Sapientia Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Development Studies (SGOJAHDS), Vol.8 No.1 March, 2025; p.g. 365 – 378; ISSN: 2695-2319 (Print); ISSN: 2695-2327 (Online)

ENHANCING MEDIA LITERACY AS A DEFENSE AGAINST MISINFORMATION IN THE AGE OF FAKE NEWS AND DIGITAL MANIPULATION AMONG CONTENT CREATORS

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Abstract

The proliferation of user-generated content within Nigeria's evolving digital environment has significantly accelerated the circulation of misinformation and digitally altered media. This research investigates media literacy as a critical intervention tool for combating misinformation, specifically among Nigerian digital content creators active on platforms including YouTube, TikTok, and Instagram. Drawing on the theoretical lens of Uses and Gratifications Theory (UGT), the study utilizes a qualitative content analysis methodology, reviewing secondary sources such as scholarly articles, media literacy frameworks, and publicly accessible creator content. The research examines the motivational factors that shape creators' approaches to information accuracy and integrity. The findings uncover a notable gap in media literacy knowledge across the creator landscape, with a majority lacking formal education in essential practices such as source authentication, adherence to ethical journalism principles, and digital forensic analysis. Structural impediments—such as algorithmic biases, insufficient adaptation of international media literacy tools for local contexts, and inconsistent educational outreach further exacerbate the problem. Nonetheless, individuals like Fisayo Fosudo and Mr. Macaroni stand out as examples of media-savvy creators who exhibit strong resistance to misinformation and actively promote accountability and truthful narratives. Ultimately, the study asserts that strengthening media literacy skills among digital creators is both a strategic safeguard and a civic imperative amid an increasingly unstable information ecosystem. Policy recommendations include embedding media literacy components within digital skills training, encouraging collaborations between social media platforms and regional fact-checking organizations, and promoting community-based, peer-led learning models to reinforce ethical content creation practices. By framing media literacy as a participatory and proactive approach, this research adds to the discourse in media and communication studies, emphasizing the need to reimagine literacy in a hyperconnected digital age.

Keywords: Media Literacy, Disinformation, Digital Content, Ethical Communication, Information Integrity, Nigerian Creators.

Introduction

The unchecked spread of false and misleading information poses a growing threat to democratic ideals, public trust, and the cohesion of societies in today's digital era. The rise of social media platforms and digital technologies has shifted the role of information sharing, placing content creators at the forefront. While this transformation has made information more accessible, it has also opened the floodgates to fake news misinformation and distorted narratives that intentionally mislead. This widespread manipulation not only erodes the credibility of media content but also damages the foundation of informed public dialogue. In response, media literacy defined as the ability to access, interpret, evaluate, and even create media content is increasingly being recognized as a vital tool in combating this information crisis. As the digital landscape becomes more chaotic, the importance of equipping individuals with the skills to navigate, question, and critically engage with media is more pressing than ever.

By providing people, particularly content creators, with the critical thinking abilities and ethical frameworks required to recognize, dissect, and counteract false material, media literacy acts as a safeguard against the manipulative tendencies of fake news (Hobbs, 2010). Content providers have a unique obligation to guarantee the veracity, impartiality, and correctness of the information they generate and disseminate because of their impact and audience. (Tandoc, Lim, & Ling, 2018). However, a lot of people don't have enough knowledge or awareness regarding difficult digital manipulation practices like deepfakes, clickbait headlines, and algorithmically disguised propaganda. On top of it all, content creators themselves are not well provided media literacy, which is further compounding on the issue, leading to the breakdown in trust of reliable information sources and it's follows up by lowering civics engagement. However, while the rapid increase in the access and availability of such tools as artificial intelligence, machine learning and deep fake technology have made it even harder for even the everyday consumers and the experienced content creators to distinguish real content from constructed material (Chesney & Citron, 2019). As the boundary between fact and fiction continues to blur, there is a pressing need to design media literacy initiatives tailored specifically for those producing and distributing digital content. Enhancing media literacy requires more than basic awareness initiatives; it demands a comprehensive approach that incorporates robust fact-checking methods, adherence to ethical guidelines, and the cultivation of digital competencies needed to critically engage with today's complex media landscape. As content creators increasingly shape public discourse and influence societal perspectives, there is an urgent need to examine how their roles can be leveraged to combat misinformation and media distortion. This study aims to investigate the relationship between media literacy and digital content creation, with the goal of identifying actionable strategies that empower creators to serve as trustworthy and ethically responsible voices in the information ecosystem.

