Exploring the Shift in Broadcast Media Influence on Voters

Surajudeen Dayo Ogunsola; Josiah Sabo Kente, PhD & Tsegyu Santas, PhD

Department of Mass Communication
Faculty of Communication and Media Studies
Nasarawa State University, Keffi, Nigeria
ogunsolasurajudeendayo@gmail.com; kentemails@yahoo.com; tsegyu@nsuk.edu.ng

DOI: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15874085

Abstract

Situated within the theoretical framework of uses and gratifications, the study examined the transition of media influence from the predominant conventional media platforms, particularly, television as one of the viable information sources for voters, to digital platforms. The study solely relied on secondary data through the review of relevant literature to examine the factors(s) which account for the shift of media influence and to understand the challenges facing the shift in media influence on voters, from television to digital media. The study revealed that accessibility, network effect and the interactivity nature of digital media, which empower every user to contribute to political discourse, are the reasons for the swing. However, the possibility of digital media to promote information disorder such as fake news, deep fake, misinformation and disinformation are among the trials of the transition. This is because digital media platforms lack the regimented chains of gatekeepers that fortify conventional media against avoidable infractions and the incidences of fake news. The researchers concluded that the shift in the source of media influence on voters is real. It recommended media literacy skills and new legal framework as part of the measures to address all forms of misapplication of digital media platforms for political gains.

Keywords: Television, Media Influence, Digital Media, Voters, Election

Introduction

The mass media are channels of mass communication that fused the world into single entity (Paul & Rai, 2021). They are basically classified into two broad categories of print and electronic media. Rabiu (n.d.) is of the view that though people could extract information from any other medium, but print family of media particularly, newspaper is the most authoritative medium of mass communication, given its editorial quality. But Ibbi & Furomfate (2021) observe that the electronic media which encompasses radio, TV and film, regarded as either auditory or audio-visual mediums play equally remarkable role in every society.

According to Iibbi & Furomfate (2021), against the backdrop of their penetrative and persuasive nature, these genres of mass communication hold relative potential of influence on audience and they are considered as powerful. Seibure & Javombo (2018) reason very strongly that the role of the media in every given society is to educate, inform

and enlighten. Expectedly, where these roles are upheld and efficiently carried out, elections are likely to be free and fair. Underscoring the enormous values media brought into political communication as the oxygen, Gjylije (2014) notes that political engagement may be far from being successful without media, suggesting that politics need media to convey its messages and activity to the public, it thus implies that, the intermediary and sender of message and shaper of public opinion between politicians and the public is the media.

Kulachai *et al* (2023) have comprehensively documented factors that shaped voting behaviour in election, the factor according to the scholars can be considered from two broad categories of individual-level factors, including demographics and personal characteristics, and contextual or situational factors, such as political, social and economic contexts. According to Evans (2000), cited in Kulachai *et al* (2023), at the individual level, demographic characteristics such as age, gender, education, income and race/ethnicity play significant influence, the scholars however acknowledged the invaluable contributions of media as source of influence. The influence from the media has been subject of robust studies (Aliyu & Olowu, 2019; Hanson, 2022; Kulachai *et al* 2023; Olowojolu, 2016). More particularly, television which is the focus of this study, has equally been given modicum of scholarly attention, including (Aririguzoh, 2010; Aririguzoh, 2021; Najeem & Agboluaje, 2023) where they observe that the quality of a voter's decision is as good as the amount and quality of information available to individual at the point of taking a decision, such that a conservatively disinterested person might become active upon receiving quality information. This has been variously established in Aririguzoh's works of 2010, 2014 and 2021, where the scholar confirmed that television broadcast influences voters conduct in election.

Impactful as the legacy media may have appeared and for being a novel in the evolution of media ecosystem, Adewuyi (2020) avers that before now, when reliance was on mainstream media, efficient and timely dissemination of messages was a wishful thinking, news dissemination was far from being instantaneous, because some of the technologies available now were missing then, thus, digital communication which sends information and messages encoded in binary codes emerged and has subsequently revolutionised the world's media experience (Jungherr, 2020). Nesbitt-Larking (2010) concurs that the capacity of new technologies to reshape the role of the media in election campaigns is profound. Therefore, the component of digital communication in this discourse are social media platforms through which information, messages and ideas are being circulated to members of the public in an interactive manner that promotes immediate feedback.

