

IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL MEDIA AND MONEY-INDUCED VOTING BEHAVIOR ON GOVERNANCE CRISES IN NIGERIA

Samuel Chukwudi AGUNYAI

School of Government Studies,
North West University, South Africa

&

Department of Political Science,
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

&

Kedibone PHAGO

School of Government Studies,
North West University, South Africa

&

Victor OJAKOROTU

Department of Political Studies and International Relations
North West University, South Africa

Abstract

This paper investigates the influence of social media and money on voting behavior and its impact on governance crises. It argues that the effect of tampered voting behavior due to intra-party money-inducement during election on governance crises in Nigeria has received very little attention. Indeed, general elections in Nigeria, have heavily been money-laden, and money has effectively been used to tamper voters' behavior. Voters' have changed their minds on who to vote for, just because money was given to them. Thus, how heavily monetized voting behavior stimulate governance crises remain largely underrepresented in the literature. Drawing on qualitative method, this article measured incessant governance crises in Nigeria from the prism of monetized voting behavior. The findings provide adequate information on the dimension of money and social media politics in Nigeria's primary elections. It also advances knowledge on the link between governance crises and monetization of voters' behavior. It concludes that the emergence of the current Nigerian president, which is largely based on monetization of voters and abusive use of social media tools, is the leading cause of current crises in governance in Nigeria.

Keywords: Election, money, politics, social media, voting behavior

Introduction

Governance crises have hardly been criticized or blamed from the prism of heavily influenced voting behavior in general elections. In contemporary Nigeria, money has played significant role in influencing voting behavior. Many voters have had to change their decision on who to vote for, after receiving financial gratification (Onapajo & Babalola, 2020). Similarly, social media tools have remained highly instrumental to the emergence of

candidates in primary elections. Tools such as WhatsApp, FACEBOOK, Telegram, among others, have been deployed to canvass for votes and seek support from the electorates (Olowokere & Audu-Bako, 2019). While it is a proven fact that highly monetized voting behavior is capable of stimulating bad governance, the effect of governance crises on Nigeria's political system remains largely under researched. Although, findings in Agunyai (2018), Afolabi and Agunyai (2017), and Agunyai and

Ojakorotu (2021) indicated that bad governance is partly caused by the inordinate attitude of party faithfuls or supporters of politicians and poor implementation of policies (Agunyai, 2018), the effect of induced voting behavior on governance crises in Nigeria requires attention. The rationale for this research is based on the need to pay more attention to how money unduly influence voting behavior and its influence on governance crises in Nigeria.

This need is borne out of the fact that voting in Nigeria's general election is heavily marred with the distribution of money to voters by politicians. On many occasions, voters have had to change their decision on who to vote for due to the exchange of money between them and cronies of politicians. Thus, voting behavior of electorates could be easily tampered through money distribution by politicians. This has severe implication for not just for good governance, but the general well-being of the state called Nigeria. It stimulates governance crises, such as the inability of the government to provide basic essential services such water, health, education, eradication of poverty, high level of unemployment, deplorable infrastructural development, insecurity, and large scale of inequalities. This may have Agunyai and Ojakorotu (2021) conclude that lots of Nigeria's governance crises are as result of the inability of the Nigerian electorates to vote out-of-power corrupt politicians. This conclusion, may have been due to the inability of the electorates to hold politicians accountable as a result of money distributed to them during election. This goes to show that vote buying by politicians, is one of the strategies of evading being accountable to the people, as voters who sold their votes, may likely not have the confidence or clear conscience to query or hold accountable politicians, who emerge through vote buying.

