Intersection of Facebook Usage and Women Participation in Politics

Chika Onyinye Nnabuife,

Mass Communication Department, Nnamdi Azikiwe university, Awka co.nnabuife@unizik.edu.ng

Obiajulu Joel Nwolu,

Mass Communication Department, Nnamdi Azikiwe university, Awka oj.nwolu@unizik.edu.ng

Chiemezie Chukwuka Ugochukwu

Mass Communication Department, Nnamdi Azikiwe university, Awka ugochukwu@unizik.edu.ng

Abstract

Over time, women have been relegated to the background in terms of politics as the political scene reflects a male-dominated terrain. This has been met with intensified agitations for change to accommodate more women in politics. The advent and development of the internet and the burgeoning of social media platforms expanded the frontiers of women's rights activism and the struggle for women's emancipation. allows for the first time, any individual to share content and opinions to a global audience, bypassing traditional media or other modes of information transmission. This study is designed to ascertain the extent of women exposure to; determine if Igboist encourage women's participation in politics and; find if women are exposed to political campaigns on the Igboist page. This study utilized the Survey research method to obtain primary data from respondents while available literature served as secondary data. Technological determinism theory and Framing theory were used for this study. In distributing copies of the questionnaire, the Google form was adopted in administering it. The study found among things that women are exposed to social media platforms. Also, it was discovered that Igboist page encourages women participation in politics. Further findings reveal that women are exposed to political campaign posts on Igboist page in mobilizing women for political participation. Based on the findings, the study recommends that Igboist group should intensify sensitization of its female audience on the need to adopt the platform to increase political awareness. Also, women should ensure that the political awareness gained from Igboist translates to improved active participation in politics at various levels. Finally, Non-Governmental Organizations should intensify efforts to educate women on the need to participate in elections.

Keywords: Facebook Usage Gender, Women, Politics

Introduction

Over the years in Nigeria, statistics have displayed poor participation of women in both elective and appointive cadres of leadership. The new media poses endless opportunities in promoting women's active participation in both elective and non-elective political positions in line with the declaration made at the fourth world women's conference in Beijing which advocated a 30% affirmative action for women.

There is no denying that our society or system of practice in Nigeria is deeply patriarchal, or what other explanation is there to explain why in the ongoing Anambra elections, we had about 100 men who contested for primaries in different political parties with just three women representatives from all the parties. With the growing global pace of gender equity, both men and women deserve equal opportunities, especially in politics. A lot more women are becoming more active and inclusive in the grass-roots and partisan politics. It could therefore, be inferred that there are no better ways to gain more popularity and possible participation than to advertise and promote women inclusion using social media.

As a result of societal stereotypes, the relegation of women and the patriarchal society standards, women conform to these practices and are not given complete support and exposure. We can take a cue from Uche Ekwunife, a governorship aspirant in Anambra State whose campaign slogan read "Ka nwanyi jekenenu" which is translated as 'Let a woman go please', challenges the deep-rooted, persistent stereotypes that silently says a woman cannot be the governor of Anambra state. In Nigeria, about 51% of women are involved in voting during elections, despite this, women are still under-represented in both elective and appointive positions. Available statistics revealed that overall women political representation in the government of Nigeria is less than 7% (Agbalajobi, 2010). How then can we solve this puzzle other than embracing the new media for a robust engagement and advocacy campaigns towards realizing improved women representation.

Social media or the new media play significant roles across the country as the majority relies on these media to give information regarding political issues. Social media tools are offering a significant level of digital literacy to Nigerian citizens and activist groups, and the ability to utilize social media platforms to produce alternative media

coverage (Akinfemisoye, 2014). The participation of members of a political community is usually influenced by the political information, attitudes, feelings and skills they possessed. Thus, the cognitive orientation of political knowledge about the political system of a nation is important to the quality of citizenship and health of the general public (De Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006). Hence, social media usage for political representation of women cannot be overemphasized. The benefits are too numerous but the question remains whether social media as a tool for improved visibility for women in politics is being harnessed.

