



POLITICAL CONTEXT ANALYSIS: 2022 OSUN STATE GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

The Electoral Hub Political Context Analysis Number 7/2022



www.electoralhub.iriad.com

POLITICAL CONTEXT ANALYSIS: 2022 OSUN STATE GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

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About The Electoral Hub

The Electoral Hub, an organ of the Initiative for Research, Innovation and Advocacy in Development (IRIAD), is a multidisciplinary strategic think-tank which seeks to provide solutions to improve the credibility and integrity of the electoral process. The Electoral Hub complements the roles and activities of the different institutions, stakeholders and drivers of the electoral process and governance. The Electoral Hub's aim is to strengthen electoral governance and accountability in Nigeria through research, documentation, electoral education, policy and legal influencing and impact advocacy. We believe that the integrity of the electoral process is crucial in improving the electoral governance and sustaining democracy in Nigeria. We also believe in solutions rooted in the principles of justice and equity.

Contact

The Electoral Hub

... promoting electoral knowledge, accountability, and integrity

8A Remilekun Street, Kukwaba, Abuja, Nigeria

Phone: +234 912 155 1337 and +234 908 699 8850

Email: electoralhub@electoralhubng.org and electoralhub@gmail.com

Social Media Channels

Twitter: @electoralhub; Instagram: @electoralhub; Facebook: @electoralhubng

Websites: <https://iriad.org> and <https://electoralhub.iriad.org>

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Executive Summary

The Osun State governorship election is scheduled to hold on July 16, 2022. The Osun State governorship election is coming after the Ekiti governorship election which was conducted on June 18, 2022. The election thus, provides an opportunity for stakeholders to implement lessons learned from the Ekiti election, as well as learn new lessons, towards improving electoral governance and integrity in Nigeria.

The Osun State governorship election is also important because it provides another opportunity for INEC to strengthen the implementation of the new policy on expansion of access to polling units, functionality of its latest technology, the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS), the modalities for transmission of results, and more importantly the implementation of the new Electoral Act 2022, which was signed into law February 25, 2022.

The election is happening within the context of selection, nomination and substitution of Vice Presidential candidates for the forthcoming 2023 general election. National reactions and discourse around same religion presidential and vice-presidential ticket and ground swell mass involvement in the electoral process at the national level. Worth mentioning that the incumbent governor of the state is a very close ally of the APC presidential flagbearer for the 2023 general election. It is also happening amid increased cost of living, fear of food insecurity, acute electricity shortage, fuel scarcity as well as protracted strike of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and threat of nationwide protests as response to long stay at home by university students.

Against this background, The Electoral Hub, in line with its mission of promoting electoral knowledge, accountability and integrity has produced this political context analysis (PCA) to help stakeholders understand the contexts and dynamics in which the Osun governorship election will be conducted.

The following are some key issues to consider:

- This is the second election to be conducted under the new Electoral Act 2022. Since the coming into force of the new Act, all pre-election day electoral activities by the different key stakeholders – the EMB and political parties and candidates have so far been in adherence to the provisions of the Act.

- Like the Ekiti governorship election of June 18, 2022, this election is happening less than eight months before the 2023 general election and would be a pointer to what would be expected at the general election.
- Intra-party conflicts, rivalry and crises within the ruling party APC and main opposition party PDP. Post-primary grievances have resulted in inter-party defections from APC to PDP. This provides the main opposition party a chance of unseating the incumbent and winning the election.
- The geography of Osun State must be taken into consideration in electoral planning. This is because like Ekiti State, Osun State has a good number of towns with many hills such as Ikirun, Iragbiji, Ilesha, Ikire, and Ile-Ife. These hills typically have poor road networks, with some areas completely inaccessible by vehicles. This will have an impact on logistics for the election - delivery of election materials and transportation of election officials.
- COVID-19 protocols seem to have been discarded totally during polls based on recent experiences. This is to be expected given that these rules are no longer strictly enforced.
- Voter turnout and citizens participation in the electoral process is a concern despite over 75.6% PVC collection rate (1,479,595/1,955,657(PVC Collection/Registered Voters). Experience has shown that high collection does not necessarily translate to high voter turnout on election day.
- Electoral offences such as violence, threat, harm, intimidation as well as voter inducement and vote buying and selling (transactions) are major concerns.
- Another concern relates to the effective utilization of the new 763 polling units added to the existing polling units from INEC's nationwide expansion of access to polling unit exercise.
- The core democratic principles of inclusivity and representation are of concern as well with the poor level of women, youth, and PWD representation among the candidates for the election. Youth (35years and below) representation at governorship and deputy governorship positions is 6.6%, under 40years

representation is 36.7%, women are only represented as deputy governorship candidates at 20%, while PWDs have zero representation in both categories.

- INEC on its part has improved on mainstreaming PWDs in election with the deployment of 35 NYSC members with disability as polling unit ad-hoc staff for the election. It is worth mentioning that this is the first time INEC has done this.
- The Osun election is being conducted against the background of emerging trends of insecurities across the country including the new trends of house-house kidnappings. However, there are hopes that efforts by various stakeholders to mitigate violence will prove effective including the signing of the Peace Accord by some political parties in March 2022 under the State Police Command and National Peace Commission led Peace Accord by Candidates in July 2022.
- Electoral stakeholders, including CSO Situation Room, Centre for Citizens with Disabilities (CCD), Yiaga Africa, National Democratic Institute, Justice, Development and Peace Makers Centre (JDPMC), and The Electoral Hub, have been working to safeguard the integrity of the governorship election. Equally, INEC has approved 87 observer groups to observe the election. Given that the acceptance of observers is evidence of the openness of the electoral process, there is hope that they will help ensure the credibility and integrity of the election.
- The heavy presence of bigwigs of the three major parties shows how important the Osun election is as a possible test-run election for the general election in 2023.
- Finally, given that this is the second major election to be conducted under the new INEC's regulation and guidelines 2022 and Electoral Act 2022, some of the provisions to look out for their implementation should include: transmission of results (Section 50), voting in secrecy (Section 50(1)), overvoting (Section 51), assistive devices to PWDs and gender equity and inclusion (Section 54(2)), dispute during result collation (Section 64) and review of forced declaration (Section 65). As well as how INEC will address the issue of electoral offences and offenders (Part VII (Sections 114 -129) and other parts of the Act such as relating to election expenses (Section 85)¹.

¹ Provisions to be examined are updated from The Electoral Hub's PCA for 2022 Ekiti governorship election www.electoralhub.iriad.org/publication/political-context-analysis/

Acronyms

A	Accord Party
AAC	African Action Congress
ADC	African Democratic Congress
ADP	Action Democratic Party
APC	All Progressives Congress
APGA	All Progressive Grand Alliance
APM	Allied Peoples Movement
APP	Action People Party
ASUU	Academic Staff Union of Universities
BVAS	Bi-Modal Voter Accreditation System
CCD	Centre for Citizens with Disability
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CVR	Continuous Voter Registration
FC	Federal Constituency
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
GRIP	Gender Relevance Initiative Promotion
ICCES	Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IRIAD	Initiative for Research, Innovation, and Advocacy in Development
JDPMC	Justice Development and Peace Makers Centre
LGA	Local Government Area
LP	Labour Party
NCDC	Nigeria Centre for Disease Control
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NIMET	Nigerian Meteorological Agency
NISD	New Initiative for Social Development
NNPP	New Nigeria Peoples Party
NRM	National Rescue Movement
PCA	Political Context Analysis
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PLAC	Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre
PRP	Peoples Redemption Party
PU	Polling Unit

PVCs	Permanent Voter Cards
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
RA	Registration Area
SC	State Constituency
SCR	Smart Card Readers
SD	Senatorial District
SDP	Social Democratic Party
TEH	The Electoral Hub
YPP	Young Progressives Party
ZLP	Zenith Labour Party

Introduction

Osun State governorship election is scheduled to hold on Saturday July 16, 2022. This would be the sixth governorship election since the beginning of Nigeria's fourth republic in 1999. Previous governorship elections held, on January 9, 1999; April 19, 2003; April 14, 2007²; August 9, 2014; and September 22, 2018³. Like Ekiti governorship election, this election is also one of the major off-cycle elections conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

The Osun State governorship election is coming after the Ekiti governorship election which was conducted on June 18, 2022. Even though, each election has its own specificities and dynamics, the election thus, provides an opportunity for stakeholders to implement lessons learned from the Ekiti election, as well as learn new lessons, towards improving electoral governance and integrity in Nigeria.

The Osun State governorship election is also important because it provides another opportunity for INEC to strengthen the implementation of the new policy on expansion of access to polling units, functionality of its latest technology, the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS), the modalities for transmission of results, and more importantly the implementation of the new Electoral Act 2022, which was signed into law on February 25, 2022.

The election is happening within the contexts of: selection, nomination and substitution of Vice Presidential candidates for the forthcoming 2023 general election. National reactions and discourse around same religion presidential and vice-presidential ticket and ground swell mass involvement in the electoral process at the national level. Worth mentioning that the incumbent governor of the state is a very close ally of the APC presidential flagbearer for the 2023 general election. It is also happening amid increased cost of living, fear of food insecurity, acute electricity shortage, fuel scarcity as well as protracted Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) strike and threat of nationwide protests as response to long stay at home by university students.

Against this background, The Electoral Hub, in line with its mission of promoting electoral

² The 2007 election was nullified, Olagunsoye Oyinlola was removed as Governor, and Rauf Aregbesola was sworn in as Governor after years of legal litigations. This resulted in the Osun State election becoming an off-cycle election. <https://pmnewsnigeria.com/2010/11/26/aregbesola-declared-osun-governor-court-sacks-onyinloa/>

³ INEC declared the Governorship election inconclusive due to some irregularities in the election, a supplementary/rerun of the election was conducted in some of the polling units in Kajola local government area and Oshogbo, on September 27, 2018. <https://www.channelstv.com/2018/09/23/breaking-inec-declares-osun-governorship-election-inconclusive/>

knowledge, accountability and integrity has produced this political context analysis (PCA), a pre-election analysis to help stakeholders understand the contexts and dynamics in which the Osun governorship election will be conducted.

This analysis contains an overview of the legal, socio-political and institutional factors and conditions that impact elections; the key actors and interest groups shaping events around the election; the election management body and the electoral system; the threats and obstacles to a credible process; as well as the external and internal influences that can help protect and strengthen the integrity and credibility of the electoral process. This analysis is based on unbiased research into the trends from previous elections; the political and social dynamics currently within the country in general (such as vice-presidential candidate substitution and submission for the 2023 general election) and Osun State in particular; as well as the perception of political observers and the electorate about the election. This analysis should serve as a stakeholder's guide to the distribution of power, the range and interests of the various actors, the formal and informal rules that govern the electoral process, and how all these can either remove or add to the Osun State governorship electoral process integrity.

Constitutional and Legal Background

Elections are as much legal activities as they are civil ones. This is because elections are backed by laws. The “organization and administration of electoral processes are complex, and always involve a substantial mass of detail which are usually specified in written laws and regulations”⁴. These written laws and regulations provide the benefits of certainty, visibility and transparency. They are also easier to subject to judicial review, and accessible to interested parties (e.g. candidates, voters and citizens at large)⁵.

The Electoral Legal Framework in Nigeria comprised the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended), The Electoral Act, 2022, and INEC’s Regulations and Guidelines for the Conduct of Elections, 2022. The provisions in these legal frameworks will govern the conduct of the 2022 Osun State governorship election.

The assent of the new Electoral Act 2022 on February 25, 2022 by the president meant INEC had to produce new regulations and guidelines for elections informed by the new Act. As a result of the new Electoral Act 2022, INEC released new Regulations and Guidelines for the Conduct of Elections⁶ to conform to the new provisions of the Electoral Act. Unlike before, where INEC produces regulations and guidelines for each election, this time around, it has produced a comprehensive regulation and guidelines to cover all elections including the 2023 general election⁷.

“the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) herein referred to as “the Commission” issues the following regulations and guidelines for the conduct of Elections (General Elections, Off-Cycle Elections, Bye-elections, Re-run Elections and Supplementary Elections). These Regulations and Guidelines are issued pursuant to Section 149 of the Electoral Act, 2022. They supersede all other regulations and/or guidelines on the conduct of elections issued by the Commission and shall remain in force until replaced by new Regulations and Guidelines or updated by way of revisions or supplementary regulations and guidelines supported by Decision Extracts of the Commission or an official gazette”⁸.

⁴ <https://aceproject.org/ace-en/topics/em/emb/default>

⁵ Ibid

⁶ INEC (2022). Regulations and Guidelines for the Conduct of Elections, 2022. https://inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/REGULATIONS-AND-GUIDELINES-FOR-THE-CONDUCT-OF-ELECTIONS-2022_updttd.pdf

⁷ INEC 2022, Regulations and Guidelines for the Conduct of Elections, 2022.

⁸ Ibid page 6

The other guiding policy for election is INEC’s COVID-19 policy on Conducting Elections in the context of COVID-19⁹. This is yet to be amended to conform to the Federal Government lifting COVID-19 restrictions and relaxing the rules. Thus, INEC will maintain its policy on Conduct of Election in the Context of COVID-19 which includes use of facemasks/shields and keeping a social distancing by voters of two meters (6 feet) on election day.

The new Electoral Act 2022 brought new innovative provisions aimed at improving transparency, accountability, inclusion, and the overall integrity of the electoral process¹⁰, see table 1 below for these provisions.

Table 1: Key Provision in the Electoral Act 2022

S/N	Section	Provision
1	Section 3(3)	Early release of INEC’s funds
2	Section 8(5)	Political neutrality of INEC Staff
3	Section 28	Notice of election 360days to election ¹¹
4	Section 29 (1)	Early conduct of Party Primaries
5	Section 34	Substitution of candidates who dies during election
6	Section 37	Contested election of candidate nomination (validity of nomination)
7	Section 47 (2)	The legalization of electronic accreditation of voters
8	Section 50	Allows INEC to determine the mode of results transmission
9	Section 51	Redefined Overvoting focuses on the number of accredited voters
10	Section 54(2)	Inclusion of Persons with Disability
11	Section 65	Gives INEC Powers to review results declared under duress
12	Section 75(1)	Registration of parties terminates 12months before the general election ¹²
13	Section 81(2)	Notice of merger of parties 9months to the general election
14	Section 84 (12)	Resignation of political appointees before they can participate in primaries as voters and candidates

⁹ INEC (2020). Policy on Conducting Elections in the Context of The Covid-19 Pandemic.