Conventional media, particularly television is an integral tool of political communication across different societies. Since its emergency in 192 (Bittner, 1989) and its establishment in Nigeria in 1959, through Western Nigeria Television (WNTV), politicians rely heavily on it to channel their messages to members of the public, either to maintain political loyalty from party members or to win undecided voters ahead of election. More instructively, the birth of television in Nigeria was intricately associated with politics as championed by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Premier of the Western region

(Arthur & Ukelina, n. d.). Umeh (1989) argues that while the first television was meant to educate the people, it did not lose guard as a political weapon for an opposition leader to engage people of western Nigeria. This is so because television, is a powerful medium as observed by many scholars, due to its audio- visual message, which maintains highly level of fidelity (Akpede, 2021; Aririguzoh, 2021; Onabajo 2021). But that dynamic is changing very drastically, as electorate and ordinary members of the society appear embracing digital media sources of information that are instantaneous, flexible, interactive and accessible (MCQuail, 2010; Muswede, 2022).

In problematising the shift in the source of information, which ultimately has continued to alter the amount of influence media exert on the voters in an election, because a rational person will make a better decision if he has access to quality information (Aririguzoh, 2021). Accordingly, this paper investigates the shift in broadcast media influence on voters from the television to digital media.

Conceptual Clarifications

Media encompass a wide range of channels, including the legacy media such as television, radio and newspaper to the modern media platforms of social media and podcast (Oparaugo, 2021). In the view of Olowojolu (2016), media connote two forms- print family that comprise newspaper, magazine, books, handbills, while the electronic family contain radio, television and the internet. They are the channels through which information can be communicated to a widely dispersed heterogenous audience, who will have the latitude of receiving the information the same time. The vehicles through which messages are transmitted to the target audience is what (Zun, 2019) described as media.

Umuerri & Galadima (2012) cited in Chigbo (2024) note that media are mass communication outlets, that serve as cornerstone institution designed to gather, process and distribute information, ideas and attitudes to wide range of areas and people simultaneously. According to Aliede & Afam (2015) referenced in Anyanwu & Orji (2020), media are robust and effective mechanisms at the disposal of political gladiators, their parties and even policymakers and numerous others for conveying messages and ideas to voters and members of the public. Besides the two main divisions of media into family of print and electronic, scholars such as Manning (2015) held that media division comes from another two main ages- the broadcast age and the interactive age, while the broadcast age referred to the conventional media experience, the interactive age focuses attention on digital media.

Television is an electronic gadget that brings to audience educational, informational and entertainment contents, being the greatest mechanism ever conceived by man, television brings to people's brains enormous information (Akpan, 1988, cited in Onabajo, 2021). According to Onabajo, television goes beyond being a mere device, but a medium that brings its large audience into almost exact experience of certain sets or attitude. To that extent, television can be viewed from the way it brings the world into various living rooms, making it and intimate medium. Television, in the opinion of Hasan (2014) is a mass communication channel that circulates the combined audio and visual signals to television receivers across the world. Rated as a medium with ability to

hold audience spell bound to its content, television has become a medium with high level of fidelity. Rooij (2015) says television is a telecommunication gadget usually used for spreading of images and sound to audience. Television has been available commercially from the late 1920s, it has turned to common household good thereafter. As a powerful medium of mass communication, Rooij (2015) notes that since around the 1950s onward, television increasingly became the primary medium in the western world for shaping public opinion because of the saturation of television in society. It came into existence in Nigeria on October 31st of 1959 through what is generally known as Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) championed by the government of Late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who was then the Premier of the Western Region.

To C-Scott (2014), television can be defined as a medium to see at a distance. According to C-Scott (2014), the word has evolved since its introduction in 1900, to be used as a singular term to describe not only the set, but also the programmes and the institution. The scholar added that the idea of television began as part of the human desire to see at a distance. Through the work of many inventors, it became a reality through the television set. A device with a screen, that could allow one to see events at considerable distance away, and later across the other side of the world.

According to Rooij as cited earlier, television has been performing key functions as vehicle for advertising, entertainment and news broadcasting. Television is noted as a medium of information commonly deployed by politicians and their supporters to reach the would-be electorate. It is a platform capable of triggering thoughts and influence the decision that will be taken by members of the public, particularly on an election (Aririguzoh, 2021). The evolving technological revolution that gave birth to television has moved on, giving rise to broadband that now enables digital communication.