Statement of the Problem

The emergence of user-generated content has significantly transformed traditional media, allowing individuals to function simultaneously as creators and consumers of information. While this democratization of knowledge has broadened access to information, it has also created fertile ground for the unchecked spread of misinformation and manipulated content. Content creators particularly those active on platforms like YouTube, TikTok, Facebook, Instagram, and personal blogs often find themselves entangled in the circulation of inaccurate material. Whether by inadvertently sharing false narratives or becoming targets of digital manipulation themselves, creators face increasing challenges in navigating the authenticity of the information they engage with (Pennycook & Rand, 2019).

These platforms' algorithms, which are driven by virality, further magnify sensationalized or emotionally charged information, regardless of its veracity.

Despite their enormous impact, a large number of content producers lack the media literacy skills required to assess sources critically, spot bias, and spot digital manipulation tactics. In addition to putting producers at danger of disseminating false information, this knowledge and practice gap also erodes public confidence in digital content and traditional media outlets (Guess, Nyhan, & Reifler, 2018). Furthermore, although there are a number of media literacy initiatives, few are specifically designed to meet the demands and difficulties faced by content producers, who work in hectic, attention-grabbing settings where speed or virality frequently come at the expense of truth. The ever-growing complexity of today's information landscape is propelled by increasingly advanced disinformation methods, including the employment of bots, synthetic media, and AI-generated material. In this developing digital environment, content creators often stay underprepared, lacking the requisite training and awareness to properly oppose such exploitation. This creates a twin challenge: on one hand, digital deception continues to get more sophisticated; on the other, people most actively shaping and distributing content are not equipped with appropriate media literacy tailored to their roles. This gap highlights a pressing concern: how can the media literacy of content producers be enhanced to serve as a robust defense against the shifting threats of misinformation and manipulation online? Addressing this question is essential to nurturing a media culture grounded in truth, accuracy, and social responsibility.

Objectives of the Study

This study primarily aims to explore ways in which media literacy can be strengthened to serve as a protective measure against the spread of misinformation and digital manipulation among content creators. More specifically, it intends to:

1. Explore the current level of media literacy awareness and competence among content creators across various digital platforms.
2. Identify common forms of misinformation and digital manipulation that content creators encounter in their work.
3. Examine the challenges content creators face in identifying, avoiding, or correcting misinformation and manipulated content.
4. Investigate the role of digital platforms, media organizations, and educational institutions in promoting media literacy among creators.

5. Propose strategies and frameworks for integrating media literacy training into content creation practices to curb the spread of fake news.

Literature Review

Conceptualizing Media Literacy in the Digital Age

Over the years, the idea of media literacy has changed significantly. Originally described as the capacity to access, analyze, assess, and produce media in a variety of formats (Aufderheide, 1993), it now includes a wider range of abilities appropriate for the digital and algorithm-driven world of today. Understanding traditional media is only one aspect of media literacy in the twenty-first century; other skills include evaluating content on social media sites, separating fact from fiction, recognizing algorithmic bias, and creating digital content in an ethical manner (Livingstone, 2004; Hobbs, 2010).

Potter (2013) asserts that media literacy is a multifaceted concept that encompasses the moral, artistic, emotional, and cognitive domains. When taking into account the role of content creators—those who both create and consume content that shapes public opinion this intricacy becomes especially pertinent. Media literacy is not only academically necessary for content creators, but also crucial for their professional survival and sense of public duty, especially in places like Nigeria. Media literacy becomes a vital defense mechanism against the growing sophistication of disinformation and digital manipulation as material continues to alter public discourse and influence behavior (Chesney & Citron, 2019).

Media Literacy among Nigerian Content Creators: Current Trends and Gaps

Content creation on Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, and other local platforms has surged in Nigeria's digital economy. The uncontrolled flow of information has increased as a result of this media democratization, which is praiseworthy. According to Ojebuyi and Okunade (2020), the majority of Nigerian content creators are self-taught and do not have formal education in digital ethics or media verification techniques, in contrast to traditional journalists who receive professional training.