<https://inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/INEC-Elections-and-COVID19-Documents-1.pdf>

¹⁰ See The Electoral Hub. (2022). *Merits of the Electoral Bill 2021*. <https://electoralhub.iriad.org/merits-of-the-electoral-bill-2021/>

¹¹ Section 28(3) provides for 14days notice of election before the date for bye-election

¹² This is particularly important in addressing the unwieldiness in number of parties on the ballot

15	Section 94 (1)	Extension of period of campaign to 150days before 24hours to the election
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Compiled by The Electoral Hub¹³

Of major importance, is the highly contested Section 84 (12) which provides for resignation of political appointees before they can participate in political primaries as voters and candidates which provide a level playing field for contestants has now been determined by the Supreme Court¹⁴. On June 24, 2022, a seven-judge bench of the Supreme Court led by Justice Musa Dattijo Muhammad struck out the suit marked SC/CV/504/2022 by President Buhari and Attorney-General of the Federation, Abubakar Malami challenging the provision of Section 84(12) in the Electoral Act 2022¹⁵.

The Osun Governorship election provides another opportunity to monitor and assess the implementation of the new Act. Some of the key progressive provisions in the new Electoral Act that signpost the improvements¹⁶ in the electoral process that should be considered by process monitors and observers are¹⁷:

1. **Use of Electoral Technologies:** The new Electoral Act empowers INEC to deploy technology into the electoral process in the areas of accreditation, voting and transmission of results. Some of the innovations include the use of Smart Card Reader and other technological devices for accreditation and for transmission of results. See Sections 47(2), 60(5) Electoral Act, 2022
2. **Result Visualisation Portal:** The new Electoral Act empowers INEC to deploy technologies and innovations in result transmission. How will INEC utilise the new Act in relation to the existing INEC result-visualization portal for Osun? Will there be differences or improvements after Ekiti?

¹³ The Electoral Hub (2022). Electoral Landscape since the Assent of the Electoral Act 2022.

www.electoralhub.iriad.org/blog/

¹⁴ Section 84(12), Electoral Act 2022. See The Electoral Hub (2022). Electoral Landscape since the Assent of the Electoral Act 2022. www.electoralhub.iriad.org/blog/

¹⁵ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/538889-breaking-supreme-court-strikes-out-buhari-malamis-suit-challenging-section-8412-of-electoral-act.html> ; <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/06/24/electoral-act-supreme-court-judgement-on-section-8412-victory-for-democracy-says-house/> ; <https://www.channelstv.com/2022/06/24/electoral-act-supreme-court-strikes-out-buharis-suit-challenging-section-8412/>

¹⁶ See The Electoral Hub. (2022). *Merits of the Electoral Bill 2021*. <https://electoralhub.iriad.org/merits-of-the-electoral-bill-2021/>

¹⁷ This list is an updated version of same list in the PCA of 2022 Ekiti State Governorship Election. www.electoralhub.iriad.org/publications/

3. **Voting by Open Secret Ballot:** The Secrecy of the ballot is a universal electoral integrity norm and standard. This is aptly covered by Section 50 (1) which states that “voting shall be by open secret ballot”. Proper implementation and compliance with this section will go a large extent in curbing the major electoral offence of voting buying and selling at the PU.
4. **Transmission of results:** Whether transmission of results will be done electronically and what methods would be used in line with provisions of Section 50 that allow INEC to determine the mode of results transmission. Are we going to see results in Excel formats etc.?
5. **Overvoting:** Section 51 redefinition and clarification on overvoting to focus on the number of accredited voters and not the number in the register of voters. How will this be done by the presiding officers taking into consideration issues of adequate training and knowledge about this Section
6. **Inclusion of PWD:** Section 54(2) compels INEC to provide assistive devices to PWDs at the polling units. How well will poll officials comply with this requirement? Particularly looking at issues of competence of poll officials
7. **Gender Equity and Inclusion:** Section 54(2) also compels INEC to assist special needs and vulnerable persons at the PUs. The elderly, pregnant and nursing mothers fall within this group. They would require quick action at PUs so special attention would include them being attended to before others. This will encourage and promote gender equity and inclusion in the electoral process. Inclusivity is an important measure of electoral integrity and democratic progress
8. **Dispute during Result Collation:** Section 64 provides for how results collation disputes are to be addressed and resolved. *“Where during collation of results, there is a dispute regarding a collated result*”
9. **Powers to Review Results Declared Under Duress:** Section 65 provides for a seven days duration for INEC review of declaration and return made involuntarily and contrary to the law. Desperate politicians may try to manipulate the result collation process by compelling a false declaration at the different collation points. It is therefore important to watch out for this.

10. Electoral Offences and Offenders¹⁸: In line with the new legal provisions, does INEC have a developed plan and/or strategy for preventing electoral offences? Will INEC prosecute more election offenders than before? What are some of the methods INEC seeks to explore to make this possible? Part VII (Sections 114-129).

Another judicial intervention relates to the Federal High Court Abuja April 2022 judgment ordering the enforcement of the National Gender Policy provision that at least 35% of all public-sector appointments be reserved for women. This judgment which hinges on the Maputo Protocol to African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights is seen as a major win for democratic inclusion especially considering National Assembly's rejection of gender constitutional amendment Bills¹⁹. However, the federal government has failed to comply with the judgement with its latest all-male ministerial appointments²⁰. It did not only disregard court judgement but has also instituted an appeal against the judgement²¹. This further reinforces the idea that the Buhari's administration is anti-women and anti-gender equity and inclusion.

There are other important outstanding reforms expected from the constitutional amendments which has been sadly put on hold by the legislature because of their focus on electioneering for the 2023 general election. And without these relevant reforms the Nigerian electoral legal framework remains inadequate. As shown in this section, a detailed exposition of electoral processes embedded in legal frameworks provides legal certainty which promote confidence in the consistency, fairness, and even-handedness of electoral administration²². This also provides clear opportunities for legal adjudication, conflict resolution and redress. All these are important contextual aspect of the forthcoming Osun State governorship election which should be taken into any analysis about the election.

¹⁸Besides Part VII (Sections 114 -129), offences and sanctions can be found in other parts of the Act as well. For instance, Sections relating to electoral expenses -S85, etc.

¹⁹ These are five Bills targeted at increasing women representation in governance: specific seats for women in National and State Assemblies, Indigeneity, Citizenship, 35% affirmative action appointive positions and political party structures

²⁰ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/538341-just-in-buhari-appoints-seven-new-ministers.html>

²¹ <https://guardian.ng/news/women-fault-appeal-of-35-per-cent-affirmative-action-by-govt/>

²² Ibid

Osun State Electoral Background

Nigeria is a federation where power is shared between the Federal government, the 36 state governments and the 774 local governments. As shown in the figure and table below, Osun State has 3 Senatorial Districts, 9 Federal Constituencies, 26 State Constituencies, thirty Local Government Areas (LGAs), 332 Registration areas (RAs)/Electoral Wards, and 3,763 Polling Units (PUs).



Figure 1: Delimitation of Osun State²³

²³ <https://nigerianinfopedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/map-of-osun-state-showing-local-government-areas.jpeg>

Table 2: Electoral Delimitation/Statistics of Osun State

SEN. DISTRICT	FED. CONST.	STATE CONST.	LGA	HEADQUARTERS	WARDS	PUs	VOTERS	
OSUN CENTRAL	Osun Central Federal Constituency I	Boluwaduro/Boripe	Boluwaduro	Otan – Ayegbaju	10	74	24,329	
			Boripe	Iragbiji	11	112	69,556	
	Osun Central Federal Constituency II	Ifedayo	Ifedayo	Oke-Ila Orangun	10	63	19,598	
			Ila	Ila- Orangun	11	124	46,630	
			Ifelodun	Ifelodun	12	145	80,552	
	Osun Central Federal Constituency III	Irepodun/Orulo	Odo-Otin	Odo-Otin	Okuku	15	121	66,866
			Irepodun	Irepodun	Ilobu	11	133	58,632
			Orolu	Orolu	Ifon-Osun	10	85	39,653
			Olorunda	Olorunda	Igbonna Osogbo	11	193	104,698
		Osogbo	Osogbo	Osogbo	15	282	142,408	
TOTAL	3	8	10	10	116	1332	652,922	
OSUN EAST	Osun East Federal Constituency I	Atakunmosa-East/West	Atakunmosa-East	Iperindo	10	77	41,028	
			Atakunmosa-West	Osu	11	76	36,470	
		Ilesa-East	Ilesa-East	Ilesa	11	132	75,276	
		Ilesa-West	Ilesa-West	Ilesa	10	121	71,000	
	Osun East Federal Constituency II	Oriade	Oriade	Ijebu-Jesa	12	123	69,651	
			Obokun	Obokun	Obokun	10	100	53,267
	Osun East Federal Constituency III	Ife Central	Ife Central	Ife- Central	Ile-Ife	11	215	113,233
			Ife-East	Ife-East	Oke-Ogbo	10	200	114,404
			Ife North	Ife-North	Ipetumodu	10	111	58,673
		Ife South	Ife-South	Ifetedo	11	131	56,706	

TOTAL	3	9	10	10	106	1286	689,708
OSUN WEST	Osun West Federal Constituency I	Ayedire	Ayedire	Ile-Ogbo	10	67	37,092
		Iwo	Iwo	Iwo	15	170	90,050
		Ola-Oluwa	Ola-Oluwa	Bode-Osi	10	62	37,149
	Osun West Federal Constituency II	Ayedaade	Ayedaade	Gbongan	11	150	67,651
		Irewole/Isokan	Isokan	Apomu	11	95	53,288
			Irewole	Ikire	11	138	74,268
	Osun West Federal Constituency III	Ede North	Ede-North	Ede	11	139	71,748
		Ede South	Ede-South	Ede	10	101	54,880
		Egbedore	Egbedore	Awo	10	90	53,151
		Ejigbo	Ejigbo	Ejigbo	11	133	73,750
TOTAL	3	9	10	10	110	1145	613,027
GRAND TOTAL	9	26	30	30	332	3,763	1,955,657

Source: INEC²⁴

²⁴ INEC. (n.d.). *Name of Senatorial Districts, Federal and State Constituencies Nationwide*. <https://www.inecnigeria.org/downloads-all/name-of-senatorial-districts-federal-and-state-constituencies-nationwide/>; and Communication with INEC Staff.

There are 1,955, 657²⁵ total registered voters in Osun State for the July 16 governorship election. According to Osun INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC), Professor Abdulganiy Olayinka Raji, Osun state recorded the highest number of registered voters in the 3rd quarter Continuous Voter Registration (CVR) exercise²⁶. However, this is only 275,159 more than the voters for the 2019 general election of 1,680,498²⁷ registered voters. Meaning a 16.4% increase from the Continuous Voter Registration of INEC. Also, an additional 763 polling units added to the 2019 general election figure of 3,010 PUs after INEC’s expansion of access to polling unit exercise.

It is instructive to note at this point that the Osun register of voters is more than some countries in the West African sub-region. For example, it is more than double the size of voter register for Guinea-Bissau’s 761,676²⁸ and Gambia’s 962,157²⁹, and more than both countries combined voter register. It is also more than five times the voter register for Cape Verde’s 398,865³⁰

For the July 16 election, according to the INEC Chairman, Professor Mahmood Yakubu, 1,479,595 people have collected their PVCs as of July 10, 2022³¹. This is approximately 75.6% of the registered voters. A total of 476,062 persons which is 24.4% of the number of registered voters are yet to collect their PVCs few days before the election. However, according to the Osun State REC, only 333,179 PVCs are ready and available for collection from the total uncollected PVCs³². 142, 883 PVCs are not ready, this is 7.3% of the total register of voters for the election who will be disenfranchised because of non-availability of their PVCs.

Table 3: Osun State Electoral Delimitation and Demography

Number of LGAs	30
Number of RAs	332
Number of Senatorial Districts	3
Number of Federal Constituencies	9
Number of State Constituencies	26

²⁵ Latest registration figures from INEC

²⁶ Daily Post (2022), CVR: Osun Recorded Highest Number-REC, <https://dailypost.ng/2022/06/03/cvr-osun-recorded-highest-number-rec/>

²⁷ INEC, (2020). Report of the 2019 General Election. Abuja: INEC. Page 319

²⁸ <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/120/40> . Figure as at the country’s 2019 presidential election

²⁹ <https://iec.gm/>

³⁰ <https://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/40/>

³¹ <https://dailypost.ng/2022/07/12/osun-2022-1479595-pvc-collected-as-inec-extends-deadline/> INEC Chairman stated this figure during the Extended Stakeholders Meeting in Osogbo, July 12, 2022

³² <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/06/osun-2022-333179-pvcs-ready-for-collection-inec/>

Total Number of Polling Units	3,763
Total Number of Registered	1,955,657
Total Number of PVCs Collected	1,479,595
Total Number of PVCs Uncollected	476,062
Total Number of PVCs Ready for Collection	333,179
Total Number of PVCs not Ready/Available	142,883
Total Number of Parties Contesting	15
Total Number of Candidates	15



Figure 2: Delimitation Data for Osun State

Tables 4- 6 below shows Osun State has nine members at the House of Representatives representing the 9 Federal Constituencies; three Senators, one from each senatorial district to represent Osun State in the Senate and twenty-six members representing the 26 state constituencies at the House of Assembly.