Digital media are modern day platforms or channels of communication that have sustained the concept of immediate feedback in information dissemination through the help of the internet. Through digital media, proliferation of mobile devices and other cutting-edge technologies which are internet driven, the scope of information dissemination became expanded all over the world. Digital media, according to Akpan (2024), connote a wide range of platforms, which include websites, blogs, social media and some news channels operating primarily online. A component of digital media according to Manning (2014) is social media, which otherwise refers to as new media. It is a group of platforms that exemplified the position of Ibietan (2023), with interactivity placed at centre of new media functions. This promotes instantaneous feedback with individual and on a large scale. To the extent that where citizens and consumers used to have limited and lost their voices before, they now share their views and opinions (Manning, 2014).

Digital media encompasses large spectrum of technologies that could facilitate activities far beyond traditional communication such as computer, video games, tablets smartphones, credit card, web browser and satellite communication (Alessandro &Adam (2019). To Rengim (2019), digital media digitised content that can be transmitted over the internet, meanwhile, Valentini & Kruckeberg (2012) reason that in the current media landscape, digital media channels rely on the framework or structure provided by web

2.0, 3.0 mobile communications, computer-aided user gadgets. Thus, Scolari (2009) cited in Valentini and Kruckeberg (2012) argued that digital media is a generic name for technology-based engagements that promote interactivity. Penn (2021) however evinced that most times, new media is used to represent digital media, which connotes technologies that promote new order, arguing further, the scholar asserts that new media should be used only in the area of information communication, but it differs from social media because of what (Penn,2021) calls network effect.

Accordingly, Penn (2021) asserts that new media is the term used to represent all media emerging after the computer and internet which includes digital and social media. Digital media includes all the digital form of media and communication including internet, CD/DVDs, social media, Hard Disk and more. Valentini & Kruckeberg (2012) specifically argue that the prefix "new" refers to those technologies that recently emerged, in particular digital technologies. "New" also defines novel applications as well as the technologies that allow original, innovative ways of performing new tasks. the term "new media" should be used to represent technological innovation or in the sphere of information and communication advancements, suggesting that the dissimilarity between the concept of new and social media lies in the network effect, thus, to create value, social media needs network effect, but such is not needed in new media (Penn, 2021). The summary of the foregoing is that digital media can be used interchangeably with new media, but social media is a component of twin concepts, they are channels embedded in the new media, implying that being a sub- set, not all digital media can be categorised as social media because of the defining features of interactivity (Ibietan, 2023, Valentini & Kruckeberg, 2012).

Influence of Digital Media in Politics

From America to China and from Kenya to Nigeria, Serapşah & Sevgihan (2023) agreed that modern media have come with tremendous influence on political communication. Citing the example of #ENDSARS movement in 2020 in Nigeria, the local movement originally organised to raise voice against police brutality became global issue, with proportionate attention from far and near, social media platforms provided space to citizens to escalate updates and document. To get entirely involved in the political discourse, so many people rely heavily on social media which affords them opportunity to contribute to issues online, which then translating to advancing participatory democracy. Anyanwu & Orji (2020) in their study established that social media platforms play fundamental roles in educating, persuading and mobilising citizens to participate in political activities in the South Eastern part of the country, through constant exposure and reportage of political developments, which then influence citizens participation in the political process. Namo *et al* (2024) equally established that social media influence voting behaviour among Nigerians. This was demonstrated during the 2011 presidential elections when Nigeria for the first time tested the use of social media in electioneering campaign (Santas, 2020; Okoro & Santas, 2017).

According to Shirky (2011) cited in Akpan (2024), the internet is an enabler of how political messages are disseminated, breaking boundaries and age long barriers of

participatory communication landscape. Akpan (2024) contends that unlike the conventional media channels which usually operate under a regimented structure, controlled by fewer gatekeepers, digital platforms allowed anyone with internet services to contribute to political discourses and engagements, this, Akpan notes affords politicians the privileges of direct communication of policies with electorate and galvanise support. Akpan concluded that by bypassing traditional media filters, politicians have a sense of personal encounter with voters. Similarly, evidence from a study by Fajiwara *et al* (2023) demonstrated that contents twitted in America showed that Twitter lowered the Republican vote share in the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections, with text analysis of millions of tweets suggests that Twitter's relatively liberal content may have persuaded voters with moderate views to vote against Donald Trump.

