



Evaluation of Social Media in Youth Mobilization for Political Participation. A Study of UNIZIK Students in 2023 General Elections

Ogunbadejo, Samuel Idowu¹, Gloria Nwakego Chukwuemeka (PhD)², Egbue, Constance Ifeyinwa³, Onwugbufor Josephine Oluchi⁴

¹ Lecturer, Department of Mass Communication, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Anambra State.

²Lecturer, Department of Mass Communication, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Anambra State.

³Lecturer, Department of Mass Communication, Federal Polytechnic, Oko, Anambra State.

⁴Lecturer, Department of Mass Communication, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Anambra State.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.51244/IJRSI.2025.12110194>

Received: 04 December 2025; Accepted: 13 December 2025; Published: 25 December 2025

ABSTRACT

This work investigates the Evaluation of social media in Youth Mobilization for Political Participation. A Study of UNIZIK Students in 2023 General Elections. The study aims to identify prevalent social media platforms, evaluate their dominance in political mobilization, assess the effectiveness of social media for youth mobilization, and discern the impact on youth participation. The work anchored on Agenda setting theory as a theoretical framework, utilized Taro Yamane's formula, to get a sample of 400 students drawn from Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka. Analysis of social media effectiveness indicated a general agreement among respondents on the platform's efficacy for mobilizing youths. The impact analysis showed that social media, particularly Twitter, played a significant role in making youths more politically active during the elections. The study therefore underscores the pivotal role of social media, particularly Twitter, in mobilizing and engaging youth during the elections. The findings contribute valuable insights to the broader discourse on the intersection of social media and political participation among youth.

Key words: social media, General elections, Political mobilization, Undergraduate students. Youth participation

INTRODUCTION

Social media have emerged as a significant catalyst in promoting youth participation. The widespread adoption of social media platforms among Nigerian youth has provided them with new avenues for engagement, information and sharing, and mobilisation. Platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram have become hubs for political discussions, news sharing, and information dissemination. Through social media, young people have access to diverse sources of political information, enabling them to stay informed about election campaigns, policy issues, and candidate profiles. Social media's real-time nature and wide reach make it an effective tool for spreading awareness about voter registration, polling locations, and election timelines, ensuring that young people are well-informed and prepared to participate.

The social media have empowered Nigerian youth to mobilise and organise around political causes. Young people now utilise platforms to create and join online communities focused on political participation. These virtual spaces allow for the exchange of ideas, the formation of alliances, and the coordination of collective actions. Hashtags such as #Febuhari used in the 2015 election, #PMB4PLUS4 used in the 2015 elections,



#Atikulated used in the 2019 and 2023 elections, online petitions, and digital campaigns have gained traction helping mobilise young voters and galvanise support for specific candidates or cause.

It is also important to point out how the social media serves as a platform for amplifying the voices of Nigerian youth in political discourse. According to Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (2012, cited in Oyenuga, 2015), the 2011 elections in Nigeria witnessed a remarkable use of the social media for political communication and mobilisation. It was used for campaigns via personal websites, blogs, all social media applications, and several other media. Aside from this, the social media was used equally as a weapon to undermine and even destroy the image of other political parties, especially the People's Democratic Party and All Progressives Party (Apuke & Tunca, 2018b). Social media increased in power and even became a more deadly weapon during the 2015 general election. Many political parties and people have had their reputations damaged by disclosures in the form of films, voice notes, headlines, and broadcasts. For instance, both General Muhammadu Buhari and Senator Bola Tinubu were the targets of hate videos that, in other places, may have put an end to their political aspirations (Oyenuga, 2015).

2015 also witnessed a massive use of social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter and blogs in the general elections in Nigeria. Due to their participatory, interactive and cost-effective nature, social media has become veritable and significant instruments for political campaign planners in carrying out election campaigns and other electioneering activities, political engagement and mobilisation among others. Thus, the place of social media in rallying political support is no longer in doubt (Chinedu-Okeke, Chinonye & Obi, 2016).