Statement of the Problem

For political visibility to be actualized, there has to be a reasonable amount of social media campaigns reeled out. A lot of sensitization and orientation through these media advert campaigns must be actively reinforced to correct stereotypes and societal patriarchy. The question as to how those who are not very knowledgeable politically can be rendered more knowledgeable about politics by means of media exposure has been the crux of research by communication scholars (Oluwatosin, Olusola, & Popoola 2020).

This study, therefore, proposes to investigate how exposure to Facebook influences women participation in Nigerian politics. It sets out to determine the extent to which this media channel is properly used and how effective its usage is. Hence, the major aim of this study is to contribute novel findings to the growing empirical research in gender studies with a particular focus on exposure to Facebook and its influence on women participation in politics.

Objectives of the Study

- 1. Ascertain the extent of women's exposure to Facebook.
- 2. Determine if Igboist Facebook group encourage women's participation in politics.
- 3. Find if women are exposed to political campaign posts on Igboist Facebook group.

Research Questions

- 1. What is the extent of women's exposure to Facebook?
- 2. What is the level of Igboist Facebook group promotion of women's participation in politics?

3. Are women exposed to political campaign posts on Igboist Facebook group?

Literature Review

Social media and women mobilization

The invention of internet with corresponding advancement in technology has birthed a new era in public mobilization and response. Social media has proved to be a powerful vehicle for bringing women's rights issues to the attention of a wider public, galvanising action on the streets of cities around the world and encouraging policy makers to step up commitments to gender equality (Loiseau and Nowacka 2015). They further argue that social media have global potential to close the gap in political participation between the male and female gender citing recent cases in Turkey and India as reflection of social media capability to bridge the gap that often separates grassroots women's activism from policymaking processes. Social media possess the potential to bring gender equity and women's rights issues to the forefront of both policy making and media attention.

Social media have transformed the landscape of how information is shared globally and the relationship between citizens and governments (Shirky, 2011, Loiseau & Nowacka 2015). The new media allows for the first time any individual to share content and opinions to a global audience, bypassing traditional media or other modes of information transmission. Platforms such as YouTube, Facebook or Twitter have allowed activists around the world to retransmit events live to a broad online audience, such as during the Arab Spring movement (Pew Research Center, 2012). Thereby making it possible for local issues to metamorphose into global distress; local activists become connected with global citizens.

Women's political rights activism have also capitalised on social media's unprecedented political and awareness-raising potential. During the Wikigender online discussion, participants stressed the importance of social media in allowing gender activists to connect within and across borders, at a low cost. The surge of female bloggers has in particular helped attract a younger generation of activists, who represent a key target audience to break established stereotypes and help advance gender equality (Loiseau & Nowacka, 2015).

It is worthy to note that Political mobilisation refers to the process by which candidates, parties, activists and groups induce other people to participate in politics to win elections, to pass bills, to modify rulings and to influence policies (Arthur, 2011; Santas, Asemah, & Jumbo, 2020, p.6). Often times, mobilisation is essential as it precedes and prompts participation. Political mobilisation can further be described as the way in which citizens recruit individuals to pressure political representatives. Consequently, it is seen as form of campaign which results in a change in policy. It is pertinent to note that politics in contemporary times has assumed a different dimension and as such demands the participation of the citizens in a democracy (Santas, Asemah & Jumbo, 2020). This accounts for why the new media are increasingly being deployed to sensitise and galvanise women on political activities.

In a related study, Abdu, Al-Sadique, Halilu & Aliyu (2018) researched women exposure to Facebook and its influence to their political participation in Bauchi State, Nigeria. The study employed multiple regression analysis to analyze the relationship between Facebook use, interactivity with political figures, perceived Facebook information quality, political interest and offline political participation among the women. Findings of the study showed that Facebook use, interactivity with political figures, perceived Facebook information quality and political interest significantly correlated with women's offline political participation. The study further found that social media allow women who are marginalised in political activities to interact with friends and political figures about political issues, share and express their opinions, which encourage them to vote or participate in political party activities.

