

Political Communication in the 2015 General Elections in Nigeria: The Oyo State Experience- “The Wild, Wild West”

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Abstract

Political Communication is a sub-field of Political Science and Communication that deals with the production, dissemination, procession and effects of information, both through the mass media of communication, the Newspaper Press, Radio, Television, Social Media, Ora-media and interpersonally within a political context. This study examines political communication in the 2015 General Elections with special/particular reference to Oyo State of Nigeria- “the wild, wild west”. The study analyses the political communication strategies of fourteen (14) political parties in thirty-three Local Government areas of Oyo State, the speeches of eight (8) gubernatorial/governorship candidates/ politicians (political speechifying), those who tried to influence the political process and the outcome of the 2015 election in the state. The paper examines the formal and informal conversations among members of the Oyo State public and did a content analysis of some of the Newspapers, Radio and Television Stations both government - owned and private ones that were used to cover the Presidential, Gubernatorial, National Assembly, and State Assembly Elections in the State. Policy recommendations are made for future political communication in Oyo State in particular, and Nigeria in general.

Keywords: Political communication; General elections; Oyo state; Nigeria mass media; Politics; Politicians; Electorate voters

Introduction

The 2015 General Elections in Nigeria have come and gone but left behind memories of the deluge of threats to Nigeria’s corporate existence as a country and other underlying challenges associated with ethno-religious crises; and of course, the lingering, itching clog of insurgency and counter-insurgency. There are also the perceived power tussle between the six geo-political zones of the country vis-à-vis mundane political parties, especially the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC). In Oyo State of Nigeria, political speechifying and squabbles bore more of a combative look than political communication encounters during the period under study. The events in Oyo State in the 2015 general elections were disturbing to the peoples of the State in particular, and Nigeria in general.

The political communication modus operandi and modus vivendi in the media and by politicians were troubling. This is because the mass media contents and speeches of political competitors in the game of politics and elections were basically combative, violence- oriented and devoid of issue – based discussions and campaigns that would have direct bearing on the progress, stability, unity and healthy political life of the “pace –setter” State in particular, and Nigeria in general. Political narratives and bantering between and among the political bigwigs in the State became so worrisome, especially as the States and the Country were heading towards general elections in the first quarter of 2015. Do the events in Oyo State “the wild, wild west” indicate that Yorubas are ungovernable? Or are they manifestations of the high degree of political sophistication among the Yorubas in the political communication strategies? Or have the Yoruba people become “first” also, (as they have prided themselves in many other more laudable achievements) than in acts of lawlessness?

This study attempts to provide some answers. For it was in the then Oyo State of Western Region that parliamentarians first fought in the legislature; it was here the institution of Obaship was first made the instrument of the politicians; it was the first State in which an Oba was brutally murdered by “tax agitators” and his body dismembered. And, it was in this State that demonstrators broke into the prison to

release detainees. We believe that this study is significant because in our context here in Nigeria, political opinion is influenced through both formal and informal ways. Political actors use the mass media to display their political shenanigans and up the ante of political rivalry between/among one another in which members of the public are at the receiving end. Political communication is an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public. The process operates down-ward from governing institutions towards citizens, horizontally in linkages among political actors, and also upwards from public opinion towards authorities.

In essence, political communication also has to do with how media report power struggle, their biases and impartial coverage in ensuring sound political process. But the most crucial aspects of it is the analysis of speeches by politicians and those that are trying to influence the political opinion through formal and informal conversations among members of the public. Political communication addresses issues at the core of our democracies. It provides an understanding of the role and significance of the media, journalism and information in shaping public opinion. Political communication introduces people to the complex relationship between politics, the media and democracy.

A democratic society largely relies on its Political communication network to inform, educate, enlighten, and entertain the electorate adequately and on equal terms about the programmes and policies of different political parties and political office contenders [1-10]. This, in a

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Received August 26, 2016; Accepted September 29, 2016; Published September 30, 2016

Citation: Olayiwola ARO (2016) Political Communication in the 2015 General Elections in Nigeria: The Oyo State Experience- “The Wild, Wild West”. J Mass Communicat Journalism 6: 312. doi: 10.4172/2165-7912.1000312

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nutshell/ in brevity, is the focus of our study. An appropriate theoretical framework is clearly delineated with special references to the central objectives of the study while at the same time specifying the methods of data collection and analysis before making policy recommendations in the concluding part of the paper.

