

Voting Behaviour in Osun 2014 Governorship Election in Nigeria

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Abstract

The August 9, 2014 governorship election in Osun state, South West Nigeria was another test run for the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) towards the 2015 General election. The election was important because it occurred not long after the Ekiti state governorship election of June 21, 2014 which was largely adjudged to be free and fair. Besides, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) candidate won the Ekiti election by defeating the All Progressive Congress (APC) candidate who was the incumbent. The Ekiti election increased the momentum in Osun as the PDP was emboldened that it could pull the same feat in Osun, while the APC was hell bent on avoiding another slip. At the end of the day, the APC won in Osun and the PDP lost. What was responsible for this outcome? Why was the PDP not able to repeat the feat it achieved in Ekiti? These are the questions facing this paper. This paper will blend the unique aspects of the Osun election with a more general understanding of electoral behaviour to create a full explanation.

Keywords: Voting behaviour, Election, Nigeria, Osun state, INEC, PDP, APC, Aregbesola, Omisore

1. Introduction

The August 9, 2014 governorship election in Osun state, South West Nigeria was another test run for the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) towards the 2015 General election. The election was important because it took place not long after the Ekiti state governorship election of June 21, 2014 which was largely adjudged to be free and fair. Besides, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) candidate won the Ekiti election by defeating the All Progressive Congress (APC) candidate who was the incumbent. (Durotoye, 2014). The Ekiti election increased the momentum in Osun as the PDP was emboldened that it could pull the same feat in Osun, while the APC was bent on avoiding another slip.

At the end of the day, the APC won in Osun and the PDP lost. What was responsible for this outcome? Why was the PDP not able to repeat the feat it achieved in Ekiti? These are the questions facing this paper. The paper will set out to provide answers to these questions. The most interesting questions about an election are not concerned with who won but with such questions as why people voted the way that they did or what the implications of the results are. These questions are not always easily answered. Looking only at the campaign events and incidents will not suffice. This paper will blend the unique aspects of the Osun election with a more general understanding of electoral behaviour to create a full explanation.

We will set out by reviewing the state of the art in voting behaviour theory, next is a historical overview of Osun state, then we look at the political parties, the candidates and their antecedents. We will then proceed to the issues in the run up to the election, the conduct and results of the election, as well as why the PDP lost. We will conclude by looking at the implications of the election outcome. Among other factors, the study reveals that the performance of the incumbent governor and the internal wrangling within the PDP conspired to deliver victory to the APC.

2. Research Questions and Methodology

Two major research questions characterize the study of electoral behaviour. One concern is with explaining the election result by identifying the sources of individual voting behaviour; how and why the voters voted the way they did. Another major concern in voting research emphasizes changes in voting patterns over time, usually with an attempt to determine what the election results tell us about the direction in which politics is moving. For our purposes, these two concerns provide a useful basis for discussing key aspects of voting behaviour.

To accomplish these tasks, the twin method of participant observation and content analysis of the available relevant primary and secondary materials were carried out.

3. Theoretical Framework

In voting behaviour research, several factors can be identified as reasons for choosing a candidate in an election. A combination of attitudinal, social and psychological factors is related to individual voting behaviour. Attitudinal factors such as assessments of the personal characteristics of the candidates, evaluations of government performance, orientations on specific policy issues, party identification, and ideology are the primary determinants of candidate's choice. For social factors, race, religion, region, and social class are all related to voting behaviour. Psychological factors are based on emotions. Examining how these factors are

related to the voting behaviour in this particular election forms the core of this paper in order to explain the outcome of the Osun state 2014 governorship election.

In other words, a voter may choose a candidate on the basis of one or more of the following considerations:

- orientations on specific issues of public policy
- general evaluations of the government performance
- evaluations of the personal characteristics of the candidates
- party identification
- general ideological orientations
- Psychological factors

Electoral changes can be divided into two types: short-term and long-term. Short-run changes can result from fluctuations in factors that are specific to an election, such as the characteristics of the candidates or the condition of the economy. These short-term factors may favour one party in one election and the other in the other election.