Barriers to Women's Participation in Politics

Despite the gains made in advancing women's participation in politics, much is still desired as data suggest that the disparity between male and female possession of political power in Nigeria is still wide. To this end, the following barriers are identified as hindrance to improved participation of women in politics as adduced by journalist, NGOs and scholars:

Laws

The Nigerian government has been reluctant to implement laws to improve gender equality in politics, despite a formal support for it (Kelly, 2019). The Nigeria's Constitution (1999) provides for equal rights in politics. This is supported by the National Gender Policy (2006) which prescribed a benchmark of 35% of seats in the legislature to be occupied by women. Nigeria also approved the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1985 and endorsed the 2005 Protocol of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (British Council Nigeria, 2012; Denney, 2011; Nigeria | Freedom House, 2019).

Notwithstanding these efforts, lawmakers at the parliament have refused implementing gender equity measures such as binding quotas. There abound cases of bills turned down because they contradict traditional Christian or Islamic beliefs with the 2016 gender and equalities bill as a point of reference (Bako & Syed, 2018; Kelly, 2019). The bias against women is also made worse by the non-existence of electoral laws that reserve a certain percentage of office for women. Political parties are equally not guided by quotas that stipulate gender slots for elective positions.

Parties and patronage/ Cost of election

Politics as played in Nigeria requires a lot of cash to seek an elective position. Not many Nigerian women can afford the high cost required to canvass and secure a political office. This serves as hindrance to several women who habour interest. Political party nomination forms cost outrageous sums sometimes running into millions of naira.

Although some parties have given exception to women by offering free forms, it is yet to significantly influence the ratio of women seeking elective posts. Such waivers appear not to be adequate antidotes to the other extraneous but heavy incidental expenses that are peculiar to the Nigerian democracy model. The two most prominent parties, the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the People's Democratic Party (PDP), had in 2015, waved nomination fees for women, but this did not have impact on the total numbers elected (EUCOM, 2015).

Violence

Often, female politicians are subjected to threats, hate speech and violence. Peace Direct in a 2019 report wrote, 'Invariably, Nigerian women are targeted in both the private and public spheres to prevent them from participating in rallies, voting and/or running as candidates. Despite decreasing incidents of violence and improved transparency measures during elections, violence against women continues to be a significant threat to Nigerian democracy' (Direct, 2019, p.46; Kelly, 2019). There have been reports of thugs hired to intimidate and bully female politicians. In some areas, gangs have been hired by politicians to stop female candidates (British Council Nigeria, 2012).

The National Democratic Institute prior to the 2015 election, surveyed hate speech against women across Nigeria. They used 900 observers across Nigeria's 774 local government areas, finding higher levels of gender-based hate speech in the North East and South East. They also conducted informal surveys showing that 'gender-based hate speech was sometimes accompanied by other acts of gender-based violence, including threats of divorce, sexual violence, blackmail or destruction of property.'

Attitudes to gender

Religious, economic, cultural and educational factors inform varied attitudes to female politicians in Nigeria. Though Southern women were enfranchised in1960, their Northern counterparts had to wait until 1979. Islam is often blamed for the lower levels of participation in the north, but socio-economic and geographical factors also play a role (British Council Nigeria, 2012). The media is culpable for not offering adequate coverage to female political office holders in the country. Even when they do, the nature of the coverage is most times gendered and serves to jeopardize the credibility of the female candidates.

A content analysis of newspaper coverage of four high-profile women politicians during the 2015 electoral cycle has concluded that female candidates suffered from a relative lack of coverage and a presumption of 'unviability' (Ette, 2017, Kelly, 2019, p.8). However, it is unclear if this was a product of the reporting, or reflected the marginal position of the four female candidates and the difficulties they would face given the political system and prevailing attitudes to women.

Women's perception of politics

The general perception of politics in Nigeria is one dirty vocation that is reserved for unrefined people who have little scruples with bending the rules and subverting due process (Luka, 2011). The idea of regarding politics as a "dirty game" has made it very much less appealing to the female gender to seek political positions. Nigerians are confronted with daily details of the unsavoury actions of members of the political class. Female politicians are therefore seen as accomplices of vile male politicians who are adept at manipulating the popular will of the people. Female politicians are perceived as deviants who are enablers of devious male politicians. It is often deemed appropriate for women to play cheerleaders role while contesting for public offices is often considered going overboard.