The Political Geography, History and Zones of Oyo State in Nigeria “The Pace – Setter” State

The acquisition of the sobriquet “The Pace-Setter” by Oyo State cannot be regarded as fortuitous, self-imposing or window dressing. Oyo State has a rich cultural tradition, vibrant economic climate and intimidating political history which became a show-piece for other component parts of Nigeria. Oyo State is synonymous with milestone achievements, recording “first in many aspects of human endeavour, particularly in the establishment of infrastructure which were later copied by other States of the Federation.

These include among a host of others:

- The first Nigerian University: University of Ibadan established in 1948.
- The first International Stadium in Africa: The Liberty Stadium Ibadan, commissioned in 1959 and it is now renamed Awolowo Stadium.
- The first Television Station in Africa, Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) now Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), Ibadan, established in 1959.
- The first General Hospital in Nigeria: The Adeoyo General Hospital, now Adeoyo State Hospital, Ibadan.
- The first Teaching Hospital in Nigeria: (UCH), Ibadan.
- The first high-rise building in Nigeria: The 25 – Storey Cocoa House Building, Ibadan, opened on 30th July, 1965.
- The first motor able road in Nigeria: The Ibadan-Oyo Road.
- The first Government Secretariat Complex in Nigeria: Oyo State Government Secretariat, Agodi, Ibadan; to mention just a few among a host of others.

Political History of Oyo State

Oyo State, which bears the sobriquet, the “Pace Setter State’ came into existence consequent upon State creation exercises embarked upon since Nigeria’s independence in 1960. Going down memory lane, Western Region was one of the three Regions created by the Macpherson Constitution of 1954 which introduced a high level of autonomy for the regions. Western Region which was led by the late sage, Chief Obafemi Awolowo as the first Head of Government and later Premier, became self-governing in 1957 as a prelude to political independence of the country in 1960.

In 1963, the Mid-Western Region consisting of the present Edo and Delta States was excised from the Region. Also, in the 1967 states creation exercise, Western Region was renamed Western State. Furthermore, during 1976 states creation exercise, both Ondo and Ogun States were created from the Western State and what remained of the State was renamed Oyo State. Again in 1991, Osun State was carved out of the old Oyo State. Right from the Western Region days, Ibadan, reputed to be the largest indigenous city in Africa, South of Sahara, has been the capital and centre of administration.

Political Geography of Oyo State

The State now covers a total of 27,249 square kilometers of land mass and it is bounded in the South by Ogun State (Gateway State) and in the North by Kwara State (State of Harmony). To the West, it is bounded partly by Ogun State and partly by the Republic of Benin, while in the East; it is bounded by Osun State (State of the Living Spring).

Oyo State consists of 33 Local Governments as follows:-

1. Afijio
2. Akinyele
3. Atiba
4. Atisbo
5. Egbeda
6. Ibadan North
7. Ibadan North-East
8. Ibadan North-West
9. Ibadan South-East
10. Ibadan South-West
11. Ibarapa Central
12. Ibarapa East
13. Ibarapa North
14. Ido
15. Irepo
16. Iseyin
17. Itesiwaju
18. Iwajowa
19. Kajola
20. Lagelu
21. Ogbomoso North
22. Ogbomoso South
23. Ogo-Oluwa
24. Oluyole
25. Ona-Ara
26. Oorelope
27. Oriire
28. Olorunsogo
29. Oyo East
30. Oyo West
31. Saki East
32. Saki West
33. Surulere

Population

According to the 2006 Census, the Oyo State population stood at 5,591,589 comprising 2,809,840 males and 2,781,749 females.