Table 4: Osun State Senators at the Ninth National Assembly

S/N	SENATOR	DISTRICT	PARTY
1	Surajudeen Ajibola Basiru	Osun Central	APC
2	Fadahunsi Francis Adenigba	Osun East	PDP
3	Adelere Adeyemi Oriolowo	Osun West	APC

Table 5: Osun State House of Representatives Members at Ninth National Assembly

S/N	MEMBER	FED. CONSTITUENCY	PARTY
1	Taiwo Oluga	Ayedaade/Irewole/Isokan	APC
2	Yinusa Amobi	Ayedire/Iwo/Ola-Oluwa	APC
3	Olufemi Fakeye	Boluwaduro/Ifedayo/Illa	APC
4	Bamidele Salam	Ede North/Ede South/Egbedero/Ejigbo	PDP
5	Taofeek Ajilesoro	Ife Central/Ife East/Ife North/Ife South	PDP
6	Lawrence Ayeni	Atakunmosa East/Atakunmosa West/Ilesa East/Ilesa West	APC
7	Olubukola Oyewo	Irepodun/Olurunda/Osogbo/Orolu	APC
8	Oluwole Oke	Obokon/Oriade	PDP
9	Olalekan Afolabi	Odo-Otin/Boripe/Ifelodun	APC

Table 6: Osun State House of Assembly Members at Its Seventh Assembly

S/N	MEMBER	STATE CONSTITUENCY	PARTY
1	Babatunde Ojo	Oriade	APC
2	Wale Adedoyin	Ilesha West	APC
3	Timothy Owoeye	Ilesha East	APC
4	Babatunde Komolafe	Atakumosa East/West	APC
5	Adewumi Adeyemi	Obokun	PDP

6	Olajide Adeyeye	Ife East	APC
7	Taiwo Adebisola	Ife Central	APC
8	Tunde Olatunji	Ife North	APC
9	Benjamin Ogundipe	Ife South	APC
10	Taofeek Badamosi	Osogbo	APC
11	Kunle Akande	Olorunda	APC
12	Nasir Olateju	Irepodun/Orolu	APC
13	Mulikat Abiola	Ifelodun	APC
14	Michael Adetoyi	Odo Otin	APC
15	Femi Popoola	Boripe/Boluwaduro	APC
16	Adebisi Jayeola	Ila	APC
17	Elizabeth Abioye	Ifedayo	APC
18	Gbenga Ogunkanmi	Ayedire	APC
19	Hadirullai Adegbile	Ola Oluwa	APC
20	Halil Uzamot	Iwo	APC
21	Babajide Kofoworola	Ede North	PDP
22	Niran Atidade	Ede South	PDP
23	Babatunde Ibirogba	Egbedore	APC
24	Adekunle Oyekunle	Ejigbo	APC
25	Marouf Olanrewaju	Irewole/Isokan	APC
26	Taiwo Adebayo	Ayedaade	APC

Similarly, Osun State like other states of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, has its own executive, legislature (State House of Assembly) and judiciary. The Governor is the head of the executive at the State level; the legislature, Osun State House of Assembly is headed by a Speaker; and the judiciary by the Chief Judge. The current office holders are:

Arms	Head	Name	Sex	Tenure
Executive	Governor	H.E. Adegboyega Oyetola	Male	2018 – date
Legislature	Speaker	Rt. Hon. Timothy Owwoeye	Male	2019 – date
Judiciary	Chief Judge	Justice Oyebola Adepele Ojo ³³	Female	2013 – date

Governors are elected for a maximum of two-terms of a four-year term. To qualify to contest for the office of the Governor, the Constitution, provides that a person:

³³ <http://osunjudiciary.gov.ng/judges>. Justice Ojo is both the judicial and administrative head of Osun State Judiciary

- is a citizen of Nigeria by birth;
- has attained the age of thirty-five years;
- is a member of a political party and is sponsored by that political party, and
- has been educated up to at least School Certificate level or its equivalent³⁴.

A simple majority system is used to determine the winner of the governorship election. This means the winner must have a plurality of the votes cast and at least 25% of votes cast in at least two-thirds of all the local government areas of the state. Where no candidate meets these criteria, the contestants with the two highest numbers of votes compete in a run-off election until a winner emerges.

³⁴ Section 177, Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended)

Osun State Geography

Osun State is located in the Southwest region of Nigeria. It has a total land area of 14,875 square kilometres³⁵. Osun State was declared a state on August 27, 1991, by the military administration of General Ibrahim Badamosi Babaginda. Before this, it was part of Oyo State. The State shares boundaries with Oyo in the West, Ondo, and Ekiti in the East, Kwara in the North, and Ogun in the South. Osogbo is the capital city of the State³⁶.

Osun is an identity for the people of Osun State³⁷. The word “Osun” is derived from River Osun the natural spring which is seen by the people as the manifestation of the Yoruba goddess of the same name³⁸. The State is homogenous in terms of culture, tradition, and language. The people are predominantly Yorubas sub-divided into the Osuns, Ifes, Ijeshas, and Igbominas³⁹ as well as the Oyos and Ibolos⁴⁰. Ile Ife, a major town in Osun is the cradle and ancestral home of the Yoruba race according to Yoruba folklore. Other major towns and cities in Osun State are Osogbo, Oke-Ila Orangun, Ila Orangun, Ede, Iwo, Ejigbo, Esa-Oke Ilobu, and Ilesha⁴¹. It is predominantly an agrarian environment and rich in agricultural resources such as yam, maize, beans, and cocoyam while cash crops cultivated include tobacco and palm produce.

Osun State like Ekiti State also has many towns with hills, namely: Ikirun, Iragbiji, Ilesha, Ikire, and Ile-Ife⁴². These hills served as fortresses and defence for the people during the Yoruba wars and Fulani expansionist period⁴³. Presently, the hills serve as beautiful sceneries and landscapes during road trips thereby adding to tourists’ attractions. However, in relation to elections, these hills become difficult terrains because they generally have poor road networks and tend to be areas completely inaccessible by vehicles. Election logistics is thus very challenging in these environments.

One of the State’s unique features is the annual Osun Osogbo cultural festival that takes place in August and is held along the River Osun. The festival attracts many tourists from

³⁵ <https://www.osunstate.gov.ng/about/quick-facts/>

³⁶ https://www.nigeriagallery.com/Nigeria/States_Nigeria/Osun/

³⁷ <https://www.osunstate.gov.ng/about/history/> ‘Osun’ “emboldens the history of a people whose quest for freedom, self-actualisation, determination and hope for a better tomorrow fought and won the battle for its creation”

³⁸ <https://www.osunstate.gov.ng/about/quick-facts/>; <https://www.cometonigeria.com/region/south-west-nigeria/osun-state/>

³⁹ <https://www.osunstate.gov.ng/about/people/>

⁴⁰ <http://www.osundefender.com/feature-osun-29-ushering-in-fourth-decade-in-grand-style/>

⁴¹ <https://www.osunstate.gov.ng/about/major-towns/>

⁴² <https://www.osunstate.gov.ng/about/geography/>

⁴³ Ibid

across the world. Osun State also has a UNESCO world heritage centre, the Osun-Osogbo Sacred Grove. Other tourist attractions in Osun State are: Erin-Ijesha waterfall, Oduduwa shrine and grove, Nike art gallery, Genesis art gallery, and National museum Ile Ife. All of these tourist attractions contribute to the State's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Internally Generated Revenue (IGR).

The State is rich in mineral resources such as Granite, Talc, Clay, Limestone, Quartz, Dolomite, Mica, Laterite, Kaolin, Sand, Gold, Feldspar, Gravel, Aquamarine, and Limestone⁴⁴. Unlike crude oil and other petroleum resources that are firmly in the grips of the federal government and are the major source of national GDP and IGR, solid minerals as listed above tend to be controlled by states.

Flooding occurrences is also another important geographical feature of the State. In 2021, the State experienced flooding that claimed the lives and damaged many properties.⁴⁵ The State government urged residents to be more actively involved in the management and prevention of floods following the forecast by the Nigeria Hydrological Service Agency (NIHSA) and the Nigeria Meteorological Agency (NiMET), that the State is highly vulnerable to flooding. NiMET had predicted that climate change will lead to abnormal rainfall which will culminate to flood disasters that will affect some states and many local government areas of the federation⁴⁶. Shortly after the NiMET prediction, Osun State witnessed a heavy downpour that brought about flooding in the State capital Osogbo, the flood claimed lives and led to the destruction of properties worth millions of Naira. The most affected areas included: Ibu-Amo, Oke-Arungbo, Oke-Ayepe, Powerline, Gbonmi, Oke-Baale, Obalende, Obate, Oke-Oniti Alekuwodo, and Oke Awesin in Erin-Osun. The flooding was further exacerbated by Opopo stream, Osun River and Awesin stream overflowing their boundaries⁴⁷.

These geographical features of Osun State are of important to considerations, as they have implications for electoral planning, and logistics⁴⁸. The election is also happening during rainy season, which makes the likelihood of flooding high. Areas with poor road networks will still pose a challenge. Adequate time should be given for longer transportation routes in those areas that are not easily accessible.

⁴⁴ <https://naijaquest.com/mineral-resources-in-osun-state/>

⁴⁵ <https://saharareporters.com/2021/08/04/flood-wreaks-havoc-osun-three-killed-government-house%E2%80%99s-fence-collapses>

⁴⁶ Nnodim. O. (2021), Expect High Volume of Rainfall, Floods- Warns NiMET. *Punch*.

<https://punchng.com/expect-high-volume-of-rainfall-floods-warns-nimet/>

⁴⁷ Abubakar. S. (2021), How Flood Ravaged Communities in Osogbo Erin Osun. *Vanguard*.

<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/08/how-flood-ravaged-communities-in-osogbo-erin-osun/>

⁴⁸ the movement and deployment of election officials, distribution of election materials.

Osun State Electorate

As shown in the below table, in 1991 population census, Osun State had a population of 2,158,143 and under the 2006 census, the population had increased to 3,416,959 (male-1,734,149 and females-1,682,810)⁴⁹. While the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) 2016 population projection indicates a rise to 4,705,600 at 3.3% annual population change⁵⁰. Data from INEC online Continuous Voters Registration (CVR), shows that an additional 362,609 persons have completed their registration in the State⁵¹. This is a sizeable increase in the total number of Registered Voters for the July 16 election.

Table 7: Osun State Population Distribution/Statistics

S/N	LGA	Population (1991) Census	Population (2006) Census	Population (2016) Projection
1	Aiyedaade	94,777	149,569	206,000
2	Aiyedire	41,636	76,309	105,100
3	Atakunmosa East	...	76,105	104,800
4	Atakunmosa West	...	68,350	94,100
5	Boluwaduro	...	70,954	97,700
6	Boripe	110,174	138,742	191,100
7	Ede North	...	83,818	115,400
8	Ede South	...	75,489	104,000
9	Egbedore	40,293	73,969	101,900
10	Ejigbo	69,366	132,515	182,500
11	Ife Central	...	167,204	230,300
12	Ifedayo	24,671	37,508	51,700
13	Ife East	...	188,614	259,700
14	Ifelodun	76,565	96,444	132,800
15	Ife North	133,258	153,274	211,100
16	Ife South	88,170	134,490	185,200
17	Ila	...	62,054	85,500
18	Ilesha East	...	105,416	145,200

⁴⁹ <https://gazettes.africa/archive/ng/2009/ng-government-gazette-dated-2009-02-02-no-2.pdf>

⁵⁰ <http://www.citypopulation.de/php/nigeria-admin.php?adm1id=NGA030>

⁵¹ INEC Weekly Update Completed Registration, Q4. No. 13 as at 7am Monday, 11 July 2022

19	Ilesha West	...	106,809	147,100
20	Irepodun	...	119,590	164,700
21	Irewole	...	142,806	196,700
22	Isokan	...	102,060	140,500
23	Iwo	105,401	191,348	263,500
24	Obokun	61,218	116,850	160,900
25	Odo-Otin	82,314	132,078	181,900
26	Ola-Oluwa	39,454	76,227	105,000
27	Olorunda	83,347	131,649	181,300
28	Oriade	80,833	148,379	204,300
29	Orolu	...	102,832	141,600
30	Osogbo	106,386	155,507	214,200
TOTAL		2,158,143	3,416,959	4,705,600

Source: www.citypopulation.de and National Population Commission⁵²

Osun State is homogenous with inhabitants of ethnic composition largely from the Osun sub-ethnic groups of the larger Yoruba ethnicity. The electorate is composed of sub-ethnic groups such as Ife, Osun, Ijesha, Oyo, Ibolu, and Igbomina of the Yoruba people. It is also a cosmopolitan State, with inhabitants from other parts of the country residing in the State and like the rest of the country, the official language is English. There are a large number of Christians and Muslims as well as African Traditional worshippers in the state.

Osun State ranks high in development indices (DIs) with 90.57% literacy rate and 87.50% using improved sources of drinking water⁵³, 43.69% infant mortality; and 5.38 total fertility rate⁵⁴. In addition, 70% of households have access to electricity with 94.4% connected to the national grid⁵⁵. Similarly, the 2019 poverty headcount ratio of Osun State is 8.5%, making it the 3rd lowest in the country. Poverty income gap is 0.014, and the Gini coefficient of 25.1⁵⁶.

From the Multiple Indicated Cluster Survey (MICS) 2016/2017 carried out by UNICEF on children out of school, Osun is the second to the highest in the South-West with 26.9% of

⁵² Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette. *Legal Notice on Publication of 2006 Census Final Results*.

<https://gazettes.africa/archive/ng/2009/ng-government-gazette-dated-2009-02-02-no-2.pdf>;

<https://www.citypopulation.de/php/nigeria-admin.php?adminid=NGA013>

⁵³ <https://nigeria.opendataforafrica.org/>

⁵⁴ <https://nigeria.opendataforafrica.org/>

⁵⁵ NBS (2020) Nigeria Living Standards Survey 2018/2019, page 87 <https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/download/1123>

⁵⁶ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1121438/poverty-headcount-rate-in-nigeria-by-state/>

children of primary school age out of school and 10.5% of children of secondary school age out of school⁵⁷. The NBS also stated that Osun State has 165,114 out-of-school children as of 2018. These statistics place Osun among the 11 states in the country with the lowest number of out-of-school children with 68.52% males and 31.48% females⁵⁸. Despite its low placement, the record of out-of-school children is still high and needs to be addressed.

According to World Bank 2022 Poverty Assessment, Osun State has a Median deflated consumption per person/year of ₦227,322, while 18% of the citizens are multidimensionally poor⁵⁹. From the Nigeria Living Standards Survey 2018/2019, Osun State has an average household size of 4.02 family members. Osun State has an average share of female-headed households of 30.9% and a dependency ratio of 0.93⁶⁰.

The NBS Living Standard Survey 2020, states that Osun State has an average household size of 4.02 family members⁶¹. The State also has an average share of female-headed households at 30.9% and a dependency ratio of 0.93⁶². The rate of People living with Disability in Osun State is 1.84% male and 2.35% female in the total population⁶³.

Osun State has a 52.7% working population and 63.4% of households receive remittances (6.3 international and 62.3 domestic remittances)⁶⁴. It is predominantly an agrarian economy with 256,000 farming families and 149,478 hectares of cultivated area⁶⁵. The people are majorly farmers producing food crops such as yam, maize, beans, and cocoyam while cash crops cultivated include tobacco and palm produce. Hence it prides itself as the “Breakfast of Southwest Nigeria” because of the abundance of food and cash crops it is endowed with, which in turn makes agriculture the mainstay of the state economy⁶⁶. Other occupations practiced are trading, artisanship, wood carving, textile production, tie and dye, leather work, and mat weaving⁶⁷.

