2014 Gubernatorial Election in Ekiti: The Limit of Propaganda and Challenge of Performance

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Democracy is a universally recognized ideal as well as a goal, which is based on common values shared by people throughout the world community irrespective of cultural, political, social and economic differences. It is thus a basic right of citizens to be exercised under conditions of freedom, equality, transparency and responsibility, with due respect to the plurality of views, and the interest of the polity. Therefore, election is a constitutional way that gives the people opportunities to vote to power those who will adequately represent their interests. Thus, political parties seek diverse means including ‘political propaganda’ to influence voter’s decision and behaviour to its advantage in order to form government and administer the polity for a specific period on behalf of the electorates. The paper argues that election is periodic in a democracy and in between the periods governments are formed; measured by stakeholders and that these measurements have great input in the following period after the last election. Performance therefore becomes a key ingredient that any party willing to continue in government must exhibit in order to maintain control over the behaviour of the electorate at the election. Using ethnomethodological explanation, the paper revealed why and how Governor Fayemi lost the election in spite of his party propaganda machinery and his claim of performance as governor in the Ekiti governorship election in June 2014 where the people seem to be saying ‘don’t think for us’ ‘ask us’ what we want. The paper concludes that the reactions of the state governors of APC control states in Nigeria after the election in Ekiti confirms the people’s perception of performance and a limit to propaganda.

Keywords: Political party, propaganda, performance, measurement, election

Introduction

Election remains the key element of a democratic state. It is a recognized decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office. As such, Inter-Parliamentary Union adopted in Paris in 1994 makes a declaration for free and fair election in fostering universal acceptance of democracy. Under democratic system, elections must be held on the basis of universal, equal and secret suffrage so that all voters can choose their representatives in conditions of equality, openness and transparency that stimulate political competition. And, once the votes have been cast and the winner announced, power must be peacefully transferred from one individual to another. All of these are key features of a democratic political competition.

In their work, LeVan, Pitso and Adebo (2003) asserted that any successful party in a political competition such as election is the party that understands the plight of the people and are able to meet the needs of the masses, as well as be active to rally its supporters to go out and vote in order to harvest
bountiful votes in the election. The process of canvassing votes requires the use of various means to convince the electorate about the programme of a political party. One of such means under consideration in this article is 'political propaganda.'

Propaganda has been defined as "written or oral information which consciously used to influence and, or manipulate the opinions and attitudes of a given target group" (Shultz and Godwon, 1986). In similar way, Qualter (1962) referred to propaganda as "the deliberate attempt by some individual or group to form, control or alter the attitude of other groups by the use of the instrument of communication with the intention that in any given situation the reaction of those influenced will be that desired by the propagandist". Implicitly, propaganda has to do with 'bombarding' people with certain messages in such a way and manner that the recipients are compelled to accept the message. In a way, it has to do with persuading people to accept positions; it deals with influence. The struggle to influence is not limited to individuals trying to influence friends. It also includes relatives or neighbours trying to persuade others to accept certain positions; manufacturers seeking to influence consumers about their products; preachers working on their congregations and, of course, government trying to win the favourable opinions of their citizens.

Table 1:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Newspaper/Radio/ Television</th>
<th>Name of Publisher/Promoter</th>
<th>Year of Establishment</th>
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<td>1.</td>
<td>The Nations</td>
<td>Bola Ahmed Tinubu</td>
<td>2006</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>The Westerner</td>
<td>Otunba Gbenga Daniel</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Daily Independent</td>
<td>Chief James Ononefe Ibori</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Daily Sun</td>
<td>Chief Uzor Kalu</td>
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Source: Alliyu, N. (2013b)

Propaganda, being interested in controlling the minds of recipients, necessarily works in concert with the mass media which, Folarin (2002) perceived as "mind controlling agents that would be used by media handlers to influence and sway people's minds". Apparently, Ngoa (2006) defined propaganda as a political marketing tool through persuasive in very many ways depending on the circumstances or the environment. Severin and Tankard (2001: 109) listed Harold Lasswell’s four major objectives of propaganda as to: mobilize hatred against the enemy, preserve the friendship of allies, preserve friendship and if possible, to procure the co-operation of neutrals and demoralize the enemy.