Success for many Nigerian content producers is determined on virality rather than authenticity. Content producers, for instance, both boosted and weakened the #EndSARS protest movement in Nigeria. Some, like Tayo Aina, used their platforms to spread the truth and rally support, but others spread misinformation that heightened tensions (Okon, 2020). This contradiction illustrates the disparity in media literacy among digital influencers in Nigeria.

Less than 30% of Nigerian authors polled by Nwafor and Akubue (2021) were able to differentiate between altered content and verified news. Additionally, many authors relied on their intuition or the content's popularity rather than using simple digital tools to validate photographs, videos, or articles.

Even well-known people are vulnerable. For example, some well-known content producers shared unsubstantiated health claims about herbal cures during the COVID-19 outbreak,

which spread false information. This illustrates the pressing need for organized interventions to raise media literacy among influencers, who frequently have sizable fan bases.

Dimensions of Misinformation and Digital Manipulation

According to Wardle and Derakhshan (2017), disinformation consists of intentional lies meant to mislead, whereas misinformation is defined as inaccurate or misleading information disseminated without malevolent intent. Digital manipulation, on the other hand, refers to the alteration of digital content—such as images, audio, or video—to mislead audiences. These tactics have been amplified by advancements in technology, particularly the rise of **deepfakes** and **AI-generated content** (Chesney & Citron, 2019). Nigerian content creators frequently confront such challenges. Platforms like WhatsApp and Facebook have become conduits for manipulated content, especially during elections or crises. During the 2019 general elections, various "news" items went viral, falsely accusing candidates of criminal activities or promoting ethnically divisive narratives, many of which were uncritically reshared by influential content creators.

In 2022, a viral video that appeared to show violence at a polling station in Lagos was later revealed to be footage from Kenya. Yet, several Nigerian influencers shared it without verification, contributing to panic and misinformation. This lack of verification shows a dangerous gap in media literacy skills and the need for creators to understand digital forensics and verification techniques.

Structural and Institutional Challenges to Media Literacy

In Nigeria, multiple structural factors hinder the development of strong media literacy, especially among independent content creators. First, the educational system has yet to prioritize media literacy as part of the national curriculum. Although the National Universities Commission (NUC) revised the mass communication curriculum in 2021 to reflect new media challenges, the rollout remains limited, and non-university actors—such as vloggers or TikTok creators—rarely benefit (Uche & Onwuzuruigbo, 2022). Second, the ecosystem of media literacy training remains fragmented. While global platforms like YouTube and Meta have launched initiatives aimed at digital skill development, these are often not localized to Nigeria's unique socio-cultural landscape. For instance, fact-checking systems might not recognize local idioms, memes, or political references that are key to understanding manipulated narratives.

Additionally, access to digital verification tools such as reverse image searches or metadata readers is limited by poor internet access, high data costs, and digital illiteracy among many young creators. Even when tools are available, creators may not know how to use them effectively or may prioritize content engagement over accuracy (Guess et al., 2018).

The Role of Media Platforms, Organizations, and Training Institutions

The responsibility to enhance media literacy goes beyond an individual's duty and requires the effective participation on the part of civil society organizations, government organizations, as well as media organizations. Recently, Facebook and YouTube alike implemented attempts to downrank false news, promoting content from known sources, and flagging manipulated

media (Guess et al., 2018). But in Nigeria as it were, this has not been taken as far as it could have because of in fraught enforcement of such initiatives. But to support such media literacy efforts, various organizations have come in, including Africa Check, Dubawa and the International Centre for Investigative Reporting (ICIR). They offer fact check resources, trainings, and cooperate with media houses and scholar homes to sensitize the public. However, many of Nigerian content creators are yet to know about such tools or consider that they are too academic and boring to engage with. The need for media literacy training is on the rise and becoming easier, relatable and clarified for some of the truth in the independent digital creator reality. However, institutions like TechCabal and Channels Academy have started journalist training programmes but with a limited scale of implementation.

Peer led mentorship is one promising way. Lifestyle tech influencers like Fisayo Fosudo and ethical food and lifestyle sexpert, Sisi Yemmie are admired by popular content creators for their ethical content. By embedding media literacy into the life span of various creator communities through workshops and collaborative learning toward shared learning, a culture of facts, accountability, and communication may prick in place.

