

Still Above The Ceiling

(A Report on Campaign Finance and use of State Administrative Resources in the 2015 Presidential Election)



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

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Centre for Social Justice (CSJ)

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ACRONYMS

AIT	Africa Independent Television
APC	All Progressives Congress
APGA	All Progressives Grand Alliance
ATA	Agricultural Transformation Agenda
CAMA	Companies and Allied Matters Act
CAWAN	Community Awareness Network
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CSJ	Centre for Social Justice
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FRCN	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
GEJ	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral System
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
ITV	Independent Television
LGA	Local Government Area
LTV	Lagos Television
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MPC	Monetary Policy Committee
NAFDAC	National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control
NCC	Nigeria Communication Commission
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NEMA	National Emergency Management Agency
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa Development
NIMASA	Nigerian Maritime Administration and Safety Agency
NTA	Nigeria Television Authority
PAS	Public Address System
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PVC	Permanent Voters Card
SAR	State Administrative Resources

STV	Silver Bird Television
SURE-P	Subsidy Reinvestment Programme
TAN	Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria
TV	Television
TVC	Television Continental
UBEC	Universal Basic Education Commission
WEP	Women Empowerment Programme

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Executive Summary

Chapter One is the introduction. It reviews the background to the Report noting that money and other resources are needed to effectively canvass for votes and the support of the electorate. This brings to the fore the need for effective regulation of campaign finance, the use of state administrative resources (SARs) and the enforcement of laws made in that regard. It states the focus of the Report as the election spending and use of SARs of two presidential candidates, namely, the candidates of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), former President Goodluck Jonathan and All Progressives Congress (APC), General Muhammadu Buhari, respectively. The Report is not generally about the presidential election but about the cost of the election.

The Chapter reviews the overall goal and objectives of the Report. The central goal is to contribute to credible elections through a stakeholder engagement for the respect of campaign finance and SARs provisions of the Constitution and the Electoral Act. The specific objectives were:

- Build the capacity of stakeholders to engage campaign finance and the use of SARs.
- Monitor and report on campaign finance and the use of SAR in the 2015 presidential election.
- Network, sensitise and raise public awareness on campaign finance and use of SARs.
- Contribute to the process of engendering campaign finance reforms.

The context of the Report reviewed the nature and context of the presidential contest between APC and PDP which seemed to be an evenly matched contest. The methodology of the monitoring exercise involved training and deployment of monitors who gathered credible evidence. The challenges of the exercise were noted and this includes the non cooperative attitude of the candidates and political parties.

Chapter Two discusses the legal framework. It reviews the Guidelines and Regulations for Political Parties 2013 which contains guidelines for candidates to report their campaign income and expenditure. A lot of flaws were noticed in the legal framework. The Chapter reviewed the lack of paper, banking and cash trail to ensure that reports of candidates' expenditure can be independently confirmed by INEC. The challenge of tracking electronic media expenditure considering the multiplicity of stations that broadcast advertisements 24 hours a day came up for review. The chapter reviews the basis of the ceiling of N1billion for presidential candidates and came to the conclusion that it was arbitrary and not based on any empirical evidence.

Companies continued to donate huge sums of money to campaigns and political purposes in contravention of the Companies and Allied Matters Act (CAMA). The link between taxation and contributions to political purposes and candidates was explored. Donations to political parties and candidates are not tax deductible in Nigeria and huge donations do not set up an inquiry in the Inland Revenue about the tax status of the donors. Also, there is no limit on the amount of money an individual can donate to a political party

Chapter Three is on issues, income and expenditure of the candidates. It reviews the interventions of the Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria (TAN) which metamorphosed from an organisation encouraging President Goodluck Jonathan, the candidate of the PDP to run, to an active campaign organisation. In defiance of section 221 of the 1999 Constitution which forbade any association other than a political party from canvassing for votes, TAN became a recurring decimal in the campaigns. The APC presidential convention was reported to be heavily influenced by money and the candidates made no effort to counter the media reports.

The PDP fundraiser in December 2014 violated a lot of campaign finance and SAR norms. Companies made donations; governors donated state money and public agencies also donated public resources in support of private campaign purposes. The Chapter discussed the efforts of General Buhari to raise funds through a crowd funding platform, allegations of bribery leveled against officials of Christian denominations, traditional rulers and ethnic nationality groups. The issues of “rent a crowd”, sale of permanent voters cards (PVCs), excessive third party expenditure and the challenge of election spending to macroeconomic stability all featured in the Chapter.

Chapter Four was on abuse of state administrative resources. The major abuses recorded in the Chapter were the diversion of Millennium Development Goals (MDG) women empowerment materials for partisan purposes in Bayelsa State; branded rice and fertilizers were used by the PDP candidate to induce voters whilst SURE-P beneficiaries were used to canvass support for the incumbent. There was massive deployment of official government vehicles and aircrafts to campaigns by all the political parties. In violation of the law, the Borno State governor declared public holiday on the day of the presidential campaigns in his state whilst public officers were delegated and worked full time on partisan purposes. The leader of the opposition, Bola Tinubu’s home came under military surveillance; the APC presidential candidate was denied access to a campaign rally ground in Kaduna State and an opposition rally in Ondo State was tear- gassed by the police.

Chapter Five details the observed expenditures on campaigns and rallies: Chapter Six is about expenses on bill boards. Chapter Seven is about electronic media campaigns

and chapter Eight is on print media campaigns. Chapter nine is the conclusions and recommendations. The recommendations are detailed below.

0.1.1 To the National Assembly

(A) The ceiling of N1billion for candidates in a presidential election should be upwardly reviewed to N5billion. This is based on observed and necessary expenses to mount a viable campaign for the presidency.

(B) The review to N5billion should not be contained in the body of the Electoral Act. Rather, the Act should be amended and the power to determine the ceiling across all the elections given to INEC. This power will be exercised from time to time based on changes in the economy after consultation with relevant stakeholders and the public. The stakeholders will include the political parties, campaign organisations, Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Central Bank of Nigeria, security agencies and civil society working in the field of elections.

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

(D) The reviewed ceilings should be universal and cover expenses from the candidate and the political party.

(E) Third party expenditure for candidates should also be guided by the expenditure ceiling on individual donations to candidates.

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

(G) Proper definition of campaign expenditure should include expenditure made before the notice of poll. It should include all expenditure by the candidate and political party targeted at enhancing the chances of the candidate to win the election.

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

(I) There needs to be a reaffirmation in the law of the ban on companies donating to political purposes and to candidates' campaign finances.

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

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

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

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

0.1.2 To INEC

(A) Costs of forms and expression of interest to contest should be regulated by INEC Guidelines - INEC using its powers under S.153 of the Electoral Act. This should in no circumstances exceed the current value of N2million.

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

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

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

0.1.3 To Political Parties

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

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

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

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

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

0.1.4 To Civil Society

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND

This is the third attempt by civil society to monitor campaign finance and the use of state administrative resources (SAR) at the presidential level in Nigeria. Since the return to civil rule in 1999, the cost of elections has been a topical issue. However, it has attracted fairly little policy interventions. It has also not been broadly engaged by civil society, the political parties and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The quantum of resources deployed to presidential campaigns has increased with each succeeding presidential election. Politics at the presidential and indeed, at all levels of elective office has been monetised. This limits the opportunity of candidates without strong financial muscle or sponsorship by political godfathers, to effectively contest for elective positions.

According to a United States Republican Senator, Mark Hanna¹:

“There are two things that are important in politics, the first is money and I can’t remember what the second one is”.

Money and other resources are needed to effectively canvass for votes and the support of the electorate. However, it is the extent of influence of money and other resources on the electorate that separates the good and objectionable deployment of resources. Within the Nigerian context, a serious presidential candidate needs billions of naira to mount an effective campaign. This appears to be the reason - only candidates of two political parties, out of the fourteen registered political parties that contested for the presidency in the 2015 election, took part in viable campaigns across the length and breadth of the country. The two active parties were the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC). They fielded an incumbent President, Goodluck Jonathan and a former military Head of State, General Muhammadu Buhari, respectively.

This brings to the fore the need for effective regulation of campaign funding and enforcement of the laws made in that regard. A former Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo stated as follows of the campaign finance regime in 2005; a regime which has not changed but seems to have deteriorated by 2015²:

¹ Rethinking American Electoral Democracy, (2011, 2nd Edition) in Chapter 10, by Matthew J. Streb

² Political Party Finance Handbook (2005) at Page 5; publication of the Independent National Electoral Commission.

“I have said that we prepare for elections as if we are going to war, and I can state without hesitation, drawing from my previous life, that the parties and candidates together spent during the last elections, more than would have been needed to fight a successful war. The will of the people cannot find expression and flourish in the face of so much money directed solely at achieving victory. Elective offices become mere commodities to be purchased by the highest bidder, and those who literally invest, merely see it as an avenue to recoup and make profits. Politics becomes business and the business of politics becomes merely to divert public funds from the crying needs of our people for real development in their lives”.

On the correlation between massive campaign spending and corruption, former President Olusegun Obasanjo further stated³:

“With so much resources being deployed to capture elective offices, it is not difficult to see the correlation between politics and the potential for high level corruption. The greatest losers are the ordinary people, those voters whose faith and investment in the system are hijacked and subverted because money, not their will, is made the determining factor in elections. Can we not move from politics of money and materialism to politics of ideas, issues and development?”

Examples from other jurisdictions reinforce the need for accountability and transparency in campaign financing. The League of Women Voters of New York State in a paper titled *Preserving our Democracy*, pointed out the consequence of unregulated campaign finance⁴:

“We lose when money duly influences our elections. We lose when our elected officials spend inordinate amounts of time raising money for their re-election, rather than attending to the business of government. We lose when people interested in running for office do not do so because of their inability to finance campaigns against entrenched incumbents. We lose when our elected officials depend on special interest to fill their election coffers and when that dependence may influence the judgment of our legislators with respect to the laws that they vote upon”.

In *Campaign Finance around the World*, IFES provides the scenario and the implication of not regulating campaign finance⁵:

“In the early 1990s, new democracies in Central and Eastern European countries drafted constitutions that didn’t impose regulations on party funding and

³ Supra, Political Party Finance Handbook

⁴ Preserving our Democracy: The Case of Campaign Finance Reform for New York State www.rockinst.org

⁵ www.money.howstuffworks.com/campaignfinance7.htm; Campaign Finance around the World obtained from IFES

campaign finance. This was left to the legislatures. Many of those countries fell behind on this front, allowing corruption and the influence of wealth to become the standard. The lack of campaign regulation early on has a great impact on the quality of life of the citizens of those countries as special interest groups tied the hands of the newly elected officials”.

We cannot over-emphasise the need for regulation and monitoring of campaign finance if we must develop a democracy that is not controlled by the money elite but by the people. Thus, beyond the need for resources to finance campaigns and the running of political parties, the objectionable use of public and private resources has become the hallmark of presidential and other elections in Nigeria. This has negatively affected political development in Nigeria. The 2015 general elections witnessed massive deployment of private and public resources into campaigns. Ironically, these resources were massively deployed at a time when the price of crude oil, the mainstay of the Nigerian economy had declined by close to 50 per cent and civil servants across many states of the federation were owed arrears of salaries. In many of the states controlled by the PDP and APC, salaries were not paid for up to six months. Yet, the governors of these states deployed state funds for the benefit of their political parties and candidates. At the federal level, the 2014 federal capital budget was only funded for the first and second quarters and no releases were made for capital projects in the third and fourth quarters of 2014.

The revenue decline did not affect the spending of political parties and their candidates. It was expected that the economic decline would affect campaign expenditure and political parties and candidates will limit their expenses in accordance with the provisions of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended)⁶. However, this was not the case. It appeared the parties and candidates had set aside massive resource and war chests in preparation for the elections. The funding of this war chest trumped other public financial commitments.

A number of laws and policies regulate campaign financing in Nigeria. They include the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended)⁷, the Electoral Act and the rules and regulations made pursuant to the powers of INEC under the Act⁸, Companies and Allied Matters Act, etc. Whether the laws were actually respected or obeyed in the breach is part of the discovery to be made in this Report.

⁶ Unless the context otherwise refers, the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) will hereinafter be referred to as the Electoral Act or Act.

⁷ Unless the context otherwise refers, the Constitution refers to the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999.

⁸ These include the Political Parties Code of Conduct; Guidelines for Regulation of Political Parties; Regulation for the Conduct of Political Party Primaries; and Guidelines for Political Rallies and Campaigns, etc.

1.2 FOCUS

This Report focused on the election and campaign expenses of the two major candidates at the March 2015 presidential election namely, the candidates of the PDP and the APC. They fielded an incumbent President, Goodluck Jonathan and a former military Head of State, General Muhammadu Buhari, respectively. The monitoring was limited to these two candidates because they were the ones that mounted visible campaigns across the federation and their parties were also the ones with the broadest support. These facts were also reflected in the presidential election result.

The Report is not generally about the election but the cost of election. Although monitors may have come across electoral misconduct or violence, such facts were only relevant to the extent that it related to the cost of election. The issues covered include the cost of obtaining nomination form, contesting primaries, holding campaigns and rallies, campaign offices, publicity and associated costs and fundraising by candidates and parties. It also focused on the use of SARs including legislative, administrative, coercive, regulatory and media resources. All these are resources available to state authorities to ensure proper and effective governance. However, they can be used by incumbent administrations for partisan purposes.

1.3 GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

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

- Build the capacity of stakeholders to engage campaign finance and the use of SARs.
- Monitor and report on campaign finance and the use of SAR in the 2015 presidential election.
- Network, sensitise and raise public awareness on campaign finance and use of SARs.
- Contribute to the process of engendering campaign finance reforms.

The project and ensuing Report seeks to consolidate on earlier work done at the national and sub national levels by Centre for Social Justice on monitoring campaign finance and SARs with a view to reforms. It seeks to provide evidence to INEC, the legislature, the security apparatus, media and civil society organisations. INEC needs credible evidence to exercise its powers under section 153 of the Act for reform of rules and guidelines on campaign finance whilst the legislature will amend laws when clear gaps have been demonstrated to exist or mischief is found in the existing legal

framework. For the security and anti-corruption agencies, credible evidence is needed to show that individuals or political parties have spent above the ceiling in violation of the law. This can provide grounds for the state to seek possible redress against violations of the law. For civil society organisations, it deepens the basis for continued engagement for reforms and provides materials for scholars and jurists to further expound the frontiers of this rather neglected area of study.

1.4 CONTEXT

Unlike previous general elections, INEC in 2015 stated its commitment to implement the campaign finance provisions of the Electoral Act. Accordingly, in its briefing of political parties, the INEC chairman stated that the Commission, for the first time is very serious about tracking campaign expenditure of candidates. INEC informed the political parties that a desk officer has been trained to handle the schedule. The INEC chairman emphasised that the Commission will pay serious attention to expenditure and reporting by candidates as required by law. In his words:

“We will do it meticulously and at the end of the day, we compare what we have with what candidates submitted to us that they spent. We are also working closely with some Civil Society Organizations that are interested in monitoring campaign expenses of candidates”⁹

The 2015 presidential election promised and turned out to be a tough contest between two of Nigeria’s leading parties - the PDP and the APC. For the first time since the 1999 presidential election, there was a real contest between an incumbent political party and a new mega party, the APC which was a product of a merger of many small parties. The Action Congress of Nigeria, Congress for Progressive Change, All Nigeria Peoples Party, a faction of the All Progressives Grand Alliance and many notable politicians who decamped from the ruling PDP teamed up to form the APC. Thus, instead of smaller and regional parties that stood no chance against the PDP which had a larger national spread, APC came into the fray with a large national spread. This spread also came with human and material resources that made the contest more challenging for the ruling party.

The two leading parties were reputed to be backed by many deep pockets and federal and state governments who had access to a lot of resources. The PDP fielded an incumbent President and by Nigeria’s socio-economic system, an incumbent President is in a position and indeed, dispenses a lot of patronage and therefore commands loyalty among the resource elite in the country. His control of SARs places him and his

⁹(INEC charges political parties to abide by the rules of the game. INEC Daily Bulletin Volume:1 No: 688 Date 13/11/2014 posted on November 20, 2014 by Mind the Gap. <https://mindthegapng.wordpress.com/2014/11/20/inec-charges-political-parties-to-abide-by-the-rules-of-the-game->)

party in a position to use the resources to further the chances of his party winning elections. On the other hand, the opposition candidate was backed by many experienced and rich politicians including the former governor of Lagos State, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the former Vice President, Abubakar Atiku and 16 state governors. Five sitting governors from PDP states viz, Rivers, Kwara, Adamawa, Sokoto and Kano states left the PDP for the opposition. With this defection, the opposition party grew from a numerical strength of 11 states to 16 states against the PDP which was left with 18 states.

The presidential contest came on the heels of a think tank prediction that Nigeria may likely break up in 2015. Nigeria was fighting an insurgency which claimed almost 5000 lives and displaced thousands of citizens in the North East region and the incumbent President was highly criticised for the administration's response to the insurgency, especially the kidnap of young girls from a secondary school in Chibok, Borno State. Thus, there were many issues thrown up in the campaign that pointed to the need for good governance in Nigeria.

Also, there were ethnic sentiments in the background of the presentation of candidates for the presidential election. The sentiments emerged from the PDP's zoning arrangement for power to alternate between the geopolitical zones especially between the zones in the North and South of Nigeria. In 1999, power had been zoned to the South and was expected to return after eight years to the North. However, the administration of President Umaru Yar'Adua was short lived as he died in office and was succeeded by the sitting Vice President, Goodluck Jonathan from the South. Being the incumbent in 2011, it was easy for President Goodluck Jonathan to pick his party's ticket. He also picked the ticket in 2015. But the North was desirous of having their "turn" and getting back political power. This was the background to a lot of decampments from the PDP to the APC by members of the PDP from the northern part of the country. This was also the background to the advertised willingness of the common people in many parts of the North to contribute to the election expenses of the APC presidential candidate.

The APC and PDP respectively fixed very high and outrageous sums of money as the price for presidential nomination form and expression of interest to contest. For the APC, the presidential expression of interest and nomination form amounted to N27.5m (N25m for nomination form and N2.5m for expression of interest). For the PDP, the sum of N22m (N20m for the form and N2m for expression of interest) was required for the same purpose. While some presidential aspirants in the APC like Abubakar Atiku and Governor Kwakwanso found it easy to pay the fee, General Buhari found it difficult to raise the money and had to raise a loan from his bank to be able to buy the form and express his interest to contest. General Buhari was reported to have stated that:

“If I were not part of the constitutional body of the party and the fact that I am part of those that formed this party, I would have complained about the amount that we have to pay”.

But this raises several posers including whether it is legal and legitimate for a bank to lend money to a customer to buy a form for the purpose of contesting for public office and the kind of collateral offered for this credit facility. If an aspirant borrows to finance his aspiration, how will he fund his candidature in the event he emerges or now that the borrower has emerged as the candidate of the APC?

On the other hand, several interest groups donated N102 million to pay for the form and expression of interest for the unchallenged presidential candidate of the PDP. Although the Electoral Act did not provide a ceiling on expenditure on nomination form and expression of interest to contest, the sums fixed by the parties obviously started the monetisation process of the presidential electoral contest.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The project identified monitors in the 36 states of the federation and the FCT, and appointed 6 zonal coordinators to oversee the monitoring activities in the six geopolitical zones. Unlike previous monitoring exercises, the project got accreditation from INEC to monitor campaign finance. The monitors and their coordinators were trained and given relevant documents to enable them carry out the monitoring assignment. The Electoral Act, several INEC Guidelines, the 1999 Constitution and the Political Finance Monitoring Manual 2015 were used to train the monitors on the legal regime and practical aspects of monitoring campaign finance and the use of SARs. Some of the monitors were also privileged to have engaged in previous monitoring exercises on campaign finance and were experienced and best positioned to carry out the exercise. Monitors were thereafter deployed in each of the 36 states and the FCT, to amongst others; attend presidential rallies of the two leading political parties, visit party secretariats of the political parties and obtain information that cannot be monitored from afar such as, office rent, cost of utilities, administration, etc.

The monitors went to the field, counted bill boards in the states and obtained their cost. Posters, handbills and other forms of souvenirs were also observed and their cost obtained. Monitors provided information on costs observed during rallies, such as cost of mobilization of participants to the venue, setting up the stage or podium, musical instruments, entertainment, performances, costume, sharing of food, drinks and money etc. Monitors also monitored the electronic media. At the secretariat, a team was constituted to monitor electronic media campaigns across the popular television channels. Letters were written to media houses to obtain information on the number of advertisements placed in each media house. Letters were also sent to the secretariat of

political parties and candidates campaign offices for information on electronic media campaigns. For the print media, the secretariat purchased a minimum of 8 newspapers per day to get details of advertisements of the political parties and candidates.

Monitors were charged with providing evidence only when it is credible, verifiable, and relevant. As a result of the charged political environment, monitors were advised to be wise and careful in obtaining information from party members. However, official letters were written to the political parties to disclose information on their campaign expenses.

Prices of various items were obtained from about three credible vendors to ensure that the prices stated in the reports are reasonable and within the range of what is obtainable in the market. Also, some of the service providers were willing to provide information on the cost of their services. At the secretariat, the programme officers liaised with the monitors and zonal coordinators to verify the information supplied. The project also used desk research to ensure the credibility of materials contained in this Report.

1.6 CHALLENGES AND LIMITATION OF THE EXERCISE

Getting direct information on expenses from the parties and candidates was a major challenge. Letters were written to the two major political parties and the candidates' campaign offices to get information on their expenses, but there was no response from them. Tracing the source of funds and who to debit for expenditure, especially where they appeared to be coming from third parties was a challenge. It appeared a lot of third parties took part in the sponsorship of some of the political activities of the parties and their candidates. Apparently, different solidarity groups had one form of activity or the other to perform on behalf of a candidate. It was therefore not easy to determine if the money came from the third party individuals or whether it came from the party or the candidate.

Monitors also experienced the challenge of gaining access into some event centres as a result of high security presence. Invitation to some events organised by the candidates and political parties such as fund raisers were only extended to a target audience making it difficult for monitors to figure out the exact details of what transpired at the events. For instance, getting into the PDP Fund Raising Dinner at the Old Banquet Hall of the Presidential Villa, Abuja in late December 2014 was an impossible task. No one will be allowed entry into the Presidential Villa without an invitation. In most instances, monitors had to rely on media reports or information gathered from persons who attended the event. Also, during visits to campaign grounds, monitors were not in a position to freely take pictures as party thugs could attack any one whose intent, they were not sure of.

Further, as a result of the vast terrain in the states, it was not easy for monitors to cover the entire landmass to count bill boards and observe posters. They were only able to count the bill boards cited in major towns and roads in the states. Most of the media houses did not respond to letters written to them to provide information of placements and campaign advertisements. However, in some cases, the marketing departments were able to give estimates based on their applicable rates for each of the advertisements paid for.

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 money or gifts given to traditional leaders during visits, money officially released to the state coordinators for campaigns, money spent on items such as bags of rice, salt, and other souvenirs shared across the wards in each of the states. There were lots of youth groups and celebrities that identified and showed solidarity with the candidates. However, monitors were not able to get the full details on how much was given to each of the groups and celebrities. Also, another challenge experienced, was that of getting information on the amount spent to lodge delegates in the hotels of various states visited and the allowances received for feeding and other logistics. Some of the details of these expenses can only be provided by the campaign offices and coordinators.

