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Deconstructing and Reconstructing Election Campaign Strategy in Nigeria:

Managerial and Policy Insights from Osun 2022 Governorship Election

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Preface

The Positive Agenda Nigeria (PAN) is a non-governmental organisation dedicated to focusing on good governance and socio-economic issues. It deploys evidence-based advocacy for the enhancement of good governance and socio-economic space in Nigeria. This report is a follow-up to the 2018 governorship election campaign monitoring research. The real-time monitoring of election campaigns is critical to nurturing democratic ideals and informed decision-making among the electorate. Despite that campaigns by parties and candidates give voters the opportunity to assess the programmes and policy ideas of contestants, they enable the electorate to choose from the best available choices. This is why this project is important, as it determined whether the politicians productively engaged potential voters with issues or were just involved in personality disparagement in their campaigns. It was a ten-week real-time rigorous monitoring of the campaigns of the candidates who participated in the 2022 Osun Governorship Election. We collected data from radio jingles, newspapers, campaign rally speeches as well as Facebook and Twitter posts. The team also used Google Trends to search for congruency between the issues the candidates featured in their campaigns and what the people searched for online. Lastly, we ran a survey on the perception of the Osun potential voters on campaign activities. The results are briefly captured in the executive summary.

A project of this nature could not be successfully executed without the support of many people. Therefore, I appreciate the efforts of all team members who ensured

this project became a reality, and committed their resources, ensuring that this monitoring research came to fruition. Then, I thank all critical stakeholders who attended the dissemination workshop after the first four weeks of our monitoring. Specifically, I say a big thank you to Messrs Ayo Ologun, Dare Adeoye, Wasiu Ajadosu, Kamilu Lamina, Ademola Adesoji, Akintunde Bello Sheriff, Kehinde Ayantunji, Prof. Abdulganniy Raji (former REC, Osun) for their support in this regard. I equally thank our media partners who assisted in disseminating the findings of the report on a weekly basis. I appreciate Dr Femi Adefila and Mr Femi Olanipekun of Rave FM Osogbo for the station's extensive collaboration. I thank Mr Jare Tiamiyu (Insight Media Links) for the media support. I extend my gratitude to Mr Bukola Idowu and his team at the Kimpact Development Initiative (KDI) for giving PAN the platforms to also present our findings at both local and international fora. Finally, I express our sincere gratitude to Dr Tunde Oseni of Lead City University for accepting to write the foreword despite his busy schedule.

As I close this piece, let me state again that campaigns are a core part of any democratic journey. Critical stakeholders should ensure we have campaigns that are issue-based and devoid of acrimony and personality disparagement.

Rasheed Ademola ADEBIYI, PhD, arpa
Team Lead, Positive Agenda Nigeria

Foreword

A critical reading of this latest report by the Positive Agenda Nigeria (PAN) entitled "Deconstructing and Reconstructing Election Campaign Strategy in Nigeria: Managerial and Policy Insights from Osun 2022 Governorship Election" showcases how evidence-based research could help contextualise electoral and political governance issues. The 56-page treatise sensitises not just the political class and the civil society to critical perspectives in electoral and electioneering issues in Osun State, southwestern Nigeria, the paper equally calls the attention of both the citizens and the media to what really matters in political mobilisation and democratic transition. In essence, one can readily extrapolate from the report that there are two major impediments to electoral integrity as the case study of July 16, 2022 gubernatorial elections has demonstrated in Osun: rigging and vote trading. With unmistakable data from the field, the PAN research team capably established the dimensions of disconnection between policy engagement and campaign strategy of the main political parties. Whereas one would expect political parties to run issue-based campaign and engage the public on such basis, political campaigns were still largely not based on issues or expectations of the people.

The report is incisive and most significant in at least three ways. First, this is unarguably the most detailed analytical research work that has examined the interconnected issues of campaign strategy, media cum civic engagement of political parties as well as the policy and managerial ecosystem of the Osun Governorship Election of 2022. Second, the report makes use of a tested research strategy that holistically counterbalances any possible loophole or bias in data-driven research of this

nature. Not only did the team tease out contemporary facts from newspapers and social media; they also used the observation techniques, content and computational analyses methods. This methodological approach, in social scientific thinking, is apparently preferred at ensuring quality, reliability and validity of data. Third, the work makes far-reaching recommendations which both the actors and institutions involved in elections could positively draw from. Parties should go digital and scientific in media and public relations; campaign should be issue-based rather than the dominant strategy (or shall we say 'stratagem?') of personality disparagement; while the media (traditional and new) should amplify the silent voices of small parties as they do for the bigger ones.

In summary, this PAN Report has upped the game of epistemic understanding of the intertwined issues of pre-election campaign, campaign strategy and civic responsibility of voters, contestants and observers. In our thinking, it is this kind of research output that can widen, strengthen and embolden the democratic space and the frontiers of electoral architecture of not just Osun state and Nigeria but also, for the most part, the continent of Africa.

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1. Executive Summary

This report is a two-in-one report that captures the pre-primary and the pre-governorship election for the 2022 gubernatorial contest. The first part of the report was mainly carried out using newspapers' reportage of political parties and their members' activities before the main election campaign. The news reports published between 2019 and 2022 were specifically content-analysed with a view to revealing the nature of conflicts, actors, institutions and structures that enhanced the growth and sustainability of the conflicts till the main election campaign period. Messages posted on Facebook and Twitter by the political parties through their official pages, candidates' pages, supporters' personal accounts, radio jingles, as well as news stories were the primary data sources for the second part of the report. Osun public information seeking about campaign issues or needs through various search engines, aggregated by Google Trends, also constituted a source of data for the second part of the report. The data were sourced between April 6 and July 13, 2022. A survey of the electorate's views in three senatorial districts was also carried out.

In the pre-election campaign activities monitoring, the aim was to find out what the politicians were telling the people as campaign messages and what the people were thinking about those messages. In other words, the focus of the weekly monitoring was to find if the campaigns featured informed policy engagement or intensive personality disparagement. Attacks, acclaims and defences were the three categories of campaign strategies our analysts looked for in each message extracted from all the sources earlier identified.

While attacks were either the messages that denigrated the personality traits of candidates as well as leadership qualities and/or competencies of the parties/candidates to govern the state or the deliberate demeaning of the quality of programmes, initiatives and projects of the incumbent, acclaims were the messages that showed 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 people. On its own, defences were the

messages that refuted negative elements pushed out by actors against other candidates and political parties. For policy engagement, we fashioned out highly informed policy engagement, moderately informed policy engagement alongside slightly informed policy engagement. On personality disparagement, our team considered highly intensive personality disparagement, moderately intensive personality disparagement, slightly intensive personality disparagement and non-intensive personality disparagement.

The pre-campaign monitoring revealed that both inter and intra-party conflicts had different structures that fueled them throughout the electoral cycle. It was also discovered that certain institutions that supported the conflicts in terms of serving as platforms for possible reconciliation, fueling and addressing issues made the conflicts irreconcilable. In terms of media coverage of the primary elections, our team found out that the media ecosystem paid more attention to the two major parties at the expense of the less established parties. This partial media attention indicates that the media narrowed down the choices of the people to two parties instead of project and strengthening the multi-party nature of the country's democracy. The analysis of the monitored activities across the media used by the actors and their supporters for the ten weeks indicated a predominant use of the conventional media, especially Facebook and Twitter.

However, messages that focused on campaign or policy issues, as well as unrelated issues, were found in newspapers and campaign speeches delivered during campaign rallies across the 30 local government areas in the state. Again, the two social media platforms were more deployed for attacks, acclaims and defences. This was followed by radio where jingles containing acclaims, defences and personality disparaging messages were equally used. The research team noted two threats to credible polls: rigging (using thugs or security agencies) and vote buying. Above all, we found out that even though the ruling party was better at informed policy engagement, the main opposition party slightly engaged the policies or programmes of the ruling party. Yet, the two parties had less than 10% of the total highly informed policy

engagement messages. Infrastructure, health, workers' salaries and employment were some of the issues engaged by the parties and their supporters. On personality disparagement, the team identified personality issues of candidate's competence or lack of it of the candidate, assassination attempts, threat to life, defection, political thuggery, vote buying as some of the issues that dominated the campaign discourse. The study equally observed a lack of alignment between what the voting public searched and the issues the politicians engaged in their campaigns.

We, therefore, recommended that all the critical stakeholders in the election management space rise up to their responsibilities of ensuring that

2. Introduction

The 2018 governorship election was popularized as “inconclusive”, a term in election management in the lexicon and policy of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). It was a contest between two predominant political parties, the PDP and the APC, with political realignment and legal pronouncement settling the electoral conflict between Senator Ademola Nurudeen Jackson Adeleke and Alhaji Adegboyega Oyetola. The 2022 election, which was held on July 16, was also a contest between the candidates of the APC (Adegboyega Oyetola) and the PDP (Ademola Adeleke). Earlier in the year, the election management body, INEC, released the final list of fifteen (15) candidates for the July 16 election on April 12, 2022. The intra and inter-party conflicts before, during and after the party primaries manifested in the candidature of the former Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, Lasun Yusuf (candidate of the Labour Party) and Mr Akinade Ogunbiyi (candidate of the Accord Party) who were members and aspirants of the APC and the PDP respectively. Instead of contesting for the governorship position on another political party as he did in 2018, the former Secretary to the State Government, Alhaji Moshood Adeoti, remained in the ruling party (APC) despite various crises that rocked the party before and after its primary election.

As submitted previously and characteristically of election period and election management in

Nigeria, declaration of interest, party primaries and campaigns are catalysts for inter and intra-party conflicts. Added to these are gratifications intended, perceptions, constructions and 'othering' dominating internal and public analyses of issues around the election, even the media coverage of activities of major actors and stakeholders before the election. In this report, we address varied needs and issues related to Osun 2022 governorship election. The first part of the report focuses on activities of the political actors before and during primary elections, while the second part engages the main election campaign atmosphere on issues and needs that transpired before the campaign across the political parties.

3. Research Strategy

The first part of the report was mainly carried out using newspapers' reportage of political parties and their members' activities before the main election campaign. The news reports published between 2019 and 2022 were specifically content-analysed to reveal the nature of conflicts, actors, institutions and structures that enhanced the growth and sustainability of the conflicts till the main election campaign period. Messages posted on Facebook and Twitter by the political parties through their official pages, candidates' pages, supporters' personal accounts, radio jingles, as well as news stories were the primary data sources for the second part of the report. Osun public information seeking about campaign issues or needs through various search engines, aggregated by Google Trends, also constituted a data source for the second part of the report. In all, the data were sourced between April 6 and July 13, 2022. Curiously, between June 9 and June 15 (covering the sixth week), our analysts found a message communicated by factional 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 administered across the districts. 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 unrelated to political activities. Attacks, acclaims and defences were the three categories of campaign strategies our analysts looked for in each message extracted from Facebook, Twitter, radio jingles, 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. Defences 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 negative and/or not true about the personality traits, leadership styles and competencies of the candidates and political parties.

The focus of the weekly monitoring was 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. Non-intensive personality disparagement specifically represents an absence of all the three elements. Threats to a credible poll is the main metric with specific foci 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 normalised information seeking of people in Ede, Iwo, Abeere, Ife, Osogbo, Ojudo, Ilesa, Edunabon, Ila-Orangun, Ipetu-Ijesa, 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 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.

