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Analysis of Funds Collected and Expenditure Incurred by Political Parties during Bihar Assembly Election, 2015

A Report by

Association for Democratic Reforms

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Executive Summary

- Political parties are required to submit a statement of election expenditure to the Election Commission within <u>75 days of completion of Assembly Elections.</u>
- The expenditure statement contains details of the total amount received as funds in the form of cash, cheques and demand drafts and the total amount spent under various heads.
- The expenditure statement contains information on the amount spent on the following heads at the central, state, district and constituency levels by the party:
 - o Publicity
 - o Travel expenses
 - o Other expenses
 - o Expenditure towards candidates
- Political parties submit these statements providing information of **funds collected and spent between announcement and completion of elections.** This period could be between **3 weeks to 3 months** based on the notification issued by the Election Commission.
- This report analyses the funds received and expenditure incurred by recognized political parties, during the state Assembly election to Bihar, held in the months of September-November, 2015.
- 6 National Parties and 9 Regional Parties have been considered for analysis in this report.

Status of Submission of expenditure statements by political parties during Bihar Assembly Elections, 2015 (Last date of submission: 26 January 2016)						
S. No	Party Name	Party code	Date of submission	Central Headquarters	Bihar state unit	Delay in submission
1	Communist Party of India	CPI	1-Jan-16	Submitted	Submitted	-
2	Bahujan Samaj Party	BSP	8-Jan-16	Submitted	Submitted	-
3	Rashtriya Lok Samta Party	RLSP	8-Jan-16	Submitted	Submitted	-
4	Nationalist Congress Party	NCP	20-Jan-16	Submitted	Submitted	-
5	Lok Jan Shakti Party	LJP	20-Jan-16	Submitted	Submitted	-
6	All India Forward Bloc	AIFB	21-Jan-16	Submitted	Submitted	-
7	Communist Party of India (Marxist)	CPI(M)	1-Feb-16	Submitted	Submitted	5 Days
8	Janata Dal (United)	JD(U)	4-Feb-16	Submitted	Submitted	8 Days
9	Bharatiya Janata Party	BJP	8-Feb-16	Submitted	Submitted	12 Days
10	Shivsena	SHS	12-Feb-16	Submitted	Submitted	16 Days
11	Samajwadi Party	SP	5-Mar-16	Submitted	Submitted	38 Days
12	Indian Union Muslim League	IUML	8-Mar-16	Submitted	Submitted	41 Days
13	Rashtriya Janata Dal	RJD	11-Mar-16	Submitted	Submitted	44 Days
14	Indian National Congress	INC	17-Mar-16	Submitted	Submitted	50 Days
15	Revolutionary Socialist Party	RSP	13-Apr-16	Submitted	Submitted	77 Days
16	All India Majlis-E-Ittehadul Muslimeen	AIMIM	22-Feb-16 Expenditure statement is not as per the prescribed format 2			26 Days
17	Jammu & Kashmir National Panthers Party	JKNPP				4 Years and 6
18	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha	JMM		ements for Bihar Assen available on website to		Months and
19	National Peoples Party	NPEP	unavailable on website to ECI 10 Days			