Long-term change occurs when there is a critical realignment of the party system, which refers to a relatively rapid, fundamental, and durable alteration in the pattern of party loyalties held by the electorate (Sundquist, 1983).

Evaluations of candidate qualities and government performance are short-term forces capable of substantial shifts from one election to the next. Party identification and ideology are much more stable in the short term. Nigerian political parties are fluid in their ideological orientations. In most cases in Nigeria, people join political parties mainly on sentimental grounds based on their affinity with the party stalwarts or based on the assessment of their political fortune in a particular party. Issue orientations are not so intense.

The field of political psychology has explored psychological factors to explain political and voting behaviour. Political psychology researchers study ways in which affective influence inform and affect how the electorate makes informed political choices in spite of low overall levels of political attentiveness and sophistication.

The literatures on the significance of affect in politics assume that affective states play a role in public voting behaviour. Affect here refers to the experience of emotion or feeling, which is often described in contrast to cognition. The works of Winkielman *etal* (2007), shed light on the ways in which affective states are involved in human judgment and decision-making. Researchers have argued that affective states such as anxiety and enthusiasm encourage the evaluation of new political information and thus benefit political behaviour by leading to more informed choices. (Marcus, 2000).

The differential impact of several specific emotions on voting behaviour has been identified as follows; Surprise – The emotion of surprise may magnify the impact of emotions on voting. In assessing the impact of home-team sports victories on voting, Healy *etal*. (2010) showed that surprising victories provided close to twice the benefit to the incumbent party compared to victories overall.

Anger – Affective theory would predict that anger increases the use of generalized knowledge and reliance upon stereotypes and other heuristics.

Anxiety – Anxiety is an emotion that increases political attentiveness while decreasing reliance on party identification when deciding between candidates, thus improving decision-making capabilities. Voters who report anxiety regarding an election are more likely to vote for candidates whose policies they prefer, and party members who report feeling anxious regarding a candidate are twice as likely to defect and vote for the opposition candidate. In the area of fear, research shows that people experiencing fear rely on more detailed processing when making choices (Tiedens, 2001). One study found that subjects primed with fear spent more time seeking information before a hypothetical voting exercise than those primed with anger.

The use of emotional appeals in political campaigns to increase support for a candidate or decrease support for a challenger is a widely recognized practice and a common element of any campaign strategy (Brader, 2006). Campaigns often seek to instil positive emotions such as enthusiasm and hopefulness about their candidate to improve turnout and political activism while seeking to raise fear and anxiety about the challenger. (Marcus 2006).

Another theory in voting research is the loss aversion theory. (Tversky and Kahneman, 1984). It states that voters are more likely to use their vote to avoid the impact of an unfavourable policy rather than supporting a favourable policy. From a psychological perspective, value references are crucial to determine individual preferences. For instance, free education may be a value which voters do not want to lose thus they are more likely to vote for the candidate that promises such benefit, instead of voting for a candidate closer to their political beliefs.

3. History of Osun State



Map of Nigeria: Osun state shaded black
Source: Wikipedia

Osun State is an inland state in south-western Nigeria. Its capital is Osogbo. It is bounded in the north by Kwara State, in the east partly by Ekiti State and partly by Ondo State, in the south by Ogun State and in the west by Oyo State. The State is situated in the tropical rain forest zone. It covers an area of approximately 14,875 sq. km. According to the 2006 National Population Census, the population of the state is put at 3.4 million. The state is rich in human and material resources. Though a landlocked state, it is blessed with presence of many rivers and streams which serves the water needs of the state. The state is within the tropical rain forest with abundance of resources. Minerals resources found in the state include gold, kaolin and others which are being extracted for the benefit of the state and the people. (Osun.gov.ng).

Created in 1991 from part of the old Oyo State, the major sub-ethnic groups in Osun State are Ife, Ijesa, Oyo and Igbomina of the Yoruba people, although there are also people from other parts of Nigeria. Yoruba and English are the official languages. People of Osun State practice Christianity, Islam, and paganism called traditional faith. Osun State has a large population of both Muslims and Christians. Osun State is divided into three federal senatorial districts, nine federal constituencies and thirty Local Government Areas.

