Social Media and Ghanaian Youth: A Systematic Review of Impacts and Implications

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ABSTRACT

This systematic review critically synthesizes existing literature and aggregated data on the multifaceted impact of social media on Ghanaian youth aged 13–30. Drawing on peer-reviewed studies and national digital reports from 2015 to 2025, this paper examines the impact of social media on mental health, education, social and cultural identity, and socio-economic outcomes. Social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, TikTok, and Instagram are widely adopted, with approximately 7.95 million active social media users in Ghana as of early 2025, representing around 23% of the total population, and 39.2% of adults aged 18 and above (Datar portal, 2025). The review highlights positive outcomes, including networking, learning, and digital entrepreneurship, alongside challenges such as increased anxiety, academic distractions, and cultural shifts. Gaps include the limited availability of longitudinal research, the underrepresentation of rural and marginalized youth, and a scarcity of intervention studies. Recommendations focus on policy, education, and mental health programming tailored to the Ghanaian context.

INFORMATION

Background

Over the past decade, Ghana has undergone a rapid digital transformation that has significantly reshaped the communication, social interaction, and information-seeking behaviors of its youth population aged 13 to 30. By early 2025, an estimated 7.95 million Ghanaians, representing 23% of the total population and 39.2% of adults aged 18 and above, were active social media users, with young people as the main drivers of this growth (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021; Datar portal, 2025). Dominant platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube serve as central digital spaces for communication, education, entrepreneurship, and entertainment among Ghanaian youth, mirroring broader technological adoption trends across sub-Saharan Africa (Markwei & Appiah, 2016; Ocansey, Ametepe, & Fynn Oduro, 2016; Boateng, 2020). This surge in digital connectivity has both expanded opportunities and manifested new challenges. Social media enhances access to academic materials, supports entrepreneurial ventures, and facilitates cultural and civic expression, thus fostering digital inclusion and social mobility (Karp, 2024; Nketia & Agyapong, 2020; Boateng & Asamoah, 2023). However, empirical evidence links high-frequency use to increased psychosocial and educational difficulties. Studies report that 62% of youth experience anxiety and 49% face depressive symptoms associated with social media engagement, often exacerbated by cyberbullying, peer pressure, and unhealthy social comparison (Asare-Donkoh, 2018; Attah & Adu-Yeboah, 2019; JSOMER, 2024). Moreover, over 45% of students acknowledge negative impacts on their study habits and academic performance, citing heightened distraction and procrastination (Mensah, 2021; Agyei, 2020). Culturally, although social media introduces Western values that can erode indigenous languages and traditions, Ghanaian youth exhibit resilience by creatively synthesizing global and local elements, giving rise to hybrid cultural forms and evolving digital

identities (Boateng, 2020; Acheampong & Boateng, 2021). Despite the proliferation of mobile technology and youthful digital innovation, the benefits of social media remain unevenly distributed. Rural and marginalized communities face persistent barriers, including limited internet access, low digital literacy, and inadequate cybersecurity awareness, which heighten their vulnerabilities to online harm and deepen the digital divide (UNICEF, 2021; Owusu & Kwarteng-Kluvitse, 2017; JSOMER, 2024). Furthermore, most existing research is cross-sectional, urban-focused, and limited in its longitudinal scope, leaving critical gaps concerning the experiences of rural and vulnerable populations, as well as underexplored positive outcomes, such as digital activism, youth-led entrepreneurship, and creative content production (Asiamah & Amankwah, 2024; Adeoye & Kulob, 2022).

Recognizing these complexities, this systematic review synthesizes literature from 2015 to 2025 to comprehensively examine the behavioral, mental health, educational, cultural, and socio-economic implications of social media use among Ghanaian youth. By integrating empirical research and contextual insights, the study aims to inform evidence-based digital policy and youth development programs that support well-being, equity, and empowerment in Ghana's evolving socio-cultural landscape (UNICEF, 2021; Boateng & Asamoah, 2023).

METHODOLOGY

A comprehensive systematic review, conducted in accordance with PRISMA guidelines (Page et al., 2021), was undertaken to identify relevant literature on the impact of social media on Ghanaian youth from January 2015 to 2025. The rationale for the timeframe captures the surge in mobile internet use and social platform proliferation in Ghana within this period.