4. Results

Part 1

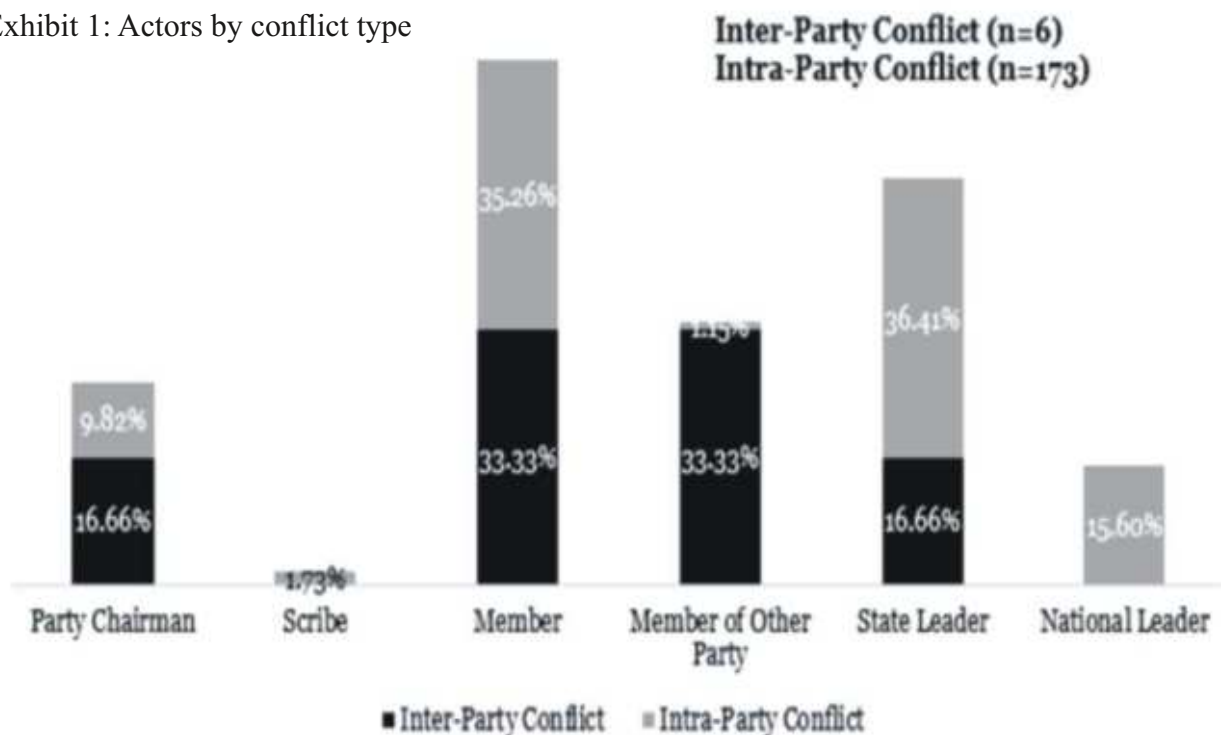
4.1.1 Pre-Campaign Situation

The monitoring of the pre-campaign situation reveals 139 traces of intra-party and 4 traces of inter-party conflicts occurred before the main election campaign. Over 65% of the intra-party conflict traces were reported by newspapers in 2022 while 37.10% were reported in 2021. Both conflicts had different structures that enabled their escalation throughout the electoral

1 206 news reports regarding activities of political parties and candidates ahead of primary elections were monitored from national and state newspapers.

cycle. We also discovered institutions that supported the conflicts in terms of serving as platforms for possible reconciliation, fueling and addressing issues that led to the conflicts. To start with, the APC's factional division in the state resulted in having no consensus governorship candidate ahead of the party's primary election. The factional division produced two different nominations, the incumbent governor, Alhaji Adegboyega Oyetola, and Alhaji Moshood Adeoti. The Governor belongs to the Ilerioluwa factional group while Alhaji Moshood Adeoti belongs to The Osun Progressives (TOP), a faction believed to be loyal to the former Governor of the state and incumbent Minister of Interior, Ogbeni Rauf Aregbesola, who was believed to be anti-Governor Oyetola. Because of different political interests, differences and their inability to reconcile prior to the party's primary held on February 19, 2022, the two factions fielded two different candidates,, although the former Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, Honourable Lasun Yusuf, also joined the race.

Exhibit 1: Actors by conflict type

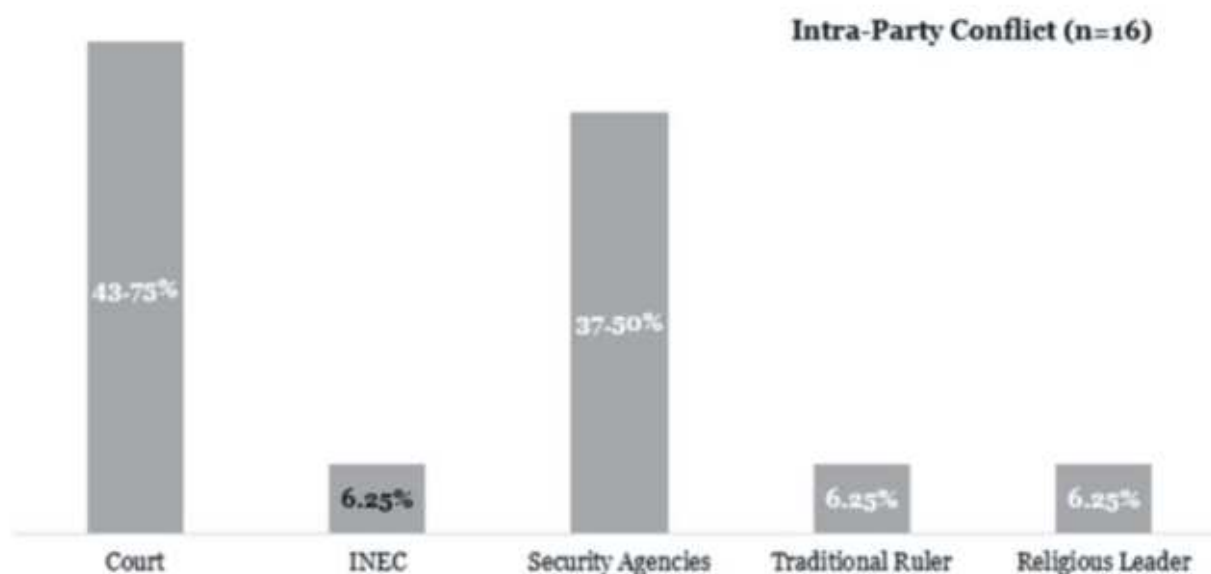


Source: Nigerian Newspapers, 2019-2022; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Before the party's election, Ogbeni Aregbesola had accused Governor Oyetola of treachery while the TOP's aspirant, Alhaji Adeoti, accused Governor Oyetola-led government of planned rigging and violence ahead of the primary. Physical attacks between members of the two factions were also recorded before the primary election as blame trading took another dimension less than 48 hours before the primary. The election was conducted under the chairmanship of Kwara State Governor, Abdulrasak Abdulrahman, and Governor

Oyetola was declared the winner, polling total votes of 222,169. Alhaji Adeoti had 12,921 votes while Honourable Lasun Yusuf recorded 460 votes. After the election, the TOP faction alleged the party of fraud and rigging, a development they vouched to challenge in court. Two court cases filed by the faction, challenging the validity of their party's congresses that “elected the Prince Famodun-led State Executive” prior to the primary, and wanting the court to declare “their faction of the party as the authentic State officials” were struck out for lacking jurisdiction.

Exhibit 2: Institutions that involved in intra-party conflicts



Source: Nigerian Newspapers, 2019-2022; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

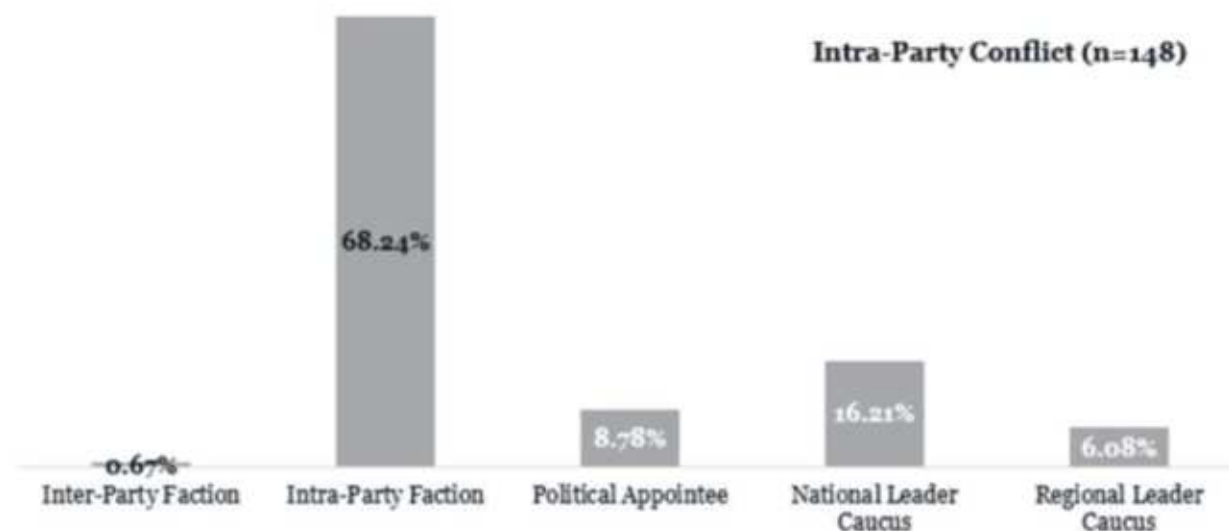
A similar factional politics played out in the primary election of the main opposition party in the state, the PDP. But instead of having the two factions taking part in a single primary election as was the case with the APC, each PDP faction held its primary election separately on the same day (March 8, 2022)-- parallel primaries. The faction that produced Prince Dotun Babayemi was backed by the Former Governor of Osun, Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola, led by Barrister Wale Ojo with the support of Mr Soji Adagunodo, one of the two personalities claiming the state chairmanship of the party. On the other hand, the second faction produced Senator Ademola Adeleke as the party's standard bearer. Senator Adeleke was supported by Mr Sunday Bisi, another personality claiming the state's party chairmanship. What

really preceded these factional nominations? In 2021 when the then Chairman of the PDP, Mr Soji Adagunodo clinched the position of the South-West Vice-Chairman of the party, a vacuum was left in the party, and that generated internal crises for the party. It was in the midst of these crises that the Adagunodo-led congresses appointed Barrister Wale Ojo as the Acting Chairman. He was charged to court, but the court “re-confirmed Barrister Wale Ojo as the acting Chairman of Osun PDP.” An earlier judgment of the Appeal Court sitting in Akure had on March 6, 2021 restored Mr Sunday Bisi as the party's Chairman. On February 17, 2022, the National Working Committee of the party “affirmed the appointment of Mr Bisi Sunday as the Acting Chairman of the Osun State Chapter of the party.” A day before the announcement, the

Osun State High Court in Ile-Ife had “ re-confirmed Barrister Wale Ojo as the acting Chairman of Osun PDP.” Automatically, all these tussles and internal crises within the party culminated in its inability to reach a consensus on who would represent it in the July 16

Governorship Election. Thus, considering these events, the emergence of Senator Adeleke from Sunday Bisi's faction, Prince Dotun Babayemi of Adagunodo's faction, and Dr Akin Ogunbiyi, Dele Adeleke and Fatai Akinbade of the latter faction-- who later pulled out of the contest-- was not new to political observers.

Exhibit 3: Structures that drove intra-party conflicts



Source: Nigerian Newspapers, 2019-2022; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

As an Ijebu-Jesa High Court affirmed Babayemi's candidacy, and ordered INEC and the PDP not to recognise Senator Adeleke's candidacy, Adeleke's faction began to kick while their candidate, Senator Adeleke, expressed confidence as “PDP's official guber candidate” despite the court order nullifying his candidacy.

Before the APC primary, the picture of war and violence was painted, but the election was described as peaceful by its chairman and the State Governor, although the TOP's Chairman, Elder Adelowo Adebisi, differed as he described the election as “full of anomalies.” On the election day, Ogbeni Aregbesola to whom TOP factional members are loyal urged everyone to eschew violence. From the PDP's end too, despite that two primary elections were held on the same day, no violence was recorded at the two venues, going by media reports, although a report has it that Senator Adeleke had stormed out of a

peace and reconciliation meeting convened by Ex-Governor Oyinlola prior to his party's primary election. Similarly for ADC, YPP and LP that adopted a consensus for their standard bearers, Rafiu Hameed's report never documented any violence. However, “dangerous and volatile invasion of the (election) venue by unaccredited persons” disrupted the announcement of the primary results of the Social Democratic Party (SDP). As these dramatic events continued to unfold, stakeholders in the party moved “to mend fences”. On February 17, seven political parties fielding candidates in the Governorship Election signed a peace accord with Osun State Police Command. The parties were the All Progressives Congress (APC), the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Young Progressives Party (YPP), Labour Party (LP), African Democratic Congress (ADC), Social Democratic Party (SDP) and Action Democratic Party (ADP).

Media Coverage of Issues in the Governorship Electoral Process

In terms of media reportage of the primary elections in the state, some episodic frames and mockery were observed. For example, the *PMNews*' headlines "Aregbesola disgraced in Osun, loses ward to Oyetola, Lasun Yusuf beaten silly" and "Sour grapes from Aregbesola after Oyetola thrashed his candidate" are not only unprofessionally-crafted, but are also partisan and mocking; these features are not expected to be used in news stories. We observed that the APC's issues related to primary elections were dominant in *The Punch*, *Nigerian Tribune*, *The Nation*, *PM News*, *Vanguard*, *This Day*, *Premium Times* and *The Guardian* newspapers while those of the PDP dominated in *The Cable*, *Daily Trust*, *The Punch*, *Premium Times*, *Vanguard*, *Nigerian Tribune*, *Daily Post* and *The Sun* Newspapers. Although other political parties had very limited newspaper coverage, the few mentions about them, especially the YPP, ADP, SDP, NNPP and AA spread across *Daily Post*, *The Punch*, *The Nigerian Tribune* and *Osun Defender* Newspapers. The implication of this is that the ruling and the opposition parties enjoyed more political mobilization and media attention in the state than the less established parties.

