Research Paper   Open Access

THE SECURITIZATION OF SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: EXAMINING THE JUNE, 2021TWITTER BANIN NIGERIA.

[1]Princewilliams OderaOguejiofor, [2]Mark, Kingsley Chinonso, [3]Okonkwo, Arinze Emmanuel

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, NnamdiAzikiwe University Awka, Anambra
State-Nigeria
Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, NnamdiAzikiwe University Awka, Anambra
State-Nigeria
Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, NnamdiAzikiwe University Awka, Anambra
State-Nigeria

Abstract: This research studies "Securitisation of the Social Media and Political Development in Nigeria: Examining the Twitter Ban of June, 2021 in Nigeria." The social media has become an integral part of life and also forms part of identity in the 21st century. It has become a veritable tool through which citizens of various states of the world air opinion on government policies. In this way, the social media has become an instrument of citizen participation in governance. The ban on Twitter by the Nigerian government amounts to securitisation. This research thus, establishes the relationship between securitisation and political development through a study of the Twitter ban in Nigeria. The research adopts a mixture of Securitization and FrustrationAggression theories in order to analyse and as well predict outcomes in the phenomenon being studied. Methodologically, the research design for this research is descriptive. Documentary method of data collection from secondary sources was employed. This involves a meticulous library research and extensive review of existing literatures in the subject matter. One of the findings of this research is that securitisation failed in the case of Twitter ban and that this failed securitisation led to frustration aggression among Nigerian citizens as well as breach of fundamental human rights.

Keywords: Security, Cybersecurity, Media, Social Media, Politics, Development, Political Development, Strategy

I.   Introduction

The internet is one of the most remarkable innovations of the 21st century. A very potent agent of globalization. The fundamental ability of the internet is to connect different computer networks and to pass (*digital*) packages of bits from anyone and to anyone who is part of a network that has implemented the connecting protocol (Jordan, 2015). The internet has made access to digital information as well as the exchange of such information easier and faster. One integral character of the internet is digitization. Digitization and the digital involve the creation of information in bits – manipulatable, electronically stored bits that can decompose cultural objects and then ensure they are reconstructed into their individual form (Jordan, 2015). Information in the form of videos, audio records, text, pictures and most recently human personality have become digitized and portable by the instrumentality of the internet and various protocols and networks executed thereupon.

Social media is one of such networks that run on the internet. It has become an integral platform not just of twenty-first century information life but, for billions, of life itself (Jordan, 2015). Social media or social media networks are a key component of virtual life, having provided a new form for what was for a long time called 'virtual communities' (Papacharissi, 2009; Baym, 2010: 72 – 91). Social media are Interactive forms of media that allow users

to interact with and publish to each other, generally by means of the Internet. It facilitates the sharing of ideas, thoughts, information and many more user-generated contents through the building of virtual networks and communities. Some of the most popular social media networks include Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, WhatsApp, YouTube, TikTok, WeChat, Telegram etc. Globally, there are more than 3.8 billion social media users (Dollarhide, 2021).

Social media represents an innovative instrument for petitioning and collective action that has proven at times capable of achieving concrete results in the place of a tightly regulated media environment for civil society mobilization. Social media has been a veritable tool through which citizens of various states of the world air opinion on government policies. In this way, the social media has become an instrument of citizen participation in governance. The Arab Spring of 2010 through 2011 and the Black Lives Matter campaign showcased the power of social media as a powerful tool of activism and political action. The #EndSARS protest of October, 2020 in Nigeria also brought to limelight the significance of social media in the Nigerian political architecture. What started on twitter as a condemnation of police brutality culminated in a nationwide protest that led to the disbandment of Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) of the Nigerian Police.

This seemingly powerful nature of the Social Media as a political tool in the hands of the citizenry has led government of various states to institute measures to regulate and control activities on these platforms. In the face of the rising political stake associated with the Internet, states are increasingly vying for a bigger role in its governance. Within a climate of an array of threats associated with the online information space, the attention is turning towards the governance of the internet infrastructure itself, comprising both the physical (the collection of cables computers, servers and routers that make up the network) and the virtual infrastructure (protocols, social media platforms and search engines that make it possible to navigate and use the internet) (Claessen, 2020). The Chinese government and that of Russia have made policies in this direction. Caster (2014) states, "including cybersecurity within the jurisdiction of the recently created National Security Committee, are the most recent episodes in a series that outlines the Communist Party's concern and intent regarding social media." With each new regulation, Chinese authorities drew connections to stories about vigilantism and destructive panics caused by rumours propagated through social media, framing cyberspace as a source of insecurity and a social problem that demanded tighter censorship in the interests of public security (Caster, 2014).