In Nigeria's political land space, all the media available, be it electronic or print effectively become tools in the hand of politicians in Nigeria. Alliyu (2013) catalogued the ownership of print media organizations by politicians to underscore the importance of media. And not until recently, however, one seems to have gained mastery over the use of propaganda more than others. The All Peoples Congress (APC), in this case, is a party that can be credited on the use of propaganda as a weapon of political contest in Nigeria, since the return of democracy. Since there are obvious failures in the governance of the party in power, it is easier for the opposition political party to deplore the propaganda weapon in Nigeria. Explanations for such failures are areas open to all kinds of manipulations, half truth or the whole truth of all propaganda in order to persuade
the electorate to vote out the party in power. Some areas of 'failure of governance' by the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in Nigeria's Federal government, which became a liability for PDP as a party in Ekiti state are fraudulent election process, bad governance, political violence/thugery to maintain a few and undemocratic procedure and lack of internal democracy just to mention a few. These were major areas of campaign of the major opposition party in Nigeria.

Aside the issue of propaganda, performance in office through good governance is another concept that attracts the attention of this paper. This is because it was widely believed that the incumbent government during 2014 gubernatorial election under Governor Fayemi performed well in Ekiti State, yet the government was voted out and lost in all the sixteen (16) Local Government Areas of the state. This became a challenge on the concept of performance. However, it is pertinent to examine the propaganda strategies of the APC.

The Origin of Propaganda Strategies of APC
The machinery and strategies of APC as a party well grounded in political propaganda is rooted in the national leader of the party – Bola Tinubu, who came into the political lime light in Nigeria during the June 12 struggle, after the criminal annulment of the Abiola election by the Military Junta. The national leader clearly went for the jugulars of the democratic institutions in Nigeria in an unsuspicious manner to a majority to gain control over the polity slowly but surely. The institutions of democracy in this regard include the political parties, the media and the civil society/judiciary.

Prior to June 12 debacle, Bola Tinubu had been a member of the socio-cultural group called Afenifere, whose members dominated the Alliance for Democracy (AD) as a political party, seeking for elective political post in Nigeria. Bola Tinubu was elected as Lagos Governor in 1999 under the auspices of AD, which was under the firm control of the elders like Late Pa Abraham Adesanya, Pa Fasonranti, Pa Lanihun Ajayi and Chief Ayo Adebajo and so on. Bola Tinubu spent two terms in office as governor of Lagos state. While AD was in control of South West from 1999 to 2003, it however lost most of the states in South West in 2003 to PDP, except Lagos state, which was under the grip of Bola Tinubu.

It was in the second term of Bola Tinubu that he stylishly jettisoned AD – a party on whose platform he became governor and formed Action Congress (AC) solely. This singular act, to Bola Tinubu, was the final straw that the broke camel's back of Afenifere as the socio-cultural group, finally lost control and influence on the political landscape in the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria. The elders/old politicians became almost irrelevant and ineffectual politically.

Perhaps as a strategy to finally root out the influence of the Afenifere as a Yoruba socio-cultural group that shape and/or determine issues of Yoruba political agenda, a new group emerged as a replacement of real Afenifere. So, in replacement of Afenifere, a Pseudo Afenifere was formed, known as Afenifere Renewal Group (ARG) under the control of some younger elements whose allegiance was purported to be for Bola Tinubu. Consequently, the first democratic institution to be hijacked by Bola Tinubu was a very strong political party that had its root in a major and very influential ethnic group in Nigeria. By extension therefore, the entire Yoruba ethnic group gradually began to follow the dictate of one man. Then suddenly the title 'Asiwaju' i.e. 'the Forerunner' emerged as Bola Tinubu became Asiwaju Bola Tinubu. Having successfully gained control of a virile political base, he stepped up the second layer of the propaganda machinery and strategy and went straight for the media as the next democratic institution to have under his control. And as noted earlier, the politicians are the major owners and financiers of media organizations in Nigeria. However, Bola Tinubu's strategy was more profound and far reaching in ownership, control, influence and dominance of Nigeria political landscape.
Mass Media, Political Party and Propaganda Machinery: The Period of Consolidation

Bola Tinubu was able to install Babatunde Raji Fashola as the governor of Lagos State at his own exits in 2007. From then on he became stronger as an individual who seems to have a whole state in his hand and caprices being the newest Godfather of the governor of the most industrial and politically important city in Nigeria.