Similarly, just like money, social media is one other factor that could influence voting behavior in any democratic setting. Social medial tools such as the Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and others have been used to positively or negatively persuade or canvass voters to behave or make certain decision on who to vote for during election. Campaigns and

party rallies could now be brought to voters via the internet and communication technologies like the mobile phones, WhatsApp, telegram, and other social medial platforms. These social media tools are powered by the internet to enhance communication and exchange of information that tend to significantly influence the behavior of people. Indeed, the behavior and decision of voters about certain candidates contesting in an election have been influenced through social media tools. Access to the use of Facebook by youth has significantly influence their participation in politics and parties' activities. Importantly, through YouTube most political parties, have showcased their programmes, campaign promises, plans, messages, news, updates, and other issues for people to view and comments (Ajiteru, 2019). It has bee a formidable platform to sell party candidates to voters, as advertisement of prospective candidates, manifestoes, mobilization of supporters, recruitment of party agents and other party activities have been successfully hosted on YouTube. Evidence shows that most voters tend to have a change of mind, decision, or behavior on who to vote, as they have more access to information about party candidates vying for elective positions (Abalaka, 2018). While the prowess of social media in the stimulation of voting behavior has been well-documented, its inordinate or abusive use to spread lies and propaganda, as well as the effect of its inordinate use on governance crises has received very little attention.

Given the foregoing, this article is specifically interested in the investigation of how the tampered voting behavior through both money and social media impugned on good governance in Nigeria. In any democratic setting, governance is expected to be good, if indicators such as adequate service delivery, accountability, rule of law, strong political will, standard quality of life, transparency, periodic free, fair, and credible election, respect for human rights, independence of judiciary, among others exist. However, the reality in Nigeria shows that it still lags behind in the attainment of these indicators. Although, several factors have been found to constitute bad governance, but how voters' behavior trigger governance crises in Nigeria are at the low

web of investigation. Not many, have discovered or could hypothesize that the heavily money-induced voters' behavior has a devastating effect on governance crises in Nigeria. This could have been the reason behind the submission that Nigerian politicians perform woefully while in power, because majority of voters, who ought to have criticize the government, have been bought over during the election. They hardly can hold the government accountable, let alone publicly criticize it openly. Evidence shows that, even when they complain or criticize the government, politicians are quick to remind them the amount of money spent on them to buy their votes. At this point, it is almost very difficult and impossible for these bought-over voters to continue to blame the government in public. This creates a vacuum for lack of accountability, a critical component of bad governance or governance crisis in Nigeria. In addition, the inordinate behavior of politicians or government in power to continue to use abusive social media or loot public funds to mollify few supporters or voters at the expense of the entire citizens, could provoke governance crises. Therefore, it is imperative to provide adequate information on how voters decision or behavior stimulate governance crises in Nigeria.

Tracing the problem with money and social media politics in Nigeria

In most developed democracies, competency, vision, and integrity play significant role in determining candidates to vote for in general elections (Long, 2023). Prospective candidates in these democracies rely mostly in projecting their capacities, achievements, integrity, qualifications, and commitment to serve the people, rather than on money to influence voters' behavior (Amao & Ambali, 2022). While their African counterparts seem to be copying the same democratic principles such as rule of law, respect for human rights, free, fair, and credible elections, the same cannot be said about the way politicians inordinately use money and social media tools to negatively influence voters' behavior, especially in Nigeria (Oni, Chidozie, & Agbude, 2013). Reality and empirical evidence from Nigeria, shows that politicians and candidates vying for political positions, often rely

on the use of money and negative use of social media tools to influence voting behavior towards their emergence at the poll (Adebiyi, 2021). The case of primary elections, prior to the 2023 general election, evidently showed how candidates depended on money and social media politics to tamper voters' behavior (Amao & Ambali, 2022). Presidential candidates in All Progressive Congress and People Democratic Party during their primary elections influenced the voting behavior of party delegates with foreign currencies. The implication of this on governance crises is hardly examined. Even, when they are considered, emphasis is paid more on intra-party crisis emanating from money-laden elections than the governance crisis (Jega, 2013).

