

# IMPUNITY IS THE NORM

*(A Report on Campaign Finance and use of State Administrative Resources in the ONDO STATE 2016 Gubernatorial Election)*



**USAID**  
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



**CENTRE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE (CSJ)**  
*(Mainstreaming Social Justice In Public Life)*

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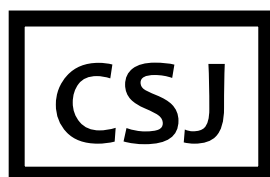
*(A Report on Campaign Finance and use of State Administrative Resources in the Ondo State 2016 Gubernatorial Election)*

**Written by**

Eze Onyekpere Esq

And

Victor Emejuiwe



**Centre for Social Justice (CSJ)**

*(Mainstreaming Social Justice in Public Life)*

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By

**Centre for Social Justice (CSJ)**

No.17, Yaounde Street, Wuse Zone 6, P.O. Box 11418, Garki Abuja

Tel: 08055070909, 08127235995

Website: [www.csj-ng.org](http://www.csj-ng.org)

Email: [censoj@gmail.com](mailto:censoj@gmail.com)

Twitter: @censoj

Facebook: Centre for Social Justice, Nigeria

Blog: [csj-blog.org](http://csj-blog.org)

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## ACRONYMS

Act	Electoral Act
AIT	Africa Independent Television
APC	All Progressives Congress
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CSJ	Centre for Social Justice
DJ	Disc Jockey
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
LGA	Local Government Area
NULGE	National Union of Local Government Employees
NUT	Nigeria Union of Teachers
OSRTV	Ondo State Radio and Television
PAS	Public Address System
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PHCN	Power Holding Company of Nigeria
PVC	Permanent Voters Card
SAR	State Administrative Resources
TV	Television

## **Acknowledgement**

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### **ERRATA/CORRECTION**

All the figures and calculations in this report, except otherwise stated are denominated in Naira being the Nigerian currency



## Executive Summary

The objectives of the project and monitoring exercise leading to this Report are to:

- Build the capacity of stakeholders to engage campaign finance and the use of SARs.
- Monitor and report on campaign finance and the use of SAR in the 2016 Ondo State Gubernatorial elections.
- Network, sensitize and raise public awareness on campaign finance and use of SARs.
- Contribute to the process of engendering campaign finance reforms

The report is presented in seven chapters. Chapter One deals with the introduction. This chapter highlighted the essence of the project and the methodology used in carrying out the project. Chapter Two examines the legal framework which forms the basis of the entire project. Chapter Three discussed the abuse of state administrative resources during the period of the electioneering campaign. Chapter Four discussed the expenses incurred in rallies and mobilization across the state and other incidental expenses while Chapter Five is on the billboards. Chapter Six is on the electronic and print media campaigns. Chapter Seven is deals with conclusions and recommendations.

The recommendations emanating from the monitoring exercise are as detailed hereunder.

### **To the National Assembly**

**(i)** The ceiling of N200 million for candidates in a gubernatorial election should be upwardly reviewed to not less than N1billion. This is based on observed and necessary expenses to mount a viable gubernatorial campaign.

**(ii)** The review to N1billion should not be contained in the body of the Electoral Act. Rather, the Act should be amended and the power to determine the ceiling across all the elections given to INEC. This power will be exercised from time to time based on changes in the economy, especially the macroeconomic indicators, after consultation with relevant stakeholders and the public. The stakeholders will include the political parties, campaign organisations, Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Central Bank of Nigeria, security agencies and civil society working in the field of elections.

**(iii)** The ceilings should be based on empirical evidence including the number of voters to be reached, land area, cost of media, transport, venues and others reasonable expenses needed to mount a reasonable campaign. Essentially, INEC should work out

reasonable campaign finance costs needed to run a good campaign as a basis for fixing the ceiling.

**(iv)** The reviewed ceilings should be universal and cover expenses from the candidate and the political party. Third party expenditure for candidates should also be guided by the expenditure ceiling on individual donations to candidates.

**(v)** Penalties for spending in excess of the ceiling should be increased to not less than a fine of 50 per cent of the value of the excess expenditure and the terms of imprisonment should be increased to not less than 2 calendar years. It should also include debarment from participation in politics for a period of 2 years.

**(vi)** Print and electronic media houses should be under obligation to report the cost of all campaign advertisements to INEC and the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation.

**(vii)** Donations to candidates and political parties should be made tax deductible up to a maximum limit of the N1million ceiling for individual donations to candidates.

**(viii)** The Electoral Act should provide for compulsory collaboration between government agencies such as Federal Inland Revenue Service, INEC and the anti-corruption agencies to determine the source of funds donated to candidates and political parties. Also, donors should be followed up by FIRS to verify their tax payments to the treasury.

**(ix)** A new agency should be established specifically to oversight campaign finance and SAR issues or in the alternative INEC, is specifically strengthened with proactive powers to inter alia:

- Seize funds deployed in contravention of the law and guidelines
- Demand and receive from candidates and parties the market value of state resources such as cars and aircrafts deployed to campaigns
- Issue cease orders to individuals and organisations who violate the law with impunity
- Issue cease orders to candidates and political parties who continue to violate the law and guidelines
- In extreme cases of serial contraventions, to disqualify candidates and parties who violate laid down regulations
- Generally to enforce campaign finance and SARs provisions of the law.

Funding for the new body or the strengthening of INEC should come from a fixed percentage of the sums realized by political parties from expression of interest to contest and purchase of forms by candidates across all the political parties.

**(x)** Outlaw remuneration and wage increments by incumbents within six months to any scheduled election.

**(xi)** Specific penalties should be provided for abuse of state administrative resources.

### **To INEC**

**(i)** INEC in consultation with the political parties and stakeholders should delimit the amount of money an individual or organisation can donate to a political party.

**(ii)** The Guidelines requiring candidates' reporting of their campaign expenditure should provide for cash, paper and banking trail which would facilitate reporting by candidates and monitoring by INEC to determine the accuracy of the candidates' reports. All campaign income should be domiciled in a specific bank account, of which its details will be given to INEC within 7 days of the emergence of the candidate. All campaign expenses in excess of N50,000 (or any higher sums as INEC may determine from time to time) should also be made from the same account by cheque and bank transfers.

**(iii)** Collaborate with civil society, political parties and other stakeholders to review the Electoral Act and extant guidelines.

### **To Political Parties**

**(i)** Take steps to ensure full compliance with extant provisions of the law and guidelines and rules of INEC.

**(ii)** Reform campaign finance rules to ensure that all the party members begin to subscribe and pay membership dues and levies.

**(iii)** Reorganize the party secretariats to ensure reach out to all members of the party and updates on the management of the finances of the party.

**(iv)** Engage in in-depth studies and analysis of parties' deployment of campaign finance and the use of SARs as a basis to engage INEC and the legislature.

**(v)** Sensitise members on the campaign finance and SARs rules.

### **To Civil Society**

**(i)** Monitoring political finance is not a one off event but a continuous exercise which links election expenditure and resources to governance. Continued monitoring and reporting on campaign finance is imperative.

**(ii)** Conduct in-depth studies and research on contributions of notable individuals and organisations to campaign funds of executive and legislative officials and their links to public procurement, privileges, patronage, legislation and corruption in governance.

**(iii)** Initiate dialogue, consultations and prepare drafts for the amendment of existing legislation.

**(iv)** For the media, raising awareness, agenda setting, etc, is still needed because political finance is yet to occupy its place in the front burner of national discourse.

**(v)** The church and the mosque and all religious organisations should enhance their teaching and education on moral re-armament as it relates to campaign finance.

# Chapter One

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Campaign finance is a sub theme of political finance and it includes the legal and illegal expenses associated with wooing the electorate for votes. The following articulation of campaign expenditure taken from the Political Parties Finance Handbook<sup>1</sup> is instructive:

*Campaign expenditure is defined as any expenditure incurred by a party for electoral purposes; that is solely for the purpose of enhancing the standing of or promoting electoral success for a party at a forthcoming or future election... Moreover goods or services for which payments are made prior to the campaign period, for use during the campaign period, shall be considered campaign expenditure and therefore must fall within the campaign expenditure limit. Campaign expenditure includes any expenditure incurred by a party in connection with the following items: Political party broadcasts, advertisement, distribution of unsolicited materials to the electorate, circulation of manifesto and other policy documents, market research and canvassing, media publicity, transportation and rallies and other events.*

The objectives of the regulation of campaign finance and the use of state administrative resources (SAR) includes the demand for transparency and accountability; promoting issue based politics; preventing the subversion of the legal system; curtailing money laundering; and preventing the improper influence of money over policy outcomes. Other objectives include the need to mainstream gender on the political agenda, enhancing democracy and development, the supremacy of the constitution, promoting popular participation, etc<sup>2</sup>. However, money and other resources are necessary for electioneering campaigns and political parties need money to deepen democracy. Money and electioneering is like fish and water which makes them inseparable. Thus, political contests and elections cannot be conducted without money.<sup>3</sup> Aluigba stressed that:

*“The indispensability of money in the affairs of political parties is even more pressing in the case of evolving democracies where the culture of democracy is still in its weaning stage. Political parties in developing democracies need more funds because of the avalanche of daunting tasks before them in terms of problems associated with establishing themselves as new political structures, overcoming the vagaries of outgoing authoritarian regime, building confidence and popularity in the electorate, etc.”*

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<sup>1</sup> INEC's Political Parties Finance Handbook, 2005, at page 28.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 1 of the Political Finance Monitoring Manual 2015 by Centre for Social Justice.

<sup>3</sup> Political Finance in Nigeria - Conference Paper by Moses Aluigba

Political campaigns need to spend money for rallies and face to face contacts with the electorate. The cost under this heading will include hiring of large venues, public address system, hire of vehicles and transport, hotel related expenses, etc. Large expenses are also incurred in the print and electronic media to send out messages to the populace. In these days of the outreach of the social media, expenditures are also incurred on that front. Again resources are spent on billboards, posters, handbills, hire of offices, campaign staff and logistics of the reach out to the electorate. After the election results have been declared by the election umpire, election petitions go through the gamut of the courts and are usually fought on behalf of candidates by very senior and distinguished members of the legal profession who earn very fat fees<sup>4</sup>.

Laws and regulations govern the conduct of elections and campaign finance in Nigeria. They include the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended), the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended), Code of Conduct for Political Parties<sup>5</sup>, Guidelines and Regulations for Political Parties, Political Parties Finance Handbook and Manual<sup>6</sup>; and other regulations made by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in the exercise of its powers under the Electoral Act. CSJ's monitoring experience over the years has shown the inadequacy of enacted laws and regulations and the reluctance of political parties and candidates to obey the law whilst enforcement is generally very weak.

## 1.2 Focus

This report focused on the campaign finance expenses and the deployment of state administrative resources of the two major candidates at the Ondo State November 26<sup>th</sup> gubernatorial election namely, the candidates of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). The parties fielded Rotimi Akeredolu and Eytayo Jegede as their respective candidates. The monitoring was limited to these two candidates because the candidates and parties were the most viable, had a large following and had the resources to mount viable campaigns across the state.

The issues covered include primaries, campaigns and rallies, mobilization for votes, campaign offices, publicity and associated cost. It also focused on the use of SARs including judicial resources, administrative, and coercive resources. All these resources

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<sup>4</sup> All of CSJ's previous campaign finance reports could not capture litigation expenses because the reports have to be written soon after the conclusion of the elections whilst election petitions take time to go through the gamut of courts and when permitted by law, a good number end up at the Supreme Court of Nigeria.

<sup>5</sup> The Code and Guidelines were revised in 2013.

<sup>6</sup> Prepared by INEC to guide compliance to campaign finance provisions and reporting thereon. Other laws include the Companies and Allied Matters Act which bars companies from making donations for political purposes.

were available to the two frontline parties who wielded power at the federal and state levels.

