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Informed Policy Engagement or Intensive Personality Disparagement in Osun 2022 Governorship Election Campaign?

Osun 2022 Governorship Election Campaign Monitoring Report

Issue 10, July 15, 2022

Introduction

By July 16th, 2022, registered voters in Osun State will elect a new governor to lead the state from November 2022, when the tenure of Alhaji Gboyega Oyetola expires¹. Governor Oyetola was elected in 2018 to succeed Engineer Rauf Aregbesola. Since the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) declared the official date for electorate to be at the poll, and hinted that primary election would commence in February and end in March 2022, political parties and candidates have been campaigning, informing the electorate why they should be voted for. Though INEC approved April 2022 as the month for the official campaign, our observations of various campaign platforms in the state revealed that concerned stakeholders started internal campaigns before the month. The All Progressives Congress (APC) officially inaugurated its Campaign Council in May 2022, while the People's Democratic Party (PDP) initiated its committee in April 2022². There have been a number of mixed results since the incumbent governor took office in 2018, employing the state's human and material resources to generate and preserve public goods. In terms of socio-economic growth, the governor has adamantly maintained that he fulfilled nearly all of his pledges in 2018 and that voters should re-elect him to continue working for the good of all citizens and communities³. His opponents, both within and outside his political party (APC), say he has accomplished little and hence should not be re-elected. Since the national electoral body lifted the ban on campaign activities, these two lines of thought have been part of the campaign. Similar to what characterized previous electoral campaigns held since 1999, political actors have started raising various concerns ahead of the July election. There have been allegations of vote buying, use of thugs to disrupt campaign venues and harm attendees, as well as threat to life.

Although all these issues can affect the credibility of the July 16th, 2022 poll, our analysts believe that the issue of vote buying requires specific attention of concerned stakeholders,

¹ INEC (2022). Osun State Governorship 2022 Timetable and Schedule of Activities. <https://inecnigeria.org/osun-state-governorship-2022-timetable-and-schedule-of-activities/>.

² Dada, L., (2022). Osun Guber: Senate spokesperson named DG Oyetola's campaign council. *The Sun*, May 5, 2022. <https://www.sunnewsonline.com/osun-guber-senate-spokesperson-named-dg-oyetolas-campaign-council/>;
Ezedinuo, F. (2022). Osun 2022: PDP inaugurates campaign, anti-rigging committees. *Daily Post*, April 26, 2022. <https://dailypost.ng/2022/04/26/osun-2022-pdp-inaugurates-campaign-anti-rigging-committees/>.

³ Amata, D., (2022). Osun 2022: 6 Key Socio-Economic Indicators Candidates and Electorates Should Know, available from: <https://www.dataphyte.com/latest-reports/elections/osun-2022-6-key-socio-economic-indicators-candidates-and-electorates-should-know/>

most importantly the electoral body and citizens. Vote buying is one of the strategies usually deployed by political actors such as candidates, their representatives, direct and indirect supporters; throughout the previous governorship elections in the state, it was employed by the stakeholders using different approaches. Events that characterised the elections of 2014 and 2018 attest to this fact. During the 2014 gubernatorial election, the two leading parties in the election, the ruling APC and the opposition PDP, engaged in unethical electoral practice. Popular mechanisms of vote-buying before and during the previous elections include pre-election hand-outs such as food and money; infrastructural projects in targeted electoral districts; as well as provision of incentives to voters/supporters to attend polling. In line with this background, this report, which is the tenth output and the final weekly report of the 2022 governorship election campaign monitoring in the state, specifically considers campaign strategies employed by candidates, parties and their supporters, most importantly members of the media team of the parties and the candidates, for communicating these issues and engaging the potential electorate ahead of the July election. The strategies were examined within the context of the intended and unintended outcomes of the messages spread on social networking sites (Facebook and Twitter) and political actors' interactions with the conventional media (newspapers and presentation of party as well as candidate's agenda through radio jingles in the state). The incumbent government's policy issues or programmes were also looked at, with the idea that opposition parties should use them to engage the public by offering alternatives or discussing recognized flaws.

Our Approach

Messages posted on Facebook and Twitter by the political parties through their official pages, candidates' pages and supporters' personal accounts, radio jingles, as well as news stories were the primary sources of data for this report. Osun public information seeking about campaign issues or needs through various search engines, which are aggregated by Google Trends, also constituted a source of data for the report. In all, the data were sourced between April 6 and July 13, 2022. On a surprising note, between June 9 and June 15 (covering the sixth week), our analyst found a message communicated by faction members of the ruling party (APC). This singlehandedly added to our number of political parties being monitored every week, but only from the intra-party type. In addition to the

public searches of the issues and/or needs, views of the electorate in the three senatorial districts (Osun Central, Osun West and East) about the campaign activities were equally sought through questionnaire copies distributed across the districts. Like what has been monitoring, in week ten, our analysts paid specific attention to campaign-driven messages (not general messages), especially those promoting activities of the incumbent governor, and mere social engagements of the candidates that were not related to political activities. Attacks, acclaims and defenses were the three categories of campaign strategies our analysts looked for in each message extracted from Facebook, Twitter, radio jingles and national newspapers, and campaign speeches. Attacks were the messages that denigrated the personality traits of candidates and leadership qualities and/or competencies of the parties and candidates to govern the state. Attacks were also examined from the perspective of the actors, demeaning the quality of programmes, and initiatives and projects of the incumbent. Acclaims were the messages that show that the parties and the candidates were better in terms of personality traits, leadership qualities as well as competencies in delivering quality public goods to the residents. Defenses were the messages that refuted negative elements pushed out by actors against other candidates and political parties. In this context, our analysts looked for traces which established that members of the opposition and the ruling camps defended what were considered negatives and/or not true about the personality traits, leadership styles and competencies of the candidates and political parties.

The focus of the weekly monitoring is to find informed policy engagement or intensive personality disparagement. In this regard, *highly informed policy engagement* which means mentioning a particular policy or programme, citing the location of the programme or when the policy was implemented, and discussing its consequences on the targeted beneficiaries or communities, were formulated. *Moderately informed policy engagement* represents a message that contains a specific policy or programme and cites the location or discusses its impacts. No message can fit this category without having at least two of the elements associated with *highly informed policy engagement* metric. *Slightly informed policy engagement* metric entails a message that has one of the three elements associated with *highly informed policy engagement* metric. For the personality assessment, we considered *highly intensive personality disparagement*, *moderately*

intensive personality disparagement, slightly intensive personality disparagement and none intensive personality disparagement. A message falls into highly intensive personality disparagement when it has elements that establish a lack of competence of a candidate, incomplete educational qualifications, and previous history of poor management of resources either in a private or public establishment. *Moderately intensive personality disparagement* was measured with the consideration of two of the three elements of *highly intensive personality disparagement* metric, while *slightly intensive personality disparagement* denotes a message that has only one of the three elements. *None intensive personality disparagement* specifically represents an absence of all the three elements. *Threats to credible poll* is the main metric with a focus on vote-buying, rigging through political thugs, rigging through collusion with the electoral body, and rigging through collusion with security agencies. Representations of these sub-metrics are premised on the trends discussed earlier. Apart from the campaign strategies (attacks, acclaims and defenses), infrastructure, social programmes, workers' salary, welfare and employment, agriculture, economy, education, health, security and others were created as campaign issues or policies that the parties and their supporters need to address for the electorate to make an informed decision on July 16th, 2022.

Beyond considering the issues political actors and their supporters discussed with the public weekly, we also examined public information seeking on issues and/or needs. The focus was on economy, health, security, education, road, employment, agriculture and salary. Public interest in these issues and/or needs were gathered through the volume of searches normalised by Google Trends. This tool was able to normalise information seeking of people in Ede, Iwo, Abeere, Ife, Osogbo, Ojudo, Ilesa, Edunabon, Ila-Orangun, Ipetu-Jesa, Efon-Alaaye, Ikirun and Apomu throughout the ten-week period of monitoring the campaign activities of the actors. During data collection, our analysts discovered that media teams of some political parties and candidates deliberately shared the same messages across the media types we examined. This is most evident among the new media team of the ruling party (APC). We also discerned a similar pattern among some supporters, who have dedicated Facebook pages for their candidates. The campaign strategies and issues/or policies were reliably checked using stability and reproducibility approaches. A member of the research team coded the messages several times while

another member repeated the process of coding the messages. The outcome indicated a strong level of agreement in line with what each campaign strategy and issue and/or policy represented.

