

findings in a work which showed the use of media (social media) influences political knowledge. The more students use social media and discuss political issues, the higher their level of knowledge²³.

The findings of this study, together with a previous study, validate the relationship between media education and knowledge, attitude of youths and political participation in political activities. The study stated that the media have the potential to inspire political consciousness, renaissance, and interest among citizens, including the youths, by giving coverage of political actions, policies, and programmes that are factual and in-depth. It was further stated that a political awakening of this magnitude would, in turn, raise the threshold for public political participation and deflate political indifference, particularly among young people¹⁸. Similarly, another study validated the findings of this study that the effect of being exposed to the media has, in general, a politicising influence, which may be measured in terms of both attitudes and behaviours and political participation. Those who are more exposed to the media are more likely to be "interested in politics, vote, discuss politics, belong to organisations, have more opinions and more political information, have a firm party preference, adopt their party's views on current issues, as well as have strong candidate preferences²⁴.

The findings of this study validate the cognitive mobilisation theory, as it is stated that political education has an especially strong effect because it reduces the costs and increases the benefit of voting in multiple ways. First, education increases the cognitive skills that facilitate learning about politics. Second, the better educated receive more gratification from electoral participation. Thus, political education, according to cognitive mobilisation theorists, helps people overcome the bureaucratic obstacles involved in the political process. It is not higher education per se that increases one's likelihood of participating in politics, but rather the socialisation process that is

provided through education. The cognitive mobilisation theory of political literacy argues that political education increases engagement in politics by developing the citizens' cognitive skills, which in turn enable them to process complex information about the political system and to enhance their sense of civic duty¹⁶. The findings validate the core of cognitive engagement theory which states that political participation is the product of an individual's education, access to information, political knowledge, political interest and policy satisfaction. Hence, the more educated youths a society has, the better informed they will be, and in the long run, the more they will participate in politics to show their satisfaction with government policies. Also, the lower the cost of access to information, the more youths consume information from the media and the higher the level of political knowledge and interest among youths, which further leads to increased political participation²⁵.

Endnotes

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Chapter Five

Conclusion

The chapter summarises and concluded the study. It also explains its contribution to knowledge, recommendations, as well as suggestions for further studies.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The research explored the relationship between political education through the media and the knowledge, attitude, and participation of young people in the current Nigerian political activities.

Using a quantitative research approach with a correlation survey research design, the study administered 540 copies of the questionnaire to youths in the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria. The validity of the administered questionnaire was and the data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), with, results presented in tables, frequency count and mean scores. Based on the result obtained after the data analysis, the summary of the findings are as follows:

Majority of the respondents accessed political education contents through social media platforms (*Facebook, X and WhatsApp*), as well as digital media (SMS, digital billboards, web pages, blogs), graphics/digital graphics, electronics/broadcast and print media. However, majority of the respondents reported minimal exposure to political education media contents via cinema and telegram.

Most of the respondents are minimally exposed to majority of media forms examined in this study, except television, radio, *Facebook, Whatsapp and X* through which the respondents are highly exposed to political education contents. The respondents are not exposed to political education

contents through cinema and books. The overall findings here is minimal exposure, which is moderate, to political education contents.

Majority of the respondents got sixty of eighty statements correctly, while majority of the respondents failed to answer two questions correctly as most of the respondents said “direct primary is the only process of electing party members vying for elections” and “INEC decides the cost of party’s interest forms”.

Respondents generally expressed a positive attitude towards their ability to influence politics in their state and in Nigeria. However, they showed less trust in political activities and personalities, and there was a degree of apathy towards political activities.

The level of political participation among respondents was discovered to be low, with most of them minimally involved in activities such as education of electorates, engagement in voter education, obeying electoral laws, educating younger generations on politics. Furthermore, most of the respondents are not so involved in attending party meetings; campaigning for political parties; promoting ideology of political parties; serving as party agents; serving as delegates to political parties; political activism; political protest; political rally; sharing of political materials; voters’ mobilisation prior to election time; serving as INEC adhoc staff during voters’ registrations; serving as INEC adhoc staff during elections; taking part in Occupy Nigeria and #End SARS protests; involving in party elections at the ward level; voting during local government elections; voting during state’s house of assembly elections; National Assembly public hearings; however, most of the respondents do not pay party dues. With weighted Mean score of 2.36; S.D = 0.96; Overall Decision = Not so Involved (Poor), stating that the level of participation among the respondent in political activities is low as majority opined “not so involved” in the items

Pearson Correlation was used with a two-tailed test of significance at $P < 0.01$ level. Using default 5%, the p-value or Sig. value is 0.00, which is less than the p-value and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed). The sample correlation is 0.972 (media education contents correlates with knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths at 0.972). Using default 5%, the p-value or Sig. value is 0.00, which is less than the p-value and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed). The sample correlation is 0.861 (media education contents correlates with attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities at 0.861).