States usually frame actions and policies around the social media on the basis of national security. In this way, activities on the internet and in extension the social media are securitised. Increasingly, some states try to build firewalls around digital communications, or in the case of Egypt, Sudan, and Zimbabwe among others, respond to mass street protests with an internet shutdown (Amnesty International, https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/freedom-of-expression/?, retrieved July, 2021). This concern over national security sometimes leads to the outright banning of some social media platforms from use within a given state. Currently, there is a ban on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, YouTube etc. within the People's Republic of China. LinkedIn, Telegram, and many other social media platforms are also banned from use within Russia, over issues bothering on national Security. National security was the reason advanced by the Nigerian Minister of information, Lai Mohammed for the June 7, 2021 ban on twitter within the Nigerian territory by the Nigerian government. The minister stated that:

"I want to repeat that it is because twitter has consistently made its platform available to those who are threatening Nigeria's corporate existence, that is the reason for suspending their operations in Nigeria… I said among other things that Twitter's mission in Nigeria is suspect. And I went further to say that Twitter funded the #EndSARS protests in Nigeria last year… the twitter owner is one of those who helped to fund the # EndSARS protests that was later hijacked, leading to loss of lives and massive destruction of property… we want to make it clear that what is important to us is the sovereignty of Nigeria" (The Cable, June 9, 2021).

Leaning on this background, this research explores the interrelationships that exist between the securitization of the social media and political development in Nigeria.

II.   Statement of the Problem

Securitization is the process of moving an issue from the sphere of the political to the sphere of security. Political issues are issues that are managed within the standard political system (Emmers, 2010), they are part of public policy, requiring government decision and resource allocations or, more rarely, some form of communal governance (Buzan,Wæver, &de Wilde, 1998: 23). A political issue becomes a security issue when it is securitized. In this situation, a securitizing actor articulates an already politicized issue as an existential threat to a referent object (Emmers, 2010). For a phenomenon to be securitized, there must be securitizing actors and referent objects. The dynamics of each category of security are determined by securitizing actors and referent objects. The former is defined

as 'actors who securitize issues by declaring something, a referent object, existentially threatened and can be expected to be 'political leaders, bureaucracies, governments, lobbyists, and pressure groups' (Buzan et al, 1998). Referent objects are 'things that are seen to be existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival' (Buzan et al, 1998). Referent objects may be the state as a unitary actor, national sovereignty, national economy, collective identities, species, or habitat (Buzan et al, 1998).

Whenever an issue is securitized, the securitizing actor asserts that it has to adopt extraordinary and emergency means that go beyond the ordinary norms and rules of the political system in order to address a given existential threat with the urgency is requires. For this reason, Buzan et al (1998) aver that securitization "is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames that issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics. Securitization can thus be seen as a more extreme version of politicisation." Bearing this in mind, there arises the problem of how securitizing actors can maintain rights and civil liberties which is one of the indices of political development in the face of securitization. Elites can use a securitizing act to curtail civil liberties, impose martial law, detain political opponents or suspected terrorists without trial, restrict the influence of certain domestic political institutions, or increase military budget (Anthony, Emmers, &Archarya, 2006). It is pertinent to point out that securitisation is not successful until these claims by the securitising actors that a referent object is under existential threat are first accepted by the relevant audience (public opinion, politicians, military officers and other elites) and then acted upon. From the foregoing, it is obvious that securitization of twitter by the Nigerian government failed as the people continued using Twitter through Virtual Private Networks (VPNs).

The indices of political development as is captured by Johari J.C. in his *'Comparative Politics'* published in 1982 include inter-alia; Politicisation or participation of more and more people in political process, growing interest articulation by autonomous groups, freedom of the press and growth of mass media agencies, expansion of educational facilities, tolerance of dissent and control over anomic movements, consensual politics implying use of constitutional methods (Johari, 1982).Rontos and Vavouras (2013) point out level of income per capita, the degree of human development, the level of perceived corruption, the extent of government effectiveness, the extent of political rights and the extent of civil liberties as six variables they consider the main determinants of development.