Access to fund that was almost ‘unlimited’ further strengthen Bola Tinubu to put on the toga of a fighter again to seek for “redress” in the court for the perceived injustice done by PDP under former President Olusegun Obasanjo. The need to fight this battle led to the subtle onslaught on another democratic institution. The media, where possible, he became the Chief Promoter of media outlet, established some, partner others and fund many others. The media was efficiently used to shape the views of the people to believe that Action Congress (AC) which later became Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) was out to fight for the survival of democracy first in Yoruba land, and later in Nigeria. The party actually fought and became a major opposition party to the PDP government at the national level. The opposition was more virile than what CPC and ANPP could put up due to its influence on the media and by extension, the people generally.

One of the strategies of Bola Tinubu to have control over the media apart from outrightly promoting media outlets is his influence on those we call the Media Gatekeepers (MGK) i.e. the Newspapers editors, Columnists and Editors-in-Chief. The MGK were effectively on the side of Bola Tinubu in an attempt to “fight” for the deepening of democracy in Nigeria. However, the sudden and controversial exist of two of the Nigeria’s leading editors from a leading National Tabloid in 2010 left a very sour taste in the mouth of Nigerians as to the authenticity and genuineness of “fight” to entrench democracy. Prior to the exits of the Gatekeepers from that National Newspapers, Emma Nwatus had written in the Guardian on Sunday, August 3, 2008 that:

Today things have really fallen apart. Poor grammatical constructions, speculations, insinuations and outright propaganda are now served the public in opinion columns. Some experts regards this as Junk practice. Yet, this has become the common features of most publications, including some of the front line newspapers.

The views of Nwatu above and the exits of the two Gatekeepers was an insight into the high level of influence the politicians have on the media to manipulate views through the use of propaganda for a specific purpose, not necessarily in the interest of the common man or democracy as purported by the propagandists.

The Civil Society and APC Political Propaganda Machinery

There is actually a thin line between the civil society and the media practitioners in Nigeria. This right group activist is another institution of democracy Bola Tinubu used maximally as a propaganda tool in Nigeria as the leader of AC, ACN and now APC. The group comprises of lawyers, students, self determination people and others.

Protest in all forms on any subject matter often have enough foot soldiers to march on the streets to keep the ruling party in check and draw the global attention on any issue in Nigeria. Such protest are often covered by the sister group — the media in print and electronic to be broadcast to the public and the whole world. The views expressed more often than not by those activists or right groups are not completely devoid of manipulations and not also different from that of the national leader of the opposition party.

Two clear examples that borders on adequate media report and/or non-report of events as a method of
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propaganda shall be very useful here. The examples showcase the thin line between the activities of the rights group, the media and propaganda.

1. Comrade Ayodele Akele, the Pioneer Secretary General of the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) and a one time Labour Leader once noted that:

   Since the demise of Chief Gani Fawehinmi... the human rights communities appears not to exist anymore. They have mostly been compromised by Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) party, to the detriment of the citizenry of Lagos in particular. The 500% tuition fees introduced a few months ago at the Lagos State University, LASU, and the imposition of illicit Lekki Toll on Lagosians among other activities of Lagos State government, ought to attract the toon of human right activists, but they kept mum as if nothing inimical is happening to the interest of Lagosians. (Compass, Thursday 22, 2011)

   It must however be noted that the Lagos state government have reverted to the initial school fees of N25,000 as against the N150,000–N350,000 hike claiming economic factors as reasons for the reduction. This did not happen until August 2014, two months after the party lost Ekiti State to PDP.

2. The media and the right groups were involved in the whole issue surrounding the former President of Appeal Court – Justice Ayo Salami. Some levels of propaganda equally played out here. And the involvement of ACN then as a party was also noticeable in all forms of allegations and counter allegations between the ruling PDP and ACN. While the PDP accused ACN of manipulation through propaganda to secure judicial judgment to snatch both Ekiti and Osun State from the party; the ACN equally accused PDP of electoral fraud and manipulation. The Justice was caught in the cross fire and he eventually retired. What is important here is that for the first time in the history of this nation judicial issues that are often not made public became a subject of public debate, protest and propaganda as a result of influence of a very strong personality.