Indigeneity as a hindrance

Women who are married outside their constituencies of birth (but who contest elections in their marriage constituencies) are usually categorized as non-indigenes by the people from that constituency (at least by birth). This becomes worse if the woman is married from entirely different ethnic group. Such a woman will be regarded as being over ambitious and may be prevented or discouraged. In Nigeria, Lagos stands out as the only state that embraces people from different regions and ethnic group to contest an election. However, bulk of the other states are yet to embrace this. It will go a long way in encouraging participation of women in politics.

Theoretical Framework

Technological determinism theory

Technological determinism theory as propounded by Marshall McLuhan states that technologies determine how individuals in a society think, act and operate. Critics of technological determinism argue variously that "the effects of any given technology depend mainly on how it is implemented which is in turn socially determined" (Adler, 2008, p. 4; Alencar, 2018). When applied to our study on the intersection of Facebook usage and women's participation in politics, the theory explains the different factors (cultural,

economic, and individual) shaping women's participation in politics. McLuhan argues that changes are bound to occur based on invention and diffusion of new technology. Technological determinism theory further stipulates that technology undisputedly triggers changes in the mode of thinking among individuals, how society is organised and alters the culture of the people.

According to the theory, the development of the Internet and its adoption and effectiveness in galvanizing humongous populations for political movements can alter the political culture and impact the overall political landscape. Supporting this claim, Asemah and Edogoh (2013) argue that actions and behaviour are products of new technology. Consequently, people are wired to think, behave and act because of what they have seen or heard from the media. This supposes that the manner of reaction elicited by a particular message or campaign is determined by the form of technology they are exposed to. For McLuhan, the media are fundamental to shaping human culture, and technologies are first and foremost extensions of our human capacities:

The personal and social consequences of any medium – that is, of any extension of ourselves – result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of ourselves, or by any new technology' (McLuhan, 1964: 23; Flew, 2017).

Since the ways in which we communicate, and hence our culture, are embedded within the technological forms that we use, the media influence not only what we think but also how we think.

The adoption of Facebook which is a new social media platform plays a pivotal role in promoting women participation in politics given the power of new media to sway a huge audience base. Applied to this study, the theory serves to explain that communication technologies are the main determinants of attitudinal change in society and perception of women involvement in politics in particular. The study is anchored on this theory because it explains how the invention of new technologies drives the development and changes in society.

Framing theory

Framing theory as first propounded by Erving Goffman is based on the belief that the media focuses attention on selected issues and then interpret them within a field of meaning. The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic (Mass Communication Theory Online, 2021).

Frames can be defined as organising ideas or themes, ways of linking together stories historically, building up a narrative over time and across political space. Framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called "the frame") influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames suffix most in terms of the frame the news or social media platforms place on the information they convey. They are thought to influence the perception of the news by the audience, in this way it could be construed as a form of second-level agenda-setting – they not only tell the audience what to think about (agenda-setting theory), but also how to think about that issue (second-level agenda setting, framing theory).

In relation to this study, the theory explains how Facebook frames issues relating to women participation in politics with an aim to project it as a grave and elicit a mass reaction and attitudinal change. When the bulk of the posts on Facebook are focused on women participation in politics, over time, users are more likely to begin to pay more attention than usual to it as well as view the issue from the angle of the media.

Methodology

This study adopted the survey research method because survey research allowed the researchers to select from a sample of the entire population. Since the study used the survey research method, the questionnaire served as the instrument of data collection and eliciting resourceful information to ensure precision and accuracy in the research. It enabled the researchers, to deal with the characteristics of the chosen set of people whose opinions, behaviour, and attitudes are essential for the collection of information required in the study. The survey enabled the researchers to ascertain the extent of women exposure

to and determine the effectiveness of use in promoting women's participation in politics. The Population of the study was drawn from a group named "Igboist" created by Maria Ude Nwachi with group members of 43,000 as of 15th July, 2021. The sample size of 396 was drawn from the population using the Taro Yamani formula. Copy of the questionnaire was shared on the page Igboist and the questionnaire was distributed online using the Google Form. A total of 380 copies of the questionnaire were filled and submitted online. The data generated were analyzed using simple percentage tables for easy understanding.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 1: Gender of Respondents