The ban on Twitter by the Nigerian government over security concerns goes against various indices of political development enumerated above. This is because Twitter has been a veritable platform through which the people of Nigeria express their opinions concerning the policies and actions of government. It has also been an accessible source of information to the populace; verified or not. Overtime, it has become an instrument of peaceful protest by the Nigerian youth population against unfavourable government policies as well as a veritable tool of mass mobilisation by civil societies. A ban on twitter forecloses the ability of a lot of Nigerians to participate in the political process as regards expressing opinions on government activities. The ban also poses the problem of intolerance to dissent and opposition since Twitter is a veritable instrument of peaceful protest among Nigerians. There is also the problem of the constitutionality of Twitter ban by the Nigerian government judging from the fact that right to the freedom of expression and freedom of association are rights guaranteed in the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, which the ban on twitter infringes upon. Lastly, public opinion was strongly against the ban of twitter as Nigerians did not believe that Twitter posed any existential threat to the security of Nigeria, still, the government went ahead to ban twitter.

With these problems in perspective, this paper delves into the impact of the securitisation of the social media as is the case with the ban of Twitter by the government of Nigeria on the political development of the state.

III.   Theoretical Framework

This paper adopts a mixture of Securitization and frustration aggression theories in order to analyse and as well predict outcomes in the phenomenon being studied. Securitisation theory is identified with the 'Welsh School' of Critical Security Studies (CSS), originally devised by Wæverin 1995. In the words of Ole Wæver (1995), securitization provides a fresh take on the increasing debate between those who claimed that threats are objective (i.e., what really constitutes a threat to national security) on the one hand, and those that maintained that security is subjective (what is perceived to be a threat) on the other.

Securitization theory seeks to explain the politics through which the security character of public problem is established, and the social commitments resulting from the collective acceptance that a phenomenon is a threat and the possibility of a particular policy created. According to securitization theory, political issues are constituted as extreme security issues to be dealt with urgently when they have been labelled dangerous, menacing, threatening by the securitizing actor who has the social and institutional power to move the issue beyond politics. Securitisation is not successful until these claims by the securitising actors that a referent object is under existential threat are first accepted by the relevant audience (public opinion, politicians, military officers and other elites) and then acted upon.
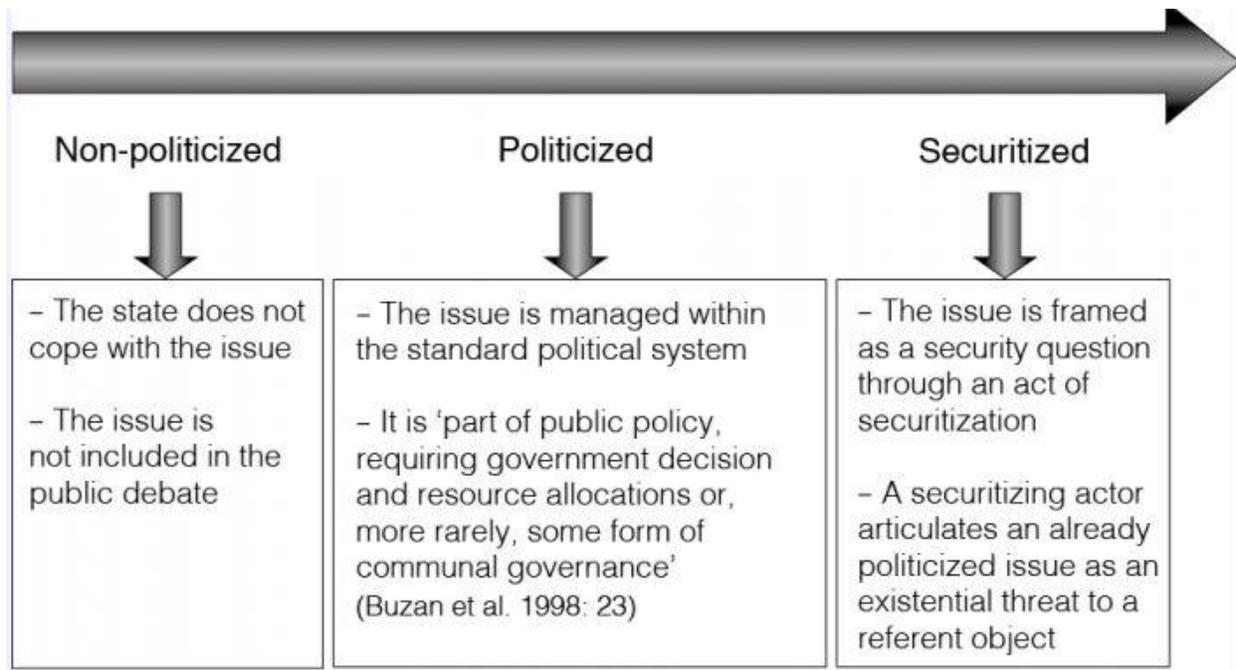
Table 1.1