4.1.2 Implications for the Campaign Period

The outcomes of the activities of the actors and institutions before the primary elections suggest that there is a possibility of continued conflicts during the main election campaign as well as election day. When this occurs, voters and other residents are expected to have negative experiences such as likely physical attacks from aggrieved actors towards their perceived enemies. The possible heavy hostility among the political actors and supporters would also shape voters' decisions on whether to be at the polling units or not and elect their preferred candidate.

Part 2

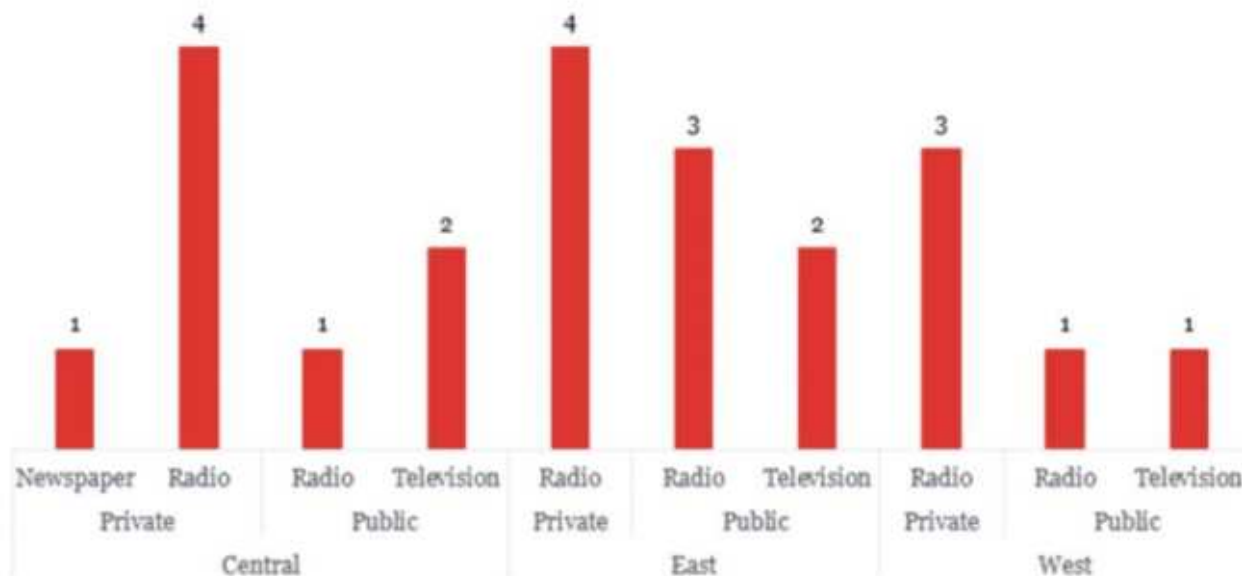
4.2.1 Political Actors

While party members and candidates were mainly found as critical stakeholders before and during the primary election, direct and indirect supporters of political parties and candidates were also discovered as concerned stakeholders during the main election campaign period. Direct supporters were the people who publicly identified with political parties and candidates by the virtue of being registered members. Indirect supporters were identified on social media platforms, especially Facebook, by our analysts on the basis of constant communication of agenda or programmes of preferred political parties and candidates.

4.2.2 Media Ecosystem

Similar to the nature and characteristics of the national media ecosystem, which every stakeholder benefited from before and during primary election periods, political actors and their supporters had the opportunity of using private and public media establishments for voter engagement during the main campaign period. According to our data, there are 22 media organisations in Osun state. These organisations cut across broadcast and print media. However, broadcast media establishments are more than print media (see Exhibit 4). Apart from the deployment of conventional media, actors and their supporters are expected to employ social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter, considering that the sites have remained the key channels to reach people with a better understanding of new media use and who do not usually listen to or watch broadcast media. Campaign rally, as a mass interpersonal channel, is also anticipated to be used as part of communication channels during the campaign period.

Exhibit 4: Media type by ownership pattern and political administrative district



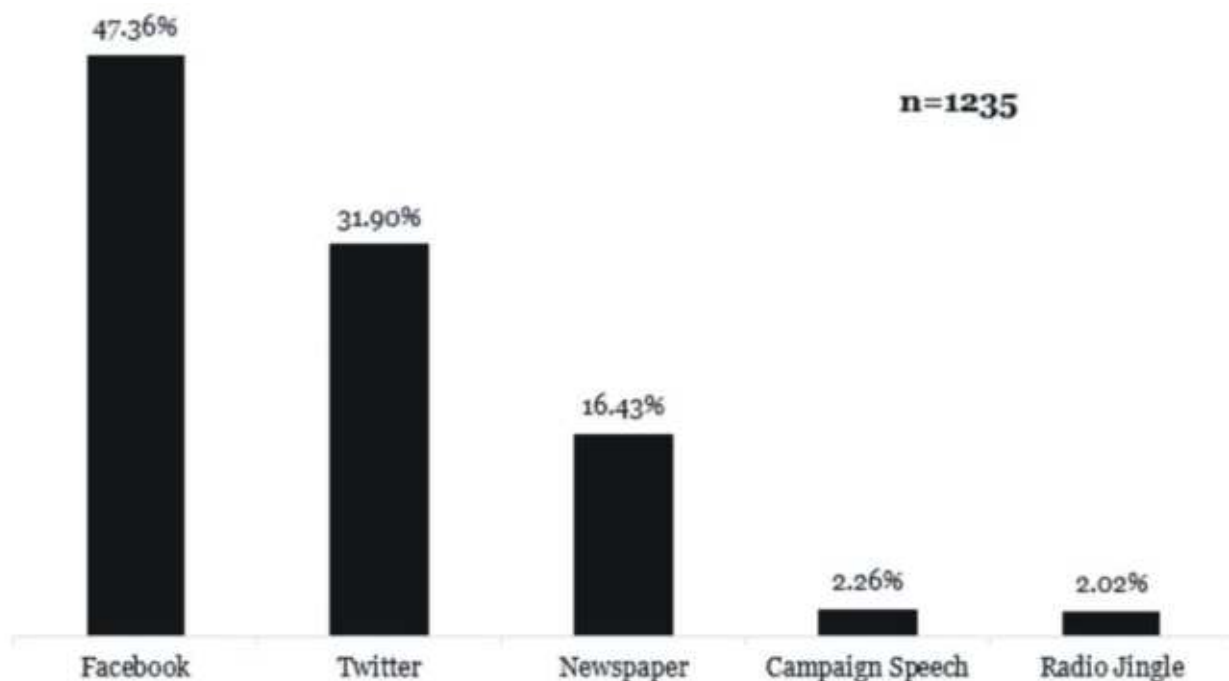
Source: Media Organisations, 2022; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

4.2.3 Communication Infrastructure

As shown earlier, analysis of the monitored activities across media used by the actors and their supporters indicated predominant use of the two most common social networking sites in Nigeria. Messages that focused on campaign or policy issues, as well as unrelated issues, were equally found in newspapers and campaign speeches delivered during campaign rallies

across the 30 local government areas in the state. Week-by-week analysis of the media used revealed that in the first week, Facebook was more employed than in the rest of the weeks of monitoring. On the other hand, Twitter was deployed more in weeks nine and ten than in the earlier weeks. The use of newspapers and radio jingles had an irregular pattern (see Exhibit 6).

Exhibit 5: Dominant media used for engaging the electorate



Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Exhibit 6: Media types deployment by week

	Campaign Speech	Facebook	Newspaper	Radio Jingle	Twitter	Total
Week One	0.00%	91.66%	8.33%	0.00%	0.00%	60
Week Two	0.00%	54.11%	18.82%	8.23%	18.82%	85
Week Three	3.26%	57.60%	15.21%	0.00%	23.91%	92
Week Four	0.00%	55.55%	14.81%	8.64%	20.98%	81
Week Five	0.00%	56.52%	17.39%	4.34%	21.73%	46
Week Six	2.50%	57.50%	21.25%	0.00%	18.75%	80
Week Seven	2.06%	61.37%	13.79%	2.06%	20.68%	145
Week Eight	8.57%	44.28%	19.28%	0.00%	27.85%	140
Week Nine	2.07%	31.53%	15.76%	1.24%	48.37%	241
Week Ten	1.13%	32.83%	17.35%	1.13%	47.54%	265

Source: Positive Agenda Analysis, 2022

The ten-week period indicated 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 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 has been done and will be done in the areas of education, infrastructure, and workers' welfare, salary and employment.

Exhibit 7: 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%	746
Newspaper	5.55%	6.43%	5.84%	8.77%	7.01%	5.26%	7.30%	5.26%	48.54%	344
Radio Jingle	10.81%	13.51%	9.90%	12.61%	12.61%	10.81%	9.90%	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

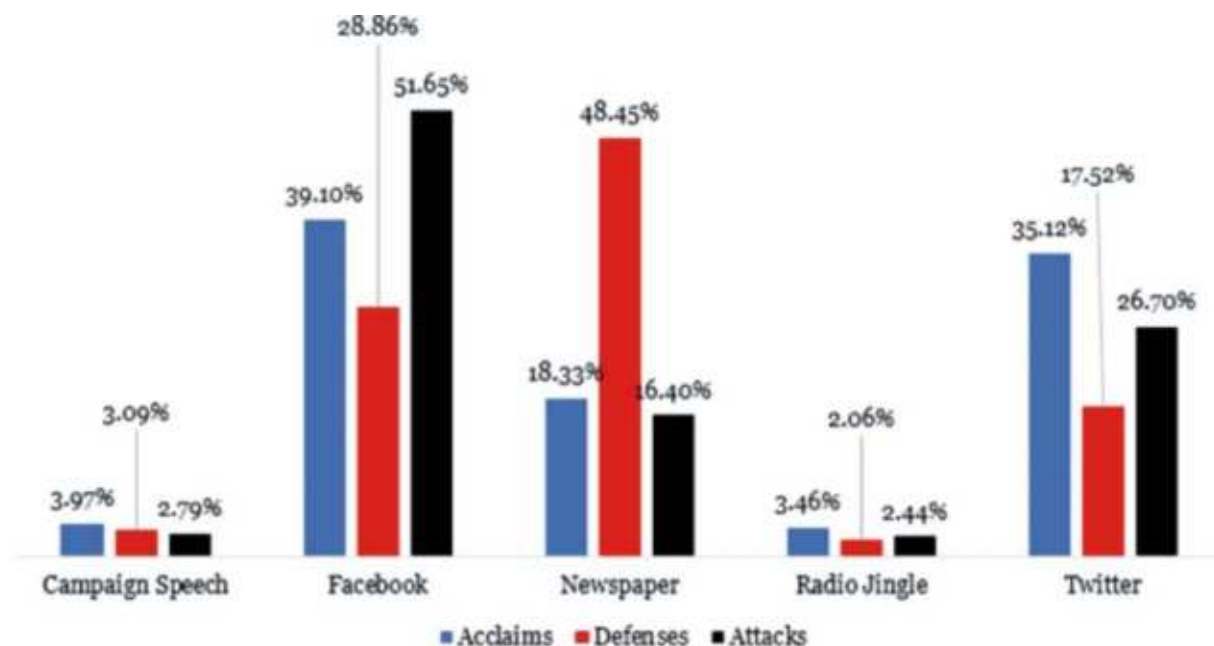
Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

From week one to week ten, there are some levels of changes in the deployment of media categories we monitored. Attacks were mainly used on Facebook and Twitter than on other media types. Two hundred and ninety-five of 573 attacks deployed across the media categories were found on Facebook. On Twitter, 153 of the 573 attacks were discovered on the social networking site. The same social networking sites were equally adopted by the political actors and their supporters for acclaims strategy used. Two hundred and twenty-five of the 578 acclaims found in all the media types

were discovered on Facebook. Twitter closely followed with 202 acclaims. The analysis further indicated that throughout the campaign period, political parties and candidates as well as their supporters used newspapers to defend perceived negative messages more than other media categories. This could be linked with the fact that the actors believe that the public would appreciate getting rejoinders and defences through newspapers because of the perceived credibility of the medium. Twitter was also found to be the preferred medium for correcting negative and/or replying to opponents.