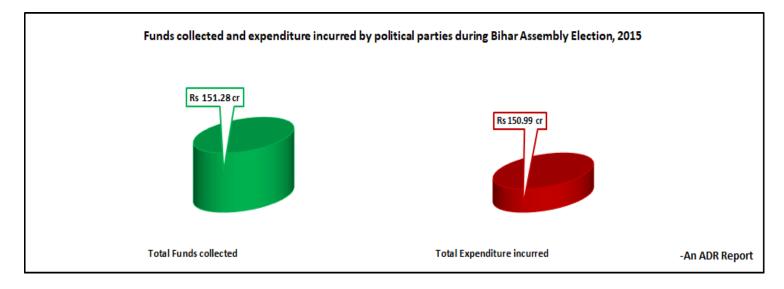


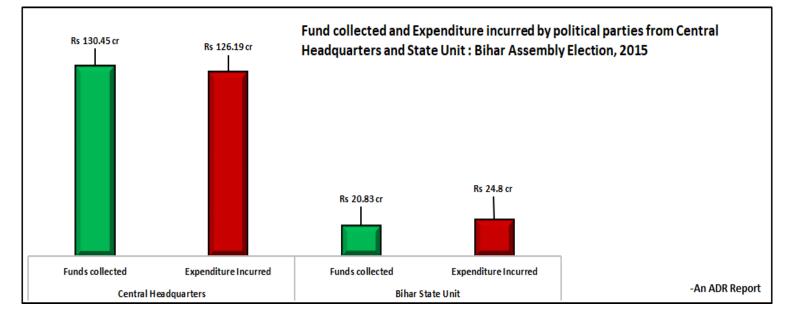


Details provided in the Election Expenditure Statement

Funds Collected and Expenditure incurred by political parties

- The National and Regional political parties in this report are: BJP, INC, NCP, BSP, CPI(M), CPI, RLSP, LJP, AIFB, JD(U), SHS, SP, IUML, RJD and RSP.
- AIFB, IUML & RSP had not declared any funds collected at the central headquarters and state units during the Bihar Assembly Election, 2015.
- Total funds collected by **15 political parties** during Bihar Assembly Election held in 2015 was **Rs 151.28 cr** and total expenditure incurred was **Rs 150.99 cr**.
- Funds collected by the parties at the **central headquarters** was **Rs 130.45 cr** and expenditure incurred was **Rs 126.19 cr. Bihar state units** spent **Rs 24.8 cr.**
- IUML and RSP are the only parties that declared no expenditure incurred either at the central or at the state unit level despite contesting the election.



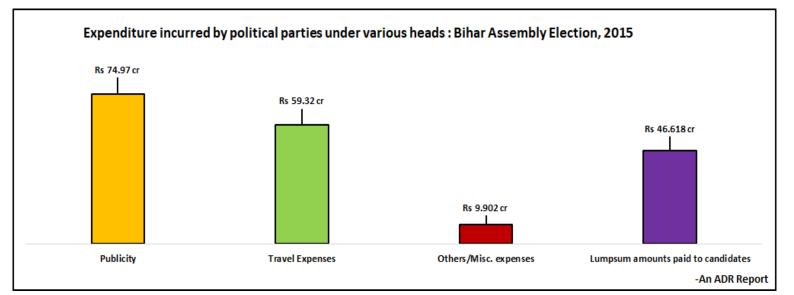






Expenditure incurred by political parties under various heads

- Political parties declare their expenditure under the heads of **Publicity**, **Travel Expenses**, **Other/Miscellaneous expenses** and **Lumpsum amount paid to their contesting candidates**.
- Political Parties that contested in Bihar Assembly Election, 2015, spent the highest, Rs 74.97 cr on Publicity, followed by Rs 59.32 cr on travel expenses, Rs 46.618 cr on Lumpsum amount paid to candidates and Rs 9.902 cr on Other/Miscellaneous expenses.
- Expenditure on publicity is 39.29% of the overall expenditure declared under various heads.
- **Expenditure on travel expenses** is **31.09%** of the overall expenditure declared under various heads.



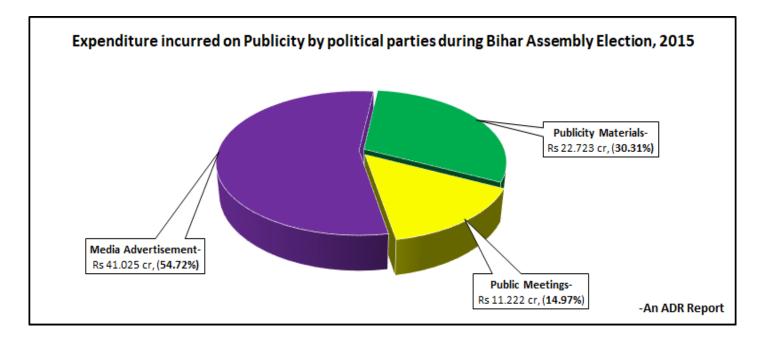
Expenditure incurred on Publicity by political parties

- Political parties are required to segregate their publicity expenses under three heads: Media Advertisement, Publicity Materials and Public Meetings.
- During Bihar Assembly election, political parties spent the maximum on Media Advertisement (Rs 41.025 cr), followed by expenditure on Publicity Materials (Rs 22.723 cr) and Public Meetings (Rs 11.22 cr).
- Publicity expenditure from central headquarters is the highest, Rs 59.925 cr or 79.93% of the total expenditure on publicity and Rs 15.045 cr or 20.07% from Bihar state units.

