JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

"That This Energy Must Not Be Dissipated": A Historical Study of Youth Movements, Economic, and Political Participation in Suburban Lagos

By

Jamiu Kolawole AUDU, PhD
Department of History and Diplomatic Studies,
Tai Solarin Federal University of Education, Ijagun, Nigeria
audujk@tasued.edu.ng 08062814340
&
Omolara Dorcas OGUNOYE
Department of Geography and Environmental Management,
Tai Solarin Federal University of Education, Ijagun, Nigeria
Ogunoyeod@tasued.edu.ng 08051494271
&
Oluwafolake Omolade MICHO
Department of History and Diplomatic Studies,
Tai Solarin Federal University of Education, Ijagun, Nigeria.
michooo@tasued.edu.ng 08131653831

DOI: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.22833330

Abstract

Youth movements have historically constituted one of the most dynamic forces in Nigeria's political and socio-economic development, yet their contributions within the rapidly urbanising communities of suburban Lagos have received comparatively limited historical attention. Existing scholarship has largely concentrated on nationalist politics, student activism, and contemporary protest movements while paying insufficient attention to the historical relationship between youth economic participation, community mobilisation, and democratic engagement across suburban settlements. This study examined the evolution of youth movements and analysed their contributions to economic development, political participation, and civic engagement in suburban Lagos from the colonial period to the Fourth Republic. Particular attention was paid to communities including Agege, Mushin, Ikeja, Ajeromi-Ifelodun, Oshodi-Isolo, Alimosho, and Ikorodu, whose rapid demographic expansion transformed them into significant centres of youth mobilisation and political activity. Employing a qualitative historical research design, the study relied on documentary sources comprising archival materials, government publications, scholarly books, peer-reviewed journal articles, newspapers, policy reports, and historical records. The analysis adopted Political Opportunity Structure Theory and Social Capital Theory to explain how changing political environments, associational life, and economic conditions shaped youth participation across different historical periods. The findings revealed that youth organisations contributed substantially to anti-colonial nationalism, community development, democratic struggles, informal economic growth, and contemporary digital activism. The paper argued that youth political participation cannot be understood separately from economic opportunities and community-based social organisation. It concluded that sustainable democratic development in Lagos requires stronger investment in youth employment, entrepreneurship, civic education, institutional participation, and transparent governance. The article contributed to historical scholarship by integrating political history, urban history, and economic history into a comprehensive interpretation of youth agency in

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

suburban Lagos and demonstrates how historical experiences continue to shape contemporary democratic participation.

Keywords: Youth movements, agency, suburban Lagos, political participation, economic, democratic governance

Introduction

The historical development of Lagos State has been inseparable from the energy, innovation, and resilience of its youthful population. Throughout Nigeria's modern history, young people have occupied strategic positions in economic production, political mobilisation, social transformation, and community development. As the country's foremost commercial metropolis, Lagos State has continually attracted migrants from different parts of Nigeria and from neighbouring West African countries, thereby creating one of Africa's most diverse urban societies. The transformation of Lagos from a coastal settlement into a major colonial port and commercial Centre was accompanied by increasing migration, educational development, commercial expansion and the emergence of new social groups. These processes profoundly altered the city's social and political landscape and created new spaces for political organisation and civic participation (Law, 2019; Smith, 1974). This demographic expansion generated new opportunities for youth participation while simultaneously producing new forms of exclusion, unemployment and political contestation. Although considerable scholarly attention has been devoted to Lagos State as Nigeria's commercial capital, relatively limited historical analysis has examined how youth movements in suburban communities have shaped both democratic participation and local economic development. Studies of communities such as Agege demonstrate that youth associations, occupational groups, residential organisations and other local institutions have historically participated in the management of urban affairs and community interests (Olukoju, 2006). This paper therefore investigates the historical evolution of youth movements in suburban Lagos and analyses their contributions to political participation, economic engagement and civic activism from the colonial period to the contemporary democratic era.

Lagos occupies a distinctive position within Nigerian history. Following the British annexation of Lagos in 1861, the city developed from a coastal commercial settlement into a British colonial centre, an important Atlantic port and a major commercial gateway to the

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

Yoruba hinterland. The establishment of colonial administrative institutions, Christian missionary activities, schools, newspapers and modern commercial enterprises significantly transformed the social and political character of the city (Law, 2019; Smith, 1974). By the late nineteenth century, Lagos had become a major West African port, while road and railway connections increasingly linked it to its agricultural hinterland. These developments facilitated the movement of people, commodities, information and political ideas between Lagos and surrounding territories (Law, 2019). The growth of educational institutions and an increasingly literate African population also encouraged the development of newspapers and political associations. Indeed, by the early colonial period, Lagos possessed a growing literate public capable of engaging in debates concerning identity, political rights and colonial administration (Hoganson, 2020).

The concentration of educational institutions, newspapers, voluntary associations, professional organisations and commercial enterprises subsequently created fertile conditions for the emergence of politically conscious African organisations. The formation of the Lagos Youth Movement in 1934, which became the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) in 1936, represented an important stage in this development. The movement initially emerged from concerns surrounding educational opportunities, particularly the status of Yaba Higher College, but it soon developed into a broader political organisation concerned with African representation and constitutional reform. By 1938, the NYM had become a major force in Lagos politics and had challenged the established political dominance of Herbert Macaulay's Nigerian National Democratic Party (Falola & Heaton, 2008; Okafor, 1989). Arifalo (1986) similarly demonstrated that the Nigerian Youth Movement was one of the earliest organisations to attempt to bring politically conscious Nigerians under a common nationalist platform. Thus, colonial Lagos provided an important institutional and intellectual environment within which youth activism could develop from educational and professional grievances into wider nationalist mobilisation.

