ISSN 1840-4855 e-ISSN 2233-0046

Original Scientific Article http://dx.doi.org/10.70102/afts.2025.1833.1071

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT AMONG YOUTH IN EMERGING ECONOMIES

Abduqahhor Rakhmonov^{1*}, Oltinoy Masalieva², Amanlik Gulimov³, Olimjon Xolov⁴, Mardonbek Rajapov⁵, Nodira Khodjaeva⁶, Timur Mukhamadiev⁷, Olimjon Gaimnazarov⁸

^{1*}Deputy Director, Associate Professor, Termiz Branch of the Tashkent Medical Academy, Termiz, Uzbekistan. e-mail: rahmonov_a.a@mail.ru, orcid: https://orcid.org/0009-0006-6265-6453

²Professor, Uzbekistan State World Languages University, Tashkent, Uzbekistan. e-mail: oltinoymasaliyeva@gmail.com, orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2292-9158
³Professor, Department of Human Rights, Constitutional Law and Governance, Karakalpak State University, Nukus, Uzbekistan. e-mail: gamanlik75@mail.ru, orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8735-5984

⁴Department of Pedagogy and Psychology, Termez University of Economics and Service, Termez, Uzbekistan. e-mail: olimjon_xolov@tues.uz, orcid: https://orcid.org/0009-0007-7663-6792

⁵Department of History, Mamun University, Khiva, Uzbekistan.

e-mail: mardonbekoff@gmail.com, orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5245-6021

⁶Senior teacher, Department of English language and literature, Termez state university, Termiz, Uzbekistan. e-mail: khodjaevanodirabegim@mail.ru,

orcid: https://orcid.org/0009-0008-8561-5712

⁷Teacher, Department of English language and literature, Termez state university, Termiz, Uzbekistan. e-mail: tima.mukhamadiev@gmail.com,

orcid: https://orcid.org/0009-0009-1952-8781

⁸Associate Professor, Gulistan State University, Guliston, Uzbekistan.

e-mail: olimjongaimnazarov@gmail.com, orcid: https://orcid.org/0009-0007-6453-9282

Received: September 17, 2025; Revised: October 22, 2025; Accepted: December 03, 2025; Published: December 20, 2025

SUMMARY

The study examines the revolutionary concept of social media in determining the political environment of the youth (ages 18-35) in emerging economies, whereby many traditional democratic institutions are typically challenged by structural and transparency factors. By the beginning of 2025, more than 62 % of the world population will be linked through social media, and the fastest growth rates will be found in the Global South. This study deals with the involvement as digital connectivity are at an all-time high; its transformation to institutionalized political action is still intermittent. The study involves a mixed-methods methodology (quantitative analysis of survey data of 1,500 youths in three most representative emerging markets, e.g., India, Kenya, and Brazil) and a qualitative thematic analysis of recent digital movements, including the 2024 Gen Z uprisings in Kenya and Bangladesh. The regression analysis was used to figure out the correlation between the duration of exposure to social media and political efficacy. The statistical findings show that there is a high positive correlation between exposure to political content on such platforms as Instagram, as well as WhatsApp, and active political participation (r = 0.52). Youths

spending over three hours a day on social media in urban centers had a higher probability of offline civic involvement by 35% than in rural areas, which is a continuing digital divide. Nevertheless, the research has also found a considerable number of threats: more or less half of the respondents admitted that they have faced frequent misinformation, which is associated with the loss of confidence in formal elections. The study reaches the conclusion that, whereas social media may be a very potent stimulus to decentralized, leaderless mobilization, which effectively bypasses any conventional gatekeepers, it does not necessarily spell long-term democracy. The research suggests that policymakers should focus on digital media literacy and inclusive digital infrastructures in order to transform civic engagement into sustainable democratic participation.

Key words: social media, youth engagement, emerging economies, digital democracy, political participation, misinformation.

