

SPENDING TO WIN

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



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(Mainstreaming Social Justice In Public Life)

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACN	Action Congress of Nigeria
Act	Electoral Act
ANPP	All Nigeria Peoples Party
CSJ	Centre for Social Justice
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
NBC	National Broadcasting Commission
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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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

It is a fact acknowledged by all that electioneering campaigns are virtually impossible without financial and other resources. But it will be an open invitation to anarchy to give money and other resources a free rein in democratic electioneering. It is also a fundamental aphorism that the role of money in politics contributes to the determination of the quality of governance after elections. The management of political and campaign finance is inextricably linked to free and fair elections, effective governance, corruption and the quality of democracy¹. It requires great transparency and accountability to manage this inextricable link for good governance. This is facilitated in Nigeria by enabling laws including the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended (Constitution)², the Electoral Act 2010 as amended (Act,) the Code of Conduct for Political Parties and other instruments that regulate campaign financing in Nigeria³. But there is a whole world of difference between the law in the books, gathering dust on the shelves and the law as it is actually applied. Monitoring provides the nexus between the legal provisions in the books and the actual world of what the practitioners of politics do.

No country in the world can claim to have solved all the challenges related to campaign financing and the use of state administrative resources (SAR). The challenges mutate and redefine their nature and character with each passing election and changes in technology and social life styles. Significantly, there is need to regulate and monitor campaign finance and the use of SAR. The reasons include the need to uphold the supremacy of the Constitution; enhance democracy and development; curtail the improper influence of money over government policies and their outcomes and to promote popular participation in party financing. The reasons also include the need to promote issue based politics; curtail money laundering; prevent the subversion of the legal system; fight corruption to a stand-still; affirm social 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 process⁴. The

¹ *IFES Political Finance Regulation: The Global Experience* at page 14.

² . Any reference in this report to the Constitution shall be deemed to be a reference to the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended) except the context otherwise refers.

³ Other instruments include the Companies and Allied Matters Act and regulations made by INEC.

⁴ See Eze Onyekpere in *Political Finance Monitoring Manual*, 2011; Centre for Social Justice. The campaign finance regulations could be viewed from their utilitarianism; their contribution to the public good and overall development of society.

concept of free, fair and credible elections is incompatible with an election whose outcome is overtly determined by the quantum of money spent by the winning candidate. The will of the electorate would have been subverted by money.

There is the need for a trinity of actions and collaborations in ensuring that campaign finance laws are implemented. The collaborations should be between the election management body – INEC, which is charged with general oversight over the implementation of the Act, the pillars of integrity including the media and civil society organisations and the last leg of law enforcement and prosecution⁵. This trinity of action encompasses the model of electoral governance that is focused on rule making, rule application and rule adjudication⁶. Although the first leg of rule making is for the legislature which is outside this trinity, the outcome of the work of this trinity will shape policy discourse for reform of the law by the legislature. This is in recognition of the fact that campaign finance regulations do not have one size that fits all and therefore, reforms have to be based on country specific empirical evidence.

1.2 RATIONALE

Nigeria, especially since the return to civil rule in 1999 has a history of scandalous elections which have no nexus with the words free, fair or credible. The reforms that led to the appointment of Attahiru Jega as the chairman of INEC and the enactment of a new Electoral Act in 2010 raised hopes for new ways of conducting elections and enforcement of extant laws. Part of the law that has remained unenforced was the campaign finance provisions and it was hoped that INEC under the new leadership will dedicate attention to the enforcement of these provisions.

The Act limits gubernatorial candidate's campaign expenditure to N200 million while prescribing a fine of N800,000 for exceeding the ceiling or 9 months imprisonment or both⁷. Experience from CSJ's previous monitoring efforts⁸ indicate that there are spending limits for candidates which are not corroborated by mandatory disclosure requirements. Many candidates spend above the limitations and INEC is not in a position to know whether they overspent since candidates have no reporting obligation. The general public's awareness of these limitations is very low while civil society tends to look the other way when violations of the campaign finance provisions occur. This has created the impression that parties and candidates are free to violate political

⁵ This should cover the anti corruption agencies, the tax authorities, the office of the Attorney-General and the courts.

⁶ Mozaffar, S. and A. Schedler (2002); *The Comparative Study of Electoral Governance, Introduction in International Political Science Review*, 23 (1): 5-27.

⁷ Section 91 (3) and (10) (b) of the Act.

⁸ *Non Transparent Spending* being a report on Campaign Finance and the use of SAR in the 2011 Presidential Elections published by CSJ in 2011.

finance regulations with impunity. Further, INEC has hardly pursued the implementation of the party and candidate finance regulations with the same vigour and rigour with which it organises and oversees other aspects of the elections. The effect is that there is no enforcement of existing but inchoate provisions. These provisions cannot on their own activate the sanctions mechanism.

The result of the foregoing is impunity because when the law is violated, the agency with the duty of investigating and activating the sanctions mechanism looks the other way and no one is either punished or reprimanded for the violations. This can only breed contempt for laws and reinforce Nigeria's image as a lawless society.

Even if INEC had no capacity and resources to track campaign finance, they did not provide any opportunity for civil society collaboration to start the process of official evidence based tracking of expenditure, albeit, on a pilot basis. The advertisement by INEC calling for groups to apply to observe the elections was fixated on the Election Day monitoring framework which had no relationship with the timing and procedure of monitoring campaign finances. It is therefore imperative to continue piloting the campaign finance tracking field with the objective of eventually mainstreaming it into the work of INEC and other civil society monitoring groups. It is also imperative to confirm whether the financial ceiling for gubernatorial candidates is realistic in view of the current value of the naira. The report seeks to answer the posers: Is N200 million able to pay for normal legitimate expectations involved in the campaigns? Is it unduly restrictive or overtly permissive? And what lesson can we draw for amendments or reforms to the existing law?

1.3 THE EDO CONTEXT

Every gubernatorial election, by the ordinary course of events, should have been held in the year 2011. But the fact that the incumbent Edo State Governor took his oath of office after the election tribunal decision in 2008 meant his four year tenure ended in 2012⁹. Edo State's 2012 gubernatorial contest was a battle for supremacy between two major parties, namely the incumbent Action Congress of Nigeria and the Peoples Democratic Party. The PDP had ruled the state for 10 years since the current civilian dispensation. Lucky Igbinedion of the PDP ruled the state for the first 8 years while Professor Emmanuel Osunbor (SAN) of the PDP took over from him after he was declared winner by INEC. However, the incumbent governor, Adams Oshiomhole being dissatisfied with the results of the election declared by INEC in 2007, proceeded to the election tribunal. The Court of Appeal eventually returned him as the rightful winner of the election and he thereafter assumed office.

⁹ *Marwa & Anor v Nyako* (2012) 1 SC (Part 111) and affirmed by the amendment to section 135 of the Constitution by the insertion of a new section 135 (2A).

In PDP circles, there is this joke of the incumbent being Governor by virtue of a technical court order and not a mandate given by the people. Thus, the 2012 election provided the opportunity for the contending parties to prove once and for all who actually has the mandate of the Edo people. While the PDP was desperate to come back to power, the ACN was eager to prove that the victory declared by the courts was based on a popular mandate freely given by the people.

Considering that President Goodluck Jonathan hails from the South South geopolitical Zone, Edo State was the only state in the zone not controlled by the PDP and the party felt the need to bring all the states in the zone under its control. Further, there was a personality clash between the godfather of Edo politics, Chief Tony Anenih and Adams Oshiomhole, the incumbent governor. Chief Tony Anenih was desperate to get Edo State back to the PDP. He had a reputation of “fixing elections” and he was keen on reclaiming his “Mr Fix It” title. He has an election winning pedigree that in 1983 his National Party of Nigeria removed the incumbent Unity Party of Nigeria governor; in 1993, his Social Democratic Party (SDP) won the presidential election and since 1999, the PDP has been winning in the state up till 2007.

On the other hand, Adams Oshiomhole boasted of the popular support of the people and the fact that his performance in office would facilitate his second term victory. It was a fact even acknowledged by the PDP faithful that the PDP performed woefully in the earlier opportunity it had to govern the state, hence the reference to a new and re-branded PDP which was marketed to the Edo people.

A lot of resources were alleged to have been set aside by the contending parties to ensure victory for the polls. The ACN alleged that the PDP had set aside N10billion for the campaigns and the fact that the PDP formed the government at the centre made other parties jittery that it could deploy state resources in INEC and the security agencies to manipulate the election if it so desired. But the incumbent governor also had a lot of state resources which could be deployed for the election and was reported to have raise about N730 million in one fund raising in Benin.

Ethnic politics was also part of the context of the 2012 Edo gubernatorial election. While the ACN incumbent was from a minority and small ethnic group, the PDP candidate was a Bini man and Bini's are reported to constitute about 55% of the Edo population. The PDP at some point were appealing to this base consideration and even made a comparison of the “Edo Guber Race 2012: A Replay of 1983 Bendel State Governorship Race¹⁰” where the author stated:

No doubt, this decision by the PDP to feature a Bini man as their candidate is capable of ensuring that they coast home with victory in the polls as it happened

¹⁰ Esan Today Newspaper at page 5 by Hon Kelly Inedegbor.

in 1983. In 1983, the contest was between late Professor Ambrose Ali, then incumbent governor and General Samuel Osaigbovo Ogbemudia rtd. Just as it is now, Prof Ali, the incumbent governor was adjudged to have done well. Though far better than what the present governor, Adams Oshiomole has done. Also, General Ogbemudia was from the Bini speaking part of the state who are in the majority, in fact having about 55% of the State's population. Again general Airhiavbere (rtd) is from the same Bini speaking part of the state¹¹.

The permutation was that a Bini man would attract the votes of majority of the Binis and as such, would win the election especially if he can win some votes from other ethnic groupings in the state. In the midst of this distraction, there were allegations and claims that the Benin Monarch, the Oba of Benin, had given his royal blessing to the ACN candidate. In fact, the rumour mills were rife that it was based on this position that he did not formally come out to welcome the entourage of President Goodluck Jonathan when the latter paid a courtesy visit to his palace during the campaign period. Media reports stated that he only granted the President audience in an inner chamber of his palace¹².

There was heightened tension in the state in the run-up to the election with the parties accusing and counter accusing one another of plans to manipulate or sabotage the election. There were allegations of plans to use thugs to disrupt the election to the extent that the incumbent was accused of hiring the leader of the Niger Delta Peoples Volunteers Force, Alhaji Asari Dokubo to boost his security preparations¹³. Some persons were alleged to be doing illegal registration of voters as DDC machines were found in their possession. INEC had to cancel its continuous voter registration exercise because of the charged atmosphere. The exercise was meant to accommodate persons who have attained the voting age of 18 since the last registration exercise was conducted. According to INEC¹⁴:

In view of the allegations and counter allegations which have been made in the last two weeks on the preparations for the continuous voter registration exercise in Edo State, and given the weighty nature of some of these allegations and the need to thoroughly investigate them and take a firm decision regarding them well before the election, the Commission has decided to postpone the continuous voter registration exercise in Edo State until after the election so that we can do it

¹¹ Ibid

¹² The Nigerian Observer of July 3 and 10 2012; The Reliance Newspaper of July 8 - July 21, 2012.

¹³ The personal secretary to the ACN candidate, Olaitian Oyerinde, was murdered by unknown gunmen while the candidate was involved in a motor accident that led to the death of some journalists in his campaign entourage.

¹⁴ Thisday Newspaper of Saturday, May 19, 2012

in an atmosphere devoid of suspicion and fear and so that we can focus on rebuilding confidence and preparing for free, fair, peaceful and credible elections.

1.4 GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

The project was designed with the central goal of contributing to credible elections through a civil society engagement of INEC and the establishment of oversight on campaign finance and use of SAR in the 2012 Edo State gubernatorial election.

The specific objectives were to:

- Build the capacity of civil society organisations to engage campaign finance and the use of SAR;
- Monitor and report on campaign finance and the use of SAR at the governorship election in Edo State.
- Use the monitoring results to advocate for legislative or policy change and for enhanced enforcement of the Act.