In the recent 2023 elections in Nigeria, social media was also a driving force and led to the creation of the "Obidient" movement. This began when Peter Obi, a popular candidate among the youth, was prevented from winning the People Democratic Party (PDP) ticket. Obi's young supporters calling themselves "Obidients" rallied around him as he ran under the Labor Party. Peter Obi's relatable speeches and reputation for frugality and accountability attracted young people. His campaign made effective use of social media platforms to engage Nigerian youths. They shared relatable contents focusing on issues important to them, such as unemployment, education, and corruption.

Conceptual Definition of Term

Social Media: These are various social media platforms which were used for mobilization during the election

General elections: This refers to the 2023 General elections conducted in Nigeria.

Political mobilization: Political mobilization is the process of rallying and organizing people to take political action.

Undergraduate students: These are students of Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka

Youth participation: This involves the level of active participation of youth in the general election

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The social media have reshaped various aspects of human communication and have revolutionized political mobilisation, particularly among youths, providing them with new platforms for participation and engagement. Social media has become so powerful that any political actor discountenancing them does so at his own peril. Although it has not totally replaced the traditional media as the fulcrum of political activism, it is the melting point of political debates and the crucibles of political wrestling in recent times.



It is on this premise that this research aims to identify the dominant platforms employed for mobilising youths and determine the impact of social media on youth participation in the electoral process.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of this study is to ascertain the role of social media as a political mobilisation tool for youth participation in the 2023 general elections. Against this backdrop, the researcher deems it fit to examine the following specific objectives:

1. To determine the dominant social media platforms employed for mobilising youths during the 2023 general elections and which of these carried the highest volume of mobilization messages
2. To determine the impact of social media on youth participation in the 2023 general elections.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to aid the investigation of this research, the following research questions are posed:

1. Which social media platform was most dominant in youth political mobilization and carried the highest volume of mobilization messages during the elections?
2. What is the impact of social media on Nnamdi Azikiwe University students' participation in the 2023 general elections?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Media And Political Mobilization

According to Krishnan and Sethuramalingam (2017) the term youth is used casually in everyday life. However, in terms of research and policy decisions, the meaning must be accurate. The Commonwealth Youth Programme (The Commonwealth, 2016) considers youths to be those who are between the age of 15 and 29 years.

Young people and teenagers have been cruelly thrust into the visual world by the advent of information and communication technology (ICT). Teenagers and young adults of today spend hours browsing the internet, interacting with others, and socialising on various social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, LinkedIn, YouTube, Pinterest, Google+, Tumblr, and Instagram, among others. As they are more concerned with Facebook friends, YouTube videos, postings, tweets, and other online contact than they are with in-person friends, this has grown to be a significant aspect of their lives (Ismail, 2021). Singh, Amiri, and Sabbarwal (2017) states that "today, youths are defining users of social media. Social media made available the platform for youths to build social networks or social relationship among people".

Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen, and Wollebæk (2013) explain that political mobilization refers to "the process by which candidates, parties, activists, and groups induce other people to participate" in politics "to win elections, to pass bills, to modify rulings, and to influence policies". Political organizations may contact people and provide a specific "opportunity for political action" In most instances; mobilization is a key prerequisite before any participation can occur.

Political mobilization refers to the organized efforts by political parties, candidates, or advocacy groups to engage and motivate individuals to participate in political activities or support a specific political cause. It involves the process of encouraging people to become politically active, such as registering to vote, volunteering for a campaign, attending rallies or protests, or simply becoming informed about political issues. Political



mobilization is a key element of democratic societies and plays a vital role in shaping political outcomes, as it seeks to mobilize citizens to exercise their rights and influence the political process through various means, including voter turnout, grassroots organizing, and advocacy efforts. Subscribing to this Conway (n.d.) perceives political mobilization as “those processes by which individuals are induced to participate in politics.”