### **1.3 Goal and Objectives**

The project leading to this report was designed with the central goal of contributing to credible elections through a stakeholder engagement for the respect of campaign finance and SARs provisions of the Constitution and the Electoral Act. The specific objectives were to:

- Build the capacity of stakeholders to engage campaign finance and the use of SARs.
- Monitor and report on campaign finance and the use of SAR in the 2016 Ondo State Gubernatorial elections.
- Network, sensitize and raise public awareness on campaign finance and use of SARs.
- Contribute to the process of engendering campaign finance reforms

Generation of evidence is critical in any attempt to engender reforms. CSJ seeks to monitor and report on campaign finance and SAR with a view to introducing reforms in the campaign finance regime. It seeks to provide evidence to INEC, the legislature, the security apparatus, media and civil society organizations. INEC needs credible evidence to exercise its powers under section 153 of the Act for reform of rules and guidelines on campaign finance while the legislature will amend laws when clear gaps have been demonstrated to exist or mischief is found in the existing legal framework. For the security and anti-corruption agencies, credible evidence is needed to show that individuals or political parties have spent above the ceiling in violation of the law. For civil society organizations, it deepens the basis for continuous engagement for reforms and provides materials for scholars and jurists to further expound the frontiers of this rather neglected field of study.

### **1.4 The Context**

The Ondo State gubernatorial election presented an opportunity for a battle of supremacy between the APC which is the ruling party at the federal level and the PDP which had incumbency powers in the state. In the gubernatorial election that produced the outgoing governor Mimiko, the PDP defeated the ACN . the predecessor and forerunner of the APC. Incidentally, the flag bearer of the ACN was the same flag bearer of the APC in the 2016 contest. Thus, it was an opportunity for the APC to

extend its dominance beyond the federal level whilst the PDP needed to show its resilience.

Within the parties, the lack of internal democracy manifested in undue bickering over who will fly the flag of the parties. The two parties witnessed high level politicking and conflict among the key contenders. Within the APC, the chairman of the party, Odigie Oyegun and its national leader, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, fought over who should fly the flag of the party. During the primaries, whilst Tinubu supported the aspiration of Olusegun Abraham to become the party's candidate, Odigie Oyegun appeared to be in favour of the eventual candidate, Rotimi Akeredolu. Bola Ahmed Tinubu in the past always had his way in the nomination of candidates for electoral contests and party offices, especially in the states of the South West. The revolt against Bola Tinubu's choice was seen to be an order influenced by the presidency. This led to the fallout between those loyal to Bola Tinubu and the presidency. The tough stance taken by the chairman of the party was also alleged to have been influenced by monetary inducement, an allegation which he denied.<sup>7</sup> Olusegun Abraham lost and decamped to another political party to fly its flag and it was alleged that he still had the blessing of Bola Tinubu.

In the PDP, two parallel primaries were conducted. INEC monitored the primary that produced the eventual candidate Eytayo Jegede whilst the second that produced Jimoh Ibrahim was not deemed legal by INEC. Jimoh Ibrahim went to court and in a twist of fate, the Federal High Court upset the cart by declaring him the legal candidate. Eytayo proceeded to the Court of Appeal which was blackmailed and ambushed by Jimoh Ibrahim and his counsel. A further appeal went to the Supreme Court which resolved the issue and paved the way for Eytayo Jegede to be declared as the authentic and legal candidate of the PDP. However, the harm had been done. Eytayo Jegede had less than 48 hours to run his campaign after suspending same for more than one month. The inability of the PDP to resolve its fractional dispute distorted the party's campaign process. A media commentary of the conflict paints a clear picture as follows;

*The PDP is currently embroiled in legal intra party conflict which has distorted its hitherto smooth-sailing campaigns. Two factions of the party laid claims to the ticket to run for the office. The Ahmed Makarfi faction in the state is led by the governor, Olusegun Mimiko, and is the most formidable and better organised. It produced Eytayo Jegede as its candidate. The Ali Sheriff camp, chaired in the state by Biyi Poroye, successfully elected businessman Jimoh Ibrahim as its candidate for the governorship election. Confident that it had followed all due process in compliance with the Electoral Act, the Makarfi group submitted Mr. Jegede's name to INEC as the authentic candidate for the party. However a High Court decision changed that status quo as Jimoh Ibrahim became the candidate of the party. This development sucked out the steam off the*

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/10/nobody-kind-money-can-buy-conscience-odigie-oyegun-tells-tinubu/>



*campaign of Mr. Jegede, who had started his run earlier than the rest of them. He rode on the wings of the state government as the anointed of the government and governor, Mr. Mimiko. His campaign train thinned out as the legal tussle to reclaim his place on the INEC list of candidates lasted.*

The duo of Rotimi Akeredolu and Eyitayo Jegede, as Senior Advocates of Nigeria, are both senior members of the Nigerian legal profession. They are not well known to have the financial muscles to finance a heated gubernatorial campaign as the one in Ondo State. However, Eyitayo Jegede who was the immediate past Commissioner of Justice and Attorney General of the State enjoyed the strong support of the state government. The APC candidate on the other hand appeared to enjoy the funding support of the leaders of his party from the centre. Thus, on the surface of it, it was an evenly matched contest. One is left with a reasonable conclusion that the candidates were funded by powerful politicians interested in maintaining the status quo for PDP or changing same for APC.

## **1.5 Methodology**

The project identified and trained nine monitors to monitor the 18 Local Government Areas of the state. Relevant sections of the 1999 Constitution, and the Electoral Act including INEC Guidelines on political finance were used to train the monitors. The political finance monitoring manual 2015 which contains the legal regime and practical aspects of monitoring campaign finance and the use of SAR was also used to train the monitors. Most of the monitors had prior experience in monitoring campaign finance and as such were best positioned to carry out the exercise.

The monitors took an oath of non-partisanship and were charged with providing evidence only when it is credible, verifiable, and relevant. The monitors were thereafter deployed to the 18 LGA to monitor events in two local government areas each. The monitoring was restricted to the two frontline parties; the PDP and the APC. Part of their task was to attend rallies in the LGAs, visit party secretariats of political parties to obtain information that cannot be monitored from afar, such as, office rent, cost of utilities, administration etc.

The monitors went to the field, counted bill boards in each of the LGAs and obtained their cost. Posters, handbills and other forms of souvenirs were also observed and their cost obtained. Monitors provided information on cost observed during rallies such as cost of mobilization of participants to the venue, equipment, costumes, performances, sharing of money, food, drinks and anything of value. The electronic and print media were also monitored for cost of campaign advertisements and coverage. At the secretariat, a team was constituted to monitor national electronic coverage. The project

manager also paid a visit to the state to verify information supplied by the monitors. Letters were written to political party campaign offices and secretariats to obtain information on costs incurred for campaigns. Letters were also written to media houses to provide information on political advertisement rates. Prices of items utilized for the campaigns were verified from more than one vendor.

## **1.6 Challenges and Limitations of the Exercise**

It is imperative to state that the monitoring exercise was almost distracted by the legal bickering as to who was the actual candidate of the PDP. The situation was not resolved until a few days to the election. At the early part of the campaign before the decision of the Federal High Court, it was easy to stick with Eyitayo Jegede. But after the court decision, it was difficult to decide on whom to monitor as the PDP candidate.

Also, it was very difficult for a monitor to cover two local governments. It made it difficult for a monitor to be in two local government areas at the same time when two political campaign rallies were going on simultaneously in the local governments. Getting direct information on expenses from the parties and candidates was a major challenge. Letters were written to the two major political parties and the candidates' campaign offices to get information on their expenses, but there was no response from them. Unlike other previous gubernatorial campaigns monitored by CSJ, rallies and direct contacts with voters were limited, but lots of resources were spent on mobilization which practically meant disbursing money to voters. Essentially, voters were induced contrary to the law. A good number of these expenses could not be captured as they were peculiarly within the knowledge of the candidates and the parties.

## **1.7 Presentation of Report**

The report is presented in seven chapters as follows:

- Introduction
- The Legal Framework
- Abuse of States and Administrative Resources
- Expenses on Primaries, Mobilizations, Campaigns and Rallies
- Expenses on Bill Boards
- Electronic and Print Media Expenses
- Conclusions and Recommendations

## Chapter Two

### THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1. Introducing the Reforms

The Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) in sections 88 . 92 made provisions for the regulation of the finances and expenditure of political parties and also places a reporting obligation on them in section 93. The Act also in section 100 (2)<sup>8</sup> seeks to control the use of SARs by incumbents against the opposition. Nigeria's campaign finance and SAR law is of good quality. But there are some inchoate provisions in the Act. However, the major problem of Nigeria's campaign finance regime is about the implementation and adherence to the provisions of the Act by candidates and political parties. Also, the enforcement mechanism by INEC and security agencies is weak. INEC and the law enforcement agencies, for reasons best known to them refuse to use their prosecutorial powers. This leads to a culture of impunity in the abuse of campaign finance laws and regulations. However, there are some challenges in the Electoral Act regarding campaign finance which the legislature, INEC and the political parties need to address. They include the following detailed hereunder.

**A. Provide a Basis for the Ceilings:** The Electoral Act provides an expenditure ceiling for all category of elective positions as follows: Section 91 (2), in the case of the presidency; the maximum expenses shall be N1,000,000,000; (3) for governorship election N200,000,000; (4) Senatorial seat N40,000,000; House of Representatives N20,000,000, etc.<sup>9</sup> However, what is lacking in this provision is the basis of the ceilings. Is the ceiling justified by either the number of voters to be reached per constituency, or the land area to be covered? Did it consider the size of the state, constituencies or geopolitical zones? This consideration alongside specific expenditure heads incurred during campaigns such as media, mobilization and other logistics should form the basis for a ceiling. A governorship candidate spends N200 million whilst a presidential candidate, covering 36 states of the federation, is allowed to spend only N1billion . just the ceiling for five gubernatorial campaigns.<sup>10</sup>

There is need for expenditure ceilings in Nigerian electioneering. However, there must be a basis for the determination of the reasonableness of the ceilings. The limitation could be based on the number of registered voters in a constituency multiplied by a factor and from time to time adjusted for inflation based on the national consumer index.

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<sup>8</sup> 2010 Electoral Act

<sup>9</sup> Sec 91 of the 2010 Electoral Act

<sup>10</sup>See news24- it is a booby trap-President Jonathan. <http://m.news24.com/Nigeria/MyNews24/That-a-booby-trap-President-Jonathan>

For gubernatorial election, this ceiling can differ from state to state based on population, number of registered voters, land mass, etc.

Further, should the ceilings be provided in the body of the Act? This makes it difficult to review following changes in the economy because it will entail an amendment to the Act. It would have been proper if the power to determine and review the limits were left to INEC based on consultations with stakeholders and prevalent macroeconomic indicators.

**B. Individual Donations:** While the Act restricts individual donations to candidates to not more than N1million, it was silent on whether that limitation also applies to political parties. An individual, knowing fully well the provisions of the Act can channel his donation in excess of N1million to the political party since there is no law limiting contributions to the political party. Experience has also shown that individuals violate this law by donating on behalf of other persons. The law in this case has to be strengthened to clearly differentiate how much can be contributed to a political party and to a candidate.

**C. Tax Status of Contributors:** Contributions to candidates and political parties have not been made tax deductible up to a certain limit. This is one of the ways to encourage popular participation in campaign finance and reduce the influence of money bags and god fathers in politics. Also, there should be a tax trail in campaign finance donations. For an individual to be adjudged capable of making a million naira donation to a candidate, such individual should be able to prove that he is a worthy donor by showing proof of the requisite previous years tax payment. This would help to deter multiple announcement of one million naira donation on behalf of ghost donors.

**D. Provision for Bank and Paper Trails:** Apart from the donations recorded at public events organized by candidates and political parties, many individuals give money to candidates and parties secretly and these are the big donors who seek a pound of flesh after the candidate they supported wins the election. There is no law that stops a politician from walking into a candidate's house at night with a bag of money, purportedly to support his election. However, INEC can cue into the CBN cashless policy to mandate political parties and candidates to leave paper and bank trails in all their transactions. This can be achieved by regulations making it mandatory that all receipts and expenses must pass through a designated bank account declared by the candidate or party to INEC. Collaboration between INEC and CBN in this regard would ensure the transparency of the transactions so that INEC would have adequate information on all campaign finance related expenses. Any transaction outside the bank accounts would clearly be illegal and attract the requisite sanctions.