Col. Leo Segun Ajiborisha was the first Military Administrator of the State and he governed from August 1991-January 1992 when he handed over to an elected governor, Isiaka Adeleke who ruled from 1992 to November 1993. The civilian rule in the state was terminated when Col. Anthony Udofia, (December 1993-August 1996), Col Anthony Obi (August 1996-August 1998) and Col. Theophilus Bamgboye (August 1998-May 1999) served as Military Administrators respectively. Chief Bisi Akande was an elected governor from 29th May 1999- 29th May 2003. Prince Olagunsoye Oyinlola took over from Chief Akande and governed from 29th May 2003- 29th May 2007 for the first term. Prince Oyinlola had spent three and a half years out of his second term until he was removed in a landmark judgment on 26th November 2010, by the Court of Appeal, sitting in Ibadan which nullified his election and Rauf Aregbesola was declared the validly elected Governor in the 14th April, 2007 gubernatorial election. Rauf Aregbesola was then sworn in as governor on 27th November 2010. His first term of office ends in November 2014 which necessitated a governorship election in the state on August 9, 2014.

The people of Osun are believed to be politically sophisticated and dynamic. Different political parties have ruled the state since 1991.

4. The Political Parties, Candidates and their Antecedents

Even though 20 political parties presented candidates for the August 2014 governorship election, it was apparent that the Osun governorship election was a straight fight between the APC and the PDP.

The All Progressives Congress (APC) was formed on 6 February 2013 as a result of an alliance by Nigeria's four biggest opposition parties – the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), and a faction of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) –which merged to become a progressive party to take on the conservative People's Democratic Party. The party received approval from the nation's electoral umpire Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) on 31 July 2013 to become a political party and subsequently withdrew the operating licenses of the three previous merging parties (the ACN, CPC and ANPP).

On 25 November 2013, five governors in the existing ruling party, PDP, decided to join APC, as well as 49 federal legislators giving APC a slim majority of 186 legislators in the federal House of Representatives and 58 Senators. (Durotoye, 2014).

The APC candidate, Rauf Aregbesola, an engineer, was born on 25 May 1957. He is from Ilesa.

Aregbesola was formerly an activist. He was Lagos Commissioner for Works and Infrastructure when he ran for governor of Osun State in the 2007 elections on the platform of the defunct Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN). Although the People's Democratic Party (PDP) candidate, Olagunsoye Oyinlola was declared the winner, Aregbesola appealed the decision. Aregbesola called over 100 witnesses and tendered 168 exhibits in his petition before the Election Petitions Tribunal, alleging violence and ballot boxes stuffing in the election. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rauf_Aregbesola). Justices of the Federal Appeal Court, Ibadan finally declared Aregbesola the winner of the 2007 election, ordering that he be sworn in as governor by noon on 27 November 2010.

For his re-election, Rauf Aregbesola, was on Saturday 12th April 2014 endorsed as the governorship candidates of the All Progressives Congress in the states gubernatorial election slated for the 9th of August 2014. The emergence of Aregbesola was preceded by the state congress held by the party in which he was unanimously endorsed as the candidate of the party. According to the party, there are about 355,000 card carrying members of the party in the 332 wards across the state.

The People's Democratic Party (Nigeria) was founded in 1998. The People's Democratic Party is a conservative political party which has won every Presidential election since 1999. In 1999, the party lost all the governorship seats in the South West of Nigeria despite Olusegun Obasanjo, a south westerner emerging as the president. Reverse was the case in 2003 when the PDP won all the elections in the South western states of Osun, Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, and Ekiti states except Lagos. The PDP favours free-market policies which support economic liberalism, and limited government regulation.

