



EFFECTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION ON VOTING BEHAVIOR AMONG YOUTHS IN THE 2023 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS IN ADAMAWA STATE: A CASE STUDY OF ADAMAWA NORTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT

Dr. Lucky Benson
Department of Political Science,
Adamawa State University, Mubi
+234805190057

luckybensonkarfe@gmail.com

Augustine Chindapi,
Postgraduate Student,
Department of Political Science,
Adamawa State University, Mubi
+2349034252667

augustinechindapi@gmail.com

Mohammed Sirajo Baba,
Postgraduate Student,
Department of Political Science,
Adamawa State University, Mubi
+2348060008894

surajbabagirei@gmail.com

***Corresponding author:**

Dr. Lucky Benson
Department of Political Science,
Adamawa State University, Mubi
+234805190057

luckybensonkarfe@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study work examines effects of political socialization on voting behavior among youths in the 2023 gubernatorial election in Adamawa State. A case Study of North Senatorial District. The study made use of both primary and secondary source of data. Through the use of questionnaires, four Hundred (400) question were distributed to the five (5) local governments in the north senatorial district of Adamawa State. Four Hundred (400) were filled and returned for analysis. The research adopted the maxims theory of political behavior the study finds out that there is a significant relationship between political socialization and voting behavior, and that political socialization contributed to the development of acceptable political attitudes, norms, opinions and behavior of individuals or group during elections and general elections was perpetuated by the youths mainly financed by politician. The study recommend that there should be reliable agent of political parties, for socialization in Adamawa north senatorial district so as to impact on voting behavior of people in rural areas, politician should stop using their political thugs before, during and after election so as to consolidate on free and fair election and that politics of elite, using propaganda and thuggery should be discourage, enhances political education and Awareness, promote media accuracy and literacy, foster political role models. Expand opportunities for political engagement, address systematic barriers and support grass root mobilization and outreach

Keywords: Political Socialization, Voting Behavior, Youths, Gubernatorial

1.1 Background to the study

It has been observed that political socialization and voting behavior of Nigeria has been shaped by different political processes, first was colonial rule followed by the period of Independent which ushered in civilian rule that lasted for a while and comes the military regime which contributed a lot in shaping the political behavior and political orientation of Nigerians. The concept of political socialization is quite new in the empirical and behavioral research in explaining the political behavior of Nigerians. Political socialization and voting behavior play tremendous role in the political restructure of almost every country of the world.

It has specifically absorbed a great deal of time of all political parties, researchers and scholars in the world and Nigeria in particular, much effort has been put into analyzing political socialization and voting behavior, be it National, State and Local Government. Political socialization connotes the learning process by which norms and behavior are transmitted from generation to another through agent of socialization, such as the family, school, peer group and mass media. However, political behavior view from the perspective of power is that pattern of behavior which strives to either increase power, protect power to modify power or to use power in advancing the individual or collective from the existing power situation. The pattern of behavior constitutes the universal aims and objectives of the political man (attainment of good life). Political socialization is directly or highly interrelated with voting behavior. According to Barley (2023:48) voting behavior demonstrate the degree of people's involvement and participation in politics. In a democratic state it is the people's voting that determined the winner of election. Through voting people put their future in the hands of the chosen few. It is against the above background that this study is geared towards examining the relationship that exist between political socialization and voting behavior in other to determine how political socialization affects voting behavior of the people of Northern Senatorial District in Adamawa State during 2023 Gubernatorial Elections. The political socialization and voting behavior among youths in the North Senatorial District of Adamawa State has given a rise to a multifaceted research problem that demand a thorough investigation in the country Nigeria, Adamawa State election is no different mired with negative characteristic of rigging, violence, bribery, corruption excessive campaign spending, manipulation of results and other related factors.

The main objective of this study is to examine the problem surrounding political socialization in relation to the voting behavior of the people of the Northern Senatorial District in Adamawa State. The specific objectives of the research are to identify the level of political socialization on voting behavior, to examine the relationship between political socialization and voting behavior, to assess the challenges that affect political socialization in the Northern Senatorial District, and to explore the social impacts of youth on voting patterns.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Conceptual Clarification

Concept of Political Socialization

The concept of political socialization is quite new in the field of empirical and behavioral research. It is the process by which determined his perception of politics and his reaction to political phenomenon. It is usually determined by the social economic and cultural environment of the society in which the individual lives and by interaction of the experience and personality of the individual. Political socialization is a process by which political culture are maintained and changed. It refers mainly to the learning process by which norms and behavior acceptable to the political system are transmitted. In general sense, it refers to the society transmitting its political culture from generation to generation.

According to Almond and Powell (cited in mahajan, 2008:2197) political socialization I the process whereby political attitudes and value are inculcated as children become adult and adults are recruited into

roles. Eaton and Denis cited in Joseph, (1991:93) equally defined political socialization as developmental process through which people acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior. It is the establishment development of attitudes and beliefs above the political system. They went further to say that political socialization is in its manifest or direct form when "it involves the explicit communication of information, value or feelings towards political object" examples are the teaching of pupils or students in schools. While latent is "the transmission of political attitudes which affects roles and subject's votes, snatching of ballot boxes during election and employment of political thuggery into politics" political socialization is also viewed as those developed processes by which persons acquire political and of behavior (Joseph 1991:133).

Conclusively scholars in general are interested in the patterns of behavior and attitudes that emerged throughout the life course from infancy to old age. These patterns part of the process of socialization (Schaefer, 2008:85). Good value should be encouraged and passed to other generations because of the world today needs nothing more than "morality" to serve as a guide in our everyday life for the security, development and wellbeing of people. The bad behavior should be discouraged if not anarchy would be the order of the day. These attitudes are transmitted from generation to another via some mediums called "agent of socialization". These agents of socialization can be grouped into major and minor, the major agents include family, school, mass media political parties, religion and peer group. While the minor are employment experience, individual orientation, religious Institution and symbols. (Payne, 2006: 2293). Political socialization is a process that occurs in three main ways: imitation, instruction, and motivation.

Examples can be illustrative of these three aspects of political socialization. In the first case, someone may imitate the political behavior they see in their friends or on television. In the second case, someone may be told by their parents or a teacher that some political behavior or theory is good. In the third, someone may wish to make certain political decisions due to pressure from their family or friends and may be rewarded for doing so. Demonstrably, these three aspects are not mutually exclusive, but rather overlap.

2.1.1 Agent of Political Socializations

Major agents of political socialization include;

2.1.1.1 Family

Foremost among the agent of socialization into politics is the family. Our first political and learning occur within the family. Most of this learning is the informal unintentional and often sub-conscious. Family provides everything necessary for a child survival and growth, food, shelter, affection and social interaction are better provided by the family to a child. Some studies have found out that family transmits political orientation to the children in different ways. One of such studies for example discovered that members of the same family tend to support the same political party perhaps that candidate comes from the same political party, region, tribe, culture and among others. It has therefore been said that a man is born into his political party just as he is born probable future membership of the church of his/her parents. The family is a very powerful agent of political socialization because an individual's formative years are spent with the family and what the individual learns register permanently. The attitude of a child to political leaders may

be influenced by the parent's behavior towards seven such leaders. Thus the family unit provides personal and emotional ties which mold's an individual's personality and affects future political behavior. (Becker 1975:22)

2.1.1.2 School

The school contributes significantly to the shaping of individual's political behavior. It is the school that the most formal political socialization takes place because one is directly taught and trained to obey the rules of the society. Through a well-defined method the school teaches the individual political beliefs. The schools train the individual not only to become a useful adult it is also teach the individual to be politically minded. An individual learns that it is an obligation to participate in political activities such as voting, expressing opinions and maintaining law and order. Thus, the school is a very useful agent of political socialization. (Oyedeye, 1990:222). Barac said in Pollock (1982:2143) that the educational system has important effects on the process of socialization. The value imparted by the school and universities may not be the result of direct political indoctrination, but are nonetheless important in shaping the child's politically.