Performance Defined

The Business dictionary defined performance as the fulfillment of an obligation or task, in a manner that releases the performer from all liabilities under the contract. Within political arena, performance can be defined as the ability of the political appointees, aspirant or leader to dispense the dividend of democracy to satisfy the need of his/her people during the period in office. By meeting the needs of the masses, voters will vote for candidates of the party with highest performance without prejudice. The epitome of party performance also reflected in the ideas of Foucault and Habermas (2003) on their work on political participation, which emphasized political participation as a strategic and communicative action in shaping people’s voting behaviour, selection of political leaders, enhance party reputation and strong political institution, as well as social development.

What Constitutes Performance?

There can only be a performance that takes into consideration the real and not imaginary needs of the people. Those that believe in top-bottom approach of development or management often assume that they can think for the people below and therefore set agenda for them often without consultation. So when such leaders put in place policies and projects ‘for the people’ which in actual sense are projects for themselves, their ego or their sponsors and measure their performance based on that, they may actually ‘perform’ yet they have equally not ‘performed’ because you cannot scratch someone where it does
not hitch. In other words, if the people need water and you chose to do roads for them without recourse to what is their priority then you are bound to fail when the people are asked to rate you on performance. However, a people may be convinced, persuaded or influenced to take a particular development plan proposed by a leader, thereby changing their mind or priority from theirs to his. If this is done, then both parties will be on accord as to what exactly to look out for in terms of performance and its assessment. This is hardly ever done in Nigerians electioneering process for now.

Most governments at all levels in Nigeria often deceive themselves by relying on all forms of deceptive measurement of their performance in government, forgetting the actual measurement tool, election. It is common place in Nigeria to see all forms of awards for good governance to local and state governments (governors) often and sometimes federal government (President or even his wife). Yet, the life of the people has at best remain the same or at worst retrogressed. The awards as noted by Alliyu (2013) are another means of corrupt practices that has been used to sustain corruption for a very long time in Nigeria.

Methodology of Study
In going about this study, Ekiti State is taken as a case study of a singular phenomenon, where there was a challenge to the concept of performance as a precursor to favourable political support. Content analysis of news from various sources, especially the print media was done to arrive at the themes and conclusions of this paper. This was however backed up by Key Informant Interviews (KII) of other stakeholders in the electoral process.

Brief Profile of Ekiti State
On October 1 1996 under the administration of Gen Sanni Abacha, Ekiti State, alongside five others, was created. However, on creation, it took off with sixteen (16) Local Government Areas (LGAs) which are thereafter grouped under three geo-political districts: Ekiti Senatorial District; Ekiti North Senatorial District and Ekiti South Senatorial District. And just like every major sub-ethnic division in Yoruba land, Ekiti has her origin from Ile-Ife (the cradle of Yoruba land).

The population of Ekiti State as at National Population Census conducted in 2006 stands at 2,398,957 with highest number of professors, academic pioneers and political authorities in Nigeria and across the border. Writing on the political history of Ekiti as a people, Diran Apata observed that:

In pre-colonial times, the best remembered phase of their history is their offering themselves as the core of eastern Yoruba land’s war of resistance (the Kiriji War) against the much more powerful force of Ibadan. For fifteen years (1878-93), they dug their feet in the ground in the bush and fought without thinking of giving up. We also remember that in the early 1960s, when the Western region came under massive assault from Nigeria’s federal authorities, the Ekiti always belonged in the forefront of the Yoruba resistance – until the very end.

(Nigerian Tribune, June, 2014)

Such were and are still the nature of Ekiti people. This nature definitely has influence in what so ever they do including politics.

The incumbent governor of Ekiti State on the platform of APC really emphasized that he performed creditably well and as such he was confident to secure the votes of the people to enable him serve a second term in office. The governor in one of his addresses during the pre-election day did say that:

The past three and a half years of his administration had been marked with unprecedented success in governance and massive transformation of the state.
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through life-changing policies and projects. *(Nigerian Tribune Friday 20, June 2014)*

There is no doubt that the governor did ‘perform’ just as any other governors in Nigeria.