Urbanisation further transformed these processes during the twentieth century. Population growth, industrialisation, improvements in transport infrastructure and the expansion of public administration progressively extended Lagos beyond its colonial core into rapidly developing mainland and suburban settlements. The expansion of transport networks was

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

particularly important in connecting the colonial township with areas such as Agege, Mushin, Ikeja and Oshodi. By the late colonial period, the growth of institutions around Igbobi and Ikeja and the expansion of satellite communities such as Mushin and Oshodi had generated increasing demand for transport services and demonstrated the rapid spatial expansion of metropolitan Lagos (Olukoju, 2003). Agege, in particular, developed as a multi-ethnic and densely populated urban community whose political history involved interactions among traditional institutions, local government authorities, occupational associations, religious organisations, residential groups and youth associations (Olukoju, 2006). Unlike the colonial administrative districts on Lagos Island, suburban Lagos increasingly reflected the everyday experiences of working-class residents, migrants and informal-sector entrepreneurs. Consequently, youth participation within these communities became intertwined with employment, housing, education, transport, neighbourhood governance, security and community development rather than being confined to national electoral politics.

Youth have historically represented one of Nigeria's most important demographic and developmental constituencies. However, the definition of youth has varied across Nigerian policy frameworks and international institutions. The National Youth Policy 2019 adopted a youth age bracket of 15–29 years, representing a revision from the broader 18–35 age range used in the earlier policy framework (Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development [FMYSD], 2019). The significance of young people within Nigeria's demographic and economic structure has consequently generated increasing scholarly and policy interest in their participation in governance, employment, entrepreneurship and development. The International Labour Organization's recent assessment of Nigeria's youth labour market indicates that young Nigerians continue to face significant difficulties in the transition from education to decent and productive employment (O'Higgins et al., 2024). These difficulties are particularly significant in urban areas, where young people frequently depend upon informal economic activities when formal employment opportunities are inadequate. Recent scholarship similarly observes that young Nigerians have increasingly turned to informal retail, transport, construction, small-scale enterprises and other livelihood activities as responses to unemployment and weak labour-market opportunities (Iwuoha & Akinyemi, 2024).

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

In many African societies, youth therefore constitute both a developmental resource and a politically strategic constituency. Their numerical strength, educational aspirations, organisational capacity and increasing access to communication technologies have enabled them to influence elections, policy debates, social movements and community development initiatives. Conversely, widespread unemployment, poverty, inadequate educational opportunities and political marginalisation have rendered sections of the youth population vulnerable to political manipulation, electoral violence and other forms of social insecurity. The International Labour Organization's recent analysis of Nigeria's youth employment situation stresses the continuing difficulties associated with school-to-work transitions, decent employment and economic security among young Nigerians (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2023, 2024). The historical relationship between youth agency, economic opportunity and democratic governance therefore remains central to understanding Nigeria's political development.

Within Lagos State, youth mobilisation assumed multiple forms across successive historical periods. During the colonial era, educated young Nigerians participated actively in nationalist organisations that demanded constitutional reform, improved educational opportunities and greater African representation in public administration. The Nigerian Youth Movement provides a particularly important example. Originally established in Lagos as the Lagos Youth Movement in 1934, it broadened its objectives and membership after becoming the Nigerian Youth Movement in 1936. By the late 1930s, it had developed into a significant nationalist organisation and successfully challenged established political interests in Lagos (Falola & Heaton, 2008; Okafor, 1989). The experience of the NYM illustrates how educational grievances and professional concerns could become channels through which young Nigerians entered wider political struggles. Youth activism also continued into the post-colonial period through student organisations, labour movements, civil-society organisations and pro-democracy campaigns. Particularly during periods of military rule, when conventional party politics was restricted or suspended, universities and student organisations became important sites of political contestation. The broader history of Nigerian political mobilisation demonstrates that organised groups outside formal electoral institutions repeatedly provided alternative avenues through which citizens could articulate demands for social justice, constitutional government and accountability. The continuity

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

between colonial nationalist mobilisation and later forms of youth activism is therefore important, although the social composition, organisational structures and political objectives of youth movements changed considerably over time.

However, youth political participation has never existed independently of economic realities. Economic conditions have consistently shaped the capacity of young people to organise collectively, pursue educational advancement and participate effectively in democratic governance. Nigeria's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), introduced in 1986, was associated with major changes in the country's economic structure and contributed to the expansion and diversification of the urban informal economy (Onyebueke & Geyer, 2011). The growth of informal employment became particularly significant in cities, where declining formal employment opportunities encouraged many households and young people to depend upon informal economic activities for survival. Contemporary research similarly identifies unemployment, limited social protection and inadequate formal employment opportunities as important factors encouraging young Nigerians to enter informal work (O'Higgins et al., 2024; Iwuoha & Akinyemi, 2024). Many young people consequently entered informal occupations including transportation, artisan, petty trading, construction, tailoring, food processing and small-scale entrepreneurship. Such activities have provided important livelihood opportunities and have contributed significantly to the functioning of urban economies, but they have frequently been characterised by limited access to credit, weak institutional protection, insecure earnings and inadequate social protection (Onyebueke & Geyer, 2011). The relationship between economic insecurity and political participation is consequently complex. On the one hand, informal economic activities can provide young people with a degree of economic independence and social agency; on the other hand, persistent unemployment, poverty and political exclusion may increase susceptibility to patronage, clienteles and political manipulation. Recent Nigerian scholarship has therefore emphasised the need to understand youth unemployment not simply as an economic problem but also as a social and political challenge affecting the ability of young people to participate meaningfully in national development (Iwuoha & Akinyemi, 2024).