Search Strategy

Databases searched included Google Scholar, JSTOR, African Journals Online (AJOL), ScienceDirect, and institutional repositories of Ghanaian universities. The search utilized Boolean combinations of keywords such as:

- "social media" AND "Ghanaian youth"
- "social media AND Ghana AND mental health"
- "social media AND youth AND education AND Ghana"
- "digital entrepreneurship AND youth AND Ghana"
- "social media AND culture AND Ghana"
- Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

Inclusion:

- Empirical studies (quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methods), systematic reviews, and syntheses focusing on Ghanaian youth (13–30).
- Peer-reviewed journal articles, graduate theses, and reputable reports published in English.
- Studies explicitly link social media to at least one theme: mental health, education, behavior, culture, or entrepreneurship.

Exclusion:

- Non-Ghana-focused studies or those lacking empirical data.
- Opinion pieces, editorial commentaries, and articles are not peer-reviewed.

Data Extraction and Quality Assessment

Data were systematically extracted, noting author(s), year, study design, sample size, key findings, and limitations. Quality was assessed using the PRISMA checklist for selection transparency (Page et al., 2021) and the CASP (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme) tool for methodological rigor. Discrepancies were resolved through discussion between reviewers.

RESULTS

Overview of Selected Studies

Twenty studies met the inclusion criteria, encompassing diverse methodologies (surveys, interviews, and mixed methods) and populations from both urban and rural Ghana. Key focus areas include mental health, educational impact, cultural behaviors, and socio-economic outcomes.

Author(s) & Year	Study Design	Focus Area	Key Findings	Limitations
Ocansey, Ametepe & Fynn Oduro (2016)	Mixed methods	Social media use and mental health	The majority of Ghanaian youth engage heavily, mainly for communication, both positive and negative impacts, including mental health concerns.	Small sample; limited geographic scope
Markwei & Appiah (2016).	Survey	Youth social media behavior	Benefits for communication and literacy; challenges with distraction and cultural shifts	Urban-focused, cross-sectional design
Asare-Donkoh (2018)	Survey	Adolescent mental health	Heavy social media use linked to anxiety, depression; peer support also noted	Self-reported data; limited longitudinal insight
JSOMER (2024)	Cross-sectional	Social media addiction & mental health	12.3% addiction; 62% anxiety; 49% depression among youth; nomophobia prevalent	Convenience sampling; lack of qualitative depth
Karp (2024)	Quantitative	Entrepreneurship & social media	Strong predictive link between social media use and entrepreneurial intentions among graduates	Focus on graduates limits generalizability.
Boateng (2020)	Cross-sectional	Youth culture & Westernization	Social media drives the adoption of Western fashion/language, fostering a hybrid cultural identity.	Urban youth-centric; cultural focus only
Mensah (2021)	Quantitative	Education & social media impact	Mixed findings: improved resource access but increased distraction and poorer academic focus	Limited sample diversity
Political Participation (2017)	Mixed methods	Youth political mobilization	Over 50% of youth mobilize using social media for political engagement	Limited geographic diversity; survey bias
UNICEF (2021)	Report	Digital literacy & policy	A framework for digital literacy and youth empowerment is proposed	Policy recommendations; no primary data analysis
Datar portal (2025)	N/A (Report)	Social media penetration/demographics	7.95 million social media users in Ghana; 39.2% adult penetration; platform usage breakdown	Aggregated data; no youth-specific behavioral data
Amofah-Serwaa & Dadzie (2017)	Qualitative & Survey	Social media's impact on child behavior	Early social media exposure is linked to behavioral changes in basic school children.	Small qualitative scope
Attah & Adu-Yeboah (2019).	Quantitative	Cyberbullying & youth mental health	Cyberbullying is prevalent among university students and is associated with depression and anxiety.	University population only
Twenge & Campbell (2018).	Quantitative	Screen time & psychological well-being	Screen time is linked to lower well-being among children/adolescents globally.	Global study; not Ghana-specific, but relevant for comparison