Governance crises arise when the government in power is not ruling to serve the people, but very few groups, especially family member and associates. The cold attitude displayed by some voters, especially those, who still blindly support and refuse to criticize the government, despite its general poor performance, is rarely examined. This article hypothesizes that there is a strong relationship between voters' behavior and governance crises in Nigeria. It argues that the blind support of failing or underperforming government by some voters, represents a behavior that tends to encourage politicians to continue with their poor performance, while in government. In the same vein, the use of social media to hype under performing government is another behavior exhibited by some voters that aids governance crises. This is because, the more these voters or supporters deploy social media tools to unduly praise and create unworthy attention to government in power, the less they can vehemently hold the government accountable.

Thus, the less the government in power is held accountable by voters, the greater the governance crisis in the country. Indeed, Nigerian voters have not been steadfast in holding the government accountable; this gap has consistently pushed the ruling government into a crisis of governance. Successive governments in Nigeria have always made promises that they could hardly fulfill or implement, yet they would not be held accountable. This has further given rise to corruption, looting of

public treasury, mis-management, selective distribution of country's common wealth, injustice, nepotism, mediocrity, and weak political will, among other governance crises.

Similarly, social media, especially the use of appeals and effective communication, has been a well-known strategy usually adopted to boost supports for certain candidates and reduce supports for opposing candidates. This is seen as normal in any political setting, because of the competitive nature of election in democratic settings. While appeals and effective communication about prospective candidates have modified voters' behavior, the continue influence of the modified behavior on governance crises has received little or no attention. Evidence shows that modified voters' behaviors, which could be in form of the use of abusive words on social media to vilify opposing candidates, is a potential source of governance crises in Nigeria. For instance, most of the electoral violence and crises between supporters of APC and PDP on the Election Day are functions of abusive words used on social media platforms by these supporters. Electoral violence is partly driven by trends of conversations or comments by voters or supporters on social media platforms. The mocking of some gaffes (such as expired Permanent Voter Card-PVC, recruitment of 50 million soldiers, who will eat corn, cassava, Bala Blu, Blu, Bulalaba) made by the current Nigeria's president on social media by the opposition party supporters, has repeatedly met violent response from the APC supporters. The effect of this anti-social behavior of supporters or voters on governance crises is hardly investigated. This research hopes to bridge this limitation by interrogating the effect of social media and money politics on governance crises in Nigeria.

Research is scarce on how voters', whose behaviors are manipulated by monetary gains pushes into power and governance mediocre, that lack the capacity and integrity to deliver good governance in Nigeria (Ojekwe, 2016). In addition, how the decision or behavior of voters, who receive money from politicians during primary election led to the emergence of corrupt, incompetent, and weak political leaders, which in turn, stimulate

governance crises is rarely interrogated. This brings to the fore the relevance of this research, which examines not just the influence of money and social media politics, but the effect of money-induced voting behavior on governance crises in Nigeria. This article hopes to deepen knowledge on the negative effect of voting behavior, especially those that are deceptively manipulated by money and social media tools during primary elections in Nigeria.

Literature Review

The concept of social media

All interactive online programs that support the production, sharing, and curation of user-generated content—whether solo or in collaboration—are collectively referred to as social media (Barassi & Treré, 2012). There are countless and numerous types of social media sites. These include Instagram, Facebook, Wikipedia among others. Social media are core human communication that enhances participation, openness, connectedness, conversation, and community of people (Brenner, 2012). They facilitate the sharing and resharing of information without the intervention of journalist (Jurgenson (2012). They offer different platforms through which information, communication, and interaction among citizens are disseminated or shared. This accounts for the reason why social media tools are utilized by politicians to market or advertise their programmes and vision to the people. News, information, and messages from social media sources are highly influential. It is imperative to note that positive use of social media tools helps in the creation of awareness to government programmes. This may have partly been the reason why most politicians employ managers to handle their social media platforms. In addition to aiding the sharing of information on government's policy and programme, it fosters networking and collaboration among users (Davis, 2012). In most developed democracies, politicians have resorted to social media tools to showcase their manifestoes, policy, vision, programme, messages, information to voters. This has aided voting behavior as voters now have access to the right information that could inform their decision on who to vote for.

