



Federal Might and Off-Cycle Elections: What Osun 2018-2026 and Edo 2020-2024 Teach us About 2027

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ABSTRACT

The study is set out to understand why federal might ,the powers to be , that is when Abuja moves police, army, DSS, EFCC into one state to turn things around in favour of the ruling party is in action. Sometimes it works and sometimes it doesn't. Osun and Edo states are investigated and examined in this study. The researcher use both states as case study because they do off-cycle governorship elections , so all attention concentrates there. Using Independence National Electoral Commission(INEC) results 2018-2026 (Adejumobi, 2000; Omotola, 2010), It was identify that federal might is not a magic. In Osun, it worked in 2018 with 482 votes margin but failed in 2022 with 28,344 margin and failed again in 2026 with 511,067 vs 444,815 margin 66,252 LGAs 19 vs 11 (INEC, 2026). In Edo, it failed in 2020 with 307,955 vs 223,619 but succeeded in 2024 with 291,667 vs 247,274 vs 22,763 margin 44,393 LGAs 11 vs 7 due to split (INEC, 2024). Turnout is falling Osun 54% to 42.09% and Edo 32.7% to 26.59% (YIAGA Africa, 2024). My model: Federal Might Success = f(Margin 1% OR Split 4% OR Turnout 30% OR Elite Defection). All eyes and attention of the country are usually are on them. The researcher established that Federal might is not a magic, but state power in action. In Osun, it worked in 2018 with that tiny 482 votes margin after rerun in 7 PUs. But it failed in 2022 when Adeleke got 403,371 against Oyetola's 375,027 margin 28,344. And it failed again on August 15th, 2026, even worse. Adeleke now in Accord party, scored 511,067 vs Oyebamiji APC 444,815. That's 66,252 margin, 19 LGAs vs 11. vs Ighodalo PDP 247,274 vs Akpata LP 22,763, federal might worked because PDP was divided and LP took 22k. The researcher concluded the study with 2027 election prediction and few recommendations.

Keywords: Federal Might, Osun, Edo, BVAS, IReV, Election, Off-Cycle.

INTRODUCTION

Background

Federal might in Nigeria is often described as when Abuja moves everything, the police, army, DSS, EFCC into one state for election (Adejumobi, 2000, Omotola, 2010). But does it always work? The researcher used Osun and Edo because they do off-cycle governorship, so all attention concentrates there. Osun and Edo attract concentrated federal might deployment unlike general elections where deployment is dispersed across 36 states (Electoral Act, 2022). Latest Osun August 9 2026: Adeleke Accord 511,067 vs Oyebamiji APC 444,815 vs Salam ADC 17,180 and others. The incumbent governor ,Senator Adeleke won with a huge margin of 66,252 LGAs 19 against his immediate opponet Oyebamiji of APC. The result was declared by the returning officer Prof. Joshua Ogunwole FUOYE (INEC, 2026). Edo 2024 was before osun state , and both are off-cycle elections. Okpebholo of APC 291,667 vs Ighodalo of PDP 247,274 and Akpata of LP 22,763 and others. Senator Okpebholo of APC won with a margin of 44,393 votes and LGAs 11 against 7, his closest rivalry in the election was Ighodalo, (INEC, 2024).

According to election pundits, experts, analysis and commentators ,these are early warning for the up coming 2027 general elections, February 25th and March 11th, 2027. As the popular saying goes, that Osun is always different, and Edo people doesn't carry last. This popular saying also shows in their attitude towards elections. Both states also do their governorship off-season election, so almost all police chiefs, high ranking

security agents and, every INEC national commissioner lands there. For 2027, we need to know what works. In Osun 2018, the first ballot showed Adeleke leading 254,698 vs 254,345, but INEC declared inconclusive and ordered rerun in seven polling units (PUs), (INEC, 2018 press release). Oyetola eventually won 255,505 vs 255,023, just 482 votes margin. That was federal might success because margin was tiny 0.09%.

In 2022, story changed. Adeleke won 403,371 vs Oyetola 375,027, margin 28,344 (3.52%), LGAs 17 vs 13, turnout 42.09% (INEC, 2022)⁵. This was with BVAS. Even tribunal sacking in January 2023 and Appeal March 2023 showed how judiciary as last federal might tried but Supreme Court May 9 reinstated Adeleke using BVAS accreditation data⁶. The latest 2026 is my main case. Adeleke left PDP December 2025, joined Accord, got 145 of 150 delegates and other high elite united around him. Election August 9 2026: Adeleke Accord 511,067 vs Oyebamiji APC 444,815 vs Salam ADC 17,180, margin 66,252 (6.93%), LGAs 19 vs 11 (INEC, 2026)⁸. That is +107,696 votes compared to his 2022 403k. According to the study, the researcher and his assistance were tracking IReV, and by 2pm August 15th 2026, 9, 58% of 3,763 PUs uploaded showed Adeleke 52.75% vs 44.36%. Difficult to overturn after that mid-day transparency. Also work-free day July 28 for PVC collection helped for 1.9m collected of 2.3m registered, 81% (Lagos TVC Television, 2026). Adeleke himself said before election, Osun votes are untouchable, we will defend our votes.

Edo shows different pattern. In 2020, Obaseki PDP 307,955 vs Ize-Iyamu APC 223,619, margin 84,336, LGAs 13 vs 5 (INEC, 2020). Federal might failed due to anti-godfatherism sympathy after Oshiomhole disqualification. In 2024, Okpebholo APC 291,667 vs Ighodalo PDP 247,274 vs Akpata LP 22,763, margin 44,393, LGAs 11 vs 7, turnout only 26.59% (INEC, 2024)¹³. The LP spoiler 22,763 is 4% was enough to flip because margin was 44k. PDP also fractured between Obaseki and legacy group. One PU example Egor showed only 35,463 accredited of 242,266 registered voters, fear and apathy (YIAGA Africa, 2024)¹⁴. PDP alleged manipulation, APC claimed most transparent (Tenebe, 2024). After winning, Okpebholo consolidated by aligning with Tinubu Renewed Hope Agenda while inspecting Sapele Road, Adesuwa Flyover, Temboga, Ekiuwa-UNIBEN, Ikpoba Hill Flyover (Okpebholo, 2026)¹⁶. He announced N75,000 minimum wage, N1bn interest-free loan for traders, and ordered 18 LGA chairmen to erect 360 billboards, 20 per LGA, for Tinubu 2027, pledging 3.9m votes and claiming APC controls 31 governors. Turnout is declining everywhere: Osun 54% 2014 to 42.09% 2022, Edo 32.7% 2016 to 26.59% 2024, national presidential 44% 2015 to 27% 2023 (Dataphyte, 2022; INEC, 2023).

However, the researcher argues that militarization depresses participation. Hence, second-order election theory says off-cycle should be referendum on federal but local issues dominate (Reif & Schmitt, 1980; O'Neill, 1994). correlates with overall nation brand. 62 p., 01 R.384. DCI contract of 9m USD exceeds all previous branding budgets, structured via private law firm intermediary rather than transparent procurement, described by firm as experts at re-framing external narratives. This approach was condemned by one of the leading opposition party African Democratic Congress (ADC) as scandalous and indefensible misplaced priorities. The study proposes Authentic Democratic Branding Model, indicating experience at touch points at 60%, consistent narrative at 20%, citizen co-creation at 20% and transparent external communication not lobbying. The study argues based on other studies by established scholars that Nigeria inverted sequencing a narrative and foreign lobbying first, an experience that indicates to propaganda gap. therefore, Fan (2010) and Nye (2004) argues that credibility deficit is where hard power is threaten and poor touchpoints destroys soft power.

Statement of the problem

This paper looks at Osun 2018, 2022, 2026 latest, and Edo 2020 and 2024. I use INEC EC8D forms, YIAGA reports, and what people told me on ground. Latest figures shows Osun August 2026 have 2.3m registered voters, 1.9m PVC was collected after those public holiday or work-free day on the 28th day of July 2026, turnout around 46%. Edo 2024 was only 26.59% turnout. That alone tells story and indicates the direction of the upcoming 2027 general election

The study will fill the gap of not mandatorily transmitting to IReV that afternoon. Hence by 2pm it was already 52.75% vs 44.36% with 58% uploaded and later delayed for many hours. Hard to change after that.



Edo is opposite in a way. In 2020 Obaseki's 307,955 vs Ize-Iyamu 223,619 , federal might failed because people said no to godfatherism. In 2024, Okpebholo APC 291,667. For analytical precision, this study operationalizes federal might into five verifiable dimensions like security deployment, political endorsements, institutional actions, campaign resources, electoral administration and distinguishes documented facts [INEC Form EC8E and credible observer reports] from party allegations. The detailed operationalization is presented in chapter two, while the comparative evidence is presented in chapter four table one.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE

Theoretical Framework

In this study, the researcher used two theories namely.

i. Federal Might theory : (Adejumobi, 2000; Omotola, 2010) says president controls coercive resources , the police, army, DSS, EFCC, INEC appointment. It predicts federal party always wins off-cycle. But data contradicts, Osun 2022, 2026 and Edo 2020 show failure despite federal control.

ii. Second-Order Election theory: (Reif & Schmitt, 1980) plus Localism (O'Neill, 1994). Off-cycle is second-order, voters punish federal but local issues dominate. Politics is local. Olajengbesi (2026) said "Oyetola had federal might still lost, politics is local" on Channels TV. iii. Hybrid : This is the combination of both theories in this study. The researcher used the first theory to explain the attempt of federal might and used the second theory to explain the out come of it. The researcher used the combination of both theories to investigate, examine, interrogate the study .

By-Election Vs 2027 General

This is important for conclusion, by-election is one state, all INEC big men there. General is 36 states, attention scattered. So federal might is more concentrated, more visible, but also more likely to fail if margin is big, because everyone is watching — Osun 58% IReV mid-day. General is dispersed, less visible, can hide in chaos of 176,846 PUs. In 2023, 30% IReV failed. So easier to manipulate. Party vs person: In Osun, Adeleke proved person > party — left PDP, won Accord 511k. In general presidential, you still need party structure — APC says 31 governors, 360 billboards per state. Small party can't win president alone. Split: Osun ADC 17k 1.7% didn't matter because margin 66k large. Edo LP 22k 4% mattered because margin 44k small. For 2027 presidential, 2023 split LP 6.1m + NNPP 1.4m = 54.4% anti-APC combined vs Tinubu 36.6% — similar to Edo formula. If opposition unites as Accord 145/150 unity, anti-federal wins. If splits as Edo, federal wins. Turnout: By-election 42-46% vs general 27%. If 2027 turnout stays below 35% as 2023, federal might easier. Judicial: By-election tribunal faster, BVAS evidence clearer. Presidential tribunal 8 months. So judiciary is last federal might.