**Ekiti Gubernatorial Election 2014: A Sociological Analysis**

The Ekiti State gubernatorial election was contested by eighteen (18) candidates and political parties on 21 June 2014. The most prominent and visible of all the eighteen were the incumbent governor – Kayode Fayemi of APC, Ayodele Fayose of PDP and Opeyemi Bamidele of Labour Party. Kayode Fayemi and his deputy Modupe Adelabu have Ph.D degrees. Ayodele Fayose has HND and his Deputy Olusola Olubunmi holds a Ph.D degree. Lastly, Opeyemi Bamidele and his deputy have Bachelors degree. Such was the quality of the candidates in terms of their educational attainment. Days preceding the election day, especially a day before and on the day of election, the usual propaganda machinery of the APC rolled out its drums and shouted at the roof top; ‘There’ll be War: APC warns on Ekiti Election’. *(Tribune, Saturday, 21 June 2014).*

This statement must have probably been made going by the political history and antecedents of Ekiti people as a people that will not tolerate any form of cheat or cheating from anyone. Surprisingly, to the amazement of the whole nation and the world over, the election was keenly contested; winner emerged and losers were recorded. There was no war because there was no rigging. In fact the *Punch* Newspaper of Sunday, 22 June 2014 reported that:

The Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room comprising more than 60 Civil Society groups have said the conduct of the Ekiti State governorship poll is an improvement on previous elections. The election also witnessed a very large turnout of voters in large numbers. There was no apathy at all going by the number and the demographic features of the elections which include, the Youth (Male/Female), the elderly as old as 90 years of age, the market women, the pregnant and the physically challenged. All came out as early as 6:30am waiting to be accredited. The picture of the nature of preparedness and the process of voting looked like a protest exercises which was not clear until the end and the announcement of the winner. The winner seemed to be the candidate the people wanted. One anxious old voter as reported in the *Punch Newspaper* earlier cited was reported to have asked a reporter to write Fayose’s result on her palm and many others were seen holding pen and paper jotting down the results. Equally reported was the fact that most teachers in Ekiti State vowed to vote out the incumbent governor because of “an attempt to humiliate them with a test”. At the end of the whole exercise, the PDP candidate – Mr. Ayodele Fayose was declared the winner with a majority votes in all 16 local government areas of Ekiti State.

Typical of Nigerians, all kinds of analysis began to ensue and most actually focused on the landslide victory of Fayose over Fayemi and the immediate concession speech by Kayode Fayemi and the acceptance of hand of fellowship by Fayose. Both scenarios seemed to have thrown up new challenges and lessons on the political landscape of South-West Nigeria and the nation generally. While all these were going on the APC as a party could not offer any explanation for its defeat until some days later with the introduction of another lexicon to the political dictionary of politics in Nigeria – i.e. ‘Stomach Infrastructure’. This became the new concept around, which the success of Fayose was tied. The argument was then brought forward by APC that Ekiti people rejected physical/developmental infrastructure by voting out Fayemi - the APC candidate - and that the people have embraced ‘Stomach Infrastructure’.

This time around the propaganda of stomach
infrastructure could not fly as it was obvious that there is actually a limit to propaganda as a weapon to fool the people. It was once said that you can fool some of the people some of the time, you cannot fool all of the people all of the time. The days to follow witnessed the art and science of analysis of the outcome of the Ekiti Election. It was obvious that a challenge has come to the use of propaganda in politics and 'meaning of performance' needs re-examination by all stakeholders as it relates to politics in Nigeria. But why and how did Fayemi lose that election in spite of the propaganda machinery at the disposal of his party and his claim of performance and good governance?

Ethnomethodological Explanation of the Outcome of Ekiti Governorship Election

Explaining why Governor kayode Fayemi of APC lost in the election of 21 June, 2014 to the candidate of PDP, Ayodele Fayose can be situated within the sociological perspectives known as ethnomethodology, which is regarded as the study of the common sense resources, procedures and practices through which members of a culture or society produce and recognise mutually intelligible objects, events and courses of action (Heritage, 1992). It is a body of idea “directed to the task of learning how members’ actual, ordinary activities consist of methods to make practical actions, practical circumstances, common sense knowledge of social structures and practical sociological reasoning analysable” (Marshall, 1994). Succinctly, “ethnomethodology has to do with these common symbols in the forms of language and habit in which members of a society who share a given culture employ in order to interpret and give meaning to social interactions. That is, the everyday method people employ for the production of social order in their society (Eita, 2013).

Going by the definition of ethnomethodology above, it can be seen to be a useful tool in analyzing and explaining how the Ekiti Election was won and lost by each of the leading candidates. In as much as ethnomethodology is a particular group of people, method refers to the ways and practices this particular group employs in its everyday activities and (O) logy means to the systematic description of these methods and practices.