## 2.2 INEC Guidelines on Party Finance

The Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) despite providing expenditure ceilings for candidates, did not mandate them to report to INEC on their expenditure. However, INEC has taken steps to provide reporting obligations for candidates. Relying on S.153 of the Act<sup>11</sup>, INEC has made provisions in the Guidelines and Regulations for Political Parties 2013. The Guidelines state as follows.

### *a. Candidates, Campaign Office, Fundraising by Candidates and Disclosure*

*S. 11. All candidates shall:*

*a) Submit detailed address of their campaign offices to the Commission within 7 days from the date of publication of the notice of election.*

*(b) Notify the Commission of all events or meetings for the purpose of raising funds towards their campaign at least 7 days before such events or meeting.*

### *b. Disclosure*

*12. All candidates shall disclose to the Commission records of all contributions and other sources of funds for their campaign, as well as records of expenditure in a prescribed format issued by the Commission.*

### *c. Books of Accounts*

*13. Every candidate shall:*

*(a) Maintain a record of all contributions as well as any other source(s) of funds. The records shall include the names, addresses, occupation of the donor(s) and amount donated.*

*(b) Maintain proper books of account and records of all expenses incurred during campaign.*

### *d. Anonymous Contribution(s)*

*14. No candidate shall accept or keep in his/her possession any money anonymously donated or other contributions, gifts or property from any source whatsoever.*

### *e. Audited Return*

*15. (1) All candidates shall:*

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<sup>11</sup>Section 153 of the Act states that: *the Commission may, subject to the provisions of this Act, issue regulations, guidelines, or manuals for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this Act and for its administration thereof*

*(a) Submit detailed audited returns of their campaign expenses to the Commission within six (6) months after an election.*

*(b) Such returns shall indicate details of donations, other sources of funding, expenditure on goods, services and sundry expenses incurred for the purpose of election.*

*(2). The audited return on campaign expenses shall be signed by the candidate and supported by an affidavit sworn by the candidate as to the correctness of its content.*

*16. The Commission shall examine the records and audited account, of candidates on their campaign expenses through any officer or body authorized by the Commission in writing.*

The foregoing Guidelines provide a clear procedure for candidates to document and report on all contributions and expenses regarding the campaigns to the Commission. Candidates are under obligation to notify INEC of their fundraising activities at least 7 days before the event; keep proper books of account detailing receipts and expenditure; decline anonymous contributions; audit the campaign expenses and submit the audited accounts to INEC accompanied by a verifying affidavit vouching its correctness on oath. Thus, any statements in the audited accounts which are incorrect introduce the legal dimension of lying on oath. The only thing remaining to ensure that candidates comply with these rules is the political will to enforce same. The trend of events after the 2015 general elections and the 2016 gubernatorial elections in Edo and Ondo states shows that INEC is not ready and willing or may not have the resources to enforce the Guidelines.

### **2.3 Reform of Campaign Finance Laws**

Recommendations and issues for the reform of campaign finance laws and regulations will be fully reviewed in the conclusions and recommendations in the concluding Chapter of this report. But this will include broad questions on whether a new body is needed to monitor campaign finance and SAR or to strengthen INEC to perform this task in an empirical manner that guarantees that the law is worth more than the paper on which it is printed.

## Chapter Three

### ABUSE OF STATE AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESOURCES

#### 3.1 Introduction

This Chapter examines the abuse of state and administrative resources and the judicial conflicts that trailed the conduct of the 2016 Ondo State gubernatorial election. Most of the abuse of SAR in this report took account of manipulations that were perpetrated by superior powers in government and outside of government using state institutions. In this report, the dimension of abuse of SAR, especially judicial resources, observed in the election greatly affected the outcome of the polls.

#### 3.2 Ibrahim Jimoh's Emergence: The Hands Behind the Scene

Suspicious trailed the sudden emergence of Jimoh Ibrahim as the gubernatorial candidate of the Sheriff faction of PDP in Ondo State. There were media reports on the collaboration and role of some high level actors in the APC<sup>12</sup>. The political turf war is believed to have been fought with the 2019 presidential election in perspective. A newspaper reported as follows:

*“When El-Rufai, Fashola and Fayemi consulted Jimoh, who had no intention to be governor, the plan was to use him to obtain a court order from the controversial Justice Okon Abang to displace Jegede as the candidate of the PDP, thereby creating a smooth ride for the APC. Part of the deal was that when APC wins the Ondo election, the yet to be commissioned Ondo State Power Plant in Ore and the new International Events Center, The Dome in Akure, would be sold to Jimoh Ibrahim. While his lingering court battle with the Asset Management Company (AMCON) would also be settled.*

*Mimiko, who is presently fighting what has been described as one of the greatest political battles of his life, learning from the humiliation Asiwaju Tinubu suffered in the hands of El-Rufai, Fashola and Fayemi, seems to have seen the handwriting on the wall that the trio will leave no stone unturned to ensure he doesn't handover to his preferred choice as next Ondo Governor<sup>13</sup>”*

The game plan of the Jimoh Ibrahim group was to use the judicial process to cause confusion and distract the PDP from campaigning so as to present the opposition party

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/11/black-friday-ondo-pdp-gov-ticket/>

<sup>13</sup> <http://wazobiareporters.com/2016/10/31/ondo-decides-how-inec-commissioner-amina-zakari-el-rufai-others-made-jimoh-ibrahim-pdp-candidate-against-commissions-legal-advice-the-2019-connection/>

with a very bright chance of winning the election. Unfortunately, the plan seemed to have found an accomplice in the bench of the Federal High Court.

The accusation that Jimoh Ibrahim was a kangaroo candidate of the APC was further confirmed when he wrote an open letter to all his supporters 24hrs to the election with the hash tag #OndoloveAkeredolu. His letter read thus<sup>14</sup>;

*It is our conviction and agreement that Ondo State must be returned to the winning path and that the years of servitude and mindless rulership must be brought to an end.*

*Personally, I have come to a crossroad between my conscience and party. My conscience does not allow me to support a surrogate candidate for the PDP, who is untrained, inexperienced and incapable of grasping the complex leadership issues of Ondo State at this time. Whereas my love for my party also burns in my heart. In view of this and having considered all the candidates asking for the job of Governor of Ondo State, I have come to the conclusion that only Oluwarotimi Akeredolu SAN of the APC possesses the right mentality, competence, readiness and moral amplitude to lead Ondo State. I am therefore directing all our PDP party leaders, ward evangelists and unit canvassers, supporters as well as all the non politician society leaders who are working with us, including Kabiyesis, civil servants, workers union, religious leaders to work hard for and mobilise votes for our brother and friend Oluwarotimi Akeredolu SAN of APC.*

*You are to invest all your energies and capabilities to legitimately ensure that our brother Akeredolu emerges victorious in your units and wards and by extension the entire state. It is a known fact that Akeredolu will never tell a lie to you nor appropriate state powers and privileges to himself for selfish pleasures. I have always said that the task to develop Ondo State begins with the type of leader we hire for the job. It's time to act right".*

*Signed.*

*Jimoh Ibrahim CFR*

This letter makes him guilty of the accusation that he was used by federal powers as a mole working behind closed doors to ensure victory for the APC and the abuse of judicial resources at the level of Justice Abang of the Federal High Court made this a success.

### **3.3 Judicial Incarceration of Eyitayo Jegede by a Federal High Court Judge**

Following the judgment of Justice Abang of the Federal High Court declaring Jimoh Ibrahim as the gubernatorial candidate of the PDP, Jimoh Ibrahim approached the INEC office in Akure to serve the court judgment and requesting that Eyitayo Jegede be substituted. Following days of slow response from INEC on the court judgment, Jimoh

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<sup>14</sup> <http://guardian.ng/news/ondo-poll-jimoh-ibrahim-supports-apcs-akeredolu/>



Ibrahim conducted a press briefing in Akure where he accused the Resident Electoral Commissioner of the State of demanding \$1m bribe for the court judgment to be obeyed and for the later to be recognized. INEC denied this allegation but few weeks after the accusation and denial, the Commission publicly announced and presented the candidates list omitting the name of Eyitayo Jegede and replacing him with Jimoh Ibrahim.

Although done under a court order, the action of the Commission sparked rage and public outcry. However, the Jegede group lodged an appeal at the Court of Appeal. The Jimoh Ibrahim group blackmailed the first panel of the Court of Appeal that sought to resolve the logjam from sitting through spurious and unfounded allegations. When the first panel recused from the appeal, the Jimoh Ibrahim group again sought to frustrate the sitting of the second panel of the Court of Appeal to resolve the logjam through filing frivolous appeals at the Supreme Court. This was done in a bid to arrest the judgment of the Court of Appeal. However, the decision of the Supreme Court in dismissing the frivolous appeals and the Court of Appeal in re-affirming the candidature of Eyitayo Jegede restored the hope of Nigerians in the impartiality of the judiciary and its ability to deliver justice according to law.

The activities of the Ibrahim group were geared towards ignoble objectives, abuse of judicial proceedings and subversion of the will of the electorate. The conduct of Jimoh Ibrahim, his state factional chairman Biyi Poroye and their counsel, Beluolisa Nwofor (SAN) was described by the Supreme Court as a disgrace to the legal profession intended to cause confusion and rubbish the judiciary<sup>15</sup>. Without supporting evidence, the Jimoh Ibrahim group had accused the first panel of the Court of Appeal panel of receiving bribe from the Eyitayo group. Again, Jimoh Ibrahim is quoted in the popular media to have made further comments that seek to malign the judgement of the Court of Appeal and the integrity of the panel when he stated that: *“Let me advise the good people of Ondo State and my supporters nationwide not to abuse anyone or fight over this one day ruling which was paid for from the state’s treasury”*<sup>16</sup>. If the ruling was paid

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<sup>15</sup> The authors of this report believe that for Beluolisa Nwofor (SAN) and Jimoh Ibrahim to attempt to subvert judicial proceedings is a conduct unbecoming of legal practitioners and they should therefore be made to face the disciplinary sanctions of the Nigeria Bar. Biyi Poroye and his group whose wild allegations led the first panel of Court of Appeal to recuse itself from the appeal should be made to face full contempt of court proceedings and should be accordingly sanctioned. Judicial officers cannot continue to be unduly maligned without any supporting evidence and those engaged in this kind of conduct ought to suffer sanctions unless they can bring evidence in proof of their allegations.

<sup>16</sup> Italics supplied for emphasis. See Thisday newspaper of November 24 2016 at page 10.

for by the state's treasury, then the ruling by his statement is compromised and was procured by fraud and inducement.<sup>17</sup>

### **3.4 The Appeal to Postpone the Election Fell on Deaf Ears**

With the final decision of the courts affirming Eyitayo Jegede as the rightful candidate of the PDP with a few days to the date fixed for the election, the PDP made an appeal to INEC to consider a postponement of the election. The appeal was to enable the candidate to campaign and appoint party agents as required by law. During the protracted court process, especially after the judgement of the Federal High Court, Jegede had stopped campaigning and focused attention on the litigation. INEC turned down this appeal insisting that the factional dispute within the PDP cannot be used as a basis to delay the conduct of election in the state<sup>18</sup>. Governor Mimiko raised a number of reasons why INEC should postpone the election. First, he cited the provision made in section 26 of the Electoral Act which gives provision for postponement to not more than 30 days before the expiration of the incumbent administration. According to him, his administration expires on February 24, giving INEC the latitude to postpone the election. He also reasoned that, since INEC substituted Eyitayo's name with that of Jimoh Ibrahim as a result of a court order, now that the order has been reversed two days before the election, INEC should have given Jegede the privilege of full participation in the election through campaigning<sup>19</sup>. However, INEC turned down the appeal.