The contemporary significance of youth participation became particularly evident during Nigeria's democratic transition and the subsequent expansion of digital activism. The

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

restoration of civilian rule in 1999 reopened political opportunities through political parties, civil-society organisations, community associations and electoral institutions. At the same time, the rapid expansion of mobile communication and social media created new channels through which young Nigerians could communicate grievances, mobilise supporters and coordinate collective action. The #EndSARS movement of October 2020 represented a major watershed in this development. Research on the movement demonstrates that Nigerian youths used Twitter and other digital platforms to document police abuses, construct collective identities, and coordinate protests and articulate demands for police and institutional reform (Abimbade et al., 2022; Dambo et al., 2022). The #EndSARS experience also demonstrated that contemporary youth mobilisation could move beyond the boundaries of conventional political organisations. Young Nigerians utilised digital platforms not merely for communication but for fundraising, humanitarian coordination, dissemination of information and the construction of alternative narratives concerning governance and police accountability. Adeniyi (2022) found that #EndSARS protesters used digital affordances to frame grievances, identify injustice, mobilise participants and articulate solutions to problems of police violence and poor governance. Similarly, Abimbade et al. (2022) demonstrated that Nigerian youths employed social media strategically to organise and sustain protest activities, while Dambo et al. (2022) highlighted both the possibilities and limitations of digital activism within Nigeria's political environment. More recent research on mobile social networking and Nigerian protest movements has further shown how mobile technologies have been used to document participation, disseminate grievances and sustain collective mobilisation beyond the immediate protest period.

These developments underscore the changing character of youth activism while simultaneously revealing important continuities with earlier traditions of anti-colonial nationalism, student protest and democratic advocacy. From the Lagos Youth Movement of the 1930s to contemporary digital campaigns such as #EndSARS, young Nigerians have repeatedly created alternative platforms through which they have challenged established political arrangements and demanded greater accountability. What has changed is principally the organisational technology, scale and speed of mobilisation. Colonial-era activists relied on newspapers, associations, public meetings and electoral organisations, whereas contemporary youth movements can combine physical demonstrations with digital networks

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

capable of rapidly disseminating information across Lagos, Nigeria and the global Nigerian diaspora (Abimbade et al., 2022; Dambo et al., 2022). The historical trajectory therefore suggested that youth movements should not be understood merely as temporary reactions to political or economic crises. Rather, they constitute enduring components of Nigeria's political and socio-economic history, with Lagos serving as one of the most important arenas in which youthful political consciousness, economic adaptation and civic activism have developed.

Literature Review

The concept of youth has remained both historically dynamic and socially constructed, reflecting variations across cultural, political and institutional contexts. While biological age often serves as a convenient measure of youthfulness, scholars increasingly argue that youth should be understood as a transitional socio-political category shaped by education, employment, economic independence and civic responsibility rather than chronological age alone (Honwana, 2012.) In Nigeria, the revised National Youth Policy defines youths as persons between the ages of 18 and 35 years (Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development (FMYSD, 2019). This definition recognises the prolonged transition from education to employment that characterises many developing societies, where delayed economic independence frequently extends the period of youth beyond conventional demographic classifications.

Political participation similarly extends beyond voting during elections. Contemporary scholarship increasingly conceptualises political participation as encompassing every legitimate activity through which citizens influence governmental decisions, public policy and collective governance (Verba et al., 1995; Dalton, 2020). Such participation includes electoral engagement, political-party membership, civic associations, advocacy campaigns, community development initiatives, public demonstrations and increasingly digital activism. Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) argued that meaningful political participation depends largely upon citizens' access to resources, civic skills and institutional opportunities rather than merely their willingness to engage in politics. Their Civic Voluntarism Model remains influential because it demonstrates how education, income and social networks significantly shape patterns of democratic participation across societies. Within African contexts, youth

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

political participation has acquired additional significance because of the continent's youthful demographic structure.

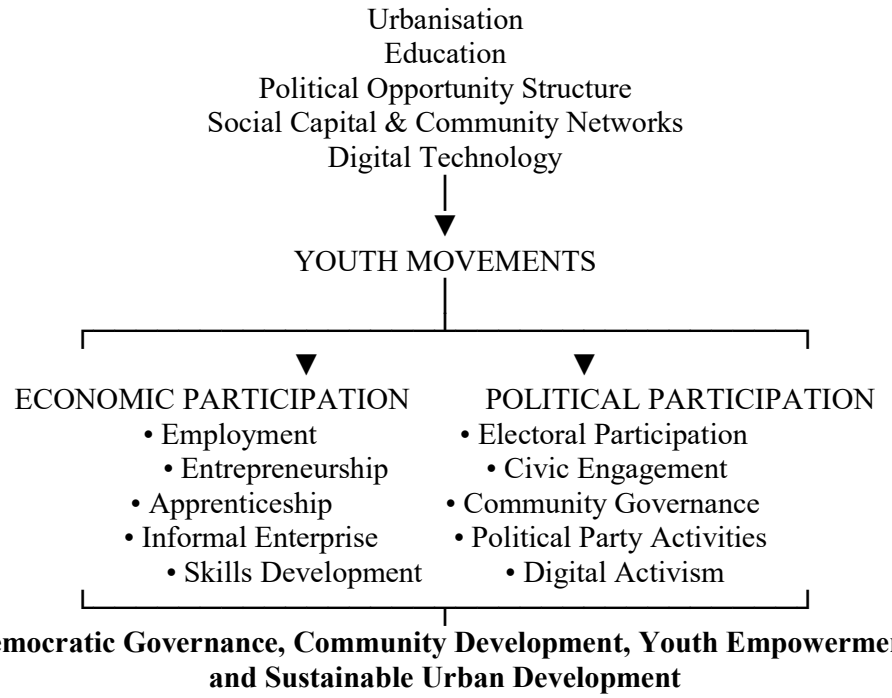
According to the United Nations (2022), Africa possesses the youngest population globally, with approximately 70 per cent of sub-Saharan Africa's population below the age of thirty. This demographic profile has generated growing scholarly interest in youth agency, democratic governance and political inclusion (Resnick & Casale, 2014; Honwana, 2012). While earlier scholarship frequently portrayed African youths as politically marginal or economically dependent, more recent studies emphasise their capacity to influence democratic transitions, policy reforms and community development through formal and informal political engagement.

