

# SPENDING TO RULE

**(A Report On Campaign Finance And Use Of State Administrative Resources In The Ondo State 2012 Gubernatorial Election)**



**Centre for Social Justice (CSJ)**  
*(Mainstreaming Social Justice In Public Life)*

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**Centre for Social Justice Ltd by Guarantee**

(Mainstreaming Social Justice In Public Life)

No. 17 (Flat 2), Yaounde Street, Wuse Zone 6,

P.O. Box 11418 Garki, Abuja

Tel: 08055070909, 08127235995.

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

Email: censoj@gmail.com

ISBN:

**Written By**

**Eze Onyekpere**

**(With assistance from Victor Emejuiwe and Kingsley Nnajiaka)**

**Centre for Social Justice (CSJ)**

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
Act	Electoral Act
CSJ	Centre for Social Justice
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
LP	Labour Party
NBC	National Broadcasting Commission
OSRVC	Ondo State Radio Vision Corporation
PAS	Public Address System
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PPMC	Political Party Monitoring Committee
SAN	Senior Advocate of Nigeria
SAR	State and Administrative Resources

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# Section One

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 BACKGROUND

Money and other resources are required for the running of political parties and for candidates and aspirants to finance their campaigns. But the challenge is how to combat the undue influence of money so that it does not subvert the will of the people and the democratic process. Allied to this is the need to control and manage state and administrative resources so that they do not give undue advantage to incumbent candidates contesting for re-election. Two important statements define the character of campaign finance in Nigeria. The first is that it is among the most important and yet for obvious reasons, the least transparent chapters of our political history. The second is that what needs to be said, and which in any case everybody knows, is that the greater part of political funding is irregular<sup>1</sup>.

There are a number of reasons for the regulation and monitoring of campaign finance and the use of state and administrative resources (“SAR”). They include the need to uphold the supremacy of the constitution, enhance democracy and development, curtail the improper influence of money over policy outcomes and to promote popular participation in party financing. It also includes the need to promote issue based politics, curtail money laundering, prevent the subversion of the legal system, fight corruption, affirm societal ethics and values and ensure that gender is on the political agenda, enable voters to make a real choice while guaranteeing openness, transparency and accountability of the political process<sup>2</sup>.

The First Republic experiences of the Foster Sutton Tribunal of Enquiry<sup>3</sup> and the Coker Commission of Inquiry<sup>4</sup> provide clues on the need for the regulation of campaign financing at all levels. The Second Republic experiences revealed in the decisions of Military Tribunals on the perverse use of money in politics further reinforces this need for regulation and monitoring. Nigeria’s recent democratic experience since 1999 shows

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<sup>1</sup> The first is from Max Webber and the second is from the former Italian Prime Minister, Bettino Craxi; both were cited with approval in INEC’s Political Party Finance Handbook of March, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Eze Onyekpere in Manual for Monitoring Campaign Finance and the Use of State and Administrative Resources, CSJ, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> The Tribunal investigated allegations of impropriety in the conduct of politicians from the National Council of Nigerian Citizens with business interest in the African Continental Bank.

<sup>4</sup> The Tribunal in 1962 investigated six Western Region public corporations that were involved in corruption with the leadership of the Action Group.

the centrality of the role of money in politics. The Anambra<sup>5</sup>, Oyo<sup>6</sup> and Plateau State<sup>7</sup> scandals are very well documented and are matters of public knowledge that do not demand repetition here. A former Senate President, Adolphus Wabara was reported as saying that membership of the National Assembly is an investment, because most members sold their houses to get to the Senate. According to him, the challenge is how to recoup the money and make profit thereafter<sup>8</sup>.

Further, despite clear provisions of the Electoral Act 2010 as amended, and the Code of Conduct for Political Parties stating that government business should be separated from political party business and barring the use of public resources for electioneering campaigns, verifiable reports still show incumbents using vehicles, airplanes and other official resources for electioneering<sup>9</sup>. Administrative resources were used to deny the opposition a level playing ground. Examples include the closure of the Kaduna airport a few days to the national convention of an opposition party in 2007, late withdrawal of police permits to hold rallies, illegal indictment of candidates, etc<sup>10</sup>.

The Independent National Electoral Commission (“INEC”) is charged by the Constitution<sup>11</sup> inter alia to organize, undertake and supervise all elections to the offices in the executive and legislative arms of government; monitor political campaigns and provide rules and regulations which shall govern the political parties; monitor the organisation of political parties including their finances, conventions, congresses and party primaries<sup>12</sup>. INEC has a Political Parties Monitoring Committee (“PPMC”) and a Directorate of Political Party Monitoring and Liaison. The PPMC is charged with holding

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<sup>5</sup> During the tenure of Governor Mbadinuju (1999-2003), godfathers in collaboration with the governor bled the state to stagnation leading to the closure of schools for one academic year. For the 2003 to 2007 period, the state witnessed violence, arson and destruction of government property because the governor refused to implement “agreements” to virtually hand over the state treasury to a political godfather.

<sup>6</sup> In Oyo State, the political godfather Alhaji Adedibu went on national television to state that one of the grounds that motivated violence, arson and the eventual impeachment of the governor (the godson) was the governor’s refusal to share his security vote and other perks of office with the godfather.

<sup>7</sup> When the presidency accused Governor Dariye of corruption, it turned out that part of the ecological funds which the governor was alleged to have mismanaged was donated to the President’s campaign organization in 2003. The President was reported to have directed the return of the money in the heat of the crisis.

<sup>8</sup> Interview by Sunday Punch Newspaper of June 5 2004 with the former Senate President Adolphus Wabara.

<sup>9</sup> See *Beyond the Ceiling* (a Report on Campaign Finance, State and Administrative Resources in the 2007 Elections) at Chapter 7; written by Eze Onyekpere and Jimmy Essiet for Socio Economic Rights Initiative. Also *Non Transparent Spending* by Eze Onyekpere (2011), being a report on Campaign Finance and Use of SAR in the 2011 Presidential Elections.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Any reference in this Report to the Constitution, except the context otherwise refers, is a reference to the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, as amended.

<sup>12</sup> See section 153 and the Third Schedule to the Constitution.

quarterly meetings of the Commission with political parties; developing a code of conduct for political parties; monitoring and enforcing their compliance with laid down rules, regulations and guidelines as contained in the Code of Conduct for Political Parties; advising appropriate arms of government on the provisions and level of funding to the parties. It is further charged with devising guidelines for expenditure and reporting on the use of funds. It also monitors the organization, operations and finances of political parties; develops guidelines for the maintenance of financial records of the parties; arranges annual examination and audit of the accounts and funds of parties and finally monitors the conduct of congresses and conventions of parties<sup>13</sup>. There is already in existence a Political Party Finance Handbook and Manual produced by INEC which contain hands on approach to the management and reporting on party finances including relevant forms for filling returns to INEC. However, this reporting system is for political parties and not candidates.

The Electoral Act 2010 as amended makes elaborate provisions for the regulation of the finances of political parties and the electioneering expenditure of candidates and political parties. The provisions range from offences in relation to political party finances, period to be covered by annual report, power to limit contribution to a political party, limitation of election expenses of candidates, election expense of political parties, and disclosure by political parties. The Electoral Act in section 91 (3) provides that N200million shall be the maximum amount to be spent by a gubernatorial candidate in an election and in the same section 91 (10) (b), spending above the limitation attracts a fine of N800,000 or imprisonment for 9 months or both. However, no express reporting obligation was placed on candidates by the Act either before or after the elections. Individuals are restricted to a donation of not more than N1million to a candidate and any individual who knowingly acts in contravention of this limitation shall on conviction be liable to a maximum fine of N500,000 or imprisonment for a term of 9 months or both. Although the Electoral Act did not expressly define the contents of election expenditure and the period for the computation of the expenditure for individual candidates, section 91 (8) states that, in determining the total expenditure incurred in relation to the candidature of any person at any election, no account shall be taken of any deposit made by the candidate on his nomination in compliance with the law. It also excludes any expenditure incurred before the notice of poll with respect to services rendered or

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<sup>13</sup> Section 153 of the 1999 Constitution provides a role for INEC to monitor the organization and operation of political parties, including their finances; arrange for the annual examination and auditing of the funds and accounts of political parties, and publish a report on such examination and audit for public information; monitor political campaigns and provide rules and regulations which shall govern political parties; and carry out such other functions as may be conferred upon it by an Act of the National Assembly.

materials supplied before such notification and political party expenses in respect of the candidate standing election.

Interestingly, INEC's omnibus power as contained in section 153 of the Electoral Act provides justification for INEC if it decides that candidates should report on their expenditures. Section 153 gives INEC power as follows:

*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.*

## **1.2 FOCUS**

This Report focuses on the campaign finance expenditure and use of SAR of candidates that contested the Ondo State gubernatorial election of October 2012. The Report is not about monitoring elections but the cost of elections. Although monitors came across instances of electoral misconduct or violence, such information were only relevant to the extent that it related to the cost of election. The monitoring was however limited to the three front running gubernatorial candidates of the Labour Party ("LP"), Peoples Democratic Party ("PDP") and Action Congress of Nigeria ("ACN"). Campaign finance monitoring involves the monitoring of funds, expenses and SAR utilized by parties and candidates during elections. It includes the monitoring of expenses deployed for campaigns and rallies, campaign offices, publicity and other associated costs, resources generated by the candidates and parties during election, etc. Campaign finance monitoring, although relatively new in Nigeria is a practice in most consolidated democracies.

## **1.3 RATIONALE FOR MONITORING**

Section 92 (2) of the Act states that election expenses incurred by a political party for the management or the conduct of an election shall be determined by the Commission in consultation with the political parties. The same section 92 (subsections 3-8) places reporting and publication obligations on political parties. On the other hand, INEC pursuant to section 153 of the Act did not issue any guidelines, regulations or manuals relating to the reporting obligations of the candidates. This unfortunate position necessitates the establishment of civil society oversight over candidates financing and expenditure, respect for the ceilings and the use of SAR.

From our previous reports<sup>14</sup>, political parties failed to report their expenses on time or at all, as required by law. Many candidates spent above the limits set by law and INEC has not positioned itself to know whether they overspent since candidates have no reporting obligations. INEC has hardly pursued the implementation of the party and candidate finance regulations with the same vigor and rigor with which it organizes and oversees other aspects of the elections. The general public's awareness of these limitations is very low while civil society tends to look the other way when violations occur. This has created the impression that parties and candidates are free to violate political finance regulations with impunity.

The Centre for Social Justice began capacity building and monitoring of campaign finance in 2007. It monitored the expenditure of front running candidates in the 2011 presidential election and came up with a report titled '*Non Transparent Spending*'. At the sub national level, CSJ has monitored and reported on the Edo State gubernatorial election. From the monitoring exercise conducted so far, the law is more obeyed in the breach by candidates and their political parties.

The October 2012 gubernatorial election in Ondo State was hotly contested and the background facts presented a very interesting scenario. The Labour Party was represented by the incumbent, Olusegun Mimiko; Action Congress of Nigeria was represented by its candidate Rotimi Akeredolu (SAN<sup>15</sup>) and the Peoples Democratic Party was represented by its candidate, Olusola Oke. The Labour Party candidate being the incumbent had an advantage over other candidates as it was generally believed that the candidate performed fairly well in his first tenure. The Labour Party candidate was not the person declared to have won the gubernatorial election in 2007 by INEC. It was the PDP, then represented by Olusegun Agagu that was declared victorious by INEC. LP got the victory in 2008 after a protracted litigation and therefore ousted the PDP. Thus, while the gubernatorial seat in other states became vacant in 2011, Ondo State was not due for elections until October 2012. On this score, PDP was out to prove a point that it actually won the 2007 election and its ouster by the courts was based on a flawed judicial decision. LP also had to prove through the gubernatorial election that it won the 2007 election on merit. For the LP, it was also a battle of survival because the LP was hardly known or won any seats outside Ondo State and Ondo was the only state it controlled. Losing the state to another party would be a virtual kiss of death for the party.

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<sup>14</sup> *Beyond the Ceiling and Non Transparent Spending*, supra.

<sup>15</sup> Senior Advocate of Nigeria, a title given to successful and distinguished legal practitioners in Nigeria.

On the other hand, Action Congress of Nigeria was in control of all five out of the six states of the South West geo-political zone. Essentially, Ondo was the only state in the region not controlled by ACN. The South West region has a history of dominance by one political party and attempts by other parties to gain a foothold always led to violence. Of late, the ACN has been in the forefront of seeking regional autonomy, even if not provided in the law. Thus, the election was an opportunity to take full control of the entire South West region as a basis for forging stronger bonds and autonomy in the region. Further, there were undenied reports that the leadership of ACN facilitated the electoral victory of the LP candidate at the courts during the challenge to the PDP candidate after the 2007 election. This was done through financing the litigation and other resource support. Indeed, the ACN candidate, a distinguished lawyer and former president of the Nigeria Bar Association was the counsel to the LP candidate in the courts. The ACN leader Bola Tinubu, accused the LP candidate of betrayal because of the assistance rendered to him by ACN to reclaim the 2007 mandate from the PDP, was to be compensated by his joining ACN after he was sworn in as governor and before the 2012 election. The LP candidate denied this pact and did not join ACN. From the foregoing analysis, the stage was set for a titanic electoral battle as the three candidates had tremendous resources for the election. While the LP candidate had the incumbency advantage, the PDP candidate belonged to the party in charge of the Federal Government and as such, had the federal might behind his candidature. On the other hand, the ACN candidate was riding on the crest of the impending regional hegemony and the recent success of the party in Edo State.

Apparently, the selection of candidates by the various parties also considered the financial muscle of the aspirants before transforming them into candidates. For LP, it was easy to settle for Mimiko who was the incumbent and had access to state resources. For the PDP, it was reported that his choice was influenced by his purported deep pocket<sup>16</sup>. For the ACN, it was not clear whether a large financial war chest played any role in candidate selection considering that its candidate was a successful legal practitioner which may not necessarily translate into tonnes of money but guarantees the practitioner a good life. However, the ACN was reported in the Ondo State Ministry of Information web portal in August 6, 2012 to have mobilized the sum of N20billion for the gubernatorial election<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> See the interview granted by Dr Oluwadare Bada, Director General of the Olusola Oke Campaign on the reasons why the PDP lost the election. This is published in Daily Trust of December 25, 2012.

<sup>17</sup>. This seems to be a hyperbolic exaggeration.

Monitoring gubernatorial campaign expenses and SAR was also imperative because Nigeria's experience since the return to civil rule in 1999 shows that governors at the state level were accountable to no one and had destroyed the basis of checks and balances inbuilt in the presidential system of government. The respective Houses of Assembly were supine to their wishes, while their role in the appointment of judges ensured some level of control over the judiciary. The saving grace is that INEC, the police and other security apparatus are controlled by the Federal Government of Nigeria.

#### **1.4 GOAL AND OBJECTIVES**

The project leading to the monitoring and report was designed with the central goal of contributing to credible gubernatorial election in Ondo State through a civil society oversight on campaign finance and use of SAR in the election.

The specific objectives are:

- Build the capacity of civil society organizations to engage campaign finance and the use of state and administrative resources;
- Monitor and report on campaign finance and SAR in the gubernatorial election and use the monitoring results for advocacy for legislative or policy change and for enhanced enforcement of the law.

Monitoring and reporting was done with a view to determining compliance with the laws and regulations by candidates and political parties; evaluate how realistic, existing campaign finance laws are; elevate transparency and accountability in campaign finance transaction; provide information and data for evidence based advocacy for the reform of campaign finance laws and regulations and to determine the legality or appropriateness of the use of SAR in the election.

#### **1.5 METHODOLOGY**

The project employed capacity building by identifying monitors and training them on the relevant issues in campaign finance monitoring. The Constitution, Electoral Act and other relevant legislation on campaign finance and the use of SAR formed the legal basis of the training. CSJ developed a User Manual for Monitoring Gubernatorial Campaign Finance and monitors were trained on how to use the manual. The second stage was the deployment of monitors in all the eighteen local government of the State. 18 monitors at one monitor per local government

monitored the campaigns. Based on the general outlook of activities amongst the 13 registered political parties that fielded candidates in the election, the monitoring exercise was concentrated on and restricted to the front runners notably, Labor Party, Peoples Democratic Party and the Action Congress of Nigeria.

The monitoring specifically focused on rallies, campaigns, bill boards, prints and electronic media, office expenses and the use of SAR. Reports were sent periodically from the date of notice of poll on campaigns activities and received at the secretariat in CSJ in Abuja. The reports were however physically verified by an officer of the secretariat who conducted a round-trip visit to all the local governments in the State in order to ascertain the accuracy of facts in the activities reported.

The monitors were drawn from Civil Society Organisation and were under oath to abide by the Code of Conducts for Monitors. They were charged to provide evidence only when it is credible, verifiable, relevant and reliable. The monitors attended rallies and campaigns, counted billboards, interviewed relevant stakeholders and observed the partisan use of SAR. They collected prices of various items from three credible vendors to ensure that the prices stated in their reports were reasonable and within the range of what is obtainable in the market. At the secretariat, the reports were verified and facts were sifted. For prices difficult to quantify, the opinions of experts in the field were sought and this includes outdoor media, event planners, welders and fabricators, estate agents and those who have dealt with similar matters in the past. Also, the project sought information from staff of the various campaign organizations. Further, the project monitored media reports on the election campaign.

## **1.6 CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE EXERCISE.**

Considering the absence of reporting guidelines and INEC's failure to demand reports from candidates, this type of monitoring was seen by candidates and parties as unnecessary interference and prying into their privacy. As such, they were reluctant to give out information. INEC's call for accreditation of observers restricted the concept of observers to observers who will monitor the polls on the Election Day. It had no room for the kind of pre-poll day monitoring required by the campaign finance and SAR monitoring regime. Essentially, INEC did not support the monitoring and it was done without its knowledge.

The three parties whose candidates were monitored were generally suspicious of the activities of one another and therefore non-recognized faces or non-party members were hardly given audience. This became a problem for the monitors who needed direct access to information through formal means from the candidates' campaign or party offices. Monitors had to generate necessary information from these quarters through indirect and non formal means.

Monitors found it difficult to get the cost of utilities and office buildings in the various campaign offices as a result of the suspicion trailing unknown faces at campaign offices. The monitors had to take discreet camera shots at the internal and exterior premises of the campaign office and thereafter sought information on the cost of items observed in their visits.

Funds were widely circulated amongst party members under the guise of mobilization, but it was a challenge to get the exact amount and number of people who received the funds. Also, fund raising was conducted discreetly and at venues not open to the public. Essentially, monitors were not allowed entrance to fundraisers. Thus, first hand information can only be available from attendees of the event who in most cases were unwilling to divulge what transpired. In situations where the fund raising was done publicly, such as the Akure South Local Government fund raising party for the LP, the donations were not announced and utmost secrecy was maintained.

Electronic media stations in Ondo State rendered services to candidates based on their political loyalty to candidates and parties. The electronic media refused to disclose information on number of slots and cost of coverage of political rallies of the candidates. However, efforts were made to retrieve this information through other sources and also by posing as potential clients.

Also, the difficult terrain in places like Ilaje and Ese-Odo local government which are mainly riverine areas made monitoring a bit difficult. Notwithstanding, the monitors visited the major locations and towns within the local governments to get information.