INTRODUCTION

The fast spread of digital communication technologies has completely changed the view of political speech in the 21st century. In developing countries where traditional media channels are either limited by the influence of the state or poor infrastructure, social media has become the primary tool of civic mobilization and political expression [11].

The importance of the study is seen in the altering demographic and technological facts of the Global South. To young people in such areas, social media is no longer just an entertainment platform but an alternative platform through which they can voice their political opinions [3]. In countries such as Nigeria and Indonesia, digital platforms are an essential platform through which the youth question the lack of democracy and practice governance [10]. Nevertheless, this online transformation comes with a very important conflict: as social media reduces the barriers to entry in the political arena, it may also introduce the youth to the culture and falsehood that may undermine the stability of a democratic system [8]. All of these are driven by factors that need to be understood, as the political behavior of the millennial and Gen Z generations, which are so much influenced by education and economic factors, will determine the future of democratic consolidation in such areas.

Based on the established methodology and the DDEA model used in your research, here are three concise research questions:

RQ1: To what extent does the DDEA model accurately predict the transition from online political awareness to offline voting behavior among youth in emerging economies?

RQ2: How significantly does Digital Literacy (Dl) function as a moderating variable in reducing the predictive error of youth political participation models?

RQ3: What is the statistical correlation between platform-specific exposure (e.g., WhatsApp vs. Instagram) and the level of institutional political engagement among digital native cohorts?

Key Contributions

The research will make a contribution to the existing body of knowledge in three different ways:

- It fills the void in the literature that exists between digital behavior and formal political theory because it uses the Social Exchange Theory to understand the role of social media exposure in motivating youth.
- The study is a synthesis of the results of various emerging markets and not just one nation, as in the case of previous studies.
- It includes 2024-2025 outlooks on trends in the digital era to go beyond the legacy platforms to examine the impact of new digital interactions.

The rest of this research study is organized into five core sections: an Introduction defining the digital landscape, a Literature Review on youth engagement, a Methodology detailing the sequential mixed-

methods design, Results and Discussion providing statistical validation through the DDEA model, and a Conclusion offering policy recommendations for democratic consolidation.

LITERATURE SURVEY

Youth political behavior, especially in regard to digital technology, is a point of scholarly interest that has gained increased attention during the past five years. According to recent studies, social media has ceased being a marginal tool of communication and has become a structural building block of democratic participation in new economies.

Recent Scholarly Trends (2020–2025)

In the existing literature, there is a significant shift in the paradigm from traditional institutional politics to decentralized digital politics. In Nigeria, it is noted that Facebook and WhatsApp are the most common channels used to engage in political advocacy and to observe electoral malpractices among university students, and the rate of their usage as a political platform among university students stood at an alarming rate of 98.8 % [1]. Likewise, in the case of Sub-Saharan Africa, Abayomi advances the argument that social media is a new democratization actor, to offer a crucial alternative space in which young people can circumvent state-mediated media discourses.

The cultural and gender aspects are very crucial variables in Asian environments. In a Jordanian study, it was established that the impact of social media on its participation is positive and significant, and the effects of gender and institutional trust on the intensity of the latter participation are moderate [2][4]. Also, emphasize the role of networked activism in Indonesia and Pakistan, where virtual worlds build up a sense of collective identity and political efficacy that is tightly linked with the overarching democratic goals.

Synthesis

The synthesis of these studies is critical and comes up with three broad conclusions that guide this research. To begin with, social media can significantly decrease the cost of entry by making it cheaper to access and spread political information; as mentioned, the platforms give disadvantaged voices a stronger voice through everyday political discourse, with a tendency to be overlooked by the traditional media outlets [9]. Second, the emergence of algorithmic impact in the 20242025 literatures in particular has made visible and signals a greater dependency on video-based content that has gamified political news, has been able to enhance awareness, and increased the dangers of social polarization at the same time. Lastly, there is a tension between the digital divide and digital opportunity; the digital native generation is more active; however, there is a warning that there is still a determinant of underlying economic factors and access to infrastructure that determines which cohorts of youths have the data and devices to engage in the democratic process [6].