Historical evidence demonstrates that Nigerian youths have consistently played influential roles in political transformation. During the colonial era, educated youths contributed significantly to nationalist mobilisation through organisations such as the Nigerian Youth Movement, established initially as the Lagos Youth Movement in 1934 (Coleman, 1958; Arifalo, 1986). The organisation emerged principally from opposition to discriminatory colonial educational policies and subsequently evolved into Nigeria's first broadly national political movement, transcending ethnic and regional divisions (Coleman, 1958; Sklar, 1963). Its electoral victory in the Lagos Town Council elections of 1938 demonstrated the capacity of organised youth activism to influence constitutional politics and accelerate nationalist consciousness (Arifalo, 1986). Subsequent historical developments reinforced the centrality of youth participation within Nigerian political life. Student movements became particularly influential during periods of military rule when conventional political institutions were weakened or suspended. The "Ali Must Go" protests of 1978 illustrated how university students mobilised nationally against perceived inequities in educational policy, while the June 12 pro-democracy movement of the 1990s highlighted the broader participation of students, labour organisations and youth associations in defending constitutional governance (Diamond, Kirk-Greene, & Oyediran, 1997; Osaghae, 1998). More recently, the #EndSARS protests demonstrated that Nigerian youths increasingly utilise digital technologies, crowdfunding and decentralised organisational structures to articulate demands for police reform, accountable governance and constitutional rights (Amnesty International, 2020;

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

Ibrahim, 2022). Although these historical episodes have received considerable scholarly attention, much of the literature has concentrated on nationally visible protest movements rather than the everyday political participation occurring within suburban communities. Consequently, insufficient attention has been devoted to understanding how neighbourhood associations, occupational organisations, artisan unions, market networks and community-development associations have historically served as important pathways through which young people entered civic and political life within rapidly expanding urban environments such as suburban Lagos State.

Figure 1: Proposed Conceptual Model



The conceptual model illustrated that youth movements are the central explanatory variable driving both economic and political participation. The strength of these relationships is moderated by education, urbanisation, political opportunity structures, social capital and digital technology, while the ultimate outcome is enhanced democratic governance, community development and sustainable urban development in suburban Lagos. This framework provided the analytical basis for interpreting the historical evidence presented in the subsequent sections of this study and aligns the historical narrative with contemporary debates in political history, urban studies and development scholarship.

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

Methodology

The study adopted the historical research approach, which seeks to investigate, reconstruct and interpret past events using systematically collected historical evidence. Historical research is concerned not only with describing previous events but also with explaining causation, continuity, change and historical significance through critical examination of primary and secondary sources (Tosh, 2015; Marwick, 2001). The approach was adopted particularly, and appropriately for investigating youth movements because their organisational development reflects broader transformations in governance, urbanisation, economic development and democratic participation across successive historical periods. The historical investigation covered the period from the late colonial era to the contemporary democratic period. This chronological scope enabled the study to examine the emergence of organised youth movements during colonial constitutional reforms, their contributions to nationalist struggles, their changing roles during post-independence political development, their responses to military authoritarianism and their participation within Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The approach therefore facilitated analysis of both historical continuity and institutional transformation over more than seven decades of political development.

Historical analysis was undertaken using both diachronic and contextual methods. The diachronic approach examined developments across successive historical periods to identify changing patterns of youth mobilisation, economic participation and democratic engagement (Tosh, 2015). Contextual analysis, on the other hand, situated youth organisations within broader political, economic and social environments, recognising that their activities were shaped by constitutional reforms, urban expansion, migration, educational development and economic restructuring (McAdam et al., 1996; Fourchard, 2011). Combining these approaches enabled the study to explain not only how youth movements evolved but also why they assumed different organisational forms under changing historical conditions.

Discussion of Findings

Thematic One: Historical Evolution of Youth Movements in Suburban Lagos

One of the principal findings of this study is that the historical evolution of youth movements in suburban Lagos reflected changing political opportunities and socio-economic

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

transformations across successive historical periods. During the colonial era, youth political participation emerged primarily through educational institutions, literary societies, debating clubs and nationalist organisations seeking constitutional reforms and increased African participation within colonial administration (Coleman, 1958; Sklar, 1963). The Nigerian Youth Movement represented an important turning point because it transformed youthful educational grievances into broader nationalist demands for political representation and constitutional reform (Arifalo, 1986; Coleman, 1958).