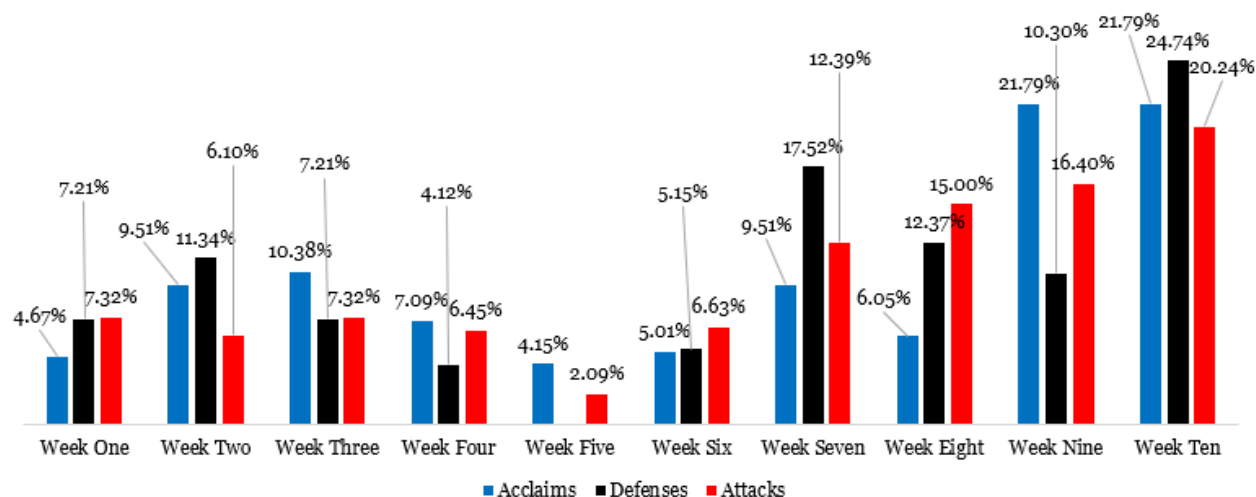
Key Results

The ten weeks of monitoring the campaign activities resulted in the gathering of 1,235 relevant messages from the sources explained earlier. In week one, a total of 60 messages which amounted to 4.90% of the entire messages (n=1,235) was gathered. This increased to 85 messages (6.90%) in week two. The gathering of the relevant messages improved by less than 1% in week three. According to the generated messages, 92 messages were found relevant during the week. This represents 7.40% of the total messages (n=1,235). In week four, the number of relevant messages dipped by less than 1%, similar to the same level of percentage increase recorded in week three. During this week (week four), 81 messages representing 6.60% were gathered. It reduced further in week five based on 46 messages (3.70%) that were collected. However, in week six, the number of relevant messages started improving in line with the level of percentage increase had in week four. According to our dataset, 80 (6.50%) and 145 (11.70%) relevant messages were found between week six and week seven. The relevant messages reduced from 11.70% recorded in week seven to 11.30% in week eight. There was a significant increase between week nine (241=19.50%) and week ten (265=21.50%). This, according to our analysts, was due to intensive activities of the political parties, which involved mega rallies at the state capital and governorship debates organised by radio and television stations in the state and outside the state.

Overall, for the 10 weeks of monitoring, 529 (42.80%) relevant messages were found for the ruling party. The People's Democratic Party slightly led all the political parties with 532 messages representing 43.10%. Among other opposition parties, with 61 messages (4.90%), Accord followed the ruling party while Labour Party followed with 60 messages which amounted to 4.85% as well as SDP (2.70%) of the total messages (n=1,235). In terms of campaign strategy, a total of 1,248 traces were found for the entire ten weeks against 982 traces that were found for the last nine weeks. Of the 1,248 traces, 46.31% were acclaims while 7.77% and 45.91% were defenses and attacks respectively. Week-by-week analysis indicates that acclaims increased from 4.67% in week one to 21.79% in week

ten. Attacks strategy equally increased from 7.32% that was recorded in week one to 20.24% in week ten. There was also a significant increase in the deployment of defenses strategy. From its use at 7.21% in week one to 24.74% in week ten, it is glaring that the political actors prioritised it along with acclaims and attacks strategy. According to our analysts, the increase in the three strategies over the weeks indicates that political actors employed the strategies as the campaign got hotter with the intention of winning voters' minds through the defenses and acclaims strategy more than the attacks strategy.

Exhibit 1: Campaign strategies by week⁴



Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Campaign issues and/or policies engagement

From week one to week ten, personality issues of the candidates, competence or lack of it of the candidates, assassination attempts or threats to life, defection, political thuggery, and vote-buying among others were significantly discussed at the expense of informing potential voters of the need to vote for candidates based on their abilities and capabilities to address existing practical problems on health, education, security, agriculture, economy, social programmes, infrastructure, workers' salary, welfare and employment under our "other category metric". Like what dominated other category in week nine, for this week, actors, especially those from the media teams of the political parties, believed that their candidates would emerge victorious because of their leadership style quality

⁴ **Key:** Acclaims=578; Defenses =97; Attacks=573

and competence. Defection and possible defeat were also debated without forgetting deliberation on vote-buying. The assassination attempt raised by the Labour Party's candidate (Honourable Lasun Yusuf) and the fire incident at the residence of the Accord Party's candidate (Dr Akin Ogunbiyi) were also equally discussed across the media sources.

Exhibit 2: Dominant Issues in the Other Category

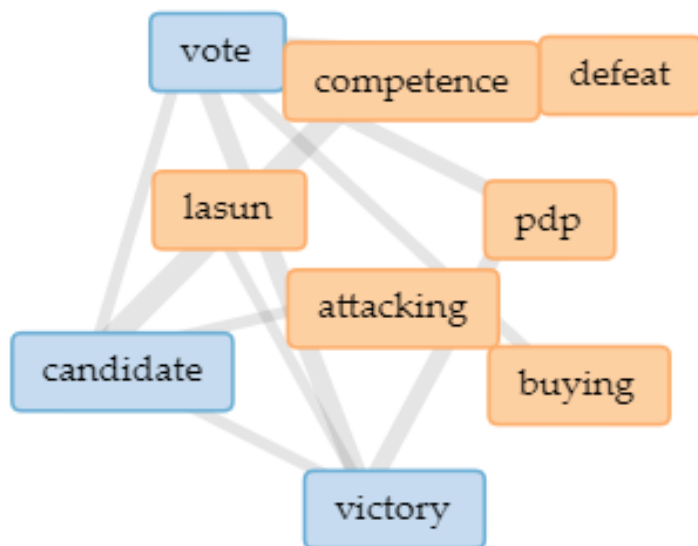


Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Exhibit 3 contains the link that exists among vote, candidate and victory with each of the dominant issues. For example, victory was mainly discussed in connection with Honourable Lasun Yusuf in relation to voting for him during the July 16 poll. The discussion of vote was not only associated with him. Political actors ensured deliberation on the need to vote other candidates as well. However, the examination of the linkages shows that voting candidate was more discussed along with choosing the People's Democratic Party within the other category metric than other political parties. This emanated mainly from the main opposition party media handlers and supporters. Handlers and supporters of the ruling party concentrated their resources on informing the public and electorate about the competence of the incumbent governor and stating the potential defeat of the main opposition party (PDP). In all, the ruling party had more

messages that fell within the other category metric than the opposition parties. This is clearly established in the subsequent analyses where the party (APC) had a high level of percentage in discussing unrelated issues and/or needs across campaign strategy and media types.

Exhibit 3: Interconnectivity of Dominant Issues in the Other Category



Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

According to the data presented in Exhibit 4, actors have continued to discuss issues and needs that are not relevant to the election. This could be gleaned from the figures in Exhibit 5 where a large percentage of 325 and 315 messages gathered between weeks nine and ten were mainly on unrelated topics. Nevertheless, our analysis reveals that between week nine and week ten, security and workers' salary, welfare and employment were discussed mostly. However, the actors maintained the same level of percentage of discussing education, workers' salary, welfare and employment, and economy in week ten (see Exhibit 4). A similar pattern was observed for the discussion of infrastructure and workers' salary, welfare and employment in week nine. The week-by-week analysis further reveals that the discussion of health, education, infrastructure, economy, and social programmes reduced between week nine and week ten. Surprisingly, the discussion of agriculture by actors reduced drastically after picking up significantly from week seven

to week nine against the poor attention it received between week five and week six (see Exhibit 4).

Exhibit 4: Campaign and/or Policy Issues by week

	Health	Education	Security	Infrastructure	Workers' Salary, Welfare and Employment	Agriculture	Economy	Social Programmes	Others	Total
Week One	8.49%	8.49%	6.60%	11.32%	9.43%	9.43%	8.49%	10.37%	27.35%	106
Week Two	7.09%	6.38%	7.09%	9.92%	7.80%	7.09%	10.63%	7.09%	36.87%	141
Week Three	8.86%	6.32%	5.06%	8.86%	7.59%	5.06%	7.59%	6.96%	43.67%	158
Week Four	5.88%	8.40%	5.04%	9.24%	10.92%	5.88%	10.08%	10.92%	33.61%	119
Week Five	3.22%	8.06%	3.22%	12.90%	24.19%	3.22%	3.22%	4.83%	37.09%	62
Week Six	1.28%	8.97%	2.56%	6.41%	10.25%	2.56%	5.12%	6.41%	56.41%	78
Week Seven	5.52%	6.53%	3.51%	10.55%	7.03%	3.51%	7.03%	5.02%	51.26%	199
Week Eight	4.24%	2.42%	3.63%	7.87%	4.24%	3.63%	3.63%	3.03%	67.27%	165
Week Nine	4.00%	4.61%	4.00%	6.76%	6.76%	4.30%	4.92%	3.38%	61.23%	325
Week Ten	2.22%	4.44%	6.34%	3.49%	4.44%	2.53%	4.44%	1.58%	70.84%	315