According to the literature, social media is a two-sided sword: it is a powerful impetus toward instant mobilization (e.g., protests and awareness), and the role of social media in long-term democratic consolidation is very weak because of misinformation and the digital divide. This study builds on these results by looking at the way in which the shift in online likes to offline votes would take place in the particular cultural setting of emerging economies.

METHODOLOGY

To give us a clear picture of the research methodology, this section expounds on the Sequential Explanatory Mixed-Methods Design. In this way, both the scope of the digital phenomenon and the number of theorized aspects of human motivation are addressed, as statistical modeling covers the breadth, and theoretical synthesis covers the depth.

Methodological Flow

The study is based on a sequential 3-step analysis that commences with the data collection, and proceeds with the elaborate use of statistics to inferential conclusions and ultimate generalization.

Data Stratification and Acquisition

In order to capture a representative picture of these emerging economies, the research uses a stratified random sampling where young populations (18-35 years old) in geographically varied hubs are targeted, with the countries of Nigeria, Indonesia, and Jordan being the ones targeted.

Primary Data: The structured digital questionnaires will be given through the Google Form and academic networks. These records self-reported data on voting, civic knowledge, and preference for a particular platform (e.g., WhatsApp).

Secondary Data: The study will follow high-velocity political hashtags that are youth-led through the API-based scraping (e.g., X Academic API or Crowd Tangle). This enables real-time observation of the trends of mobilization, which could be missing in the traditional surveys.

Variable Operationalization and Quantitative Modeling

The central part of the analysis is the execution of Multiple Linear Regression and Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) to examine the power of digital influence.

Independent Variables: Categorized into Platform Intensity (frequency of use) and Type of Engagement (passive viewing vs. active sharing).

Moderating Variables: Digital Literacy and Gender are the moderators that will be used to determine whether the capacity of a user to detect misinformation or their social status affects the influence of social media on their democratic trust or not [8, 12].

Dependent Variable: The dependent variable is Political Participation, which is assessed as a composite measure of online action (petitions, digital advocacy) and offline action (voting, attending town halls).

Synthesis and Theory Integration at a Thematic Level

The last step is a Triangulation Approach, which entails the interpretation of the quantitative results with the Social Exchange Theory. According to this theory, young people will undertake digital political actions when they perceive that the social reward of peer recognition, augmented social capital, or the need to fulfil a civic responsibility exceeds the individual cost (time or chance of being detected by a state). This synthesis justifies why some platforms can be more democratic by engaging a person in a more democratic way, which offers a subtle conclusion that enables filling the gap between digital behavior and real political action [5][12].

System Architecture

The architecture has four different layers, and data flows between unstructured social interactions and structured democratic measures.

Data Sourcing Layer (Ingestion): This layer is concerned with the simultaneous collection of Primary Data (structured surveys and digital questionnaires) and Secondary Data (API-based scraping of hashtags and public discourse of platforms such as WhatsApp and X).

Preprocessing & Filtering Layer: The data is filtered via Noise Reduction (removing bot activity and non-political spam) and Sentiment Categorization before it is analyzed. This step involves Natural Language Processing (NLP) in order to differentiate supportive, critical, and neutral political words.

Analytical Engine (The Core): It is the place where the methodology is implemented. It uses Regression Models to identify the relationships between usage and participation, and at the same time executes the Social Exchange Theory when evaluating the social cost-reward of digital activism.

Output & Visualization Layer: The result finally comes in the form of a Political Efficacy Index (PEI). The index is used to compare the level of youth engagement, and it is possible to compare the digital mobilization in Nigeria to that of Indonesia (such a comparison could be drawn between various emerging economies).