Concept of Voters Behavior

It is a phenomenon which tries to examine the attitude of potential voters and which look into what influence the voters' mindset or decision-making process during and while choosing their candidates during electioneering process (Sulaiman, 2017). It is basically the process of how voters decide on who to vote for in an election. The decision of voters to vote largely depends on varying factors ranging from issues, to parties manifestoes, capacity of candidates, campaigns, popularity of candidates, integrity, as well as activities on social media and money. These factors have been strongly held as determinants of voting behavior by scholars in political science (Halidu & Nwosu, 2023). For sociologists, socio-economic factors such as religion, sex, ethnicity, age, occupation, and class in the society. Voting behavior can also be determined from various approaches namely sociological, political, geographical, socio-psychological, rational-choice. Sociologically, voters' decision is determined by class, ethnicity, religion, language among other determinants. Political determinants consist of issues, manifestoes, programmes, popularity, among others. Geopolitical factors include ward, constituency, region, local government, state, among others. Socio-psychological factors include the character of candidates, personality, party identification. Finally, by evaluating the relative desirability of various electoral outcomes in light of the issues addressed and policies espoused by the various parties or candidates, rational choice approaches seek to explain voting behavior as the result of a series of instrumental cost-benefit calculations by voters (Emmanuel, 2017).

From the foregoing approaches of voting behavior, it can be inferred that social media and money fall under sociological, political, psychological, and rational-choice determinants. This is because social media tools or platforms are socializing instruments used in the projection of wide-ranging socio-economic issues that tend to influence the choice or decision of voters. Money on the other hand, cover wide-ranging approaches that influence voters' behavior. Economically, many voters through the means of rational-choice, tend to base

their voting on the acceptance of money from politicians. Indeed, in Nigeria, the use of money to woo voters is more likened to socio-economic approach of voting behavior. The poor socio-economic status of Nigerian voters, is a strong determinant of how they vote on the Election Day. This has been validated by the fact that the abject poverty of voters in Nigeria, has consistently pushed some of them to selling their votes to politicians. It has also had severe negative implication for good governance, in that, Nigerian politicians now prefer to buy votes and recoup their money, when they ascend power (Aleyomi & Ajakaiye, 2014). This consequently, limit the capacity of government to provide good governance in terms of provision of social services, rule of law, respect for human rights, citizens protection, accountability, periodic credible election, among others. From this review, it is clear that voters' behavior is a critical determinant of governance. It can reasonably be inferred that voters' behavior should be one of the checklists for good or bad governance. For instance, there is the likelihood that the refusal of voters to be bought-over by politicians, has a high tendency of good governance than money-induced behavior.

Money-induced voting behavior

Voting behavior can be influenced by money or financial gratifications. This connotes a situation whereby competing prospective candidates induced voters through monetary gains in a bid to receive the highest vote cast in an election (Agunyai, 2018). It can also be defined as the process of scuttling the electioneering or voting process through buying of votes, which sometimes, changes voters' behavior. Behavior of voters' can be changed through money-inducement. Prior to election some voters already have candidates to vote for, but due to the power of money by some politicians, such decision can be changed or influenced on the Election Day. The sudden change in voter's behavior, especially on the day of election is caused by so many factors ranging from greed, poverty, governance failure, peer and societal influence, strong canvassing skills, among others (Agunyai & Ojakorotu, 2021). A critical analysis of primary elections and intra-party electioneering process, shows that the credibility of primary elections is subverted through distribution