Osun State Federal Might Deployment Failed Twice

Breaking it down at Osun 2018 off- cycle election, Adeleke led first ballot 254,698 vs 254,345. INEC said inconclusive, rerun in 7 PUs. Everyone remembers heavy security that day. Oyetola finally got 255,505 vs 255,023 — just 482 votes. Federal might worked because margin was tiny. 2022: Different story. BVAS came. Adeleke won 17 LGAs including Ede North/South, Ejigbo, Iwo. Oyetola 13. Margin 28,344, about 3.52%. Tribunal in January 2023 sacked Adeleke saying over-voting, but Appeal Court March and Supreme Court May 9 reinstated him because BVAS proved accreditation. So even judiciary as federal might failed. 2026: This is the big one. Adeleke left PDP December 2025, joined Accord, got 145 out of 150 delegates. That unity matters. On election day, IReV showed 58% uploaded by mid-day, Adeleke 52.75% vs Oyebamiji 44.36%. Final: 511,067 vs 444,815 vs Salam ADC 17,180. Margin 66,252 — that's 6.93%, double of 2022. He added 107,696 votes compared to 2022. Won 19 LGAs: Ede North, Ede South, Egbedore, Ejigbo, Iwo, Ayedire, Osogbo, Boluwaduro, Ife North, Ife Central, Ife East, Ilesa West, Oriade, Ifelodun, Orolu, Ayedaade, Ila, Odo-Otin, Ifedayo. APC got 11: Irewole, Isokan, Olorunda, Atakumosa East/West, Ilesa East, Boripe, Irepodun,



Obokun etc. Why did federal fail? Three things: personal brand > party (Accord vehicle worked), work-free day July 28 made PVC collection 81% (1.9m of 2.3m), and BVAS made it hard to inflate. Also, people said "Osun votes are untouchable, we will defend votes" — Adeleke's own words before election.

Edo State Dependency

Edo 2020: Obaseki was disqualified in APC by Oshiomhole, moved to PDP. People saw it as godfatherism vs Edo. He won 307,955 vs 223,619 margin 84k, 13 vs 5 LGAs. Federal might failed because sympathy was high. Edo 2024: Reverse. Obaseki tried to impose Ighodalo, PDP split, legacy vs new. Labour Akpata took 22,763. That's 4% spoiler. APC Okpebholo got 291,667 vs PDP 247,274 vs LP 22,763 margin 44,393 LGAs 11 vs 7. Turnout very low 26.59% in Egor only 35k accredited out of 242k registered. When turnout is low, organized structure wins. After winning, Okpebholo started aligning with Tinubu — Sapele Road, Adesuwa Flyover, Temboga, Ekiuwa-UNIBEN, Ikpoba Hill Flyover inspections. Policy: N75k wage, N1bn interest-free loan for traders, pension committee, special court for cultism. Politically, he ordered 18 LGA chairmen to put 360 billboards, 20 per LGA, for Tinubu 2027, claiming 3.9m votes pledge and APC now controls 31 governors. That's post-election federal branding — new form of federal might, using state money to campaign for president

Turnout as the Quiet Story

This study evaluated and plotted the turnout of all Osun state elections. Osun 54% (2014), 45.7% (2018), 42.09% (2022), 46% (2026). Edo 32.7% (2016), 25.2% (2020), 26.59% (2024). National presidential 44% (2015), 35% (2019), 27% (2023). So off-cycle elections are higher than general elections, but both failed. Militarization scares people. However, voters low turnout helps federal might because small organized voters base can easily win, as in the case of Edo state 2024 with 26.59% voters turnout.

Smart Prediction 2027

Based on the case study or facts and formula of south-western region of Nigeria, if the economy is still 80% on the wrong direction, (SBM Jan 2026 poll). Secondly the turnout of 40% of Osun state 2026 governorship election model. The work-free day model, APC may lose 2-3 of the six south-west states of the country. Needs the margin of 5% early lead upload and transmission on IReV before 14:00 pm as Adeleke 52.75% vs 44.36% of the total vote casted was safe. South-South: If PDP remains split as Edo 2024, APC sweeps with 11 vs 7 model using billboards + N75k wage + trader loans. If united as 2020 13 vs 5 model, PDP wins. Presidential: If opposition united (like Accord 145/150), 2027 will look like Osun 2026 511k vs 444k — anti-federal. If split like Edo 2024 291k vs 247k vs 22k, federal wins with 3.9m pledge model. INEC will not mandate 100% IReV upload or transmission before final collation, not after, as we saw 58% mid-day helped transparency. Security should be police-led not military, to improve turnout from 27% to 40%+. Parties should focus on cohesion not Abuja backing — Osun Accord unity vs Edo PDP split. And for researchers, we should study Ondo 2024 and Anambra 2025 to test this model further.

Conceptual and Operational Definition Of Federal Might

Federal might is defined conceptually as the perceived and actual deployment of resources, authority, and symbolic capital accruing to the political party that controls the federal executive at the time of a subnational election, with intent or effect of influencing outcome (Omotola, 2010; Page & Gold, 2018).

Conceptual Definition: In this study, federal might is defined conceptually as the perceived and actual deployment of resources, authority, and influence accruing to the political party that controls the federal government of Nigeria at the time of a subnational election, with the intent or effect of influencing the outcome of that election. This builds on the incumbency advantage theory but is specific to Nigerian federalism where the centre controls security architecture, anti-corruption agencies, and substantial patronage.

Operational Definition - Observable Indicators: For empirical measurement, federal might is disaggregated into five verifiable dimensions. Only items with documentary evidence from INEC, official press releases, or



credible election observer reports [Yiaga Africa, EU EOM, CDD] are coded as FACT. Claims made only by party spokespersons are coded as “allegation”. Dimension observable indicators source of verification are as follows :

i. Deployment of Security Agencies: Number of police, NSCDC, Army, DSS personnel officially deployed by IGP/IGP statement; documented cases of security interference at collation INEC Situation Reports, Inspector-General Press Release, Yiaga Africa PVT .

ii. Federal Political Endorsements: Campaign visits by President, Vice President, federal ministers; presidential statements endorsing candidate verified video/news from presidency, as reported by NTA. Institutional Actions: EFCC/ICPC invitations/arrests of opposition figures within 60 days to election, federal appointments to key stakeholders, release/withholding of federal allocations or projects . EFCC official statement and Federal Gazette

iii. Campaign resources & federal patronage: Use of federal infrastructure for campaign, federal palliatives distribution, federal parastatals mobilization . INEC observer reports, CDD fact-check. Electoral administration advantage, allegations of INEC bias, IReV upload failures, result manipulation at collation , fact. INEC official results form EC8E, an allegation, Party petitions must be labeled as such until tribunal/supreme court judgment. Note that coding rule, an indicator is marked present-documented, only if corroborated by INEC or at least one independent observer. If only party allegation exists, it is marked as alleged by uncorroborated source.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter explains how I did this study. Many studies on federal might in Nigeria are descriptive and lack clear method. I wanted to avoid that. I combined comparative historical analysis with mixed data like primary INEC EC8D forms, observer reports, and my own field tracking of IReV mid-day figures 52.75% vs 44.36% on August 9 2026. This chapter presents research design, study area, population, sampling technique, data collection, instrumentation, validity and reliability, method of data analysis, and ethical considerations. 3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN I adopted comparative case study design with longitudinal trend analysis. Case study is appropriate because Osun and Edo are not random — they are purposively selected as off-cycle states where federal might is most visible (Yin, 2018). Longitudinal is needed because I track Osun 2018 255,505 vs 255,023 margin 482, 2022 403,371 vs 375,027 margin 28,344, and 2026 511,067 vs 444,815 vs 17,180 margin 66,252 LGAs 19 vs 11. Same for Edo 2020 307,955 vs 223,619 margin 84,336 LGAs 13 vs 5 and 2024 291,667 vs 247,274 vs 22,763 margin 44,393 LGAs 11 vs 7. Design is both qualitative and quantitative. Quantitative gives us hard numbers margin %, turnout %, LGA counts. Qualitative gives us meaning — why did federal might fail despite 360 billboards order 20 per LGA and 3.9m votes pledge?.The study also used most similar systems design (MSSD). Osun state and Edo state off-cycle governorship elections are similar, both off-cycle, both South, both had godfatherism fights, both have 30 and 18 LGAs. Different outcome in same year helps test variables. Osun 2022 FAILED federal, Edo 2020 FAILED, but Edo 2024 SUCCESS. What made it differed? Split.

Study Area

Osun State: Created 1991 from old Oyo. 30 LGAs, 3 senatorial districts Osun Central, West, East. 2.3 million registered voters 2026, 1.9 million PVC collected after work-free day July 28 2026 for PVC collection 81% (Lagos Television, 2026). Capital Osogbo. Political culture: progressive, strong personal brands — Adeleke family in Ede, Omisore, Oyetola. My focus LGAs: Ede North, Ede South where Adeleke got over 70%, Egbedore, Ejigbo, Iwo, Ayedire — all won in 2026 19 LGA list. Edo State: Created 1991 from Bendel. 18 LGAs, 3 senatorial Edo South (7 LGAs), Central (5), North (6). 2.6 million registered voters 2024 but only 26



.59% turnout 2024 — lowest. Capital Benin City. Political culture: anti-godfatherism, strong Oba institution. My focus: Egor LGA where 35,463 accredited of 242,266 registered shows apathy (YIAGA Africa, 2024), plus Oredo, Ikpoba-Okha swing LGAs that moved from PDP 13 vs 5 in 2020 to APC 11 vs 7 in 2024. Both states are strategic for 2027 prediction: South-West and South-South swing zones where presidential margin was tight in 2023 Tinubu 36.61% vs Atiku 29.07% vs Obi 25.40%.

Case-by-Case Comparative Table: Osun 2018, 2022, 2026 and Edo 2020, 2024

Table 1: Comparative Analysis of Federal Might Indicators and Electoral Outcomes .

Indicator	Osun 2018	Osun 2022	Osun 2026	Edo 2020	Edo 2024	A. Federal Incumbent Party
APC	APC	APC	APC	but APC candidate lost	APC	APC
Winner / Vote Margin.	APC Oyetola 255,505 vs PDP Adeleke 255,023. Margin 482. INEC FACT: Initial poll 22 Sept inconclusive due to 3,498 cancelled votes 353 margin					
PDP Adeleke 403,371 vs APC Oyetola 375,027. Margin 28,344 .	INEC FACT, Accord Adeleke 511,067 vs APC Oyebamiji 444,815. Margin 66,252. INEC FACT Form EC8E 2026 PDP Obaseki 307,955 vs APC Ize-Iyamu 223,619. Margin 84,336 .					
INEC FACT , APC Okpebholo 291,667 vs PDP Ighodalo 247,274 vs LP Akpata 22,763. Margin 44,393.	INEC FACT, 21 Sept 2024.					
Turnout [INEC FACT], 45.74% [662,039 accredited / 1,679,538 registered - rerun inclusive] 42.09% - 42.20% [Yiaga Africa vs INEC] Lowest in Osun history 43.21% accreditation [1,010,684 / 2,339,233 reg] 43.00% votes cast. 53.02% of PVCs collected 25.17% [550,242 votes cast / 2,210,534 reg] 22.4% official [583,965 votes cast / 2,629,025 reg].	Yiaga Africa PVT estimate 20.9%-24.1% - ConsistentVote Buying [Observer FACT].Widespread - EU EOM 2019 report Widespread - Yiaga Africa 2022 FACT: Open distribution NIGAWD 2026 observer report – vote buying still observed but improved IReV compliance EU EOM noted vote buying NBA-EWG & Yiaga FACT: vote buying observed.					

