

IN DEFIANCE OF THE LAW

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



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Centre for Social Justice (CSJ)

(Mainstreaming Social Justice In Public Life)

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Acronyms

SAR	State Administrative Resources
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
APGA	PROGRESSIVES GRAND ALLIANCE
APC	ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS
LP	LABOUR PARTY
PDP	PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY
ISPO	Irrevocable Standing Payment Order
CSJ	Centre for Social Justice
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
LGA	Local Government Area
NTA	Nigeria Television Authority
AIT	Africa Independent Television
TV	Television

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

Money and other resources play a major role in the determination of electoral outcomes in Nigeria and indeed, in other parts of the world. Other factors such as the popularity, background and track record of a candidate and the policy positions he represents are also important determinants of electoral outcome. Resources are required to finance campaigns including multi-media approaches to the electorate, billboards, rallies, printing of manifesto, T-shirts and other materials needed to reach potential voters. The candidate and his political party need to engage and pay core campaign staff, hire and equip offices, provide and fuel vehicles, provide security for the candidate and other logistics support for the elections. Party agents need to be paid and a number of other legal, quasi legal and outright illegal expenses¹ are incurred in the course of electioneering. Even after elections, when the results are challenged in an election tribunal, the costs of litigation including hiring good lawyers most times runs into tens of millions of naira.

While recognising the need for resources, it is also imperative to ensure that money and other resources do not overtly determine electoral outcomes. Politics should be a game of ideas and ability to convince people on the ideals guiding a party or candidate. Within this context, the law regulates political and campaign finance and the use of state administrative resources (SAR). In Nigeria, the governing laws and regulations include the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 as amended (the Constitution), the Electoral Act 2010 as amended (the Electoral Act or Act), the Code of Conduct for Political Parties, Guidelines and Regulations for Political Parties², other regulations made by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and a plethora of other laws³.

The Electoral Act makes elaborate provisions for the regulation of the finances of political parties and the electioneering expenditure of candidates and political parties. The provisions range from offences in relation to political party finances, period to be covered by annual report, power to limit contribution to a political party, limitation of election expenses of candidates, election expense of political parties, and disclosure by political parties. The Act in section 91 (3) provides that

¹ Bribery and vote buying which although outlawed is very common in Nigerian elections.

² The Code and Guidelines were revised in 2013.

³ The laws include the Companies and Allied Matters Act.

N200million shall be the maximum amount to be spent by a gubernatorial candidate in an election and in the same section 91 (10) (b), spending above the limitation attracts a fine of N800,000 or imprisonment for 9 months or both. However, no express reporting obligation was placed on candidates by the Act either before or after the election. Individuals are restricted to a donation of not more than N1million to a candidate and any individual who knowingly acts in contravention of this limitation shall on conviction be liable to a maximum fine of N500,000 or imprisonment for a term of 9 months or both. Although the Electoral Act did not expressly define the contents of election expenditure and the period for the computation of the expenditure for individual candidates, section 91 (8) states that, in determining the total expenditure incurred in relation to the candidature of any person at any election, no account shall be taken of any deposit made by the candidate on his nomination in compliance with the law. It also excludes any expenditure incurred before the notice of poll with respect to services rendered or materials supplied before such notification and political party expenses in respect of the candidate standing election.

Section 100 (2) provides that state apparatus including the media shall not be deployed to the advantage or disadvantage of any political party or candidate at an election. The Code of Conduct for Political Parties states that government business shall be separated from political party business and bars the use of state resources for electioneering.

Interestingly, INEC's omnibus power to make rules and regulations for the effective implementation of the Act contained in section 153 of the Electoral Act provides a basis for INEC to demand reports from candidates on their expenditures. But these laws and regulations will remain like dry letters on parchment if they are not monitored and activated. This informs the campaign finance monitoring efforts of Centre for Social Justice over the years. Unlike other aspects of the electoral process where INEC, civil society and other stakeholders have invested a lot of efforts in ensuring that the rules and regulations are obeyed to the letter, campaign finance tracking has attracted little or no attention from stakeholders. The definition of free, fair and credible election by stakeholders has not taken cognizance of the campaign and political finance dimensions. Thus, registration of voters and the conduct of polling on the Election Day and its logistics have been monitored and reported upon. Security challenges, use of the media related to elections have also been monitored and reported upon. And it has been taken for granted that once these few issues are relatively in order that the election is credible, free and fair. However, there is nothing credible about gross and unequal access to resources which facilitates reaching the electorate with the message of the candidate and political party. There is nothing credible about abuse of state resources to the favour of the incumbent and to the detriment of other contestants.

1.2 FOCUS

This report focuses on the campaign finance expenditure and use of SAR of candidates that contested the Anambra State gubernatorial election of November 2013. The report is not about monitoring elections but the cost of elections. Although monitors came across instances of electoral misconduct or violence, such information were only relevant to the extent that it related to the cost of election. The monitoring was however limited to the four front running gubernatorial candidates of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) All Progressives Congress (APC), Labour Party (LP) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). The four candidates monitored by the project are as follows:

- All Progressive Congress: Senator Chris Ngige
- Peoples Democratic Party: Tony Nwoye
- All Progressives Grand Alliance: Willie Obiano and,
- Labour Party: Ifeanyi Ubah

Campaign finance monitoring involves the monitoring of funds, expenses and SAR utilised by parties and candidates during elections. It includes the monitoring of expenses deployed for campaigns and rallies, campaign offices, publicity and other associated costs, resources generated by the candidates and parties during election, etc. Campaign finance monitoring, although relatively new in Nigeria is a practice in most consolidated democracies.

1.3 THE ANAMBRA CONTEXT

Anambra State has a sad history related to the undue influence of money in politics. The Governor of Anambra State between May 2003 and March 2006, Dr. Chris Nwabueze Ngige (who incidentally was a candidate in the November 2013 election) rode on the back of a businessman, Chief Chris Uba into office. Uba committed his resources not only into financing Ngige's governorship campaigns but also into rigging him into office as the courts were later to declare. Before assuming office, Ngige reportedly entered into agreement with Uba on how the latter was to recoup his "investments". One, Ngige was to hand over a certain percentage of the state's monthly allocation from the Federation Account to Uba. This was to be done using the instrument of Irrevocable Standing Payment Order (ISPO). With the order, the agreed amount of money was to be deducted from source and paid to Uba even before the state government got its own share of the allocation. Second, about two thirds of the Commissioners, Special Advisers, Special Assistants and other political office holders to be appointed by Ngige were to be nominated by Uba. Uba was also to be given the free rein to pick the "juicy offices" the nominees were to occupy. On assumption of office,

Ngige reneged on these agreements and hell was let loose. He was constantly harassed, threatened and once abducted from office. Uba repeatedly sponsored riots in Anambra State during which public property worth billions of naira were destroyed. Until the courts later declared that he was not the person rightfully elected as the Governor of Anambra State, neither Ngige nor Anambra State knew peace. Between 1999 and 2003 and under the administration of former Governor Mbadinuju, schools were closed in the state for one year due to mismanagement of resources and the crisis between the governor and his god father, Emeka Offor.

Contestants in elections in Anambra State are reputed to deploy large sums of money. The extant scenario was a contest by candidates who were supposed to have deep pockets or sponsored by parties and individuals with deep pockets. Ngige, the APC candidate had run severally for governorship after the experience narrated above and the Anambra gubernatorial election was the first to be contested by his political party after the merger of a number of parties to form the APC. Ngige and his party had a point to prove about their acceptance by and popularity among the electorate. The interesting scenario is that APGA (the incumbent) and PDP had shared the governorship position in the past. And one of the former PDP governors, Chris Ngige who is a serving Senator is now the APC flag bearer. Ngige is reputed to have done a very good job as governor of Anambra state and has strong followership in the state.

However, there was an element of ethnic sentiments used by the incumbent APGA in portraying Chris Ngige, the candidate of the APC as pursuing an agenda alien to Anambra State. The unfortunate deportation of some Nigerians of Anambra State origin by the APC controlled Lagos State government, shortly before the election, did not help matters for Chris Ngige and the APC. There were media publications suggestive of the need for Anambra people to vote APGA based on ethnic sentiments. The National Light newspaper put it succinctly as follows:

Some Igbo people would quickly point at ACN now turned APC as a Yoruba party and ANPP as the Hausa-Fulani party while APGA is for the Igbo. There is this sense of ownership that APGA represents to them. It would amount to political suicide for Ndi Anambra to allow political parties of rival ethnic groups therefore to provide leadership in the state⁴.

The PDP was desirous of regaining the state which it believes it lost to bickering among its factions. The standard PDP practice in Anambra in the last two gubernatorial contests was to have two or three persons claiming the candidacy of the party at the same time. The belief was that in-fighting and bickering paved the way for APGA to win

⁴ See National Light Newspaper of Thursday October 10, 2013.

the elections in the past. In the run up to the 2013 gubernatorial election, the same scenario was replicated with Nicholas Ukachukwu, Senator Andy Uba and Tony Nwoye claiming to be candidates of the PDP at the same time. Andy Uba had fought and won the Anambra governorship election in 2007; he was sworn in but the court eventually declared that the tenure of Governor Peter Obi had not elapsed as at the time INEC conducted the election. So, Andy Uba did not enjoy the fruit of that electoral victory. Andy Uba was reported to have declared his assets to be worth over N1trillion when he assumed office as governor. Nicholas Ukachukwu had serially contested the governorship election in the past under various platforms. He is also reputed to a very rich business man. It was not until two weeks to the election that the Supreme Court declared Tony Nwoye as the rightful candidate of the PDP. The PDP contested with federal might backing its candidate. Tony Nwoye was also reported to have been heavily supported by billionaire business man, Chief Arthur Eze.

On the other hand, APGA wanted to hold on to the only state it now controls and to prove that it did not win control of the state due to the internal bickering in PDP. There is also the sentiment that it is the party of the South East zone. Its candidate, although a relatively unknown banker, enjoyed the support of the state government and contested almost like an incumbent. APGA, in its primary election contest had on nebulous grounds, disqualified Charles Soludu a former governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria as ineligible to run for the office of governor. Beyond the disqualification of Soludo, Mrs Uche Ekwunife, a serving member of the House of Representatives, who came second in the APGA primaries went to court seeking the disqualification of Willie Obiano on the ground of double registration as a voter. The party later prevailed on her to withdraw the suit.

The Labour Party candidate Ifeanyi Uba had the reputation of a rich business man involved in the oil business and demonstrated willingness and capacity to spend large resources for the gubernatorial election. He had been involved in various philanthropic gestures across the state before his foray into politics. Thus, virtually all the major candidates had a strong point to prove in contesting the election and a lot of ego was at stake.

1.4 GOAL OF THE REPORT

The project was designed with the specific goal of contributing to credible gubernatorial election in Anambra State through a civil society oversight on campaign finance and use of SAR in the election. The specific objectives were:

- Build the capacity of civil society organisations to engage campaign finance and the use of SAR;

- Monitor and report on campaign finance and SAR in the gubernatorial election and use the monitoring results for advocacy for legislative or policy change and for enhanced enforcement of the law

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

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The project employed capacity building by identifying monitors and training them on the relevant issues in campaign finance monitoring. The Constitution, Electoral Act and other relevant legislation on campaign finance and the use of SAR formed the legal basis of the training. CSJ developed a user manual for monitoring gubernatorial campaign finance and monitors were trained on how to use the manual. The second stage was the deployment of monitors in all the 21 local governments of the state. 21 monitors, at one monitor per local government monitored the campaigns. INEC cleared 23 candidates to contest the Anambra State gubernatorial election. Based on the general outlook of activities amongst the 23 registered political parties that fielded candidates in the election, the monitoring exercise was concentrated on and restricted to the four front runners earlier mentioned.

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

The monitors were drawn from civil society organisations and were under oath to abide by the Code of Conduct for Campaign Finance Monitors. They were charged to provide evidence only when it is credible, verifiable, relevant and reliable. The monitors attended rallies and campaigns, counted billboards, interviewed relevant stakeholders and observed the partisan use of SAR. They collected prices of various items from three credible vendors to ensure that the prices stated in their reports were reasonable and within the range of what is obtainable in the market. At

the secretariat, the reports were verified and facts were sifted. For prices difficult to quantify, the opinions of experts in the field were sought and this includes outdoor media practitioners, event planners, welders and fabricators, estate agents and those who have dealt with similar matters in the past. Also, the project sought information from staff of the various campaign organisations. Further, the project monitored media reports on the election campaign.

1.6. CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE EXERCISE

The monitoring exercise was an independent observation carried out without the accreditation of INEC. Indeed, the legal basis of the monitoring was questioned by political parties and candidates considering that election monitors in the traditional sense had INEC accredited cards and official recognition. The guidelines and usual INEC calls for accreditation for election monitors did not indicate an understanding of the nature and intricate details of campaign finance. Campaign finance is not a one day or one week activity where monitors will be accredited and expected to turn in their reports within a period of one or two weeks. It is a series of activities that start on or shortly before the nominations and continues to the notice of poll and runs throughout the duration of the campaigns and possibly thereafter to the monitoring of the cost of prosecuting litigation before election adjudication tribunals. It is indeed tedious, demands resources beyond the one day election monitoring event. It further demands commitment and out of box thinking to be able to capture expenditure and facts peculiarly within the knowledge of the candidates and parties, which they are unwilling to disclose most times. The unwillingness stems from the fact that they believe they will be indicting themselves by stating the facts as they are.

Letters seeking information on campaign expenditure and SAR were written to political parties and candidates campaign organisations without a response from any of them. Apparently, they all had an interest to maintain a culture of silence and to refuse to respond to the enquiries. The information contained in this report is limited to information from party members who share some closeness with the monitors; newspaper articles and stories and also through physical observation of events that took place in rallies and other special occasions organized by the candidates and political parties in the various local governments.

Also, exact information could not be obtained about donations to the candidates and political parties. For instance, the APC received donations from Nigerians through a dedicated account number. This was also the case with the APGA that had a joint account opened in the name of Peter Obi/Willie Obiano. To obtain such information, it requires the efforts of INEC to authorise or compel the parties to provide the information to accredited monitors. This dedicated account phenomenon is a clear opportunity that should be utilised by INEC to get information on campaign finance. It provides a trail of

income and expenditure. The exact number of posters and billboards could not be fully ascertained as a result of inter-party rivalries which leads to the tearing off and pulling down of posters and bill boards in major locations in the state. The electronic media stations could not provide the monitors with the official copy of slots booked by the parties during the campaigns, but we were able to obtain some of the information about electronic media expenses through credible personal contacts established with personnel in the media outfits. Also, the efforts of monitors who observed the electronic media and kept a tab on the advertisements facilitated electronic media reporting.

The project deployed only 21 monitors at one monitor per local government. The monitoring was conducted on a part time basis and on a shoe string budget which meant that the monitors could not have covered all the activities organised by the candidates. Also, fund raising activities were not open to the public and as such, the only way to get information will be from those present at the fund raising and majority of them were unwilling to disclose the facts. With improved knowledge on campaign finance, many donors also tried to avoid exceeding the ceiling and were reported to have announced donations in the names of other people instead of exceeding the legal limitations.

1.7. REPORT PRESENTATION

The Report is presented as follows:

- Introduction
- The legal Framework
- Abuse of State Administrative Resources
- Campaigns and Rallies
- Other Expenses
- Expenses on Bill Boards
- Electronic Media Campaigns
- Print Media Expenses
- Conclusions and Recommendation

Chapter Two

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

This Chapter reviews some important and key legal issues that remained pertinent to the gubernatorial election.

2.1 NEW REPORTING OBLIGATIONS

Section 91 of the Act limits gubernatorial election expenses to N200m. By section 92 of the Electoral Act, electoral expenses are defined as:

92.- (1) For the purpose of an election , “election expenses “ means expenses incurred by a political party within the period from the date notice is given by the Commission to conduct an election up to and including, the polling day in respect of the particular election.

A new development occurred prior to the Anambra gubernatorial election and this development was in furtherance of the powers of INEC under section 153 of the Act. Section 153 gives INEC power as follows:

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

In June 2013, INEC came up with Guidelines and Regulations for Political Parties. This is essentially an improvement considering that this is the first time that such regulations have been issued. The provisions include the following on candidate campaign finance.

11. All candidates shall:

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

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.

13. Every candidate shall:

- *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.*
- *Maintain proper books of account and records of all expenses incurred during campaign.*

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.

15. All candidates shall

- *Submit detailed audited returns of their campaign expenses to the Commission within six months after the election.*
- *Such returns shall indicate details of donations, other sources of funding, expenditure on goods, services and sundry expenses incurred for the purpose of the election.*
- *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 authorised by the Commission in writing.

The above provisions departed from the past and sought to validate recommendations from previous campaign finance reports issued by CSJ. This new provision has raised the hope of new dawn in campaign finance regulation, monitoring and reporting in Nigeria. It appears to have provided a remedy for the inchoate nature of provisions for limitation of spending without a corresponding reporting obligation.

The implication of this provision is that INEC on its own can track candidate's expenditure and follow through the reporting system. The reports will be coming with a verifying affidavit which means that apart from violating the law through false reports, an extra offence of lying under oath would have been committed through issuing a false report. The other implication is that this provision gives INEC a clear template for accrediting and deploying campaign finance observers in future elections. It also provides civil society with a monitoring platform in matters of campaign finance. Finally, it cures the inchoate nature of provisions for campaign finance limits and the absence of candidates reporting mechanism in a candidate-centric system.

Whether the candidates in the Anambra gubernatorial election obeyed the regulations is another matter. Their report will be due six months after the election and we await the

reports. This development demands a review of the Political Parties Finance Handbook and Manual and the designation of special reporting forms for candidates' expenditure. It also demands sensitisation and training for candidates and their campaign organisations on the new rules and the use of the forms.

However, there are still gaps in the Guidelines which can be amended before the 2015 elections and these include issues about maintaining dedicated bank accounts for campaign expenses and reporting on expenses using bank statements; tracking media expenditure by placing obligations not only on candidates but on print and electronic media outfits to report on campaign advertisements to INEC and the National Broadcasting Commission, etc.