Its candidate in the 2014 governorship election in Osun, Iyiola Omisore, also an engineer, was born on 15 September 1957. He is from Ile-Ife. Iyiola Omisore served as Deputy Governor of Osun State from 1999 to 2001 before he was impeached when he fell out with his boss, Chief Bisi Akande. He was detained for about 2 years and charged for the death of the then Attorney General and Minister of Justice of Nigeria and AD leader, Chief Bola Ige, murdered in his home in Ibadan in December 2001. He was later discharged and acquitted. While in prison custody and on trial for the murder of Bola Ige, Iyiola Omisore was elected to the Senate for the Osun East senatorial district in April 2003 running for the PDP.

Iyiola Omisore was re-elected for Osun East in 2007. At the senate, Iyiola was appointed to the committees for Police Affairs, Housing, Culture & Tourism, Aviation and Appropriation. He was prominent as chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriation responsible for considering the nation's annual budget. Omisore had wanted to contest for the Osun state governorship election since 1998.

5. Issues in the Run up to the Election

5.1. *INEC Commissioner accused of partisanship*: PDP's candidate, Senator Iyiola Omisore, repeatedly accused the Osun State Resident electoral commissioner, Rufus Akeju, of being partisan in favor of APC. Akeju was later transferred out of Osun state before the election. He was replaced by Segun Agbaje, a few weeks before the election.

5.2. *"Stomach infrastructure"*: Stomach infrastructure entered the political lexicon of Nigeria after the June 2014 Ekiti state governorship election. This term is used to describe the electorates' preference for immediate gains like food and money as opposed to long term development. The two major political parties shared rice, kerosene, cooking oil and money to woo voters prior to the August 9 election.

5.3. *Militarization*: Just as in the Ekiti state governorship election, there was a heavy presence of different security agencies about two weeks before the election, a move which according to President Goodluck Jonathan was necessary to ensure safety of life and property before, during and after the election. The leadership of the All Peoples Congress (APC) continually alleged that the heavy presence of military personnel was to manipulate the polls in favor of the PDP candidate. To counter what the APC perceived as potential victimization of its supporters by the security agents, Rauf Aregbesola told APC members to fortify themselves spiritually with Psalms and Bible verses for Christians, Quran and Quranic verses for Muslims while traditionalists should feel free and be ready to defend their votes with the use of amulets and other charms should the poll turn violent.

Two days before the election, people alleged to be security operatives attended at the houses of some APC stalwarts, arrested some of them and shot at the houses of some in a bid to gain entrance. One of those whose houses were vandalized was a former senator and APC leader, Bayo Salami, in Osogbo. His doors were shot at severally to gain entrance to his house for his arrest without success. There were reports that soldiers and officials of the Department of State Security (DSS) randomly chased down and arrested APC leaders and members across the state. Former Vice President and APC member, Atiku Abubakar said the use of the military for the purpose of election is an anathema to the very spirit of electioneering politics, because the rules of engagement of the military violates the principles of fundamental human rights which gives the people the power of franchise. (Premium Times, 2014a).

5.4. APC's Allegation of Discovery of PDP's Rigging Manual for Osun Governorship Election

Two days to the election, the All Progressives Congress (APC) claimed it uncovered the PDP's manual to rig the governorship election in Osun State with projected fake results in all the 30 local government areas of the state. The APC national Chairman, John Odigie Oyejuna said the rigging plans were contained in two documents prepared by the PDP in Osun, and which were in the possession of the APC. Knowing APC's propaganda machinery, the alleged document could have been easily waived aside but for the meticulous details including names provided by the APC as allegedly contained in the "Rigging manual". "The first is a 'secret' document marked "HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL" that contains a meticulous outline of plans to rig the election, polling unit by polling unit, using pre-programmed ballot papers already designed and thumb printed with vanishing ink in favour of PDP. The second document, entitled "Task Force: Operation (PDP) takeover of Osun", lists the actions to be taken at most of the 30 Local Government Areas in the state, including thuggery, snatching of ballot boxes and instigation of violent clashes, the PDP members to coordinate the recommended actions and the APC members to be arrested to pave the way for such actions". (Premium Times, 2014b).