The Osun State Internally Generated Revenue released by the National Bureau of Statistics rates at ₦13.67 billion as of the first half of the year 2021, placing Osun State as one of the

⁵⁷ <https://tribuneonline.ng/special-report-out-of-school-children-in-osun-state-tales-of-poverty-pains-struggle/>

⁵⁸ <https://www.dataphyte.com/latest-reports/elections/osun-2022-6-key-socio-economic-indicators-candidates-and-electorates-should-know/>

⁵⁹ World Bank (2022) Nigeria Poverty Assessment 2022: A Better Future for All Nigerians.

<https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099730003152232753/pdf/P17630107476630fa09c990da780535511c.pdf>

⁶⁰NBS (2020) Nigeria Living Standards Survey 2018/2019. <https://nigerianstat.gov.ng/download/1123>

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Ibid

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁵ <https://www.osunstate.gov.ng/about/quick-facts/>

⁶⁶ <https://www.icirnigeria.org/osun-decides-2018-a-brief-profile-of-osun-state/>

⁶⁷ <https://nokview.wordpress.com/2017/06/29/osun-state-series-occupational-orientation-and-practices/>

top 16 states with the highest IGR in the first half of 2021.⁶⁸ Osun state's richness in minerals such as Granite, Talc, Clay, and Limestone, is one reason for the presence of quarries industries in Osun State⁶⁹.

The State is host to many tertiary institutions including the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Osun State University Osobgo, Adeleke University, Ede, Bowen University Iwo, Fountain University Oke Osun, Joseph Ayo Babalola University Ikeji-Arakeji, Kings University Odeomu, Oduduwa University Ipetumodu, Redeemers University Ede, Westland University Iwo, Osun State College of Technology Esa-Oke, Osun State College of Education Ila-Orangun, Osun State Polytechnic Iree. These provide a larger pool of youth and lecturers who can be mobilized as Ad-hoc staff by INEC to conduct the election.

⁶⁸ <https://www.dataphyte.com/latest-reports/elections/osun-2022-6-key-socio-economic-indicators-candidates-and-electorates-should-know/>

⁶⁹ <https://www.owogram.com/osun-state-profile/>

Political Environment

Off-cycle governorship elections resulting from judicial processes disrupting the general electoral cycle have become norms in Nigeria's electoral and political environment. Osun State governorship election is one of these off-cycle election and is usually the last of these elections before the general election. The contest for Osun governorship election is usually rife with violence going by what happened in the 2018 election where a supplementary/rerun election (second ballot) was held to have a winner because the election was declared inconclusive from violent disruption of polls in some polling units⁷⁰. The rerun was also riddled with violence resulting in many voters ending up disenfranchised. This election is thus happening against the backdrop of election violence recorded during the 2018 Governorship election⁷¹.

This election like all elections since 2020 will be conducted with the INEC COVID-19 policy still in place. As tend to be the situation with Nigeria's elections, there are a number of pre-election disputes surrounding this election as well. These disputes are around party factions and intra-party grievances from the primaries. This section and the next one will explore these various features of Osun's political environment and the implications for the elections. This section covers: 2022 election, intra-party conflicts and defection, citizens participation and COVID-19 pandemic while the next discusses the contesting political parties and candidates as well as the dynamics therein. But first, a brief political history of the state.

Brief History

As stated earlier, Osun is an identity for the people of Osun State⁷². The struggle for an Osun State started in the 1950s with the first win being the granting of autonomy to Osun District Towns on April 1, 1951⁷³. A Commission of Inquiry headed by H.L Butcher was established to look into a petition to the British Colonial Administration submitted by traditional rulers requesting for an Osun Division. The commission's major aim was to investigate the conflicts between Chief Salami Agbaje and Olubadan-in-council in Ibadan

⁷⁰ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/286134-osundecides2018-12-year-old-girl-two-others-shot-as-violence-erupts-in-osogbo.html> ; <https://www.icirnigeria.org/osun-decides-2018-violence-gunshots-irregularities-characterise-rerun-election/>

⁷¹ <https://www.sunnewsonline.com/widespread-political-violence-mar-osun-re-run/>

⁷² <https://www.osunstate.gov.ng/about/history/>

'Osun' "emboldens the history of a people whose quest for freedom, self-actualisation, determination and hope for a better tomorrow fought and won the battle for its creation"

⁷³ Ibid

District Native Authority. The leaders of the struggle were: Chief Raji Ayoola Adeleke⁷⁴, a labor activist, and was also a Senator in the Second Republic representing Osun State Senatorial District; Chief Kola Balogun, a lawyer and a founding member of the Zikist movement⁷⁵. Chief Tunji Abolade, and Chief Diran Fagbougbe were also front liners that agitated for the creation Osun State.

Post 1950s leaders include Chief Bola Ige SAN and Senator Isiaka Adeleke⁷⁶, two of the major people who continued the struggle post Nigeria’s independence from the British. Chief Bola Ige, SAN was elected as the governor of old Oyo State in 1979 and through his involvement in politics, contributed to the struggle for the creation of Osun State⁷⁷. Senator Isiaka Adeleke who started active politics in 1989 and became the first civilian Governor of Osun State in 1992 after its creation in 1991⁷⁸. He contributed immensely to the growth and development of the State.

The struggle for independence culminated with creation of Osun State from the old Oyo State in August 1991, under General Ibrahim Babangida⁷⁹. Since its creation, Osun State has had nine (9) regimes and administrations. As shown in the table below, four of these were military administrations.

Table 8: Osun State Administration Since Creation

S/N	NAME	PARTY	YEAR
1	Leo Segun Ajiborisha	Military Administrator	1991 - 1992
2	Isiaka Adetunji Adeleke	SDP	1992 - 1993
3	Anthony Udofia	Military Administrator	1993 - 1996
4	Anthony Obi	Military Administrator	1996 - 1998
5	Theophilus Bamigboye	Military Administrator	1998 - 1999
6	Adebisi Akande	AD	1999 – 2003
7	Olagunsoye Oyinlola	PDP	2003 - 2010
8	Rauf Aregbesola	ACN/APC	2010 – 2018
9	Isiaka Gboyega Oyetola	APC	2018 till date

Compiled by The Electoral Hub

⁷⁴ Forebearer of the PDP governorship candidate

⁷⁵ <http://www.gcimuseum.org/content/balogun-kolawole-joseph>

⁷⁶ Late brother of the PDP governorship candidate

⁷⁷ <https://saharareporters.com/2021/12/23/explainer-who-was-chief-bola-ige-and-why-was-he-assassinated-deborah-eyibio>

⁷⁸ <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/09/03/osun-at-25-the-beat-continues/>

⁷⁹ https://www.nigeriagallery.com/Nigeria/States_Nigeria/Osun/

The 2022 Election

The contest for 2022 Osun Government House is a four-party race among the APC, PDP, LP and Accord, unlike 2018 where it was APC, PDP and SDP. Interestingly, SDP seem to have been weakened in the State since Otunba Iyiola Omisore, the 2018 candidate left to join the APC.

The candidate of the ruling party, APC, Governor Adegboyega Oyetola hails from Boripe LGA, and his running mate, Benedict Olugboyega Alabi is from Irewole LGA. While the PDP candidate Adedamola Jackson Nurudeen Adeleke is from Ede South LGA and his running mate Adewusi Kola Adegboyega, Ife Central LGA. The Labor Party candidate Yussuff Sulaiman Lasun is from Irepodun LGA, and his running mate, Adeola Adekunle Atanda hails from Aiyedire LGA. The Accord Party Akiande Akanmu Ogunbiyi, Aiyedire LGA and his running mate Jimoh Mukaila Adekunle, Boripe LGA. Three candidates are from Osun Central, two candidates from Osun East, and three candidates from Osun West.

In line with the INEC timetable and schedule for the Osun governorship election, campaigns by political parties began legally on April 17, 2022, with the campaign slated for July 14, 2022⁸⁰. In these last days to the end of campaigns, we have observed mega rallies by APC, LP, and PDP with all three having their presidential candidates joining the rallies ahead of the July 16 election. The presidential candidate for the ruling party, Bola Ahmed Tinubu was in attendance at the rally in Osogbo organized in support of the APC governorship candidate Governor Adegboyega Oyetola, during the rally Bola Ahmed Tinubu called on the people to come out in mass to vote for APC in the election, stating that it will guarantee the future of the State⁸¹.

In like manner, the presidential candidate of the major opposition party People's Democratic Party, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, and other prominent members of the party converged in Osun State in support of the party's governorship candidate, Ademola Adeleke. During the rally conducted in support of Ademola Adeleke, Atiku Abubakar enjoined the people to vote for PDP as the party has the capacity to solve the raging problems in the State. Other prominent members present at the rally were the Former Senate President, Dr Bukola Saraki, National Chairman Iyorchia Ayu, Vice Presidential candidate and Governor of Delta State, Ifeanyi Okowa, Governors of Bayelsa and Sokoto

⁸⁰ <https://inecnigeria.org/osun-state-governorship-2022-timetable-and-schedule-of-activities/>

⁸¹ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/542293-osun-2022-vote-apc-vote-the-future-you-want-tinubu.html>

States, and former Vice President Nnamdi Sambo. They expressed confidence that the PDP will win the governorship election⁸².

Similarly, the presidential candidate for Labor Party, Peter Obi was on ground to support the LP candidate Yusuf Lasun. The candidate canvassed for vote for Labor Party stating that the party has the power to curb poverty and other menaces in the State. He enjoined the people to vote wisely to save the future of the State⁸³.

All the political parties are confident about winning the July 16 election. It is interesting to note that the three main parties had their presidential candidates and other prominent members of these parties showing support for their parties and candidates by joining the rallies and campaign train in canvassing for votes. This was not the case for Ekiti election where only the APC presidential flagbearer was present. One reason for this heavy presence of the parties' major players (bigwigs) in Osun could be that the Osun governorship election serves as a pre-election for the general election in 2023.

Intra-Party Conflicts and Defections

All-Progressives Congress (APC)

In the APC, there were reports that Governor Oyetola and his loyalist began segregation and exclusivity against members of the All-Progressive Congress (APC) that brought him to power in 2018. To this effect a group in the party formed The Osun Progressives (TOP), to curb the wrongs of the factional chairman Gboyega Famodun loyalist of the Governor⁸⁴. Rauf Aregbesola the Minister of Interior confirmed the existence of two factions in the All-Progressives Congress (APC) in Osun State. He also stated that he was a member of The Osun Progressives (TOP)⁸⁵, one of the two factions of APC. In a bid to resolve the crises in the Osun State chapter of the party APC set up a National Reconciliation Committee headed by the former Governor of Nasarawa State and present party national chairman Abdullahi Adamu. Following the development, the Aregbesola faction, TOP stated that it was ready for reconciliation on the condition that their grievances are met⁸⁶. Despite reconciliation efforts, crises between the two factions worsen.

⁸² <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/542669-osun-2022-atiku-okowa-storm-osogbo-for-adeleke.html>

⁸³ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/542529-osun-2022-peter-obi-rallies-support-for-labour-party-candidate.html>

⁸⁴ <https://guardian.ng/news/aregbesola-loyalists-form-splinter-group-in-osun-apc/>

⁸⁵ <https://guardian.ng/news/aregbesola-confirms-factions-in-osun-apc-backs-anti-oyetola-group/>, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/01/i-belong-to-salinsile-led-faction-of-osun-apc-aregbesola/>

⁸⁶ <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/02/10/aregbesola-backed-apc-faction-in-osun-gives-conditions-for-reconciliation/>

Despite the prevalent crises in the party, The All-Progressives Congress conducted its primary election for the nomination of the party's governorship candidate which was relatively peaceful but resulted in the deepening of the internal party crises. Following the conduct of the primary election, the Osun Progressive (TOP) faction of the APC decried irregularities in the primary election that produced Governor Adegboyega Oyetola as the governorship candidate for the party⁸⁷. The faction also rejected the results and approached the Appeal Committee of the party to nullify the results⁸⁸.

People's Democratic Party (PDP)

The PDP is also facing internal crises. The internal crises in the PDP Osun state chapter were reported to have begun after the party lost the governorship election in 2018⁸⁹. The crises deepened when the then PDP Chairman in the State Soji Adagunodo, was accused of mismanaging campaign funds for the 2018 governorship election⁹⁰.

In an effort to resolve the uprising issues, The National Working Committee (NWC) of the party removed Soji Adagunodo and appointed the Deputy Chairman Sunday Akanfe as the party's chairman pending the time it appoints another Chairman⁹¹. The NWC then appointed Sunday Bisi the present chairman as the Chairman of the party in the State, but this action brought about more crises in the State as the party was divided into two factions. One faction is chaired by Sunday Bisi loyal to former Senator Ademola Adeleke while the other faction is chaired by the former Vice-Chairman for Osun East Barrister Wale Ojo supported by Soji Adagunodo.

However, the National Chairman of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Iyiorchia Ayu set up a committee to resolve the crises in the Osun state chapter of the party⁹². Members of the committee are; former governor of Osun State Prince Olagunsoye Onyinda, Ex PDP deputy National Chairman Chief Shuaib Oyedokun, Senator Olu Alabi, Senator Francis Fadahunsi, a former deputy governor of the State Erelu Olusola Obada, Professor Wale Ladipo, High Chief Dele Faseru, High Chief Bayo Ajeigbe, Honorable Olasoji Adagunodo, Honorable Sunday Bisi, Honorable Albert Adeogun.

⁸⁷ <https://dailytrust.com/osun-apc-primary-aregbesolas-loyalists-allege-irregularities-as-oyetola-sweeps-poll>

⁸⁸ <https://dailytrust.com/osun-primary-election-nullify-result-aregbesolas-faction-tells-apc-appeal-committee>

⁸⁹Guardian (2022), Osun PDP Internal Rift Unabated as Governorship Primary Draws Closer, <https://guardian.ng/politics/osun-pdp-internal-rift-unabated-as-governorship-primary-draws-closer/>

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2020/09/30/pdp-nwc-ratifies-removal-of-osun-state-chairman/>

⁹² The Economy (2022), Ayu Sets Up Committee to Mediate Over Osun PDP Crisis, <https://theeconomyng.com/ayu-sets-up-committee-to-mediate-over-osun-pdp-crisis/>

The efforts to resolve the crises were proven to be inconsequential as the two factions of the PDP conducted parallel primaries that produced two candidates for the governorship position to represent the party. One faction produced Adeleke Ademola as its governorship candidate and the other faction producing Dotun Babayemi as its governorship candidate⁹³.