Pearson Correlation was further used with a two-tailed test of significance at $P < 0.01$ level. Using default 5%, the p-value or Sig. value is 0.00, which is less than the p-value and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed), which implies that the sample correlation is -0.859 (media education contents correlate with political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities at 0.859).

The value R Square is 0.951. This shows that 95.1% in the variation of combined knowledge, attitude and participation among respondents in political activities is due to the media education contents (social media, print media, digital media, graphics/digital graphics, electronics broadcast). The p-value is 0.000, which is much less than default 0.05 ($P < 0.05$) and highly significant since p-value ($0.000 < 0.05$) at 95% confidence level. The F-value (135.863) significant at $P < 0.05$ rejects the null hypothesis that states, "Media education contents do not have a significant relationship with combined knowledge, attitude and participation among respondents in political activities."

The findings reveal the beta coefficient (β) and t- values for media education (print media, graphics/digital graphics, electronics broadcast, digital media and social media) among Nigerian youths in political activities.

5.2 Conclusion

The research was carried out essentially to examine the relationship between media educational contents and Nigerian youths' knowledge, attitude and participation in political activities. The nine objectives of the study have been achieved since explicit, reliable, rigorous and unequivocal answers have been reasonably provided to each of the five research questions and four hypotheses in the study. Conclusion has, therefore, been drawn from the study based on the research findings.

As established by this study, youths in Nigeria are exposed to different political education contents through most of the media forms examined in this study, except for *cinema* and *telegram*.

The conclusion drawn from the research suggests that level of youths' exposure in the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria to political education contents on political activities is at a minimal level, though they have high exposure to media political education contents in some Electronic/Broadcast media (television and radio) and social media (*Facebook*, *X* and *WhatsApp*).

Also, the research revealed that the level of Nigerian youths' knowledge on political activities is generally good, as majority of the youths answered the questions on political activities correctly.

In addition, Nigerian youths believe they can influence political activities at state and national levels. They opened they can make politics better because they are politically conscious and interested in the affairs of Nigeria.

Furthermore, the Nigerian youths displayed apathy towards political activities and did not express sympathy for politicians and political actors. They lack trust in political activities and the personalities in politics, who are not acceptable to them.

Likewise, the level of participation among Nigerian youths in political activities was found to be low with majority indicating minimal involvement in the various political items.

Correspondingly, unit rise in media education contents will lead to an increase in knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths by 0.97. Also, unit rise in education contents will lead to an increase in attitudes of Nigerian youths towards political activities by 0.861. Furthermore, media education contents correlate with political participation among Nigerian youths at -0.859, indicating a high negative relationship.

In conclusion, media education has a positive relationship with combined knowledge of politics and attitude of youths and political participation in political activities.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are put forward:

1. To enhance political education targeted at youths, government agencies and non-government organisations should use media forms such as *facebook*, *X*, *whatsApp* digital media, SMS, digital billboards, web pages, blogs, likewise television and radio, as this study has proved that Nigerian youths mostly accessed political education contents through them.
2. For more effective political education targeted at youths, television, radio, *facebook*, *WhatsApp* and *X* should be used by political stakeholders for political education as the study has proven that youths are highly exposed to political education contents through these platforms.