## **1.7 REPORT PRESENTATION**

This report is presented in eight chapters as follows;

- Introduction
- The Legal Framework
- Abuse of State and Administrative Resources

- Campaigns and Rallies
- Billboards, Campaign Offices and Other Expenses
- Electronic Media Campaigns
- Print Media Expenses
- Conclusions and Recommendations

## **1.8 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Section One provides the background, rationale, goal and objectives of the project. It delineates the methodology employed, challenges and limitations of the exercise.

Section Two deals with the basis of the limitations on candidates' expenditure to determine whether they are empirical or arbitrary. It examines whether the ceilings are apparent or real, whether they are enforceable considering that no reporting obligation is placed on candidates by the Act. INEC did not also use its powers under section 153 of the Act to demand reports from candidates. The exclusion of expenses incurred before the notice of poll and political party expenses for a candidate in calculating the ceiling makes the ceiling easy to evade. Even the penalties for exceeding the limitations have no deterrent or reformatory value on offenders. The provisions offer perverse incentives for the Act to be violated with impunity. The Report states that the provisions on expenditure ceiling are therefore inchoate, incapable of enforcement and therefore defeats the ends of transparency and accountability in campaign finance management. The Chapter notes that there is no obligation on candidates to keep records of expenditure or to provide a banking or paper trail of receipts and expenses. The Act is silent on whether contributions to political campaigns are tax deductible and the use to which remaining funds will be put after the campaigns. .

Section Three dwelt on the abuse of SAR. It recalled section 100 (2) of the Act to the effect that state apparatus including the media shall not be employed to the advantage or disadvantage of any political party or candidate at any election. It cited reports indicating that permanent secretaries were compelled to make contributions to LP's fundraising campaign, diversion of civil service training funds, and the use of the Ministry of Labour to canvass for votes,. Official vehicles were used for the campaign while media resources were abused.

Section Four covers issues related to campaigns and rallies. The expenditure heads reviewed include venues, public address system, master of ceremony, entertainment from musicians, canopies, chairs, decorations, flags, banners, different dresses worn for the rallies, food, transportation, etc. Section Five is on billboards, campaign offices and other omnibus expenses. Section Six is on electronic media campaigns while Section Seven recorded print media campaign expenses.

Section Eight is on conclusions and recommendations. The tabulation of overall expenses show that all the candidates spent above the statutory limitation. The Labour Party candidate spent N338.081million; Peoples Democratic Party candidate spent N234.970million whilst the Action Congress of Nigeria candidate spent N213.495million. There were recommendations to the legislature, INEC, civil society and political parties. The key recommendations include that the delimitation of expenditure must be based on an empirical and verifiable formula, it must not be arbitrary. It should be anchored on the number of registered voters multiplied by a factor and adjusted from time to time for inflation and other composites of the national consumer index. The current limitation is too low and should be increased. There should be reporting obligations for candidates including pre and post election reports and this will be facilitated by a paper and banking trail requiring the opening of dedicated campaign finance accounts to receive and disburse all funds for campaign purposes. Any expenditure above N50,000 should be made through a cheque or bank transfer.

Reporting obligations should be placed on the media to report campaign advertisements to either the National Broadcasting Commission or INEC. Specific provisions should be made in the law for the monitoring of SAR either by INEC or another statutory body. The recommendations include the introduction of the concept of the “permissible donor” which will exclude all those who in the last five years have been convicted of offences involving fraud, dishonesty, money laundering, human trafficking or dealing in psychotropic substances from contributing to campaign funds. To encourage popular participation in campaign financing, contributions to candidates within the ceiling should be made tax deductible. Stiff penalties should be put in the Act to serve as deterrence for those who may choose to spend above the ceiling and the penalties should include vacation of office upon proof of excess expenditure.

Finally, amendments of the Act should be concluded at least two years before elections in a four year tenure. Legislators should not be amending the Act at a time their elections are some months away. This will ensure that the provisions of the Act are not unnecessarily watered down.

## Section Two

### THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Act made various provisions on campaign finance and the use of SAR. On the face of it, these are beautiful provisions. However, most of these provisions are faced with challenges that for now seem un-surmountable. There are also obvious gaps in the Act. These challenges and gaps are detailed below<sup>18</sup>.

#### 2.2 WHAT IS THE BASIS OF THE CEILINGS?

The logic and empirical basis of the N200 million limitation for gubernatorial candidates and the limitations for other categories of candidates were not articulated in the Act and INEC or the National Assembly has not come out with any justifications. Is it based on the number of voters to be addressed by the candidate or the land area to be covered or media and other expenses? The ceilings appear arbitrary. For instance, if a presidential candidate with 36 States and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) to cover is to spend N1billion, why should the Act allow a gubernatorial candidate with one out of 36 states to spend one fifth of the presidential candidate's ceiling? If a senatorial zone is one third of a state, why did the Act not grant senatorial candidates one third of the governor's ceiling? What is the relationship between the area covered by a senatorial seat and that of a House of Representatives member?<sup>19</sup> In General Comment No. 25 of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights<sup>20</sup>, it was stated:

Paragraph 19: *Reasonable limitations on campaign expenditure may be justified where this is necessary to ensure that the free choice of voters is not*

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<sup>18</sup> A good part of this Chapter is taken from CSJ's *Non Transparent Spending* being a report on campaign finance and use of SAR in the 2011 presidential elections.

<sup>19</sup> See page 24 of Political Finance Monitoring Manual, 2011 by Centre for Social Justice.

<sup>20</sup> United Nations Commission on Human Rights (1996) interpreting article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - participation in public affairs and the right to vote, the right to participate in public affairs, voting rights and the right of equal access to public service adopted at the 57<sup>th</sup> Session of the Human Rights Committee on 12 July 1996. CCPR/C/21Rev.1/Add.7

*undermined or the democratic process distorted by the disproportionate expenditure on behalf of any candidate or party.*

Yes, there is need for expenditure ceilings in Nigeria. 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. Essentially, if there was an empirical basis for the ceiling, the Ondo State gubernatorial election may have had a ceiling different from the gubernatorial elections in other states that have different population, registered voters, land mass, etc.

### **2.3 CEILINGS: APPARENT OR REAL?**

After providing spending limitations for candidates, the Act was silent on the means of enforcing these limitations. No reporting obligation was placed on candidates in a presidential system that is candidate-centric. Unlike political parties, candidates have no statutory obligation to keep records of money spent, contributions, gifts, properties, etc, given to them for the purpose of electioneering<sup>21</sup>. Independent reports from the media and other civil society actors did not also feature on the agenda of the Act. Rather, reporting obligations were placed on political parties who virtually do not contribute much to candidates after conclusion of nominations. Most candidates raise and spend their own funds to succeed in elections. Even the penalties prescribed for candidates violating the limitations have no deterrence or reformative value. Violating the gubernatorial candidate's limitation will attract imprisonment of 9 months or a fine of N800,000 or both.

This is a joke carried too far. First, by the time you prove that a candidate expended beyond the ceiling and he is already sworn in as governor, how can you enforce the penalty since he has immunity from suit and legal process? Even if he has no immunity from suit and legal process, the Nigerian judicial system will respect the office and there is no guarantee that the trial would not be unduly delayed. Taking a gamble that will lead to N800,000 fine is not a bad idea if this gamble provides a chance of being the governor of a State. Real deterrent provisions such as the loss of the seat or a ban from participating in political contests for a period of time, heavier fines and longer terms of imprisonment, etc, did not feature in the legislative agenda.

How then did the legislature intend that the limitation provisions will be respected? The response to the above is that legislators were making laws at a time they had interest in contesting as candidates. As such, they saw the process as making laws to bind their immediate quest for re-election. They had no hesitation in watering down the provisions

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<sup>21</sup> See section 93 of the Act on disclosures by political parties.

of the law for their own selfish ends. The provisions on limits for candidates expenditure is therefore an inchoate legal provision since it has no reporting and enforcement mechanism. It does not facilitate transparent campaign fund raising and expenditure. It is the standard practice in major democracies that after electoral spending comes the rendering of accounts and retirement of campaign debts. Nigeria claims to be a democracy and yet fails this fundamental test.

This deliberate refusal to make candidate campaign expenditure transparent runs contrary to the United Nations Convention against Corruption<sup>22</sup> which in article 7 (3) states that:

*Each State Party shall also consider taking appropriate legislative and administrative measures, consistent with the objectives of this Convention and in accordance with the fundamental principles of its domestic law, to enhance transparency in the funding of candidates for elected public office and, where applicable, the funding of political parties.*

On the other hand, there was the expectation that INEC could have used its constitutional and statutory powers to fill the gap in the law by demanding reports from candidates either during or after the elections. By section 153 of the Act, the Commission has the explicit power to issue regulations, guidelines or manuals for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of the Act and for its administration thereof. Up till the date of this report, no such demand has been made on candidates by INEC. Even the Political Party Finance Handbook and the Political Party Financial Reporting Manual developed by INEC all dwelt on the methods and procedures including forms for reporting by political parties<sup>23</sup>. The Handbook and Manual were silent on candidates reporting as no forms or instructions were directed to candidates. INEC appeared more interested in following up on political parties when it advertised for audit firms to audit the annual accounts of political parties in the year 2010<sup>24</sup>.

One of the exceptions to the expenditure ceiling in section 91 (8) (b) is that in determining the total expenditure incurred in relation to the candidature of any person at an election, no account shall be taken of any expenditure incurred before the notification of the date fixed for the election with respect to services rendered or materials supplied before such notification. This is reinforced by section 92 (1) of the Act which defines

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<sup>22</sup> General Assembly Resolution 58/4 of October 31 2003.

<sup>23</sup> These regulations include Guide and Checklist to the Audit of Political Party Accounts; Form 1 being Summary of Receipts and Expenses; Form 2 is the Details of Receipts; Details of Expenses, Individual Contributions and Assets and Liabilities are Forms 3, 4 and 5 respectively. They all relate to Political Parties.

<sup>24</sup> See THISDAY Newspaper of January 13 2011 at page 62.

election expenses as expenses incurred by a political party within the period from the date notice is given by the Commission to conduct an election up to and including, the polling day in respect of that particular election. The practical effect of this is to encourage candidates to frontload their expenses. This provision does not tally with the definition of campaign expenditure taken from the Political Party Finance Handbook<sup>25</sup>:

*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.*

There should be a resolution of these conflicting definitions as the definition in the Political Party Finance Handbook accords with reason and makes eminent sense.

Another exception to the expenditure ceiling in section 91 (8) (c) is that in determining the total expenditure incurred in relation to the candidature of any person at an election, no account shall be taken of political party expenses in respect of the candidate standing for election. However, the Act did not define political party expenses and this leaves to conjecture what is included and those expenses that are excluded. Section 92 (2) merely stated that election expenses incurred by a political party for the management or the conduct of an election shall be determined by INEC in consultation with the political parties. This provision does not offer any help because there was no such determination by INEC before or during the campaign period. Thus, if a gubernatorial candidate can spend N200 million, is the political party entitled to spend another N200 million or more for the candidate? If the answer is in the affirmative, all a candidate needs do after hitting the ceiling is to find an ingenious way of transferring the remaining money to the political party to continue the expenditure. In essence, this removes the ceiling.

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<sup>25</sup> Political Party Finance Handbook 2005 at page 28; see also INEC's reviewed Political Party Finance Handbook 2010 at pages 2-3.

## **2.4 NO OBLIGATION TO KEEP RECORDS - LACK OF PAPER TRAIL**

Even if there is no reporting obligation imposed on candidates by the Act, an obligation to keep records of contributions and expenses in INEC's regulations would have put INEC in a position to review the records after the elections. It would leave a paper trail that can help in determining whether the ceiling was exceeded. Further, if INEC required candidates to conduct their expenditures through designated bank accounts, this would have facilitated the paper trail and ability to track expenditures. Since most of the campaign transactions are done in cash, it becomes difficult to track expenditures<sup>26</sup>.

## **2.5 TAX STATUS OF CONTRIBUTIONS**

Again, the Act was silent on the tax status of contributions by individuals to candidates and political parties. In some jurisdictions, these contributions are made tax deductible. Such a policy encourages contributions to parties and candidates by a broad section of society as against the current climate of big secret donations that violate the law. This would help candidates and parties to get legitimate income from a broad section of society who agree with their policies and ideologies. In the long run, popular participation in political financing deepens democracy by broadening the ownership of party structures, machinery and decision making process. It also deepens candidates support base.

## **2.6 EVERY DONOR WAS ON BOARD**

The Act was silent on the eligibility of individuals to contribute to campaign funds. It extended eligibility to all. The implication is that persons involved in drugs, money laundering, obtaining by false pretences, defrauding the revenue and even terrorism can fund candidates and parties. The Act should have specifically introduced the concept of "permissible donor" to bar persons who in the last five years have been convicted of offences involving fraud or dishonesty, defrauding the revenue, drug trafficking and sale of psychotropic substances, terrorism, human trafficking, etc, from contributing to the coffers of political parties and candidates. This "every donor on

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<sup>26</sup> The Minimiko Capmpaign Team ran an advertisement that solicited for contributions and further enquiries were to be directed to Koye on 08033552005, 08089176989; Dele on 08077705425, 08033292828; Toyin on 08092331123, 08052015688.

board” approach runs contrary to African Union Charter on Preventing and Combating Corruption<sup>27</sup> which in article 10 states that:

*Each State Party shall adopt legislative and other measures to: (a) Proscribe the use of funds acquired through illegal and corrupt practices to finance political parties.*

## **2.7 REMAINING MONEY AND ITS USE AND OR DEBTS**

The Act was silent on the use to which monies raised in excess of a candidate’s ceiling could be put after the election. Should it become part of the assets of the candidate or revert to INEC or some other public and charitable purpose? The late President Yar’adua declared the excess from his campaigns expenditure as part of his assets at his inauguration. But this does not seem to be the ideal.

A PDP stalwart in Ondo State, Dr. Bada had declared after the elections that:

*“...after the campaigns, we discovered that a lot of money came which was not spent or declared to us. About eight or nine governors assisted financially. But the money was not declared as well as the funds received from the national body of the party”.*

If this position is true, the remaining sum was retained by the candidate.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Dr Oluwadare Bada is the Director General of the Olusola Oke Campaign – interview in Daily Trust, *supra*, - see footnote 16.

## **Section Three**

### **ABUSE OF STATE AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESOURCES**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

On the use of SAR, section 100 of the Electoral Act provides that:

- (1) A candidate and his party shall campaign for the elections in accordance with such rules and regulations as may be determined by the Commission.*
- (2) State apparatus including media shall not be employed to the advantage of any political parties or candidates at any election.*

The Code of Conduct for Political Parties states that government business should be separated from political party business.

The definition of state apparatus is wide and will include administrative, institutional, legislative, coercive, regulatory and media resources. The rationale for the above provisions is first to ensure that incumbents do not gain undue advantage through the use of state resources in electioneering campaigns as this will amount to diverting public resources to private purposes. The second is to provide a level playing ground for all the candidates vying for an office. If candidates and parties abide by these rules, it will essentially lead to free, fair and credible elections. The use of SAR by incumbents is therefore illegal, unethical and against best practices in SAR management.

#### **3.2 CIVIL SERVANTS COMPELLED TO CONTRIBUTE TO MIMIKO'S ELECTION FUNDS**

Whether this qualifies as an abuse of state resources or outright obtaining money through intimidation is debatable. It was published in one of the news journals widely circulating in Ondo State - *The Lens Newspaper*<sup>29</sup> that the incumbent governor and the

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<sup>29</sup> The edition of Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> September 2012.

LP candidate ordered permanent secretaries to contribute two million naira each to his re-election campaign. The paper reported that directive was given to the 47 Permanent Secretaries in the State Civil Service to contribute the said sum so as to oil his campaign machinery. The governor was reported to have deployed the services of the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labor to effect this order. The Permanent Secretary is known to have very cordinal relationship with the governor. Available information indicated that the said permanent secretary was sponsoring LP's activities in his domain. The fact remains that the remuneration of a permanent secretary is her entitlement for the services rendered to the state and she should not be under obligation to part with any part of the remuneration without her freely given consent which is not the product of undue pressure. A demand for compulsory contribution to a candidate merely because he is an incumbent is unlawful and an abuse of state powers. It is a demand that will be backed by sanctions in the event any permanent secretary refused to comply. Such a permanent secretary would have been removed from office immediately or after the election.

The "donation" is illegal under section 91 (9) of the Act because it exceeds the N1million ceiling prescribed for individual donations. Further, it politicizes the civil service which is supposed to be a non partisan establishment and a bureaucracy to serve any government in power, no matter the party it represents.

### **3.3 DIVERSION OF CIVIL SERVANTS TRAINING FUNDS FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES**

One of the Senior Special Assistants to the governor, Dayo Fadahunsi and a retired Head of Service Ajose Ikudehinbu, were alleged to have dipped their hands into the coffers of the civil service training vote for the year and diverted it to the campaign machinery of the state governor Dr. Mimiko<sup>30</sup>. A news report revealed that the duo, in trying to support the governor for what he did for them on several occasions, decided to use the capital votes meant for workers training to support the campaign. The report noted that most workers in the state who are to go on training in 2012 would be denied the opportunity to do so, under the pretext of lack of funds. However, this will have a harmful effect on the productivity of workers.

### **3.4 USING THE MINISTRY OF LABOR TO CANVASS FOR VOTES**

Under the civil service rules, government agencies and personnel are supposed to play non-partisan roles in politics, but this runs contrary to reports from Ondo State Ministry of Labour. It was observed that the Labour Party candidate, through the Ministry of Labour in the state, gathered over 500 artisans for a workshop organized by the Ministry. The artisans were purportedly "sensitized" and cajoled to favor the incumbent on his re-election bid; after which they were fed and given transport re-imbursements of 5000 naira each. A newspaper in the state also reported that artisans were given

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<sup>30</sup> The *Lens Newspaper* of 26<sup>th</sup> September to October 2 2012 at page 2.

money to attend the flag-off ceremony slated for Owo. An artisan in that report also disclosed that a sum of 500,000 naira was given to each group of some selected artisans to enable them mobilize their members<sup>31</sup>.

### **3.5 THE USE OF GOVERNMENT VEHICLES, EQUIPMENT AND BUILDINGS FOR CAMPAIGNS**

The incumbent was using official cars in his convoy for the campaign. All through the campaign in the 18 local governments, official vehicles from the state house, ministries and local governments were assigned to partisan duties. However, the monitors were unable to take pictures due to the tight security around the governor and the vehicles. Chairs, public address systems and official buildings were also used in the campaigns.

### **3.6 ABUSE OF MEDIA RESOURCES**

On the use of SAR, section 100 of the Electoral Act provides that;

- (1) A candidate and his party shall campaign for the election in accordance with such rules and regulations as may be determined by the Commission.*
- (2) State apparatus including the media shall not be employed to the advantage of any political parties or candidates at any election.*
- (3) Media time shall be allocated equally among the political parties or candidates at similar hours of the day.*
- (4) At any public electronic media, equal airtime shall be allotted to all political parties or candidates during prime times at similar hours each day, subject to the payment of appropriate fees.*
- (5) At any public print media, equal coverage and conspicuity shall be allotted to all political parties.*
- (6) A public media that contravenes subsections (3) and (4) of this section commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a maximum fine of N500,000.00 in the first instance and to a maximum fine of N1,000,000.00 for subsequent conviction.*

The state owned Radio and Television Broadcast Station (Ondo State Radio Vision Corporation) was widely used by the incumbent governor to issue advertisements, press releases and to cover campaigns and documentaries in the state. The intensity

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<sup>31</sup> *Docket News*, Page 3, Thursday 30<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> September 2012.

and proportion of its use by the Labour Party cannot be equated to the space offered to other political parties.