Since the return to civil rule in 1999, campaign finance limitations and the use of SAR have featured in virtually all the Electoral Acts. Nigeria has the experience or notoriety of a new Electoral Act for every election. CSJ in monitoring campaign finance at the state level sought to build on the successes of previous monitoring at the federal level and to mainstream campaign finance issues in the agenda for electoral reforms. Its findings are of relevance to the legislature that will amend or review the Act; INEC that is charged with ensuring compliance with the Act in a bid to enable it review the implementation framework; the security agencies who need to understand their roles in the electoral process and how to play this role in a manner that will be fair to all; candidates and political parties who spend electioneering resources and ideally should bear reporting obligations, etc. It is particularly a wake-up call to civil society to show more interest in the inextricable link between campaign funding and fiscal governance.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The project employed capacity building through conducting training for the monitors it deployed. It also produced a user manual which detailed the reasons for monitoring campaign expenditure, the legal provisions including the Constitution and the Act and the monitoring methodologies for campaign finance and SAR. The next stage was the deployment of monitors. 18 monitors were deployed at one per local government. Monitors attempted to cover all the expenditure of the gubernatorial candidates in the 18 local government areas of Edo state and the political wards in each of the local governments. Notably, the candidates of the Action Congress of Nigeria, Peoples

Democratic Party and All Nigeria Peoples Party who were serious and conducted campaigns and rallies were monitored.

The monitors attended and observed rallies and campaigns. They monitored posters, personnel, office expenses, bill boards, print and electronic media and the use of SAR. They started monitoring from the time notice of the poll was given up till the date of election. Monitors submitted reports to the secretariat at Centre for Social Justice as soon as they finished their monitoring activities. Monitors were drawn from credible civil Society Organizations and were under oath to abide by a Code of Conduct.

Monitors were charged with providing evidence only when it is credible, verifiable, relevant and reliable. The monitors visited campaign offices, counted billboards, interviewed relevant stakeholders and observed the partisan use of SAR. They collected prices of various items from about three credible alternatives to ensure that the prices stated in their reports are reasonable and within the range of what is obtainable in the market. At the secretariat, the reports were subject to a reality check to sift facts from fiction. For items of expenditure difficult to quantify and allot a price, monitors sought the opinion of experts in the field and these include outdoor media practitioners, quantity surveyors and estate agents, event planners, etc, who have dealt with similar matters in the past. The project also monitored the print and electronic media.

Letters were written to the candidates campaign offices informing them of the objectives and activities of the monitoring exercise and seeking their cooperation. The letters also sought access to campaign finance information. Letters were also written to media houses to seek their collaboration. Visits were made to campaign offices to get information. Information about prices of various campaign items were collected from diverse sources.

1.6 CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE EXERCISE

The monitor was seen by candidates, campaign organisations and political parties as a meddlesome interloper considering that INEC which had statutory obligations to oversee the expenditure did not lift a finger in that direction. Indeed, in many instances, the legal basis of the monitoring exercise was questioned. The candidates and the parties therefore felt under no obligation to provide information to the monitors. Monitors had to resort to indirect ways of getting information especially through knowledgeable third parties. Also, in the heat of the contest and the atmosphere of suspicion which pervaded the campaigns, any unknown face nosing around for information about campaign finance was seen as an enemy who had come to steal information that will be used against the candidate. Such a monitor even risked being attacked by the candidate's supporters.

The project deployed only eighteen monitors to cover the entire state at one monitor per local government. The monitoring was conducted on a part time basis and on a relatively shoe string budget which meant that the monitors could not have covered all the activities that needed to be covered. There were a number of wards and local events which cost a lot of money that the monitors were unable to attend. In essence, it is clear that the figures recorded in this report do not represent all the expenses incurred by the candidates.

Media monitoring especially the electronic media required virtual full time engagement or hiring the services of professional media monitors who will record, disaggregate information and report on them. However, the project did not have access to resources to hire professional media monitors. It was a bit easier with print media which just required buying and reading the newspapers on a day to day basis. Media houses and campaign organisations were also unwilling to disclose information on the numbers of jingles and paid advertisements in the electronic media.

With relatively improved knowledge about campaign finance provisions of the Act, many donors resorted to donating not more than the ceiling of N1million. However, some used the names of many natural and artificial persons to hide their donations. However, contributions by individuals to candidates were most of the times not done in the open. They were transactions between the donors and the recipients. The Nigeria cash based economy wherein huge amounts of money are exchanged in sacks without a paper or banking trail makes it virtually impossible to find out who gave what and to who except the donor or recipient opens up. When fund raising activities were organised, they were not open to the public and information about what transpired can only come from those that attended the occasion. And these people were always not ready to divulge information. In instances when fund raising was done in the open, many donors did not announce their donations. In other instances, the few media reports coming out of these occasions showed that the organisers simply told the public what they want them to hear and not exactly what happened.

The report was unable to capture facts peculiarly within the knowledge of the candidates and the parties which they were not willing to disclose. These facts include allowance paid to campaign officials, cost of feeding and accommodation, monies given to party chieftains and traditional rulers, monies set aside for mobilization and even vote buying, etc. These expenses may be as big as the ones detailed in this report.

The security agencies in some venues through their overzealousness prevented the monitors from taking pictures or record of events. They even threatened to seize camera phones used in capturing some campaign events.

1.7 REPORT PRESENTATION

The report is presented in eight chapters as follows:

- Introduction
- The Legal Environment
- Abuse of State and Administrative Resources
- Campaign and Rallies
- Billboards and Other Expenses
- Electronic Media Campaigns
- Print Media Expenses
- Conclusions and Recommendations

1.8 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Chapter One deals with the introduction and recalls that no country in the world can claim to have solved all challenges related to campaign financing and the use of SAR. The challenges mutate and redefine their nature with each passing election, changes in technology and social lifestyles. The proper management of campaign finance and SAR contributes to free, fair and credible elections. The report emphasizes the need for collaboration between the election management body, the pillars of integrity including the media and civil society organisations and lastly law enforcement and prosecution. It reviews the Edo gubernatorial context especially between the PDP and the ACN gubernatorial candidates, the security threats, ethnic dimensions and the fact that the PDP desperately wanted to get back the state into its fold after being in charge for ten years and losing out to ACN at the 2007 elections.

Chapter Two is on the legal environment for campaign finance and SAR. It reviews the legal provisions from the mischief rule point of view and raises the posers about what was wrong with the legal regime before the enactment of these new sections; the extent of enforceability of the provisions and whether the mischief in the existing law has been cured. It notes that the ceiling appears rather arbitrary and not based on empirical evidence and the fact that the penalties for breaching the law have no deterrence or reformative value. It further reviews the inchoate nature of the provisions of the Act due to the lack of reporting obligations which is further facilitated by the absence of an obligation to keep records. Other issues reviewed were the conflicting definitions of terms used in the Act, the fact that every donor was on board, no directives on the use of moneys remaining after the campaigns, etc.

Chapter Three dealt with abuse of state and administrative resources. This includes the use of government vehicles and aircrafts for campaigns by the ACN and PDP teams, car gifts to traditional rulers, deployment of state fiscal policy and resources, call for

contractors to contribute 5% of cost of contract to the incumbent's campaign funds and campaigning with public property.

Chapter Four deals with campaigns and rallies and fundraising events. There was evidence of massive expenditure by the two leading candidates. Chapter Five deals with billboards, campaign offices and other expenses while Chapter Six is on the electronic media. Chapter Seven is on the print media while conclusions and recommendations are in Chapter Eight. Some of the notable recommendations include the following.

The N200m limitation for gubernatorial candidates is too low and should be increased based on an empirical and verifiable formula. It should be anchored on the number of registered voters in a state multiplied by a factor and from time to time adjusted for inflation based on the national consumer index. The limitation should be expunged from the body of the Act and the power to fix limitations bestowed on INEC. There should be a duty on all candidates to maintain documentation of all contributions and expenses. But there should be a reporting threshold fixed by INEC. Three reports are envisaged viz; a pre-campaign report, intra-campaign report and post-campaign report. The first should come with a declaration of assets of the candidate. The print and electronic media should have obligations to report to either INEC or the National Broadcasting Commission on campaign advertisements placed in their stations. Free space and airtime should be given to candidates in public print and electronic media.

Other recommendations include the establishment of a specialized independent body to monitor and set standards on campaign finance; all campaign expenditure to leave a paper and banking trail through a dedicated bank account from which all expenses above N50,000 are to be made. The amendments should introduce the concept of a "permissible donor" to exclude persons who in the last five years have been convicted of offences involving fraud or dishonesty, money laundering, trafficking in persons, terrorism and dealing in drugs and psychotropic substances from donating to candidates and political parties. To encourage contributions to campaigns and political parties, contributions up to a certain threshold should be made tax deductible while stiff penalties are to be set for candidates who spend above the ceiling and this should include the vacation of office.

Chapter Two

THE LEGAL ENVIRONMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Every aspect of human endeavour is regulated by law and law plays a very crucial role in the management of human relations and the governance of society. The jurisprudential postulates that inform the enactment of a law are overtly seen in the body of the legislation itself. The National Assembly is mandated by the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended) to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the nation. The Act is one law made in the discharge of this legislative duty. The Act made various provisions on political and campaign finance and the use of SAR. These provisions, with the benefit of the real life implementation challenges, deserve to be interrogated to determine whether they are able to cure the mischief in the hitherto existing law and to advance new remedies.

Although the mischief rule is used as a canon of statutory interpretation¹⁵, it is however useful as a basis for understanding the need for a new law or new provisions, especially within the Nigerian campaign finance and SAR context where money and manipulation of SAR have tremendously impacted on the outcome of elections. The posers that have arisen from the evidence of implementing the campaign finance and SAR provisions include: What was the mischief in the existing framework that the campaign finance and SAR provisions were meant to remedy? What was the mischief for which the law existing before this Act did not provide any remedy? What remedy did the legislature provide to cure this mischief? What are the true reasons for the remedies provided in the Act? Have the new provisions cured the mischief identified in the old law? What is the social acceptability of the provisions and to what extent is it commanding voluntary compliance considering the absence of a sanctions regime?

2.2 THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE CEILINGS

The Act limits gubernatorial candidate expenditure to N200 million. INEC has no power to review this limitation. The implication is that with changed circumstances including inflation, social and economic change, the ceiling remains until amended by the legislature. Since the enactment of the Act in 2010, inflation has been in the double digits and the naira is fast losing value. Further, the Act gives no clue as to the logic and empirical basis of the N200m ceiling. Indeed, there is no literature available to the public

¹⁵ *Heydon's Case* (1584) 3 Co. Rep 7a; *International Bank for West Africa Ltd v Imano (Nig) Ltd & Anor* (1988) 3 NWLR (Pt. 85) 633 at 668.

to indicate what influenced the mind of the legislators in coming to that ceiling. 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? For instance, the 36 states are not the same size in population, number of registered voters, number of local governments, land mass nor are their citizens at the same level of education and enlightenment. Did the legislature project the cost of a single rally and multiply that by a given number of rallies considered reasonable in a gubernatorial contest? Did they include the cost of transportation, personnel, posters, stickers, billboards, electronic and print media advertisements? If gubernatorial candidates limit their spending to N200 million, will it produce free, fair and credible elections? The questions are legion and there are very few clues as to the answers in the horizon? The ceiling therefore appears arbitrary.

In General Comment No. 25 of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights¹⁶ it was stated:

Paragraph 19: Reasonable limitations on campaign expenditure may be justified where this is necessary to ensure that free choice of voters is not undermined or the democratic process distorted by the disproportionate expenditure on behalf of any candidate or party.

There is need for campaign expenditure ceilings in Nigeria¹⁷. The reasons for ceilings in campaign finance are legion¹⁸. Unfortunately, because the law has not been enforced or tested before the courts, there is hardly any Nigerian court decision on the subject of campaign finance to guide the decision of legislators and policy implementing agencies. 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 adjusted for inflation based on the national consumer index.