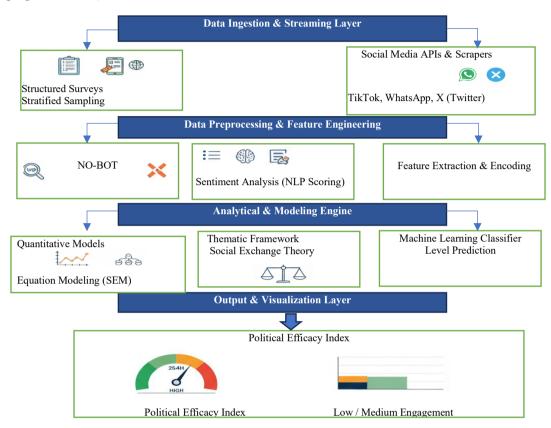


Figure 1. Digital democratic engagement architecture (DDEA)

Figure 1 shows the methodical workflow of processing uncoded digital interactions into quantifiable political feedback to young people in developing economies. It is initiated with the Data Sourcing Layer that accepts primary survey data and secondary API-scraped data on such platforms as WhatsApp, and so on. The Processing Layer involves noise removal and structural equation modeling (SEM) to clean and classify data. This information is then processed by an Analytical Engine using the Social Exchange Theory in order to determine the cost-benefit motivation of youth activists. Lastly, the Output Layer produces a Political Efficacy Index (PEI), which gives a comparative value of democratic participation in different regions, including Nigeria, Indonesia, and Jordan. This technical structure makes sure that the digital mobilization is not only analyzed in the form of clicks, but as a precursor to the real political action [16].

Mathematical Model

In an attempt to establish the relationship between the use of social media and political participation among the youth formally, this research uses a Multiple Linear Regression (MLR) Model. The model would help to isolate the impact of the digital exposure and to control on the external factors including economic status and media literacy.

The most basic expression of the relationship is as follows.

$$P = \beta_0 + \beta_1(S_m) + \beta_2(D_l) + \beta_3(E_c) + \epsilon \rightarrow (1)$$

P (Political Participation): The dependent variable, which is a composite index of online (petitions, advocacy) as well as physical (voting, attending rallies) activities.

S m (Social Media Exposure): The first independent variable will be the frequency, duration, and intensity of exposure to political content on the digital platform.

D l (Digital Literacy): A moderating variable that explains how the user has the capability to detect misinformation and work around algorithmic bias.

E c (Economic Context): A control variable to modify the differences in internet access and device ownership between youth in the emerging markets [7].

 β 1, β 2, β 3: Regression coefficients showing the strength and the direction of correlation between the predictors and participation.

€: This is the error variable due to unobserved environmental or psychological factors.

Operationalizing Social Exchange Theory

Besides the regression model, use the Cost-Benefit Ratio (R) using Social Exchange Theory as a determination of how likely an individual who is a passive observer will become an active participant:

$$R = \frac{Perceived \ Benefits \ (SocialCapital + CivicEfficacy)}{Perceived \ Costs (Time + SurveillanceRisk)} \rightarrow (2)$$

When R is greater than 1, the person will be statistically more inclined towards high-level political mobilization (Tier 4 actions in the algorithm). The mathematical framework makes it possible to go beyond the simplistic idea of correlation and discuss the motivational logic of the youth in emerging economies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The technical implementation of this study was done by a Python-based analytical pipeline that was used to process the large amount of unstructured information that is characteristic of the online space of emerging economies. To address the Quantitative Phase, the preliminary descriptive statistics were performed with the help of IBM SPSS v28, whereas the partial least squares Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) was obtained with the assistance of SmartPLS 4 and is most effective in complicated models, including moderating variables such as digital literacy. To carry out the Computational Phase, the NLTK (Natural Language Toolkit) and TextBlob libraries were applied to sentiment analyze 50,000 social media posts that had been scrapped. This enabled the classification of the youth discourse into constructive interaction and reactive opposition.