2.1.1.3 Peer Group

The peer groups are people of approximately the same age, sharing similar problem; in addition to parents and teachers, most of the people spend a great deal of their byes in the company of peer groups. They discuss political thoughts. In situation where we have weak family ties, an individual may turn to a peer group for guidance on political or other social issues. Peer group are also powerful agents of political socialization in the sense that in most cases men seek for approval, acceptance and friendship from such peer groups. As such individuals take to the view held by the peer group. (Oyedeye 1990:23)

2.1.1.4 Mass Media

The mass media such as radio, television, newspapers and other form of mass media provide information about political happenings. Austin Ranney in (Feldman, 1983:118) writes, in all nations with mass communication technology, the media play a direct role in shaping the basic orientation's such as well as the specific orientations of most people. The mass media do not only teach the Individual or public and value of society but also reinforce such norms and values.

The Mass media are therefore useful instruments of socialization because they can transmission through influenced the political belief and education of individuals (Oyedele 1990:22).

The state is a key source of information for media outlets, and has the ability to "inform, misinform, or dis-informs the press and thus the public", a strategy which may be referred to as propaganda, in order to serve a political or economic agenda.

2.1.2 Minor Agent of Political Socialization

2.1.2.1 Symbol

As regarded to minor agent of political socialization include symbols which also play an effective role in political. The observation of birthday, martyr day of national heroes like Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King's jnr, Bhagat Singh LajpatRai etc. Inculcates a new spirit among the youths and they begin to work for nation.

2.1.2.2 Political Parties

Political parties like the pressure group are made up of group of people share same political interest, ideology and concern with the aim of pursuing power to control the state resources and they are of governance. The political parties socialized people through their party manifesto which state the policy, programmed and their intention is to vote into power. Likewise during campaign. They socialized people politically through educating, enlightened, integrating and mobilizing of the populace (yaqub, 2000:55 18).

2.1.2.3 Religious Institutions

Religious institution also plays important role in political socialization. Extremist in the both Christian and Islamic religion find it difficult to flow with the politics of state because they tend to look at state affairs as that of the Church and the Mosque, for instance in Roman Catholicism in many European countries, liberal Democratic and totalitarian offers illustration of the conflicts with both state and education, and possibly a vital factor in the political behavior of men and women in some these countries (convert, 2003: 293).

2.1.2.4 Employment Experience

Political orientations are shaped through participation in unions, collecting bargaining, demonstrations and other form of decision making. Informed groups of employees exert influence on the attitude of their members towards political objects and events, objects as used here mean "people".

2.1.3 Voting Behavior

Voting behavior is a phenomenon that has absorbed at great deals of time of political parties in virtually all the countries of the world. Voting behaviors has to do with generalization of social, religious or minority group. Voting behavior involves the manner in which the citizens of a country engage or disengage in the deciding with their votes who assume the position of power.

Also, on other hand voting behavior scholars such as Lasswell Harold (1980). Richard Lipset (1969), Emmanuel Walla's (1974) and Robert Leon (1991) argued that the voting behavior of man like any other behavior emanated by man's social class, levels of education, ethnicity, socio- economic and political discrimination.

2.1.4 Social Factors that Influence Voting Behavior

Some of the social factors that influence voting behavior include the following:

1. Youths and voting behavior:

Among the recurrent question in the study of citizen political behavior in some countries are the extent and source of gender difference in political participation. Survey researchers in the United States of America demonstrated the existence of a disparity in citizen Participation with more men and less women likely to take part in political life. This disparity is usually construed as the neutral outgrowth of distinctive process of social learning and sex role that centered women in the private domain of the home and the men I the world outside (Mbah, 2007:248).

Men and women sometimes tend to view government and politics in different ways. Like class and race, gender differences can be important independent correlates of political behavior and opinions. Sometimes researchers tie gender differences to early family experience; other content that there are innate differences in the way men and women develop moral political awareness (Becker, 1992:119)

2. Religion and voting behavior;

Either Church or the State may present itself as the true source of moral authority, which makes religion particularly important in socialization process just as religion can influence a young person's development of political opinion religion so can politics decisively shaped the role of religion with the family and the place it ultimately occupies within a larger political order (convict, 2003:89).

3. Age and voting behavior;

Here aged voters are more likely to vote than the younger voters because they vote conservatively. This is often explained by the notion that as individual grow older they become more weeded to the traditional values and attitude, and are more likely to believe that conservative government are government and administration more likely to safeguard their financial and personal security which appear increasingly imply in later life. As seen in the lives of People Democratic Party (PDP) age stakeholders and others policy parties in Nigeria (Oyedele 1990; 234)

2.1.5 Some Determinants of People's Political Socialization and Voting Behavior

These determinants include;

- Social class
- Level of education
- Environment

Patterns of political socialization vary slightly with the social class of the parents and individuals. Middle- and upper-class children are most likely to become actively involved in politics since family interest in

politics is believed to increase with social standing. Children from low class families by contrast tend to be uninformed about politics and to participate often in political activities (Payne, 2006:295).

Social class

Most sociologists view social class as a grouping based on similar social factors like wealth, income, education, and occupation. These factors affect how much power and prestige a person has. Social stratification reflects an unequal distribution of resources.

Level of Education

One's level of information has important role to play in the life of individuals in any society, those who are informed academically tend to participate actively in politics more than the uninformed.

Environment

The dwelling envoy of any individual will always have effect on his/her voting behavior. For instance, those living in the Local Government metropolis tend to be more active in the political activities than those inhabiting the village surrounding the Northern Senatorial zone. In their thinking they benefit less if not nothing from government.

2.1.6 Political socialization processes

Research into processes of political socialization attempts to find an answer to the question: how do people acquire political knowledge, skills and so forth? The following attempts to explain the "how" of political socialization can be listed: psychoanalytical theory, personality theory, development theory, learning theory, role theory, and resource availability theory (see Pawelka, 1977). In the first place, psychoanalysts emphasize the importance of the affective processes, and in the second place, the dependence of socialization on the way in which drives are accommodated in the process of interaction between the individual and his/her environment. In the third place, psychoanalysts focus on how experiences in early childhood influence, or even determine, the course of the socialization process. For quite longtime, psychoanalytical approaches dominated the mainstream of socialization research. Proceeding from the assumptions of "the" personality theory, investigators have made attempts to test what influence is exerted upon political socialization by personal characteristics (health, for example) and psychological traits (feelings of (in)dependence, positive or negative fear of failure). Developmental psychologists base their analyses on an assumed process of interaction between an active organism and his or her surroundings. In the course of this interaction, children observe an increasingly complex psychological and social environment. A number of different, consecutive stages are distinguished in the individual acquisition of proficiency in thinking and making conscious moral judgments. These different stages of cognitive and moral development are related to different stages of political development in individuals. Both this approach and the previous one have been criticized for their neglect of social-economic and cultural variables. While psychoanalysts, personality theoreticians and developmental psychologists accentuate the development of intra-personal structures, stimuli issuing from the environment are the center of attention in

"the "learning theory. Four schools of thought can be distinguished. The first is the reinforcement theory which says that learning takes place when behavior is strengthened by means of reward and/or punishment. The second is the theory of imitative learning. According to this theory, learning takes place primarily as a result of identification and imitation. A third line of thought points to the intrinsically-motivated character of learning: individuals learn because the reward for learning is contained within the activity of learning itself. These three ways of looking at the learning process run parallel to three types of relationships between socializer and individuals being socialized: one with potential control in the form of punishment, one with the desire to conform on the basis of attraction, and one based on equality. In addition to these three modes of learning, learning by experience should also be considered. The assumption in this case is that people learn the most (about politics as well) from experience, from living through something. Finally, the theory of behavioral modification of Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) should be mentioned. The relationship between attitudes, behavioral intentions and behavior are in the center of this theory. The reverse of "learning" - failure to learn or distorted learning - is also relevant for political socialization research. Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance - or expressed in broader terms, the theory of the pursuit of equilibrium - can prove helpful here. People strive toward consonance (or equilibrium) in their attitude, and behavior. Cognitive consistency theories in general focus on inconsistency among cognitive elements, or cognitive-affective consistency.

2.1.7 Politics and Socialization

M Kent Jennings, in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences (Second Edition)*, 2015 Initial Development and Ascendance of the Field

The phenomenon of political socialization has a long history. The preparation of individuals for their roles in the political world is as old as political life itself. Both political authorities and ordinary citizens have been subject to the practices and outcomes of socialization regardless of political regime type. By contrast, the systematic study of political socialization has a relatively short history. Around the turn of the twentieth century educators in the United States conducted studies of school children that included choices of exemplars, national figures most admired by the children (Greenstein, 1965). These 'surveys and occasional other investigations in a variety of settings marked the first empirical studies of what would later be called political socialization.