2.2 THE BASIS OF THE CEILINGS STILL REMAINED UNCLEAR

The logic and empirical basis of the N200 million limit for gubernatorial candidates and the limitations of expenditure for other categories of candidates were not articulated in the Act and INEC or the National Assembly has not come out with any justifications. Is it based on the number of voters to be addressed by the candidate or the land area to be covered or media and other expenses? The ceilings appear arbitrary. For instance, if a presidential candidate who has 36 States and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) to cover is to spend N1billion, why should the Act allow a gubernatorial candidate with one out of 36 states to spend one fifth of the presidential candidate's ceiling? If a senatorial zone is one third of a state, why did the Act not grant senatorial candidates one third of the governor's ceiling? What is the relationship between the area covered by a senatorial seat and that of a House of Representatives member?⁵ In General Comment No. 25 of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights⁶, it was stated:

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

In our previous reports on the gubernatorial elections in Edo and Ondo states, it was our considered view based on empirical evidence that the N200m ceiling was not realistic for the prosecution of a gubernatorial campaign. Every serious candidate spent above the limit. Yes, there is need for expenditure ceilings in Nigeria. However, there must be a basis for the determination of the reasonableness of the ceilings. The limitation could be based on the number of registered voters in a constituency

⁵ See page 24 of Political Finance Monitoring Manual, 2011 by Centre for Social Justice.

⁶ United Nations Commission on Human Rights (1996) interpreting article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - participation in public affairs and the right to vote, the right to participate in public affairs, voting rights and the right of equal access to public service adopted at the 57th Session of the Human Rights Committee on 12 July 1996. CCPR/C/21Rev.1/Add.7

multiplied by a factor and from time to time adjusted for inflation based on the national consumer index. Essentially, if there was an empirical basis for the ceiling, the Anambra State gubernatorial election may have had a ceiling different from the gubernatorial elections in other states that have different population, registered voters, land mass, etc⁷.

Further, the ceilings appear static and will not be influenced by inflation and the value of the national currency and can only be reviewed by an amendment of the Act. This should not have been so. The power to review the ceilings from time to time should have been left to INEC to avoid the cumbersome and time wasting process of statutory amendment.

2.3 EVERY DONOR WAS STILL ON BOARD

The Act was silent on the eligibility of individuals to contribute to campaign funds. It extended eligibility to all. The implication is that persons involved in drugs, money laundering, obtaining by false pretences, defrauding the revenue and even terrorism can fund candidates and parties. The Act should have specifically introduced the concept of “permissible donor” to bar persons who in the last five years have been convicted of offences involving fraud or dishonesty, defrauding the revenue, drug trafficking and sale of psychotropic substances, terrorism, human trafficking, etc, from contributing to the coffers of political parties and candidates. This “every donor on board” approach runs contrary to African Union Charter on Preventing and Combating Corruption⁸ which in article 10 states that:

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

⁷ See the publications, *Spending to Win* and *Spending to Rule* by CSJ

Chapter Three

ABUSE OF STATE ADMINISTRATIVE RESOURCES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The abuse of State Administrative Resources (SAR) has been a common practice amongst incumbents either contesting for election or mobilising support for an adopted candidate. The use of these resources gives the incumbent an undue advantage over other candidates. This is against the provisions of the Act which unequivocally states in section 100 (2) that:

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

Also, the Political Parties Code of Conduct 2013 states that:

All parties shall discourage their members in government from using their power of incumbency to the disadvantage of other parties or their candidates during campaign.⁹

An online report described the power of incumbency in the Anambra context as follows:

There is no doubt that it would be a herculean task wresting the Anambra State governorship seat from whomsoever Mr. Peter Obi decides to support in the November 2013 governorship election in the State. This has to do with the awesome “power of incumbency” at the disposal of Mr. Obi as the sitting governor of Anambra State. In Nigeria, power of incumbency has, unfortunately come to mean the ability of a sitting president or governor to manipulate state institutions (electoral and security) to rig elections.

The story is there in the streets that the powers that be in Anambra State may deploy the humongous state resources at their disposal to influence electoral and security institutions to do their bidding in the November 2013 governorship election. It is equally believed, rightly or wrongly, that Obi, as an ardent supporter of Mr. President in the Southeast geo-political zone, may manipulate the services of the police, which in normal times behave as if the loyalty of their men is to a

⁹ Section 3 (17) of the Code.

sitting president rather than the nation, to achieve his intended goal of anointing his successor to the seat of Government House Awka¹⁰.

There were allegations that the APGA candidate and the incumbent governor opened a joint account for the purpose of funding the election¹¹. Incumbents have recorded victories against their opponents in several elections held in the past as a result of the misuse of state resources in their care. It appears to be an unwritten rule that for the opposition party to win election, it must be active enough and have the required resources to match not just the personal resources of the incumbent but also state resources at his disposal. SAR is not restricted to state funds alone; it includes media resources, institutions of government, government official vehicles, government prerogatives, insignias of office (symbols of authority), security personnel, etc. The details relating to the Anambra gubernatorial election are reproduced hereunder.

3.2 ATTEMPT TO CLOSE ONITSHA MARKET

The incumbent, who was supporting the APGA candidate, attempted to close Onitsha market to compel the traders to turn out en-masse for the APGA gubernatorial rally in Onitsha. This was resisted by the traders who booed the campaign team and pelted them with sachets of “pure water.” The traders complained of lack of consultation and the loss of livelihood for everyday the market was closed¹². According to one of the traders who spoke in street English:

It is not by force to support a candidate. The worst is that he should come and say what he wants to do and others will also come. But it does not mean that we will not do business for that¹³.

Another trader indicated that:

We received an order by the government saying that we should not do business today, of which we feel that it is not okay. Every time they will close our business without considering our loss¹⁴.

The attempt to close the market, beyond being an abuse of the rights of traders, is considered an abuse of state power considering that the market would not be closed during the campaign days of opposition candidates.

¹⁰ Daily Independent posted in *Political Whirlwind*, Tuesday November 12, 2013.

¹¹ The Bridge Newspaper of Sunday, October 27, 2013 at page 12.

¹² See the Bridge Newspaper of Sunday November 3, 2013.

¹³ The Bridge Newspaper, supra

¹⁴ The Bridge Newspaper, supra.

3.3 LAST MINUTE RECRUITMENTS INT THE ANAMBRA CIVIL SERVICE

An editorial page of the Bridge Newspaper observed the sudden engagement of workers into the Anambra State Civil Service and called for its immediate suspension¹⁵. The exercise, according to the newspaper is based on sheer political expediency. The Head of Service stated that 2000 vacancies exist in the State Civil Service but more than 50,000 job seekers applied. In nearly 8 years of his governorship, Peter Obi worked with a greatly depleted and disoriented civil service. He did not consider the need for recruitment until the elections were around the corner. To the newspaper, the government had no need for the workers it sought to employ. If it had need for the workers, it would have engaged them before the election. The newspaper pointed out that this is not the first time Governor Peter Obi would be using the civil service vacancy ploy to canvass for votes. It pointed out a similar experience in 2009 but the governor reneged on the recruitment exercise after he was re-elected. Experience from past administrations show that last minute recruitments are not recognised or given effect by the succeeding administration. Most of the workers employed by Governor Chinwoke Mbadinuju, close to his exit period, were disengaged by Governor Chris Ngige when he assumed office on the ground that due process was not followed in their employment. In the same vein, those similarly engaged by Dr. Ngige in his last days were shown the way out by the incumbent governor.

3.4 DEPLOYMENT OF STATE FISCAL RESOURCES

The ruling party through the state government unleashed the state's fiscal resources to the benefit of the APGA candidate. Administrative powers were used to award last minute contracts for apparent developmental projects and a sudden charitable disposition on the part of the governor was used to harness support from the electorate.

The business of governance including the provision of infrastructure is a continuous process and continues, even during election period. However, if contracts for the provision of basic infrastructure are delayed for advantage and used as bargaining chips to canvas for votes, some mischief will be implied. For a governor who has served for over seven years and was in the final lap of rounding up his eight year tenure, it was clear that unleashing tens of billions of naira in his last six months in office was a decision targeted at a specific purpose. The timing of these expenditure was targeted towards a political advantage.

During the campaigns of Willie Obiano, Governor Peter Obi awarded several of these projects in various communities and sectors with an appeal to the beneficiaries to vote for continuity. With less than six months to the end of governor's tenure, new projects estimated to cost over N50 billion were awarded across the state. The governor

¹⁵ Editorial of Sunday October 6, 2013.

speaking at Amawbia affirmed that the total money needed for these projects had been secured and it is left for the contractors to execute the job. The question begging for answer is; what is the rationale for embarking on these projects at the eve of his departure when the projects could have been done even in the early days of the administration? There is even no guarantee that projects of such monetary value can be efficiently supervised to achieve value for money within the remaining life of the administration. Specific examples of new projects include the following.

3.4.1 Distribution of School Buses and Computers, etc

The governor suddenly realised the need to fulfill his promise to spend N40 billion to accelerate the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the state. He announced the distribution of 500 buses to secondary schools in the state commencing with an initial batch of 200 buses. The government also announced the procurement of 25,000 internet ready computers with complete school syllables and books installed in them at the cost of N2.5billion. This was for distribution to schools. Further, the governor doled out money to all secondary schools in the state for provision of sick bays and connection to the internet, as well as for the purchase of generators¹⁶.

3.4.2 Flagging Off of Roads and Canvassing for Votes.

Part of the last minute projects of the governor was the dualisation of the Agulu Lake By-pass and the construction of two bridges across the Lake. The project estimated at N5billion is to be completed in February 2014. It was awarded during the campaigns and the contractor was fully mobilised. Some other projects flagged off were road projects in Orumba North and South local governments, Ekwulobia-Umunze-Umuchu road and the construction of a bridge along Umuagu-Ufuma road. The state government also announced the Ogbaru road construction with three bridges which would cost the state N8billion and to be completed in 12 months. In Nimo, the governor flagged off the reconstruction of Nimo-Igbariam road which was a 4.5km road awarded at the cost of N650million. In Nnewi South Local government, the governor brought to the knowledge of people in that local government, that a total of N20 billion has gone into road construction in the area. The governor also flagged off the reconstruction of the Okpuno-Isuanacho-Urum-Amauke-Achalla road project.

The awards of these projects are undeniably essential but there is a question mark on the timing of the award. If for any reason, the incoming governor decides not to continue with these projects, what happens to the mobilisation funds paid to the contractors? Projects like this are meant to be awarded and completed in the life time of an administration so that the projects can not only be supervised but also well-funded and be of benefit to the people. Campaign venues are not the best points for commissioning

¹⁶ Daily Sun Thursday, October 10, 2013. Pg.9

of developmental projects. The abuse of SAR inherent in these awards was downplayed in the flagging off occasions which also canvassed for votes for the APGA candidate. The governor in company of the national chairman of his party, the state commissioner of works, the APGA candidate, other party executives, seized the opportunity to invite president generals of town unions and other dignitaries to the occasion of the flagging off and also solicit for their votes. On each occasion, the governor urged the people to vote massively for the APGA candidate so as to ensure continuity. Appeals from the national chairman of the party also went out to the people to vote massively for the APGA candidate so as to consolidate on the achievements of the incumbent administration¹⁷.

3.4.3 Distribution of Cars to Directors of Ministries and Government Parastatals, etc

The governor bought and distributed 60 new cars to directors in the state civil service. These directors got a ford salon car each. Also, thirty 18-seater mini buses were given to the 21 local government areas in the state. The remaining buses were given to Traditional Rulers Council, National Youth Council of Nigeria, Amalgamated Market and Traders Association and some President Generals of Town Unions in the State. According to a newspaper report, Governor Obi while presenting the vehicles at Dr. Alex Ekwueme Square, Awka, commended the beneficiaries for their selfless service to humanity and charged them to maintain the status quo. The governor in his address confirmed that he is going to use the associations to monitor the election. From the circumstances, it appears that the government suddenly realised that the provision of cars and buses would facilitate service delivery by these category of personnel¹⁸.

3.4.4 Playing Politics with Pensioners Entitlements

Governor Obi suddenly developed a human face towards the plight of pensioners who have been denied their pension arrears for 17 years. He paid off the huge sum of N1.25 billion to settle the arrears. This act is gracious but smeared with mischief because the payment of allowances of retirees should not be subject to the game of politics. Pension entitlements are earned rights and not privileges. Therefore, it would suffice for one to conclude that these gestures were meant to draw the solidarity of the pensioners to the governor's adopted candidate¹⁹.

3.4.5 Doling out Money to Schools and Hospitals

The state government presented over N1.5 billion worth of cheques to secondary schools in the state for their rehabilitation. Further, Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital Ihiala

¹⁷ National Light , pg.4 Thursday, November 14, 2013

¹⁸ See Orient Daily, pg.2, Dec.10, 2013; Fides, pg. 4.Nov.24-30 Edition, 2013.

¹⁹ See the Sure Anchor Newspapers, pg.4, December, 2013.

received N60m for rehabilitation while the Anambra State University was renamed after the late Odumegwu Ojukwu purportedly in honor of the late statesman. The university got a cheque of N5billion and its Students Union got two 18 seater buses and four new security patrol vehicles. The governor also announced an increase in the monthly subvention of the university by 15%. At the event which took place in the university, the governor charged the people to vote for Willie Obiano, on November 16 in order to avoid derailment of the current tempo of development in the state²⁰. It could not be verified whether these expenses and donations were approved in the 2013 Anambra State Appropriation Act and whether government policy had changed from award of contracts for infrastructure projects to the doling out of cash for institutions to work at their own pace.

3.5 ALLEGATION OF A SECRET PACT

Allegations emerged in the media that the APGA candidate had committed the state (if he is elected governor) to be paying Chief Victor Umeh, the national chairman of the party and his adviser, Austin Ndigwe, the sum of N120m and N30m respectively on a monthly basis. The allegation includes that every appointment will need the approval of the national chairman and the APGA board of trustees shall be appointed by the national chairman in consultation with Bianca Ojukwu without any reference to Willie Obiano. However, this allegation was denied by the national chairman and his adviser²¹.

²⁰ National Light Pg.6, Thursday November 7, 2013; Nigerian Tribune, Wednesday November 6, 2013 and the Nation Newspaper of Tuesday, November 5, 2013.

²¹ See the Bridge Newspaper of Sunday, November 10, 2013 at page 2.

Chapter Four

CAMPAIGNS AND RALLIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter gives a detailed report on observable expenses incurred by the candidates on campaigns and rallies. The expenditure items reported in this Chapter include expenses made on branded T-shirts, face caps, fliers, posters, vehicles, and other items utilised on campaign grounds. The report tried as much as possible to capture expenses made to party supporters for mobilisation. For obvious reasons, the total expenses reported in this Chapter would not be said to reflect the total expenses made by candidates due to the fact that some expenses are only known to the candidates. The observation of campaign expenses in this Chapter took place in the 21 local government areas of the state. Efforts were also made to capture expenses made at street rallies and at ward meetings.

4.2 ALL PROGRESSIVES GRAND ALLIANCE (APGA)

A. CAMPAIGN FLAG OFF/ MOBILE PUBLICITY AT EKWUEME SQUARE IN AWKA SOUTH SEPTEMBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Costume	300 Orange Colour T-Shirts & Face caps worn by party supporters @ N1,200 naira each; 100 yellow and green customized Ankara dress were also shared to on-lookers @ 4,000 Naira each.	760,000
Total		760,000

B. WARD TOUR AT WARD 2 & 3 AT ABAGANA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 1, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Large speakers with complete music instruments and the services of a master of	50,000

	ceremony engaged for the event.	
Canopies	3 small sized canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the event.	4,500
Chairs & Table	15 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira Each, 9 Pieces of Plastic Tables @ 200 Naira each	5,400
Drinks	7 Crates of Malt @ 2,400 Naira each, 10 Crates of Soft Drinks @ 1,440 Naira each, 3 Cartons of Beer @ 2,400 Naira each, 10 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each.	39,400
Disbursement of Cash	The two Wards were given a cash donation of 100, 000 Naira each, and a youth group received 20,000 Naira	220,000
Banners	2 Large Banners placed in front of Nwokike's House @ 50,000 Naira each; 2 Medium Sized Banners @ 20,000 Naira each placed at the same location	140,000
Total		459,300

C. LOCAL GOVERNMENT CAMPAIGN WARD TOUR, AT WARD 11 ABAGANA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 4, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Posters	120 Pieces of Posters were given out for circulation @ 20 naira each	2,400
Chairs & Table	10 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira each; 9 Pieces of Plastic Tables @ 200 Naira each.	4,200
Drinks	5 Crates of Malt @ 2,400 Naira each; 7 Crates of Soft Drinks @ 1,440 Naira each; 1 Carton of Beer @ 2,400 Naira	24,980

	each; 5 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each.	
Disbursement of Cash	The Sum of 150,000 Naira was donated to the Ward by the local government.	150,000
Branding /Mobile Publicity	Two Branded Sienna Buses and One Pickup Van @ 100,000 Naira each; 2 Mega Phones and 4 Large Speakers @ 30,000 Naira were used as Public Address System for Mobile Publicity in the LGA.	330,000
Total		511,580

D. RALLY AT EKE-AWKA MARKET ON THE 30TH OF OCTOBER, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Chairs	12 dozens of chairs were rented @ 240 Naira per dozen.	2,880
Public Address System	Complete Set of Music Equipment and the services of a Disc Jokey (DJ)	30,000
Canopies	Five Medium Sized Canopies @ 5,000 Naira each	25,000
Drinks and Snacks	15 Cartons of Bottled Water @ 850 Naira per Carton; 15 Cartons of Grand malt @ 5000 Naira per Carton; 2 Cartons of Gala @ 5000	97,750
Total		155,630

E. MEETING WITH THE LECTURERS OF THE VARIOUS STATE INSTITUTIONS AT WHITE VIEW HOTEL, ON NOVEMBER 2, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Venue	Renting of Hall at White View Hotel	70,000

Musical Performance	A DJ was hired for the event	30,000
Souvenirs	600 Customized Hand Bangles were given out to the participants @ 100 naira each	60,000
Food and Drink	15 Cartons of Bottled Water @ 840 Naira each; 190 persons were served with meals @ 750 Naira per head; 50 bottles of Drosty Red Wine @ 800 Naira per bottle	195,100
Total		355,100

F. MOBILIZATION OF 177 COMUNITIES IN ANAMBRA STATE AT ANAMBRA STATE UNIVERSITY IGBARIAM, ANAMBRA EAST LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 4, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Costume	Several Bags of Souvenirs were shared at the venue; 5000 T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each; 5000 Arm Bands @ 100 Naira each; 800 Customized Ankara dresses @ 4,000 Naira each	9,700,000
Food and Drinks	5000 people received a plate of food @ 1000 Naira Each; 210 Cartons of Soft Drink @ 2,200 per Carton	5,462,000
Canopies	200 Medium Sized Canopies @ 5,000 Naira each	1,000,000
Hiring of Vehicles	177 Buses @ 20,000 Naira each conveyed participants from the various Communities	3,540,000
Disbursement of Fund	1000 Naira each was given to 8,850 persons from the 177 Communities	8,850,000
Total		28,552,000