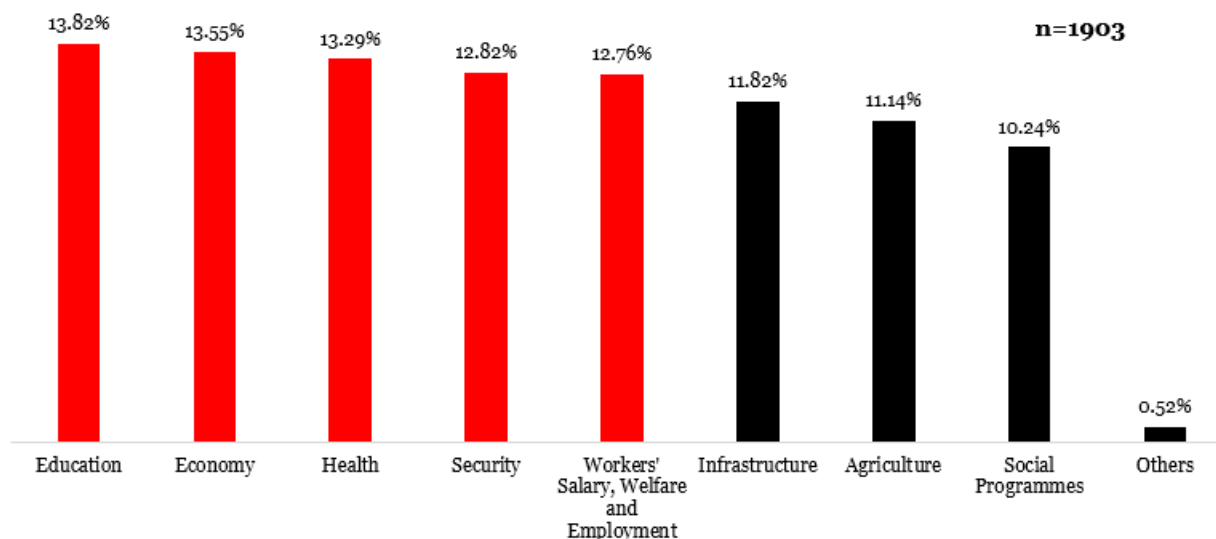
Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Similar to the data presented in Exhibit 4, data in Exhibit 5 reveals the volume of information Osun residents sought about the campaign issues/and or needs. Across the weeks, analysis shows that in week nine, Osun public sought information about salary, economy, security and health. Comparing this with the data presented in Exhibit 4, it emerged that political actors only aligned with the public interest in the area of security. Based on this result, our analysts note that the actors failed to key into the public interest at the end of the campaign activities. This result is further enhanced with the data presented in Exhibit 6 based on the views expressed by over 300 electorate from three senatorial districts in the state about the categories of messages they have been receiving from candidates and political parties since April 2022. The majority of the electorate stated that they have watched, seen, read and listened to messages that focused on issues and/or needs within the education, economy, health, security, and workers' salary, welfare and employment than getting significant messages on infrastructure, agriculture and social programmes.

Exhibit 5: Issues and/or needs searched by Osun Public based by week

	Economy	Health	Security	Education	Road	Employment	Agriculture	Salary
Week One	22.10%	15.58%	19.26%	24.54%	26.73%	21.59%	21.15%	18.13%
Week Two	10.83%	11.73%	17.26%	9.87%	10.98%	21.59%	14.40%	6.97%
Week Three	10.83%	15.09%	0.00%	8.37%	0.00%	0.00%	10.48%	11.85%
Week Four	0.00%	4.84%	0.00%	7.69%	0.00%	0.00%	8.88%	0.00%
Week Five	10.83%	6.88%	12.77%	8.18%	13.89%	0.00%	12.80%	6.97%
Week Six	10.83%	7.51%	9.98%	7.01%	8.07%	21.59%	0.00%	9.48%
Week Seven	10.83%	5.25%	17.16%	7.64%	8.07%	35.20%	14.48%	6.97%
Week Eight	10.83%	11.99%	13.57%	11.03%	14.05%	0.00%	8.88%	6.97%
Week Nine	0.00%	11.32%	0.00%	10.79%	10.09%	0.00%	8.88%	19.10%
Week Ten	12.89%	9.77%	9.98%	4.84%	8.07%	0.00%	0.00%	13.52%
Total	923	2702	1002	2066	1238	463	1125	1434

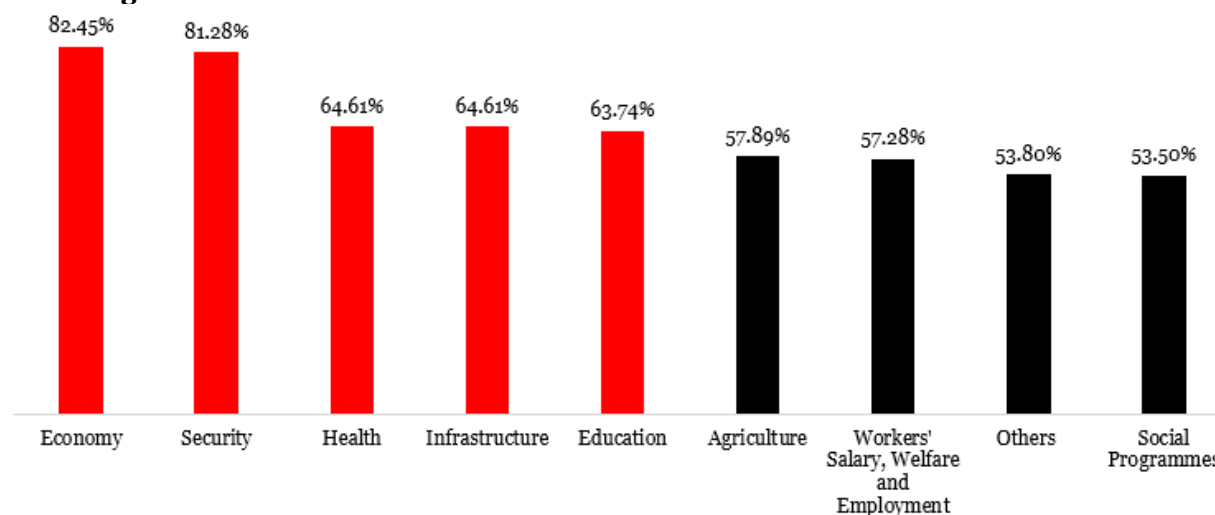
Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Exhibit 6: Dominant areas/sectors of engagement according to electorate⁵

Source: Osun 2022 Election Survey; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

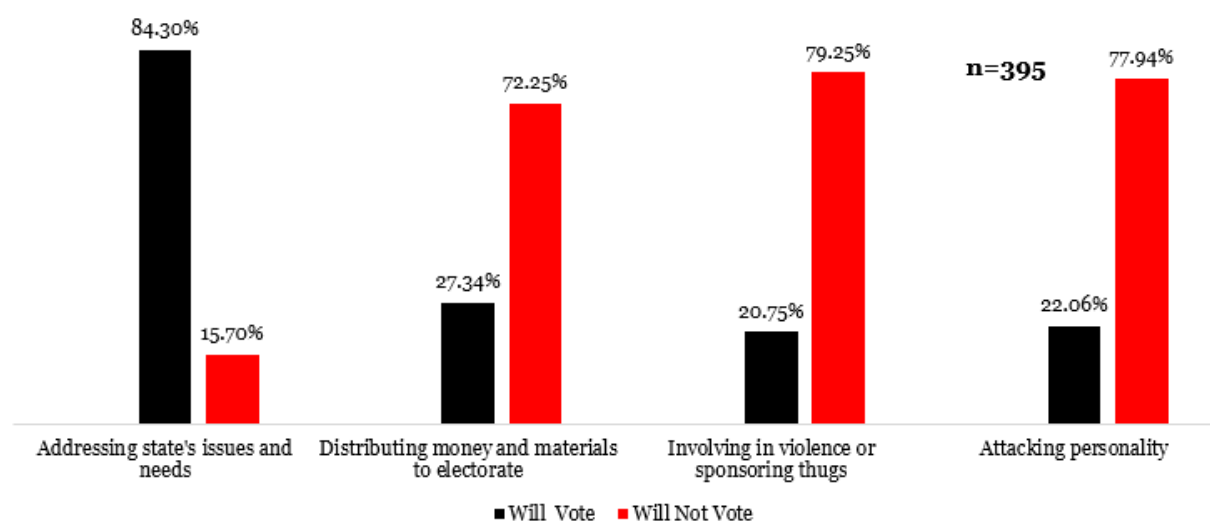
Meanwhile, further probing of the electorate about the level at which the political actors addressed issues and/or needs in the identified areas in Exhibit 6 throughout the ten weeks of monitoring indicates a slight change in the identification of the areas and/or sectors the actors considered the most. Over 80% of the 342 electorate indicated economy and security as the areas where actors have discussed the challenges and needs of the people. Over 60% of the electorate also believed that actors have significantly discussed issues and/or needs related to health, infrastructure and education. However, more than half of the electorate reported that actors did not address issues and expectations of the public significantly while engaging the public in the course of discussing agricultural-related challenges and needs. This also applies to workers' salary, welfare and employment as well as social programmes (see Exhibit 7).

⁵ Sampled electorate were asked to pick more than one category

Exhibit 7: Areas/sectors where issues and/or needs are greatly addressed by political actors according to electorate⁶

Analysis of the electorate's views further reveals that the majority (84.30%) will vote for candidates and political parties that addressed issues and/or needs of the people. We also found that candidates and political parties that disparage personality would not be considered during the poll. This is also applicable to political parties and candidates found to have engaged political thugs before and during the election to cause violence across the state. Though the percentage is small, some sampled electorate are likely to vote for candidates and political parties that give them money and materials. This further reinforces the need for a rigorous anti-vote selling campaign.

⁶ 342 electorate

Exhibit 8: Electorate's Will Vote Versus Will Not Vote Decision

Source: Osun 2022 Election Survey; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

The ten-week period indicates that across media types (Facebook, Twitter, radio jingles, campaign speech, and newspapers), the identified campaign issues/policies were discussed on Facebook, Twitter, in the newspapers and in the radio jingles more than during the campaign rallies. Actors mostly deployed Twitter for discussing issues/needs that were not directly related to governance. This is also observed on Facebook and in the newspapers. While social media (Facebook and Twitter) were employed for discussing unrelated issues and/or needs, analysis shows that radio jingles were less used for this. Jingles were mostly employed for communicating what have been and will be done in the areas of education, infrastructure, and workers' welfare, salary and employment.