The People of Oyo State

Oyo State is homogenous comprising in the main people of the Yoruba ethnic group who speak the Yoruba language. Like all other Yorubas, they claim descent from Oduduwa. They are rich in culture and believe in strong kinship ties as a means of holding the society together. This is revealed in the extended family system. This notwithstanding, there is a substantial number of people from other parts of the country who settle, live, work, study and trade in the State, mostly in the urban centres and rural areas. Non-Nigerians from West Africa, those of Asian, European, American and other African, Latin American stocks can also be identified.

Political Zones of Oyo State

Oyo State is divided into three Senatorial Districts of Oyo North, Oyo Central and Oyo South. Oyo North has 13 Local Governments viz. Saki West, Saki East, Atisbo, Irepo, Olurunsogo, kajola, Iwajowa, Itesiwaju, Ogbomoso North, Ogbomoso South, Orire, Oorelope and Iseyin. Oyo Central comprises 11 Local Governments of Afijio, Akinyele, Egbeda, Ogo Oluwa, Surulere, Lagelu, Oluyole, Ona-Ara, Oyo East, Oyo West and Atiba. Oyo South consists of 9 Local Governments. They are Ibadan North, Ibadan North-East, Ibadan North-West, Ibadan South-East, Ibadan South-West, Ibarapa Central, Ibarapa North, Ibarapa East and Ido. Oyo State has three elected Senators, 14 in the House of Representatives and 32 members in the State House of Assembly (Table 1).

Political Communication and Information Dissemination in Oyo State

The array of media organizations established in Ibadan, the State

S. No	Radio Stations
1.	Oluyole F.M.98.5 (Ibadan), Oyo State
2.	Oke-Ogun F.M.96.3 (Oke-Ogun, Oyo State)
3.	Ajilete F.M. 92.1 (Ogbomoso Area), Oyo State
4.	Radio O-Y-O A.M (Ile-Akede. Orita Baashorun Ibadan), Oyo State
5.	Premier F.M. 93.5 (Oba Adebimpe Road, Dugbe, Ibadan, Oyo State)
6.	Amuludun F.M.99.1 (Moniya, Akinyele Local Government Area Ibadan), Oyo State
7.	Paramount F.M 94.5 (Abeokuta), Ogun State
8.	Gold F.M 102.5 (Ilesha), Osun State
9.	Progress F.M (Ado-Ekiti), Ekiti State
10.	Positive F.M 108.5 (Akure), Ondo State
11.	F.R.C.N (Radio Nigeria Ibadan), Oyo State
12.	Splash F.M 105.5 (Molete, Ibadan), Oyo State
13.	Space F.M 90.1 (Ibadan), Oyo State
14.	Fresh F.M 105.9 (Challenge, Ibadan), Oyo State
15.	Unique F.M 103.1 (Ara Station, Ilesha), Osun State
16.	Star F.M 91.5, Ibadan, Oyo State
17.	Orisun F.M. 89.5 (Monitored in Ibadan), Osun State
18.	Inspiration F.M. 100.5, Ibadan, Oyo State
19.	O.S.B.C Radio 104.5, Osogbo, Osun State
20.	WASOBIA F.M
21.	The Social Media

Table 1: Radio stations whose political communication and election campaign coverage in 2015 general election in Oyo state Nigeria, were analysed.

capital, has been supporting the State Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism which is the official organ of government in disseminating information on government activities, events, programmes, prospects and achievements to the people of the State. Among these is Ibadan Zonal Centre of Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). Ibadan established in 1959 and first in Africa under the name WNBSWNTV; the Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (BCOS) 1977, Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) and the Galaxy Television, the first private television station in Nigeria (Table 2).