Exhibit 8: Campaign strategies across media types

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



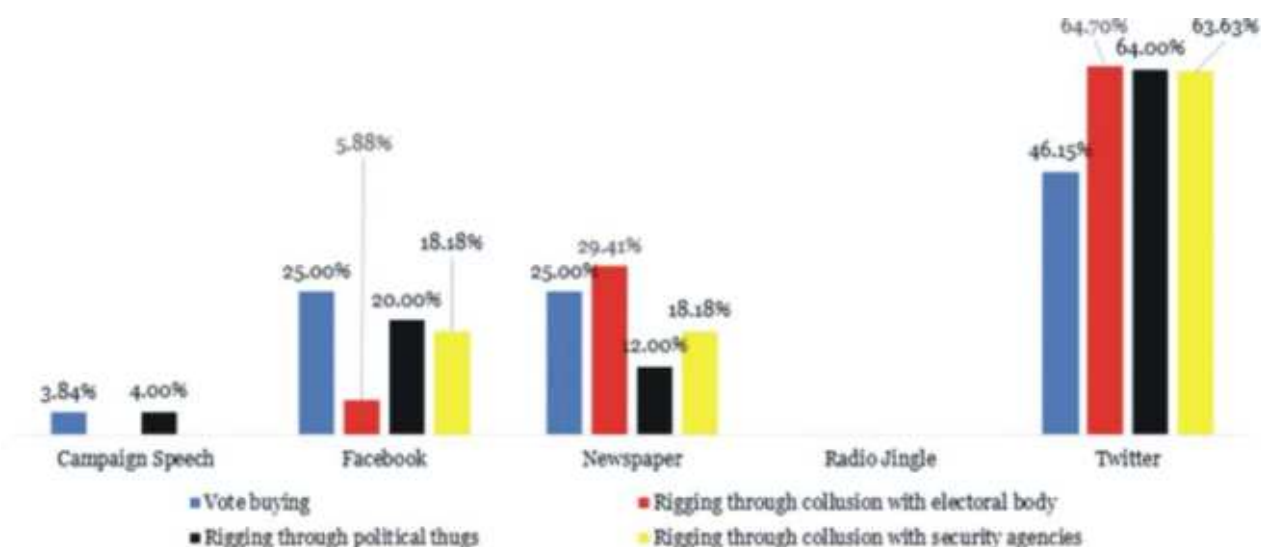
Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

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 was 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 were

mainly communicated or discussed on Twitter more than other sources of messages we considered. Rigging through collusion with the electoral body dominated the Twitter space. Eleven of 17 traces of the threats were found on the platform. Sixteen of 25 traces of rigging through political thugs were found on Twitter. Twenty-four of 52 traces of vote buying were also found on Twitter.

Exhibit 9: Threats to credible poll across media types

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



Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

4.3 Part 3

4.3.1 Election Campaign Period

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 recorded 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.

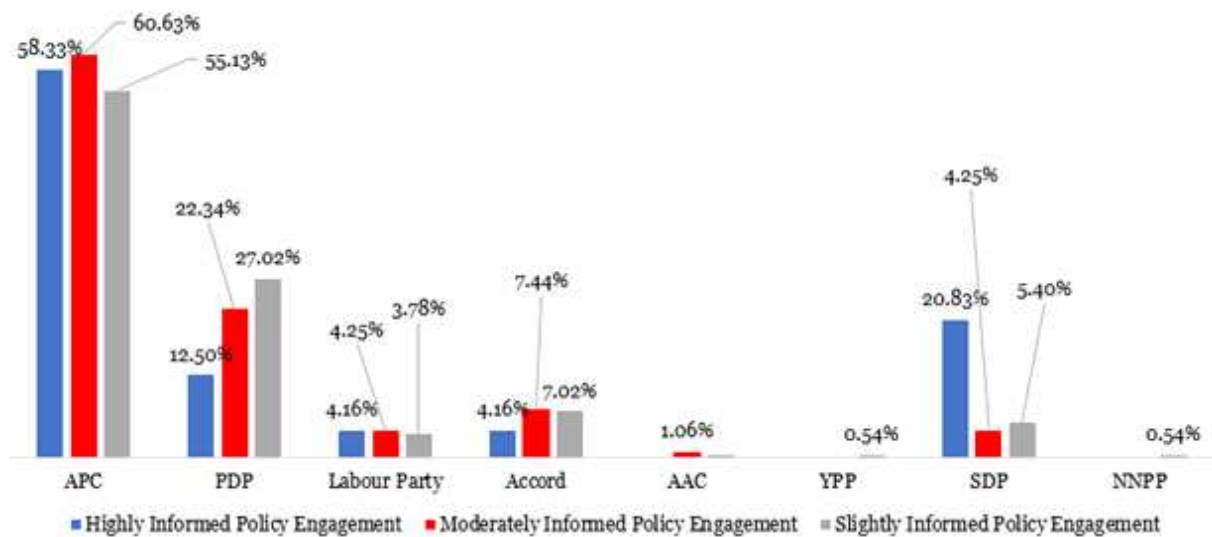
Overall, for the 10 weeks of monitoring, 529 (42.80%) relevant messages were found for the ruling party. The People's Democratic Party slightly led all the political parties with 532 messages representing 43.10%. Among other opposition parties, with 61 messages (4.90%), Accord followed the ruling party 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).

4.3.2 Political Parties Issues and Policy Engagement

We discovered that the ruling party was better at informed policy engagement. The leading opposition party (PDP) slightly engaged the policies or programmes of the incumbent governor 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 10, it is clear that actors only succeeded in engaging the public better while discussing infrastructure, health and unrelated issues.

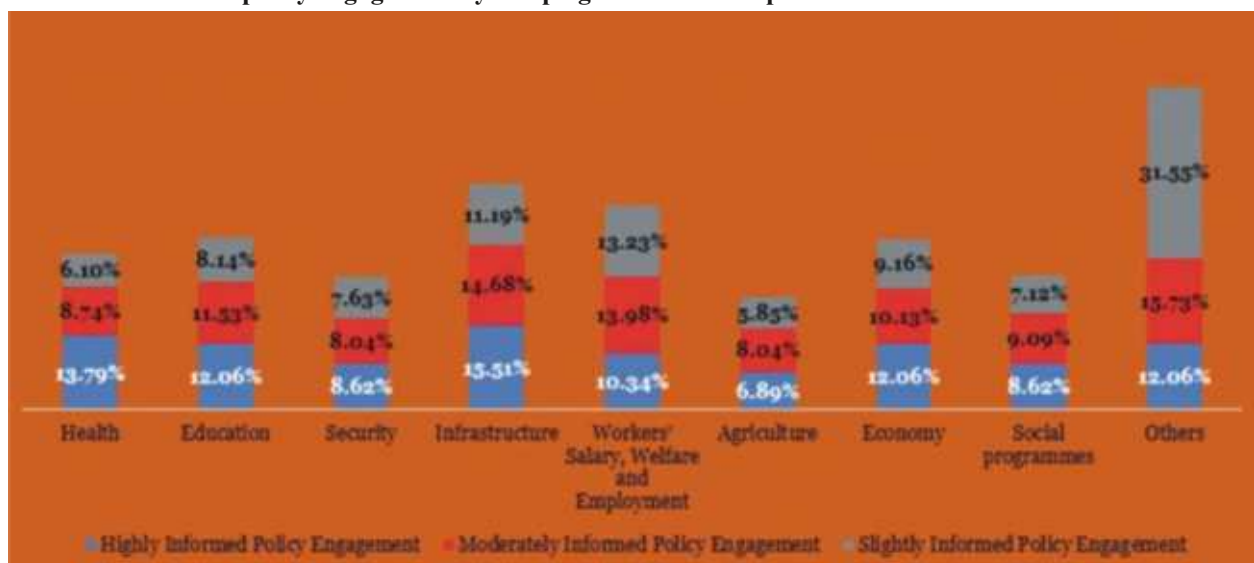
Exhibit 10: Levels of policy engagement by party

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



Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Exhibit 11: Levels of policy engagement by campaign issues and/or policies



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

Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

From week one to ten, our analysis constantly revealed that the main opposition party recorded mixed and unstable results in terms of personality disparagement. It usually deployed a highly intensive personality disparagement metric and less use of none intensive personality disparagement metric. However, in one of the weeks, both the ruling and the main opposition

party were close in terms of deploying a highly intensive personality disparagement metric. 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”. The message of victory in relation to the leadership style quality and competence of candidates was reinforced

during the last week of the campaign. 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 12: dominant issues in the other category

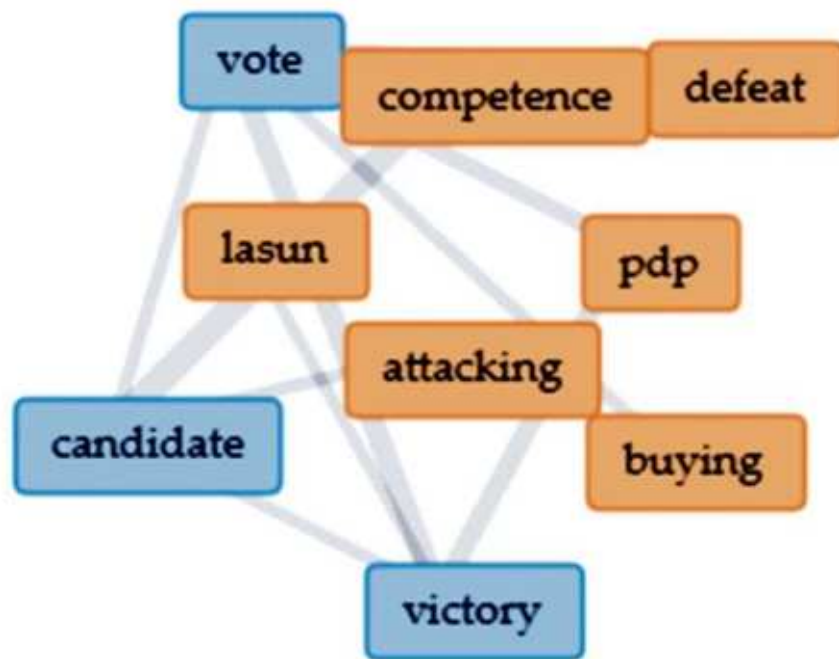


Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Exhibit 13 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 13: 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 14). 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 14).

Exhibit 14: 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%	11.35%	9.43%	9.43%	8.49%	10.37%	27.35%	100%
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%	7.89%	5.06%	7.89%	6.96%	43.67%	138
Week Four	5.88%	8.40%	5.04%	9.24%	10.92%	5.88%	10.08%	10.92%	33.61%	109
Week Five	3.22%	8.06%	3.22%	12.90%	24.19%	3.22%	3.22%	4.83%	37.09%	60
Week Six	1.28%	8.97%	2.56%	6.41%	10.23%	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%	51.36%	109
Week Eight	4.24%	2.42%	3.63%	7.87%	4.24%	3.63%	3.63%	3.03%	67.87%	163
Week Nine	4.00%	4.61%	4.00%	6.76%	6.76%	4.30%	4.92%	3.38%	61.23%	303
Week Ten	8.82%	4.41%	6.34%	3.49%	4.44%	2.53%	4.44%	1.58%	70.84%	303

Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

4.3.3 Public Issues and Perception of Political Parties Issues

Similar to the data presented in Exhibit 14, data in Exhibit 15 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 14, 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 16 based on the views expressed by over 300 electorate from three senatorial districts in the state about the categories of messages they received from candidates and political parties throughout the campaign period. 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.