### **3.5 Mimiko Re-absorbs Sacked Local Government Workers**

The incumbent governor of Ondo State met with the national leadership of the National Union of Local Government Employees (NULGE), during the NULGE yearly seminar where he announced the re-absorption of sacked 500 NULGE workers from Idanre and 600 from Ifedore local government areas. The sacking of the workers took place way back in 2008 when the governor was still a member of the Labor Party. It was clear that the reason for this sudden change of mind by the governor is connected to garnering support for the nominee of his party, Eyitayo Jegede. The unanswered question is; why did the governor allow these workers to remain out of job for seven and half years before the election?

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<sup>17</sup> Again, Jimoh Ibrahim should be held accountable to these words and if he is unable to prove his allegations, he should face contempt of court proceedings and the disciplinary sanctions of the Bar.

<sup>18</sup> Why conduct of elections will violate the law-Jegede

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2016/11/mimiko-calls-postponement-saturday-governorship-election-ondo/>

## Chapter Four

### CAMPAIGNS AND RALLIES

#### 4.1 Introduction

This Chapter documents the expenditure on campaigns and rallies organized by the candidates of APC and PDP for the gubernatorial election. The cost documented includes venues, stage and podiums, public address system, decorations, hire of vehicles, entertainment, chairs, tables, costume, party symbols, etc. It also includes documentation of vote buying, campaign offices and posters.

#### 4.2 All Progressives Congress

##### A. GOVERNORSHIP PRIMARIES IN AKURE

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Campaign Venue	International Event Centre (DONE)	N5,000,000	5,000,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>5,000,000</b>

##### B. MOBILIZATION IN ONDO EAST

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Banners	12 Pieces of 3/4 digital printed Advertisement banners	7000	84,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>84,000</b>

##### C. MOBILIZATION OF MEMBERS IN OWO

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Accommodation	33 rooms booked at Akure for two days	8000	528,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>528,000</b>

##### D. MOBILIZATION OF APC MEMBERS IN AKOKO SOUTH WEST

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Transport	144 delegates from Akoko South West/East	3,000	432,000
Hotel Accommodation X1 Day	144 delegates accommodated for 1day in different hotels in Akure	7,500	1,080,000
Feeding for 1 Day	144 delegates provided with meals for 1 day in Akure	10,000	1,440,000
Allowance Received	Allowance To 144 Delegates	150,000	21,600,000

<b>Total</b>			<b>24,552,000</b>
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#### E. MOBILIZATION OF APC MEMBERS IN AKOKO SOUTH EAST

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Transport	144 delegates from Akoko South West/East	3,000	432,000
Hotel Accommodation X1 Day	144 delegates accommodated for 1 day in different hotels in Akure	7,500	1,080,000
Feeding For 1 Day	144 delegates provided with meals for 1 day in Akure	10,000	1,440,000
Allowance Received	Allowance to 144 delegates	150,000	21,600,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>24,552,000</b>

#### F. WARD MEETING AT ITA MISSION, WARD 2, ILE-OLUJI/OKEIGBO

At the above ward in Ile-Olaji/ Okeigbo, just like the PDP, the APC had not brought its campaign train to the local government. However on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October, about 250 members of the party organized its ward meeting in preparation of the forth coming campaigns and election. The monitor was not able to obtain evidence of money shared to party members but it was confirmed that members of the party were entertained with biscuit and water by a member of the party

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Biscuit	Purchase of 2 packet of Cabin biscuit	250	500
Water	3 Bags of Sachet water	150	450
<b>Total</b>			<b>950</b>

#### G. WARD RALLY AT ODO EBUTE IN OKITIKPUPA ON THE 13<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2016

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Public Address System	Medium Sized Speakers and Microphones	12,000	12,000
Posters	An estimate of 500 posters were posted across the ward	100	50,000
Consumables	Five crates of soft drinks @ 1000 and four carton of cabin biscuits @ N400 each	5000 1,600	6,600
Chairs	Five dozens of plastic chairs	500	2,500
<b>Total</b>			<b>71,100</b>

#### H. MOBILIZATION OF CONGRESS MEMBERS IN OWO TO THE PARTY'S FLAG OFF AT ORE/ODIGBO LGA ON THE 24<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER, 2016

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Hired Buses	Eight (18 Seater buses) conveyed	20,000	160,000

	participants to Ore		
Allowances	270 persons were given allowances for food and water	4000	1,080,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,240,000</b>

I. MOBILIZATION OF CONGRESS MEMBERS IN OSE TO THE PARTY'S FLAG OFF AT ORE/ODIGBO LGA ON THE 24<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER, 2016

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Hired Buses	Thirteen (18 Seater buses) conveyed participants to Ore	20,000	260,000
Allowances	244 persons were mobilized to the event for food and water	4000	976,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,236,000</b>

J. MOBILIZATION OF WARDS IN AKOKO SOUTH WEST AND SOUTH EAST

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Mobilization	Mobilization of ward chairmen for ward meetings in the 15 wards in Akoko South West	50,000	750,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>750,000</b>

K. MOBILIZATION OF WARDS IN AKOKO SOUTH EAST

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Mobilization	Mobilization of ward chairmen for ward meetings in the 9 wards in Akoko South East	50,000	450,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>450,000</b>

L. WARD TO WARD MEETING IN OWO LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The meeting witnessed the gathering of stakeholders including the youth, market women, and artisans.

EXPENDITURE IN OWO

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Venue	Ifon Town Hall was decorated	15,000	15,000
Mobilization of Market Women	The sum of N50,000 was given to the leader of the market women for members of her group	50,000	50,000
	The sum of N150,000 was given to the leader of the youth for members of youth group in Owo	150,000	150,000
	The sum of N250,000 was given to the leader of the artisan for artisan	250,000	250,000

	in Owo		
<b>Total</b>			<b>465,000</b>

**M. WARD TO WARD MEETING IN OSE LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Venue	Mapo Town Hall was decorated	30,000	30,000
Banner	Two (4ft by 6ft) banner was produced and placed at the hall	35,000	70,000
Mobilization of Market Women	The sum of N50,000 was given to the leader of the market women for members of her group	50,000	50,000
	The sum of N150,000 was given to the leader of the youths for members of youth group in Owo	150,000	150,000
	The sum of N200,000 was given to the leader of artisans for artisans in Owo	200,000	200,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>500,000</b>

**N. RALLY HELD AT GOVERNMENT FIELD ORE, WARD 9, ODIGBO LOCAL GOVERNMENT ON THE 24<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2016**

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Mobile Podium	A branded Mobile Podium (Van) with public address system, music set, speakers and a DJ	200,000.00	200,000
Canopy	8 small canopies @ N2,000 each	2,000	16,000
Chairs	Six dozens of plastic chairs were rented @ N500 each.	500	3,000
Music	2 musical performances by local Yoruba musicians at the event; they were paid N100,000 each	100,000	200,000
Costume	A total of 1000 youths wore T-shirts and face caps @ N1,200 each About 20 women wore shoulder sash @ N1000.	1,200 x 1000 20 x 1,000	1,220,000
Transport	Four 18 seater buses were hired @ N30,000 each and 6 saloon Cars @ 15,000 each	4 x 30,000 6 x 15,000	210,000

Branded Vehicles	A Sienna Car was branded @ 100,000. Also an 18 seater coaster bus was branded @ 200,000	100,000 200,000	300,000
Video Coverage	A videographer was paid N20,000 to cover the event	20,000.00	20,000
Banner	A small sized banner was mounted at venue	5,000	5,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>2,174,000</b>

O. GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OLUSEGUN AGAGU MINI SPORT STADIUM SABOMI ROAD ODE IRELE, ON TUESDAY 26<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER, 2016

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Public Address system and music set	Large speakers and microphones, DJ and electricity generating set	100,000	100,000
Banners	2 big banners (10/20ft) were displayed at the venue @ N150,000 each and 7 small (8/12ft) banners @ N80,000 each.	2 x 150,000 7 x 80,000	860,000
Posters	300 posters were produced and pasted around the venue @ N200 each	200	60,000
Musical Performance	Two local artists were paid N100,000 and N150,000 respectively to perform at the event	100,000 150,000	250,000
Branded vehicles	Three 18 seater buses were branded at N 150,000 each; also one Hilux vehicle was branded at N100,000 and a salon car at N100,000	3 x 150,000 1 x 100,000 1 x 100,000	650,000
Photography/video coverage	A videographer was paid the sum of N15, 000 to cover the event	15, 000	15,000
Stage platform	A mobile stage was branded and used for the event	200, 000	200,000
Food and drinks	17 crates of coca cola @ N1000 per crate and 5 cartons of gala @ N4,200 were shared amongst participants	17 x 1000 5 x 4,200	38,000
Hired Buses/Transport	Three 18 seaters buses were hired for the event. @ N30,000 each	30, 000	90,000
Canopy	9 canopies were hired @ N5000	9 x 5, 000	55,000

	each; hiring of 20 dozens of plastic chair @N500 each	20 x 500	
T-Shirts/Dressing	200 persons wore branded Caps and T-Shirts @ 1,200 each	1,200	240,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>2,558,000</b>

P. APC WARD 1 AND 2 RALLY HELD AT BROAD STREET OKITIKPUPA ON THE 23<sup>RD</sup> OF OCTOBER 2016

<b>Expenditure Items</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Megaphones	2 set of megaphones were rented and used for the event @ N6,000 each	6,000	12,000
Banners	A medium sized banner was displayed at the centre	5, 000	5,000
Posters	80 pieces of poster were displayed by the participants @ N200 each	200	16,000
Musical Performance	A local music band performed at the event	50, 000	50,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>83,000</b>

Q. APC CAMPAIGN TOUR AT IFEDORE ON THE 27<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER 2017

The gubernatorial candidate of the APC made a tour to the following wards in Ifedore: St Luke Primary School Isarun, Clacker Primary School, Ilara Mokin, the College of Education Ero, St. Stephens Ibiyi, Joro Grammar School Ibulesoro. St. Paul School Ikota and finally, he made a final stop at St Paul's Anglican Church Igbaroke to address a crowd of about 2000.

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Amount ₦</b>
Campaign venue	Oba Adetiloye field Opp. Street Paul's Church 1/10	20,000	20,000
Costume	The following costume were worn by participants; 500 pieces of mofler were worn by 500 person @ N1000 each 1,000 persons wore face cap and T shirts @ 1,200 each 100 persons wore Ankara uniform N2,500 each	1000 x 500 1000 x 1,200 1000 x 2,500	4,200,000
Souvenirs	Some of the participants received 500 bowler hat @ N800 each. Key holders for 1000 people at N150 each as souvenirs, Wrist bands were given to 800 persons @ N150 each, small branded	500 x 800 1000 x 150 800 x 150	920,000



	flags were given to 500 persons @ N500 each	500 x 500	
Branded Vehicles	One car was branded @N100,000	100,000	100,000
Cultural troupe	A six man cultural dance troupe displayed at the community	50,000	50,000
Public address system	5 large speakers and a complete music stand with DJ and electricity generating set	100,000	100,000
Canopies	Three large canopies at 10,000 each	10,000	30,000
Plastic chairs	8 dozens of plastic chairs at 500 naira each	500	4,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>5,424,000</b>

R. DISTRIBUTION OF SOUVENIR TO SUPPORTERS IN OSE AT THE AKEREDOLU CAMPAIGN OFFICE (FOR A RALLY AT AKURE ON THE 10<sup>TH</sup> OF NOVEMBER 2016)

Expenditure Item	Description	Unit Cost	Total Amount ₦
Key Holder	10 pieces of key holder	150	1,500
Bags	10 pieces of bags	600	6,000
Handbills	Over 50 pieces of hand bills	65	3,250
Face Caps	Over 50 pieces of face caps	450	22,500
Books	5 dozen of exercise books (branded)	700	3,500
Poster	Over 200 copies of different types of posters	235	47,000
Hired Buses	11 public buses (18 seater bus) to and fro	30,000	330,000
Disbursement of Fund	Amount given to 468 persons after rally	2000	936,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,349,750</b>

S. DISTRIBUTION OF SOUVENIR TO SUPPORTERS IN OWO AT THE AKEREDOLU CAMPAIGN OFFICE TO ATTEND RALLY AT AKURE ON THE 10<sup>TH</sup> OF NOVEMBER 2016