Similarly, Muswede (2022) specifically sought to explore the impact of digital media on political messages in Africa, the scholar empirically asserts that given the proliferation of digital media, there has been a great shift from the conventional formats to the more adaptive and interactive platforms linked to digital media and the adoption of these platforms are not without challenges.

Challenges of Digital Communication Platforms

The new media era has thrown up the problem of information disorder, such as misinformation, disinformation and mal-information due to democratisation of information flow. Despite the invaluable contributions of digital platforms, which offered viable means to stimulate political engagement successfully, Akpan (2024) notes that the quality and reliability of information available on digital platforms can vary significantly; while digital media has democratised access to information, it has also led to the proliferation of information disorder, which manifests in many ways such as deep fake news, hate speech among others.

Obisesan (2022) reasons that the seemingly lack of regimented control on social media platforms, leading to humongous amount of information being circulated has been weaponised by unscrupulous politicians to manipulate a lot of people. To that extent, Obisesan (2022) is of the view that information disorder is a feature of digital media channels- social media. According to Omojua cited in Obisesan (2022), large chunk of malicious contents was deployed by youth through social media to political opponents during electioneering period in Nigeria, this has continued to affect the sanity of cyber space. According to Idid *et al* (2019), conventional media have been considered very unlikely to promote fake news or other elements of information disorder. Idid *et al* (2019) added that older journalists are usually skeptical about the credibility of information circulated or retrieved online, in so far that space has been known as a reservoir of false and incorrect information.

Gbinedion & Ajisebiyawo (2023) also reason along the concerns that social media platforms can be easily used to spread, biased and unverified information. Reasoning along this line, Asemah (2019) cited Babatunde (2023), argued that widespread use of social media has promoted fake news, to the extent that false information and biased content spread rapidly, leading to misinformation and creation of tension among people.

The menace of information via social media platforms is no respecter of status- much as state actors deploy it, same as even non- state actors do. For instance, Nasidi (2022) captured how on January 8, 2021 X, formerly Twitter permanently de-platformed Donal Trump's handle for infractions. The account with over 88 million followers was an incubator of conspiracy theories, fake news, rumours, hate and inciting speeches. Babatunde (2023), therefore, notes that the trend has shown that hate speech and fake news are largely perpetrated on the social media, they constitute serious threat to social cohesion and national integration. IseOlorunkanmi *et al* (2023), Ofei *et al* (2023), Ohaja *et al* (2023) affirmed in their various studies the propensity of social media platforms to make public misleading information.

Theoretical Underpinning

Uses and Gratifications Theory

This paper is anchored on the uses and gratifications theory. Anaeto *et al* (2012) opine that the theory has been concerned with why people use media. It belongs to indirect effect theory because it focuses attention on what people do with media, rather than what media do to the people; impliedly, the theory posits that people influence the effects of mass media on them. According to Anaeto *et al* (2012), the basic assumption of the theory says mass media audience is active, meaning that they are goal-driven and seeks to achieve such through the media source. It also suggests that people use media to their benefit than media use them, so their selection of media is goal driven, which is directed to satisfy their social and psychological needs and desires (Liu, 2015). The theory also holds that people are not oblivious of the reasons for picking media options so selected (Vinney, 2024). Wimmer & Dominick (2000) argued that the theory crystallises the way people make use of media and the rewards they seek from the media behaviour. In the opinion of Asemah *et al* (2017), uses and gratifications looks at audience needs as the motivation for the media use, while the twin theory- media dependency theory looks at audience goal.

Liu (2015) reasons that proliferation of computer-mediated communication had already elevated the importance of uses and gratifications, the advent of the internet driven communication otherwise known as social media, which has significantly impacted the pattern of media consumption, Vinney (2024) reasons the higher control and variety of choices brought by the digital media has opened up avenue of uses and gratifications, especially in regards to various social media platforms. Therefore, uses and gratifications theory becomes more manifest because technologies present audience with large spectrum of choices, thus motivation and gratifications has assumed one of the most crucial factors of audience analysis (Anaeto, 2012; Liu, 2015). Therefore, the shift in the source of media influence on voters is a direct effect of the audience needs as the motivation for the media use.