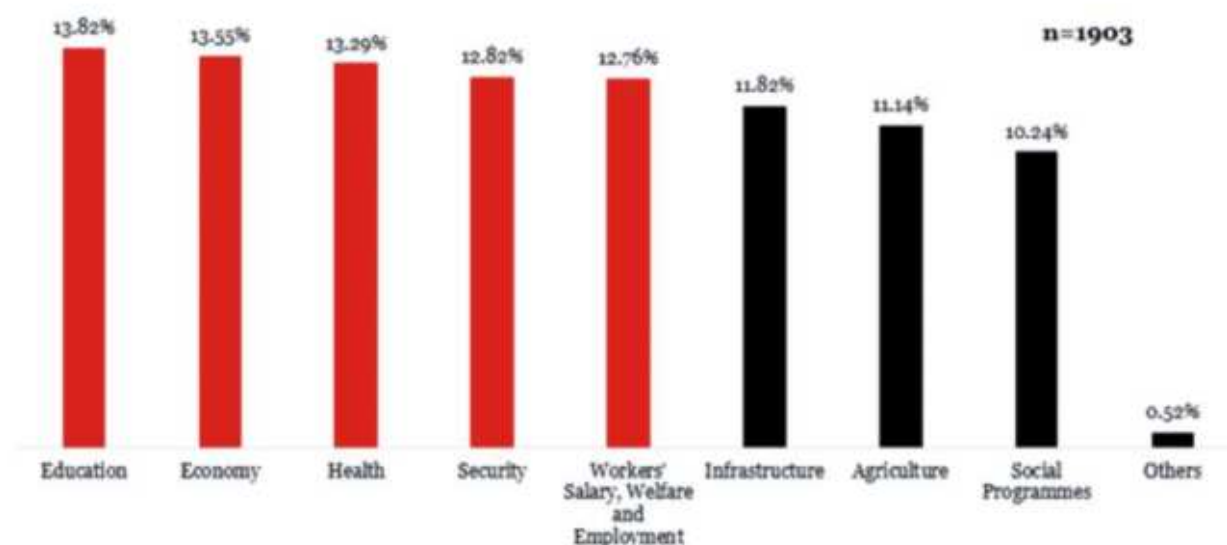
Exhibit 15: Issues and/or needs searched by Osun public based by week

	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 16: Dominant areas/sectors of engagement according to electorate

Sampled electorate were asked to pick more than one category



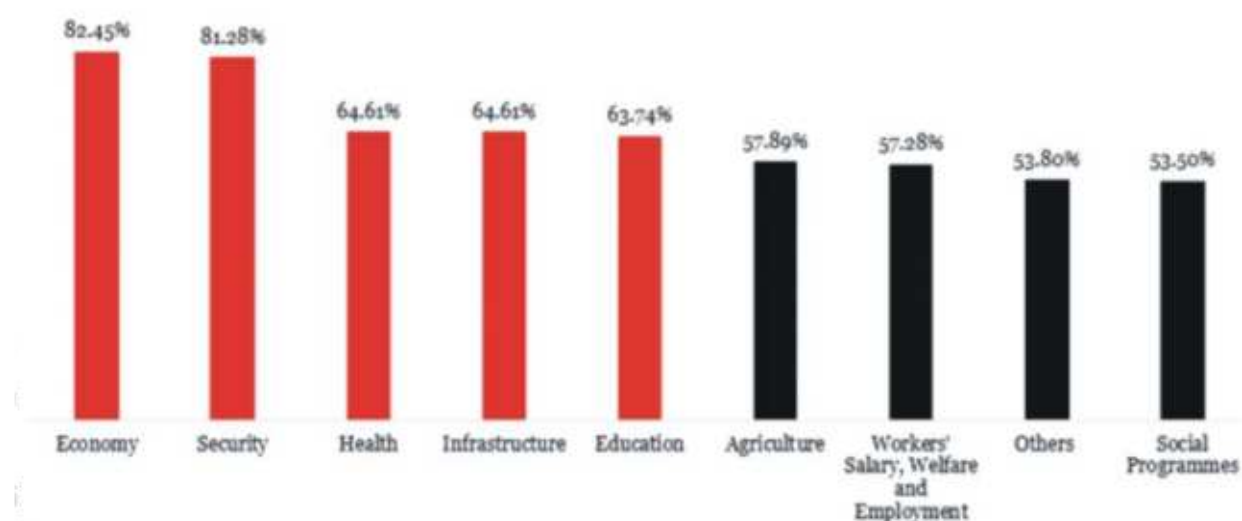
Source: Osun 2022 Election Survey; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

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 16 throughout the ten weeks of monitoring indicated a slight change in the identification of the areas and/or sectors the actors mostly considered. Over 80% of the 342 electorate indicated economy and security as the areas where actors discussed the challenges and needs of the people. Over 60% of the

electorate also believed that actors 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 17).

Exhibit 17: Areas/sectors where issues and/or needs are greatly addressed by political actors according to electorate

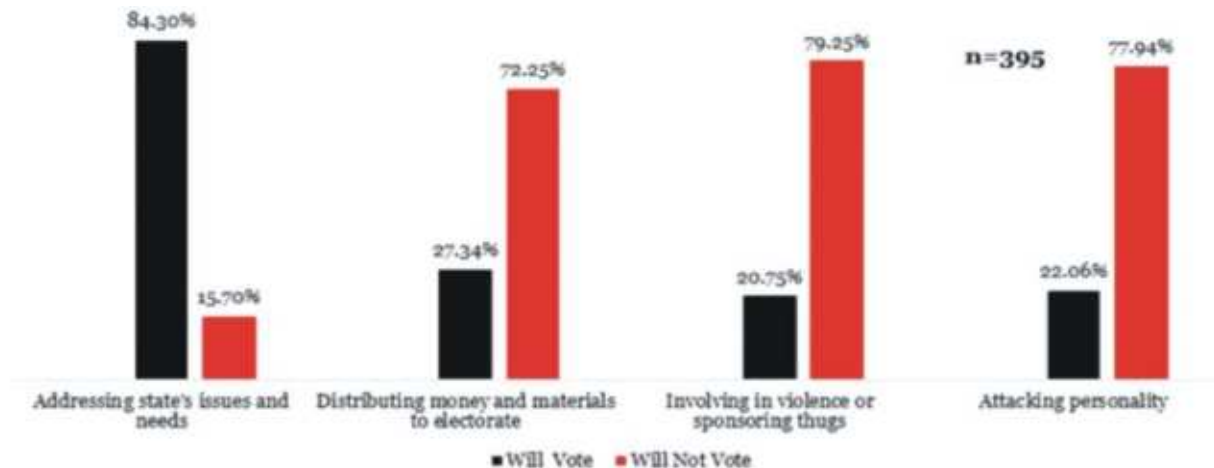
342 electorate



Analysis of the electorate's views further reveals that the majority (84.30%) reported the likelihood of voting 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. Our analysis also revealed that some sampled electorate were likely to vote for candidates and political parties that give them money and materials.

Exhibit 18: Electorate's will vote versus will not vote decision



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

The ruling party was 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 for the continuation of what it is doing. The People's Democratic Party is the only opposition party, according to our data, that trailed the ruling party in terms of engaging the

public. While the ruling party discussed some critical issues and needs, the main opposition party largely deployed its resources towards debating unrelated issues and needs (see our earlier definition of "other category metric"). Despite this, the party (PDP) 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 data revealed 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 discussions, Accord and Labour Party slightly engaged the public (see Exhibit 19).

Exhibit 19: 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%
Boat 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

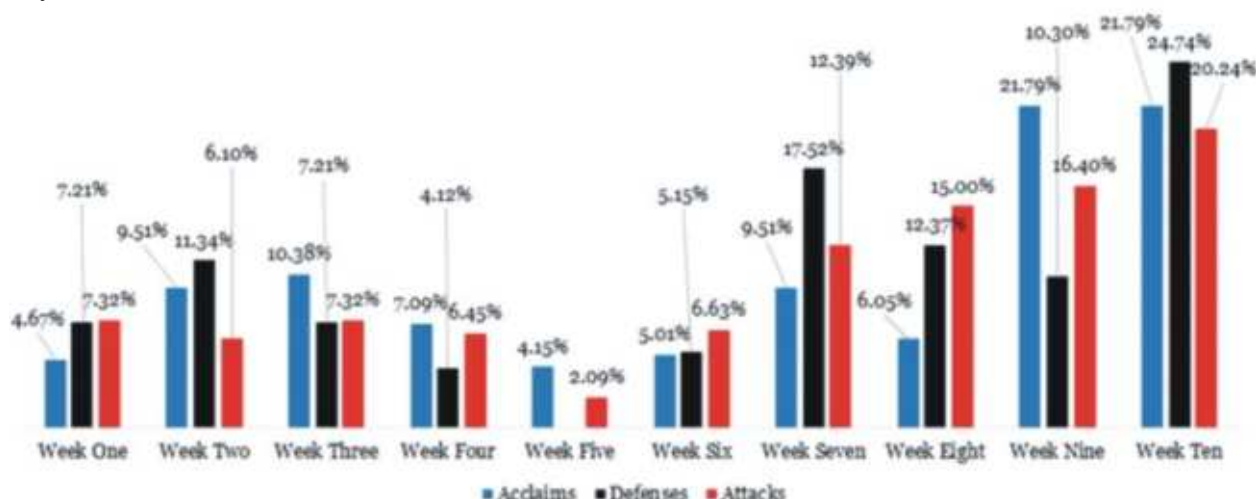
4.3.4 Campaign Strategy

In terms of campaign strategy, a total of 1,248 traces were found for the entire ten weeks. Of the 1,248 traces, 46.31% were acclaims while 7.77% and 45.91% were defences and attacks respectively. Week-by-week analysis indicated 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 defences 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 20: Campaign strategies by week

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



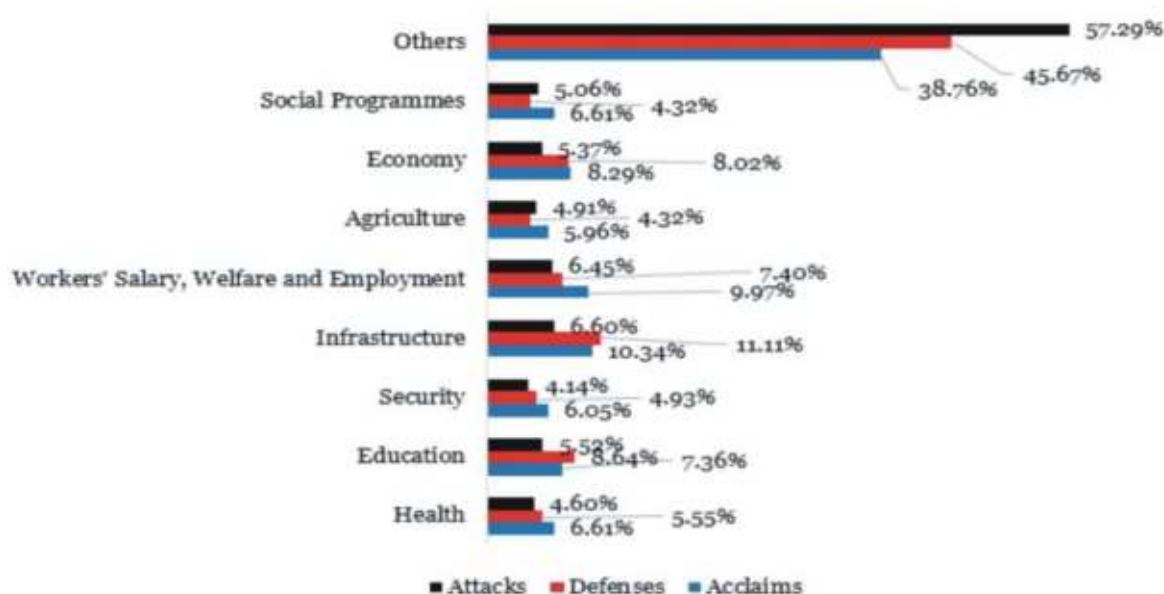
Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

A total of 1,886 traces of campaign strategies were found across campaign issues and/or policies. 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 attack

strategy for discussing unrelated issues and needs was at 57.29% at the end of the ten weeks. Defences and acclaims strategies were 45.67% and 38.76% respectively. With the use of the strategies mostly in infrastructure, economy and issues/needs related to human capital development, our analysts noted that both the ruling and the main opposition parties believed that the areas are more connected with the people than others. Hence, the need to prove, defend and attack ideas was necessary in order to significantly secure the relative level of public share of minds ahead of the election.

Exhibit 21: Campaign strategies across campaign and/or policy issues

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



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. Additional analysis indicated 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. The party used acclaims strategy relatively in week ten. Sixty-five of the 97 traces of defenses strategy were found to be deployed by the ruling party. The party also led in the use of defences strategy. It had 274 of 578 traces of acclaims strategy. More than half of traces of attacks strategy were found for the main opposition party.

Exhibit 22: 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 defences 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 40 times by the actors. Acclaims strategy was used 23 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 defense strategy was more used for debating challenges and needs associated with infrastructure and economy than other categories of the campaign and/or policy issues (see Exhibit 23).