G. RALLY AT TOWNSHIP STADIUM AGUATA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 9, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Set of Sound System with D.J Services	30,000
Photography/ Video Coverage	A photographer and Video recorder covered the event	25,000
Chairs	333 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 per dozen	79,920
Souvenirs	1500 T-Shirts were distributed to party members @ 1000 Naira each	1,500,000
Drinks	40 Cartons of Grand malt @ 2,400 Naira each; 12 dozens of bottled water @ 840 each; 40 bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each	110,080
Disbursement of Fund	2000 Participants received 1000 Naira each as mobilisation fee	2,000,000
Total		3,745,000

H. RALLY HELD AT BANK LANE EKWULOBIA PARK, ON NOVEMBER 3, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Three Speakers with Sound System	20,000
Canopies	5 Small Sized Canopies were Hired @ 1,500 Naira each	7,500
Posters and Handbills	500 posters were posted around the Campaign Venue @ 20 Naira per Poster; 1,500 copies of Handbills were also distributed to participants @ 20 Naira per-copy	40,000
Banners	5000 Small Banners hanged and displayed in various parts	500,000

	of the town @ 100 Naira per banner	
Costume	30 delegates wore Full Customized Traditional Regalia @ 5,000 Naira Each; 50 People wore T-shirts and Face Cap @ 1,200 naira each	210,000
Souvenirs	300 People received Customized Note books @ 50 Naira each	15,000
Total		792,500

I. RALLY AT ABIDI/ISI TANK FIELD UMUOJI, IDEMILI NORTH L.G.A ON 9TH OCTOBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Banners	20 Small sized Customized Banners @ 1,500 and 4 Medium Sized Banners @ 7,000	58,000
Hand bills	3000 Customized Handbills shared at the venue @ 2 Naira each	6,000
Public address system	Complete Music Set, consisting of microphone and speakers	30,000
Canopies	20 Medium Sized Canopies @ 5,000 Naira each	100,000
Chairs	160 dozens of Plastic chairs hired @ 240 Naira each	38,400

Video coverage	A Video recorder was hired to cover the event	25,000
Platform & Decorations	The Platform was made of wooden structure with decorations.	150,000
Costume	800 participants wore branded T-shirts and face caps @ 1,200 Naira Each; 700 men and women and wore Customized Ankara clothes @ 4000 Naira each	3,760,000
Food and Drinks	250 canned drinks and packaged rice were shared to participants @ 1,200 Naira each for Both food and Drinks	300,000
Vehicles	30 hired buses @ 20,000 Naira each conveyed participant to the venue	600,000
Disbursement of funds	1000 Naira was shared to 120 persons in the various wards in the L.G.A	120,000
Generator	1 hired generator	10,000
Branded vehicles	25 branded vehicles @ 100,000 Naira each were used at the campaign.	2,500,000
Total		7,697,400

J. CAMPAIGN FLAG OFF AT EKWUEME SQUARE AWKA, ON OCTOBER 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Campaign Venue	Ekwueme Square Awka	200,000
Costume	800 people wore different customized colours of T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each	960,000
Public Address System	10 Large Speakers and Complete Musical Equipment with services of a DJ	200,000
Platform	A Very Large Metallic Podium Constructed as a Platform for Delegates	200,000
Hiring of Vehicles	Each of the 12 Wards in Awka got two hired Buses @ 15,000 Naira each; One Bus was stationed at the Campaign ground @ 15,000 Naira; <i>APGA Ambassadors</i> forum were conveyed to the Venue with two Buses @ 15,000 Naira each	225,000
Banners	Five Large Banners were used to decorate the venue @ 15,000 naira each; 100 Medium Sized Banners were paraded by each of the wards in the 21 LGAs and other support group @ 5,000 Naira each	575,000
Food and Drinks	2000 packs of rice were distributed to supporters and delegates from all the LGAs @ 1000 Naira per plate; 50 Cartons of malt were distributed to participants @ 2,400 Naira; 200 Cartons of Gala meat pie @ 5000 Naira	3,120,000

	Per Carton	
Disbursement of fund to participants	25,000 Naira was given to the each of the 326 wards in the LGAs	8,150,000
Placards	200 small sized Customized Placards @ 1000 Naira each With the Picture of Chief Willie Obiano and Dr Nkem Okeke was paraded by youths.	200,000
Chairs and Canopies	416 dozens of chairs @ 240 per dozed and 21 medium sized canopies @ 5000 naira each were rented for the occasion.	204,840
Total		14, 038,840

K. CAMPAIGN FLAG AT THE HOLY TRINITY BASILICA FIELD ONITSHA ON OCTOBER 15, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Campaign Venue	Holy Trinity Basilica Field Onitsha	250,000
Costume	3000 Persons wore different Customized Colours of T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira Each; 100 women wore customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	4,000,000
Public Address System	Complete Musical Equipment consisting of 5 Large Speakers, and 10 Small sized Speaker with services of a DJ	200,000
Platform	A Very Large Metallic Podium Constructed as a Platform for Delegates	200,000
Hiring of Vehicles	Each of the 12 Wards in Awka got two hired Buses @ 15,000 Naira each; One Bus was stationed at the Campaign ground @ 15,000 Naira; APGA Ambassadors forum were conveyed to the Venue with two Buses @ 15,000 Naira each	225,000
Banners	Five Large Banners were	575,000

	used to decorate the venue @ 15,000 naira each;, 100 Medium Sized Banners were paraded by each of the wards in the 21 LGAs and other support group @ 5,000 Naira each	
Food and Drinks	50 Cartons of Malt @ 2,400 Naira each and 200 cartons of Gala @ 5,000 naira each were given to participants	1,120,000
Disbursement of Fund to participants	25,000 Naira was given to the entire 326 wards in the LGAs	8,150,000
Placards	200 Small Sized Customized Placards @ 1000 Naira each with the picture of Chief Willie Obiano and Dr Nkem Okeke were paraded by youths.	200,000
Chairs and Canopies	500 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 per dozen and 20 Medium sized Canopies @ 5000 naira each were rented for the occasion	220,000
Total		15,140,000

L. RALLY AT EKE OLISA UKALO OGBUNIKE, OYI LGA, ON THE 5TH OF NOVEMBER, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Canopies	35 small sized canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	52,500
Food and Drinks	2000 packs of food were given to 2000 participants @ N1,000 Naira per pack; 20 cartons of Grand Malt @ 5,000 naira per carton; 50 cartons of bottle water @ 850 Naira per carton	2,142,500
Disbursement of Fund	2000 participants were given 1000 Naira each as mobilisation fee	2,000,000
Hiring of Vehicles	18 Vehicles were hired @ the cost of 20,000 Naira per	360,000

	vehicle	
Security	10 Local vigilante services were provided @ the cost of 15,000 Naira each, 20 Policemen were mobilised @ 5,000 Naira each	250,000
Donation	The different wards in the Local Government were given 2,000,000 Naira	2,000,000
Total		6,805,000

M. RALLY AT ALL SAINTS CATHEDRAL FIELD ONITSHA 16 OCTOBER 2013.

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	8 Large Speakers and Microphone Stand	200,000
Hiring of Venue	All Saints Cathedral	250,000
Platform	Mobile Stage Platform	300,000
Canopies	25 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each; 5 Large Canopies @ 5,000 Naira each	62,500
Chairs	350 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira per dozen	84,000
Drinks	150 Cartons of Grand Malt @ 2,400 Naira Per Carton; 200 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira per Bag	380,000
Packs of Rice	1000 Packs of Jollof Rice @ 1000 Naira per pack	1,000,000
Costume	300 Participants wore customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each; 2000 Youth wore Branded T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each	3,600,000
Video Coverage & Photography	Two Video men and One Photographer covered the event	75,000

Distribution of Gift Item	1000 Party Tags @ 400 Naira each; 1000 Manifesto CD's @ 200 Naira each were distributed to participants	600,000
TOTAL		6,551,500

N. RALLY AT ZIK AVENUE AND EKE-AWKA METROPOLIS ON 29 OCTOBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Branded Vehicles	Two Sienna Cars were branded @ 100,000 Naira each	200,000
Hand Bills	5000 copies of A4 sized Handbills were distributed to supporters @ 4 Naira each	20,000
Banners	25 Digital Banners were displayed @ the production cost of 1,500 naira each	37,500
Hand Books	200 Copies of Campaign Booklet were distributed to passers-by on the Street @ 600 Naira each	120,000
Costume	Customized Ankara was worn by 100 Person @ 4,000 naira each	400,000
Musical Entertainment	Musical Rendition by Band Boys and Trumpeters via an open Van	50,000
Total		827,500

O. RALLY AT AWKA STADIUM ON 30TH OCTOBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Sound System with large Speakers	80,000
Stage Platform & Decoration	The Stage was Constructed with wooden platform with	100,000

	decoration	
Musical Performance	APGA Jingle was produced and rendered by a DJ @ 45,000 Naira, Life Band performance with a female Dancer @ 80,000 Naira. Traditional Music Performance by two traditional group @ 70,000 Naira each	265,000
Hiring of Vehicles/Buses	Two Long Branded Vans with Display of APGA Advertisement Banners were stationed at Aroma Junction. @100,000 Naira each; Three Branded Buses were Hired@ 20,000 Naira each; Performances by Band Boys, Dancers and Trumpeters @ 50,000 Naira	310,000
Cooling Vans/Food Items	A large Cooling Van filled with drinks and cooked food was stationed at the Campaign Venue	(cost not ascertained)
Costumes	100 persons wore Yellow & Green Customized T-shirt upon face cap @ 1,200 Naira each. 250 Persons wore customized APGA Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	1,120,000
Digital Banners	25 Pieces of Digital Banners placed at the Campaign Venue @ 1,500 Naira each	37,500
Flags	10 Large APGA flags were produced @ 3000 Naira each and displayed at the campaign venue	30,000
Chairs and Canopies	400 dozens of chairs @ 240 per dozen and 40 large	296,000

	canopies @ 5,000 Naira each were rented for the occasion	
Master of Ceremony	Two Masters of Ceremony were used for the occasion @ 30,000 naira each	60,000
Native Gun Salutes	100 Rounds of Native Gun-shot locally Known as <i>Nkponaala</i> were fired to welcome the aspirants and delegate	80,000
Souvenirs	500 Customized APGA Tags @ 400 Naira each and 500 CD Manifesto @ 200 Naira each were distributed to participants	300,000
Hand Books	5000 copies of Handbooks Titled "Obiano 2013 My Articles of Faith" Produced @ 600 Naira per copy	3,000,000
Disbursement of Fund	20 Wards were given 25,000 Naira each	500,000
Total		6,178,500

P. RALLY AT ST JOHN'S PRIMARY SCHOOL FIELD, AKWU-UKWU IDEMILI SOUTH ON 7TH OCTOBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Public Address System with Generator Set was used together with the services of a DJ	50,000
Refreshment	75 persons received a Can of Malt Drink and a roll of Sausage @ 170 Naira each	12,750
Banners	4 small sized Banners were placed at the venue and around the town @ 3000	12,000

	Naira each	
Costume	50 persons wore Branded Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	200,000
Disbursement of Fund	The Ward in Idemili received 150,000 Naira	150,000
Total		424,750

Q. RALLY ALONG UMUNZE ROAD IN ORUMBA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA ON OCTOBER 31, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Hired Vehicle	Toyota Hummer Bus used for mobile Advert	30,000
Public Address System	2 Small Mega Speakers @ 10,000 Naira each	20,000
Handbills	5000 Copies of Handbills were distributed to Passers-by @ 2 Naira Per Copy	10,000
Total		60,000

R. RALLY AT ST AUGUSTINE'S PRIMARY SCHOOL ORUMBA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 5, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Set of Public Address System with 20 large Speakers	50,000
Canopies	20 Small Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	30,000
	8 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira each	1,920
Food and Drinks	1,800 Packs of Rice @ 600 Naira per plate; 20 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Per Bag	1,082,000
Platform & Decoration	Small Wooden Platform with Decorations	30,000
Total		1,193,920

S. RALLY ALONG UMUNZE, EZIRA, ISULO, NWAFIJA, IHITE, OGBUNKA, OWERRE-EZUKALA AND UMUCHUKWU ROADS, ON NOVEMBER 6, 2013 IN ORUMBA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Mobile Publicity	A large Truck hired @ 30,000 Naira conveyed Dancers with 6 Big Speakers and Sound System @ 30,000 Naira	60,000
Branded Vehicles	7 Branded Vehicles @ 100,000 Naira each were used for mobile publicity	700,000
Flyers	10,000 Pieces of Flyers were widely distributed to Passers-by @ 2 Naira each	20,000
Disbursement of Cash	30 Youth were mobilized with 20,000 Naira	20,000
Total		800,000

T. WARD MEETING AT AGBA TOWN HALL WARD 11, EKWULOBIA , AGUATA LOCAL GOVERNMENT HELD ON 30TH OCTOBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION OF ITEM	PROJECTED COST
Distribution of Campaign Materials	100 posters @ the cost of 20 Naira each and 80 T-shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira were distributed to members of the Party	98,000
Costume	10 Party Executives wore Customized APGA Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	40,000
Drinks	8 Cartons of Beer @ 2,400 Naira per Carton and 4 Crate of Grand Malt @ 2,400 per Crate	28,800
Kola Nut	Kola nuts, Garden Eggs with Groundnut Sauce	5,000
Disbursement of Fund	N800 Naira each was given to 150 ward members	120,000
Total		291,800

U. RALLY AT OKPO EKWULOBIA/EZINIFITE ROAD ON 31ST OCTOBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Sound System With 10 Large Speakers and Microphone Stand	150,000
Photography/ Video Coverage	A Photographer and a Video recorder was hired to cover the event @ the cost of 32,000 Naira	32,000
Venue Cost	Okpo Ekwulobia/Ezinifite Square	15,000
Platform/Decoration of Venue	The Venue was Constructed with a wooden Platform and Decorated with Party Banners, Ribbons @ 100,000 (excluding cost of Banners)	100,000
Banners, Posters and Handbills	1000 Small sized banners @ 500 Naira each, 5000 Posters @ 100 Naira each and 5000 Handbills @ 2 naira each	1,010,000
Costume	1000 Youth wore customized T-shirt Upon face cap @ 1200 Naira each; 300 Women wore white and Green Customized Lace upon Red Head Tie @ 4,000 Naira Per Costume; 100 members of the Campaign Team and Special Dignitaries wore Customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	2,800,000
Plastic Chairs	250 dozens of Plastic Seats @ 240 Naira per dozen	60,000
Food & Drinks	Ten Cartons of Gala @5,000 Naira Per Carton, 300 Packs of Rice @ 1,000 Naira per pack, 1000 Cartons of Beer @ 2,400 Naira Per Carton, 500	3,950,000

	Crates of Grand Malt @ 2,400 Naira Per Crate	
Total		8,117,000

V. RALLY HELD AT ATANI OZUBULU ROAD OGBARU LGA ON 6TH NOVEMBER 2013.

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Set of Sound System which includes Generating Sets, Microphones, Horns and Speakers	50,000
Chairs and Canopy	100 Dozen of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira each; 15 Small Canopies @ 1,500 naira were utilized at the Venue	46,500
Drinks and Snacks	40 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira Per bag; 50 cartons of Grand Malt @ 2,400 Naira and 50 cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira were distributed to the participants	374,000
Platform	Customized Mobile Stage (APGA Customized) was used at the occasion	200,000
Performances	A Life Band was paid 50,000 Naira to perform at the event; Ogene Cultural group were paid 7,000 Naira to perform at the event; also the Igba Cultural Group performed at the event for 7,000 Naira; Two Female Cultural groups were paid 10,000 Naira each to dance at the event	84,000
Costume	500 people wore Customized T-Shirts and Face caps @ 1,200 Naira each; 100 delegates and participants	1,000,000

	wore Branded Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	
Branded Vehicles	18 Sienna cars were branded @ 100,000 naira each; 18 buses were also branded @ 100,000 Naira per bus.	3,600,000
Disbursement of Fund	32 President Generals of Town Unions were mobilized with the sum of 15,000 Naira each; Seven Igwes (traditional rulers) that attended the event received 25,000 naira each as transport allowance	655,0000
Local Publicity	16 Town Criers in 16 Towns were given 2,500 Naira each for local publicity of the Rally.	40,000
Security	45 Mobile Police Officers were on patrol at an estimated cost of 5,000 Naira per officer; 16 Local Vigilante groups were also on ground to provide security at an estimated cost of 5,000 each.	305,000
Total		12,249,500

W. RALLY AT OKO IN ORUMBA NORTH LGA ON OCTOBER 26, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Music Set, Mega Speaker and Microphones	40,000
Costume	2000 people wore customized T-shirt @ 1,000 Naira each	2,000,000
Hired Buses	Five Buses were Hired at the cost of 20,000 naira each	100,000
Photography/Video Coverage	A Photographer was paid 10,000 naira; A Video recorder was paid 25,000 Naira to cover the event	35,000

Chairs and Canopy	40 Dozens of Chairs were rented at the cost of 240 per dozen; Six Small sized canopies were also rented at the cost of 1,500 Naira Per dozen	18,600
Disbursement of Fund	Four Hundred Party Members were given 2000 Naira each as mobilisation fee	800,000
Total		2,993,600

X. RALLY AT AWGBU IN ORUMBA NORTH LGA ON OCTOBER 27, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Banners	Eight Medium Sized Banners @ 5000 Naira each were placed in and around the venue	40,000
Public Address System	Music Set, Mega Speaker and Microphones	40,000
Costume	500 people wore customized T-shirts @ 1,000 Naira each	500,000
Hired Buses	Four Buses were hired at the cost of 20,000 naira each	80,000
Photography/Video Coverage	A Photographer was paid 10,000 naira, A Video recorder covered the event @ the cost of 20,000 naira	30,000
Chairs and Canopy	40 dozens of chair were rented at the cost of 240 Naira per dozen; Four small sized canopies were also rented at the cost of 1,500 Naira Per dozen	15,600
Disbursement of Fund	Four Hundred Party Members were given 1,000 Naira each as mobilisation fee	400,000

Handbills	2000 copies of handbills produced at 20 Naira per-copies were distributed to onlookers.	40,000
Total		1,145,600