Another wave of crises emerged when INEC's list of candidates identified Ademola Adeleke as the PDP candidate for the election. In response, Dotun Babayemi the governorship candidate of the Adagunodo faction went to the courts to challenge both the submission and nomination of Ademola Adeleke to INEC, and the validity of the primaries that produced Adeleke Ademola as the governorship candidate of the party. The Federal High Court in Osogbo however, dismissed the suit challenging the candidature of Ademola Adeleke as the PDP governorship candidate in Osun State and confirmed that Adeleke is the valid candidate for the Osun governorship election⁹⁴.

All of these developments evidence the high level of intra-party rivalry, conflicts, and crises within the major parties contesting in this election. The good news is that the new Electoral Act 2022 discourages substitution by strict provisions with tighter conditions. This thus ensures that INEC's activities are not disrupted by frequent substitutions as was the case previously under a relaxed law. INEC's planning and logistics will therefore not be affected, particularly regarding the printing of ballot papers and other sensitive materials and this will ensure a safeguard of the process.

Citizens Participation and Apathy

Citizens participation is pertinent to free, fair, and credible elections. In promoting participation, a continuous voter education process that goes on even onto Election Day is necessary. Promoting citizens participation involves sensitization, awareness creation, and mobilization of voters to participate in the electoral process. During the 2018 governorship election in Osun State, of the 1,680,000 registered voters, only 769,500 voters were accredited to vote, that is 45.74% of registered voters⁹⁵. CSO pre-election security and risk assessment survey in Osun State predicts a voter turnout of at least 43% and probably 49%⁹⁶. A major factor affecting electoral participation is electoral violence at the different

⁹³Premium Times (2022), PDP Elects Two Governorship Candidates at Parallel Primaries in Osun, <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/516148-pdp-elects-two-governorship-candidates-at-parallel-primaries-in-osun.html>

⁹⁴ Guardian (2022), Courts Affirms Adeleke as Osun PDP Guber Candidate, <https://guardian.ng/news/court-affirms-adeleke-as-osun-pdp-guber-candidate/>

⁹⁵ <https://www.dataphyte.com/latest-reports/osun-2022-key-election-details-as-osun-state-prepares-for-the-july-16-guber-polls/>

⁹⁶ <https://www.kdi.org.ng/ekiti-and-osun-pre-election-security-risk-assessment-final/>

stages of the process and on election day leading to disruption of polling. While Osun State is relatively safe, there are still three precursors to violence which could spill into the process. These are inter-party clashes, intra-party issues, and kidnapping⁹⁷. Kidnapping as an emerging national security challenge has also evolved from roads to house-house kidnappings. Security agencies must ensure the safety of voters, election personnel, and materials to encourage increased citizens participation and reduce apathy.

COVID-19 Pandemic

Although experience so far shows that voters rarely comply with COVID-19 protocols⁹⁸, the INEC policy for the conduct of elections in the context of COVID-19 is still applicable as the world is still operating under COVID-19 emergency. Provisions of the guidelines include the mandatory use of facemasks to polling units, social distancing of 2 metres, use of sanitisers, and use of mentholated spirit to clean the accreditation machines and other surfaces among others. While the Federal Government relaxed some of the COVID-19 rules, INEC is yet to revise its policy. Like the other recent elections held, there is high likelihood of non-compliance with COVID-19 rules. Given that, Nigerians have resumed living as they did pre-covid19.

⁹⁷ [FINAL KDI PEEA OSUN-x-EKITI.pdf](#)

⁹⁸ <https://covid19.ncdc.gov.ng/media/files/ElectionsDuringCOVID-19July2020.pdf>

Contesting Political Parties

Fifteen political parties have presented candidates to contest in this governorship election. These are: Accord Party (A), African Action Congress (AAC), Action Democratic Party (ADP), All Progressive Congress (APC), All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), Allied Peoples Movement (APM), Action People Party (APP), Labour Party (LP), New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP), National Rescue Movement (NRM), Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Peoples Redemption Party (PRP), Social Democratic Party (SDP), Young Progressives Party (YPP) and Zenith Labour Party (ZLP)⁹⁹.

The fifteen political parties and candidates for the Osun State governorship election are as follows¹⁰⁰:

Table 9: Political Parties and Candidates

Party	Position	Candidate	PWD	Age	Sex
A	Governor	Akinade Akanmu Ogunbiyi	X	59	M
	Dep. Governor	Jimoh Mukaila Adekunle	X	61	M
AAC	Governor	Awojide Peter Segun	X	42	M
	Dep. Governor	Fakiyesi Oluwadare Gideon	X	35	M
ADP	Governor	Kehinde Munirudeen lumuyiwa	X	59	M
	Dep. Governor	Agbaje Sewande Claret	X	63	F
APC	Governor	Adegboyega Isiaka Oyetola	X	67	M
	Dep. Governor	Benedict Olugboyega Alabi	X	56	M
APM	Governor	Awoyemi Oluwatayo Lukuman	X	38	M
	Dep. Governor	Akinloye Kabiru Adesola	X	44	M
APP	Governor	Adebayo Adeolu Elisha	X	39	M
	Dep. Governor	AkinPelu Yinka Hezekiah	X	44	M
BP	Governor	Adeleke Adesoji Masilo	X	61	M
	Dep. Governor	Lateef Kehinde Adenike	X	36	F
LP	Governor	Yussuff Sulaimon Lasun	X	61	M
	Dep. Governor	Adeola Adekunle Atanda	X	53	M
NNPP	Governor	Rasaq Oyelami Saliu	X	45	M
	Dep. Governor	Olatunbosun Olusolape	X	47	F
NRM	Governor	Abede Adetona Samuel	X	49	M

⁹⁹ INEC, Nigeria (2022). <https://inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/2022-OSUN-STATE-GOVERNORSHIP-ELECTION-FINAL-LIST-OF-CANDIDATES.pdf>

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

	Dep. Governor	Amoo Fasilat Omolara	X	50	F
PDP	Governor	Adeleke Ademola Jackson	X	61	M
	Dep. Governor	Adewusi Kola Adegboyega	X	62	M
PRP	Governor	Ayowole Olubusuyi Adedeji	X	38	M
	Dep. Governor	Oluwa Emmanuel Aiyedun	X	38	M
SDP	Governor	Omigbodun Oyegoke Akinrinola	X	58	M
	Dep. Governor	Oni Mukaila Adesoye	X	66	M
YPP	Governor	Ademola Bayonle Adeseye	X	35	M
	Dep. Governor	Stella Yemi Adeagbo	X	60	F
ZLP	Governor	Adesuyi John Olufemi	X	46	M
	Dep. Governor	Fakolade Grace Kemi	X	48	F

The APC¹⁰¹ and PDP have alternated the governorship position in Osun State since the return to democracy in 1999. However, APC has held power longer in the state haven ruled for sixteen (16) years including the last twelve (12) years against PDP's seven years. Both parties have strong political actors in the State (see section on political actors).

The APC is strong in the state as both the incumbent party at the State and the federal level of government. It has produced the Governor four times¹⁰² out of the five elections held so far. The current governor is of the APC as well as two of the Senators¹⁰³, 6 members of the House of Representatives, and 26 members of the House of Assembly¹⁰⁴.

PDP is also a strong party in the State. It used to be the dominant party at the national level, having produced the President from 1999 to 2015. It has also produced a Governor in one of the elections and was in power for seven years, from 2003 – 2010 when he vacated the seat due to court judgement¹⁰⁵. PDP strength is also evidenced with the number of seats at the present National Assembly and State Assembly. It has one senator, three House of Representatives members, and three State Assembly members.

The candidate of the PDP is also very popular and is from a political and economic dynastic family, the Adelekes. The Adelekes are woven into the history of the state. The forebearer Chief Raji Ayoola Adeleke is a key figure in the 1950s struggle for an independent Osun Administration. The family also produced the first civilian governor, Isiaka Adeleke 1992-

¹⁰¹ As AD (1999) and ACN (2007)

¹⁰² 1999-2003 and 2010 -2022 after court judgement nullified the election of then PDP incumbent Governor Oyinlola in 2010

¹⁰³ <https://placng.org/i/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/ELECTED-SENATORS-FOR-THE-9TH-ASSEMBLY-1.pdf>

¹⁰⁴ See above Tables 4, 5 and 6 in section 3 – Electoral Background

¹⁰⁵ The third time, 2007 -2010 was truncated by court judgement and opposition took over the position

1993 of Osun State who was also a two-term senator (2007 -2011 and 2015-2017¹⁰⁶). The party has some standing in the State and is expected to present a strong show and possibly win the governorship election.

Other parties and candidates to look out for are Labour Party's Yussuf Lasun and Accord Party's Akin Ogunbiyi. Labour and Accord parties have never produced the government at the federal level or in Osun state. The LP is expected to have a good outing in the election as it presented a candidate that is popular and a well-known mobilizer. Yussuf Lasun is a former Deputy Speaker, House of Representatives and seen as understanding street politics. LP presidential candidate has also taken the national political space with storm being the major agenda and focus of national political discourse.

Other political parties that have presented candidates are relatively unknown in the state and have not been in the limelight or featured much in public discourses. There is also limited information available about these other parties' primaries, candidates, and campaigns. This lack of information also means the electorate is less informed and have little or no knowledge about them. This low level of public engagement tends to negatively affect the parties' chances during the election.

Based on current trends, it is clear that race is between the incumbent party -APC, major opposition party -PDP. These have the strongest chances of winning the election and producing the next governor of the State. However, the race seems to be between APC and PDP, and the odds seem to favour the incumbent party given it has all the powers and resources of incumbency, while the PDP will put up a strong show¹⁰⁷. Whether LP and Accord would break any record like Ifeanyi Uba of YPP during the Anambra governorship election who won an LGA is yet to be seen. This however would be good for the political system of the state as it would provide the opening and leverage for others, particularly those from marginalised groups such as women, youth, and PWDs to step on towards inclusive representation.

¹⁰⁶ Senatorial term was cut short by death

¹⁰⁷ Informed by observations from the field and current power dynamics

Inclusion and Representation

Two of the key principles of democracy are *inclusion and representation*. In Nigeria, women, youth and PWDs have largely been marginalised from the electoral process due to structural and socio-cultural barriers¹⁰⁸. Despite international conventions which Nigeria is party to and national legal frameworks and instruments which provides for the inclusion of women, youth and PWDs in leadership and decision making, “issues of inclusivity, disenfranchisement and fairness continues to dog the legitimacy of elections in Nigeria”¹⁰⁹.

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa (The Maputo Protocol), African Youth Charter, The Nigerian Constitution, The Electoral Act 2022, the Discrimination Against PWD (Prohibition) Act, and National Youth Policy all provides the enabling environment for the inclusion of historically marginalised groups such as women, youth and PWD.

A breakdown of the candidates contesting the Osun State election provides some insights on the level of inclusion and representation of these groups in the forthcoming election.

Table 10: Governorship Position

S/N	PARTY	CONTESTANTS	M	F	PWD	YOUTH*
1	A	Akinade Akanmu Ogunbiyi	√	-	-	-
2	AAC	Awojide Peter Segun	√	-	-	-
3	ADP	Kehinde Munirudeen lumuyiwa	√	-	-	-
4	APC	Adegboyega Isiaka Oyetola	√	-	-	-
5	APM	Awoyemi Oluwatayo Lukuman	√	-	-	-
6	APP	Adebayo Adeolu Elisha	√	-	-	-
7	BP	Adeleke Adesoji Masilo	√	-	-	-
8	LP	Yussuff Sulaimon Lasun	√	-	-	-
9	NNPP	Rasaq Oyelami Saliu	√	-	-	-
10	NRM	Abede Adetona Samuel	√	-	-	-
11	PDP	Ademola Jackson Adeleke	√	-	-	-

¹⁰⁸ The Electoral Hub (2022). PCA for Ekiti State 2022 Governorship Election.

<https://electoralhub.iriad.org/publications/political-context-analysis/political-context-analysis-2022-ekiti-state-governorship-election/>

¹⁰⁹ The Electoral Hub PCA on 2022 FCT Local Council Election

12	PRP	Ayowole Olubusuyi Adedeji	√	-	-	-
13	SDP	Omigbodun Oyegoke Akinrinola	√	-	-	-
14	YPP	Ademola Bayonle Adeseye	√	-	-	-
15	ZLP	Adesuyi John Olufemi	√	-	-	-
TOTAL			15	0	0	0

Source: INEC¹¹⁰

Table 11: Deputy Governorship Position

S/N	PARTY	CONTESTANTS	M	F	PWD	YOUTH ¹¹¹
1	A	Jimoh Mukaila Adekunle	√		-	-
2	AAC	Fakiyesi Oluwadare Gideon	√		-	√
3	ADP	Agbaje Sewande Claret		√	-	-
4	APC	Benedict Olugboyega Alabi	√		-	-
5	APM	Akinloye Kabiru Adesola	√		-	-
6	APP	AkinPelu Yinka Hezekiah	√		-	-
7	BP	Lateef Kehinde Adenike		√	-	-
8	LP	Adeola Adekunle Atanda	√		-	-
9	NNPP	Olatunbosun Olusolape		√	-	-
10	NRM	Amoo Fasilat Omolara		√	-	-
11	PDP	Adewusi Kola Adegboyega	√		-	-
12	PRP	Oluwa Emmanuel Aiyedun	√		-	√
13	SDP	Oni Mukaila Adesoye	√		-	-
14	YPP	Stella Yemi Adeagbo		√	-	-
15	ZLP	Fakolade Grace Kemi		√	-	-
TOTAL			9	6	0	2

Source: INEC¹¹²

From the two tables above, the level of inclusion and representation for particularly youth, and PWDs, is very poor. However, while there some representation for women and youth in the deputy governorship position, PWDs have zero representation.

¹¹⁰ INEC, Nigeria. <https://inecnigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/2022-OSUN-STATE-GOVERNORSHIP-ELECTION-FINAL-LIST-OF-CANDIDATES.pdf>

¹¹¹ In these tables, youth are defined as persons aged 35 or below

¹¹² Ibid

In terms of Youth Representation, only AAC and YPP deputy governorship candidates meets legal definition of 35years and below, despite the Constitutional requirement for the position being 35 years. This means a dismal 6.6% youth representation. There are six governorship candidates and five deputy governorship candidates below 40 years old, a total of 11 candidates. This is 36.7 % and barely one-third of the total number of candidates.