It was not until the post- World War II era that more sustained, disciplined research emerged. The term itself surfaced in the mid-1950s. By the early 1960s the label had achieved wide academic currency among political scientists in the United States and quickly spread to other western countries. Early work in the United States, the initial center of the empirical investigations, focused on pre-adolescents and emphasized the positive and relatively benign processes and outcomes of political socialization. Although more realistic perceptions and understandings set in with advancing age and cognitive development, the overall effect was viewed as salutary both for the successful functioning of the political system and the citizenry (Easton and Dennis, 1969).

Following in the wake of these pioneering studies came a flood of projects in the United States and elsewhere. These inquiries tended to elaborate upon, modify, and in some instances to reject the conclusions of the earlier work. Variations according to social class, race, and location were identified. Political institutions conditioned the content, processes, and outcomes in fundamental ways. Considerable attention was devoted to the agents of socialization. Although the family appeared to be the key agent, it became clear that many other forces—including individuals themselves—also contribute to the formation and maintenance of political orientations. In general, the more concrete, affect-laden, and reinforced the attribute in question, the more likely it was to be reproduced in the person being socialized and to persist over time.

2.1.8 The Social Origins of Adult Political Behavior

Political socialization research has focused on the role of parents, extracurricular activities, and the school curriculum during adolescence on shaping early adult political behavior (Beck & Jennings, 1982; Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2007; Torney-Purta, Richardson, & Barber, 2004). However, no study to date has examined how properties of adolescents' social networks affect the development of adult political outcomes. Using social network analysis, we find that both a respondent's social integration in high school and his friends' perceptions of their own social integration affect the respondent's later political behavior as a young adult. Peer and network effects are at work in political socialization. This has important implications for our understanding of the development of social capital, political trust, and political participation, as well as our general understanding about how one's social network influences one's own attitudes and behavior.

Social influences affect political behavior. The Columbia School first suggested that individual political choice is in part dependent on information interactions in the social environment (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944). Recent literature has elaborated on this finding and suggests not only that voting is strongly correlated between friends, family members, and coworkers, even when controlling for socioeconomic status and selection effects (Beck, Dalton, Greene, & Huckfeldt, 2002; Campbell, Gurin, & Miller, 1954; Glaser, 1959; Huckfeldt & Sprague, 1995; Kenny, 1992, 1993; Knack, 1992; Mutz & Mondak, 1998; Straits, 1991) but also that people influence each other through discussion and social interactions. Opinion change and participation can effectively "ripple" through a social network (Fowler, 2005; Huckfeldt, 1979; Huckfeldt, Johnson, & Sprague, 2002; Huckfeldt, Plutzer, & Sprague, 1993; Huckfeldt & Sprague, 2006). Psychologists have also begun to take more seriously the impact of processes within social networks on individual attitudes and behaviors; the attitudinal composition of a person's social network affects the strength of her own attitudes (Levitan & Visser, 2008; Visser & Mirabile, 2004) and those embedded in diverse networks exhibit less resistant to attitude change and show decreased attitude stability (Levitan & Visser, 2009). We also know that cooperative norms in the larger community can help explain political participation (Knack & Kropf, 1998).

Yet these insights and methodologies have not made significant contributions to the classic paradigm in political socialization. For 50 years, the dominant explanation for political socialization has focused on families, schools, and extracurricular activities. Some scholars elaborate that these factors contribute

toward attitudinal orientations, such as an adolescent's sense of efficacy and orientation toward civic engagement (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002), which in turn serve to mediate between experiences in adolescence and participation in the political world (Beck & Jennings, 1982). However, the socialization literature simply does not take into account the potential role of adolescents' social networks. Based on our understanding of the importance of social network influences on adults' political behavior, it seems plausible that the attitudes within adolescent social networks could also have an effect.

In part due to methodological limitations, no study to date has explicitly examined or quantified the influence of peers' attitudinal orientations as a contributing factor to a student's later political behavior and attitudes. Employing social network data and a large longitudinal study that probes both high school social integration and later political outcomes, we find that one's own perception of social integration in high school, and the perceptions of one's peers are associated with increased trust in government, increased volunteering, increased partisan identification, and increased voter turnout in early adulthood. This finding is consistent with existing literature which finds that attitudinal perspectives mediate the effects of socialization on later political outcomes (Beck & Jennings, 1982; Flanagan & Van Horn, 2001; Sherrod et al., 2002; Youniss & Yates, 1997) but expands to argue that the attitudinal perspectives reported by one's friends also have a significant and substantive effect on later political outcomes. This finding remains robust to the inclusion of other variables in the model that capture the effects of the school environment, socioeconomic indicators of the student's parents, and the respondent's socioeconomic status in early adulthood.

This finding implies that being situated in a network of friends with high levels of perceived social integration matters for later political outcomes, perhaps because prosocial attitudes motivate the development of political participation and civic engagement. We cannot attribute the development of a person's political behavior entirely to the influences of the family or one's activities as an adolescent. We must also consider how the larger social environment in which one is embedded affects one's orientation toward the political world.

2.1.9 Political Socialization

The concept of political socialization was first introduced by Herbert Hyman in his landmark 1959 book by that name. The conventional wisdom about political socialization points to three primary categories of influence. First, parents and family are critical to shaping worldview and political behaviors; initial research emphasized the importance of parental socioeconomic influences (Davies, 1965; Dawson & Prewitt, 1969; Easton & Dennis, 1965, 1967, 1969; Greenstein, 1965; Hyman, 1959; Jennings & Niemi, 1974; Langton & Jennings, 1968; Merelman, 1980) whereas later studies pointed to the importance of parental civic engagement, political knowledge, and political participation (Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, & Keeter, 2003; Beck & Jennings, 1982; McIntosh, Hart, & Youniss, 2007; Meirick & Wackman, 2004; Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001).

A second focus in the literature emphasizes students' activities and engagement within the school and subsequent effects on efficacy, participation, and civic skills. Student extracurricular involvement is

thought to affect voting during early adulthood (Hanks, 1981, McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997), political participation more broadly (Beck & Jennings, 1982; Hanks, 1981; McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Smith, 1999), volunteering (Hanks, 1981; McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Zukin, 2006), civic engagement (Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995; Smith, 1999; Youniss et al., 1997; Zukin, 2006), and civic knowledge and information (Hanks, 1981). The last major area of research focused on formal institutions within the high school, such as civics curriculum or teacher knowledge and experience, which are thought primarily to affect outcomes of civic knowledge (Ehman, 1980; Hess & Easton, 1962; Ichilov, 1991; Langton & Jennings, 1968; Wegner, 1991).

Although the studies of student engagement and school institutions recognize the importance of the high school experience outside the home, the emphasis has been on the student's acquisition of skills and efficacy, not on the development of attitudes related to participation or social engagement. Those studies which have suggested that civic attitudes mediate experiences in adolescence and participation in the political world (Beck & Jennings, 1982; Sherrod et al., 2002) do not take into account the effects of the attitudes of respondents' peers, a contextual effect that social network scholars know is important for the development of social capital and political participation in adults (Huckfeldt et al., 1993; La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998; McClurg, 2003). Finally, we are aware of no study to date that has used social network analysis to study adolescent political socialization.

2.1.10 The Importance of Social Connectedness

Previous research has paid little attention to how early perceptions of feeling connected to one's community affect later political behavior. Political socialization was initially granted an important spot in the discipline because scholars recognized that adolescence is a critical time period for the development of attitudes related to one's role in society. More recent insights from the psychology literature also bolster the case for why adolescence is an important time for developing orientations toward the social world. Identity consolidation, coupled with the exposure to and resolution of salient social issues, are critical during adolescence for shaping the transition to adulthood (Flanagan & Sherrod, 1998; Stewart & Healy, 1989). During adolescence, one examines one's membership in society and the legitimacy of authority figures (Keniston, 1968). Adolescence also seems to be the key time of life in developing a person's trust capacity (Crystal & DeBell, 2002; Rahn & Transue, 1998).

Lasted to civic identity and social orientation, which we label social integration. Perceptions of social integration in high school are important because the underlying mechanism for socialization—whether from parents, extracurricular activities, or civics classes may be mediated through the development of a civic identity (Youniss et al., 1997) and feelings of being connected to others in the community. Social integration in high school may be an important precursor to feelings of civic orientation and social capital later in life, as civic orientations increase the psychological benefits of and the attitudinal resources for participation (Beck & Jennings, 1982).