Y. RALLY AT NDIOWU IN ORUMBA NORTH LGA ON OCTOBER 28, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Music Set, Mega Speaker and Microphones	40,000
Costume	500 people wore customized T-shirt @ 1,000 Naira each	500,000
Chairs and Canopy	16 Dozens of Chair were rented at the cost of 240 per dozen; Four small sized canopies were also rented at the cost of 1,500 Naira per dozen	9,840
Disbursement of Fund	One Hundred and Eighty Party Members were given 1000 naira each as mobilisation fee	180,000
Total		729,840

Z. RALLY AT SAINT MARY CENTER FIELD UKPOR, NNEWI SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT, ON NOVEMBER 8, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address system	Complete Sound System and 8 large speakers with the Services of an MC	50,000
Generator	1 Small Generating Set	10,000
Video coverage & photographs	A Video recorder and Photographer covered the event	35,000
Chairs	166 Dozens of Plastic chairs @ 240 Naira per dozen	39,840
Pasting of posters	5,000 Naira was given to each of the 20 Wards for pasting of posters	100,000
Decoration	The Venue was decorated with Ribbons and Banners	20,000
Costume	1000 People wore Branded Ankara @ 4,000 Naira; 1000 Youth wore Branded T-Shirts & Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each	5,200,000

Hired Buses	600 buses were hired @ 20,000 Naira each for Mobilisation of persons from the 20 wards	1,200,000
Posters	2000 Posters were produced @ 20 Naira per copy	40,000
Branded buses	5 Branded Sienna Bus @ 100,000 Naira each	500,000
Canopies	22 small size canopies @ 1,500 were used at the event	33,000
Food and Drinks	Garden Egg and Kola nuts @ 5,000 Naira; 20 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira per Carton; 60 Cartons of Canned Malt @ 2,400 Naira per Carton	249,000
Souvenirs	200 Branded Hand Fans @ 100 Naira each	20,000
Disbursement of Funds	150,000 Naira each were given to each of the 20 Wards	3,000,000
Total		10,496,840

Z. A. RALLY HELD AT UMUDIOKA SOCIAL CLUB ON NOVEMBER 7, 2013. IN AWKA WARD 1 AND 11 DUNUKOFIA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST (₦)
Public Address	Music Set, Generator and Public Address System.	50,000.00
Chairs & canopies and tables	5 small canopies at 1,500 Naira each; 8 dozens of Plastic Chairs at 240 Naira per chair and 10 tables at 200 Naira each.	11,420.00
Flags & posters	10 APGA Flags at 400 Naira each; 100 posters at 20 Naira each were displayed at the venue	6,000
Costume	100 participants wore T-shirts, Face caps and round caps of different designs at 1, 200 Naira each.	120,000.00
Dresses	100 people wore customized APGA Ankara @ N4,000 each; 50 women on uniforms at 2,500 Naira each; 30 boys and girls wore special APGA outfit distributing flyers and pamphlets at 3,000 Naira per person	615,000.00
Photographer	A photographer covered the event at 15,000 Naira.	15,000.00

Music	There were two hired local bnds (Igba) at the venue at N10,000 per group.	20,000.00
Branded vehicles	8 Branded Buses of APGA color and logo at 100,000 Naira per bus.	800,000.00
Drinks	20 bags of sachet water at 100 Naira per bag; 10 Cartons of water at 800 Naira per carton.	10,000.00
Souvenirs	20 bags of APGA Wrapper at a cost of 30,000 Naira per bag; 10 dozens of exercise books at 1,500 Naira per dozen; 100 T-shirts at 1,000 Naira per shirt, 100 face caps at 400 Naira each.	755,000.00
Disbursement of Funds	The Two Wards were given the sum of 300,000.00 Naira; the red cap titled men were given 50,000 Naira.	350,000.00
Total		2,752,420

Z. B. RALLY HELD AT EKE UMUNACHI ON 7TH OF NOVEMBER 2013 IN DUNUKOFIA L.G.A FOR WARD I AND II.

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST (₦)
Public Address	Music Set, Generator, Speakers and Microphones.	50,000
Chairs & canopies and tables	5 Canopies at 1,500 Naira each; 8 Dozen of plastic chairs at 240 Naira per dozen and 10 tables at 200 Naira each.	11,420
Flags & posters	10 APGA flags at N400 each; 100 posters at N100 each were placed around the venue.	14000
Costume	100 participants wore T-shirts, Face Caps and Round Caps of different designs at N1,200 each.	120,000.00
Dresses	100 people wore customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each; 50 women on uniforms at 2,500 Naira each; 30 boys and girls on special APGA outfit distributing flyers and pamphlets at 3,000 Naira per person	615,000.00
Photographer	There was a photographer that covered the event at 15,000 Naira	15,000.00
Music	Two local Bands (Igba) performed at the venue at N10,000 per group.	20,000.00
Branded vehicles	8 branded buses of APGA colour and logo at N100,000 per bus.	800,000.00
Drinks	20 bags of sachet water at N100 per bag, 10 cartons of water at N800 per carton.	10,000.00

Souvenirs	20 bags of APGA wrapper @ 30,000 Naira per bag;, 10 dozens of exercise books at N1,500 per dozen; 100 T-shirts and Face Caps at 1,200 Naira each	735,000
Disbursement of Fund	The Two Wards were given the sum of 300,000 Naira; Red Cap Chiefs were given 50,000 Naira	350,000.00
Total		2,740,420

Z. C. CAMPAIGN TOUR FOR FEMALE MOBILIZATION AT OJOTO IN IDEMILI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 12, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Musical Instrument, Large Speakers, Microphones and Generating Set including a DJ	60,000
Costume	150 Persons Wore Customized Ankara @ 4000 Naira each	600,000
Canopies	12 Large Canopies @ 10,000 Naira each were used at the Venue	120,000
Chairs	166 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira each	39,840
Food and Drink	5 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira each; 41 Cartons of Bottle Water @ 840 Naira per carton	59,400
Disbursement of Fund	30 Women Groups were given 100,000 Naira each	3,000,000
Total		3,879,240

Z.D. RALLY ORGANIZED AT COMMUNITY PRIMARY SCHOOL ANYAMELUM LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Set of Sound System with 6 Large Speakers, and the service of a DJ	30,000
Canopies	14 Pieces of small sized canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	21,000
Chairs & Tables	333 dozens of chairs @ 240 per dozen and 8 Tables @ 200 Naira each	81,520
Musical Performance	Performance by Chief Ifeanyi Aguedu and His Njikoka Music Group	100,000
Hiring of Vehicles	20 Buses were hired to convey participants from the Wards @ 20,000 Naira per Bus	400,000
Banners	11 Pieces of Banner @ 5,000	55,000

	Naira	
Costume	500 Persons wore Branded T-Shirts & Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each	600,000
Hand Bills	5000 Pieces of Handbills @ 2 Naira each	10,000
Mobilization	Each of the 11 Wards were Mobilised with 50,000 Naira each	550,000
Disbursement of Fund	200,000 Naira was given to each of the 11 Wards	2,200,000
Total		4,047,520

Z.E. RALLY AT GODWIN ACHEBE STADIUM FEGGE WARD 4, ALONG ZIK AVENUE ONITSHA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON OCTOBER 29, 2013

Expenditure Head	Description	Projected Cost
Venue	Hiring of Godwin Achebe Stadium	45,000
Public Address System	Complete Set of Musical Equipment's and 8 Large Speakers	30,000
Musical Performance	Life Band Performance	60,000
Canopies	25 Small Sized Canopies were used at the Event @ 1,500 Naira each	37,500
Chairs	83 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	19,920
Branded Vehicles	6 Buses were branded @ 100,000 Naira each	600,000
Platform	The Stage was constructed with a Large Wooden Platform	35,000
Costume	1000 persons wore Branded T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each; 600 Women wore Branded Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	3,600,000
Food and Drinks	1,500 pieces of moi-moi @ 100 Naira each; 50 Cartons of Grand Malt @ 2,400 Naira each were shared to participants; 100 bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each	280,000
Total		4,707,420

Z.F. RALLY AT ALOR WARDS 1 & 11, IN IDEMILI SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT, ON OCTOBER 22, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Speakers and Microphone	20,000

Costume	90 persons wore Customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	360,000
Food and Drink	20 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira each; 10 Crates of Malt @ 2,400 Naira each were given to participants	124,000
Banners	7 medium sized banners @ 5,000 Naira each were hanged at the venue	35,000
Disbursement of Cash	The Ward was given 300,000 Naira for support	300,000
Total		839,000

Z.G. RALLY AT ST JOHN PRIMARY SCHOOL FIELD AKWU-UKWU IN IDEMILI SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT, ON OCTOBER 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Speakers and Microphone	20,000
Costume	50 persons wore Customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	200,000
Food and Drink	7 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira each; 5 Crates of Malt @ 2,400 Naira each were given to participants	47,000
Banners	4 medium sized banners @ 5,000 Naira each were hanged at the venue	20,000
Disbursement of Cash	The Ward was given 150,000 Naira for support	150,000
Total		437,000

Z.H. RALLY AT NNEWI TRIANGLE SQUARE ON NOVEMBER 14, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Instrument and 4 Speakers with the service of an MC	35,000
Canopies	20 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the event	30,000
Chairs	250 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	60,000
Plat Form	A Large Wooden Platform was constructed for the event	35,000
Posters	50,000 Posters were produced @ 20 Naira each to be distributed @ 5000 Copies in each of the 10 Wards	1,000,000
Food	Garden Egg and Native Kola	5,000
Branded Vehicles	10 Buses were Branded @ 100,000 Naira per Bus	1,000,000
Costume	1000 Participants wore	6,400,000

	Branded Ankara @ 4000 Naira each; 2000 Participants wore Customized T-Shirts & Face Cap @1,200 Naira each.	
Generator	A Small Generator was hired	5,000
Video Coverage	A Videographer covered the event	25,000
Disbursement of Fund	Each of the Ten Wards were given 100,000 Naira each; earlier on, on the 10 th of November 2013, the Wards received 150,000 Naira each	2,500,000
Souvenirs	300 Hand Fans were distributed to participants @ 100 Naira each; 200 Pieces of Okada Vest were distributed to Okada Riders @ 300 Naira each	90,000
Total		11,185,000

Z I. VISIT TO UMUEZEOCHA COUNCILL HALL IN AWKA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 5, 2013.

Expenditure Head	Description	Projected Cost
Distribution of Gift	100 Customized Bags @ 1000 Naira each; 20 Bags of Rice @ 10,000 Naira each; 20 Bags of Salt @ 3,700 Naira each; 5 Cartons of Matches @ 2,200 Naira each were given to participants from their different wards	385,000
Souvenirs	100 Branded T-Shirts @ 1000 Naira each were given out to members of the Ward	100,000
Disbursement of Fund	100,000 Naira was given to members of the Ward	100,000
Total		585,000

Z.J. RALLY AT ST MATTHEW'S PRIMARY SCHOOL FIELD OZUBULU, ON NOVEMBER 8, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	A complete set of Music Instrument, 6 Large Speakers, 2 Small Speakers with a Microphone Stand	80,000

Branded Vehicles	10 Vehicles were Branded @ the Cost of 100,000 Naira each	1,000,000
Hiring of Buses	12 Buses were hired @ 20,000 Naira Each	240,000
Stage	A Wooden Stage Platform with Decoration @ 50,000 Naira	50,000
Canopies and Chairs	12 large canopies @ 5,000 Naira each and 250 dozens of chairs @ 240 Naira per dozen were used at the event	120,000
Banners and Handbills	20 Small Banners were mounted at the Venue @ 1,500 Naira per Banner	30,000
Costumes	1000 Branded T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each were worn by 1000 youths.	1,200,000
Disbursement of Gift	400 Pieces of 40 Leaves Exercise Books were Distributed to Participants @ 50 Naira each; 400 Hand Fans @ 100 Naira each; 300 Pieces of Handkerchief's @ 50 Naira each were also distributed to participants	75,000
Total		2,795,000

Z.K. RALLY AT OMOGHO ON NOVEMBER 4, 2013

Expenditure Head	Description of Item	Projected Cost
Public Address System	Music Set, Small Speakers and Microphones	20,000
Costume	400 people wore Customized T-shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each	480,000
Video Coverage	Two Video recorders covered the event @ 15,000 Naira each	30,000
Chairs and Canopy	16 Dozens of Chair were rented at the cost of 240 per dozen; Five small sized canopies were also rented at the cost of 1,500 Naira per Canopy	11,340
Disbursement of Fund	Two Hundred Party Members were given 1000 naira each as mobilisation fee	200,000
Banners	Four Medium Sized Banners were hanged at the Venue @ 5,000 Naira each	20,000
Total		761,340

Z.L. RALLY AT EKE AWKA MARKET IN DUNUKOFIA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON OCTOBER 30, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	A complete set of Music Instrument, 6 Large Speakers and a Generating Set	60,000
Branded Vehicles	5 SUVs and 3 Hilux Vans were branded @ the cost of 100,000 Naira each	800,000
Canopies	8 Small canopies @ 1, 500 Naira each	12,000
Chairs and Tables	8 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira Each and 10 Plastic Tables @ 200 Naira each	3,920
Banners and Posters	3 Medium Sized Banners were mounted at the Venue @ 5000 Naira per Banner and 100 Posters @ 20 Naira each were hanged at the venue	17,000
Costumes	50 Customized Ankara were worn by 50 Persons @ 4000 Naira each	200,000
Total		1,092,920

Z.M. RALLY AT UMUZOCHA VILLAGE HALL IN DUNUKOFIA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	A complete set of Music Instrument, 6 Large Speakers and a Generating Set	60,000
Venue	Umuzocha Village Hall	10,000
Chairs and Tables	8 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each and 5 Plastic Tables @ 200 Naira Each	2,920
Disbursement of Fund	150,000 Naira was given to the Ward	150,000
Costumes	50 Customized Ankara were worn by 50 persons @ 4000 Naira each	200,000
Total		422,920

Z.N. RALLY AT OLD STADIUM IN AWKA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT, ON OCTOBER 30, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	A complete set of Music Instrument, 10 Large Speakers, 5 Small Speakers with a Microphone Stand and Service of a DJ	150,000
Master of Ceremony	The Service of an MC was procured	50,000
Platform	The Stage was constructed with a large Metallic Platform	200,000
Branded Vehicles	2 Trucks which contained Musical Instruments were Branded @ the cost of 100,000 Naira each; 20 Buses Were Branded @ 100,000 Naira each	2,200,000
Hiring of Buses	15 Buses from different LGA's were hired @ 20,000 Naira each	300,000
Musical Performance	Five groups of Musical Artists performed at the event @ 100,000 Naira each	500,000
Canopies and Chairs	40 Small canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	60,000
Chairs and Table	58 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira Per Dozen, 50 Plastic Tables @ 200 Naira each	23,920
Banners and Handbills	20 Small Banners were mounted at the Venue @ 1,500 Naira per Banner	30,000
Costumes	3000 Branded T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each were worn by 3000 youths; 200 Persons wore Customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	4,400,000
Food and Drink	20 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira each; 10 Cartons of Bottle Water @ 840 Naira per Carton; 100 bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira per Bag	118,400
Disbursement of Gift	400 Pieces of 40 Leaves Exercise Books were distributed to Participants @ 50 Naira each; 400 Hand Fans @ 100 Naira each;	75,000

	300 Pieces of Handkerchief's @ 50 Naira each were also distributed to participants.	
Personnel For Service	15 Women were given 3000 Naira each to distribute Flyers and help clean the environment	45,000
Total		8,152,320

Z.O. RALLY AT IFITE- DUNU ORGANIZED FOR WARD 1, 11 & AWKA WARD IN DUNUKOFIA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA ON NOVEMBER 8, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	A complete set of Music Instrument and 8 Large Speakers	40,000
Canopies and Chairs	8 Small Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	12,000
Tables and Chairs	8 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira per Dozen; 5 Pieces of Plastic Tables @ 200 Naira each	2,920
Costumes	30 Branded T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each were worn by 30 Persons; 50 Persons wore Customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each	236,000
Personnel for Service	20 Youths were paid 3,000 Naira each to distribute Flyers to participants	60,000
Souvenirs	30 Pieces of Customized Ankara @ 4000 Naira each were given to Participants; 150 Pieces of Branded T-Shirt and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each and 15 Dozens of Exercise Book @ 1000 Naira Per Dozen were also shared out	315,000
Disbursement of Fund	450,000 Naira given out to Ward Members and 50,000 Naira given to Titled Men	500,000
Total		1,165,920

Z.P. RALLY AT EKE NRI ON NOVEMBER 14, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Music Instrument & 4 Speakers with the service of an MC	35,000
Canopies	9 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the event	13,500
Chairs	37 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	8,880
Plat Form	A large wooden platform constructed for the event	35,000
Food and Drinks	6 Cartons Of Gala @ 5,000 Naira each; 20 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each; 11 Crates of Soft Drink @ 2,400 Naira each; 7 Crates of Star @ 2,400 Naira each	75,200
Disbursement of Fund	Party Members in the Ward were given 35,000 Naira	35,000
Total		202,580

4.3 ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS (APC)

A. STREET RALLY IN AWKA SOUTH 19TH OCTOBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Souvenirs	200 customized tags @ 400 naira each, 100 T-shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each and 200 customized hats @ 400 naira each, were shared to spectators at Aroma Junction/Ziks Avenue Metropolis.	280,000
Branded Vehicles	Six branded 14 seater buses were used on patrol @ 100,000 Naira bus	600,000
Total		880,000

B. RALLY AT ALEX EKWUEME SQUARE AWKA OCTOBER 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Campaign Venue	Alex Ekwueme Square	200,000
Public Address System	A complete set of Public Address System with Microphone Stand @ 80,000 Naira was used for the event	80,000

Branded Vehicles	Twelve Vehicles were Branded @ the cost of 100,000 Naira each	1,200,000
Hiring of Buses	Twenty-one Buses were hired from the twenty-one local government areas @ 20,000 Naira each	420,000
Stage	A Mobile Stage/Platform with decoration @ 150,000 Naira	150,000
Brooms	1,000 brooms @ 100 Naira each	100,000
Canopies and Chairs	12 large canopies@ 5,000 Naira each and 66 dozens of chair @ 240 per dozen	75,840
Banners and Handbills	25 Small Banners were mounted at the Venue @ 1,500 Naira per Banner; 5000 Hand Bills were shared @ 2 naira	47,500
Food and Drinks	20 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira, 20 Cartons of Bottled Water @ 850 per carton, 100 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 naira per bag.	127,000
Costumes	Branded T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each were worn by 700 youth. Branded Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each were worn by 500 women	2,840,000
Total		5,240,340