Political mobilisation holds immense importance in the context of democratic societies. At its core, it serves as a linchpin for citizen participation in the political process. By encouraging individuals to actively engage in activities such as voting, attending rallies, and joining political campaigns, it bolsters the very foundations of democracy itself. Through these actions, citizens exercise their right to have a say in the governance of their nation. One of the most critical aspects of political mobilization is its role in holding elected officials accountable. When citizens are actively engaged and mobilized, they become vigilant watchdogs, scrutinizing the actions and decisions of their representatives. This heightened scrutiny acts as a powerful deterrent against corruption and abuse of power, helping to maintain the integrity of democratic institutions (Paget, 2019).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Agenda-Setting Theory

Agenda-setting theory suggests that media institutions shape political debates by determining what issues are most important and featuring them in news broadcasts. It describes the media as the main entity that selects what news stories to report and prioritise based on what they think people might care about. Since the media filters and shapes what the audience sees, this can impact how they perceive cultural, social and political news stories. The media provides access to information that they consider the most relevant to society and that'll have the most influence over them (Zain, 2014).

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

For this study, a quantitative research design will be employed, specifically utilising the survey research method. The choice of this design is driven by the need for descriptive research, which primarily focuses on collecting and analysing data to describe, evaluate, or compare current practices, events and occurrences. The survey design will facilitate the collection of data necessary to address the research questions posed by this study.

Population

Based on data obtained from the Academic Planning Unit of the school, the current population of undergraduate students at the Nnamdi Azikiwe University as at the 2022/2023 academic session stands at 37,970 individuals.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

A sample of 396 which was then approximated to 400 was drawn from the population of 37,970. This sample had been arrived at using Taro Yamane's formula for determining sample size.

$$n = N / (1 + N[e]^2)$$

$$\text{Thus } n = 37,970 / (1 + 37,970 [0.05]^2)$$

$$n = 37,970 / (1 + 37,970 (0.0025))$$

$$n = 37,970 / (1 + 94.925)$$



n= 37,970 / 95.925

n= 395.8

n= 396

Therefore, the statistics of questionnaires to be distributed for this empirical investigation is thus 400 after being approximated. This thus constitutes the sample frame of the study.

The simple random sampling technique was used for the multi-stage sampling procedure to select 400 respondents from the study population of 37,970.

Data Collection Instrument

The instrument for data collection was a structured questionnaire designed by the researcher to generate quantitative data relevant to the study's research questions. The questionnaire was considered appropriate because it enabled the collection of standardized responses from a large undergraduate population within a limited time frame and allowed for statistical analysis using descriptive techniques. The questionnaire was structured in two main sections, corresponding directly to the research questions and method of data analysis:

Section A: Social Media Platforms for Youth Political Mobilisation

This section contained multiple-choice items designed to answer Research Question One, which examined the dominance and use of social media platforms in youth political mobilisation during the elections. Respondents were required to indicate the social media platform they perceived as most dominant, most active in mobilization messages, and most used by politicians.

Responses in this section were analysed using frequencies and simple percentages, as reflected in Tables 1

Section B: Social Media Impact and Political Participation

This section addressed Research Question Two, which examined the impact of social media on students' political participation during the 2023 general elections. It consisted of four Likert-scale statements measuring different dimensions of participation, including political awareness, news sharing, political engagement, and online discourse.

Items in this section were structured on a four-point Likert scale as follows:

- Strongly Agree (SA) – 4
- Agree (A) – 3
- Disagree (D) – 2
- Strongly Disagree (SD) – 1

The forced-choice format was adopted to discourage neutral responses and ensure clearer attitudinal positioning by respondents. Responses from this section were analysed using mean scores, supported by frequency and percentage distributions.



Validity of the Instrument

To ensure that the questionnaire adequately measured the variables under investigation, face and content validity were established. The instrument was subjected to expert evaluation by two lecturers in Mass Communication and one specialist in Measurement and Evaluation.

The experts assessed the questionnaire in terms of:

- relevance of items to the research questions,
- clarity and appropriateness of wording,
- adequacy of item coverage for social media usage and political participation, and
- suitability of the response formats for quantitative analysis.

Based on their observations, minor revisions were made to item phrasing and sequencing to enhance clarity and eliminate ambiguity. This validation process ensured that the questionnaire items were sufficiently aligned with the study objectives and capable of generating valid data for analysis.