1.7 PRESENTATION OF REPORT

The report is presented in nine chapters as follows:

- (1) Introduction
- (2) Legal Framework
- (3) Issues, Income and Expenditure
- (4) Abuse of State Administrative Resources
- (5) Campaigns and Rallies
- (6) Expenses on Billboards
- (7) Electronic Media Campaigns
- (8) Print Media Expenses
- (9) Conclusions and Recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

Legal Framework

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Electoral Act in sections 88 to 92 made provisions for the regulation of the finances and expenditure of political parties. Section 88 dealt with offences in relation to the finances of a political party whilst section 89 is about the period to be covered by annual statements. Section 90 deals with the power of INEC to limit contributions to a political party whilst section 91 is on limitations on election expenses of candidates and sanctions for violating the limits. Section 92 is on the election expenses of political parties whilst section 93 places a reporting obligation on the political parties. The Act also in section 100 (2) seeks to control the use of state and administrative resources by incumbents against the opposition. Essentially, Nigeria's Electoral Act is good on paper. However, there are some inchoate provisions in the Act and the challenge of enforcement has been a constant drawback.

No individual is permitted to donate more than N1million to a candidate. For presidential candidates, the limit is N1billion and the violation attracts a fine of N1m and or 12 months imprisonment¹⁰ but political party expenses in respect of a candidate standing for election is excluded from the calculation of the ceiling¹¹. By excluding political party expenses in respect of a candidate standing for election, the Act has watered down the provisions on ceiling because a clever candidate will simply transfer any resources raised over and above N1billion to the party to spend on his behalf. The Act should have fixed an all encompassing ceiling which includes candidate's expenditure and political party's expenditure. Otherwise, the objective of limiting campaign expenses will be defeated.

2.2 INEC TO THE RESCUE ON CANDIDATE'S REPORTING OBLIGATIONS

In previous campaign finance and SAR monitoring reports at the national and sub-national levels, CSJ has consistently called for law or policy to impose reporting obligations on candidates considering that campaign expenditure in a presidential system of government tends to be candidate-centric. The recommendation has been answered in the affirmative by INEC when it established the Guidelines for candidates' reporting. INEC made the new Guidelines relying on its powers under section 153 of the Electoral Act which states that:

¹⁰ Section 91 (2) and (10) (a) of the Electoral Act respectively.

¹¹ Section 91 (9) and (8) (c) of the Electoral Act respectively.

“The Commission may, subject to the provisions of this Act, issue regulations, guidelines or manuals for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this Act and for its administration thereof”

INEC made provisions in the Guidelines and Regulations for Political Parties 2013 for the reporting obligations of candidates. They are found in pages 8-10 of the Guidelines.

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

S. 11. All candidates shall:

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

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

b. Disclosure

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

c. Books of Accounts

13. Every candidate shall:

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

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

d. Anonymous Contribution(s)

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

e. Audited Return

15. (1) All candidates shall:

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

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

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

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

The foregoing Guidelines provide a clear procedure for candidates to document and report on all contributions and expenses regarding the campaigns to the Commission. Candidates are under obligation to notify INEC of their fundraising activities at least 7 days before the event; keep proper books of account detailing receipts and expenditure; decline anonymous contributions; audit the campaign expenses and submit the audited accounts to INEC accompanied by a verifying affidavit vouching its correctness on oath. Thus, any statements in the audited accounts which are incorrect introduce the legal dimension of lying on oath. The only thing remaining to ensure that candidates comply with these rules is the political will to enforce same. The trend of events after the 2015 elections will show whether INEC will be ready and willing to enforce the Guidelines.

2.3 NO PROVISION FOR CASH TRAILS

Apart from open fundraisers organised by candidates and political parties, some donations can come in secretly. Although it may be against the money laundering laws, there is no way to monitor an individual who walks into a candidate's house at night with a bag of money, purportedly to support his election. However, INEC can cue into the CBN's cashless policy to mandate political parties and candidates to leave paper and banking trails in all their transactions. Collaboration with the CBN would help to monitor and supervise the transactions of all political office seekers who have declared intention to contest the election months before the election. Candidates and parties should be mandated to maintain dedicated bank accounts for campaign income and expenses and report on expenses using bank statements. For instance, the Buhari/Osibanjo fund raising platform provided a designated account for crowd funding donation; this type of platform would be easy for INEC to trail all income and expenses of the candidate.

2.4 TRACKING MEDIA EXPENDITURE

Tracking the expenditure of candidates and parties in the media, especially the electronic media is a difficult exercise. The electronic media operates 24 hours a day and there is a multiplicity of stations. The Act was silent on how the full details of electronic and other media expenditure could be tracked. However, tracking media

expenditure can be made easy by placing obligations not only on political parties and candidates, but on print and electronic media outfits to report on campaign advertisements placed in them to INEC and the National Broadcasting Commission.

2.5 BASIS FOR THE CEILINGS

The Electoral Act provided a ceiling for all categories of elective positions as follows; in the case of the presidency; the maximum expenses shall be N1billion. For governorship election, N200million; Senatorial seat is N40million and House of Representatives seat is N20million, etc.¹² However, what is lacking is the basis for the ceilings. In previous reports, this provision has been questioned. Is the basis of the ceilings justified by either the number of voters to be reached or the land area and terrain to be covered? Did the ceiling take cognisance of the cost of components of campaigns including media, mobilisation, transport and other logistics? If a presidential candidate is to cover 36 states and the FCT with N1billion; why should a governor spend one fifth of that sum to cover only one state?¹³ The former President, Goodluck Jonathan even rejected the idea of a ceiling and describes the law as a booby trap. He was quoted as saying:

“If you say a governor must not spend beyond a certain amount of money when campaigning, how do you monitor? And sometimes, the figure you put is too unrealistic because if you must campaign, media is expensive”¹⁴

There is need for expenditure ceilings in Nigeria. This will prevent the hijack of the electoral system by the rich and powerful and facilitate issue based politics. Without expenditure ceilings, the system will be prone to corruption and abuse of office in a bid to recover humungous campaign expenditure. However, there must be a basis for the determination of the reasonableness of the ceilings. The limitation could be based on the number of registered voters in a constituency multiplied by a factor and from time to time adjusted for inflation based on the national consumer index. For instance, in governorship elections, the ceiling can differ from state to state. A state can have a ceiling different from other states based on population and size, number of registered voters, land mass, etc.

The ceilings also do not need to be static and fail to respond to macroeconomic issues such as inflation and devaluation of currency. The result of providing static ceilings in the body of the Act is a disconnection between the law and real life situations. This will encourage disobedience to the law. The framework for the determination of the ceilings should have been in the body of the Electoral Act but the power to determine the exact

¹² Section 91 of the 2010 Electoral Act

¹³ Spending to Rule, A Report of the State Administrative Resources and Campaign Finance in Edo State Gubernatorial Election, by the Centre for Social Justice

¹⁴ See News24 that's a booby trap-President Jonathan. <http://m.news24.com/Nigeria/MyNews24/That's-a-booby-trap-President-Jonathan>

amounts would have been left to INEC and this should be subject to reviews based on changes in the economy.

2.6 RECURRING DONATIONS BY COMPANIES

Section 38 (2) of the Companies and Allied Matters Act (CAMA) prohibits corporate bodies from making contributions to political parties and political purposes. From the days of former President Olusegun Obasanjo to former President Goodluck Jonathan, corporate bodies openly donated to the campaign expenditure of presidential candidates. When a law is consistently and flagrantly violated and there are no sanctions against the violators, that law is no longer the command of a sovereign backed by sanctions. It is now more of a moral adjuration and obedience to it will become a matter of ethics and conscience. It is imperative that civil society organisations, INEC, the political parties or any aggrieved citizen challenges this violation in court for a definitive judicial pronouncement on the status of the provisions of CAMA barring corporate entities from donating to partisan purposes.

2.7 TAX STATUS OF CONTRIBUTIONS

Experience from the current monitoring exercise and previous ones show that individuals violate the N1million individual donation ceiling by donating in the name of individuals who may not have earned an income before including school children and unemployed relatives. For an individual to be capable of making N1million donation to a candidate, such individual should be able to prove that he/she is a worthy donor by showing proof of his tax contributions. This would help to raise money for the treasury in these days of declining oil price. It would also deter multiple announcements of N1million donations on behalf of ghost donors. It is therefore proposed that the Electoral Act be amended to provide that donors to candidates and parties should accompany their donations with evidence of tax payment. Even if the amendment is not done, the Federal Inland Revenue Services and similar agencies at the state level can use the list of donors as a basis to follow up on tax defaulters.

A necessary follow up to this is that contributions by individuals up a maximum amount to be determined by law should be tax deductible. The proposal is that, contributions up to N1,000,000 should be tax deductible. However, INEC will have the power to review the upper limit based on changes in the economy. This will encourage broad based support to political parties and candidates rather than the current approach of very rich men and women hijacking the electoral process through bankrolling candidates and parties. This is the practice in many democracies which makes contributions to political parties, up to a certain limit, tax deductible. In Germany, individual contributions to political parties up to the upper limit of Euros 3,300 is tax deductible.

2.8 NO LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES

Section 90 of the Act gives INEC the power to place limitations on the amount of money or other assets which an individual or group of persons can contribute to a political party. However, INEC is yet to place the limitation. The practical implication of this development is that any person or group of persons can donate any imaginable sum of money or other assets to a political party. When this is placed alongside the fact that political parties have no limits on the amount they can spend on candidates during elections, then the whole objective of limiting campaign expenditure is defeated. It has therefore become imperative for INEC to set a reasonable ceiling on donations by individuals and groups to political parties.

CHAPTER THREE

Issues, Income and Expenditure

3.1 TRANSFORMATION AMBASSADORS OF NIGERIA BEAT THE GUN

Before INEC announced the notice of poll, Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria (TAN) had begun rallies across the federation in support of the incumbent, President Goodluck Jonathan. Huge resources were invested in the rallies with media blitz across the print and electronic media. Reminiscent of the “Youths Earnestly Ask for Abacha” saga, TAN staged rallies at the state and zonal levels. However, this ran contrary to the Nigerian Constitution which in section 221 states unequivocally that:

“No association, other than a political party, shall canvass for votes for any candidate at any election or contribute to the funds of any political party or to the election expenses of any candidate at an election”.

The presence of high level public officers at the rallies raised suspicion about whether the rallies were actually privately funded or funded with public resources. TAN violated the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 with impunity. A notable member of TAN was Ifeanyi Uba, the former managing director of Capital Oil Ltd – a company indicted in the N65billion Assets Management Corporation of Nigeria/Oil Subsidy saga proceedings.

During the official declaration of President Jonathan for his 2015 candidature, TAN officials were held hostage for the failure to honour commitments to rented crowds. Some of the protesters were demanding to be paid N40,000 as against the N5,000 which was being disbursed to them¹⁵. This raised a straightforward poser; why rent a crowd when Nigerians should feel free to attend an event of such nature on their own volition?

3.2 THE APC CONVENTION AND THE INFLUENCE OF MONEY

A major newspaper reported as follows about expenditures by presidential aspirants on the platform of the APC at their convention¹⁶.

“For three days last week, the city of Lagos played host to over 8,000 delegates of the All Progressives Congress (APC). The delegates had converged on the city to pick a presidential candidate out of the five APC members that showed interest for the top job. Prior to the Tuesday December 9 date when the delegates were expected in town, nearly all the major hotels in the state had been booked. In fact, it was a rat race between Atiku campaign team and those of General Buhari as major hotels were booked

¹⁵ See THISDAY Newspaper of November 12th 2014

¹⁶ Kazeem Akintunde writing in THISDAY Newspaper of December 16 2014; this was also corroborated by another report in PUNCH Newspaper of December 13 2014 titled *PDP, APC primaries: dollar, naira rain for delegates*.

far ahead of the convention. While the Atiku group worked towards securing 3,500 rooms for its delegates, the Buhari group were aiming at getting 4,000 rooms. Other aspirants also joined the race to provide accommodation for their delegates and team and the boom saw many hoteliers smiling to the banks”.

“Though, there wasn’t an increase in hotel accommodation, but the influx of people into the state, led to a situation where most hotels were fully booked and had to turn customers back. While the major hotels were for delegates, the smaller ones were also not left out as some of the delegates provided accommodation for their aides such as drivers and security personnel there”.

“The race to provide accommodation to delegates by the aspirants, however, is not just for the fun of it but to ensure that those delegates cast their ballot for them at the end of the day. Aside from the hotel accommodation, some of the aspirants also provided logistics support for most of the delegates. The logistics could be in the form of Naira notes or the preferred currency-dollar. Most of the delegates were sought after by many of the aspirants and it was not surprising when some of the delegates said they made over \$5,000 each for the three days spent in Lagos. While it was alleged that the Atiku group gave \$2,000 to each of the delegates, a governor from one of the states in the South ensured that each of the delegates got \$3,000 on behalf of Buhari”.

If this report reflects what actually transpired at the APC primaries, then money and other resources played a key role in the determination of the outcome of that primary. This is clearly against the spirit of fair play and issue based politics. The amazing aspect of this development is that, the respective campaign organisations did not make any effort to deny these allegations made against their principals.

3.3 THE PDP FUNDRAISER IN DECEMBER 2014

The Peoples Democratic Party held a Fund Raising Dinner at the Old Banquet Hall of the Presidential Villa, Abuja in late December 2014. The sum of N21.27bn was raised to support the campaign of President Goodluck Jonathan for a second term in office. A lot of issues and controversies have been raised since the fundraising especially those bordering on the legal and ethical challenges arising from the event. There are several implications of the fundraising from the point of view of campaign finance laws, rules and guidelines.

By S.153 of the Constitution, INEC is inter alia authorised to monitor the organisation and operation of political parties including their finances and to carry out such other functions as may be conferred on it by an Act of the National Assembly. By S.153 of the Electoral Act, INEC has powers to make rules and regulations for the full implementation of the Electoral Act. Pursuant to the above powers, INEC enacted the Guidelines and Regulations for Political Parties 2013. By S.11 (b), the Guidelines require all candidates to notify INEC of all events for the purpose of raising funds towards their campaign at least 7 days before the event. From available information, no notice was given to INEC and there was no INEC representative at the event.

It was reported that the PDP Governors Forum announced a total donation of N1.05billion and the Bauchi State Governor, Isa Yuguda, who spoke on behalf of the PDP governors, said each of the 21 of them would donate N50m each. This donation by the governors violated S.100 (2) of the Electoral Act which clearly stipulates that state apparatus shall not be employed to the advantage or disadvantage of any political party or candidate at an election. Coming at a time, most states of the federation were finding it difficult to pay workers salaries, this was an insensitive donation. It was an illegal donation which also discriminated against other candidates and political parties against the letter and spirit of the constitutional fundamental rights non discrimination clause. In the so called PDP states, there were so many citizens supporting the candidates of other political parties and these candidates are entitled to state support in the event the state decides to support political parties. The only way to right the wrong of the donation is for the PDP governors to donate N50m each to the campaign of all the presidential candidates contesting the 2015 presidential election. Pray, did any of the state budgets have legislative approval for this expenditure head? What could have been the justification of this expenditure in the budget if it had been approved?

The 15 states on the board of the Niger Delta Development Commission were reported to have donated a total of N15million, among other donations. Did this money come from the state governments or the NDDC? Definitely, it could not have come from state governments considering that states like Rivers and Imo which were not controlled by the PDP are part of the NDDC states. Thus, this is public money coming from the coffers of a public agency - the NDDC and now being “donated” for the Jonathan campaign. This is not only outrageous but a crime that should not be swept under the carpet.

The fundraiser had “Players” in the Oil and Gas sector announcing a donation of N5billion; those in Real Estate and Building donated N4billion; Transport and Aviation, N1billion; Food and Agriculture, N500million; Power, N500million; Construction, N310million; Road Construction, N250million. Who are these undisclosed players in these sectors? Are they afraid of coming out publicly to identify themselves? Only the guilty are afraid. These anonymous donations are in violation of S.93 (1) of the Electoral Act which clearly states that no political party shall accept or keep in its possession any anonymous monetary or other contributions, gifts, properties, etc from any source whatsoever. S.14 of the 2013 Guidelines aforementioned also bars candidates from accepting or keeping anonymous donations, gifts or properties from any source whatsoever. So whether it is PDP or Jonathan the candidate, the Electoral Act has been violated.

For Shelter Development Ltd and the SIFAX group who donated N250million and N100million respectively, the Companies and Allied Matters Act was violated. S. 38 (2)

of the Companies and Allied Matters Act (CAMA) prohibits corporate bodies from making contributions to political parties. The section specifically provides as follows:

“A company shall not have or exercise power either directly or indirectly to make a donation or gift of any of its property or funds to a political party or political association, or for any political purpose; and if any company, in breach of this subsection makes any donation or gift of its property to a political party, or political association, or for any political purpose, the officers in default and any member who voted for the breach shall be jointly and severally liable to refund to the company the sum or value of the donation or gift and in addition, the company and every such officer or member shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine equal to the amount or value of the donation or gift”.

The chairman of the occasion, Tunde Ayeni, who set the ball rolling, was reported to have donated N2billion. He said the sum consisted of N1billion donated by him and his partner, and another N1billion contributed by his unnamed friends. These unnamed friends are another set of anonymous donors. No one begrudges another person who has made so much money as to the purpose to which he deploys his money. But Nigerians did not know from this generous donor how much he paid in personal income tax in the last couple of years. How much did his generous friends also pay in income tax?

3.4 BUHARI’S FUNDRAISING EFFORTS

Even before his emergence as a candidate of the APC, General Buhari had sought to raise funds from the populace. In his Facebook Account, he stated¹⁷:

“As we have made it clear, our campaign is going to be funded, planned and run by ordinary Nigerian citizens like you. This is in recognition of your role as biggest stakeholders capable of changing the course of history of this great yet badly run nation. In this regard, we launch our crowd funding platform through which every Nigerian can contribute his token towards shaping the destiny of this country. Here are the details:

Account Name: Buhari Support Organizations. Account Number: 2026724405

Bank: First Bank Nigeria. Sort Code: 011150000

Dear friends, I know what it means to ask citizens over 60 per cent of whom live on less than \$1 per day to donate for this campaign. I know many of you are finding it

¹⁷ See the Vanguard Newspaper; November 26, 2014, by Emmanuel Aziken, Political Editor

difficult to pay your rents, school and medical bills, to buy the fuel to cook your food, light up your homes or power your vehicles. I know how it hurts and I know you have suffered enough.

But that little contribution – that little sacrifice you make is an investment in the future that come 2015 will usher in a new era for our country, one that promises jobs and opportunities for anyone willing to work hard, and peace and prosperity for all.

So when you look at that little amount of money you are parting with, and the money our opponents are offering you for your votes, think not about the nominal value, think about the choice you are making, and that choice is very clear; either you put your money for a change you trust in, or for four more years of insecurity, corruption and bad leadership under President Jonathan.

Our opponents have huge financial resources, I have only you and God, and I trust that our struggle will triumph. Our opponents have foreign bank accounts and possessions to run to when they destroy this country, me and you have only this Nigeria to live and die in. So let's join our hands to make it better.

Thank you and God bless”.

On December 23 2014, while rendering an account of the funds donated by his supporters, General Buhari revealed a total donation of N54million. As at 7th of January 2015, the sum has grown to N118.7m. It was also reported on December 31 2014 that yam farmers from some states in Northern Nigeria were to raise the sum of N5billion through a contribution of 5million tubers of yam to be sold at N1000 each¹⁸. The attempt by General Buhari to source funds from the grassroots and the populace sought to commit small donors rather than the reliance on big and corporate donors who may eventually demand a pound of flesh after the election. However, INEC, EFCC and other agencies had a duty to ensure that the public appeal for donations did not become an avenue for laundering corrupt or illegally obtained money.

After the declaration of General Buhari's initial fund raising efforts, the campaign organisation did not deem it fit to update Nigerians on further funds raised. For the fact that the party failed to update Nigerians on how it raised funds for the campaign, there were allegations that the APC governors were behind the funding of the parties activities, since the General is not known to be wealthy. Chidia Maduekwe, the director of media and information technology at the Buhari Support Organization stated the

¹⁸ See the NATION Newspaper of December 31 2014 at page 6.

crowd fundraising platform was active throughout the campaign period and still received inflows¹⁹.

3.5 TAN CONTINUED FUNDING PRESIDENT JONATHAN'S CAMPAIGN

Consider this revelation from the two page advertorial by Martin Elechi, the former governor of Ebonyi State who at the time of the advertorial was facing impeachment proceedings from the State House of Assembly²⁰.

“The campaign materials from the Presidential Campaign office which are meant to be disbursed by the State Governor/Coordinator of the Presidential Campaign for the State are diverted and utilised without the knowledge of the Governor. How they are used, especially Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria (TAN) rice is still an unanswered question. The N80million given to Ambassador Franklin Ogbuewu (Deputy Coordinator) for the January 16th rally in Abakiliki was paid into his personal bank account”.

The first matter arising from the above quote is that the Jonathan Campaign allocated N80million for a rally in Abakiliki, Ebonyi State. Abakiliki is not one of the costly towns in terms of funding its campaign needs. Its hotels, rentals and other campaign logistics needs will be relatively cheaper than towns like Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt, etc. Thus, it is likely that the N80million for the Abakiliki rally would be one of the least votes for a rally in the Jonathan Campaign. Assuming that this is the average sum per rally, multiply N80million by 37 (36 States and the Federal Capital Territory) and it will come up to N2.960billion. This is already in excess of the N1billion ceiling. This is just expenditure for one aspect of the campaign. It neither includes money for the minute by minute advertisements on television and radio nor the print media advertisements.

The second matter arising from this disclosure by Governor Elechi is the blatant desecration of the political space with filthy inducement by TAN. S.124 of the Electoral Act is clear and comprehensive on the issue of bribery, inducement, promise, procurement, etc and:

“anyone who directly or indirectly by himself or by any other person on his behalf, gives, lends or agrees to give or lend, or offers any money or valuable consideration to induce a voter is guilty of an offence and is liable on conviction to maximum fine of N500,000 or imprisonment for 12 months or both”.

The promoters of TAN did not hide the materials they were using to induce voters in violation of the law. May be, they believed that they are above the law. The Act in S. 124 (5) even provides that any person who conspires, aids or abets any other person to

¹⁹ LEADERSHIP Newspaper; March 2, 2015

²⁰ THISDAY Newspaper; Saturday, February 28th 2015

commit any of the offences under this part of this Act shall be guilty of the same offence and punishment thereto. Thus, the promoters of TAN by intent and commission violated the Electoral Act whilst the law enforcement authorities were busy looking the other way. There was more than mere *prima facie* evidence to prosecute these ambassadors. This raises the fundamental poser; why was law enforcement so lax and impunity pervaded campaign finance administration?

The third matter arising from the revelation is that Electoral Act further states in section 124 (6) that:

“For the purposes of this Act, a candidate shall be deemed to have committed an offence if it was committed with his knowledge and consent or the knowledge and consent of a person who is acting under the general or special authority of the candidate with reference to the election”.

The implication of the foregoing is that, the candidate who TAN supported is in law guilty of the offence of bribery because, he could not claim ignorance of their actions and if he succeeds in that claim, TAN is acting with the consent of persons who were under the general and special authority of the candidate.

The fourth matter arising from the revelation is that TAN acted contrary to S. 221 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999. The section clearly states that: No association, other than a political party, shall canvass for votes for any candidate at any election or contribute to the funds of any political party or to the election expenses of any candidate at an election. What is TAN? Another political party or what exactly is the nature of the organisation? From where did TAN derive its funds and other resources? Starting from being persuaders asking President Goodluck Jonathan to run for a second term and then, being in the forefront of campaigns with access to incredible and apparently inexhaustible resources was one of the wonders of Nigeria’s democracy.

TAN was in violation of S. 91 (9) of the Electoral Act which states that:

“No individual or other entity shall donate more than (N1,000,000) to any candidate”.