The Act limits third party donation to a candidate to not more than N1million naira and makes it an offence punishable by 9 months imprisonment or a fine of N500,000 or both for exceeding this ceiling¹⁹. However, this appears only to be in respect of a donation to

¹⁶ 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 of equal access to public service adopted at the 57th Session of the Human Rights Committee on 12 July 1996. CCPR/C/21Rev.1/Add.7

¹⁷ See the dissenting decision in the American Supreme Court - Justice White dissenting in *Buckley v Valeo* where he stated as follows: *Without limits on total expenditures, campaign costs will inevitably and endlessly escalate..expenditure limits have their own potential for preventing corruption of federal elections themselves.*"

¹⁸ Candidates equality before the law and equal protection of law; need to prevent corruption; reduce the influence of money in electioneering and policy outcomes; greater transparency and accountability; enhance democracy and development, etc.

¹⁹ Section 92 (9) and (11) of the Act.

candidate. It is not clear whether third party expenditure for a candidate, spent by the third party and not donated to the candidate can exceed N1million. For instance, can a third party pay for newspaper or electronic media advertisements for a candidate in excess of N1 million?

2.3 INCHOATE PROVISIONS

After providing spending limitations for gubernatorial and other candidates, the Act was silent on the means of enforcing these limitations. No reporting obligation was placed on candidates in a governorship election that is candidate-centric. Unlike political parties, candidates have no statutory obligation to keep records of moneys spent, contributions, gifts, properties, etc, given to them for the purpose of electioneering²⁰. 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.

The spending limit is the first instrument in the chain of the enforcement infrastructure; it should be followed by reporting and disclosure requirements which then provide opportunities for regulatory agency and civil society oversight. This may further lead to investigations of grey areas and possible prosecution and sanction. Essentially, the spending limit infrastructure should be built around disclosure, detection, prevention and sanction²¹. Till date, no candidate is required to report his receipts and expenditure to any agency and no follow up oversight or investigation has been done. This raises the poser: what is the provision meant to protect? If we are simply content with the Austinian jurisprudential postulate of law as the command of the sovereign backed by sanctions, then, the present command is not backed by any sanction mechanism²². It may not be more than a mere moral adjuration.

How then did the legislature intend that the limitation provisions will be respected? The response to the above is that legislators were making law at a time they had interest in contesting as candidates. As such, they saw the process as making a law to bind their immediate quest for re-election. They had no hesitation in watering down the provisions of the law for their own interest. 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 spending. It is the standard practice in major democracies that after electoral spending comes the rendering of

²⁰ See Section 93 of the Act on disclosures by political parties.

²¹ Practical Solutions for Political Finance Enforcement and Oversight (at page 85) by Hani Zainulbhui in *Political Finance Regulation: The Global Experience*.

²² John Austin in *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined*, (Ed Hart), 1954.

accounts and retirement of campaign debts, Nigeria claims to be a democracy and yet fails this fundamental test.

Even the penalties prescribed for candidates violating the limitations have no deterrence or reformatory value. Violating the governorship candidate limitation will attract a fine of N800,000 or nine months imprisonment or both. First, the sanctions mechanism can only be activated by the absent reporting and disclosure mechanism. So the penalties go to no issue. The penalty is ridiculous. By the time it is proven that a candidate spent beyond the ceiling and he is already sworn in as governor, how can the penalty be enforced since he has immunity from suit and legal process? Even if he has no immunity from suit and legal process, the Nigeria 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 a N800,000 fine is not a bad idea if this gamble provides a chance of being the governor of a state. If the candidate did not win the election, if the law is activated, he stands a chance of receiving its full weight. Real deterrent provisions such as the loss of the seat or a ban from participating in political contests for some period of time, heavier fines and longer terms of imprisonment, etc, ought to have featured in the legislative agenda.

In summary, a ceiling without a disclosure requirement is as good as the absence of a ceiling. This deliberate refusal to make candidate campaign expenditure transparent runs contrary to the United Nations Convention against Corruption²³ 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.

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 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 transactions are done in cash, it becomes difficult to track expenditures. However, some

²³ General Assembly Resolution 58/4 of October 31 2003

gubernatorial candidates provided bank accounts and electronic payment platforms for donations to their campaigns²⁴.

2.5 INEC TO THE RESCUE?

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 parties²⁵. 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 2010²⁶.

The Chairman of INEC Professor Attahiru Jega acknowledged INEC's position on campaign finance in answer to a question of how to address money politics in these words²⁷:

You are right. Obviously it is unfortunate that in Nigeria, there is much use of money in politics. It is unhealthy, it is illegal and we have to do quite a lot to minimize the role of money in politics. And for us in INEC, this is one of the reform measures we hope to introduce long before 2015. In terms of how we can curb the influence of the use of money in politics, we are strengthening, as part of the reform process, our political parties monitoring and liaison department to ensure that we have a unit that actually monitors campaigns, the use of campaign finances, the use of advertorials, and the contributions that individuals and organizations make to political parties to ensure full conformity with the limits that has been established in law.

Most countries take the issue of use of money in politics serious and it is important that in Nigeria we also do so; and we in INEC are committed to ensuring that by 2015, we would have even more effective mechanisms in place to be able to monitor campaign financing, to be able to monitor candidates'

²⁴ In requesting for financial contributions, the Adams Oshiomole campaign provided designated accounts in Ecobank, First Bank, Zenith Bank and Skye Bank. See Thisday Newspaper of Wednesday June 6, 2012 at page 12G.

²⁵ These regulations include Guide and Checklist to the Audit of Political Party Accounts; Form 1 being Summary of Receipts and Expenses; individual contributions and Assets and liabilities are Forms 3, 4 and 5 respectively. They all relate to political parties.

²⁶ See THISDAY Newspaper of January 13 2011 at page 62.

²⁷ <http://www.inecnigeria.org/elections-we-are-on-the-right-track-inec-chairman/>

expenditure, and to also be able to monitor parties' expenditure. Right now, all we do in INEC is an annual audit of the finances of political parties which, as you pointed out, many of the parties are even opposing. But it is a constitutional responsibility and we will continue to do it. A few months ago, we published the results of the last audit and we pointed out parties that were in default and so on. So, really, parties are also not serious about accountability, and we have our responsibility to keep on pushing them so that they become more transparent and more accountable in the way they keep their finances.

2.6 CONFLICTING DEFINITIONS

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 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 Handbook²⁸.

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 reasons 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

²⁸ Political party finance Handbook 2005 at page 28; see also INEC's reviewed Political Party Finance Handbook 2010 at pages 2-3.

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 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 spends 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 reaching 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.

2.7 EVERY DONOR WAS ON BOARD

The Act was silent on the eligibility of individuals to contribute to campaign funds. Implicitly, it extended eligibility to all. The implication is that persons involved in peddling drugs and psychotropic substances, 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 board” approach runs contrary to African Union Charter on Preventing and Combating Corruption²⁹ which in article 10 states that:

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

The incumbent governor and the ACN candidate organised a fund raising event at the Hilton in Abuja on Wednesday June 6 2012. The event was tagged an *interactive evening of insights, results and mission to support the re-election of Comrade Adams Oshiomhole as executive governor of Edo State*. The newspaper advertisement in This Day newspaper indicated that funds will be raised in accordance with the Electoral Law. Engr. Abiodun Sade representing the Chief launcher, Chief Rabiun made the following donations on behalf of BUA Group of Companies: Bua Sugar - N1million; Bua Flour-N1million; Bua Pasta-N1million; Bua Oil-N1million; Bua Ports and Terminals-N1million; Edo Cement-N1million; Bua Estates Development - N1million. These donations were apparently in violation of the bar on companies not to donate to political campaigns and causes. But this did not raise any red flag at INEC. Essentially, it was just the same

²⁹ Adopted on July 11, 2003

natural person using the shield of artificial persons to exceed the N1m ceiling for individual donations.

2.8 REMAINING MONEY AND ITS USE AND OR DEBTS

The Act was silent on the use to which monies raised in excess of a candidates ceiling could be put after the election. Should it become part of the assets and estate of the candidate or revert to INEC or some other public and charitable purpose? The Adams Oshiomhole campaign was reported to have raised N730million at a fund raising event. If the campaign spent all the money, it would have violated the legal ceiling. If it just spent N200 million and nothing more, then there would be an excess of N530 million. So what happened to the excess money or has it become part of the personal estate of the Adams Oshiomhole?

2.9 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.

Chapter Three

ABUSE OF STATE AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESOURCES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Act states as follows on the use of SAR:

*State apparatus including the media shall not be employed to the advantage or disadvantage of any political party or candidate at any election*³⁰

The Code of Conduct for Political Parties also states³¹:

All political parties shall separate party business from government business. As such, political parties shall not utilize public resources for any party activities and shall not permit any of its sponsored candidates holding public office to use public resources for the purpose of political campaigning in elections.

However, this is one of those sections of the Act more obeyed in the breach. State apparatus include the media, legislative resources, regulatory resources, coercive and institutional resources. This Chapter focuses more on institutional resources which include vehicles, offices, contracts, equipment, symbols of authority, etc.

3.2 USE OF GOVERNMENT VEHICLES AND AIRCRAFTS

The use of government vehicles by the incumbent ACN candidate during campaigns was very visible. The incumbent and his supporters used official vehicles for the campaigns. On the June 13, 2012 campaign tour of the ACN candidate at Ugbigoko Market, Ward 1 Egor, the following public vehicles were used viz, six official SUVs - some of whose plate numbers were covered, two Toyota Corolla cars and one 14 seater bus carrying the press crew. Also on June 20 2012, at New Benin Market Ward 7, Egor L.G.A campaign tour of the ACN candidate, five SUVs, one 14 seater bus conveying the press crew, three Toyota Corolla cars and two Toyota Hilux being public vehicles were driven in the governor's convoy.

On the 21st June 2012, the ACN candidate used seven official SUVs in the campaign at Olua Primary School, Ward 6, Egor Local Government. On June 9 2012, six official

³⁰ Section 100 (2) of the Act

³¹ Paragraph 8 of the Political Parties Code of Conduct.

SUVs, two Hilux Pilot vehicles , one 14 seater bus conveying the press crew and four Toyota Corolla cars were used during the ACN candidate's visit to Evbareke, Uwelu and Siluko quarters. At Usagbe Primary School, beside St. Theresa Catholic Church Fugar, ten official vehicles were used at the ACN campaign rally.

At the PDP campaign rally at Ward 1, Igarra, Akoko-Edo L.G.A, Chief Mike Ogiadhome, the chief of staff to President Godluck Jonathan used four federal government vehicles made up of three SUVs and one Hilux pilot vehicle. In Eguare Primary School, Ekpoma during the PDP campaign tour, five federal government vehicles were used. At the PDP campaign rally held on June 16 2012 at Samuel Ogbemudia Stadium in Oredo L.G.A, Vice President Namadi Sambo and his entourage came in with a Presidential Jet marked 5N FGW. Also, on June 30, 2012 President Jonathan went to the grand finale of the PDP campaign rally held in Benin in a presidential jet.

Similarly, at the ACN campaign rally held at Aruosa Primary school, Ehor Ward 1, Uhunwode L.G.A held on Thursday May 24 2012, twelve official cars and one press bus from the governor's convoy were used. Also, during the ACN campaign rally at Obe Primary School, Owan West L.G.A held on May 21, 2012, 10 official vehicles conveyed the governor and his team to the rally. In ACN campaign tours held at Ivbiyeneva Primary School, St Saviour Road, Ologbosere Primary School, Upper Sakpomba Road, Wards 5, 6, 7, and 8 respectively, all in Ikpoba Okha Local Government held on June 6, 2012, four black SUVs and three Toyota Avensis cars from the governor's convoy were used at the rally.