5.5. Mega Rallies

The two political parties campaigned in different parts of Osun state. The campaign rallies were concluded by mega rallies at the Osogbo township stadium. The PDP took the stage on Saturday August 2, 2014. The rally was attended by the President, the Vice President, PDP national chairman, and many state governors of the party. In the well-attended rally, the president appealed to voters to vote for the PDP candidate to be able to attract federal presence in terms of infrastructures to the state. The PDP candidate, Iyiola Omisore, when called upon to speak failed to itemise his programs for the state.

The APC rally took place three days later at the same venue. It was also well attended despite the rain. Party leaders from all over the country and APC state governors attended. APC candidate, Aregbesola promised to continue with his good work of turning the state to another "Dubai". Just before coming to the event, Aregbesola had gone round Osogbo, the state capital on top of a luxury bus in a show of popularity.

6. Election Conduct and Results

The turn out of voters on August 9, 2014 recorded 54.17% of eligible voters. The voters defied the early morning rain in some areas of the state to cast their votes. There was heavy presence of security operatives in all the polling units to ensure a trouble free poll. There was no single case of ballot snatching or ballot stuffing. This was due to many reasons;

INEC customized all ballot papers according to local governments such that ballots assigned a particular local government were peculiar to it and cannot be used in another.

The Commission customized all result sheets such that they were unique to each Polling Unit (PU) and they could not be used in any other.

The Commission serially numbered all ballot boxes such that they could not be transferred to other PUs and so that if a ballot box is snatched and stuffed it cannot be brought back to the PU.

The Commission gave additional training to the staff recruited to conduct the election so that they could perform their tasks with proficiency and integrity. (Durotoye, 2014).

OSUN STATE GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION RESULTS, AUGUST 9, 2014.

NAME OF STATE: OSUN			CODE: OS		
S/N	CONTESTANT	GENDER	PARTY	VOTES RECEIVED	REMARK
1	BARR. NIYI OWOLADE	MALE	A	377	
2	BABATUNDE ORALUSI	MALE	AA	379	
3	MR. FEMI ADELEKE	MALE	ACPN	4,370	
4	SENATOR SUNDAY FAJINMI	MALE	AD	1,982	
5	COMRADE GABRIEL G. OJO	MALE	ADC	1,783	
6	ALHAJI AGBOOLA A. OBASANJO	MALE	APA	3,306	
7	OGBENI RAUF A. AREGBESOLA	MALE	APC	394,684	ELECTED
8	AKINTUNDE A. ADETUNJI	MALE	APGA	806	
9	ALH. RAFIU S. ANIFOWOSE	MALE	CPP	1,087	
10	ALHAJI FATAI AKINBADE	MALE	LP	8,898	
11	CHIEF BABATUNDE ADETORO	MALE	MPPP	249	
12	COM. AFOLAYANKA O. JIMOH	MALE	NCP	457	
13	PRINCE ADEFARE S. ADEGOKE	MALE	NNPP	493	
14	OLUDARE TIMOTHY AKINOLA	MALE	PDM	1,909	
15	SENATOR IYIOLA OMISORE	MALE	PDP	292,747	
16	ALHAJI LAWAL G. ABIODUN	MALE	PPA	2,628	
17	ELDER OLUSEGUN AKINWUSI	MALE	SDP	534	
18	MR. BUNMI FUNSO	MALE	UDP	261	
19	ADEOTI IBRAHIM ABIODUN	MALE	UPN	212	
20	PRINCE VICTOR O. ADENIYI	MALE	UPP	159	

a	TOTAL NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS	1,411,373
b	TOTAL NUMBER OF ACCREDITED VOTERS	764,582
c	TOTAL NUMBER OF VALID VOTES	717,321
d	TOTAL NUMBER OF REJECTED VOTES	32,700
e	TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES CAST	750,021
f	PERCENTAGE TURN OUT	54.17%

SOURCE: INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION (INEC)

According to the election results released by INEC on the morning of August 10, 2014, the APC candidate won the majority vote and was declared the winner of the election. Rauf Aregbesola won in 23 local government areas polling a total vote of 394,684 while the PDP candidate, Iyiola Omisore won in 7 local government areas with a total vote of 292,747.