Assuming without conceding that what TAN was doing was legal or it is allowed to contribute to the Jonathan campaign funds, it would have also violated the above provision because it spent billions of naira in the efforts. But the way TAN spent money led to only one reasonable and inescapable conclusion - state resources were channeled into private hands for the purposes of the campaign. Otherwise, the onus is on the funders to show and declare how much they contributed to TAN, how much they have paid as tax in the last couple of years and the source of their new found wealth which manifested in the skewed sudden charitable disposition. Drawing this conclusion

stems from the fact that high level state officials openly embraced TAN and collaborated with them to violate the law. Therefore, TAN from every reasonable analysis of campaign finance law and policy is a precedent which should not be allowed in future elections.

3.6 MONEY FOR THE PULPIT

There were allegations by the former governor of Rivers State, Rotimi Amaechi, who was also the Buhari Campaign Organisation Director that President Jonathan's Campaign team doled out N6billion to churches through the Christian Association of Nigerian (CAN). Allegedly, the money was to move the churches to support the re-election of the incumbent; to campaign against the APC and also circulate documents to their members that the APC plans to Islamise Nigeria²¹. In the same vein, the President of the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria countered the allegation and insisted that it was Amaechi who gathered 500 pastors around October 2014 and gave them money. Supporting governor Amaechi was a Borno State based Pastor, Kallamu Musa-Dikwa who accused CAN of collecting N7bn (not N6bn) bribe from President Goodluck Jonathan to campaign against Buhari. From the accusation and counter accusation, there were strong probabilities that politicians had attempted to influence church leaders so as to get their support to use the pulpit to persuade voters to their side.

3.7 MONEY FOR THE THRONE: VISITS TO TRADITIONAL RULERS

The Presidential campaign team of the PDP and APC alike, visited traditional rulers in states they were campaigning. It is believed that traditional leaders have strong influence on their followers; politicians believed that the support and endorsement of traditional rulers would automatically influence the choice of their followers on who to vote for. In Niger State, then President Goodluck Jonathan visited the Emir of Minna before proceeding to the venue of the campaign and the visit was reciprocated with the presence of an entourage of 150 camels and horse riders from the Emir's Palace to display at the campaign ground. Each of the riders were mobilised and paid an undisclosed sum and they were dressed with branded PDP traditional attire. Visits of this nature have been replicated in the palace of the Ochi-Idoma of Benue State, the Obi of Onitsha, the Obong of Calabar, the Oba of Lagos, etc. As Africans, we are aware of the popular proverb which says "no one goes before the king with empty hands"; if this be the case, it implies that all visits to traditional rulers ought to have been accompanied with substantial gifts worthy of a presidential candidate. However, the President normally visits traditional leaders especially when he is in their domain; but when such visits are calls for endorsement, there is every tendency that the President will pay the associated cost of endorsement whether in cash or in kind. This payment can either be

²¹ See link on 4th February 2015 via <http://www.punchng.com/news/>. See also: PUNCH Newspaper of February 25, 2015, LEADERSHIP Newspaper, February 20, 2015.

solicited or unsolicited. The APC candidate has also visited many traditional rulers including the visit where he was given a chieftaincy title in Aba, Abia State.

3.8 REPORTED N5BILLION ENDORSEMENT GIFT TEARS OHANEZE APART

There were reports of an initial resolve of Ohaneze ndi Igbo, an ethnic nationality group to reject the candidacy of President Goodluck Jonathan, for his inability to implement the promises he made to Ndi-Igbo during his first tenure. However, media reports of the sum of N5bn being used to induce the group emerged. The President of the group later announced the endorsement of Jonathan as the candidate of the ethnic group. This caused a major division in the group amidst allegations of mischief and inducement to the tune of N5billion²².

3.9 SALE OF PVCs

There were reports of sale and snatching of PVCs in large quantities. Kayode Idowu, spokesman of the INEC chair, granted an interview on Channels Television on 15th of February 2015, in the programme tagged “Politics Today” where he advised against collecting PVCs by proxy. But some of the political parties defied the instruction and went ahead to sponsor those who troop into collection centers to obtain large quantities of PVCs. There were reports that the PVCs of some voters were shared to party members in some wards with the aim to rig the elections. A report published in the media stated that PVCs were being sold at N10,000 each²³.

On the other hand, the APC alleged that the PDP established an agro-allied outfit ostensibly to provide N50,000 loans for local women with the PVC as collateral to be deposited with the company²⁴. Obviously, this act shows that the political parties and politicians involved in this act were ignorant of the functions of the card reader which INEC used in conducting the general election. The card reader is able to detect double vote and also would not recognise the voter holding the wrong PVC. But the concern is the fact that, in their state of ignorance, politicians already spent huge resources wrongly in other to rig the election, whereas this illegal act would lead to the disenfranchisement of eligible voters.

3.10 COST OF “HATE CAMPAIGNS”?

Despite the Peace Accord signed by the PDP and APC presidential candidates and other political parties, on January 14th 2015, with a commitment to abide by the rules of the electoral process and to focus on issue based campaigns; and refrain from

²² <http://naijanewsreelity.blogspot.com.ng/>

²³ See THISDAY Newspaper of 11th February 2015 or visit <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/pvcs-now-go-for-n10-000-each-alleges>.

²⁴ Supra.

campaigns that would involve religious incitement, ethnic or tribal profiling, etc. In breach of this agreement, a daily hate documentary was consistently aired for one hour on the past dictatorial government of the presidential candidate of the APC. This campaign was aired in two major stations namely African Independent Television (AIT) and Nigeria Television Authority (NTA). But there were diverse opinion on whether the documentaries qualified as hate documentaries *stricto sensu* considering that the promoters of the documentary stated that they were merely bringing out the past activities and conduct of the target group. Indeed, they claimed that if sued, they will rely on justification²⁵. The airing of these documentaries for one hour cost about N5million each and over a hundred million naira would have been spent on the campaigns. The documentaries were consistently aired from 15th of January 2015 alongside other advertisements meant to discredit the person of the APC candidate. It got to a point where some of the targeted individuals instituted actions in court against the media houses²⁶. The governor of Ekiti State, Ayo Fayose went to an extreme of buying pages in the Sun Newspaper to wish that the APC presidential candidate, General Muhammadu Buhari will die.

3.11 RENT A CROWD

Available information indicated that the two major candidates and their political parties vis, APC and the PDP hired crowds. The business is “rent a crowd” to create the impression of large support and popularity in a state. For instance, in some of the states visited by our monitors (Niger, Nasarawa, Akwa Ibom, Cross Rivers, Plateau, etc); at PDP rallies, TAN mobilised participants from the various wards in the state with a provision of a minimum of N5000 per participant²⁷. However, TAN was not always able to fulfill their promise and this led to scuffles and fights in most of the campaign grounds.

In Nassarawa State, the Igbo Women Association who was hired to the PDP rally in the State held hostage the TAN Coordinator for not paying them the agreed fee of N4000 Naira. One of the female participants, who complained bitterly lamented that she locked her shop for the whole day in anticipation of the amount promised, only for her to be disappointed. This scenario has been the trend in most of the campaign grounds visited. To corroborate this finding, there was a protest of PDP youth leaders and elders in Edo

²⁵ NTA, AIT defends hate documentary, Daily Trust Newspapers, Wednesday, March 11,2015

²⁶NATION Newspapers March 11, 2015. <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/court-restrains-nta-over-anti-osinbajo-documentaries/>. In a suit numbered FHC/L/CS/277/2015, Osinbajo, the running mate of General Buhari maintained that the documentary which allegedly contained untrue information and injurious falsehood, constitute a personal attack on his person. He argued that the videos were being aired in violation of his fundamental human right to dignity of human person, right to privacy and family virtue and right to life and/or livelihood as protected by Sections 33, 34 and 37 of the 1999 Constitution.

²⁷ In some states, the payment was N8000 - N3000 for feeding and N5000 as a fee per participant.

State against the Coordinator of the Goodluck/Sambo Campaign Organisation, Pastor Osagie Ize-Iyamu over the alleged diversion of N1.5bn presidential largesse meant for the youths²⁸.

For those who hailed the APC for attracting a large crowd in places like Bayelsa, Cross River and Delta State; they would be disappointed to know that the party hired most of the crowd from other APC controlled states for the purpose of campaigns. The candidates and parties hire crowds in areas where they were not very popular.

3.12 ELECTION SPENDING AND MACROECONOMIC STABILITY

The Central Bank of Nigeria's Communiqué No. 98 (of the Monetary Policy Committee Meeting of Monday 24th and Tuesday 25th November, 2014) recognized the upside risks to inflation in the near-term to include increased spending in the build up to the 2015 general elections. According to a member of the MPC, Balami Dahiru Hassan, the pressure on the Naira was recognized to be partly due to Dollar demands from politicians holding their financial assets in hard currency ahead of election in 2015. The reported instance of the spending in dollars at the APC primaries is a case in point. The challenge of excess liquidity heading into the elections was also raised as a concern. Headline Inflation dropped steadily from 8.5 per cent in August 2014 to 8.1 per cent in October 2014; though this trend was expected to reverse in the near term and trend northwards due to upside risks associated with increased spending in the build-up to the general elections in 2015²⁹. Again, the CBN's Monetary Policy Committee Communiqué No.100 issued on 24th March 2015 stated that the major risk to inflation include the elevated aggregate spending in the run up to the 2015 general elections, the likely higher import prices on the strength of an appreciating dollar, etc.

Although declining oil prices contributed to Nigeria's deteriorating macroeconomic fundamentals, the coincidence of campaign spending and the acceleration of the deterioration brings to the fore the inextricable link between election spending and the health of the economy. With the attention shifted from governance and a lot of expenditure on campaigns, the state of the economy in terms of depreciating exchange rate, inflation and reduced economic growth set in.

3.13 EXCESSIVE THIRD PARTY EXPENDITURE

The Anambra born millionaire and PDP big wig, Chief Arthur Eze in his campaign for the re-election of President Goodluck Jonathan, donated seven vehicles manufactured by Innoson Group worth N2million each (totaling N14million) to seven persons to coordinate the PDP campaign in their localities. He equally donated N20million to

²⁸ See THISDAY of February 7, 2015 and the Punch newspaper of the same day.

²⁹ The submission of Lawson Stanley, a member of the Monetary Policy Committee.

Oraukwu Community and N25million to the widows and electorate, to ensure “they are eating” before elections come. He equally gave N10million to a community in Dunukofia LGA for development projects in support of the Transformation Agenda of Mr. President³⁰. Also, Chief Emeka Offor was reported to have supported the Ebonyi State PDP Presidential Campaign with N400m³¹. These donations were excessive and violated the provisions of the Electoral Act. By S.91 (9) of the Electoral Act 2010 as amended, no individual is permitted to donate more than N1m to a candidate and contravening this provisions carries a penalty of 9 months imprisonment or N500,000 fine or both.

3.14 ALLEGATIONS OF DOLLAR DENOMINATED INDUCEMENT IN THE SOUTH WEST REGION

The scheduled date for the presidential election was February 14, 2015. But it was moved to March 28, 2015. The reasons given for the postponement were to allocate more time to the military to combat the insecurity in the North East and also to afford INEC the opportunity to distribute the PVCs to those who were yet to collect. The campaigns continued during the postponement period. It was alleged by the APC that the incumbent and candidate of the PDP spent time in Lagos and some states of the South West distributing United States Dollars to the traditional leaders to get their support. The report published in the national dailies cited former Governor Fashola complaining that the money distributed to monarchs was enough to build infrastructure in a state. His statement reads as follows:³²

“The Federal Government doesn’t understand how to proffer solution to the country’s challenges, saying “if you vote for Buhari, he will fight corruption.” According to him, “If you switch on your television today, you will see different campaigns. And if you check how much they had (PDP led Federal Government) spent campaigning for the forthcoming election, it is big enough to build infrastructure in a state”.

However, chieftains of the PDP denied the APC allegation of releasing dollars to the traditional rulers. According to the PDP, they also accused the APC of also inducing the traditional leaders with money.

³⁰ Report from the Anambra State monitor

³¹ Report from the Anambra State monitor

³² See more at: <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/03/dollars-for-monarchs-mixed-reactions-as-southwest-leaders-flay-allegations-say-apc-also-giving-bribes/#sthash.n6wtw0I7.dpuf>

CHAPTER FOUR

Abuse of State Administrative Resources

This Chapter reviews the abuse of SARs by the parties and candidates. This was done in violation of section 100 (2) of the Electoral Act which states that:

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

The details are as follows.

4.1 DIVERSION OF MDG WOMEN EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMME MATERIALS FOR PARTISAN CAMPAIGNS IN BAYELSA

The MDG Women Empowerment Programme which was scheduled to take place earlier in the year before the campaign period was reported delayed until the campaign period. The former First Lady, Dame Patience Jonathan at the MDG Women Empowerment Programme distributed bags of rice which was branded with Mr. President’s picture to each of the women; others received sewing machines, tricycles, groundnut oil and wrappers. She called on over 50,000 women of Bayelsa to support the re-election of her husband³³. This picture from our monitors in Bayelsa State tells the story.



Again, there were reports that the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) grains, being distributed to persons internally displaced by Boko Haram’s rampage were branded with PDP logo and President Jonathan’s campaign slogans. This was heavily criticised by the APC campaign organisation³⁴.

³³ Report of Accord for Community Development.

³⁴ THISDAY Newspaper of February 18 2015: *Buhari Faults PDP’s Branding of Food Donations to IDPs*

The foregoing actions were clearly in contravention of the Electoral Act 2010 and also contravened the Code of Conduct of Political Parties 2013 which forbids incumbents from using the power of incumbency to the disadvantage of other political parties.

4.2 BRANDED RICE AND FERTILISER FLOOD STATES

There are reports that President Goodluck Jonathan's branded fertiliser and bags of rice had flooded major cities as part of campaign towards the re-election of the PDP candidate. These were made possible by the Agricultural Transformation Agenda (ATA) and Millennium Development Goals. In Jigawa State, these branded bags of fertiliser and rice with Jonathan's picture on it and with the inscription 'Vote for Jonathan' came in 17 trucks which were distributed to women farmers in Dutse, Hadeji, Guri and Babura. According to Yunusa of the MGDs' Office Dutse, 20,000 women benefitted from the fertilisers and rice. Also, in other states, these bags of fertiliser and rice have been shared to women so as to win their votes. This is an abuse of the power of incumbency. Even if the rice and fertiliser were not bought with public resources, it will be a bribe to induce people to vote for a candidate, to corrupt their morals and disrupt due process in elections which is contrary to S. 124 of the 2010 Electoral Act.

4.3 SURE-P BENEFICIARIES CANVASSED SUPPORT FOR JONATHAN

In all the states where the PDP candidate held a campaign or rally, the SURE-P beneficiaries formed a good part of the crowd at the venue. Dressed in blue Ankara under the umbrella organization known as Community Awareness Network (CAWAN), they were mobilised from all the wards in the state to the campaign venue upon the allocation of N5,000 each. In Nassarawa State for example, the 13 Local governments brought 50 persons each to attend the rally. There was an earlier report about SURE-P; that most of the beneficiaries of the programme are members of the ruling PDP with SURE-P being an avenue for a *job for the boys*³⁵. This turned out to be true, with their mass involvement in the GEJ/Sambo 2015 Campaigns.

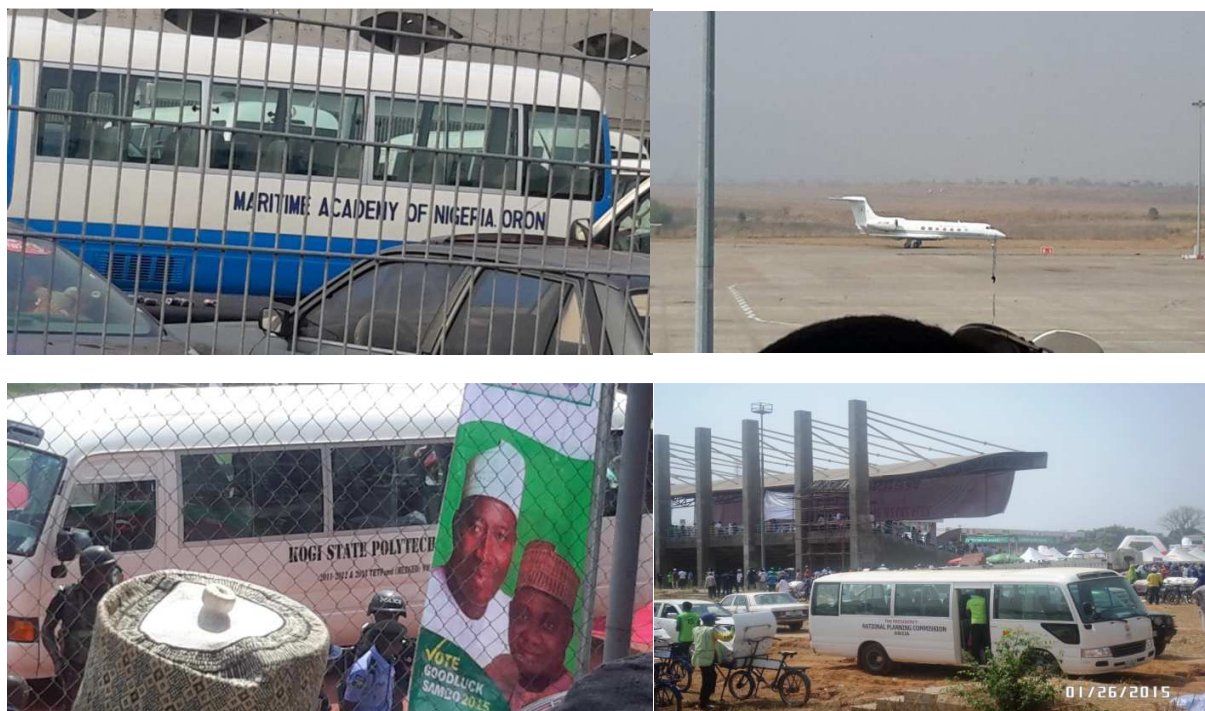
4.4 MASSIVE DEPLOYMENT OF OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT VEHICLES AND AIRCRAFTS TO CAMPAIGNS

The official vehicles of various state governments of both the APC and PDP accompanied their respective candidates to the campaign grounds. They also deployed the vehicles of government agencies, commissions and parastatals. In Rivers State, about 30 SUVs with government plate numbers were used during the APC presidential campaign rally.

³⁵ www.thisdaylive.com/articles/acn-alleges-diversion-of-sure-p-funds-pdp-campaign/143708

Aircrafts in the Presidential Fleet of the Federal Republic of Nigeria were constantly deployed to the campaigns of the incumbent conveying the president, the vice president and other high ranking public officials and members of the ruling party. For instance, during the PDP presidentially rally in Lagos, three presidential aircrafts were used. These include the presidential jets that brought President Goodluck Jonathan, Vice President Namadi Sambo and the Senate President. This trend continued except when the rally took place in states that do not have an airport like, Ebonyi, Nasarawa and Kogi States where the President and his entourage are brought by choppers in the presidential fleet.

There were allegations by the River State PDP chapter that Governor Amaechi attended APC rallies with Rivers State government owned aircraft. However, the fact remains that while the APC presidential candidate used private aircrafts, the ruling PDP used the advantage of incumbency to ply the public jets at no cost. If the PDP were to pay for the cost of plying the jets, the candidate would have incurred costs exceeding N500m, for all the campaigns and rallies. These pictures from our monitors tell the story³⁶.



³⁶ The first picture showing a vehicle from Maritime Academy of Nigeria was taken at the PDP presidential rally in Uyo. The aircraft is the presidential jet conveying the President to campaign/rally in Calabar and Uyo when it was taxiing in Abuja. The third picture is from PDP rally in Lokoja, Kogi State while the fourth is from the PDP rally in Ilorin, Kwara State showing the bus from National Planning Commission in Abuja.

4.5 NCC TRIES TO FRUSTRATE BUHARI'S FUNDRAISING EFFORTS: THE COURT TO THE RESCUE

In an apparent abuse of power, the Nigeria Communication Commission ordered the shutting down of the fund raising platform of the APC presidential candidate. The APC had successfully used the platform of mobile communication as part of its crowd funding measures to raise funds. In a directive issued under reference No: NCC/CAB/GEN/2015/VOL.1/004 signed by the Director of Consumer Affairs, Mrs. Maryam Bayi, and the Head of Legal and Regulatory Services, Mrs. Yinka Akinloye, on behalf of the Executive Vice-Chairman of NCC), Dr. Eugene Juwah, the NCC shut down the Platform. But the Governor of Lagos State Babatunde Fashola who chairs the APC Campaign Fund Raising Committee rightly recalled that the NCC had also given the ruling PDP such right to use the communication platform to raise funds in 2011. According to Fashola, this offer was issued in a letter dated October 21, 2010, with reference no: NCC/TSMI /short Code/ Vol.9/044/ 2010 granting approval to the Goodluck/Sambo Presidential Campaign to use the same Platform. The Governor stated that the use of government institutions to subdue the opposition is an undemocratic act and an abuse of state institutions to perpetrate coercion against the opposition, which does not promote fairness in electoral contest³⁷. However, the court eventually declared the action of the NCC null and void and permitted APC to continue the use of the Platform.

4.6 GOVERNOR DECLARES PUBLIC HOLIDAY IN BORNO STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

The APC was not left out in the abuse of state administrative resources. The governor of Borno State, a member of the APC abused state prerogative by declaring a public holiday in the state to support the campaign/rally of its presidential candidate, Muhammadu Buhari which held in the state. The governor urged the entire citizens of the state to come out en masse to receive General Buhari³⁸. However, when the presidential candidate of the PDP visited the state for a rally, the governor did not declare a public holiday. Clearly, this is a discriminatory use of power. Even the declaration by the governor on its own is tainted with illegality because public holiday is item No. 51 on the Exclusive Legislative List reserved for the National Assembly. Indeed, the governor had no power to declare a public holiday without reference and approval of the National Assembly. Thus, the declaration was unconstitutional.

³⁷ THISDAY Newspaper of January 23, 2015; <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/fg-shuts-down-buhari-osinbajo-fundraising-platform>

³⁸ See the PUNCH Newspaper of February 16th 2015.

4.7 PUBLIC OFFICERS WORKING FOR PARTISAN PURPOSES

Some serving public officers were in the campaign team of both President Jonathan and General Buhari. The first is the Rivers State Governor Rotimi Amaechi who headed General Buhari's Campaign Team and the second is Okonjo Iweala, the Minister of Finance who worked on President Jonathan's Campaign Team. As a governor working full time for the people of Rivers State, he should be dedicated 24 hours a day, 7 days a week to his duties rather than the distraction of partisan campaigns. It would have been understandable if he was campaigning for his own re-election. APC had enough materials who were not serving public officers to anchor the Buhari campaign. For the Minister of Finance and Coordinating Minister of the Economy, it was a grave distraction at a period of economic decline for her attention to be shifted away from the economic and fiscal policies of government into sheer partisanship. It was therefore recommended that these public officers returned to their normal beat rather than diverting attention away to partisanship.

4.8 TINUBU'S HOME UNDER MILITARY SURVEILLANCE

As the date of the presidential election drew closer, the ruling party sought for a means to weaken, harass and intimidate the opposition using security agencies. The leader and founder of the All Progressive Congress alleged that soldiers placed him under surveillance for three days. He claimed that the soldiers numbering 30 initially laid siege about 500 meters to his residence at Ikoyi, before they finally drew closer. He said some of them alighted from their vans and walked back and forth around his building. Tinubu claimed he obtained a report from an insider in the Army, Capt. Sagir Kooli, who exposed the alleged Ekiti rigging tape that Tinubu's telephone was bugged by the Department of State Services.³⁹

4.9. BUHARI DENIED ACCESS TO CAMPAIGN RALLY IN KADUNA

The APC in Kaduna State raised alarm over failure to grant the party's presidential candidate access to the Murtala Mohammed Square which had already been scheduled for its North-West rally. The party alleged that the preparation for the rally reached an advanced stage when the zonal office was informed that the state had refused the party the permit to use the facility. This act was a violation of the principles of equality and fairness which is guaranteed to all parties by Sec 100 (2) of the Electoral Act⁴⁰.