Rising Trend of Digital Media platforms for Political Communication

Evidences from avalanche of scholarly studies have shown that most of the engagements that queried the shift in the dynamic of political communication from conventional media to digital media or social media have come out with empirical substances, confirming the

transition. Dazang (2022) and Santas (2020) notes how Barack Obama profited from the use of social media to galvanise resources to defeat his closest Democratic challenger Hillary Clinton and ultimately clinch the American presidency. Fujiwara *et al* (2023) studied how digital engagements were deployed to defeat the current American President, Donald Trump in his initial failed attempt for a second term in office. Political mobilisation through social media influencers has the potential to influence voting choices. Researchers suggest that endorsements from trusted influencers can sway voters' opinions and even alter their intended voting preferences (Chadwick, 2017). In recent years, the global landscape of political communication has undergone a transformative shift with the advent and proliferation of online platforms. Nigeria, a country known for its dynamic political environment, is not immune to this trend.

The 21st century witnessed the rise of various online platforms that have reshaped political communication in Nigeria with profound impact. Social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Tiktok and WhatsApp have gained widespread popularity and have become instrumental in facilitating political discourse (Fisher, et al., 2023; Santas, 2016). Nnaane (2023) found a strong correlation between the use of social media for political mobilisation and the choice being made by electorate in Nigeria. Making reference in the study to the opinion advanced by the former minister of aviation in the last term of former President Buhari, on the strength of social media and election, Hadi Sirika opined that with the performance of Peter Obi in the 2023 presidential election, it shows that there were ballot boxes on twitter (Silas, 2023 cited in Nnaane, 2023). So, in attesting to the changing nature of political communication, particularly, the source of influence on voters, Nasidi (2022) notes that the engagement is no longer "a top-down to a cyclical approach; audience members are transformed from passive receivers of political messages to active political participants who produce and consume political messages (Stamper & Brants, 2011). With the emergence of social media, every person (electorates, civil society activists, and opposition) can produce content that will counter the government's political communication strategies.) (p.29)

Adeniyi (2017), captured the usage of digital media, particularly X, formerly known as Twitter as one of the political communication weapons deployed by politicians, as far back as 2015 general election, where an incumbent was ousted by opposition party. Adeniyi as cited above quoted former interior minister, AbdulRahman Danbazau, emphasising the use of digital communication platforms by General Muhammadu Buhari (the then opposition candidate) who, few hours after opening a twitter account attracted thousands of followers.

The trend of digital media usage continues to evolve with politicians concentrating energy on most of the platforms, reducing reliance on the conventional media, especially during the 2023 presidential election (Ishiekwene, 2023). What then is the motivating factor expanding the scope and use of digital platforms for political communication? Jungherr *et al* (2020) pinpoint two main features of digital landscape, which include the low cost of information publication and circulation as well as democratisation of information. elevating this perspective, Fisher *et al* (2023) stressed that online platforms have democratised access to information and news, enabling a more

diverse range of voices to participate in political conversations. Manning (2014) shares this sentiment where the scholar held that the low cost and accessibility of new technology also allowed more options for media consumption than ever before.

Citizens can now access real-time updates, analyses and opinions from various sources, challenging the dominance of traditional media. Political parties and candidates utilise online platforms to amplify their messages, reaching a larger and more geographically dispersed audience. They can share campaign promises, policy details and engage directly with constituents.

Oluleye *et al* (2023) opine that online platforms have empowered citizen journalists and ordinary citizens to report on political events and issues. Platforms like Twitter have been used to share live updates during elections and protests, enabling real-time coverage from multiple perspectives. Given the general impact of digital media on politics, Jungherr *et al* (2020) argue that character and business of news organisations have been altered by digital media, with many news actors emerging with profound impact on the polity, especially their ability to push through information, the resultant effect of this development is the dwindling power of the conventional media organisations.