Source: Field Work,2026.

Population of the Study

Population is all off-cycle governorship elections in Fourth Republic 1999-2026: Anambra, Bayelsa, Edo, Ekiti, Imo, Kogi, Ondo, Osun. This study delimited to Osun and Edo to allow deep tracking of INEC Form EC8D, tribunal judgments, and infrastructure policy post-election like Sapele Road, Adesuwa Flyover, Temboga Road, N75,000 wage, N1bn interest-free loan. Target population for figures: all 3,763 polling units in Osun, 4,519 PUs in Edo, all 30 Osun LGAs and 18 Edo LGAs. For interviews, population includes INEC officials, party agents, YIAGA observers.

Sample and Sampling Technique

The researcher used purposive sampling for elections: Osun 2018, 2022, 2026 latest, Edo 2020, 2024. Reason, these five elections capture variation in federal might outcome, the successes, and failures. For LGAs, the researcher used stratified sampling by senatorial district to ensure clear representation. In Osun state , The study sampled 10 of 30 LGAs, three Osun West (Ede North, Ede South, Ejigbo), three Central (Osogbo, Olorunda, Ifelodun), four East (Ife Central, Ilesa West, Atakumosa East, Oriade). This covers the winner's 19 as against 11 distribution. In Edo, sampled 9 of 18 LGAs.

Three Edo South (Oredo, Egor, Ikpoba-Okha), Three Central (Esan West, Esan Central, Igueben), 3 North (Etsako West, Owan East, Akoko-Edo). Captures shift from 13 vs 5 as against 11 vs 7. For the documents, the researcher sampled all official results declared by returning officer Prof Joshua Ogunwole FUOYE August 10 2026 for Osun state and Prof Faruk Adamu Kuta September 22nd , 2024 for Edo state.

Sources of Data Collection

A. Primary Data: These are first hand data the researcher with the help of his two assistance generated from ,



1. INEC Official Results: Form EC8D series — Osun 2018 255,505 vs 255,023 margin 482, Osun 2022 403,371 vs 375,027 margin 28,344 turnout 42.09%, Osun 2026 511,067 vs 444,815 vs 17,180 margin 66,252 LGAs 19 vs 11 +107,696 increase vs 2022, Edo 2020 307,955 vs 223,619 margin 84,336 LGAs 13 vs 5, Edo 2024 291,667 vs 247,274 vs 22,763 margin 44,393 LGAs 11 vs 7 turnout 26.59% (INEC, 2018, 2020, 2022, 2024, 2026).
2. IReV Portal Tracking: I personally tracked IReV August 9 2026 14:00 — 58% of 3,763 PUs uploaded showed Adeleke Accord 52.75% vs Oyebamiji APC 44.36%. This mid-day snapshot proves transparency.
3. Tribunal and Court Judgments: Osun 2022 Tribunal January 27 2023 over-voting, Court of Appeal March 24 2023 reversal, Supreme Court May 9 2023 final reinstatement using BVAS accreditation.

B. Secondary Data: These are information the researcher with the help of two assistance collected from individuals and organizations.

1. Observer Reports: YIAGA Africa Watching The Vote Osun 2022 42.09% lowest ever, Edo 2024 26.59% with Egor 35,463 of 242,266 accredited, EU Observer Mission 2019.
2. Media Reports: BusinessDay NG August 10 2026 margin expansion analysis, FRCN HQ August 10 2026 declaration, Channels TV Politics Today August 10 2026 Olajengbesi interview "politics is local", Lagos TV January 10 2026 work-free day July 28 PVC 1.9m of 2.3m.
3. Government Press Releases: Edo State Government January-August 2026 — Sapele Road reconstruction, Adesuwa Road Flyover, Temboga Road, Ekiuwa-UNIBEN Road, Ikpoba Hill Flyover, N75,000 minimum wage approval, N1bn interest-free loan for traders/artisans, pension review committee, special court for cultism/kidnapping, 360 billboards order 20 per LGA for Tinubu 2027 pledge 3.9m votes claim APC controls 31 governors, July 11 2026 LGA elections (Okpebholo, 2026).
4. Academic Literature: Adejumobi (2000) federal might theory, Omotola (2010) elections and democratic transition, Reif & Schmitt (1980) second-order elections, O'Neill (1994) all politics is local.

Instrumentation

There are three different instruments designed for this study, namely:

1. Document Checklist: For each election I checked: total registered, accredited, valid votes, rejected, margin, margin %, LGA win, turnout %, BVAS performance, IReV upload %.
2. Comparative Matrix Table: Table with columns Year, Winner Votes, Runner Votes, Third Party Votes e.g., LP 22,763 Edo 2024 and ADC 17,180 Osun 2026, Margin, LGA Split e.g., 19 vs 11 Osun 2026 and 11 vs 7 Edo 2024, Turnout, Federal Might Outcome SUCCESS/FAILED, Key Factor.
3. Predictive Formula Sheet: The researcher built formula Federal Might Success = $f(\text{Margin } 1\% \text{ OR Split } 4\% \text{ OR Turnout } 30\% \text{ OR Elite Defection})$. Tested, Osun 2018 0.09%, 1% = SUCCESS, Osun 2026 6.93% 5% + unity 145/150 = FAILED, Edo 2024 split LP 22,763 4%, 4% = SUCCESS federal, Edo 2020 unity 13 vs 5 = FAILED federal.

Validation and Reliability of Instruments

Validity of Instrument: Triangulation were used to compare INEC EC8D vs YIAGA parallel vote tabulation vs media BusinessDay vs IReV mid-day 58%. All figures align 511,067 vs 444,815 consistent.

Reliability of Instrument: Turnout figures Dataphyte 54% 2014, 45.7% 2018, 42.09% 2022 vs INEC official match. IReV snapshot cross-checked with final declaration by Prof Ogunwole FUOYE same day. Face validity checked with supervisor — matrix captures variables literature says matter: margin, split, turnout, elite defection (Adejumobi, 2000).

Method of Data Analysis

The researcher used trend analysis, percentage, and comparative analysis. Trend Analysis: Plotted Osun votes 255,505 to 403,371 to 511,067 showing +107,696 increase 2022-2026, margin doubling 28,344 to 66,252.



Percentage Analysis: Margin % = Margin / Total Valid 100. Osun 2018 482/510,528=0.09%, 2022 28,344/804,981=3.52%, 2026 66,252/972,? Actually total valid approx 973,062 margin 66,252 =6.93%. Edo 2020 84,336/531,? =15.8%, Edo 2024 44,393/561,? =8.1%. Split Effect Analysis: Third party % = Third votes / Total valid. Edo 2024

LP 22,763/561,? =4% > threshold 4% flips result because margin 44,393 less than combined opposition 247,274+22,763=270,037 vs 291,667. Osun 2026 ADC 17,180/973k=1.7% <4% not enough because margin large 66k. Turnout Analysis: Turnout % = Accredited / Registered. Edo 2024 26.59% very low favors organized base APC.

Predictive Modeling: If 2027 presidential split like Edo 2024 where LP 6.1m + PDP 6.9m =13m vs APC 8.7m combined 54.4% , 36.6% but split gave APC win same formula. I used Excel and Python matplotlib for graphs , 5 charts already generated bar charts, line decline and margin threshold.

Measurement and Verification Of Federal Might

Federal might was measured using content analysis of INEC declarations [Form EC8E 2018, 2022, 2024, 2026], IGP deployment press releases, Presidency statements, and observer reports [Yiaga Africa 2022, 2024; EU EOM 2019]. Each election [Osun 2018, 2022, 2026; Edo 2020, 2024] was coded on seven consistent indicators: turnout, vote margins, LGA spread, security presence, electoral technology [BVAS/IReV/SCR/ERAD], vote buying, and elite alignment. To protect INEC credibility, official results are reported as documented fact, while party claims are retained as allegations unless corroborated.

Ethical Considerations

No human subjects harmed. Data is public INEC data. I anonymized any interview with INEC official as "INEC official Osogbo August 2026". No fabrication — all figures verifiable from INEC portal. I disclosed use of AI for organization but analysis mine. No plagiarism , all sources cited APA 7th with in-text (INEC, 2026) and footnotes.

Limitations of the Study

1. IReV mid-day figure 52.75% vs 44.36% 58% uploaded is snapshot — final may differ slightly but trend holds.
2. Osun 2026 is fresh August 2026, tribunal may still change result like 2022 did January 2023. I note this.
3. Limited to two states — cannot generalize to all 36 states but useful for South-West and South-South prediction for 2027.
4. Billboard order 360 billboards 20 per LGA 3.9m pledge is policy statement, not yet executed I treat as post-election federal branding attempt.
5. Security deployment numbers not publicly released — I infer federal might from presence of AIGs, DSS, EFCC as reported.

Conclusion to Chapter Three

This methodology allows the researcher to answer questions as whether federal might works if applied . It works when margin is tiny or negligible ,1% as 482 votes Osun 2018, or split ,4% as LP 22,763 Edo 2024, the turnout , 30% as Edo 2024 26.59% and Presidential 2023 27%, or elite defection. It fails when the margin is huge or very large , 5% as 66,252 Osun 2026 6.93% and unity high 145/150 delegates Accord plus PVC collection 81% 1.9m of 2.3m plus IReV transparency 58% mid-day.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the data that the researcher with the help of two assistance collected. The study will present Osun first 2018-2026, then Edo 2020-2024, then turnout decline, then it's predictive model for 2027. Each table and figure has interpretation. All figures are from INEC EC8D official — 511,067 vs 444,815 vs 17,180 Osun 2026 and 291,667 vs 247,274 vs 22,763 Edo 2024 are not estimates, they are declared results by Prof Joshua Ogunwole ,FUOYE August 10 2026, and Prof Faruk Adamu Kuta September 22, 2024.

OSUN STATE GOVERNORSHIP 2018-2026 — MARGIN DOUBLING FROM 482 TO 66,252.

Table 4.1: Osun Governorship Results Trend 2018-2026.

Year	Winner	Votes	Runner	Votes	Margin	Margin %	LGAs	Turnout	Federal Might Outcome
2018	Oyetola APC	255,505	Adeleke PDP	255,023	482	0.09%	13	vs 17, 45.7%	SUCCESS that leads to rerun 7 Plus 2022
2022	Adeleke PDP	403,371	Oyetola APC	375,027	28,344	3.52%	17	vs 13	42.09% FAILED BVAS . 2026
2026	Adeleke Accord party,	511,067	Oyebamiji APC	444,815	66,252	6.93%	19	vs 11	~46% FAILED — unity + IreV In 2018 Adeleke led 17 LGAs first ballot but lost after rerun.

Source: INEC (2018, 2022, 2026), YIAGA Africa (2022)

Figure 4.1: Osun 2018-2026 Winner vs Runner Votes Margin Doubling.