4.10 POLICE TEARGAS APC SUPPORTERS IN ONDO STATE RALLY

The APC mobilised its supporters across Ondo State to stage a walk, as part of its campaign activities to sensitise the people. Unfortunately, the rally which was tagged

³⁹ Soldiers lay siege to Tinubu's home, the PUNCH Newspaper, Wednesday, February 11, 2015 Pg.2

⁴⁰ Kaduna denies Buhari access to rally venue, PUNCH Newspaper, Wednesday, March 11, 2015. Pg.11

“Walk for Change” and organised by its Vice Presidential Candidate, Prof. Yemi Osibanjo met a brick wall when the Nigerian Police Force began to disperse the crowd with tear gas. According to the report, the teargas was shot at the crowd. It took the intervention of the Osun State governor to calm the situation before they proceeded with their walk. The act of the police was barbaric; they were supposed to provide protection to every citizen irrespective of political affiliation and not to be used by authorities to intimidate and harass law abiding citizens. The APC secretary had accused the Ondo State governor and the presidential candidate of the PDP as those responsible for the police action.⁴¹

⁴¹ Tell Magazine <https://www.tell.ng/police-teargas-apc-rally-ondo>

CHAPTER FIVE

Campaigns and Rallies

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter gives a detailed account of the observable expenses incurred by the candidates on campaigns and rallies. The expenditure heads reported in this Chapter include hire of venues, podiums, public address and music systems, branded T-shirts, face caps and other dressing, fliers, posters, vehicles to convey individuals and groups and other materials used on campaign grounds. Others include food and drinks, hire of entertainers such as musicians and comedians, etc. However, there were facts peculiarly within the knowledge of the persons who organised the rallies and campaigns which we could not document. These include allowances paid to campaign officials, cost of feeding and accommodation, monies given to party chieftains and traditional rulers, etc. For this reason, the expenses recorded in this Chapter cannot be said to reflect the total expenditure of the candidates and parties. This Chapter records only the expenses known to and verifiable by the monitors.

5.2 ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS (APC)

This section provides the details for the APC presidential, campaigns, rallies and associated events.

A. PRESIDENTIAL RALLY AT SAMSON SIASIA STADIUM, OVOM, YENAGOA, BAYELSA; on The 8th JANUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Public Address System (PAS); music system and generating set	DJ was hired to provide music; big speakers and electricity generating set.	120,000	120,000
Brooms	10,000 party leaders and supporters with brooms, the symbol of the party	100	1,000,000
Platform and decoration	1 metallic platform with decorations used by dignitaries at the event	250,000	250,000
Banners	8 large banners and 6 medium sized banners	Large banners @ 12,000 Medium sized banners @ 8,000	144,000
Posters and Advert Boards	200 party supporters displayed small sized constructed advert boards with candidates posters on them	250	50,000
Cardboard Papers	100 Women and some youths carried cardboard papers with different inscriptions written on them	20	2,000

Consumables	Participants were provided with 12 packs of bottled water and 8 packs of fruit juice	Water 600 Juice 1,800	21,600
Venue	Hiring of Samson Siasia Stadium – venue	400,000	400,000
Chairs and tables	20 Chairs and 10 tables were provided for the high table on stage	50 per Chair 300 per Table	4,000
Costumes	7 APC Leaders Wore Niger Delta attire	25,000	175,000
	1000 Youth and Party supporters wore T-Shirt and face caps	1,300	1,300,000
	500 Women wore Ankara material	1200	600,000
Vehicles	6 Coaster vehicles were hired from Katsina State	80,000	480,000
	2 Buses were hired from Edo State	35,000	70,000
	4 Buses were hired from Rivers State	20,000	80,000
Total			4,696,600

B. PRESIDENTIAL RALLY HELD AT TESLIM BALOGUN STADIUM, SURULERE LAGOS, ORGANIZED ON THE 30TH OF JANUARY 2015.

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Venue	Teslim Balogun Stadium	1,000,000	1,000,000
Podium, PAS and Music Set	Large Metallic Platform with a Walk Way. The events manager also provided complete music system and DJ services and decoration.	2,500,000	2,500,000
Chairs	Four Dozens of Plastic Chairs were hired for Delegates	600	2,400
Entertainment/ Performances	The Entire Crew of Marvin Records, Dami Krane, Olamide, Davido, WizKid	Marvin (5,000,000) Dami Krane (1,000,000) Davido (2,500,000) WizKid (2,500,000) Olamide (2,500,000)	13,500,000
Digital Banners	10 Large Digital Banners, and 20 Medium Sized banners from the LGAs	Large Banners (50,000) Medium (20,000)	900,000
Hiring of Vehicles	One hundred and twenty 18 seater buses hired to convey participants from different locations.	20,000	2,400,000
Branded Vehicles	300 Buses have been branded across the 57 LGAs	50,000	15,000,000
Consumables	4,000 Plates of take away packs were given to various participants in their groups	1000	4,000,000
Costume	7,000 party supporters wore different colors of T-shirts and Face Cap; 300 Youths wore APC Customized Shirts. 3,000 Women wore different Colors of Branded Ankara, 50 Delegates wore the Yoruba Traditional Attire	T-Shirts 1,200 Customized Shirts 3,000 Branded Ankara (3,000) Traditional Attire	19,300,000

		(20,000)	
Posters	10,000 copies of posters were placed in every nook and cranny of the City of Lagos	100	1,000,000
Digital Screen	4 Live Projectors were used to Project the event	100,000	400,000
Video Coverage	Pictures and Video Coverage of the Event	100,000	100,000
APC Symbols	Party supporters flaunted 10,000 brooms, the symbol of the APC	100	1,000,000
Campaign Brochure	5000 copies of the campaign brochure were distributed at the event	200	1,000,000
Disbursement of Fund	An estimate of 2000 Persons got stipends	1000	2,000,000
Total			64,102,400

C. PRESIDENTIAL RALLY HELD AT UYO TOWNSHIP STADIUM AKWA-IBOM ON THE 6TH OF JANUARY 2015.

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Venue	Uyo Township Stadium	1,000,000	1,000,000
Podium, PAS and Music Set	Wooden Platform, PAS, music system; and decoration	500,000	500,000
Canopies	10 large Canopies & 4 Small Sized Canopies	3,500-Large Canopies 1,500-Small Canopies	41,000
Chairs	250 Dozens of Plastic Chairs	300	75,000
Entertainment/Performances	Performances from Utu Ekpe Group from Etim Ekpo Performance from MC White Performances from Ekpo Cultural Group from Abak Performances from Dynamite Dancers and Cultural Troupe	100,000 each	400,000
Digital Banners	10 Digital Banners	30,000	300,000
Hiring of Vehicles	1 Emergency Van accompanying party official 1 Coaster Bus used by party Officials 2 (18 Seater) Buses used by party officials 310 (18 Seater) Buses hired per ward	Van-20,000 Coaster-40,000 18 Seater Buses-30,000	9,420,000
Costume	20 Members of Buhari Support Group wore Branded Costume	1,500	30,000
Video Coverage	Pictures and Video Coverage of the Event	100,000	100,000
APC Symbols	Party supporters flaunted 1,000 brooms	100	100,000

	a symbol of the APC		
Total			11,966,000

D. RALLY HELD AT OMAGWA STADIUM IKWERE RIVERS STATE ON THE 6TH OF JANUARY 2015.

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Venue	Omagwa Stadium	1,000,000	1,000,000
Podium, PAS and music system	Wooden Platform with Complete Sound System and Decoration	450,000	450,000
Canopies	1 Small Sized Canopy	1,500	1,500
Entertainment/Performances	Unidentified local musician Performed at the event	100,000	100,000
Digital Banners	4 Large Digital Banners, and 28 Medium Sized banners from the LGAs	Large Banners (50,000) Medium (20,000)	760,000
Hiring of Vehicles	1 Emergency Van accompanying party Official; Forty 21 Seater Coaster Buses used by party officials; Two Hundred 18 Seater Buses hired per ward	Van: 20,000 Coaster: 40,000 18 Seater Buses: 30,000	7,620,000
Branded Vehicles	20 Buses were branded from the LGAs	100,000	2,000,000
Consumables	10,000 plates of take away packs with souvenirs enclosed, 200 packs of bottled water, 200 cartons of malt	Take away 1,500 Bottle Water (600), Malt (2,400)	15,600,000
Costume	10,000 party supporters wore different colours of T-shirts and Face Cap	1,200	12,000,000
Posters	10,000 copies of Posters were placed in every nook and cranny of the City	100	1,000,000
Digital Screen	4 live projectors were used to Project the event	100,000	400,000
Video Coverage	Pictures and video coverage of the event	100,000	100,000
APC Symbols	Party supporters flaunted 3,000 brooms, the symbol of the APC	100	300,000
Campaign Brochure	5000 copies of the campaign brochure were distributed at the event	200	1,000,000
Total			42,331,500

E. PRESIDENTIAL FLAG-OFF CAMPAIGN AT EMMAUS FIELD AWKA, ANAMBRA STATE ON THE 10TH OF JANUARY 2015

Expenditure	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
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Head			
Venue	Emmaus Field	500,000	500,000
PAS, podium and music system	Wooden platform; music system and decoration	400,000	400,000
Canopies	20 double set canopies & 20 single sized canopies	3,500- Double Canopies 1,500-Single Canopies	100,000
Chairs	500 dozens of plastic chairs	300	150,000
Musical Performances	Performance by Mr. Edogwa Patrick J.) Director J & P Music Link	150,000	150,000
Digital Banners	10 Digital Banners	30,000	300,000
Hiring of Vehicles	1 Emergency Van accompanying party Official 1 Coaster Bus used by party Officials 2 (18 Seater) Buses used by party officials 310 (18 Seater) Buses hired per ward	Van:20,000 Coaster:40,000 18 Seater Buses: 30,000	9,420,000
Costume	2000 Persons mobilized from all the 21 LGAs wore white upon blue T-shirts and Face Caps; 350 women Leaders wore Mixed Color Ankara; 500 Party Leaders/ Delegates wore Blue Wrapper; 100 Delegates wore shoulder Sash	2000 persons @1,300, 350 Women @ 2,500 500 Party Leaders @ 2,500 100 Sash @ 1000	4,825,000
Bill Boards	5 Large Bill Boards	75,000 each	375,000
Advert Placards	2,200 Pieces of Placards for Presidential Candidate and other Offices	50	110,000
Banners	50 APC Advert Banners for Various offices	3,500	175,000
Snacks/Drinks	100 Creates of Malt & 200 Cartons of Gala	100 crates of Malt-2,400 200 cartons of gala -2,650	770,000
Vehicle Branding	50 vehicles were branded with GMB Logo	15,000	750,000
Sharing of money (mobilization fees)	6000 Participants were mobilized from all the wards	1000	6,000,000
Cooling Van	1 Cooling van	250,000	250,000
Total			24,275,000

F. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT ETCHE ROAD PRIMARY SCHOOL FOOTBALL FIELD, WARD 11, ABA SOUTH LGA OF ABIA STATE. 9TH JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Sound System and generating set	PAS, D.J services with music set	200,000	200,000

Platform and Decoration	Metallic platform with decorations	200,00	200,000
Venue	Etche Open Space	100,000	100,000
Brooms	5000 party leaders, aspirants and supporters at the venue flagged brooms the symbol of the party.	100	500,000
Banners	8 extra large banners, 6 medium sized banners	50,000 (Large Banners) 20,000 (Medium Banners)	520,000
Consumables	12 packs of bottled water and 12 cartons of fruit Juice	600 (Water) 1,800 (Juice)	28,800
Chairs and tables	2 dozens of plastic chairs, 3 set of four-seater leather seats and 3 tables provided for delegates at the high table on stage	Plastic Chairs- (300), Leather Seats (5000), Tables (2000)	21,600
Costume	7 chieftains were clad in Igbo traditional costumes, 1000 Youth wore T-Shirt & Face Cap, 100 women wore Igbo Traditional Attire	APC Chieftain attire (30,000) T-shirts (1000) Women Attire (2,500)	1,460,000
Hire of Vehicles	Five 18 Seater Coasters Buses Hired from Katsina State, Two 14 Seater Buses Hired from Edo state, Four 14 Seater Buses Hired from Rivers State	Katsina Coasters (120,000) Edo State Buses (40,000), Rivers State Buses (30,000)	800,000
Total			3,830,400

G. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT SAMUEL OGBEMUDIA STADIUM BENIN CITY, ORGANIZED ON THE 29TH OF JANUARY 2015.

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
PAS, music system and generating set	D.J Services, musical set and generator	200,000	200,000
Platform and Decoration	Metallic platform with decorations	200,000	200,000
Venue	Samuel Ogbemudia Stadium	500,000	500,000
Brooms	1000 party leaders, aspirants and supporters at the venue flagged brooms the symbol of the party.	100	100,000
Banners	5 large banners and 20 medium sized Banners were hung inside the stadium. 100 Small Banners were displayed in and outside the Stadium Environment.	50,000 (large banners) 20,000 (medium banners) 15,000	2,150,000

		(small banners)	
Costume	2000 supporters wore T-Shirts and Face Cap	1,200	2,400,000
Hire of Vehicles	Forty-Eight 18 seater coasters buses were used to convey participants from the LGAs to the event.	30,000 per bus	1,440,000
Total Cost			6,990,000

H. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT ATU SECONDARY SCHOOL FIELD, CALABAR ON THE 7TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Sound system and generating set	D.J Services, PAS and music set	250,000	250,000
Platform and Decoration	Metallic platform with decorations	200,000	200,000
Venue	Atu School Field	100,000	100,000
Party Symbol	6000 party leaders, aspirants and supporters at the venue flagged brooms, (the symbol of the party). 1000 persons, waved the party hand flags	100 (Broom) Hand flags (200)	800,000
Performance	The following cultural groups performed at the event; Ekpe, Nnabo, Ekombi Dancers, Nkoriko Cultural Group, Calabar South Cultural Group	@100,000 each	500,000
Banners	50 medium sized banners (Face of Change); 30 medium sized banners, (Team Change); 20 Small sized banners (Buhari Youth Organization)	20,000 (medium banners) 15,000 (Small Banners)	1,900,000
Chairs and tables	300 dozens of plastic chairs; one dozen of plastic tables, 3 set of four-seater leather seats and 1 table provided for delegates at the high table on stage	Plastic chairs - (300), Plastic tables (1,800) Leather seats (5000), Executive Table (1000)	107,800
Costume	7 APC Chieftains were clad in South South Atire, 1000 Youth wore T-Shirt & Face Cap, 100 women wore Traditional Attire, 200 Persons Wore Branded Hats and Scarf	APC Chieftain attire (15,000) T-shirts (1000) Women Attire (2,500) Hats, Scarf, Morflas (1500)	1,655,000
Hiring of Vehicle	300 Eighteen Seater Buses were hired from the LGAs. 3 luxury buses hired to convey participants from other states	30,000 (per bus) 100,000 (per luxury bus)	9,300,000

Disbursement of Fund	6,480 participants from the 196 wards received funds for attending the campaigns	2000 each	12,960,000
Campaign Pamphlet	5000 copies of pamphlet were produced and distributed to the Participants	200	1,000,000
Total			28,772,800

I. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT WARRI TOWNSHIP STADIUM ON THE 7TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total
Sound System and generating set	D.J services, PAS and music set	250,000	250,000
Platform and Decoration	2 Wooden platform with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	Warri Township Stadium	500,000	500,000
Consumables	83 Packs of Lacasera, 286 Packs of Soft Drinks, 200 Cans of Malt, 500 bags of Sachet Waters	Lacasera (1,100) Soft Drinks (1,200) Malt (2,400) Sachet Water (100)	964,500
Party Symbol	3000 party leaders, aspirants and supporters at the venue flagged brooms, (the symbol of the party). 500 persons, waved the party hand flags	100 (Broom) Hand flags (200)	400,000
Performance	Ayuri Musical Band	350,000	350,000
Banners	20 Medium sized Banners	20,000	400,000
Chairs and Canopies	20 dozens of plastic chairs, 6 large canopies	Plastic Chairs-(300), Canopies (5000)	36,000
Costume	10 APC chieftains were clad in South South Atire; 1000 Youth wore T-Shirt & Face Cap, 100 women wore traditional attire, 200 Persons wore branded hats, scarf and muffler	APC chieftain's attire (15,000) T-shirts (1000); Women's attire (2,500) Hats, Scarf, Mufflers (1500)	1,700,000
Lodging of Delegates	50 Delegates were lodged at Cess Hotel, at Refinery Road, Warri	10,000	500,000
Hiring of Vehicle	Buses were hired at different locations within and outside the state to convey participants; such as Asaba 20 Buses; Warri 10 buses; Sapele 10 Buses; Port Harcourt 10 Buses; Ugheli 30 Buses; Lagos 5 Buses; Bauchi, 5 Buses; Kano 5 Buses; and Kaduna 5 Buses	Asaba 15,000; Warri 10,000; Sapele 15,000; Port Harcourt 20,000; Ugheli 15,000; Lagos 80,000; Bauchi 90,000; Kano 100,000; And Kaduna 100,000	3,050,000
Disbursement of Fund	6000 participants from the 270 wards received funds for attending	2000	12,000,000

	the Campaigns		
Campaign Pamphlet	5000 copies of pamphlet were produced and distributed to the participants	200	1,000,000
Handbills	20,000 pieces of handbills were produced and distributed to participants	10	200,000
Cooling Van	Two mobile cooling vans	50,000	100,000
Total			21,850,500

J. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OLD PARADE GROUND LAFIA ON 17TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total
Music system and electricity generating set	D.J services, PAS and music set	250,000	250,000
Platform and decorations	2 Wooden platform with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	Old Parade Ground	100,000	100,000
Consumables	40 Packs of bottled water, 50 cartons of Juice, 100 bags of sachet water	Bottled water (600) Juice (800) Sachet water (100)	74,000
Party Symbol	2000 persons - party leaders, aspirants and supporters at the venue flagged brooms, (the symbol of the party). 200 persons, waved the party hand flags	100 (Broom) Hand Flags (200)	240,000
Performance	Cultural dance from various ethnic group in Nasarawa State (Eggon, Gwandara, Fulani, and Mada dancers); Si bombo dance from Niger state	300,000	300,000
Banners	20 medium sized banners	20,000	400,000
Chairs and Canopies	20 dozens of plastic chairs, 6 large canopies	Plastic chairs-(300); Canopies (5000)	36,000
Costume	30 APC chieftains clad in branded Northern Agbada; 2000 Youths wore T-Shirt & Face Cap; 100 women wore Traditional Attire; 200 Persons Wore Branded Hats, Scarf and Muffler	APC Chieftain attire (15,000) T-shirts (1000) Women Attire (2,500) Hats, Scarf, Muffler (1500)	3,000,000
Hiring of Vehicle	Five buses each were hired from the 13 (65) LGAs to convey participants to the	10,000 each	650,000

	venue		
Hotel Lodgement	20 Party Delegates were lodged at Presidential Lodge Lafia, 30 Others were lodged at Taal Hotel	Presidential (30,000) Taal Hotel (15,000)	1,050,000
Total			6,500,000

K. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT AMINU KANO TRIANGLE DUTSE, JIGAWA STATE ON THE 20TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total
Music system and generating set	D.J Services, PAS and music set; rendered campaign jingles and eulogies of ranking personalities and party candidates.	250,000	250,000
Platform and Decoration	2 wooden platform with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	Aminu Kano Triangle	250,000	250,000
Party Symbol	10,000 participants made up of party leaders, aspirants and supporters at the venue flagged brooms. 2,000 persons, waved the party hand flags	100 (Broom) Hand Flags (200)	1,400,000
Banners	100 medium sized banners were displayed by party supporters	20,000	2,000,000
Costume	Branded T-shirts and Face Cap for 2000	1,200	2,400,000
Hiring of Vehicles	100 Buses were hired from the wards to the venue	10,000 each	1,000,000
Total			7,700,000

L. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OLD LOKOJA STADIUM LOKOJA, KOGI STATE ON THE 16TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total
Music system and generating set	D.J services, PAS and music set	250,000	250,000
Platform and decoration	2 Wooden platforms with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	Old Lokoja Stadium		100,000
Party Symbol	20,000 participants; 3,000 persons waved the party hand flags	100 (Broom) Hand Flags (200)	2,600,000
Banners	100 medium sized banners were displayed	20,000	2,000,000
Costume	Mostly party leaders, about 30 wore T-shirts and Face Cap	1,200	36,000
Hiring of Vehicle	60 buses were hired from the wards to the venue.	10,000	600,000

Total			5,986,000
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M. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT MKO STADIUM ABEOKUTA, OGUN STATE ON THE 13TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total
Sound system and generating set	D.J services, PAS and music systems	250,000	250,000
Platform and Decoration	2 Wooden platform with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	MKO Abiola Stadium	750,000	750,000
Musical Performance	Prominent musician Adewale Ayuba performed	1,000,000	1,000,000
Consumables	100 packs of bottled water were given to participants at the event	600	60,000
Party Symbol	2,000 participants flagged brooms	100	200,000
Canopies	40 large canopies	3,500	140,000
Chairs	160 dozens of plastic chairs were used at the event	600	96,000
Banners	100 medium sized banners	20,000	2,000,000
Posters	3000 campaign posters were displayed around the city down to the campaign venue	100	300,000
Costume	1000 youths wore T-Shirts and Face Caps, and 30 party leaders, wore traditional attire	T-Shirts (1,200) Traditional (15,000)	1,650,000
Hiring of Vehicle	200 Buses were hired from the 20 LGAs to the venue.	15,000	3,000,000
Branding of Vehicle	20 Buses were branded in each of the LGAs	50,000	1,000,000
Total			10,846,000

N. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OLD AIRPORT GUSAU, TUDUN WADA WARD, GUSAU LGA, ZAMFARA STATE. ORGANIZED ON THE 21ST OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit cost	Total
Music system and generating set	D.J services, PAS and music set	250,000	250,000
Platform and Decoration	2 Wooden platform with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	Old Airport, Gusau	-	-
Consumables	100 packs of bottled water were given to participants at the event	600	60,000
Party Symbol	3,000 participants with brooms	100	300,000
Canopies	50 large canopies	3,500	175,000
Chairs	120 dozens of plastic chairs were used at the event	600	72,000
Banners	10 large banners and 20 medium sized banner were also displayed around the	Large banners (40,000);	800,000

	event center	Medium sized banners (20,000)	
Posters	10,000 campaign posters were displayed around the city down to the campaign venue	40	400,000
Costume	1000 youths wore T-Shirts and Face Caps, and 10 Party Leaders, wore branded traditional attire	T-Shirts (1,200) Traditional (15,000)	1,350,000
Hiring of Vehicle	Seventy 18 seater buses were hired from the 14 LGAs to the venue.	20,000	1,400,000
Branding of Vehicle	20 buses were branded in each of the LGAs	50,000	1,000,000
Total			6,207,000

O. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT METROPOLITAN SQUARE ILLORIN, ORGANIZED ON THE 31ST OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total
Music system and generating set	D.J services, PAS and music set	250,000	250,000
Platform and Decoration	2 Wooden platform with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	Metropolitan Square Illorin	-	-
Consumables	100 packs of bottles water were given to participants at the event	600	60,000
Party Symbol	5,000 participants flagged brooms.	100	500,000
Banners	10 large banners and 20 medium sized banners were displayed at the event;	Large banners (40,000) medium sized banners (20,000)	800,000
Posters	15,000 campaign posters were displayed around the city down to the campaign venue	40	600,000
Costume	2000 Youth wore T-Shirts and Face Caps, 100 Women wore branded Ankara and 10 Party Leaders, wore Traditional Attire	T-Shirts (1,200) Branded Ankara (3,000) Traditional (15,000)	2,850,000
Hiring of Vehicle	One hundred 18 Seater Buses were hired from all the LGAs to the venue	20,000	2,000,000
Branding of Vehicle	20 Buses were branded in each of the LGAs	50,000	1,000,000
Total			8,460,000

P. ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT JALINGO TRADE FARE COMPLEX, TARABA STATE, ORGANIZED ON THE 28TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total
Sound system and generating set	D.J services, PAS and music set	250,000	250,000
Platform and Decoration	2 Wooden platform with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	Jalingo Trade Fare Complex		
Consumables	100 cartons of bottled soft drinks were given to participants at the event	1,200	120,000
Party Symbol	4,000 participants made flagged brooms.	100	400,000
Canopies	25 large canopies	3,500	87,500
Chairs	90 dozens of plastic chairs were used at the event	600	54,000
Banners	5 large and 15 medium sized banners were displayed at the event.	Large banners (40,000) Medium sized banners (20,000)	500,000
Posters	12,000 campaign posters were displayed around the city down to the campaign venue	40	480,000
Costume	1000 youths wore T-Shirts and Face Caps, and 10 Party Leaders, wore branded traditional attire	T-Shirts (1,200) Traditional (15,000)	1,350,000
Hiring of Vehicle	The 168 wards in the state utilized 2 buses each to convey participants to the venue	20,000	6,720,000
Ushers	10 Ushers were used to sell pinups and usher in delegates to the event	20,000	200,000
TOTAL			10,561,500

Q. ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT PEOPLES RESORT HOTEL, ABAKILIKI ON THE 9TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Sound System and generating set	D.J Services, PAS and music set.	250,000	250,000
Masters of Ceremony	A staff of Unity FM and FRCN were used as MC at the event	100,000 each	200,000
Platform and Decoration	2 Wooden platform with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	Peoples Resort Hotel		
Consumables	50 packs of bottled water were given to participants at the event	600	30,000

Canopies	25 large canopies	3,500	87,500
Chairs	100 dozens of plastic chairs were used at the event	600	60,000
Posters	5,000 campaign posters were displayed around the campaign venue	40	200,000
Costume	500 persons wore T-Shirts and Face Caps, and 10 party leaders, wore branded traditional attire	T-Shirts (1,200) Traditional (15,000)	750,000
Hiring of Vehicle	Twenty Six 18 seater buses were hired to convey people to the event	20,000	520,000
Disbursement of Fund	1000 Persons were given feeding allowance	500	500,000
TOTAL			2,997,500

R. CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT OKPARA SQUARE, INDEPENDENT LAYOUT ENUGU ON THE 9TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Sound System and generating set	D.J services, PAS and music set	250,000	250,000
Masters of Ceremony	Staff of Unity FM and FRCN were used as MC at the event	100,000 each	200,000
Platform and Decoration	2 Wooden platforms with decorations	200,000	400,000
Venue	Okpara Square	200,000	200,000
Consumables	100 cartons of bottled water, 100 cartons of soft drink, 500 Bags of Sachet water, 1000 packs of rice in take away packs were given to participants at the event	Bottle Water 600 Bottled Drink (720) Sachet Water (100) Packed Rice 600	782,000
Canopies	20 large canopies	3,500	70,000
Chairs	120 dozens of plastic chairs were used at the event	600	72,000
Posters & Handbills	20,000 campaign posters and 40,000 handbills were displayed around the city and campaign venue,	Posters 40.00 Handbills 5.00	1,000,000
Costume	500 persons wore T-Shirts and Face Caps, and 10 Party Leaders, wore Traditional Attire	T-Shirts (1,200) Traditional (15,000)	750,000
Hiring of Vehicle	Eighty 18 seater buses were used to hire people to the event	30,000	2,400,000
Total			6,124,000

S. ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT DAN ANYIAM STADIUM, OVERRI HELD ON THE 12TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Music system and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	250,000	250,000

Platform Decoration and	Three big platforms and decorations. Large balloon of helicopter size in the colours and symbol of APC loomed over the stadium	Platforms at 200,000 each. Decoration at 250,000	850,000
Venue	The event took place at Dan Anyiam Stadium. It was rented to PDP at the cost of N3, 000,000. But it was not ascertained if APC which controls the state paid for the use of the stadium.	3,000,000	3,000,000
Musical Performance	Rough Coil 'Nwa Aba', a musician performed at the event.	500,000	500, 000.
Consumables	15,000 packs of snacks	500	7,500,000
Party Symbol	5000 brooms.	100 each	500,000
Canopies	3 big canopies	10,000	30,000
Banners	There were at least 3 different kinds of flex banners numbering 50 of APC Presidential candidate Muhammad Buhari.	10,000	500,000
Posters	Over 5000 were pasted around the city of Owerri and also number distributed to party officials at the LGAs	100	500,000
Costume	5,000 youths wore T-Shirts and Face Caps, 30 Party Leaders, aspirants and supporters wore branded traditional attire	T-Shirts (1,200) Traditional (15,000)	6,450,000
Hiring of Vehicle	150 Coaster buses were officially hired from each of the LGAs to Convey Supporters to the event.	30,000	4,500,000
Total			24,080,000

T. APC PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD ON THE 23RD OF MARCH, 2015 AT DAN ANYIAM STADIUM, OWERRI, IMO STATE

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost =N=	Total =N=
Music system and generating set	Music set, PAS and DJ services	200,000	200,000
Platform Decoration and	Two big decorated platforms were used.	200,000	400,000
Venue	Dan Anyiam Stadium.	3,000,000	3,000,000
Musical Performance	Rough Coil Nwaba and Ogbankwa performed at the event.	700,000	700,000
Banners	There were at least 2 different kinds of flex banners numbering 10 of APC Presidential candidate Muhammad Buhari.	10,000	100,000
Costume	100 persons comprising of party	1200	120,000

	officials wore T- Shirts and Face Caps.		
Hiring of Vehicle	5 buses were hired from each of the 27 LGA conveying different groups= 135 buses	N30,000	4,050,000
Branding of participants.	2 different women groups numbering about 1000 wore APC custom designed wrappers at the estimated cost of N4,000 each	4,000	4,000,000
Youth Groups.	1000 Youths groups numbering about wore T. Shirts with faze caps	1,200	1,200,000.00
Total			13,770,000

U. APC PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD ON THE 22ND OF JANUARY, 2015 AT SHEHU KANGWI, SQUARE SQUARE, SOKOTO NORTH

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost =N=	Total =N=
Public Address System	PAS, music set and DJ services	250,000	250,000
Venue	Shehu Kangwi Square	2,000,000	2,000,000
Musical Performance	20 local artists performed at the event	50,000 each	1,000,000
Decoration of Venue	The event center had decorations in party color	100,000	100,000
Costume	10,000 persons Wore branded T- Shirts and Face Cap	1,200	12,000,000
Hiring of Vehicle	300 buses were hired from all LGAs to the event	20,000	6,000,000
Chairs and Canopies	700 dozens of plastic chairs and 40 large canopies	Chairs - 600 Canopies -15,000	1,020,000
Total			22,370,000

V. ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS RALLY AT IBB SQUARE BAUCHI, ON THE 24TH OF MARCH, 2014

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost =N=	Total =N=
Sound System	PAS, music set and DJ services	200,000	200,000
Generating Set	Two sets of 50 KVA Mikano Generators were rented for the event	100,000	200,000
Platform and Decoration	2 wooden platform with decorations	200,000	400,000
Canopies	25 large canopies	5000	125,000
Chairs	200 dozens of plastic chairs were used at the event	600	120,000
Costume	10,000 youths wore T-Shirts and Face Caps, and 50 party leaders and delegates wore traditional attire	T-Shirts (1,200) Traditional (15,000)	12,750,000
TOTAL			13,795,000

W. YEMI OSIBAJO ORGANIZES WALK FOR CHANGE ON BEHALF OF THE ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS IN ONDO STATE

Expenditure Item	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total Cost (N)
Public Address System	Van with music set, microphones and speakers	300,000	300,000
Cultural troupe	Hiring of Brigade Band	100,000	100,000
Costume	3000 party supporters wore branded T-Shirts	1,200	3,600,000
Banners	10 Digital printed Banners	15,000	150,000
Bike Riders	200 motor bike riders were hired to display around the city	2000	400,000
Hiring of Vehicles	40 vehicles were hired from the 18 LGAs to convey participants to Akure	20,000	800,000
Feeding Allowance	3000 participants were given money for food	1000	3,000,000
Total			8,350,000

X. EDO WOMEN RALLY: AISHA BUHARI CANVASSES FOR APC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AT SAMUEL OGBEMUDIA STADIUM BENIN CITY ON THE 18TH OF MARCH 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Venue	Samuel Ogbemudia Stadium	1,000,000	1,000,000
Stage and Decoration	Decoration of the stage	200,000	200,000
Costume	1000 women wore branded Ankara	5000	5,000,000
Public Address System	PAS, DJ services and music set	200,000	200,000
Generator	Rent of Generator	100,000	100,000
Hiring of Private Jet	A private jet conveyed Aisha Buhari to the event	5,000,000	5,000,000
Hiring of Vehicles	30 Luxurious Buses were used to convey participants to the venue	100,000	3,000,000
Total			14,500,000

The total campaigns and rallies expenses of the APC amounts to N 371,062,200

5.3 PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY

A. PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY HELD AT AMINU KANO TRIANGLE DUTSE, JIGAWA STATE ON THE 21ST OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost =N=	Total =N=
Venue	Aminu Kano Triangle		
Platform and decoration	"I vow to do more Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	PAS, DJ services and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, flood lights and	350,000	350,000

	photography		
Canopies	15 large Canopies	3,500	52,500
Plastic Seats	60 dozens of plastic seats	600	36,000
Tables	5 Tables	300	1,500
Consumables	30 Packs of Bottle Water	600	18,000
Costume	8,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 1,500 Women in branded Ankara; 50 men, mostly delegates, in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); Branded Ankara (3,000) Complete Traditional Regalia (5,000)	14,350,000
Banners	5 large advertisement banners and 50 small sized banners	Large Banners (50,000) Small Banners (20,000)	1,250,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator, 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Hiring Of Vehicles	5 luxurious buses conveyed people from other state; 40 coaster buses conveyed people from the wards; Various support group from Neighbouring states came with Fifty 14 Seater Buses	Luxurious Buses (100,000) Coaster Buses (20,000) 14 Seater Buses (30,000)	2,800,000
Disbursement	At the end of the event, an estimate of 500 persons from different support groups were given stipends	1000	500,000
BISCON Crew	Bisi Olatilo Show covered the event for 15mins on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Mobile Advert	A Mobile Advert was stationed outside the venue, rendering continuous documentary of the Transformation Agenda and Achievement of GEJ	350,000	350,000
Total			23,858,000

B. PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY AT TAFAWA BALEWA SQUARE LAGOS ORGANISED ON THE 8TH OF JANUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost =N=	Total =N=
Venue	TBS Lagos	1,500,000	1,500,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More. Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	DJ, PAS and music system	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, flood lights and photography	350,000	350,000
Canopies	30 large canopies	3,500	105,000
Plastic Seats	150 dozens of plastic seats	600	90,000
Tables	15 large Tables	300	4,500
Consumables	10 packs of bottled water	600	6,000
Costume	7,000 support groups in T-shirts	T-shirts & Face	16,900,000

	and Face Cap, 2000 Women from various support groups in branded Ankara and Lace; 100 delegates from different states, in branded traditional Attire	Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (4,000); branded traditional attire (5,000)	
Musical Performance	Obesere and Shekiran	Obesere(1,000,000) Shekiran (1,000,000)	2,000,000
Special Celebrity Appearance	Kate Henshaw, Onyeka Onwenu, Segun Arinze, Monaliza Chinda and Ibinabo Fiberisma were all present to show solidarity to the President	5,000,000	5,000,000
Banners	10 Large Banners with the advert (Good Luck is Good Work), 20 Small Sized Banners	Large Banners (50,000) Small Banners (20,000)	900,000
Posters	10,000 posters were posted around the venue and in the environs	40	400,000
Generating Set	500kva Mikano Generator, 500 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N300,000) FG Wilson (450,000)	750,000
Hiring of Vehicle	Three Hundred 18 seater buses conveyed participants from across the state	30,000	9,000,000
Entertainment	An estimate of 3000 persons got packs containing rice and snacks	Packs at 1,000 each	3,000,000
Mobile Advert	A mobile advert van was stationed outside the venue, rendering continuous documentary of the Transformation Agenda and Achievement of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON CREW	Bisi Olatilo Show covered the event. To be given 15mins air coverage on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Total			44,055,500

C. PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY AT SAMSON SIASIA STADIUM SPORT STADIUM OVOM, YENOGOA. ORGANISED ON THE 6TH OF FEBRUARY 2015.

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost =N=	Total =N=
Venue	Samson Siasia Stadium	400,000	400,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound system and generating set	DJ services, music set and PAS	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, flood lights and photography	350,000	350,000
Canopies	30 Large Canopies	3,500	105,000

Plastic Seats	120 dozens of plastic seats	300	36,000
Tables	15 large Tables	300	4,500
Consumables	10 packs of bottled water	600	6,000
Costume	7,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap, 1000 Women in various support Group in Branded Ankara, 100 men, mostly state delegates, in Complete Branded Traditional Regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200) Branded Ankara (3,000) Complete Traditional Regalia (5,000)	11,900,000
Musical Performance	Duncan Mighty, Timi Dakolo	Duncan (1,000,000) Timi (500,000)	1,500,000
Celebrity Appearance	The Likes of Patience Ozokwo, Okon, Kate Henshaw and 30 other Nollywood Actors and Actresses were invited to greet the people	10,000,000	10,000,000
Banners	3 large banners with the advert (Good Luck is Good Work), 17 small sized banners	Large Banners (50,000) 17 Small Banners (20,000)	490,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator, 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
BISCON CREW	Bisi Olatilo Show covered the event. To be given 15mins air coverage on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Mobile Advert	1 Mobile Truck Advert projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
Total			29,291,500

D. PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY AT INTERNATIONAL STADIUM AKWA IBOM UYO, ORGANISED ON THE 31ST OF JANUARY 2015.

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost =N=	Total =N=
Venue	International Stadium Uyo	-	-
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music system	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Party Symbol	1000 Branded Umbrellas were given to party supporters	300	300,000
Consumables	10,000 packs of rice and water were shared amongst various support group	1,500	15,000,000
Costume	10,000 support groups in T-shirts	T-shirts & Face	27,250,000

	and Face Cap, 5000 Women of various support Group in Branded Ankara, 50 state delegates, in Complete Branded Traditional Regalia	Cap (1,200) Branded Ankara (3,000) Complete Traditional Regalia (5,000)	
Entertainment and Performances	The following performed: MC Galaxy; Xylophone Drum Group; Bicycle Cyclists Group Live Band/Disc Jockey; Joy Band and other 5 band groups - <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Real Brass Band • Ibom Entertainers Forum • Don P • Solototo • Wondaland 8 year old Lilly Kelly Comedienne Elenor Eve Esin; Okon Lagos; Pastor Goody Goody; Sunny Macdon; Ibinabo Fiberesima; KC Limpopo' Inyanya; Okoko masquerade and Ikon Cultural Group from Obot Akara LGA. Uyo Adasi Ukokpan Cultural Group, Abak.	Composite cost of N15m	15,000,000
Banners	3 large banners, mounted in strategic corners around the venue; 16 medium sized banners placed around the Stadium	Large banners (50,000) Medium banners (30,000)	630,000
Posters	5000 posters were placed along the road dividers leading to the Stadium	50	250,000
Souvenirs	2000 Campaign Programs/Booklets distributed at the event; 1000 Achievement Booklet distributed	Campaign Booklet (500) Achievement Booklet (500)	1,500,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator , 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Hire of Vehicle	Twenty Branded 18 Seater Coaster Buses, Five Hundred 18 Seater Buses, Three Marco Polo Luxurious Buses, 1,550 Buses From the 310 wards in the states	Coaster Buses (40,000) 18 Seater Buses (25,000) Marco Polo (100,000), Ward Buses (15,000)	36,850,000

Mobile Advert	1 Mobile Truck Advert Projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 Minutes live coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
Disbursement of Funds	About 10,000 participants from the wards in the State were seen sharing money at their bus stand at the end of the event	1000	10,000,000
Total			111,630,000

E. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT MKO ABIOLA STADIUM ABEOKUTA, OGUN STATE ORGANISED ON THE 12TH OF FEBRUARY 2015.

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	MKO Abiola Stadium	750,000	750,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music system	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Canopies	30 large canopies	3,500	105,000
Plastic Seats	120 dozens of plastic seats	300	36,000
Tables	15 large tables	300	4,500
Consumables	120 packs of bottled water	600	72,000
Costume	4,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 1000 Women in various support groups in branded Ankara; 50 men mostly state delegates, in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200) Branded Ankara (3,000) Complete Traditional Regalia (5,000)	8,050,000
Musical Performance	Life Band Performance	750,000	750,000
Banners	3 large banners, 50 small sized banners	Large banners (50,000); Small banners (20,000)	1,150,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator, 56 KV/a FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Mobile Advert	A continuous documentary of GEJ Transformation Agenda on a Mobile Truck stationed outside the event venue	350,000	350,000
BISCON CREW	Bisi Olatilo Show covered the event; to be given 15mins air coverage on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Total			15,767,500

**F. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT ILORIN METROPOLITAN SQUARE KWARA STATE
ORGANISED ON THE 26TH OF JANUARY 2015**

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total (₦)
Venue	Metropolitan Square	-	-
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Consumables	120 packs of bottles water	600	72,000
Costume	5,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 1000 Women from various support groups in branded Ankara; 30 delegates in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200) Branded Ankara (3,000) Complete Traditional Regalia (5,000)	9,150,000
Musical Performance	Alhaji Abass Akande, Obesere, 3 Upcoming Local Artist	Abass Akande (1,000,000) Obesere (1,000,000) Up Coming Artist (300,000)	2,300,000
Banners	5 large banners, 20 small sized banners	Large banners (50,000); Small banners (20,000)	650,000
Posters	10,000 Posters flooded the entire area	40	400,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Hiring of Vehicles	Hundred 18 Seater Buses were hired from the LGAs to the Campaign ground	30,000	3,000,000
Mobile Advert	A continuous documentary of the Transformation Agenda Achievements ran through the Mobile Advertisement stationed outside the venue	350,000	350,000
BISCON Crew	The Bisi Olatilo Show covered the event, to be given a 15 minutes documentary on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Total			20,422,000

**G. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT CONFLUENCE STADIUM LOKOJA, LOKOJA LGA,
ORGANIZED ON THE 3RD OF FEBRUARY 2015**

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Confluence Stadium Lokoja	-	-
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More. Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000

Sound system and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Consumables	About 1000 Persons were given packs of rice. 200 packs of branded bottled water were distributed.	1000 Branded Water (600)	1,120,000
Costume	4,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 1,000 women from various support groups in branded Ankara; 50 delegates, in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); Branded Ankara (3,000); branded traditional regalia (5,000)	8,050,000
Banners	50 medium sized banners and 200 small sized banners mounted in strategic places around the venue.	Medium Banners (20,000) Small Banners (5,000)	2,000,000
Posters	5,000 posters were placed around the road leading to the campaign ground	100	500,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KV/a FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Canopies	40 large canopies	3,500	140,000
Chairs	160 dozens Of plastic chairs	300	48,000
Hire of Vehicle	A total of one hundred 18 seater buses conveyed participants from the wards in the LGAs to the venue. 20 coaster buses conveyed participants from neighbouring states to the venue	18 seater buses (30,000); Coaster Buses (30,000)	3,600,000
BISCON CREW	Bisi Olatilo Show covered the Event: To be given 15mins air coverage on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Mobile Advert	A documentary of GEJ Transformation Programme was relayed with a Mobile advertisement truck stationed outside the venue	350,000	350,000
Total			20,308,000

H. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT OMAGWA STADIUM IN IKWERRE LGA, ORGANIZED ON THE 28TH OF JANUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Omagwa Stadium	-	-
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More. Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound system and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Consumables	An estimate of 4000 persons	Branded Water (600)	2,410,000

	received bottled water; 20 cartons of Chapman drink were also distributed to delegates at the high table	Chap Man drink (500)	
Costume	8,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 2,000 Women of various support groups in branded Ankara; 30 delegates in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (3,000); branded traditional regalia (5,000)	15,750,000
Banners	5 large banners and 30 medium sized banners were mounted in strategic places around the Venue. 100 small banners raised by various support group	Large banners (50,000); Medium banners (20,000); and Small banners (5,000)	1,350,000
Posters	5,000 posters were placed around the town and the road leading to the campaign ground	50	250,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000); FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Canopies	40 large canopies	3,500	140,000
Chairs	160 dozens Of plastic chairs	300	48,000
Musical Performance	High Life Band performed at the event; 3 other artists performed at the event	Life Band 200,000; Other Artists (100,000 per artist)	500,000
Hiring of Vehicle	A total of eighty 18 seater buses conveyed participants from the wards in the LGAs to the venue. 5 Luxury Buses Conveyed some Participants from other states.	18 seater buses (30,000) Luxurious Buses (100,000)	2,900,000
Branding of Vehicle	500 buses were branded across the state	50,000	25,000,000
Ushers	10 ushers were used at the Event	20,000	200,000
BISCON CREW	Bisi Olatilo Show covered the Event. To be given 15mins air coverage on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Mobile Advert	A documentary of GEJ Transformation Programme was relayed with a mobile advertisement truck stationed outside the venue	350,000	350,000
Total			53,398,000

I. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT LAFIA STADIUM, NASSARAWA STATE. ORGANIZED ON THE 27TH OF JANUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Lafia Stadium	350,000	350,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound system and generating set	DJ services, PAS with music system	1,300,000	1,300,000

Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Consumables	200 packs of bottled water were given to supporters	600	120,000
Costume	7,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap, 2,000; Women of various support group in branded Ankara; about 50 delegates in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200) Branded Ankara (3,000) Complete Traditional Regalia (5,000)	14,650,000
Banners	6 large banners mounted in strategic places around the venue; 200 Small Banners raised by various support group	Medium Banners (50,000) Small Banners (5,000)	1,300,000
Posters	2000 posters were placed around Lafia City	50	100,000
Party Symbol	500 Umbrellas were distributed	700	350,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Canopies	40 large canopies	3,500	140,000
Chairs	160 dozens of plastic chairs	300	48,000
Hire of Vehicle	A total of fifty two 18 seater buses conveyed participants from the 13 wards in the LGAs to the venue. 5 Coaster buses conveyed participants from neighbouring states	18 seater buses (25,000)'; Coaster Buses (30,000)	1,450,000
BISCON CREW	Bisi Olatilo Show covered the event; To be given 15mins air coverage on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Mobile Advert	A documentary of GEJ Transformation Programme was relayed with a mobile advertisement truck stationed outside the venue	350,000	350,000
Disbursement of Fund	Various support groups at an estimated number of 1000 persons were seen collecting stipends; 390 SURE-P Members (CAWAN) were given allowance to attend the Rally	Support Group (500) CAWAN (5000)	2,450,000
Cooling Van	One Cooling Van	100,000	100,000
Total			25,908,000

J. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT THE CENOTAPH HIGH COURT ROAD ASABA ORGANISED ON THE 4TH OF FEBRUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Cenotaph Ground High Court	-	-
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound system and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music system	1,300,000	1,300,000

Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Consumables	5,000 packs of rice and water were shared amongst various support groups	1,000	5,000,000
Costume	5,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 2000 Women of various support groups in branded Ankara; 30 state delegates in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (3,000); branded traditional regalia (5,000)	12,150,000
Entertainment /Performances	Oris Wiliki, Ras kimono, Daddy Shookey, Humble Smith, Stella Monye, Sammy Okposo, Felix Ndukwe, Joe Morgan, Kandy Sea, Righteousman, Omawumi	Total of 7,000,000	7,000,000
Special Celebrity Appearance	Patience Ozokwo	1,000,000	1,000,000
Comedy Appearance	Oghus Baba, Akpororo, I go die, I go say, M.C. Bolingo, Bovi and Gordons	7,000,000	7,000,000
Banners	6 medium sized banners mounted in strategic places around the Venue	Medium Banners (30,000)	180,000
Posters	15,000 posters were placed around Asaba and along the road leading to the campaign ground, while so many support group flagged the posters	50	750,000
Hand bills	100 cartons of publicity materials containing 40,000 pieces of campaign handbills	5	200,000
Souvenirs	3000 glossy campaign brochure titled "Forward" and another 5000 copies of a publication titled "Then and Now" were distributed to participants	Forward (500) Then and Now (500)	4,000,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Canopies	40 large canopies	6000	240,000
Chairs	250 dozens of plastic chairs	600	150,000
Hire of Vehicle	A total of 100 Toyota Hiace buses conveyed participants from the LGAs to the venue; various support groups used 60 Eighteen Seater Buses to convey their groups to the venue	25,000	4,000,000
BISCON CREW	Bisi Olatilo Show covered the event; To be given 15mins air coverage on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Mobile Advert	A documentary of GEJ Transformation Programme was relayed with a Mobile Advertisement Truck stationed outside the venue	350,000	350,000
Total			46,520,000

K. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT THE U.J. ESUENE STADIUM CALABAR, ORGANISED ON THE 30TH OF JANUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	U J Esuene Stadium	1,000,000	1,000,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More. Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound system and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Party Symbol	3000 branded umbrellas were given to party supporters	300	900,000
Consumables	5,000 packs of rice and water were provided and shared amongst various support groups	1000	5,000,000
Chairs	100 executive seats for dignitaries	1000	100,000
Costume	5,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 2000 women of various support group in branded Ankara; 50 dignitaries in branded traditional regalia	T-Shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (3,000); branded traditional regalia (5,000)	12,250,000
Entertainment /Performances	Drum Line Crew which consists of one drummer, one percussionist, two keyboardists, one bass guitarist, one lead guitarist and other support instrumentalists entertained the audience.	800,000	800,000
Traditional Drummers	Five drummer groups performed under the umbrella of five solidarity groups	100,000	500,000
Celebrity Appearances and Performance	*Sammy Okposo and his back up crew *Ambassador Chief Sunny Nneji *The Last Prophet (Comedian) *Effiom Trombone and his music team * Carnival Calabar Crew * Nollywood Actress, Mrs. Kate Henshaw	An estimate of 7m was spent on the performers and the listed celebrities	7,000,000
Banners	3 Large Banners, hung in strategic places around the venue; 300 small sized banners carried by support groups and other individuals	Large Banners (50,000) Small Banners (5,000)	1,650,000
Posters	5000 posters were pasted along the road dividers leading to the Stadium.	40	280,000

	2000 Copies of Forward Nigeria posters were distributed to participants		
Souvenirs	4000 Campaign Programmes/Booklets distributed at the event; 3000 Achievement Booklets distributed; 3000 Forward Nigeria Brochure was also shared at the event	<i>Campaign Booklet (500)</i> <i>Achievement Booklet (500)</i> <i>Forward Brochure (1000)</i> <i>Cross check prices above for consistency</i>	6,500,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Hire of Vehicle	Two branded 18 Seater Coaster Buses; Eighty 18 Seater Buses	30,000	2,460,000
Mobile Advert	1 Mobile Truck Advertisement projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 Minutes live coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
Disbursement of Funds	An average of 20,000 Participants conveyed from the wards to the venue were seen sharing money at their bus stand at the end of the event	2000	40,000,000
Sharing of Gifts	5000 Pieces of N200 denomination of Recharge Cards were thrown to supporters. 1000 Pieces of Nokia Handset and 20,000 pieces of branded Handkerchief were distributed to participants	Recharge Cards (200.00) Nokia (5,000) Handkerchief (50)	7,000,000
Total			90,290,000

L. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT THE MINNA TRADE FAIR COMPLEX NIGER STATE.
ORGANISED ON THE 2ND OF FEBRUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total (₦)
Venue	Minna Trade Fair Complex	1,000,000	1,000,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	PAS, DJ services and music system	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Party Symbol	3000 branded umbrellas were given to party supporters	300	900,000
Chairs	300 dozens of plastic chairs	600	180,000
Costume	5,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 800 women in branded	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded	8,600,000

	Ankara; 40 dignitaries in branded traditional regalia	Ankara (3,000); braded traditional regalia (5,000)	
Traditional Horse Riders	50 Horse and Camel Riders from the Emir of Minna Palace paraded at the event	10,000	500,000
Banners	3 large banners hung in strategic places around the venue and 50 small sized banners	Large banners (50,000); Small banners (5,000)	400,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Hire of Vehicle	Five SURE-P Buses conveyed participants from neighbouring states; Five 21-Seater Buses conveyed women groups from various states; Fifty 18 seater buses conveyed participants from the LGAs.	SURE-P Buses (100,000) Coaster Buses (25,000) Eighteen Seater Buses (15,000)	1,375,000
Mobile Advert	1 Mobile Truck Advertisement projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 minutes live coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
Disbursement of Funds	1000 Youths from Ten football clubs were funded to attend the rally	1000	1,000,000
Total			18,805,000

M. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT ZAMFARA TRADE FAIR COMPLEX GUSAU, ORGANIZED ON THE 19TH OF JANUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Zamfara Trade Fair Complex	1,000,000	1,000,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound system and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music system	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Chairs	150 dozens of plastic chairs	600	90,000
Canopy	5 large canopies	3,500	17,500
Costume	2,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap, 200 women in branded Ankara; 10 dignitaries in branded traditional regalia	T-Shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (3,000); branded traditional regalia (5,000)	3,050,000
Entertainment /Performances	Cultural troop performances	200,000	200,000
Consumables	100 packs of bottles water were	600	60,000

	distributed to participants		
Banners	10 small banners were displayed around the venue	10,000	100,000
Posters	10,000 posters were pasted around Gusau and the event ground	40	400,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Hire of Vehicle	Two Hundred and Ten 18 Seater Coaster Buses; 5 Luxurious Buses brought participants from neighbouring States. Fourteen 21 Seater Coaster Buses brought women groups from the LGAs.	18 Seater Coaster Buses (20,000) Luxurious Buses (100,000) 21 Seater Coaster Buses (25,000)	5,050,000
Mobile Advertisement	1 Mobile Truck Advertisement projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 Minutes Live Coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show,	1,200,000	1,200,000
Disbursement of Fund	Each of the 14 LGAs were given feeding allowances on behalf of party supporters conveyed to the campaign ground	100,000	1,400,000
Total			16,217,500

N. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT RWANG PAN TOWNSHIP STADIUM, JOS, ORGANISED ON THE 3RD OF FEBRUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total (₦)
Venue	Rwang Pan Township Stadium	-	-
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Party Symbol	3000 branded umbrellas were given to party supporters	300	900,000
Consumables	300 Packs of bottled water were given to supporters at the venue	600	180,000
Chairs	12 large canopies were used at the event	3,500	42,000
Costume	4,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 1000 women from various support group in branded Ankara; 50 dignitaries in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (3,000); branded traditional regalia (15,000)	8,550,000
Entertainment /Performances	5 Life Bands and Cultural Troops performed at the event. The following artists - Ezra Jinang, Shedrach Yohanna, 5 Loaves and Salis, also	Life Band (50,000) each; Other Artists (100,000) each	650,000

	performed at the event		
Banners	3 large banners, hung in strategic places around the venue and 200 small sized banners	Large Banners (50,000) Small Banners (5,000)	1,150,000
Posters	5000 posters were pasted inside the Stadium and along the road leading to the Stadium	50	250,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Hiring of Vehicle	20 Branded 18 Seater Coaster Buses were hired from the LGAs to the venue.	Coaster Buses (25,000)	500,000
Mobile Advertisement	1 Mobile Truck Advertisement projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 minutes live coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
Disbursement of Funds	An average of 1,000 Participants Mobilized to the venue were given 1000 naira each	1,000	1,000,000
Total			18,072,000

O. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT JOLLY NYAME STADIUM, JALINGO, TARABA STATE ORGANISED ON THE 29TH OF JANUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Jolly Nyame Stadium	1,000,000	1,000,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound system and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Consumables	100 cartons of canned Malt; 150 cartons of soft drinks (bottle)	Malt (2,400) Soft Drinks (1200)	420,000
Chairs and Canopies	25 small canopies and 150 dozens of plastic chairs were used at the event	Small Canopies (1,500) Plastic Chairs (600)	127,500
Costume	4,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 500 Women of in branded Ankara; 10 dignitaries in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (3,000); branded traditional regalia (15,000)	6,450,000
Banners	3 large banners hung in strategic places around the venue; 100 small sized banners	Large Banners (150,000) Small Banners (5,000)	950,000
Posters	5000 posters were pasted inside	40	200,000

	the stadium and along the road leading to the Stadium.		
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Hiring of Vehicle	350 medium sized buses	15,000	5,250,000
Mobile Advertisement	1 Mobile Truck Advertisement projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 minutes live coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
Total			19,247,500

P. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT UMUAHIA TOWNSHIP STADIUM ABIA STATE ON THE 16TH OF JANUARY 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total (₦)
Venue	Umuahia Township Stadium	-	-
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Tables	50 set of exotic tables for high table dignitaries	1000	50,000
Chairs	150 Sets of executive chairs for dignitaries	200	30,000
Consumables	25 packs of bottle water; 20 cartons of fruit juice	600 (Water) Juice (1,800)	51,000
Costume	10,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Caps; 1000 women in branded Ankara; 10 dignitaries in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (3,000); braded traditional regalia (5,000)	15,050,000
Performances	Ikoru Bende Cultural Dance Group	200,000	200,000
Banners	3 large banners with the advertisement "Good Luck is Good Work"; 17 small sized banners	Large banners (50,000); 17 small banners (20,000)	490,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Fuel for Hired Buses	Five 18 Seater Coaster Buses inscribed "Jonathan/Sambo Campaign Organization"; 30 buses with inscription OCHENDO/JONATHAN; Five 14 Seater	30,000	1,320,000

	Buses hired from Rivers State; Two 14 Seater Buses hired from Enugu; Two 14 Seater Buses hired from Imo State.		
Media Coverage	2 hours Live Broadcast on AIT and Channels Television	AIT (4,500,000 per hour) Channels (4,500,000 per hour)	18,000,000
Mobile Advert	1 Mobile Truck Advertisement projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 Minutes Live Coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
TOTAL			40,041,000

Q. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT SAMUEL OGBEMUDIA, BENIN CITY, ORGANIZED ON THE 4TH OF FEB 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Samuel Ogbemudia Stadium	1,000,000	1,000,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound system and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Costume	5,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 500 women wore branded Ankara; 10 dignitaries, in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); Branded Ankara (3,000); branded traditional regalia (5,000)	7,550,000
Banners	400 small banners and 20 medium sized banners hung around the venue	Small banners (10,000); Medium banners (20,000)	4,400,000
Posters & Handbills	3000 posters and 10,000 handbills were pasted and shared to participants	Posters (40) Handbills (5)	170,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Disbursement of Funds	2 Support Group were seen disbursing funds to over 100 persons mobilized	1000	100,000
Mobile Advert	1 Mobile Truck Advertisement projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 Minutes Live coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
TOTAL			18,070,000

R. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT HOLY TRINITY FIELD, ONITSHA, ORGANIZED ON THE 17TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Holy Trinity Field	600,000	600,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music system	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Costume	5,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap, 1000 women in branded Ankara; 100 delegates, in branded traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (3,000); branded traditional regalia (5,000)	9,500,000
Chairs and Canopies	24 large canopies and 400 dozens of plastic chairs	Canopies (3,500); Plastic chairs (600)	264,000
Banners	4 large banners, 36 medium sized banners and 100 small banners were hung at the venue	Large banners (50,000); Medium banners (30,000); Small banners (5,000)	1,780,000
Posters & Handbills	3000 posters and 10,000 handbills were shared to participants	Posters (40) Handbills (5)	170,000
Musical Performance	The Following Performed at the event; Brother Luke Ezeji & his Gospel Singers; Evang. Nnamdi Nwankwo; Mkpokiti group dancers; Holy Trinity Band	100,000	400,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Mobile Advertisement	Mobile Truck Advertisement projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 Minutes Live Coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
TOTAL			17,564,000

S. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT ABAKILIKI TOWNSHIP STADIUM, ORGANIZED ON THE 17TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Abakiliki Township Stadium	300,000	300,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More. Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music set	1,300,000	1,300,000

Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Costume	3,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 800 women in branded Ankara; 30 delegates, in traditional regalia	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200); branded Ankara (3,000) branded traditional regalia (5,000)	6,150,000
Chairs and Canopies	24 large canopies and 400 dozens of plastic chairs	Canopies (3,500) Plastic Chairs (600)	324,000
Banners	100 small sized banners were displayed by different support groups	5,000	500,000
Musical Performance	The following performed; PDP Band Group, Cultural Groups from 13 LGAs	PDP Band (200,000) Cultural Groups 50,000	850,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator; 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Hired Buses	One Hundred 18 Seater Coaster Buses from the 13 LGAs Conveyed Participants to the Rally	Coaster Buses (30,000)	3,000,000
Disbursement of Funds	5,000 Persons that were mobilized to the party received funds for attending the rally	1000	5,000,000
Mobile Advert	1 Mobile Truck Advertisement projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 Minutes Live Coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
TOTAL			20,974,000

T. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT NNAMDI AZIKIWE STADIUM ENUGU, ORGANIZED ON THE 9TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Nnamdi Azikwe Stadium	5,000,000	5,000,000
Platform and decoration	I Vow to Do More. Metallic Platform	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound System and generating set	DJ with complete Sound System	1,300,000	1,300,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Costume	10,000 support groups in T-shirts and Face Cap; 1000 Women in various support Group in Branded Ankara, 100 delegates, in Branded PDP Overall	T-shirts & Face Cap (1,200) Branded Ankara (3,000) Branded Overall (10,000)	16,000,000
Chairs and Canopies	24 Large Canopies and 400 Dozens of Plastic Chairs	Canopies (3,500) Plastic Chairs (600)	324,000
Banners	1000 Small Sized Banners Were displayed by different Support Group	5,000	5,000,000

Musical Performance	Felix Ndukwe	500,000	1,000,000
Comedy Performance	Tony One Week, AP Cow Boy	Tony 1,000,000 AP Cow Boy 200,000	1,200,000
Celebrity Appearance	Members of Nollywood Actors and Actress Staged Solidarity Rally For Good Luck along Njemanze Road	3,000,000	3,000,000
Generating Set	36kva Mikano Generator , 56 KVa FG Wilson	Mikano (N150,000) FG Wilson (300,000)	450,000
Fueling of Official Vehicles	25 Presidential SUVs, 30 Saloon cars, 6 Coaster Buses. One Presidential Jet, 10 Hilux vans, One Ambulance	SUVs (30,000) Saloon Cars (25,000) Coaster Buses (20,000) Hilux vans (15,000) Ambulance (15,000) Presidential Jets (200,000)	1,985,000
Fuel for Hired Buses	Two Hundred 18 Seater Coaster Buses were hired From the LGAs to Conveyed Participants to the Rally	Coaster Buses (20,000)	4,000,000
Disbursement of Funds	An estimate of 10,000 Persons that were mobilized to the party received funds for attending the rally	1000	10,000,000
Mobile Advert	1 Mobile Truck Advert Projecting the Transformation Achievements of GEJ	350,000	350,000
BISCON	15 Minutes Live Coverage on AIT Bisi Olatilo Show	1,200,000	1,200,000
TOTAL			52,359,000

U. CAMPAIGN RALLY AT DAN ANYIAM STADIUM, OWERRI IMO TOWNSHIP STADIUM, ORGANIZED ON THE 17TH OF JANUARY, 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Dan Anyiam Stadium, Owerri	3,000,000	3,000,000
Platform and decoration	"I Vow to Do More Metallic Platform"	1,200,000	1,200,000
Sound system and generating set	DJ services, PAS and music system	500,000 x 3	1,500,000
Video Coverage	Video, Flood Lights and Photography	350,000	350,000
Consumables	10,000 packs of food, snacks and water	1,000	10,000,000
Costume	Youths numbering about 6,000 wore T. Shirts with Face Caps; women numbering about 2,500 wore PDP customized designed wrappers	T-Shirts and Face Cap (1,200) Customised wrappers (4000)	17,200,000
Banners	There were 5 different kinds of flex banner numbering 30 of PDP Presidential candidate His Excellency, Goodluck Jonathan.	20,000	600,000

Posters	5000 posters pasted at venue and other parts of the City	100	500,000
Party Symbol	A giant balloon in PDP Colors hovered overhead.	50,000	50,000
Party Symbols	10,000 umbrellas were flaunted at the event	400	4,000,000
Costume	6,000 Youths wore branded party T-shirts and Face Cap	1,000	6,000,000
Chairs	30 dozens of plastic seats were hired.	600	18,000
Hire of Vehicle	250 buses from the 27 Local Government Areas conveyed participants to the venue.	30,000	7,500,000
Mobile Advertisement	Documentary of Transformation Achievements relayed by the mobile advertisement truck stationed outside the venue	350,000	350,000
BISCON CREW	Bisi Olatilo Show aired the event for 15mins on AIT	1,200,000	1,200,000
Cooling Van	There were two cooling vans at the venue that provided water to delegates	100,000	200,000
TOTAL			53,668,000

V. EDO WOMEN RALLY: FIRST LADY CAMPAIGNS FOR PRESIDENCY AT SAMUEL OGBEMUDIA STADIUM BENIN CITY ON THE 14TH OF MARCH 2015

EXPENDITURE HEAD	Description	UNIT Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Samuel Ogbemudia Stadium	1,000,000	1,000,000
Stage and Decoration	Podium and decoration	350,000	200,000
Costume	2000 women wore branded Ankara	3000	6,000,000
Public Address System and generator	PAS, DJ services and music set	200,000	200,000
Mobilization	2000 women from different group were mobilized to attend the event	1000	2,000,000
Consumables	120 packs of bottled water were shared to the participants	840	100,800
Hiring of Private Jet	A private jet conveyed the First Lady to the event	5,000,000	5,000,000
Hiring of Vehicles	40 luxurious buses were used to convey participants to the venue	100,000	4,000,000
TOTAL			18,500,800

W. KOGI WOMEN RALLY: FIRST LADY CAMPAIGNS FOR PRESIDENT JONATHAN AT OLD STADIUM LOKOJA ON THE 3RD MARCH 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (₦)	Total (₦)
Venue	Old Stadium Lokoja	1,000,000	1,000,000

Podium and decoration	Podium and decorations	300,000	300,000
Public Address System	PAS, DJ services and music set	200,000	200,000
Generator	Rent of 50KVA generator	100,000	100,000
Performances	Olu Maintain, Faze, Danfo Driver performed at the event	1,000,000	3,000,000
Costume	3000 women wore branded Ankara	3000	9,000,000
Refreshment Van	A 40 Feet Van containing refreshment was hired	300,000	300,000
Consumables	3000 packs of rice and 200 packs of water were distributed to the participants	Rice 600 Water 840	1,968,000
Mobilization	3000 women from different group were mobilized to attend the event	2000	6,000,000
Hiring of Private Jet	A Private Jet Conveyed the First Lady to the Event	5,000,000	5,000,000
Hiring of Vehicles	30 Coaster Buses were used to convey participants to the venue	30,000	900,000
Bags of Rice	1000 Bags of 50kg rice were brought to the venue to be distributed to the women	9,000	9,000,000
TOTAL			36,768,000

X. NASSARAWA WOMEN RALLY: FIRST LADY CAMPAIGNS FOR PRESIDENT JONATHAN AT CITY HALL LAFIA ON THE 14TH MARCH 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Venue	City Hall Lafia (Federal Government Facility)	-	-
Decoration of Venue	Decoration of the Venue	100,000	100,000
Costume	1000 women group wore branded Ankara	5000	5,000,000
Public Address System	DJ services, PAS and music set	150,000	150,000
Performances	Traditional Dancers from Eggon, Alago, Wamba, Hausa Performed at the event	100,000	100,000
Mobilization	30 buses were paid to convey participants to the venue	30,000	900,000
Souvenirs	5000 pieces of various forms of souvenirs which includes; Branded Bags, Face Caps, Hand Fans were distributed to the participants	500	2,500,000
Consumables	5000 packs of rice and 200 packs of bottle waters were given to participants	Rice 800 Water 840	4,168,000
Campaign Organization	The female wing of the Party campaign organizers were paid to mobilise women from all the wards	1,300,000	1,300,000
TOTAL			14,218,000

Y. ONDO WOMEN RALLY: FIRST LADY CAMPAIGNS FOR PRESIDENT JONATHAN AT ARCADE CULTURAL CENTER ADEGBEMILE ON THE 16TH MARCH 2015

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost	Total (N)
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		(N)	
Venue	Arcade Cultural Center Adegbemile	-	-
Decoration of Venue	Decoration of the Venue	100,000	100,000
Costume	5000 Women group wore Branded Ankara	3000	15,000,000
Public Address System	Complete Sound System	100,000	100,000
Performances	Band Brigade, Evan Seto Akinsete Band from Ondo and Prince Debo Band from Ilaje	Brigade Band-150,00; Other Band-500,000 each	1,150,000
Mobilization	40 Buses were paid to convey participants to the venue	30,000	1,200,000
Souvenirs	5000 pieces of various forms of souvenirs which includes Umbrellas, Hand Fans were distributed to the participants	500	2,500,000
Consumables	5000 packs of rice and 200 packs of bottled water were given to participants	Rice 800 Water 840	8,200,000
TOTAL			28,250,000

Z. RALLY FOR THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN UNDER THE MDG PROGRAM HELD ON THE 14TH OF NOVEMBER AT THE SAMSON SIASIA STADIUM BAYELSA 2014

This event was supposed to be sponsored by the office of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to empower women. It was however delayed until the period of elections and was utilized by the First lady in company of members of the Transformation Ambassadors of Nigeria and diverted to campaign for the re-election of the PDP Presidential Candidate. It is therefore captured here as campaign expenses.