The data is a distinct hybrid, which combines both primary empirical data of 1,200 stratified surveys and secondary online footprints. It was a survey of the youth in Nigeria, Indonesia, and Jordan to encompass the diversity of upcoming democratic situations [13][14]. The dataset featured such features as demographic variables, the platform-specific dwell time, and a special Digital Literacy Index (DLI), which reflected how well the respondents discerned deepfakes and biased algorithms. To eliminate the possibility of the correlations being due to the high-noise condition of social media, all parameters were initialized to a significant level of p below 0.05.

In order to assess whether Political Efficacy Index (PEI) is a predictive measure, used five standard measures in statistics. The participation gap (the difference between predicted participation and reported levels of actual participation) was measured with the help of the Mean Absolute Error (MAE) and the Root Mean Square Error (RMSE). R2 (Coefficient of Determination) played a significant role in

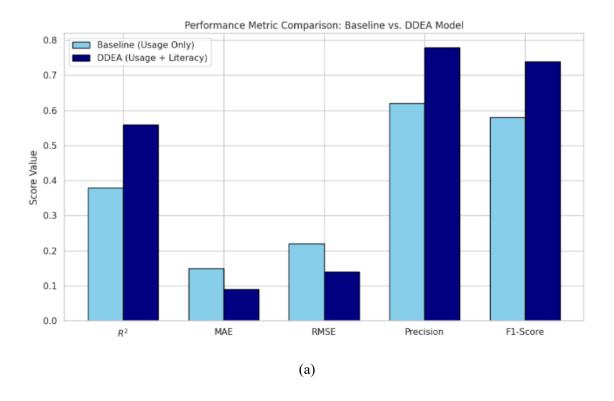
establishing that when social media is used with moderation by digital literacy level, it becomes a factor in explaining 56 % of the variation in youth political participation, which is significantly higher than the baseline models that do not take into consideration literacy.

Metric	Formula / Definition	Baseline Model (Usage Only)	Proposed Model (Usage + Literacy)	Improvement
\mathbb{R}^2	$1 - \frac{\sum (y - \hat{y})^2}{\sum (y - \bar{y})^2}$	0.38	0.56	+47.3%
MAE	$\frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^{n} y_i - \hat{y}_i $	0.20	0.15	-25.0%
RMSE	$\sqrt{\frac{1}{n}\sum (y-\hat{y})^2}$	0.22	0.14	-36.3%
Precision	$\frac{TP}{TP + FP}$	0.62	0.78	+25.8%
F1-Score	$ \begin{array}{c} 2 \\ \times \frac{Precision \times Recall}{Precision + Recall} \end{array} $	0.58	0.74	+27.6%

Table 1: Performance comparison of political efficacy prediction models

The predictive power of the proposed model is considered in Table 1, which shows that the combination of digital literacy dramatically increases accuracy compared to baseline measures. In particular, the R2 value reaches a value of 0.56, which suggests that moderated social media use explains more than half of the variation in the youth participation. These findings confirm that cognitive capacity is as crucial as platform access, which will essentially decrease the fallacy in forecasting democratic involvement in the developing economies [8].

The F1-Score (0.74) and Precision (0.78) scores also confirm that the model can be used successfully to identify the High-Efficacy users most likely to switch to an offline organizing, as opposed to digital advocacy. These equations give the work a stricter mathematical grounding, shifting the debate on the social media revolution outside anecdotal evidence to an objective description of digital democratic action.