For women representation, there zero governorships and six deputy governorship candidates giving a 20% representation of the 30 candidates (15 governorship and 15 deputy governorship). This is way below the *at least 35%* stipulated in the National Gender Policy (NGP). Among all the groups, just as in the Ekiti governorship election, PWD representation is the worst, as there is no single PWD in either category of governorship and deputy governorship positions. There is no person with disability (PWD) represented in any of the party. So, zero % representation in both categories.

Notwithstanding existing legal frameworks providing enabling environment, it is worth noting, however, that it is one thing for a member of these groups to be given the party ticket to contest elections, and quite another for them to be able to contest on a level playing field with their counterparts. Despite laws and policies, the group is still faced with structural, social, and economic barriers. For instance, as was noted in our Ekiti state governorship PCA, at different meetings organised by women groups as well as from conducted researches including one conducted by the Initiative for Research, Innovation and Advocacy in Development with support from Partners West Africa, Nigeria, one of the challenges identified by women politicians, both old and younger women was poor financial base and logistic support¹¹³. Indicating that women candidates are less likely to have as much access to financial resources or sponsorship as their male counterparts. Indeed, the same can be said for other marginalised groups such as PWDs and youth. Thus, while advocating for more women, youth, and PWDs to contest elective offices, it is also important to address the financial and structural challenges they face by reducing the influence of money in politics and elections.

The federal government's failure to comply with the April 2022 Federal High Court Abuja judgment on the implementation of 35% affirmative action for women contained in the National Gender Policy further demonstrates structural barriers faced by women. The government did not only not comply, it has also gone ahead to appeal this judgment which

¹¹³ IRIAD (2021) *Women Political Representation in Nigeria: Closing the Gender Gap in Representation*, www.iriad.org/publication/ . See also SDN (2019) Women's Political Participation and Representation in Niger Delta, <http://www.stakeholderdemocracy.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/More-women-in-governance.-Report.-2019.-DIGITAL.pdf> ; <https://von.gov.ng/women-seek-sustainable-representation-in-nigerias-leadership-space/>

is aimed at addressing gender imbalances and inclusion.

All electoral stakeholders – INEC political parties, CSOs and the media have key roles to play in promoting and advocating for the inclusion and representation of marginalised groups.

On its part, INEC had launched its revised gender policy¹¹⁴ and developed a framework on access and participation for PWDs¹¹⁵. It has committed to providing priority voting and assistive devices to PWDs during the elections¹¹⁶. INEC has also demonstrated its commitment to inclusion by recording a milestone in mainstreaming PWDs in the election with the deliberate recruitment and deployment of thirty-five (35) members of the NYSC with a disability as polling unit ad-hoc staff for the election.

¹¹⁴ <https://www.blueprint.ng/inec-unveils-revised-gender-policy-preaches-inclusivity/>

¹¹⁵ <https://www.inecnigeria.org/news-all/inec-framework-on-access-and-participation-of-persons-with-disabilities-pwds-in-the-electoral-process/>

See INEC's Regulations and Guidelines on Elections, 2022

Main Political and Social-Cultural Actors

Political Actors

Governor Adegboyega Oyetola is the present governor of Osun State. He contested in September 22, 2018, Osun State governorship election on the platform of the All Progressive Congress (APC) which was declared inconclusive by INEC, but a rerun election was conducted in which he was declared the winner of the election¹¹⁷. Governor Adegboyega is contesting in the July 16 governorship election for a second term.

Rauf Aregbesola is a two -terms former governors 2010-2014 and 2014-2018 of the state and the current Minister of Interior. He contested in the April 2007 Osun governorship election on the platform of the then Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) but lost the election to Olagunsoye Oyinola the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) governorship candidate. After a long battle in Court, Rauf Aregbesola was declared the winner of the election and sworn in on November 26, 2010¹¹⁸.

Brig. Olagunsoye Oyinola rtd is a chieftain of PDP and a former governor of Osun State under PDP. He served between 2003-2007 and 2007-2010. He was removed as governor in 2010 following Court of Appeal Oyo State nullification of the elections that brought him to power¹¹⁹. He was also the military administrator of Lagos State from December 1993 - August 1996 under General Abacha's regime.

Otunba Iyiola Omisore is currently the National Secretary of the All Progressives Congress (APC). He served as the Deputy Governor of Osun State between 1999 – 2003 under Adebisi Akande's administration. He contested in the 2014 governorship election on the platform of the PDP which he lost to Rauf Aregbesola. He also contested in the 2018 governorship election on the platform of the SDP and lost to Governor Adegboyega Oyetola. He served as the Senator representing Osun East Constituency between 2003-2011¹²⁰.

Adebisi Akande is a former governor of Osun State, he served between 1999-2003. He contested in the 2003 governorship election for a second term but was defeated by Prince

¹¹⁷ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/286973-breaking-inec-declares-apcs-gboyega-oyetola-winner-of-osun-governorship-election.html>

¹¹⁸ Vanguard (2010), Aregbesola Long Road to Victory
<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2010/11/aregbesola%E2%80%99s-long-road-to-victory/>

¹¹⁹ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-nigeria-elections-idUSTRE6AP34N20101126>

¹²⁰ <https://blerf.org/index.php/biography/omisore-iyiola/>

Olagunsoye Oyinola, the governorship candidate of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). He was also the first interim Chairman of the All Progressives Congress (APC)¹²¹.

Ademola Jackson Nurudeen Adeleke was a Senator representing the Osun-West Senatorial district between 2017-2019. He contested in the 2018 Osun governorship election on the platform of the Peoples Democratic Party but he was defeated by Adegboyea Oyetola the All Progressives Congress (APC) candidate. He is also the Peoples Democratic Party's governorship candidate for the July 16 Osun governorship election¹²².

Yussuf Sulaimon Lasun. He is the Labour Party candidate for the election and a former Deputy Speaker, House of Representatives. He is popular, well-known mobilizer and perceived to have strong understanding of street politics.

Hon. Rotimi Makinde is an APC member, was a former House of Representative member, he represented Ife federal constituency between 2011-2015 and was well known for his performance¹²³. He also owns a popular radio station in Osun State, Oodua FM, which has a wide coverage of political issues and entertainment¹²⁴.

Omigbondun Oyegoke Akinrinola is the former Deputy Chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SDP). He is contesting in the 16 July Osun governorship election on the platform of the Social Democratic Party (SDP)¹²⁵.

Socio-Cultural Actors

Ooni of Ife Oba Adeyeye Enitan Ogunwusi is the 51st Ooni of Ife. The Ooni ascended the throne on December 7, 2015, succeeding the deceased Oba Okunade Sijuwade¹²⁶. The Ooni is a paramount traditional ruler in Yorubaland. He is seen by many as the most important traditional ruler and the overall traditional head of all Yorubas in the contestation between the position of Ooni and Alaafin of Oyo. The Ooni is known for engaging the political process. He encourages the inclusion of youth in the Nigerian government asserting that, their inclusion is what can solve the problem of Nigeria¹²⁷.

¹²¹ https://officialapc.ng/cpt_team/7-chief-bisi-akande/

¹²² <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/530814-osun-2022-court-affirms-adeleke-as-pdp-candidate.html>

¹²³ <https://www.sunnewsonline.com/road-to-2023-osun-reasons-oyetola-deserves-second-term-makinde/>

¹²⁴ <https://naijagists.com/oodua-90-9-fm-ex-nollywood-actor-hon-rotimi-makinde-opens-radio-station-in-ile-ife-osun-state/>

¹²⁵ <https://www.legit.ng/ask-legit/biographies/1471877-omigbodun-akinrinola-oyegokes-bio-profile-sdps-osun-gov-candidate/>

¹²⁶ <https://www.carmart.ng/public/blog/about-ooni-of-ife/>

¹²⁷ <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2021/05/insecurity-our-foundation-is-wrong-involve-our-youth-ooni-of-ife/>

Owa Obokun of Ijesaland Oba Gabriel Adekunle (Aromolaran II) is the 40th Owa-Obokun who ascended the throne on May 15, 1982. Oba Gabriel is an intellectual, traditional ruler with a Ph.D. He is also a renowned businessman, establishing the Aromolaran Publishing Company Limited at Ibadan on December 1, 1971¹²⁸. Oba Gabriel Adekunle Aromolaran ahead of the Osun governorship election has warned Ijesa politicians against violent campaign and ensure peace to avoid the wrath of the deities¹²⁹.

Oluwo of Iwo Oba Abdul Rasheed Adewale Akanbi became the 16th Oluwo of Iwo in November 2015. He is a renowned businessman, the Chief Executive Officer of Prince Enterprise, and the West Africa Coordinator, Karcher Group Future Tech¹³⁰. In his 2022 Democracy Day statement, Oba Abdul Rasheed Adewale affirms support for a better future of Nigeria and urged leaders to make policies that will favor the younger generation¹³¹.

Orangun of Ila-Orangun Oba Wahab Kayode Adedeji Oyetun was appointed the 24th Orangun of Ila Orangun on May 24, 2003. He is a trained teacher who taught in many schools before he was crowned as the Orangun of Ila-Orangun¹³².

Aragbiji of Iragbiji Oba Rasheed Ayotunde Olabomi IV was installed as the 15th Aragbiji of Iragbiji on May 22, 2008¹³³. Oba Rasheed Olabomi wrote the “Handbook on Iragbiji Osun State, Nigeria”. Oba Rasheed Ayotunde Olabomi’s book provides an in-depth understanding of the Iragbiji people of Osun State. The book covers the cultural, and political terrains of the Iragbijis.

Other notable personalities are:

- **Pastor Enoch Adeboye**, General Overseer of Redeem Christian Church of God (RCCG). RCCG owns the Redeemer University, Ede.
- **Asiwaju Adegboyega Awomolo, SAN**, former Attorney-General and Commissioner for Justice of Osun State and a Life Bencher.
- **Patricia Etteh** first female Speaker of the House of Representatives.
- **Professor Olusola Adeyeye**, Senator representing Osun Central senatorial district.

¹²⁸ <http://dejiokegbile.com/oba-aromolaran-a-methodist-nigerias-first-phd-monarch-a-publisher-of-over-100-titles-40th-head-of-the-ijesa-sovereign-kingdom-40-on-the-throne/>

¹²⁹ <https://dailypost.ng/2022/06/25/osun-2022-i-dont-want-to-curse-anyone-oba-aromolaran-blasts-politicians-at-peace-parley/>

¹³⁰ <https://www.ngnews247.com/oba-abdulrasheed-akanbi-oluwo-of-iwo-biography-net-worth-age-wiki-wife-facts/>

¹³¹ <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/06/june-12-consider-future-of-nigerian-children-in-your-policies-oluwo-of-iwo-to-politicians/>

¹³² https://web.facebook.com/IlaOrangunTourism/posts/the-history-of-the-present-kabiyesioba-abdulwahab-kayode-oyedotun-bibire-1-satur/363633877084824/?_rdc=1&_rdr

¹³³ [Newsflash: Aragbiji Constitutes 12th Installation Anniversary Committee, to be Inaugurated Wednesday \(nigeriainformotivate.blogspot.com\)](http://nigeriainformotivate.blogspot.com)

(In) Security and Violence

According to the “Nigerian Peace Index (NPI) Research Project” carried out by the Foundation for Peace Professionals (FPP), Osun State was one of the most peaceful States in Nigeria as of December 2017.¹³⁴ Osun State is bordered by four states including Ondo state which had terrorists attack recently that claimed the lives of people. The 2018 Osun governorship election recorded a number of violent incidences. For instance, three persons were shot during a clash between the police and political thugs in Alehuwodo, Osogbo¹³⁵. Also, on Election Day during the 2018 election, polls were disrupted leading to the cancellation of some polling units results and the declaration of the main election as inconclusive by INEC.

The supplementary /rerun election was also characterized by violence. The then governorship candidate of the Action Peoples Party (APP) Dr Ekundayo Ademola was severely injured from brutal beatings by political thugs¹³⁶. Some journalists and observers also faced harassment during the election¹³⁷. Sunday News Analysis of Thisdaylive reported that four journalists working with the Osun State Broadcasting Corporation narrowly escaped being lynched by thugs because they were recording their electoral malpractice¹³⁸. While the journalists survived, their vehicles and equipment were vandalised and destroyed. The 2018 rerun election was tagged “electoral violence like no other”¹³⁹ because of the level of violence witnessed.

During this electioneering period, and in the build-up to Election Day July 16, several incidences of election violence have been reported. Intimidation of the opposition, physical attacks, and harassment have been reported.

These include:

- On February 19, 2022, one person was killed during the All Progressives Congress (APC) governorship primary election in Atakumosa West Local Government Area in Osun State, while another was declared missing after the election¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁴ <https://peacepro.org/osun-kogi-most-peaceful-states-in-nigeria-report/>

¹³⁵ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/286134-osundecides2018-12-year-old-girl-two-others-shot-as-violence-erupts-in-osogbo.html>

<https://www.icirnigeria.org/osun-decides-2018-violence-gunshots-irregularities-characterise-rerun-election/>

¹³⁶ <https://www.sunnewsonline.com/widespread-political-violence-mar-osun-re-run/>

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2019/03/24/and-osun-fell/> ; these high level of violence and harassment was also reported by different observers groups.

¹³⁹ <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2019/03/24/and-osun-fell/>

¹⁴⁰ Ezediuno. F. (2022), One Shot Dead Another Missing as Osun APC Conducts Primary Election. *Daily Post* <https://dailypost.ng/2022/02/20/one-shot-dead-another-missing-as-osun-apc-conducts-primary-election/>

- During the ad-hoc delegate ward congress of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), conducted on February 23, 2022, violence broke out which led to the death of two people, burnt vehicles, and several others injured¹⁴¹.
- The killing of the Chairman of the All Progressives Congress in Atakumosa East Central Local Government Area in Osun State, Mr. Gbenga Ogbara by suspected gunmen at his residence¹⁴².
- On May 23, 2022, Governor Adegboyega Oyetola's campaign convoy was attacked by political thugs in Arapajo area of Gbongan, the bus of the correspondent chapel of the Nigerian Union Journalists (NUJ) which was part of the Governor's convoy was also attacked in which some passengers in the bus incurred injuries¹⁴³.
- The Osun PDP alleged that two of its members were killed and others injured by political thugs sponsored by the All Progressives Congress (APC) in collaboration with armed policemen and Amotekun, a South West security network¹⁴⁴.
- Accord Party campaign condemned the destruction of its billboards across the State, alleging that the hoodlums that perpetuated the act are working for the major parties¹⁴⁵.
- On June 23, 2022, hoodlums disrupted the distribution of Permanent Voter Card exercise in Ilesa West local government area, Ward 1, 3, and 7, materials used in distributing PVCs were destroyed, and also citizens waiting to collect their PVCs were dispersed¹⁴⁶.