Monitors in the field raised concerns over this issue with one of the reporters in the radio station and he confided to the monitor that the Governor brought the current Managing Director heading the corporation from a Lagos based television house simply for the election assignment. This explained the unalloyed loyalty and commitment of the management of the station to the re-election of the governor. In relation to this, a media analyst noted his grievance in a newspaper report, where he described OSRC as a failure. He described the radio station as having set aside the principle of fair reporting which governs the practice of journalism in all civilized societies, including Nigeria. The news organization which is fully financed by public funds had abandoned the people to concentrate on political activities of the Labor Party and its candidate, Olusegun Mimiko. The station and its management were accused of being turned into the LP propaganda tool. It was noticed that OSRC had in the past been sanctioned by the National Broadcasting Commission for failing to abide by the rules and regulations because of its style of reporting<sup>32</sup>

On the other hand, ADABA FM which is a private radio station in the state solely favoured the reports and adverts of the ACN when compared to its commitment to any other party.

The unethical broadcast of the two stations compelled the National Broadcasting Commission to threaten to penalise the stations for their coverage of the governorship election campaign in Ondo State. Speaking to newsmen after a meeting with the two broadcast stations in Abuja, the Director-General of NBC, Mr. Yomi Bolarinwa, said that if any of the stations persisted in unethical political broadcasting, the regulatory agency would not fail to penalise them. He said;

*“We have got their assurances that the airwaves would be sanitised. I am optimistic that they will do the right thing. We will sanction the stations if they fail.”*

Bolarinwa said the invitation to the stations was one of the procedures spelt out in the nation’s broadcasting law before NBC could impose sanctions on any of its licensees<sup>33</sup>. The full statement of NBC reads as follows:<sup>34</sup>

*‘The National Broadcasting Commission, (NBC) has noted with grave concern, the unprofessional conduct of Continental Broadcasting Services Ltd, operators of ADABA FM, Akure and the Ondo State Radiovision Corporation, (OSRC) in*

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<sup>32</sup> . The Lens Newspaper page 2, of Wednesday September 26<sup>th</sup> -Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2012.

<sup>33</sup> See the Punch Newspaper of October 14, 2012.

<sup>34</sup> www.nbc.gov.ng

*the on-going governorship campaigns in Ondo State, which has breached the provisions of the National Broadcasting Commission Act and the Nigeria Broadcasting Code.*

*The Commission wishes to put it on record that it will not hesitate to suspend the broadcast licences of both stations, should they continue to breach the Code. The Commission notes that despite several warnings and admonitions to these stations, the OSRC has continued to exhibit bias in political coverage and broadcast of political jingles in favour of the Labour Party candidate, in contravention of Section 5.2.8 of the Nigeria Broadcasting Code which states that:*

*In adherence to the principles of pluralism, equal airtime shall be provided to all political parties or views, with particular regard to the amount of time and belt, during political campaign periods.*

*"ADABA FM" which was also recently fined and has paid the sum of N400,000 (Four hundred thousand Naira) for persistent violations of the provisions of the Code, has continued and is being used for public incitement to violence. The station's continuous transmission of offensive content as in 'Elaloro', poses a threat to law and order in Ondo State, contrary to Section 5.2.5 which states that:*

*Political broadcasts shall be in decent language and Section 5.2.7 which states that:*

*A broadcaster shall, in using political material for news, avoid taking inflammatory and divisive matter in its provocative form.*

*The NBC wishes to reiterate that broadcasting stations hold their licences in trust for the people. Therefore, no station should be used, contrary to the provisions of the broadcasting laws to promote personal or sectional interests at the expense of the people. The broadcast stations are therefore admonished to desist forthwith, all unwholesome programming, or be ready to face appropriate sanctions.*

## Section Four

### CAMPAIGNS AND RALLIES

#### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

This Section reports on the detailed cost incurred during the gubernatorial campaign rallies. It reviews a number of observable expenses incurred during the campaign rallies such as the cost on equipment, costume and dressing, transportation, entertainment, hand-bills and posters, etc. It also reports on some disbursement of funds to party members for mobilizing campaigns and rallies in their various wards. However, the report was not able to capture facts peculiarly within the knowledge of the candidates and other expenses which they were not willing to disclose. Such fact includes allowances paid to campaign officials, cost of feeding and accommodation, monies given to party chieftains and traditional rulers, etc.

#### 4.2. EXPENSES OF THE GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLIES OF THE LABOUR PARTY

##### A. GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN AKURE SOUTH, 25<sup>TH</sup> JULY 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST IN NAIRA
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM & GENERATING SET	SPEAKERS AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS WITH A GENERATOR	70,000
FOOD	10,000 PARTICIPANTS WERE FED @ 600 PER PACK	6,000,000
DRINKS	ALCOHOLIC AND NON ALCOHOLIC DRINKS: 110 CRATES OF MINERALS @ 1,470 PER CRATE, 107 DOZENS OF BOTTLED WATER @ 840 PER DOZEN, 300 BAGS OF SACHET WATER @ 100 NAIRA EACH	281,580,00
COOLING VANS	MOBILE COOLING APPARATUS	75,000
HIRE OF BUSES CARS AND DISTANCES	HIRE OF 18 BUSES @ 25,000 EACH	450,000
PLATFORM	WOODEN PLATFORM	30,000
1 ART WORK	IMPRINTED ON A ROCK AT IJAPO	250,000
MUSICIANS	LIVE PERFORMANCE BY OLUMUYIWA DANLADI A.K.A.	300,000

	DANNY YOUNG, ONDO STATE CULTURAL TROUPE	
COSTUME	2,000 PARTICIPANTS WORE PARTY T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH.	2,400,000
BANNERS	100 BANNERS OF DIFFERENT ASSOCIATIONS IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE LP CANDIDATE @ 5,000 PER BANNER	500,000
TOTAL		10,356,580

**B. FUND RAISING EVENT HELD AT AKURE SOUTH CELEBRATING CHIEF OLU FALAE'S 74<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY ON 21<sup>ST</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012**

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
VENUE WITH PA SYSTEM & DECORATION	RUBY'S COURT OKE-IJEBU AKURE	400,000
FOOD AND DRINKS	ASSORTED FOOD, ALCHOLIC AND NON ALCOHOLIC DRINK FOR 500 @ 3000 PER PERSON	1,500,000
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE	ONDO STATE CULTURAL TROUPE, ACI ENTERTAINMENT GROUP	300,000
TOTAL		2,200,000

**C. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD FOR THE 12 ELECTORAL WARDS OF AKURE NORTH AT ITA GBOLU/IJU, 2<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2012**

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	TRUCK WITH COMPLETE MUSICAL ACCESSORIES WAS USED @ 60,000 NAIRA	60,000
CULTURAL TROUPE		
BANNERS	4 DIGITAL PRINTED BANNERS @ 25,000 NAIRA EACH	N100,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLE	TEN 18 SEATER BUSES WERE BRANDED AT 100,000 NAIRA EACH	1,000,000
MOBILIZATION	THE FOLLOWING ITEMS WERE GIVEN TO ELECTORATE IN THE 12 ELECTORAL WARDS. 500 T-SHIRTS, @ 800 NAIRA EACH; 500 FACE CAPS, @ 400 NAIRA EACH; 500 BATHROOM	2,590,000

	SLIPPERS @ 100 NAIRA EACH; 20 BAGS OF RICE @ 7000 NAIRA EACH; 150,000 NAIRA WAS PAID AS MOBILIZATION TO WARD CHAIRMEN IN THE 12 ELECTORAL WARDS	
COSTUMES	T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS WERE WORN BY 1500 PARTICIPANTS @ 1200 EACH	1,800,000
TOTAL		5,550,000

D. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT DEMOCRACY PARK AKURE, 16<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012.

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	30 LARGE SPEAKERS WITH COMPLETE MUSICAL SET	300,000
LISTER	A 37.5 KVA GEN SET	75,000
FOOD	ASSORTED FOOD PACKAGED FOR 10,000 PARTICIPANTS @ 600 NAIRA PER PACK	6,000,000
DRINKS	120 CRATES OF SOFT DRINKS @ 1,470 PER CRATE, 80 PACKS OF BOTTLE WATER @ 840 PER PACK, 250 BAGS OF SACHET WATER @ 100 NAIRA PER BAG	268,600
COOLING APPARATUS	MOBILE COOLING VEHICLE	75,000
HIRE OF BUSES AND CARS	5 BUSES FROM EACH OF THE EIGHTEEN LGA'S WERE PAID 25,000 NAIRA EACH TO ATTEND THE EVENT	2,250,000
CHAIRS & CANOPIES	200 CHAIRS FOR DIGNITARIES WERE HIRED @ 100 NAIRA EACH, 2 LARGE CANOPIES @ 15,000 NAIRA EACH	50,000
PLATFORM	LARGE METALLIC STAGE PLATFORM	300,000
DECORATIONS	LARGE RIBBONS AND COTTON MATERIALS WERE USED TO DESIGN THE STAGE AND AROUND THE CAMPAIGN VENUE	150,000
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE	AJIBOLA OLUMUYIWA & DANLADI AKA DANNI YOUNG	300,000
VEHICLE BRANDING	50 BRANDED VEHICLES – HILUX, JEEPS AND BUSES @ 100,000 EACH; 30 BRANDED POWER BIKES AT 25,000 EACH AND ACCOMPANYING MUSIC EQUIPMENT AT 30,000	5,780,000
MASCOT	FIVE YOUNG MEN STOOD STILL WITH	125,000

	PAINTED BODY AS MASCOT AROUND AKURE TOWN @ 25,000 NAIRA PER ONE	
TOTAL		15,673,600

E. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN IN IRELE, 21<sup>ST</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
MOBILE ADVERT	VEHICLE WITH MUSIC AND ADVERTS	40,000
BRIGADE BAND	BRIGADE BAND PLAYED FOR 3 DAYS @ 10,000 EACH (2 DAYS BEFORE THE RALLY AND ON THE DAY OF THE RALLY	30,000
COSTUMES	T-SHIRT PROVIDED FOR 3,000 PEOPLE @ 800 EACH	2,400,000
BANNERS	12 BANNERS @ 5,000 EACH AND 5 SMALL DIGITAL BANNERS @ 20,000 EACH	160,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	15 EIGHTEEN SEATER BUSES WERE BRANDED @ 100,000 EACH	1,500,000
TOTAL		4,130,000

F. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL RALLY HELD AT SABOMI HALL ESE-ODO 2<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC DONATIONS	LOCAL GOVERNMENT CHAIRMAN GAVE OUT 100,000 TO WARD WOMEN, HON. NOMIYE (PARTY CHAIRMAN) GAVE OUT 200,000 NAIRA TO THE YOUTHS AND OTHER DONATIONS OF 50,000 WAS MADE BY HON EBISENI	350,000
COSTUME	150 PEOPLE WORE ORANGE COLOR T-SHIRT UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200 NAIRA.	180,000
FOOD & DRINK	A PACK OF JOLLOF RICE WITH CHICKEN WAS SERVED TO 300	240,000

	PEOPLE AT 800 NAIRA EACH	
MUSICAL SET/BAND	A MUSIC BAND PLAYED WITH A COMPLETE MUSICAL SET	60,000
TOTAL		830,000

G. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL RALLY HELD AT SALVATION ARMY PRY SCHOOL PLAY GROUND IGBOMINI. 4<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN VENUE	PRIMARY SCHOOL PLAY GROUND	15,000
COSTUME	1000 PEOPLE WORE ORANGE T-SHIRTS UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200 EACH	1,200,000
MUSIC	THIRTY LARGE SPEAKERS AND COMPLETE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AND A MUSICIAN	300,000
TRANSPORTATION	30 BUSES WERE HIRED FROM OKITIPUPA AREA DOWN TO IGBOMINI @ 20,000 NAIRA EACH	600,000
LIVE PROJECTOR	THREE LIVE (FULL SIZE) PROJECTORS WERE HIRED AT 70,000 NAIRA EACH	210,000
CHAIRS AND CANOPY	45 DOZENS OF CHAIRS WERE HIRED AT 500 NAIRA PER DOZEN, AND FIFTEEN CANOPIES WERE HIRED AT 1,500 EACH	45,000
BANNERS	FIVE BANNERS WERE PLACED AT THE VENUE @ 5,000 NAIRA EACH	25,000
TOTAL		2,395,000

H. OBSERVABLE EXPENSES OF LABOUR PARTY IN ODIGBO LOCAL GOVERNMENT, SEPTEMBER 5, 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
BANNERS	1 DIGITAL BANNER	25,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	2 HI-LUX VANS WITH BIG SPEAKERS USED FOR MOBILE ADVERT @ 50,000 NAIRA EACH	100,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLE	1 BRANDED TOYOTA BUS @ 100,000	100,000
COSTUME	7,000 T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS WERE RECEIVED IN THE LGA @ 1200 NAIRA EACH	8,400,000
TOTAL		8,625,000

I. GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY OF THE LABOUR PARTY OF NIGERIA  
ONDO EAST LGA, SEPTEMBER 19 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
COSTUMES	ORANGE MIXED WITH GREEN POLO T-SHIRT FOR 1000 PARTICIPANTS @ 1000 NAIRA EACH; PLAIN ORANGE COLOR SHIRTS WORN BY 1000 PARTICIPANTS @ 800 EACH, FACE CAPS FOR 2000 PARTICIPANTS @ 400 NAIRA EACH	2,600,000
BANNERS	20 BANNERS @ 5,000 EACH; TWO DIGITAL PRINT BANNERS @ 25,000 NAIRA EACH	150,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	TEN 18 SEATER BUSES WERE BRANDED @ 100,000 EACH; TEN CARS WERE BRANDED AT THE COST OF 100,000 NAIRA PER CAR	2,000,000
MOBILIZATION	10 WARD CHAIRMEN IN EACH OF THE TEN ELECTORAL WARDS WERE MOBILIZED @ 5000 NAIRA EACH.	50,000
EXPENSES ON ARTISANS	THE FOLLOWING EXPENSES WERE RECORDED IN THE HOSTING OF ARTISANS; HIRING OF HALL @ 20,000 LUNCH FOR 100 ARTISANS @ 800 EACH, DECORATION @ 5000, PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM @ 25,000, TRANSPORT REINBURSEMENT FOR 100 ARTISANS @ 5,000 EACH, FUELING OF THREE VEHICLES @ 5,000 EACH	645,000
TOTAL		5,445,000

J. GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY OF THE LABOUR PARTY OF NIGERIA,  
ONDO EAST 2<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN VENUE	BOLORUNDURO CIVIC CENTRE	N10,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	10 LARGE SPEAKERS AND COMPLETE MUSIC STAND WAS USED ON STAGE AND AROUND THE VENUE	70,000
CULTURAL TROUPE	A 10 MAN CULTURAL DANCE TROUPE	N70,000

	PERFORMED AT THE EVENT COMPRISING OF WOMEN AND MEN @ 50,000; HIRING OF 2 BRIGADE BAND @ 10,000 EACH	
DRESSING T-SHIRTS	ORANGE MIXED WITH GREEN POLO SHIRT AND FACE CAP WAS WORN BY 1000 PEOPLE @ 1200 EACH; ORANGE COLOR SHIRTS AND FACE CAP WAS WORN BY 1500 PEOPLE @ 1200 EACH	3,000,000
BANNERS	TEN BANNERS @ 10,000 EACH 4 DIGITAL BANNERS PRINTED @ 25,000 EACH	N200,000
HIRE OF VEHICLES	10 BUSES AT 20,000 EACH; 100 MOTORCYCLISTS @ 200 EACH	220,000
MOBILIZATION/ LOGISTICS	1000 NAIRA WAS GIVEN TO 2500 PARTICIPANTS FOR FOOD AND DRINKS  CANOPY AND CHAIRS HIRED @ 50,000 NAIRA	N2,550,000
TOTAL		6,120,000

K. GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY OF THE LABOUR PARTY OF NIGERIA  
AKOKO SOUTH WEST, 3<sup>RD</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	10 LARGE SPEAKERS WITH COMPLETE MUSICAL SET @ 10,000 EACH; 4 HILUX VEHICLES @ 20,000 EACH; RENTING OF GENERATOR @ 10,000	190,000
CULTURAL DISPLAY	A SIX MEMBER CULTURAL TROUPE TAGGED "ORANGE FAMILY" DISPLAYED AT THE VENUE	50,000
COSTUME	500 PEOPLE WORE ORANGE AND GREEN MIX T-SHIRT AND FACE CAP @ 1,200 EACH; 5,000 PEOPLE WORE PLAIN ORANGE T-SHIRT AND FACE CAP @ 1200 EACH	6,600,000
BANNERS	TEN BANNERS @ 10,000	400,000

	EACH; TWELVE DIGITAL PRINTED BANNERS @ 25,000 EACH	
BRANDING OF VEHICLES	THIRTEEN 18 SEATER BUSES BRANDED @ THE COST OF 100,000 EACH; TWENTY CARS BRANDED @ 100,000 EACH	3,300,000
MOBILIZATION	500 NAIRA WAS GIVEN TO 6000 PARTICIPANTS FOR FOOD AND DRINKS	3,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>13,540,000</b>

L. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT IFEDORE LOCAL GOVERNMENT 18<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
CAMPAIGN VENUE	IFEDORE LGA SECRETARIAT	300,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	30 LARGE SPEAKERS AND A COMPLETE MUSIC STAND	300,000
RED CARPET	THE SITTING ARENA DOWN TO THE STAGE WAS LAID WITH RED CARPET	100,000
CULTURAL TROUPE	A FOURTEEN MAN CULTURAL DANCE TROUPE PERFORMED AT THE EVENT	100,000
PLASTIC CHAIRS	83 DOZENS OF PLASTIC CHAIRS @ 600 NAIRA EACH	49,800
CANOPIES	THREE GIANT CANOPIES @ 15,000 EACH	45,000
BANNERS	TEN FLEXI BANNERS @ 20,000	200,000
POSTERS	700 PIECES OF POSTERS (3/4 FT) PASTED AROUND THE COMMUNITY AT THE COST OF 100 NAIRA PER POSTER	70,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	FIFTEEN NO OF 18 SEATER BUSES @ 100,000 EACH	1,500,000
COSTUME	GREEN T-SHIRTS UPON BLACK TROUSERS WORN BY OVER 1000 YOUTHS @ 2500 NAIRA EACH; YELLOW T-SHIRT WORN BY OVER 300 YOUTH @ 800 EACH, ORANGE T-SHIRT OVER A FACE CAP WORN BY 1000 YOUTHS @ 1,200	3,940,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>6,604,800</b>

