



## PREDICTIONS AND OUTCOMES OF THE 2018 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN EKITI STATE, NIGERIA: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

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### **Abstract:**

Politics in Ekiti State since return of democratic rule in 1999 has been characterized with swings in political behavior in support of the two major political parties, Alliance for Democracy (AD), now All People's Congress (APC) and People's Democratic Party (PDP). The 2018 election was massively predicted in favour of the PDP candidate who was the incumbent Deputy Governor, vigorously campaigned for by the governor, Ayo Fayose, who had once defeated the APC candidate (the then sitting governor) in all the 16 local governments. This study accounts for the disparity in the electorates' predictions and outcomes of the election. Both primary and secondary sources of data were employed. Questionnaire were used to sample the opinion of Ekiti residents who were of voting age (18 and above). Also, official records and archives were used to gauge the predictions and outcomes of the election. Primary data gathered were analysed with simple percentages while secondary data were descriptively analysed. The study discovered that poverty, coupled with the uncared attitude of security agents, allowed for manipulations which accounts for the differences in the predictions and outcomes of the election. The study recommends fair play and politics devoid of violence, harassment and intimidation.

**Keywords:** democracy, election, political behaviour, predictions, outcome

### **1. Introduction**

Free, fair and credible elections are one of the major principles of democracy. The privilege of the electorates to freely choose their leaders is crucial for good governance and development. This is based on the belief that leaders freely choosing through the votes of the people will work for societal development and be accountable to the

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people. However, the electoral processes in Nigeria have been sidetracked and weakened by rigging, imposition of candidates, vote buying and selling and desperation of politicians. The July 14, 2018 gubernatorial election in Ekiti State was heralded by series of campaigns and rallies by the various political parties. Dominant among the contestants were Prof. Olusola Eleka of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Dr. Kayode Fayemi of the All People's Congress (APC). Among others were Akinloye Ayegbusi of Social Democratic Party (SDP), David Ayodele Adesua, African Democratic Party (ADC), Ebenezer Segun Ogunsakin, People's Party of Nigeria (PPN), Dr. Sikiru Lawal, Labour Party (LP), Sunday Balogun, Mega Party of Nigeria (MPN), Mrs. Ilesanmi Anike Margaret, Accord Party (AP), Temitope Amuda, Kowa Party (KP), Tosin Ajibade, Independent Democrats (ID) and Agboola Olaniyi, Alliance for Democracy (AD) (Ekeghe, 2018). The PDP Gubernatorial candidate, Prof. Olusola Eleka, was the incumbent Deputy Governor and the anointed candidate of the incumbent Governor, Ayodele Fayose. In spite of the controversy that surrounded his emergence as the PDP flagbearer, he seemed to have maximum support of the masses such as the market women, okada riders and others. Such support manifested at rallies and obvious show of love and their desire for him to win the election few months to the election (Tribune, 2018). Oni as quoted by Opejobi (2018) revealed that Fayose was involved in voters' registration drive in every local government in Ekiti while "our Minister was staying at Ivory Tower in Abuja. On the other hand, the flagbearer for APC, Dr. Kayode Fayemi, a former Governor in the State and a Minister for Mines and Steel, emerged the candidate in a controversial manner amidst the thirty-three (33) contestants of the party. The fact that Fayemi, who was the sitting Governor of the State in 2014, lost to the then opposition party made some APC members believe that he was unsellable and therefore a "bad market" for the party (Field Work, 2018). Notwithstanding, he was quick to appeal to aggrieved members especially those who contested with him, the party also begged and asked for support for his candidacy (Oluwale, 2018; Vanguard, 2018). However, the general belief and prediction (Field Work, 2018) was that the PDP candidate, Prof. Olusola Eleka would likely win the election while the APC candidates, Dr. Kayode Fayemi would lose, believing that people would not vote for him because of some of his policies during his first term. Contrary to predictions and expected outcome of people, the APC candidate emerged as the winner of the July 14 governorship election. The question is, what were the issues that surrounded the July 14 gubernatorial elections in Ekiti State? What factors account for the difference in the predictions and outcomes of the elections? What can be done to ensure true democracy in Nigeria? The objectives of the study are to, therefore, examine various issues that surround the outcome of the election, to interrogate the factors that affect the integrity of the election and to consider the prospects for genuine democracy in Nigeria. The study employs both primary and secondary data to discuss the issues and challenges of July 14 gubernatorial elections in Ekiti State.