In applying ethnomethodology therefore on what transpired in Ekiti Governorship election in 2014 one is compelled to quickly note that basic assumption in ethnomethodology which is that though people are judged to be rational, they often time use ‘practical reasoning’ and not ‘formal logic’ in accomplishing their daily task (Heritage, 1992). This assumption seems to explain the voting pattern in Ekiti where a governor who is acclaimed to have ‘performed’ was voted out of power. While performance might have been a very good reason or a formal logical ground to have guarantee a re-election for a governor seeking for another term, the application of ‘practical reasoning’ informed by other factors or variables in the process of socio-political interaction might have finally determined where the votes of the electorate went on that day.

Another assumption is that symbolically, a close textual analysis of the conversation and social interaction occurring in mundane, everyday life situations add up to constitute social reality and the foundations of social order (Heritage 1984, 1992 cited in Eita, 2013).

The above assumption was given credence to by the national symbol of APC in person of Bola Tinubu. The Ekiti Election was not only a ‘normal election’, it was a ‘protest election’ against the national symbol of APC. The symbol was seen in everyday life by Ekiti people as one that should be rejected in order to reconstitute their social reality and establish a new social order. This was clearly demonstrated through the nature of voting pattern exhibited in Ekiti.

Ekiti people are Yoruba people who are very proud of their culture and origin. They are not known, just as other Yoruba people, to be easily trampled upon by anybody or group in the history of Nigeria. The rejection of the national symbol of APC in Ekiti was well captured by a letter to Mimiko after winning Ondo
State (another Yoruba State) on the platform of Labour Party against APC candidates – Akeredolu Ale in October 2013 by Reuben Fasoranti, the leader of the Yoruba group Afenifere.

The letter read in part that:

This Victory amongst other things, is victory over god-fatherism, a rejection of political imposition and slavery from outside the state “we entered into electoral cooperation with you (Mirniko) in the election to counter an emerging group under the leadership of few disrespectful, snobbish, arrogant, ravaging and power-thirsty politicians.”

In a seeming corroboration of the content of the letter, Femi Aribisala wrote in his column in Vanguard Newspaper ‘View Point’ on Tuesday, July 1 2014 that:

The defeat of Tinubu’s party in Ondo has now been followed by its trouncing in the just -- concluded gubernatorial election in Ekiti. Ekiti was presumed to be one of Tinubu’s South West strong holds. The incumbent governor Kayode Fayemi, is one of the darlings of Tinubu’s new-fangled APC ...... rather than confirm that Ekiti is firmly in Tinubu’s camp, the people of Ekiti decided to send a loud and clear message to Tinubu. They no longer want to have anything to do with him and with his party.

Finally, on ethnomethodological explanation of why and how Governor Kayode Fayemi lost in spite of propaganda and claim of performance is the fact that ‘people offer accounts in order to make sense of the world’ (Elta, 2013). ‘Accounts’ in ethnomethodology is one of the schemes employed by ethnomethodologist to provide broader understanding and meaning to everyday life (Chafetz, 1993). It means the ways members of society signify, describe or explain the properties of a specific social situation. These can consist of both verbal and non-verbal objectifications (Elta, 2013).

The voting pattern in Ekiti was an account of the way Ekiti people chose to explain their social situation under the leadership of Governor Kayode Fayemi. A practical example of such a social situation that was not palatable to the people, particularly the teachers, was their perception that the competent test for the teachers were attempt to humiliate them.

Most teachers in Ekiti State were said to have taken an Oath to vote against the incumbent governor during the election. (Punch, June 22, 2014)

Teachers, being a major stakeholder in Ekiti State known also as Fountain of Knowledge, must have influenced a majority of other stakeholders to shape or determine the voting pattern that out sitted Governor Fayemi in Ekiti State.

Another major way to explain the loss of Ekiti State by APC scientifically is to draw from experience of groups and its dynamics in the society. When groups fail to identify and manage its internal contradictions, it is bond to disintegrate. For instance, Buzuev (1987) observed that ‘the internal contradictions of the capitalists system generate its most acute and constantly worsening economic and social disorder. Among them are mass unemployment, inflation, spreading crime, devastating crises .... and so on.” And just in the form of Buzuev’s attempt to identify capitalists’ internal contradictions, Bolanle Bolawole in his column in Tribune (June 29, 2014) also identified some undisputable internal contradictions in the APC, prior to the Ekiti elections that ought to be addressed failure, which the party lost in Ekiti State. They include lack of internal democracy, God-fatherism, primitive capitalist accumulation and ideological inconsistency.