Exhibit 9: Campaign and/or Policy Issues by Media Types

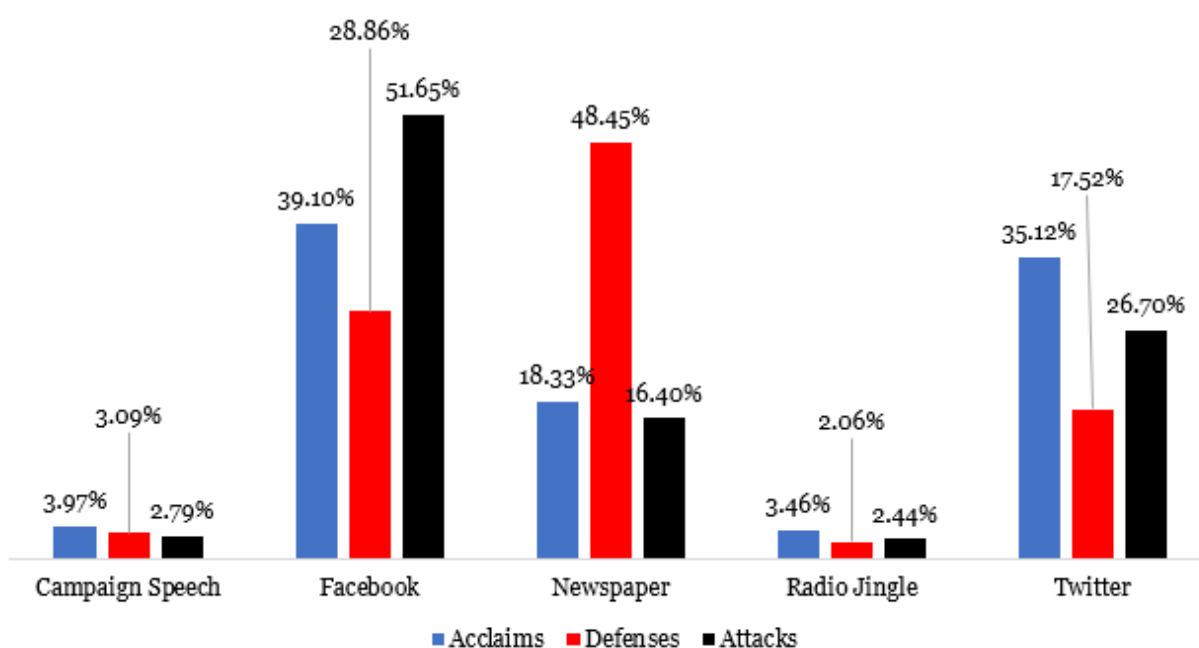
	Health	Education	Security	Infrastructure	Workers' Salary, Welfare and Employment	Agriculture	Economy	Social Programmes	Others	Total
Campaign Speech	8.21%	12.32%	5.47%	16.43%	6.84%	8.21%	6.84%	6.84%	28.77%	73
Facebook	4.68%	5.78%	3.99%	8.12%	8.12%	4.26%	5.78%	5.09%	54.13%	726
Newspaper	5.55%	6.43%	5.84%	8.77%	7.01%	5.26%	7.30%	5.26%	48.54%	342
Radio Jingle	10.81%	13.51%	9.90%	12.61%	12.61%	10.81%	9.00%	10.81%	9.90%	111
Twitter	2.40%	1.92%	4.08%	3.84%	5.76%	1.68%	5.28%	2.88%	72.12%	416

Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

From the cumulative report of week nine to the current cumulative report (week ten), there are some levels of changes in the deployment of media categories we have been monitoring since April 2022. In the cumulative nine-week report, it was reported that the actors deployed attacks strategy by 53.39% on Facebook. In the current report, the use of

the strategy was found at 51.65% of the total messages that established the attacks strategy. This indicates a relative reduction in the use of the strategy. On this medium, defenses were also found to reduce from 30.13% recorded in the week nine report to 28.86% in the current report. Acclaims strategy reduced from 47.34% in week nine to 39.10% in week ten. In the newspapers, defenses strategy increased relatively between week nine and week ten. In week nine, it was used by 47.94% while it was found at 48.45% in week ten.

Exhibit 10: Campaign Strategies across Media Types⁷



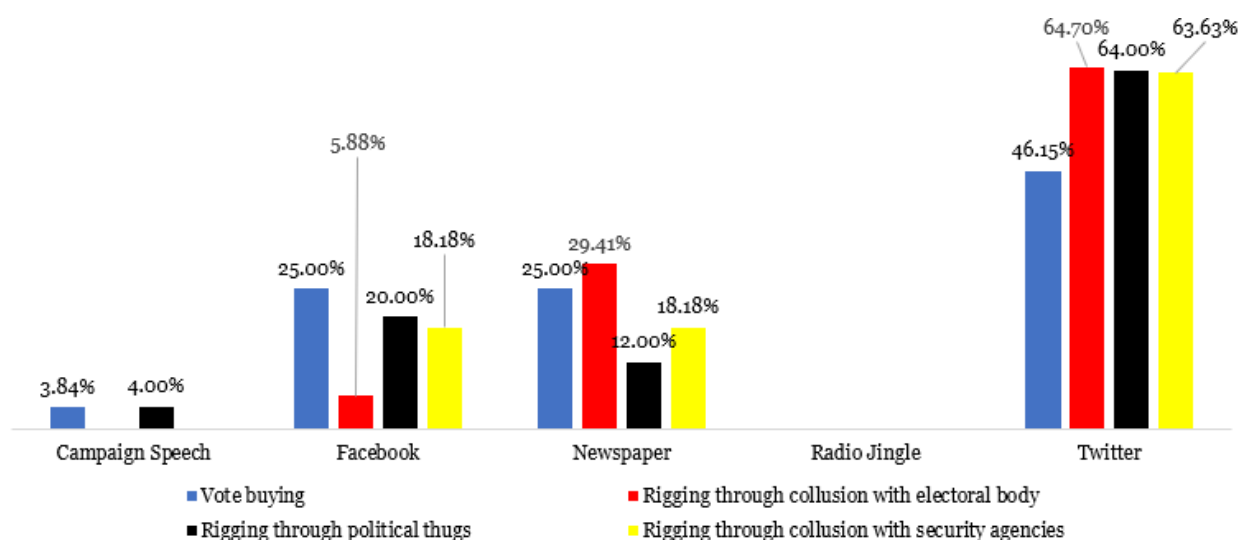
Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Apart from our interest in how the actors deployed the strategies across the media types, we were also interested in knowing which of the media had been predominantly used to create awareness or report possible threats to the July 16 poll in Osun State. The outcome of the analysis was presented in Exhibit 9, where it was revealed that the identified threats have been mainly communicated or discussed on Twitter than other sources of messages we considered. The discussion of vote buying on Facebook reduced from 30.23% in week

⁷ **Key:** Attacks=573, Acclaims=578, Defenses=97

nine to 25.00% in the current week. However, in the newspaper, the discussion was intensified as it took the second position among other threats that were debated through the medium. There was also a slight reduction in the extent of using Facebook for discussing rigging through political thugs. In week nine, the issue was discussed at a 27.77% level while it reduced to 20.00% in week ten. Actors increased their discussion of rigging through collusion with the electoral body on Facebook, which was first recorded in week nine. Rigging through collusion with security agencies was mostly discussed on Twitter, Facebook and in the newspapers.

Exhibit 11: Threats to Credible Poll across Media Types⁸



Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

The ruling party remains the only political party that significantly engaged the public across the campaign issues and/or needs throughout the ten weeks. The party discussed what it had done in the areas of health, infrastructure, workers' salary, welfare and employment and social programmes more than telling the public what it intended to do differently if elected for another four years. As stated previously, the actors engaged the public on issues and/or needs that are not based on the needs of the public as well as challenges they are facing. For instance, the contextual analysis of the ruling party's engagement clearly shows a discussion of performance and asking the public to vote again

⁸ Vote buying=52, Rigging through political thugs=25, Rigging through collusion with electoral body=17, Rigging through collusion with security agencies=11

for the continuation of what it is doing. The People's Democratic Party is the only opposition party, according to our dataset, that trailed the ruling party in terms of engaging the public. While the ruling party has been discussing some critical issues and needs, the main opposition party had largely deployed its resources towards debating unrelated issues and needs (see our earlier definition of "other category metric"). Despite this, the party (PDP) has relatively engaged the public by discussing issues and needs within agriculture, health, workers' salary, welfare and employment, and the economy more than other expectations of the public. Like the ruling party, our dataset reveals that the party and its supporters only discussed the issues and/or needs in relation to personality disparagement with less emphasis on what the candidate (Senator Nurudeen Ademola Adeleke) and the party will do differently. In some campaign or policy issues discussion, Accord and Labour Party slightly engaged the public (see Exhibit 12).