Others are the Nigerian Tribune, a privately owned newspaper established in 1949; the Oodua News; Oke-Ogun News; Ibarapa Now; Ibarapa Watch; Ibadan News and many other Community Newspapers (Table 3). Others include M.I.T.V, Oluyole F.M. 98.5, Oke-Ogun F.M, 96.3; Ajilete F.M. 92.1; Premier F.M. 93.5; Radio O-Y-O; Amuludun F.M .99.1; Splash F.M. 105.5; Space F.M 90.1; Fresh F.M 105.9; Star F.M 91.5; Inspiration F.M 100.5 (Table 4). In addition, there are other Radio and Television Stations from neighbouring States and such stations are monitored in Oyo State (Tables 4 and 5). They include Unique FM 103 Ara Station Ilesha, Paramount F.M 94.5 Abeokuta; Gold F.M 95.5 Ilesha; Progress F.M 102.5 AdO-Ekiti; Positive F.M. 108.5 Akure;

S. No	Television Stations
1.	T.S.O.S. of B.C.O.S, Channel 28 UHF, Television Service of Oyo State Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State, Ibadan
2.	N.T.A (Ibadan) Nigerian Television Authority, First in Africa, Ibadan Network Centre, Oyo State
3.	O.S.B.C T.V Osun State Broadcasting Television Service of Osun State, Osogbo, Osun State
4.	M.I.T.V (Muri International Television, Ibadan), Oyo State
5.	A.I.T (African Independent Television)
6.	R.T.S Real Television Service, Osun State
7.	Galaxy Television

Table 2: Television stations analysed.

S. No	Newspapers
1.	Nigerian Tribune (Ibadan), Oyo State
2.	The Guardian, Mokola, Ibadan, Oyo State and Lagos State
3.	The Nation, Lagos, Lagos State
4.	The Punch Nigeria Limited, Mokola, Ibadan, Oyo State and Lagos State
5.	The Vanguard, Newspaper, Oke-Padre Ibadan, Oyo State
6.	The Daily Times
7.	Alaroye Yoruba Newspaper, Ibadan, Oyo State
8.	Champion Newspaper
9.	This Day Newspaper
10.	The Hope Newspaper
11.	New Nigeria Newspaper
12.	Standard Newspaper
13.	Observer Newspaper
14.	Nigeria Compass
15.	The News Magazine and P.M News
16.	PM Parrot Evening Newspaper Oke-Padre, Ibadan, Oyo State
17.	The Pulse Newspaper
18.	Awareness Newspaper
19.	Metropolitan Newspaper
20.	Oke-Ogun Newspaper, Oke-Ogun, Oyo State
21.	Oodua Newspaper
22.	National Pilot Newspaper
23.	Alore Ipinle Oyo Newspaper. Ibadan, Oyo State

Table 3: Newspapers analysed.

S. No	Media Houses and Their Locations
1.	Federal Ministry of Information and Communication, Federal Secretariat, Ikolaba, Ibadan, Oyo State
2.	News Agency of Nigeria (NAN), Iyaganku, Ibadan, Oyo State
3.	Gateway Broadcasting Corporation
4.	Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (BCOS), Orita-Bashorun, Radio O-Y-O, Ibadan, Oyo State
5.	Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), Agodi, Ibadan (Zonal Centre), Ibadan, Oyo State
6.	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Oba Adebimpe Road, Ibadan, Oyo State
7.	British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)
8.	Nigerian Tribune, Imalefalafia, Oke-Ado, Ibadan, Oyo State
9.	Punch Nigeria Limited, N6179, Mokola, Ibadan, Oyo State
10.	Guardian Newspaper, N6179. Mokola, Ibadan, Oyo State and Lagos State
11.	Vanguard Newspaper, 4 Araromi Lane, Oke-Padre, Ibadan, Oyo State
12.	Champion Newspaper, Oke-Padre, Ibadan, Oyo State
13.	Eko FM
14.	This Day Newspaper
15.	The Hope Newspaper
16.	New Nigeria Newspaper
17.	Standard Newspaper
18.	Observer Newspaper
19.	Splash FM, White House Felele, Ibadan, Oyo State
20.	Nigerian Compass Newspaper
21.	The News Magazine and PM News
22.	PM Parrot Evening Newspaper and Parrot Xtra Magazine
23.	The Pulse Magazine
24.	Awareness Newspaper
25.	Metropolitan Newspaper
26.	Oke-Ogun Newspaper, Oke-Ogun, Oyo State
27.	Oodua Newspaper
28.	National Pilot Newspaper
29.	Alaroye Newspaper, (Yoruba), Ibadan, Oyo State
30.	Alore Ipinle Oyo (Monthly Newspaper of Oyo State Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism), Ibadan, Oyo State

Table 4: Some media houses and their locations in Oyo state.