An analysis of the results shows that the two candidates won in their home local governments. Besides, the state capital of Osogbo with two local government areas of Osogbo and Olorunda delivered the highest number of votes for Aregbesola. This is understandable because apart from his deputy, Grace Titi Laoye Tomori from Osogbo, most of Aregbesola's developmental projects were visibly located in the state capital. It was also apparent that Ifedayo and Boluwaduro local government areas have the least number of voters in the state. Out of the twenty governorship contestants, there was no female contestant.

Despite President Jonathan's congratulatory message to Aregbesola, the Osun State chapter of the People's Democratic Party rejected the election result. Even Aregbesola, despite his victory complained that the number of accredited voters in most local governments was less than half of registered voters. He queried how the bulk of the PDP candidate's votes came from only four Local Governments- namely Ife Central, Ife East, Ife North and Ife South, PDP candidate's home local government and surrounding local government areas. Aregbesola said this suggests an inexplicable large turnout in the PDP candidate stronghold which is a curious departure from the general trend of voting across the state.

The PDP candidate who eventually accepted defeat three days after the election declined to congratulate Aregbesola. He claimed APC was helped by INEC's former resident electoral commissioner in Osun state, Rufus Akeju. Even though Akeju was transferred before the election, Omisore stated that by the time the electoral Commissioner was removed, he had already done the damage. He said Akeju opened the entire electoral system to the APC from registration stage through data storage to personnel loading. "Though the leadership of INEC eventually took him out of the state weeks to the elections, he already did a lot of harm in the system that would take years to rectify". (Daily Post, 2014).

7. Why PDP/Omisore lost

7.1. Character Preference: APC, more than anything else tried successfully to associate Omisore, the PDP candidate, with thuggery and violence and warned that the state would lose the relative peace it had enjoyed since Aregbesola became governor in 2010 should Omisore become the governor. Omisore was painted as a desperate politician whose hallmark remains deeply rooted in trouble making. Rather, Aregbesola was projected as “Omoluabi”- a gentleman.

7.2. Internal crisis in PDP: The PDP was a hotbed of crisis in Osun state before the election as will be shown later.

7.2. Traditional Rulers: Omisore, whose father was a traditional ruler, did not fare well before many of the traditional rulers in the state. On the other hand, the APC government in the state had warmed itself to the heart of the traditional rulers by consistent patronage in terms of funding and spread of infrastructural projects to their respective communities. According to the Yoruba tradition, traditional rulers are largely respected in their domains. In the last week before the election, Aregbesola reached out to many traditional rulers promising them roads, local government area council among many others.

7.3. Adeleke and Oyinlola's Defection:

Two former governors of the state, Isiaka Adeleke and Iyiola Omisore defected to the APC on account of assault in the case of Adeleke and greed in the case of Oyinlola. Adeleke alleged that he was assaulted, molested and manhandled by Omisore and his crony, Jelili Adesiyani, the Minister of Police Affairs, a few days to the PDP governorship primaries. (Africa news hub, 2014.)

Oyinlola, the immediate past governor of the state, and former National secretary of the party, accused Omisore of being selfish, and that the PDP had not been fair to the Yoruba people. “Let us look at this; he (Omisore) picked Prof. Wale Oladipo, who was in the prison with him (over Bola Ige's case) to replace me as the National Secretary of the PDP. He nominated Jelili Adesiyani who was also with him at Agodi Prison as a minister and he installed Gani Olaoluwa, who was also with them at the prison as the PDP chairman in the state. Does it mean that we cannot hold public office except we are former prisoners? The PDP is now empty; they pushed former Governor Isiaka Adeleke out, Alhaji Fatai Akinbade (Labour Party candidate) left them when he saw the way they were doing, I also left them for the APC.” (Punch, 2014). Oyinlola added that Omisore had nothing good for the people of the state while hailing the performance of Aregbesola whom he urged the people to support.