Adeoye & Kulob (2022)	Qualitative	Youth digital activism	Ghanaian youth actively use social media for democracy-related activism and civic engagement.	Qualitative, focused on select activist groups
Boateng & Asamoah (2023).	Mixed methods	Youth entrepreneurship & social media	Social media as a primary tool for informal business growth among youth	Regional scope; informal sector focus
Agyei (2020)	Quantitative	Social media addiction & academic procrastination	Social media addiction is linked to higher academic procrastination rates among tertiary students	Cross-sectional; limited to tertiary students
Asiamah & Amankwah (2024)	Qualitative	Social media influence on rural socio-cultural norms	Social media contributes to socio-cultural change in rural youth contexts	Limited rural representation; qualitative only
Addo & Anning (2019).	Qualitative	Language use & social media	Social media influences youth language, blending local and English vernaculars.	Focus on linguistic aspects, but note the limited sample size.
Boateng & Osei (2021).	Mixed methods	Mental health literacy & social media	Social media serves as a platform for mental health literacy and awareness programs.	Early-stage study; preliminary findings
Adu & Yeboah (2018).	Quantitative	Social media & peer relationships	Social media impacts adolescent peer dynamics and identity formation	Urban adolescent focus lacks longitudinal data
Robinson (2024)	Qualitative	Social media misuse & ethics	Social media misuse threatens Ghanaian values via misinformation, cyberbullying, and ethical issues.	Contemporary study, qualitative, with a limited sample size

Thematic Synthesis

Mental Health and Psychological Well-being

The mental health implications of social media use among Ghanaian youth represent one of the most empirically grounded and complex domains of inquiry, illustrating both detrimental and adaptive psychosocial outcomes (JSOMER, 2024; Asare-Donkoh, 2018; Ocansey, Ametepe, & Fynn Oduro, 2016). Across recent large-sample and methodologically rigorous studies, high-frequency engagement with platforms such as WhatsApp, TikTok, and Instagram has been consistently linked to elevated symptoms of anxiety, depression, and behavioral addiction, with prevalence rates estimated at 62% for anxiety, 49% for depression, and 12.3% for social media addiction (JSOMER, 2024). These associations are intensified by risk factors including cyberbullying (Attah & Adu-Yeboah, 2019), social comparison, fear of missing out (FoMO), and nomophobia phenomena, particularly pronounced among adolescent girls. However, emerging evidence underscores a dualistic dynamic in which social media also functions as a coping and support mechanism, facilitating online peer networks that reduce stigma, promote openness, and foster resilience (Asare-Donkoh, 2018; Boateng & Osei, 2021). In a robust cross-sectional design, Ntumi et al. (2025) surveyed 1,350 adolescents across urban, peri-urban, and rural Ghana using validated psychometric scales (Cronbach's α = 0.87–0.93), finding that social media addiction significantly predicted depression (β = 0.31, p < .001), with FoMO and emotional dysregulation jointly mediating this relationship (β = 0.22, 95% CI [0.11, 0.24]), explaining 49% of variance (R^2 = 0.49). Similarly, Ahorsu (2024) reported a 12.3% addiction prevalence and identified smartphone application-based addiction and nomophobia as significant predictors of distress, with comorbid anxiety (62.1%) and depression (49%) notably prevalent. Complementary evidence from Ntumi, Upoalkpajor, and Nimo (2025) employed structural equation modeling (SEM) with 1,067 university students, showing that cultural norms intensified stigma (β = 0.420, p < .001), which reduced help-seeking (β = −0.370, p < .001), while digital engagement moderated this effect, weakening stigma's negative impact (β = 0.125, p = .002). Collectively, these studies suggest that digital engagement operates as a mediating and moderating mechanism amplifying risks for psychologically vulnerable youth while simultaneously providing pathways for social support and mental health literacy. This evidence reinforces the conceptualization of social media as both a stressor and a therapeutic medium, indicating that its psychological

effects among Ghanaian youth are contingent upon literacy, regulation, and socio-cultural context, thereby necessitating integrated digital mental health interventions and policy frameworks tailored to the Ghanaian environment.

Educational Impact: Opportunities and Challenges

Social media's influence on education among Ghanaian youth presents a dual narrative of empowerment and disruption, reflecting its diverse incorporation into academic life. Platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Telegram are extensively utilized by students, with more than 40% actively participating in academic groups that facilitate peer learning, resource sharing, and informal mentorship (Markwei & Appiah, 2016; Mensah, 2021). These platforms have contributed to bridging resource gaps in formal education, enhancing digital literacy, and promoting collaborative learning environments, particularly in resource-constrained contexts (Boateng, 2020). However, the educational promise of social media is tempered by growing evidence of its adverse cognitive and behavioral effects. High levels of engagement are strongly correlated with academic distraction, procrastination, and diminished attention spans, with over 45% of students self-reporting that excessive use negatively impacts their study time and academic performance (Mensah, 2021; Agyei, 2020). Educators have also observed a decline in grammar, writing coherence, and analytical depth, which is primarily attributed to the informal linguistic practices prevalent in digital communication spaces. Empirical data from Mensah (2021) and Jandevi (2025) further illustrate this ambivalence: while social media facilitates efficient resource sharing and learning communities, excessive use is moderately correlated with academic procrastination ($r \approx 0.25$) and significantly associated with emotional disengagement ($\beta = -0.22$, $p < .001$). Moreover, emotional dysregulation has been shown to mediate the relationship between social media use and cognitive engagement, suggesting that overuse not only affects time management but also undermines sustained attention and intrinsic motivation. These findings highlight the cognitive-behavioral spillover effects of unregulated social media use, wherein the same digital tools that enhance accessibility and collaboration can simultaneously erode academic discipline and foster shallow learning. The persistent absence of structured digital literacy curricula in Ghanaian schools further exacerbates these challenges, revealing an urgent need for policy reforms and institutional interventions that integrate cyber wellness, critical media education, and responsible digital engagement into the educational system (UNICEF, 2021).