Theoretical Framework

This research is based on the Uses and Gratification Theory (UGT), the communication theory that was developed in the mid 20th century, and came to prominence through the influential work of Blumler and Katz (1974). This shift was very important for media studies because it reversed the questions that concerned media and turned to the questions of audiences with media. Katz, Blumler, and Gurevitch (1974) give it an active role to individuals in selection of media content to meet their specific psychological and practical needs from information seeking to personal identity, social interaction to entertainment. UGT offers an intriguing lens for analysis of today's content creation many people are decentralized and user agency (and by implication, audiences) are greater than ever before. These are not just consumers who are active producers and disseminators of media under some motivation like seeking for fame, income, or influence and knowledge sharing. Goals are a key component of what they create and how they work with media.

Urged by Ruggiero (2000) UGT's adaptability to the online environment is consistent, but in this environment given new dimensions of gratification due to interactivity, demassification, and asynchronicity. Content creation from lifestyle storytelling, educational outreach to some people who see it as commercial promotion, many people are represented in Nigeria's budding digital ecosystem Tayo Aina TechPoint Africa and Sisi Yemmie to mention a few.

Importantly, their media literacy has the direct effect of determining their capability to identify and avoid consuming misinformation in an information surfeit. In this light, UGT provides a suitable basis from which to examine the intentions and motivations of content creators in regard of how they support or detract from the integrity of the media they publish (Rosengren, 1974).

Application of Theory

Given the current obsession and concern with disinformation and digital manipulation, the Uses and Gratification Theory (UGT) provides a significant framework for explaining the behaviour of Nigerian content creators.

The first contribution is to shed light as to why creators may lean towards specific types of content. According to Whiting and Williams (2013), some may make another choice to prioritize sensational and trending topics instead factual accuracy in order to create desire for visibility, monetary gain, and social recognition. Motivations such as these can help the spread of fake news or fake media without even intending to.

The second is that such a theory could explain how a creating's underlying motivations guide how they make their content choices. Without media literacy, gratification seeking against the truth may overwhelm the consideration of whether a given narrative is true or not, to the extent that false narratives can go unchecked. Take the example of a political commentator who works more with engagement than accuracy and then, if the content aligns with audience biases, he would amplify the content (Ojebuyi & Salawu, 2020). Third, UGT agrees that if media literacy is developed, then so too can content creators find satisfaction in other ways. A switch has started to take place toward more responsible content creation, where you achieve gratification by being credible and having a factual integrity. As such, rapidly gaining traction have become influencers like Dimma Umeh, whose content spans from lifestyle to beauty, Fisayo Fosudo, whose writings are predominantly on tech and finance reviews. Increased awareness of audience impact, ethical standards, and fact-checking tools facilitates this transition.

Finally UGT offers a view to evaluate the roles that content creators can become digital gatekeepers. They can realize their influence and educate audiences, correct misinformation or provide trustworthy content to meet both personal and societal needs. This is the way that media literacy should do and it is just as Suggests Livingstone (2008) to keep media creators from manipulation, but also to protect to make media creators are able to protect digital truth.

Methodology

The methodology used in this study is qualitative and literature based suitably applied in the examination of the intricate interplay between media literacy, toggling between digital manipulation and disinformation among Nigerian content creators. This approach systematically examines secondary sources such as scholarly articles, master's and doctoral theses, theses, peer reviewed publications in scholarly journals, media reports, digital content, online data etc, and then utilizes its findings from such sources in order to capture recurring themes, patterns, and narratives in the digital media space (Creswell, 2014).

Population of the Study

This study focuses on Nigerian digital content producers who are becoming very crucial in the digital age in driving the public opinion and further spreading knowledge. They are known as digital content creators, who produce and publish multimedia content in web sites such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, X (previously Twitter), TikTok, and online

podcasting—and videos, blogs, memes, reels, live streams. However, these are the producers to Nigeria's media landscape and are often considered in their own right as a substitution to traditional media channels (Adekunle, 2020) by younger audiences in particular.

The selection of this group is strategic, given their influence, reach, and role in the contemporary information economy. With the rise of fake news, misinformation, and AI-generated content, content creators have become both vulnerable to manipulation and powerful agents of misinformation correction. Their engagement with audiences is more personalized, and their content tends to be perceived as more relatable and trustworthy, making them ideal focal points for assessing media literacy practices (Okon & Udousoro, 2022).