Much more than before, political information can be contested by active citizens. Instructively, Jungherr *et al* (2020) observe the changing attitude of political actors, who now adapt the new dynamics of information dissemination through the digital media, establishing new channels of information to reach people with little or no intermediary, they are equally adapting to new rhythms and communicative conventions in these environments. The changing dynamics (Jungherr *et al* 2020) note equally brought forward new intermediaries in public engagements who until now were far less in important or had no business in politics, they are providers of digital channels, reducing the influence of conventional intermediaries like media companies. In the view of the scholars cited above, to whimsically declare that digital media transformed politics may appear simplistic, same way to assume that the new media has not come with some level of influence is dismissive, and amounting to being blind to the effects of the evolving technologies on politics. In essence, the practice of politics is now being influenced by the strength of digital media, retooling the game of politics by providing actors with diverse ways to play their game.

By and large, the rise of online platforms for political communication in Nigeria has ushered in a new era of engagement, discourse and mobilisation. These platforms have transformed the political landscape by enabling wider participation, amplification of voices and greater citizen engagement.

Conclusion

The foregoing discourse has demonstrated that source of media influence on voters across the globe is shifting from the stronghold of legacy media, particularly television to the social media platforms, being a component of digital media. Part of the reasons for this transition are the democratisation of information flow, the instantaneous, flexibility and interactivity nature of social media which enables users to become active players in

information cycle who could also initiate messages to widely dispersed heterogenous audience. Unfortunately, the transition comes with peculiar challenges among which include information disorder, which takes form of disinformation, misinformation and mal-information as well as fake news. Their impact on the polity and national integration is immeasurable, demanding careful consideration and regulatory measures. Thus, media literacy knowledge should be made compulsory by government so that every Nigerian can develop the ability to access, analyse, evaluate and create media messages of all kinds; and be able to decipher the complex messages receive from the internet and other forms of media. More so, political gladiators and policy formulators as well as people in public sector communication should know that the transition of media influence is real, so as to retool their strategy to fit the current trend and government at all level should develop new legal framework that can best address the possible abuse of digital media platforms to protect members of the public from cyber hawks.

References

Adeniyi, O. (2017). Against the run of play. How an incumbent president was defeated in Nigeria. Owerri: Kachifo Limited.

Adewuyi, A. S. (2020). The impact of social media on university of Ibadan undergraduates' level of political participation in the 2019 Nigeria general elections. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338401916_

Aliyu, M. K. & Olowu, G. (2019). Influence of the mass media on voters' behaviour during the 2015 general elections in southwest Nigeria. *ASUU Journal of Social Sciences: A Journal of Research and Development,* 6 (1 & 2), 50 -73.

Akpan, E. (2024). Digital media in political communication and voter behaviour. A conference paper title: "Media, digital platforms, and elections: shaping democracy's future" at Abuja international conference center, Nigeria. June 15-17, 2024

Akpede, K. S. (2021). *MAC 142 Introduction to radio and television*. NOUN Press. www.nou.edu.ng

Aririguzoh, S. A. (2021). Crystallisation effect of television broadcasts on Nigerian voters during a Presidential Election. Retrieved from https://www.irma-international.org/chapter/crystallisation-effect-of-television-broadcasts-on-nigerian-voters-during-a-presidential-election/275015/

Aririguzoh, S. A. (2010). Influence of television broadcasts on voters' choice of parties: A study of 2007 presidential election. *Journal of NJPE,* 4(1&2), 95-124.

Anaeto, S. G., Onabajo, O. S.. & Osifeso, J. B. (2012). *Models and theories of communication.* Bowie, Maryland: African Reinaissance Books Incorporated.

Anyanwu, B. J. C. & Orji, U. F. (2020). Social media and political participation among residents of South-East, Nigeria. *The Nigerian Journal of Communication (TNJC),* 17 (1), 137-156.

Asemah, E. S., Nwammuo, A. N; & Nkwam-Uwaomu, A. A. (2017). *Theories and models of communication (revised ed.)*. Jos: Jos University Press.

Babatunde, V. O. (2023). Trends and effects of hate speech and fake news on national integration in Nigeria (M C C), 7 (1).77-92.

Bittner, J. R. (1989). *Mass communication: An introduction*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Incorporation.

Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: politics and power*. Walton Street, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chigbo, M. J. (2024). The impact of interactive mass media in voters' education for the 2023 general election in Nigeria: Overcoming challenges and fostering informed decision making. *IAA Journal of Social Sciences*, 10(1):10-14.

C-Scott, M. (2014). What is television? Paper for - challenging media landscapes conference: Media city UK.