Social Behavior, Cultural Identity, and Ethical Implications

Social media platforms have a significant influence on identity formation, cultural expression, and social norms, particularly among urban Ghanaian youth. Studies reveal a dynamic interplay between Western cultural influences and the reinforcement of local Ghanaian traditions, creating a hybridized cultural identity (Boateng, 2020; Addo & Anning, 2019). Youth adopt Western fashion, music genres, and language styles through global platforms, yet simultaneously promote Ghanaian music, language, and activism, suggesting active cultural negotiation rather than mere cultural replacement (Cultural Identity Study, 2024).

Ethical concerns constitute an emerging theme. Robinson (2024) and related studies highlight the misuse of social media in Ghana through misinformation, cyberbullying, hate speech, and exposure to sexually explicit content. These issues threaten core national values such as respect, integrity, and communal harmony. Widespread unethical practices fueled by the 'attention economy' jeopardize youth moral development and societal cohesion, posing challenges for regulators and educators alike (Robinson, 2024; Markwei & Appiah, 2016). Social media has reinvigorated youth political participation, with over 50% of politically engaged youth mobilizing and advocating causes digitally (Political Participation, 2017). This digital activism reflects broader trends in which social media empowers civic engagement, despite ethical and content-related challenges.

Socio-economic Outcomes and Digital Entrepreneurship

Promoting digital entrepreneurship and informal economic activities is a robust and optimistic theme in the reviewed literature. Karp (2024) and Boateng & Asamoah (2023) report that over 60% of young Ghanaian graduates utilize social media platforms for marketing, brand building, and customer (re)engagement, allowing unprecedented access to local and global markets. This empowerment synthesizes formal and informal economic sectors, offering viable alternatives in pervasive youth unemployment (Karp, 2024). However, infrastructural

limitations (internet access and speed), digital literacy gaps, and gender and rural–urban divides constrain equitable participation in the digital economy (JSOMER, 2024; UNICEF, 2021). Policy and institutional responses lag behind youth innovation, highlighting key areas for targeted interventions and support.

Gaps and Emerging Needs Across Themes

While the included studies are rich in cross-sectional and mixed-method insights, several gaps recur. A paucity of longitudinal and intervention research makes it challenging to understand causal relationships or track developmental trajectories (Markwei & Appiah, 2016; Ocansey et al., 2016). Research on marginalized populations in particular, rural youth, females, and persons with disabilities, is limited, potentially obscuring diverse experiences of social media's impact (Asiamah & Amankwah, 2024). Furthermore, positive outcomes, such as digital civic engagement, mental health advocacy, and creative content production, warrant deeper empirical attention (Boateng & Osei, 2021; Adeoye & Kulob, 2022). Ethical considerations and digital literacy emerged as essential cross-cutting priorities to maximize benefits and mitigate harm. Multiple authors advocate for comprehensive digital literacy education integrating media ethics, mental health awareness, and online safety (UNICEF, 2021; Robinson, 2024).

DISCUSSION

Interpretation of Findings

This systematic review synthesizes evidence from empirical studies and policy reports to explore the multidimensional impact of social media on Ghanaian youth aged 13 to 30. The findings indicate that social media is deeply integrated into the everyday lives of young people, revealing a complex interplay of opportunities and challenges.