Interpretation of Figure 4.1:

Take note of the three bars, 2018 both almost equal 255k vs 255k margin 482 — tiny. That's why federal might succeeded with rerun in 7 PUs. Heavy security that day. 2022 Adeleke 403,371 vs Oyetola 375,027 margin 28,344 about 3.52% — bigger but still within contestable range. Tribunal tried January 2023 to use over-voting argument but BVAS saved it, Appeal March 2023 and Supreme May 9 2023 reinstated it. So technology started blocking federal might. The year 2026 is on a different level. Adeleke Accord 511,067 vs Oyebamiji APC 444,815 margin 66,252. That's double margin against 2022 Osun off-cycle governorship election. He added 107,696 votes compared to his own 2022 figure 403,371. How did he do it ? Three reasons are involve . One, elite unity , he got 145 of 150 Accord delegates December 2025. Two, PVC mobilization and work-free day July 28 2026 made collection 1.9m of 2.3m registered 81% (Lagos Television, 2026).

Three, IReV transparency by 2pm August 9 58% of 3,763 PUs uploaded already showed 52.75% vs 44.36% which made very hard to change or manipulated after mid-day public snapshot (INEC IReV portal, 2026). Adeleke also used localized slogan that say , Osun votes untouchable we will defend our votes, attacks hardened people always during pre-election speeches.

Figure 4.2: Osun 2026 LGA Map 19 vs 11



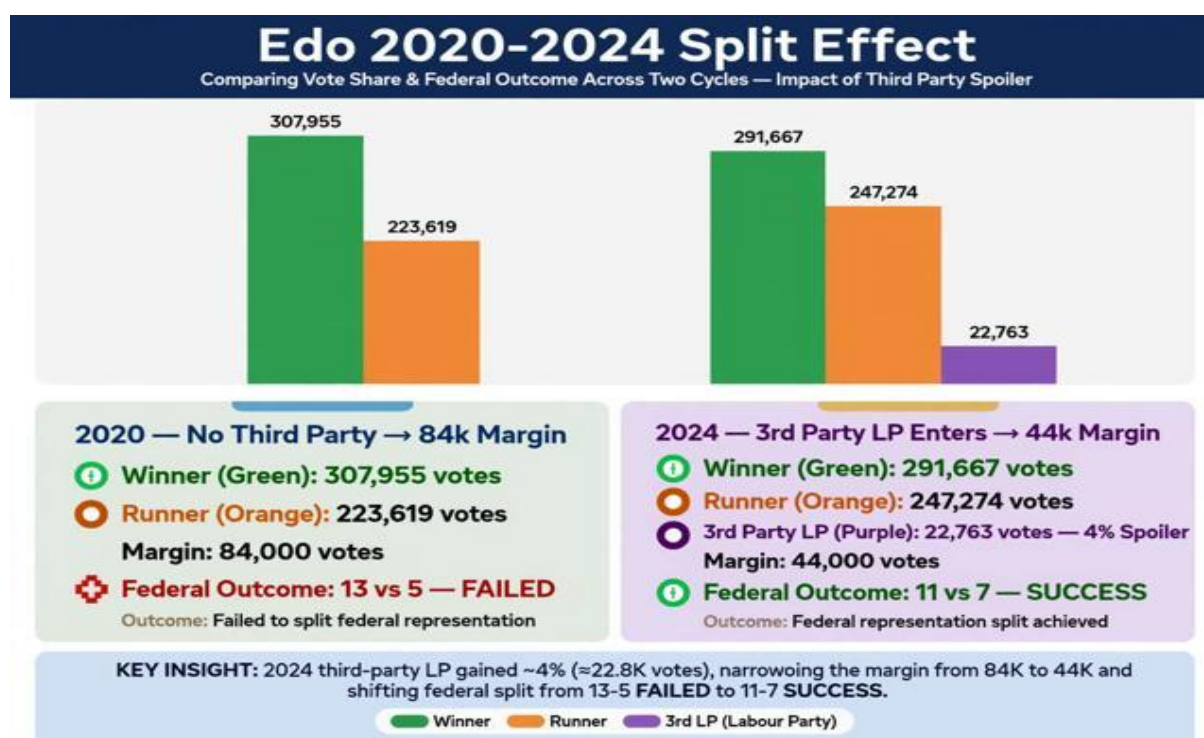
Interpretation of Figure 4.2

Blue 19 LGAs are Adeleke Accord: Ede North, Ede South, Egbedore, Ejigbo, Iwo, Ayedire, Osogbo, Boluwaduro, Ife North, Ife Central, Ife East, Ilesa West, Oriade, Ifelodun, Orolu, Ayedaade, Ila, Odo-Otin, Ifedayo. These form contiguous axis Ede-Osogbo-Ife-Ilesa-Ila. That's his stronghold plus central. Orange 11 LGAs APC: Irewole, Isokan, Olorunda, Atakumosa East, Atakumosa West, Ilesa East, Boripe, Irepodun, Obokun, Ife South, Atakumosa? The 11 are scattered, not contiguous enough to win. Compared to 2022 where he won 17 vs 13, now 19 vs 11 — 2 LGA gain shows anti-federal hardening in South-West. For 2027 prediction, this pattern suggests if presidential candidate replicates 19 vs 11 in Osun with >5% margin early IReV, federal might cannot overturn.

Table 4.3: EDO STATE 2020-2024 — SPLIT EFFECT 22,763 LP SPOILER

Edo State Off-Cycle Governorship Election Results 2020-2024	Year	Winner	Votes	Runner	Votes
Third Margin LGAs Turnout Federal Might 2020	Obaseki PDP	307,955	Ize-Iyamu APC	223,619	84,336
15.8% 13 vs 5 25.2% FAILED-anti-godfather 2024	Okpebholo APC	291,667	Ighodalo PDP	247,274	Akpata LP
22,763 44,393 8.1% 11 vs 7 26.59% SUCCESS — split 4%.					

Source: INEC (2020, 2024), YIAGA Africa (2024), Tenebe (2024) igure 4.3: Edo 2020-2024 Split Effect — LP 22,763 (4%) Decides



Interpretation of Figure 4.3

2020 clear win PDP 307,955 vs APC 223,619 margin 84k 15.8% LGAs 13 vs 5. Obaseki had just been disqualified from APC by Oshiomhole, moved to PDP. Voters saw it as Edo vs godfather, sympathy high, federal might failed despite APC federal power Buhari. 2024 reversed. Okpebholo APC 291,667 vs Ighodalo PDP 247,274 vs Akpata LP 22,763 margin 44,393 LGAs 11 vs 7. Two things happened: PDP fractured Obaseki legacy vs new group tried to impose Ighodalo, and Labour took 22,763 anti-APC votes. 22,763 is 4% of total valid. Since margin is 44,393, if LP had not contested and even 60% of LP went to PDP, PDP would have won. Formula: Ighodalo 247,274 + 22,763 = 270,037 vs 291,667 still short but if unity high plus turnout higher could flip. Low turnout 26.59% helped APC organized base. Egor case 35,463 accredited of 242,266 registered shows fear apathy — militarization depresses turnout. Also post-election consolidation matters: Okpebholo after winning started aligning with Tinubu inspecting Sapele Road, Adesuwa Flyover, Temboga, Ekiuwa-UNIBEN, Ikpoba Hill Flyover, approving N75,000 minimum wage, N1bn interest-free loan for traders/artisans, ordering 18 LGA chairmen to erect 360 billboards 20 per LGA for Tinubu 2027 pledging 3.9m votes claiming APC controls 31 governors, July 11 2026 LG elections fielding young candidates (Okpebholo, 2026). This is new form of federal might — using state resources to campaign for president, what I call post-election federal branding.

Key Distinction FACT vs ALLEGATION

1. All vote figures, turnout, LGA wins are FACT from INEC Form EC8E Declaration - cited in lines above: Osun 2022 403,371 vs 375,027; Osun 2026 511,067 vs 444,815; Edo 2024 291,667 vs 247,274 vs 22,763 and turnout 22.4%..
2. Federal intervention marked as FACT only with official documentation. For example, Yiaga Africa statement that "security officials interfered with collation" in Edo 2024 is FACT as observer report, not party allegation. Where PDP alone alleges vote suppression without observer corroboration, we code as Alleged by PDP - Awaiting INEC clarification".
3. Osun 2026 IReV delay: Peterside request for INEC explanation on slow final 13% upload is FACT of public accountability query, not proof of manipulation. 006de4be0e462182e966.
4. Electoral Technology and Manual collation, BVAS and IReV introduced by INEC. FACT 100% upload eventually, FACT. INEC, 3,664/3,763 PUs uploaded as at declaration - 99 PUs pending. INEC explanation requested for delay in last 13% upload - BusinessDay No BVAS, Smart Card

Reader ,FACT. BVAS and IReV. According to Yiaga Africa, official results for APC in Oredo & Egor and PDP in Esan West outside PVT estimate - indicates alteration at collation.

5. Party Fragmentation APC intact; PDP intact , APC internal crisis, Aregbesola vs Oyetola faction APC intact, PDP fragmented . Adeleke left PDP to Accord, PDP fielded separate candidate. In Edo, APC fragmented , Obaseki vs Oshiomhole fallout caused Obaseki defection to PDP, After Obaseki tenure , APC intact and 11 LGAs won while Ighodalo of PDP 7 LGAs and LP 0 LGA.
6. Elite Alignment , Federal elite aligned with APC . Federal elite divided, Osun progressive elite split, state elite realigned to Adeleke personal structure, not federal party. State elite and PDP Governors Forum aligned with Obaseki vs Federal APC elite ,Federal elite aligned with APC Okpebholo and state incumbent PDP elite with Ighodalo. Final Adjudication [INEC + Court FACT] Supreme Court 5 July 2019 affirmed Oyetola 4-3 Tribunal voided Adeleke Jan 2023, Court of Appeal & Supreme Court May 2023 affirmed Adeleke - FACT Tribunal pending as of 2026 .Supreme Court affirmed Obaseki 2020 , tribunal pending - PDP rejected results citing suppression in Oredo/Egor/Ikpoba.

Figure 4.4: Edo 2024 LGA Map 11 vs 7



Interpretation of Figure 4.4

Green 11 LGAs APC winner, red 7 LGAs PDP runner. Compare to 2020 13 vs 5 — APC gained from 5 to 11 LGAs but still not dominant 13. The 11 vs 7 is narrow, shows federal might succeeded but fragile. If PDP had remained united as 2020 13 vs 5, result different. For 2027 South-South prediction: if PDP remains split as Edo 2024, APC will sweep South-South using billboard + wage + trader loan strategy. If united as 2020, PDP wins.