## **2. Theoretical Clarification**

### **2.1 Game Theory**

Games theory was pioneered by John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern while later contributions were made by John Nash, A. W. Tucker and others (Martin, 1978; Investopedia, 2018; <https://whatis.techtarget.com/definition/game-theory>).

Game, according to the Random House Dictionary of the English Language (Gass, 2018), refers to a competitive activity involving skill, chance or endurance on the part of two or more persons who play according to a set of rules, usually for their own amusements or that of spectators. Game theory is a framework for hypothetical social situations among competing players. It is the science of strategy or at least the optimal decision-making of independent and competing actors in a strategic setting (Investopedia, 2018). Game theory is a tool used to analyse strategic behavior by taking into account how participants expect others to behave. It is used to find out the optimal outcome from a set of choices by analyzing the costs and benefits to each independent party as they compete with each other. Games theory explores the possible outcomes of a situation in which two or more competing parties look for the course of action that best benefits them (Investopedia, 2018). The Ekiti governorship election was a competition between Kayode Fayemi and Olusola Eleka (whose course was spearheaded by Ayodele Fayose), in their bid to win the seat. Various strategies were employed by the duo in effort to edge out the other.

Game theory has been criticized on the ground that it can only help if you are trying to predict realistic behavior. Every action good or bad can be rationalized in the name of self-interest (Scheve, 2018). A constant difficulty with the game theory modelling, according to Scheve (2018), is defining, isolating or accounting for every set of factors and variables that influence strategy and outcome. There is always an X-factor that simply cannot be accounted for. However, the theory is relevant to the contest between the APC and PDP candidates, among others, for the exalted post of Ekiti Governor. Different strategies were employed by each camp ranging from grassroots mobilisation of voters for registration, promise of either stomach infrastructures or social security, manipulation through vote buying and selling and “see and buy”, security agencies unconcerned attitude to the abnormal scene of “see and buying” and other related factors that worked against free and fair election.

### **2.2 Conceptual Clarification**

#### **2.2.1 The Concept of Vote Buying**

Vote buying has been variously described by scholars. Oke (2018) described vote buying as the undisputed and inescapable fact of money changing hands, in other words, money being given in exchange for votes. He pointed to money as the means of the exchange, voters give their votes to an individual contestant or party in order to collect money in return. To US Legal (2018), vote buying is any reward given to a person for voting in a particular way or for not voting. According to US Legal, the

reward for selling vote is not necessarily monetary; it can be in form of material things such as food stuff, handset, plasma TV, and other home accessories (Ojomoyela, 2018). Rodriguez (2018) described the method of vote buying as systematic in that the candidates themselves do not do the actual vote buying but have coordinators who do the dirty work for them. Uwamahoro submitted that vote buying perpetuates corruption throughout the entire political system (Young African Leaders Initiative, 2018). He noted that a candidate who pays for support, rather than compete fairly for votes, will show disregard for democratic norms and use illegal means to run government affairs.

### **2.2.2 “See and buy”**

“See and buy” is a new devise of vote buying by politicians in which voters show their ballot paper to party agents to collect money (Johnson and Akinrefon, 2018). Akinfenwa (2018) described it as show me who you voted for and get paid. It is an advanced stage of vote buying in which party agents want to see and be sure that voters really give their party/candidates the votes before paying for it. The “see and buy” method makes it difficult for those who would have voted according to their conscience but unable to resist the offer of money. Though the election was to be by secret ballot yet there was a way they must show it to convince the buyers.

Prediction, according to Collins English Dictionary (2018), refers to saying what one think will happen. To Collins, prediction is saying something about a future occurrence, based on one’s thought. Similarly, Longman Dictionary (2018) describes it as a statement about what you think is going to happen. It is a pronunciation from one’s thought about what will happen. Merriam’s Webster (2018) defined it as “to declare or indicate in advance especially, to foretell on the basis of observation, experience, or scientific reason. The basis of the prediction comes from either observation, experience or scientific reason. The combination of these formed the basis of major respondents’ predictions that PDP candidate would likely win the July 14, 2018 election in Ekiti State.

## **2.3 The Candidates in the July 14, 2018 Governorship Election**

The following candidates were the major contestants in the July 14, 2018 Governorship election in Ekiti State. Knowing their biography would enhance our knowledge of its impacts on their political game.