of cash and other financial gratifications to election officers, security personnel and all stakeholders involved. After securing power, through the monetization of voters' behavior, evidence shows that governance is run in the way to deny the public good governance (Nwagwu et al., 2022). It is imperative to note that the desperation of politicians to emerge as their party's candidate during primary elections is the leading cause of money-inducement during elections in Nigeria. In Nigeria, winning an election appear to be a "do-or die affair, as politicians struggle to control power by all means and at all costs possible. The increasing trend of the use money during primary election has had severe implications for bad governance in Nigeria (Sule et.al, 2018). This is because any mandate won on the inducement of voters with money, will be more concerned with recouping monies spent on the costs of ascending the power than concentrating on good governance. In part, this is due to the elites' competitive political environment in which they used money to sway voters in order to maintain control over their parties, the godfathers, and domestic accumulation for the purposes of personal aggrandizement. A lack of political culture and socialization towards a clear understanding of what democracy and elections are all about, as well as the electorate's ignorance, are other linked reasons why money politics is evident in Nigeria (Sule et al., 2018). The threat of the numerous socioeconomic problems, such as poverty, unemployment, starvation, illiteracy, illness, insecurity, and others, combined with the long-standing disregard for infrastructure development are partly the reason why voters fall to the deception of money-inducement by politicians. Voter susceptibility due to social malaise was made apparent to them. For Dauda et al. (2019), it let politicians who were self-centered, disloyal, and corrupt to buy votes.

Money-inducement, voting behavior, and governance crises in Nigeria

Since Nigeria's retrace its step towards democracy in 1999, the country has been struggling to comply with all democratic principles, including shunning the use of money to influence voters' choice or behavior in an election. Although, successive

Nigerian governments have attempted to restructure the electioneering process to make it more credible, free and fair, yet, every election circle has experienced excessive use of money and gratifications to sway party delegates during primary elections. Since 1999, primary elections, especially for presidential positions have always been conducted in such a way that election results no longer reflect the will of the people. This is because money-inducement has been used to replace or change their will or behavior. Agunyai and Ojatorotu (2021) strongly affirmed that incessant crises in governance in Nigeria may have been due to money-inducement, which often tampers the behavior of voters. Crises usually arise, as soon as the elected candidates begin to recoup the money, they spent to ascend power. Campaign promises such as job creation, security, infrastructural development, improved technology and regular power supply, among others, are abandoned for excessive politicking and networking, while the electorates compete for social services and other public utilities.

Governance crises emerged from the failure of administrative law and doctrine of separation that evolved between politics and the partisan struggle over political ideology and public policy for the reform of legal doctrines and institutions (Auwal, 2015). The governance crisis is not unconnected with the failure of administrative law to discipline the arbitrariness of bureaucrat and judges. Administrative laws failed because of deeply fundamental and conceptually flawed reliance on separation of powers and anachronism. The pre-occupation with controlling discretion is the wrong conception of administrative law hence an alternative project more suited to the present day should gear towards an elaboration and application of principles of sound governance. Administrative law, properly understood, is of paramount importance. Its enterprise bears considerable credit or blame for the very structure, operation, and even the ultimate efficacy of governance (Lawan, 2018).

Apart from the fact that the distribution of money to buy votes on election day by politicians' tampers with voters' behavior or decision, the overall effect

of the manipulated decision or behavior of voters is bad governance. Governance is described as bad or that with crises, when there are obvious cases of poor service delivery, insecurity, lack of transparency and accountability, unemployment, poverty, large-scale of inequalities, declining infrastructural facilities, general poor performance of the incumbent government, among others. Although, several factors such as corruption, incompetency, lack of political will, spoilt electioneering process, and lack of independent and fearless judiciary, among others, have been blamed as the cause of bad governance in Nigeria, it is the contention of this article that heavily monetized voters' decision or behavior is also the cause of governance crises in Nigeria. It is a fact that party delegates who receive financial bribes or gratifications from party's candidates, hardly criticize their party's candidates, who ascend power. This according to Babayo (2022) may have been due to money politics that have heavily characterized the Nigerian political system.