Exhibit 23: 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

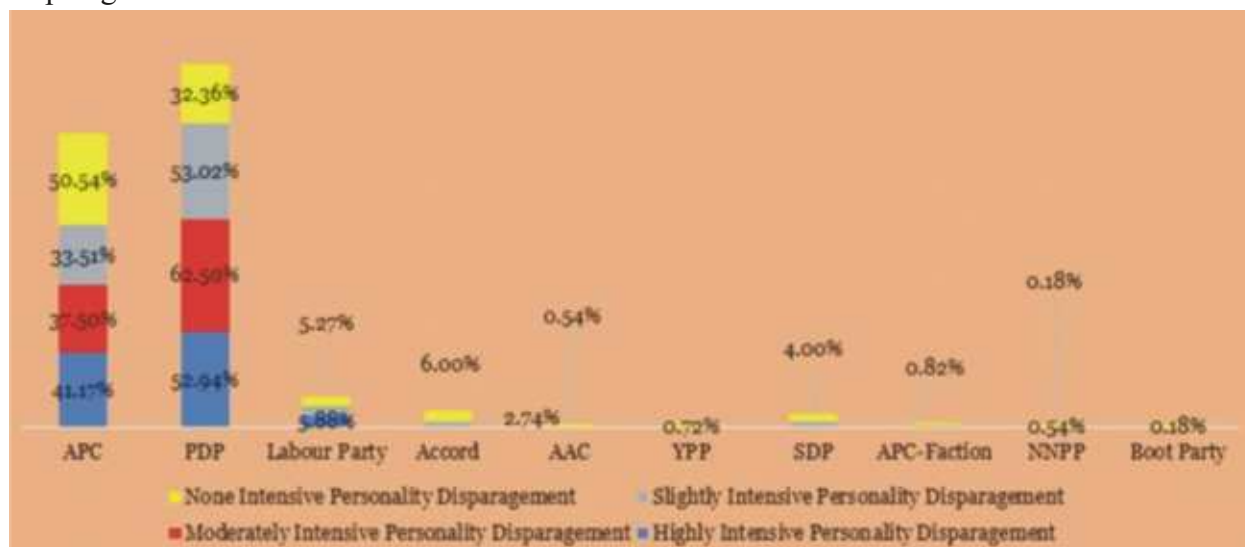
4.3.5 Personality Disparagement

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. The level at which the ruling party deployed a moderately intensive personality disparagement metric was 37.50% while the PDP equally appropriated it by 62.50%. The percentage 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 none intensive personality disparagement was 50.54%. This pattern was not observed in the main opposition party's deployment of the personality disparagement category (see Exhibit 24). Analysis suggests that the party prioritised moderately intensive personality disparagement more than none intensive personality disparagement.

Exhibit 24: Levels of personality disparagement by party

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



Source: Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Our results of the electorate survey show that out of the 342 potential voters who responded to the question about the level of personality disparagement by political parties, candidates and their supporters throughout the campaign period, 90.30% said the stakeholders 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 continued 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 25: 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 19, where the percentage level at which the actors engaged the public and electorate extensively across campaign issues are presented.

4.3.6 Threats to Credible Poll

The APC and the PDP frequently addressed vote-buying and manipulation, citing political

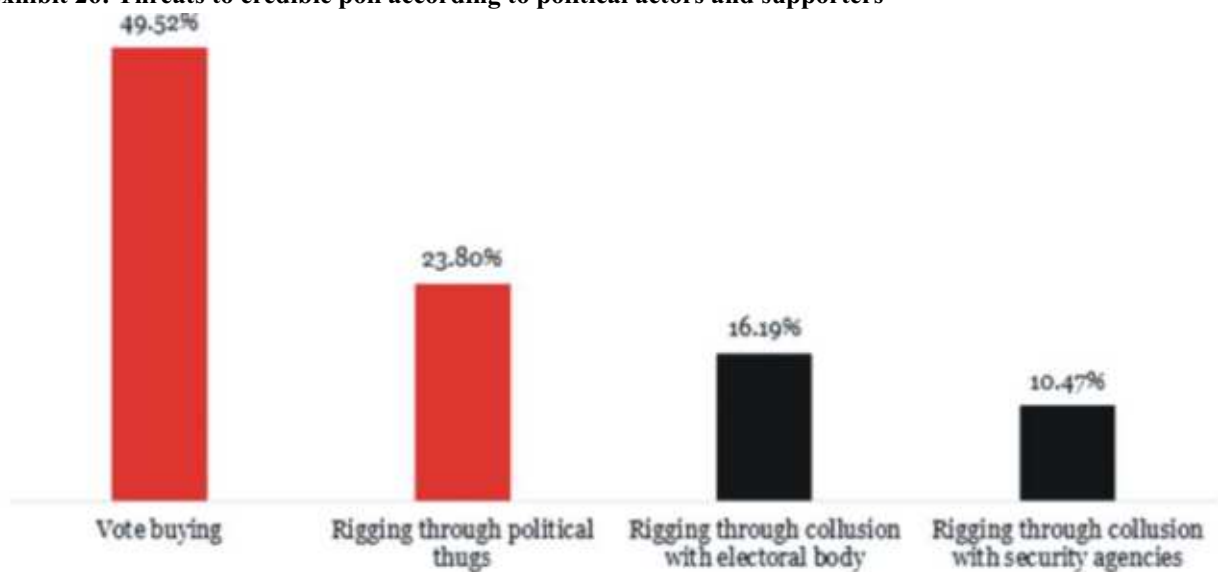
thugs, among the four sub-metrics our analysts investigated under threats to credible poll as the main metric (see Exhibit 26). Throughout the ten weeks of monitoring, a total of 105 traces of threats to the poll were discovered. Analysis reveals 55.84% of discussing vote-buying. The level of discussing hiring or recruiting political thugs was 23.80% at the end of the ten weeks of monitoring. While the discussion of the possible use of political thugs by the political actors appreciated, the reduction in debating vote-buying made us understand once again that the collective effort towards addressing buying and selling of votes during the poll yielded the desired result. Despite this, our data indicated 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 collectors are:



Expanding the emerged insights, there were convergence and divergence of discussed and perceived potential threats to the poll. For instance, according to the data presented in Exhibit 26, 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.

Exhibit 26: Threats to credible poll according to political actors and supporters



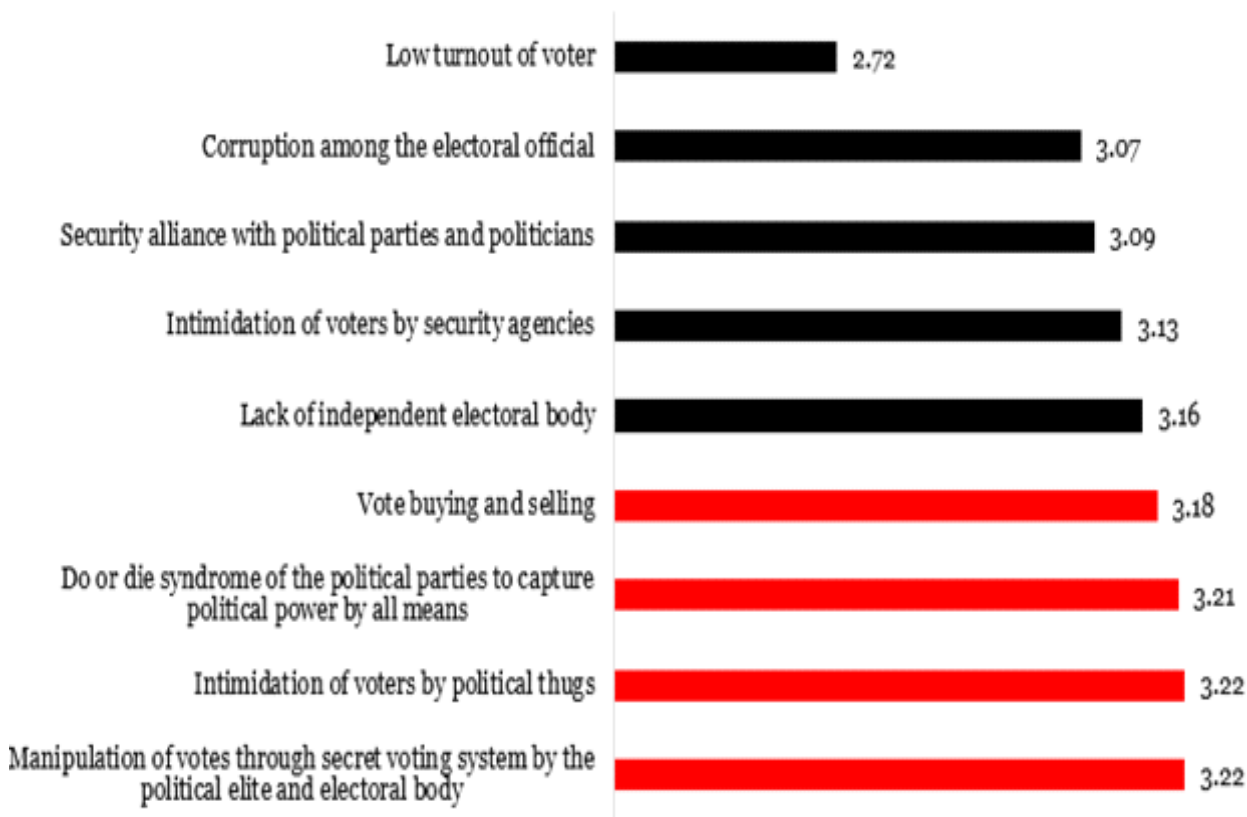
Key: Vote buying=25, Rigging through political thugs=13, Rigging through electoral body=5, Rigging through security agencies=3

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. According to our data, possible manipulation of the voting process by the political elites in conjunction with the electoral body was discovered worth fearing 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 occupied the third position in the electorate's minds. Vote buying and selling was at the fourth position. According to our analysts, this further indicates that electorate did not see buying and selling votes as what the concerned stakeholders needed to worry about.

Exhibit 27: Threats to credible poll according to electorate



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

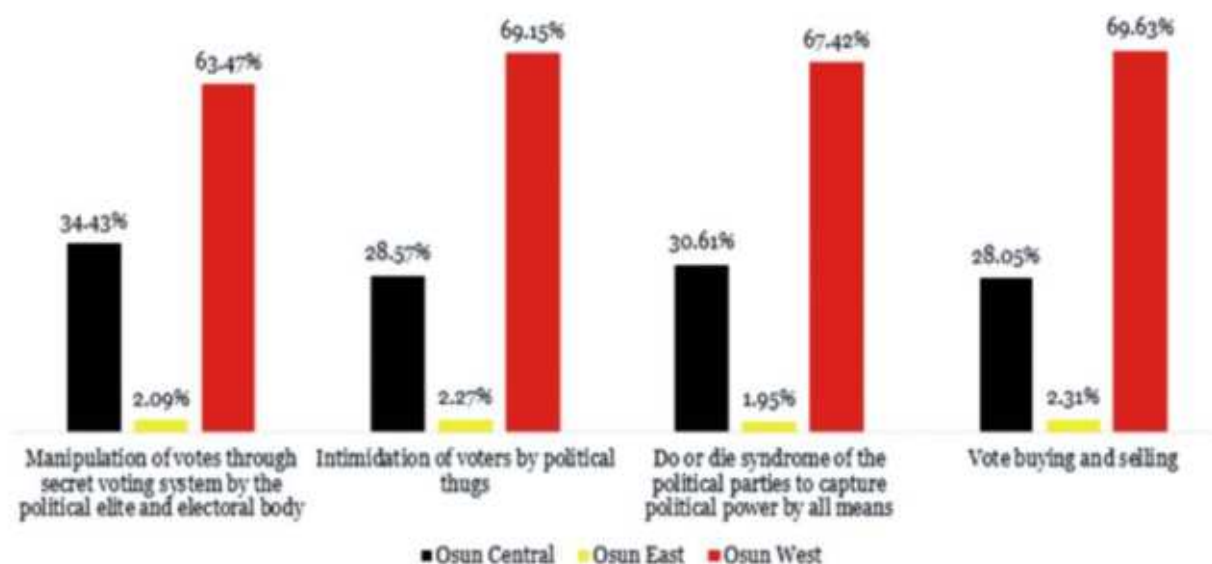
The examination of the dominant threats indicates that the electorate in the Osun West and Central districts believed that the intimidation of voters by political thugs and vote buying as well as selling would occur in the districts. Our analysis, through the views of the electorate in Osun Central and Osun West districts shows that members of political parties

were likely to be used to distribute money to electorate for buying their (voters) votes for a particular candidate. In line with this result, during the weekly monitoring of the campaign, our analysts pointed out that security agencies, corrupt practices and financial crimes control and management commissions