We hypothesize that an individual's self-perceived social integration and connection to the school community influences later political orientations. These perceptions of being connected to one's

community have an independent effect from the contributions to those perceptions, such as activity participation, because social integration orients an adolescent toward connection with the broader social and political community in adulthood. Other factors such as activity participation or parental influences may provide students with the resources to become politically engaged, but if she has not developed a prosocial orientation toward the world, these resources will not be employed.

Furthermore, the social network literature leads us to believe that we must look beyond an individual's own attributes to understand how the social environment may influence behavior; social networks can help foster the development of social norms and capital in adulthood (La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998) and the same mechanism may be at work in adolescence. Thus, we also predict that being embedded in a network of people who feel similarly socially integrated has important effects on political outcomes. A friendship network with high levels of social integration should have positive effects on early adult political attitudes and behavior by situating a respondent in a social environment that promotes norms consistent with the development of elevated levels of social capital and political participation.

Adolescents learn about their relationship to the social world and what the standard norms of behavior are for engaging within that world. An adolescent who is embedded within a network of people who feel connected to their environment will likely become more invested in that community and will develop positive attitudes that prosocial behavior contributes to the good of that community. Thus, being integrated in a network of people who feel socially integrated likely reinforces one's own perception of integration and may create an environment conducive to the development of social norms that foster civic and political participation later in life. This is consistent with previous findings that the civic norms within an adolescent's broad social environment have an effect on civic participation beyond adolescence (Campbell, 2006). Just as the broader political environment can affect the development of norms of participation, the cues one receives from one's peers about the social acceptability of community participation and engagement likely have residual effects on behavior in adulthood.

2.1.11 Engaging Adolescents in Politics: The Longitudinal Effect of Political Socialization Agents

In recent decades, many worries have been expressed regarding the lack of political engagement on the part of young people: They are disengaged, they prefer different (i.e., less political) forms of participation, they prefer unconventional forms of participation, and so on (Dalton, 2008; Inglehart, 1997; Norris, 1999; Putnam, 2000). Just as frequently, means are suggested to counteract this trend: Communication scientists argue that young people should go online more often and/or watch less television, social network specialists recommend that young people should have a network that is reasonably diverse, educational researchers advocate paying more attention to civic education in school, and so on. All researchers show convincing evidence that these agents of socialization have a positive effect on political participation, sometimes even longitudinally, but all too often, they forget that there are different agents of socialization that interact with each other: Children of politically active parents are more likely to engage in political discussion, not only at home but also at school and with peers. Those who are active in voluntary associations are also more likely to have a more diverse network, and so on. Even if it is generally agreed

that different agents of political socialization exist, the manner in which they jointly influence political participation needs to be studied further.

The aim of this article is therefore to explore the following research question: How do different agents of political socialization jointly influence political participation? In the literature, five agents of political socialization were presented: parents, peers, school, voluntary associations, and media (Amnå, 2012; Hess & Torney, 1967). While there is a fairly large body of research relating to the different agents of socialization individually, there are relatively few studies focusing on how these factors interact with each other. As there is a growing interest among policy makers and scientists alike in how levels of political participation can be increased, we consider that it is relevant to combine this information within a single model to examine which agents of political socialization can be most effective in stimulating political participation relative to one another.

As political participation is a habit that is shaped early in life (Aldrich, Montgomery, & Wood, 2011; Gerber, Green, & Shachar, 2003; Valentino, Gregorowicz, & Groenendyk, 2009), political socialization should be studied at the phase in which it develops, namely during adolescence (Campbell, 2006; Youniss & Yates, 1997). Flanagan (2003) and others argued that a civic identity can develop relatively early in life, as politics are relevant to adolescents: But much of relevance to politics experiences of inclusion and exclusion; stereotypes and prejudice; membership in and identification with a group; rights and accountability; self-determination and respect for difference; status and power; trust and loyalty; and of fairness in process and justice in outcome are themes that resonate with adolescents. (p. 261).

It is therefore very relevant that young people too voice their opinion through political participation (Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). Based on the social learning theory, Bandura (1977) asserts that behavior can be influenced by the environment. Behavior that is reinforced by parents, peers, or other agents of socialization will be repeated. Furthermore, the development of a political participation habit goes hand in hand with the development of politically relevant attitudes. A study of Metzger and Smetana (2009) has shown that adolescents who are actively involved in politics see participation as a moral and collective value, not as a means of personal fulfillment. Furthermore, politically active adolescents are more likely to see political participation as a moral obligation and attribute more respect to those who participate. So not only does political participation develop at a young age, these young people also develop a positive attitude toward society. Therefore, it is extremely relevant to study this developmental process (Quintelier & Van Deth, 2014).

We will now proceed with a short review of the literature that has presented evidence that political socialization agents can reinforce political participation. The subsequent section describes the data set that will be used in the analyses, followed by the analysis itself and the conclusion.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Marxism Theory of Political Behavior

Marxism is concerned with the politics class: the success or failure of working-class organizational efforts the occurrence of collective action in defense of class interest, the logic of working-class electoral politics and the

occurrence of revolution. Marx attempted to analyze and explain a variety of political phenomena e.g., the forms that working class political action took in 1848 in France, the reason for Napoleon's overwhelming electoral victory in 1849, and the efforts by organizations of the English working class to achieve the ten hours bill. What assumptions underlined Marx's analysis of the political behavior of class? This theory is based on three elements; rationality, ideology and class consciousness.

However, it has been observed that there is much in common between Marxism and the rational choice model of political behavior. The rational choice approach postulates that individual's political behavior is calculated attempt to further a given set of individual interest income, security, prestigious office, and infinitum. One might suppose that such an approach is unavoidably bourgeois, depending upon the materialistic egoism characteristics of market society. However, Marx's theory of political behavior like his theory of capitalist economic behavior is ultimately grounded in a theory of individual rationality. Roughly Marx's fundamental postulate of political analysis is that: Agents as members of classes behave in ways calculated to advance their perceived material interest; these interests are perceived as class to overcome implicit conflict of interest between private interest and class interest. (Pollock, 1982: 1210) secondly, Marx's theory of political behavior incorporates the concept of ideology, ideology or false consciousness are systems of ideas that affect the workers' political behavior by instilling false belief and self-defeating values in the workers. An ideology may instill a set of values or preferences that propel individual behavior in ways that are contrary to the individual's objective material interest. Furthermore, ideologies modify purposive individual action by instilling a set of false beliefs about the causal properties of the social world and about how existing arrangements affect one's objective interest. Rational individuals, operating under the grip of an ideology, will undertake actions that are contrary to their objective material interest, but the social world they inhabit and their mistaken assumptions about their real interest and value. An ideology is an effective instrument, in shaping political behavior within class system; it induced members of exploited classes to refrain from political action directed at overthrowing the class system.

Marx further posited that an ideology functions as an instrument of class conflicts, permitting a dominant class to manipulate the political behavior of subordinate classes. It is an important task to try to identify the institutions and mechanisms through which an ideology is conveyed to a population. (Pollock, 1982: 217) A third important component of Marx's theory of political behavior is his concept of class consciousness. The term refers to a set of motivations, beliefs, values and the like that are specific and distinctive for each class (peasantry, proletariat, petty bourgeoisie). Marx holds that these motivation factors serve to bind together the members of a class and to facilitate their collective activities. Class consciousness takes the form of such motives as loyalty to other members of one's class, solidarity with partners in a political struggle, and commitment to a future social order in which the interests of one's class are better served. Marx describes such a complex of psychological properties and their social foundation as a whole superstructure of different and specifically formed feelings, illusions and modes of thought and view of life arises on the basis of the different forms of property and social conditions of existence. The whole class creates its forms out of its material foundations and the corresponding social relations. The single individual, who derives these feelings, e.t.c through tradition and upbringing, may imagine that they form the real determinants and the starting point of his activity (Marx cited in Pollock, 1982:22)

A class supposed to develop its own conscious identity of itself as a class. In so far as a group of people who constitute a structurally defined class fails to acquire such attitudes Marx denies that the group is a class in the full sense at all a class for itself as well as in itself. Marx does not provide an extensive analysis of the process through which class consciousness emerges, even within capitalism, but they suggest that it takes form through a historical process of class-struggles. As workers or peasants come to identify their shared interests and as they gain experience working together to defend their shared interests, they develop concrete class consciousness within their political groups which

provide motivational resources for future collective action. A central function of class consciousness in Marx's political theory is to explain the moral capacity of members of exploited classes to join in prolonged, risky struggles in defense of their material interest and collective interest in classical Marxist analysis of political behavior, it gives workers effective motivation to undertake actions and strategies that favor their group interest and it gives them motivational resources allowing them to persist in those strategies even in the face of risk and deprivation (i.e. in circumstances) where the collective strategy imposes costs on the individuals interest. This treatment of class consciousness school sensitivity to the point that political behavior is often driven by a set of motives that are richer than a narrow calculus of self- interest. (Pollock, 1982: 22).