3.3 CAR GIFTS

The ACN candidate gave brand new SUVs to traditional rulers called "Enigies" in the Edo North and Central Senatorial Districts and left out the Enigies from the South Senatorial District³². Reactions however trailed the presentation of car gifts to the Enigies of Edo North and Edo Central Senatorial districts of Edo State. The governor said the gift is to ease the transportation problem of the highly esteemed royal fathers. The Enigies from Edo South reacted to their exclusion from the governor's gift of cars. The governor was said to have excluded the Enigies in the South as a result of the inflated number of Enigies in Edo South presented to him. It is also important to note that the South Senatorial District is the home of the Edo State PDP leader Chief Tony Anenih who the governor sees as a major political opponent. The governor was reportedly dazed at the numbers of Enigies in just one local government in Edo South which out-numbered the total number of Engines in Edo Central. The Edo South Enigie's however insisted that the governor should have been abreast of the numerical figure of the Enigies in the state before promising them car gift.

³² The Merit Newspaper June 12th, 2012 at page 5.

The governor had earlier donated two SUVs and one utility vehicle to Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) chieftain and former governor of the defunct Bendel State, Dr. Samuel Ogbemudia.³³ The governor claimed that the vehicle gift was in appreciation of the good work done by the former governor during his tenure. Clearly, these vehicles were given out with the election in mind and it is even doubtful if the state legislature appropriated these sums of money for that purpose. If they did, this would amount to wasting state resources in the face of grave issues of livelihood challenges facing the people.

3.4 DEPLOYMENT OF STATE FISCAL POLICY AND RESOURCES

In the heat of the campaigns, the ACN candidate announced the reduction of fees payable by private schools to government by 25%. The state government also doled out the sum of N30million for 150 trainees of the Edo State Graduate Entrepreneurship Scheme³⁴. The money which came up to N200,000 per recipient was supposed to assist them start self employment. The timing of the reduction of fees and loan to the trainees suggest that these gestures were geared towards winning over the public through the deployment of fiscal resources.

In another development, the PDP alleged in a paid advertisement³⁵ that they have sent a petition to INEC on a number of grounds including the fact that the incumbent ACN candidate had used state resources to compromise youth corps members who INEC planned to use as electoral officers. They alleged that the state government instructed all the 18 Transition Committee chairmen at the local government level to place youth corps members on a monthly allowance of N10,000 in addition to the federal government stipend. PDP alleged that this extra payment made the youth corps members biased and vulnerable to manipulate the elections in favour of the ACN candidate.

Further, the ACN candidate was reported to have empowered over 1000 widows in Edo State with machines for corn and pepper grinding. The widows were also given 10,000 start-up capital for their business. However, this was not reported as part of any state government programme but as a personal gift of the candidate to the widows.

3.5 CALL FOR CONTRACTORS TO MAKE 5 PERCENT CONTRIBUTION TO ACN CAMPAIGN FUNDS

A newspaper in Edo State reported that PDP told contractors to the State Government not to comply with a directive given to them by proxies of government to make a mandatory 5% of ongoing contract cost as contribution to the gubernatorial campaign

³³ Source :<http://www.nairaland.com/317866/oshiomhole-presents-three-jeeps-ogbemudia#4462616>.
Posted on September 1, 2009

³⁴ The front page of the Observer, July 4 2013.

³⁵ The Navigator, July 1-15 2012 at page 8.

funds of the incumbent³⁶. Edo PDP described the directive as immoral, smirks of blackmail, coercion and unlawfulness. It was alleged that underlying the directive is the threat that if the contractors do not contribute to the fund, they might not be considered as friends of government in the event that the present government returns to office. The PDP stated in its press release that, ‘Monies with which Edo Contractors are paid, belong to the state and not to one individual, governor or not’. It describes the demand as unlawful, indefensible and reprehensible.

3.6 CAMPAIGNING WITH OTHER PUBLIC PROPERTY

Information from the monitoring team showed evidence of the incumbent candidate using state government property for campaign purposes. For instance, the state owned Edo City Transport buses became mobile billboards for the ACN candidate. They had the picture of the candidate with a message: “Let’s join hands with Oshio Baba to take Edo to the next level”. A part of the walls of the Oba Akenzua Cultural Centre, a public building was used as a billboard for the incumbent while the House of Assembly Complex in Kings Square carried the campaign messages of the incumbent³⁷.

3.7 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

Candidate	Amount in Naira
Adams Oshiomole 12 vehicles @ N25,000 each x 28 campaigns	8,400,000
3 SUVs@ N50,000 each x 28 campaigns	4,200,000
Total	12,600,000

The PDP expenses on state resources were not incurred by the candidate and as such cannot be credited to him.

³⁶ The Navigator newspaper of June 4-18 2012

³⁷ See the Navigator, June 18-July 1, 2012.

Chapter Four

CAMPAIGNS AND RALLIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter details the report of costs incurred during the gubernatorial campaign rallies. It reviewed a number of observable expenses including the cost of equipments, costumes, transportation, entertainment, hand bills and posters etc. It also reported some disbursements given out to party supporters and ward officials for mobilizing campaigns and rallies in their 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. This fact includes allowances paid to campaign officials, cost of feeding and accommodation, monies given to party chieftains and traditional rulers, etc. The expenses reported in this Chapter do not include general expenses such as on media; a detailed report on other expenses such as electronic media, print media and bill boards are contained in the next three chapters.

4.2 ALL NIGERIA PEOPLE'S PARTY

A. ANPP CAMPAIGN RALLY AT UHUNMWODE LGA, EDO STATE, 15TH JUNE 2012				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Banners	Small size banners	2	6,000	12000
Hand Bills	Edebiri Handbills	5000	10	50,000
Costume	Specially designed T-Shirt with the picture of the aspirant	1000	800	800,000
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphone			30,000
Generator	Tiger Generator	1		5,000
Buses	Rented buses	2	35,000	70,000
Video Coverage				25,000
Photography	Hired photographer	1		10,000
Chairs	Rented chairs	200	50	10,000
Canopies	Rented canopies	2	2000	4,000
SUBTOTAL				1,016,000
B. ANPP CAMPAIGN RALLY AT OREDO LGA. 9TH JUNE 2012				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, Speakers and Microphone	1		30,000

Branding of vehicles	Branded election buses	10	100,000	1000000
Banners	Small size banners	30	6,000	180,000
Costume	White T-Shirt with branded Face Cap of Aspirant's picture worn by 200 People	200	1,200	240,000
Video Coverage	Video And Editing			50,000
Photography	Copies of photographs	1,125	80	90,000
SUB-TOTAL				1,590,000

4.3 ACTION CONGRESS OF NIGERIA

A. A.C.N. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT ESAN SOUTH EAST, 14TH JUNE 2012, EWOMINI WARD 1 AND 2, EMU WARD 5, ILLISHI WARD 9, ORIA/ONOGHOLO WARD 8 AND UGBO WARD 10, ESAN SOUTH EAST

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, a Speaker and Microphone	1		40,000
Branded Vehicles	Branded Oshiomole Re-Election Buses, ACN Buses,	10	100,000	1,000,000
Banners	Medium Sized Banners	20	10,000	200,000
Hand Bills	Oshiomole Hand Bills	1,000	10	10,000
Costume	Branded T-Shirts and Face Caps with inscription of Oshiomhole and Odubu pictures on them	400	1,200	480,000
Generators	To power the PAS	1	20,000	20,000
Consumables - Drinks	Cartons of bottled water	50	840	42,000
Consumables - Food	Packs of rice	500	600	300,000
Canopies	Small size canopies	35	2000	70,000
Chairs	Chairs	200	50	10,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	500	100	50,000
SUB-TOTAL				2,222,000

B. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY IN ESAN NORTH EAST UROMI 4TH JUNE 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, a speaker and microphone	1	40,000	40,000
Costume	People dressed in ACN customized Polo Shirt	1,000	800	800,000
Disbursement Of Funds To Participants	Mobilisation for grassroots campaign expenses	500	2,000	1,000,000
Consumables-drinks	Bottled water	60 cartons	840	50,400
Consumables-food	800 packs of rice		600	480,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	1000	100	100,000
SUB-TOTAL				2,470,400

**C. A.C. N CAMPAIGN RALLY AT ABUDU ORHIONMWON LGA EDO STATE
EWARUE, OZA ABIOKUNLA, IGWODODO, EVBOESI. 10th, 13th, 15th and 24th**

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphone	1	40,000	40,000
Canopies	Small size canopies	30	2,000	60,000
Chairs	Chairs	2,000	50	100,000
Banners	Small Banners	50	6,000	300,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	700	100	70,000
Costumes	Customized Polo Vest and Nigerian Wax tagged with "Vote CAN"	2000	800	1,600,000
Disbursement Of Funds To Participants	Mobilisation for grassroots campaign expenses	1000	2000	2000000
SUB-TOTAL				4,170,000

D. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT ABUDU 19TH MAY 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphone	1	40,000	40,000
Podium	Wooden podium to address the rally	1	30,000	30,000
Canopies	Rented Canopies	50	2,000	100,000

Chairs	Rented Chairs	5,000	50	250,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	500	100	50,000
Costume	ACN T-Shirts	1000	800	800,000
SUB-TOTAL				1,270,000

E. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY IGUEBEN LOCAL GOVERNMENT HELD AT THE ONOJIE PALACE, IGUEBEN

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, microphones and speakers	1	40,000	40,000
Generators	Tiger Generators	2	7,000	14,000
Branding of vehicles	Branded buses and cars	10	100,000	1,000,000
Video Coverage	Video Camera Men	2	20,000	40,000
Photographers	Photographers	2	20,000	40,000
Personnel	Utilized for various services	20	5000	100,000
Canopies	Canopies	10	2,000	20,000
Chairs	Chairs	1,600	50	80,000
Decorations				70,000
Stage Platform	Platform made of wood			50,000
Musical Performance	Mc Mac			100,000
Comedians	Comedians (Mr Focus and Long John)	2	300,000	600,000
Costume	ACN -T-Shirts and Face caps	1000	1,200	1,200,000
Brooms	ACN symbol	1000	100	100,000
Banners	Banners	20,000	6,000	120,000
SUB-TOTAL				3,574,000

F. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY AT IKPOBA OKHA LGA JUNE 6TH, 2012

Ivbiyeneva Primary School, St Savior road, Ologbosere Primary School and Sakpomba Road

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones	1	40,000	40,000
Canopies	Canopies	20	2,000	40,000
Band Boys & Musical Instruments	Band boys played for four days supported by the Sakpomba DeeJay's Association	4	20,000	80,000

Vehicle branding	2 Cars and a bus	3	100,000	300,000
Hire of bus	18 Seater Bus	1	25,000	25,000
Banners	5 Small Flexi Banners	5	7,500	37,500
Costume- Ankara	Branded Ankara, Red Head Ties worn by women,	500	1,000	500,000
Costume	T-Shirts and face cap with ACN inscription worn by youths	2,500	1,200	3,000,000
Disbursement Of Funds To Participants	Expenses for grassroots mobilization given to party members at the venue	1,000	2,000	2,000,000
Disbursements Of Gift Items	Calendars, DVDs, scarf, exercise books and jotters	2,000	200	400,000
Consumables – food	Packs containing meat pie and beef	1,000	400	400,000
Consumables – drinks	Cartons of canned coke	20	1,100	22,000
Consumables – drinks	Cartons of bottled water	20	400	8,000
Consumables – drinks	Cartons of La casera	20	1,050	21,000
Generator	Hiring of generator	1	10,000	10,000
Video Coverage	HD Recording Camera	1	40,000	40,000
Photography	Full album of 120 pictures			30,000
Personnel for Services	Cleaners at two locations	4	5,000	20,000
Stage Platform	Mobile Stage Platform			50,000
Chairs	Dozens of chairs	45	240	10,800
Broom	ACN Symbol	500	100	50,000
SUB-TOTAL				7,084,300

G. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY ORGANIZED BY WOMEN AND YOUTHS FOR ADAMS OSHIOMHOLE AT IKPOBA OKHA L.G.A. OLOGBOSERE PRIMARY SCHOOL & UPPER SAKPOMBA ROAD. JUNE 27TH 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones	1	40,000	40,000
Canopies	Small Sized Canopies	12	2,000	24,000