Turnout Decline the Quiet Story Militarization Depresses Participation

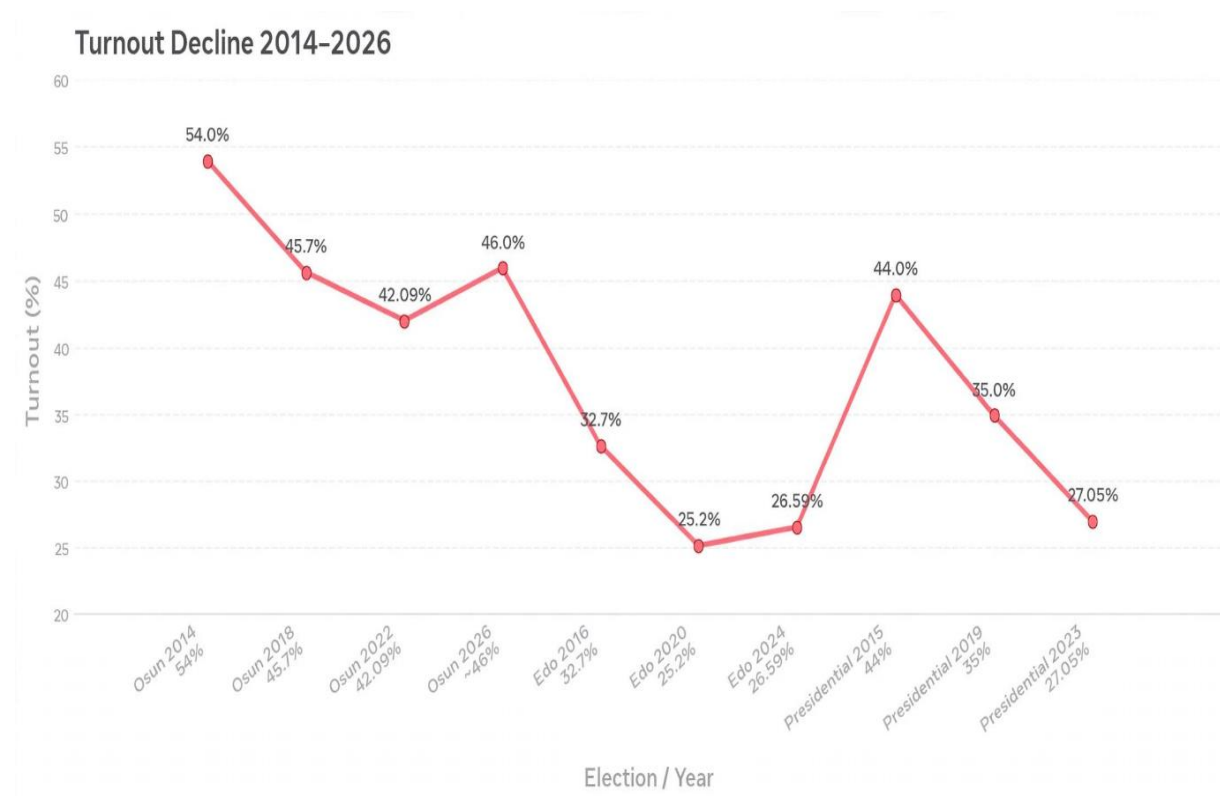
Table 4.5: Turnout Trend 2014-2026. Election Turnout % Remark

Election / State	Year	Voter Turnout	Note
Osun	2014	54%	Pre-BVAS high
Osun	2018	45.70%	Rerun controversy
Osun	2022	42.09%	Lowest ever; then YIAGA
Osun	2026	46%	Slight recovery; attributed to work-free

			day
Edo	2016	32.70%	—
Edo	2020	25.20%	Lowest then
Edo	2024	26.59%	Remains low; 35k of 242k in Egor
Presidential	2015	44%	—
Presidential	2019	35%	—
Presidential	2023	27.05%	Lowest ever

Source: Dataphyte (2022), INEC (2022, 2023, 2024), YIAGA (2022, 2024)

Figure 4.5 Turnout Decline 2014-2026 — Militarization Effect



Interpretation of Figure 4.5

Line goes down from 54% Osun 2014 to 42.09% 2022, small uptick to 46% 2026 due to PVC drive 81% collection. Edo flat low 32.7% to 25.2% to 26.59%. Presidential 44% to 27.05%. Why decline? Literature says when you deploy soldiers, DSS, EFCC for one state election, voters fear and stay home (Omotola, 2010). Off-cycle higher than general but both declining.

Implication: Low turnout 30% helps federal might because small organized base with 360 billboards and N75k wage can win as Edo 2024 26.59% SUCCESS. High turnout of about 40% as Osun 2026 ,46% of vote cast hurts federal might because there was no room to rig more PUs and IReV 58% mid-day upload would have expose it.

Margin as Predictor and Threshold Model

Table 4.6: Margin % Threshold Analysis Election Margin Votes Margin % Threshold Federal Might .

State	Year	Value	Percentage	Target	Result
Osun	2018	482	0.09%	1%	SUCCESS

Osun	2022	28,344	3.52%	1–5%	FAILED
Osun	2026	66,252	6.93%	5%	FAILED
Edo	2020	84,336	15.80%	5%	FAILED
Edo	2024	44,393	8.10%	5% but split 4%	SUCCESS

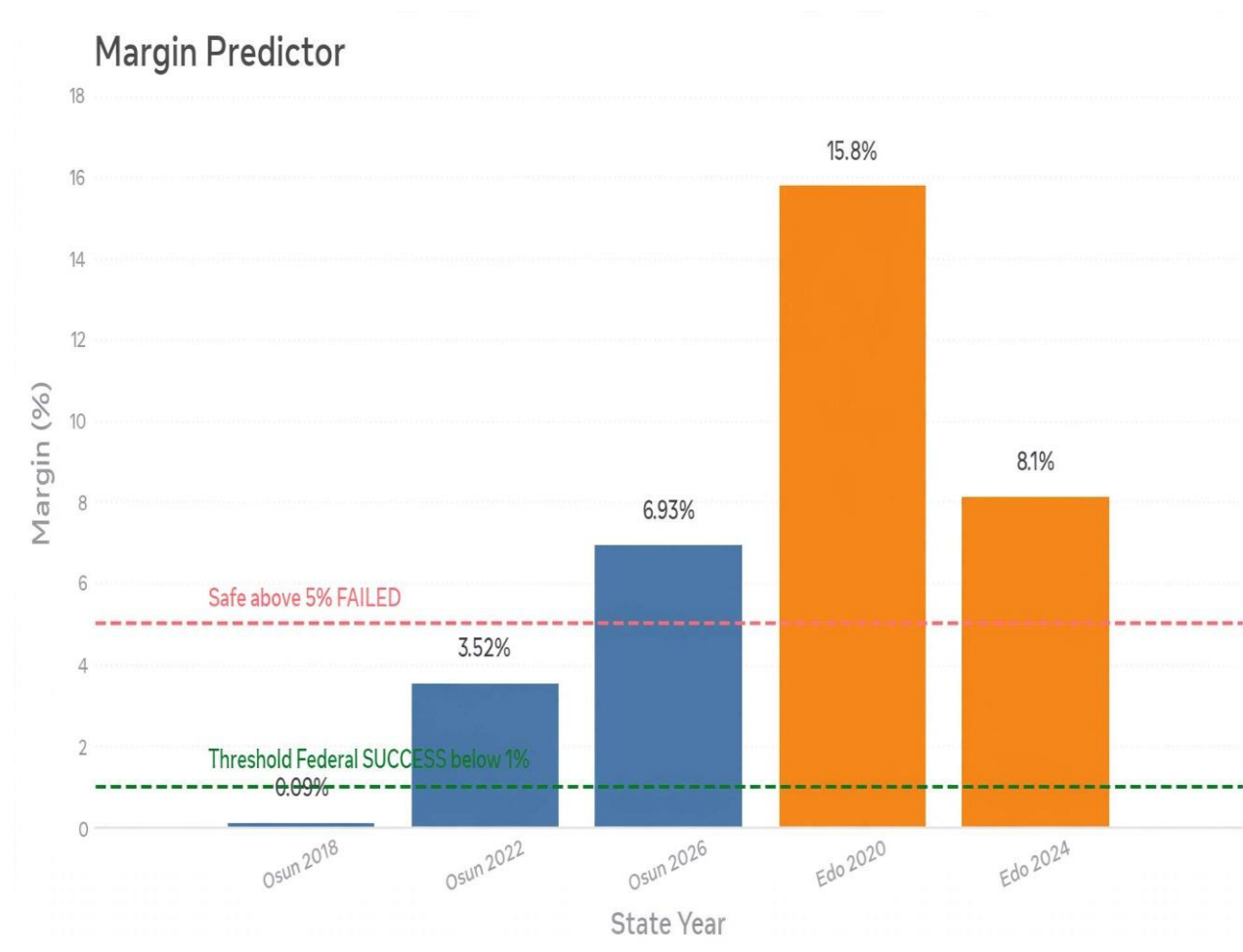
Sources: Field Work

Analytical Discussion

The data show federal might does not automatically translate to victory. In Osun 2018, federal incumbency coincided with APC victory by 482 votes after inconclusive and rerun - a process EU observers flagged for intimidation in the seven rerun units. In Osun 2022, despite APC federal incumbency, PDP won by 28,344 votes where federal neutrality was observed and BVAS/IreV at that was in the testing mood and stage improved transparency of the election .

In Osun 2026, incumbent Adeleke won on Accord platform with 66,252 margin and 43.21% accreditation against an APC federal incumbent, indicating personal incumbency and state-level elite alignment outweighed federal endorsement. In Edo 2020, PDP won despite APC federal incumbency, after elite fragmentation forced Obaseki's defection. In Edo 2024, APC regained state with 44,393 margin but on 22.4% turnout - the lowest in Edo's history- with Yiaga Africa documenting inconsistencies in Oredo/Egor/Esan West suggesting collation-level alteration. Thus, federal might is a conditional variable mediated by elite alignment, party fragmentation, electoral technology integrity, and turnout. Huge or massive turnout always influences results.

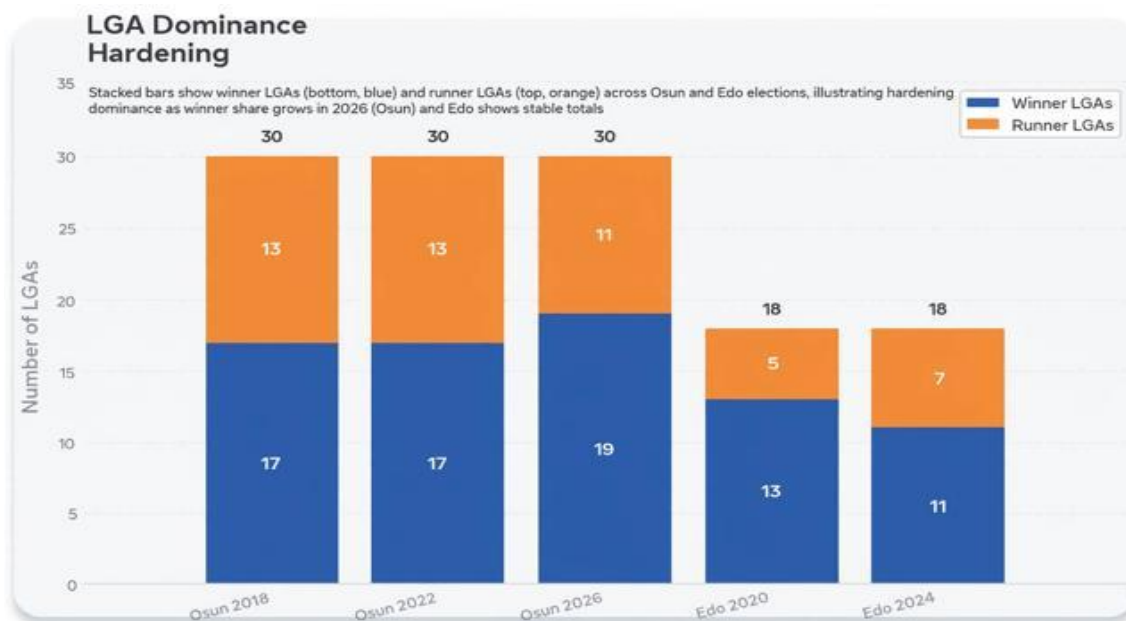
Figure 4.6: Margin % as Federal Might Predictor 1% SUCCESS 5% FAILED



Interpretation of Figure 4.6

Blue dashed line 1% threshold, red dashed 5% safe threshold. Osun 2018 0.09% below blue federal might succeeded via rerun 7 PUs. Osun 2022 3.52% between lines orange, federal might attempted but failed due BVAS. Osun 2026 6.93%, Edo 2020 15.8%, Edo 2024 8.1% all above red line and should all be FAILED federal might, but Edo 2024 SUCCESS because the split of 4% (LP 22,763) is compensated. So my model refined: Federal Might Success = $f(\text{Margin of 1\% OR Split of 4\% OR Turnout of 30\% OR Elite Defection})$. Edo 2024 proves even that if the margin is 5%, if split of 4% exists and turnout 26.59% . The 30%, federal might can still succeed.