The study is anchored on women that participate in elections and politics. Researchers deemed it fit to study only women because the study involves women and the study of males will not yield the desired result. All the respondents were women

Table 1: Age of Respondents

Classification	No of Respondents	Percentage
18-25	180	47
26-33	120	32
34-41	80	21
Total	380	100

The table shows that women within the age bracket of 18-25 represented 47 percent of the respondents, while those within the age range of 26-33 is represented by 32 percent. Finally, that within the age bracket of 34-41 was represented with 21 percent of the respondents

Table 2: Educational Qualification

Qualifications	No of Respondents	Percentage
SSCE	190	50
OND	130	34
Bachelors	60	16
Masters	_	_
Doctorate	-	-
Total	380	100

Table 2 shows that respondents with SSCE qualifications represented 50 percent of the total respondents. Respondents with OND had 34 percent, while respondents with Bachelor's degrees had 16 percent. None of the respondents has obtained a Master's and Doctorate degrees.

Table 3: How often respondents use

Response	No of Respondents	Percentage
Often	150	39
Sometimes	170	45
On rare occasions	60	16
Total	380	100

Table 3 shows how often respondents use. This social media platform is commonly used among millions of Nigerians. The table shows that 38 percent of the respondents often use while 45 percent sometimes use social media platform. Also, 16 percent of the respondents said they use the platform on rare occasions.

Table 4: What role do respondents play in politics?

Response		No of Respondents	Percentage
Voter		300	79
Occupy elective	position	50	13
Occupy appointment	political	30	8
Total		380	100

Table 4 shows the role respondents play in politics and 79 percent of the respondents said they are voters. It means that this category of respondents votes on Election Day and does not participate in any other political activity. Then, 13 percent of the electorate said that they occupy the elective position and this serves as the reason why they participate actively in politics. Also, 8 percent of the respondents said that they occupy political appointments and this shows their role in politics.

Table 5: If Igboist motivate women participation in politics

Response	No of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	30	8
No	350	92
Total	380	100

Table 5 shows if Igboist motivates women's participation in politics. Ninety-two percent of the respondents said that Igboist does not motivate women participation in politics. This means that women who participate in politics are not influenced by Igboist rather they want to join the process that will bring in the desired change. Only 8 percent of the respondents said that Igboist motivates women to participate in politics.

Table 6: Extent Igboist influenced involvement in politics

Response	No of Respondents	Percentage	
Moderately	20	5	
Highly	10	3	
Not at all	350	92	
Total	380	100	

This table shows the extent that Igboist influenced women's involvement in politics. Ninety-two percent of the respondents said that Igboist does not influence women's involvement in politics which means that the use of Igboist cannot determine involvement in politics. Then, five percent of the respondents said that Igboist can moderately influence women's involvement in politics, while 3 percent said highly were involved in politics because of Igboist page.

Table 7: If Igboist page has influenced respondents' perception of women participation in politics

Response	No of Respondents	Percentage	
Yes	30	8	
No	350	92	
Total	380	100	

This table indicates if Igboist has influenced respondents' perception of women's participation in politics. Also, 92 percent of the respondents said that Igboist does not influence respondents' perception of women's participation in politics. Also, 8 percent of the respondents said that Igboist influenced women's participation in politics.

Table 8: If respondents are discriminated against for participating in politics

Response	No of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	30	8
No	350	92
Total	380	100

Although women's participation in politics has been controversial issues considering the role women play the electoral process, 92 percent of the respondents said that women are not discriminated against for participating in politics. This shows that the future of women who aspire to political offices is bright considering the public acceptance of women to join and actively participate in politics.

Table 9: If respondents have seen Igboist posts promoting women in politics

Response	No of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	190	50
No	190	50
Total	380	100

The response from the table is revealing. Table 14 which shows respondents response if they have seen Igboist promoting women in politics, 50 percent said they have seen such post. Also, 50 percent of the respondents said they have not seen a Igboist post that promotes women in politics. This implies that is veritable tool that enhances participation of women in politics through posts by users.