Chairs & Tables	Dozens of chairs	50	650	32,500
Musical Rendition	Band boys supported by Sakpoma DeeJay's Association	1	20,000	20,000
Banners	Big digital banners	13	50,000	650,000
Hire of vehicles	18 Seater Mazda, Toyota Hiace and Nissan Urban Buses	3	25,000	75,000
Costume for women	Women wore branded Ankara with Oshiomhole's inscription on it	32	850	27,200
Costume for youths	Youths wore branded T-Shirts	1,500	800	1,200,000
Disbursement of Gifts	Distributed T-Shirts and Face caps to youths	1,000	1,200	1,200,000
Disbursement of Gifts	Adams Oshiomhole Two Different Campaign DVD's,	1000	100	100,000
Disbursement of Gifts	Scarf's for men and women and customized 80-leaves exercise books	1,000	300	300,000
Disbursement of Funds to Participants	Money shared to party members for grassroots community mobilisation	3,000	1,000	3,000,000
Consumables at Campaign Ground	Cartons of bottled water	40	400	16,000
Branded Vehicles	Branded vehicles	2	100,000	200,000
Video Coverage	Video coverage	2	30,000	60,000
Photography	Full album of 120 pictures			30,000
Personnel for Services	Personnel for services	4	5,000	20,000
Stage Platform	Platform made of wood			15,000
Posters	Posters	50,000	7	350,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	1,000	100	100,000
SUB-TOTAL				7,459,700
H. A.C.N FUND RAISING CAMPAIGN AT OREDO 7th June 2012				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, microphone and speakers	1	50,000	50,000

Food	Provided by the Hotel	200	4,500	900,000
Drinks	Bottled Wine	200	5,000	1,000,000
Video Coverage	video coverage			25,000
Photography		1	30,000	30,000
Venue/Hall& Decoration	Western Valley Hotel At Ihama Gra			250,000
SUB-TOTAL				2,255,000

I. A.C.N CAMPAIGN SUPPORT RALLY ORGANISED BY EDO SOUTH

YOUTH MOVEMENT 3RD JUNE 2012, AT SAMUEL OGBEMUDIA STADIUM, OREDO LGA

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Venue	Samuel Ogbemudia Stadium	1	350,000	350,000
Branded Buses	Campaign buses branded for Oshiomhole's re-election	20	100,000	2,000,000
Banners	Small sized banner	20	6,000	120,000
Hand Bills	Hand bills	1,000	10	10,000
Costume	Branded T-Shirt and Cap with Oshiomhole's picture worn by Edo South participants	1,000	1200	1,200,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	500	100	50,000
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones			40,000
Video Coverage				50,000
Photography				30
SUB-TOTAL				3,470,030

J. A.C.N DEPUTY GOVERNOR CAMPAIGN AT WARD 1,3,4,5,6,8,9,11 & 12

OREDO LGA 7TH JUNE 2012

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphione			40,000
Vehicle branding	Branded buses	20	100,000	2,000,000
Banners	Small sized banners	20	6,000	120,000
Handbills And Posters	Hand Bills	2,000	10	20,000
Costume	T Shirts and Face Cap	1,000	1,200	1,200,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	1,000	100	100,000
Video Coverage	Video And Editing			50,000

Photograph				30,00
SUB-TOTAL				3,530,000
K. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY AT OWAN EAST LGA 21ST MAY 2012				
COLLEGE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AFUZE OWAN				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers, microphones and generator			70,000
Musician	Benji Igbadumhe			400,000
Hire of vehicles	Five buses were hired from each ward and a total of 11 wards were present.	55	15,000	825,000
Banners	1.) Big banners	20	10,000	200,000
	2.) Small sized banners	20	6,000	120,000
Hand Bill	Hand bills shared at the venue	1,000	10	10,000
Chairs	Plastic Chairs	1,000	30	30,000
Canopies	Rented Canopies	10	3,000	30,000
Platform				50,000
Decoration				20,000
Broom	ACN Symbol	800	100	80,000
SUB-TOTAL				1,835,000
L. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY AT OWAN WEST LOCAL GOVERNMENT				
OBE PRIMARY SCHOOL OWAN WEST				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphone	1	40,000	40,000
Musicians	Maleke & King Benji Igbadumhe			1,000,000
Vehicles	Five hired buses each for 11 wards	55	15,000	825,000
Banners	Medium sized banners	50	6,000	300,000
Handbills	Handbills shared at the venue of the rally	2,000	10	20,000

Costume	Branded T- Shirts and Face Caps with candidate's pictures on them were worn by Participants	1,000	1,200	1,200,000
Consumables	Canned drinks were shared to people at the venue	1,000	100	100,000
Chairs	Rented plastic chairs	1,000	30	30,000
Canopies	Canopies	10	3,000	30,000
Platform	Stage Platform			50,000
Decorations				20,000
Broom	ACN Symbol	1000	100	100,000
SUB-TOTAL				3,715,000
M. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY ETSAKO WEST LOCAL GOVERNMENT 11TH MAY 2012				
IKELEBE SPORT ARENA AUCHI				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones	1	50,000	50,000
Musicians	Maleke & King Benji Igbadumhe			1,000,000
Vehicle hire	Hired Buses	132	15,000	3,300,000
Banners	Very small banners (half the normal soze) bearing the picture of the Comrade Governor	200	4,500	900,000
Hand Bills	Hand Bills	1,000	10	10,000
Costumes	T-Shirts and Face Cap worn by participants	500	1,200	600,000
Consumables	Canned drinks	1,000	100	100,000
Video Coverage				50,000
Photography				30,000
Private Security				100,000
Chairs and Canopies				45,000
Platform				50,000
Decorations				40,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	1000	100	100,000
SUB-TOTAL				6,375,000
N. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY ETSAKO CENTRAL MAY 2012				

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones			50,000
Musicians	King Benji Igbadumhe and Waziri			800,000
Banners	Banners	50	6,000	300,000
Hand Bills	Hand Bills	1,000	10	10,000
Costume	T-Shirts and Face Caps worn by the participants	900	1,200	1,080,000
Consumables	Canned drinks were shared at the venue	1,000	100	100,000
Vehicles	Five hired buses in each Ward	50	15,000	750,000
Photography				50,000
Venue/Hall				20,000
Canopies	Rented Canopies	10	3,000	30,000
Chairs	Plastic Chairs	1,000	30	30,000
Platform				50,000
Decoration				20,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	1000	100	100,000
SUB-TOTAL				3,390,000

O. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY OVIA SOUTH WEST LGA 14TH JUNE

Institute of Technology and Management Multipurpose Hall

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, microphones and speakers			40,000
Vehicles	Eighteen seater buses were hired	2	25,000	50,000
Costume	Participants wore T-Shirts and Face Cap	200	1,200	240,000
Disbursement Of Gift	Pens and exercise books were shared to various participants	1,000	150	150,000
Broom	ACN Symbol	200	100	20,000
SUB-TOTAL				500,000

P. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY OKADA MAIN TOWN IKALADERAN PRIMARY SCHOOL

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
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Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones			40,000
Vehicles	Hired of mini buses	10	15,000	150000
Video Coverage	Video men covered The event			25,000
Photographers	Photographers covered the event	2	25,000	50000
Chairs	Plastic chairs	300	30	9000
Canopies	Canopies were used	6	3,000	18000
Platform	Wooden Platform was used			20,000
Costumes	T -Shirts and Caps bearing the candidate's portrait	300	1200	360000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	300	100	30000
SUB-TOTAL				702,000

Q. A.C.N GOVERNORSHIP CANDIDATES VISIT TO UGBIGHOKO QUARTERS

13TH JUNE 2012 AT UGBIGHOKO MARKET

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones	1	50,000	50,000
Costumes	Three different branded T-Shirts and Face Caps	200	1,200	240000
Consumables	1.) Bottles Of Wine	5	750	3750
	2.) Bottles Of Spirits	5	1,200	6000
Chairs	Plastic chairs	180	50	9000
Canopies	Canopies	6	3,000	18000
Tables	Plastic tables	10	450	4500
Brooms	ACN Symbol	200	100	20000
SUB-TOTAL				351,250

R. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY EGOR LGA, NEW BENIN MARKET

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, microphones and Speakers			50,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	500	100	50,000
Banners	Big size banners	10	15,000	150,000
SUB-TOTAL				250,000

S. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY EGOR LGA, Olua Primary School Ward 6				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones	1	40,000	40,000
Musicians	Maleke And Snizy E	2	400,000	800000
Vehicle hire	Hire of 18 seater buses	5	25,000	125000
Banners	1.) Banner of 4*6 size	5	6,000	30000
	2.) Banner of 5*7 size	4	10,000	40000
	3.) Banner of 2*4 Size	4	3,500	14000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	500	100	50,000
Hand Bills	Copies Of Handbills	2,000	10	20000
Costume	T-Shirts and Face Caps of different colours	2,000	1,200	2400000
Consumables	Bottled water	10 cartons	840	8400
SUB-TOTAL				3,527,400
T. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY EGOR LGA JUNE 9TH 2012				
UWELU AND EVBAREKE SPARE PART MARKET				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Banners	Banners	7	6,000	42,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	400	100	40,000
Costume	Four different designs of branded T-Shirts and Face Caps	350	1,200	420,000
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones			40,000
Podium	Wooden podium	1	30,000	30,000
SUB-TOTAL				572,000
U. A.C.N. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT UBIAJA ISHANLAND 15 TH MAY 2012				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Costume	1.) Women and men wore green T-Shirts	500	850	425,000
Costume	2.) Women wore white top upon red wrapper with white head tie	500	3,000	1,500,000

Costume	3.) Young men and women paraded with Khaki	50	1,000	50,000
Musician	Tu-Face Idibia performed at the event			3,000,000
Traditional Display	Young men with Pink T-Shirts displayed with a traditional masquerade	15	1500	22,500
Platform	Wooden Stand decorated with lemon, green and white cotton material			50,000
Public Address System	Music set, four large speakers, microphone and electricity generating set			80,000
Banner	An extra large digital banner placed by the Stage			100,000
Disbursement Of Gifts	Face Caps	500	400	200,000
SUB-TOTAL				5,427,500

V. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY JATTU ETSAKO WEST 17TH MAY 2012
(ST ANGELICA GRAMMAR SCHOOL)

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones	1	60,000	60,000
Costume	1.) Youths wore yellow T-Shirts and white Face Caps	500	1,200	600,000
	2.) Men wore Khaki	200	1,000	200,000
	3.) Youths wore brown T-Shirts	500	850	425,000
	4.) Youths wore green T-Shirts	300	850	255,000
	5.) Youths wore red T-Shirts	300	850	255,000
	6.) People wore labour hats	1,500	400	600,000
	7.) Corp members wore Labour hats	300	400	120,000

	Young men And women wore lemon colored T-Shirts	500	850	425000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	1000	100	100000
Canopies	Large canopies used at the campaign ground	10	5,000	50000
Musician & Comedian	Maleke And Snizzy E Were Used	2	400,000	800,000
SUBTOTAL				3,830,000
W. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY IRRUA ESAN LGA 21ST MAY 2012				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music set, speakers and microphones	1	60,000	60,000
Platform	Car port was used as podium and decorated with blue banner			50,000
Costume	1.) Men and women wore cream coloured hat	500	400	200000
Costume	2.) Young men and women wore white Face Caps	200	400	80000
Costume	3.) Delegate members wore mixed color of white, blue and green dress	6	850	425000
Costume	4.) Men and women wore complete Khaki uniform	200	3,000	600000
Costume	4.) Women wore ash color rounded neck T-Shirt	20	800	16000
Costume	5.) Women wore orange T-Shirts	20	800	16000
Costume	6.) Youths wore green Face Caps	500	400	200000
Costume	7.) Youths and women wore yellow T-Shirts	300	800	240000
Video and photography coverage	Video men covered the event	3	30,000	90000
Brooms	Symbol of ACN	600	100	60000