7.4. The Stigma of Bola Ige's Death

Even though Omisore was discharged and acquitted in the Bola Ige murder case, the stigma continued to hunt him as some believed the judicial process was compromised by the ruling party to free Omisore. Omisore had to consistently plead ignorance during his campaign. (Daily Times, (2014). It did not appear many people believed his alibi. He even authored a book where he tried to justify his acquittal at the court over Bola Ige's murder. Bola Ige's son, Muiyiwa, who is a member of Aregbesola's cabinet, whipped up the matter before the election. Ige, who was the Attorney General of the Federation, was assassinated at his residence in Ibadan on December 23, 2001. Bola Ige was a former governor of the old Oyo state between 1979 and 1983 of which Osun state was a part. He was very popular and largely respected in Yoruba land in general and Osun state in particular where he came from.

7.5. Aregbesola's achievements

To many indigenes of Osun state, Aregbesola had performed creditably well in the past 4 years of being in office and should be rewarded with another 4 years to complete the many projects he commenced. Some of his achievements include 40,000 Youths Employed under the Osun Youth Empowerment Scheme (OYES) with over N2.4 billion injected to the economy as allowances for the OYES Volunteers; 5,000 Youths trained and empowered in information communication technology under the Osun Youth Empowerment Technology (OYESTECH); 4.123 kilometres of waterways (streams, arteries, canals) dredged to keep the state flood-free; 750,000 school students provided with school uniform coupled with empowerment of 3,000 tailors; 150,000 students provided with computer tablets (Opon imo), an electronic learning tool preloaded with 17 subjects, 54 textbooks, and past questions of JAMB, WAEC AND NECO of the past 10 years; Introduction of bi-monthly environmental sanitation exercise under the O'CLEAN Initiative to keep the state clean; Beautification of the 185 km Oyo boundary (Asejire) to Osun-Ondo Boundary (Owena); Trucks provided for a Public-Private Partnership waste management model in the state; Increase of Primary School Funding Grants from N7.4 million to N424 million a year; feeding of 240,000 school kids daily with nutritious meals under the Osun Elementary School Feeding and Health Programme coupled with empowerment of over 3,000 caterers; Building

of mega schools; Increase of Secondary school basic funding grants from N171 million to N427 million per year; Reduction of Tuition Fees in State-owned Tertiary Institutions reduced by 30%; Security of lives and properties being guaranteed with provision of 5 Armoured Personnel Carrier, over 100 security patrol vehicles and one helicopter for area surveillance; 2 state of the art police stations built; Increase in Internally Generated Revenue(IGR) from N300 million to N700 million without increasing tax payable by citizens; Setting up of Omoluabi Conservation Fund with a N4.2 Billion reserve; Establishment of Osun Debt Management Office; Building of the largest commercial apiary in Sub-Saharan Africa for refined honey production; Over 1,765 hectares of land cleared and prepared to support farmers, and rehabilitation of farm settlements in the state with over N1 billion committed to support farmers; Construction of super highways to connect Osun to Lagos and Osun to Kwara States; 61 Township roads covering 128km being upgraded all over the state; Increase of Ede Water Works capacity from 13% to 30% and on-going plan to reach 100% capacity before the end of 2014; Over 3,000 permanent teachers employed into the state education sector; 27. 218 km roads being built across the 30 Local Government Areas and Ife East Area Office, Modakeke; Osun Ambulance Service Authority established with 400 youths trained as paramedics; 9 State Hospitals and 12 comprehensive health centers being rehabilitated in the state; 74 Primary Health Centers built, and Osogbo Railway Station undergoing massive rehabilitation. (Nairaland.com, 2014). Other achievements include the establishment of a modern shopping mall (Ayegbaju Market) and the construction of a “Ring road” around the Osogbo Township.

7.6. No clear manifesto and message by PDP:

Omisore’s billboards did not contain any message to convey his manifesto. Such messages as “Eni tanwi de”- Here comes the one we have been talking about, “Ni Ipinle Osun, eniyan iyi ni wa”-in Osun state we are men of honour” did not convey any message about his programs. Besides, the PDP and their candidate did not take full advantage of alleged Aregbesola’s shortcomings such as his school uniform program in which all the elementary and high school pupils wear the same uniform and the school merger policy that led to some religious tension in the state. Even though PDP harped on the accusation of “capital flight” in which they claimed resources in the state are concentrated in the hands of those people Aregbesola brought from Lagos state who repatriate resources back to Lagos state, the negative impact of the damage did not go far.