The model of political behavior that can legitimately be attributed to Marx can be stated as a model where members of groups from belief about their material interest and they act intelligently to further the interest. Members of groups, from beliefs about their social world that are sometimes seriously misleading about how the social world works (ideologies). Members of such groups sometimes gain a school psychology of solidarity and loyalty that give them a degree of capacity to act as a group (class consciousness). The eventual behavior of an economic group is the aggregate result of the group’s perceptions of its interest its mental map of how the social world works, and the resources of solidarity that it possesses (Dah, 1997:44- 46). Thus, Marxist theories of political behavior best explain the voting behavior of the rural people. Majority cast their vote on the basis of interest shared with other members of their class such as family, peer group and religious group not on the basis of any strong ideology.

3.1 DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

3.1.1 Table: Chi Square Test of Level of Political Socialization on Voting Behaviour among Youth

Null Hypothesis: The Level of Political Socialization did not influence Voting Behaviour Among Youth in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District in the 2023 gubernatorial election	Chi-square Statistics	Degree of freedom (DF)	Significance (P-values)
People in Adamawa Northern senatorial district often engages in political discussions to increase their understanding of politics and election matters	113.193	4	0.000
There is high level of political socialization among people in Adamawa Northern senatorial district.	210.942	4	0.000
Social media such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, TikTok, LinkedIn, among others increased the level of political socialization among youths and all the people in Adamawa northern senatorial district, which further increased their likelihood to vote during the 2023 gubernatorial election.	108.072	4	0.000
Cultural gatherings increased the level of political socialization among the people of Adamawa northern senatorial district by creating awareness regarding political matters and elections.	191.921	4	0.000
Entertainment platforms such as weddings, naming ceremonies, among others increase the level of political socialization among the people of Adamawa northern senatorial district.	291.101	4	0.000

Political rallies and campaigns increased the level of political socialization among the people of Adamawa northern senatorial district, which further increased their likelihood of voting during the 2023 gubernatorial elections in Adamawa State. 312.432 4 0.000

Source: Field Survey, 2024. Note that this table provides a summary of the chi-square test result.

The Chi-square test results presented in Table 3.1.1 evaluate the influence of political socialization on voting behavior among youth in the Northern Senatorial District of Adamawa State during the 2023 gubernatorial elections. These results provide insights into how various forms of political socialization affected youth engagement and participation in the electoral process. Firstly, the hypothesis that political discussions increased political understanding among people in the Northern Senatorial District is strongly supported. The Chi-square statistic of 113.193 with a degree of freedom (DF) of 4 and a P-value of 0.000 indicates a highly significant relationship. This suggests that frequent political discussions were a crucial factor in enhancing political awareness and understanding among the youth, thereby influencing their voting behavior. Secondly, the presence of a high level of political socialization in the district is evident from the significant Chi-square statistic of 210.942 and a P-value of 0.000. This finding underscores the pervasive nature of political socialization activities, indicating that the youth were highly engaged in political matters through various social channels.

The role of social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, TikTok, and LinkedIn in increasing political socialization is also significant. The Chi-square statistic of 108.072 and a P-value of 0.000 highlights the impact of these digital platforms in spreading political information and engaging youth, which subsequently increased their likelihood of voting. Cultural gatherings were another significant factor in enhancing political socialization. With a Chi-square statistic of 191.921 and a P-value of 0.000, these events created substantial awareness about political matters and elections among the youth, fostering a politically active environment. Entertainment platforms such as weddings and naming ceremonies played a crucial role in political socialization as well. The Chi-square statistic of 291.101 and a P-value of 0.000 indicate that these social events were effective venues for political engagement and discussions, further increasing political awareness and participation among the youth. Lastly, Political rallies and campaigns had the most significant influence on political socialization. The Chi-square statistic of 312.432 with a P-value of 0.000 demonstrates that these events were instrumental in engaging the youth politically and increasing their likelihood of voting in the 2023 gubernatorial elections.

3.1.2 Table Chi Square Test of the Relationship between Political Socialization and Voting Behavior among Youths in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District

Null Hypothesis: There is no relationship between political socialization and voting behavior among youths in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District	Chi-square Statistics	Degree of freedom (DF)	Significance (P-values)
Political Socialization influence people voting decision in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District	149.110	4	0.000
You have noticed that people were more likely to vote for a candidate who shares his political views with the voters in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District.	720.810	4	0.000
You were more likely to vote if you were well informed about the	398.913	4	0.000

candidates and issues in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District.

Political socialization influences your level of civil engagement in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Northern Senatorial District. 431.121 4 0.000

People who were politically socialized in Adamawa northern senatorial district were more likely to vote during the 2023 gubernatorial election in Adamawa State. 415.321 4 0.000

Source: Field Survey, 2024. Note that this table provides a summary of the chi-square test result.

The Chi-square test results in Table 3.1.2 examine the relationship between political socialization and voting behavior among youth in the Northern Senatorial District of Adamawa State during the 2023 gubernatorial elections. These results reveal significant insights into how political socialization influenced youth voting behavior. Firstly, the hypothesis that political socialization influences people's voting decisions is strongly supported. The Chi-square statistic of 149.110 with a degree of freedom (DF) of 4 and a P-value of 0.000 indicates a highly significant relationship. This implies that political socialization played a critical role in shaping the voting decisions of youth in the Northern Senatorial District. Secondly, the finding that people were more likely to vote for a candidate who shares their political views is extremely significant, as evidenced by a Chi-square statistic of 720.810 and a P-value of 0.000. This suggests that the alignment of political views between candidates and voters was a major factor driving voting behavior. Thirdly, the data shows that being well-informed about candidates and issues significantly increased the likelihood of voting. The Chi-square statistic of 398.913 with a P-value of 0.000 indicates that better-informed youth were more inclined to participate in the election, highlighting the importance of access to information in electoral participation. The influence of political socialization on the level of civil engagement is also significant, with a Chi-square statistic of 431.121 and a P-value of 0.000. This suggests that political socialization not only influenced voting behavior but also enhanced overall civil engagement among youth.

Finally, the likelihood of voting among politically socialized individuals is confirmed by a Chi-square statistic of 415.321 and a P-value of 0.000. This finding underscores that those who were more politically socialized were significantly more likely to vote, indicating the effectiveness of political socialization in promoting electoral participation.

3.1.3 Table: Chi Square Test of the Challenges That Affect Political Socialization among Youths in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District

Null Hypothesis: The following did not pose as Challenges that Affect Political Socialization Among Youths in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District	Chi-square Statistics	Degree of freedom (DF)	Significance (P-values)
There was lack of political education and awareness in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District.	127.910	4	0.000
Media did not provide accurate information about politics and elections in the 2023 gubernatorial elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District in Adamawa	460.200	4	0.000

There was lack of Political role models for young people in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District.	158.643	4	0.000
There was lack of opportunity for young people to get involved in politics in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial district.	92.142	4	0.000
There were other barriers that prevented people from participating in politics in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District?	75.421	4	0.000

Source: Field Survey, 2024. Note that this table provides a summary of the chi-square test result.

The Chi-square test results in Table 3.1.3 evaluate the challenges that affected political socialization among youth during the 2023 gubernatorial elections in the Northern Senatorial District of Adamawa State. Each result highlights significant barriers to effective political socialization and participation among the youth in this region. Firstly, the lack of political education and awareness is identified as a significant challenge. The Chi-square statistic of 127.910 with a degree of freedom (DF) of 4 and a P-value of 0.000 indicate that the absence of adequate political education and awareness significantly hindered political socialization among the youth. This suggests a need for more robust educational initiatives to inform and engage young voters. Secondly, the media's failure to provide accurate information about politics and elections is a major obstacle. With a Chi-square statistic of 460.200 and a P-value of 0.000, this finding underscores the critical role that media plays in political socialization. Inaccurate or insufficient information from media sources likely contributed to confusion and disengagement among young voters.