### **A. All People’s Congress (APC) Gubernatorial Candidate – Dr. Kayode Fayemi**

Dr. Kayode Fayemi John, a native of Isan Ekiti in Oye Local Government of Ekiti State, was born in Ibadan, Oyo State on February 9<sup>th</sup> 1965 (Ekiti Defender, 2018; The Nigerian Voice, 2018). He grew up in Ado Ekiti and attended Christ’s School, Ado – Ekiti. He received degrees in History, Politics and International Relations from the University of Lagos and Ife in Nigeria. He also bagged doctorate in War Studies from the prestigious King’s College, University of London, England, specializing in civil-military relations (Durotoye, 2014; Ekiti Defender, 2018; The Cable, 2018; Bloomberg, 2018). Before his

coming into politics, he had worked as Director of the Centre for Democracy and Development, a research and training institution dedicated to the study and promotion of democratic development, peace-building and human security in Africa. (Durotoye, 2018; The Cable, 2018). Fayemi lectured in Africa, Europe, the America and Asia. He was a strategy development adviser at London's City College; research fellow at the African Research and Information Bureau in London, UK; Technical Adviser to ECOWAS on Small Arms and Light Weapons and United Nations Economic Commission of Africa on governance issues. He was also a member of Africa Policy Advisory Panel of the British Government, and once chaired the Commonwealth Human's Rights Initiative's Committee of Experts on developing guiding principles and mechanisms of constitution making in commonwealth Africa (Bloomberg, 2018; The Cable, 2018). He was a one-time governor of Ekiti State and until he opted to contest the July 14, 2018 gubernatorial election, the Minister for Mines and Steel.

### **B. People's Democratic Party (PDP) Gubernatorial Candidate – Dr. Kolapo Olubunmi Olusola Eleka**

Dr. Kolapo Olubunmi Olusola Eleka was born on 24 May, 1968 to the family of Elder and Deaconess Olusola Ojo Eleka, Eleka's compound in Ikere-Ekiti. He attended St. Mathew's Primary School, Ikere-Ekiti (1972-1978) and had his secondary school education at Annunciation School, Ikere-Ekiti (1978-1983) where he recorded outstanding performances as an award and prize winning best student throughout his sojourn in the schools. He had his first degree at Obafemi Awolowo University between 1984-1989 and his M.Sc. in Construction Technology from Department of Building, University of Lagos in 1993. He bagged his PhD in Building Structures from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife in 2005 (Ekiti Defender, 2018; <https://en.m.wikipedia.org>). Before he ventures into politics, he lectured at the Department of Building Structures in Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife and served as external examiner in many Universities within the country (Ekiti Defender, 2018). Professionally, Dr. Olusola Eleka is an accomplished Registered Builder who had held important positions at state and national levels. He was the Chairman of Nigerian Institute of Building (N.I.O.B.) Osun State from 2006-2009; Registrar of N.I.O.B. at the national level between 2007-2009, Research Secretary between 2009 and 2011 and Member of National Council of N.I.O.B. between 2006 and 2011 and Examiner, N.I.O.B. between 1998-2002 and 2006 and 2011 (Amuda, 2018; Ekiti Defender, 2018).

### **3. Presentation and Analysis of Data**

Questionnaire were used to sample the opinion of Ekiti residents who were of voting age (18 and above). A local Government from each of the three senatorial districts were randomly chosen to elicit information on the predictions of the gubernatorial election. These are Ado from Central, Ido from North and Ikere from South senatorial districts respectively. A total of 120 questionnaires were administered but 119 were returned.

The results were analysed, using frequencies and simple percentages. Data on the outcome of the election was gotten from BBC News, July 16, 2018; Sahara Reports, 2018.

### 3.1 Predictions about July 14, 2018 Election in Ekiti State, Nigeria

Below are the responses of residents of Ekiti state on predictions of the outcome of the gubernatorial elections held on July 14, 2018.

**Table 1:** Predictions of the Outcome of July 14, 2018 Gubernatorial Election in Ekiti State

Predictions	Frequency PDP	% PDP	Frequency APC	% APC	Frequency Other Parties	% Other Parties	Total	% Total
Party to win	87	73	16	13.5	16	13.5	119	100

**Source:** Field Work, 2018.

From table 1 above, the predictions of majority of respondents who are residents of Ekiti state was that PDP, represented by Prof. Olusola Eleka would win the gubernatorial elections. Eighty-seven (87) of the 119 returned questionnaire, representing 73% of the respondents the level people's expectations on the outcome. On the other hand, 16 representing 13.5% of the respondents predicted that APC, represented by Dr. Kayode Fayemi would win the election, while 16 representing 13.5% also went to support other parties. Some of the reasons given by those who predicted that PDP candidate would win include the following:

- a) That the coming back of Dr. Kayode Fayemi will be a revenge mission.
- b) That he has been tested before and failed people's expectation.
- c) That they want the good work of Fayose to continue.
- d) That some of the policies introduced during Fayemi's first term, eg. administering test for principals which led to demotion of some to classroom teacher may hinder people from voting for him.
- e) That the country has been depreciating under APC government due to economic and security challenges.
- f) That people love the personality of Fayose than Fayemi, as a result vote along Fayose line.
- g) That the awareness of governance in APC controlled states like Kogi, Osun will discourage people from voting for the party.
- h) That the herdsmen case may be supported by Fayemi.

Those that predicted that APC candidates would win also have the following opinion:

- a) That money and power is likely to make him win
- b) That unpaid salaries and gratuity of pensioners by Fayose's administration may make people vote for APC candidates;
- c) That Eleka is seen as having god father and may be a stooge to Fayose;
- d) That Fayose attitude to people's opinion may work against his party.

**Table 2:** Expected Determinants of Voters' Choice in the July 14, 2018  
 Gubernatorial Election in Ekiti State

Determinant of Voters' Choice	Frequency Yes	% Yes	Frequency No	% No	Frequency I don't Know	% I don't Know	Total	% Total
Contestant's personality	91	76.5	20	16.8	8	6.7	119	100
Party, not personality	57	48	51	43	11	9	119	100
Party's Manifestoes	55	46	51	43	13	11	119	100
Amount of money given	23	19.3	73	61.4	23	19.3	119	100
Not by money or materials	65	55	30	25	24	20	119	100
Presence of soldiers may likely discourage voters	59	50	49	41	11	9	119	100
Presence of political thugs likely to keep people away	73	61.35	36	30.25	10	8.40	119	100

Source: Field Work, 2018.

From table 2 above, 91 representing 76.5% opined that contestant's personality traits may serve as an important determinant of people's choice while 29 representing 16.8% opined otherwise and 8 representing 6.7% did not show their opinion.

On whether the party matters in the choice of candidates, 57 representing 48% agreed that the party of the candidate is another determining factor while 51 representing 43% disagreed that the party of the contestant does not matter, eleven (11) representing 9% did not give their opinion. Similarly, on considering whether parties' manifestoes count in the choice of the people, 55 representing 46%, agreed while 51 representing 43% disagreed and 13 representing 11% did not reveal their views.

The place of money in determination of people choice was considered, 23 representing 19.3% believed that money would not make people to change their mind while 73 representing 61.4% opined that money would make people to vote in its direction and 23 representing 19.3% did not give their opinion. In the same vein 65 representing 65% of the respondents opined that neither money nor material gifts would determine people's choice while 30 representing 25% opined otherwise and 24 representing 20% did not give their opinion.

On whether the presence of soldiers will discourage voters, 59 representing 50% agreed while 49 representing 41% disagreed and 11 representing 9% did not give their opinion their opinion. Considering whether the presence of political thugs could cause voters to stay away from voting, 73 representing 61.35% affirmed this while 36 representing 30.25% disagreed and 10 representing 8.40% did not give their opinion.

Similarly, a public polls conducted by NOI Polls predicted the victory of Professor Kolapo Olusola, candidate of the PDP, over the All Progressive Congress (APC) candidate, Dr. Kayode Fayemi, and other candidates. The poll was conducted on

1000 residents of Ekiti State between June 18 and 23, 2018 and interviewed via telephone. Professor Olusola Eleka polled 34 per cent, Dr. Fayemi polled 26 per cent Otunba Segun Adewale of ADP, 7 per cent and Reverend Tunde Afe of ANRP 6 per cent while others together polled 4 per cent (Ekeghe, 2018).

According to Omoshola (2018), predictions of elections outcomes is a common practice in developing countries usually based on the strength and weaknesses of the candidates. He, however, acknowledged that elections in Nigeria goes beyond voting and counting as it is usually a battle to retain or regain power at all cost. He noted the place of manipulation of the process in which the strongest, and not the people’s choice is declared the winner.

### 3.2 Outcomes of the July 14, 2018 Election in Ekiti State

The outcome of the election reveals the political game in Nigeria. Contrary to the predictions of Ekiti residents, the APC candidates, Dr. Kayode Fayemi was declared the winner of the elections.