Table 10: How often respondents are exposed to posts on women

Response	No of Respondents	Percentage
Always	50	13
Rarely	300	79
Never	30	8
Total	380	100

Table 10 shows how often women are exposed to posts on women, seventy-nine percent of the respondents said that they rarely see or get exposed to Igboist posts on women It was followed by 13 percent of the respondents who said that they always get exposed to Igboist posts on women. Then, eight percent of the respondents said they never get exposed to Igboist post on women.

Table 11: Are there specific campaigns/influencers that fight for women inclusion in politics?

Response	No of Respondents	Percentage
Yes	140	37
No	240	63
Total	380	100

The clamour for women's participation in politics has not yielded much result. Also, 63 percent of the respondents believed that are no campaigns and influencers that will fight vigorously for the inclusion of women in politics. Thirty-seven percent believed that there are specific campaigns that fight for women's inclusion in politics. Eastern Union and Document Women are the two prominent campaigns on Igboist page that champion women participation in politics. It implies that is a veritable tool that mobilizes women to actively participate in politics.

Discussion and Conclusion

On the research question which sought to ascertain the extent of women's exposure to Facebook, the study found that women are exposed to Igboist page to a very large extent. Data gathered showed that eighty-four percent of respondents that either use Facebook often or sometimes compared to a paltry sixteen percent who rarely use the platform. This shows that audience dependence on Facebook for information is high. Social media platforms have remained a vital tool in the society that millions of people around the globe use. Affirming the importance of social media, Shirky (2011) cited in Loiseau &Nowacka (2015) said that it has transformed the landscape of how information is shared globally and the relationship between citizens and governments.

The second research question sought to find out if Igboist group promotes women's participation in politics, the study found that Igboist page encouraged women to participate in politics. The study showed that serves as an important factor in encouraging women to actively participate in politics in their locale by raising awareness of its importance through posts published in Igboist Facebook group. In Nigeria, politics involves practical steps and actions that seek to convince people about a political party or candidate seeking an election. Aligning with the need for women's engagement in politics and modes of gaining relevance, Adedeji (2009) stated that participation in politics entails joining a political party; contributing funds to a political party organisation or candidate or attending political Fund-raising functions; attending political party events, e.g., meetings, conventions, rallies, fund-raising Functions, or other political gatherings; Carrying out administrative activities for a political party or candidate, such as Stuffing envelopes, answering or placing telephone calls, addressing correspondence On behalf of a political candidate or party; Supporting a political party or candidate.

The third research question sought to find out if women are exposed to political campaign posts on the Igboist page; the study found that women are exposed to political campaigns on the Igboist page especially the Eastern Union and Dominant Women Campaign on the page. It showed that Igboist group enjoys large followership from its female audience, the bulk of who are exposed to content encouraging and promoting female participation in

politics at different levels of governance. Respondents agree that women in Nigeria should wake up to the reality that political participation in a male-dominated political circle needs more than online activism to be achieved. As a result, the group through their posts encourages women to do more than share, like or comment on posts. This tally with Saka, Amusan & Aluko, (2017) assertion that the twenty-first century represents a wake-up call period for women in politics as it relates to the framing and presentation of discussions that hinged on women active participation in the political life of their societies.

Recommendations

The study recommends the following:

- 1. Igboist group should sensitize its female audience on the need to adopt the platform to increase political awareness.
- 2. Women should ensure that the political awareness gained from Igboist translates to improved active participation in politics at various levels.
- **3.** Non-Governmental Organizations should intensify efforts to educate women on the need to participate in elections.

References

- Abdu, S. D., Al-Sadique, A. S. S., Halilu, B. I. & Aliyu, I. Y. (2018). Exposure to Facebook and its influence on women's political participation in Bauchi State, Nigeria. Novena Journal of Communication, 7, 101-111.
- Adedeji, C. (2009) *Nigeria: X-Raying the Role of Women in Strengthening Democracy*. Lagos: Daily Independent. allAfrica.com.
- Adler, P. S. (2008). Technological determinism. In S. Clegg & J. Bailey (Eds.), International encyclopedia of organization studies (Vol. 4, pp. 1536–1539). London: Sage.
- Agbalajobi, D. T. (2010). Womens participation and the political process in Nigeria: Problems and prospects. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(2), 075-082.
- Akinfemisoye, M. O. (2014). Negotiating convergence: "Alternative" journalism and institutional practices of Nigerian journalists. *Digital Journalism*, *2*(1), 62-76.