Exhibit 12: Campaign and/or Policy Issues by Political Parties

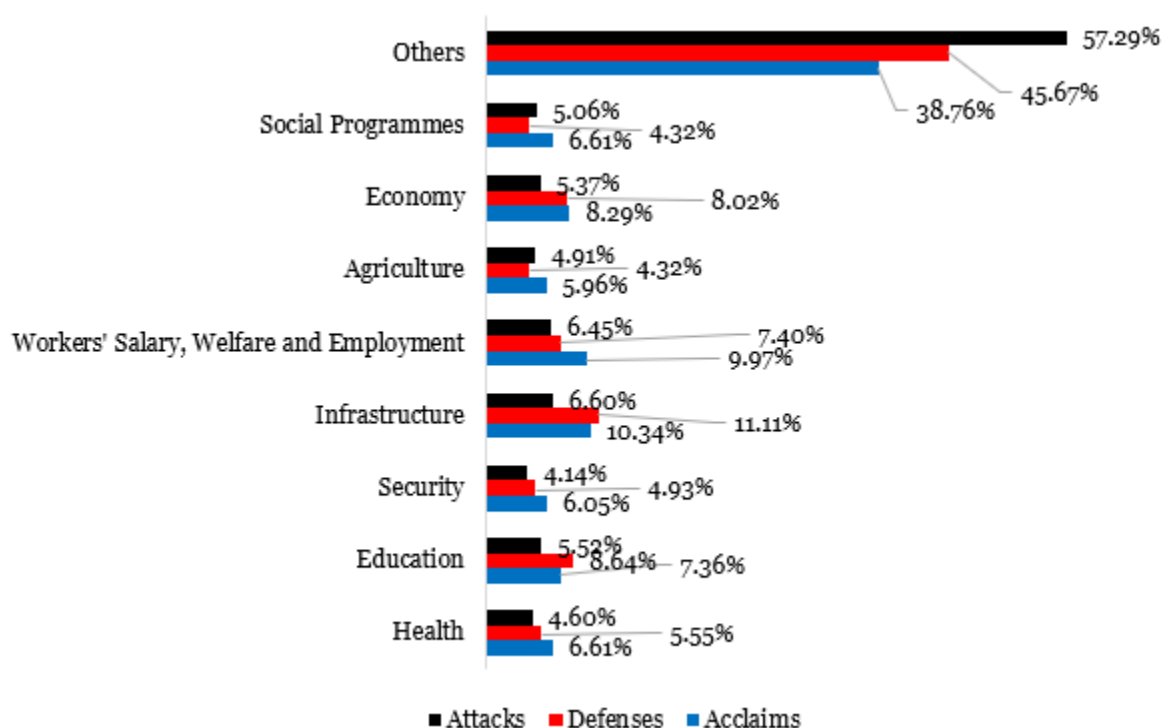
	Health	Education	Security	Infrastructure	Workers' Salary, Welfare and Employment	Agriculture	Economy	Social Programmes	Others
APC	69.13%	62.50%	53.08%	66.41%	64.28%	47.29%	49.03%	64.28%	41.86%
APM	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.79%	1.35%	0.96%	1.19%	0.11%
PDP	20.98%	28.12%	29.62%	26.71%	26.98%	32.43%	29.80%	27.38%	43.32%
Labour Party	2.46%	2.08%	7.40%	1.52%	0.79%	8.10%	6.73%	2.38%	5.94%
Accord	3.70%	4.16%	4.93%	3.81%	4.76%	5.40%	5.76%	2.38%	5.05%
ADP	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.11%
ZLP	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.35%	0.96%	0.00%	0.11%
PRP	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.11%
AAC	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.35%	0.00%	0.00%	0.44%
YPP	1.23%	1.04%	1.23%	0.76%	0.79%	1.35%	0.96%	1.19%	0.33%
SDP	2.46%	2.08%	3.70%	0.76%	1.58%	1.35%	5.76%	1.19%	1.90%
APC-Faction	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.33%
NNPP	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.22%
Boot Party	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.11%
Total	81	96	81	131	126	74	104	84	891

Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

A total 1,886 traces of campaign strategies were found across campaign issues and/or policies against 1,543 traces discovered for week nine. Of 1,886 traces, 34.51% were associated with attacks, while 56.89% and 8.58% resonated with our definitions of acclaims and defenses respectively. Further analysis establishes that the three strategies were predominantly employed while actors discussed *others category* (see earlier definition of others for more components of the category), infrastructure, economy, workers' salary, welfare and employment. The use of attacks strategy for discussing unrelated issues and needs increased from 54.24% had in week nine to 57.29% in week

ten. Defenses also improved from 41.22% to 45.67% while acclaims increased from 34.45% recorded in the previous week to 38.76% in the current week. With the use of the strategies mostly in infrastructure, economy and issues/needs related to human capital development, our analysts note that both the ruling and the opposition parties believe that the areas are more connected with people than others. Hence, the need to prove, defend and attack ideas were necessary in order to significantly secure the relative level of public share of minds ahead of the election.

Exhibit 13: Campaign Strategies across Campaign and/or Policy Issues⁹



Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

We were equally interested in knowing which of the political parties employed the strategies significantly throughout the ten weeks of monitoring. Further analysis indicates that the People's Democratic Party attacked more than acclaimed and defended, while the Labour Party and Accord only acclaimed. The Social Democratic Party was the only party that acclaimed significantly throughout the weeks instead of attacking and defending. With the addition of week ten data, the ruling party's use of defense strategy reduced from 67.12% to 67.01% (see Exhibit 14). Acclaims strategy of the party equally dipped from

⁹ **Key:** Acclaims= 1073, Defenses=162, Attacks=651

53.98% to 47.40%. The same pattern was also found for attack strategy deployment, where the level of utilizing it reduced from 35.88% to 34.20%. According to our analysts, this suggests that the party slightly returned to its earlier position of running issue-based campaigns after failing to uphold the pledge in week eight. The main opposition party increased its deployment of attacks and defense strategies after jettisoning them slightly in week eight. From 57.33% to 59.59%, attacks strategy deployment of the party increased. With a slight increase (from 28.98% to 30.79%), the party was also found to appropriate acclaims strategy relatively in week ten. However, the party's use of defenses strategy reduced slightly in week ten from 30.13% attained in week nine to 29.89% in the current week. The three campaign strategies were appropriated slightly by the Labour Party and Accord in week nine. In week nine, at 3.98% the party deployed acclaims strategy. This increased to 8.30% in the current week. This also applies to the use of defenses and attacks. Accord reduced its use of acclaims and attacks strategy from 7.74% (acclaims) in week nine to 6.92% (acclaims) in week ten. The use of attacks strategy by the party equally reduced from 3.50% in week nine to 2.96% in week ten (see Exhibit 14)

Exhibit 14: Campaign Strategies across Political Parties

	Attacks	Defenses	Acclaims
APC	34.20%	67.01%	47.40%
APM	0.00%	0.00%	0.17%
PDP	57.59%	29.89%	30.79%
Labour Party	2.96%	1.03%	8.30%
Accord	2.96%	0.00%	6.92%
ADP	0.00%	0.00%	0.17%
ZLP	0.17%	0.00%	0.17%
PRP	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
AAC	0.34%	0.00%	0.51%
YPP	0.00%	0.00%	0.17%
SDP	0.69%	0.00%	4.84%
APC-Faction	0.69%	1.03%	0.00%
NNPP	0.34%	0.00%	0.34%
Boot Party	0.00%	1.03%	0.17%
Total	573	97	578

Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

From all the previous analyses, it is obvious that the actors deployed the campaign strategies differently. The ruling party prioritised defenses and acclaims over attacks while the opposition party, especially the People's Democratic Party, largely deployed attacks as a strategy. This position led our analysts to further examine the number of times all the parties deployed the strategies during the ten weeks. While discussing unrelated needs and issues, actors extensively deployed attacks strategy. The strategy was used more than 40 times by the actors. Acclaims strategy was used more than 20 times in the course of discussing or engaging the public on workers' salary, welfare and employment. The same strategy was also significantly employed while discussing challenges, issues and needs within infrastructure and economy. Surprisingly, the strategy was not employed significantly for unearthing various challenges and needs related to education, agriculture and social programmes. The defenses strategy was more used for debating challenges and needs associated with infrastructure and economy than other categories of campaign and/or policy issues (see Exhibit 15).

Exhibit 15: Number of times parties deployed campaign strategies across campaign issues/policies

	Acclaims	Defenses	Attacks
Health	0.7	0.0	0.1
Education	0.0	3.3	0.7
Security	1.0	0.0	4.9
Infrastructure	18.7	4.0	9.1
Workers' Salary, Welfare and Employment	22.8	0.1	11.1
Agriculture	0.0	0.7	7.9
Economy	10.5	2.0	4.7
Social programmes	0.2	1.9	1.6
Others	9.4	1.5	40.3

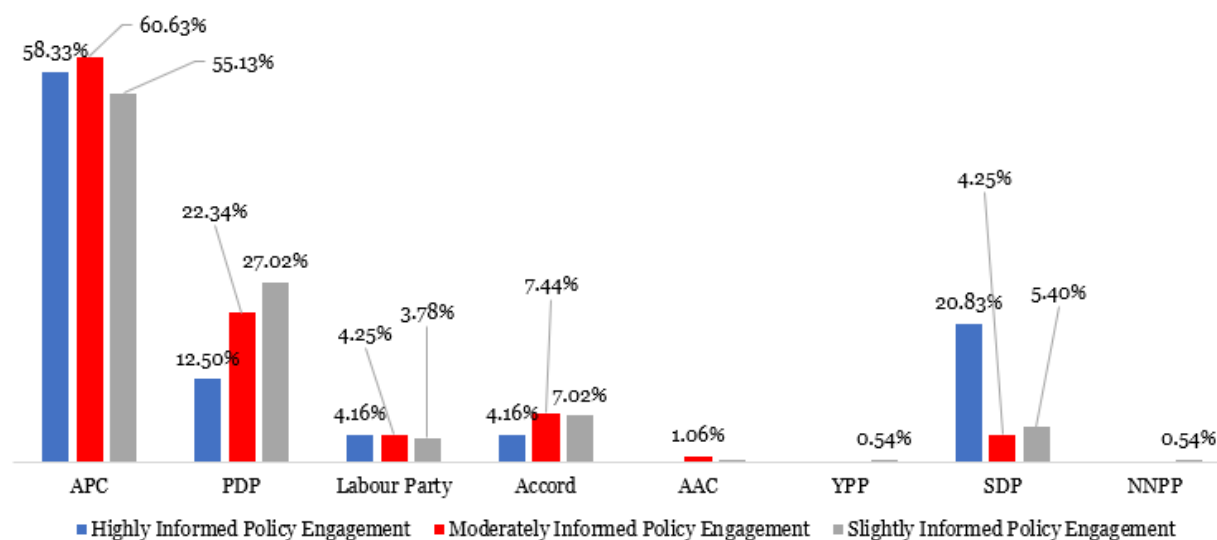
Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Policy Engagement or Personality Disparagement