Total expenditure on Publicity	Expenses on Publicity during ((in R	Total	
	Central Headquarter	Bihar State Unit	
Media Advertisement (Print & Electronic, bulk SMS, Cable, Website, TV channels etc.	40.515	0.51	Rs 41.025 cr
Publicity Materials (Posters, Banners, Badges, Stickers, Arches, Gates, Cut outs, Hoardings, Flags etc.	12.48	10.243	Rs 22.723 cr
Public Meetings	6.93	4.292	Rs 11.22 cr
Total	Rs 59.925 cr	Rs 15.045 cr	Rs 74.97 cr



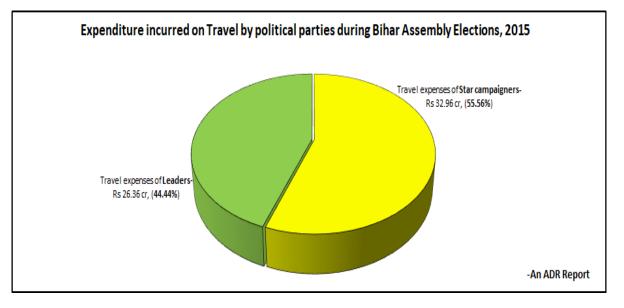




Expenditure incurred on Travel by political parties

- The 'Travel' head is segregated into travel expenses incurred specifically on star campaigners and that of the party leaders.
- Political parties spent **55.56%** of their total travel expenses or **Rs 32.96 cr** on their **star campaigners** and the remaining **44.44%** or **Rs 26.36 cr** on travel of their party leaders.
- Travel expenses from **central headquarters** by itself was **Rs 54.217 cr** or **91.40%**, which was higher than **Rs 5.103 cr** or **8.60%** spent from Bihar State Units.

Total Election Expenditure on	Bihar Assembly Election	Bihar Assembly Election 2015 - Expenses on Travel (in Rs Cr)		
Travel	Travel expenses of Star campaigners	Travel expenses of Leaders	Total	
Central Headquarter	30.377	23.84	Rs 54.217 cr	
Bihar State Unit	2.583	2.52	Rs 5.103 cr	
Total	Rs 32.96 cr	Rs 26.36 cr	Rs 59.32 cr	







Observations of ADR

- The election expenditure statements of JKNPP, JMM & NPEP are not yet available in the public domain despite contesting the Bihar Assembly election, 2015. It has been more than **4 years**, **6 months and 10 days** since the last date of submission of election expenditure statements on January 26, 2016.
- Analysis of expenditure statements submitted by various parties show that **parties failed to adhere to the prescribed format** while mentioning their total receipts and expenditure from Central Headquarters and State Units.
- The expenditure statement of **AIMIM** has not been analysed as part of this report since it was **not as per the prescribed format.**

Recommendations of ADR

- Recently, nine working groups (comprising of Chief Electoral Officers of states and other ECI officials) presented their draft recommendations to the ECI, among which it was suggested that there needs to be a cap on the expenditure to be incurred for an election by political parties. In 2015, ECI also recommended to Ministry of Law, a proposal to cap maximum expenditure of political parties to a multiple of half of maximum prescribed limit for individual candidates with the number of candidates fielded. ADR recommends that steps must be taken in this regard and the modalities must be worked out in a time bound manner.
- It must be made mandatory for all political parties to submit their statements of expenditure in the format given by the ECI, within the prescribed time limit. Political parties not submitting on time or in the prescribed format should be heavily penalized.
- The **details of all donors** who contribute to national and regional parties exclusively for their election campaigns must be declared in the public domain irrespective of the amount donated.
- A format similar to the donations report along with the date of donations, submitted to the ECI on an annual basis, has to be prescribed for the expenditure statement so as to bring in more transparency in the finances of the political parties especially during elections when it is said that black money plays a major role.
- Where possible, **expenditure must be limited to transactions via cheque/DD/RTGS** so as to reduce use of black money in elections, as per the transparency guidelines issued by the ECI.
- Similar to the shadow observers of the ECI for monitoring expenditure of candidates, there must also be observers for monitoring the expenditure of political parties.