So, security issues are not simply 'out there' but rather must be articulated as problems by the securitizing actors. Hence to identify a phenomenon as a security threat to national security, for instance, implies the shift of such phenomenon from low priority political concern to high priority issues that requires action, such as securing bodies. Securitization theorists are of the view that issues are not essentially threatening in themselves; rather, it is by referring to them as security issues that they become security problem, and are usually not a neutral act but a political one.

The Nigerian government on 5th June, 2021 imposed an indefinite ban on twitter citing security concerns, threat to corporate national existence and the non-registration of Twitter as a business entity certified to operate within Nigeria by the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC). The Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC) abruptly directed all telecoms companies in Nigeria to restrict access to Twitter through their platforms. The reasons adduced for the ban were unacceptable to a sizeable portion of the Nigerian public who believe that the ban was simply a retaliation by the government against Twitter for removing the Nigerian president's tweet that threatened violence on a section of the country, which goes against Twitter's user policy. The text of the tweet reads "Many of those misbehaving today are too young to be aware of the destruction and loss of lives that occurred during the Nigerian Civil War. Those of us in the fields for 30 months who went through the war, will treat them in the language they understand." (Campbell, 2021).

It is obvious that in trying to securitise the use of Twitter by Nigerians, the government failed. Nigerians have continued to use twitter as they do not perceive it as an existential threat. This now raises the question of the impact of this failed securitization. In order to answer this question, frustration aggression hypothesis is employed.

Frustration aggression theory is a theory developed by John Dollard, Neal Miller, Leonard Doob, Orval Mowrer, and Robert Sears in a monograph titled *Frustration and Aggression* published in 1939. The major argument of this theory is that aggression or aggressive behaviour is the result of blocking, or frustrating a person's effort to achieve a goal. Dollard et al (1939) proposed that when frustration is experienced, it leads to aggression. Aggression is a cathartic release of the build-up of frustration. This aggression may be targeted at the source of the frustration or at other things when the source of frustration is unreachable, thus the purpose of aggression is not necessarily to punish the source of frustration but to release the feeling of frustration on the part of the aggressor.

Twitter ban have had very serious adverse effect on small and medium scale Nigerian businesses that rely on Twitter to raise awareness for their brands, for customer service and other forms of customer engagements. Nigeria e-commerce sector has lost over two billion Naira (₦2,000,000,000) since the ban, as businesses have had to cut down on operations or stop them completely (Telecompaper, 2021). A June 14, 2021 report by Reuters made is known that a sizeable number of Nigerian citizens use twitter to make a living. Following the frustration aggression hypothesis, it is obvious that people have been deprived of a means of livelihood, which can lead to aggressive behaviours either

towards the government or fellow citizens. It is well known that the Nigerian government currently does not enjoy the goodwill of the people on various social media platforms. This is evinced by the fact that the people do not miss any opportunity to denigrate the Nigerian government openly. This in itself is aggression. Nigeria in this way loses its prestige among other nations, which is antithetical to political development.

Many start-up business models require an active social media presence. This ban on twitter will make it more difficult for Nigerian technology entrepreneurs to attract investors. This can lead to massive emigration of these entrepreneurs and their businesses with the effect of increased unemployment and poverty in Nigeria. Viewed from this perspective, emigration can be an aggressive action against Nigeria, which will not only be economically devastating, but also politically undermining in the sense that with migration comes a shift in patriotism. Most of the people championing secessionist movements in Nigeria are Nigerians domiciled outside Nigeria.