7.7. Aregbesola’s acceptability as a grassroots’ politician:

Aregbesola was widely popular and was able to connect with the people at the grassroots.

7.8. Osogbo factor:

Aregbesola commands large following in the state capital, Osogbo. Osogbo has two local government areas and the largest number of registered voters in the state. Apart from his deputy coming from Osogbo, the Deputy speaker of the state House of Assembly is also from Osogbo. Aregbesola warmed himself into the heart of the Osogbo people by his many developmental projects in the state capital under his urban renewal program. Aregbesola scored 66,534 votes in Osogbo as against Omisore’s 19,996 votes. The bloc of votes from Osogbo gave Aregbesola about 45% of his victory margin in the election.

7.9. Ekiti Experience:

The loss of the Ekiti state governorship election by the APC in June was a big lesson for the party. The party was able to correct some of the loopholes that cost them victory in the Ekiti election.

8. Implications of Aregbesola/APC victory

APC victory in Osun state has a lot of implications especially for the 2015 general elections. The party is well positioned to win the general elections into the state Houses of Assembly, and the National Assembly in 2015. This will intensify competition amongst party members to become the party’s candidates for the legislative elections. Besides, based on the unwritten rotational principle in the state, Iyiola Omisore will not be able to contest for governorship in the state again until another 8 years because he is from the same senatorial district as Aregbesola. After Aregbesola’s term in the next four years, the two other senatorial districts of Osun central and Osun west will take a shot at the governorship. This is not a constitutional provision though but it has always been the practice. More importantly is next year’s presidential election. President Goodluck Jonathan may find it harder to win in the state than if his party’s candidate, Omisore had won the governorship.

Most observers praised INEC for performing above average in the Osun election. There is growing confidence and positive disposition among Nigerians about INEC’s ability. They believe the commission would be able to deliver in 2015 if given the necessary support and funding.

However, the partisanship displayed by some overzealous security operatives by arresting some APC leaders a few days to the election does not portend well for the 2015 election.

9. Conclusion

This study has shown that a combination of attitudinal, social and psychological factors influenced the voting behaviour in the August 9, 2014 governorship election in Osun state.

Attitudinal factors such as assessments of the personal characteristics of the candidates, evaluations of government performance, orientations on specific policy issues, and party identification are the primary determinants of candidate's choice. Social factors such as religion, race, and social class played less significant roles although the performance of the two candidates in their home areas may be attributable to race.

Looking at Party identification, APC's 255,000 registered membership in the state may have played a part in the victory.

It must be noted that evaluations of candidate qualities and government performance are distinctly short-term forces, capable of substantial shifts from one election to the next. Hence, the outcome of this election does not necessarily portend future voting behaviour in the governorship election in 2018. Affective influence referring to the experience of emotion or feeling in voting behaviour also played a role in the Osun election. Anxiety, an emotion that increases political attentiveness while decreasing reliance on party identification when deciding between candidates, thus improving decision-making capabilities also played a role. Voters who report anxiety regarding an election are more likely to vote for candidates whose policies they prefer. In the area of fear, research shows that people experiencing fear rely on more detailed processing when making choices. The use of emotional appeals in political campaigns to increase support for a candidate or decrease support for a challenger was widely used by the APC to instil positive emotions such as enthusiasm and hopefulness about its candidate among party bases to improve turnout and political activism while seeking to raise fear and anxiety about Omisore. Enthusiasm reinforced preferences, whereas fear and anxiety about the PDP candidate provoked a negative voting behaviour towards him. The loss aversion theory that voters are more likely to use their vote to avoid the impact of an unfavourable policy also played a role. From a psychological perspective, value references are crucial to determine individual preferences. For instance, Aregbesola's policies are a value which voters did not want to lose thus they voted for him to continue those policies.

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