C. RALLY ORGANIZED AT NANKA, IN ORUMBA NORTH LGA, ON OCTOBER, 29, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION OF ITEM	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Music Set, Mega Speaker and Microphones	40,000
Generating Set	One Generator Set	10,000
Costume	500 people wore customized T-shirt @ 1,000 Naira each	500,000
Video Coverage	A Video recorder was used to cover the event @ 25,000 Naira	25,000
Chairs and Canopy	25 Dozens of chair were rented at the cost of 240 per dozen; Four small sized canopies were also rented at the cost of 1,500 Naira per Canopy	12,000
Disbursement of Fund	250 Party Members were given 2000 naira	500,000

	each as mobilization fee	
Handbills	1000 handbills were printed @ 2 Naira per-copy and distributed	2,000
Total		1,089,000

D. RALLY ORGANIZED AT AJALLI, IN ORUMBA NORTH LGA, ON NOVEMBER, 1, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION OF ITEM	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Music Set, Mega Speaker and Microphones	40,000
Generating Set	One Generator was hired to boost the Sound System	10,000
Costume	800 people wore customized T-shirts and Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each	960,000
Banner	Eight Large Banners @ 15,000 Naira Each were strategically placed at the Campaign Ground and around the Town	120,000
Chairs and Canopy	83 Dozens of chair were rented at the cost of 240 per dozen; 15 Small sized canopies were also rented at the cost of 1,500 Naira per canopy	42,420
Brooms	400 brooms @ N100 naira each used by supporters	40,000
Handbills	2000 handbills were printed @ 2 Naira per-copy and distributed	4,000
Branded Vehicle	Seven Buses were Branded @ 100,000 naira each	700,000
Total		1,916,420

E. RALLY AT NKPOR JUNCTION, NKPOR IDEMMILI NORTH L.G.A ON 30TH OCTOBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Vehicles	12 buses were Hired to Convey people to the Venue @ 20,000 Naira each	240,000
Banners	15 Mini - sized banners @ 3,000 Naira each	45,000
Handbills	1,500 Handbills @ 2 Naira each	3,000
Public address system	Music set with speakers and microphones	30,000

Canopies	10 Medium Sized Canopy mounted at the Arena @ 5,000 Naira each	50,000
Generator	1 rented generator	10,000
Costume	500 T-shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each; and 20 delegates wore hats @ 400 Naira each	608,000
Video coverage	A Video recorder covered the event	25,000
Chairs	83 dozens of Plastic Chairs hired for the event @ 240 per dozen	19,920
Broom	300 Brooms @ 100 Naira each being the APC symbol	30,000
Drinks and Snacks	20 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira per Carton; and 70 Cartons of Bottled Water @ 850 per Carton	159,500
Hand flags	500 Hand flags were displayed by the supporters @ 150 per Flag	75,000
Branded vehicles	15 Vehicles were Branded @ 100,000 Naira	1,500,000
Total		2,795,420

F. RALLY AT ST JOSEPH PRIMARY SCHOOL FIELD UGWUNANO, ORUMBA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT, ON NOVEMBER 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Set of Music Equipment and 6 Large Speakers	50,000
Canopies	20 Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	30,000

Chairs	83 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira	19,920
Branding of Vehicles	Two Large Trucks were Branded @ 100,000 Naira each	200,000
Flyers	10,000 Pieces of Flyers Were Distributed to Participants @ 2 Naira per Copy	20,000
Total		319,920

G. CAMPAIGN FLAG- OFF AT HOLYTRINITY BASILICA FIELD ONITSHA ON OCTOBER 8, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST (₦)
Campaign Venue	Holy Trinity Basilica Onitsha	250,000.00
Mobile Advert	4 large trucks were hired @ 100,000 Naira each; and 20 buses branded @ 100,000 Naira each conveyed A.P.C supporters with musical instruments and microphones around Onitsha	2,400,000.00
Public Address System	20 large speakers with complete music instruments	150,000.00
Costumes	About 5,000 party supporters wore different shapes of customized A.P.C. T-shirts and Face Cap at 1,200 Naira each; 1000 persons wore Customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira Each; 800 persons wore the party muffler at 800 Naira each; 800 persons on party hats at 400 Naira each	10,960,000
Brooms	10,000 brooms @ 100 naira each	1,000,000.00
Artiste	The Nollywood actress Mrs. Patience Ozokwo (MAMA G) and other actors - part of campaign movement	2,000,000.00
Canopies	20 canopies at 1500 Naira each were used at the Venue	30,000.00
Posters and Banners	200 Posters @ 20 Naira each; and 10 digital banners @ 5,000 Naira each were used at the Venue	54,000
Branded Vehicles	30 vehicles were branded at 100,000 each	3,000,000.00
Video Coverage/ Photography	Two Video men and a Photographer covered the event @ 50,000 Naira	50,000
Souvenirs	1000 APC printed flags @ 50.00 naira each were shared to participants	50,000.00
Hire/Fuelling of Limousine	A long limousine used by party big wigs	50,000.00
Total		19,994,000

H. RALLY AT OBA WARD 1 & 2 IN IDEMILI SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON OCTOBER 28, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Microphones, Speakers and a Generating	30,000

	Set	
Costume	50 Persons wore Customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira	200,000
Banners	5 Large Banners were placed at the venue @ 5,000 Naira per banner	25,000
Hand Bills	5,000 Pieces of Hand Bills were printed @ 2 Naira Per Copy	10,000
Canopies	3 Large Canopies @ 10,000 Naira were used for the event	30,000
Chairs	16 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira per dozen	3,840
Disbursement of Fund	560 Persons were mobilized with 1,700 Naira each	952,000
Total		1,250,840

I. RALLY AT ST MATTHEW'S PRIMARY SCHOOL FIELD OZUBULU IN EKWUSIGO LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Microphones Speakers and a Generating Set	30,000
Costume	500 Persons wore Branded T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira	600,000
Decoration	The venue was decorated with Ribbons and Banners	25,000
Hand Bills	1,500 Pieces of Hand Bills @ 2 Naira per Copy	3,000
Canopies	12 Small Canopies @ 1,500 Naira were used for the event	18,000
Chairs	83 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira per dozen	19,920
Broom	100 brooms @ 100 Naira Each	10,000
Video/Photography	A Video recorder and Photographer covered the event	35,000
Hired Vehicles	12 Eighteen Seater Buses @ 20,000 Naira each	240,000
Banners	20 Medium Sized Banners @ 5,000 Naira each	100,000
Disbursement of Gift	20 Small Size Bags of Rice @ 6,000 Naira each; 20 Cartons of Tin Tomatoes @ 2,000 Naira each; 20 Cartons of Indomie @ 1,500 Naira each	190,000
Total		1,270,920

J. RALLY AT ST. PETER ANGLICAN CHURCH AGULU ON NOVEMBER 13, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Music Set, Small Speakers, Microphone and	45,000

	the Service of an MC	
Canopies	6 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	9000
Chairs	16 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira each	3,840
Food and Drinks	2 Cartons of Gala @ 5000 Naira each , 3 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each	10,300
Brooms	80 Pieces of Broom were Flaunted @ 100 Naira per broom	8000
Disbursement of Fund	1000 Naira was given to 260 Persons each in the Ward	260,000
Cannon Gun	21 Gun Salute @ 300 Naira per shot	6,300
Total		342,440

4.4 PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY

A. RALLY AT AJALLI, IN ORUMBA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT, ON NOVEMBER 4, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION OF ITEM	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Music Set and Microphones	30,000
Generating Set	Two Generators were hired to supply Electricity at the Venue @ 10,000 Naira each	20,000
Costume	1,500 people wore customized T-shirt and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each	1,800,000
Video Coverage/Photography	A Videographer was used to cover the event @ 25,000 Naira, Three Photographers were paid 15,000 Naira each to take shots of the event	70,000
Chairs and Canopy	125 Dozens of Chair were rented at the cost of 240 per dozen, 15 Small sized canopies were also rented at the cost of 1,500 Naira per canopy	52,500
Disbursement of Fund	Eight Hundred Party Members were given 2000 Naira each as mobilization fee	1,600,000
Branded Vehicles	15 buses were branded @ the cost of 100,000 Naira per bus	1,500,000
Total		5,072,500

B. RALLY HELD AT OKO, IN ORUMBA NORTH LGA, ON NOVEMBER 4, 2013.

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION OF ITEM	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Music Set and Microphones	30,000
Generating Set	One Thermo Cool Generator was hired to supply electricity at the Venue	15,000
Costume	1,000 people wore customized T-shirt and	1,200,000

	Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each	
Video Coverage/Photography	Two Videographers were used to cover the event @ 25,000 Naira each, Four Photographers were paid 15,000 Naira each to take shots of the event	110,000
Disbursement of Fund	One Thousand Party Members were given 2000 Naira each as mobilization fee	2,000,000
Branded Vehicles	20 buses were branded @ the cost of 120,000 Naira per bus	2,400,000
Total		5,755,000

C. RALLY HELD AT CENTRAL SCHOOL OMOR III, ANYAMELUM LGA ON 22ND OCTOBER, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Speakers and Microphone Stand	20,000
Hiring of Vehicles	22 Buses were hired @ 15,000 Naira each, 15 Eighteen Seater Buses were hired @ 10,000 Naira per bus	480,000
Disbursement of Fund	The 11 wards received 3,000,000 Naira to be used for mobilization of participants to the campaign venue	3,000,000
Canopies and Chairs	44 pieces of canopies @ 5000 Naira per one, 250 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira Per Dozen, 22 Pieces of Tables @ 200 Naira Per One	284,400
Banners and Handbills	11 Pieces of Banners were displayed by each of the 11 wards @ 3,000 Per Banner, 15,000 pieces of Hand Bills @ 2 Naira Each,	63,000
Food and Drinks	11 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira Per Carton, 22 Crates of Grand Malt @ 2,400 Naira per crate	107,800
Costumes	5000 people wore customized Party T-Shirt and Face Cap @ 1200 Each	6,000,000
Total		9,955,200

D. STAKEHOLDERS MEETING AT MARBLE ARK HOTELS, AWKA ON 30TH OCTOBER, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Venue	Renting of Hall at Mable Ark Hotel	90,000
Drinks	66 packs of bottle water @ 850 Naira each, 28 Cartons of Grand malt @ 5,000 naira each	196,100
Disbursement of Fund	Arthur Eze and Tony Nwoye gave out 10,000 Naira each to 700 participants @ the venue	7,000,000
Total		7,286,100

E. RALLY AT OYE NENI, IN ANAOCHA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 5, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Canopies	19 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	28,500
Chairs	40 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira Per Dozen	9,600
Public Address System with Musical Equipment	A complete Set of Public Address System with the services of a DJ	50,000
Costume	400 Participants wore customized T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 naira per participant, 80 Women wore customized Wrapper @ 1,500 Naira Per wrapper	600,000
Drinks	Nineteen crates of Soft Drinks @ 1560 per crate, 38 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira per bag	33,440
Disbursement of Fund		4,000,000
Total		4,721,540

F. MALE STAKE HOLDERS MEETING AT ABAGANA ON NOVEMBER 5, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Food and Drink	60 packs of rice @ 1,200 Naira per pack, 10 Cartons of Bottled Water @ 840 Naira per carton, 4 Cartons of Beer @ 4,800 Naira per carton	99,600
Souvenirs	Sixty Pieces of T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each were given out to members	72,000
Disbursement of Fund	5000 Naira were given to 60 Participants each	300,000
Total		471,600

G. FEMALE STAKE HOLDERS MEETING AT ABAGANA ON NOVEMBER 6, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Food and Drink	80 Packs of rice @ 1,200 Naira per pack, 10 Cartons of Bottled Water @ 840 Naira per carton, 6 Cartons of Malt @ 5,000 Naira per carton, 15 Bottles of Beer @ 200 Naira each, 5 Bottles of Wine @ 600 Naira each	140,400
Souvenirs	116 Pieces of T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each were given out to members, eight wrappers @ 1,500 Naira each	151,200
Disbursement of Fund	5000 Naira were given to 80 Participants each, 36 Non-Invited Guest received 1000 Naira each	436,000
Total		727,600

H. RALLY HELD AT ST MARY'S PRIMARY SCHOOL FIELD OKIJA IN OKIJA TOWN, IHIALA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	TOTAL
Public Address System	Music Set, Speakers, Horn Speakers. Micro Phones, Amp & Generator Set	45,000
Chairs	21 Dozen of Chairs were hired for the occasion @ 240 Naira per-dozen, 10 Plastic Tables were also utilized for the occasion @ 200 naira per table	7,040
Canopies	15 Small sized canopies were hired @ 1,500 Naira	22,500
Drinks and Snacks	15 Cartons of Grand Malt was given to Participants @ 2,400 Naira per carton, 25 bags of sachet waters @ 100 Naira per bag, 100 Pieces of Meat Pies @ 150 Naira each were randomly shared to the participants	53,500
dance groups	Two-Uniformed band group was paid 10,000Naira each to perform at the event; Three group of masquerade performances were paid 30,000 Naira for their performance.	50,000
Security group	10 Mobile Police Men provided security at the event at an estimated cost of 5,000 Naira per Officer	50,000

Donations	Donations of Motorcycle valued @ 95,000 Naira and a Brand New Toyota Commuter Valued @ 3,500,000 Naira was given out	3,595,000
Disbursement of Fund	Four Wards in the Local government were given 325,000 Naira each	1,300,000
Branded Vehicles	Five Buses were Branded at the cost of 100,000 Naira each,	500,000
Total		5,623,040

I. TOUR TO NJIKOKA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA ON NOVEMBER 1, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Sound System with services of a Master of Ceremony	45,000
Canopies	7 Small sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	10,500
Drinks	15 Crates of Soft Drinks @ 1,560 Naira each, 10 Cartons of Beer @ 2,400 Naira each, 15 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each	48,900
Chairs and Tables	83 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each, 12 Plastic Tables @ 200 Naira each	22,320
Disbursement of Cash	Members of the Ward were given 4,000,000 Naira	4,000,000
Posters	300 Pieces of Posters @ 20 Naira each	6,000
Banners	3 Medium Sized Banners @ 5,000 Naira each	15,000
Total		4,147,720

J. WARD TOUR ON NOVEMBER 4, 2013 AT NJIKOKA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA.

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Sound System with Generating Set	15,000
Canopies	3 Small sized canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	4,500
Chairs and Tables	19 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira each, 3 Pieces of Plastic Table @ 200 Naira each	5,160
Disbursement of Cash	Each of the Four Wards in Enugwu-Ukwu were given 100,000 Naira each	400,000
Total		424,660

K. RALLY AT OGBOMMANU SPOT UMUNZE IN ORUMBA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 4, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Speakers and Microphone	20,000
Canopies	20 Small Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	30,000
Food and Drinks	500 Participants were given a pack of rice @ 1,000 Naira per pack, 20 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each,	502,000
Disbursement of Fund	Party Members from the 18 Wards were given 3.5Million Naira	3,500,000
Total		4,052,000

L. RALLY AT ST MARY CENTER FIELD UKPOR IN NNEWI SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA ON 6 NOVEMBER, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address system	Complete Music set with 8 large speakers and Services of an MC	50,000
Generator	1 Small Generating Set was hired for the Event	5,000
Video coverage & photographs	A Videographer and a Photographer Covered the Event	35,000
Chairs	166 Dozens of Plastic chairs @ 240 Naira per dozen	39,840
Pasting of posters	5,000 Naira was given to 20 Wards to paste posters	100,000
Decoration	The Venue was decorated with Ribbons and Banners	20,000
Costume	1000 People wore Branded Ankara @ 4000 Naira each, 2000 People wore Branded T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each	6,400,000
Hired Buses	600 buses were hired for the 20 Wards @ 20,000 Naira per bus	12,000,000
Posters	2000 Posters were Produced @ 20 Naira per one	40,000
Branded buses	5 sienna bus were branded @ 100,000 Naira	500,000
Canopies	22 Small canopies were hired @ 1,500 Naira each	33,000
Consumables	Garden egg & kola	5,000
Gift Item	60 Bags of Rice were given to the 20 Wards @ 10,000 Naira per bag	600,000
Disbursement of Fund	200,000 Naira was given to each of the 20 Wards in Nnewi South during the Ward Tour	4,000,000
Total		23,827,840

M. CAMPAIGN FLAGOFF AT OGBUGBANKWA SQUARE IN AWKA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 8, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST (₦)
Public Address System	20 large speakers with complete Musical Instruments.	200,000.00
Generator	Hiring of Generator (Lister).	80,000.00
Plat Form	Metallic constructed Platform with decorations	350,000.00
Campaign Venue	Ekwueme Square	250,000.00
Costume	10,000 persons on PDP crested T-shirts and Face Caps at N1,200 each; 5,000 persons on PDP scarves and mufflers at N400 each.	14,000,000.00
Souvenirs	2,000 T-shirts, Face Caps, Mufflers, with party logo at N1,500 per set; 100,000 flyers at N2 each and 800 flags at N100 each were given out	3,280,000
Decorations	The venue was decorated with different silk color cloths and 100 plastic chairs covered with different colors of silk cloth, 3 sets of black upholstery, 50 yards of red carpet.	200,000.00
Chairs and Canopies.	83 Dozens of Plastic Chairs at 240 Naira each, 25 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each,	57,420.00
Posters and Banners	150 posters at 20 Naira each, 5 banners seen at the venue at 5,000 Naira each.	28,000
Hiring of buses.	21 buses of different size conveyed the participants from their various LGA at 20,000 Naira each.	420,000.00
Branded vehicles	50 cars and buses were branded @ 100,000 Naira each.	5,000,000.00
Live projector	One live hired projector (full size) seen in the venue at N100,000.	100,000.00
Video Coverage & photographs	Two Videographer and a Camera Man covered the event @ 35,000 Naira	35,000.00
Drinks	100 crates of can water at N800 per crate, and 100 bags of sachet water at N100 per bag.	90,000.00
Total		24,090,420