This twitter ban has also led to a feud between the Nigerian government and the management of Twitter whole business operation in Nigeria has been frustrated. For this reason, Twitter chose Ghana for its regional headquarters in Africa even though Ghana has a much smaller population and economy than Nigeria. This is another example of aggression arising from frustration of business goals.

IV.   Research Methodology

The research engaged the descriptive research design. Here, information was obtained concerning the current status of the phenomenon under study, which would aid in better understanding of the circumstances surrounding the impact of securitization of social media on the political development in Nigeria. It was not only limited to the political development in Nigeria but also its impact on the political participation of citizens.

The study employed documentary method of data collection from secondary sources. This involves a meticulous library research and extensive review of existing literatures in the subject matter.

V.   Conceptual Analysis

Securitisation of the social media in this research entails the move of the Nigerian government to take extraordinary actions in order to maintain security by gaining control of the social media especially as it concerns the maintenance of peace and order as well as protecting the sovereignty of state. This led to the outright ban of Twitter in the country as well as verbal threats to regulate other social media platforms used by citizens of Nigeria.

Respect for fundamental human rights is one of the indices of political development. These fundamental human rights are universal in nature. This means that wherever human beings are found, these rights exist and must be respected. The social media is a virtual community of human beings, thus, whatever right that people have they still maintain, whether they are in a virtual environment or not. On the social media, there is a projection of the human person who operates the mechanism and technology of involvement in the virtual community. It is pertinent to point out that human beings actually exist on the social media since man is made up of identity, opinions and actions which are also integral part of activities on the social media. Rainie and Wellman (2012) opine that "People cannot build networks without describing who they are, what talents or skills they possess, what they know, and what their needs are." For one to join a social media network, one must first be existent in a human community such that even when one takes on a different identity online, it does not destroy the fact that he is human. Jordan (2015) states that:

"an individual exists already to be able to join [a social media network] and so joins taking forward a sense of what it is that they will open up to others on that social media network. The social network presents itself and is experienced as a series of practices through which the pre-existent self offers itself up through posts, likes, comments and more.''

It is thus clear that since the social media is a human community in a technological environment, laws and universal principles that apply in all human communities should also apply there.

Social media platforms like twitter and Facebook have become veritable tools of social change and advocacy in Nigeria. Twitter platform has played an important role in public discourse in the country, including #BringBackOurGirls campaign that was launched after the terrorist group, Boko Haram kidnapped 276 schoolgirls in 2014 as well as the #EndSars protest, which pushed the Nigerian government to disband the Police Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARS) that was notorious for highhandedness and brutality.

The ban on twitter has foreclosed the ability of many Nigerians to express their opinions and take part in democratic governance. More than 39 million Nigerians have Twitter according to NOI polls (amp.theguardian.com, June 2021). The restriction imposed on access to a medium of expression of opinion amounts to breach of fundamental right to freedom of expression which adversely impacts political development as government is starved of the input of public opinion to governmental policies. A good number of Nigerians have chosen to express opinion via Twitter and other social media platforms because it offers the opportunity to communicate with the government without all the official bureaucratic bottlenecks associated with such activity. When 39 million Nigerians are prevented and excluded

from participating in the politics of Nigeria through an executive order, it translates into authoritarianism which militates against effective political development.

In an era when social media has become an integral part of life and identity, preventing people from accessing and exchanging information on these platforms has the tendency to lead to frustration aggression and violent resistance typical of people being oppressed and denied fundamental human rights. Human rights abuse and media silencing were the major motivations for the Libyan resistance forces in their fight to topple the Muammmah Gadhafi government in 2011.

VI.   Securitisation of the Social Media and Political Participation in Nigeria

The social media as an agent of political socialization has provided a means for political participation in Nigeria. In early June 2021, the Nigerian government announced the indefinite suspension of twitter after the platform deleted one of the tweets of the President and temporarily suspended his account. That action sparked massive national and global reactions. In recent times, Nigerians have adopted the social media as an avenue through which they make their opinions known and influence governmental decisions. Nie&Verba (1975), defined political participation as those legal activities by private citizens which more or less are directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and or the actions they take. It also entails those voluntary activities by which members of the society share in the selection of rulers and, directly or in directly, in the formation of public policy (Closky, 1968). The social media has come to be seen as an indispensable phenomenon for political participation in recent times. Political participation is important to how the control of political power is determined and the extent to which individual members of the society share, take part or get involved in the life of the society (Agbaje,1999:193; Pateman,1970). It could also be seen as the activity of private citizens designed to influence government decision making. Also, political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs; and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to campaign and to be elected.