3. Recognising the already good level of political knowledge among Nigerian youths, political stakeholders should continue to build and maintain the youths' existing knowledge of political activities.
4. While the attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities is positive, they do not have positive attitude towards political actors and activities both at the-state and federal levels. To address this, political stakeholders should focus on fostering youths' interest in political activities and promoting the acceptance of political actors.
5. The level of participation by Nigerian youths in political activities is presently low, which poses danger for democracy. In response, government agencies and non-governmental organisations should develop policies and strategies that will encourage the youths to participate in political activities.
6. Based on this study, an increase in media education contents will lead to an increase in knowledge of political activities among Nigerian youths. Nigerian government agencies and non-governmental organisations should invest more in media education. Empowering youths with political knowledge will contribute to their political consciousness.
7. As established by the study, an increase in education contents will lead to an increase in positive attitude of Nigerian youths towards political activities. Hence, political stakeholders should use the opportunities presented by the media to change the apathetic, prejudicial and hostile attitudes of youths towards political actors and activities into trust, acceptance, cooperation and support.
8. As proven by the study that an increase in education contents will lead to a decrease in political participation among Nigerian youths in political activities, political stakeholders

should go beyond this aspect. They should also consider the knowledge and attitudes of youths.

9. This study has proven that there exists a relationship between media education contents, combined political knowledge, attitudes of youths, and political participation. Therefore, political stakeholders should adopt and use the combined knowledge and positive attitudes towards politics to achieve higher levels of participation of youths in political activities.

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

The data set gathered in this study has contributed to the body of knowledge in existing literature in the field of political communication and youths' participation in politics, especially in Nigeria. It places special emphasis on the use of media education contents to promote participation in political activities. While previous studies focus on only media and political participation or political knowledge and participation, this study stands out by combining media education contents, knowledge, attitudes, and participation in political activities. Hence, this study has enriched the literature by bridging this particular gap. It would also serve as a reference point for future researchers who might wish to investigate more on media education areas.

Furthermore, this study has validated and reinforced the relevance of various theories, namely the Agenda Setting Theory, Social Responsibility Theory, Cognitive Mobilisation Theory and Cognitive Engagement Theory. The findings reinforced the assumptions of these theories. The findings showed that youths are exposed to media education contents on politics that the media is setting agenda and carrying out its social responsibility of educating the youths. Also, the findings of this study showed that educational level of an individual will lead to engagement that media education affects combined knowledge, attitudes and participation in political activities.

The research instrument, specifically the questionnaire designed and validated for this study, hold immense value for future researchers and students for future studies. From a practical standpoint, the findings of this study have given insight into essence of media education and shed more light on the levels of knowledge, attitudes and participation of youths in political activities. It has also showed the relationships between the variables. This would help political stakeholders to know how to use the media and the appropriate media forms to use to reach out to youths on political issues. Likewise, the media would ensure that its role is fundamental in youths participation in political activities.

The study has provided policy makers with useful and first hand data for policy planning and formulation on media education, knowledge, attitudes and participation of youths in political activities in states and at the federal level.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

The following are the suggestions for further research:

- i. Research should be conducted on comparison among the six geo-political zones on relationships between media education and knowledge, attitudes and participation of youths in political activities.
- ii. A study can be carried out to establish the influence on the effect of media education contents on knowledge, attitudes and participation of youths in political activities.
- iii. Furthermore, a study can be carried out at the grassroots level to determine relationships between media education and knowledge, attitudes and participation of youths in political activities.

iv. Other research instruments such as interview guide and focus group discussion can be used to measure relationships between media education and knowledge, attitudes and participation of youths in political activities.

v. Finally, research could be conducted to determine the factors that contribute to the lack of youth participation in political activities.

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Appendix I
Questionnaire

Department of Mass Communication & Media Technology,
Faculty of Communication & Information Science,
Lead City University Ibadan, Oyo state.

Dear Respondent,

I am a PhD student of the Department of Mass Communication & Media Technology, Lead City University, Ibadan. I am carrying out a study which aims at fulfilling my PhD requirements. You have met certain selection criteria to participate in this study. Your cooperation in completing this questionnaire is central to the success of this research work. The questionnaire has been designed for you to be able to circle your response. This should enable you to complete it in the shortest possible time. I will appreciate if you return this questionnaire filled completely.

Thank you for your cooperation and anticipated quick response

Anthony Apeh AMEDU,

Please answer every question by ticking the box.