N. RALLY AT CENTRAL SCHOOL FIELD ODOAKPU WARD 11, IN ONITSHA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Venue	Hiring of Central School Field	30,000
Public Address System	Complete Set of Musical Instrument, 6 Speakers and DJ Services	45,000
Canopies	28 Small sized canopies @ 1,500 Naira	42,000

	each	
Chairs	208 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira per dozen	49,920
Branded Vehicles	10 Vehicles were branded @ 100,000 Naira each	1,000,000
Hiring of Buses	17 Buses were hired at the cost of 20,000 Naira per bus	340,000
Stage Platform	The Stage was constructed with a large wooden platform	60,000
Food and Drinks	25 Cartons of Biscuit @ 1,000 Naira per carton, 50 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira per bag	30,000
Disbursement of Fund	Leaders and Youths of PDP in Onitsha South were Given 5,000,000 Naira and 200,000 Naira respectively	5,200,000
Total		6,796,920

O. RALLY AT HOLY TRINITY CATHEDRAL CATHOLIC CHURCH GRA IN ONITSHA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON 13 NOVEMBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Campaign Venue	Basilica Field	250,000
Public Address System	Complete Set of Musical Instruments and 20 large Speakers, with the services of a DJ	50,000
Canopies	40 Small sized canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	60,000
Stage Platform	The Stage was made up of a large Metallic Platform	150,000
Generator	2 Big Lister Generating Set @ 50,000 Naira each	100,000
Musical Performances	3 Different Musicians entertained participants at the event @ 200,000 Naira each	600,000
Chairs	375 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira each	90,000
Branded Vehicles	20 Commuter Buses and Saloon cars were branded @ 100,000 Naira each	2,000,000
Hired Vehicles	3 Large Trucks were hired @ 30,000 Naira each, 222 Buses were hired @ 20,000 Naira each to convey participants from different Local Government to the venue	4,530,000
Costume	Branded T-Shirts were worn by 2000 people @ 1000 Naira each, Customized Hats were worn by 400 People @ 400 Naira each, 100 People wore Pin ups @ 100 Naira each, 700 Women wore customized Ankara Wrapper @ 1,500 Naira each	3,220,000
Food and Drinks	90 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira per	460,000

	carton , 100 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira per bag were shared to participants	
Decoration	The Stage, High Table, Canopies were decorated with Ribbons, Cottons and Silk Linen	200,000
Ushers	40 Lady Ushers were given 5,000 Naira each as payment for ushering Services	200,000
Souvenirs	10,000 Party tags were distributed to participants @ 100 Naira	1,000,000
Projector	A Large Screen Projector, projected events at the middle of the crowd	200,000
Disbursement of Funds	20,000 Naira each were given to 12 Wards	240,000
Total		13,350,000

P. RALLY HELD AT MAIN MARKET ONITSHA, IN ONITSHA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON 11 OF NOVEMBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Banners	10 medium Sized Banners @ 5,000 Naira each	50,000
Hand Bills	10,000 Pieces of Handbills @ 2 Naira each	20,000
Pin ups	600 Party Pin ups @ 100 Naira each	60,000
Disbursement of Fund	7 Market Lines were given 350,000 Naira each	2,450,000
Total		2,580,000

Q. RALLY HELD AT ALL SAINTS CATHEDRAL ANGLICAN CHURCH AWKA ROAD IN ONITSHA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 5, 2013.

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Set of Musical Instrument & 10 Large Speakers	30,000
Canopies	23 Small sized canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the event	34,500
Chairs	208 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	49,920
Stage Platform	A Large Wooden Platform was Constructed for the event	35,000
Decoration	The Stage, Canopies and High Table were Decorated with Ribbons and Cottons	80,000
Food and Drink	40 cartons of Gala @ 5000 Naira per Carton, 50 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each	205,000
Branded Vehicles	10 Buses were branded @ 100,000 Naira per bus	1,000,000
Musical Performance	An Artist Performed at the event	80,000
Costume	1000 Participants wore branded T-Shirts @ 1000 Naira each, 200 Women wore	1,340,000

	Customized Ankara Wrapper @ 1,500 Naira each, 100 Persons wore customized Hat @ 400 Naira each	
Souvenirs	5,000 Party Tags were distributed @ 100 Naira per tag	500,000
Generator	A 4.5KVA Lister was used to power the Venue	20,000
Video Coverage	A Videographer covered the event	25,000
Hired Vehicles	2 Large Trucks were hired @ 30,000 Naira each	60,000
Total		3,459,420

R. RALLY HELD AT DCC NNEWI ON NOVEMBER 14, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Instrument & 4 Speakers with Services of an MC	35,000
Canopies	20 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the event	30,000
Chairs	250 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	60,000
Plat Form	A Large Wooden Platform Was Constructed for the Event	35,000
Posters	50,000 Posters were Produced @ 20 Naira per one to be distributed @ 5000 Copies in each of the 10 Wards	1,000,000
Food	Garden Egg and Native Kola	5,000
Branded Vehicles	10 Buses Were Branded @ 100,000 Naira per bus	1,000,000
Costume	1000 Participants wore Branded Ankara @ 4000 Naira each, 2000 Participants wore Customized T-Shirt & Face Cap @1,200 Naira each.	6,400,000
Generator	A Small Generator was hired	5,000
Video Coverage	A Videographer Covered the Event	25,000
Disbursement of Fund	Each of the Ten Wards were given 200,000 Naira each	2,000,000
Distribution of Gifts	Each of the 10 Wards Received 3 Bags of Rice @ 10,000 Naira each, 4 Cartons of Tin Tomatoes @ 1,500 Naira each	306,000
Souvenirs	300 Hand Fans were Distributed to Participants @ 100 Naira each, 200 Pieces of Okada Vest were Distributed to Okada Riders @ 300 Naira each	90,000
Total		10,991,000

S. RALLY HELD AT ALEX EKWUEME STADIUM, AWKA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA ON NOVEMBER 9, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
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Public Address System	Complete Musical Instrument & 50 Large Speakers with Services of an MC and A DJ	200,000
Campaign Venue	Ekwueme Square	200,000
Canopies	72 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the Event	108,000
Chairs	250 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	60,000
Plat Form	A Large Metallic Platform was Constructed for the Event	250,000
Projector	4 Large Screen Projector was used to Project Events From the Platform to The Crowd @ 200,000 Naira each	800,000
Food	Garden Egg and Native Kola	5,000
Hiring of Vehicles	100 Commercial Buses were Hired @ 20,000 Naira Per Bus	2,000,000
Costume	1500 Participants wore Branded Ankara @ 4000 Naira each, 3000 Participants wore Customized T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each.	9,600,000
Generator	A Large 12.5KVA Lister was brought to the Venue	100,000
Video Coverage/Photography	Two Videographer @ 25,000 Naira each and Two Photographer @ 15,000 Naira each Covered the Event	80,000
Disbursement of Fund	Each of the Ten Wards were given 200,000 Naira each	2,000,000
Souvenirs	700 Customized Bags @ 500 Naira each were given to Participants and 1000 Customized Flags @ 100 Naira each	450,000
Branded Vehicles	Five Sienna Cars were branded @ 100,000 Naira each	500,000
Cooling Van	A Rented Cooling Van	100,000
Musical Performance	Two Local Musician Performed at the event @ 30,000 Naira each, A Hip Hop Artist made a Special Song for Tony Nwoye @ 1,000,000	1,060,000
Banners	50 Digital Banners @ 5,000 Naira each were Placed at the Arena	250,000
Disbursement of Gift	50 Bags of Rice @ 10,000 Naira each, 20 Bags of Salt @ 3,700 Naira each	574,000
Total		18,337,000

T. RALLY AT UFUMA, ON NOVEMBER 15, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION OF ITEM	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Music Set, Small Speakers and Microphones	20,000
Costume	400 people wore customized T-shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each	480,000

Video Coverage	Two Videographer was used to cover the event @ 15,000 Naira each	30,000
Chairs and Canopy	25 Dozens of Chair were rented at the cost of 240 per dozen, Eight Small sized canopies were also rented at the cost of 1,500 Naira Per Canopy	18,000
Disbursement of Fund	Two Hundred and Fifty Party Members were given 1000 naira each as mobilization fee	250,000
Banners	Four Medium Sized Banners Were Hanged at the Venue @ 5,000 Naira each	20,000
Total		818,000

U. RALLY AT ST. PETERS CHURCH AGULU

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Set, Small Speakers, Microphone With the Services of An MC	45,000
Canopies	25 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	37,500
Chairs	80 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira each	19,200
Food and Drinks	11 Cartons of Gala @ 5000 Naira, 30 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each	58,000
Disbursement of Fund	2,000,000 Naira was given to the Ward	2,000,000
Cannon Gun	21 Gun Salute @ 300 Naira per Shot	6,300
Total		2,166,000

V. RALLY AT NANKA IN ORUMBA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 11, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Instrument and Small Speakers	20,000
Canopies	6 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the Event	9,000
Chairs	41 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira Each	9,840
Costume	1000 Participants wore Customized T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each.	1,200,000
Generator	A Small Generating Set was used to Power the Sound System	5,000
Video Coverage/Photography	Two Videographer @ 15,000 Naira each covered the event	30,000
Disbursement of Fund	350 Persons were given 1000 Naira each for mobilization	350,000
Total		1,623,840

W. RALLY AT AWGBU IN ORUMBA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 11, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Instrument and Small Speakers	20,000
Canopies	5 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the event	7,500
Chairs	41 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	9,840
Costume	500 Participants wore Customized T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each.	600,000
Generator	A Small Generating Set was used to power the Sound System	5,000
Video Coverage/Photography	Two Videographer @ 15,000 Naira each covered the event	30,000
Disbursement of Fund	250 Persons were given 1000 Naira each for mobilization	250,000
Hand bills	1,500 Pieces of A4 Hand Bills were Shared @ 4 Naira each	6,000
Banners	3 Medium Sized Banners were Hanged at the Venue @ 5,000 Naira each	15,000
Total		943,340

X. RALLY AT EGBEEGE SQUARE, NIMO IN NJIKOKA LOCAL GOVERNMENT, ON NOVEMBER 13, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Instrument and Small Speakers with a Standby Generating Set	30,000
Campaign Venue	Egbeege Square	35,000
Canopies	8 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the event	12,000
Chairs	41 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	9,840
Souvenirs	500 T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each, 50 Branded Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each, 200 Hats @ 400 Naira each were Shared to Participants	880,000
Food and Drinks	14 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each, 6 Cartons of Bottled Water @ 840 Naira each, 15 Crates of Soft Drinks @ 1,560 Naira each, 7 Cartons of Beer @ 2,400 Naira each, Garden Egg, Kola nut and Groundnut Sauce @ 8,000 Naira	54,640
Disbursement of Fund	1 Million Naira Each was given to each of the Four Wards	4,000,000
Hand bills	1,500 Pieces of A4 Hand Bills were Shared @ 4 Naira each	6,000
Banners	3 Medium Sized Banners were Hanged at	15,000

	the Venue @ 5,000 Naira each	
Total		5,042,480

4.5 LABOUR PARTY

A. RALLY AT NENI PRIMARY SCHOOL ANAOCHA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Canopies	19 Small Sized Canopies were Rented @ 1,500 Naira each	28,500
Musical Equipment	DJ Services	15,000
Musical Performances	A Gospel Band Artist Performed at the event	25,000
Drinks and Snacks	Six Baron De-Val Wine @ N600 Naira each, Four cartons of Grand Malt @ 5000 Naira each, 72 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira Per Bag	30,800
Chairs	71 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira Per dozen	17,040
Motor Bike Display	Two Power Bike Displays @ 25,00 Naira each	50,000
Total		166,340

B. RALLY HELD AT ST. JOSEPH CATHOLIC CHURCH EKWULOBIA, ON NOVEMEBR 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Complete Set of Sound System and Speakers	30,000
Canopies	25 Small Sized Canopies were Hired @ 1,500 Naira each	37,500
Posters and Handbills	5000 Poster were posted around the Campaign Venue @ 30 Naira per poster, 6,000 copies of Handbills were also	162,000

	distributed to onlookers @ 2 Naira per-copy	
Banners	5000 Small Banners Hanged and displayed in various part of the town @ 100 Naira per banner	500,000
Costume	350 Female delegates wore Full Customized Traditional Regalia @ 4,000 Naira each, 900 People wore T-shirts and Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each, 80 Males wore Customized Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each,	2,800,000
Souvenirs	200 People received Customized T-shirts @ 1000 Naira each	200,000
Food/Drinks	2000 Pieces of Take-away Packs were distributed to participants @ 1000 Naira per pack, 150 crates of Grand malt were given out to participants @ 2,400 Naira per crate, 150 Cartons of Hero Beer were also given out @ 2,400 Naira per carton, 200 bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each, and 20 Cartons of Bottled Water @ 840 Per Carton	2,756,800
Disbursement of Fund	The 99 wards received 50,000 Naira each	4,950,000
Total		11,436,300

C. RALLY AT ST JOSEPH'S ARENA ORAUKWU, IDEMILI NORTH L.G.A ON 28TH SEPTEMBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Canopies	15 Medium Sized Canopies Provided for Guests and all the wards in the L.G.A @ 5000 Naira each	75,000
Banners	12 Large Sized Banners from the 12 wards in Idemili North was Paraded by Supporters @ 3,000 naira each	36,000
Handbills	1,500 Handbills @ 2 Naira each was distributed around to passers by	3,000

Public address system	Music set with speakers and microphones	25,000
Chairs	83 Dozens of Plastic chairs were rented for the event @ 240 per dozen	19,920
Platform & Decoration	The Stage was Made of a wooden Platform with decoration	150,000
Video coverage	A Videographer was used to cover the event	50,000
Costume	300 Branded Ankara clothes worn by women and men @ 4000 Naira each, 1200 persons wore T-shirts and face caps @ 1,200 Naira each	2,640,000
Vehicles	10 buses were hired @ 20,000 Naira each	200,000
Food and Drinks	200 Packs of Jollof rice @ 1,000 Naira each and 100 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each	210,000
Gifts/Souvenir	2000 Fans, balloons, mufflers and hand band shared to participants @ 300 Naira each.	600,000
Generator	1 Rented generator @ 10,000 Naira	10,000
Branded Vehicles	12 Branded vehicles @ 100,000 Naira each	1,200,000
Total		5,218,920

D. RALLY AT HOLY TRINITY BASILICA FIELD ONITSHA ON SEPTEMBER 17, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Campaign Venue	Holy Trinity Basilica Field Onitsha	250,000
Podium	Metallic Podium with decoration	200,000

Public Address System	A Complete Musical set with 20 Large Speakers and 10 Medium Sized Speakers	200,000
Hiring of Buses	12 buses for the 12 Electoral Wards were hired @ 20,000 Naira each	240,000
Costume	250 Persons wore T-shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira, and Customized Ankara were worn by 30 persons @ 4,000 naira each	420,000
Banners	10 large banners @ 15,000 Naira each were placed in and around the Venue, 200 Medium Sized Banners were paraded by party supporters from the 21 LGAs @ 5000 Naira each	1,150,000
Placards	100 Small Sized Placard were Paraded by Party Supporters @ 300 Naira from the LGAs	30,000
Disbursement of Funds	Each of the 326 wards in the State were mobilized with 15,000 Naira each	4,890,000
Food and Drinks	30 Cartons of Malt were given to Participants @ 2,400 naira each and 1000 Packs of rice @ 1000 Naira each.	1,072,000
Handbills and Posters	1000 posters @ 20 naira each and 1,500 A4 handbills @ 10 naira each were pasted and Handbills distributed to onlookers	35,000
Total		8,487,000

E. RALLY AT UMUNZE, IN ORUMBA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 5, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Souvenirs	Customized T-shirts & Face caps were given to 900 people from the 18 Ward @ 1,200 Naira each	1,080,000
Kerosene Gifts	N30,000 was given to each of the 18 wards .	540,000
Sharing of Rice	18 Bags of Rice were given to each of the 18 Wards @ 5000 Naira per bag	90,000
Total		1,710,000

F. RALLY AT ST JOSEPH'S PRIMARY SCHOOL UGWUNANO UMUNZE, IN ORUMBA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 8, 2013

Expenditure Head	Description	Projected Cost
Public Address System/ Life Band Performance	Complete Sound System, with 8 Large Speakers, brought by life Band Artist who Performed all through the Interludes of the Event	250,000
Canopies	28 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	42,000
Chairs	166 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira Per Dozen	39,840
Comedy Performances	10 Local Comedians Performed at the Event @ 10,000 Naira each	100,000
Souvenirs	Items Shared to Participants Includes: 500 T-shirts & Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each, 500 Hats @ 400 Naira, 300 Hand Fans @ 100 Naira each, 700 Pinups & Badges @ 100 Naira each	900,000
Mobilization	10,000 Naira each were given to Participants as Mobilization in the 18 different Ward	180,000
Gifts	Four Persons received the following gift Items: A Motor Cycle @80,000 Naira, A Big Refrigerator @ 70,000 Naira, A Television Set @ 40,000 Naira and A Standing Fan @ 8,000 Naira	198,000
Stage Platform	A Mobile Stage Platform Built in one of the Large Trucks	200,000
Video Coverage/ Photography	A Videographer and Photographer Covered the Event @ 30,000 Naira and 25,000 Naira respectively	55,000
Hiring of Vehicles	7 Trailers were Hired to carry 50 Youths @ 20,000 Naira per trailer	140,000
Disbursement of Cash	4,000,000 Million Naira was given to Labor Party Members in the 18 Wards	4,000,000
Total		6,104,840

G. RALLY AT SAINT MARY CENTRE FIELD UKPOR IN NNEWI SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT ON SEPTEMBER 9, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	Projected Cost
Public Address system	Complete Sound System with 8 large Speakers	30,000
Generator	1 Small generating Set was Hired for the Event	5,000
Video coverage & photographs	A Videographer and A Photographer Covered the Event	35,000
Chairs	166 Dozens of Plastic chairs @ 240 Naira	39,840

	each	
Decoration	The Venue was Decorated with Ribbons and Banners	20,000
Costume	1000 People wore Branded Ankara @ 4,000 Naira each, 1000 Youth wore Branded T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each	5,200,000
Hired truck	3 Trucks Were Hired @ 100,000 Naira each	300,000
Branded buses	3 Sienna buses were Branded @ the Cost of 100,000 Naira each	300,000
Canopies	22 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each	33,000
Food and Drinks	Garden Egg & Kola @ 5,000 Naira, 2000 Loafs of Bread @ 50 Naira each, 83 Cartons of Can Coke @ 2,400 Naira each	304,200
Souvenirs	2000 Branded Hand Fans @ 100 Naira each, 100 Hats @ 400 Naira each, 400 Pin Ups @ 100 Naira each and 500 Wrist Bands @ 50 Naira each were shared to the Participants	305,000
Disbursement of Funds	The 20 Wards in Nnewi South were given 50,000 naira each during the Ward Tour	1,000,000
Total		7,572,040

H. CAMPAIGN FLAG OFF IN AT NDI ICHIE HALL, UMUDIOKA VILLAGE, AWKA SOUTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON 10 NOVEMBER 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST (₦)
Public Address System	Complete Musical Instruments, 8 Large Speakers and Services of a DJ	50,000.00
Chairs, Canopies and Tables	66 Dozens of Plastic chairs at 240 Naira each, 16 canopies at 1,500 Naira each and 20 Plastic Tables at 200 Naira each were used at the Venue	43,840
Posters and Banners	100 posters at 20 Naira each and five digital banners at 5,000 Naira each were distributed and displayed at the venue	27,000
Musical Performance	A popular gospel singer – Felix Ndukwe Performed live at venue.	2,000,000.00
Costume	300 people wore crested T-shirt and Face Cap at 1200 Naira each, 200 people wore Hat @ 400 Naira each, 100 people wore party apron at 800 Naira each, 300 people wore Mufflers @ 300 Naira each 100 People wore Labor party Kaftan at 1,500 Naira each	760,000
Video Coverage	A Video man and a Cameraman covered the event.	35,000.00
Souvenirs	200 party hand fans at N100 each, 300 fliers at 20.00 Naira each were given to Participants.	26,000
Branded Vehicles	10 cars were branded at 100,000 Naira each.	