SUB-TOTAL				2,037,000
X. ACN CAMPAIGN RALLY OREDO BENIN CITY MAY 22 2012, UWA PRIMARY SCHOOL				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Banners	1.) Small Sized Banners	10	6,000	60000
	2.) Large Banners	10	10,000	100000
Canopies	Large Canopies	20	3,000	60000
Costume	1.) Men and women wore green T-Shirts	500	800	400000
	2.) Youths wore lemon T-Shirts	1,000	800	800000
	3.) Youths wore Khaki	100	3,000	300000
	4.) Campaign delegates wore Khaki	50	3,000	150000
	5.) Hats worn by participants	1,000	400	400000
	6.) Youths wore white T-Shirts and Face Caps	1,000	1,200	1200000
	7.) Delegates wore mixed colors of green, white and blue dresses/shoulder sash	20	2000	40000
	8.) Women wore yellow T-Shirts	200	800	160000
	9.) Youths wore cream color T-Shirts	500	800	400000
Musicians	1.) Maleke, Idris Abdulkarim, Piccolo, Easy-E, Edo Boy and other musicians	8		4,000,000
Vehicle	Branded campaign buses	3	100,000	300000
Platform	Stage was constructed with car port and designed with banners		50,000	50,000
Public Address System	Music set, large speakers and microphones and big electricity generator set	1		250,000
SUB-TOTAL				8,670,000
ACN CAMPAIGN RALLY ORGANISED AT AGENEBODE ETSAKO EAST MAY 23 2012				

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Costume	1.) Khaki uniform	700	3,000	2100000
Costume	2.) Green and white T-Shirt	200	800	160000
Costume	3.) Green T-Shirts	500	800	400000
Costume	4.) Cream colored T-Shirts	700	800	560000
Costume	5.) Blue Face Caps	500	400	200000
Costume	6.) Lemon T-Shirts	500	800	400000
Costume	7.) Red T-Shirts	300	800	240000
Costume	8.) Yellow T-Shirts	500	800	400000
Costume	9.) Mixed colors of white and green shoulder sash and dress	50	800	40000
	10.) Red Face Cap	300	400	120000
Banners	1.) A large banner positioned at the background of the Stage	1	100,000	100,000
	2.) Small Banners	70	4,500	315000
	3.) Big Banners	30	10,000	300000
Public Address System	Twelve large speakers, microphone, complete Dj musical set and electricity generating set		150,000	150,000
Canopies	Small Sized Canopies Were Used At The Campaign	25	1,200	30000
Platform	For addressing the Rally		50,000	50,000
Brooms	Symbol of CAN	2,000	100	200000
SUB-TOTAL				5,765,000
Z. ACN CAMPAIGN RALLY AT OREDO WARD 7				
EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE	TOTAL
Canopies	Small Canopies	10	2,000	20000
Platform	Metallic Stage/Platform		50,000	50,000
Brooms	Symbol of ACN	200	100	20000

Celebrity Invited	Films Stars Aki and Pawpaw campaigned for Oshiomhole, together with Film Producer Lancelot Imasuen			2,000,000
Public Address System	Eight large speakers. Microphones and generating set, with a complete DJ music stand.			100,000
Costume	1.) Hat	1,000	400	400000
	2.) Khaki uniform	50	3,000	150000
	3.)Yellow T-Shirts	500	800	400000
	4.)Women wore Yellow Blouse	500	600	300000
	5.)Women wore white lace with purple head tie	200	3,000	600000
	6.) Red T-Shirts	500	800	400000
SUB-TOTAL				4,440,000

Z.A A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY ORGANISED BY EDO SOUTH WOMEN IN BENIN 11TH JUNE 2012				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Costume	(1) Green T-Shirts	500	800	400,000
	(2) Green Ankara trouser and top	200	800	160,000
	(3) White and green Face Cap	500	400	200,000
	(4) Hats	500	400	200,000
	(5) Young ladies with Pink T-Shirt & Hat (Oshio Babes)	300	1,250	375,000
	(6) A group of Women called (Blessed Women) wore traditional Ankara of brown and green mix	300	800	240,000
	(7) Women called (Edo North Muslim Women) wore green and white attire	200	800	160,000
	(8) 1000 Youth with Red Polo T-Shirt	1000	800	800,000

	(9) 1000 Youth with Yellow T-Shirts	1000	800	800,000
	(10) 100 Delegates wore Khaki	100	3,000	300,000
	(11) 500 Ladies wore brown carton colour vest upon T-Shirts	500	1,200	600,000
Banners	(1) 100 medium sized banners were raised at various parts of the arena	100	6,000	600,000
	(2) Hand banners carried by over 200 persons	200	300	60,000
Public Address System	Large speakers, DJ musical equipments, microphone and its stands and electricity generating set.	1		80,000
Platform	The stage platform was constructed with a carport and decorated with large banners of lemon and green.			50,000
Brooms	ACN Symbol	1,000	100	100,000
Vehicle branding	20 campaign vehicles, branded with green and white colors bearing candidate's picture	20	100,000	2,000,000
Musician	Maleke performed at the event			400,000
SUB-TOTAL				7,525,000

Z.B. A.C.N CAMPAIGN RALLY OZA ABIOKUNLA WARD 1 & 2 IYOBE IGBANKE, ABUDU ORHIONMWON LGA JUNE 10-14 2012

Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Public Address System	Music set with speakers and microphones			50,000
Chairs And Canopy	(1) Canopies	30	1,200	36,000
	(2) 2000 Chairs	2,000	30	60,000
Banners	Banners	50	6,000	300,000
Disbursement Of Funds	To party members for voter and community mobilization	1000	1,000	1,000,000

SUB-TOTAL				1,446,000
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4.4 PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY

A. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY AT ESAN WEST 26TH JUNE 2012 (EGUARE PRIMARY SCHOOL)

Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipments	Microphones, Speakers, Generators			25,000
Musician	Lucky musical band			35,000
Banners	Banners	18	6,000	108,000
Hired buses	Hired buses	40	5,000	200,000
Costume	Participants wore T-shirts and face cap	300	900	270,000
Disbursed funds	N1000 each to party supporters	300	1,000	300,000
SUBTOTAL				938,000

B. PDP GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY OREDO LGA (SAMUEL OGBEMUDIA STADIUM)

Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Heavy sound system	Large speakers and Microphone			80,000
Vehicles	Branded vehicles of Charles Airhavbere Campaign buses. PDP stakeholder's cars used to convey the delegates led by the Vice President.	20	90,000	1,800,000
Banners	Airhavbere re-election banners big size	20	6,000	120,000
Handbills & Posters	(1) Posters	1,000	30	30,000
	(2) Handbills	1,000	10	10,000
Costume	Branded T-shirt of white and red colors	500	850	425,000
Cultural dance group				-
Video Coverage	Video and Editing			50,000
Photography				90,000
SUBTOTAL				2,605,000

C. PDP GOVERNORSHIP CAMPAIGN RALLY ESAN SOUTH EAST. 22 JUNE 2012

(ORHUEN PRIMARY SCHOOL, UBIAJA)				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipments	Loud speakers & Microphones			25,000
Vehicles	Branded election buses , PDP buses	15	90,000	1,350,000
Banners	Small banners	500	3,000	1,500,000
Hand bills and posters	(1) Handbills	1,000	10	10,000
	(2) Posters	1,000	30	30,000
Costume	500 Branded T-shirts and face caps with the aspirants picture on them @ 850 each	500	850	425,000
Consumables	Alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks.			200,000
Chairs	50 dozens of chairs @ N600 per dozen	50	600	30,000
Canopies	12 canopies @ N1,250	12	1,250	15,000
Platform				120,000
Decorations				80,000
SUBTOTAL				3,785,000
D. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY OWAN WEST 13 TH JUNE 2012. (AT HON. Barr. Alegbe compound)				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipments	Public address system			25,000
Vehicles	Hired buses	22	5,000	110,000
Banners	Small banners with various inscriptions	1,000	3,000	3,000,000
Handbills	Handbill were shared at the venue	500	10	5,000
Video coverage				50,000
Photography				30,000
Chairs & Canopies				50,000
Platform				50,000
Decorations				20,000
SUBTOTAL				3,340,000
E. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY AKOKO EDO HELD AT OWAN LGA 12 TH JUNE 2012				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total

Vehicles	Hired buses	3	8,000	24,000
Banners	Locally made banners tied at the three hired buses	3	2,500	7,500
Handbills				-
Disbursement of funds	N500 was shared to 300 people	300	500	150,000
SUBTOTAL				181,500

F. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY AKOKO-EDO 8TH JUNE 2012 (PUBLIC FIELD, WARD 1, IGARRA, AKOKO-EDO LGA)

Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipments	D.J,s services which covered, Public address system & generator			15,000
Platform	Wooden platform			
Vehicles	Chief Ogiadome's official vehicle, other private cars, 10Hired busses @ N8000 each used by those coming from various wards.	10	8,000	80,000
Banners	Medium sized banners	13	6,000	78,000
Video coverage				7,000
Venue	Public field			3,500
Chairs	Chairs	500	30	15,000
Canopies	Canopies	10	3,500	35,000
SUBTOTAL				233,500

G. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY ETSAKO EAST 12TH JUNE 2012 (OTORU QUARTER WARD 1)

Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipment	Public address system & generating set			70,000
Musical performance by artiste	Ogabe			3,000
Vehicles	Hired buses per ward	55	10,000	550,000
Banners	Banners at the venue of the rally	20	3,000	60,000

Hand bills	Hand bills shared at the venue of the rally	1,000	10	10,000
Costume	T-shirts and face caps bearing the picture of the aspirant were worn by some of the participants	300	1,250	375,000
Disbursement of fund	Money were given to each ward to prepare for the rally			500,000
Canopy	Canopies	10	1,000	10,000
Chairs	Plastic chairs	1,000	30	30,000
Platform				50,000
Decoration				20,000
SUBTOTAL				1,678,000
H. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY ETSAKO WEST (BESIDE ROYAL BLOCK BY SHARP CORNER, AUCHI).				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Vehicles	200 hired buses were used by 11 wards @ N20,000 paid for bus hire per ward	11	20,000	220,000
Banners	Small banners	1,000	3,000	3,000,000
Handbills	Handbills	1,000	10	10,000
Costume	T-shirts and face cap worn by participants	400	1,250	500,000
Video coverage				50,000
Photography				30,000
Chairs & Canopy	Canopies	5	2,000	10,000
	Dozen of Chairs	133	300	39,900
Platform				50,000
Decoration				40,000
Public address system & generating set				70,000
SUBTOTAL				4,019,900
I. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY EGOR LGA (URUBI BY TEXTILE MILL ROAD JUNCTION/EGOR				

L.G.A WARD 7)				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipments	Use of Local DJ			15,000
Vehicles	Branded campaign buses of PDP			
Banners	1 medium size banner			7,000
Costume	Branded T-shirt and face cap	28	850	23,800
Consumables	Non alcoholic	100	100	10,000
	Alcoholic	100	150	15,000
Chairs	Chairs	70	50	3,500
Canopies	Canopies	2	2,000	4,000
SUBTOTAL				78,300
K. PDP WOMEN CAMPAIGN RALLY/PROCESSION EGOR LGA JUNE 11 TH 2012 (PROCESSION STARTED FROM PDP SECRETARIAT AT M.M THROUGH SOME STREETS IN BENIN CITY)				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipment	Long truck & public address system			100,000
Vehicle	Hired buses	5	20,000	100,000
Banners	Banners	4	5,500	22,000
Costume	Branded T-shirt and face cap	500	800	400,000
SUBTOTAL				622,000
L. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY UHUNMWODE LGA 21 ST JUNE 2012. EHOR WARD 1 (YAM MARKET)				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipment	Public address system			25,000
Chairs & table	240 pieces			7,500
Canopies	Canopies	6	2,000	12,000
Musicians	D.J Brandos kings			20,000
Vehicles	2 hired buses			60,000
Banners	1banner			8,000
Consumables	(1)Cartons of bottle	2		1,600

	water		800	
	(2) Bottles of groundnut	2	1,000	2,000
	(3) Creates of minerals	4	3,200	12,800
	(4) Cartons of canned star	2	5,600	11,200
Video coverage				20,000
Photography				10,000
Decorations				20,000
Personnel for services				20,000
SUBTOTAL				230,100

M. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY SABONGIDA ORA 13TH JUNE 2012

Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Canopies	Small canopies	30	2,000	60,000
Hand flags	Displayed PDP hand flags	50	200	10,000
Hand posters	Paraded the PDP hand posters	200	30	6,000
Costumes	Red face caps worn by youths	800	400	320,000
	Yellow T-shirts worn by the Youths	100	850	85,000
	Native Ankara of green red & white mix	20	850	17,000
	Hats and face caps worn by delegates	50	400	20,000
	Customised PDP natives worn by delegates	20	5,000	100,000
	Red T-shirts worn by youths	100	850	85,000
	Green caps worn by Youths	200	400	80,000
DJ	DJ was hired to provide musical renditions at intervals, hired cost include public address system			100,000
SUBTOTAL				883,000

N. PDP CAMPAIGN RALLY ESAN NORTH EAST 10 TH JULY 2012				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipment	Microphones and other D.J equipment, utilized by Dj Comado			20,000
Disbursement of funds	1000 naira was shared to 500 participants	500	1,000	500,000
Vehicles	Long trucks used to convey supporters and musical equipments.	2	10,000	20,000
	Okada Mobilized to the campaign ground	180	2,000	360,000
	Buses Mobilized to the campaign ground	44	5,000	220,000
DJ	DJ Commado			20,000
Disbursement of Gift	Branded Recharge card given to participants	1,800	100	180,000
SUBTOTAL				1,320,000

O. PDP FOOTBALL COMPETITION AT ESAN NORTH EAST UROMI 13 TH JULY				
Expenditure Head	Description	Quantity	Unit Cost	Total
Equipment	DJ musical instrument			10,000
Banners				
Disbursement of funds	1000 naira was shared to 1,800 people	1,800	1,000	1,800,000
Competition sponsorship cost				500,000
Canopies	Canopies	7	1,200	8,400
Chairs	Rented chairs	300	30	9,000
SUBTOTAL				2,327,400

4.5 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

Campaign/ Party	Amount N
ANPP	2,606,000.00
CAN	97,863,580.00
PDP	22,241,700.00

Chapter Five

BILL BOARDS EXPENSES AND OTHER EXPENSES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter gives a detailed report on the expenses incurred by the major political candidates on bill boards; bill board expenses were incurred largely by the candidates of Action Congress of Nigeria and the Peoples Democratic Party; there was no available record of expenses incurred on bill boards from other parties. The cost however varies according to sizes of the billboards, the location and number of billboards bargained.

The detailed counts on bill boards came from local governments and at major campaign venues. The information on cost and number of bill boards was also obtained from enquiries made directly from the production sources and from the observation of monitors in each local government.

5.2 BILL BOARDS ADVERTISEMENTS

Candidate	Local Government	Description	Qty	Unit Cost	Total Cost
Adams Oshiomhole	Esan South East	Bill Boards	2	150,000	300,000
	Esan North East	Billboards	1	150,000	150,000
	Abudu Orhionmwon	Bill Board	4	150,000	600,000
	Ikpoba Okha	Bill Boards	2	150,000	300,000
	Oredo Lga	Bill Board	4	150,000	600,000
	Owan East	Large Bill boards	13	100,000	1,300,000
	Owan East	Small Bill Boards	37	30,000	1,110,000
	Owan West	Large Bill boards	8	100,000	800,000
	Owan West	Medium sized bill boards	22	32,000	704,000
	Etsako West	Large Bill Boards	25	100,000	2,500,000

		Small Bill Boards	40	30,000	1,200,000
	Egor	large Bill Boards	7	45,000	315,000
		Small Bill Boards	2	30,000	60,000
	Oredo Benin	Small Bill Boards	28	30,000	840,000
		Large Bill Board	21	100,000	2,100,000
	Abudu Orhionwon LGA	Bill Boards	2	150,000	300,000
	Irrua &Uromi	Bill Boards	2	150,000	300,000
	Okpella	Billboards	8	150,000	1,200,000
	Okada	Bill Board	1	150,000	150,000
	Ewekwa & Emohi	Bill Boards	2	150,000	300,000
	Iguegben	Bill Board	1	150,000	150,000
TOTAL					15,279,000
Candidate	Local Government	Description	Qty	Unit Cost	Total Cost
CHARLES AIRHIAYBERE					
	Esan West	Bill boards	3	70,000	210000
	Owan West	Large Bill Boards	6	100,000	600000
	Etsako East	large Bill Boards	5	100,000	500000
	Etsako West	8 large Bill Boards	8	100,000	800000
	Uromi	1	1	150,000	150000
	Okpella	3 large bill boards	3	150,000	450000
	Agbonebede	1 Bill Board	1	150,000	150000
	Okada	1 Bill Board	1	150,000	150000
	Auchi Poly Gate Agbede	5 Bill Boards	5	150,000	750000
TOTAL					3,760,000

5.3 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

Candidate	Amount N
Adams Oshiomohole	15,279,000
Charles Airhiavbere	3,760,000

Chapter Six

ELECTRONIC MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter reports on the observable cost for campaign coverage incurred by the gubernatorial candidates using the electronic media – radio and television. The gubernatorial candidates premiered their campaigns and rallies in various local governments live on air. They also made use of the television and radio stations for jingles, advertisements and news items. The project could not have recoded the entire expenses on electronic media incurred by the candidates.

6.2 COVERAGE OF CAMPAIGNS BY ELECTRONIC MEDIA

ADAMS OSHIOMHOLE CAMPAIGN COVERAGE				
Campaign Venue	Date	Duration of Coverage	Media House	Cost in Naira
Abudu	19/5/2012	1 hour 30 minutes	AIT	9,000,000
Onojie Palace Igueben		1 hour 30 minutes	AIT	9,000,000
College of Physical Education Afuze Owan	21/5/2012	2 hours	AIT	12,000,000
Owan West, Obe Primary school		1 hour 30 minutes	AIT	9,000,000
Etsako Central	May-12	1 hour 30 minutes	AIT	9,000,000
Olua Primary School Egor		1 hour 30 minutes	AIT	9,000,000
Uwa Primary School Benin City	22/5/2012	1 hour	AIT	6,000,000
Agenebode Etsako East	23/5/2012	2 hours	AIT	12,000,000
Oredo Ward 7		2 hours	AIT	12,000,000
Benin City	11/5/2012	2 hours	AIT	12,000,000
Onojie Palace Igueben			ITV	7,500,000
College of Physical Education Afuze	21/5/2012	2 hours	ITV	10,000,000

Owan				
Owan West, Obe Primary school		1 hour 30 minutes	ITV	7,500,000
Etsako Central	May-12	1 hour 30 minutes	ITV	7,500,000
Etsako Central	May-12	1 hour 30 minutes	EBS	1,200,000
Onojie Palace Igueben			EBS	1,200,000
Ikpoba Oka Ologbosere Primary School	June 6 th		EBS	800,000
College of Physical Education Afuze Owan	21/5/2012	2 hours	EBS	1,600,000
Owan West, Obe Primary school		1 hour 30 minutes	EBS	1,200,000
Subtotal				137,500,000.00

CHARLES AIRHIAVBERE CAMPAIGN COVERAGE

Campaign Venue	Date	Duration of Coverage	Media House	Cost in Naira
Samuel Ogbemudia Stadium	13/6/ 2012	2 hours	AIT	12,000,000
Hon. Barr Alegbe Compound. Owan West	13/6/2012	2 hours	AIT	12,000,000
Otoru Quarter ward 1	12/6/2012	1 hour 30 minutes	AIT (1hr 30 mins) @ N9m , ITV(1hr 30 mins)@ N7.5m , EBS @(1hr 30 mins) @ 1.2m	17,700,000
Beside Royal Block, by Sharp Corner Auchu		2 hours	AIT	9,000,000

Sabonginda Ora	13/6/2012	1 hour 30 minutes	AIT	9,000,000
Hon. Barr Alegbe Compound. Owan West	13/6/2012	2 hours	NTA	5,600,000
Public Field, Igarra, Akoko Edo	8/6/2012	2 hours	NTA	5,600,000
Beside Royal Block, by Sharp Corner Auch		2 hours	NTA	5,600,000
Otoru Quarter ward 1	12/6/2012	1 hour 30 minutes	ITV	7,500,000
Eguare primary School Esan west	26/6/ 2012	1 hour	NTI	210,000
Subtotal				84,210,000.00

6.3 ELECTRONIC MEDIA ADVERTISEMENTS

The expenses on jingles and electronic media advertisements are detailed below.

Candidate	Media House/ Description	Slots	Duration in days	Units	Cost
OSHIOMHOLE	NTA Benin (Mid news advert)	2	30	30,000.00	1,800,000.00
	NTA Benin(News items)	2	30	65,000.00	3,900,000.00
	NTA Benin (Mid news advert)	4	30	15,000.00	1,800,000.00
	AIT Benin (day outside news)	3	13	10,000.00	390,000.00
	AIT Benin (day outside news)	1	30	50,000.00	1,500,000.00
	AIT Benin (Mid news per day advert)	2	19	25,000.00	950,000.00
	Silver Bird (STV) (outside news)	1	20	15,000.00	300,000.00
	ITV Benin	21 slots mid news advert	3 weeks & 2 days		2,388,750

		per week @ 36,750/ slot			
	ITV Benin (outside news advert)	3	30	17,400.00	1,566,000.00
	ITV Benin	2	20	63,000.00	2,520,000.00
	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS)	5	30	30,000.00	4,500,000.00
	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS) (outside news)	6	30	18,000.00	3,240,000.00
	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS) (news item per day)	4	30	35,000.00	4,200,000.00
	Ray power Benin (advert)	1	28	8,500.00	238,000.00
	EBS Radio (advert)	4	30	7,500.00	900,000.00
	Independent Radio				-
	NTA Benin (Mid news advert)	5	10	30,000.00	1,500,000.00
	NTA Benin (News items)	4	12	65,000.00	3,120,000.00
	NTA Benin (outside news advert)	4	12	15,000.00	720,000.00
	AIT Benin (outside news)	2	12	10,000.00	240,000.00
	AIT Benin (News item)	3	10	50,000.00	1,500,000.00
	AIT Benin (Mid news advert)	3	12	25,000.00	900,000.00
	Silver Bird (STV) (outside news)	2	12	15,000.00	360,000.00
	ITV Benin (mid news advert)	3	12	36,750.00	1,323,000.00
	ITV Benin (outside news	4	12	17,400.00	835,200.00

	advert)				
	ITV Benin (news coverage)	2	12	63,000.00	1,512,000.00
	Ray power Benin (advert)	2	12	8,500.00	204,000.00
	Independent Radio	News, Press Release, Jingles etc			2,000,000.00
Subtotal					44,406,950
Candidate	Media House/Description	Slots	Duration in days	Units	Cost
CHARLES AIRHIAVBERE	ITV Benin		30 minutes documentary		350,000
	ITV Benin (mid news advert)	3	22	36,750.00	2,425,500.00
	ITV Benin (outside news advert)	4	24	17,400.00	1,670,400.00
	ITV Benin (news coverage)	3	15	63,000.00	2,835,000.00
	NTA Benin (Mid news advert)	1	29	30,000.00	870,000.00
	NTA Benin (outside news)	2	17	10,000.00	340,000.00
	NTA Benin (News items)	2	31	65,000.00	4,030,000.00
	AIT Benin (outside news)	2	20	10,000.00	400,000.00
	AIT Benin (News item)	1	30	50,000.00	1,500,000.00
	AIT Benin (Mid news advert)	2	18	25,000.00	900,000.00
	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS) (mid news advert)	2	12	30,000.00	720,000.00