However, the findings indicated that the influence of youth organisations extended beyond nationally recognised movements. As suburban Lagos expanded through migration and urban growth, local youth associations increasingly assumed responsibilities relating to neighbourhood development, educational improvement, sanitation campaigns, sporting activities and conflict resolution. Communities such as Agege, Mushin, Ikorodu, Oshodi-Isolo and Alimosho witnessed the emergence of youth organisations that combined civic participation with community development, thereby strengthening local governance while cultivating future political leaders (Fourchard, 2011; Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009). This historical pattern challenges interpretations that portray youth movements solely as protest organisations by demonstrating their broader developmental functions within rapidly urbanising communities. The findings further reveal that post-independence political developments significantly altered the organisational priorities of youth movements. Whereas colonial organisations concentrated primarily upon constitutional reform and nationalist mobilisation, post-independence youth organisations increasingly addressed issues of unemployment, educational access, infrastructure, social welfare and community security. Military governments further transformed youth activism by restricting conventional political participation while inadvertently encouraging alternative forms of civic mobilisation through student unions, professional associations, religious organisations and civil society networks (Diamond et al., 1997; Osaghae, 1998). Rather than disappearing under authoritarian rule, youth participation adapted institutionally to changing political environments, illustrating the resilience of civic organisation within Nigerian society.

The democratic transition initiated in 1999 represented another significant phase in the historical evolution of youth participation. Democratic governance reopened opportunities for

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

electoral participation, political-party membership, community representation and policy advocacy, thereby expanding institutional opportunities available to young people (McAdam, 1982; Tarrow, 2011). Nevertheless, the findings indicate that formal democratic institutions alone did not guarantee effective youth participation. Persistent unemployment, political patronage and socio-economic inequality continued to limit meaningful civic engagement despite constitutional guarantees of political participation (World Bank, 2022; UNDP, 2022). Consequently, democratic participation increasingly depended upon the interaction between formal political institutions and community-based civic organisations.

The findings therefore support Political Opportunity Structure Theory by demonstrating that youth movements expanded or contracted according to changing institutional opportunities rather than existing independently of political structures (McAdam, 1982; Tarrow, 2011). Colonial constitutional reforms, post-independence democratisation, military authoritarianism and Fourth Republic democratic governance each created distinct political environments that shaped youth organisational strategies and methods of participation. These historical variations reinforce the proposition that institutional openness remains a critical determinant of democratic mobilisation.

Thematic Two: Youth Movements and Economic Participation

The study further demonstrated that economic participation constituted one of the most significant determinants of youth political engagement in suburban Lagos. Historical evidence indicates that youth organisations consistently promoted apprenticeship, vocational training, entrepreneurship, cooperative activities and informal economic enterprise as mechanisms for improving livelihoods and reducing socio-economic vulnerability. These activities were particularly significant within suburban communities where formal employment opportunities frequently failed to keep pace with rapid population growth and urban expansion (Fourchard, 2011; World Bank, 2022). The findings revealed that markets, artisan workshops, transport organisations and apprenticeship systems performed functions extending beyond economic production. These institutions also served as important centres of civic education, leadership development and social networking, enabling young people to establish relationships that later facilitated community leadership and political participation. This finding strongly supports Social Capital Theory, which argues that associational life

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

generates trust, reciprocity and cooperation essential for democratic governance (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). In suburban Lagos, economic associations frequently functioned simultaneously as civic organisations, illustrating the close relationship between economic participation and democratic engagement.

Moreover, the findings indicated that periods of economic instability, including the Structural Adjustment Programme of the 1980s, rising youth unemployment and expansion of the informal economy, significantly altered youth political behaviour. Economic hardship increased dependence upon informal livelihoods while simultaneously exposing many young people to clientelist politics and electoral patronage (Lindberg, 2010; Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012). Nevertheless, the study found that community-based youth organisations frequently mitigated these challenges by providing vocational support, cooperative savings, mentorship and entrepreneurial opportunities that strengthened community resilience despite limited governmental intervention.

These findings extend existing scholarship by demonstrating that youth economic participation should not be conceptualised merely as an employment issue but as a historical process directly influencing democratic participation and community development. Economic empowerment enhanced political autonomy by reducing dependence upon political patrons and strengthening the capacity of young people to participate independently in civic affairs. Consequently, sustainable democratic governance requires integrating youth employment policies with broader strategies promoting civic education, entrepreneurship and institutional participation.

Thematic Three: Youth Movements and Political Participation

The findings revealed that youth movements have consistently functioned as important instruments for political participation and democratic engagement throughout the historical development of suburban Lagos. Rather than serving merely as protest organisations, youth associations constituted important institutions through which political consciousness, civic responsibility and leadership capacities were cultivated across successive generations. Historical evidence indicated that youth participation evolved from nationalist mobilisation during the colonial period to broader forms of democratic engagement encompassing

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

electoral participation, community governance, policy advocacy and civic activism during the Fourth Republic. This finding corroborates earlier studies which argue that youth organisations have historically provided the institutional foundation for political socialisation and democratic citizenship in Nigeria (Coleman, 1958; Sklar, 1963; Falola & Heaton, 2008). The paper found that educational institutions occupied a central position in this process of political socialisation. Secondary schools, teacher-training colleges, universities and professional institutions provided opportunities through which young people acquired civic knowledge, organisational experience and leadership skills that subsequently influenced their participation within community organisations and formal political institutions. Student unions, debating societies, literary associations and youth clubs served as important training grounds for future political leaders and community organisers (Diamond et al., 1997; Osaghae, 1998). These findings reinforce Verba et al.'s (1995) Civic Voluntarism Model, which emphasises that education significantly enhances political participation by increasing civic skills, political awareness and organisational competence.