Expenditure Item	Description	Unit Cost ₦	Total Cost ₦
Key Holder	50 pieces of key holder	150	7,500
Bags	70 pieces of bags	600	42,000
Handbills	Over 100 pieces of hand bills	65	6,500
Face Caps	Over 100 pieces of face caps	450	45,000
Books	15 dozen of exercise books (branded)	700	10,500
Poster	Over 400 copies of New different types of posters	235	94,000
Hired Buses	11 public buses (18 seater bus) to and fro	30,000	330,000

Branded Buses	7 buses branded with the APC candidates pictures	100,000	700,000
Disbursement of Fund	Amount given to 342 persons after rally	2000	684,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,919,500</b>

T. APC GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN AT IFEDORE

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost ₦	Total Cost ₦
Souvenirs	1500 pieces of muffler	600	900,000
	Key holders for 2000 people	150	300,000
	2000 lapel	200	400,000
	2000 T- shirt	1200	2,400,000
Stage vehicle	2 branded vehicles inscribed with Rotimi Akeredolu picture	100,000	200,000
	Video coverage and photograph; 4 video camera men 3 photographers	80,000	80,000
Transportation	16 buses were hired @ N30,000 each	30,000	480,000
Banner	4 extra-large banners	30,000	120,000
Public	6 large speakers with complete musical instrument and electricity generating set	100,000	100,000
Canopies	6 big canopies @ 10,000 each	10,000	60,000
Plastic chairs	15 dozens of plastic chairs @ N700 each	700	10,500
<b>Total</b>			<b>5,050,500</b>

U. APC GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN AT AKURE GARAGE . YABA . OBA\$ PALACE . ADEMULEGUN IN ONDO WEST LOCAL GOVERNEMNT ON THE 9<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER, 2016

Expenditure Head	Description	Amount	Total Amount
Costume	Participants wore 500 white round-neck T-shirt and Multi colored with Face Caps @ 1,200	1200	600,000
Souvenirs	100 pieces of muffler were given to participants	500	50,000
Banners	200 small sized cotton banner were paraded by participants	400	80,000
Public Address System	Mobile van with musical instrument including DJ, electricity generating set and large speakers	200,000	200,000
Security	Various security personnel were mobilized; 6 Mobile Policemen were given N20,000 each; 2 Civil Defense personnel were given N10,000 each; and 4 Regular Policemen were paid N10,000 each to provide security at the venue	6 x 20,000 2 x 10,00 4 x 10,000	180,000

Bike Riders	7 Bike riders were paid to display in the streets and at the venue of the campaign	20,000	140,000
Vehicle	20 branded buses were used to convey participants to the venue @N100,000 branding cost.	2,000,000	2,000,000
Video/Photographers	Four video camera men and 2 Photographers covered the event	6 x 25,000	150,000
Hired Crowd	1000 persons were hired to attend the campaign	1,500	1,500,000
Food / Drinks	Soft drinks were given to an estimate of 600 participants	100	60,000
Broom	Broom, the party symbol of APC were displayed by 500 persons	100	50,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>5,010,000</b>

V. APC GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN HELD AT IJOKODO PRY SCHOOL OKITIPUPA L.G.A. ON THE 11<sup>TH</sup> OF NOVEMBER 2016, ONDO STATE

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Podium	Metallic podium/stage platform with decorations	150,000	150,000
Public address system and music set	PAS, music set, large speakers, DJ and electricity generating set	200,000	200,000
Banners	2 extra-large banners were produced and placed at the venue	80,000	160,000
Posters	200 posters produced and posted	160	32,000
Musical Performance	A local artiste performed at the event	200,000	200,000
Branded vehicles	One 18 seater bus and a salon car were branded	150,000 100,000	250,000
Wrist bands	150 wrist band @N200 each was distributed to supporters	200	30,000
Photography/video coverage	1 videographer covered the event	20,000	20,000
Stage platform	One mobile stage @ 150,000	150,000	150,000
Food and drinks	5 crates of coke and 3 cartons of gala	1,200 4,200	18,600
Chairs	8 dozens	500	4,000
T-Shirts/Dressing	150 participants wore T-Shirts and Face Cap	1,200	180,000
Hand Bills	200 hand bills	300	60,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,454,600</b>

W. THE ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS CAMPAIGN RALLY AT OKE ALAFIA WARD 6, ILE OLUJI LOCAL GOVERNMENT ON THE 26<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2016

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Mobile Podium and PAS	A branded mobile podium (van). PAS, music set, DJ and electricity generating set.	300,000	300,000
Canopy	2 medium sized canopies	5,000	10,000
Chairs	10 dozens of Plastic chairs were hired	500	5,000
Music	Performance from a group of local musical band	100,000	100,000
Dressing	100 youths wore branded T-shirts and face caps	1,200	120,000
Transport	4 buses (18) passenger seater buses were hired from other part of the state 6 cars were paid to convey participants within the state	4 x 30,000 6 x 15,000	210,000
Purchase and branding of vehicles	1 fairly used bus was purchased, branded and donated to the local government by the candidate A sienna car and a salon car were both branded with the candidates pictures	1,500,000 100,000 100,000 100,000	1,800,000
Video Coverage	A videographer was paid to cover the event	20,000	20,000
Banner	A small sized banner was mounted at venue	5000	5,000
Placard	Small advert size placards were carried by 5 different groups	1000	5,000
Posters	About 500 posters were produced and posted around the town and venue	160	80,000
Brooms	About 1,000 people paraded brooms	200	200,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>2,855,000</b>

X. STREET TO STREET RALLY BY THE ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS IN OWO ON THE 23<sup>RD</sup> OF NOVEMBER 2016

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Mobile Platform and PAS	Van, PAS, music set, DJ and electricity generating plant	200,000	200,000
Costume	1000 person wore T-Shirt and Face Caps	1,200	1,200,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,400,000</b>

Y. ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS CAMPAIGN RALLY IN AKURE NORTH AND SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT ON THE 19<sup>TH</sup> OF NOVEMBER 2016

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Venue	Old Parade Stadium	1,000,000	1,000,000
Podium	Decoration and metallic platform	250,000	250,000
PAS and music	PAS, music set, large speakers and DJ	200,000	200,000
Plants and Generator	Fuelling and Hire of 14.5KVA Generator	100,000	100,000
Musical Performances	Cultural troupe performers were paid to perform at the event. Life band performances entertained the participants	N100,000 N200,000	300,000
Street Rally	Ten hilux, 5 cars and 20 motor cycles were hired to create awareness of the rally around the streets in Akure	20,000 x 10 15,000 x 5 7,000 x 20	415,000
Food and drinks	An estimate of 500 participants received a pack of rice and drinks	1,200	600,000
Banners	50 banners were placed around the campaign environment	10,000	500,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>3,365,000</b>

### 4.3 Mobilization Campaigns and Rallies of the Peoples Democratic Party

#### A. MOBILIZATION OF PDP IN ONDO EAST FOR PARTY PRIMARIES

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Banners	14 Pieces of 3/4 digital printed advertisement banners	7,000	98,000
Branding of vehicle	7 buses were branded with the pictures of the candidate	100,000	700,000
Mobilization	120 delegates were mobilized to the primary venue with 28,800 naira each 10 Ward Chairmen in the 10 electoral wards were also mobilized with 200,000 each	28,800 x 120 200,000 x 10	5,456,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>6,254,000</b>

#### B. MOBILIZATION OF PDP MEMBERS FROM OWO

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Hiring of Buses	Two 18 seater Buses	30,000	60,000
Accommodation	69 rooms booked in hotels in Akure for two days	8000	1,104,000

<b>Total</b>			<b>1,164,000</b>
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**C. MOBILIZATION OF PDP MEMBERS AKOKO SOUTH WEST**

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Transport	31 delegates from Akoko South West	5,000	155,000
Hotel accommodation	31 delegates accommodated for 2 days in different hotels in Akure	7,000	434,000
Feeding	31 delegates provided with meals for 2 days in Akure	10,000	620,000
Allowance received	31 delegates inducement to vote	150,000	4,650,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>5,859,000</b>

**D. MOBILIZATION OF PDP MEMBERS AKOKO SOUTH EAST**

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Transport	31 delegates from Akoko South East	5,000	155,000
Hotel accommodation	31 delegates accommodated for 2 days in hotels in Akure	7,000	434,000
Feeding for 2 days	31 delegates provided with meals for 2 days in Akure	10,000	620,000
Allowance received	Inducement to vote for 31 delegates	150,000	4,650,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>5,859,000</b>

**E. PDP RALLY AT IGBOKODA, ILLAJE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ON THE 14<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER 2016**

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Podium	Podium with decorations	100,000	100,000
Public Address System	PAS, music set, speakers, DJ and electricity generating set	100,000	100,000
Performances by artists	A local band was hired and a musician called Diana entertained at the event	150,000 150,000	300,000
Costume	Orange T- Shirt with Face Cap for over 100 people	1,200	120,000
Costume for Women Group	50 women wore white lace and yellow head tie	7000	350,000
Banners	1 banner	8000	8,000
Hired Vehicle	Six buses were hired to convey participants from various wards to the venue	30,000	180,000
Money shared for logistics	Money was shared to 1,500 persons for food and drinks	1000	1,500,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>2,658,000</b>

F. REPORT OF PDP CANDIDATE VISIT (EYITAYO JEGEDE) WITH THE NIGERIAN UNION OF TEACHERS AT ST FRANCIS MEGA PRIMARY SCHOOL OWO ON THE 4TH OF OCTOBER 2017

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Branded vehicles	Six branded buses used to convey participants to the venue	100,000	600,000
PAS and music set	PAS, music set, big speakers and DJ	100,000	100,000
Banner	3 banners (4 by 6 feet)	35,000	105,000
Costume	50 customized T-shirts	1000	50,000
Consumables	Foods and drinks for 250 people	500	125,000
4 canopy and chairs	4 canopy and chairs	22,000	88,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,068,000</b>

G. PDP TOWN HALL MEETING AT IPELE TOWN IN OWO LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Eyitayo Jegede took his campaign train to the home town of his mother. The event which took place on the 5<sup>th</sup> of October had in attendance over 250 persons. Leaders of the party in the state converged at Ipele where the meeting was held.

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Mobilization	The mobilizer of the event was paid the sum of 350,000	350,000	350,000
Consumables	Plated food and bottled water was served to 250 persons	1,500	375,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>725,000</b>

H. PDP TOWN HALL MEETING ORGANIZED BY EYITAYO WOMEN SUPPORT GROUP FROM ONDO NORTH SENATORIAL ZONE, ON THE 13<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER AT MAPO HALL OWO

The event witnessed the attendance of the Commissioner for Women Affairs, Ondo State who led other women delegates to the event

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Venue	Rentage of Mapo Hall	55,000	55,000
PAS	PAS, music set, 2 big speakers and electricity generating set	85,000	85,000
Performances	Ondo State Cultural Troop performed at the event	40,000	40,000
Hired Buses	Nine Buses were hired from Akoko to Owo	20,000	180,000
Banners	2 extra-large banners	75,000	150,000
Consumable	Food and drinks for 300 people valued	1000	300,000

	at 1000 per plate		
Canopy	2 medium sized canopies and 10 dozens of rented chairs (outside the hall)	5,000x2 500x10	15,000
Event decoration	The hall was decorated by an interior decorator	60,000	60,000
Costume	20 pieces of muffler	700	14,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>899,000</b>

I. PPD WARD RALLY HELD AT IDEPE IN OKITIKPUPA AT OKITIKPUPA LOCAL GOVERNMENT ON THE 13<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER 2016

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Public Address System	PAS, music set, speakers, DJ and electricity generating set	80,000	80,000
Posters	An estimate of 500 posters were posted across the ward	100	50,000
Consumables	Six crates of soft drinks and four carton of chin-chin	1000 x 6 1,100 x 4	10,400
Chairs	Nine dozens of plastic chairs	500	4,500
<b>Total</b>			<b>144,900</b>

J. PPD WARD RALLY AT AKINGBOYE STREET ODE- IRELE, IRELE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ON THE 9<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2016

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Total</b>
Campaign Venue	Ladi Aretolu compound, Akingboju Street, Ode-Irele	-	-
Public Address System	One mega phone	5,000	5000
Consumable	300 packaged plates of rice and 12 Crates of Soft drinks	300 x 1,000 12 x 1000	312,000
Chairs	15 dozens of plastic chairs	500	7,500
<b>Total</b>			<b>324,500</b>

K. THANK YOU VISIT BY THE NATIONAL UNION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT WORKERS TO THE GOVERNOR OF ONDO STATE ON THE 12<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER, 2017

We reported in the early session of this report that the governor re-absorbed some sacked local government workers after more than seven years. In a bid to show appreciation to the governor and declare support for the PDP Candidate, the leadership of the NULGE in the two local governments organized its members to pay a thank you visit to the governor. The meeting witnessed the mobilization of local government staff from the two LGAs.