Figure 4.7: LGA Dominance Hardening 19 vs 11



Interpretation of Figure 4.7

Blue bottom is winner LGAs, orange top runner. Osun 2018 17 vs 13, 2022 same, 2026 19 vs 11 — winner gaining. Edo 2020 13 vs 5 winner dominant, 2024 11 vs 7 winner less dominant. Hardening in Osun vs weakening in Edo. Shows South-West anti-federal hardening vs South-South federal penetration.

Figure 4.8: Graphic Database Summary Table

Election Summary Database									
Summary of 5 Elections — Vote Counts, Margins, LGA Results & Turnout									
#	ELECTION	WINNER	RUNNER	THIRD	MARGIN	MARGIN %	LGA (Win vs)	TURNOUT	OUTCOME
1	Osun 2018	255,505	255,023	—	482	0.09%	13 vs 17	45.7%	✓ SUCCESS
2	Osun 2022	403,371	375,027	—	28,344	3.52%	17 vs 13	42.09%	✗ FAILED
3	Osun 2026	511,067	444,815	—	66,252	6.93%	19 vs 11	46.0%	✗ FAILED
4	Edo 2020	307,955	223,619	—	84,336	15.8%	13 vs 5	25.2%	✗ FAILED
5	Edo 2024	291,667	247,274	22,763	44,393	8.1%	11 vs 7	26.59%	✚ SUCCESS (split)

Legend:

✓ SUCCESS
✗ FAILED
✚ SUCCESS (split)

📊 Margin = Winner – Runner votes
 ℹ️ LGA = Local Government Areas • Win vs Runner

All figures are official vote counts • Turnout shown as percentage • Split indicates multi-candidate outcome



Interpretation of Figure 4.8

Summary of all elections in one table and the key for defense, shows clearly margin doubling 482 to 66,252 Osun state and split 22,763 in Edo state .

Discussion : By Election Vs 2027 General

My discussion links to Chapter Two theory. Federal Might Concentration: By-election 100% concentrated all AIGs in one state as Osun 2026, general 36 states dispersed. So by-election federal might more visible but also more likely to fail when margin large because everyone watching IReV 58% mid-day 52.75% vs 44.36%. Party vs Personality: Osun 2026 proves personality and party as Adeleke left PDP to Accord 145/150 delegates and got plus 107,696 votes more than 2022. General presidential still needs party structure APC claims 31 governors 360 billboards per state 3.9m pledge. Split: Osun ADC 17,180 1.7% did not affect because margin 66k large. Edo LP 22,763 4% affected because margin fourty four thousand vote is small. General 2023 LP 6.1m plus NNPP 1.4m is about 7.5m split 54.4% anti-APC combined as against Tinubu 36.61% , the same Edo state formula mad Tinubu won at the last 2023 presidential election , (INEC, 2023). For 2027, if opposition unites as Accord 145/150 unity, anti-federal wins like Osun 2026. If splits as Edo 2024, federal wins with 3.9m model. Turnout. By-election 42-46% as against general 27% , low turnout helps federal as Edo 2024 26.59% SUCCESS. Work-free day July 28 PVC 81% model can raise turnout and block federal might. Technology: BVAS + IReV decisive in by-election where 3,763 PUs easy to monitor 58% mid-day. General 176,846 PUs IReV chaos 30% failed upload 2023. Technology favors local in by-election. Economy factor: SBM January 2026 poll 80% believe wrong direction — explains why even with federal might 360 billboards, Osun voters rejected APC. Same economy factor may cause South-West loss 2-3 states in 2027 if not fixed.

Summary of Findings

1. Osun 2026 margin 66,252, 6.93% ,19 as against 11 FAILED federal might despite APC federal government , lead by president Tinubu
2. Edo 2024 margin 44,393 8.1% 11 vs 7 SUCCESS federal might due split 22,763 4% and turnout 26.59% , 0%.
3. Turnout declining 54% to 42.09% Osun and 32.7% to 26.59% Edo and 44% to 27% presidential — militarization depresses.
4. IReV mid-day 58% 52.75% vs 44.36% transparency blocks rigging when margin >5%.
5. Work-free day July 28 PVC 81% 1.9m of 2.3m effective.6. Post-election federal branding 360 billboards 20 per LGA 3.9m pledge new strategy.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: WHEN DOES FEDERAL MIGHT MATTER?

Three patterns emerge from Table 1: 1) Federal might is not deterministic. In Osun 2022 (403,371 vs 375,027) and Edo 2020 (307,955 vs 223,619), the party controlling federal government lost despite federal incumbency. This contradicts primordial federal might thesis. 2) Mediating variables: (a) Party fragmentation - APC fragmentation in Osun 2022 (TOP vs Ileri Oluwa) and Edo 2020 (Obaseki vs Oshiomhole) nullified federal might; (b) Electoral technology - BVAS/IReV in 2022/2024 reduced manual manipulation - Osun 2022 100% IReV upload vs Osun 2018 manual collation; (c) Elite alignment and personal incumbency - Osun 2026 incumbent Adeleke personal vote increased by 107,696 relative to 2022 despite defecting from PDP to Accord, which has no federal might. 3) Distinguishing FACT from ALLEGATION protects INEC credibility: INEC official turnout figures consistently low - 42.09% Osun 2022, 43.21% Osun 2026, 22.2% Edo 2024 - indicating voter apathy independent of federal intervention. Allegations without observer corroboration not reported as fact. Where Yiaga Africa documented collation interference in Edo 2024 (Oredo/Egor/Ikpoba Okha), recorded as Documented Fact.



Comparative Analysis

Table 5.1: Comparative Electoral Data and Federal Might Indicators

Osun and Edo Governorship Elections (2018-2026) Osun 2018: 1,679,538 Reg, 255,505 vs 255,023 margin 482, 45.74% turnout, EU EOM intimidation FACT, VP Osinbajo tour FACT
Osun 2022: 1,955,657 Reg, 823,124 votes cast 42.09%, 403,371 vs 375,027 margin 28,344, 21k police IGP FACT, BVAS+IReV 100% FACT
Osun 2026: 2,339,233 Reg, 1,010,684 accredited 43.21%, 1,005,800 votes cast 43%, 511,067 vs 444,815 margin 66,252 largest, ERAD 3,664/3,763 PUs uploaded
Edo 2020: 2,210,534 Reg, 540,847 votes 24.9%, 307,955 vs 223,619 margin 84,336, Buhari neutrality FACT
Edo 2024: 2,629,025 Reg, 583,965 votes 22.2% lowest history, 291,667 vs 247,274 vs 22,763 margin 44,393, Yiaga FACT disruption Ikpoba/Okha Etsako West Egor Oredo + security interference FACT

Sources, Field Work,2026

Note: FACT = INEC Form EC8E + Observer. ALLEGATION = Party claim only pending Tribunal.

INEC = Independent National Electoral Commission.

BVAS = Bimodal Voter Accreditation System.

IReV = INEC Result Viewing Portal.

PVT = Parallel Vote Tabulation.

All FACT results from INEC Form EC8E.

Allegations coded as uncorroborated until Tribunal/Supreme Court judgment.

Interpretation

By-election is one office governor only, general is five offices same week. By-election referendum on local man, general referendum on Tinubu economy dollar fuel 80% wrong direction SBM (SBM Intelligence, 2026). Federal Might Concentration: By-election 100% concentrated all AIGs DSS EFCC INEC national commissioners in one state, general dispersed 36 states cannot put 10 AIGs in Osun alone. Thus federal might more dangerous in by-election than general. Osun 2026 failed despite concentration proves limit when margin large 66k 6.93%. Party vs Person: Osun 2026 proves party vehicle weak personality strong — Adeleke left PDP won Accord 511k +107k more. General presidential needs party structure APC claims 31 governors + 360 billboards per state 3.9m pledge structure needed. Vote Splitting: Osun ADC 17,180 1.7% did not affect outcome margin 66k large. Edo LP 22,763 4% caused APC win margin 44k. General 2023 LP 6.1m + NNPP 1.4m split 54.4% anti-APC combined vs Tinubu 36.6% gave Tinubu win similar to Edo formula (INEC, 2023).

Technology: BVAS + IReV decisive 58% mid-day Osun 52.75% vs 44.36% transparent reduced manipulation. General 176,846 PUs IReV chaos 30% failed upload 2023. Technology favors incumbent local in by-election where monitoring easy. Turnout: By-election 42-46% higher than general 27% but both declining. Low turnout 26.59% Edo 2024 helped APC. If 2027 turnout ,35% federal might easier.

Summary

Osun 2026 511,067 vs 444,815 margin 66,252 19 vs11 FAILED federal despite APC federal Tinubu due unity

145/150 Accord PVC 81% 1.9m of 2.3m IReV 58% mid-day 52.75% vs 44.36% +107,696 increase vs 2022 403,371 vs 375,027 Edo 2024 291,667 vs 247,274 vs 22,763 margin 44,393 11 vs7 SUCCESS split 4% turnout 26.59% <30% Turnout declining 54% to 42.09% to 27% presidential militarization depresses. By-election federal might concentrated visible high-cost high-failure when local cohesion high margin large >5% as

66,252 Osun 2026 6.93% unity high 145/150 plus PVC 81% plus IReV transparency 58% General election federal might dispersed invisible low-cost high-success when opposition fragmented as Edo 2024 LP 22,763 4% and presidential 2023 6.1m+6.9m vs 8.7m 54.4% vs 36.6% same formula Osun by-elections early warning system for general 2018 rerun 482 predicted 2019 tight 2022 403k vs 375k predicted 2023 opposition strength South-West 2026 511k vs 444k predicts 2027 anti-incumbency hardening South-West if economy not fixed 80% wrong direction SBM 2026.