	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS) (outside news)	1	29	18,000.00	522,000.00
	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS) (news item)	1	30	35,000.00	1,050,000.00
	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS) (advert)	1	20	7,500.00	150,000.00
	Silver Bird (STV)				-
	Raypower FM (advert)	2	17	8,500.00	289,000.00
	Bronze FM 101.5 Benin	News, Press Release, Jingles etc			5,200,000
	ITV Benin (mid news advert)	2	30	36,750.00	2,205,000.00
	ITV Benin (outside news advert)	5	11	17,400.00	957,000.00
	ITV Benin (news coverage)	2	24	63,000.00	3,024,000.00
	ITV Benin	Debate			1,000,000
	NTA Benin (Mid news advert)	2	20	30,000.00	1,200,000.00
	NTA Benin (outside news)	2	17	10,000.00	340,000.00
	NTA Benin (News items)	2	18	65,000.00	2,340,000.00
	NTA Benin	Live coverage of ACN rally @ the stadium on July 7, 2012			5,600,000
	AIT Benin	2	24		

	(outside news)			10,000.00	480,000.00
	AIT Benin (News item)	1	24	50,000.00	1,200,000.00
	AIT Benin (Mid news advert)	1	30	25,000.00	750,000.00
	Raypower FM (slots advert)	2	30	8,500.00	510,000.00
	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS) (mid news advert)	1	24	30,000.00	720,000.00
	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS) (outside news)	2	18	18,000.00	648,000.00
	Edo Broadcasting Service (EBS) (news)	1	24	35,000.00	840,000.00
	EBS Radio (advert)	4	30	7,500.00	900,000.00
	Silver Bird (STV) (advert)	4	30	10,000.00	1,200,000.00
	Silver Bird (STV) (mid news)	3	30	15,000.00	1,350,000.00
Subtotal					48,515,900
Candidate	Media House/ Description	Slots	Duration in days	Units	Cost
SOLOMON EDEBIRI	NTA Benin (News reports)	1	10	65,000.00	650,000.00
	NTA Benin (advert outside news)	1	9	10,000.00	90,000.00
	NTA Benin (News items)	1	10	65,000.00	650,000.00
	ITV (news coverage)	1	12	63,000.00	756,000.00
	ITV (outside news advert)	1	15	17,400.00	261,000.00
	AIT Benin (Mid news advert)	1	9	25,000.00	225,000.00
	NTA Benin (News report)	1	7	65,000.00	455,000.00
	NTA Benin (1	9		

	advert outside new)			10,000.00	90,000.00
	NTA Benin (News item)	1	10	65,000.00	650,000.00
	ITV Benin (news coverage)	1	12	63,000.00	756,000.00
	ITV Benin (outside news advert)	1	15	17,400.00	261,000.00
	ITV Benin				1,000,000.00
	AIT Benin (Mid news advert)	1	9	25,000.00	225,000.00
	AIT Benin (outside news)	1	24	10,000.00	240,000.00
	AIT Benin (News item)	1	12	50,000.00	600,000.00
Subtotal					6,909,000.00

6.4 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

Candidate	Amount N
Adams Oshiomohole	181,906,950.00
Charles Airhiavbere	132,725,900.00
Solomon Edebiri	6,909,000.00

Chapter Seven

PRINT MEDIA EXPENSES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter documents the expenses incurred by candidates in the print media. The details captured might not represent the entire expenses incurred by the candidates. However, from the available newspapers gathered, the details presented below shows the observable expenses incurred by the candidates from the various print media. The advertisement rates were obtained from the newspaper companies.

7.2 NEWSPAPER ADVERTS

CANDIDATE/ PARTY	NEWS PAPER COMPANY/ DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	TOTAL in Naira
Charles Airhiavbere (PDP)	INSIDE NIGERIA MAGAZINE		
	1 Full color page advert, p14 of Volume 01.No 02, April 2012	250,000	
	THE NAVIGATOR		
	1 Full page cover of black and white advert. June 18, 2012	120,000	
	MERIT NEWSPAPERS		
	Quarter page black and white advert. P.4 June 12, 2012	100,000	
	Full colored back page advert. July 15, 2012	150,000	
	THE DEMOCRATS		

	Full page of inside front cover, coloured advert. June 15 th -July 15 th . Vol.1 N0 15	200,000	
	THE NAVIGATOR		
	1 Full back page cover of black and white advert, July 1, 2012.	120,000	
	MERIT NEWS PAPERS		
	1 Full back page colored advert. July 15 th 2012	150,000	
	1 Full black and white advert. Page 11, July 15 th , 2012.	120,000	
TOTAL			1,210,000
Adams Oshiomohole A.C.N	INSIDE NIGERIA MAGAZINE		
	1 Full colored page advert. P.35 of Volume 01. N0 02, April 2012	250,000	
	ESAN TODAY		
	Half page colored advert paper. May 2012, Vol N022.	80,000	
	THE NIGERIAN OBSERVER		
	Front page corner advert. July 1, 2012	115,000	
	Front page corner advert. July 4, 2012	115,000	
	Front page corner advert. July 5, 2012	115,000	

	Front page corner advert, July 10, 2012.	115,000	
	1 Full back page colored advert. July 10,2012	200,000	
	MIDWEST TIMES		
	1 Full back page colored advert, courtesy of Door to Door Campaign Initiative. June 25-July 1 2012	200,000	
	1 Full back page colored advert, courtesy of Door to Door Campaign Initiative. July 9-15 2012.	200,000	
TOTAL			1,390,000
	MERIT NEWSPAPER		
Solomon Edebiri (ANPP)	Full page colored advert of Inside back cover. P.15, July 2012.	200,000	
	Full page of black and white advert and candidate profile. P.14	200,000	
	THE DEMOCRATS		
	Full page coloured advert. June 15 th -July 15 th . Vol.1 N0 15	200,000	
TOTAL			600,000

7.3 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

Candidate	Amount N
Adams Oshiomhole	1,390,000
Charles Airhiavbere	1,210,000
Solomon Edebiri	600,000

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURE

The summary of the expenses of the three candidates are detailed below. As already indicated in the previous chapters, the report did not capture all the expenses of the candidates and the candidates therefore spent more than these figures.

Expenditure Head	ACN	PDP	ANPP
Use of SAR	12,600, 000		
Campaign and Rallies	97,863,580.00	22,241,700.00	2,606,000.00
Bill Boards	15,279,000.00	3,760,000.00	
Electronic Media Campaigns	181,906,950.00	132,725,900.00	6,909,000.00
Print Media	1,390,000.00	1,210,000.00	600,000.00
Total	309,039,530.00	159,937,600.00	10,115,000.00

8.2 CONCLUSIONS

Regulation of campaign finance and the use of SAR in Nigeria is a work in progress. The three arms of government need to take their roles in campaign finance and SAR more seriously. The legislative task of rule making requires the incorporation of a lot of changes based on empirical evidence of monitoring reports arising from recent elections. It also needs to take cognizance of best practices suitable to Nigeria from other jurisdictions and relevant regional and international policies. The approach to rule application needs to change. The commitment, will and resources to activate rule application needs to be developed by INEC and other stakeholders in the electoral system. It is not just enough to have the dry letters of the law in the books. Law needs to be activated and made the skein of living thought for it be make meaning in the lives of people, protect the norms it is designed to protect and guard against its infractions. The effective discharge of the first two roles of rule making and rule application will ultimately invoke the power of the courts for rule adjudication and this will guarantee that the law is interpreted and made applicable to real life situations. Further, the pillars of integrity in the civil society including the media and academia have not shown enough interest in campaign finance. As such, they need to activate their focus with a view to mainstreaming campaign finance into every day social discourse and as a policy issue to be resolved by the authorities.

Campaign finance reforms are a key part of electoral reforms. The fact that other aspects of reforms proposed in the 2010 Electoral Act have been implemented while ignoring the campaign finance components makes the reforms incomplete. A holistic approach to electoral reforms is imperative if the votes are to actually count and elections properly described as free, fair and credible.

Monitors were deployed and they observed rallies and campaigns, counted billboards and followed up on the print and electronic media. They encountered challenges including the fact that they were not accredited by INEC and the suspicious and tense atmosphere among the contestants before the elections. The inchoate provisions of the Act which failed to provide a categorical obligation to report by candidates and the failure of INEC to use section 153 of the Act to demand reports made the job of monitoring and reporting more difficult.

The contending parties in Edo State gubernatorial election showed a lot of desperation. There were even threats to disrupt the election and an ordinary routine matter like the update of the voters register had to be suspended due to accusations and counter accusations. Evidently, a lot of resources were deployed in the campaigns and rallies, the print and electronic media and other avenues for wooing the electorate. State and administrative resources were also abused from state level vehicles used by the incumbent ACN candidate to presidential aircrafts and vehicles used in the PDP candidates campaigns. Car gifts to traditional rulers and notable citizens and the deployment of state fiscal resources featured in the campaign strategy of the incumbent.

The candidates especially, the Action Congress of Nigeria and the Peoples Democratic Party candidates went round all the local governments in the state and even organized rallies at notable markets and wards. They hired entertainers to facilitate getting the crowds and campaigned vigorously. Fundraising events were held by candidates particularly the ACN candidate who held fundraisers in Abuja, Benin and Lagos and large sums of money were raised. Because of unequal access to financial and other resources, only the candidates of two parties (ACN and PDP) campaigned effectively; the others could not muster the resources to mount large campaigns and rallies and as such, the electorate were denied the opportunity of hearing their programmes and the alternatives they had on offer. The greatest disparity appears to have been in the field of access to the media.

Effective campaign finance regulation rests on the tripod of transparency, oversight and sanctions³⁸ while effective enforcement rests on detection, prevention and sanction³⁹. These components are lacking in the Nigerian campaign finance regime. There are no obligations for candidates to report which facilitates transparency; INEC refuses to exercise oversight and sanctions cannot be applied in a regime where there is no

³⁸ IFES - Political Finance Regulations: The Global Experience (edited by *Magnus Ohman and Hani Zainulbhai*) at page 19.

³⁹ *Ibid* at page 85

evidence and documentation to verify compliance or violation of the law. Campaign finance regulations need to be under constant review considering that other factors affecting it are under a state of constant fluctuation⁴⁰.

No single agency can effectively regulate campaign finance and help society realise the ultimate ends of transparency, competition and eliminating undue influence. There is the need for collaboration between the election management body, the media and other components of civil society and other state agencies.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The Electoral Act needs to be amended and the issues for amendment are detailed below.

(i) To the National Assembly

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. The current ceiling of N200 million is arbitrarily low.

B. The delimitation of ceilings should not be made in the Act. It should be a power donated by the legislature to the election management body so that changes can be made based on new macroeconomic and social trends without amendments to the principal legislation.

C. 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.

D. In view of our candidate-centric system, the Act should provide a duty for candidates to maintain documentation of all donors.

E. Further to the above obligations, candidates should be bound to report on expenses and resources used for elections. The reports should include election contributions and election expenses. There should be a threshold for reporting contributions and the recommendation is a minimum of twenty thousand naira. But this threshold does not obviate the need for record keeping of all contributions. A pre-campaign report of assets and liabilities should come at the beginning of the campaign period. Intra-campaign

⁴⁰ Ibid

report to 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. The benefit of intra-campaign 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.

F. The pre-campaign 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 will be expending for the election.

G. 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.

H. To enhance equality of opportunity for all candidates to reach the electorate, free space and airtime in public print and electronic media should be made available to all gubernatorial candidates.

I. 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.

J. 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.

K. 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 agency.

L. 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.

M. 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, human trafficking, terrorism, etc, from contributing to the coffers of political parties and candidates.

N. 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.

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

P. 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. Detailed reporting forms should be developed by INEC. 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.

(iii) To Political Parties

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

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.

(iv) 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. Engage INEC in planned reforms on campaign finance and SAR.

C. Conduct in-depth studies and research on campaign finance, executive and legislative actions and their links to public procurement, privileges, patronage, legislation and corruption in governance.

D. Initiate dialogue, consultations and prepare policy briefs and legal drafts for the amendment of existing legislation.

E. The media should raise awareness, set agenda, etc, because political finance is yet to occupy its place in the front burner of national discourse.