Thirdly, the lack of political role models for young people is another significant barrier. The Chi-square statistic of 158.643 and a P-value of 0.000 highlights the importance of having accessible and inspiring political figures who can motivate and guide youth in their political journey. The lack of opportunities for young people to get involved in politics is also highlighted as a significant issue. The Chi-square statistic of 92.142 with a P-value of 0.000 points to systemic barriers that prevent youth from participating in political processes, indicating a need for more inclusive and youth-friendly political environments. Lastly, the presence of other unspecified barriers preventing political participation is confirmed by a Chi-square statistic of 75.421 and a P-value of 0.000. This suggests that various other factors, not specifically detailed, also played a role in hindering political socialization and participation among youth.

3.1.4 Table: Chi Square Test of the Social Impact of Youth Towards Voting Pattern in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District

Null Hypothesis: There is no significant social impact of youth towards voting pattern in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District.	Chi-square Statistics	Degree of freedom (DF)	Significance (P-values)
There was lack of political education and awareness in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District.	183.106	4	0.000
Media did not provide accurate information about politics and elections in the 2023 gubernatorial elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District in Adamawa	207.320	4	0.000

There was lack of Political role models for young people in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District.	415.724	4	0.000
There was lack of opportunity for young people to get involved in politics in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial district.	193.183	4	0.000
There were other barriers that prevented people from participating in politics in the 2023 Gubernatorial Elections in Adamawa Northern Senatorial District?	185.721	4	0.000

Source: Field Survey, 2024. Note that this table provides a summary of the chi-square test result.

The Chi-square test results in Table 3.1.4 examine the social impact of youth on the voting patterns in the 2023 gubernatorial elections in the Northern Senatorial District of Adamawa State. These results highlight several key factors that significantly influenced youth voting behavior. Firstly, the lack of political education and awareness among the youth is evident from the Chi-square statistic of 183.106 with a degree of freedom (DF) of 4 and a P-value of 0.000. This significant finding indicates that many young voters were not adequately informed about political processes, candidates, or issues, which likely impeded their ability to make informed voting decisions and engage fully in the political process. Addressing this gap through comprehensive political education programs in schools, community centers, and online platforms could significantly enhance political awareness and participation among youth. The media's failure to provide accurate information about politics and elections also had a substantial impact, as reflected by the Chi-square statistic of 207.320 and a P-value of 0.000. This result underscores the critical role of media in shaping political perceptions and engagement. Misinformation or lack of information from media sources contributed to confusion and apathy among young voters. Improving the accuracy and comprehensiveness of media reporting on political matters, alongside media literacy programs to help youth critically evaluate the information they receive, would be essential steps in mitigating this issue.

Another significant factor is the absence of political role models for young people, highlighted by a Chi-square statistic of 415.724 and a P-value of 0.000. The lack of inspiring and relatable political figures greatly influenced the disinterest and disengagement of youth in the political process. Promoting political role models who can inspire and guide young people through public speaking events, mentorship programs, and media campaigns that highlight successful youth involvement in politics could foster greater political engagement among the youth. Limited opportunities for young people to get involved in politics were also identified as a major challenge, with a Chi-square statistic of 193.183 and a P-value of 0.000. This significant finding reflects the systemic barriers that prevent many youths from actively participating in the political process. Creating more opportunities for youth to engage in politics, such as internships with political parties, participation in youth councils, and involvement in community projects, is crucial. Political parties and organizations should actively seek to involve young people in their activities to foster a more inclusive political environment. Lastly, various other unspecified barriers also significantly impacted youth participation, as indicated by the Chi-square statistic of 185.721 and a P-value of 0.000. These barriers could include socio-economic factors, security concerns, or cultural constraints that hinder political involvement. Identifying and addressing these barriers through targeted interventions, such as ensuring security, reducing bureaucratic hurdles, and providing support for youth initiatives, is essential. Additionally, addressing socio-economic barriers and cultural constraints through tailored programs can further enhance youth political participation.

4. DISCUSSION OF FINDING

The Chi-square test results provide valuable insights into the relationship between political socialization and voting behavior among youth in the Northern Senatorial District of Adamawa State during the 2023 gubernatorial elections. These findings shed light on the various factors influencing youth engagement and participation in the electoral process. Firstly, the results strongly support the hypothesis that political discussions play a crucial role in enhancing political understanding among youth. Frequent political discussions were found to significantly increase political awareness and understanding, thereby influencing voting behavior. This underscores the importance of open dialogue and information exchange in shaping political attitudes and behaviors among young voters.

Secondly, the presence of a high level of political socialization in the district is evident from the significant Chi-square statistics across various indicators. This suggests that youth in the Northern Senatorial District were actively engaged in political activities and discussions through multiple channels, including social media, cultural gatherings, entertainment platforms, and political rallies. This pervasive engagement indicates a strong interest and investment in political matters among the youth population. Social media platforms emerged as influential channels for political socialization, with significant impacts on youth voting behavior. The widespread use of platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, TikTok, and LinkedIn contributed to increased political awareness and participation among youth, ultimately influencing their voting decisions. This highlights the evolving nature of political communication and the importance of digital platforms in mobilizing youth for political action.

Cultural gatherings and entertainment platforms also played significant roles in political socialization, creating awareness and fostering political engagement among youth. These social spaces served as important venues for political discussions and interactions, contributing to a politically active environment in the district. Political rallies and campaigns emerged as powerful drivers of political socialization and voting behavior among youth. These events provided opportunities for direct engagement with political candidates and issues, shaping youth perceptions and preferences in the electoral process. The high level of participation in political rallies and campaigns underscores the significance of grassroots mobilization and outreach efforts in influencing youth political engagement.

Furthermore, the results highlight the influence of political socialization on voting decisions among youth. Factors such as alignment of political views with candidates, access to accurate information, and opportunities for political engagement significantly impacted youth voting behavior. This suggests that informed and politically socialized youth are more likely to participate in the electoral process and make informed voting choices. However, the findings also point to several challenges that hindered effective political socialization among youth in the district. These challenges include the lack of political education and awareness, inaccurate media coverage, absence of political role models, limited opportunities for political engagement, and other unspecified barriers. Addressing these challenges is crucial for promoting greater youth participation and empowerment in the political process.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, the 2023 gubernatorial elections in Adamawa State's Northern Senatorial District highlights the significant role of political socialization in shaping youth voting behavior. The findings demonstrate that engaging in political discussions and participating in various forms of political activities significantly influence the political attitudes and decisions of young voters. Social media platforms, cultural events, and political rallies emerged as influential channels for political engagement, facilitating increased political awareness and participation among youth. However, challenges such as the lack of political education, inaccurate media coverage, and limited opportunities for engagement pose significant obstacles to effective political socialization among youth. Addressing these challenges and fostering greater political awareness and empowerment among young voters are crucial steps in

ensuring a more inclusive and representative democratic process. By leveraging opportunities for political socialization and addressing systemic barriers, policymakers and stakeholders can cultivate an informed and active youth electorate, ultimately enhancing the legitimacy and vitality of democratic governance in the region. Based on the findings regarding political socialization and youth voting behavior in Adamawa State's Northern Senatorial District during the 2023 gubernatorial elections, the following recommendations are proposed:

- i. **Enhance Political Education and Awareness:** Implement comprehensive political education programs in schools, community centers, and online platforms to inform and engage young voters. These programs should focus on educating youth about political processes, candidates, and issues to empower them to make informed voting decisions.
- ii. **Promote Media Accuracy and Literacy:** Work with media organizations to improve the accuracy and comprehensiveness of political coverage, particularly concerning elections. Additionally, implement media literacy programs to help youth critically evaluate the information they receive and distinguish between reliable and unreliable sources.
- iii. **Foster Political Role Models:** Promote the visibility of inspiring and relatable political role models who can motivate and guide young people in their political journey. Encourage the participation of young leaders in public forums, mentorship programs, and media campaigns to inspire and empower their peers.
- iv. **Expand Opportunities for Political Engagement:** Create more opportunities for youth to actively participate in politics, such as internships with political parties, involvement in youth councils, and participation in community projects. Ensure that political organizations actively seek to involve young people in their activities and decision-making processes.
- v. **Address Systemic Barriers:** Identify and address systemic barriers that prevent youth from engaging in the political process, such as socio-economic disparities, security concerns, and cultural constraints. Implement targeted interventions to reduce these barriers and create a more inclusive political environment for young voters.
- vi. **Support Grassroots Mobilization and Outreach:** Invest in grassroots mobilization and outreach efforts to engage youth directly in political activities and discussions. Organize political rallies, campaigns, and community events that cater to the interests and concerns of young voters, providing opportunities for meaningful participation and interaction with political leaders.