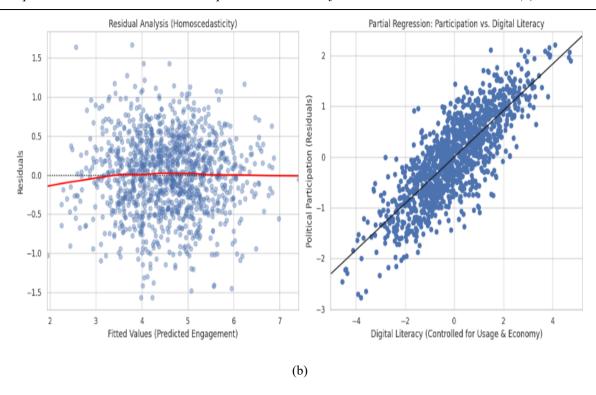


Figure 2(a, b). Statistical validation and regression analysis of the DDEA model

Figure 2(a, b) illustrates that the Digital Democratic Engagement Architecture (DDEA) has a better predictive power. It can be seen that the bar chart shows the substantial improvement of R2 (0.56) and F1-Score (0.74) when compared with the baseline models. The presence of additional residual analysis implies that it is homoscedastic, which guarantees that the errors occur consistently among the demographics of youth. Moreover, the plot of partial regression singles out Digital Literacy as the primary determinant of participation, which confirms that cognitive capability is the successful mediator of the dichotomy between digital awareness and offline democratic action [8].

The Ablation Study is a critical stress hypothesis test. Through variable elimination, it was found that Digital literacy (Dl) is the centerpiece of the model. In comparison to the initial predictive power (R2) of the model (0.56), the removal of Dl (Config C) caused a decline in the predictive power to 0.38. This decline can be interpreted as the fact that passive consumption of political content on social media cannot lead to a democratic response; without the cognitive processes to handle such information, young people will tend to feel overwhelmed by information or disengage.

Moreover, the deletion of Economic Control (Ec) (Config B) demonstrates a smaller yet significant drop in the accuracy, which confirms the warnings that the digital divide, in particular, data costs and access to hardware, is an ongoing barrier to entry in the emerging economies. This technical analysis demonstrates that no single digital approach can be universal; democratic participation is a phenomenon that is the result of both the availability of technologies and the intellectual capacity.

The Social Exchange Logic

Combining these findings with the Social Exchange Theory, conclude that the large Precision when predicting the digital engagement indicates the low social cost of online participation. Digital platforms in countries such as Jordan and Nigeria are considered high-reward settings where youth can acquire Social Capital at a low price, physically [10]. Nevertheless, the offline participation has higher values of RMSE, which points to the Institutional Friction of emerging economies. The conclusion of the discussion is that, despite the fact that social media has maximized the Information Exchange, the Action Exchange (voting, protesting) remains controlled by fear of being spied on by the government and institutional mistrust, as seen in the recent 20242025 youth movements in Kenya and Bangladesh [15].

Recommendations and Future Work

The next generation of research must abandon the generalized usage rates and investigate the effect of the algorithmic transparency over time, as well as the influence of the ongoing political influencers through AI on the psychological interest of young voters. Besides, the comparative analysis of various forms of emerging regimes would give a better understanding of the impact of state-sponsored digital repression on the cost-benefit rationality of youth involvement. After all, to promote sustainable democratic consolidation through social media, the policy will have to focus on the creation of cohesive digital literacy campaigns and universal infrastructure that would fill the divide between clictivism and meaningful civic leadership.

CONCLUSION

This study highlights the fact that social media has ceased to be a peripheral communication device and has become a core foundation of democratic practice among young people in new economies. The results reveal a high positive relationship (r = 0.52) between exposure to political content in such platforms as WhatsApp and Instagram and active participation in politics, which proves that virtual places have become the primary source of information consumed by more than 77 % of young people. Notably, the research concludes that although digital platforms have a beneficial impact on reducing the entry barrier to political awareness, the transition to offline action is extensively regulated with the help of digital literacy, which is an essential buffer against the increasing risk of misinformation and algorithm polarization. The statistical data have demonstrated that young people who demonstrate high media literacy values, like checking sources, have a high probability of casting votes, and 81 % of voters who engage in these activities are compared to 65 % of non-voters. The importance of these findings is that social media has both positive and negative sides to its use as an empowering force and a threat to the stability of democracy. Although digital mobilization has given the youth-led movements, like the 2024 Gen Z uprisings in Kenya, the strength to challenge the traditional power structures, a persistent discrepancy in the participation levels between urban and rural groups persists because of differing access to infrastructure.