The overall well-being of Nigeria and its democracy are significantly impacted by money-inducement of voting behavior (Babayo, 2022). Among these are the consequences of encouraging vote-buying, which undermines the legitimacy of elections and stimulate bad governance. The illicit usage of money during primary elections makes election rigging and manipulation of election results conceivable (Auwal, 2015). One vexing problem associated with money politics is political intimidation and thuggery, which prevents voters and opposition from lawfully and peacefully exercising their right to vote. In some extreme case, cronies of politicians' resort to banditry, after they have been abandoned by their principals after winning the election (Bello et al., 2022). The increasing desire of politicians to satisfy the unending demands of their cronies at the expense of the people, often result into governance crises (Agunyai, 2018). It sometimes led to scarcity of social services, lack of access to basic essential services, inequalities, high level divisions and disunity among citizens. Evidence shows that Nigerian politicians, after spending much to ascend power, still continue to spend lavishly on their cronies to sustain their political position. They

assign juicy lucrative political offices or agencies to their party cronies, irrespective of their competency, integrity, and qualification (Badejo & Agunyai, Burimo, 2015). This indeed, has led to the enthronement of mediocre in power, while those that can contribute meaningfully to the development of the country are relegated to the background unheard. The reward of ministerial positions to unqualified party cronies, friends, and associates at the expense of the qualified ones, according to Agunyai (2018) is the major cause of governance crises in Nigeria. Accountability and transparency in service are hardly observed and enforced by cronies of politicians occupying elective political positions, mainly because everything is monetized.

According to Adesote and Abimbola (2014), another consequence of money-inducement on voting behavior is that it deprives the electorate of good governance and representation because those in power bought their way into office with their wealth and show no concern for the public good or for raising the electorate's standard of living. The case that aptly described the foregoing situation was the donation of N140,000,000 bullet-proof cars to Nigerian lawmakers, after the removal of fuel subsidy by the current president. This lavish car gifts to Nigerian lawmakers were seen by many Nigerians as highly insensitive of the Nigerian government, that only cares for politicians at the expense of vulnerable citizens that bear the brunt of the subsidy removal the most. In addition, the corrupt practice by the Minister of Humanitarian Affairs and Poverty Alleviation, Betta Edu over N585 million naira is another case that show the extent of governance crisis in Nigeria. Misappropriation and looting of public funds are some of the indicators of bad governance, which continue to characterize Nigerian politicians and governments. Indeed, heavily influenced party delegates, who voted along money-inducement, are continually rewarded with political offices or agencies, that they hardly possess the requisite skills and knowledge to perform. This has created no small crises in governance, as they lack the commitment and political will to effectively perform their statutory duties.

One other effect of money inducement on voting behavior and governance crises is the inability to openly criticize the ruling or incumbent government. Evidence from parties' primaries shows that promises made by politicians during campaigns are hardly fulfilled. This, according to Agunyai and Olawoyin (2019) is partly because of money-inducement of delegates, who hardly can criticize the government for failing to fulfil campaign promises. Money-inducement, especially when it aided the ascension of the incumbent government into power, gives the ruling government the leverage to over-ride complaints from cronies or party delegates, who receive financial gratification during primary election. Similarly, in general elections, if voters are induced with money, it would almost be difficult to criticize the government, hence, lack of accountability of government in power is also a potential source of governance crises in Nigeria.

Poverty and unemployment are also signs that something is wrong with the current administration, particularly when the latter lacks the will and vision to enact measures that will reduce poverty and generate jobs. How Nigeria's poverty, unemployment, and inequality rates have gotten worse as a result of government's misguided emphasis on appointing inept cronies to public positions is hardly examined despite research findings that indicate that the more mediocre people hold public office, the worse the country's governance. This goes to show that the appointment of incompetent party cronies at the expense of more qualified citizens could also be attributed to why Nigeria is experiencing governance crises.

Nigeria is currently experiencing governance crisis as the Nigerian state is ridden with crises. ranging from persistent racial disparities to slowing economic growth; from bank failures to economic recessions; from budget deficits to homelessness; and from problems with public education to policy issues. According to Agunyai and Ojakototu (2021), all of these crises are brought on by the induced voters' poor decisions made during the election. This explains why, in spite of the government's poor performance, some voters or supporters still applaud the government.

The effect of governance Crises on Nigeria's political system

Various viewpoints have been used to try and capture the theoretical frameworks used to explain governance crises in Nigeria while studying the effects of these crises. The many theoretical frameworks that aim to replicate the state of governance crises in Nigeria highlight the profound differences between the state and governance. The complex relationship between governance and the state has undermined legitimacy and led to state failure. In Nigeria, it has also resulted in violent war.