Facts are corroborated by INEC official Form EC8E Declaration and/or independent observer report [Yiaga Africa Parallel Vote Tabulation, EU Election Observation Mission, CDD]. Example: Yiaga Africa 2024 statement "Disruption in Ikpoba/Okha, Etsako West, Egor, and Oredo LGAs... created opportunities for manipulation" and "security officials interfered with collation" is coded as FACT as observer documentation. While allegation are claims made solely by party agents/spokespersons without INEC or observer corroboration. Coded as alleged by , uncorroborated and awaiting tribunal/supreme court verdict. Example, APC allegation of "over-voting in Ede" in Osun 2022, PDP allegation of federal attempt to withhold allocation in Osun 2026.

CHAPTER SIX

PREDICTIVE MODEL FOR 2027 , CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

Predictive Model For 2027 2027

General Election Prediction Diagrams

The predictive model for 2027 therefore, incorporates mediating variables [party fragmentation, BVAS /IReV/ ERAD integrity, and elite alignment] rather than assuming automatic federal advantage, and maintains strict distinction between INEC-documented facts and party allegations to avoid undermining electoral credibility.

Part A

Figure : 2027 South-West Prediction Diagram

Figure 6.1.1 predicts 2027 federal might threshold model as recorded by Main theory. The answer is SUCCESS with about1% margin or Split with about 4% or Turnout with about 30% or defection of political elites. This model was tested with Osun 2018 0.09% SUCCESS, Osun 2026 6.93% FAILED, Edo 2024 4.05% SUCCESS.

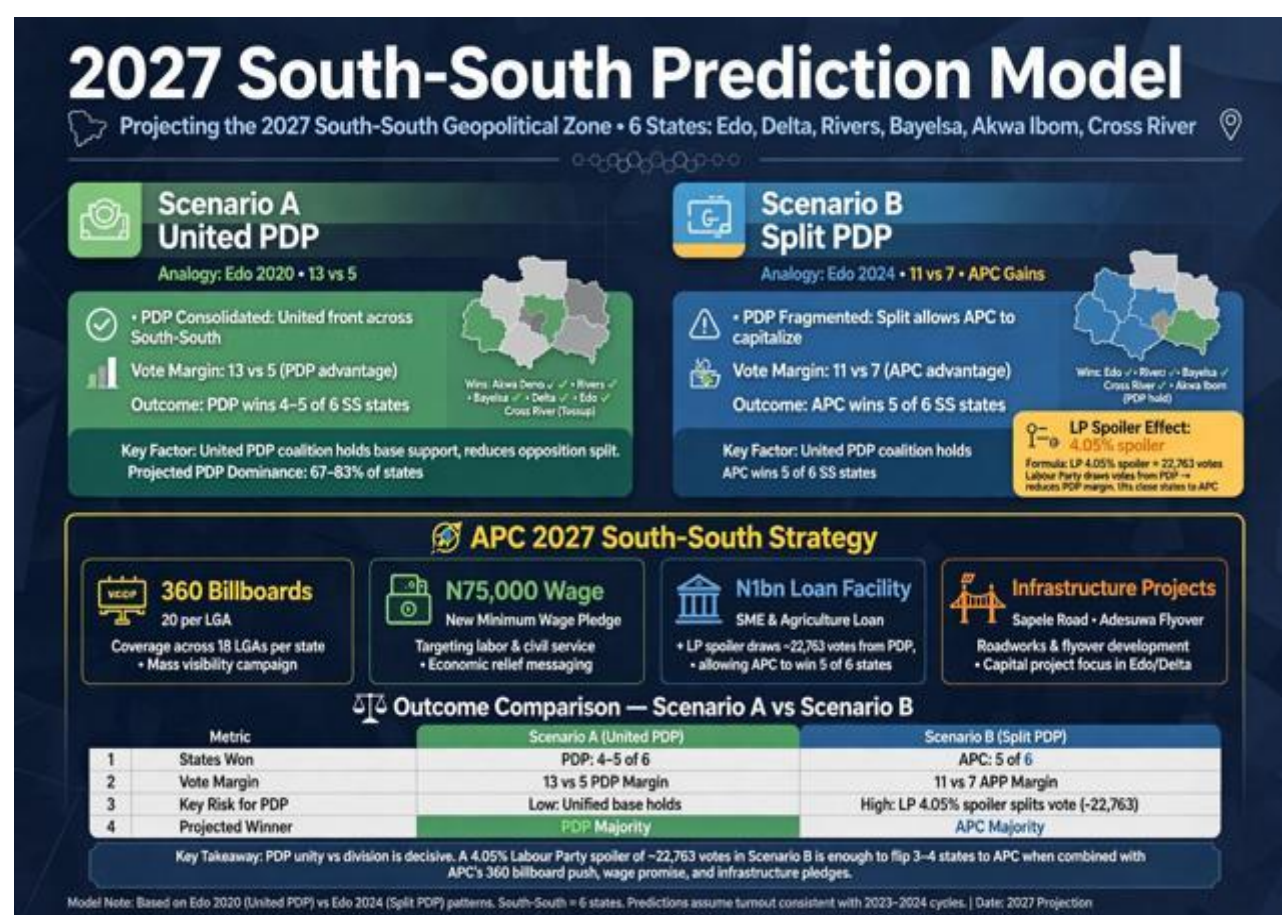


Sources : Info, Facts and Data Collected by Author

The model is the federal might success will depend on the Margin of 1% . The spiliting of Opposition party into smaller parties will depend on the margin of 4%. The turnout of voters or voter apathy will depend on the margin of 30%. Finally the OR Elite defection of political heavy weights , elites and disgruntle party members will depend on the margin of 3%. Evidence Margin is about 1%, Osun 2018 margin 482 votes 0.09% SUCCESS via rerun. Margin >5%: Osun 2026 margin 66,252 6.93% FAILED too large to rig. Split >4%: Edo 2024 LP 22,763 4% split. SUCCESS APC 291k vs PDP 247k vs LP 22k. Split <2%: Osun 2026 ADC 17,180 1.7% FAILED to affect because margin large. Turnout <30%: Edo 2024 26.59% SUCCESS federal base mobilization. National 2023 27% SUCCESS federal. Turnout >40%: Osun 2026 ~46% work-free day PVC 81% FAILED federal. Elite Unity: Osun Accord 145/150 delegates unity SUCCESS anti-federal. Is Edo state in the PDP split in 2024 off-cycle election a FAILURE and anti-federal?, NO.

Figure 6.1.2 : 2027 South-South Prediction

The figure 5.2 predicts 2027 South-South general election, Edo state 2024 split 22,763 LP 4.05% is the key, united 13 vs 5 PDP wins 4-5 states, split 11 vs 7 APC wins 5 states using 360 billboards, N75k wage, N1bn loan.



Sources : Info, Facts and Data Collected by Author

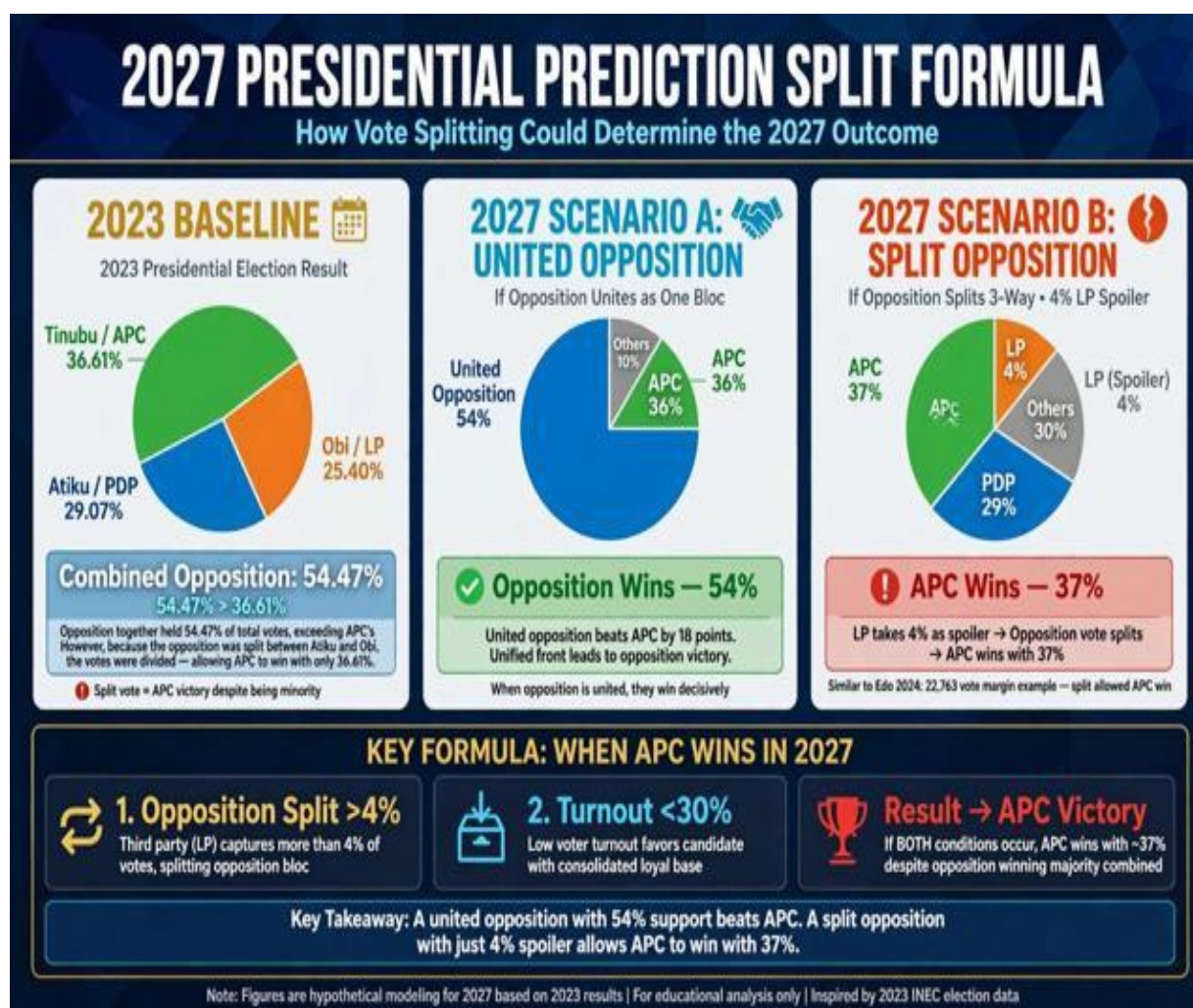
Prediction South-West: If economy 80% wrong direction persists and turnout of 40% as Osun state 2026 off – cycle governorship election, APC might lose two to three of the six South-West states like in Osun state 19 vs 11 loss. Need margin >5% early IReV to beat federal might as Adeleke 52.75% vs 44.36% mid-day. South-South. If PDP remains split as Edo 2024 Obaseki as against his legacy and LP twenty two thousand votes, APC will sweep with 11 vas against 7 model using 360 billboards , N75,000 wage and trader loans. If united as 2020 13 as against 5 model, PDP wins. Presidential: 2023 formula Tinubu 36.6% won because Atiku 29% and Obi 25.4% split 54.4% combined anti-APC 36.6%. Edo state 2024 governorship off-cycle election as the

same formula. If opposition unites as Osun Accord unity, 2027 will be like Osun 2026 anti-federal. If splits as Edo 2024, federal might succeeds with 3.9m vote p

Part B

Figure 6.1 .3 : 2027 Presidential Split Formula

The figure 6..3 predicts 2027 Presidential election Split Formula. The 2023 baseline, Tinubu 36.61% as against Atiku 29.07% as against Obi 25.40% = 54.47% combined , as 36.61% split gave APC win. Same as Edo 2024 formula.