Detailed Report

Total funds collected – Bihar Assembly Election

- The election expenditure reports of political parties contain information on the funds collected at the central headquarter of the party as well as its state unit.
- Political parties collected a total of **Rs 130.45 cr** at the **central level**, through cash and cheque/DD. This constituted **86.23%** of the total funds collected by political parties during Bihar Assembly election, 2015.
- Political parties had collected the amount of **Rs 20.83 cr** from **Bihar unit**, which formed **13.77%** of the total funds.
- The most preferred mode of collection was by **cheque/DD** where the parties collected **Rs 115.81 cr**, which formed **76.55%** of the total funds collected from the state and central levels.

Funds collected by Political Parties during Bihar Assembly Election, 2015 (in Rs Cr)							
Funds collected	Central Headquarter	Bihar State Unit	Total Funds collected				
By cash	27.46	8.01	35.47				
By cheque/DD	102.99	12.82	115.81				
In Kind	0	0	0				
Total	Rs 130.45 cr	Rs 20.83 cr	Rs 151.28 cr				

Party-wise total funds collected

- **BJP** had shown the highest funds collected amongst the Bihar parties, of **Rs 51.66 cr** during Bihar Assembly Election, 2015. This forms **34.15%** of the total funds collected by all contesting parties during the Bihar elections, 2015.
- **BSP** collected the second highest funds of **Rs 35.30 cr** which forms **23.33%** of the total funds collected by the contesting parties, followed by **INC** which collected Rs 30.43 cr or 20.12%.
- Among political parties, **BJP** collected the maximum funds of Rs 51.66 cr, **91.50% or Rs 47.267 cr** of which was **collected at the party's central headquarter level**.
- **BSP** collected the second highest funds worth **Rs 35.30 cr**, 100% of which were collected from the central headquarter of the party.
- **INC** collected the third highest funds of **Rs 20.19 cr** or **66.35%** of its total funds from the central headquarter.
- AIFB, IUML & RSP are the three regional parties that have not declared receiving any funds either at their respective central headquarters or Bihar state units, despite contesting the Bihar Assembly election, 2015.
- **BSP, SP, SHS** & **RLSP** are the parties whose state units have not received any funds inspite of contesting the elections.

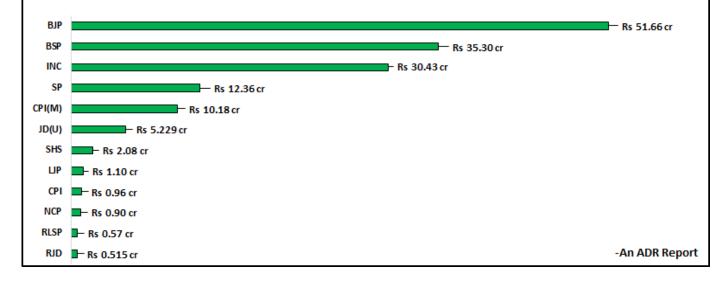
Party-wise funds collected by Political Parties during Bihar Assembly Election, 2015 (in Rs Cr)						
Political Party	Central Headquarter	Bihar State Unit	Total Funds collected			
BJP	47.267	4.393	Rs 51.66 cr			
BSP	35.3	0	Rs 35.30 cr			
INC	20.19	10.24	Rs 30.43 cr			
SP	12.36	0	Rs 12.36 cr			
CPI(M)	9.66	0.52	Rs 10.18 cr			
JD(U)	0.498	4.731	Rs 5.229 cr			
SHS	2.08	0	Rs 2.08 cr			