		1,000,000.00
Hired Buses	10 buses were hired @ 20,000 Naira each.	200,000.00
Master of Ceremony	There was a master of ceremony who was in-charge of proceeding and was paid N8,000.	8,000.00
Hired Truck	Four trailers were spotted at the venue of the rally with musical sets, generator and a public address system at N100,000 per trailer.	400,000.00
Dignitaries	All the ex-footballers of super –eagle were seen at the campaign arena such as Samson Sia-Sia, Mutiu Adepoju, Austin Eguavon , John Obu, and host of others. This monitor could not ascertain how much that was paid to them to be part of this campaign movement.	
Disbursement of Fund	The total amount of one million was presented to the whole ward in Awka South Local Govt. Area.	1,000,000
Total		5,549,840

I. RALLY ORGANIZED AT ANAEDO SOCIAL CLUB HALL IN NNEWI NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA ON NOVEMBER 14, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Instrument & 4 Speakers	20,000
Canopies	30 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the Event	45,000
Chairs	416 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	99,840
Plat Form	A Large Wooden Platform was Constructed for the Event	35,000
Food & Drinks	Garden Egg and Native Kola @ 5,000 Naira, 208 Cartons of Can Coke @ 2,400 Naira each were given to Participants	504,200
Branded Vehicles	6 Buses were Branded @ 100,000 Naira Per Bus	600,000
Costume	2000 Participants wore Branded Ankara @ 4000 Naira each, 3000 Participants wore Customized T-Shirt & Face Cap @1,200 Naira each.	11,600,000
Hired Vehicles	5 Trucks Were Hired @ 30,000 Naira each	150,000
Generator	A Small Generator was Hired	5,000
Video Coverage/Photography	A Videographer/Photographer covered the Event	35,000
Disbursement of Fund	Each of the Ten Wards were given 100,000 Naira each	1,000,000
Souvenirs	2000 Hand Fans were distributed to Participants @ 100 Naira each, 200 Pieces of Hats were Distributed to Participants @ 400 Naira each, 1000 Okada Vest were given to Okada Riders @ 300 Naira each,	680,000

	500 Pin ups @ 100 Naira each, 1000 Wrist Band @ 50 Naira each	
Total		14,774,040

J. LABOUR PARTY GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN TOUR ORGANIZED AT AWKA SOUTH ON NOVEMBER 8, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Branded Vehicles	Two Branded Open Vans @ 100,000 Naira each	200,000
Distribution of Gift Items	5000 Note Books @ 50 Naira each, 2000 Mufflers @ 400 Naira each, 400 Hand Fans @ 100 Naira each, 1000 Tags @ 100 Naira Each, were Shared on the Streets of Awka	1,190,000
Mobilization	50 Party Supporters wore Branded T-Shirts and Face Caps @ 1,200 Naira each, and Mobilized @ 4,000 Naira per Participant	260,000
Hired Vehicles	A Long Truck was Hired @ 30,000	30,000
Disbursement of Fund	At a Visit to Umuokpu Village, at Hon Chief Ichele's House, 100 Persons were given 3,000 Naira each, 50 Party Members in Awka South received 2000 Naira each.	400,000
Total		2,080,000

K. RALLY HELD AT ST MATTHEW'S PRIMARY SCHOOL FIELD OZUBULU ON NOVEMBER 9, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Microphones Speakers and a Generating Set	30,000
Costume	1000 Persons wore Branded T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira	1,200,000
Decoration	The Venue was Decorated with Ribbons and Banners	25,000
Hand Bills	5,000 Pieces of Hand Bills were Distributed to Onlookers @ 2 Naira per copy	10,000
Canopies	12 Small Canopies @ 1,500 Naira were used for the event	18,000
Chairs	83 Dozens of Plastic Chairs @ 240 Naira per dozen	19,920
Food and Drinks	20 Cartons of Gala @ 5,000 Naira each, 10 Bags of Sachet Water @ 100 Naira each	101,000
Video/Photography	A Videographer and Photographer covered the event	35,000
Branded Vehicles	10 Buses were Branded @ 100,000 Naira each	1,000,000
Banners	20 Medium Sized Banners @ 5,000 Naira	100,000

	each	
Disbursement of Gift	400 Pieces of Hand Fans, @ 100 Naira each, 400 Exercise Books @ 50 Naira each, 500 Hand Bans @ 50 Naira each, 500 Rain Coats @ 1,500 Naira each, 500 Umbrellas @ 400 Naira each were Distributed to Participants	1,035,000
Total		3,573,920

L. CAMPAIGN AT AWGBU IN ORUMBA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 8, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Instrument and Small Speakers	20,000
Canopies	5 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were Used for the Event	7,500
Chairs	41 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	9,840
Costume	500 Participants wore Customized T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each.	600,000
Generator	A Small Generating Set was used to Power the Sound System	5,000
Video Coverage/Photography	Two Videographer @ 15,000 Naira each covered the event	30,000
Disbursement of Fund	250 Persons were given 1000 Naira each For Mobilization	250,000
Hand bills	1,500 Pieces of Hand Bills were Shared @ 2 Naira each	3,000
Total		925,340

M. RALLY AT AJALLI IN ORUMBA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 7, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Instrument and Small Speakers	20,000
Canopies	5 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the Event	7,500
Chairs	41 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	9,840
Costume	600 Participants wore Customized T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each.	720,000
Generator	A Thermocool Generator was Hired @ 6,000 Naira	6,000
Disbursement of Fund	300 Persons were given 1000 Naira each for Mobilization	300,000
Hand bills	1,500 Pieces of Hand Bills were Shared @ 2 Naira each	3,000
Total		1,066,340

N. LABOUR PARTY CAMPAIGN RALLY AT OKO IN ORUMBA NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ON NOVEMBER 11, 2013

EXPENDITURE HEAD	DESCRIPTION	PROJECTED COST
Public Address System	Musical Instrument and Small Speakers	20,000
Canopies	5 Small Sized Canopies @ 1,500 Naira each were used for the event	7,500
Chairs	41 Dozens of Chairs @ 240 Naira each	9,840
Costume	500 Participants wore Customized T-Shirt & Face Cap @ 1,200 Naira each.	600,000
Video Coverage/Photography	Two Videographer @ 15,000 Naira each Covered the Event	30,000
Disbursement of Fund	250 Persons were given 1000 Naira each for Mobilization	250,000
Hand bills	1,500 Pieces of A4 Hand Bills were Shared @ 4 Naira each	6,000
Banners	3 Medium Sized Banners were Hanged at the Venue @ 5,000 Naira each	15,000
Total		938,340

4.6 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES

The expense of candidates for campaigns and rallies is as follows.

Candidate	Amount
APGA's Willie Obiano	N176,774,720
APC's Chris Ngige	N35,099,300
PDP's Tony Nwoye	N162,263,220
LP's Ifeanyi Ubah	N69,603,260

Chapter Five

OTHER EXPENSES

5.1. CASH AND OTHER DONATIONS BY THE CANDIDATES

This Chapter contains reports of specific donations that were not given out at campaigns and rallies but were part of the follow-up of candidate's mobilisation strategies. There were also some special individuals, especially traditional rulers, visited by candidates that provided the opportunity for secret cash donations. These could not have been captured by observers since the parties were unwilling to disclose such. Some of the under listed are a reflection of other expenses incurred by the candidates:

5.2 DONATIONS

Candidate	Expenditure Head	Date	Description	Amount
Chris Ngige				
	Cash Donation		Donation to Aquinas Roman Catholic Church Awka	100,000
			Donation to 177 President Generals of Town Union	3,000,000
Total				3,100,000
Willie Obiano	Cash Donation		Donation to Students and Lecturers @ White View Hotel Awka	250,000
			Donation to Ekwulobia Park	200,000
			Donation to 177 President Generals of Town Union	7,000,000

Total				7,450,000
Tony Nwoye	Third Party Donation		Chief Arthur Eze donated 5Million Naira to President Generals of Town Unions in Anambra South, and 10Million Naira to Anambra Central Senatorial Zones	15,000,000
	Mobilization and Donations to Enugu – Onitsha Bus Drivers	30/10/2013	Chief Arthur Eze and Tony Nwoye gave out 5,000,000 and 7,000,000 Naira respectively to Bus Drivers at Arthur Eze’s Palace in Abagana LGA	12,000,000
	Cash Donations	12/11/13	Donation to Opinion Leaders and Stakeholders in Umunachi, at Dunukofia LGA	15,000,000
	Cash Donation	12/11/13	Donation to Opinion Leaders and Stakeholders in Umudioka in Idemili North LGA	17,500,000
	Cash Donations	11/11/2013	Donation to Onitsha Traders in Onitsha Main Market	4,000,000
TOTAL				63,500,000
Ifeanyi Ubah	Cash Donation	8/11/2013	Donation to Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria Awka Branch	5,000,000
	Cash Donation	9/11/2013	Donation to INEC Trained Officials for Nov 16 Election, at Ban-hills Hotel Agu-Awka (90 Persons	900,000

			were given 10,000 naira each)	
	Donation of Food Items	13/11/1013	At Bishop's Court Hotel Ifite Road Awka. 50 bags of Rice to 50 People @ 8,000 Naira each; 50 gallons of 10 liter Groundnut Oil @ 4,500 Naira each; 20 bags of Salt @ 3,700 Naira each; 200 Cartons of Indomie @ 1,500 Naira per Carton	999,000
	Donation of Laptops & Wheel Chairs	14/11/13	10 Laptops @ 70,000 Naira each and 10 Wheel Chairs @ 250,000 Naira each were given out to Cripples and Disabled at Barn Hills Hotel.	3,200,000
Total				10,099,000

5.3 ORGANIZATION OF ANAMBRA STATE TRADERS CUP COMPETITION FINAL ORGANIZED BY ALL PROGRESSIVES GRAND ALLIANCE ON NOVEMBER 13, 2013

Expenditure Head	Description	Projected Cost
Public Address System	Large Speakers and Microphones	30,000
Price Award	First Price : 900,000 Naira Second Price: 600,000 Naira Third Prize : 400,000 Naira Fourth Prize: 300,000 Naira Most Valuable Player : 75,000 Best Goal Keeper : 50,000 Highest Goal Scorer: 50,000	2,375,000
Total		2,405,000

5.4 DISBURSEMENT OF FUNDS AT THE POLLING UNITS

CANDIDATE/PARTY	DESCRIPTION	LOCATION	TOTAL AMOUNT
Tony Nwoye	Chief Arthur Eze distributed 1000 Naira	Ukpo Ward 1 in Dunukofia LGA	2,000,000

	to an estimate of 2000 Voters @ the Poling Unit		
	2 Million Naira was Given to Ukpo Ward	Ukpo Dunukufia	2,000,000
	1.4M Naira given to each Ward in Entire LGAs	326 Wards in Anambra	456,400,000
	5,000 Naira was Paid to Party Agents in the 4,608 Polling Units	4,608 Polling Unit	23,040,000
Total			483,440,000
Willie Obiano	1.6 Million Naira each given to 19 Wards in Anaocha	Anaocha	30,400,000
	10,000 Naira each paid to Party Agents in the 4,608 Polling Units	4,608 Polling Units	46, 080,000
Total			76,480,000
Chris Ngige	Party Agents were paid 5,000 Naira Each in the 4,608 Polling Units	4,608 Polling Units	23,040,000
Total			23,040,000

5.5 DISTRIBUTION OF RECHARGE CARDS

The distribution of GSM recharge Cards by the All Progressives Congress is gradually becoming part of its resource item to woo the electorate. In the last Ondo State gubernatorial election, recharge cards were distributed and thrown at the people. The same strategy was devised by Dr Chris Ngige. On the 13th of November, 2013, the APC candidate mobilized supporters along Zik Avenue in Awka on a road show. They took off from Ukwu-Orji junction through Eke-Awka market. The centre of attraction was the throwing of different denominations of recharge cards at the crowd. From observation, the candidate threw recharge cards worth 50,000 Naira into the crowd.

5.6 SPECIAL EXPENSES INCURRED ON THE ELECTION DAY

Vote Buying

Vote buying was rampant in the election. The People's Democratic Party gave out N1000 to each voter that agreed to vote for it; All Progressives Grand Alliance gave out N2000 to each voter and All Progressive Congress gave out N1000. The number of persons that collected the funds from these political parties is no doubt numerous, but for obvious reasons, they cannot be counted due to the nature of disbursement. It was reliably gathered that the PDP made provision of 27,000,000 Naira per Local government for vote buying. The candidates adopted similar strategy of monitoring any

member of the electorate who was paid to vote. First, the electorate is made to hand over his voter's card to the party agent so as to ascertain that he is eligible to vote, after which he is then referred to an agent who stands in front of the polling centre to monitor when the vote is cast. If the Agent is satisfied, he then instructs the paying officer to pay the voter.

5.7 SUMMARY OF CAPTURED EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

These include donations to individuals and associations, disbursement of funds at polling units and the football competition organized by the APGA

Chris Ngige	26,140,000
Willie Obiano	86,335,000
Tony Nwoye	546,940,000
Ifeanyi Ubah	10,099,000

Chapter Six

REPORT OF EXPENSES ON BILL BOARDS IN ANAMBRA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter gives a detailed report of the expenses incurred by the major candidates on bill boards. The cost however varies according to the size of the billboards. The bill boards are presented by their local government location and major campaign venues. Information on cost and number of bill boards were obtained from enquiries made directly from the production source and from the observation of monitors in each local government.

6.2 THE EXPENSES

Candidate	Local Government	Description	Qty	Unit Cost	Total Cost	
Chris Ngige	Awka South	6/12 Sized Bill Board	7	300,000	2,100,000	
	Upper Iweka Onitsha	6/12 Ft Bill Board	6	300,000	1,800,000	
	Holy Trinity Cathedral Basilica Field Onitsha	2/3 Ft Bill Board	20	50,000	1,000,000	
	Nkwo Agulu in Anaocha LGA	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000	
	Oye Agulu Uzuigbo Anaocha LGA	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000	
	Nanka Junction, Orumba North LGA	3/6 Ft Bill Board	1	100,000	100,000	
	Idemili North	6/12 Ft Bill Board	6	300,000	1,800,000	
		3/6 Ft Bill Board	3	100,000	300,000	
		2/3 Ft Bill Board	1	50,000	50,000	
	Federal Housing Nkwella Ezunaka, Oyi LGA	6/12 FT Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000	
	Total					8,050,000
	Willie Obiano					
		Ekwueme Square Awka	2/3 Ft Bill Board	20	50,000	1,000,000

	Onitsha South	6/12 Ft Bill Board	10	300,000	3,000,000
	Upper Iweka Onitsha	6/18 Ft Bill Board	5	600,000	3,000,000
	Basilica Field Onitsha	2/3 FT Bill Board	20	50,000	1,000,000
	Dunukofia	6/12 FT Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Dunukofia	3/6 FT Bill Board	3	100,000	300,000
	Enugwu-Ukwu, Njikoka LGA	6/12 Ft Bill Board	5	300,000	1,500,000
	Afor Market Square Ukor	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Salvation Market Road Ukpor	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Nnewi –Ukpor Road Osigbu	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Enugwu-Agidi Junction, Njikoka LGA	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Omogho Market Junction Orumba North LGA	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Idemili North	6/12 Ft Bill Board	8	300,000	2,400,000
		3/6 Ft Bill Board	6	100,000	600,000
		2/3 Ft Bill Board	1	50,000	50,000
	Igbariam Anambra East	6/12FT Bill Board	2	300,000	600,000
	Ozeh Village, Oyi LGA	6/12 FT Bill Board	3	300,000	900,000
		3/6 FT Bill Board	1	100,000	100,000
	Anyamelum LGA	2/3 Ft Bill Board	1	50,000	50,000
Total					16,300,000
Tony Nwoye					
	Central School Omo, Anyamelem LGA	3/6 FT Bill Board	1	100,000	300,000
	Ekwueme Stadium, Awka South	6/12 Ft Bill Board	2	300,000	600,000
	Oko Round About, Orumba North LGA	6/12 FT Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Awka South	6/12 Ft Bill Board	5	300,000	1,500,000
	Awka North	6/12 Ft Bill Board	3	300,000	900,000
	Onitsha North	6/12 Ft Bill Board	3	300,000	900,000

	Onitsha South	6/12 Ft Bill Board	5	300,000	1,500,000
Total					6,000,000
Ifeanyi Ubah	Dunukofia	3/6 FT Bill Board	1	100,000	100,000
	Afor Market Square Ukpor	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Nanka Junction, Orumba North LGA	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Oko, Orumba North LGA	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
	Idemili North	6/12 Ft Bill Board	2	300,000	600,000
		3/6 Ft Bill Board	6	100,000	600,000
	Awka South	3/6 Ft Bill Board	4	100,000	400,000
	Awka North	6/12 Ft Bill Board	2	300,000	600,000
	Onitsha North	3/6 Ft Bill Board	3	100,000	300,000
	Onitsha South	6/12 Ft Bill Board	1	300,000	300,000
		3/6 Ft Bill Board	3	100,000	300,000
Total					4,100,000

6.3 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

Chris Ngige	8,050,000
Willie Obiano	16,300,000
Tony Nwoye	6,000,000
Ifeanyi Ubah	4,100,000

Chapter Seven

ELECTRONIC MEDIA CAMPAIGNS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter contains the report of electronic media expenses incurred by the candidates on advertisements and coverage of campaigns and rallies. The candidates advertised on major radio and television stations within and outside the state. It was also observed that the state owned media stations did not collect its official rates from the APGA candidate. Rather, it received some stipends from the party.