M. LABOUR PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY ONDO WEST LGA 2<sup>nd</sup> OCTOBER 2012

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
CAMPAIGN VENUE	YABA STREET TO OBA`S PALACE	
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MEGA PHONE @ 6,000 MOBILE BAND WITH THE USE OF TRAILER@ 150,000	N156,000
PERFORMANCES	HIRING OF BRIGADE BAND @ 10,000 CULTURAL TROUPES PERFORMANCE @ 30,000	N40,000
BRANDED T-SHIRTS	CUSTOMIZED POLO SHIRT AND FACE CAP WAS WORN BY OVER 5000 PEOPLE @ 1200 EACH	N6,000,000
BANNERS	PRODUCTION OF FIVE (4 BY 3 YARDS) BANNERS @ 10,000 NAIRA EACH; PRODUCTION OF 2 DIGITAL BANNERS @ 25,000 NAIRA EACH	N100,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLE	20, BRANDED BUSES @ 100,000 NAIRA EACH	N2,000,000
HIRE OF VEHICLES	30 BUSES AT 25,000 EACH	750,000
MOBILIZATION	1000 NAIRA WAS GIVEN TO 3000 PARTICIPANTS FOR FOOD AND DRINKS; 5,000 NAIRA WAS PAID AS MOBILIZATION TO TWELVE WARD CHAIRMEN IN 12 ELECTORAL WARDS	N3,060,000
TOTAL		12,106,000

N. LP CAMPAIGN RALLY AT ARIGIDI- AKOKO, WARD 11 AKOKO NORTH WEST  
17 SEPTEMBER 2012

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	COMPLETE SET OF PAS	50,000
GENERATOR	HIRING OF GENERATOR	5,000
FOOD	TAKE AWAY PACKS OF RICE TO 100 PERSONS @ 600 NAIRA EACH	60,000
DRINKS	SOFT DRINKS	25,000

BRAND VEHICLES	TEN 18 SEATER BUSES WERE BRANDED AT THE COST OF 100,000 EACH	1,000,000
VIDEO COVERAGE	TWO CAMERA MEN WERE HIRED TO COVER THE EVENT AT THE COST OF 6000 NAIRA EACH	12,000
PHOTOGRAPHY	ONE PHOTOGRAPHER COVERED THE EVENT OFFICIALLY	5,000
VENUE	PAYMENT FOR MOTOR PARK SPACE	10,000
PLATFORM	CONSTRUCTION OF WOODEN PLATFORM	25,000
DECORATION	EVENT DECORATION	12,000
POSTERS	PRODUCTION OF 5,000 POSTERS @ 50 NAIRA EACH AND COST FOR HIRING FOUR BOYS TO PASTE POSTERS AROUND THE WARDS	250,000
TOTAL		1,454,000

O. LABOUR PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT FIRST BANK ROUND ABOUT ILE OLUJI 12<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	50,000
COSTUME	1000 PARTICIPANTS WORE ORANGE T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS @ 1,200 EACH; CUSTOMISED LP SCARF AND NECK TIE WAS WORN BY OVER 200 PARTICIPANTS @ 100 NAIRA EACH.	1,220,000
BANNERS	FIVE WHITE BANNERS USED FOR DECORATION IN FIVE SPOTS IN ILE OLUJI TOWN @ 5,000 NAIRA EACH	25,000
BRANDED VEHICLE	FIVE BUSES AND SEVEN CARS WERE BRANDED AT THE COST OF 100,000 PER VEHICLE	1,200,000
TOTAL		2,495,000

P. GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OWO

THE CAMPAIGN FLAG OFF OF THE LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE AT METHODIST PRIMARY SCHOOL FAJUYI ROAD OWO On 30<sup>th</sup> AUGUST, 2012.

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST IN NAIRA
CAMPAIGN VENUE	METHODIST PRIMARY SCHOOL, OWO	-
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	INSTALLATION AND SETTING OF MUSICAL EQUIPMENT WITH 15 LARGE SPEAKERS IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS OF THE ARENA @ 10,000 EACH	150,000
COSTUMES	<p>ORANGE COLOR T-SHIRTS MIXED WITH WHITE AND BLACK WORN BY 5,000 PEOPLE @ 1000 NAIRA EACH</p> <p>ORANGE COLOR MIXED WITH BLACK COLOR T-SHIRT WORN BY OVER 4,000 PEOPLE @ 1,000 NAIRA EACH</p> <p>ORANGE COLOR MIXED WITH BLUE AND RED COLOR WORN BY OVER 3,000 PEOPLE @ 1,000 NAIRA</p> <p>2000 LABOUR PARTY HATS BEARING A LOGO WITH THE FACE OF THEIR CANDIDATE @ 500 NAIRA EACH.</p> <p>FACE CAPS WORN BY OVER 8,000 PERSONS @ 400 NAIRA EACH</p> <p>ORANGE HEAD TIES WORN BY 1000 WOMEN @ 500 NAIRA EACH</p>	16,700,000
BAND	5 DIFFERENT BRIGADE BANDS WERE HIRED AT 10,000 NAIRA EACH.	50,000
HIRED BUSES	50 BUSES WERE HIRED TO TRANSPORT PARTICIPANTS FROM ALL THE LOCAL	1,000,000

	GOVERNMENT AREAS @ 20,000 Naira each	
PODIUM	METALLIC CONSTRUCTED PODIUM	300,000
DECORATIONS	MASSIVE USE OF ORANGE AND BLUE COLOR COTTON AND PAPER MATERIALS FOR DECORATION OF THE VENUE	250,000
MUSICIAN	TAYE TURAYA	350,000
CHAIRS	150 DOZEN OF CHAIRS WERE HIRED @ 500 Naira each	75,000
BANNERS	5 EXTRA LARGE FLEXI BANNERS @ 60,000 each	300,000
HAND BILLS AND STICKERS	50,000 COPIES OF HAND BILLS PRODUCED AND SHARED @ 5 Naira each	250,000
TOTAL		19,425,000

**Q. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL RALLY HELD AT FACM CHURCH ILOWO ILAJE ON THE 22<sup>ND</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012**

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
COSTUME	300 PERSONS PUT ON ORANGE T-SHIRTS WITH FACE CAP @ 1,200	360,000
VIDEO AND PHOTOGRAPHIC COVERAGE	TWO VIDEO MEN AND ONE PHOTOGRAPHER	30,000
MUSICAL BAND/SET	A PERFORMING ARTIST WITH MUSICAL BAND PERFORMED WITH COMPLETE MUSICAL SET	60,000
FOOD/DRINKS	A PACK OF JOLLOF RICE AND CHICKEN WITH BOTTLE WATER WAS SERVED TO 300 PARTICIPANTS @ 800 Naira each	240,000
TRADITIONAL DANCE	OBELE DANCE DISPLAY AND OTHER CULTURAL DANCE WAS PERFORMED BY FOUR DANCE GROUP @ 10,000 Naira each	40,000
TOTAL		730,000

R. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT IFON OSE  
LGA 21<sup>st</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
STAGE PLATFORM & DECORATION	LARGE WOODEN PLATFORM, WITH WELL DECORATED RIBBONS	150,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	TWELVE LARGE SPEAKERS WITH COMPLETE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT	80,000
MUSICIAN	AN ARTIST WALE AYUBA PERFORMED AT THE EVENT	400,000
VIDEO COVERAGE AND PHOTOGRAPHY	THERE WAS VIDEO COVERAGE AND SEVERAL SNAP SHOTS OF THE EVENT	60,000
COSTUME	5000 YOUTHS WORE ORANGE T-SHIRTS UPON GREEN FACE CAP @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH; WOMEN GROUP OF 15 WORE SPECIALLY MADE ANKARA VALUED AT 2,000 NAIRA EACH. 1000 WOMEN WORE ORANGE SCARFS AT 400 NAIRA EACH; 2000 PEOPLE WORE GREEN & ORANGE MIX T-SHIRTS @ 1000 NAIRA EACH.	8,430,000
MOTOR CYCLE DISPLAY	100 BIKE RIDERS WERE PAID 2,000 NAIRA EACH FOR PUBLIC DISPLAY	200,000
TRANSPORTATION	EIGHT BUSES WERE HIRED AT 20,000 NAIRA EACH	160,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	FOUR BRANDED HILUX @ 100,000 NAIRA EACH	400,000
BANNERS	SIX LARGE DIGITAL BANNERS @ 50,000 NAIRA EACH; 80 SMALL BANNERS @ 1,000 EACH	380,000
TOTAL		10,260,000

S. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT IPE  
PRIMARY SCHOOL ISUA AKOKO 12TH SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND MUSIC SET	TO ADDRESS THE AUDIENCE	80,000
FOODS AND DRINKS	TAKE AWAY FOOD PACKS WERE GIVEN TO 1000 PEOPLE @ 600 NAIRA EACH; 100 BAGS OF SACHET WATERS WERE GIVEN TO PARTICIPANTS @ 100 NAIRA PER BAG	610,000

CAMPAIGN VENUE	IPE SCHOOL FIELD	25,000
STAGE PLATFORM	WOODEN PLATFORM & DECORATION	50,000
MOTOR CYCLE DISPLAY	20 BIKE RIDERS DISPLAYED @ A COST OF 2000 NAIRA EACH	40,000
POSTERS	150 POSTERS @ 100 NAIRA EACH	15,000
COSTUME	1000 YOUTHS WORE ORANGE T-SHIRTS UPON FACE CAPS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	1,200,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>2,020,000</b>

T. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT EPIMI ISUA ROUND ABOUT ORGANISED FOR WARD 1, 2, 5 & 6; 29<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND MUSIC SET	COMPLETE MUSICAL SET WITH SPEAKERS & A BIG GENERATOR	80,000
VIDEO COVERAGE	VIDEO COVERAGE AND CAMERA SHOT OF EVENT	60,000
MOTOR BIKE DISPLAY	20 BIKE RIDERS DISPLAYED AT THE COST OF 2,000 NAIRA EACH	40,000
BANNERS	150 BANNERS WERE PLACED AT DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE TOWN @ 5000 NAIRA EACH	750,000
DISBURSEMENTS OF SOUVENIRS	300 LP KEY HOLDERS WERE SHARED @ 250 EACH; 500 MINI LP FLAGS SHARED @ 300 NAIRA EACH; 500 LABOUR PARTY VCD @ 200 PER COPY WAS SHARED TO PARTICIPANTS	325,000
COSTUME	300 HEAD TIES @ 400 NAIRA EACH; 500 NECK TIES @ 400 NAIRA EACH; 50 PEOPLE WORE NATIVE ANKARA @ 3000 EACH; 1000 YOUTHS WORE LP T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS @ 1200 NAIRA EACH.	1,670,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>2,925,000</b>

U. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT IKARE CENOTAPH BESIDE HIGH COURT AKOKO NORTH EAST. 26<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN VENUE	IKARE CENOTAPH	10,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND MUSIC SET	COMPLETE SOUND SYSTEM WITH A 2.5 KVA GENERATING SET.	80,000
MEGAPHONES	15 MEGA PHONES @ 3,000 NAIRA EACH	45,000
BANNERS	10 EXTRA LARGE FLEX BANNERS @ 50,000 NAIRA EACH	500,000
POSTERS	2000 POSTERS @ 20 NAIRA PER ONE	40,000
COSTUME	1,500 PERSONS WORE LP T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAP @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH; 50 PEOPLE WORE KAMPALA TOP @ 2,000 NAIRA EACH	1,900,000
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE	TAYE TURAYAH PERFORMED AT THE EVENT	300,000
BRANDED VEHICLE	25 VEHICLES WERE BRANDED @ 100,000 NAIRA EACH	2,500,000
WRIST BAND	1000 WRIST BANDS WERE PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED TO PARTICIPANTS AT AN ESTIMATED PRICE OF 20 NAIRA PER ONE	20,000
VIDEO COVERAGE	FIVE CAMERA MEN WERE PAID 20,000 NAIRA EACH TO COVER THE EVENT	100,000
PERFORMANCE BY CELEBRITIES	SAIDI BALOGUN, OLOA AINA AND EIGHT OTHERS SUPPORTED THE EVENT @ 100,000 NAIRA PER ARTIST	1,000,000
STAGE PLATFORM	METTALIC PLATFORM TO ADDRES THE AUDIENCE	150,000
TOTAL		6,645,000

V. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT ARIGIDI-AKOKO WARD 11, AKOKO NORTH WEST, 17 SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTD COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND MUSIC SET	COMPLETE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AND A GENERATING SET	80,000
FOOD AND DRINKS	500 PACKS OF TAKE AWAY FOOD @ 500 NAIRA PER PACK AND 10 CRATES OF SOFT DRINK @ 1,470 PER CRATE	264,700
HIRED BUSES	TEN 18 SEATER BUSES WERE HIRED AT THE RATE OF 20,000 PER BUS	200,000

VIDEO COVERAGE	TWO VIDEO MEN WERE HIRED TO COVER THE EVENT @ 20,000 NAIRA PER ONE	40,000
VENUE	ARIGIDI MOTOR PARK	10,000
PLATFORM	WOODEN PLATFORM	25,000
POSTERS	1000 POSTERS @ 20 NAIRA PER ONE	20,000
BANNERS	20 BANNERS @ 5000 NAIRA EACH	100,000
TOTAL		739,700

W. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY ORGANISED AT OGBAGI WARD AKOKO NORTH WEST. 18<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
BANNERS AND POSTERS	22 BANNERS @ 5000 NAIRA EACH; 2000 POSTERS @ 20 NAIRA PER ONE	150,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND GENERATING SET	SOUND SYSTEM WITH SPEAKERS AND A POWER GENERATING SET	80,000
FOOD AND DRINKS	500 PACKS OF TAKE AWAY FOOD @ 500 NAIRA PER PACK AND 20 CRATES OF SOFT DRINKS@ 1,470 PER CRATE	279,400
HIRED BUSES	12 SMALL BUSES WERE HIRED AT THE RATE OF 8000 NAIRA PER BUS	96,000
PLATFORM	SMALL WOODEN PLAT FORM	20,000
CAMPAIGN VENUE	CENTRAL PARK	10,000
PHOTOGRAPHY	ONE CAMERA MAN WAS PAID 5,000 NAIRA	5,000
TOTAL		640,400

X. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD IN OKITIKPUPA, 7<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND MUSIC SET	6 LARGE SPEAKERS AND COMPLETE MUSIC STAND WAS USED ON STAGE AND AROUND THE VENUE	80,000
CULTURAL TROUPE/ ARTISTES	HIRING OF BRIGADE BAND	10,000
CANOPY	TEN CANOPIES WERE HIRED AT THE COST OF 5,000 NAIRA EACH	50,000
DRESSING	ORANGE COLOUR T-SHIRTS	

T-SHIRTS	FACE CAPS FOR 3,500 PARTICIPANTS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	4,200,000
BANNERS	12 DIGITAL PRINTED BANNERS WERE PRINTED AT THE COST OF 25,000 NAIRA EACH	300,000
BRANDING AND HIRING OF VEHICLE	TEN 18 SEATER BUSES WERE BRANDED @ THE COST OF 100,000 NAIRA EACH; TEN BUSES WERE HIRED @ 20,000 NAIRA EACH; 30 BIKES WERE PAID 2000 NAIRA FOR DISPLAYS.	1,260,000
MOBILIZATION	1000 NAIRA WAS GIVEN TO 3,500 PARTICIPANTS FOR FOOD AND DRINKS	3,500,000
TOTAL		9,400,000

#### 4.3 EXPENSES OF THE GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLIES OF THE PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP)

##### A. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY AKURE 17<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND MUSIC SET	MICROPHONE AND SOUND SYSTEM	80,000
FOOD	2000 PARTICIPANTS GOT A PACK OF FOOD VALUED AT 600 NAIRA PER PACK	1,200,000
DRINKS	80 CRATES OF SOFT DRINKS @ 1,470 NAIRA PER CRATE; 53 DOZENS OF BOTTLE WATER @ 840 NAIRA PER ONE; 100 BAGS OF SACHET WATER @ 100 NAIRA EACH	172,120
VIDEO COVERAGE AND PHOTOGRAPHY	VIDEO RECORDING AND STILL PICTURES	50,000
CHAIRS	40 DOZENS OF CHAIRS @ 600 PER DOZEN	24,000
CANOPIES	2 CANOPIES @ 1200 PER ONE	2,400
PERFORMANCE	LIVE BAND, LOCAL DANCING GROUPS AND CULTURAL DANCE	150,000
BANNERS	20 PARTY BANNERS @ 5000 EACH	100,000
COSTUME	1500 PARTICIPANTS WORE DIFFERENT T-SHIRTS, CAPS AND	1,800,000

	FACE CAPS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	
SOUVENIRS	2000 T-SHIRTS, FACE CAPS, MORFLAS WITH PARTY LOGOS @ 1,500 (PER SET)	3,000,000
TOTAL		6,578,520

**B. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN AKURE SOUTH HELD AT DEMOCRACY PARK ON THE 2<sup>ND</sup> OF OCTOBER 2012**

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
CAMPAIGN VENUE	DEMOCRACY PARK	300,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND MUSIC SET	SET OF PA WITH OVER 30 LARGE SET OF SPEAKERS	300,000
GENERATOR	HIRING OF LISTER GENERATOR	75,000
FOOD AND DRINKS	10,000 PACKS OF FOOD @ 600 EACH; 400 CRATES OF SOFT DRINKS @ 1,470 NAIRA PER CRATE; 400 PACKS OF BOTTLE WATER @ 840 NAIRA PER PACK; 400 BAGS OF SACHET WATER @ 100 NAIRA PER BAG	6964,000
COOLING VAN	MOBILE COOLING VAN	75,000
CHAIRS & CANOPY	50 DOZENS OF CHAIRS @ 600 NAIRA PER DOZEN; 10 CANOPIES @ 5,000 NAIRA EACH	80,000
PLATFORM	METTALIC CONSTRUCTED PLATFORM WITH DECORATIONS	400,000
COSTUME	10,000 PERSONS PUT ON PDP CRESTED T-SHIRTS UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH; 5,000 PERSONS PUT ON PDP SCARFS AND MORFLAS @ 400 NAIRA EACH	14,000,000
PERFORMANCES	SIX CULTURAL GROUPS PERFORMED AT THE EVENT @ 50,000 NAIRA EACH	300,000
TOTAL		18, 712,000

**C. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT DEMOCRACY PARK AKURE, 13<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012.**

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
CAMPAIGN VENUE	DEMOCRACY PARK	300,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	30 LARGE SPEAKERS WITH COMPLETE MUSIC SET	300,000
GENERATOR	35.5 KVA LISTER	75,000

FOOD AND DRINKS	10,000 PEOPLE RECEIVED HAND PACKS OF RICE AND BOTTLE WATER AT THE COST OF 600 PER PACK; 400 CRATES OF SOFT DRINKS @ 1,470 PER CRATE AND 400 BAGS OF SACHET WATER @ 100 NAIRA PER-BAG.	6,628,000
COOLING APPARATUS	MOBILE COOLING VANS @ 75,000 EACH	150,000
CHAIRS AND CANOPIES	50 DOZENS OF CHAIRS @ 600 NAIRA EACH; AND ONE EXTRA LARGE CANOPY @ 15,000 NAIRA	45,000
DECORATION	BRIGHT COLORS OF COTTONS & RIBBONS WITH PDP DESIGNS	100,000
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE	D BANJ & 9ICE @ 3,000,000	6,000,000
COSTUME	15,000 PARTY SUPPORTERS WORE PDP CUSTOMIZED T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH. SPECIALLY DESIGNED COSTUME WORN BY OVER 200 DIGNITARIES ESTIMATED AT 5000 NAIRA PER ONE	19,000,000
TOTAL		22,984,000