Examples of influential Nigerian content creators include:

- **Fisayo Fosudo** – A YouTube-based tech analyst and content creator, whose video essays on finance and technology are often data-driven and verified. He embodies media literacy through consistent referencing of credible sources and transparency in sponsorship (Fosudo, 2023).
- **Dimma Umeh** – A lifestyle and beauty vlogger who promotes body positivity, authenticity, and self-awareness. Her content is often rooted in personal storytelling and reflects a conscious effort to present truthful information about consumer products and social issues.
- **Mr. Macaroni (Debo Adebayo)** – A satirical skit maker known for highlighting corruption, governance failures, and police brutality. During the #EndSARS protests, he emerged as a key digital voice challenging misinformation by providing live coverage and counter-narratives to state-sponsored disinformation (Adebayo, 2021).
- **Tayo Aina** – A travel and real estate content creator who documents Nigerian cities, businesses, and opportunities. His work is a significant example of how content creation can contribute to national image-making, and he often emphasizes data accuracy and source credibility.
- **Korty EO** – A young creator known for her YouTube documentaries and street interviews. Her storytelling style emphasizes truthfulness, often delving into youth culture, fashion, and social movements, and has been praised for its organic and minimally edited format.

These digital creators are not just entertainers but are also active participants in Nigeria's information sphere. Their platforms allow for instant audience feedback, real-time dissemination of information, and rapid response to misinformation. As such, they play a dual role: they can either perpetuate fake news (intentionally or unintentionally) or serve as gatekeepers of digital truth through fact-checking and ethical practices (Ojebuyi & Salawu, 2021).

Below are some of the contents by the above-mentioned content creators that align with this research work:

1. Fisayo Fosudo
Content Type: Tech & Finance Reviews
Relevant Content:
Fosudo, F. (2023, March 10). *The 4 Best Nigerian Banks Ranked (2023)* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Kx4NDzyuhY

2. Mr. Macaroni (Debo Adebayo)
Content Type: Satirical Skits & Social Commentary
Relevant Content:
Mr. Macaroni. (2020, October 21). *#EndSARS: I was beaten, stripped, and threatened with death – Mr Macaroni narrates ordeal* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cq3A6rZoFqs

3. Korty EO
Content Type: Youth Culture & Documentaries
Relevant Content:
Korty EO. (2022, November 4). *I Spoke To The Most Confident Girls In Lagos* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GLU2bTO8Pqc

4. Tayo Aina
Content Type: Travel, Business & Real Estate
Relevant Content:
Tayo Aina. (2022, May 27). *Inside the Most Expensive House in Nigeria | $6,000,000 Mansion* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HTg3Wj9h1xg

5. Dimma Umeh
Content Type: Lifestyle, Beauty & Personal Development
Relevant Content:
Umeh, D. (2021, April 16). *Let's Talk About Insecurity in Nigeria* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xqHR2swZLrM

Scope and Sampling Technique
The study is geographically limited to Nigeria, with emphasis on urban-based digital content creators, especially those whose content garners significant public attention. Thematically, the study focuses on how misinformation circulates online, how content creators engage with or counter it, and the role of media literacy in promoting ethical digital engagement.

The sampling technique employed is purposive sampling, which is appropriate for qualitative research where the goal is to select sources rich in information relevant to the research questions (Palinkas et al., 2015). Selected materials include:

- YouTube videos and social media posts of top Nigerian influencers.
- Policy documents by media regulators.
- Campaigns by media literacy organizations.

- Public discourse and commentaries on fake news, especially during critical periods such as elections and pandemics.

This technique allows the researcher to focus on data that offers insight into how misinformation is confronted or perpetuated by digital actors.

Method of Data Collection

The study relies solely on **secondary sources**. Data were gathered from:

- Peer-reviewed journal articles on misinformation and digital literacy.
- Reports from organizations like **UNESCO**, **Africa Check**, and **Dubawa**.
- Online content from Nigerian creators, including vlogs, tweets, Instagram stories, and commentaries.
- Media coverage from credible outlets such as **The Guardian Nigeria**, **Premium Times**, and **Channels TV**.

Using a variety of credible and authoritative sources ensures reliability and validity in the data collection process (Bowen, 2009).