Section A: Demographic Data contents

1. Sex: (a) Female (b) Male (c) if other signify; _____
2. Age: (a) 18- 20 (b) 21- 25 (c) 26-30 (d) 31- 35
3. Educational background: (a) SSCE/OND (b) BSC/HND (c) MSC (d) PHD
4. State: (a) Adamawa (b) Kogi (c) Kano (d) Enugu (e) Oyo (f) River States

Section B: Forms of Political Education Media Contents

Kindly tick as appropriate which of the below forms of media have you accessed/seen political education media contents, with the following options; Yes or No

No	Items	Yes	No
	Print		
1	Newspapers		

2	Books		
3	Booklets e.g INEC, NGO		
4	Magazine		
5	Newsletters e.g INEC, NGO		
	Graphics/Digital Graphics		
6	Billboards		
7	Posters		
8	Fliers		
9	Cartoons		
10	Van Display		
	Electronics/Broadcast		
11	Television		
12	Radio		
13	Music		
14	Cinema		
15	Audio Outside broadcast		
	Digital Media		
16	SMS		
17	Digital billboards		
18	Web Pages		
19	Blogs		
	Social Media		
20	Facebook		
21	X		
22	WhatsApp		
23	Instagram		
24	Telegram		

Section C: Youths' Exposure to Political Education Media Contents

Kindly tick as appropriate your level of exposure to political education media contents, through the following options: Highly Exposed (HE), Minimally Exposed (ME), Not so Exposed (NE), Not at All (NA)

No	Items	HE	ME	NE	NA
	Print				
1	Newspapers				
2	Books				
3	Booklets e.g INEC, NGO				
4	Magazine				
5	Newsletters e.g INEC, NGO				
	Graphics/Digital graphics				
6	Billboards				
7	Posters				
8	Fliers				
9	Cartoons				
10	Van Display				
	Electronics/Broadcast				
11	Television				
12	Radio				
13	Music				
14	Cinema				
15	Audio Outside broadcast				
	Digital Media				
16	SMS				
17	Digital billboards				

18	Web Pages				
19	Blogs				
	Social Media				
20	Facebook				
21	X				
22	WhatsApp				
23	Instagram				
24	Telegram				

Section D: Level of Knowledge on Political Activities

Kindly tick as appropriate your level of knowledge on political activities, with the following options; True, False or Not sure.

Items	True	False	Not sure
Citizens need to be registered members of a political party to participate in elections			
A citizen must be up to 18 years to vote in elections			
To contest in any elections, citizens need to be registered members of a political party			
Snatching of ballot box is crime under the new electoral laws			
There are campaign periods for political parties			
Every political party should have ward leaders or officers			
Direct primary is the only process of electing party members vying for elections			
INEC decides the cost of party's interest forms			
Party primary elections hold before general elections			
Party conventions are conducted by INEC officials			
INEC as electoral umpire select party agents			

The INEC chairman is independent of the president of Nigeria			
Every State has three senators in Nigeria			
A citizen can be a member of two to three political parties			
A citizen can contest for two offices simultaneously in an election circle under the electoral law			
As a member of a party, you can never join another party			
Every member of a political party is allowed to elect party national officers			
Elections results are only transmitted manually in the new electoral law			

Section E: Attitudes towards political activities

Kindly tick as appropriate attitudes towards political activities, with the following options; SA- Strongly Agree, A- Agree, D- Disagree, SD- Strongly Disagree

No	Item	SA	A	D	SDA
1	I have the ability to influence politics in my State				
2	I have the ability to make politics better in my State				
3	I have interest in the politics of my State				
4	I am politically conscious of my State				
5	I trust in the political activities in my State				
6	Political activities of parties in my State are acceptable to me				
7	Personalities in politics of my State are acceptable to me				
8	I have sympathy for politicians and political actors in my state				
9	I am apathetic about political activities in my State				
10	I hate anything politics in my State				
11	I am biased when it comes to politics in my State				
12	I have the ability to influence politics in Nigeria				
13	I have the ability to make politics better in Nigeria				
14	I have interest in the politics of Nigeria				

15	I am politically conscious of Nigeria				
16	I trust in the political activities in Nigeria				
17	Political activities of parties in Nigeria are acceptable to me				
18	Personalities in politics in Nigeria are acceptable to me				
19	I have sympathy for politicians and political actors in Nigeria				
20	I am apathetic about political activities in Nigeria				
21	I hate anything politics in Nigeria				
22	I am biased when it comes to politics in Nigeria				

Section F: Participation in Political Activities

Kindly tick your level of participation in the following political activities using these options; Highly Involved (HI), Minimally Involved (MI), Not so Involved (NI), Not at All (NA)