#### D. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY IRELE LGA

EXPENDITURE	DESCRIPTION	EXPENDITURE
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	3 MOBILE ADVERTORIAL TRUCKS @ 80,000 EACH	240,000
MUSICIAN	BRIGADE BAND @ 10,000 NAIRA EACH	10,000
COSTUME	POLO T-SHIRT AND FACE CAP WAS WORN BY 2000 PERSONS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	2,400,000
BANNERS	TWELVE PIECES OF 4 BY 3 YARDS PURE COTTON @ N10, 000 EACH; ONE DIGITAL PRINTED BANNER @ 25,000.	145,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLES	TWO CAMPAIGN BUSES AT 100,000 EACH	200,000
MOBILIZATION	HIRING OF FOUR BUSES @ 20,000 EACH TO CONVEY PARTICIPANTS TO CAMPAIGN VENUE.	80,000
TOTAL		3,075,000

E. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY ST JOHN'S PRIMARY SCHOOL  
OKITIPUPA LGA, 16<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
PLATFORM	LARGE WOODEN PLATFORM	150,000
DECORATION	RIBBONS AND BANNERS WITH DIFFERENT COLOURS	150,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	6 LARGE SPEAKERS AND COMPLETE MUSIC STAND	80,000
COSTUMES	YELLOW T-SHIRTS & FACE CAPS @ 1200 EACH WAS WORN BY OVER 2000 PARTICIPANTS	2,400,000
BANNERS	12 DIGITAL PRINT BANNERS @ 25,000 EACH	300,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	10 EIGHTEEN SEATER BUSES WERE BRANDED @ 100,000 EACH	1,000,000
MOBILIZATION	1,000 PARTICIPANTS WERE GIVEN 1000 NAIRA EACH FOR FOOD AND DRINKS	1,000,000
POSTERS	5000 POSTERS OF DIFFERENT COLORS PRODUCED @ 20 NAIRA PER POSTER	100,000
CAMPAIGN VENUE	ST JOHN PRIMARY SCHOOL	20,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>5,200,000</b>

F. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY EBUTE AROGBO COMMUNITY.  
UGBO (WARD 11) IN IGBEKEBO ESE-ODO LOCAL GOVERNMENT 17  
SEPTEMBER 2012

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
PLATFORM & DECORATION	A WOODEN PLATFORM	50,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	A MUSIC SET WITH TWO SPEAKERS	30,000
COSTUMES	200 PERSONS PUT ON VARIOUS COSTUMES OF YELLOW, GREEN, SKY BLUE, MIXTURE OF CHOCOLATE AND GREEN, WHITE AND RED T-SHIRTS UPON FACE CAPS @ 1,200 EACH	240,000
HIRED BUSES	19 BUSES CONVEYING PARTICIPANTS FROM IGBEKEBO TO EBUTE AROGBO @ 15,000 each	285,000
HIRED SPEED BOAT	15 BOATS CONVEYED PARTICIPANTS	495,000

	FROM EBUTE AROGBO TO AGADAGBA COMMUNITY @ 33,000 EACH	
BANNERS	SEVEN PDP BANNERS @ 10,000 EACH	70,000
TOTAL		1,170,000

G. PDP GUBERNATORIAL RALLY HELD AT IGBEKEBO FIELD ESE- ODO AT 29<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN GROUND	IGBEKEBO FIELD	10,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	COMPLETE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT WITH 10 LARGE SPEAKERS SPREAD AROUND THE VENUE	150,000
MUSICIAN	A LOCAL ARTISTE WHO COULD NOT BE IDENTIFIED BY NAME PERFORMED AT THE EVENT	70,000
PODIUM	LARGE WOODEN PODIUM	30,000
CANOPIES	10 CANOPIES @ 1,500 NAIRA EACH	15,000
BANNERS	FIVE BANNERS @ 5,000 NAIRA EACH	25,000
COSTUME	400 PEOPLE WORE YELLOW T-SHIRTS UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200 EACH	480,000
VIDEO AND PHOTOGRAPHIC COVERAGE	A VIDEO MAN AND 5 PHOTOGRAPHERS	70,000
DRINKS	400 PACKS OF FOOD @ 600 PER PACK; 10 CARTONS OF BOTTLED WATERS @ 840 PER CARTON; AND 100 BAGS OF SACHET WATER @ 100 NAIRA PER BAG WERE SHARED AMONGST PARTICIPANTS	258,400
DECORATION	THE STAGE WAS DECORATED WITH GREEN COLORS, SYMBOLIC WITH THE PDP COLORS	50,000
TRANSPORTATION	TEN BUSES WERE HIRED @ 20,000 NAIRA EACH	200,000
TOTAL		1,358,400

H. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY ONDO EAST 4<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN VENUE	BOLORUNDURO CENTRAL MARKET (BLOCKING OF MAIN ROAD)	N10,000

PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	10 LARGE SPEAKERS AND COMPLETE MUSIC STAND WAS USED ON STAGE AND AROUND THE VENUE @ 10,000 PER SPEAKER	N100,000
CULTURAL TROUPE	A 10 MAN LIFE BAND (SUNSHINE BAND) PERFORMED AT THE EVENT @ 50,000 NAIRA AND HIRING OF BRIGADE BAND @ 10,000 NAIRA	N60,000
COSTUME	PLAIN T- SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS WERE WORN BY 1700 PEOPLE @ 1,200 EACH	2,040,000
BANNERS	TEN (4YARDS BY 3YARDS) PURE COTTON @ 10,000 NAIRA EACH 2 DIGITAL PRINTED BANNERS @ 25,000 EACH PRODUCTION OF 5000 POSTERS @ 100 EACH	N650,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLE	TWO 18 SEATER BUSES WERE BRANDED AT THE COST OF 100,000 NAIRA PER BUS 1 CAR BRANDED AT THE COST OF 100,000	N300,000
MOBILIZATION	500 NAIRA WAS GIVEN TO 1700 PARTICIPANTS FOR FOOD AND DRINKS HIRING OF NINE BUSES TO CONVEY PARTICIPANTS TO THE VENUE @ 20,000 NAIRA EACH	N1,030,000
CHAIRS AND CANOPY	7 BIG CANOPIES @ 5,000 PER CANOPY HIRING OF 140 DOZENS OF CHAIRS @ 600 PER DOZEN	N119,000
TOTAL		4,309,000

I. THE PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT ONDO WEST ON THE 16<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
COSTUME	3000 PARTICIPANTS WORE YELLOW CUSTOMIZED T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH; 200 PEOPLE WORE WHITE TROUSERS AND GREEN T-SHIRTS @ 3000 NAIRA	4,200,000

	EACH	
BANNERS	TWO (12/6) BANNERS WERE MOUNTED AT THE VENUE @ 45,000 EACH AND ONE (10/6) SIZED BANNER@ 40,000 NAIRA	130,000
FLAGS	200 FLAGS OF YELLOW & WHITE COLORS WERE GIVEN OUT TO SUPPORTERS @ 100 NAIRA EACH.	20,000
POSTERS	1000 (2/3) SIZED POSTERS @ 100 NAIRA EACH AND ALSO 1000 (4/6) SIZED POSTERS @ 200 NAIRA EACH	300,000
DISBURSEMENT OF FUND	1000 NAIRA WAS GIVEN TO 2000 SUPPORTERS; 100,000 NAIRA WAS GIVEN TO EACH OF THE 12 WARD CHAIRMEN IN THE LGA	3,200,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	SIX MEGA PHONES AND LOUD SPEAKERS WERE USED FOR MOBILE CAMPAIGN @ 20,000 NAIRA EACH, A BAND STAND WITH MUSICAL AND D.J PERFORMANCE @ 180,000 NAIRA	300,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLES	TEN BUSES WERE BRANDED @ 100,000 NAIRA EACH	1,000,000
HIRED BUSES	30 HIACE BUSES WERE HIRED AT THE COST OF 10,000 EACH	300,000
PLATFORM/DECORATION	THE EVENT WAS DONE IN AN OPEN GROUND WITH NO STAGE PLATFORM, BUT THE VENUE WAS DECORATED WITH GREEN, RED AND WHITE COLORS (ESTIMATED @ 100,000 NAIRA)	100,000
CHAIRS	17 DOZENS OF CHAIRS @ 600 PER DOZEN	10,200
GENERATOR	12 KVA ON STANDBY	30,000
SOUVENIRS	OVER 2000 PDP UMBRELLA'S WERE DISTRIBUTED TO PARTICIPANTS @ 300 NAIRA EACH	600,000
TOTAL		10,190,200

J. THE PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OWO TOWN, EMURE-ILE AND USO

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECT COST
CANOPY	AT OWO, 5 BIG CANOPY @ 10,000 EACH PER CANOPY; AT EMURE-ILE, 3 BIG CANOPY @ 10,000 NAIRA PER CANOPY; AT USO, 4 BIG CANOPY @ 10,000 NAIRA PER CANOPY	120,000
CHAIR	AT OWO, 83 DOZENS OF PLASTIC CHAIR @ 600 NAIRA EACH; AT EMURE-ILE, 25 DOZENS OF PLASTIC CHAIR @ 600 NAIRA EACH ; AT USO, 42 DOZENS OF PLASTIC CHAIRS WERE USED @ 600 NAIRA EACH	90,000
DRESSING: T-SHIRT AND FACE CAPS	AT OWO, T-SHIRTS AND CAPS WITH PDP LOGO AND THEIR CANDIDATE PICTURE WORN BY OVER 800 PEOPLE @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH; AT EMURE-ILE, T-SHIRTS AND CAPS WITH PDP LOGO AND THEIR CANDIDATE PICTURE WORN BY OVER 500 PEOPLE @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH; AT USO, T-SHIRTS AND CAPS WITH PDP LOGO AND THEIR CANDIDATE PICTURE WORN BY OVER 600 PEOPLE @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	2,280,000
PODIUM	AT OWO, LARGE WOODEN PODIUM @ 120,000 NAIRA  AT EMURE-ILE, SMALL WOODEN PODIUM @ 50,000 NAIRA  AT USO, SMALL WOODEN PODIUM @ 50,000 NAIRA	220, 000
TOTAL		2,710,000

K. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT MESE COMM UGBO WARDVI ILAJE SEPT 18<sup>TH</sup> 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PLATFORM	A SMALL WOODEN PLATFORM	15,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MUSIC SET WITH TWO SPEAKERS	15,000

COSTUME	173 PEOPLE PUT ON T-SHIRTS OF VARIOUS COLORS UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	207,600
HIRED BUSES	EIGHT BUSES CONVEYED PARTICIPANTS FROM IGBOKODA TO UGBONLA @ 20,000 NAIRA PER-BUS.	160,000
HIRED SPEED BOAT	13 BOATS CONVEYED PARTICIPANTS FROM UGBONLA TO MESE COMM @ 5000 EACH	65,000
MUSIC	TRUMPETERS WITH MUSIC BAND WERE HIRED AT THE RATE OF 20,000 NAIRA	20,000
TOTAL		482,600

L. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT ILAJE HIGH SCHOOL  
ILAJE 29<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012.

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN GROUND	ILAJE HIGH SCHOOL PLAY GROUND IGBOKODA	15,000
PLATFORM	LARGE CONSTRUCTED WOODEN PLATFORM DECORATED WITH RED RUG AND OTHER MATERIALS	35,000
COSTUME	800 PEOPLE WORE YELLOW T-SHIRT UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200	960,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	20 SPEAKERS WERE POSITIONED AROUND THE VENUE WITH 2 BIG GENERATORS	150,000
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE	PERFORMANCE WAS MADE BY TWO LOCAL MUSICIANS FROM ILAJE TOWN @ 50,000 NAIRA PER MUSICIAN	100,000
HIRED BOATS	8 SPEED BOATS WERE HIRED FROM RIVERSIDE AREAS TO ATTEND THE EVENT @ 5000 NAIRA EACH	40,000
CHAIRS AND CANOPIES	16 CANOPIES @ 1,500 NAIRA AND 15 DOZENS OF CHAIRS @ 600 NAIRA PER DOZEN	33,000
BANNER	ONE BANNER	6,000
TOTAL		1,339,000

M. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT PARTY SECRETARIAT,  
ALAFIA HOTEL IFON IN OSE LGA

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
STAGE PLATFORM	LARGE WOODEN PLATFORM WITH DECORATIONS	125,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	COMPLETE MUSICAL SET WITH 10 LARGE SPEAKERS	150,000
BANNERS	SIX LARGE DIGITAL BANNERS @ 50,000 EACH AND 30 ORDINARY BANNERS @ 5000 NAIRA EACH	450,000
POSTERS	2000 POSTERS @ 100 NAIRA PER POSTER	200,000
MOTOR CYCLE DISPLAY	100 BIKE RIDERS MADE A PUBLIC DISPLAY @ 2000 NAIRA EACH	200,000
TRANSPORTATION	HIRING OF FIVE 18 SEATER BUSES @ 20,000 NAIRA EACH	100,000
BRANDED VEHICLE	THREE BUSES WERE BRANDED @ 100,000 NAIRA EACH	300,000
COSTUME	1800 YOUTHS WORE YELLOW T-SHIRT UPON FACE CAP AND GREEN T-SHIRT UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH.	2,160,000
TOTAL		3,685,000

N. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT IPE PRIMARY SCH  
WARD3 ASELG ISUA AKOKO 14<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
MUSIC AND PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MUSICAL SET WITH A MIX OF SIX LARGE SPEAKERS AND FOUR SMALL SPEAKERS AND STANDBY GENERATOR	100,000
BANNERS	15 BANNERS @ 5000 EACH	75,000
VIDEO AND PHOTOGRAPHIC COVERAGE	THREE CAMERA MEN @ 10,000 EACH	30,000
PLATFORM & DECORATION	WOODEN PLATFORM WITH DECORATIONS	50,000
MOTOR CYCLE DISPLAY	50 BIKE RIDERS MADE A PUBLIC DISPLAY @ 2,000 NAIRA EACH	100,000
POSTERS	100 POSTERS @ 100 NAIRA EACH	10,000
COSTUME	800 PEOPLE WORE CUSTOMIZED PDP T-SHIRTS UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200 EACH; 30 PEOPLE WORE PDP	1,068,000

	CUSTOMIZED ANKARA @ 3,000 EACH, 15 DIGNITARIES WORE CUSTOMIZED PDP HATS @ 1,200 EACH.	
TOTAL		1,433,000

O. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY ORGANISED BY MRS OLUSOLA OKE AT ISUA COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOL. 25<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND MUSIC SET	MUSICAL INSTRUMENT WITH COMPLETE DJ SERVICES	150,000
VIDEO AND PHOTOGRAPHY COVERAGE	COVERAGE AND PRODUCTION	60,000
VENUE	SCHOOL FIELD	25,000
PLATFORM AND DECORATION	LARGE SIZED WOODEN PLATFORM WITH WELL ADORNED DECORATIONS	100,000
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE	LOCAL MUSICAL GROUP	50,000
POSTERS	200 POSTERS @ 100 NAIRA EACH	20,000
BANNERS	20 BANNERS @ 5000 EACH; 2 LARGE DIGITAL BANNERS @ 50,000 NAIRA EACH	200,000
COSTUME	50 WOMEN WORE WHITE LACE UPON BLUE HEAD TIE @ 5000 NAIRA EACH; 800 YOUTHS WORE PDP T-SHIRTS UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200 EACH; 100 PDP DIGNITARIES AND PARTY STATESMEN WORE CUSTOMIZED PDP ANKARA UNIFORM @ 3000 NAIRA EACH.	1,510,000
MEGA PHONE	11 MEGAPHONES WERE USED BY PARTY SUPPORTERS @ 3,000 NAIRA EACH	33,000
TOTAL		2,148,000

P. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT ABIOLA MOTOR PARK IKARE, AKOKO NORTH EAST ON THE 9<sup>TH</sup> OF SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN VENUE	ABIOLA MOTOR PARK	10,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM WITH	COMPLETE MUSICAL SET WITH A 2.5KVA GENERATOR SET	75,000

GENERATING SET		
POSTERS	600 POSTERS @ 100 NAIRA PER POSTER	60,000
HAND BILLS	1000 HANDBILLS PRODUCED @ 20 NAIRA EACH	20,000
HIRED BUSES	10 MINI BUSES WERE HIRED AT 15,000 NAIRA EACH	150,000
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE	WOMEN'S GROUP PERFORMED CULTURAL MUSIC AND DANCE STEPS	50,000
COSTUME	2,000 PEOPLE WORE PDP CUSTOMIZED T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS @ 1,200 EACH	2,400,000
PLATFORM	THE CAMPAIGN STAGE WAS CONSTRUCTED WITH A WOODEN PLATFORM @ 20,000 NAIRA	20,000
PHOTOGRAPHY	THREE CAMERA MEN COVERED THE EVENT @ 10,000 NAIRA EACH	30,000
TOTAL		2,815,000

Q. PDP GUBERNATORIAL RALLY HELD AT ODO IRUN MOTOR PARK AKOKO NORTH WEST

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND GENERATING SET	MICROPHONE AND SOUND SYSTEM	30,000
BUSES	EIGHT MINI BUSES WERE HIRED @ 15,000 NAIRA EACH	120,000
CAMPAIGN VENUE	MOTOR PARK SPACE	10,000
VIDEO AND PHOTOGRAPHY	2 CAMERA MEN @ 10,000 EACH	20,000
PLATFORM AND DECORATION	DECORATED WOODEN PLATFORM	70,000
POSTERS	2,500 POSTERS WERE PRODUCED AND POSTED AT STRATEGIC PLACES AT 20 NAIRA EACH	50,000
MOTORCYCLE DISPLAY	30 BIKE RIDERS DISPLAYED AT THE COST OF 2000 NAIRA EACH	60,000
COSTUME	A GROUP OF 10 PDP WOMEN WORE WHITE LACE UPON HEAD TIE @ 5,000 NAIRA EACH	50,000
MUSICIAN	A LOCAL ARTIST PERFORMED AT THE PAYMENT OF 50,000 NAIRA	50,000
TOTAL		460,000

R. OBSERVABLE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES OF PDP IN ODIGBO LGA

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
COSTUME	7000 YOUTHS RECEIVED PDP T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	8,400,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLE	16 VEHICLES WERE BRANDED AND USED AS PUBLICITY IN ODIGBO LGA @ 100,000 NAIRA EACH	1,600,000
TOTAL		10,000,000

S. OBSERVABLE EXPENSES OF THE PDP IN IRELE LGA AT THE EVE OF THE ELECTION OCTOBER 19<sup>TH</sup> 2012

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
VEHICLES	10 BUSES WERE HIRED @ 20,000 NAIRA TO DISTRIBUTE MATERIALS TO 10 WARDS	200,000
MOBILIZATION	OVER 3000 PERSONS RECEIVED 1000 NAIRA EACH WHILE WARD CHAIRMEN IN THE 10 ELECTORAL WARDS RECEIVED 50,000 NAIRA EACH.	3,500,000
DISBURSEMENT OF GIFT	ITEMS LIKE PLATES, UMBRELLAS, CUBES OF MAGI, BUCKETS WERE SHARED TO ELECTORATES AT AN ESTIMATED COST OF 2M NAIRA	2,000,000
TOTAL		5,700,000

**4.4. EXPENSES OF THE GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLIES OF THE ACTION CONGRESS OF NIGERIA**

A. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY AT OBANLA AKURE SOUTH, 19<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012.