The findings further demonstrated that suburban communities created distinctive opportunities for political participation beyond formal electoral processes. Community Development Associations, market associations, transport unions, neighbourhood security committees, artisan organisations and youth councils increasingly became platforms through which young people negotiated community interests, advocated infrastructural improvements and participated in local governance (Fourchard, 2011; Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009). These organisations enabled youths to engage directly with local government authorities concerning issues such as road construction, environmental sanitation, drainage, electricity, educational facilities and public security. Consequently, political participation assumed practical developmental dimensions that extended beyond partisan politics and electoral competition. Another significant finding concerned the relationship between democratic governance and institutional inclusion. The evidence suggested that meaningful youth participation increased substantially during periods characterised by constitutional openness, competitive elections and expanding civil liberties. Democratic institutions created opportunities for youths to contest elective positions, participate in political-party activities, engage in civil society organisations and contribute to policy discussions (Dalton, 2020; UNDP, 2022). Nevertheless, the study also revealed that institutional openness alone did not eliminate

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

barriers to effective participation. Economic inequality, patronage politics, financial constraints and limited access to political decision-making frequently prevented many young people from translating civic engagement into meaningful political influence (World Bank, 2022; OECD, 2021).

Furthermore, the findings indicated that political participation among youths varied considerably across socio-economic groups. Educated and economically independent youths generally demonstrated higher levels of civic engagement because they possessed greater access to information, organisational networks and political resources (Verba et al., 1995; Putnam, 2000). Conversely, unemployed youths and those engaged in precarious informal employment often encountered structural barriers that limited their participation in formal political processes while increasing their vulnerability to political manipulation during election periods (Lindberg, 2010; Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012). These observations demonstrate that political participation cannot be analysed independently of broader socio-economic inequalities shaping opportunities for democratic engagement. The finding therefore challenge interpretations that equate youth political participation solely with electoral behaviour or political protests. Instead, the study demonstrates that democratic participation in suburban Lagos has historically encompassed a broad spectrum of civic activities, including community leadership, voluntary service, policy advocacy, neighbourhood governance and developmental initiatives. This broader interpretation aligns with contemporary scholarship that conceptualises democracy as an ongoing process of citizen participation extending beyond periodic elections (Dalton, 2020; Putnam, 2000).

Thematic Four: Urbanisation, Community Development and Youth Agency

One of the most significant findings of this study concerns the mutually reinforcing relationship between rapid urbanisation and the evolution of youth movements within suburban Lagos. Historical evidence demonstrated that urban expansion fundamentally transformed patterns of youth participation by creating new economic opportunities, social networks and institutional arrangements through which young people engaged in community development and democratic governance. These findings support the argument that urbanisation should be understood not merely as demographic growth but as a historical process that reshapes social institutions, political participation and economic organisation

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

(Mabogunje, 1968; UN-Habitat, 2022).The rapid expansion of suburban communities such as Agege, Mushin, Alimosho, Ikorodu, Oshodi-Isolo and Ajeromi-Ifelodun generated increasingly diverse populations characterised by varying ethnic, occupational and educational backgrounds (Fourchard, 2011). This demographic diversity encouraged the establishment of voluntary associations, neighbourhood organisations and Community Development Associations that became essential mechanisms for promoting social integration and collective action. Youths participated actively within these organisations by coordinating sanitation campaigns, constructing community facilities, organising educational programmes and advocating improved public infrastructure (Agbola & Agunbiade, 2009). These findings demonstrate that urbanisation not only created developmental challenges but also stimulated innovative forms of civic participation capable of addressing local problems through community initiative.

The findings also indicated that migration significantly influenced youth political behaviour within suburban Lagos. Internal migration from different regions of Nigeria contributed to the emergence of multicultural communities where young people interacted across ethnic, religious and linguistic boundaries. These interactions encouraged new forms of civic identity based increasingly upon shared urban experiences rather than exclusively upon ethnic affiliation (Fourchard, 2011; Simone, 2004). Consequently, youth organisations frequently functioned as integrative institutions promoting cooperation, mutual assistance and peaceful coexistence among diverse urban populations. Such findings extend existing urban history literature by demonstrating how migration contributed not only to demographic growth but also to the development of inclusive civic institutions. Another important finding concerns the developmental role performed by Community Development Associations and neighbourhood organisations. These institutions frequently compensated for limitations in governmental service delivery by mobilising local resources for infrastructural development, educational improvement and environmental management (Putnam, 2000; UNDP, 2022). Young people emerged as principal organisers of many of these initiatives, illustrating their capacity to contribute constructively to sustainable urban development. Rather than perceiving youths primarily as beneficiaries of development programmes, the findings position them as active development actors capable of initiating and implementing community-based solutions to local challenges.

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

Nevertheless, the findings also demonstrated that rapid urbanisation generated significant socio-economic pressures affecting youth participation. Population growth, housing shortages, unemployment, transportation difficulties and environmental degradation intensified competition for limited resources, thereby increasing social inequalities within suburban communities (World Bank, 2022; UN-Habitat, 2022). These structural constraints occasionally undermined community cohesion and reduced opportunities for meaningful youth participation. Consequently, the study argues that sustainable urban governance requires policies that integrate youth empowerment with inclusive urban planning, employment creation and infrastructural investment. The finding therefore reinforce the proposition advanced by Social Capital Theory that community networks constitute essential resources for democratic participation and local development (Putnam, 2000). However, the study extends this theoretical perspective by demonstrating that the effectiveness of social capital depends substantially upon broader historical processes of urbanisation, institutional development and economic transformation. Social networks alone cannot guarantee democratic participation where structural inequalities and institutional exclusion remain pervasive.