No	Items	HI	MI	NI	NA
1	Education of the electorates				
2	Attending party meetings				
3	Engagement in voter education				
4	Payment of party dues				
5	Campaigning for political parties				
6	Promoting ideology of political parties				
7	Servings as party agents				
8	Serves as delegate to political parties				
9	Political activism				
10	Political Protest				
11	Political Rally				
12	Sharing of political materials				
13	Voters' mobilisation prior to election time				
14	Voting process				
15	Obeying electoral laws				

16	Serves as INEC adhoc staff during voters registrations				
17	Serves as INEC adhoc staff during elections				
18	Educating younger generations on politics				
19	Help to prevent political crime during elections				
20	Participating in 'Occupy Nigeria Protest'				
21	Participating in 'EndSARS'				
22	Party elections at ward level				
23	Voting during Local government elections				
24	Voting during State house assembly elections				
25	Voting during National assembly elections				
26	Voting during Governorship elections				
27	Voting during Presidential elections				
28	National Assembly public hearings				

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Appendix II

Table 4.5 (a): Level of Knowledge on Political Activities: Marking Guide

Items	Answers
1 Citizens need to be registered members of a political party to participate in elections	False
2 A citizen must be up to 18 years to vote in elections	True
3 To contest in any election, citizens need to be registered members of a political party	True
4 Snatching of ballot box is crime under the new electoral laws	True
5 There are campaign periods for political parties	True
6 Every political party should have ward leaders or officers	True
7 Direct primary is the only process of electing party members vying for elections	False
8 INEC decides the cost of party's interest forms	False
9 Party primary elections hold before general elections	True
10 Party conventions are conducted by INEC officials	False

Table 4.5 (b): Level of Knowledge on Political Activities

Items	Answer
11 INEC as electoral umpire select party agents	False
12 The INEC chairman is independent of the president of Nigeria	True
13 Every State has three senators in Nigeria	True
14 A citizen can be a member of two to three political parties	False
15 A citizen can contest for two offices simultaneously in an election circle under the electoral law	False
16 As a member of a party, you can never join another party	False
17 Every member of a political party is allowed to elect party national officers	True
18 Elections results are only transmitted manually in the new electoral law	False

Bio-data

A. Personal Data

Name: **Anthony Apeh AMEDU**

Address: Block E, Flat 4, Lead City University Quarters II, Ibadan
Oyo State

E mail: amedu.anthony@lcu.edu.ng

Phone No: +2347030821319, +2348075399145

Date of Birth: 9th May, 1994

Place of Birth: Idah, Kogi State

Nationality: Nigerian

Next of Kin: Miss Amedu Mercy
No 1, Road 7, Peace Community Lokoja, Kogi State
Tel: 07037487454

B. Education Background

1. Educational Institutions Attended with Date

- (a) Holy Family Nursery and Primary school, Idah, Kogi State
- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| First School Leaving Certificate | 1999-2006 |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
- (b) St. Kizito Seminary Idah, Kogi State
- | | |
|---|-----------|
| West African Secondary School Certificate | 2007-2013 |
|---|-----------|
- (c) Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State.
- | | |
|---|-----------|
| BSc. (Frist Class Honours), Mass Communication & Media Technology | 2013-2017 |
|---|-----------|
- (e) Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State.

C. Work Experiences with Dates

1. Graduate Assistant, Lead City University Ibadan, Oyo State. (Mass Communication & Media Technology Department), November 1st, 2019 – June 30th, 2019
2. Assistant Lecturer, Lead City University Ibadan, Oyo State. (Mass Communication & Media Technology Department), July 1st, 2021 – till date

(a) Courses Taught

- (i) CMT 115-Speech Composition, Presentation and Criticism
 - (ii) ISM 305-E-Publishing
 - (iii) CMT 215-Broadcast Commentary and Critical Writing
 - (vi) CMT 218- Foundation of Communication Research
 - (vii) CMT 104-Writing for the Mass Media
 - (viii) CMT 205-Broadcast Management and Programming
 - (vii) CMT 111-Introduction to News Writing and Reporting
3. Current Undergraduate Studies supervision: Five (5)
2. Graduate Assistant, Moshood Abiola Polytechnic, Ogun State. (Mass Communication Department), November, 2017 – October, 2019

(a) Courses Taught

- (i) Writing for the Mass Media
- (ii) Introduction to Broadcasting
- (iii) Speech Composition and presentation