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

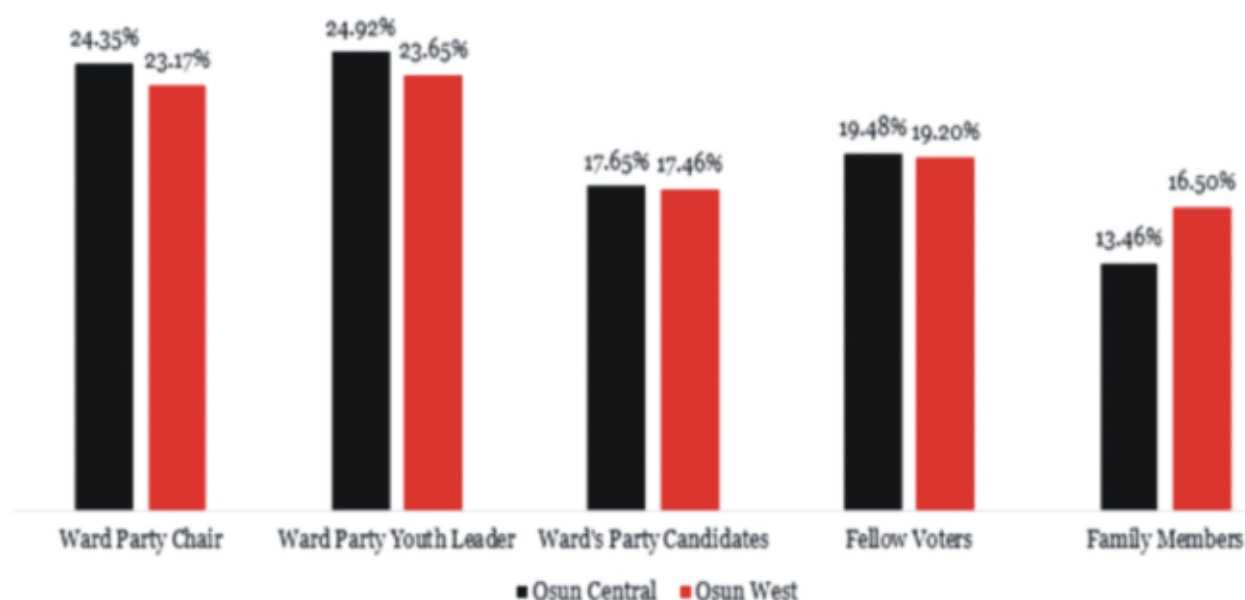
needed to consider preparing strategic intelligence from the results towards addressing vote-buying and selling issues effectively before and during the poll.

Exhibit 28: Key threats to credible poll according to the electorate by senatorial district



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

Exhibit 29: Categories of people likely to offer money to electorate by senatorial districts



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

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

To further strengthen the positions of the political actors, their supporters and sampled electorate during the monitoring period, we took electorate in the three senatorial districts back to the 2018 governorship election, asking them the extent to which the identified threats permeated during the election. To a large extent, 125 electorate out of 163

believed that political actors' and electorate's engagement in vote buying and selling was horrible. This position did not change regarding the intimidation of voters by political thugs. One hundred and twenty-seven electorate of the 163 aligned with the view that the intimidation of voters by political thugs was very horrible during the election.

Exhibit 30: Key threats to credible poll using electorate's 2018 governorship election experience

Experience during 2018 election	Vote Buying and Selling				Total
	No Extent	Little Extent	Great Extent	Very Great Extent	
I am not sure	5 (10.60%)	6(12.80%)	17(36.20%)	19(40.40%)	47(100%)
Very Horrible	5(3.10%)	33(20.20%)	31(19.00%)	94(57.70%)	163(100%)
Very Pleasant	16(8.60%)	27(14.60%)	66(35.70%)	76(41.10%)	185(100%)
	Intimidation of voters by political thugs				
	No Extent	Little Extent	Great Extent	Very Great Extent	
I am not sure	5(10.60%)	4(8.50%)	16(34.00%)	22(46.80%)	47(100%)
Very Horrible	5(3.10%)	31(19.00%)	31(19.00%)	96(58.90%)	163(100%)
Very Pleasant	16(8.60%)	26(4.10%)	60(32.40%)	83(44.90%)	185(100%)

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

The view of 337 electorate out of 395 who responded to the question on why money was used by the political actors aligns with the earlier insight that political parties, candidates and their supporters did not address issues and needs of the people during the campaign period. According to the electorate, money exchanges hands because political parties and candidates cannot convince voters through the manifesto believing that voters would be hard to convince with mere promises. . In order not to lose, 308 electorate out of the

395 believed that political actors used money to force voters to change their voting decision. When the electorate collected money, food and other materials, 275 of them submitted that voters eventually voted for the candidate or party that provided the materials because of the close family ties with party representatives.

Exhibit 31: Family life improvement as factor influencing vote selling and possible selection of a particular candidate/party

Family life in three years before the election	If somebody puts me in a difficult position, I will do the same to him or her		Total
	Disagree	Agreed	
Not at all	0(0.00%)	2(100%)	2(100%)
Somewhat improved	29(38.70%)	46(61.40%)	75(100%)
Moderately improved	123(60.80%)	79(39.10%)	202(100%)
Highly improved	39(33.60%)	77(66.40%)	116(100%)
	If someone does me a favour, I am prepared to return it		
	Disagree	Agreed	
Not at all	0(0.00%)	2(100%)	2(100%)
Somewhat improved	7(9.40%)	68(90.60%)	75(100%)
Moderately improved	9(4.50%)	193(95.60%)	202(100%)
Highly improved	13(11.20%)	103(88.70%)	116(100%)
	I will go out of my way to help somebody who has been kind to me before		
	Disagree	Agreed	
Not at all	1(50.00%)	1(50.00%)	2(100%)
Somewhat improved	10(13.30%)	65(89.30%)	75(100%)
Moderately improved	21(10.40%)	181(89.60%)	202(100%)
Highly improved	45(38.80%)	71(61.20%)	116(100%)

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

Based on these outcomes, we returned minds of the sampled electorate to three years before the 2022 governorship election in the state. Out of the 395 electorate, 202 reported that their family life was moderately improved, not highly improved. This suggests that the incumbent governor did not do much in changing the socioeconomic fortune of the state since November 2018. However, like the previous submission from the electorate that political actors use money because of their inability to convince voters using a manifesto, political actors, especially prospective candidates hurriedly engaged in empowerment, youth development programmes and donations to community leaders and/or prominent people in towns and cities a year before the election with the intention of winning significant votes. The

large number of electorate (83.90% out of 395) who agreed that candidates sponsored youth programmes ahead of the election is an attestation to the belief that the majority of voters in the state are youth. Hence, the need to engage in activities that redirect their minds to political actors and see them as the right parties and candidates. In our analysis, we discovered that 307 electorate out of the 395 sampled believed that material and non-material donations were given to various community leaders as well as prominent people ahead of the 2022 governorship election.

But does empowering and giving handouts to people and communities ahead of the election lead to having an immediate source of money, most importantly? Sometimes, 164 electorate

out of 395 said they had an immediate source of money before the election. Fifteen percent of the same sample and 4% reported having an immediate source of money always and rarely accordingly. Despite collecting money and handouts from the political actors, to a large extent, 338 electorate out of 395, expected their quality of life to improve after the election. Consideration of personal interest above public interest, corruption tendency and poor governance were identified as consequences of selling votes.

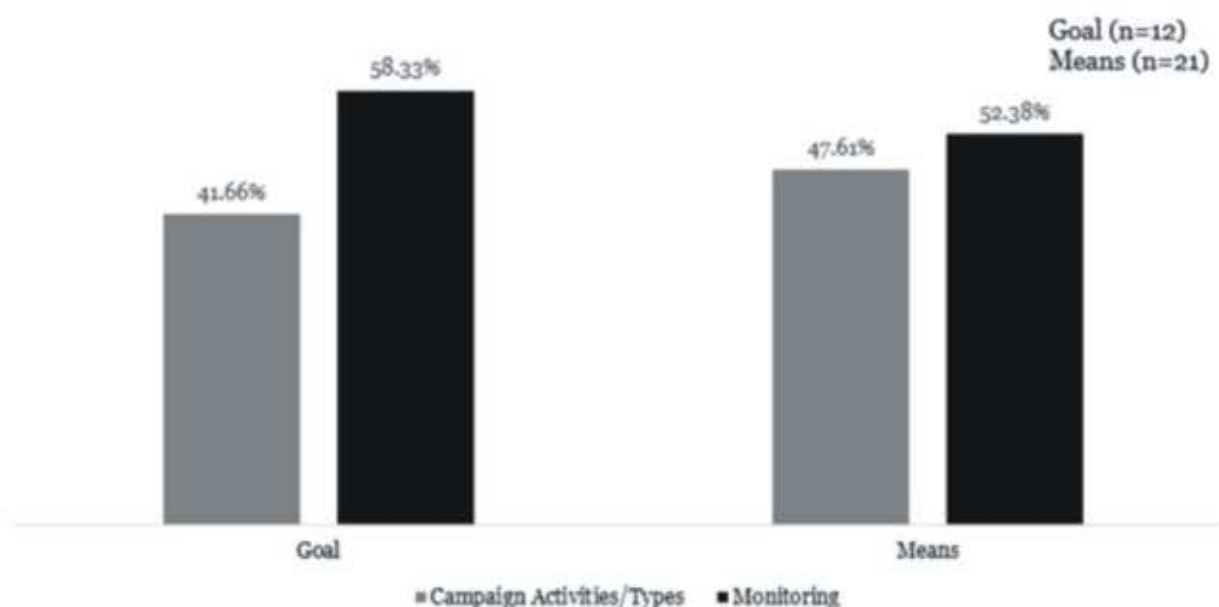
4.4 Effectiveness and Ineffectiveness of Existing Electoral Law and Guidelines

Since 1999 that the country returned to democratic governance after over 15 years of military rule, national and foreign stakeholders have consistently been working on improving the electoral process every election cycle. A number of laws and policies have been enacted and made between 1999 and 2022. This was done with the intention of improving the credibility and acceptability of election outcomes at state and federal levels. In this regard, our analysts examine the newly enacted Electoral Act 2022 and Guidelines for Political Rallies and Campaigns produced by the Independent National Electoral Commission.

The two documents were analysed with a view to finding points of convergence and divergence with behaviour of the political actors, their supporters and views of the electorate during the campaign period we monitored.

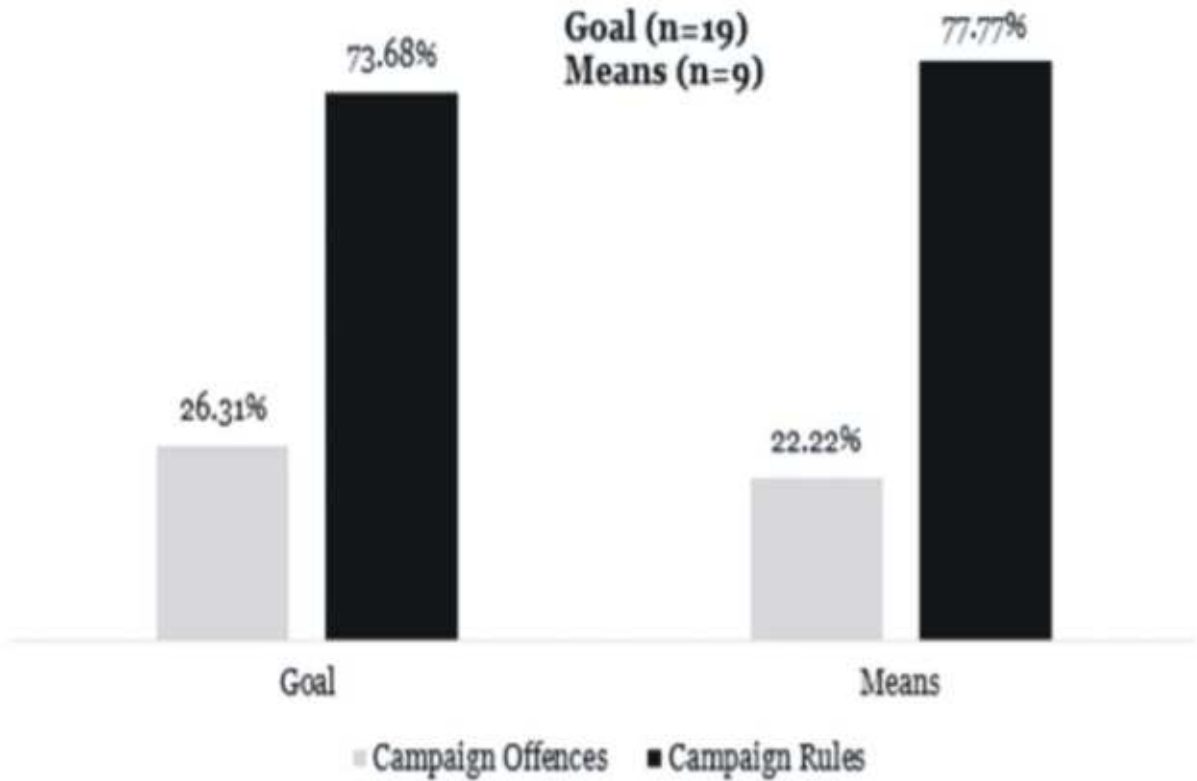
Specifically, we asked: What are the goals of the Act and its guidelines? Are the goals clear? Are there any conflicting goals? What are the means to realise these goals? Does each goal have a means and vice versa? Are these actually related? Are the means appropriate and sufficient to realise the goals? On which casual and normative assumptions is the relation between goals and means grounded? Our analysis indicated a strong linkage among the goals and means formulated for campaign activities/types and monitoring the activities/types by the electoral commission. Seventy-six percent value of goals and means in campaign activities/types was found in the monitoring component of the guidelines. Analysis shows that campaign monitoring principles or guides in the electoral body's guidelines were specifically drawn from campaign offenses stated in the 2022 Electoral Act by 54.8% while it was 8.1% for campaign rules in the same Act.