Party-wise funds collected by Political Parties during Bihar Assembly Election, 2015 (in Rs Cr)						
Political Party	Central Headquarter	Bihar State Unit	Total Funds collected			
LJP	0.6	0.5	Rs 1.1 cr			
CPI	0.557	0.403	Rs 0.96 cr			
NCP	0.87	0.03	Rs 0.90 cr			
RLSP	0.57	0	Rs 0.57 cr			
RJD	0.5	0.015	Rs 0.515 cr			
AIFB	0	0	Rs 0			
IUML	0	0	Rs 0			
RSP	0	0	Rs 0			
Grand Total	Rs 130.45 cr	Rs 20.83 cr	Rs 151.28 cr			

Party-wise funds collected by political parties during Bihar Assembly Election, 2015



Total expenditure incurred – Bihar Assembly Election, 2015

- The central headquarters of the political parties spent the maximum worth Rs 126.19 cr, and Bihar state units, which reported incurring an expenditure of Rs 24.8 cr.
- Out of total expenditure of Rs 150.99 cr, **77.70%** or **Rs 117.323 cr** was **spent by cheque/DD** by political parties, together.
- **Rs 25.382 cr** is 'remaining unpaid' which formed **16.81%** of the total expenditure reported by political parties.
- **Rs 1.185 cr** is 'remaining unpaid' at the Bihar state unit level by political parties.
- Expenditure in cash was least preferred by the political parties, as only **Rs 8.285 cr** or **5.49%** of the total expenditure was incurred in this mode.

Total Expenditure incurred by Political Parties during Bihar Assembly Election, 2015 (in Rs Cr)							
Mode of expenditure incurred	Central Headquarter Bihar State Unit .						
By cash	1.47	6.815	8.285				
By cheque/DD	100.523	16.8	117.323				
Remaining unpaid	24.197	1.185	25.382				
Total	Rs 126.19 cr	Rs 24.8 cr	Rs 150.99 cr				

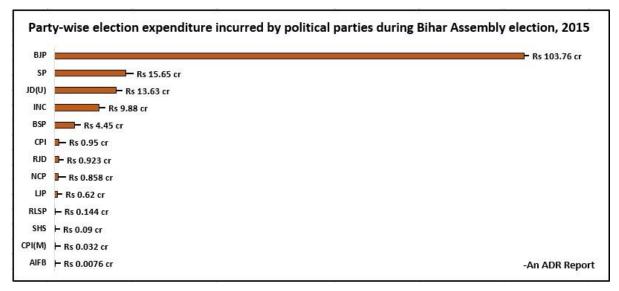




Party-wise total expenditure incurred

- Out of total expenditure of **Rs 150.99 cr, BJP** incurred the maximum expenditure of **Rs 103.76 cr,** which forms **68.72%** of total expenditure.
- 16.42% (Rs 24.80 cr) election expenditure incurred by Bihar state units of political parties.
- IUML & RSP are the only parties that have incurred no expenditure either at the central or at the state unit level despite contesting in the election.

Election expenditure incurred by Political Parties during Bihar Assembly Election, 2015 (in Rs Cr)						
Political Party	Central Headquarter	Bihar State Unit	Total expenditure incurred			
BJP	95.34	8.419	Rs 103.76 cr			
SP	15.65	0	Rs 15.65 cr			
JD(U)	0.42	13.21	Rs 13.63 cr			
INC	7.558	2.322	Rs 9.88 cr			
BSP	4.45	0	Rs 4.45 cr			
CPI	0.59	0.36	Rs 0.95 cr			
RJD	0.88	0.043	Rs 0.923 cr			
NCP	0.834	0.024	Rs 0.858 cr			
LJP	0.2186	0.4	Rs 0.619 cr			
RLSP	0.144	0	Rs 0.144 cr			
SHS	0.09	0	Rs 0.09 cr			
CPI(M)	0.0086	0.0234	Rs 0.032 cr			
AIFB	0.0076	0	Rs 0.0076 cr			
IUML	0	0	Rs 0			
RSP	0	0	Rs 0			
Grand Total	Rs 126.19 cr	Rs 24.80 cr	Rs 150.99 cr			