Reliability of the Instrument

The reliability of the questionnaire was determined through a pilot study conducted among 40 undergraduate students from a university outside the study area but with similar characteristics to the main study population. Data obtained from the pilot test were analysed using the Cronbach's Alpha reliability test. The reliability analysis produced a coefficient of 0.78, which exceeds the minimum acceptable threshold of 0.70 recommended for social science research. This result indicates that the instrument demonstrated a satisfactory level of internal consistency and was reliable for the main study.

Method of Data Analysis

Data collected from the study were analysed using descriptive statistical techniques, in line with the research questions and nature of the variables. Specifically:

- Research Question One was analysed using frequencies and simple percentages, which enabled clear comparison of the dominance and use of different social media platforms for youth political mobilisation.
- Research Question Two was analysed using arithmetic mean scores, supported by frequency and percentage distributions.

A decision rule of 2.5 was adopted as the mean benchmark, based on the four-point Likert scale. Any item with a mean score below 2.5 was regarded as *rejected*, while items with mean scores equal to or above 2.5 were regarded as *accepted*. This approach ensured objective interpretation of respondents' perceptions of social media's role in political participation.

Data Presentation and Analysis of Research Question

In this section, the four research questions shall be answered, the questionnaires were analyzed towards answering each question.



Research Question one: Which social media platform was most dominant in youth political mobilization and carried the highest volume of mobilization messages during the elections?

Table 1: Dominant Social Media Platforms for Youth Political Mobilization during the Elections

Social Media Platform	Dominant Platform for Mobilization (Q1) F (%)	Platform with Most Mobilization Messages (Q2) F (%)
WhatsApp	24 (6.0%)	34 (8.5%)
Facebook	131 (32.8%)	158 (39.5%)
Twitter (X)	214 (53.5%)	190 (47.5%)
Instagram	28 (7.0%)	18 (4.5%)
Others	3 (0.7%)	– (0.0%)
Total	400 (100%)	400 (100%)

The data in Table 1 reveal a clear pattern regarding the role of social media platforms in youth political mobilization during the elections. Across both indicators—dominance in mobilizing youths and volume of mobilization messages—Twitter (X) emerged as the most influential platform. More than half of the respondents (53.5%) identified Twitter as the dominant platform for mobilizing youths, while a similarly high proportion (47.5%) indicated that it carried the highest volume of youth mobilization messages.

Facebook ranked consistently second on both measures, accounting for 32.8% of responses on dominance and 39.5% on message volume. This suggests that while Facebook remains a significant mobilization space, its influence was secondary to that of Twitter during the election period. WhatsApp and Instagram recorded comparatively low levels of youth mobilization, indicating that these platforms played more supportive or interpersonal roles rather than serving as major political mobilization hubs.

Taken together, the findings demonstrate that youth political mobilization during the elections was highly centralized on open, discourse-driven platforms, particularly Twitter, where political conversations, hashtags, and real-time engagement are more visible and easily amplified. The convergence of dominance and message volume on Twitter underscores its strategic importance in mobilizing young voters and shaping political participation during the electoral process.

RQ 2: What is the impact of social media on Nnamdi Azikiwe University students' participation in the 2023 general elections?

Table 2: Impact of Social Media on UNIZIK Students' Participation in the 2023 General Elections

S/N	Item	SA (4) % (F)	A (3) % (F)	D (2) % (F)	SD (1) % (F)	Total (%) (N)	Mean (X)	Verdict
1	I followed political news on social	43% (172)	53% (212)	4% (16)	0% (0)	100% (400)	3.3	Accepted

	media during the electioneering period							
2	I became aware of political news through social media	51.25% (205)	44.75% (179)	4% (16)	0% (0)	100% (400)	3.4	Accepted
3	I shared political news on social media	44% (176)	43% (172)	12% (48)	1% (4)	100% (400)	3.3	Accepted
4	Social media helped me become more politically active during the elections	45% (180)	47.75% (191)	7% (28)	0.25% (1)	100% (400)	3.3	Accepted
5	I commented and participated in political discourse on social media	39.25% (157)	50.5% (202)	9.5% (38)	0.75% (3)	100% (400)	3.2	Accepted
Cluster Mean							3.3	Accepted