S. No.	Newspaper	Owners
1.	Daily Independent	James Ibori
2.	Thisday	Nduka Obaigbena
3.	The Nation	Ahmed Bola Tinubu
4.	MITV CH 43	Murhi Gbadeyanka
5.	Channels Television	John. O Momoh
6.	Galaxy Television	Steve Ojo
7.	African Independent Television	Aleogho Raymod Dokpesi
8.	Nigerian Tribune	Awolowo Family
9.	Vanguard	Sam Amuka
10.	Guardian	Alex Ibru

Table 5: Some newspaper proprietors and television owners in Nigeria.

O.S.B.C Radio 104.5 Oshogbo; to mention just a few (Premium Times, Thursday, August 20, 2015).

Theoretical Framework

Theories are employed to explain situations. They help us to get a clear understanding of realities, among a host of other advantages and functions/usefulness. The dynamic nature of theories on political communication, elections and media coverage suggests a paradigm

shift from the usual approach the mass media of communication give to issues.

For the purpose of this study, we have employed a combination of the following theories as our theoretical anchor:

1. The Political, Communication Theory
2. The Agenda – setting Theory
3. The Social Responsibility Theory
4. The Multidisciplinary discourse Theory

The Political Communication Theory including Communication Theory/Cybernetics, the Science of Communication and Control is documented in the works of various erudite scholars such as Lucian Pye, Karl Deutsch, Tom Nossiter, JG Blumler, ER Black, DK Berlo, B Berelson, D McQuail, S Chaffee, David L Paletz, R Fagen, G Almond, S Kraus, HD Lasswell, RG Meadow, W Schramm, JT Klapper, Ali Mazrui, ME McCombs and Abdur-Rahman Olayiwola, to mention just a few.

The theory focuses on that subset of communication activity considered political by virtue of the consequences actual or potential, that it has for the functioning of the political system. It explains the process in which information and persuasive messages are transmitted from the political institutions of society through the mass media to the citizenry to whom they are ultimately accountable. It focuses on the role that Communication plays in political institutions and processes, and the role politics plays in shaping communication processes.

Finally, political communication theories as well as the communication approach explain that:-

1. There is a peculiarly intimate relationship between the political process and the communication process.
2. All of the functions performed in the political system are performed by means of communication [11-15].
3. If politics is about power, then, this must be conveyed by power wielders. If politics is about participation, then the desires of citizens must be communicated to leaders. If politics is about legitimacy, then, regime norms must be symbolically expressed. And, if politics is about choice, then, policy options must be circulated.
4. In this way, politics and communication (Political Communication) are linked [16].

The Agenda-setting theory is epitomized in the famous quote by Bernard Cohen (1963) saying that “the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about”. These point to the fact that people need to orient themselves in a complex world full of complex issues. In the absence of other cues, people tend to judge the importance of issues from their salience in the media and to focus their attention on those presumably most important issues [17]. Many studies have found that the media have little power to change people’s opinion but more power to re-enforce existing views. This leads to the important question: How are the views formed in the first place?

Hence, one may hypothesize that the media have strong effects the first time a new issue is discussed. In fact, several studies have found that media effects are stronger for issues that people are unfamiliar with [17,18]. The Social Responsibility Theory originated from Robert M Hutchins Commission on the freedom of press of 1947. “The press

propagates the right of the press to criticize any institutions and even government, but it must be responsible enough to maintain the stability of the society". The Commission talks about a "free and responsible press" as being the corner-stone of any society. The guiding principle of the press at all times must and should be "In Public Interest". It is gratifying to note that the Social Responsibility Theory of the press came about as a result of the gross abuse observed in the libertarian era. The theory assumed rather erroneously that all human beings are necessarily responsible and could be trusted to use good judgment in carrying out their task and responsibility of keeping the public informed. Giving the press unbridled freedom is dangerous. "No nation will indefinitely tolerate a freedom of the press that serves to divide the country and to open up the floodgates of criticism against the freely chosen government that leads it" [19]. Among the obligations of the media enunciated [20] are the following:

- The media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to the society.
- The obligations are mainly to be met by setting high professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance.
- In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the frame of laws of the land.
- The media must avoid whatever could lead to crime, violence, or civil disorder or give offence to minority groups.
- The media should be pluralistic and reflect the diversity of the society, giving access to various points of view and to right of reply.
- Journalists and media professionals should be accountable to the society as a whole.