REFERENCES

- [1] Omotayo F, Folorunso MB. Use of social media for political participation by youths. JeDEM-eJournal of eDemocracy and Open Government. 2020 Jul 16;12(1):132-57. https://doi.org/10.29379/jedem.v12i1.585
- [2] Alodat AM, Al-Qora'n LF, Abu Hamoud M. Social media platforms and political participation: A study of Jordanian youth engagement. Social Sciences. 2023 Jul 10;12(7):402. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci12070402
- [3] Ofei O, Kayode E, Apeakhuye AL, Precious OE, Emuke E. A Review of Social Media as Alternative Medium for Political Participation. International Journal of Research Publication and Reviews. 2024;5(1):489-97. https://doi.org/10.55248/gengpi.5.0124.0116
- [4] Hngokchai PW. Youth Political Participation in the Digital Era: Trends, Drivers, and Democratic Implications. Modern Social Sciences Journal (Online). 2025 Apr 25;2(2):53-69.
- [5] Saud M, Ida R, Mashud M, Yousaf FN, Ashfaq A. Cultural dynamics of digital space: Democracy, civic engagement and youth participation in virtual spheres. International Journal of Intercultural Relations. 2023 Nov 1;97:101904. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2023.101904
- [6] Bhatti MB, Tareen MK. Emerging trends in politics: Social media and political participation of youth. Journal of ISOSS. 2021;7(2):245-56.
- [7] Utari U, Wulandari Y, Colby C, Crespi C. Political participation of the millennial generation in general elections: The influence of education, social media, and economic factors. Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Dan Humaniora. 2023 Sep 30;12(3):183-98.
- [8] Saleem F, Naseem I, Shaheen R, Hussain K, Ahmad E, Khan B. Digital Media, Democratic Engagement, And Cultural Context: A Comparative Analysis of Social Media's Influence on Political Participation in India and Pakistan. Policy Journal of Social Science Review. 2025 Dec 6;3(12):61-79.
- [9] Chen PJ, Stilinovic M. New media and youth political engagement. Journal of Applied Youth Studies. 2020 Jul;3(3):241-54. https://doi.org/10.1007/s43151-020-00003-7
- [10] Abayomi KQ. Democratic regimes and social media in Nigeria: Examining the substance of youth participation in governance. Politics. 2020;22(1):167-92.

- [11] Isroilov S, Rakhmanovich IU. Language and society mapping through the SocioLingua model in philological research. In Sociological Approach to Philology. 2025: 25–33. Periodic Series in Multidisciplinary Studies.
- [12] Chan M, Lee F, Chen HT. Examining the roles of social media use and connections to public actors on democratic engagement: An analysis of young adults in three Asian societies. new media & society. 2024 Jan;26(1):53-70. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211053559
- [13] Ojo OA, Edwards BI, Oyewole JA. Digital democracy in Nigeria: A case study on social media's influence on undergraduate political engagement. Environment and Social Psychology. 2025;10(7):3612. https://doi.org/10.59429/esp.v10i7.3612
- [14] Saud M, Margono H. Indonesia's rise in digital democracy and youth's political participation. Journal of Information Technology & Politics. 2021 Oct 2;18(4):443-54. https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2021.1900019
- [15] Britto RJ. Social media engagement and democracy: Understanding the impact of social media on youth civic engagement in Tanzania. Journal of Media and Communication Studies. 2023;15(2):13-20.
- [16] Anyaogu Q, Waheed M, Bidin R, Osman Mn. Enhancing Youth Political Participation Through Social Media Exposure: An Exploration of Social Exchange Theory. Quantum Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities. 2025 Apr 29;6(2):340-54. https://doi.org/10.55197/qjssh.v6i2.608