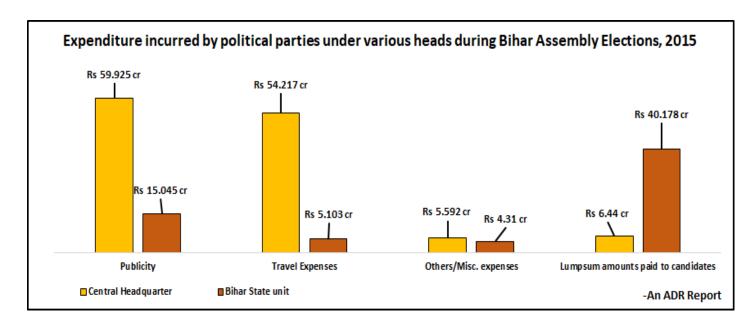
Election expenditure under various heads

- Political parties declare their expenditure under the heads of **Publicity**, **Travel Expenses**, **Other**/ **Miscellaneous expenses** and **Lumpsum amount paid to their contesting candidates**.
- Out of a total expenditure of **Rs 190.81 cr** under various heads, political parties spent the maximum amount of **Rs 74.97 cr on Publicity** followed by **Travel worth Rs 59.32 cr**.
- Bihar state units of parties spent the maximum amount of Rs 40.178 cr on Lumpsum amounts paid to candidates, followed by Rs 15.045 cr on Publicity and Rs 5.103 cr on Travel expenses.





Flastion	Election Expen				
Election Expenditure	Publicity	Travel Expenses	Others/Misc. expenses	Lumpsum amounts paid to candidates	Total
Central Headquarter	59.925	54.217	5.592	6.44	Rs 126.174 cr
Bihar State unit	15.045	5.103	4.31	40.178	Rs 64.636 cr
Total	Rs 74.97 cr	Rs 59.32 cr	Rs 9.902 cr	Rs 46.618 cr	Rs 190.81 cr



Party-wise expenditure under various heads

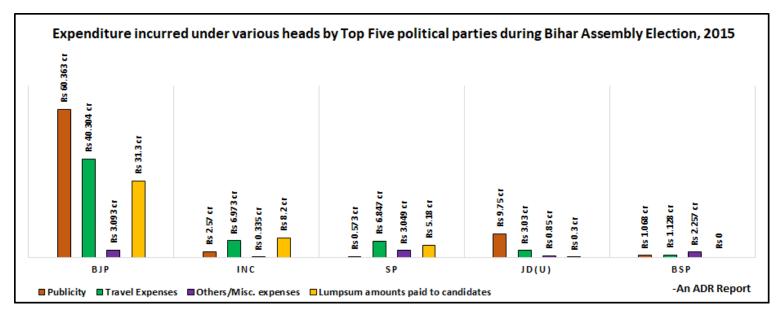
- The political parties spent a total of **Rs 190.81 cr** on **Publicity, Travel, Other/Misc. expenses and** Lumpsum amounts paid to candidates.
- The parties spent the highest on Publicity (Rs 74.97 cr or 39.29%) followed by Rs 59.32 cr or 31.09% of total on travel and Rs 46.618 cr on lumpsum amounts paid to candidates (24.43% of total expenditure).
- The top 3 parties which spent the highest are: BJP (Rs 135.06 cr) followed by INC (Rs 18.08 cr) and SP (Rs 15.65 cr).
- **BJP** has incurred the maximum, **Rs 60.363 cr** under **Publicity**, which forms **80.52%** of the total expenditure incurred by all political parties on Publicity.
- **IUML** & **RSP** are the only two parties that declared no expenditure incurred under various heads despite contesting in the election.

	Election Expenditure of Political Parties under various heads during Bihar Assembly Elections, 2015 (in Rs Cr)				
Political Party	Publicity	Travel Expenses	Others/Misc. expenses	Lumpsum amounts paid to candidates	Total
BJP	60.363	40.304	3.093	31.3	Rs 135.06 cr
INC	2.57	6.973	0.335	8.2	Rs 18.08 cr
SP	0.573	6.847	3.049	5.18	Rs 15.65 cr
JD(U)	9.75	3.03	0.85	0.3	Rs 13.93 cr
BSP	1.068	1.128	2.257	0	Rs 4.45 cr
RJD	0	0.883	0.057	0	Rs 0.94 cr