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Costume	Branded T-Shirts and Face Cap (Inscribed Thank You Mr. Governor)	1,200	1,200,000



	worn by over 1000 persons from Ifedore and Idanre		
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,200,000</b>

#### L. PARTY PRIMARIES IN AKURE

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Cultural troupe	A 10 man life band (Sunshine Band) performed at the event the event	250,000	250,000
Dressing T-Shirts	T-Shirts and face caps were won by 1700 people	1,200	2,040,000
Banners	10 (4yards by 3yards) pure cotton 2 digital printed Banners @ 100,000	50,000 x 10 100,000 x 2	700,000
Branding of Vehicle	Ten 12 seater Space wagon Five Cars	120,000 x 10 100,000 x 5	1,700,000
Mobilization	Inducement given to 700 voting delegates	20,000	14,000,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>18,690,000</b>

#### M. THE FLAG OFF OF THE PDP CAMPAIGNS IN AKURE ON THE 19<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER 2016

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Accommodation for Delegates	203 party delegate from different wards were accommodated in Akure for three nights plus included feeding allowances	20,000x3x203	12,180,000
Master of Ceremony and PAS, etc	The service of an event company was hired to offer MC service and provide complete music equipment, stage platform, generator, canopy and service personnel	1,200,000	1,200,000
Musician	A fuji artist performed at the event (Omo olobirin cultural group)	300,000	300,000
Cultural troupe	A ten man life band known as Ogele cultural troupe performed at the event Brigade Band also performed	200,000 100,000	200,000 100,000
Costume	2000 persons wore green colored T-shirts and face cap. Other group of youth totaling 2000 also wore white vest@ N1000 each, 100	1,200 x 2000 1000 x 2000 5,000 x 100	4,900,000

	women wore Ankara @ 5000 each		
Banners	10 (4 by 3yards) pure cotton @N4000 2 digital printed Banners @ 100,000 each	40,000 x 10 100,000 x 2	600,000
Security Officials	Road Safety, Police and Civil defence were given @N100,000 each	100,000 x 3	300,000
Hiring of Buses and Cars	50 buses and cars were hired from various parts of the state during the rally @ 20,000 each	20,000	1,000,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>20,780,000</b>

N. PDP FLAG OFF- MOBILIZATION OF PARTY MEMBERS IN OWO LOCAL GOVERNMENT 19<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER, 2016

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Branded Note Book	300 Packs of Eytayo branded note books were distributed to participants in Owo LGA	700	210,000
Sticker Note	400 customized stickers were shared to car owners and transporters	200	80,000
Hiring of buses	Seventeen (18 seater) buses were used to convey participants to Akure	30,000	510,000
Allowances	306 persons were given mobilisation for food and drinks	3000	918,000
Allowances	15 delegates from the Rufus Giwa Poly students union	5000	75,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,793,000</b>

O. PDP FLAG OFF- MOBILIZATION OF PARTY MEMBERS IN OWO/OSE LOCAL GOVERNMENT 19<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER, 2016

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Hiring of buses	Ten (18 seater) buses were used to convey participants to Akure	30,000	300,000
Allowances	180 persons were given 3000 for food and drinks	3000	540,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>840,000</b>

P. PDP MOBILIZATION OF WARDS IN AKOKO SOUTH WEST

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Mobilization	Ward meetings in the 15 wards	50,000	750,000

	in Akoko South West		
<b>Total</b>			<b>750,000</b>

**Q. MOBILIZATION OF WARD MEMBERS IN AKURE NORTH AND SOUTH**

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Mobilization	40,000 each was given to the 11 wards in Akure South for ward meetings	40,000	440,000
	40,000 was given to the 12 Wards in Akure North	40,000	480,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>920,000</b>

**R. MOBILIZATION OF WARD MEMBERS IN AKOKO SOUTH EAST**

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Mobilization	Ward meetings in the 9 wards in Akoko South East	50,000	450,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>450,000</b>

**S. PDP MUSICAL RALLY AT OBA MARKET JUNCTION OWO ON THE 21<sup>ST</sup> OCTOBER 2017**

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
DJ and Sound Systems	A DJ was hired to render various types of music to entertain the crowd	58,000	58,000
Dancers	Various category of local dancers were used to entertain the crowd	30,000	30,000
Gift Items	Gift worth 30,000 was given to participants in the musical and dance rally show	30,000	30,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>118,000</b>

**T. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY AT IGBOKODA 22<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2017 AT ILAJE/OSE ODO LGA**

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Costume	A 20 man support group wore yellow Face Cap and T-Shirt	1,200	24,000
Mobilization	800 persons were given the sum of 2000 each for food and drinks	2000	1,600,000
Hiring of Buses	40 buses were hired to convey participants to the venue	30,000	1,200,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>2,824,000</b>

U. PDP WARD MEETING AT ILUMEKO STREET, ODE-IRELE, IRELE LGA ON THE 16<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER, 2016

Expenditure Item	Description	Unit Cost ₦	Total Cost ₦
Food and drinks	7 crates of coke	1,000	7,000
Canopy/ Chairs	8 dozens of chairs	500	4,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>11,000</b>

V. PDP WARD 11 MEETING HELD ON THE 27<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER, 2016 AT BROAD STREET, OKITIPUPA ONDO STATE

Expenditure Item	Description	Unit Cost ₦	Total Cost ₦
Public Address System	1 megaphone	12,000	12,000
Posters	10 posters @ N200 each	200	2,000
Food and drinks	10 crates of coke and 4 packs of chin-chin	1000 x 10 4,800 x 4	29,200
Chairs and Canopy	9 dozen of plastic chairs @ 500 each	500	4,500
<b>Total</b>			<b>47,700</b>

W. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT METHODIST PRIMARY SCHOOL IN OKITIKPUKPA ON WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 23<sup>RD</sup> 2016

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost ₦	Total Cost ₦
Megaphones	Party dignitaries and supporters spoke with 6 megaphones	12,000	72,000
Banners	2 extra-large banners were mounted at the venue	80,000	160,000
Podium	Metallic podium for speakers at the event	150,000	150,000
Branded vehicles	1 branded vehicle	100,000	100,000
Photography/video coverage	1 videographer covered the event	20,000	20,000
Hired buses	Three 18 seater buses were hired	30,000	90,000
Canopy and chairs	25 small canopies @ 3500 per one, 30 dozens of chairs @ # 500 each	3500 500	102,500
Hand Bills	500 pieces of handbills were produced at N30 each	30	15,000
Bill Board	4 billboards were placed at the venue @ 150,000 each	150,000	600,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>1,309,500</b>

#### X. CAMPAIGN HELD AT MAJOR ROUNDABOUT, ODE-IRELE ON 23RD NOVEMBER, 2016

<b>Expenditure Head</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
Megaphones	2 megaphones were used	12,000	24,000
Banners	8 banners placed around the venue	45,000	360,000
Musical Performance	2 local musicians performed at the event	150,000	300 000
Bill Board	1 Bill Board was placed at the venue	150,000	150,000
Canopy/ Chairs	3 small canopies were hired and used at the event @N5000 and 10 dozens of chairs @ N500 @ Party chairman's house	5,000 x 3 500 x 10	20,000
Mobile Music	A mobile music DJ was hired for the event	50,000	50,000
Hand Bills	200 Pieces of handbills were distributed to the participants	30	6000
Souvenir	20 pack of branded 60 leaves exercise book @ N1200 per pack and 20 yards of Ankara @ 1500 per yard were given to selected participants	1,200 x 20 20 x 1,500	54,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>964,000</b>

#### 4.4 Summary of Campaign Rallies

All Progressive Congress	<b>₦ 92,072,400.00</b>
Peoples Democratic Party	<b>₦75,652,600.00</b>

#### 4.5 Vote Buying

The report on the Ondo State Gubernatorial election reveals that candidates and parties spent less time on campaigns and rallies. They rather preferred to deploy massive funds into the wards and polling units during the eve of the election and on the Election Day. This was largely witnessed in major local governments in Ondo State, with massive voting population. The PDP despite its last minute battle for the seat of power managed to deploy funds to some of the local governments. However, the All Progressives Congress machinery for the deployment of funds into these areas had already been set in motion while the PDP candidate was still battling in the courts.

A. MOBILIZATION OF VOTERS ON ELECTION DAY AT IRELE LGA

Party/Candidate	Description	Unit Cost ₦	Total Cost ₦
APC	Mobilization of voters in the 132 polling units @ N400,000 per polling unit	400,000	52,800,000
Total APC			52,800,000
PDP	Mobilization of voters in the 132 polling unit @ N55,000 per polling unit	55,000	7,260,000
Total PDP			7,260,000

B. MOBILIZATION FOR ELECTION DAY AT AKOKO SOUTH WEST AND SOUTH EAST

Party/Candidate	Description	Unit Cost#	Total Cost ₦
APC	Mobilization of voters in the 24 Wards in Akoko South West @ N50,000 per ward	50,000	1,200,000
	Mobilization of voters in the 24 Wards in Akoko South East @ N250,000 per ward	250,000	6,000,000
Total APC			7,200,000
PDP	Mobilization of voters in the 24 Wards in Akoko South West @ N50,000 per ward	50,000	1,200,000
	Mobilization of voters in the 24 Wards in Akoko South East @ N50,000 per ward	50,000	1,200,000
Total PDP			2,400,000

C. MOBILIZATION OF VOTERS AT OWO AND OSE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA

Party/Candidate	Description	Unit Cost ₦	Total Cost ₦
APC	Mobilization of voters in the 218 polling unit @ N1,000,000 per polling unit in Owo	1,000,000	218,000,000
	Mobilization of voters in the 126 polling unit @ 1,000,000 per polling unit in Ose	1,000,000	126,000,000
Total APC			344,000,000
PDP (Eyitayo Jegede)	Mobilization of voters in the 218 polling unit @ N50,000 per polling unit in Owo	50,000	10,900,000
	Mobilization of voters in the 126 polling unit @ 50,000 per polling unit in Ose	50,000	6,300,000
Total PDP			17,200,000

**D. MOBILIZATION OF VOTERS AND PARTY MEMBERS AT WARDS AND POLLING UNITS IN AKURE NORTH AND SOUTH**

<b>Party/Candidate</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Unit Cost ₦</b>	<b>Total Cost ₦</b>
PDP	Mobilization of 120 party support group from the 23 wards of Akure South	50,000	6,000,000
	Mobilization of voters in the 403 polling unit @ 50,000 per polling unit in Akure	50,000	20,150,000
<b>Total PDP</b>			<b>26,150,000</b>
APC	Mobilization of voters in the 403 polling unit @ 90,000 per polling unit in Akure	90,000	36,270,000
	Mobilization of voters in the 23 wards @ 50,000 per ward	50,000	1,150,000
	Mobilization of voters on election day the 403 polling unit @ 250,000 per polling unit in Akure	250,000	100,750,000
<b>Total APC</b>			<b>138,170,000</b>

**4.6 Summary of Vote Buying**

All Progressives Congress	542,170,000
Peoples Democratic Party	53,010,000

**4.7 Campaign Offices**

This subsection reports the cost of campaign offices and party secretariats as obtained by the monitors in various LGAs for the two political parties. However, from the report, it is evident that not all items or expenses incurred for the campaign offices are captured. Administrative expenses and other running costs utilized for the operation of the offices are not captured in the report. A detailed financial report provided by the campaign offices would have provided the details.