Decision rule: Mean ≥ 2.50 = Accepted

Table 2 presents a composite analysis of students' engagement with political activities on social media during the 2023 general elections. Across the five indicators examined, responses show consistently high levels of agreement, with mean scores ranging from 3.2 to 3.4, all exceeding the decision benchmark of 2.50. Specifically, a substantial majority of respondents indicated that they followed political news (96%) and became aware of political information (96%) through social media platforms. This suggests that social media served as a primary channel for political information dissemination among UNIZIK students during the electioneering period. Beyond information exposure, students also demonstrated active political engagement, as evident in their sharing of political news (87%), participation in online political discourse (89.75%), and increased political activity facilitated by social media (92.75%). The cluster mean score of 3.3 confirms that social media had a significant and positive impact on students' political participation in the 2023 general elections. This impact goes beyond passive consumption of information to include interactive and participatory behaviours such as commenting, sharing, and engaging in political discussions. In practical terms, social media functioned as a mobilising space—similar to a digital town square—where students not only received political messages but also debated issues, expressed opinions, and became more politically conscious. Overall, the findings indicate that social media played a critical role in enhancing political awareness, engagement, and participation among Nnamdi Azikiwe University students during the 2023 general elections, thereby answering Research Question 4 affirmatively.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings of this study revealed some interesting fact-based data gathered through the research instrument. Discussion of the study's findings will be done in line with the objectives of the study and more specifically the research questions.



Research question one which sought to find out which social media platforms were the most dominant in mobilizing Nnamdi Azikiwe University students during the 2023 general elections. The data collected showed that Twitter was the most dominant platform in mobilizing youths for political participation with 53.5% of the respondents affirming this. 47.5% of the respondents also agreed that Twitter was the platform which had the most youth mobilization messages. The social media platform which was used the most by politicians to mobilize and solicit for youth votes was Twitter with 48.5% followed closely by Facebook with 43.3%. the social media platform used by political parties the most to mobilize youths during the election was Twitter with 49.5% of the respondents agreeing, followed by Facebook with 40% of the respondents agreeing.

These statistics show that Twitter and Facebook were the most dominant platform in mobilizing youths during the 2023 general elections.

Research question two sought to find out the impact of social media on Nnamdi Azikiwe University students' participation in the 2023 general elections. To answer this research question, 43% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that they followed political news on social media, while 53% of respondents 'Agreed' to it. 53.25% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that they became aware of political news through social media, while 44.75% of respondents 'Agreed' to it. 44% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that they shared political news on social media, while 43% of respondents 'Agreed' to it. 45% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that social media helped them become more politically active, while 47.75% of respondents 'Agreed' to it. 39.25% of respondents 'Strongly Agreed' that they commented and participated in political discourse on social media, while 50.5% of respondents 'Agreed' to it.

These statistics shows that social media had a great impact on the participation of youths in the 2023 general election.

The findings above align with the broader empirical landscape on the role of social media in political mobilization. Schwarz's (2014) study, which focused on the Middle East, echoes the discovered influence of online social networks in mobilizing offline protests. Similarly, Aleyomi and Ajakaiye's (2012) examination of social media use in Nigeria's 2011 elections, especially by INEC and political figures, resonates with the observed impact of social media on youth participation in the 2023 general elections.

The study by Theocharis and Garcia-albacete (2015), comparing social media's role in occupation movements in Spain, Greece, and the United States, is reflected in the dominance of Twitter and Facebook in mobilizing Nnamdi Azikiwe University students. The emphasis on disseminating information and expressing political statements through social media aligns with the identified use of Twitter as a dominant platform for mobilizing youths.

The Egyptian uprising case study by Storck (2014) and Breuer's (2013) examination of the Tunisian uprising highlight the dual role of social media in coordinating and creating awareness, mirroring the multifaceted impact observed in the 2023 general elections among Nnamdi Azikiwe University students.