There are other ongoing security challenges across Nigeria. These are Boko Haram in the North-East, Unknown Gunmen and IPOB in the South-East, Bandits, and terrorism in the North-West, as well as kidnapping and ritual killings around the country. This means Osun State is not totally isolated from the general insecurity challenges. It is important therefore that adequate security be mobilized for the protection of election materials, voters, and election personnel during the election.

¹⁴¹Bamigbola. B. (2022), Two Killed, Vehicle Burnt as Osun Elects Ad-Hoc Delegates. *Punch*. <https://punchng.com/two-killed-vehicle-burnt-as-osun-pdp-elects-ad-hoc-delegates/>

¹⁴²Premium Times (2022), How Gunmen Killed Osun APC Chairman- Police <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/top-news/523253-how-gunmen-killed-osun-apc-chairman-police.html>

¹⁴³ <https://dailypost.ng/2022/05/23/hoodlums-attack-osun-governors-campaign-train-journalists-injured/>

¹⁴⁴Daily Post (2022), Osun 2022: PDP, APC in War of Words Over Osogbo Violence, <https://dailypost.ng/2022/06/16/osun-2022-pdp-apc-in-war-of-words-over-osogbo-violence/>, <https://punchng.com/osun-pdp-raises-the-alarm-over-alleged-planned-violence-election-manipulation-by-apc/>

¹⁴⁵ <https://dailypost.ng/2022/06/22/osun-2022-apc-pdp-responsible-for-attacks-against-us-accord-party-alleges/>

¹⁴⁶Vanguard (2022), Hoodlums Disrupt Collection of PVCs in Osun, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/06/2022-hoodlums-disrupt-collection-of-pvcs-in-osun/>

Efforts at Mitigating Violence

Different electoral stakeholders have engaged in meetings, community mobilization and traditional leaders' engagement to ensure a credible and peaceful Osun governorship election. This is in recognition that security is crucial to the conduct of elections, and it is important for security agencies to work together to prevent violence during and post-election periods. INEC as it is its practice, have held series of meetings with the Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES) to assess the security for the election whilst identifying preventive and mitigative measures.

Accordingly, on July 2, 2022, INEC held a special meeting of the Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security, to evaluate security arrangements for the success of the Osun governorship election¹⁴⁷. INEC also organized an Electoral Security Training in Osogbo for security personnel. The training was to sensitize security agents on INEC's code of conduct and security rules of engagement before, during, and after the election¹⁴⁸. It was also to sensitize them to ensure a peaceful election.

In addition, INEC led by the Chairman, Mahmood Yakubu held a meeting with the Ooni of Ife, Oba Adeyeye Enitan Ogunwusi at his palace, to solicit the monarch's support and intervention with politicians and their supporters to eschew violence during the election. During the meeting, the Ooni gave assurances that the traditional rulers are in support of INEC's commitment to conduct a peaceful and credible election¹⁴⁹.

The Osun Police Command to ensure peaceful conduct during the electioneering and campaign period organised meeting with political parties, during which seven political parties signed a peace pact where they committed to peaceful conduct during the election¹⁵⁰. Parties that signed the peace pact are the All Progressives Congress, the Peoples Democratic Party, Young Progressive Party, Labour Party, Action Democratic Party, Social Democratic Party, and African Democratic Congress¹⁵¹.

The Peace and Conflicts Units of the Nigerian Security Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC), Osun State Command organized a summit for stakeholders on a violence-free poll. The theme for the program was *"Violence-Free Election in Osun State; Our Collective*

¹⁴⁷ <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/07/inec-monitors-security-situation-ahead-osun-guber-poll-yakubu/>

¹⁴⁸ <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/06/inec-engages-security-agencies-preparatory-to-2022-osuns-governorship-election/>

¹⁴⁹ <https://dailytrust.com/osun-govship-inec-chair-visits-ooni-of-ife-pledges-neutrality>

¹⁵⁰ <https://von.gov.ng/osun-2022-apc-pdp-5-other-parties-sign-peace-pact/>

¹⁵¹ <https://punchng.com/osun-2022-apc-pdp-five-other-political-parties-sign-peace-pact/>

Responsibilities”¹⁵². During the summit, the Commandant of Osun State Command, Mr. Emmanuel Ocheja, gave assurance that the security agencies would be all out during the polls to maintain peace, protect critical national infrastructure, Independent National Electoral Commission’s (INEC) officials and electoral materials¹⁵³.

Similarly, as it is its tradition, on July 13, General Abdulsalam Abubakar National Peace Commission (NPC) organized Signing of the Peace Accord by governorship candidates for the election. 13 parties signed the Accord committing to free, fair and credible poll¹⁵⁴. The NPC tasked political parties to embrace peace and shun violence during the election, and INEC and other relevant stakeholders to ensure that the election is free and fair and peaceful¹⁵⁵.

CSOs have also made peace interventions in the form of advocacy, engagement with stakeholders, and community sensitization. For example:

- The Nigerian Institute of Public Relations (NIPR) organized a peace summit themed “*Sustaining Our Values Beyond Election*” for governorship candidates contesting in the Osun State election.
- YIAGA Africa carried out advocacy visits to Osun State Commissioner of Police, market traders, etc. on preventing electoral violence during the election¹⁵⁶.
- The Justice Development and Peace Makers Centre (JDPMC) also paid an advocacy visit to NSCDC Osun State Command to solicit for effective security monitoring and quick intervention in addressing violence¹⁵⁷.
- The National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Vote Don’t Fight Foundation engaged Governor Oyetola who committed to peace by signing a peaceful conduct pact with them¹⁵⁸.

These and other efforts by various election stakeholders gives hope that the election will be peaceful. Security agencies are urged to ensure that the elections are peaceful and violence free.

¹⁵² Daily Post: Osun 2022 Guber: NSCDC Holds Stakeholders Summit on Violence Free Poll,

<https://dailypost.ng/2022/05/11/osun-2022-guber-nscdc-holds-stakeholders-summit-on-violence-free-poll/>

¹⁵³ Kolawole. Y. (2022), Osun Gubernatorial Election: NSCDC Holds Stakeholders Summit. *This Day*.

<https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2022/05/12/osun-gubernatorial-election-nscdc-holds-stakeholders-summit/>

¹⁵⁴ <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/more-news/542473-osun-2022-13-parties-sign-peace-accord-ahead-of-election.html>

¹⁵⁵ <https://dailytrust.com/osun-govship-apc-pdp-11-other-parties-sign-peace-accord>

¹⁵⁶ <https://www.yiaga.org/osun-2022-yiaga-africa-commences-advocacy-credible-peaceful-elections>

¹⁵⁷ <https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/309551/osun-gubernatorial-elections-nscdc-partners-national-democr.html>

¹⁵⁸ Daily Post (2022), Governor Oyetola Signs Peace Accord Ahead of Guber Poll,

<https://dailypost.ng/2022/06/22/osun-2022-governor-oyetola-signs-peace-accord-ahead-of-guber-poll/>

Civil Society Organisations

Civil society organisations (CSOs) are key stakeholders in political and electoral processes in Nigeria. CSOs have contributed in numerous ways to strengthening and enriching the electoral process and deepening democracy in Nigeria. CSO contribution to the electoral process cuts across research, voter education, advocacy for electoral reform, and capacity building of key institutions and stakeholders among others¹⁵⁹. For this election, CSO-led programmes and activities are expected to enhance public confidence, accountability and the transparency of the electoral processes. These CSOs and their contributions include:

a. Centre for Citizens with Disability (CCD)

CCD is working on promoting equal voting access for Persons With Disabilities (PWDs) in Nigeria. These include training, advocacy meetings with stakeholders, and voter education. CCD produced and presented a pre-election assessment of INEC's preparations for PWDs for the Osun State election¹⁶⁰. It will be monitoring compliance by INEC to relevant disability frameworks on elections in Nigeria such as the Discrimination Against PWDs (Prohibition) Act 2018, Electoral Act 2022, INEC's framework on PWDs and UN Convention on the Rights of PWDs¹⁶¹.

b. Justice Development and Peace Makers Centre (JDPMC)

JDPMC is an Osun state based FBO working on democracy, good governance and human rights. It is the Inter-Religious Dialogue and Solidarity Forum of the Catholic Bishop of Osogbo Diocese. It has held series of engagements aimed at ensuring a peaceful and credible governorship election. The JDPMC is also involved in election observation and would be deploying observers for the election.

c. CSO Situation Room

The Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room is a coalition of more than 70 CSOs led by the Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC) working on elections and good governance. For the Osun election, the Situation Room organized a dialogue session with the REC of Osun State on June 30, 2022 on INEC's plans and preparations for the governorship

¹⁵⁹ The Electoral Hub (2022). PCA for Ekiti State 2022 Governorship Election.

<https://electoralhub.iriad.org/publications/political-context-analysis/political-context-analysis-2022-ekiti-state-governorship-election/>

¹⁶⁰ The Electoral Hub participated in the public presentation of the report on July 8, 2022

¹⁶¹ Interview with the Executive Director of CCD, David Anyaele, July 14, 2022

election¹⁶². It has held a governorship candidate debate in partnership with Channels TV¹⁶³, an opportunity for the electorate to know the candidates better. It will also organize a situation room to observe election day activities.

d. The Electoral Hub

The Electoral Hub¹⁶⁴ engagement with the Osun governorship election involves medium-term monitoring of the Osun electoral process focusing on how the new Electoral Act and INEC's Regulations and Guidelines on Elections, 2022 is being implemented and complied with by the different electoral stakeholders, particularly INEC, ad-hoc staff, political parties and candidates. It will document and report non-compliance, electoral offences and offenders during the election.

In addition, to enable stakeholders, to understand the electoral landscape, power dynamics, and security in Osun State, The Electoral Hub has produced this political context analysis as well as a factsheet and several infographics to educate the public about the election. The Electoral Hub will also observe election day activities as a member of the Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room. After the election, it will produce a detailed post-election report that highlights the strengths, and weaknesses, and provide recommendations for future elections.

e. YIAGA

Yiaga Africa deployed and trained observers for the Osun election for a pre-election assessment under its Parallel Voting Counting project. Yiaga is also organising a situation room to observe election day activities. On May 18, 2022, it organized a meeting tagged "Parallel Vote Tabulation Academy" with CSO leaders in Osun State to reflect on Stakeholder's preparation for the Osun elections in July 2022¹⁶⁵. YIAGA trained Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Osun State on how to engage and mobilize new voters to participate and vote in the Osun governorship election¹⁶⁶. As well as organized a media roundtable on the Osun governorship election where journalists were sensitized to be neutral in reporting election matters¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶² <https://situationroomng.org/sr-dialogue-session-with-osun-state-resident-electoral-commissioner-rec/>

¹⁶³ <https://www.channelstv.com/2022/07/10/live-osun-governorship-debate-2022/>

¹⁶⁴ www.electoralthub.iriad.org

¹⁶⁵ YIAGA Africa [@YIAGA], (2022), <https://twitter.com/YIAGA/status/1526902864249081856>

¹⁶⁶ Champion news (2022), Osun Guber: NGO Trains CSOs on Election Mobilization and Voter Education, <https://championnews.com.ng/osun-guber-ngo-trains-csos-on-election-mobilisation-voter-education/>

¹⁶⁷ <http://yiaga.org/osun-2022-yiaga-africa-charges-journalists-data-driven-election-reporting-warns-against>

Other CSO -led programmes and activities include:

- Kimpact Development Initiatives (KDI), conducted pre-election observations and assessments for the election.
- On June 22, 2022, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Vote Don't Fight Foundation held meeting with APC governorship candidate Governor Adebayega Oyetola during which he signed a peaceful conduct document committing to peaceful election¹⁶⁸.
- To increase women participation in the process, National Democratic Institute in partnership with Justice Development and Peace Makers Centre (JDPMC) paid an advocacy visit to Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC) Osun State Command on security for the election¹⁶⁹.
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is convening the Women's Situation Room (WSR) to observe women participation in the Osun election¹⁷⁰. The WSR works to ensure that all elections in Nigeria are peaceful and inclusive of women and youth participation. WSR work is anchored on building sustainable peace in accordance with UNSCR 1325.
- There are also Osun state-based CSOs involved in community sensitization and civic education, engaging INEC on the election such as Destiny Development Initiative (DDI), Treasure Jars Youth Centre, Legal Defence and Assistance Project (LEDAP) -Osogbo, and Crownrise Development Initiative.

¹⁶⁸Daily Post (2022), Governor Oyetola Signs Peace Accord Ahead of Guber Poll, <https://dailypost.ng/2022/06/22/osun-2022-governor-oyetola-signs-peace-accord-ahead-of-guber-poll/>

¹⁶⁹ <https://swiftreporters.com/osun-gubernatorial-elections-nscdc-partners-ndi/> ; ¹⁶⁹

<https://www.thenigerianvoice.com/news/309551/osun-gubernatorial-elections-nscdc-partners-national-democr.html>

¹⁷⁰

Role of INEC

As the body constitutionally charged with conducting Governorship elections among others¹⁷¹, INEC will oversee and conduct the Osun State governorship election.

1. Voter Registration

CVR exercise began virtually in June 2021 through the cvr.inecnigeria.org platform. Voter registration have both the pre-registration online component and complete registration offline component involving biometrics capture that requires physical presence at INEC's local offices. For the election, CVR was devolved to all 332 Registration Areas of the state to encourage more registration and participation in the process¹⁷². In March 2022 election, INEC suspended CVR in Osun State, in line with Section 9 (6) of the Electoral Act 2022 requirement that voter registration should stop no later than 90 days before an election. Distribution and collection of Permanent Voter Cards (PVCs) is also done across INEC's local offices.