The social media provide new ways to stimulate citizen engagement in political life, where elections and electoral campaigns have a central role. Social media has reshaped structures and methods of contemporary political participation by influencing the manner of interaction between the political actors and citizens. People are more likely to air their views comfortably through social media applications like Twitter and Facebook than coming out to challenge the government in the open. By and large, there are other factors that affect political participation in Nigeria today, they are;

Political Culture: This has to do with set of beliefs, attitudes and values that relate to political system and to political issues. In Nigeria today, the political culture is drastically shifting from participatory political culture to parochial political culture as a result of recent socio-political problems inherent in the political system. The imposition of candidates on the electorates during elections and insecurity bedevilling our society. People are now more scared than before in participating actively in politics and thus a panacea to the political development in Nigeria. Instead of getting involved physical as a result of these problems, people feel comfortable to engage in politics through the use of social media channels.

Political leadership: Leaders who have strong personalities can influence people's participation in politics to a greater extent. People like late Dr. NnamdiAzikiwe and late Obafemi Awolowo are examples of such leaders. These leaders possess charismatic authority which derive its force from the individual's peculiar personality traits. The followers readily accept this and transfer their loyalty to them. It could be also noted that because of their strong personal appeal, many apathetic or apolitical people are brought into politics. Also, such leaders enjoy high level of legitimacy which motivates the citizens into doing everything necessary to support them and thereby participating either directly or indirectly in politics.

Economic status: People with a better standard of living are more likely to have or develop participant political culture. This is because they have access to better education which translates to their better usage and understanding of the workings of the mass media as a means of participating in politics. The mass media are more effectively used by people with high literacy level. A man who finds it very difficult to eat and feed his family would be more concerned about how to make ends meet than being concerned about the policies of government. It is to be noted that citizens who are better off are more likely to participate in politics because of the numerous opportunities they are provided with than the economically disadvantaged citizens.

Location: Studies have shown that those in the urban areas tend to participate more actively in politics than those in the rural areas. Those in the urban areas have greater accessibility to network which aids them in the use of the social media and for political communication which in turns translates to political participation. They are abreast with governmental policies and programmes and that make them to react accordingly to them. The rural areas are

bedevilled with issues such poor network coverage, lack of electricity and adequate infrastructural development which would ha**ve** made their political participation more active.

Technological Advancement: The world today is moving from analogue to digital, so also with the political communication and participation of the people. The mass media have come to take an upper lead in the dissemination of information as it regards policies. For instance, we have seen a situation where governmental bodies and agencies have social media accounts like Facebook and Twitter etc. Most times, they release information through these accounts for the members of the public. A situation whereby the people have not got themselves acquainted with the usage of the social media, they are likely to find it difficult to keep up with the workings of the government. If the technological prowess of the country is abysmally low, it is going to affect the participation of the people in politics. Political participation could be such that it is action based whereby people engage in politics with the full knowledge of what they are doing. These actions are well defined and the people are aware of them. For instance, someone going out to vote in election knows exactly what he/she is doing. Such a person is aware that the purpose of the election is to either bring in new officers or to re-elect the current political office holders. Another is making donations which include both material and monetary donations either to a political party or to the candidates of a party. The aim of doing such is to help either the party or candidates involved to win an election or for the progress and continued existence of the party.

On the other hand, political participation could be attitude based which indirectly influences the activities of government. In this scenario, people who engage in attitude based participation may not know that their behaviours have impact on the political system. People engage in civil disobedience as a form of protest or agitation towards governmental policies and programmes. By doing so, they are indirectly getting involved in politics. Also, a politically apathetic person who is a member of a political party and refuses to vote in an election is indirectly making it possible for the candidate of the opposition to win.