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM AND STANDBY GENERATOR	MUSIC SET, MICROPHONE, SPEAKERS AND GENERATOR	30,000
VIDEO AND PHOTOGRAPHY COVERAGE	ONE CAMERA MAN COVERED THE EVENT	15,000

CHAIRS	500 CHAIRS @ 50 PER ONE	25,000
CANOPIES	2 CANOPIES @ 1500 PER ONE	3000
BANNERS	60 PARTY BANNERS, CANDIDATE BANNERS AND PROGRAMM BANNERS @ 5000 NAIRA PER BANNER	300,000
FOOD	3000 PLATES OF FOOD PACK CONTAINING RICE WERE DISTRIBUTED TO PARTICIPANTS @ 600 NAIRA PER PACK	1,800,000
DRINKS	150 CRATES OF SOFT DRINKS @ 1470 PER CRATE; 214 DOZENS OF BOTTLE WATER @ 840 NAIRA PER DOZEN; 150 BAGS OF SACHET WATER @ 100 NAIRA PER BAG	415,260
COSTUME	3,000 PARTICIPANTS WORE T-SHIRTS, CAPS AND FACE CAPS OF VARIOUS DESIGNS AND COLOURS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	3,600,000
BROOMS	3000 BROOMS @ 50 EACH	150,000
TOTAL		6,338,260

**B. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT DEMOCRACY PARK ON THE 15<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER 2012**

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
CAMPAIGN VENUE	DEMOCRACY PARK	300,000
MOBILE ADVERT	3 LARGE TRUCKS (@150,000 PER TRUCK) .AND 20 BRANDED BUSES (@20,000 PER BUS) CONVEYED A.C.N SUPPORTERS WITH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND MICROPHONES AROUND AKURE CITY	850,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	30 LARGE SPEAKERS WITH COMPLETE MUSICAL SET	300,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLES	20 BRANDED BUSES @ 100,000 EACH	2,000,000
FOOD AND DRINKS	15,000 PERSONS WERE SERVED WITH PACKS OF RICE VALUED AT 600 NAIRA PER-PACK; 500 BAGS OF SACHET WATER @ 100 NAIRA PER BAG; 200 CRATES OF SOFT DRINKS @ 1,470 PER CRATE	9,344,000
COOLING APPARATUS	MOBILE COOLING VAN	75,000
COSTUMES	14,000 PARTY SUPPORTERS WORE DIFFERENT SHADES OF CUSTOMIZED	20,440,000

	A.C.N T-SHIRTS AND T-SHIRTS @ 1200 NAIRA PER ONE. SPECIALLY MADE ANKRA COSTUME VALUED AT 3000 NAIRA EACH WAS WORN BY 1000 PARTY SUPPORTERS. MORFLAS AND HATS WERE WORN BY 800 PARTY SUPPORTERS @ 800 NAIRA EACH.	
BROOMS	15,000 BROOMS @ 100 NAIRA EACH	1,500,000
TOTAL		34,809,000

C. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY AT BOLO RUNDURO CIVIC CENTER IRELE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MUSIC SET AND MICRPHONE	50,000
BROOMS	2500 BROOMS AT 50 NAIRA EACH	125,000
MOBILE ADVERT	MOBILE ADVERT IN A TRUCK WITH COMPLETE MUSIC RENDITION @ 150,000 NAIRA	150,000
COSTUME	A.C.N POLO T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAP WAS WORN BY 2,500 PEOPLE @ 1200 EACH	3,000,000
BANNERS	TWELVE PIECES OF 4 BY 3, PURE COTTON BANNER @ 7,000 EACH AND ONE PRINTED DIGITAL BANNER @ 25,000	109,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	BRANDING OF TEN NEW EIGHTEEN SEATER BUSES @ 100,000 EACH	1,000,000
MOBILIZATION	10 WARD CHAIRMEN WERE MOBILIZED WITH 10,000 EACH, TO FACILATE PARTICIPATION AT CAMPAIGN	100,000
TOTAL		4,534,000

D. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY AT METHODIST PRIMARY SCHOOL FIELD OKITIPUPA LGA, 16<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PLAT FORM AND DECORATION	MEDIUM SIZED WOODEN PLATFORM	100,000
CAMPAIGN VENUE	METHODIST PRIMARY SCHOOL FIELD	50,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS	ONE SET OF PA SYSTEM WITH	50,000

SYSTEM	GENERATOR	
COSTUME	COSTUMISED T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS WERE WORN BY 1000 PEOPLE @ 1200 NAIRA EACH	1,200,000
BROOMS	1000 BROOMS PARADED BY PARTICIPANTS @ 50 EACH	50,000
BANNERS	10 DIGITAL PRINTED BANNERS @ 25,000 EACH	250,000
MOBILIZATION	1000 PARTICIPANTS WERE GIVEN 1000 EACH FOR FOOD AND DRINKS	1,000,000
HAND BILLS	5000 HAND BILLS WERE DISTRIBUTED TO PARTICIPANT @ 5 NAIRA EACH	25,000
TOTAL		2,725,000

E. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY AT IGBEKEBO ESE-ODO LOCAL GOVERNMENT, 14<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	4 SMALL SPEAKERS AND A MICROPHONE	30,000
STAGE PLATFORM	SMALL WOODEN PLATFORM	30,000
COSTUME	100 T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS @ 1200 NAIRA EACH	120,000
BROOM	150 BROOMS @ 50 EACH	7,500
DISBURSEMENT OF GIFT	4 CARTONS B29 SOAP @ 3000 EACH, 3 SACKS OF SALT @ 1900 EACH, 4 CARTONS OF TIN TOMATOES @ 1,150 EACH, 2 BOTTLES OF ALCOHOLIC DRINK @ 950 EACH	24,200
HIRED BUSES	10 MINI BUSES @ 15,000 EACH	150,000
BANNERS	6 BANNERS @ 5000 EACH	30,000
TOTAL		391,700

F. GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY OF THE ACTION CONGRESS OF NIGERIA IN BOLORUNDURO CIVIC CENTER ONDO EAST LGA, 11 SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MOBILE ADVERT ON A MINI BUS UTILIZED FOR THREE DAYS @ 40,000 PER DAY	120,000
BROOMS	2000 BROOMS WERE PURCHASED @	100,000

	50 EACH	
CULTURAL TROUPE	HIRING OF BRIGADE BAND FOR THREE DAYS @ 10,000 EACH DAY	30,000
COSTUME	2000 PEOPLE WORE A.C.N CUSTOMISED T-SHIRT AND FACE CAP @ 1,200 EACH	2,400,000
BANNERS	TEN PIECES OF 4/3 PURE COTTON @ 10,000 NAIRA EACH	100,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	BRANDING OF TEN 18 SEATER BUSES @100,000 EACH	1,000,000
MOBILIZATION	3000 WAS GIVEN TO 2000 PARTICIPANTS FOR FOOD AND DRINKS FOR 3 DAYS CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES	6,000,000
	FUELLING OF TEN BUSES TO CONVEY PARTICIPANTS TO CAMPAIGN VENUE FOR THREE DAYS @ 7000 NAIRA PER DAY; MOBILIZATION OF WARD CHAIRMEN IN THE 10 ELECTORAL WARDS @ 5,000 EACH	260,000
TOTAL		10,010,000

G. GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY OF THE ACTION CONGRESS OF NIGERIA AT IKANMU OKA AKOKO SOUTH WEST LGA. 4<sup>TH</sup> OF SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN VENUE	IKANMU OKA	25,000
PLATFORM AND DECORATIONS	RIBBONS, BALLONS AND BANNERS WERE USED AROUND THE STAGE	150,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MUSIC SET AND PA WITH GENERATOR	50,000
COSTUME	WHITE CRESTED T-SHIRT AND FACE CAP WORN BY 800 PERSONS @ 1200 EACH	960,000
BROOMS	500 BROOMS ON DISPLAY @ 100 EACH	50,000
BANNERS	TWO DIGITAL PRINT BANNERS @ 25,000 EACH	50,000
MOBILIZATION	1000 NAIRA WAS GIVEN TO 500 PARTICIPANTS FOR FOOD AND DRINKS	500,000
HIRE OF BUSES	10 MINI BUSES WERE HIRED AND FUELLED AT 17,000 NAIRA PER BUS	170,000
TOTAL		1,955,000

H. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT IFEDORE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ON THE 4<sup>TH</sup> OF OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN VENUE	IPOGUN	25,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	20 LARGE SPEAKERS WITH A MUSIC SET	100,000
CULTURAL TROUPE	14 MAN CULTURAL TROUPE PERFORMED AT THE EVENT	50,000
PLASTIC CHAIRS	80 DOZENS OF CHAIRS @ 600 NAIRA PER DOZEN	48,000
CANOPIES	THREE LARGE CANOPIES @ 10,000 NAIRA EACH	30,000
BANNERS	A LARGE FLEXI BANNER @ 70,000, 10 MEDIUM SIZED BANNERS @ 5,000 NAIRA EACH	120,000
POSTERS	7000 POSTERS PRODUCED @ 100 NAIRA PER ONE	70,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	FIFTEEN 18 SEATER BUSES @ 100,000 NAIRA EACH	1,500,000
COSTUME	1000 YOUTHS WORE GREEN T-SHIRTS BLACK TROUSERS @ 2,000 NAIRA EACH; YELLOW T-SHIRT WITH FACE CAP WORN BY OVER 300 YOUTHS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH; ORANGE T-SHIRT UPON FACE CAPS WORN BY OVER 1000 YOUTHS @ 1,200 NAIRA	3,560,000
PLATFORM	METALLIC STAGE	300,000
TOTAL		5,803,000

I. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD IN ONDO WEST 21<sup>ST</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MUSIC SET, MEGA PHONE AND SPEAKERS	50,000
BROOMS	1000 BROOMS @ 100 NAIRA EACH	100,000
FLAGS	1000 A.C.N SMALL PRINTED FLAGS @ 70 NAIRA EACH	70,000
MUSIC BAND	BRIGADE BAND WERE HIRED	10,000
COSTUME	1000 PEOPLE WORE CUSTOMISED POLO T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAP @ 1200 EACH	1,200,000

BANNERS	SIX 4/3 YARD PURE COTTON BANNER @ 10,000 EACH, TWO DIGITAL PRINT BANNER @ 25,000 EACH	110,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	EIGHT 18 SEATER BUSES WERE BRANDED AT THE COST OF 100,000 EACH	800,000
FOOD AND DRINKS	1000 PARTICIPANTS WERE GIVEN 500 NAIRA FOR FOOD AND DRINKS	500,000
MOBILIZATION	TWELVE WARD CHAIRMEN WERE MOBILIZED IN THE ELECTORAL WARDS AT THE SUM OF 5,000 EACH	60,000
HIRE OF VEHICLES	EIGHT BUSES WERE HIRED @ 15,000 EACH	120,000
TOTAL		3,020,000

#### J. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL RALLY ONDO WEST

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MUSIC SET, MICROPHONE AND GENERATOR	40,000
CULTURAL TROUPE	HIRING OF BRIGADE BAND @ 10,000 CULTURAL TROUPE @ 50,000 OSUPA SAHEED @ 500,000	560,000
MOBILE ADVERTISEMENT	MOBILE BAND PERFORMING INSIDE A TRAILER	150,000
DRESSING T-SHIRTS	CUSTOMIZED POLO SHIRT AND FACE CAP WAS WORN BY OVER 5000 PEOPLE @ 1200 NAIRA	6,000,000
BANNERS	5 PIECES OF (4YARDS BY 3YARDS) PURE COTTON @ 15,000 EACH	N75,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLES	FIFTEEN 18 SEATER BUSES @ 100,000 EACH	N1,500,000
FOOD AND DRINKS	1000 NAIRA WAS GIVING TO 4000 PARTICIPANTS FOR FOOD AND DRINKS	4,000,000
HIRE OF VEHICLES	HIRE OF 25 BUSES AT 25,000 EACH THE BUSES	625,000
MOBILIZATION	5,000 NAIRA WAS GIVEN AS MOBILIZATION TO 12 WARD CHAIRMEN IN 12 ELECTORAL WARDS	60,000
BROOMS	PURCHASE OF 1000 BROOMS @ 100 NAIRA EACH	100,000

FLAGS	PRINTING OF 1000 FLAGS @ 70 NAIRA EACH	70,000
TOTAL		13,180,000

K. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OKEAGBE MOTOR PARK WARD 111  
AKOKO NORTH WEST. 15<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MUSIC SET, GENERATOR AND PAS	60,000
PLATFORM AND DECORATION	WOODEN PLATFORM AND DECORATIONS	50,000
COSTUME	1000 T SHIRTS ANDE FACE CAPS @ 1200 EACH	1,200,000
BROOMS	1000 BROOMS @ 100 EACH	100,000
FOOD AND DRINKS	1000 PACKS OF FOOD @ 600 EACH; 80 DOZENS OF BOTTELD WATER @ 840 EACH	667,200
BRANDED VEHICLES	FIVE BUSES BRANDED AT THE COST OF 100,000 EACH	500,000
POSTERS AND MASCOT BOYS	TWO BOYS @ 30, EACH WERE USED TO DISPLAY POSTER AROUND THE WARDS	60,000
TOTAL		2,637,200

L. WOMEN CAMPAIGN FOR AKEREDOLU AT C&S CHURCH ILAJE  
SEPTEMBER 5<sup>TH</sup> 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
COSTUME	75 PEOPLE PUT ON T-SHIRTS OF VARIOUS COLORS AND FACE CAPS @ 1200 EACH.	90,000
SOUVENIRS	FOUR CARTON OF B29 SOAP @3,000 NAIRA EACH, THREE SACKS OF SACHET SALT @ 1,900 PER SACHET,	17,700
DRINK	TWO BOTTLES OF SEAMAN'S AROMATIC SCHNAPPS' @ 950 EACH.	1,900
BROOMS	104 PEOPLE FLAGGED A.C.N BROOMS AT 100 NAIRA EACH	10,400
TOTAL		120,000

M. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT MAGISTRATE COURT PREMISES IFON IN OSE LGA. 14<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PLATFORM	A BRANDED FRONTIER TUNDRA VEHICLE WAS USED AS THE PODIUM	50,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	A MUSIC DJ WITH FOUR LARGE SPEAKERS & GENERATOR	40,000
COSTUME	1000 PERSONS WORE WHITE T-SHIRT @ 800 NAIRA EACH; 2,500 PERSONS WORE BLACK T-SHIRT AND FACE CAP @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	3,800,000
FLAGS AND BANNERS	250 A.C.N FLAGS @ 500 NAIRA EACH; THREE LARGE BANNERS WERE PLACED AT THE RALLY VENUE @ 25,000 NAIRA EACH	200,000
CHAIRS AND CANOPIES	EIGHT DOZENS OF CHAIRS @ 600 NAIRA PER DOZEN AND TWO CANOPIES @ 1,500 EACH	7,800
PHOTOGRAPHERS	FIVE CAMERA MEN WERE PAID 20,000 NAIRA EACH	100,000
MOTOR CYCLE DISPLAY	150 BIKE RIDERS WERE PAID 2,000 EACH FOR PUBLIC DISPLAY	300,000
BRANDING OF VEHICLES	TWO BUSES WERE BRANDED @ 100,000 NAIRA EACH	200,000
TRANSPORTATION	SIX BUSES WERE HIRED AT 25,000 NAIRA EACH	150,000
TOTAL		4,847,800

N. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT ASELG WARD 5 ISUA ROUND ABOUT ON 12<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	COMPLETE MUSIC STAND WITH DJ PERFORMANCE	70,000
MUSIC	MUSICAL PERFORMANCE BY LOCAL ARTISTE	100,000
VIDEO COVERAGE	COVERAGE AND PRODUCTION	60,000
STAGE AND PLATFORM	WOODEN PLATFORM	50,000
POSTERS	500 POSTERS @ 100 NAIRA EACH	50,000
BANNERS	20 BANNERS @ 1,500 NAIRA EACH	30,000
COSTUME	OVER 800 YOUTHS PUT ON CUSTOMIZED T-SHIRTS UPON FACE CAPS @ 1,200 EACH.	960,000

FOOD AND DRINKS	800 PACKS OF FOOD @ 600 EACH; 80 CARTONS OF BOTTLED WATER @ 840 EACH	547,200
BROOMS	800 BROOMS @ 100 NAIRA EACH	80,000
DISBURSEMENT OF GIFTS	RECHARGE CARDS OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS AND NETWORKS WERE BEEN THROWN AROUND TO SUPPORTERS. ESTIMATED AT 100,000	100,000
TOTAL		2,047,200

O. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY ORGANISED BY MRS AKEREDOLU AT ODO JUNCTION, IKADO WARD AKOKO NORTH EAST. 14<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM	MUSICAL SET WITH LARGE SPEAKERS	60,000
GENERATOR	5.5 KVA GENERATOR	20,000
CAMERA MEN	2 CAMERA MEN FOR VIDEO AND PHOTOGRAPHY @ 20,000 EACH	40,000
CHAIRS AND TABLES	50 DOZENS OF CHAIRS @ 600 NAIRA PER DOZEN AND TEN TABLES @ 300 NAIRA PER TABLE	33,000
CANOPIES	5 LARGE CANOPIES @ 5,000 NAIRA EACH	25,000
PLATFORM	WOODEN PLATFORM	30,000
CAMPAIGN VENUE	ODO JUNCTION	10,000
BROOMS	1000 BROOMS @ 100 NAIRA EACH	100,000
FOOD AND DRINK	1000 PACKS OF TAKE AWAY FOOD @ 600 NAIRA PER-PACK AND 100 BAGS OF SACHET WATER @ 100 NAIRA PER BAG	610,000
COSTUME	1000 YOUTH WORE T-SHIRTS UPON FACE CAP @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	1,200,000
BANNERS	FIVE A.C.N MEDIUM SIZED BANNERS WERE PLACED AT VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE TOWN @ 5,000 NAIRA PER BANNER	25,000
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE	OLURUNFEMI METRO BAND PERFORMED AT THE EVENT	60,000
HIRED BUSES	FOUR 18 SEATER BUSES WERE HIRED AT 25,000 NAIRA EACH	100,000
TOTAL		2,313,000

P. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT IKARE CENOTAP,  
AKOKO NORTH EAST 2<sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
CAMPAIGN VENUE	CENOTAPH BESIDE HIGH COURT JUBILEE ROAD	10,000
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM WITH GENERATOR	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS WITH SPEAKERS AND A MIKANO LARGE GENERATING SET	100,000
HIRED BUSES	30 MINI BUSES WERE HIRED @ 15,000 PER BUS	450,000
HAND BILLS AND POSTERS	3,000 POSTALS @ 20 NAIRA PER ONE, 5000 HAND BILLS @ 5 NAIRA PER ONE	85,000
MUSICAL PERFORMANCE	WASIU AYINDE @ 3,000,000 NAIRA, THEATER ARTIST PERFORMANCE @ 300,000 NAIRA; LOCAL BAND PERFORMANCE 100,000 NAIRA	3,400,000
FEEDING	3000 PACKS OF FOOD @ 600 EACH; 50 DOZENS OF BOTTLED WATER @ 840 EACH	1,842,000
COSTUME	2000 PEOPLE WORE A.C.N CUSTOMIZED T-SHIRTS AND FACE CAP @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH. 100 PARTY FAITHFUL WORE CUSTOMIZED ANKARA @ 3,000 NAIRA EACH; 20 WARD LEADERS WORE TRADITIONAL ATTIRES @ 3000 NAIRA EACH	2,760,000
BROOMS	2000 BROOMS @ 100 NAIRA EACH.	200,000
BRANDED VEHICLES	35 VEHICLES WERE BRANDED @ 100,000 NAIRA EACH	3,500,000
WRIST BAND	3000 CUSTOMIZED WRIST BAND WERE PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED AT ESTIMATED COST OF 20 NAIRA PER-ONE	60,000
STAGE/PLATFORM	MOBILE PODIUM CONSTRUCTED WITH IRON FRAMES	300,000
VIDEO AND PHOTOGRAPHY COVERAGE	10 CAMERA MEN WERE PAID 20,000 NAIRA EACH TO COVER THE EVENT	200,000
LOCAL BAND BOYS	SOME GROUP OF LOCAL BAND BOYS WERE PAID 20,000 NAIRA TO PERFORM	20,000
TOTAL		12,927,000