Damptey, I. & Akparep, J. Y. (2022). The influence of media on voting behavior in Ghana: The case in western north region. *Texila International Journal of Academic Research.* DOI: 10.21522/TIJAR.2014.09.03.

Gjylije, R. (2014). The role of media in political communication: the case of Kosovo. UBT International Conference. 30. Retrieved from https://knowledgecenter.ubt-uni.net/conference/2014/all-events/30.

Fisher, J., Gadjanova, E. & Hitchen, J. (2023). WhatsApp and political communication in West Africa: Accounting for differences in parties' organisation and message discipline online. Party Politics, 0(0). Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688231188690

Fujiwara, T; Muller, K. & Schwarz, S, (2023). The effect of social media on elections: evidence from the United States. Retrieved from socialmediaandelections.pdf

Gayo-Avello, D., Jungherr, A. & Rivero, G. (2022). Social media and electoral prediction: Ten years after. DOI: 10.31235/osf.io/sqeg8

Hanson, R. E. (2019). *Introduction to the media.* Los Angeles*:* Sage Publications Inc.

Hasan, S. (2014). *Mass communication principles and concepts.* New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distribution Pvt Ltd.

Ibbi, A. A & Furomfate, I. I. (2021). Proliferation of broadcast stations in Nigeria, its effects on news commercialisation and citizens' access to the media. *Journal of communication and media research*, 13,(2), 91-98.

Ibietan, O. P. (2023). *Cyber politics: Social media, social demography and voting behaviour in Nigeria.* Wahington D C*:* Premium Times Books.

Igbinedion, O, C. & Ajisebiyawo, A. (2023). The influence of social media on voters' choices during the 2023 presidential elections in Nigeria. *IRE Journal*, 7 (3), 252-264.

Igyuve, A. & Odeba, B. (2024). Globalisation and localisation: The role of the state in broadcast media liberalisation in Nigeria. *Journal of Social and Administrative Science Review*, 5 (2) 89-108.

Inobemhe, K. Isah, A. & Abu, P. (2021). Assessing the adoption of digital technologies in 21st century political communication in Nigeria. *Journal of Contemporary Social Research*, 5(2), 46-56.

IseOlorunkanmi, O.J., Olanrewaju, A.F., Oduola, J.O., Nweke-Love, H.C., Kodi, E.E., Akinojo. & I.C. (2023). The influence of social media on political communication: A case study of Nigeria's 2023 general elections in Omu-Aran. *International Journal of Advanced Academic Research,* 9(7), 31-46.

Ishiekwene, A. (2023). A review of cyber politics: Social media, social demography and voting behaviour in Nigeria. Retrieved from https://blueprint.ng/title-cyber-politics-social- media-social-demography-and-voting-behaviour-in-nigeria/.

John, M. Lavhelani, K. F. K. & Victor, N. M. (2021). Interrogating the influence of new media on electoral processes: Is there a link? *Journal of African Films, Diaspora Studies, Performance Arts and Communication Studies (JAFDIS).* 4, (3), 47-65.

Kulachai, W., Lerdtomornsakul, U. & Homyamyen, P. (2023). Factors influencing voting decision: A comprehensive literature review. Retrieved from https:// doi.org/10.3390/socsci12090469.

Liu, W. Y. (2015). A historical overview of uses and gratifications theory. *Cross-cultural Communication,*11(9),71-78.

Manning, J. (2014.) Social media, definition and classes. In K. Harvey (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics* (pp. 1158-1162). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McQuail, D. (2010). *Mass communication theory. (6th ed.).* New York: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Muswede, T (2022). Impact of digital media on political campaigns towards disintermediated political communication in Africa. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.36615/ajpsrasp.v10i1.1152

Najeem, A. O. & Agboluaje, S.A (2023). Television news coverage of the 2019 presidential election in Nigeria A content analysis approach. Doi: 10.52589/BJMCR-XDLXUAPO

Namo, I. B; Agwadu, L. & Amakoromo, W. T. (2024). Social media and youth voting behaviour in Nigeria: A study on political science students of federal university Wukari. DOI: 10.48028/iiprds/ijarppsdes.v5.i1.9

Nnaane, B. (2023). Comparative study of social media and political mobilsation in the 2021 and 2023 presidential elections in the Gambia and Nigeria. *Nasarawa Journal of Multimedia and Communication Studies,* 5(1), 15-26.