VII.   Conclusion

With the aid of the social media, people sit at the comfort of their homes, offices etc. and freely engage the government on issues considered unacceptable by public opinion. This they do being actively involved but without having to be violent. They can send mails, and write letters which they post through different social media channels. Most people consider this approach very safe and conducive especially in political systems that are authoritarian and despotic in nature. When there is securitization of the social media, people feel gagged, frustrated and tend to turn to aggressive ways such as riots, demonstrations, arson etc. For any democratic system to be sustained, it must be people centred and oriented. In recent times, before people take to the streets, there would have been calls made on the government through the social media about issues affecting the citizens. In Nigeria for example, before the youths took to the streets about the issue of Police brutality, there were lots of posts on Twitter concerning the subject matter. The inability of the government to be proactive and respondent to the calls to end the brutality of the police made the youths to go out into the streets which had adverse consequences.

This research discovers thatthe social media is a virtual community of human beings, thus, whatever right that people have they still maintain, whether they are in a virtual environment or not. Thus, ban on any social media platform without the support of the people amount to breach of fundamental human rights to expression and association.

It is also discovered that failed securitisation as is the case with the Twitter ban in Nigeria is antithetical to political development as it led to frustration aggression among Nigerian citizens as well as breach of fundamental human rights.

Securitisation of the social media imposes some restrictions on popular political participation, which is one of the indices of political development.

It is therefore recommended that governments around the world should device remote means to monitor and police social media without limiting access and prying into people's privacy as is obtainable in traditional human communities. This is because fundamental rights are universal in all human societies, whether virtual or traditional.

References

[1].   Agbaje,A. (1999) 'Political Parties and Pressure Groups'. In Anifowose&Enemuo(eds) Elements of Politics. Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications.

[2].   Amnesty International, (2021) https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/freedom-of-expression/?, retrieved July, 2021

[3].   Anthony, M., Emmers, R., and Archarya, A., (2006) *Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Dilemmas in Securitization,* London: Ashgate Publishing.

[4].   Baym, N. (2010) *Personal Connections in the Digital Age.* Cambridge: Polity

[5].   Buzan B., Wæver O., and de Wilde J. (1998) *Security: A New Framework for Analysis.* Boulder   CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

[6].   Caster, M. (2014) "The Securitization of Social Media in China", *China Brief,* Vol. 14, Iss: 3

[7].   Claessen,E. (2020). "Reshaping the Internet – The Impact of the Securitisation of Internet Infrastructure on Approaches to Internet Governance: The Case of Russia and EU", *Journal of Cyber Policy,* Vol.1

[8].   Dollard, J., Miller, N. E., Doob, L. W., Mowrer, O. H., & Sears, R. R. (1939). *Frustration and Aggression.* Yale University Press. https://doi.org/10.1037/10022-000

[9].   Dollarhide,M(2021)   "Social   Media"   *Invetopedia.https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/social-media.asp,* retrieved July, 2021

[10].   Emmers, R. (2010) "Securitization", in A. Collins (Eds.), *Contemporary Security Studies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[11].   Johari J.C., (1982) *ComparativePolitics*(3rd Ed). New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

[12].   Jordan, T.(2015) *Information Politics: Liberation and Exploitation in the Digital Society*. London: Pluto Press.

[13].   McClosky, (1968) 'Political Participation', In International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, New York, Macmillian.

[14].   Nie, N.H. and Verba, S. (1975) 'Political Participation', In, Greenstein, F. and Polsby, N.(eds) Handbook of Political Science, Vol .4. Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley.

[15].   Papacharissi, Z. (2009) "The Virtual Geographies of Social Networks", *New Media and Society,* Vol. 11, Nos. 1 – 2.

[16].   Pateman, C. (1970) 'Participation and Democratic Theory'. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[17].   Rainnie, L., and Wellman, B., (2012) *Networked: The New Social Operating System.* Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

[18].   Rontos, K., and Vavouras, L., (2013) "Socioeconomic and political development: Their Measurement and Connection". *Global Journal of Human-Social Science* 13(5):51-65

[19].   Telecompaper   (2021) https://www.telecompaper.com/news/nigeria-to-lose-over-ngn-2-bln-daily-because-of-twitter-suspension-report--1385625

[20].   The   Cable (2021)https://www.thecable.ng/lai-on-twitter-ban-nigerians-still-have-facebook-instagram-whatsapp-theres-freedom-of-speech, retrieved July, 2021

[21].   The Guardian (2021) https://guardian.ng/life/nigeria-twitter-ban-tales-of-business-woes-in-100-   days/