**Q. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD VIA AIR SPACE,  
IKARE AKOKO NORTH EAST**

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
HELICOPTER	HELICOPTER WAS FLOWN AROUND IKARE AND OTHER VILLAGES FOR 3 HOURS	1,000,000
HAND BILLS	10,000 HAND BILLS WERE PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED AT 5 NAIRA EACH	50,000
DISBURSEMENT OF RECHARGE CARDS	TELEPHONE RECHARGE CARD OF VARIOUS VALUES WERE THROWN TO PEOPLE FROM THE HELICOPETR ESTIMATED @ 200,000 NAIRA	200,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1,250,000</b>

**R. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OKEAGBE WARD 111  
AKOKO NORTH WEST. 15 SEPTEMBER 2012.**

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
HAND BILLS	1,500 HANDBILLS WERE SHARED @ 5 NAIRA PER COPY	7,500
BANNERS	FOUR MEDIUM SIZED BANNERS @ 5000 NAIRA EACH	20,000
DISBURSEMENT OF GIFTS	150 A.C.N T-SHIRTS AND CAPS WERE FREELY DISBURSED @ 1200 EACH	180,000
COSTUME	700 PEOPLE WORE A.C.N T SHIRTS AND FACE CAPS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	840,000
DRINKS	10 CRATES OF MINERALS @ 1470 NAIRA EACH	14,700
HIRED BUSES	FIVE 18 SEATER BUSES HIRED AT THE RATE OF 25,000 NAIRA PER-BUS	125,000
PHOTOGRAPHY AND VIDEO	TWO CAMERA MEN @ 20,000 NAIRA EACH	40,000
POSTERS	PRODUCTION OF 2000 COPIES OF POSTERS @ 20 NAIRA EACH	40,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1,267,200</b>

S. A.C.N GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OKE-IGBO ILE OLUJI  
LGA. 11<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM & GENERATOR	PAS, 15 LARGE SPEAKERS AND A GENERATOR SET	180,000
COSTUME	ORANGE T-SHIRTS & CAP WORN BY 1000 PARTICIPANTS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	1,200,000
PLACARD	15 PLACARDS CARRIED BY DIFFERENT GROUPS @ 1,200 NAIRA EACH	18,000
BANNERS	7 BANNERS (WHITE) WERE USED TO DECORATE SOME OF THE JUNCTIONS IN THE TOWN AND 3 A.C.N BANNERS PLACED @ THE CAMPAIGN VENUE @ 5,000 NAIRA EACH	50,000
BRANDING VEHICLE	10 VEHICLES WERE BRANDED @ 100,000 EACH.	1,000,000
FLAGS	4 FLAGS BRANDED WITH THE PARTY COLOR @ 2000 NAIRA EACH	8,000
CANOPIES	6 SMALL CANOPIES RENTED @ 1,500 EACH, 4 BIG CANOPIES @ 5,000 NAIRA EACH	29,000
CHAIRS	500 PIECES OF CHAIRS HIRED @ 50 NAIRA EACH	25,000
HIRING OF VEHICLES CARS AND OKADAS	12 MINI BUSES WERE HIRED @ 15,000 NAIRA EACH; 15 BIKES WERE PAID 2000 NAIRA EACH FOR DISPLAYS	210,000
VIDEO COVERAGE AND PHOTOGRAPHY	VIDEO MAN AND PHTOGRAPHER @ 20,000 EACH	40,000
BROOMS	500 BROOMS 100 NAIRA EACH	50,000
BAND/BRIGADE BOYS	2 GROUPS OF BRIGADE BAND WERE PAID 10,000 NAIRA EACH.	20,000
PODIUM & DECORATION	MEDIUM LORRY WAS USE AS PODIUM AND IT WAS DECORATED WITH PARTY COLOUR	120,000
ENTERTAINMENT	NOLLYWOOD ARTISTES THAT RESIDE IN EKITI STATE WERE PART OF CAMPAIGN TEAM (FADEYI OOLORO & CO)	300,000
HELICOPTER	IT WAS USED FOR DISTRIBUTING OF HAND BILLS AND VOTING SAMPLE PAPERS - ABOUT 10,000 COPIES	1,000,000
TOTAL		4,250,000

**T. OBSERVABLE EXPENSES OF THE ACTION CONGRESS OF NIGERIA IN  
IRELE LGA ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTION 19<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012**

<b>EXPENDITURE HEAD</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>PROJECTED COST</b>
EXPENSES ON VEHICLE	10 BUSES WERE USED FOR DISTRIBUTION OF ITEMS TO 10 WARDS IN IRELE LGA @ 20,000 NAIRA EACH	200,000
DISBURSEMENT OF GIFTS	N2 MILLION WAS SPENT TO BUY AND DISTRIBUTE MATERIALS SUCH AS (SLIPPERS, BUCKET, TOWELS UMBRELLA) FOR 10 WARDS	2,000,000
MOBILIZATION	10 ELECTORAL WARD CHAIRMEN WERE MOBILIZED WITH THE SUM OF 200,000 NAIRA EACH	2,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>4,200,000</b>

**4.5 USE OF OFICIAL VEHICLES BY INCUMBENT**

<b>NUMBER OF VEHICLES</b>	<b>NUMBER OF DAYS</b>	<b>AMOUNT PER VEHICLE PER DAY</b>	<b>TOTAL AMOUNT PER DAY</b>	<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>
5	22	25,000	125,000	2,750,000

**4.6 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS SECTION IN NAIRA**

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Expenditure in Naira</b>
Olusegun Mimiko of Labour Party	150,205,080
Olusola Oke of PDP	117,745,720
Akeredolu of ACN	118,625,360

## Section 5

### BILL BOARDS, CAMPAIGN OFFICES AND OTHER EXPENSES

#### 5.1. INTRODUCTION

This Section gives a detailed report of the expenses incurred by the three major political candidates on bill boards, campaign offices and other expenses. The cost however varies according to the size of the billboards. It also includes bill poster which is a small size bill board used by the candidates. It further reports the estimated cost of the campaign offices of the three candidates. The bill boards are presented by their local government location and major campaign venues. Information on cost and number of bill boards were obtained from enquiries made directly from the production source and from the observation of monitors in each local government. The project got estimates of the cost of the campaign offices after visiting the premises and taking note of items in the offices. Estate agents and property valuers facilitated the estimates for rent and other property.

#### 5.2. SUMMARY EXPENSES OF BILL BOARDS BY THE THREE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN ONDO GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION.

CANDIDATE	LOCAL GOVT	NO. OF BILL BILLBOARDS	UNIT OF COST	TOTAL (NAIRA)
OLUSEGUN MIMIKO OF LABOUR PARTY	AKURE SOUTH	12 BIG SIZED BILL BOARDS	350,000	4,200,000
		3 MEDIUM SIZED BILL BOARDS	200,000	600,000
		3 SMALL SIZE BILL BOARDS	150,000	450,000
	AKURE NORTH	8 (8/16) FT BILL BOARDS	200,000	1,600,000
	IRELE	3 (8/16) FT BILL BOARD	200,000	600,000
		3 (10/20) FT BILL BOARD	250,000	750,000
	ODIGBO	2 (18/16) FT	200,000	400,000

		BILL BOARDS		
		1(10/20) FT BILL BOARD	300,000	300,000
		12 (8/16) FT BILL BOARDS	200,000	2,400,000
		14 (10/20) FT BILL BOARDS	300,000	4,200,000
	ONDO EAST	1 (10/20) FT	300,000	300,000
		1(8/16) FT	200,000	200,000
	AKOKO SOUTH WEST	5 (10/20) FT	300,000	1,500,000
		23 (8/16) FT BILL BOARD	200,000	4,600,000
	IFEDORE	8 (8/16) FT BILL BOARD	250,000	2,000,000
	ONDO WEST	2 (16/12) FT BILL BOARDS	350,000	N700,000
		6 (10/8) FT Bill Boards	200,000	1,200,000
		3 (2/3) FT Bill POSTER	35,000	105,000
	ILE-OLUJI	3 LARGE BILL BOARDS	300,000	900,000
	AKOKO NORTH EAST	3 LARGE BILL BOARDS	300,000	900,000
	AKOKO SOUTH	2 BILL POSTERS AT EPIMI	25,000	50,000
		4 BILL POSTERS AT ISUA	25,000	100,000
	AKOKO NORTH EAST	4 (8 /16) FT	200,000	800,000
	AKOKO NORTH WEST	3 BILL POSTERS	25,000	75,000
TOTAL				28,930,000

CANDIDATE	LOCAL GOVT	NO. OF BILL BILLBOARDS	UNIT OF COST	TOTAL (NAIRA)
OLUSOLA OKE OF PDP	AKURE SOUTH	4 LARGE BILL BOARDS	350,000	1,400,000
	AKURE NORTH	6 (8/16) FT BILL BOARDS	200,000	1,200,000
	IRELE	1 (8/16) FT BILL	200,000	200,000

		BOARDS		
	ONDO EAST	1 (10/20) FT BILL BOARD	300,000	N300,000
		1(8/16)FT	200,000	200,000
	ONDO WEST	2(12/8) BILL BOARDS	250,000	500,000
		1 (10/6) BILL BOARD	200,000	200,000
	AKOKO SOUTH	1 LARGE Bill Board	300,000	300,000
	AKOKO NORTH EAST	6 Bill posters	25,000	150,000
	ODIGBO	5(8/16) BILL BOARDS	200,000	1,000,000
TOTAL				5,450,000

CANDIDATE	LOCAL GOVT	NO. OF BILL BILLBOARDS	UNIT OF COST	TOTAL (NAIRA)
AKEREDOLOU OF A.C.N	AKURE SOUTH	8 LARGE BILL BOARDS	350,000	2,800,000
		1 MEDIUM SIZED BILL BOARD	200,000	200,000
	IRELE	1 (18/16) FT BILL BOARDS	200,000	200,000
	OKITIPUPA	2 (10/20) BILL BOARDS	300,000	600,000
		6 (18/16) FT BILL BOARDS	200,000	1,200,000
	ESE-ODO	1 LARGE BILLBOARD	300,000	300,000
	ODIGBO	1 (8/16)Bill Board	200,000	N200,000
	<b>ONDO EAST</b>	1 (8/16)BILL BOARD	200,000	200,000
		1(10/20)FT	300,000	300,000
	AKOKO SOUTH WEST	5 (10/20) FT BILL BOARDS	300,000	1,500,000
		10 ( 8/16) FT BILL BOARDS	200,000	2,000,000
	ONDO WEST	12 (12/8) FT BILL BOARDS	320,000	3,840,000
		14 (10/8) FT Bill Boards	200,000	2,800,000

		6 (2/3) FT BILL POSTERS	35,000	210,000
	AKOKO NORTH EAST	3 (8/16) FT BILL BOARDS	200,000	600,000
		10 BILL POSTER @ IKARE	25,000	250,000
	AKOKO NORTH WEST	2 BILL POSTERS	25,000	50,000
	ILE-OLUJI	2(10/20) SIZED BILL BOARDS	300,000	600,000
TOTAL				17,850,000

### 5.3 SUMMARY OF BILL BOARDS EXPENSES

Candidate	Amount in Naira
Olusegun Mimiko	28,930,000
Olusola Oke	5,450,000
Rotimi Akeredolu	17,850,000

### 5.4 CAMPAIGN OFFICES

The estimates on campaign offices of the three major candidates were only obtained in the state capital Akure. The campaign offices in the other local governments were properties of party loyalists. However, the costs provided herein are based on items observed in the office buildings such as computers, chairs T.V set, water dispensers, photocopy machines, etc.

Candidate	Description of Office and Items	Cost of Rent age Per Anum	Cost on Office Items	Cost of Utility for the Campaign Period	Total
Mimiko	Well furnished twin duplex of seven rooms including office furniture, 25kva generator, computers, etc located at Akure GRA at School of Agriculture Road along Ijapo Estate	800,000	5,000,000	250,000	6,050,000
Olusola	First floor of two different	600,000	2,500,000	400,000	3,500,000

Oke	apartments, office furniture, computers, television, etc, located at Oyemekun Road, Opposite Ministry of Works				
Akeredolu	Third floor of a five story building, office furniture, computers, etc, located at Oyemekun Road besides St Peters Anglican Church.	200,000	1,000,000	200,000	1,400,000

#### 5.5. SUMMARY OF CAMPAIGN OFFICE EXPENSES

Campaign	Amount
Mimiko	6,050,000
Olusola Oke	3,500,000
Akeredolu	1,400,000

#### 5.6. PRINTING AND PASTING OF POSTERS

The candidates engaged in a poster war. The posters came in different sizes, shades, colours and designs. Posters were pasted in uncountable places and were easily removed or defaced by political opponents or natural elements like rain. Therefore, keeping an exact count of the number pasted is almost an impossibility. However, posters were generously and lavishly pasted. The project as such will record a million copies of posters for each of the candidates at N30 each including the cost of pasting.

Campaign	Amount
Mimiko	30,000,000
Olusola Oke	30,000,000
Akeredolu	30,000,000

#### 5.7. CAMPAIGN PERSONNEL EXPENDITURE

The project could not get exact information on the number of paid staff and volunteers of the various campaign organisations. However, all the campaigns had paid staff that were in charge of the day to day running of the logistics and reach out to the electorate. The campaigns were intense and absorbing and employing the lowest common denominator, each campaign is credited with ten million naira for personnel expenses.

Campaign	Amount
Mimiko LP	10,000,000
Olusola Oke PDP	10,000,000
Akeredolu ACN	10,000,000

## 5.8. OTHER EXPENDITURE

Documenting campaign expenditure in an environment where there are no clear enforcement rules and the stakes are so high is a difficult assignment. The project was unable to capture a number of candidates expenses. This quotation from the Director General of Olusola Oke Campaign Organisation bears out the difficulties and the miscellaneous nature of expenses made by candidates<sup>35</sup>.

*I have said it earlier that we didn't have the funds to campaign with. The total expenditure was about N200 million but we did not have sufficient money to run the campaigns.. No money was given out for the local government campaigns, so house to house campaign didn't start until about a day to the election. Out of the N200 million we spent on the election, party leaders in Ondo state contributed significantly more than 2/3rd, and then some external contributors who are party members. Chief Oke did not release the money from the national secretariat until 11 am on Friday and the balance did not even come until 4pm of the same day which was a day to the election. We did not get the funds to settle party expenses in good time. No money to pay party agents and for mobilization until 11am on Friday. Imagine, someone going to Akoko North West taking money around 4pm. This made the money not to go round. If he had released the money on Thursday, the money would have gotten to the grassroots. That is for the Election Day expenses. But before the Election Day, he was lamenting all the time that he had no money. He was asking for sacrifice. There was a time we needed to give out the total sum of N31 million to our units. This was about N10,000 per unit and that was the least any party gave<sup>36</sup>. Chief Oke could not bring it out, this money was contributed by about 5 party leaders and his contribution there was only N10 million. We lost Akoko because we had no money. I did not handle money, no money was allocated to my office, so there was no way I could have mismanaged any fund. All the funds went directly to Chief Oke.*

<sup>35</sup> Interview granted to Daily Trust Newspaper of December 24 2012.

<sup>36</sup> Underlining supplied for emphasis.

The poser is; what is the purpose of doling out N31million at N10,000 per unit and why is it the least any other party gave? How much did other parties and candidates give? If Chief Oke brought N10million out of the N31million and the other five party stalwarts brought the balance of N21million, it is clear that the stalwarts have exceeded the N1million ceiling imposed by the Act as the limit of donations to candidates.

## ***Section Six***

# ELECTRONIC MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

## 6.1. INTRODUCTION

This Chapter reports on the observable cost of campaigns incurred by the gubernatorial candidates using the electronic media – radio and television. The gubernatorial candidates premiered their campaigns and rallies in various local government live on the electronic media. They also made use of the television and radio for jingles, advertisements and news items. The project could not have recorded the entire expenses on electronic media incurred by the candidates considering that one needs to do 24 hours monitoring to document all that was aired. It did not also record the cost of production of various jingles and electronic media programmes by the candidates. However, the project obtained information from the reports of the monitors and the costs from media houses. The details of the observable media expenses incurred by the candidates is listed below.