We discovered that the ruling party was better at informed policy engagement and less intensive in disparaging the personality of the opponents. The leading opposition party (PDP) slightly engaged the policies or programmes of the current administration while it

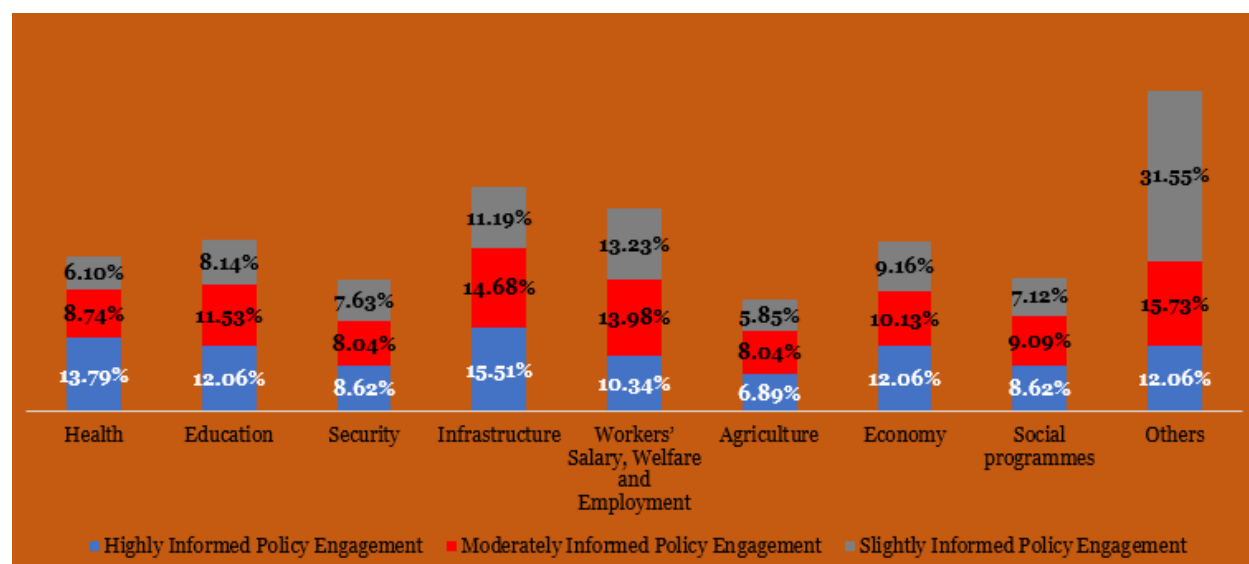
moderately disparaged the personality of the ruling party's candidate and the party itself (see Exhibits 16 and 17). A total of 737 traces of informed policy engagement were discovered. Less than 10% of the total was highly informed policy engagement. This indicates that parties, media handlers and supporters deployed moderately and slightly informed policy engagement metrics. According to our analysis, 38.80% of the total traces (n=737) were moderately informed policy engagement while 53.32% were slightly informed policy engagement. Further analysis of the levels of policy engagement across campaign issues and/or policies shows mixed results for *others as a category*. Parties and their supporters slightly and highly engaged potential electorate when discussing infrastructure, health, and workers' welfare, salary and employment. From the data in Exhibit 16, it is clear that actors only succeeded in engaging the public better while discussing infrastructure, health and unrelated issues.

Exhibit 16: Levels of policy engagement by party¹⁰



Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

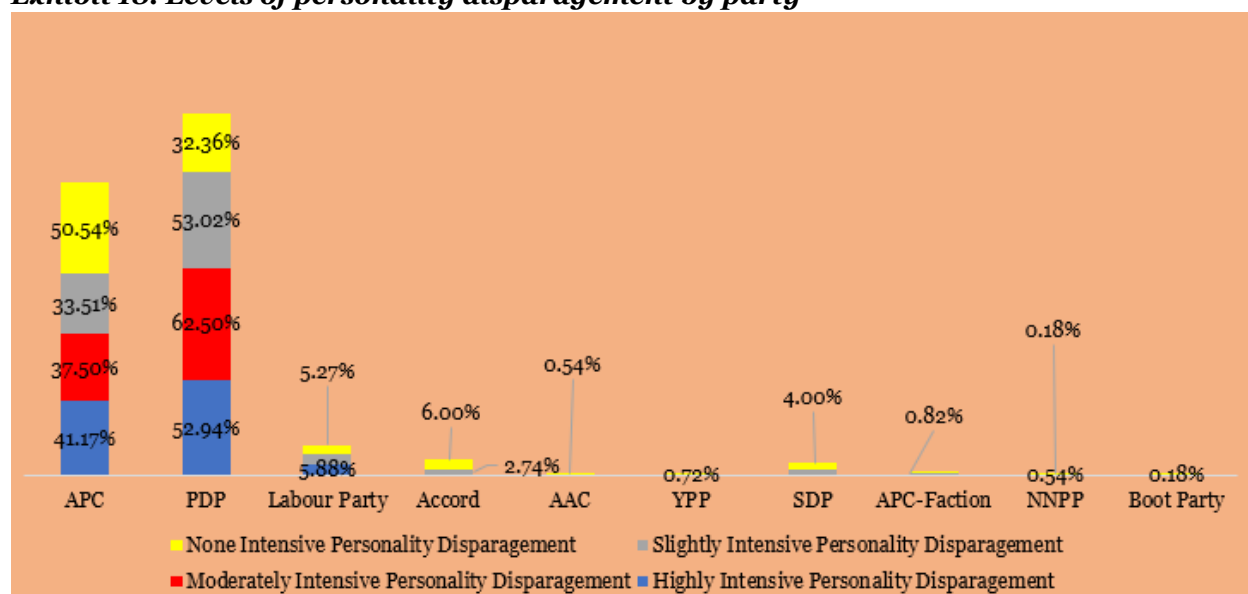
¹⁰ **Key:** Highly Informed Policy Engagement=24, Moderately Informed Policy Engagement=94, Slightly Informed Policy Engagement=185

Exhibit 17: Levels of policy engagement by campaign issues and/or policies¹¹

Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Since April, our analysis has constantly revealed that the main opposition party recorded mixed and unstable results in terms of personality disparagement. It has usually deployed a highly intensive personality disparagement metric and less use of none intensive personality disparagement metric. However, in one of the previous cumulative reports, both the ruling and the main opposition party closed in terms of deploying a highly intensive personality disparagement metric. During the week, it was reported that the parties had a 46.15% level of disparagement using the metric. Looking at the current data, it emerged that the PDP employed highly intensive personality disparagement more than the ruling party and other political parties.

¹¹ **Key:** Highly Informed Policy Engagement=58, Moderately Informed Policy Engagement=286, Slightly Informed Policy Engagement=393

Exhibit 18: Levels of personality disparagement by party¹²

Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

It also emerged that the main opposition party moderately disparaged the personality of the ruling party's candidate, his performance and political party. In all of these metrics, the ruling party seems to be better than the opposition parties based on a comparison of the week-nine cumulative report with the week-ten cumulative report. The level at which the ruling party deployed a moderately intensive personality disparagement metric increased from 34.45% to 37.50% while the PDP equally increased its application from 57.98% to 62.50%. The level of increase recorded by the ruling party while employing highly intensive and moderately intensive personality disparagement was a result of its significant less use of none intensive personality disparagement. According to our analysis, the party's deployment of non-intensive personality disparagement reduced from 55.02%, during the last week's cumulative report, to 50.54% attained in the current report. This pattern was not observed in the main opposition party's deployment of the personality disparagement category. According to our dataset and analysis, the opposition party achieved 29.90% of its appropriation in the previous report and 32.36% for the current report (see Exhibit 18). Analysis suggests that the party prioritised moderately intensive personality disparagement more than none intensive personality disparagement. Our results of the electorate survey show that out of the 342 electorate

¹² **Key:** Highly Intensive Personality Disparagement=17, Moderately Intensive Personality Disparagement=128, Slightly Intensive Personality Disparagement=364, None Intensive Personality Disparagement=550

who responded to the question about the level of personality disparagement by political parties, candidates and their supporters since April 2022, 90.30% instead of 90.60% (of 309 electorate recorded in week nine) said the stakeholders had extensively attacked personality rather than addressing issues and/or needs of the people. Implications of their views have been previously stated when they were further asked what they would do as personality disparagement continues between the ruling and opposition parties, especially the People's Democratic Party and their failure to address important issues and needs of the people.