#### 4.7.1 All Progressive Congress

##### A. APC Campaign Office in Owo



Expenditure Head	Description	Amount	Total
Computer	1 computer system	130,000	130,000
Photocopier	1 photocopier	60,000	60,000
Printer	One 3 in one printer	45,000	45,000
Banner	2 (12 x 8 feet) banner	100,000	200,000
Banner	2 (8 x 6 feet) banner	75,000	150,000
Banner	1 (4 x 6 feet) banner	35,000	35,000
Generator	1 5.5 KVA Generator	150,000	150,000
Annual rent			1,200,000
Total			1,970,000

##### B. OBSERVABLE COSTS OF THE APC SECRETARIAT IN ONDO EAST

Expenditure Head	Description	Observed Cost	Total Amount
Campaign Office	A store-like structure being part of a building in Yaba Ondo leased at N200,000 per annum	200,000	200,000
	50 Benches @ N8,000	400,000	642,000
	2 Loud speakers @ N25,000 each	50,000	
	12 Plastic Chairs @ N2,000	24,000	
	1 Long Table @ N50,000	50,000	
	2 Ox Fans @ N35,000	70,000	
	Payment for 1 Cleaner @ N12,000	12,000	
	Payment for 2 Attendants @ N18,000	36,000	
Total			842,000



### C. OBSERVABLE COSTS OF APC CAMPAIGN OFFICE IN AKURE



Expenditure Head	Description	Observed Cost	Total Amount
Rent	Seven bed room duplex with conference hall	400,000	400,000
Utilities	Electricity, Water and Internet	500,000	500,000
Office Stationeries	5 Computers, 1 Printer, 1 Photocopier	500,000	500,000
Employees	Five functional staff @ 50,000 per month for six months	50,000x5x6	1,500,000
Total			2,900,000

### 4.7.2 Peoples Democratic Party

#### A. PDP Campaign Office Akure



Expenditure Head	Description	Amount	Total
Payment of Rent	Annual Payment of Rent	2,500,000	2,500,000
Total			2,500,000

#### B. PDP SECRETARIATS IN ONDO EAST LOCAL GOVERNMENT



#### THE OBSERVABLE COST OF THE PDP SECRETARIAT IN ONDO EAST

Expenditure Item	Description	Observed Cost	Total Amount
Campaign Office	Rentage of one old unpainted bungalow hired for one year	200,000	200,000
Office Equipments	36 benches @ N8,000 50 plastic chairs @ N2,000 6 tables @N 6,000	288,000 100,000 36,000	424,000
Publicity Items	50 poster @ 200 40flags @500 One large banner @8000	10,000 20,000 8000	38,000
<b>Total</b>			<b>662,000</b>

#### C. SECOND CAMPAIGN OFFICE OF PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN AKURE



*The Party Office, Door Way and Conference Room of the PDP*

<b>Expenditure Item</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Observed Cost</b>	<b>Total Amount</b>
Rent	Payment for six bed room bungalow with a conference room	500,000	500,000
Utilities	Internet, PHCN, Water	150,000	150,000
Office Stationeries	3 Computers, 5 TV set, 1 Photocopier, 1 Printer, 1 Scanning Machine	700,000	700,000
Employees	5 functional staff @ an average of N50,000 per month for six months	5x50,000x6	1,500,000
Total			2,850,000

#### 4.8 Summary of Campaign Offices Expenditure

All Progressives Congress	5,712,000
Peoples Democratic Party	6,012,000

#### 4.9 Posters

The candidates printed and pasted millions of posters. Beyond the cost of printing, money was spent in commissioning young men who pasted them on walls and other surfaces across the state. Some of the posters were printed in colour whilst others were in black and white. The posters were also in different sizes. However, the posters were usually subject to the elements and some were destroyed by the opposition. The report therefore credits each candidate with the sum of N20m for posters.

#### 4.10 Summary of Expenditure in this Chapter

<b>All Congress</b>	<b>Progressives</b>	
Campaigns and Rallies		92,072,400
Vote Buying		545,170,000
Campaign Offices		5,712,000
Posters		20,000,000
Total		659,954,400
<b>Peoples Democratic Party</b>		
Campaigns and Rallies		75,652,600
Vote Buying		53,010,000
Campaign Offices		6,012,000
Posters		20,000,000
Total		154,674,600

## Chapter Five

### EXPENSES INCURRED ON BILL BOARDS BY THE TWO CANDIDATES

#### 5.1 Introduction

This Chapter details the expenses incurred by the two candidates on billboards. However, the cost varies according to the size of the billboards. The billboards are presented by their local government location and major campaign venues. Information on cost and number of billboards was obtained from enquiries made directly to the production sources, that is, the advertising companies and observations of monitors.

#### 5.2 All Progressives Congress



Local Government	Candidate and Party	Number of Bill Boards by Size	Cost of Bill Boards by Size	Total Cost of Bill Boards by Size	Overall Amount on Billboards
AKURE SOUTH	AKEREDOLU/ APC	Twenty 2/2 double faced billboards	100,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
		Twenty five 6/12 bill boards	600,000	15,000,000	15,000,000
		Five 8/16 billboards	1,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
AKURE NORTH		Ten 6/12 bill boards	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
		Fifteen 2/2 double faced billboards	100,000	1,500,000	1,500,000

		Three 8/16 billboards	1,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
AKOKO SOUTH WEST		Eight 2/2 double faced billboards	100,000	800,000	800,000
		Seven 6/12 bill boards	600,000	4,200,000	4,200,000
		One 8/16 ft billboards	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
AKOKO SOUTH EAST		Four 2/2 double faced billboards	100,000	400,000	400,000
ILE OLUJI/OKE-IGBE & ODIGBO		Three 6/12 billboards	600,000	1,800,000	1,800,000
		Three 6/12 billboards	600,000	1,800,000	1,800,000
OWO		Fifteen 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
		Ten 6/12ft billboards	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
		Three 8/16ft billboards	1,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
OSE		Five 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	500,000	500,000
		Six 6/12ft billboards	600,000	3,600,000	3,600,000
ONDO WEST		Ten 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
		Five 6/12ft billboard	600,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
		Three 8/16ft billboards	1,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
ONDO EAST		Ten 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
		Five 6/12ft billboard	600,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
		Three 8/16ft billboards	1,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
ILAJE ESE ODO		-	-	-	-
		-	-	-	-
AKOKO NORTH WEST		Fifteen 2/2ft double faced billboard	100,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
		Ten 6/12ft	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000

		billboard			
		One 8/16ft billboard	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
AKOKONORTH EAST		Ten 2/2ft double faced billboard	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
		Ten 6/12ft billboard	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
		One 8/16ft billboard	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
IFEDORE		Six 6/12ft billboards	600,000	3,600,000	3,600,000
IDANRE		Five 6/12ft billboards	600,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
OKITIPUPA		Twenty 6/12ft billboards	600,000	12,000,000	12,000,000
		Three 8/16ft	1,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
IRELE		Three 6/12ft	600,000	1,800,000	1,800,000
Total					111,000,000

### 5.3 Billboard Expenses of the Peoples Democratic Party



Local Government	Candidate and Party	Number of Billboards by Size	Cost of Billboards by Size	Total Cost of Billboards by Size	Overall Amount on Billboards
AKURE SOUTH	EYITAYO JEGEDE (PDP)	Thirty 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
		Twenty five 6/12ft billboards	600,000	15,000,000	15,000,000
		Ten 8/16ft billboards	1,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000
AKURE NORTH		Ten 6/12ft bill board	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
		Twenty 2/2ft	100,000	2,000,000	2,000,000

		double faced billboards			
		Ten 8/16ft billboards	1,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000
AKOKO SOUTH WEST		Ten 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
		Twenty 6/12ft billboards	600,000	12,000,000	12,000,000
		Five 8/16ft billboards	1,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
AKOKO SOUTH EAST		Twenty 2/2ft double faced billboard	100,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
ILE OLUJI/OKE-IGBE & ODIGBO		Five 6/12ft billboards	600,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
		Five 6/12ft billboards	600,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
OWO		Ten 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
		Ten 6/12ft billboards	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
		Five 8/16ft billboards	1,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
OSE		Ten 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
		Ten 6/12ft billboards	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
ONDO WEST		Ten 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
		Ten 6/12ft billboards	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
		Three 8/16ft billboards	1,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
ONDO EAST		Ten 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
		Ten 6/12ft billboard	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
		Three 8/16ft billboards	1,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
ILAJE		-	-	-	-
ESE ODO		-	-	-	-
AKOKO NORTH WEST		Ten 2/2ft double faced	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000

		billboard s			
		Ten 6/12ft billboard	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
		Two 8/16ft billboard	1,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
AKOKONORTH EAST		Ten 2/2ft double faced billboard	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
		Five 6/12ft billboard	600,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
		Two 8/16ft billboard	1,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
IFEDORE		Seven 2/2ft double faced billboard	100,000	700,000	700,000
		Six 6/12ft billboards	600,000	3,600,000	3,600,000
		One 8/16ft bill board	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
IDANRE		Ten 6/12ft billboards	1,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000
OKITIPUPA		Ten 6/12ft billboards	600,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
		Two 8/16ft	1,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
IRELE		Three 6/12ft	600,000	1,800,000	1,800,000
		Two 2/2ft double faced billboards	100,000	200,000	200,000
Total					151,300,000

#### 5.4 Summary of Billboard Expenses

All Progressives Congress	111,000,000
Peoples Democratic Party	151,300,000



## Chapter Six

### ELECTRONIC AND PRINT MEDIA EXPENDITURE

#### 6.1 Introduction

This Chapter contains the report on electronic and print media expenditure of the candidates. The electronic media expenses include expenditure on coverage of rallies and campaigns, jingles and advertisements on radio and television. Considering that the electronic media broadcasts for 24 hours a day and 7 days a week; this report could not have possibly captured all the advertisements on radio and television. Information was sourced from monitors and electronic media houses. The print media expenses focused on newspapers, magazines and tabloids.

#### 6.2 All Progressives Congress- Electronic Media

##### A. PAID ADVERTISEMENTS ON RADIO

S/N	Candidate and Party	Date	Radio Station	Duration	Amount/Slot	Total Cost
1	Bar Rotimi Akeredolu (APC)	15 . 28 Oct	Adaba FM	4 slots/day for 15days	N2,000	N120,000
2.		15 . 28 Oct	Positive FM	3 slot /day for 15 days	N2,500	N112,500
3		29 <sup>th</sup> Oct-13 <sup>th</sup> Nov.	Adaba FM	10 Slot /day for15 days	N7,500	1,125,000
4		12-13 <sup>th</sup> Nov	Adaba FM Positive FM	30 minutes Radio Interview for two days	N100,000	200,000
5		29 <sup>th</sup> Oct-13 <sup>th</sup> Nov		3 Slot/day for15 days	N7,500	337,500

Total						
Total APC						1,895,000

### B. LIVE COVERAGE OF CAMPAIGNS

Campaign Venue	Date	Duration of Coverage	Media House	Unit Cost in Naira	Total Cost in Naira
OLUSEGUN AGAGU MINI SPORT STADIUM SABOMI ROAD ODE IRELE	26 <sup>th</sup> October 2016	2hrs	NTA	7,500,000	15,000,000
			AIT	8,000,000	16,000,000
			Channels	8,000,000	16,000,000
			NTA Akure	5,000,000	10,000,000
GOVERNMENT FIELD ORE, WARD 9, ODIGBO LOCAL GOVERNMENT	24 <sup>th</sup> October 2016	1hr-30mins	NTA Akure	5,000,000	7,250,000
			OSRTV	2,500,000	3,750,000
IJOKODO PRY SCHOOL OKITIPUPA L.G.A.	11 <sup>th</sup> Of November 2016,	2hrs	NTA	7,500,000	15,000,000
			AIT	8,000,000	8,000,000
			NTA Akure	5,000,000	10,000,000
			OSRTV	2,500,000	5,000,000
OKE ALAFIA WARD 6, ILE OLUJI LOCAL GOVERNMENT	26 <sup>th</sup> October 2016	1 hr-30mins	NTA Akure	5,000,000	7,250,000
AKURE NORTH AND SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT	19 <sup>th</sup> Of November	2hrs	NTA	7,500,000	15,000,000
			AIT	8,000,000	16,000,000
			Channels	8,000,000	16,000,000
			NTA Akure	5,000,000	10,000,000
			OSRTV	2,500,000	5,000,000
Total					175,250,000