Exhibit 32: Goals and means in INEC's campaign guidelines



Source: Independent National Electoral Commission, 2019; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Exhibit 33: Goals and means in 2022 electoral act

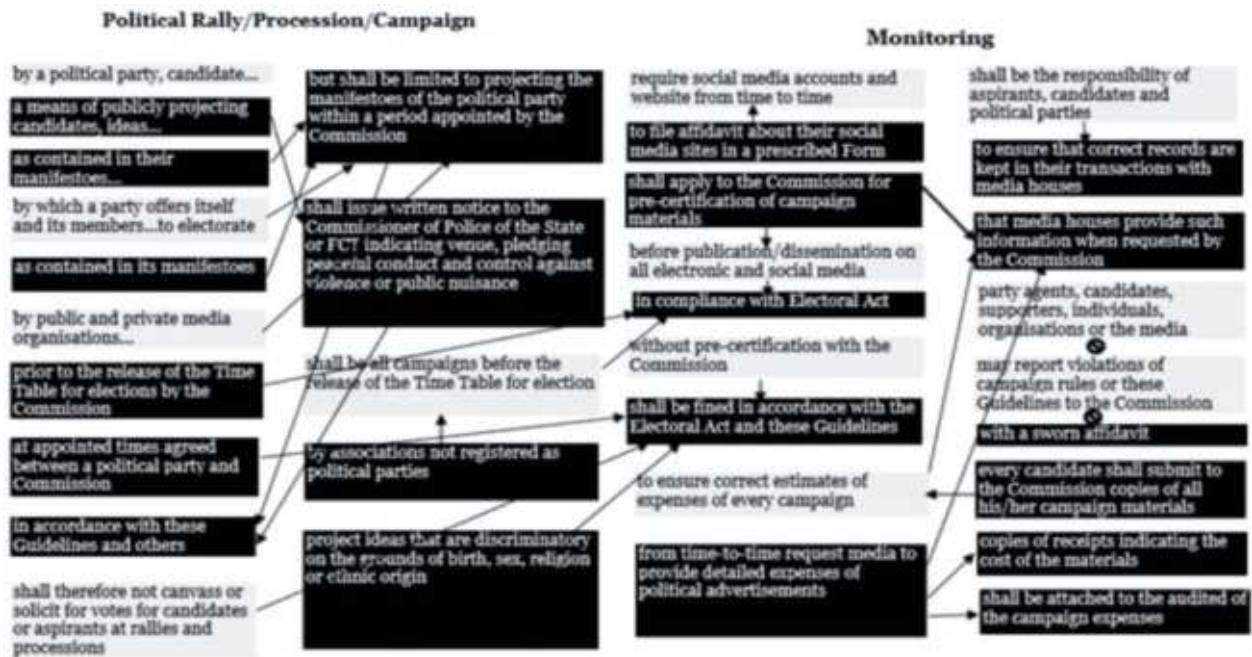


Source: National Assembly, 2022; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

According to our analysis, goals formulated for political actors and their supporters' conduct during campaign activities were slightly close (see Exhibit 32). A similar pattern was discovered in the monitoring component of the Guidelines, which is expected to serve as a watchdog over the stakeholders. Comparing these results with those discovered from the Electoral Act 2022, campaign offenses have more goals than campaign rules. A similar pattern was found for means. As pointed out earlier, the essence of means is to help stakeholders in achieving the goals stated under each component in the Guidelines. Meanwhile, we found the provision that “party agents, candidates, supporters, individuals,

organisations or the media may report violations of campaign rules or these guidelines to the Commission with a sworn affidavit” as too weak for addressing the complexity of the Nigerian electoral system, most importantly campaign period, and threat to the effectiveness of the Guidelines. The word “may” in the provision is equal to not having people or organisations that would be willing to report the details of the illegal activities of political actors and their supporters before and during campaign period. Telling stakeholders to come forward with reports attested to by court would definitely push potential reporters away considering the possible bureaucracy at the Nigerian courts.

Exhibit 34: Interconnectivity of appropriateness and sufficiency of goals and means of ensuring better election campaign in INEC's campaign guideline

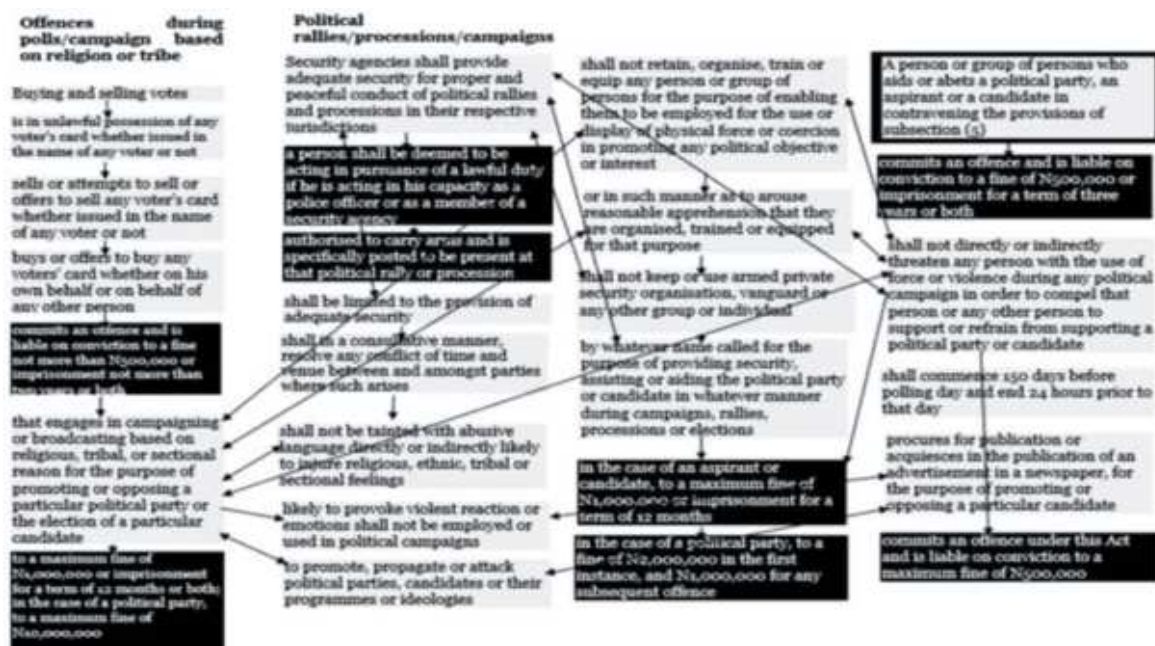


Source: Independent National Electoral Commission, 2019; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

Since many of the candidates and political parties marketed their agenda before the campaign period, it is obvious that provisions in the Electoral Act and the Guidelines, stipulating specific date for campaigning remain ineffective. We also found constant detection of attacks strategy and engaging the electorate on unrelated issues as another weakness of the

Electoral Act and Guidelines. Therefore, the sustained growth of attacks strategy and discussion of irrelevant issues and needs throughout the campaign period exposes the weaknesses of the electoral body and other concerned stakeholders in enforcing sanctions laid out by the two documents.

Exhibit 35: Interconnectivity of appropriateness and sufficiency of goals and means of ensuring better election campaign in electoral act 2022



Source: National Assembly, 2022; Positive Agenda Nigeria, 2022

4. Conclusion

From all indications, personality disparagement was the dominant strategy found in the campaign activities leading to Osun 2022 Governorship Election, though, the two parties engaged the voting public with some policy and governance issues. However, the engagement was below expectation as many of the campaign messages were not highly informed of the policies and governance issues. Parties descended on the arena using unethical and unacceptable language. This made the campaign activities leading to the election being volatile instead of being more robust and enabling informed choice of the voters.

5. Policy and Managerial Implications

- In order to curb pre and post-electoral violence, we advise stakeholders (INEC, Security Agencies and NGOs) to adopt a real-time monitoring of the campaign activities and engagements of the political parties both online and offline.
- Political parties and their candidates should be more scientific and digital about their campaign promises and programmes. This would ensure an alignment between the issues they address and what the electorate's issues and needs of concern are. They should leverage on data gathered from both online and offline platforms.
- Personality disparagement is not a good campaign strategy. It has the tendency and capacity to pollute the campaign atmosphere. Therefore, political parties and their candidates, whether as the ruling party or in the opposition, should ensure their campaigns are issue-based rather than being attack-oriented. Apart from the fact that the strategy does not make the parties and the candidates attractive, it also prevents the electorate from making informed choices through highly engaged campaigns. They should identify the electorate's needs and address what they would do differently to achieve the needs.
- As we have seen in Osun State Governorship campaign activities, two major parties (APC and PDP) appear to be engaging the voting public through their extensive campaign activities. We, therefore, enjoin the election management body (the INEC) to again re-examine the Nigerian political party ecosystem in order to give the less established parties a chance. What we noticed in Osun State was a situation where only two parties dominated the campaign discourse in the activities leading to the conduct of the governorship election. The beauty of democracy lies in the multi-party nature and the different available choices for the electorate.
- For subsequent elections, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) is advised against the heavy use of attack strategy. Though the party's candidate eventually won the election, it did not take away the fact that an attack-oriented campaign strategy is not good for the survival of democracy.
- The election management body, the INEC, should rise to curtail the monster of vote buying which is becoming a significant threat to credible polls. The fact that the newly introduced Bi-Modal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) is proving to be an enabler of a sanitized electoral process made vote buying a lucrative option for politicians. We recommend that the INEC have a deeper partnership and collaboration with anti-corruption agencies such as the EFCC and the ICPC to ensure that the incidence of vote trading is significantly reduced or eliminated.
- The anti-corruption agencies should also set up units to monitor electoral and financial crimes. These units should focus on vote buying and selling. They should also see to the arrest, prosecution and conviction of either politicians or vote buyers who buy or sell votes in subsequent elections starting from the 2023 General Elections.
- The INEC should again take a look at some of the provisions of its electoral campaign guidelines/rules in line with the newly amended Electoral Act 2022. A major provision we found unrealistic in the face of the complexity of the Nigerian electoral system is the framework for reporting the violations of the

campaign guidelines.

- INEC should strengthen the enforcement of its campaign guidelines and rules. Breaches of the guidelines by political parties and their supporters that go unpunished would not augur well for the democratic journey.
- The pre-primary conflict within the political parties had its influence not only on the campaign activities but also on the election itself. To achieve a more democratic nation, the political parties must be more democratic.
- APCON should also collaborate with the INEC to regulate the campaign messages of political parties both online and offline. This would assist in curbing the unethical use of campaign messages by politicians and their supporters. This could only be achieved through strict real-time monitoring of the campaign activities across the platforms.
- We enjoin party's or candidate's media handlers to have coordinated and integrated content creation and dissemination across the platforms. We noticed a disjointed approach to campaigns across the platforms.
- The place of debates in deepening

campaign engagement cannot be overlooked. It played a critical role in the time of the conduct of the election. While we commend the organizers of the debates in the last Osun Governorship election, we canvass a less elitist approach to the organization of the debates. Local people who are on the ground should be given the opportunity to engage the candidates, especially in their domains.

- The state and zonal offices of the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) should be more awake to their regulatory functions during the campaign periods by sanctioning broadcast stations that allow the unethical use of language either on programmes or in their jingles.
- We also advocate that the traditional rulers, who are the custodians of culture, should refrain from openly endorsing candidates. Rather, they should welcome all candidates that visit them with open hands and talk more about the issues of electoral success than campaigning for the candidates.
- We commend the conduct of all the security agencies that came to oversee the peaceful conduct of the election for their professionalism. Their neutrality ensured that the election was not militarized. We encourage such professional handling of future elections.

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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End Notes

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