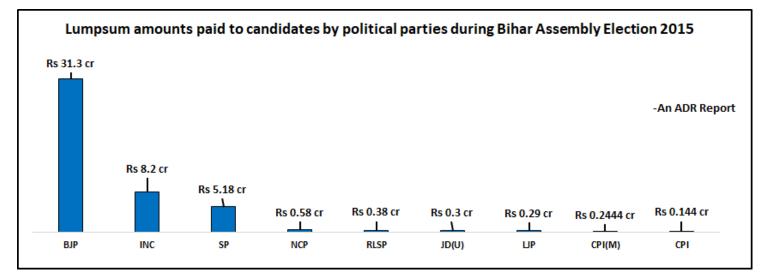
	Election Exper				
Political Party	Publicity	Travel Expenses	Others/Misc. expenses	Lumpsum amounts paid to candidates	Total
NCP	0.099	0.0013	0	0.58	Rs 0.68 cr
LJP	0.3196	0	0.009	0.29	Rs 0.619 cr
RLSP	0.042	0.048	0.05	0.38	Rs 0.52 cr
CPI(M)	0.0464	0.0256	0.118	0.2444	Rs 0.435 cr
СРІ	0.079	0.061	0.076	0.144	Rs 0.36 cr
SHS	0.0536	0.0177	0.0089	0	Rs 0.08 cr
AIFB	0.0076	0	0	0	Rs 0.0076 cr
IUML	0	0	0	0	Rs 0
RSP	0	0	0	0	Rs 0
Grand Total	Rs 74.97 cr	Rs 59.32 cr	Rs 9.902 cr	Rs 46.618 cr	Rs 190.81 cr



- BJP spent the highest, Rs 31.3 cr (67.14%) under Lumpsum amounts paid to candidates followed by INC which spent Rs 8.2 cr (17.59%) and SP with Rs 5.18 cr (11.11%).
- BSP, RJD, SHS, AIFB, IUML & RSP are the only parties that declared incurring no expenditure on candidates during the Bihar Assembly election, 2015.







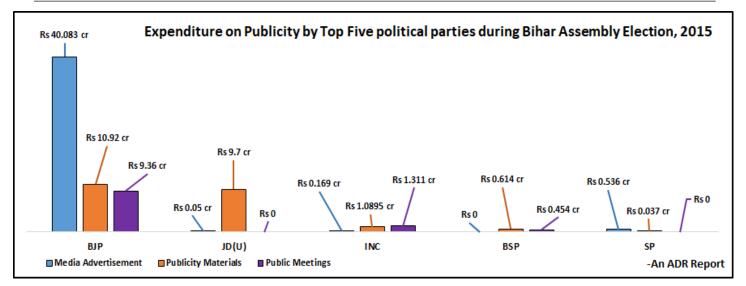
Party-wise expenditure incurred under Publicity

- Political parties spent a total of **Rs 74.97 cr on Publicity** during the Bihar Assembly election, 2015. Of this, **National parties** spent **Rs 64.225 cr** (85.67%) while **Regional parties** spent **Rs 10.745 cr** (14.33%).
- Under Publicity, the political parties analysed spent the maximum on Media Advertisement (Rs 41.025 cr or 54.72%) followed by expenditure on Publicity Materials (Rs 22.723 cr or 30.31%) and Public Meetings (Rs 11.22 cr or 14.97%).
- **BJP** spent the highest on **Media Advertisement**, **Rs 40.083 cr** or 97.70% of total spent by parties followed by **SP**, **Rs 53.60 lakhs** or 1.31% and **LJP** which spent **Rs 17.40 lakhs** (0.42%).
- Three political parties namely, RJD, IUML & RSP declared that they did not incur any expenditure under Publicity despite contesting elections.