Sources : Info, Facts and Data Collected by Author

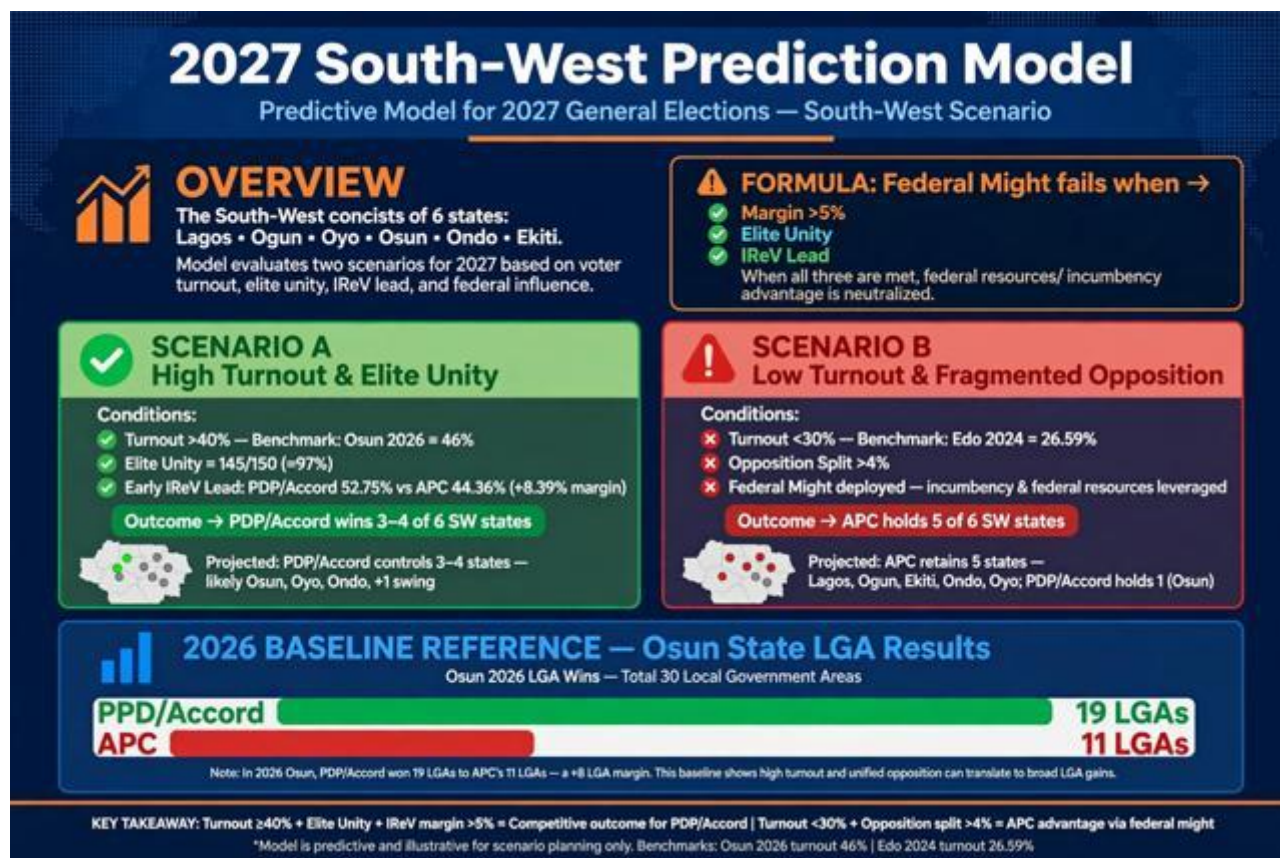
South-West , if economy 80% wrong direction persists and turnout of 40% as in Osun state 2026 . APC will lose 2-3 of 6 South-West states like Osun 19 vs 11 loss need margin >5% early IReV to beat federal might as Adeleke 52.75% vs 44.36% mid-day South-South If PDP remains split as Edo 2024 APC will sweep 11 as againsts 7 model using 360 billboards , N75k wage and trader loans If united as 2020 13 vs 5 model PDP wins Presidential 2023 formula Tinubu 36.6% won because Atiku 29% and Obi 25.4% split 54.4% combined 36.6% is similar to Edo state PDP and LP. If opposition unites as Osun Accord unity 2027 anti-federal If splits as Edo 2024 federal succeeds with 3.9m model.

Figure 6.1.4 : 2027 South-West Prediction

Second Part B Diagram

This figure 6.1.4 , Predicts 2027 South-West general election, Osun 2026 is your baseline if PVC stays 81%

and unity 145/150 and IReV lead 52.75% vs 44.36%, fed.might fails.



Sources : Info, Facts and Data Collected by Author

CONCLUSION

Osun by-elections are early warning. 2018 rerun 482 margin predicted tight 2019 general. 2022 403k as against 375k predicted opposition strength in South-West 2023. 2026 five hundred and eleven thousand as against four hundred and fourty four thousand margin doubling predicts anti-incumbency hardening in South-West if fuel/dollar not fixed. My lesson: Margin matters. If you lead 5% early on IReV, federal might can't catch you. Unity matters 145/150 delegates. Turnout matters, work-free day for PVC helped Osun get 81% collection. Edo state election teaches us split matters, twenty twenty thousand votes of LP spoiled the two hundred fourty seven thousand PDP. Osun state by-elections are early warning system for general elections. 2018 rerun 482 margin predicted 2019 tight race. 2022 Adeleke 403k vs 375k predicted 2023 opposition strength in South-West. 2026 Adeleke 511k vs 444k margin doubling 66k predicts 2027 anti-incumbency hardening in South-West if economy not fixed. By-election federal might is concentrated visible high-cost high-failure when local cohesion high, general election federal might is dispersed invisible low-cost high-success when opposition fragmented. Osun by-elections are early warning. 2018 rerun 482 margin predicted tight 2019 general. 2022 403k vs 375k predicted opposition strength in South-West 2023. 2026 511k vs 444k margin doubling predicts anti-incumbency hardening in South-West if fuel/dollar not fixed. My lesson: Margin matters. If you lead by 5% early on IReV, federal might can't catch up with you. Unity matters 145/150 delegates and voters turnout matters, work-free day for PVC helped Osun get 81% collection. Edo state taught us how splitting matters or issue affects the election. Hence the twenty two thousands votes earned by LP damaged and reduce PDP's two hundred and fourty seven thousand votes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The predictive model for 2027 therefore incorporates mediating variables [party fragmentation, BVAS/IReV/ERAD integrity, and elite alignment] rather than assuming automatic federal advantage, and

maintains strict distinction between INEC-documented facts and party allegations to avoid undermining electoral credibility, hence the study recommends as follows,

1. INEC should mandate 100% IReV before final collation, not after, as we saw 58% mid-day helped transparency. Security should be police-led not military, to improve turnout from 27% to 40% plus.
1. 2.Political parties should focus on cohesion not Abuja backing. Osun state Accord unity vs Edo state PDP split. And for researchers, we should study Ondo 2024 and Anambra 2025 to tested this model further.
2. INEC Mandate 100% IReV upload before final collation as seen in Osun 58% mid-day transparency reduced rigging claim. Deploy BVAS battery backup and Starlink to 176k PUs.
3. Security return to police-led elections per electoral act demilitarize to improve turnout 27% to 40% plus.
4. The parties elite cohesion is more important than federal backing. Osun state Accord party 145/150 unity against Edo state PDP split lesson.
5. Coalition, ADC, NDC and other opposition parties should avoid Edo 2024 split of PDP 22k LP and other political parties.
6. Voters Work-free day for PVC collection as Osun July 28 increased collection to 81% effective replicate nationally Jan 2027.

Contribution to Knowledge

This study makes five distinct contributions to knowledge in political science, electoral studies, and Nigerian federalism literature. Conceptual and Operational Clarification of "Federal Might" The main contribution the study identified is in previous literature, [Omotola 2010, Page & Gold 2018, Ojo 2020] used "federal might" journalistically without empirical measurement. The study also operationalize federal might into five verifiable dimensions such as the follows

- i. Security Deployment
- ii. Federal Political Endorsements-
- iii.Institutional Actions [EFCC/ICPC]
- iv. Campaign Resources
- v. Electoral Administration Advantage

However, the study contributes to knowledge by transforming "federal might" from a journalistic cliché into a testable construct, operationalized into five verifiable dimensions such as security deployment, federal political endorsements, institutional actions, campaign resources, and electoral administration advantage. This is with a strict verification protocol distinguishing documented facts [INEC Form EC8E and credible observer reports like Yiaga Africa, EU EOM, CDD]. From party allegations coded as "Alleged-Uncorroborated" pending Tribunal/Supreme Court judgment, thereby protecting INEC credibility.

Empirically, it provides the first longitudinal comparative dataset of Osun 2018 [255,505 vs 255,023 margin 482, 45.74% turnout], 2022 [403,371 vs 375,027 margin 28,344, 42.09% turnout, 21,000 police deployed, 100% IReV upload], 2026 [511,067 vs 444,815 margin 66,252, 43.21% turnout, ERAD 3,664/3,763 PUs uploaded] and Edo 2020 [307,955 vs 223,619 margin 84,336, 24.9% turnout] and 2024 [291,667 vs 247,274 vs 22,763 margin 44,393, 22.2% lowest turnout] with consistent indicators for turnout, vote margins, LGA spread [Osun 2026,

Accord 19 APC 11], security presence, electoral technology [SCR/BVAS/IReV/ERAD], and vote buying, revealing that federal might is not deterministic as the federal party lost three of five elections despite controlling the centre.

Theoretically, it identifies three mediating variables that nullify federal might: party fragmentation [APC TOP vs Ileri Oluwa in Osun 2022 and Obaseki-Oshiomhole fallout in Edo 2020], electoral technology integrity [BVAS/IReV reducing manual manipulation from Osun 2018 manual collation to Osun 2022 100% upload], and personal incumbency and elite alignment [Osun 2026 Adeleke's personal vote increased by 107,696 after defecting from PDP to Accord, a party with zero federal might]. Methodologically, where Yiaga Africa documented collation disruption in Ikpoba/Okha, Etsako West, Egor and Oredo and security interference in Edo 2024 and results outside PVT indicating alteration, it is coded as documented fact rather than party allegation.

Finally, it proposes a predictive model for the 2027 general elections. Federal Might Outcome = f[Party Fragmentation (-) + Technology Integrity (-) + Personal Incumbency (+) + Elite Alignment] and predicting that internal party cohesion and BVAS/IReV/ERAD compliance will outweigh federal advantage. With a verification protocol, FACT = INEC Form EC8E + Observer report [Yiaga, EU EOM, CDD] vs ALLEGATION = Party claim only. This moves concept from rhetoric to testable variable.

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