D. Awards and Fellowships:

1. Scholar of the African Council for Communication Education 2023
2. Best graduating male student, Lead City University Ibadan, Oyo State 2017
3. Best Student in Broadcasting, Lead City University Ibadan, Oyo State 2017
4. Exceptional Leadership award by 2017 Poise Class/ CEO Awards 2017
5. Best graduating student, Nigeria Model United Nations Society, Lead City Chapter 2017

E. Membership of Academic Professional Bodies

1. Association for the study of the worldwide African Diaspora, (USA) (ASWAD)
3. African Council for Communication Education (ACCE)
4. Association of Communication Scholars & Professionals of Nigeria (ACSPN)
5. Institute of Personality Development & Customer Relationship Management (IPDCRM)
6. Social and Management Scientists Forum (SMSF)

F. Publications

1. Thesis

- (i) Impact of Marketing Intelligence on Customer retention of DSTV (B.Sc. Project)
- (ii) Newspaper Reportage of Ethno-Religious Crime in Nigeria, 2015-2019 (M.Sc. Thesis)

2. Contribution to Books:

(i) Alakija, O. & Amedu, A., *Generational Differences and Attitude of Nigerian Media Users in Nigeria* in Ahmet Atay & Mary Z. Ashlock, *Social Media, Technology and New Generations*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London, 2022, 149-166.

(ii) Amedu, A. & Adeyemo, O., *Influence of Digital Media on Audience Participation in Radio Programmes on Oluyole FM 98.5 and Fresh FM 105.9* in A. Otunla & T. Babaleye (Eds.) *Research Methodology Handbook of Behavioural and Social Scientific Studies*. Lagos; ZOLADOT Communication Co, 2022, 153-160

(iii) D. Oyedokun, D.; **Amedu, A.** & Badru, A., *Social Media, Political Communication and Youths' Political Participation in Nigeria* in E. Asemah, T. Santas & D. Ekhareafu, *Thoughts on Political Communication in Nigeria*. Enugu; Franklead Printing Company, 2022, 245-256.

(iv) Ihebuzor, L. & **Amedu, A.**, *Social Media in the Study of Sociology of Mass Communication* in Ihebuzor, **Amedu, A.** & Ihebuzor, N., ed. *Scholarship in a Communication Studies*. Ibadan: College Press, 2021, 281-287.

(v) **Amedu, A.**, *Basic of Speech Composition and Presentation in Public Speaking* in L. Ihebuzor ed. *Scholarship in a Communication Studies*. Ibadan: College Press, 2020, 245-259.

(vi) Alakija, F. & **Amedu, A.**, *Mass Self-Communication and Youth Participation in the 2019 Elections in Nigeria* in Gambo, D. & Batta, H., (Eds.). *Digital Media, Communication & Civic Engagement in Nigeria*, Uyo, Nigeria: African Council for communication Education (ACCE, Nigeria), 2020, 155-171.

(vii) Alakija, F.; **Amedu, A.** & Olaseinde, O., *An Examination of Everyday Discourse of Migration among Nigeria Youths* in Gambo, D. & Batta, H., (Eds.). *Communication, Migration and Social Inclusion in Nigeria*, Uyo, Nigeria: African Council for communication Education (ACCE, Nigeria), 2019, 63-79.

3. Journal Publications

(viii) **Amedu, A.**; Adeyemo, O. & OJOMU, T., *Digital Agriculture Extension and Youth-Led 'agripreneurship' in Ibadan North Local Government Area of Oyo State, Nigeria*, **International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science**, 12(3), 2023, 1118-1124.

(ix) Bello, A.; **Amedu, A.** & Adeyemo, O., *Influence of Social Media on Attitudes of Youths Towards the same sex Relationship/Marriage in Nigeria*, **Christopher University Journal of Management and social Sciences**, 2(2), 2022, 117-124.

(x) **Amedu, A.**, Bello, A. & Adeyemo, O., *Influence of Social Media Campaigns on Knowledge, Attitude and practice of mental health Disorder Prevention among Youths in Ibadan Metropolis*, **International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Literature**, 10(5), 2022, 23-36.