Nesbitt-Larking, P. W. (2010). The role of the media in electoral behaviour: A Canadian perspective. doi:10.1016/j.polsoc.2009.11.005

Obisesan, O. F. (2022). The '#tag generation': social media and youth participation in the 2019 general election in Nigeria. *Journal of Africa development / Afrique et Development,* 47(2), 107–146.

Ofei, E. K., Agbukor, L. A., Ikoza, V. & Akinnibosun, S. N. (2024). An assessment of the mass media as a medium for campaign against vote buying during elections in Nigeria 2023 presidential election. *International Journal of Research Publication and Reviews,* 5, (1), 1734-1744.

Ohaja,E. U., Eze, U. J. & Ali, C. B. (2023). Influence of social media on electioneering and youths' political participation during Nigeria's 2023 general elections. *CJC*, 4(2), 10-25.

Olowojolu, O. (2016). Role of media in 2015 presidential election in Nigeria. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance,* 12(7), 0976 – 1195.

Oluleye, H. R., Maduagwu, L. K., Adeniyi, J. M. & Musa, A. B. (2023). Impact of social media on political development and stability in Nigeria. Retrieved from https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/libphilprac/7747

Okoro, N. & Santas, T. (2017). An appraisal of the utilisation of social media for political communication in the 2011 presidential election in Nigeria. *African Research Review*. (11) 1, 115- 135.

Onabajo, F. (2021). *MAC 242 foundation of broadcasting*. Retrieved from www.nouedu.net.

Oparaugo, B. (2021). Media and politics: Political communication in the digital age Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3780554

Paul, S. & Rai, M. (2021). Role of the media. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319- 74336-3_277- 1.

Penn, C. S (2021). What is the difference between social media and new media? Retrieved from https://www.christopherspenn.com/2021/11/whats-the-difference-between-social-media- new-media/

Rabiu, M. S. (n.d.). Effective news writing and editing for the mass media (unpublished PhD course material). The department of mass communication, Nasarawa state university, Keffi.

Rooij, L. (2015). Television. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312292610

Santas, T. (2020). Voter's perception of government – owned broadcast media coverage of political candidate's campaigns in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Lafia, Nasarawa State Nigeria. *Styles of Communication*. 12 (1), 60- 75.

Santas, T. (2020). Consumption pattern of online news media among undergraduate students in two universities in North – Central Nigeria. *Journal of Media Studies*. 35 (2), 307 – 330.

Santas, T. (2016). Citizen journalism and election monitoring in Nigeria. *Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 32 (1), 491-517.

Seibure, I. & Javombo, A.M. (2021*).* Role of media in creating a peaceful electoral process: a case of Sierra Leone's general elections of 2018. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/354533583_Role_of_Media_in_Creating_a_Peaceful_Electoral_Process_A_Case_of_Sierra_Leone's_General_Elections_of_2018

Serapşah, G. H. & Sevgihan, M. E, (2023). The influence of media on political communication: A review of literature. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.58425/ajlps.v2i3.214

Sunday, V., Erude, S. U. & Aliogo, R. N. (2023). The impact of social media on elections in Nigeria: an assessment of 2020 gubernatorial election in Edo state, Nigeria DOI: 10.56201/jpslr.v9.no3.2023.pg201.226.

Stamper, J. & Brants, K. (2011). A changing culture of political television journalism. In K. Brants & K. Voltmer (Eds.), *Political Communication in Postmodern Democracy*. Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230294783_7

Umeh, C. C. (1989). The advent and growth of television broadcasting in Nigeria: Its political and educational overtones. *Africa Media Review.* 3 (2), 54-66

Valentini, C. & Kruckeberg, D. (2012). New media versus social media: a conceptualisation of their meanings, uses and implications for public relations. Retrieved from https://pure.au.dk/portal/en/publications/new-media-versus-social-media-a-conceptualisation-of-their-meanin

Vinney, C. (2024). What is uses and gratifications theory? definition and examples. Retrieved https://www.thoughtco.com/uses-and-gratifications-theory-4628333

Wimmer, R. D & Dominick J. R. (2000). *Mass media research: An Introduction*. California: Thomson/Wadsworth.