Dentri	Party-wise expenditure on Publicity (in Rs Cr)				
Party	Media Advertisement	Publicity Materials	Public Meetings	Total	
BJP	40.083	10.92	9.36	Rs 60.363 cr	
JD(U)	0.05	9.7	0	Rs 9.75 cr	
INC	0.169	1.0895	1.311	Rs 2.57 cr	
BSP	0	0.614	0.454	Rs 1.068 cr	
SP	0.536	0.037	0	Rs 0.573 cr	
LJP	0.174	0.086	0.059	Rs 0.319 cr	
NCP	0	0.099	0	Rs 0.099 cr	
CPI	0	0.079	0	Rs 0.079 cr	
SHS	0	0.0536	0	Rs 0.0536 cr	
CPI(M)	0	0.0084	0.038	Rs 0.0464 cr	
RLSP	0.013	0.029	0	Rs 0.042 cr	
AIFB	0	0.0076	0	Rs 0.0076 cr	
RJD	0	0	0	0	
IUML	0	0	0	0	
RSP	0	0	0	0	
Total	Rs 41.025 cr	Rs 22.723 cr	Rs 11.22 cr	Rs 74.97 cr	





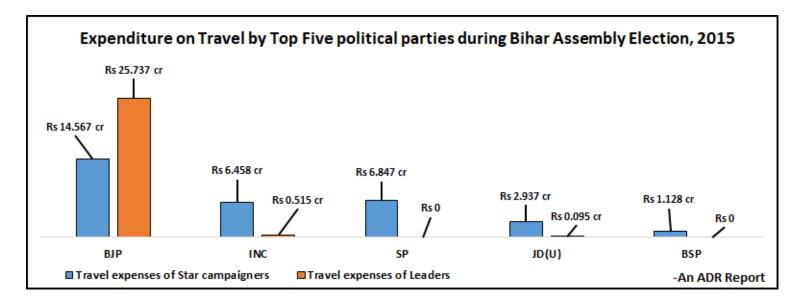


Party-wise expenditure incurred under Travel

- Political parties spent a total of **Rs 59.32 cr** on Travel during the Bihar Assembly election, 2015. Of this **National parties** spent **Rs 48.49 cr** (81.74%) while **Regional parties** spent **Rs 10.83 cr** (18.26%).
- Under travel expenses, the political parties analysed spent maximum on travel expenses of star campaigners (Rs 32.96 cr or 55.56%) followed by expenditure on travel of party leaders (Rs 26.36 cr or 44.44%).
- **BJP** spent the highest on **travel of party leaders**, **Rs 25.737 cr** or 97.64% of total spent by parties on travel expenses of leaders followed by **INC** which spent **Rs 51.50 lakhs** (1.95%).
- Maximum expenses on travel of star campaigners were incurred by BJP (Rs 14.567 cr) followed by SP, which incurred Rs 6.847 cr.
- Three political parties namely, LJP, IUML & RSP declared that they did not incur any expenditure under Travel despite contesting elections.

Party-wise expenditure of National & Regional parties on Travel during Bihar Assembly election, 2015						
	Travel (in Rs Cr)					
Political Party	Travel expenses of Star campaigners	Travel expenses of Leaders	Total			
BJP	14.567	25.737	Rs 40.304 cr			
INC	6.458	0.515	Rs 6.973 cr			
SP	6.847	0	Rs 6.847 cr			
JD(U)	2.937	0.095	Rs 3.03 cr			
BSP	1.128	0	Rs 1.128 cr			
RJD	0.883	0	Rs 0.883 cr			
CPI	0.05	0.011	Rs 0.061 cr			
RLSP	0.048	0	Rs 0.048 cr			
CPI(M)	0.0256	0	Rs 0.0256 cr			
SHS	0.0177	0	Rs 0.0177 cr			
NCP	0	0.0013	Rs 0.0013 cr			
LIP	0	0	Rs O			
IUML	0	0	Rs O			
RSP	0	0	Rs O			
Total	Rs 32.96 cr	Rs 26.36 cr	Rs 59.32 cr			





Disclaimer

Source for the data used in the report are the Election Expenditure Statements submitted by the political parties to the Election Commission of India. These can be accessed from https://eci.gov.in/candidate-political-parties/expenditure-reports/

While all effort has been made to ensure that the information is in keeping with what is mentioned in the statements submitted by the political parties, in case of discrepancy between information in this report and that given in their statements, the information reported by the political parties should be treated as correct. Association for Democratic Reforms, National Election Watch and their volunteers are not responsible or liable for any damage arising directly or indirectly from the publication of this report.

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