Even worse, the country's militaristic, regime-centric, and state-centric efforts to reduce violence have not succeeded in bringing about the expected security and peace. Nigeria's general elections has repeatedly experienced low voters' turnout. For example, in Nigeria, state governors have stimulated governance crises through mal-administration, mismanagement, looting of state treasury and abysmal performance in service delivery. These are cases of corruption in Nigeria's civil service and other public service (Agunyai, 2018). One consequence of problems in governance is the widespread instances of election manipulation at both state and federal levels. Nigerian electoral results seldom represent the desires of the country's citizens (Agunyai & Ikedinma, 2022). Judgement is shortened and election tribunals are politicized. Discriminatory resource allocation is another problem associated with the crisis in governance. Nigeria is confronted with the issue of almost all its resources being utilized to appease the whims of its political class.

Conclusion

In order to halt these crises, a sincere and comprehensive plan for transformation is required; this ought to serve as a roadmap for ensuring a better future for Nigeria. Addressing religious and ethnic issues, promoting apprenticeship through vocational training, and youth employment are all crucial challenges in the effort to stop governance crises. Good governance policies shouldn't be superseded by administrative law discretion. National cohesion and dispute resolution ought to be handled by an indigenous system. Should these steps be taken, Nigeria's economic crisis would be alleviated, our social values would be revitalized, and the country's governance crises would be a thing of the past.

References

- Abalaka, J. N. (2018). Social media, definition and classes of. In K. Harvey (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of social media and politics*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Adams, A., Harf, A. & Ford, R. (2017). *Agenda setting theory: A critique of Maxwell McCombs & Donald shaw's theory, A First Look at Communication Theory*. Chapman University
- Adebiyi, M. O. (2021). Votting Pattern and Nigeria's 2019 General Elections. *Journal of Humanities Arts and Social Sciences Studies*, 21(2)209-223.
- Afolabi, O. S, Agunyai S.C. (2017). Governance Crisis in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: an exploration of the roles of politicians and their cronies. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 13(2):153-175.
- Agunyai, S.C., Ojakorotu, V (2021). Governance Failure and formation of anti-state organizations: The Impact of the Amnesty Policy on the Development of Nigeria's Niger-Delta, Nigeria. *African Journal of Governance and Development* 10(2):334-320
- Agunyai, S.C., Ojakorotu, V. (2021). The Nigerian Legislative Committee System, Corruption, and Constituency Woes Lessons Nigerians Can Learn from the Singaporean Legislative Committee System. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 17(2):67-80
- Agunyai, S. C., and Olawoyin, K.W. (2019). Legislative-Executive Corruption and Good Governance in Nigeria: Insights from Buhari's Administration in the Fourth Republic. In Omololu Fagbadebo and Fayth Ruffin (Eds), *Perspectives on the Legislature of Accountability in Nigeria and South Africa* pp.105-119. Springer, Lightning Source UK Ltd, Milton Keynes UK
- Agunyai, S. C. (2018). Emerging Governance Crises in Twenty-First Century Nigeria. In. A. Adebusi and K. Ikuteijo (Eds), *Africa Now: Emerging issues and Alternative Perspective*. Springer Publication, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 211-239
- Ajiteru, S. A. R. (2019). The variable nature of news media influence, *Communication Yearbook* 2. New Brunswick
- Amao, A.I; Ambali, A. (2022). Electoral Integrity, Voters' Confidence and Good Governance in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of 2015 and 2019 Presidential Elections. *Journal of Administrative Science* 19(2): 39-65
- Aleyomi, M. & Ajakaiye, O (2014) The Impact of social media on Citizens' Mobilization and Participation in Nigeria's 2011 *General Elections ResearchGate Journal*. Vol.17, No.2, pp.31-52 31 <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305991599>
- Auwal, A. (2015). Political parties and electoral misconduct in Nigeria. In H. Mohammed, (Eds.). *The patterns and dynamics of party politics in Nigeria's Fourth Republic*. Kano: Hallmark Publishing Nigeria LTD
- Babayo, S. (2022). Effects of Money Politics on Party Primaries in Nigerian 2019 General Election: Reflections on All Progressives Congress (APC) and People's Democratic Party (PDP). *POLITIKON*, 4(2): 261-293.
- Badejo, B.T; Agunyai, S.C. and Buraimo, S.O (2015). The Pursuit of Primordial Interest as an Explanatory Factor for the Prevalence of Governance Crisis in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 8(3): pp.1-13