Thematic Five: Digital Activism and Democratic Governance

One of the most significant contemporary findings of this study is that digital technology has fundamentally transformed the character of youth movements in suburban Lagos. Unlike previous generations that depended primarily upon political parties, labour unions, student organisations and community associations for political mobilisation, contemporary youths increasingly utilise digital platforms to organise civic campaigns, disseminate political information, coordinate peaceful demonstrations and hold public institutions accountable. The findings demonstrate that social media platforms including X (formerly Twitter), Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp and YouTube have expanded opportunities for political participation by reducing organisational barriers traditionally associated with conventional political mobilisation (Castells, 2015; Tufekci, 2017).

Historical evidence suggested that this transformation represents continuity rather than discontinuity within the broader history of youth activism in Lagos. During the colonial period, newspapers, pamphlets and public meetings served as principal instruments for

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

political communication among educated youths involved in nationalist struggles (Coleman, 1958; Sklar, 1963). During military rule, university campuses, labour organisations and civil society groups became alternative spaces for democratic mobilisation despite severe political restrictions (Diamond et al., 1997; Osaghae, 1998). In the contemporary democratic era, digital technologies have assumed analogous functions by providing decentralised communication channels through which young people coordinate collective action without dependence upon traditional hierarchical organisations (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Castells, 2015). The findings identified the #EndSARS movement as the most significant illustration of this transformation. Although police reform had remained a subject of public concern for many years, digital communication technologies enabled young Nigerians to coordinate nationwide demonstrations, disseminate verified information, mobilise humanitarian assistance and attract international attention to issues of police brutality, governance and institutional accountability (Amnesty International, 2020; Ibrahim, 2022). Youths residing in suburban communities across Lagos actively participated in these activities through online mobilisation complemented by physical demonstrations, community support networks and volunteer initiatives. Consequently, the findings suggest that digital activism has expanded rather than replaced conventional forms of civic participation.

The study further demonstrated that digital platforms contributed significantly to civic education by increasing access to political information, legislative debates, electoral processes and public policy discussions. Greater access to information strengthened political awareness among young people while encouraging participation in governance beyond periodic elections (Dalton, 2020; UNDP, 2022). Digital communication also enabled previously marginalised voices to participate in national political debates, thereby broadening democratic inclusion and strengthening civic accountability. Nevertheless, the findings also reveal important limitations associated with digital activism. Unequal internet access, digital illiteracy, economic inequality, misinformation, online surveillance and cyber harassment continued to constrain meaningful participation among many young people (World Bank, 2022; ITU, 2023). Furthermore, digital mobilisation occasionally lacked sustainable organisational structures capable of translating protest movements into long-term institutional reforms. These observations support recent scholarship arguing that while digital technologies significantly enhance civic mobilisation, they cannot substitute for effective

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

democratic institutions, accountable governance and sustained civic organisation (Tufekci, 2017; Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). Consequently, digital participation should be understood as complementary to rather than a replacement for community-based democratic engagement.

Conclusion

This study examined the historical evolution of youth movements and their contributions to economic participation and political participation in suburban Lagos from the colonial period to the contemporary democratic era. Drawing upon historical evidence obtained from archival materials, government publications, policy documents, development reports and scholarly literature, the study demonstrated that youth movements have consistently occupied a central position in the political, economic and social transformation of suburban communities in Lagos. Rather than functioning merely as political pressure groups or protest organisations, youth movements historically evolved into multifaceted institutions that promoted democratic participation, community development, economic empowerment, civic education and social integration. These findings reaffirm the historical significance of young people as active agents of societal transformation rather than passive beneficiaries of development policies. The study established that the historical trajectory of youth participation reflected broader transformations within Nigeria's political and socio-economic environment. During the colonial period, youth organisations primarily concentrated on nationalist mobilisation, constitutional reforms and educational advancement. Following political independence, youth movements increasingly diversified their activities to include community development, employment advocacy, educational access and local governance. Military administrations constrained formal political participation but simultaneously stimulated alternative forms of civic engagement through student organisations, religious associations and civil society movements. The return to democratic governance in 1999 subsequently expanded opportunities for electoral participation, civic advocacy and community representation, while the emergence of digital technologies fundamentally transformed the methods through which young people organised collective action and participated in democratic processes.

Overall, the study concluded that youth movements have historically served as indispensable institutions for democratic consolidation, economic development and community transformation in suburban Lagos. Their continued contribution to Nigeria's democratic

future depends upon strengthening inclusive governance, expanding educational and employment opportunities, supporting community organisations and promoting institutional reforms capable of enhancing meaningful youth participation in public affairs. Hence, future studies should undertake comparative historical investigations of youth movements across other metropolitan centres such as Ibadan, Kano, Port Harcourt, Enugu and Abuja to determine whether similar historical patterns exist. Quantitative studies examining the relationship between youth employment and democratic participation would complement the historical findings presented in this article. Further research should also investigate the long-term impact of digital activism on public policy implementation, institutional reform and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Comparative African studies examining youth participation across rapidly urbanising cities would further enrich understanding of democratic governance within the continent.

References

Abimbade, O., Olayoku, P., & Herro, D. (2022). Millennial activism within Nigerian Twitterscape: From mobilization to social action of #ENDSARS protest. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open, 6*(1), 100222. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2021.100222

Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2012). *Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*. Crown Business.

Adeniyi, E. (2022). 'We're now the walking dead': Predatory policing, youth agency and framing in Nigeria's #EndSARS social activism. *African Studies, 81*(2), 149–169. https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2022.2141686

Agbola, T., & Agunbiade, E. M. (2009). Urbanisation, slum development and security of tenure: The challenges of meeting Millennium Development Goal 7 in metropolitan Lagos, Nigeria. In M. Huchzermeyer & A. Karam (Eds.), *Informal settlements: A perpetual challenge?* (pp. 77–106). Juta.