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
Venue	Samson Siasia Stadium	450,000	450,000
Podium and Sound	Metallic platform with sound system and decoration	1,300,000	1,300,000
Canopies	16 large Canopies	3,500	56,000
Chairs	416 dozens of Plastic Chairs	300	124,800
Bags of Rice	5,000 women received 1 small bag of rice each	4000	20,000,000
Groundnut Oil	10,000 women received a gallon of Groundnut Oil each	1,500	15,000,000
Wrappers	5,000 women received five yards of wrappers	1,200	6,000,000
Sewing Machine	1000 Sewing Machine	30,000	30,000,000
Tricycle	500 Tricycles were distributed	350,000	175,000,000
TOTAL			24,930,800

ZA. WOMEN GROUP IN MEETING WITH THE FIRST LADY AT BAYELSA STATE CULTURAL CENTER ON 24TH DECEMBER, 2014

Expenditure Head	Description	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
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Podium and Sound	Elevated platform, PAS, music system and decoration	200,000	300,000
Canopies	6 large canopies	3,500	21,000
Chairs	25 dozens of plastic chairs	300	7,500
Bags of Rice	5,000 women received Mini bags of rice each	2000	10,000,000
Groundnut Oil	5,000 women received 4 litres of Groundnut Oil each	1,500	7,500,000
Wrappers	5,000 women received five yards of Wrapper each	1,200	6,000,000
Cartons of Tin Tomatoes	100 Cartons of Tin Tomatoes	5000	500,000
Consumables	5000 Women received 1 pack of jollof rice, malt and water	Rice-1000, Water-50, Malt-120	5,850,000
TOTAL			30,178,570

The total campaigns and rallies expenses of the PDP amounts to N909,312,670

5.4 HIRE OF AIRCRAFT

The candidates went round Nigeria in aircrafts. The incumbent Goodluck Jonathan used presidential jets for his campaign in defiance of the law. General Muhammadu Buhari also used aircrafts across Nigeria for the duration of his campaign. For a 50 day campaign period traversing the months of January, February and March 2015, the details of expenditure are as follows.

Candidate	Rate Per Day	Total for 50 Days
Goodluck Jonathan	N6m	N300m
Muhammadu Buhari	N6m	N300m

5.5 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

Party	Presidential Candidate	Amount (N)
PDP	Goodluck Jonathan	1,280,374,870
APC	Muhammadu Buhari	671,062,200

CHAPTER SIX

Expenses on Bill Boards

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter presents the expenses on bill boards in the states. Bill boards were situated in major city centers, on the roads and in the outskirts of the cities. However, most of the candidates contesting for gubernatorial elections in the states, made joint advertisement in the billboards with their pictures and that of the presidential candidate of their party placed together. The cost of the bill boards were ascertained and verified from advertising and outdoor media agencies. In some cases, the sizes of bill boards were the same but the quality and finishing ensured that their prices were different.

6.2 BILL BOARDS

The details of the expenses on bill boards are as follows.

State	Location	Sizes of Bill Boards	Quantity	Unit Cost (N)	Total (N)
NIGER					
	Niger Central Senatorial Zone				
Muhammadu Buhari of APC		6/12 Sized ⁴²	14	150,000	2,100,000
		2/3 Sized	30	30,000	900,000
		3/6 Sized	10	60,000	600,000
	NIGER South Senatorial Zone				
		6/12 Sized	10	150,000	1,500,000
		2/3 Sized	20	30,000	600,000
		3/6 Sized	10	60,000	600,000
	Niger North Senatorial Zone				
		6/12 Sized	12	150,000	1,800,000
		2/3 Sized	22	30,000	660,000
		3/6 Sized	10	60,000	600,000
Total (APC)					9,360,000
	Niger Central Senatorial Zone				
Good Luck Jonathan of PDP		6/12 Sized	5	150,000	750,000
		3/6 Sized	12	30,000	360,000
		2/3 Sized	7	60,000	420,000
	Niger North Senatorial Zone				
		6/12 Sized	5	150,000	750,000
		3/6 Sized	5	30,000	150,000

⁴² This is expressed in feet.

		2/3 Sized	4	60,000	240,000
	Niger South Senatorial Zone				
		6/12 Sized	24	150,000	150,000
		3/6 Sized		30,000	720,000
		2/3 Sized		60,000	240,000
Total (PDP)					3,780,000.00
ADAMAWA					
	Adamawa Central Senatorial Zone				
Muhammadu Buhari of APC		6/12 Sized	30	150,000	4,500,000
		2/3 Sized	50	60,000	3,000,000
	Adamawa South Senatorial Zone				
		6/12 Sized	17	150,000	2,550,000
		2/3 Sized	35	60,000	2,100,000
	Adamawa North Senatorial Zone				
		6/12 Sized	10	150,000	1,500,000
		2/3 Sized	14	60,000	840,000
Total APC					14,490,000
	Adamawa Central Senatorial Zone				
Good Luck Jonathan of PDP		6/12 Sized	6	150,000	900,000
		10/16 Sized	4	350,000	1,400,000
	Adamawa North Senatorial Zone				
		6/12 Sized	3	150,000	450,000
	Adamawa South Senatorial Zone				
		6/12 Sized	6	150,000	900,000
Total PDP					3,650,000
KANO					
General Buhari (APC)	44 LGAs of Kano State	Small Sized Bill Boards	88	150,000	13,200,000
	Kano Metropolitan	Big Sized Bill Board	12	350,000	4,200,000
Total APC					17,400,000
GoodLuck Ebele	Gyadi Zaria Road Tarauni	Big Sized Bill Board	1	280,000	280,000.00

Jonathan (PDP)	L.G.A				
	Dorayi Gwale LGA	Medium Sized Bill Board	2	170,000	340,000.00
Total PDP					620,000
BAUCHI					
	Bauchi North Senatorial District				
Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (APC)		6/12 Sized Bill Board	12	N150,000	1,800,000
	Bauchi Central Senatorial District				
		6/12 Sized Bill Board	9	N150,000	1,350,000
	Bauchi South Senatorial District				
		6/12 Sized Bill Board	12	N150,000	1,800,000
Total APC					4,950,000
Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	Bauchi North	-	-	-	-
	Bauchi Central	-	-	-	-
	Bauchi South	A3 Sized Bill Posters	400	1,000	400,000
Total PDP					400,000
BENUE					
GOODLUCK JONATHAN OF PDP	MAKURDI	Giant Sized Bill Board	1	400,000	400,000
		Medium Sized Bill Board	3	150,000	450,000
		(8/16) ft Bill Board	1	200,000	200,000
		Small Sized Bill Board	4	100,000	400,000
	MAKURDI	Giant Sized Bill Board	1	400,000	400,000
		Medium Sizes Bill Board	3	150,000	450,000
		(8/16) FT Bill Board	1	200,000	200,000

		Small Sized Bill Board	4	100,000	400,000
	GBOKO	Small Sized Bill Board	2	100,000	200,000
TOTAL (PDP)					3,100,000
TARABA					
	TARABA NORTH				
GOOD LUCK EBELE JONOTHAN		6/12 Sized Bill Boards	10	N150,000	1,500,000
		Medium Sized Bill Boards	10	N100,000	1,000,000
	TARABA CENTRAL				
		2/3 Sized Bill Boards	3	N80,000	240,000
TOTAL (PDP)					2,740,000
	TARABA NORTH				
GEN. MUHAMMADU BUHARI		6/12 Sized Bill Boards	3	N150,000	450,000
		2/3 Sized Bill Boards	6	N80,000:00	480,000.00
TOTAL (APC)					930,000.00
EDO					
	BENIN				
Gen Muhammadu Buhari (APC)		Small Sized Bill Board	10	60,000	600,000
Total APC					600,000
	BENIN				
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)		Large Bill Board	2	350,000	700,000
		Small Sized Bill Board	14	60,000	840,000
Total PDP					1,540,000
CROSS RIVERS					
General Muhammadu Buhari (APC)	Calabar				
		Large Sized Bill Board(Face of Change)	40	350,000	14,000,000

	Spread Across The following Roads; Etta Agbor, IBB Stadium, Murtala Mohammed Highway, Marian, Parliamentary Road to Mount Zion, Afukang Road etc.				
		Bill Posters (Team Change Small Sized Poster	5000	1000	5,000,000
Total (APC)					19,000,000
	Calabar Municipal				
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP		Large Bill Boards (JOSLA 2015)	3	350,000	1,050,000
Total (PDP)					1,050,000
FCT					
General Muhammadu Buhari APC		Unipole Landscape (20/60ft)	1	6,750,000	6,750,000
		Light Box (10/20ft)	3	2,600,000	7,800,000
		Wall Drape	2	150,000	300,000
		Unipole/ Landscape	9	3,500,000	31,500,000
		Light Box/Portrait	21	2,000,000	42,000,000
		Wall Drapes	14	200,000	2,800,000
		Bus Branding	3	200,000	600,000
		Banner/ Posters ⁴³	500,000	30,000	15,000,000

⁴³The average production cost of a standard A2 Paper size is given @N30,000 per 1000 copies and a reasonable minimum of at least 500,000copies of posters should be projected for all the Presidential candidates.

Total (APC)						106,750,000.00
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)		Unipole/ Landscape (30/100ft)	2	25,250,000	50,500,000	
		Light Box (10/20ft)	165	200,000	33,000,000	
		Portrait/ Medium (10/10ft)	32	150,000	4,800,000	
		Street Lamp Poles	310	5,000	1,550,000	
		Wall Drape	3	150,000	450,000	
		Electronic Billboard	2	120,000 per day for Five Months	36,000,000	
		E-Ads	1	80,000 per day for Three Months	7,200,000	
		Unipole/ Landscape	23	3,500,000	80,500,000	
		Light Box/Portrait	89	2,000,000	178,000,000	
		Bridge Panel	4	2,500,000	10,000,000	
		Wall Drapes	9	200,000	1,800,000	
		Street Lamp Post	54	5000	270,000	
		Bus Branding	7	200,000	1,400,000	
		Banner/ Posters ⁴⁴	500,000	30,000	15,000,000	
		Others (Mobile)	3	500,000	1,500,000	
Total (PDP)						421,970,000
AKWA IBOM						
General Muhammad Buhari (APC)	Akwa Stadium	Large Bill Board	1	350,000	350,000	
Total APC						350,000
Good Luck Ebele	Ahafa Obong Junction, Abak	Large Bill Board	1	350,000	350,000	

⁴⁴The average production cost of a standard A2 Paper size is given @N30,000 per 1000 copies and a reasonable minimum of at least 500,000 copies of posters should be projected for all the Presidential candidates.

Jonathan (PDP)						
	Edet Akpan Avenue-Four Lane	Large Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000
	Aba Umuahia Road Junction	Large Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000
Total PDP						1,050,000
ANAMBRA						
General Muhammadu Buhari (APC)	Emmaus Field	Large Board	Bill	5	350,000	1,750,000
Total APC						1,750,000
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	Holy Trinity Field	Large Board	Bill	5	350,000	1,750,000
Total PDP						1,750,000
EBONYI						
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan	Abakiliki Town Ship Stadium	Large Boards	Bill	5	350,000	1,750,000
Total (PDP)						1,750,000
ENUGU						
General Muhammadu Buhari	Airport Road Enugu	Medium Sized Board	Bill	1	150,000	150,000
	APC Party Office GRA	Medium Sized Board	Bill	1	150,000	150,000
	Osadebe Street, Ogui New Layout	Medium Sized Board	Bill	1	150,000	150,000
	Presidential Road Enugu	Large Sized Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000
	Rangers Avenue, Independence Layout Enugu	Large Sized Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000
Total APC						1,150,000
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	Otigba Junction	Large Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000
	Ogui Junction/Artisan Ogui Road	Large Board	Bill	2	350,000	700,000
	PDP Party House Ogui	Large Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000

	Junction					
	GRA Enugu	Large Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000
	Presidential Road	Large Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000
	Nkpokiti Ogui New Layout	Large Board	Bill	2	350,000	700,000
	Enugu Port Harcourt Express Way	Large Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000
	Airport Road Emene	Large Board	Bill	2	350,000	700,000
	Emene Junction	Small Board	Bill	1	100,000	100,000
Total PDP						3,950,000
IMO						
General Muhammadu Buhari (APC)	Dan Anyiam Stadium Owerri	Large Boards	Bill	5	350,000	1,750,000
Total APC						1,750,000
KOGI						
General Muhammadu Buhari	Old Lokoja Stadium	Large Board	Bill	5	350,000	1,750,000
Total APC						1,750,000
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	Confluence Stadium Lokoja	Large Boards	Bill	5	350,000	1,750,000
Total PDP						1,750,000
KWARA						
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	Illorin Metropolitan Square	10/20 Light Box	Ft	10	100,000	1,000,000
Total PDP						1,000,000
OGUN						
General Muhammadu Buhari (APC)	M.K.O. Abiola stadium	Medium sized board	bill	20		
					100,000	2,000,000
		Large Board	Bill	2	350,000	700,000
Total APC						2,700,000
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	M.K.O. Abiola Stadium	Small Boards	Bill	50	50,000	2,500,000

TOTAL PDP							2,500,000
ONDO							
General Muhammadu Buhari (APC)	Ikare Junction Owo	10/30ft Board	bill	1	150,000	150,000	
	APC Campaign Office	Large Board	Bill	1	350,000	350,000	
TOTAL APC							500,000
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)		Large Boards produced by Transforming Communities	Bill	8	350,000	2,800,000	
		Medium Sized Board	Bill	1	150,000	150,000	
		Medium Sized Board	Bill	1	150,000	150,000	
		Large Boards Produced by Transforming Communities	Bill	8	350,000	2,800,000	
Total (PDP)							5,900,000.00
OSUN							
General Muhammadu Buhari	Osogbo	Large Boards	Bill	10	350,000	3,500,000	
Total (APC)							3,500,000
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan	Osogbo	Large Board	Bill	3	350,000	1,050,000	
Total (PDP)							1,050,000
OYO							
General Muhammadu Buhari (APC)	Mapo Hall	Large Boards	Bill	4	350,000	1,400,000	
Total (APC)							1,400,000
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	Mapo Hall	Large Boards	Bill	1	350,000	350,000	
Total(PDP)							350,000
PLATEAU							
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan	JOS	Large Board	Bill	10	350,000	3,500,000	
TOTAL PDP							3,500,000

RIVERS						
General Muhammadu Buhari (APC)	New Port Harcourt Stadium and Ikwerre Town	Large Bill Boards	5	350,000	1,750,000	
		Medium Sized Bill Boards	2	150,000	300,000	
TOTAL APC					2,050,000	
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	New Port Harcourt Stadium Omagwa	Large Bill Board	6	350,000	2,100,000	
TOTAL PDP					2,100,000	
SOKOTO						
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	Shehu Kangiwa Square; Sokoto South Senatorial Zone	Small Bill Boards	20	100,000	2,000,000	
TOTAL PDP					2,000,000	
Bayelsa						
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	Yenogoa	Big Size	16	250,000	4,000,000	
		Small Size	3	100,000	300,000	
	Ogbia	Big Size	4	250,000	1,000,000	
	Imbiana	Medium Size	2	180,000	360,000	
TOTAL PDP					5,660,000	

6.3 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES ON BILL BOARDS

Candidate/Party	Amount (N)
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) / Dr. Goodluck E. Jonathan	473,160,000
All Progressive Congress (APC) / Gen. Muhammad Buhari	190,380,000

CHAPTER SEVEN

ELECTRONIC MEDIA EXPENSES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter records the electronic media expenses of the candidates. It includes coverage of campaigns on radio and television, jingles, advertisements and documentaries. However, this cannot be a complete account of all expenses made by candidates in the electronic media. These were just the ones the project was able to track. The project obtained the advertisement price list and possible discounts of all the media houses reported upon. The details are as stated below.

7.2 ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS- CAMPAIGN COVERAGE

Campaign Venue	Date	Duration of Coverage	Media House	Unit Cost in Naira	Total Cost in Naira
Ovom, Yenagoa, Bayelsa; on the 8 th January 2015	8/01/ 2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	08/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Teslim Balogun Stadium, Surulere, Lagos	30/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
			AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
			TVC	3,000,000	6,000,000
			LTV	2,000,000	4,000,000
			Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
Omagwa Stadium Ikwere Rivers State	06/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	06/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
Emmaus Field Awka, Anambra	10/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	10/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	10/01/2015	2HRS	ABS	1,500,000	3,000,000
Etche Road Primary School Football Field, Ward 11, Aba South LGA of Abia State.	09/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
Samuel Ogbemudia	09/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000

Stadium, Benin City					
	09/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	09/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	09/01/2015	2HRS	EBSTV	1,500,000	3,000,000
	18/03/2015	1HR	NTA Benin	1,000,000	1,000,000
Atu Secondary School Field, Calabar	07/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
	07/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	07/01/2015	2HRS	NTA Calabar	2,500,000	5,000,000
Warri Township Stadium	07/01/2015	1HR, 30 MINS	ITV	1,500,000	2,250,000
Old Parade Ground, Lafia on 17 th of January, 2015	17/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	TVC	2,000,000	4,000,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	NBS Lafia	1,500,000	3,000,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	NTA Lafia	2,500,000	5,000,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	Precious FM	450,000	900,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	NBS Keffi	1,500,000	3,000,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	Harvest FM	450,000	900,000
Aminu Kano Triangle Dutse, Jigawa State	20/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
Old Lokoja Stadium Lokoja, Kogi State	16/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
MkO Stadium Abeokuta, Ogun State	13/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
Old Airport Gusau, Tudun Wada Ward, Gusau Iga, Zamfara State	21/01/2015	2HRS	CHANNELS	4,500,000	9,000,000
Jalingo Trade Fair Complex, Taraba State	28/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Peoples Resort Hotel, Abakiliki on the 9th of January, 2015	09/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	09/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
Okpara Square,	09/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000

Independence Layout, Enugu					
	09/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Dan Anyiam Stadium, Owerri	12/01/2015	2HRS	Orient FM	350,000	700,000
	12/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	12/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	12/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
	12/01/2015	2HRS	FRCN	1,000,000	2,000,000
Shehu Kangiwa Square Sokoto	22/01/2015	3HRS	Rima Radio	600,000	1,800,000
		3HRS	AIT	4,500,000	13,500,000
		3HR	Rima TV	3,000,000	9,000,000
TOTAL					410,050,000

7.3 PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Campaign Venue	Date	Duration of Coverage	Media House	Unit Cost in Naira	Total Cost in Naira
Aminu Kano Triangle Dutse, Jigawa State	21/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	21/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	21/01/2015	2HRS	Jigawa Radio	350,000	700,000
Tafawa Balewa Square, Lagos	08/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	08/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	08/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
	08/01/2015	2HRS	LTV	2,500,000	5,000,000
	08/01/2015	2HRS	STV	4,000,000	8,000,000
	08/01/2015	2HRS	ITV	3,000,000	6,000,000
Samson Siasia Stadium, Ovom, Yenagoa	06/02/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	06/02/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
	06/02/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	06/02/2015	2HRS	Bayelsa TV	2,500,000	5,000,000
	06/02/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	06/02/2015	2HRS	STV	3,000,000	6,000,000
	06/02/2015	2HRS	Niger Delta TV	2,500,000	5,000,000
International Stadium, Uyo, Akwa Ibom	31/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	31/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	31/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
	31/01/2015	2HRS	AKBC	2,000,000	4,000,000

	31/01/2015	2HRS	FRCN	1,000,000	2,000,000
	31/01/2015	2HRS	Atlantic FM	350,000	700,000
MKO Abiola Stadium, Abeokuta, Ogun State	12/02/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	12/02/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	12/02/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
	12/02/2015	2HRS	OGTV	2,500,000	5,000,000
Ilorin Metropolitan Square, Kwara State	26/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	26/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Confluence Stadium, Lokoja	03/02/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	03/02/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Old Stadium Lokoja	03/03/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	03/03/2015	2HR	CTV	3,500,000	7,000,000
Omagwa Stadium in Ikwerre LGA	28/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
		2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Lafia Stadium, Nassarawa State.	27/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
		2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Cenotaph High Court Road	04/02/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	04/02/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	04/02/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
UJ Esuene Stadium Calabar	30/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	30/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	30/01/2015	2HRS	CRBC/TV	2,000,000	4,000,000
Minna Trade Fair Complex Niger State	02/02/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	02/02/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Zamfara Trade Fair Complex Gusau	19/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	19/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	19/01/2015	2HRS	Zamfara State TV/RADIO	1,500,000	3,000,000

Rwang Pan Township Stadium, Jos.	03/02/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
		2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
		2HRS	PRTVC	1,000,000	2,000,000
		2HRS	FRCN	1,000,000	2,000,000
Jolly Nyame Stadium, Jalingo, Taraba	29/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	29/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Umuahia Township Stadium, Abia State	16/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	16/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	16/01/2015	2HRS	BCA Radio	350,000	700,000
Samuel Ogbemudia Stadium, Benin City	04/02/2015	1HR, 30MINS	NTA	5,000,000	7,500,000
		1HR 30 MIN	ITV	1,000,000	1,500,000
Holy Trinity Field, Onitsha	17/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
			NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
			Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
			ABSTV	2,500,000	5,000,000
Abakiliki Township Stadium	17/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	Channels	4,500,000	9,000,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	EBTV	2,500,000	5,000,000
Dan Anyiam Stadium, Owerri	17/01/2015	2HRS	AIT	4,500,000	9,000,000
	17/01/2015	2HRS	NTA	5,000,000	10,000,000
Samuel Ogbemudia Stadium	14/03/2015	1hr	NTA	5,000,000	5,000,000
TOTAL					532,100,000

7.4 SUMMARY OF ELECTRONIC MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

Candidate/Party	Amount (N)
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) /Dr. Goodluck E. Jonathan	532,100,000
All Progressive Congress (APC) /Gen. Muhammad Buhari	410,050,000

7.5 ELECTRONIC MEDIA ADVERT PDP

	Media House	Slots and Unit Cost	Duration	Cost in Naira
Good Luck Ebele Jonathan (PDP)	ITV, Benin	One Slot 36,750	(2 Days)/5min Feb 2 nd -3 rd	367,500
	ITV, Benin	One Slot @36,750/min	(29 Days)/1min Jan 20 th -Feb 17 th after mid news	1,065,750
Promo on the visit of Patience Jonathan	ITV Benin	One Slot @36,750/min	(2 Days)/5Mins March 12-13 th ,2015	367,500
PDP Advert	ITV Benin	One Slot @ 36,750/min	(37 Days) / 1Mins Daily Mid News Advert Feb 18-March 26	1,359,750
PDP Advert	ITV Benin	One Slot @ 36,750/min	(36 Days)/2Mins Advert, Out News Hours.	2,646,000
PDP Advert	NTA Benin	One Slot @30,000/min	(24 Days)/1Min, Mid News Advert Feb 18- March 13 th	720,000
PDP Advert	NTA Benin	One Slot @ 15,000/min	(14 Days)/2 Min, Advert Outside news	420,000
	NTA, Benin	One Slot @ 30,000/min	(29 Days)/1Min. Jan 20 th - Feb 17 th after Mid news	870,000
	Pyramid Radio Kano	10 Slots @ 3,000 per slot	54 Days	1,620,000
	Freedom Radio Kano	5 slots @ 5,000	54 Days	1,350,000
	PRTVC JOS	5slots @ 3,500	10 Days	175,000
	Pride Fm Radio Gusau	30 Min Documentary title (TAFIYA SANNU SANNU KWANA NESA) @35,000:00	26 Days Dec. 11 th – Jan 05. 2015	910,000
	FRCN ENUGU	5 Slots @ 12,000	One Day	60,000
		5 Slots @ 12,000	Five Days Nov. 28, 2014-December 2, 2014	300,000
TOTAL PDP				15,539,000

NATIONAL ADVERTS SPONSORED BY PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND ITS VARIOUS SUPPORT GROUP FROM NOVEMBER 17 TH 2014 TILL MARCH 26 2015						
SPONSORS	T.V STATION	SLOTS	AMOUNT (N)	DURATI ON	TOTAL (N)	
Wake Up Nigeria	AIT	42 Slots @	315,000	15 Sec	13,230,000	
Truth Never Dies		56 slots @	393,000	30Sec	22,008,000	
Ayo Fayose		30 Slots @	625,000	60 Sec	18,750,000	
CAWAN		108 Slots @	393,000	30 Sec	42,444,000	
PDPPCO		262 Slots @	584,000	45 Sec	153,008,000	
Legends of Nollywood		87 Slots @	315,000	15 Sec	27,405,000	
#Moving Forward		131 Slots @	393,000	30 Sec	51,483,000	
TAN		262 Slots @	393,000	30 Sec	102,966,000	
Move on Nigeria		42 Slots @	315,000	15 Sec	13,230,000	
Good House		108 Slots @	393,000	30 Sec	42,444,000	
GLGP		87 Slots @	393,000	30 Sec	34,191,000	
Protectors of Nigerian Posterity		131 Slots @	584,000	45 Sec	76,504,000	
MDAs (Hidden Ads) ⁴⁵		131 Slots @	584,000	45 Sec	76,504,000	
All GEJ Support Groups		262 Slots @	393,000	30 Sec	102,966,000	
Others (Anonymous)		131 Slots @	315,000	15 Sec	41,265,000	
Documentary		42 Slots @	1,925,000	30 Min	80,850,000	
Live Coverage		108 Slots @	7,000,000	1hrs	756,000,000	
TOTAL PDP					1,655,248,000	
	CHANNELS TV					
PDPPCO		90 Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	47,536,650	
Beneficiaries of Local Content in Oil Sector		45Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	23,768,325	
#GEJ Going Forward		45 Slots @	369,730	15 Sec	16,637,850	
TAN		75 Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	39,613,875	
Good House		30 Slots @	369,730	15 Sec	11,091,900	
GLGP		60 Slots @	369,730	15 Sec	22,183,800	
MDAs (Hidden Advertisement)		15 Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	7,922,775	
All GEJ Support Groups		105 Slots @	369,730	15 Sec	38,821,650	
Others (Anonymous)		45 Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	23,768,325	
Documentary		45 Slots @	4,410,000	30 Min	198,450,000	
Live Coverage		36 Slots @	5,000,000	1 hr	180,000,000	
PDPPCO		90 Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	47,536,650	
Beneficiaries of Local Content in Oil Sector		45 Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	23,768,325	
Total					681,100,125	

⁴⁵Some of the MDAs that sponsored TV advertisements for President Goodluck Jonathan's candidature overtly and covertly include the following: Ministries of Agriculture, Petroleum Resources, Power, Works, Finance (SURE-P/GIS), FCT, UBEC, NEPAD, NIMASA, NAFDAC, ITF, etc.