Additionally, the findings resonate with Okeke, Chinonye, and Obi's (2016) study on youth involvement in the electioneering process in South-East Nigeria, affirming the significant effect of political campaigns through social media on the electorate's decision-making and participation.

Furthermore, the studies by Raacke and Bonds-Raacke (2013) and Van Den Broeck, Pierson, and Lievens (2014), which highlight the frequent use of social media by young individuals, correlate with the predominant use of social media platforms among Nnamdi Azikiwe University students observed in the present study.

In essence, the empirical evidence reviewed provides a broader context for understanding the impact of social media on political mobilization. The findings of this study reinforce and contextualize these broader trends within the specific setting of the 2023 general elections at Nnamdi Azikiwe University.



Based on the findings of this study, it has been established that social media is an impactful tool for mobilization of youths for political participation. Social media was very effective for mobilizing youths during the elections. It also influenced the awareness and understanding of political candidates and issues by youths. Social also motivated youths to vote and to go for campaign activities. Youths also testified to following political news via social media, becoming aware of political news through social media, sharing political news on social media and social media making them more political active.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher recommends that:

1. Recognizing the dynamic nature of social media trends, it is essential for political entities to monitor the evolving preferences of the youth. Regularly assessing the effectiveness of strategies, adapting to emerging platforms, and staying attuned to shifts in user behavior will be crucial for sustained success.
2. Based on the dominance of Twitter and Facebook in mobilizing youths during the 2023 general elections, political actors, parties, and mobilization campaigns should tailor their strategies to these platforms. Emphasizing engagement, information dissemination, and mobilization efforts on Twitter and Facebook can enhance effectiveness.
3. Given that social media strongly influences respondents' awareness and understanding of political candidates and issues, there is an opportunity for political actors to enhance educational campaigns on these platforms. Providing clear, unbiased information can contribute to a more informed electorate.

CONCLUSION

This study finds out that social media are a veritable means of political mobilization, especially among the youth. Therefore, it is the position of this paper that politicians should not neglect the place of Social media, especially Facebook and Twitter in subsequent elections.

REFERENCES

1. Aleyomi, M. B., & Ajakaiye, O. O. P. (2014). The impact of social media on citizens' mobilization and participation in Nigeria's 2011 general elections. *ResearchGate*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305991599_The_Impact_of_Social_Media_on_Citizens'&apo;s_Mobilization_and_Participation_in_Nigeria's_2011_General_Elections.
2. Apuke, O. D., & Tunca, E. A. (2018b, December 30). Social Media and Crisis Management: A review and analysis of existing studies. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/euljss/issue/42553/512874>.
3. Ayankoya, K., Calitz, A. P., & Cullen, M. D. M. (2015). A FRAMEWORK FOR THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA FOR POLITICAL MARKETING: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY. *ResearchGate*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282441999_A_FRAMEWORK_FOR_THE_USE_OF_SOCIAL_MEDIA_FOR_POLITICAL_MARKETING_AN_EXPLORATORY_STUDY.
4. Baym, N. K. (2015). Social media and the struggle for society. *Social Media and Society*, 1(1), 205630511558047. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115580477>
5. Breuer, A. (2013). The Role of social media in Mobilizing Political Protest: Evidence from the Tunisian Revolution. *Social Science Research Network*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2179030>
6. Chinedu-Okeke, Obi, & Chinonye, F. (2016). Social Media as A Political Platform in Nigeria: A Focus on Electorates in South-Eastern Nigeria. Retrieved from <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Social-Media-As-A-Political-Platform-In-Nigeria-%3A-A-Chinedu-Okeke-Faith/048535acd441bba75f27f54e3102a83580cf067a>



7. Conway, M. M. (n.d.). Political parties and political mobilization. *American Review of Politics*, 14, 549–563. <https://doi.org/10.15763/issn.2374-7781.1993.14.0.549-563>
8. Davis, J. L. (2016). Social media. *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118541555.wbiepc004>
9. Enjolras, B., Steen-Johnsen, K., & Wollebæk, D. (2013). Social media and mobilization to offline demonstrations: Transcending participatory divides? *New Media & Society*, 15(6), 890–908. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444812462844>