## 6.2 . LABOUR PARTY

<b>CAMPAIGN VENUE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>DURATION OF COVERAGE</b>	<b>MEDIA HOUSE</b>	<b>COST IN NAIRA</b>
Akure South	25/7/12	2 hours	NTA National	10,000,000
Methodist Primary School Fajuyi Road, Owo.	30/8/12	3 hours	NTA National	15,000,000
Akure North Ita Gbolu/Iju		1hour	NTA Akure	1,500,000
Salvation Army Primary School Igbomini	4/10/12	1hr 30mins	NTA Akure	2,000,000
AKURE SOUTH	25/9/12	2hours	NTA Akure	3,000,000
Akure South Democracy Park	16/10/12	2hours	NTA Akure	3,000,000
Ifon Ose Local Government	21/9/12	1 hour 30mins	OSRC	750,000
Ikare Cenotaph Akoko North East	26/9/12	1hour	OSRC	500,000
Akure South	25/9/12	2hour	OSRC	1,000,000
Ifon Ose Local Government	21/9/12	(1 hour 30mins	AIT	7,750,000

Ikare Cenotaph Akoko North East	26/9/12	1hour	AIT	5,000,000
Salvation Army Primary School Igbomini	4/10/12	1hour 30mins	AIT	7,750,000
Akure South Democracy Park	16/10/12	2hours	AIT	10,000,000
AKURE SOUTH	25/9/12	2hours	AIT	10,000,000
Special Interview with Dr. Mimiko	11/10/12	1hour	AIT	10,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>87,250,000</b>

### 6.3. PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY

<b>CAMPAIGN VENUE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>DURATION OF COVERAGE</b>	<b>MEDIA HOUSE</b>	<b>COST IN NAIRA</b>
Ese-Odo	29/9/12	1 hour	NTA Akure	1,500,000
IFON OSE LGA		2 hours	NTA Akure	3,000,000
DEMOCRACY PARK AKURE	13/10/12	2 hours	NTA	10,000,000
DEMOCRACY PARK AKURE	13/10/12	2 hours	AIT	11,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>25,500,000</b>

### 6.4. ACTION CONGRESS OF NIGERIA

DEMOCRACY PARK, AKURE	15/10/12	2hours	NTA National	10,000,000
DEMOCRACY PARK, AKURE	15/10/12	2hours	AIT National	11,000,000
IKARE CENOTAP, AKOKO NORTH EAST	2/10/12	2hours	TVC Adaba FM Life Broad cast @ 1Hr 200,000	400,000
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>21,400,000</b>

### 6.5. SUMMARY OF CAMPAIGN COVERAGE

Candidate	Amount in Naira
Olusegun Mimiko	87,250,000
Olusola Oke	25,500,000
Rotimi Akeredolu	21,400,000

## 6.6. ELECTRONIC MEDIA ADVERTISEMENT

CANDIDATE	MEDIA HOUSE	SLOTS AND UNIT COST	DURATION	COST IN NAIRA
<b>MIMIKO</b>	NTA AKURE	2 NEWS ITEMS PER DAY @ 40,000 NAIRA	16 DAYS	1,280,000
	NTA AKURE	3 SLOTS PER DAY OUTSIDE NEWS @40,000 NAIRA	11 DAYS	1,320,000
	NTA AKURE	2 SLOTS PER DAY @ 40,000 NAIRA	16 DAYS	1,280,000
	NTA AKURE	30 MINUTES DOCUMENTARY	1 DAY	75,000
	OSRC TV	TEN NEWS ITEMS PER DAY@ 18,000 NAIRA	30 DAYS	5,400,000
	OSRCTV	SEVEN SLOTS PER DAY OUTSIDE NEWS @ 18,000 NAIRA	30 DAYS	3,780,000
	OSRCTV	30 MINUTES DOCUMENTARY @ 45,000 NAIRA	7 DAYS	315,000
	OSRC RADIO	10 SLOTS JINGLES PER DAY @ 14,630 NAIRA	30 DAYS	4,389,000
	OSRC RADIO	5 SLOTS JINGLES PER DAY @ 14,630	15 DAYS	1,097,250
	POSITIVE FM	1 SLOT PER DAY@ 5000 NAIRA	20 DAYS	100,000
	AUDIO TAPE ADVERT	60 SECS AUDIO TAPE ADVERT ON ADABA FM	5,000	5,000

		60 SECS ADVERT ON OSRC	10,000	10,000
		POLITICAL SPONSORED PROGRAMM FOR 60 SECS	105,000	105,000
<b>TOTAL</b>				19,156,250
<b>AKEREDOLU</b>				
	NTA			
		3 SLOTS PER DAY OUTSIDE NEWS @ 45 000 NAIRA PER SLOT	11 DAYS	1,485,000
		4 SLOT PER DAY ADVERT PER DAY @ 45,000 NAIRA PER SLOT	12 DAYS	2,160,000
		2 SLOT ADVERT PER DAY @ 45,000 NAIRA	6 DAYS	540,000
	ADABA FM	5 SLOTS PER DAY @ 5,000 NAIRA PER SLOT	30 DAYS	750,000
		3 SLOTS PER DAY @ 5000 NAIRA PER SLOT	11 DAYS	165,000
		30 MINUTES COMMENTARY @ 35,000 NAIRA PER DAY	7 DAYS	245,000
	POSITIVE FM	3 SLOTS PER DAY @ 5000 NAIRA PER SLOT	10 DAYS	150,000
<b>TOTAL</b>				5,495,000
<b>OLUSOLA OKE</b>				
	NTA AKURE	3 SLOTS ADVERT PER DAY @ 40,000 NAIRA PER SLOT	11 DAYS	1,320,000

		4 SLOTS PER DAY OUT SIDE NEWS ITEM @ 40,000 NAIRA	10 DAYS	1,600,000
		5 SLOTS ADVERT PER DAY 40,000 NAIRA	3 DAYS	600,000
	OSRC FM	2 SLOTS ADVERT PER DAY @ 5000 NAIRA.	30DAYS	300,000
	POSITIVE FM	3 SLOTS PERDAY @ 5000 NAIRA PER SLOT	10 DAYS	150,000
	ADABA FM	2 SLOTS PER DAY @ 5,000 NAIRA	15 DAYS	150,000
TOTAL				4,120,000

#### 6.7. SUMMARY OF MEDIA ADVERT IN THIS SECTION

Candidate	Amount in Naira
MIMIKO	19,156,250
OLUSOLA OKE	5,495,000
AKEREDOLU	4,120,000

## Section Seven

## PRINT MEDIA EXPENSES

### 7.1. INTRODUCTION

This Section documents the expenses incurred by the candidates on the print media. The details captured here might not represent the entire expenses incurred by the candidates. However, this documentation is based on newspapers available to the project and the observable expenses incurred by the candidates from the various prints media. The advertisement cost was obtained from the newspaper companies. It is also observed that the ACN and PDP have some selected newspapers where they pay the cost of dedicated pages for stories and write-ups against the incumbent LP.

### 7.2. THE EXPENSES

CANDIDATE/PARTY	NEWSPAPER COMPANY-DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	TOTAL IN NAIRA
<b>MIMIKO</b>	<b><i>CITY MOVERS MAGAZINE</i></b>		
	1 FRONT PAGE COVER OF COLOURED ADVERT. VOL. 2 NO 43. SEPT,13-20 2012	50,000	50,000
	1 FULL BACK PAGE COVER OF COLOURED ADVERT. VOL.2 NO 43. SEPT, 13-20, 2012	50,000	50,000
	<b><i>ONDO CHRONICLE</i></b>		
	ADVERTS AND FULL REPORTON MIMIKOS RE-ELECTION. SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER, 2012.	N180,000	180,000
	<b><i>THE HOPE NEWSPAPERS</i></b>		
	2 FULL PAGE COLOURED ADVERT. PG 8 & 17. THURSDAY 20 <sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012	240,000	480,000
	2 FULL PAGE COLOURED ADVERT. PG 8 &17. WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 10, 2012.	240,000	480,000
	<b><i>WEEKEND HOPE NEWSPAPERS</i></b>		
	7 PAGES DEDICATION ON L.P NEWS ITEMS AND ADVERTS. MONDAY SEPTEMBER 24 <sup>TH</sup> 2012.	150,000	1,050,000
	5 PAGES DEDICATION ON LP NEWS ITEMS PG 3, 4,6,8 &19. SEPTEMBER 22, 2012.	150,000	750,000
	<b><i>SATURDAY TRIBUNE</i></b>		

	1 FULL PAGE COLOURED ADVERT. PAGE 11	250,000	250,000
	<b>DAILY SUN NEWSPAPERS</b>		
	1 FULL PAGE COLOURED ADVERT. PAGE 4, OCTOBER 18, 2012.	450,000	450,000
TOTAL			3,740,000
<b>OLUSOLA OKE</b>	<b>TRACE MAGAZINE</b>		
	2 FULL CENTER PAGE COLOURED ADVERT. PG 24, SEPTEMBER 30, 2012	400,000	800,000
	<b>THE LENS JOURNALS</b>		
	A DEDICATED PUBLICATION FOR PDP, WEDNESDAY 26 <sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER TO 2 <sup>ND</sup> OCTOBER EDITION	4,000,000	4,000,000
	1 FULL CENTER PAGE BLACK AND WHITE ADVERT. PAGE 7, WEDNESDAY 12 <sup>TH</sup> TO TUESDAY 18 <sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012.	180,000	180,000
	2 FULL COLOURED CENTER SPREAD ADVERT. PAGE 8&9 WEDNESDAY 12 <sup>TH</sup> TO TUESDAY 18 <sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER 2012.	250,000	500,000
	2 FULL COLOURED CENTER SPREAD ADVERT PAGE 8&9 WEDNESDAY 3 <sup>RD</sup> TO 8 <sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER, 2012	250,000	500,000
	<b>DROCKET NEWS</b>		
	2 FULL CENTER SPREAD COLOURED ADVERT. PAGE 8-9. THURSDAY 4 <sup>TH</sup> -11 <sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 2012.	150,000	300,000
TOTAL			6,280,000
<b>AKEREDOLU</b>			
	1 FULL PAGE COLOURED ADVERT. PG 8. OCTOBER 16, 2012.	500,000	500,000
	1 FULL PAGE COLOURED ADVERT. PG 10. OCTOBER 14, 2012	500,000	500,000
	1 FULL PAGE COLOURED	500,000	500,000

	ADVERT. PG 9. OCTOBER 2, 2012		
	1 FULL PAGE COLOURED ADVERT. PG 11, OCTOBER 14, 2012.	500,000	500,000
	<b>PEOPLES NEWS</b>		
	2 FULL PAGE COLOURED ADVERT. PG 10 & 13. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11-WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 17, 2012.	240,000	480,000
	FRONT PAGE COVER, CORNER ADVERTS. OCTOBER 11-17 <sup>TH</sup> 2012.	120,000	120,000
	A DEDICATED PUBLICATION FOR THE A.C.N. AGAINST LP'S GOVT. OCTOBER 4-10 <sup>th</sup> , 2012.	2,500,000	2,500,000
	A DEDICATED PUBLICATION FOR A.C.N AGAINST LP GOVT. THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2012.	2,500,000	2,500,000
	A DEDICATED PUBLICATION FOR A.C.N THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 27- WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 3 2012.	2,500,000	2,500,000
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>10,100,000</b>

### 7.3 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES ON PRINT

Candidate	Total Expenses in Naira
MIMIKO	3,740,000
OLUSOLA OKE	6,280,000
AKEREDOLU	10,100,000

# Section Eight

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 8.1. OVERALL EXPENSES

The total expenditure of the candidates captured in this Report is tabulated as follows. Surely, the expenses were more than reported.

Expenditure Head	LP	PDP	ACN
Campaigns & Rallies	150,205,080	117,745,720	118,625,360
Bill Boards	28,930,000	5,450,000	17,850,000
Campaigns Offices	6,050,000	3,500,000	1,400,000
Electronic Media Coverage of Rallies	87,250,000	25,500,000	21,400,000
Electronic Media Adverts	19,156,250	5,495,000	4,120,000
Print Media Adverts	3,740,000	6,280,000	10,100,000
Expenses (Posters, SAR, personnel, mobilisation, etc)	42,750,000	71,000,000	40,000,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>338,081,330</b>	<b>234,970,720<sup>37</sup></b>	<b>213,495,360</b>

### 8.2. CONCLUSIONS

This Report sought to capture the expenses of the front running candidates in the Ondo state gubernatorial election. Although, some of the expenses have been reported in the preceding chapters and summarized above, there were also a lot of expenditure peculiarly within the knowledge of the candidates and the campaign organisations which we could not capture. These include expenditure of moneys and other resources that changed hands in secret meetings, travels, stationery, design of campaign strategy, etc. The campaign staff expenses were also not fully captured and we could not have detailed all the electronic media expenses because that would have required a twenty four hours a day and seven days a week monitoring.

<sup>37</sup> Dr Oluwadare Bada, the Director General of the Olusola Oke Campaign acknowledged that the candidate spent N200million in an interveiw with Daily Trust Newspaper of December 24 2012. According to the Nigerian Tribune of Monday October 15, 2012, the National Publicity Secretary of the PDP, Chief Olisa Metuh confirmed that the party's budget for the election is far less than N300 million but did not disclose the exact amount.

The Report clearly shows that the campaign finance provisions of the Electoral Act as it relates to candidates are like dry letters of the law. There is no attempt by INEC or any other agency to seek enforcement. Indeed, INEC lacks the capacity to enforce the law and has thrown its hands into the air in despair on the subject matter. Even the preliminary steps of making rules and regulations that will eventually pave the way for monitoring and reporting by the candidates has been ignored. Under S. 153 of the Act, the Commission has the explicit power to issue regulations, guidelines or manuals for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of the Act and for its administration. On this basis, it is imperative that INEC shows deep interest in candidates' campaign financing. In terms of financing campaigns, it is imperative to state that the presidential system is more candidate-centric than party-centric. In other words, it is the candidates who bear the duty of financing their elections. Without reporting obligations, they are bound to exceed the ceiling. However, the candidates are becoming more sensitive to open declaration of donations. Therefore, donations were done discreetly while carefully using the limit of 1million naira to present the names of more than one natural or artificial persons. A strong regulation on fund raising and disclosure on sources of funds and expenses must be considered by INEC.

The building blocks of such a regulation envisaged above would include candidate's obligation to open specific campaign accounts in a bank to receive all donations and from which cheques would be cut for all expenses. This would leave a paper trail for the calculation of expenditure. Pre-election and post-election income and expenditure reports should be demanded of candidates and all expenditure must be incurred transparently. It would also include deploying the power and reach of the internet to maintain dedicated portals where information on the income and expenditure could be easily found. Such a system would also facilitate contributions by individuals and groups desirous of supporting particular candidates.

In the usual tradition, CSOs and donors paid little or no attention to capacity building, tracking, and reporting on campaign expenditure. Although the media asked some questions, the posers were not deep enough to bring campaign expenditure to the front burner of state level discourse. With civil society and INEC looking the other way, the coast was clear for the law to be ignored.

There are still unresolved questions about the basis of the financial ceiling of N200million for gubernatorial candidates across all the states of the federation that are not the same in land mass, population, eligible voters to be wooed and having different cultural settings. With this provision set in the main body of the law, every review must be in the

form a statutory amendment. The power to fix the ceiling should have been stated in the enabling law but reserved for INEC who will take cognizance of issues like inflation, the value of the naira, the nature of the campaigns, number of registered voters, etc, before coming to the realistic ceiling in any particular election and locale.

The Electoral Act still permits every donor to come on board whether they have a recent history of conviction for offences involving dishonesty, defrauding the revenue, human trafficking or trading in psychotropic substances. Thus, the system paves the way for criminals and crime gangs to seek to buy amnesty through heavy investments in campaign finances of candidates. Such amnesty could be for a crime already committed or for crimes to be committed in future when the candidate gets to power.

Abuse of state resources featured in the campaigns. This is another area that various regulatory agencies need to take more seriously. For instance, the National Broadcasting Commission in charge of regulating the broadcast media needs to be more proactive in regulating broadcast media where some candidates have overwhelming vested interests. NBC had cause to sanction and warn two key broadcast media organisations during the course of the campaign. The use of state resources including vehicles, equipment, administrative resources, etc, also came up strongly in the Ondo campaigns.

Money exchanged hands during the campaigns and it was clear that many voters had no problems with accepting financial and other gifts from candidates. They saw it as normal and part of the campaign strategy. This is however unfortunate. Little sums of money to individuals when they are tallied amounts to hundreds of millions in candidate's expenditure. And this expenditure has to be recouped from the public treasury at a future date if the candidate is successful.

Finally, it would be a mistake to assume that election related expenditure of the candidates will end with the elections. As at the time of compiling this report, some candidates are in the election tribunal challenging the outcome of the election. Tribunal proceedings and their appeals are known to be expensive, sometimes running into hundreds of millions of naira, depending on the fees charged by lawyers and other logistics arrangements such as procuring forensic evidence.

### **8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### ***(i) To the Legislature for Electoral Reform***

The Electoral Act 2010 should be amended and the following proposals should be considered to cure the mischief in the existing law.

**A.** The delimitation of expenditure ceilings for gubernatorial candidates should be based on an empirical and verifiable formula. It should not be arbitrary. The current delimitations are arbitrary and too low. The ceiling may not necessarily be the same in all the states of the federation. The limitation for gubernatorial candidates should be anchored on the number of registered voters in the state multiplied by a factor and from time to time adjusted for inflation based on the national consumer index.

**B.** Political party expenses for a candidate should be made part of the total to be considered in calculating whether the candidate has reached or exceeded the ceiling. This proposal is based on the fact that ceilings are made to ensure that outright monetisation of politics is curbed. Whether the expenditure is in the name of the party or the candidate, it is still spent for the same purpose.

**C.** In view of our candidate-centric system, the Act should provide a duty for candidates to report on expenses and resources used for elections. The reports should include election contributions and election expenses. A pre-election report should come within two weeks to the election while a post election report will be demanded within two months of the conclusion of poll. Parties will still be under obligation to report their expenses used for general administration and in support of particular candidates. Detailed reporting forms should be developed by INEC. The benefit of pre-election reporting is to allow voters form an opinion as to which interests the candidate would be responsive to. It would help the electorate in making a choice among competing candidates. The reports should be available to the public.

**D.** The pre-election report should come with the declaration of assets of the candidate to enable the public form an opinion and reconcile the worth of the candidate with the resources he is expending for the election.

**E.** To facilitate monitoring of media expenditure, reporting obligations to either INEC or the National Broadcasting Commission should be placed on the print and electronic media to report on the campaign advertisements placed in them by candidates and third parties in support of a candidate's campaign.

**F.** Specific provisions should be made for monitoring the use of state apparatus to the advantage or disadvantage of any political party or candidate at an election. Reporting rules and guides should be developed by INEC or any other agency to be charged with monitoring the provisions.

**G.** Experience from previous elections show the need for a specialised independent body to monitor political and campaign finance and the use of SAR. INEC as presently constituted lacks the capacity and appears unwilling to acquire the capacity for following up on campaign expenditure provisions of the Act. INEC is usually overwhelmed with the logistics of elections. It would be asking for too much to expect this same agency to be charged with monitoring the intricate details of campaign finance and SAR.

**H.** The amendments should provide for a paper and banking trail for all campaign finance expenditure mandating all candidates to open a special campaign fund account which will receive all income and from which all payments will be made. All payments in excess of fifty thousand naira should not be made in cash. It should be made by cheque or electronically. Banks should be under obligation to verify under oath the accuracy of the bank statements produced by the candidate. The bank account details should be one of the documents to be filed with the campaign finance monitoring agencies.

**I.** The amendments should reaffirm the bar in the Companies and Allied Matters Act on donations to candidates and parties by companies. It should also bar unincorporated associations from making similar donations.

**J.** The amendments should introduce the concept of “permissible donor” to bar persons who in the last five years have been convicted of offences involving fraud, dishonesty, defrauding the revenue, money laundering or dealing in drugs and psychotropic substances, terrorism, human trafficking, etc, from contributing to the coffers of political parties and candidates.

**K.** Stiff penalties should be set for candidates who spend in excess of statutory limitations and this should include vacation of office upon proof of excess expenditure.

**L.** To encourage popular participation in campaign financing, donations to candidates and political parties should be made tax deductible.

**M.** Amendments to the Act should be concluded at least two years before the election in a four year tenure so that legislators will not be amending a law at a time their re-election is some months away. This will ensure that the provisions of the Act are not unnecessarily watered down.

***(ii) To INEC on the Extant Law***

**A.** Make regulations under section 153 of the Act detailing rules and formats for candidates to report their income and expenditure. Regulations should also be made to activate the provisions barring the use of SAR for partisan purposes.

**B.** Demand and ensure that candidates report their election expenses in accordance with the regulatory framework. In the event of a breach, INEC should activate or apply the necessary administrative and legal sanctions.

**C.** Collaborate with civil society and the legislature for the amendment of extant faulty legal provisions.

**D.** Make available for public inspection during office hours the returns of political parties and candidates at its national and state offices.

***(iiv) To Political Parties***

**A.** Being active participants in the political process, parties are expected to provide evidence and documentation to facilitate the work of INEC in campaign finance monitoring. Parties are in a position to provide information on their own candidates and the practices of other parties.

**B.** With a first-hand experience of money and politics, parties are expected to collaborate with relevant stakeholders for the review of extant money and politics laws, policies and practices.

**C.** Sensitise the rank and file on money and politics issues and build a movement for change among their membership.

***(v) To Civil Society Organisations and the Media***

**A.** Reactivate the Political Finance Monitoring Platform to ensure early preparations and mainstreaming of campaign finance issues in the 2015 political agenda.

**B.** Conduct in-depth studies and research on contributions to campaign finance at executive and legislative levels and their links to public procurement, privileges, patronage, legislation and corruption in governance.

**C.** Initiation of dialogue, consultations and preparation of drafts for the amendment of existing legislation should occupy the attention of civil society organisations.

**D.** 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.