	NTA					
PDPPCO		393 Slot @	630,000	45 Sec	247,590,000	
Truth Never Dies		42 Slot @	472,500	30 Sec	19,845,000	
Ayo Fayose		15 Slot @	787,500	60 Sec	11,812,500	
TAN		131 Slot @	630,000	45 Sec	82,530,000	
#Moving Forward		42 Slot @	472,500	30 Sec	19,845,000	
Move on Nigeria		42 Slot @	367,500	15 Sec	15,435,000	
Good House		30 Slot @	472,500	30 Sec	14,175,000	
GLGP		87 Slot @	472,500	30 Sec	41,107,500	
Protectors of Nigerian Posterity		42 Slot @	630,000	45 Sec	26,460,000	
MDAs (Hidden Ads)		131 Slot @	472,500	30 Sec	61,897,500	
All GEJ Support Groups		262 Slot @	472,500	30 Sec	123,795,000	
Others (Anonymous)		131 Slot @	367,500	15 Sec	48,142,500	
Documentary		72 Slot @	1,025,000	30 Min	73,800,000	
Live Coverage		108 Slot @	7,875,000	2 hrs	850,500,000	
Total					1,636,935,000	

7.6 ELECTRONIC MEDIA ADVERT APC

General Muhammadu Buhari (APC)	Pyramid Radio Kano	7 Slots @15,000	8 Days	840,000
	Radio Kano	7 Slots @ 8,000	18 Days	1,008,000
	Freedom Radio Kano	5 Slots @ 5,000 per slot	54 Days	1,350,000
		2hr Radio Program per week @ 150,000/hr.	8 weeks	2,400,000
	Radio Kano	12 slots @ 3,500	54 Days	2,268,000
		2hr Radio Program Per week @ 120,000/hr.	8 weeks	1,920,000
	NTA Benin	One slot 30,000	(29 Days)/1min Jan 20th –Feb 17th	870,000
	EBSTV, Benin	One Slot @30,000/min	(29 Days)/2min Jan 20 th –Feb 17th after mid news	1,740,000
	EBS, Benin	One Slot @ 18,000/min	(29 Days)/2Min. Jan 20 th - Feb 17 th Outside news advert	1,044,000
	NTA Benin	One Slot @30,000/min	(37 Days)/1min Feb18 th – March	1,110,000

			26th mid news advert	
	EBS TV, Benin	One Slot @ 30,000/min	(37 Days)/2 Min. Feb 18th–March 26th Mid news Advert	2,220,000
	EBS TV, Benin	One Slot @ 18,000/min	(37 Days)/5 Min. Feb 18th–March 26th Outside news Advert	3,330,000
	FRCN Enugu	5 Slot @ 12,000	3 Days	180,000
TOTAL APC				20,280,000

NATIONAL ADVERTS SPONSORED BY THE ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS AND ITS VARIOUS SUPPORT GROUP FROM NOVEMBER 17TH 2014 TILL MARCH 26 2015

SPONSORS	T.V STATION	SLOTS	AMOUNT	DURATION	<u>TOTAL</u>
APC	AIT	87 Slots @	393,000	30 Sec	34,191,000
APCPCO		42 Slots @	393,000	30 Sec	16,506,000
All GMB Support Groups		42 Slots @	315,000	15 Sec	13,230,000
Others (Anonymous)		30 Slots @	315,000	15 Sec	9,450,000
Live Coverage		36 Slots @	7,000,000	1 hr	252,000,000
Total					325,377,000
	CHANNELS				
APC		150 Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	79,227,750
APCPCO		260 Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	137,328,100
All GMB Support Groups		120 Slots @	369,730	15 Sec	44,367,600
APC controlled State Governments		90 Slots @	528,185	30 Sec	47,536,650
Others (Anonymous)		75 Slots @	369,730	15 Sec	27,729,750

Documentary		30 Slots @	4,410,000	30 Min	132,300,000
Live Coverage		36 Slots @	5,000,000	1 hr.	180,000,000
Total					648,489,850
	NTA				
APC		42 Slots @	472,500	30 Sec	19,845,000
APCPCO		42 Slots @	472,500	30 Sec	19,845,000
All GMB Support Groups		42 Slots @	367,500	15 Sec	15,435,000
Others (Anonymous)		42 Slots @	367,500	15 Sec	15,435,000
Total					70,560,000

7.7 SUMMARY FOR ELECTRONIC MEDIA ADVERTISEMENT

Candidate/Party	Amount (N)
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) / Dr. Goodluck E. Jonathan	3,988,822,125
All Progressive Congress (APC) / Gen. Muhammadu Buhari	1,064,706,850

CHAPTER EIGHT

Print Media Expenses

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This compilation consists of the adverts placed by third parties on behalf of the candidates. It also contains those placed by the campaign team of the parties; the details provide here are summaries of the expenditure incurred in the various newspapers. The website of Center for Social Justice⁴⁶ provides detailed analysis of the day to day information relating to the adverts. It has information on the page number, the sample text, sponsors, unit cost and description pages and color of advert.

8.2 ALL PROGRESIVE CONGRESS

APC Summary of Newspaper Adverts for December 2014			
Newspapers	Total Advert Rate	20% Discount	Total
Daily Trust	12, 519,179	2,503,836	10,015,343
Daily Sun	3,759,845	751,969	3,007,876
Guardian	4,225,722	845,144	3,380,578
Nigerian Tribune	490,000	98,000	392,000
Punch	5,504,923	1,100,985	4,403,938
The Nation	16,202,389	3,240,478	12,961,911
Thisday	5,625,000	1,125,000	4,500,000
Vanguard	2,270,000	454,000	1,816,000
Total	N50,597,058	N10,119,412	N40,477,646
Discount	20% Discount		(10,119,412)
Grand Total			N40,477,646
Summary of APC/Pro-GMB Support Groups Newspapers Advertorials from the 1st January – 14th February, 2015			
Business Day	2,992,500	598,500	2,394,000
Blue Print	2,982,032	596,406	2,385,626
Daily Trust	38,450,417	7,690,083	30,760,334
Daily Sun	26,721,680	5,344,336	21,377,344
Guardian	27,039,104	5,407,821	21,631,283
Leadership	48,194,802	9,638,960	38,555,842
Nation	78,924,255	15,784,851	63,139,404
Nigerian Tribune	12,022,500	2,404,500	9,618,000
Punch	46,684,056	9,336,811	37,347,245
Thisday	50,312,500	10,062,500	40,250,000
Vanguard	29,325,125	5,865,025	23,460,100
Tell Magazine	482,664	96,533	386,131

⁴⁶www.csj-ng.org/publications/political-finance-reforms/

People's Daily	1,000,000	200,000	800,000
Total	N365,131,635	N73,026,362	N292,105,309
Summary of APC/Pro-GMB Support Groups Newspapers Advertorials from the 15th February – 26th March, 2015			
Newspaper	Advert Rate	20% Discount	Total Amount Spend
Daily Trust	40,495,956	8,099,191	32,396,765
Daily Sun	16,994,710	3,398,942	13,595,768
Guardian	13,984,289	2,796,858	11,187,431
Leadership	78,845,313	15,769,063	63,076,250
The Nation	75,645,740	15,129,740	60,516,592
Nigerian Tribune	9,719,850	1,943,970	7,775,880
Punch	24,227,634	4,845,527	19,382,107
Thisday	16,762,550	3,352,510	13,410,040
Vanguard	21,118,750	4,223,750	16,895,000
New Telegraph	4,380,600	876,120	3,504,480
Nigerian Pilot	5,500,000	1,100,000	4,400,000
Daily Independent	1,155,524	231,105	924,419
Total	N308,830,916	N61,766,776	N247,064,732

8.3 PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY

PDP Summary of Newspaper Adverts for December 2014			
Daily Sun	32,450,667	6,490,133.4	25,960,533.6
Daily Trust	24,718,827	4,943,765.4	19,775,061.6
Guardian	17,073,000	3,414,600	13,658,400
Nigerian Tribune	6,595,010	1,319,002	5,276,008
Punch	23,299,281	4,659,856.2	18,639,424.8
The Nation	5,271,145	1,054,229	4,216,916
Thisday	23,450,000	4,690,000	18,760,000
TOTAL	132,857,930	26,571,586	106,286,344
Discount	20 Percent Discount		(26,571,586)
Grand Total			N106,288,344
Summary of PDP/Pro-GEJ Support Groups Newspapers Advertorials from the 1st January – 14th February, 2015			
Business Day	18,574,500	3,714,900	14,859,600
Blue Print	199,500	39,900	159,600
Daily Sun	199,176,774	39,835,355	159,341,419
New Telegraph	6,888,525	1,377,705	5,510,820
Daily Trust	103,802,418	20,760,484	83,041,934
Guardian	153,030,064	30,606,013	122,424,051
Leadership	57,969,124	11,593,825	46,375,299
Nation	17,483,182	3,496,636	13,986,546
Nigerian Pilot	40,276,250	8,055,250	32,221,000
Nigerian Tribune	99,721,125	19,944,225	79,776,900
Punch	106,625,791	21,325,158	85,300,633
Thisday	179,373,500	35,874,700	143,498,800
Vanguard	170,533,125	34,106,625	136,426,500
Tell Magazine	7,205,288	1,441,058	5,764,230

The News	500,000	100,000	400,000
Total	N1,161,359,166	N232,271,833	N929,087,333
Summary of PDP/Pro-GEJ Support Groups Newspapers Advertorials from the 15th February – 26th March, 2015			
Business Day	14,332,500	2,866,500	11,466,000
Daily Sun	242,682,805	48,536,561	194,146,244
New Telegraph	99,843,128	19,968,626	79,874,502
Daily Trust	123,556,267	24,711,253	99,845,014
Guardian	168,329,332	33,665,866	134,663,466
Leadership	157,765,680	31,553,136	126,212,544
The Nation	19,672,877	3,934,575	15,738,302
Nigerian Pilot	48,832,500	9,766,500	39,066,000
Nigerian Tribune	178,319,010	35,663,802	142,655,208
Punch	156,060,256	31,212,051	124,848,205
Thisday	310,013,550	62,002,710	248,010,840
Vanguard	269,067,875	53,813,575	215,254,300
News-watch Times	11,340,000	2,268,000	9,072,000
Total	N1,799,815,780	N359,963,156	N1,439,852,624

8.4 SUMMARY OF PRINT MEDIA CAMPAIGN

Candidate/Party	Amount (N)
Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)/Dr. Goodluck E. Jonathan	2,475,228,301
All Progressive Congress (APC) /Gen. Muhammad Buhari	579,647,687

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1 OVERALL SPENDING

The total expenditure of candidates captured in this Report is presented below. However, the actual expenses were more than this summary because there were expenditures peculiarly within the knowledge of the candidates and their campaign offices which the monitors did not have access to.

Campaign Expenses	PDP Presidential Candidate: Goodluck Jonathan	APC Presidential Candidate: Muhammadu Buhari
Campaigns and Rallies	1,280,374,870.00	671,062,200.00
Expenses on Bill Boards	473,160,000.00	190,380,000.00
Electronic Media Campaign	532,100,000.00	410,050,000.00
Electronic Media Advertisement	3,988,822,125.00	1,064,706,850.00
Print Media Campaign	2,475,228,301.00	579,647,687.00
TOTAL	8,749,685,296.00	2,915,846,737.00

9.2 CONCLUSIONS

Money and administrative resources played an enhanced role in the 2015 presidential election. The election appears to have been the most costly and keenly contested since the return to civil rule in 1999. The expenditure ceiling of one billion naira was largely ignored by the candidates whilst administrative resources were deployed by the two major contenders. Public financial resources were deployed to the election by the two political parties and candidates. The link between the run down finances of states and FGN, the inability to pay workers salaries at the state level and the 2015 elections was very clear. The context of the coming together of the opposition to form the APC which squared up with the PDP candidate provided a near level playing field in terms of access to resources for the candidates.

Empirical evidence demonstrates that the ceiling of N1billion was unrealistic and could not fund a winning presidential campaign taking into consideration the expenses on advertisements in the media (including print, electronic, bill boards), hire of staff and equipment, transport and cost of campaigns, etc. Also, there is no justification for the ceiling considering the land mass of Nigeria and the fact that gubernatorial candidates are entitled to spend one fifth of the sum allowed for presidential candidates who cover

36 states of the Federation. The ceiling has been static for a number of years when the currency has been directly and indirectly devalued. As such, the ceiling fails to respond to changes in the nation's economic circumstances.

The fact that parties were at liberty without limitation to spend money on candidate's campaigns meant in effect that the ceiling was more apparent than real. In essence, a clever candidate upon hitting the ceiling will simply transfer the balance of the money he raised to the party to spend. This in effect removed the ceiling.

Political parties charged huge sums of money for candidates to express interest to contest presidential primaries and to buy nomination forms. The campaign finance rules did not take account of money spent on purchase of forms or expression of interest or generally, resources spent before the notice of poll by INEC. This provided a fertile ground for the monetisation of politics at that early stage. Reports of the use of money to influence voters at the APC presidential primary were not denied by the aspirants.

The introduction of the Guidelines requiring candidate's reporting of their campaign expenditure was a step in the right direction by INEC. It filled a lacuna which had been severally noted in our earlier reports. However, there is still no provision for cash, paper and banking trail which would have facilitated reporting by candidates and monitoring by INEC to determine the accuracy of the candidate's reports. It appears that candidates and parties did not respect the Guidelines on provision of prior information to INEC for fundraising events.

The Act and Guidelines were also blank on tracking media expenses. Candidates and parties are expected to report on their expenses. But how will INEC or anyone verify the truthfulness of the report filed by candidates and parties considering the number of electronic media stations that engage in campaign advertisements twenty four hours a day?

Donations to candidates and political parties by companies continued in the run-up to the 2015 presidential election. This clearly runs against the letter and spirit of the Companies and Allied Matters Act. The relationship between the donations and extant or future economic policies needs to be interrogated. Were the donors the beneficiaries of inflated contracts, undue import duty waivers, etc? Were the donors expecting these kinds of benefits in the future? Further, the role played by TAN in the campaigns was unprecedented in terms of the quantum of resources spent and the fact that they started campaigns before the notice of poll by INEC. Apparently, because TAN was working in favour of the ruling party, they were left to undermine the campaign finance regime without rebuke.

Governors on behalf of state governments added another dimension to campaign financing when some of them openly donated state money to the former President

Goodluck Jonathan's campaign. This was wrong in law and in fact considering that indigenes of the state do not all belong to the same party. If the state government was ready and willing to make donations for political purposes, it should give the money across board to all the parties. However, this must be based on appropriation by the State House of Assembly.

The tax status of contributions to political parties remained an issue. Contributions have not been made tax deductible to encourage ordinary Nigerians who do not belong to the rich or super rich category to contribute to candidates and political parties. This has contributed to the opaque campaign finance regime in Nigerian. Ordinary party members instead of paying dues and levies to maintain the party and facilitate campaigns rather expected to get money and other resources from the party and candidates. Apparently, the bulk of the resources for the campaigns came from wealthy individuals and diverted state resources.

There was also no collaboration between government agencies such as Federal Inland Revenue Service, INEC and the anti-corruption agencies to determine the source of funds donated to candidates and political parties. Also, donors were not followed up by FIRS to verify their tax payments to the treasury.

The abuse of SARs include the diversion of MDG women empowerment programme materials for partisan purposes, branded rice and fertilisers from the Agricultural Transformation Agenda distributed for campaigns. Official aircrafts and vehicles were routinely used for campaigns. The governor of Borno State declared a public holiday for his party's presidential campaign whilst NCC tried to frustrate the opposition's fund raising efforts before the courts came to the rescue.

The failure of INEC to delimit the amount of money an individual or organisation can donate to a political party was also an issue in the election. This provided a leeway for an open regime on donations to the parties.

INEC's monitoring and follow up on campaign finance and use of SARs did not provide for proactive interventions and opportunities for public remedies. For instance, after the announcement of donations to the PDP by companies in violation of CAMA, it was expected that INEC should have asked the candidate or party to turn over the money to it. It was also expected that the law enforcement agencies could have activated the provisions of the law against the directors of the company.

Apparently, the campaign finance and SAR monitoring and follow up provisions of the Electoral Act and the structures set up by INEC to enforce same have not lived up to the practical challenges posed by the activities of political parties and candidates. Although, the 2015 experience is an improvement on previous elections, more still needs to be done.

9.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

9.3.1 To the National Assembly

(A) The ceiling of N1billion for candidates in a presidential election should be upwardly reviewed to N5billion. This is based on observed and necessary expenses to mount a viable campaign for the presidency.

(B) The review to N5billion should not be contained in the body of the Electoral Act. Rather, the Act should be amended and the power to determine the ceiling across all the elections given to INEC. This power will be exercised from time to time based on changes in the economy after consultation with relevant stakeholders and the public. The stakeholders will include the political parties, campaign organisations, Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Central Bank of Nigeria, security agencies and civil society working in the field of elections.

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

(D) The reviewed ceilings should be universal and cover expenses from the candidate and the political party.

(E) Third party expenditure for candidates should also be guided by the expenditure ceiling on individual donations to candidates.

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

(G) Proper definition of campaign expenditure should include expenditure made before the notice of poll. It should include all expenditure by the candidate and political party targeted at enhancing the chances of the candidate to win the election.

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

(I) There needs to be a reaffirmation in the law of the ban on companies donating to political purposes and to candidates' campaign finances.

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

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

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

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

9.3.2 To INEC

(A) Costs of forms and expression of interest to contest should be regulated by INEC Guidelines - INEC using its powers under S.153 of the Electoral Act. This should in no circumstances exceed the current value of N2million.

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

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

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

9.3.3 To Political Parties

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

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

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

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

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

9.3.4 To Civil Society

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

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

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

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

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

LIST OF MONITORS, THEIR ORGANISATIONS AND STATES MONITORED

S/N	Name	Organization	Location
1	Christian Njoku	Peoples Empowerment Forum	Lagos
2	Oyeleye Abiodun	New Initiatives For Social Development	Ekiti
3	Adeosun J.O.J	Faith Based Leadership For Development Initiative (FABALEED)	Ondo
4.	Seun Esan	Centre For Social Justice, Good Health & Community Development	Osun
5	Adebajo Olufaaru Oalekan	Justice Development And Peace Commission	Ijebu-Ode - Ogun
6	Andrew Sogbeye	Blakk - Empower And Development Network	Oyo
7	Marcel Iweajuwa	New Nigeria Youth Organization,	Owerri - Imo
8	Prince Chris Azor	International Peace And Civic Responsibility Centre	Anambra
9	Comrade Nelson Nnanna Nwafor	Foundation For Environmental Rights, Advocacy & Development (FENRAD)	Abia
10	Nancy Okonya	Neighbourhood Initiatives For Women Advancement (NIWA)	Ebonyi
11	Onyinye Oka	CIRDDOC	Enugu
12	Fung Bedan	Responsible Citizenship	Gombe
13	Abass A. Najume	Youths For Peace And Development	Bauchi
14	Hajja Bintu Konto	Grassroots Health Concern Association,	Maiduguri - Borno
15.	Mamman Abdulrahman	Centre For Sustainable Development	Yobe
17	Kabiru Yahuza A	Association Youth For Democracy And Progress	Adamawa
18	Muhammad T. Danburam	Rural Integrated Development Initiative, No. 55 Barde Way,	Jalingo - Taraba
19	Justin Gbagir	Justice And Rights Initiatives	Benue
20	Hamza Aliyu	Initiative For Grassroots Advancement (Ingra)	Kogi
21	Akuben Yakubu Azi	Ethics And Values Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society	Plateau
22	Ibrah Im Usman	Community Action For Popular Participation	Kwara
23	Mohammed Sany Gambo	Millennium Youth Development Association	Jigawa
24	Shehu Aliyu	Westphelia Initiatives	Kano
25.	Ibrahim A. Shuni	Community Centre For Development	Sokoto
26	Suleiman Bello Kaoje	Community Action For Popular Participation	Kebbi
27.	Idongesit Basse	Citizens Rights Awareness Initiative	Cross River
28	Madam Mary Achineye	Family Health Care Foundation	Nasarawa
29	Sirajo Abubakar	Peace Development Organization	Zamfara
30	Tunde Salman	Good Governance Team	FCT
31	Ahmad Abdullahi	South Youth Grassroots Initiatives	Niger
32	Adejobi Abel	Leads-Nigeria	Kaduna
32	Umar Farouk Mohammed	Teckno World Community Foundation	Katsina
33	George Hill	NDEBUMOG	Rivers
34	Unyime Johnson	HOPE Initiative	Akwa Ibom
35	Anicetus Atakpu	Accord For Community Development	Bayelsa
36	Innocent Edemhanria	ANEEDJ	Edo
37	Lawrence Chuks Egodike	L.C Egodike & Partners	Delta

ABOUT CENTRE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE (CSJ - RC:737676)

Centre for Social Justice Limited by Guarantee (CSJ) is a Nigerian nongovernmental organization with a vision of a Nigeria where social justice informs public decision making. Its mission is to mainstream social justice and fairness in all facets of public life.

The main objectives are to:

- ❖ Contribute to the development and implementation of national laws and policies on social rights and justice in accordance with international best practices;
- ❖ Promote accountability, transparency and popular participation in public expenditure management;
- ❖ Promote poverty reduction strategies as a tool for social justice;
- ❖ Promote popular participation and gender mainstreaming in public decision making;
- ❖ Broaden the constituency of professionals interested in development and poverty reduction by creating and maintaining a multidisciplinary network of professionals committed to work for the realization of these objects.

PROGRAMMES

The programmes of CSJ focus on a rights based approach to public expenditure management, power sector reforms, political finance reforms and constitutional reforms.

DIRECTORS

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