Mentally, social media use correlates strongly with adverse psychological outcomes such as anxiety, depression, and addiction-like behaviors. Rates reported (e.g., 62% anxiety and nearly 50% depression) indicate pervasive mental health burdens exacerbated by phenomena such as cyberbullying, social comparison, and "fear of missing out" (JSOMER, 2024; Asare-Donkoh, 2018). However, social media simultaneously functions as a platform for peer support, reducing stigma and encouraging informal help-seeking, revealing its dual role as a potential stressor and a coping resource (Boateng & Osei, 2021).

Educational impacts demonstrate a similarly nuanced picture. Platforms like WhatsApp and Facebook are leveraged to enhance collaborative learning and resource sharing, thereby improving the digital literacy and academic engagement of many students (Markwei & Appiah, 2016; Mensah, 2021). Nevertheless, unregulated use fosters distraction, procrastination, and a decline in formal writing skills, highlighting a pressing need for digital literacy and cyber wellness education to be integrated into curricula (UNICEF, 2021). Culturally, social media both challenges and rejuvenates Ghanaian youth identity. Exposure to Western cultural practices through social media has a significant influence on fashion, language, and music (Boateng, 2020). However, youth actively hybridize global and local cultures, promoting Ghanaian artistic expression and social causes, thereby reshaping traditions in digitally mediated forms. Moreover, increased digital activism and civic engagement mark social media as a powerful tool for youth agency in Ghana's democratic process (Political Participation, 2017). Economically, the adoption of social media facilitates youth entrepreneurship and informal economic activity, enabling graduates and young adults to build brands, market products, and access markets beyond traditional constraints (Karp, 2024). Despite this promise, infrastructural deficits and digital divides, especially along rural-urban and gender lines, limit inclusive participation, revealing policy and systemic barriers (JSOMER, 2024; UNICEF, 2021).

Critical Comparative and Meta-Analytic Insights

While this synthesis underscores robust associations between social media use and adverse psychosocial outcomes among Ghanaian youth, a comparative reading of global meta-analytic evidence situates these findings within a broader empirical context. Kerr et al. (2025), in a systematic review of 32 studies, reported that 56.3% of investigations identified positive associations between social media use and anxiety, with the most potent

effects observed for problematic use (75.0%) and screen-time measures (72.7%), while only 40.9% of non-problematic use indicators yielded similar correlations. The Ghanaian literature demonstrates comparable or even heightened prevalence estimates, with anxiety and depression levels reaching 62% and 49% respectively (JSOMER, 2024; Ntumi et al., 2025), thereby aligning Ghana with the upper bounds of global findings. This suggests that measurement, particularly addiction-based versus general-use metrics, substantially moderates observed outcomes. Moreover, effect magnitudes appear to be context-contingent: urban youth, characterized by higher digital intensity, display stronger associations with psychological distress than their rural counterparts with intermittent connectivity, underscoring digital exposure as both an amplifier and a moderator of psychosocial outcomes. Methodologically, Kerr et al. (2025) identified wide heterogeneity in anxiety instruments (18 unique scales) and limited demographic stratification (12.5% gender-disaggregated), mirroring gaps in Ghanaian research where standardized measurement and intersectional analyses remain sparse. Across the 2016–2025 period, however, Ghanaian studies exhibit a discernible shift from early entertainment-centric usage to civic, entrepreneurial, and self-developmental applications (Boateng, 2020; Karp, 2024), marking a transition from social gratification toward socio-economic agency. Collectively, these comparative insights reveal a dual trajectory: social media functions simultaneously as a psychosocial stressor, intensifying anxiety and emotional dysregulation, and as an emancipatory socio-economic catalyst that empowers youth participation, innovation, and self-expression in the digital age.

Unique Ghanaian Cultural and Socio-economic Factors

The fusion of Western and indigenous cultural elements, mediated through social media platforms, represents a key characteristic of the Ghanaian digital youth sphere (Boateng, 2020). Vernacular languages and local dialects are increasingly visible online, ensuring cultural preservation and innovation (Addo & Anning, 2019). Socio-economically, the digital divide remains stark: urban youth typically benefit from greater access and skills development than their rural or marginalized counterparts (JSOMER, 2024). Gender disparities in social media access and digital entrepreneurship opportunities further complicate the equitable distribution of benefits. Moreover, limited mental health infrastructure accentuates the risks linked to social media-induced psychological distress, calling for integrated health and digital literacy approaches.

Conceptual Model of Social Media Use and Youth Outcomes in Ghana

Building on the reviewed evidence, this conceptual model (see Figure 1) elucidates the mediating and moderating pathways linking social media use to youth outcomes within the Ghanaian context.