Exhibit 19: Number of times parties deployed highly informed policy engagement and intensive personality disparagement during the eight weeks

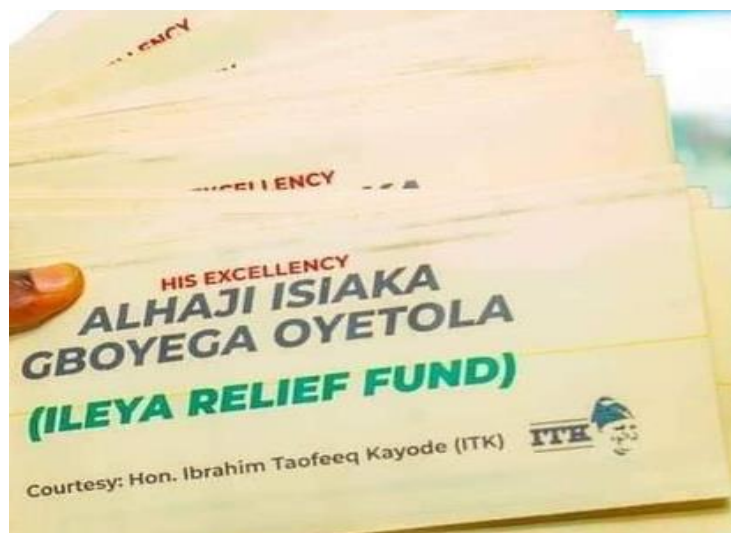
	Highly Informed Policy Engagement	Highly Intensive Personality Disparagement
Health	8.7	0.0
Education	0.4	0.2
Security	0.0	0.0
Infrastructure	1.3	0.7
Workers' Salary and Welfare and Employment	1.5	3.9
Agriculture	3.9	3.4
Economy	2.9	0.0
Social programmes	0.0	5.5
Others	16.8	0.7

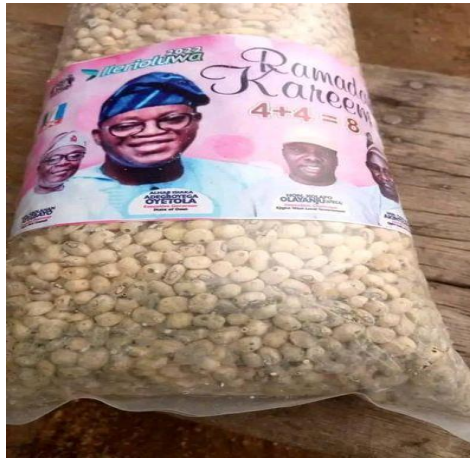
Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

The examination of highly informed policy engagement and intensive personality disparagement within the context of frequency of deployment reveals different patterns across the campaign and/or policy issues. Surprisingly, analysis reveals that actors engaged the public and potential electorate highly while discussing unrelated issues and/or needs. This is closely followed with health, agriculture and economy. This result is better appreciated with the outcomes presented in Exhibit 16, where the percentage level at which the actors engaged the public and electorate extensively across campaign issues are presented.

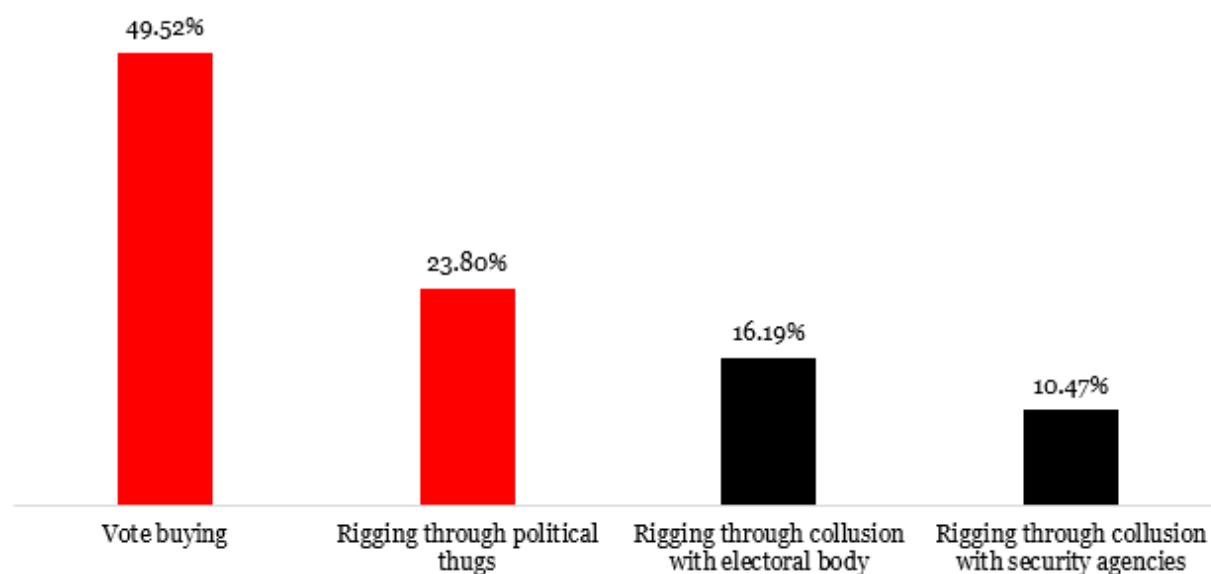
Threats to credible poll

The APC and PDP frequently addressed vote-buying and manipulation, citing political thugs, among the four sub-metrics our analysts investigated under threats to credible poll as the main metric (see Exhibit 20). Throughout the ten weeks of monitoring, a total of 105 traces of threats to the poll were discovered. Analysis reveals 49.52% for cumulative week ten report against 55.84% of discussing vote-buying in the previous nine weeks. The discussion of hiring or recruiting political thugs increased from 23.37% to 23.80% in the current report. While the discussion of the possible use of political thugs by the political actors is appreciated, the reduction in debating vote-buying has made us understand once again that the collective effort towards addressing buying and selling of votes during the poll is yielding the desired result. Despite this, our dataset indicates the distribution of food materials and money to some electorate. This was discovered between week six and week ten. The prominent ones tracked by our data collector are:





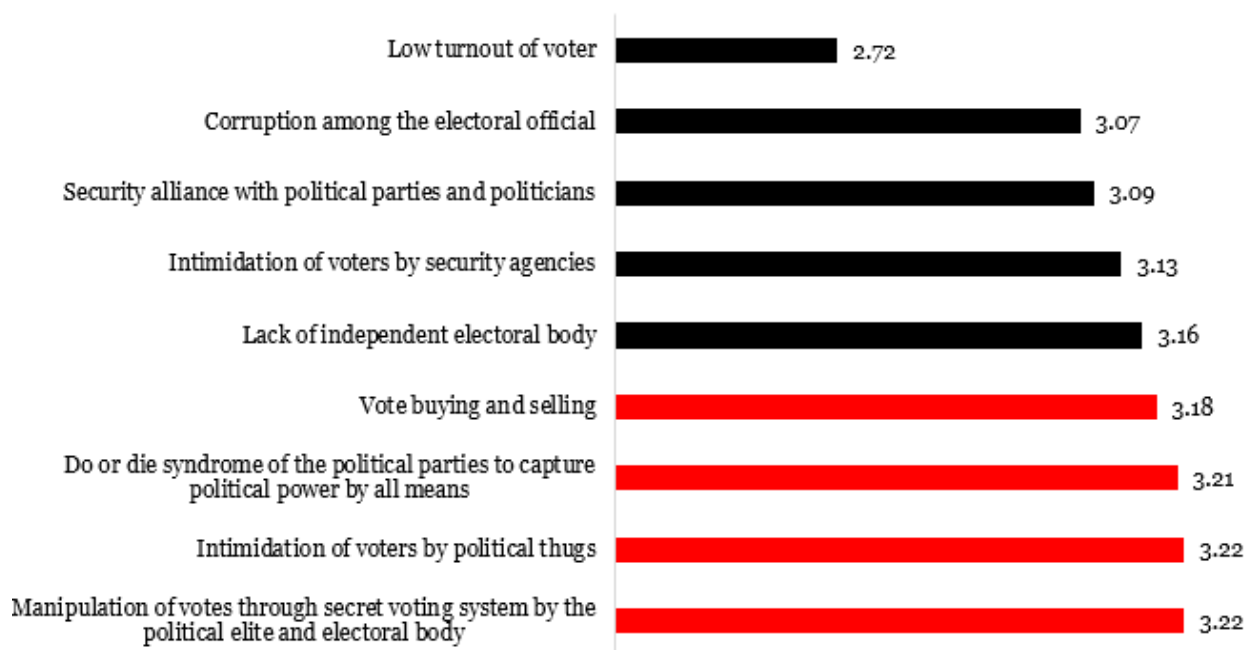
Expanding the emerged insights, our analyst notes that during week nine, there were convergence and divergence points of discussing and perceiving potential threats to the poll. For instance, according to the data presented in Exhibits 19 and 20, political actors see vote buying and use of political thugs as key threats while sampled electorate consider intimidation of voters by political thugs and the do-or-die attitude of politicians as the first and the second threats respectively to the poll. The vote-buying which is the most threatening according to the political parties and their supporters was considered the fourth threat by the electorate. With the addition of the week ten data, there is a gradual shift in the identification of potential threats to the poll. For instance, in week nine, rigging through collusion with the electoral body was at a 12.98% threshold. In the current week, it has increased by more than 2% (to 16.19%). This also applies to rigging through collusion with security agencies, which increased from 7.79% to 10.47%. This incongruence is linked with the ideological difference and possible outcomes of the two threats to the concerned stakeholders by our analysts.