Method of Data Analysis: Content Analysis

The primary method of data analysis for this study is qualitative content analysis. This method enables the systematic interpretation of textual, visual, and media materials to identify patterns, themes, and discourses (Krippendorff, 2013). It is suitable for this study, as it allows the researcher to analyze the framing and narrative strategies used in media content and public discourse.

Key themes analyzed include:

- Spread of misinformation (e.g., Tunde Ednut's unverified posts on political rumors),
- Promotional literacy (e.g., Fisayo Fosudo's promotion of verified tech information),
- Corrective efforts (e.g., media literacy campaigns by Dubawa),
- Audience interaction with misinformation, and
- Digital manipulation using AI tools and doctored images.

Coding categories included phrases such as "fact-checking," "clickbait," "source verification," and "misleading visuals." These were used to group and interpret creator behavior and audience response (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009).

Findings

This study reveals several significant insights regarding the role of media literacy in combating misinformation among Nigerian digital content creators:

First, the study demonstrates that media literacy among Nigerian content producers is still not fairly distributed. While some producers, like Fisayo Fosudo, Mr. Macaroni, and Korty EO, show a keen understanding of ethical content creation, source credibility, and fact-checking techniques, others seem less knowledgeable of the dangers of disseminating false information. Differences in personal values, platform exposure, and education are the main causes of the variance (Ekwueme & Obayi, 2021; Ojebuyi & Salawu, 2021).

Second, the study discovers that the majority of Nigerian content producers gain media literacy informally through peer learning, algorithmic platform signals, or firsthand experience—instead of obtaining official instruction. Due to their lack of formal education in digital literacy, they are more likely to unintentionally spread altered or fake news, particularly when it involves political or trending narratives (Okon & Udousoro, 2022).

Third, creators' choices of content were found to be influenced by algorithmic pressure and audience engagement metrics (likes, shares, and views). Sometimes, in their pursuit of virality, artists put sensationalism ahead of truth, which unintentionally spreads false information. A few influencers intentionally use contentious or deceptive subjects to increase traffic, particularly when there are no serious repercussions or laws in place (Adebayo, 2021).

Furthermore, the report emphasizes how media literacy protects content producers as well as the general audience. Authors that are highly literate are more likely to avoid clickbait, fact-check, cite reliable sources, and publicly admit incorrect information. Their audiences frequently have greater faith in them and interact with their information in more responsible ways. The credibility and durability of content creation as a career in Nigeria may be improved by improving media literacy, according to this (Adekunle, 2020).

The report concludes with the fact that digital content producers are indispensable supporters of media literacy efforts. This gives them far enough reach as well as close relationship and proximity to their audiences such that they can educate and dispel false narratives that may be out there as well as preach critical thinking especially with the young generation in their country. However, a large number, even though a number that is significant, function without support from institutions or alliances with media organizations or fact checking organizations that could help give more legs and more power to this reach and more power to this message (Ekwueme & Obayi, 2021).

Conclusion

In a time when knowledge is being packaged and spread by algorithm-generated material, explosion of user generated content, and an increasing responsibility in producing and dispersing knowledge, media literacy has never been more important. It is research that tries to see how necessary digital content producers in Nigeria are especially in spreading and unraveling internet false information. Some artists deliberately leverage their solid grasp of media literacy concepts while leaving others short in their lack of awareness and skills needed for discerning, situating and ethically disseminating knowledge. A source of this contradiction is great demand for organized partnerships, focused interventions and officialized training courses to help artists identify and oppose false narratives and manipulation.

Moreover, the study shows that media literacy is a strategic advantage as well as a protection. Media-literate creators stand out as successful proponents of ethical communication within Nigeria's fast changing digital terrain, gaining from more credibility, closer audience interaction, and more impact. Thus, encouraging media literacy is not only a forward-looking

endeavor to produce a more educated, resilient, and democratic digital society but also a reactionary defense against misinformation.

In the end, the study finds that funding media literacy instruction and encouraging cooperative frameworks among content creators, legislators, civil society, and digital platforms will help to build a culture based on truth, responsibility, and critical media participation. Such steps are crucial in the face of continuous digital manipulation and false information to protect the integrity of knowledge as well as the resilience of Nigeria's democratic debate.

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