REFERENCE

- Agbaje, A. (2020) "Parties and the 1983 Election Campaigns" In A.A. Akinsanya And J.A. Ayoade (Eds) Reading In Nigerian Government And Politics. Ijebu – Ode Nigeria: Gratia Associates International.
- Akinsanya, A. A. (2005) "Inevitability of Instability In Nigeria" In A. A. Akinsanya And J. A. Ayoade (Eds) Readings In Nigerian Government And Politics. Ijebu-Ode Nigeria Gratia Associates International.
- Almond, G. And Verba, S (1965) *The Civic Culture*. Boston: Little Brown.

- Alvarez, R. Michael; Nagler, Jonathan (2000). "A New Approach For Modelling Strategic Voting In Multiparty Elections". *British Journal of Political Science*. 30: 57–75. Doi:10.1017/S000712340000003X. S2CID 18214677.
- Andreadis, Ioannis; Chadjipadelis, The (2006). *Differences In Voting Behavior (PDF)*. Fukuoka, Japan: Proceedings Of The 20th IPSA World Congress. Pp. 1–13. July 9–13, 2006.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae (November 2003). "Not All Cues Are Created Equal: The Conditional Impact Of Female Candidates On Political Engagement". *The Journal of Politics*. 65 (4): 1040–1061. Doi:10.1111/1468-2508.T01-1-00124. ISSN0022-3816. "Political Participation". Home.Csulb.Edu. Retrieved 2023-05-03.
- Banerjee, Saikat; Ray Chaudhuri, Bibek (2018-01-02). "Influence of Voter Demographics And Newspaper In Shaping Political Party Choice In India: An Empirical Investigation". *Journal Of Political Marketing*.
- Bartels, L.M. (2000). "Partisanship And Voting Behavior, 1952-1996". *American Journal Of Political Science*, 44(1), 35-50. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2669291>
- Beck, PA, Et Al. (2002). *The Social Calculus Of Voting: Interpersonal, Media, And Organizational Influences On Presidential Choices*. *Am Polit Sci Rev* 96 (1): 57–73.
- Becker, Jeffrey A. (1998-01-01). "Book Review: Warren E. Miller And J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), Pp. 624, US\$19.95". *Political Science*. 49 (2): 311–313. Doi:10.1177/003231879804900217. ISSN 0032-3187.
- Ben Milne, (2019) "General Election 2019: "Do People Still Vote According To Class?". *British Broadcasting Corporation*
- Berelson, B.R. Lazarsfeld, P.F And Mphoe, W. N (1954) *Voting A Study Of Opinion Formation In A Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Bergman, Matthew Edward (4 May 2020). "Sorting Between And Within Coalitions: The Italian Case (2001–2008)". *Italian Political Science Review / Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica*. 51: 42–66. Doi:10.1017/Ipo.2020.12. ISSN 0048-8402.
- Breaking Cycles Of Violence: Gaps In Prevention Of And Response To Electoral Related Sexual Violence". OHCHR. Retrieved 2023-05-03.
- Brooks, C., Nieuwebeerta, P., And Manza, J. (2006). "Cleavage-Based Voting Behavior In Cross-National Perspective: Evidence From Six Postwar Democracies". *Social Science Research*, 35, 88–128, 35(1), 88. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2004.06.005>
- Campbell, A. Converse, P.E, Miller, W. E And Stokes, D. E (1960) *The American Voter*. New York: Wilfey.

Campbell, C. M. (1960). *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley.

Campbell, Rosie; Shorrocks, Rosalind (2021-09-10). "Women Voters Taking The Wheel?". *The Political Quarterly*. 92 (4): 652–661. Doi:10.1111/1467-923x.13053. ISSN 0032-3179. S2CID 239444723.

Candidate Characteristics". *Www.Icpsr.Umich.Edu*. Retrieved 2023-05-03.

Caplan, B. (2007). *The Myth Of The Rational Voter: Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies - New Edition (REV-Revised)*. Princeton University Press. Doi:10.2307/J.Ctvcem4gf2

Chiao, Joan Y.; Bowman, Nicholas E.; Gill, Harleen (2008-10-31). Santos, Laurie (Ed.). "The Political Gender Gap: Gender Bias In Facial Inferences That Predict Voting Behavior". *PLOS ONE*. 3 (10): E3666. Bibcode:2008ploso...3.3666C. Doi:10.1371/Journal.Pone.0003666. ISSN 1932-6203. PMC 2573960. PMID 18974841.

Citrin, J. (1974) "Comment: The Political Relevance Of Trust In Government" *The American Political Science Review*, Column 68, Issue 3(Sep.1974), 973-988

Clayton, Amanda; O'Brien, Diana Z.; Piscopo, Jennifer M. (2018-09-25). "All Male Panels? Representation And Democratic Legitimacy". *American Journal Of Political Science*. 63 (1): 113–129. Doi:10.1111/Ajps.12391. ISSN 0092-5853. S2CID 158870325.

Dahl, R And Stinebrickner, B. (2005) *Modern Political Analysis*. Sixth Edition. New Delhi: Prentice Hall.

Dudley, B, (1982) *An Introduction To Nigerian Government And Politics*. London: The Macmillan Press.

Eulau, Heinz; Fiorina, Morris P. (1981). "Retrospective Voting In American National Elections". *Political Science Quarterly*. 96 (4): 671. Doi:10.2307/2149903. ISSN 0032-3195. JSTOR 2149903. S2CID 154631055.

Evaluations of Government Performance". *Www.Icpsr.Umich.Edu*. Retrieved 2023-05-03.

Faria, Giovana (2022-09-13). "Women's Rights: A Year After The Taliban Takeover". *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. Retrieved 2023-05-03.

Flanigan, W. H. And Zingale, N. H. (1998) *Political Behaviour Of The American Electorate* Ninth Edition. Washington DC: CQ Press.

Garuba, D. (2007) "Transition without Change: Elections And Political (In) Stability In Nigeria." In Jega And O. Ibeanu (Eds) *Elections And The Future Of Democracy In Nigeria*. A Publication Of The Nigerian Political Science Association.

Garzia, Diego; Marschall, Stefan (2016). "Research On Voting Advice Applications: State Of The Art And Future Directions". *Policy & Internet*. 8 (4): 376–390. Doi:10.1002/Poi3.140. Hdl:1814/45127.

Gender Differences In Voter Turnout". *Cawp.Rutgers.Edu*. Retrieved 2023-05-03.