Below are the results declared by Prof. Abel Idowu Olayinka, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Ibadan, the Returning Officer for the Election:

**Table 3: The Declared Outcomes of the July 14, 2018  
 Gubernatorial Election in Ekiti State**

Party	Number of Votes	Party	Number of Votes	Party	Number of Votes
Accord	250	BNPP	14	NDLP	84
ACD	1149	DA	14	NPC	353
AD	216	DPC	147	PANDEL	74
ADP	1082	DPP	181	PDC	1242
AGA	107	FJP	42	PDP	178,121
AGAP	31	GDN	20	PPA	632
ANRP	125	LD	212	PPN	187
APA	1199	KOWA	23	SDP	36
APC	197,459	LP	280	UPD	29
APDA	464	MMN	35	UPN	33
APGA	70	MPN	231	YDP	31
				YPP	48
Total Number of Registered Voters			909,585		
Total Number of Accredited Voters			405,861		
Total Number of Valid Voters			384,594		
Total Number of Rejected Voters			18,857		
Total Number of Vote Cast			403,451		

**Source:** BBC News, July 16, 2018; Sahara Reports, 2018.

### 3.3 Views on the July 14, 2018 Election in Ekiti State

The July 14 Governorship election in Ekiti state was adjudged by a coalition of domestic and international observers to fall short of global best practices and election standards. The observers, who comprised representatives from 50 domestic organisations, human rights groups and international election observer bodies identified lapses in the conduct of the election. The observers include Centre for Credible Leadership and Citizens



Awareness, Nigeria; Justice and Equity Organisation, Nigeria; International Republican Institute, United States of America; and Patriotic Women Foundation, Abuja, as well as other bodies from the African Unions, among others (Balogun, 2018). The observers faulted the deployment of 30,000 policemen for the election. The conduct of some of the policemen was condemned with the unwholesome practices of vote buying and “see and buy” where voters showed the party their thumbprinted ballot papers party agents who went behind to pay them the agreed fee. Security agents were indifferent to cash inducement of voters (Ogundele, 2018; Balogun, 2018). They also noted that the election was characterized with ballot snatching, sporadic shootings and driving away of some party agents as well as intimidation, oppression and forceful influence of electorate’s free will (Ogundele, 2018; Balogun, 2018). A coalition of observers groups and civil society organisations that monitored the governorship election said the result announced by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) does not reflect their own findings during the election (Sahara Reports, 2018). Yemisi Ige, one of the observers from Patriotic Women Foundation, described the election as follows:

*“The July 14 election was full of human rights violations, political party agents arrest, disruption of polls leading to cancellation of polls results... It scared some voters away and is a clear case of violation of human rights which disenfranchised voters as those who voted were either induced or forced to vote for certain party and made the poll to fall short of global standards.”* (Balogun, 2018)

In the same vein, Abuja-based Centre for Credible Leadership and Citizens Awareness revealed, that the exercise witnessed a high level of unprecedented electoral related challenges. Such abuse will remain contentious until justice prevails, especially in the areas of cash inducement, arrests of political stalwarts by security agents and snatching of electoral materials by political thugs, among other abuses (The Punch, 2018).

The observers identified violation of fundamental human rights, arrest of political party stalwarts by security agents, snatching of electoral materials by political thugs as well as inducement or forcing of voters to vote for certain party as prominent in the election.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) also expressed displeasure over the buying of votes in the July 14, 2018 Ekiti governorship election won by the All Progressive Congress (APC). In its communique issued after its regular meeting with Resident Electoral Commissioners from all states and the Federal Territory, signed by the National Commissioner and Member, Information and Voter Education Committee, Mohammed Haruna, the Commission noted that although the exercise was free and fair, vote buying marred the poll. According to the communique, The Commission reviewed the conduct of the July 14 governorship election in Ekiti State and preparation for the September 22, 2018 Osun governorship election. It noted the satisfactory conduct of the Ekiti governorship election as attested by both domestic

and international observers, the media and other stakeholders. The meeting also noted with deep concern, the rising phenomenon of vote buying during elections and restated its commitment and determination to continue to work with all stakeholders, especially the security agencies, to stem the ugly trend (Akinkuotu, 2018).

The above observation from INEC pointed to the fact that the vote buying that characterized the election was not hidden in spite of heavy security agents deployed to the state.