The Multidisciplinary Discourse Theory is a domain of approach in the Humanities and the Social Sciences. It systematically examines the structures and functions of text and talk in their social, political, and cultural contexts [21]. It claims that in order to understand the role of the news media and their "messages"; one needs to pay detailed attention to the structures and strategies of such discourses and to the ways these relate to institutional arrangements, on the one hand, and to the audience on the other hand [18,22].

Personalities and Issues for Political Communication

In the study of political communication, there has been a continuous debate about the more or less powerful effects of the media on the public. Instead of reviewing these positions and their empirical claims as far as political communication and the 2015 elections are concerned in Oyo State, we have examined in more general terms the role of the media within the broader framework of the media influence on their audiences as well as the social, cultural, political or economic power structures of society.

In order to focus this discussion better, we limit it to the news media, and in particular to Radio and Television broadcasting thus de-emphasizing the undoubtedly pivotal role of Newspapers and other media genres of mass political communication in the State during the period under study. We believe that this covers more appropriately political communication in the urban and rural areas of the state as Radio in particular is more common for political communication in those areas because of the ability to use batteries to operate radio when there is any power failure or erratic electricity supply. Also, Qualter [22]

noted that: "Broadcasting is the most pervasive and therefore, one of the most powerful agents for influencing men's thoughts and actions, for giving them a picture, true or false, of their fellows and of the world in which they live, for appealing to their intellect, their emotions and their appetites, for filling their minds with beauty or ugliness, ideas or idleness, laughter or terror, love or hate".

The personalities on whom political communication in the State focused during the period were mostly/mainly election contestants under the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). There were other less focused parties in the race.

In particular, the personalities were the Governorship candidates of the APC, PDP, SDP, Labour Party, Accord Party, Kowa Party, and AD among a host of others. Similarly, seats were also fought for in the State House of Assembly by the Political Parties. In the same vain, the parties also had candidates for the Presidential, National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives) election. At the end of it all, the APC won the Presidential, Governorship, House of Representatives and 2 of the 3 Senatorial Seats in the election in Oyo State in 2015. The APC Party had 18 seats in the State House of Assembly; Accord Party had 8 while the Labour Party had 6 seats. The PDP did not win any seat in the Oyo State House of Assembly in the 2015 elections in the State. Lack of internal democracy led to the candidates of political parties being handpicked, culminating in petitions by aggrieved contestants who demanded primary elections to choose candidates for political offices. The fallout led to decamping/cross-carpeting of party members. This led to the factionalisation of the parties. In the end, some members of the PDP went to other parties to contest for Governorship and State / National Assembly elections (Tables 6 and 7).

Teslim Folarin, a former senate leader stood for PDP, while Alao Akala of the same party, a former State Governor contested under the Labour Party. Rashid Ladoja another former Governor and senator contested under Accord Party, while Seyi Makinde of the same party PDP contested under the SDP – Social Democratic Party. The outcome of the Governorship election saw the APC candidate senator Isiaka Abiola Ajimobi coming first, closely followed by Rashid Ladoja of the Accord Party. Alao Akala of now the Labour Party came third while Teslim Folarin of the PDP came fourth.

Issues for Election

The issues in the election were the following, although not entirely focused on by the contestants:

1. Peace and security in Oyo State.
2. Agitations for the creation of IBADAN State.
3. Agitation for the creation of new Oyo State.
4. Regular payment of Teachers and other civil servants salaries.
5. Religion, which saw various political parties picking either Muslim/Christian and vice versa as Governorship and Deputy Governorship candidates. This religious 'positive action'/discrimination, was also applied to the State, National Assembly seats and the Presidential contest.
6. Creation of Employment opportunities for youths.
7. Fighting corruption.
8. Fighting Economic Strangulation.
9. Rehabilitation of collapsed educational system at all levels.