Exhibit 20: Threats to credible poll according to political actors and supporters¹³

Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

From the electorate's perspective, intimidation of voters by political thugs, do or die syndrome of the political parties to capture political power by all means, manipulation of votes through a secret voting system by the political elite and electoral body, and vote buying and selling were the key threats identified during week nine of the monitoring. Additional data of week ten indicate a similar shift recorded for political actors and supporters' threats identification. According to possible manipulation of the voting process by the political elites in conjunction with the electoral body worth fearing about while intimidation of voters by political thugs equally deserved specific attention. Do or die syndrome of the political parties, candidates and supporters, which was identified as the second significant threat in week nine, has occupied the third position in the electorate's minds. Vote buying and selling retained its fourth position attained in week nine. According to our analysts, this further indicates that electorate do not see buying and selling votes as what the concerned stakeholders need to worry about.

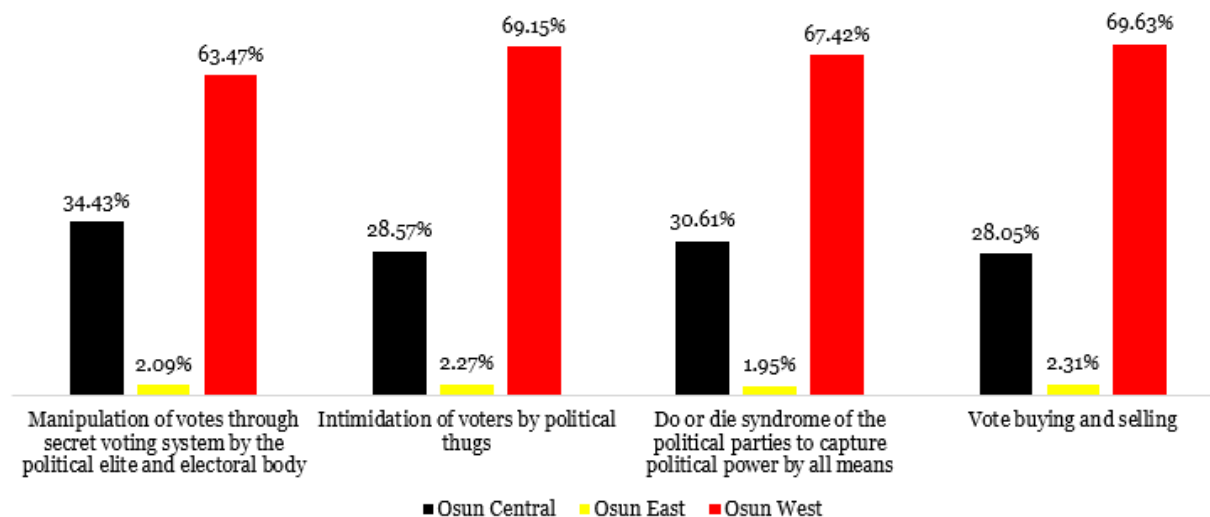
¹³ **Key:** Vote buying=25, Rigging through political thugs=13, Rigging through electoral body=5, Rigging through security agencies=3

Exhibit 21: Threats to credible poll according to electorate¹⁴

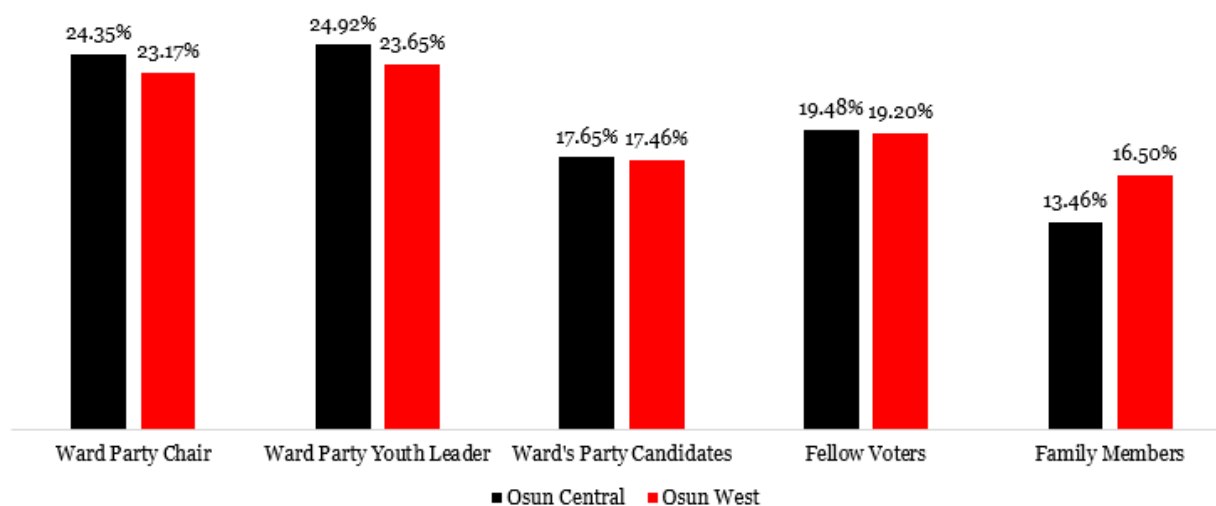
Source: Osun 2022 Election Survey, Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

The examination of the dominant threats indicates that the electorate in the Osun West and Central districts believed that the intimidation of voters by political thugs and vote buying as well as selling would occur in the districts (see Exhibit 22). Our analysis, through the views of the electorate in Osun Central and Osun West districts show that members of political parties are likely to be used as people who would be distributing money to electorate for buying their (voters) votes for a particular candidate (see Exhibit 23). In line with this result, our analysts point out that security agencies, corrupt practices and financial crimes control and management commissions need to consider preparing strategic intelligence from the results towards addressing vote-buying and selling issues effectively before and during the poll.

¹⁴ Electorate were asked to choose between very great extent and no extent range (4 represents highest while 1 indicates lowest). Numbers represent average score of 309 electorate's views per threat

Exhibit 22: Key threats to credible poll according to the electorate by senatorial district¹⁵

Source: Osun 2022 Election Survey, Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Exhibit 23: Categories of people likely to offer money to electorate by senatorial districts¹⁶

Source: Osun 2022 Election Survey, Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

¹⁵ Intimidation of voters by political thugs (n=308), vote buying and selling (n=303), Manipulation of votes through secret voting system by the political elite and electoral body (n=334), Do or die syndrome of the political parties to capture political power by all means (n=307)

¹⁶ Osun Central (n=349), Osun West (n=630)

Conclusion and Our Verdict

Out of all the political parties contesting tomorrow's governorship election in the state, only two of them, the APC and the PDP, recorded the highest campaign messages across the five communication media types (Facebook, Twitter, Newspapers, Radio jingles and Campaign speeches) we monitored from day one to the 69th day of the monitoring exercise. Forty-two-point eighty percent (42.80%) went to the APC while the PDP took 43.10%. Accord, Labour Party and SDP shared the remaining percentage. One of the main implications of our findings this week is that the political parties, especially the two major parties, greatly believed in defending their candidates than the rate they defended them and their policies in weeks eight and nine. As they defended, they equally promised potential electorates what they would do better should they are voted for tomorrow. This shows that the political parties understand that defenses and acclaims are two strong strategies that can help them persuade voters before tomorrow's election— the closer the election, the more the strategies are deployed. Still, verbal attacks did not stop, and those attacks were more prominent on Facebook and Twitter than on the other three media types monitored. Like the previous two weeks, the parties were also confident of emerging victorious in tomorrow's election, though they kept urging voters to vote for them. Aside from the canvassing, the parties, their supporters and the media team kept selling the competencies of their candidates to the potential electorate.

This week's report also points our direction to the issue of security in the state. Throughout the campaign week, security became the dominant policy-engaged discussion. However, this changed to salary and economy when we examined the issues that interested Osun digital natives this week. In addition, over 80% of the 342 electorate we spoke with identified economy and security as the areas where the political actors discussed the challenges and needs of the people most. According to the majority (84.30%) of the electorate, they will vote for the candidates and political parties that addressed issues and people's needs. That does not mean some electorate will not engage in vote selling. According to the electorate, vote buying and selling, manipulations of results, intimidation of voters by political thugs as well as do-or-die politics are potential threats to the election if appropriate actions are not taken to curtail their emergence.

Another interesting finding this week is that Twitter was heavily used by both the APC and the PDP to market their candidates and de-market each other's opponents. However, four main threats to tomorrow's election were dominant. One, the opposition accused the ruling party of planning to collude with the electoral umpire to rig tomorrow's election (64.70% of the analysed messages). Two, the ruling party was also accused of planning to rig the election through the influence of political thugs (64% of the analysed messages). Three, they were also accused of planning to rig through security agencies (63.63% of the analysed messages). Lastly, the two parties accused each other of planning to buy votes (46.15% of the analysed messages). It is important to state that Twitter users who engaged in these conversations are divided into three— those residing in the state and will vote tomorrow; those residing outside the state and will not vote tomorrow; paid influencers who are not even from Osun State.

In terms of policy engagement, the opposition parties did little compared to the informed policy engagement the ruling party dished out to potential voters.

Therefore, our recommendations for week nine also suffice for this week's. That is, we strongly recommend that the security agencies intensify their efforts in ensuring that perpetrators of violence do not go scot-free, especially now that physical political attacks have become constant in the state. We also advise political actors in the state to place national peace and objective over their personal political goals and interests. Also, security agencies, corrupt practices and financial crimes control and management commissions should consider preparing strategic intelligence from research-based results like this towards addressing vote-buying and selling effectively before and during the poll. Finally, we admonish voters not to sell the future of their children for meagre financial and material inducements; they should cast their votes for the candidate they believe will bring true and people-oriented development to the state.

About Positive Agenda Nigeria

Positive Agenda Nigeria is a non-governmental organisation led by a group of academics and independent researchers dedicated to adopting evidence-based approaches to preserve a favourable climate for Nigeria's socioeconomic and political activities.

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