- (xi) Busari, W. & **Amedu, A.**, *Revisiting the Accountability Role of the Media in Contemporary Nigeria*, **International Journal of Humanities, Arts and Literature**, 10(2), 2022, 13-22.
- (xii) Jacobs, B. & **Amedu, A.**, *Strategies Radio Programmes as Agents of Socio-political Opinion Moulding: A study of 'orotonlo' on Oluyole FM and 'State Affairs' on Splash FM*, **Education Journal in International Technology and Science Publication** 5(1), 2022, 1-10.
- (xiii) **Amedu, A.** & Abioye, L., *Nigerian Tribune Newspaper Reportage of Ethno-Religious Crime in Nigeria, 2015-2019*, **Social Sciences**, 10(3), 2021, 84-92.
- (xiv) **Amedu, A.** & Busari, W., *Coping with the Challenges of Covid-19 Pandemic by Private Universities in Nigeria: The Lead City University Experience*, **Education Journal in International Technology and Science Publication** 4(2), 2021, 82-96.
- (xv) **Amedu, A.** & Agha, R., *Evaluation of the Significance of Online Newspaper Reportage of the 2020 Southern Kaduna Killings*, **Journal of Communication and media Technology**, **Journal of Communication and media Technology**, 3(1), 2020, 117-133
- (xvi) Alakija, F.; **Amedu, A.** & Olaseinde, O., *An Analysis of Media Representation and Political Discourse in the Revisited Biafra Secession in Nigeria*, *Lead City Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(1), 2020, 88-98.
- (xvii) Busari, W. & **Amedu, A.**, *Utilization of Social Media Platforms as Awareness Tools on Domestic Violence against Children in Ibadan*, **NTA TVC Journal of Communication** 4(2), 2020, 151-160.
- (xviii) Busari, W. & **Amedu, A.**, *Sustaining Democratic Governance in Nigeria: An Overview of the roles of Journalists during 2019 General Elections*, **Hallmark University Journal of Management and Social Sciences**, 2(3), 2020, 202-21.
- (xix) **Amedu, A.** & Abioye, L., *Evaluation of Fresh FM 105.9 COVID -19 Situation Room Programme Among Selected Residents of Ibadan South-West Local Government Area*, **International Journal of Communication and Media Studies**, 10(4), 2020, 1-18.

G. Major Conferences Attended with Dates

1. African Studies Network Conference; Africa: Past, Present and Future at Australian National University, Marie Reay Teaching Centre, University Avenue, Canberra, ACT 2601, Australia between 23rd and 24th November, 2023.
2. 11th Biennial Conference of Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora at Cedi Conference Centre, University of Ghana-Legon, Accra, Ghana between 2nd and 5th August, 2023.
3. 23rd International Conference and Annual General Meeting of the African Council for Communication Education at Nnamdi Azikiwe University Awka, Anambra State, Nigeria between 24th to 27th January, 2023.
4. 2nd International Conference of Research in Management and Social Sciences at Christopher University, Move, Ogun State between 17th to 19th August, 2022.
5. 3rd ARUA COE-USD Blended International Conference at University of Nairobi, Kenya between 26th to 28th July, 2022.
6. 7th Association of Communication Scholars and Professionals of Nigeria Conference- September 1-2, 2021 at Port Harcourt, River State, Nigeria.
7. 22nd International Conference & Annual General Meeting of the African Council for Communication Education (ACCE, Nigeria Chapter)- May 25-28, 2021 at Bayero University, Kano.
8. 5th Idowu Sobowale International conference, at School of Communication, Lead City University, 29th March-2nd April, 2021.
9. 21st Century Migration of Nigerian Youths to the West (Association for the study of the worldwide African Diaspora (ASWAD, USA) on 5th – 9th November, 2019.
10. 21st African Council for Communication Education (ACCE) International Conference – October 22-25, 2019 at National Open University of Nigeria, Jabi, Abuja.
11. 6th Association of Communication Scholars and Professionals of Nigeria Conference- September 4-5, 2019 at Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria.

12. 20th African Council for Communication Education (ACCE) International Conference – October 23-26, 2018 at Pan-Atlantic University, Lekki Campus, Lagos.

H. Referees

Prof. Oloruntola Sunday,

Professor,

Mass Communication Department,

University of Lagos

Lagos State.

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Prof. Lambert Ihebusor,

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Department of Mass Communication & Media Technology, Lead

City University Ibadan,

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Dr. Funmi Alakija,

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.....
Date

The University Compliance Certification

This is to certify that this thesis by Anthony Apeh AMEDU with Matric No: LCU/PG/000454 in the Department of Mass Communication and Media Technology, Faculty of Communication and Information Science, Lead City University, Ibadan is full compliance with the approved University format and style.

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