7.2. ELECTRONIC MEDIA CAMPAIGN COVERAGE

A. ALL PROGRESSIVES GRAND ALLIANCE

Campaign Venue	Date	Duration of Coverage	Media House	Unit Cost in Naira	Total Cost
Ekwueme Square	7/10/2013	2hrs	NTA	6,000,000 (discounted)	7,500,000
	7/10/2013	2hrs	STV	2,500,000	5,000,000
	7/10/2013	2hrs	AIT	3,000,000	6,000,000
	7/10/2013	2hrs	ABS	-	-
Holy Trinity Basilica Field	8/10/2013	2hrs	MINAJ TV	2,500,000	5,000,000
	8/10/2013	2hrs	NTA	6,000,000 (discounted)	7,500,000
	8/10/2013	2hrs	AIT	3,000,000	6,000,000
	8/10/2013	2hrs	STV	2,500,000	5,000,000
	8/10/2013	2hrs	ABS	-	-
Basilica Field	15/10/2013	2hrs	NTA	6,000,000 (discounted)	7,500,000
	15/10/2013	2hrs	STV	2,500,000	5,000,000
	15/10/2013	2hrs	MINAJ TV	2,500,000	5,000,000
	15/10/2013	2hrs	ABS	-	-
All Saints Cathedral	16/10/2013	1hr 30mins	MINAJ TV	2,500,000	3,750,000
	16/10/2013	1hr 30mins	STV	2,500,000	3,750,000
	16/10/2013	1hr 30mins	ABS	-	-
Old Stadium	30/10/2013	1hr 30mins	STV	2,500,000	3,750,000

Awka					
	30/10/2013	1hr 30 Mins	NTA Onitsha	3,000,000	4,500,000
	30/10/2013	1hr 30Mins	ABS	-	-
Godwin Achebe Stadium, Onitsha	29/10/2013	1hr 30 Mins	NTA Onitsha	3,000,000	4,500,000
	29/10/2013	1hr 30 Mins	MINAJ TV	2,500,000	3,750,000
	29/10/2013	1hr 30 Mins	STV	2,500,000	3,750,000
Total					87,250,000

B. PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Campaign Venue	Date	Duration of Coverage	Media House	Unit Cost in Naira	Total Cost
Holy Trinity Cathedral Catholic Church	13/11/2013	3hrs	NTA	6,000,000 (discounted)	13,500,000
	13/11/2013	3hrs	AIT	3,000,000	9,000,000
	13/11/2013	3hrs	STV	2,500,000	7,500,000
	13/11/2013	3hrs	MINAJ	2,500,000	7,500,000
All Saints Cathedral Anglican Church	5/11/2013	2hrs	STV	2,500,000	5,000,000
	5/11/2013	2hrs	NTA Onitsha	2,500,000	5,000,000
	5/11/2013	2hrs	AIT	3,000,000	6,000,000
Ekwueme Square	9/11/2013	3hrs	NTA	6,000,000 (discounted)	13,500,000
	9/11/2013	3hrs	AIT	3,000,000	9,000,000
	9/11/2013	3hrs	STV	2,500,000	7,500,000
	9/11/2013	3hrs	MINAJ	2,500,000	7,500,000
	9/11/2013	3hrs	ABS	1,000,000	3,000,000
Ogbugbankwa Square, Awka South	8/11/2013	2hrs	NTA Onitsha	3,000,000 (discounted)	5,000,000
	8/11/2013	2hrs	ABS	1,000,000	2,000,000
	8/11/2013	2hrs	STV	2,500,000	5,000,000

Ekwueme Square	9/11/2013	3hrs	AIT	3,000,000	9,000,000
	9/11/2013	3hrs	NTA	6,000,000 (discounted)	13,500,000
	9/11/2013	3hrs	MINAJ	2,500,000	7,500,000
	9/11/2013	3hrs	STV	2,500,000	7,500,000
Total					143,500,000

C. ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS

Campaign Venue	Date	Duration of Coverage	Media House	Unit Cost in Naira	Total Cost
Holy Trinity Cathedral Catholic Church	8/10/2013	3hrs	NTA	6,000,000 (discounted)	13,500,000
	8/10/2013	3hrs	AIT	3,000,000	9,000,000
	8/10/2013	3hrs	STV	2,500,000	7,500,000
	8/10/2013	3hrs	MINAJ	2,500,000	7,500,000
Alex Ekwueme Square Awka	7/10/2013	3hrs	NTA	6,000,000 (discounted)	13,500,000
	7/10/2013	3hrs	AIT	3,000,000	9,000,000
	7/10/2013	3hrs	STV	2,500,000	7,500,000
	7/10/2013	3hrs	MINAJ	2,500,000	7,500,000
Total					75,000,000

D. LABOUR PARTY

Campaign Venue	Date	Duration of Coverage	Media House	Unit Cost in Naira	Total Cost
Holy Trinity Cathedral Catholic Church	27/09/2013	2hrs	NTA	6,000,000 (discounted)	7,500,000
	27/09/2013	2hrs	AIT	3,000,000	6,000,000
	27/09/2013	2hrs	STV	2,500,000	5,000,000
	27/09/2013	2hrs	MINAJ	2,500,000	5,000,000
Total					23,500,000

7.3. ELECTRONIC MEDIA ADVERTISEMENT

CANDIDATE	MEDIA HOUSE/ DESCRIPTION	SLOT	DURATION IN DAYS	UNITS	COST (N)
NGIGE	MINAJ TV	4	20	30,000	2,400,000
	MINAJ TV DOCUMENTARY	1	6	100,000	600,000
	ABS TV	2	15	15,000	450,000
	STV	2	14	30,000	840,000
	NTA AWKA	4	20	15,750	1,260,000
	NTA DOCUMENTARY	1	4	100,000	400,000
	NTA LIVE PROGRAMME	1	1	100,000	100,000
	AIT	2	19	365,000	13,870,000
	DREAM FM	5	30	8,000	1,200,000
	RADIO SAPIENSA	5	21	7,000	735,000
	PURITY FM	6	28	10,500	1,764,000
	ABS RADIO	5	20	10,000	1,000,000
	BLAZE FM	5	14	7,000	490,000
	HEART LAND FM OWERRI	4	9	4,000	144,000
	BCA RADIO UMUAHIA	4	3	3,850	46,200
TOTAL					25,299,200
CANDIDATE					
WILLIE OBIANO	MINAJ TV	4	20	30,000	2,400,000
	MINAJ TV DOCUMENTARY	1	1	100,000	100,000
	STV	2	15	30,000	900,000
	NTA AWKA	5	20	15,750	1,575,000
	NTA DOCUMENTARY	3	4	100,000	1,200,000
	NTA NEWS COVERAGE	1	10	50,000	500,000
	AIT	2	5	365,000	3,650,000
	ABS TV	10	45	-	
	RADIO SAPIENSA	5	20	7,000	700,000
	SILVER BIRD RHYTHM	5	21	20,000	2,100,000
	PURITY FM	10	28	10,500	2,940,000

	BLAZE FM	5	14	7,000	490,000
	ABS RADIO	15	45	-	
	UNIZIK FM	5	20	5,000	500,000
	HEART LAND FM OWERRI	6	1	4,000	24,000
	BCA RADIO UMUAHIA	4	6	3,850	92,400
TOTAL					17,171,400
CANDIDATE					
L.P (IFEANYI UBA)	MINAJ TV	3	15	30,000	1,350,000
	MINAJ TV DOCUMENTARY	1	3	100,000	300,000
	ABS TV	3	10	15,000	450,000
	NTA AWKA	2	10	15,750	315,000
	STV	2	10	30,000	600,000
	AIT	10	34	365,000	124,100,000
	AIT DOCUMENTARY	2	7	250,000	3,500,000
	AIT LIVE COVERAGE	3	11	625,000	20,625,000
	RADIO SAPIENSA	5	21	7,000	735,000
	SIVER BIRD RHYTHM	5	30	20,000	3,000,000
	BLAZE FM	5	14	7,000	490,000
	PURITY FM RADIO PROGRAM (ANGELOS)	1	30	3,000	90,000
	HEART LAND FM OWERRI	3	1	4,000	12,000
	BCA RADIO UMUAHIA	4	4	3,850	61,600
TOTAL					155,628,600
CANDIDATE					
TONY NWOYE	STV	6	7	30,000	1,260,000
	MINAJ TV	3	7	30,000	630,000
	NTA AWKA	3	10	15,750	472,500
	NTA LIVE PROGRAMME	1	2	100,000	200,000
	NTA NEWS COVERAGE	1	1	50,000	50,000
	AIT	1	5	365,000	1,825,000

	PURITY FM	10	15	10,500	1,575,000
	BLAZE FM	7	15	7,000	735,000
	RADIO SAPIENSA	7	15	8,000	840,000
	BCA RADIO UMUAHIA	6	3	3,850	69,300
	HEART LAND FM OWERRI	6	1	4,000	24,000
TOTAL					7,680,800

7.4 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

Candidate	Expenditure
Willie Obiano	104,421,400
Tony Nwoye	151,180,800
Chris Ngige	100,299,200
Ifeanyi Ubah	179,128,600

Chapter Eight

PRINT MEDIA EXPENSES

8.1. INTRODUCTION

This Chapter contains the report of expenses incurred by the candidates on print media. From the report, it was observed that the candidates largely made use of news items to sell themselves to the electorate. This medium was also used to antagonise the opponents. The rates for news items and advertisements were obtained from the newspaper companies. However, the report might not have captured the entire expenses incurred by the candidates on the print media.

8.2 THE EXPENSES

CANDIDATE/ PARTY	NEWSPAPERCOMPANY/ DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT (₦)	TOTAL IN NAIRA
WILLIE OBIANO/ APGA	NATIONAL LIGHT NEWSPAPER		
	Full Front Page Cover News Item, October 31, 2013	50,000.00	50,000
	Quarter Page News Item , P 3, October 31, 2013	20,000	20,000
	Full Page News Item/ Colored Advert, P 12 & 13, October 31, 2013.	250,000.00	500,000
	Half Page News Item P.16 October 31, 2013	40,000.00	40,000.00
	Half Page News Item P. 17, October 31, 2013	40,000.00	40,000.00
	2 Full Page Colored Advert, P. 12 & 13. 24, October 2013	200,000	400,000.00
	Political News Item, P.15, October 24, 2013.	50,000	50,000
	Half Page News Item, P.16, October 24, 2013	40,000	40,000
	Back Page News Item, P.22, October 24, 2013	50,000	50,000
	2 Full Page Colored Advert, P. 12 & 13, October 26, 2013.	200,000.00	400,000
	Quarter Page News Item, P. 3, October 31, 2013.	20,000.00	20,000

	Front Page Advert & News Item, P.2, October 20, 2013	250,000	250,000
	Quarter Page News Item, P.3, October 20, 2013	20,000	20,000
	Full Page Advert & Commentaries, P.8, November 7, 2013	200,000.00	200,000
	Quarter Page News Item, P. 13, November 7, 2013	20,000.00	20,000
	Half Page Advert, P. 24, November 7, 2013	40,000.00	40,000
	Full Page Black and White Advert P. 26, November 7, 2013	150,000.00	150,000
	Full Page News item P. 20, October 27, 2013	50,000.00	50,000
	Full Back Page Colored Advert, October 27, 2013	200,000.00	200,000
	2 Full Page Colored Advert, P12& 13 October 24, 2013	200,000	400,000
	OPINION LEADER NEWSPAPER		
	Half Page News item, P. 16, October 31, 2013	20,000.00	20,000
	ORIENT DAILY NEWSPAPER		
	Quarter Page News Item, P.9, November 6, 2013	20,000.00	20,000
	THE SURE ANCHOR NEWSPAPER		
	Full Back Page Colored Advert, Nov Edition of Vol 2, No.11.	60,000.00	60,000
	FIDES NEWS PAPERS		
	Full Back News Advert, P.24, October 27, 2013	30,000	30,000
	1 Full Page Colored Advert, P. 24, October 27-November 2 Edition, 2013.	80,000	80,000
	1 Full Page Colored Advert, P. 24, October 20-26 Edition	80,000	80,000
	Quarter Page News Item, P.20, October 20-26 Edition	5,000	5,000
	THE BRIDGE NEWS PAPERS		

	Full Page News Item, P. 16, October 27, 2013	60,000	60,000
	QTR Page News Item, P.3, October 27, 2013	15,000	15,000
	QTR Page News Item, P.2, October 20, 2013	15,000	15,000
	2 Full Page Colored Advert, P 10&11, October 6, 2013	175,000	350,000
	1 Full Page News Item & Advert, P. 12, October 6, 2013	60,000	60,000
	THE NATION NEWSPAPERS		
	1 Full Page Colored Advert, P.45, October 7 2013	494,047.62	494,047.62
TOTAL			4,229,048
NGIGE A.P.C	THE BRIDGE NETWORK NEWSPAPER		
	Full Page Black and White Advertorial Column, P.8, November 10, 2013	60,000.00	60,000
	2 Full Page Colored Advert, 6&15, October 27, 2013	175,000	350,000
	Half Page News Item, P.6, October 27, 2013	30,000	30,000
	Half Page News Item, P.17, October 27, 2013	30,000	30,000
	1 Full Page News Item & Advert, P.9, October 6, 2013	235,000	235,000
	DAILY INDEPENDENT		
	Full Page Colored Advert, P.46, Oct 7, 2013	410,000	410,000
	THE NATION NEWSPAPERS		
	1 Full Page Colored Advert, P.63, October 7, 2013	494,047.62	494,047.62
TOTAL			1,609,048
LABOUR PARTY	THE SURE ANCHOR NEWSPAPER		
	Quarter Page News item, P.5 Nov. Edition of Vol.2 No.11	5,000.00	5,000
TOTAL			5,000

8.3 SUMMARY OF EXPENSES IN THIS CHAPTER

Willie Obiano	4,229,048
Chris Ngige	1,609,048
Ifeanyi Ubah	5,000

Chapter Nine

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURE

This Chapter contains inter alia, the summary of findings of the overall expenses incurred by the candidates. The expenses documented in this report are just what the monitoring exercise could observe. Definitely, the candidates must have spent more than our observation could capture.

Expenditure Head	APGA	PDP	APC	LP
Use of SAR				
Campaigns and Rallies	176,774,720	162,263,220	35,099,300	69,603,260
Bill Boards	16,300,000	6,000,000	8,050,000	4,100,000
Other Expenses	86,335,000	546,940,000	26,140,000	10,099,000
Electronic Media	104,421,400	151,180,800	100,299,200	179,128,600
Print Media	4,229,048	-	1,609,048	5,000
Total	388,060,168	866,384,020	171,197,548	262,935,860

9.2 CONCLUSIONS

In accordance with the practice in previous elections, civil society organisations and INEC expressed little or no interest in campaign finance monitoring. Candidates were under the mistaken impression that campaign finance provisions in the books did not matter. However, INEC has taken steps to impose reporting obligations on candidates in furtherance of its powers under section 153 of the Electoral Act. If the provisions are followed through, there would be a tremendous improvement in the respect of the campaign finance provisions of the Electoral Act. However, gubernatorial candidates are still spending above the ceiling. There is still no mechanism to enforce the ban on using state administrative resources to the advantage of incumbents. In defiance of the law, SAR was deployed in favour of the candidate of the incumbent political party.

Anambra gubernatorial elections presented an interesting scenario where the front running candidates appeared to have spent a lot of resources on the elections. The

APGA, APC, LP and PDP candidates were all reputed to have deep pockets or were backed by persons with deep pockets. Political party primaries for the gubernatorial tickets were hotly contested. Anambra State has a sad history of misguided campaign expenditure which led to governance crisis after the elections. In the last fourteen years, the Ngige-Chris Uba saga and Mbadinuju- Emeka Offor saga are too well known to demand repetition here.

The project trained and deployed monitors and the findings in this report show the preponderance of the previous pattern of expenditure which we witnessed in Edo and Ondo State gubernatorial elections. This establishes a pattern of Nigerian campaign finance expenditure, which can be termed the continuation of the norm. The old challenges refused to go away and politics is heavily monetised. The candidates spent heavily on campaigns and rallies, billboards and the media and even engaged in vote buying.

9.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

(i) To the Legislature for Electoral Reform

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

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

B. Empirical evidence demonstrates that the gubernatorial limit of N200m is very low. It should be upwardly reviewed in line with recommendations in paragraph A above. Essentially, the empirical formula will still be subject to an upper limit being the ceiling.

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

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

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

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

G. Provisions should be made in the Electoral Act for pre and post election reporting on campaign finance. The benefit of pre-election reporting is to allow voters form an opinion as to which interests the candidate would be responsive to. It would help the electorate in making a choice among competing candidates. The reports should be available to the public.

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

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

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

(ii) To INEC on the Extant Law

A. In view of our candidate-centric system, the recent provision of the Guidelines and Regulations for Political Parties for candidates reporting on campaign finance is a good development from INEC. Detailed candidates reporting forms should be developed by INEC. The reports should include election contributions and election expenses. A pre-election report should come within three weeks to the election while a post election report will be demanded within three months of the conclusion of poll. Parties will still be

under obligation to report their expenses used for general administration and in support of particular candidates.

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

C. Considering the provisions of section 153 of the Act, detailing rules and formats for candidates and political parties to report their use and management of state apparatus to the advantage or disadvantage of any political party or candidate at an election is imperative. Reporting rules, formats and guides for candidates and political parties should be developed by INEC or any other agency to be charged with monitoring the provisions.

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

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

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

G. Conduct training and capacity building in collaboration with other stakeholders for political parties and candidates on respecting the campaign finance provisions of the Electoral Act.

(iv) To Political Parties

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

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

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

(v) To Civil Society Organisations and the Media

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

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

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

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

E. Undertake training and capacity building on campaign finance, in collaboration with INEC and other stakeholders for candidates and political parties.

F. Monitor and report on candidates and political parties expenditure in the 2015 elections.

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

Centre for Social Justice Limited by Guarantee (CSJ) is a Nigerian civil society organisation with a vision of a Nigeria where social justice informs public decision making. Its mission is to be a principal catalyst in mainstreaming social justice in 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 finance management, power sector reforms, political finance reforms and rights enhancement.

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