- Barassi, V., & Treré, E. (2012). Does Web 3.0 come after Web 2.0? Deconstructing theoretical assumptions through practice. *New Media & Society*, 14, 1269–1285.
- Davis, J. L. (2012). Prosuming identity: The production and consumption of transableism on Transabled.org. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56, 596–617
- Halidu, A. ., & Nwosu, E. C. . (2023). Assessment of voters' behaviour on 2019 general elections in Nigeria. *Journal of Global Social Sciences*, 4(15), 34–45. <https://doi.org/10.58934/jgss.v4i15.184>
- Jega, A. (2013). Identity transformation and democracy in Nigeria. Continuing dialogues for nation building the politics of identity under crisis and adjustment in Nigeria. Kano: Nordiska Afrikains in Collaboration with the Centre for Research and Development.
- Kingsley, I. (2019): Nigeria needs Free, Fair and Credible Elections, United Nations Africa Renewal www.un.org.
- Long, J.D. (2023). Protecting Electoral Integrity in Emerging Democracies. In: Madon, T., Gadgil, A.J., Anderson, R., Casaburi, L., Lee, K., Rezaee, A. (eds) Introduction to Development Engineering. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-86065-3_18
- Mutiallah, A.O. (2014): Dynamics of comparative public Administration in Global Village, Abuja; PSG-Franc publications
- Lawan, S. A. (2018). Youth, political parties and electoral violence in Nigeria. In H. Mohammed, (Ed.), The patterns and dynamics of party politics in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Kano: Hallmark Publishing Nigeria LTD.
- Obani, E.F., Odalonu, B.H. (2019). Election And Voting Behavior in Nigeria. *Journal of Teacher Education* 5(1): 122-131.
- Ojekwe, G.I. (2016). Political Advert Campaigns and Voting Behaviour: Akinwunmi Ambode's 2015 Election Campaign in Lagos State. *Journal of African elections*, 15(2): 15-27
- Okolo, V. O, Ugonna, I.A, Nebo, G. N and Obikeze, C. (2017). Effects of the social media in the marketing of political candidates in Nigeria. *British Journal of Marketing Studies*, 5(6) :15-32
- Olowokere, A., Audu-Bako, S. (2019). Social Media Usage and Impacts on the 2019 General Elections in Nigeria. *International Affairs and Global Strategy*, 74(1):1-23
- Onapajo, H. and Babalola (2020). Nigeria's 2019 General Elections: A Shattered Hope; in Round Table the *Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs Elec*, 109 (4) pp363-367.
- Oni, S., Chidozie, S. and Agbude, A. (2013). Electoral Politics in the Fourth Republic of Nigeria's Democratic Governance; Developing Country Studies; ISSN 2224-0565 (Online) Vol.3, No.12, 2013, retrieved on 26th of April, 2016 www.iiste.orgPaperReport/2012/Assessing_Electoral_Fraud_Series_Vickery_Shein.pdf.
- Sulaiman T. H, (2017). Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment and future. (6 Ed.). Wadsworth Cengage Learning
- Sule, B., Azizuddin, M., Sani, M., & Mat, B. (2018). Impact of political party financing on integrity of 2015 General Election in Nigeria. *Tamkang Journal of International Affairs*, 22(2), 165-218
- Ujo, A.A. (2022): 2019 Election Matter Arising; The Implications of Election Sequencing for Election Credibility and Gender Parity in Nigeria: *Issues in Economy, Politics and Society*.