Area	No of Votes
Oyo West 10 Wards	Registered voters 54986, accredited voters, 24944; APC 16431; PDP - 5381; Total Valid- 21812; Invalid-2481
Atisbo Lga 10 Wards	Valid Votes 16401; APC -9090, PDP - 6392; Registered Voters - 42934
Saki East Lga 11 Wards	Total No of registered votes- 34423, No of accredited votes 15252. APC -7208, PDP -5368, KOWA 12
Iwajowa Lga 10 Wards	No of registered votes 38598, No of accredited voters 18685. APC - 8715, PDP - 7385, KOWA 19
Ona Ara Lga	Here is the Local government of the Oyo State PDP gubernatorial candidate, <u>Teslim Folarin</u> and Minister of State for FCT, <u>Jumoke Akinjide</u> .PDP -7175, APC- 12291
Ibarapa East Lg 10 Wards, 140 Units	PDP - 7009, APC -10482, KOWA - 15
Atiba Lga 10 Wards	Total registered voters 61857, accredited votes - 27306; Total votes 2502; APC - 16755; PDP - 6443; KOWA – 34
Ido Lga	APC -17235; PDP - 6538; KOWA - 37; Valid votes - 25, 742; rejected votes - 1425, Total votes - 27,167
Kajola Lga	PDP 11045; APC -14538; votes cast - 26131; rejected - 404, total votes - 26535; accredited voters 27169
Afijio Lga	PDP 8001; APC -5738; 10 wards, registered voters - 27704; accredited voters - 16346; total votes -15747, valid votes - 15009
Orelope Lga	APC -9425; PDP - 5384; valid votes - 15729, rejected 698; total votes - 16427, registered voters 36570; accredited - 17345
Irepo Lga	APC - 10380; PDP - 4979; valid votes - 15777; rejected votes 683, total votes 16460
Itesiwaju Lga	APC - 7257; PDP - 7605; KOWA -27; valid votes 15577; rejected - 727; total votes 16304; wads -10 registered votes 34012; accredited 16761
Iseyin Lga	APC-24075; PDP -10569; valid votes 36986; rejected 2785; total votes 39771; wards - 11, registered voters 84111; accredited voters 406777
Oyo East Lga	APC-17,105; PDP-6326
Orire Lga	APC-10,161; PDP-13,238
Saki Waest Lga	APC -25965; PDP- 7008
Lagelu Lga	APC-15,547; PDP 7,366
Suruler Lga	APC- 7448; PDP-12,793
Ibarapa Central Lga	APC-8857; PDP- 6671
Ibarapa West Lga	APC-10,178; PDP-6357
Ogooluwa Lga	APC-6034; PDP-7697
Ogbomoso South Lga	APC-5984; PDP-15,521
Egbeda Lga	APC-24123; PDP-10141
Ibadan South East Lga	APC-27,470; PDP-10994
Ibadan North East Lga	APC-30,312; PDP-15,946
Ogbomoso North Lga	APC-10,472; PDP -19,339
Olorunsogo Lga	APC 6572; PDP -5789
Ibadan North West Lga	PDP- 10,751; APC - 19929
Ibadan South West Lga	APC - 42232; PDP - 15073
Ibadan North Lga	APC 46298; PDP - 18040;
Akinyele Lga	APC – 22408; PDP - 10,357
Oluyole Lga	APC -19642; PDP - 6956

Table 6: Oyo complete presidential result.

Party	No of Votes
APC	528,620
PDP	303,376
AA	6331
ACPN	8979
AD	6282
ADC	5000
APA	4468
CPP	6674
HDP	829
KOWA	1312
NCP	1895
PPN	2842
UDP	1069
UPP	365
Total Valid votes - 881352	Total votes 928,606
Total rejected votes- 47254	Total accredited voters 1,073,849

Table 7: Official oyo state presidential result (final), as announced by INEC.