Amnesty International. (2020). *Nigeria: Time to end impunity—Torture and other violations by special anti-robbery squad (SARS)*. Amnesty International.

Arifalo, S. O. (1986). *The Nigerian Youth Movement, 1934–1951: A study in nationalist history*. Obafemi Awolowo University Press.

Arifalo, S. O. (1986). The rise and decline of the Nigerian Youth Movement, 1934–1941. *The African Review: A Journal of African Politics, Development and International Affairs, 13*(1), 59–76.

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2013). *The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Castells, M. (2015). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age* (2nd ed.). Polity Press.

Coleman, J. S. (1958). *Nigeria: Background to nationalism*. University of California Press.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology, 94*, S95–S120.

Dalton, R. J. (2020). *Citizen politics: Public opinion and political parties in advanced industrial democracies* (7th ed.). CQ Press.

Dambo, T. H., Ersoy, M., Auwal, A. M., Olorunsola, V. O., Olonode, A., Arikewuyo, A. O., & Joseph, A. (2022). Nigeria's #EndSARS movement and its implication on online protests in Africa's most populous country. *Journal of Public Affairs, 22*(3), e2583. https://doi.org/10.1002/pa.2583

Diamond, L., Kirk-Greene, A., & Oyediran, O. (Eds.). (1997). *Transition without end: Nigerian politics and civil society under Babangida*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Falola, T., & Heaton, M. M. (2008). *A history of Nigeria*. Cambridge University Press.

Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development. (2019). *National Youth Policy (2019–2023)*. Federal Government of Nigeria.

Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development. (2019). *National Youth Policy: Enhancing youth development and participation in the context of sustainable development*. Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Fourchard, L. (2011). *Lagos, Koolhaas and partisan politics in Nigeria*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 35*(1), 40–56. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00975.x

Hoganson, K. (2020). "Africa for the Africans?": Mapmaking, Lagos, and the colonial archive. *History in Africa*. https://doi.org/10.1017/hia.2020.9

Honwana, A. (2012). *The time of youth: Work, social change and politics in Africa*. Kumarian Press.

Ibrahim, J. (2022). Youth activism, digital mobilisation and democratic accountability in Nigeria after #EndSARS. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 40*(4), 612–629. https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2022.2055783

International Labour Organization. (2023). *ILO youth country briefs: Nigeria*. https://www.ilo.org/publications/ilo-youth-country-briefs-nigeria

International Labour Organization. (2024). *Global employment trends for youth 2024*. International Labour Office.

Iwuoha, V. C., & Akinyemi, A. (2024). The challenge of youth unemployment in Nigeria. *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*.

Law, R. (2019). Lagos in the 19th century. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. Oxford University Press.

Lindberg, S. I. (2010). What accountability pressures do MPs in Africa face and how do they respond? Evidence from Ghana. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 48*(1), 117–142. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X09990243

Mabogunje, A. L. (1968). *Urbanization in Nigeria*. University of London Press.

Marwick, A. (2001). *The new nature of history: Knowledge, evidence, language*. Palgrave.

McAdam, D. (1982). *Political process and the development of Black insurgency, 1930–1970*. University of Chicago Press.

McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (Eds.). (1996). *Comparative perspectives on social movements: Political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and cultural framings*. Cambridge University Press.

OECD. (2021). *Youth and the future of work*. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

O'Higgins, N., Karkee, V., Levina, K., Cuaulte Segovia, M., & Barford, A. (2024). *ILO youth country briefs: Nigeria*. International Labour Organization. https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.107207

Okafor, F. O. E. (1989). *The Nigerian Youth Movement, 1934–44: A re-appraisal of the historiography*. Eturokwu Press.

Olukoju, A. (2003). *Infrastructure development and urban facilities in Lagos, 1861–2000*. Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique (IFRA-Nigeria).

Olukoju, A. (2006). Actors and institutions in urban politics in Nigeria: Agege (Lagos) since the 1950s. *Afrika Zamani, 13–14*. https://doi.org/10.57054/az.vi13-14.1910

Onyebueke, V., & Geyer, M. (2011). The informal sector in urban Nigeria: Reflections from almost four decades of research. *Town and Regional Planning, 59*, 65–76.

Osaghae, E. E. (1998). *Crippled giant: Nigeria since independence*. Hurst & Company.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon & Schuster.

Resnick, D., & Casale, D. (2014). The political participation of Africa's youth: Turnout, partisanship, and protest. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 52*(2), 221–241. *https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2014.889312*

Simone, A. M. (2004). *For the city yet to come: Changing African life in four cities*. Duke University Press.

Sklar, R. L. (1963). *Nigerian political parties: Power in an emergent African nation*. Princeton University Press.

Smith, R. (1974). The Lagos Consulate, 1851–1861: An outline. *The Journal of African History, 15*(3), 393–416. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853700013554

Tarrow, S. (2011). *Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics* (3rd ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Tosh, J. (2015). *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history* (6th ed.). Routledge.

Tufekci, Z. (2017). *Twitter and tear gas: The power and fragility of networked protest*. Yale University Press.

United Nations Development Programme. (2022). *Human development report 2021/2022: Uncertain times, unsettled lives—Shaping our future in a transforming world*. UNDP.

United Nations Human Settlements Programme. (2022). *World cities report 2022: Envisaging the future of cities*. UN-Habitat.

JOURNAL OF ARTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, KONTAGORA (JASSK)
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, KONTAGORA, NIGER STATE-NIGERIA
Vol. 1, No 2 September, 2026
E ISSN: 3156-5336

Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. Harvard University Press.

World Bank. (2022). *World development report 2022: Finance for an equitable recovery* World Bank.