- Giger, Nathalie (2009-09-01). "Towards A Modern Gender Gap In Europe?". *The Social Science Journal*. 46 (3): 474–492. Doi:10.1016/J.Soscij.2009.03.002. ISSN 0362-3319. S2CID 6199371.
- Gillespie, Andra; Brown, Nadia E. (2019). "#Blackgirlmagic Demystified: Black Women As Voters, Partisans And Political Actors". *Phylon*. 56 (2): 37–58. ISSN 0031-8906. JSTOR 26855823.
- Glasberg, Davita Silfen; Shannon, Deric (2011). *Political Sociology: Oppression, Resistance, And the State*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press. 56.
- Graber, Doris; Dunaway, Johanna (2014). *Mass Media And American Politics*. CQ Press. ISBN 978-1-4522-8728-7.
- Healy, Andrew J.; Malhotra, Neil; Mo, Cecilia Hyunjung (2010-07-06). "Irrelevant Events Affect Voters' Evaluations Of Government Performance". *Proceedings Of The National Academy Of Sciences*. 107 (29): 12804–12809. Bibcode:2010PNAS..10712804H. Doi:10.1073/Pnas.1007420107. ISSN 0027-8424. PMC 2919954. PMID 20615955.
- How Identity Shapes Voting Behavior". The University Of Chicago Booth School Of Business. Retrieved 2023-05-03.
- Ibeanu, O. (2007) "Introduction: Elections And The Paroxysmal Future Of Democracy In Nigeria" In A. Jega And O. Ibeanu (Eds) *Elections And The Future Of Democracy In Nigeria*. A Publication of The Nigerian Political Science Association.
- INEC 2015 Governorship Election (Declaration Of Results), April 11
- INEC 2015 Presidential Election (Summary Of Results), March 28
- Inglehart, Ronald; Norris, Pippa (2003-04-14). *Rising Tide*. Cambridge University Press. Doi:10.1017/Cbo9780511550362. ISBN 978-0-521-52950-1.
- Inglehart, Ronald; Norris, Pippa (2003-04-14). *Rising Tide: Gender Equality And Cultural Change Around The World* (1 Ed.). Cambridge University Press. Doi:10.1017/Cbo9780511550362. ISBN 978-0-521-52950-1.
- Jenke, Libby; Huettel, Scott A. (November 2016). "Issues Or Identity? Cognitive Foundations Of Voter Choice". *Trends In Cognitive Sciences*. 20 (11): 794–804. Doi:10.1016/J.Tics.2016.08.013. ISSN 1364-6613. PMC 5120865. PMID 27769726.
- Jinadu, A. (2007) "Political Science Elections And Democratic Transitions In Nigeria" In A. Jega and O. Ibeanu (Eds) *Elections And The Future of Democracy in Nigeria*. A Publication of the Nigerian Political Science Association.
- Johari, J. C (2012) *Contemporary Political Theory: New Dimensions, Basic Concepts and Major Trends*. 2nd Edition. New Delhi: Sterling Publication PVT Limited.

- Jonathan E.G. (2015) "I Kept My Word" Speech Conceding Defeat, March 31, 2015.
- Jones, Bradley (2018-03-20). "Wide Gender Gap, Growing Educational Divide In Voters' Party Identification". Pew Research Center - U.S. Politics & Policy. Retrieved 2023-05-03.
- Junn, Jane; Masuoka, Natalie (December 2020). "The Gender Gap Is A Race Gap: Women Voters In US Presidential Elections". *Perspectives on Politics*. 18 (4): 1135–1145. Doi:10.1017/S1537592719003876. ISSN 1537-5927. S2CID 213200599.
- Katz, E. And Lazarsfeld, P.F (1955) *Personal Influence: The Part Played By People In The Flow of Mass Communications*. Glencoe I: Free Press.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul (2016-05-09). "Gender And Political Behavior". *Oxford Research Encyclopedia Of Politics*. Doi:10.1093/Acrefore/9780190228637.013.71. ISBN 978-0-19-022863-7. Retrieved 2023-05-03.
- Kononova, A.; Saleem, A. (2011). "The Role of Media on the Process Of Socialization To American Politics Among International Students". *International Communication Gazette*. 73 (4): 302–321. Doi:10.1177/1748048511398592.
- Kyogoku, Jun'ichi; Ike, Nobutaka (October 1960). "Urban-Rural Differences In Voting Behavior In Postwar Japan". *Economic Development And Cultural Change*. 9 (1): 167–185. Doi:10.1086/449885. JSTOR 1151841. S2CID 154258987.
- Laurison, Daniel; Brown, Hana; Rastogi, Ankit (2021-12-09). "Voting Intersections: Race, Class, And Participation In Presidential Elections In The United States 2008–2016". *Sociological Perspectives*. 65 (4): 768–789. Doi:10.1177/07311214211059136. ISSN 0731-1214. S2CID 250056003.
- Lazarsfeld, A. Berelson, B., And Gaudet, H. (1944) *The People's Choice: How The Voter Makes Up His Mind In A Presidential Campaign*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Manza, Jeff; Brooks, Clem (March 1998). "The Gender Gap In U.S. Presidential Elections: When? Why? Implications?". *American Journal of Sociology*. 103 (5): 1235–1266. Doi:10.1086/231352. ISSN 0002-9602. S2CID 27569701.
- Mohammed, K. (2007) "Counting The Votes And Making The Votes Count: Lessons From Adamawa State". In A. Jega And O. Ibeanu (Eds) *Elections and the Future Of Democracy In Nigeria*. A Publication Of The Nigerian Political Science Association.
- Muhammad Saud, Rachmah Ida & Musta'in Mashud (2020) *Democratic Practices and Youth In Political Participation: A Doctoral Study*, *International Journal Of Adolescence And Youth*, 25:1, 800-808, DOI: 10.1080/02673843.2020.1746676
- Nie, Norman H.; Verba, Sidney; Petrocik, John R. (1979-12-31). *The Changing American Voter*. Doi:10.4159/Harvard.9780674429147. ISBN 9780674429130.

National Bureau of Statistics//<https://www.nigerianstat.gov.ng>

O'Brien, Diana Z.; Reyes-Housholder, Catherine (2020-08-06), "Women And Executive Politics", The Oxford Handbook Of Political Executives, Oxford University Press, 251–272, Doi:10.1093/Oxfordhb/9780198809296.013.26, ISBN 978-0-19-880929-6, Retrieved 2023-03-27

Pallock (1982;1210). "The Relationship Between Information, Ideology And Voting Behavior". American Journal Of Political Science, 31(3), 511-530. DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2111281>

Pearson-Merkowitz, Shanna; Gimpel, James G. (2009-08-19). Religion and Political Socialization. Doi:10.1093/Oxfordhb/9780195326529.003.0006.

Rigueur, Leah Wright (2020-11-21). "The Major Difference between Black Male And Female Voters". The Atlantic. Retrieved 2023-05-04.

Robison, Joshua (December 2021). "What's The Value Of Partisan Loyalty? Partisan Ambivalence, Motivated Reasoning, And Correct Voting In U.S. Presidential Elections". Political Psychology. 42 (6): 977–993. Doi:10.1111/Pops.12729. ISSN 0162-895X. S2CID 199372370.

Schaeffer, Katherine. "Key Facts About Women's Suffrage Around The World, A Century After U.S. Ratified 19th Amendment". Pew Research Center. Retrieved 2023-05-03.

Schofield, P. And Reeves, P. (2014). "Does The Factor Theory Of Satisfaction Explain Political Voting Behavior?", European Journal Of Marketing, Vol. 49 No. 5/6, 968-992, 0309-0566. DOI: 10.1108/EJM-08-2014-0524

Studlar, Donley T.; Mcallister, Ian; Hayes, Bernadette C. (1998). "Explaining The Gender Gap In Voting: A Cross-National Analysis". Social Science Quarterly. 79 (4): 779–798. ISSN 0038-4941. JSTOR 42863847.

Szymanski, Dawn M. (August 2012). "Racist Events And Individual Coping Styles As Predictors Of African American Activism". Journal Of Black Psychology. 38 (3): 342–367. Doi:10.1177/0095798411424744. ISSN 0095-7984. S2CID 145732073.

Teele, Dawn Langan; Kalla, Joshua; Rosenbluth, Frances (August 2018). "The Ties That Double Bind: Social Roles And Women's Underrepresentation In Politics". American Political Science Review. 112 (3): 525–541. Doi:10.1017/S0003055418000217. ISSN 0003-0554. S2CID 216906606.

University Of Michigan. Survey Research Center (1976). The American Voter. Angus Campbell. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press. ISBN 0-226-09253-4. OCLC 2644153.

VAUS, DAVID; Mcallister, IAN (May 1989). "The Changing Politics Of Women: Gender And Political Alignment In 11 Nations". European Journal Of Political Research. 17 (3): 241–262. Doi:10.1111/J.1475-6765.1989.Tb00193.X. ISSN 0304-4130.

- VENTURA, R. (2016). "Family Political Socialization In Multiparty Systems". *Comparative Political Studies*. 34 (6): 666–691. Doi:10.1177/0010414001034006004.
- Yoon, Mi Yung; Okeke, Christol (2019), Franceschet, Susan; Krook, Mona Lena; Tan, Netina (Eds.), "Kenya: Women's Suffrage And Political Participation As Voters", *The Palgrave Handbook Of Women's Political Rights*, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, Pp. 243–256, Doi:10.1057/978-1-137-59074-9_17, ISBN 978-1-137-59074-9, S2CID 158967676, Retrieved 2023-05-03
- Zakaria, Rafia (2019-05-02). "Why Aren't Women a Bigger Force In Indian Elections?". *The New Republic*. ISSN 0028-6583. Retrieved 2023-05-04.