For him, these factors were what led to the loss of Ondo State and they equally contributed to the loss of
Ekiti State. These factors equally found expression in the various quotations from major political stakeholders highlighted above from different national tabloids. It was therefore not a surprise that the internal contradictions of APC as a group ultimately imploded to give way to its loss of Ekiti State.

**Concluding Remarks**

Generally, democracy is a universally recognized ideal as well as a goal, which is based on common values shared by peoples throughout the world community irrespective of cultural, political, social and economic differences. It is thus a basic right of citizens to be exercised under conditions of freedom, equality, transparency and responsibility, with due respect to the plurality of views, and the interest of the polity. Therefore, election is a constitutional way that gives the people opportunities to vote to power those who will adequately represent their interests. Thus, political parties seek diverse means including ‘political propaganda’ to influence voter’s decision, behaviour and enforce party hegemony during electoral process. However, the use of media and propaganda as tool of influencing voters’ choice and decisions during election process is becoming insignificant as many Nigerians are becoming more politically conscious to understand the difference between mere propaganda and performing political parties. For this reason, political parties must device feedback mechanisms that will tell them what people think about them so they are not restricted in their evaluation of themselves. A government or opposition that fails to do so will develop tunnel vision which leads to rigidity and political rigidity leads to political atrophy which if not arrested will result in political morbidity.

Perhaps in an attempt not to be rigid about the perception of the people or obsessed about its own approach of reliance on political propaganda and confidence of ‘performance’, other APC States in the South West Nigeria that share ethnic root with the Ekiti people quickly made some policy summersaults or specific political adjustments induced by *ekitisati*on. This means a process engendered by the Ekiti people to ‘force’ the hand of government and political parties to see service delivery or performance from the people’s perspective and not only from the narrow viewpoint of the government to reflect the real thinking of the people. The States and their adjustments are as follows:

**Ogun State**

1. Payment of monthly salary on 24th of June by the Governor of Ogun State as against usual deliberate indebtedness.
2. Granting of housing loan to workers immediately after the election.
3. Meeting with civil servants on the state of affairs in Ogun State.
4. Immediate employment of employable Ogun State citizens.
5. Immediate payment of Severance Allowance of some past public officers who had cried for years for the money to be paid, but to no avail.
6. A promise to pay the remaining Severance Allowance in another few months.
7. Immediate reduction of 20% (percent) from the housing schemes in the state to make house for sale affordable for the citizens.
8. Immediate provisions for car loans to interested workers.
9. Immediate release of grants to Ogun-State Tertiary Institutions that they used to get through press-conferences and much lobbying.
10. Promise to pay the Christmas Bonus of 2013 to workers six months after.
11. Reduction of school fees barely a week after the governor of Lagos State did same for the State owned tertiary institution. The percentage reduction in Ogun State ranged from between 30.4 and 41.4 percent depending on the course of study beginning from 2014/2015 academic session.
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Edo State
Governor Adams Oshiomole announced by himself that;
1. His government has resolved to set aside the competency or assessment test.
2. Recall the 936 teachers sacked earlier by his government.
3. Announced the extension of the relativity to teachers in the state.
4. Recall teachers are to benefit from re-training programmes.
5. Recall teachers who are due for retirement would now be formally allowed to do that with full benefit.
6. Government will no longer prosecute any charges against teachers who falsify their ages and other fraud.

Lagos State
Governor Babatunde Raji Fashola announced the reduction of school fees from a range of ₦150,000 to ₦25,000 after a serious fight from the Union Led by Nurudeen Yusuf. His claim was the economic situation. One is however sure of ‘the economy’ he was referring to. The closest reason however for reduction could not be different from the similar reactions of other APC Governors to the effect of Ekiti election that compelled the APC governments to begin a review of their policies in favour of the people or potential electorate that will determine if their government has performed or not.

The various actions and re-actions of the governors of APC in South-West Nigeria occupied by the Yoruba people immediately after the outcome of Ekiti election of June 21 2014 as listed above is a confirmation that there is indeed a challenge to what constitute performance and that propaganda really have a life cycle and/or a limit.

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