The total register of voters for the election is 1,955,657. Data from INEC online Continuous Voter Registration¹⁷³ show an additional 708,968¹⁷⁴ persons undertook the application which includes fresh registration, requests for transfers, updates, reviews, and requests for reprinting of PVC, etc. 362,609¹⁷⁵ out of this figure completed their registration as new voters. Post cleaning of the register, 275,159 persons were added to the 2019 general election register of 1,680,498. This indicates a 16.4% increase in the total number of Registered Voters for the July 16 election. As of 10 July 2022, 1,479,595 registered voters have collected their PVCs accounting for a 76% collection rate. PVC collection is scheduled to end on July 14, - two days before the election.

2. Use of Bi-Modal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS)

The Bi-Modal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) which replaced the Smart Card Readers (SCR) would be used for the Osun Governorship election as was used in Anambra, FCT, and Ekiti elections. BVAS would also be used in results upload to the Result Visualisation Portal (IReV). INEC will deploy 5,305 BVAS for the election. These BVAS

¹⁷¹ Third Schedule, part I, Paragraph F, Section 15 (a), CFRN, 1999 (as amended)

¹⁷² <https://www.sunnewsonline.com/osun-2022-inec-takes-cvr-to-ras-promises-to-conduct-conclusive-election/>

¹⁷³ CVR total application encompasses all applications including fresh registrations and all other requests

¹⁷⁴ Weekly Update Online Voter Registration, Q4. No. 12 as at 7am Monday, 11 July 2022.

¹⁷⁵ Weekly Update Completed Registration, Q4. No. 13 as at 7am Monday, 11 July 2022.

have been configured and charged beginning June 26, 2022. A two days, July 4-5, 2022 mock election was conducted in 2 RAs each across 6 LGAs and the 3 Senatorial Districts to demonstrate the use and functionality of BVAS¹⁷⁶. For the election, the BVAS would be performing three functions: voter registration, voter accreditation, and uploading of election results.

3. Increasing Access to Polling Units

Effective electoral service delivery is a key principle and a measure of the integrity of elections. In compliance to this principle and to improve voters' electoral experience from having increased access to polling units, INEC increased number of polling units across the country. For Osun, INEC added 763 polling units to the existing 3,010 polling units in the state. The expansion of polling units is aimed at ensuring easier access for voters and reducing long queues and wait times.

It is yet to be seen how well these new polling units would be utilized in Osun State. Given reports from the Ekiti governorship election of polling units being situated in private residences¹⁷⁷. In a bid to prevent a reoccurrence in the Osun election, INEC Resident Electoral Commissioner in Osun State, Prof. Abdulganiy Raji stated in a stakeholders' meeting that the commission had relocated some polling units to open spaces and public buildings¹⁷⁸.

5. Engagement with Stakeholders

Engagement with stakeholders is an important component of the electoral process and a core responsibility and expectation for EMBs. In line with this principle, and in preparation for the election INEC, both at the Abuja headquarters and Osun state Office carried out a series of stakeholders' engagements with different electoral stakeholders and citizens. These engagements are aimed at ensuring a credible and peaceful election in Osun State. Some of the stakeholder meetings ahead of the Osun governorship election include¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁶<https://guardian.ng/politics/inec-commences-mock-accreditation-ahead-osun-governorship-election/> ; <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/regional/ssouth-west/540789-osun-2022-inec-begins-mock-accreditation.html>
INEC Osun State REC during Situation Room Dialogue Meeting on INEC's preparations for the election, June 30, 2022

¹⁷⁷Vanguard (2022), Ekiti Situation Room Decries Sitting of Polling Units in Private Residences, Over Concentration of Voters, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2022/06/ekiti-situation-room-decries-siting-of-polling-units-in-private-residences-over-concentration-of-voters/>

¹⁷⁸ <https://www.channelstv.com/2022/07/12/osun-election-inec-relocates-polling-units-from-palaces-controversial-points/>

¹⁷⁹ Unless otherwise stated, this information has been gathered from INEC's Twitter page: <https://twitter.com/inecnigeria>

- On 27 June 2022, Osun State INEC organized a meeting on ‘*One-day By Discourse INEC/CSO For Peaceful Osun Governorship Election*’ in Osogbo. INEC solicited the support of CSOs in educating eligible voters to ensure reduced numbers of invalid votes during the election.¹⁸⁰
- On 2 July 2022, INEC organized capacity-building training for journalists with a focus on the new innovations in the conduct of elections “The Constitution/Legal Issues in the New Electoral Act, 2022”.
- On 4 July 2022, INEC held a meeting with the Electoral Officers (EOs) in Osogbo,
- On 5 July 2022, INEC had a consultative meeting with traditional rulers in Osun State to appeal for a peaceful election.¹⁸¹
- On 6 July 2022, INEC organized a meeting with officials of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) to discuss logistics for the election.
- On 6 July 2022, INEC organized a meeting with members of the (Osun State) Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES) on readiness assessment for the Osun election.
- On 12 July 2022, INEC organized an extended stakeholder meeting with election stakeholders ahead of the Osun governorship election¹⁸².

6. Other Activities

On the Timetable and Schedule of Activities for the Osun state elections, some of the other activities of the Commission include publishing notice of elections, and the final list of candidates, election and party monitoring, accreditation of journalists and election observers, registration of party agents, and recruitment and training of ad hoc staff. These activities have all been done for the election accordingly.

¹⁸⁰Daily Post (2022), Osun 2022: INEC, CSOS Partner to Sensitize Electorate on Invalid Votes, <https://dailypost.ng/2022/06/27/osun-2022-inec-csos-partner-to-sensitize-electorate-on-invalid-votes/>

¹⁸¹ <https://dailytrust.com/osun-govship-inec-chair-visitsca-ooni-of-ife-pledges-neutrality>

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Election Observations and Observers

As noted in other PCAs of The Electoral Hub, electoral observation is an integral part of democratic and electoral processes. Election observation adds to the credibility of the election and by extension the electoral process. Election observation deters fraud and identifies the irregularities in the elections among others. Allowing observers in an election is an indication that the Election Management Body is willing to conduct credible elections. It is also one of the easiest ways to gather credible data from an election¹⁸³. Observers play important roles in enhancing the transparency and credibility of elections and, in the acceptance of election results.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, the acceptance of observers is evidence of the openness of the electoral process. Observers' election assessment also legitimizes elected administration. And reports from observer groups are usually viewed as credible records of the conduct of elections.

For the Osun State governorship election, INEC approved 79 domestic observer groups and 8 international observer groups¹⁸⁵.

The international observers are:

1. British High Commission
2. Canadian Embassy
3. Embassy of the United States of America
4. European Union
5. International Foundation for Electoral Systems
6. National Democratic Institute
7. International Republican Institute
8. Pan African Women Project

The Domestic Observers accredited by INEC are:

1. Action Aid
2. Advocacy for Quality Leadership and Health Awareness Foundation
3. Advocate for People's Rights and Justice
4. Africa for Millennium Change Initiative

¹⁸³ <https://openelectiondata.net/en/guide/electoral-integrity/election-observation/>

¹⁸⁴ African Union. (2013). *Election Observation Manual*. <https://www.eisa.org.za/pdf/au2014EOMmanual.pdf>

¹⁸⁵ <https://inecnigeria.org/list-of-accredited-observers-for-2022-ekiti-and-osun-governorship-elections-scheduled-for-june-18th-2022-and-july-16th-2022-respectively/>

5. Akai for Youth Sustainable Development Foundation
6. Association of Technology Inclined Visually Impaired Persons of Nigeria
7. Catholic Caritas Foundation of Nigeria
8. Centre for Credible Leadership & Citizens Awareness
9. Centre for Grassroots Development and Crime Prevention
10. Centre for Positive Change and Civic Responsibility
11. Centre for Citizens with Disabilities (CCD)
12. Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD)
13. Centre for Strategic Conflict Management (CSCM)
14. Centre for Strategy, Ethics & Value
15. Centre for Transparency Advocacy
16. Citizen's Right for Peace and Non-Violence Initiative
17. Citizens Rights and Leadership Awareness Initiative
18. Citizens Rights for Peace and Good Leadership Initiative
19. Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR)
20. Conscience Women of Africa Initiative
21. Diaspora Advocacy for A New Dawn Initiative in Nigeria
22. Gender Concerns Awareness Initiative
23. Global Development Centre for Rescue Mission in Nigeria
24. Global Hope and Justice for the Less privileged
25. Global Policy Advocacy and Leadership Initiative
26. Grassroot Development and Peace Initiative
27. Grassroot Development Centre for Peace and Social Justice
28. Grassroot Empowerment Initiative for Positive Change and Development
29. Human Rights Monitor
30. Ilimu Wal Hikmah Islamic Foundation
31. Initiative for Promotion of Civic Obligation and Sustainable Peace
32. Initiative for the Promotion of Women Development
33. Initiative for the Youth Transformation & Positive Change
34. Inspire Nigerian Youth Initiative for Peace and Empowerment
35. Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution
36. Intercontinental Leadership Initiative
37. International Organization for Sustainable Development
38. Justice Development and Peace Commission (Catholic Caritas Foundation of Nigeria)
39. Justice, Development and Peace Makers Centre
40. Kimpact Youth Development Initiative
41. Lotus Initiative for the Blind

42. National Committee of Patriots (NCOP)
43. National Council for Women Societies Nigeria
44. National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies, National Assembly
45. National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies
46. National Orientation Agency
47. New Dawn for Development Initiatives
48. Nigeria Civil Society Situation Room (Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre- PLAC)
49. Nigerian Bar Association
50. Nigerian Women Trust Fund
51. Northern Patriotic Front
52. Organization of Justice for Equity Sustenance
53. Patriotic Women Foundation
54. Police Service Commission
55. Polling Unit Ambassadors of Nigeria
56. Premium Times Centre for Investigative Journalism
57. Project Victory Call Initiative
58. Public Complaints Commission
59. Rosxy White Care Foundation
60. Savera Africa
61. Support Center for Sustainable Socio-Economic Development of Nigeria
62. The Adaobi Enemuoh Initiative for Development
63. The Albino Foundation
64. The Inclusive Friends Association
65. The African Centre for Human Advancement, Social and Community Development
66. United Nigeria Peace Foundation
67. Vote Count Campaign Organization
68. Waterlight Save Initiative
69. Women Advocates Research and Documentation Centre
70. Women and Youth Pathfinders Initiative
71. Women Arise for Change Initiative
72. Women Education Advocacy and Development Initiatives (WEADI)
73. Women with Disabilities of Nigeria Support Foundation
74. Women Right and Peace Protection Initiative for Africa
75. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Nigeria
76. Womenfest for Betterlife Living Initiative
77. Yiaga Africa Institute
78. Your Vote is Your Voice Africa Initiative
79. Youth Initiative for Better and Great Nigeria

Conclusion

Elections are complex processes with a multitude of activities and actors. As stated at the beginning of this PCA, the Osun State governorship election is significant for the opportunity it provides to electoral stakeholders, particularly INEC to strengthen the credibility and integrity of the electoral process from the diverse interventions, innovations, and engagements for the election. Like the Ekiti governorship election of June 18, 2022, this election is happening less than eight months before the 2023 general election and would be a pointer to what would be expected at the general election. But, unlike Ekiti, for the first time, INEC recorded a milestone in mainstreaming PWDs in the election with the deliberate recruitment and deployment of 35 NYSC members with a disability as polling unit ad-hoc staff for the election.

From observations of the contexts and dynamics of Osun State, it can be inferred that:

1. The Osun election is being conducted against the background of emerging trends of insecurities across the country including the new trends of house-house kidnappings. However, there are hopes that efforts by various stakeholders to mitigate violence will prove effective including Advocacies, campaigns, and other interventions such as the signing of the Peace Accord by thirteen political parties under the National Peace Commission-led Peace Accord.
2. Intra-party conflicts and rivalry within the ruling party APC which have resulted in inter-party defections from APC to PDP provide the main opposition party with a good chance of unseating the incumbent and winning the election.
3. COVID-19 protocols would seem to have been totally discarded during polls based on recent experiences. This is expected given that these rules are no longer strictly enforced by any of the duty bearers.
4. Voter turnout and citizens' participation in the electoral process are still a key concern despite the over 75.6% PVC collection rate. Experience has shown that high collection does not necessarily translate to high voter turnout on election day.
5. Osun State geography and topography have implications for electoral planning, logistics, and deployment. There are hilly towns with difficult terrains, and riverine areas might likely be affected by rainfall or flood in ways that could affect the deployment and distribution of election materials as well as the movement of

election officials. Thus, it should be taken into consideration by electoral stakeholders to ensure there is no disruption to the process.

6. Another concern relates to the effective utilization of the new 763 polling units added to the existing polling units from INEC's nationwide expansion of access to polling unit exercise.
7. The core democratic principles of inclusivity and representation remain a challenge with the poor level of women, youth, and PWD representation among the candidates for the election. Women, Youth, and PWD representation of 20%, 6.7%, and 0% respectively.
8. Electoral impunity and malpractices reflected in the increasing rate of electoral offenses, particularly, violence, intimidation as well as voter inducement, vote buying, and selling (transactions) are major concerns. Especially, following the alarming rate of vote-buying by major political parties in the just concluded Ekiti governorship election.
9. The high level of engagement by electoral CSOs, observers, and other groups in the Osun election embodied in the different election situation rooms established for the election will help in safeguarding the integrity election. Given that the acceptance of observers is evidence of the openness of the electoral process, there is hope that 87 observer groups, both local and foreign, will help ensure election credibility.
10. The heavy presence of bigwigs of the three major parties including presidential candidates shows how important the Osun election is to the political parties as the election is a possible test-run election for the general election in 2023.

Finally, given that this is the second major election to be conducted under the new Electoral Act 2022, and INEC's regulation and guidelines, 2022, it will be important to observe their implementation and compliance. The focus should be specifically on relevant provisions relating to electioneering and election day activities such as the mode of transmission of results (Section 50), voting in secrecy (Section 50(1)), how overvoting is implemented (Section 51), assistive devices to PWDs and gender equity/inclusion (Section 54(2)), dispute during result collation (Section 64) and review of forced declaration (Section 65). As well as how INEC will address the issue of electoral offences and offenders (Part VII (Sections 114 -129) and other parts of the Act such as relating to election expenses (Section 85).



THE ELECTORAL HUB

...promoting electoral knowledge, accountability, and integrity

Contact

8A Remilekun Street, Kukwaba, Abuja, Nigeria
Phone: +234 912 155 1337 and +234 908 699 8850
Email: electoralhub@gmail.com