### **3.4 Issues and challenges in the July 14, 2018 Ekiti Gubernatorial Election.**

**Poverty** is a major challenge to free and fair election in Ekiti and Nigeria as a whole. The level of poverty coupled with hunger compromised 2018 electoral behaviour. In the July 14 election in Ekiti state, the law of exigency took charge, as a result of “see and buy”, and many sold their votes contrary to predictions that even if people collect money they will still vote according to their conscience (Field Work, 2018; YIAGA Africa, 2018). This is contrary to a finding by Oluwaleye and Omilusi (2017:46) in which most voters in the 2015 gubernatorial election in Ekiti and Osun in which 69.2% in Ekiti and 48.3% in Osun revealed that they did not vote for candidates who gave them incentives. There is no doubt that the “see and buy” strategy affected the outcome of the 2018 election. Similarly, the report by the NDI and IRI (2018) in the statement of joint report on the pre-election assessment mission to Nigeria confirmed that poverty, among other factors, have contributed to the expansion of vote buying, particularly in off-cycle gubernatorial elections since 2015.

Similar to the above is **non-payment of salaries** as another factor that affected the voting outcome of the governorship election in Ekiti state. The fact that government is owing months of arrears of salaries and cooperatives’ deductions of some paid salaries made some electorates lose interest in the incumbent. Some electorates with this view thought a change from government owing arrears of salaries and pension will ease condition of things (Field Work (2018). According to YIAGA Africa (2018:2) and Field Work (2018), non-payment of several arrears of salaries and emoluments of workers and pensioners accounted for the inability of many to resist the offer of cash to sell their votes during the election.

**Party internal democracy.** Imposition of the flagbearer, Prof. Olusola Eleka, by the incumbent Governor, Ayodele Fayose also to an extent worked against the party, PDP. The emergence of Eleka, who some party members believed was not a politician and novice in politics was not acceptable to some members. Unlike the APC candidate who was quick to appeal to other contestants and pleaded for support, Fayose was unable to do that and many political stalwarts and their followers left PDP for APC. Such as Dayo Adeyeye, a co-contestant, Raji Rasaki, etc

**Desperation of politicians.** The desperation for power among politicians was high. According to Egbas (2018), you hardly hear what they have to make life better, it was just how to grab power for the sake of it. Many respondents attributed the “do or die” politics to the personal interests of politicians in holding to or getting power to

amass wealth quickly and illegally (Field Work, 2018). Similarly, the practice of money politics, in which contesting parties distribute money to voters from primary to general election, further inform the desperation of contestants to win the election at all cost. The politicians are also seen to be desperate because of greed and not for the interest of the masses.

**Heavy security presence.** The deployment of 30,000 police officers, besides military officers and other paramilitary personnel, 250 patrol vehicles and two helicopters, among other factors, circumvent the system in the July 14 gubernatorial election. This was evident in the facts that in spite the heavy deployment, it failed to stop party agents from moving cash about to induce voters (The Punch, 2018). Besides, some of the independent observers revealed that many voters decided to stay away because of the heavy presence of security men (Atoyebi, 2018)

**Power Tussle Contest.** Omoshola (2018) has described the Ekiti election as a battle of interests, relevance and political survival. According to him, Comrade Adams Oshiomole wanted to prove his competence by winning Ekiti, the only state controlled by PDP, for APC. He also pointed to the election as a political boxing match between Fayemi- an ex-governor, seeking re-election and Fayose, the incumbent governor, seeking to install his deputy.

**National cake Issue.** The failure of past political leaders to fulfilled the promises made during their campaigns have created in the voters the idea of collecting cash from political office seekers as part of their own share in the “national cake” (YIAGA Africa, 2018:3; Field Work, 2018). They ignorantly held that after all they may not benefit anything from government after the election.

#### 4. Conclusion

The study investigates the prediction and the outcome of the July 14 gubernatorial election in Ekiti State to account for the factor for the difference. Poverty which made vote buying and selling and “see and buy” to thrive, uncared attitude of security agents to unholy practices, lack of internal democracy, as well as other manipulations accounted for the differences. With money politics, a good leader cannot emerge in election.

##### 4.1 Recommendations

- i. There should be enforcement of law to severely punish electoral offenders, in order to prevent the practice of manipulating voters from persisting and growing.
- ii. The voice of the International community should be strong against the federal government, INEC and Security agents to do the right. Federal government, INEC and security agents should be impartial for the rule of the game to prevail.
- iii. There is the need to adjust the salaries and other benefits of political office holders to make political offices less attractive to give room for the will of the people to prevail in Nigeria.

iv. Government at all levels must urgently address the challenge of poverty to curb the problem of vote buying and selling in our democratic setting.

v. Political education should be increased at all level to enable the electorates to know the value of their votes.

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