10. Rehabilitation of collapsed health-care services.
11. Resuscitation of agricultural programmes like farm settlements; agricultural loan facilities; supply of fertilizers and agric equipments with a view to increase food production and provide job opportunities for youths and women.
12. Rehabilitation of old road and construction of new ones for easy accessibility.
13. Establishment of small scale industries and invitation of foreign investors to establish large scale industries aiming at providing more job opportunities and provision of infrastructural facilities, among others. The news media, especially, the Radio and Television stations produced programmes to cover various issues in the political communication and election campaign encounters. Some stations such as Splash FM 105.5 based in Ibadan, Radio Nigeria or FRCN 93.5, also in Ibadan among others organised "live" debate programmes/sessions for political office contenders. While all other governorship candidates of other political parties attended the "live" programmes, it should

be pointed out that Alao – Akala the governorship candidate of the Labour Party and a former PDP Governor in Oyo State did not attend any of the "Live" programmes of the Radio and Television Stations at all.

There are also other programmes such as press Reports; Governors-to-be, the Presidency, Guest of the month, Meeting Point, View Point, Highlight, Politics- last week, Daily politics, Nigeria Decides etc.

There were also paid advertisements on political communication both in English and Yoruba languages by the Political Parties.

It was noted that the private –owned mass media were more objective and focused than government- owned mass media.

The Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State – Radio O-Y-O, B.C.OS. Focused more attention on the candidates of the APC than other political parties candidates.

In the same vein, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria FRCN and the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), focused more attention on the candidates of the PDP than the other political parties candidates.

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out too that private stations and papers owned by members of some political parties or their sympathizers behaved as government -owned media. For instance, the African Independent Television (AIT) and its Radio Stations owned by PDP man Dokpesi focused more favorably on PDP Contestants than other Political Parties contestants.

Our analysis indicates that the news media were not objective in their reportage and coverage of political communication in the prominence, favourable, unfavourable, special, neutral, reportorial, editorial and current affairs stories and advertisements they gave to various political parties.

Conclusion and Recommendations

We have discussed political communication in Nigeria's 2015 General Elections focusing on the experience of Oyo State "the wild, wild west". We noted the following:

1. Blatant, parochial, combative, rebellious coloration of political communication by political office contenders and some sections of the news media.
2. Ownership of news media dictated to a large extent the coverage given to various political parties in their political communication campaigns.
3. Pressing issues that concern the interests of the people/voters/ electorate, were not discussed prominently by the political contestants.
4. The government- owned news media were biased against opposition parties by giving more or less coverage in terms of quantity and quality of stories, favorable and unfavourable reportage.
5. The news media failed to adhere strictly to the professional journalistic ethics of objectivity, impartiality, and balancing, social responsibility, developmentalism, in the dissemination of news, information, political communication, election campaign coverage/reportage, education and entertainment of the people/voters /electorate.

We make the following policy recommendations:

1. The news media should avoid being manipulated, persuaded or coerced to follow political views that are anti-people/ voters.
2. Disinformation campaigns, half truth, mistruth, jaundiced reporting, financial incentives (Brown/Green/Yellow/White etc. Envelopes), gratifications from politicians should be avoided.
3. Owners of news media, whether governments, political parties or private individuals should be made to follow general standard rules of broadcasting and press services in their coverage and reportage. These rules of engagement must be enforced independently at all times.
4. There is a need to pay special salaries to journalists to discourage them from taking bribes to play down or play up particular stories.
5. There is a need for political education, mobilization, of people/voters/ electorate on political participation, political communication, elections, voting, interest aggregation and interest articulation.
6. There is a need for intensified training and re-training of news media practitioners, election administration officers, security men and women etc.
7. During political communication election campaigns, all news media- whether government, private, political party-owned must be made to give equal treatment to all political parties and political office contenders, even including advertisements.
8. The Electoral body should be made totally independent in all its ramifications.
9. There is a need for a political communication policy/strategy to improve both internal and external communication of all involved in elections and political communication encounters – institutions, individuals and other members of the society.

There is a need for all hands to be on deck to ensure maximum security of political communication senders, receivers, and the messages being sent and received.

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