### C. PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE

	<b>Akeredolu (APC)</b>	Razor Express Magazine	Volume 1 No 3, Mon, Oct 23 <sup>rd</sup> --31 <sup>st</sup> 2016	Full page black and white: Akeredolu's inauguration of Ondo Youths support group	<b>120,000</b>
		Razor Express Magazine	Volume 1 No3 Monday October	Full page black and white cancer awareness by Mrs Betty	<b>120,000</b>

			23 <sup>rd</sup> --31, 2016	Akeredolu	
		Platform Magazine Vol. 15	Nov 25, 2016	Full page colored advert	₦ 70,000.00
<b>Total (APC)</b>					<b>N310,000</b>

### 6.3 Peoples Democratic Party

#### A. PAID ADVERTISEMENTS ON RADIO

	Eytayo Jegede (PDP)	15 . 28 Oct	OSRC	10 slots/day for 15 days	N2,500	N375,000
		15 . 28 Oct	Adaba FM	3 slots per day for 15 days	N2,000	N90,000
Total PDP						465,000

#### B. ELECTRONIC MEDIA COVERAGE OF CAMPAIGNS AND RALLIES

FLAG OFF OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY CAMPAIGNS IN AKURE	19 <sup>th</sup> Of October 2016	2hrs	OSRTV	2,500,000	5,000,000
			NTA	7,500,000	15,000,000
			AIT	8,000,000	16,000,000
			Channels	8,000,000	16,000,000
			NTA Akure	5,000,000	10,000,000
PDP TOWN HALL MEETING ORGANIZED BY EYTAYO WOMEN SUPPORT GROUP FROM ONDO NORTH SENATORIAL ZONE, OWO	13 <sup>th</sup> Of October	1 hr-30mins	NTA Akure	5,000,000	7,250,000
			OSRTV	2,500,000	3,750,000
IGBOKODA, ILLAJE LOCAL GOVERNMENT	14 <sup>th</sup> Of October 2016	1hr-30mins	NTA Akure	5,000,000	7,250,000
			OSRTV	2,500,000	3,750,000
Total					84,000,000

### C. PRINT MEDIA ADVERTISEMENTS

S/N	Candidate and Party	News Paper	Date	Description	PROJECT COST
1	Eyitayo Jegede (PDP)	Trace Magazine	9/10/2016	Full page advertisement courtesy of Eyitayo Youth Organization	N40,000
2.		Trace Magazine	23 /10/ 2016	Eyitayo Youth organization for Eyitayo Jegede page 2	N40,000
3.		Trace Magazine	30/10/2016	Eyitayo Jegede courtesy of Eyitayo youth Organization inner front full page 2	N40,000
4.		City Movers Magazine		Full page advertisement for Eyitayo Jegede SAN back page courtesy of PDP Ondo State	N40,000
5.		Drum Newspaper	21/10/2016	½ page of black and white advert for Eyitayo Jegede powered by Eleko Olukanye	N55,000
6		Trace News Magazine vol 6 No 28,	November 13, 2016	Inner front page advertisement, full-page colored courtesy of Eyitayo Youth organization	N40,000
	Total (PDP)				N255,000

#### 6.4 Summary of Expenses in this Chapter

<b>All Progressive Congress</b>	
Paid Advertisement On Radio	1,895,000
Electronic Media Life Coverage Of Campaigns	175,250,000
Print Media Coverage	310,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>177,455,000</b>
<b>Peoples Democratic Party</b>	
Paid Advertisement On Radio	465,000
Electronic Media Life Coverage Of Campaigns	84,000,000
Print Media Coverage	255,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>84,720,000</b>

## Chapter Seven

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 7.1 Overall Spending By the Candidates

The total expenditure of candidates captured in this report is presented below. However, it is clear that the candidates expended more than the figures captured in this report. The campaign finance space is still opaque and there are many transactions that can only be known if the persons who spent the resources disclose same. Otherwise, they are matters peculiarly within the knowledge of the candidates and their agents and cannot in any way be captured by a third party.

EXPENDITURE ITEM	PDP GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE (EYITAYO JEGEDE) ₦	APC GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE (ROTIMI AKEREDOLU) ₦
CAMPAIGNS, MOBILIZATIONS AND RALLIES	75,652,600	92,072,400
VOTE BUYING	53,010,000	542,170,000
EXPENSES ON CAMPAIGN OFFICE	6,012,000	5,712,000
BILLBOARDS	151,300,000	111,000,000
ELECTRONIC MEDIA ADVERTISEMENTS	84,465,000	177,145,000
PRINT MEDIA	255,000	310,000
POSTERS	20,000,000	20,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>390,694,600</b>	<b>948,409,400</b>

#### 7.2 Conclusions

The Ondo State Gubernatorial election shows that the candidates still spent above the limit set by the Electoral Act. However, it is necessary for ceilings to be justified and made realistic. The report's findings emphasise the need for strong oversight of campaign finance and SAR by the electoral umpire and relevant security agencies. The Electoral Act's provisions on campaign finance and SAR are more observed in the breach. It has therefore become necessary for the Electoral Act to be amended to cure the mischief identified in this and previous reports of CSJ. The manipulation of the judicial process to achieve political ends featured as a critical factor in the 2016 Ondo gubernatorial election and should be checked by the judicial authorities to avoid a repeat.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **7.3.1 To the National Assembly**

**(i)** The ceiling of N200 million for candidates in a gubernatorial election should be upwardly reviewed to not less than N1billion. This is based on observed and necessary expenses to mount a viable gubernatorial campaign.

**(ii)** The review to N1billion should not be contained in the body of the Electoral Act. Rather, the Act should be amended and the power to determine the ceiling across all the elections given to INEC. This power will be exercised from time to time based on changes in the economy, especially the macroeconomic indicators, after consultation with relevant stakeholders and the public. The stakeholders will include the political parties, campaign organisations, Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Central Bank of Nigeria, security agencies and civil society working in the field of elections.

**(iii)** The ceilings should be based on empirical evidence including the number of voters to be reached, land area, cost of media, transport, venues and others reasonable expenses needed to mount a reasonable campaign. Essentially, INEC should work out reasonable campaign finance costs needed to run a good campaign as a basis for fixing the ceiling.

**(iv)** The reviewed ceilings should be universal and cover expenses from the candidate and the political party. Third party expenditure for candidates should also be guided by the expenditure ceiling on individual donations to candidates.

**(v)** Penalties for spending in excess of the ceiling should be increased to not less than a fine of 50 per cent of the value of the excess expenditure and the terms of imprisonment should be increased to not less than 2 calendar years. It should also include debarment from participation in politics for a period of 2 years.

**(vi)** Print and electronic media houses should be under obligation to report the cost of all campaign advertisements to INEC and the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation.

**(vii)** Donations to candidates and political parties should be made tax deductible up to a maximum limit of the N1million ceiling for individual donations to candidates.

**(viii)** The Electoral Act should provide for compulsory collaboration between government agencies such as Federal Inland Revenue Service, INEC and the anti-corruption agencies to determine the source of funds donated to candidates and

political parties. Also, donors should be followed up by FIRS to verify their tax payments to the treasury.

**(ix)** A new agency should be established specifically to oversight campaign finance and SAR issues or in the alternative INEC, is specifically strengthened with proactive powers to inter alia:

- Seize funds deployed in contravention of the law and guidelines
- Demand and receive from candidates and parties the market value of state resources such as cars and aircrafts deployed to campaigns
- Issue cease orders to individuals and organisations who violate the law with impunity
- Issue cease orders to candidates and political parties who continue to violate the law and guidelines
- In extreme cases of serial contraventions, to disqualify candidates and parties who violate laid down regulations
- Generally to enforce campaign finance and SARs provisions of the law.

Funding for the new body or the strengthening of INEC should come from a fixed percentage of the sums realized by political parties from expression of interest to contest and purchase of forms by candidates across all the political parties.

**(x)** Outlaw remuneration and wage increments by incumbents within six months to any scheduled election.

**(xi)** Specific penalties should be provided for abuse of state administrative resources.

### **7.3.2 To INEC**

**(i)** INEC in consultation with the political parties and stakeholders should delimit the amount of money an individual or organisation can donate to a political party.

**(ii)** The Guidelines requiring candidate's reporting of their campaign expenditure should provide for cash, paper and banking trail which would facilitate reporting by candidates and monitoring by INEC to determine the accuracy of the candidate's reports. All campaign income should be domiciled in a specific bank account, of which its details will be given to INEC within 7 days of the emergence of the candidate. All campaign expenses in excess of N50,000 (or any higher sums as INEC may determine from time to time) should also be made from the same account by cheque and bank transfers.

(iii) Collaborate with civil society, political parties and other stakeholders to review the Electoral Act and extant guidelines.

### **7.3.3 To Political Parties**

(i) Take steps to ensure full compliance with extant provisions of the law and guidelines and rules of INEC.

(ii) Reform campaign finance rules to ensure that all the party members begin to subscribe and pay membership dues and levies.

(iii) Reorganize the party secretariats to ensure reach out to all members of the party and updates on the management of the finances of the party.

(iv) Engage in in-depth studies and analysis of party's deployment of campaign finance and the use of SARs as a basis to engage INEC and the legislature.

(v) Sensitise members on the campaign finance and SARs rules.

### **7.3.4 To Civil Society**

(i) Monitoring political finance is not a one off event but a continuous exercise which links election expenditure and resources to governance. Continued monitoring and reporting on campaign finance is imperative.

(ii) Conduct in-depth studies and research on contributions of notable individuals and organisations to campaign funds of executive and legislative officials and their links to public procurement, privileges, patronage, legislation and corruption in governance.

(iii) Initiate dialogue, consultations and prepare drafts for the amendment of existing legislation.

(iv) For the media, raising awareness, agenda setting, etc, is still needed because political finance is yet to occupy its place in the front burner of national discourse.

(v) The church and the mosque and all religious organisations should enhance their teaching and education on moral re-armament as it relates to campaign finance.



**LIST OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE MONITORS FROM THE 18 LOCAL GOVERNMENTS OF ONDO STATE**

<b>SN</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>ORGANIZATION</b>	<b>LOCAL GOVT</b>	<b>PHONE</b>
1	MR. ADEOSUN J.O.J	KOMUNITI IN ACTION INITIATIVES	AKURE SOUTH AND AKURE NORTH	08029302899
2	REV. ABAKAH D.	ZOE FOUNDATION	AKOKO SOUTH WEST & AKOKO SOUTH EAST	08035629852
3	LADY ADESUA GRACE	GODLY WOMEN FOUNDATION	ILE OLUJI/OKE-IGBE & ODIGBO	08033760696
4	MR ADEWALE SOLA	CATHOLIC YOUTH ORGANIZATION	OWO & OSE	08032823051
5	MR ADEBOYEJO J.O.	CATHOLIC MEN ORGANIZATION	ONDO WEST & ONDO EAST	08038556425
6	MR AYOKUNLE KOLEDOYE	A 1 READERS EDUCATION FOUNDATION	ILAJE & ESE ODO	08074888818 08137875169
7	MR DEJI OMOOWA	CATHOLIC MEN ORGANIZATION	AKOKO NORTH WEST & AKOKONORTH EAST	08060405474
8	MR BAMIGBOYE ANTHONY	YOUTH COUNCIL AKURE ZONE	IFEDORE & IDANRE	0708129396
9	MRS AKINNAGBE I.O	WOMEN LIBERATION INNITIATIVES	OKITIPUPA & IRELE	08057388378