- Alencar, A. (2018). Refugee integration and social media: A local and experiential perspective. *Information, Communication & Society, 21*(11), 1588-1603.
- Arthur, C. (2011). Encouraging political participation in Africa. Retrieved from http://www.issafrica.org.
- Asemah, E., & Edegoh, L. (2013). An appraisal of the social media and insecurity in Nigeria. Communication and the New Media in Nigeria: Social Engagements, Political Development and Public Discourse. Lagos: African Council for Communication Education, 240.
- Bako, M., & Syed, J. (2018). Women's marginalization in Nigeria and the way forward. *Human Resource Development International*, 21(5), 425–443. https://doi.org/10.1080/13678868.2018.1458567.
- British Council Nigeria. (2012). *Gender in Nigeria Report 2012: Improving the lives of girls and women in Nigeria*. Retrieved from https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/british-council-gender-nigeria2012.pdf
- De Vreese, C. H., & Boomgaarden, H. (2006). News, political knowledge and participation: The differential effects of news media exposure on political knowledge and participation. *Acta Politica*, 41(4), 317-341.
- Denney, L. (2011). Nigeria: women on the outskirts of politics | openDemocracy. Retrieved May 3, 2019, from Open Democracy website: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/nigeria-women-on-outskirts-of-politics/.
- Essential McLuhan. New York: Basic Books, 1995.
- Ette, M. (2017). Where are the women? Evaluating visibility of Nigerian female politicians in news media space Where are the women? Evaluating visibility of Nigerian female politicians in news media space. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography, 24*(10), 1480–1497. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1387104.
- EUCOM. (2015). Final Report Federal Republic of Nigeria.
- Flew, T. (2017). The 'theory'in media theory: The 'media-centrism' debate. *Media Theory*, 1(1).
- Kelly, L. (2019). Barriers and enablers for women's participation in governance in Nigeria.
- Loiseau, E., & Nowacka, K. (2015). Can social media effectively include women's voices in decision-making processes. *Paris: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development*.

- Luka, R. C. (2011). Women and political participation in Nigeria: The imperatives of empowerment. *Journal of social sciences and public policy*, *3*, 24-37.
- Mass Communication Theory (Online). Framing theory. Retrieved from mass communication theory: https://masscommtheory.com/theory-overviews/framing-theory/
- Mass Communication Theory (Online). Technological theory.. Retrieved from mass communication theory: https://masscommtheory.com/theory-overviews/technological-determinism/
- McLuhan, M. (1964) *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man.* 1st ed. New York: Bantam.
- Nigeria | Freedom House. (2019). Retrieved July 3, 2021, from Freedom in the World 2019 website: https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2019/nigeria
- NWTF. (2019). Women Representation in the Nigerian Elective Positions (1999 2019).

 Retrieved from http://nigerianwomentrustfund.org/wp-content/uploads/Women-Representation-in-the-Nigerian-Elective-Positions.pdf
- Oluwatosin, O., Olusola, A., & Popoola, O. A. (2020). The influence of media on political knowledge amongst undergraduate students in Ibadan, Nigeria. *Global Journal of Social Sciences*, 19, 13-24.
- Pew Research Center (2012), *Social Networking Popular Across Globe*, http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/12/12/social-networking-popular-across-globe.
- Saka, L., Amusan, L., & Aluko, O. (2017). Media discourse on women and political participation in Nigeria in the context of feminist theory: an assessment. *Gender and Behaviour*, 15(4), 10156-10171.
- Santas, T., Asemah, E., & Jumbo, C, N. (2020). Mass Media and the Mobilisation of Women for Political Participation during the 2019 Gubernatorial Election in Lafia, Nasarawa State, Nigeria. *The Nigerian Journal of Communication (TNJC)*, 17(2).
- Shirky, C. (2011), *The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere and Political Change*, Foreign Affairs, Issue January/February 2011, http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67038/clay-shirky/the-political-power-of-social-media.