Core Proposition: Social media use influences youth outcomes through mediating factors, including digital access, literacy, socioeconomic status, and psychological resilience. These mediators determine whether engagement yields positive outcomes (e.g., digital entrepreneurship, civic participation, learning) or negative ones (e.g., anxiety, distraction, exposure to misinformation).
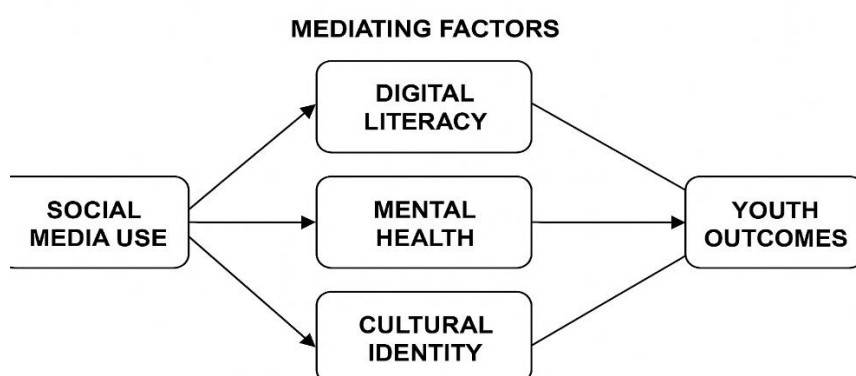

Figure 1. Conceptual Model Linking Social Media Use, Mediating Factors, and Youth Outcomes in Ghana

- Social Media Use → (mediated by Access, Digital Literacy, and Psychosocial Context) → Youth Outcomes (Mental Health, Education, Socio-economic Empowerment, and Cultural Identity).

Feedback loops demonstrate that outcomes in turn influence media engagement. Youth who experience digital success tend to deepen their engagement, while those encountering harm may self-regulate or withdraw. This model offers a theoretical lens for future empirical testing and cross-regional comparison, addressing the current paucity of conceptual clarity in Ghana-focused social media research.

Implications for Policy, Education, and Youth Development

Given the findings, several actionable recommendations emerge:

1. Integrate Digital Literacy and Mental Health Education: Curricula at all levels should incorporate critical digital skills, cyber wellness, and mental health literacy to empower youths to navigate social media's risks responsibly and harness its benefits.
2. Expand Youth-Focused Digital Infrastructure: To address digital inequities, government and private sector investments must prioritize affordable, high-quality internet access across rural and marginalized communities.
3. Support Youth Entrepreneurship: Formalize support mechanisms, including training, seed funding, and mentorship for digital entrepreneurs to enhance the informal sector's productivity and sustainability.
4. Strengthen Mental Health Services: Expand accessible mental health services focusing on youth, integrating social-media-related issues, and leveraging online platforms for awareness and support.
5. Foster Civic Engagement and Cultural Preservation: Leverage social media to amplify youth voices in governance and civic matters while promoting Ghanaian cultural heritage online.
6. Encourage Longitudinal and Intervention Research: Support academic efforts to generate evidence on effective interventions addressing social media's complex effects to inform adaptive policies.

Study Limitations and Potential Bias

Although this review adopted rigorous PRISMA-guided selection and CASP appraisal methods, several limitations merit acknowledgment. First, the reliance on published and English-language sources introduces potential publication bias, as studies with null or negative findings may remain unpublished or locally inaccessible. Second, data representativeness skews toward urban and university populations, underrepresenting rural, female, and lower-income youth whose digital behaviors may differ substantially. Third, methodological heterogeneity, particularly varying measures of social media "use" and psychological well-being, complicates cross-study comparison. These limitations suggest that future meta-analytic work should employ standardized indicators and include grey literature and community-based data to ensure more comprehensive and equitable representation.

CONCLUSION

This systematic review confirms that social media has a profound influence on the lives of Ghanaian youth, impacting their mental health, education, social identity, culture, and economic opportunities. The dual nature of social media as both a platform for social support, entrepreneurship, and global connectivity, and a source of psychological distress, distraction, and cultural tension, is evident. Youth navigate these terrains within uniquely Ghanaian socio-cultural frameworks characterized by strong community ties and hybridized identities. However, challenges such as digital divides, a lack of structured digital literacy education, and limited mental health infrastructure constrain the realization of social media's full potential. Beyond synthesizing empirical findings, this review advances a conceptual framework that situates Ghanaian youth social media engagement within mediating structures of access, literacy, and socio-economic context.

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