

Analysis of Funds Collected and Expenditure Incurred by Political Parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019

A Report by
Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR)

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Executive Summary

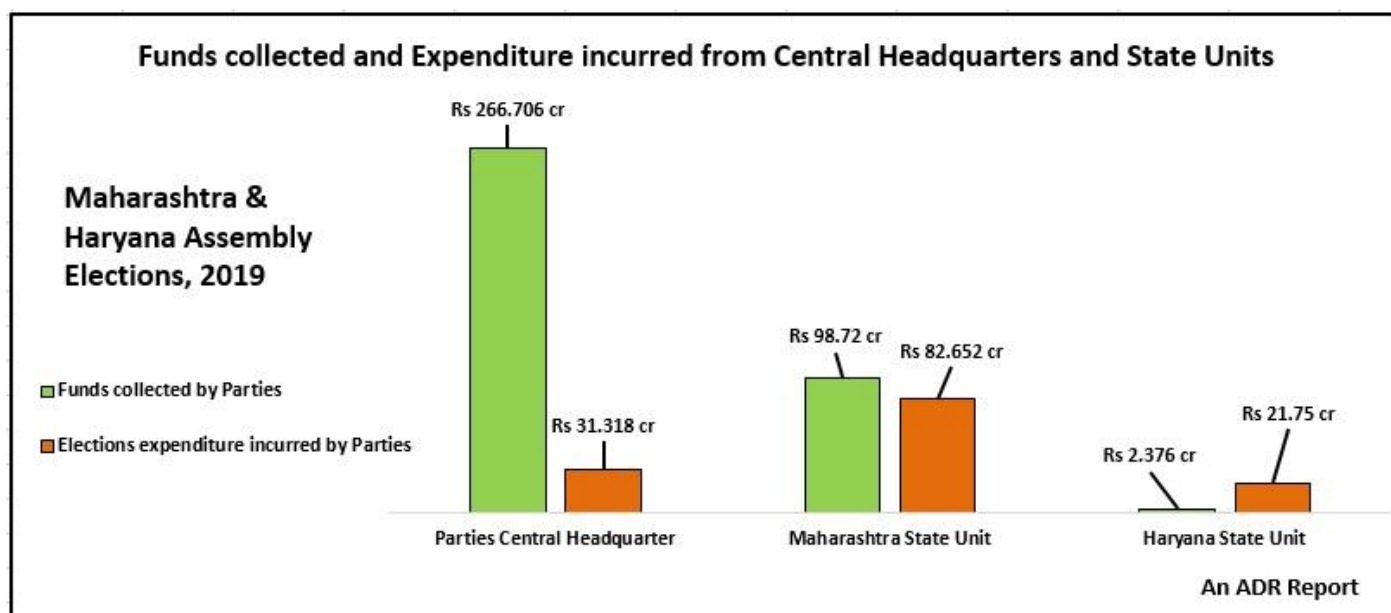
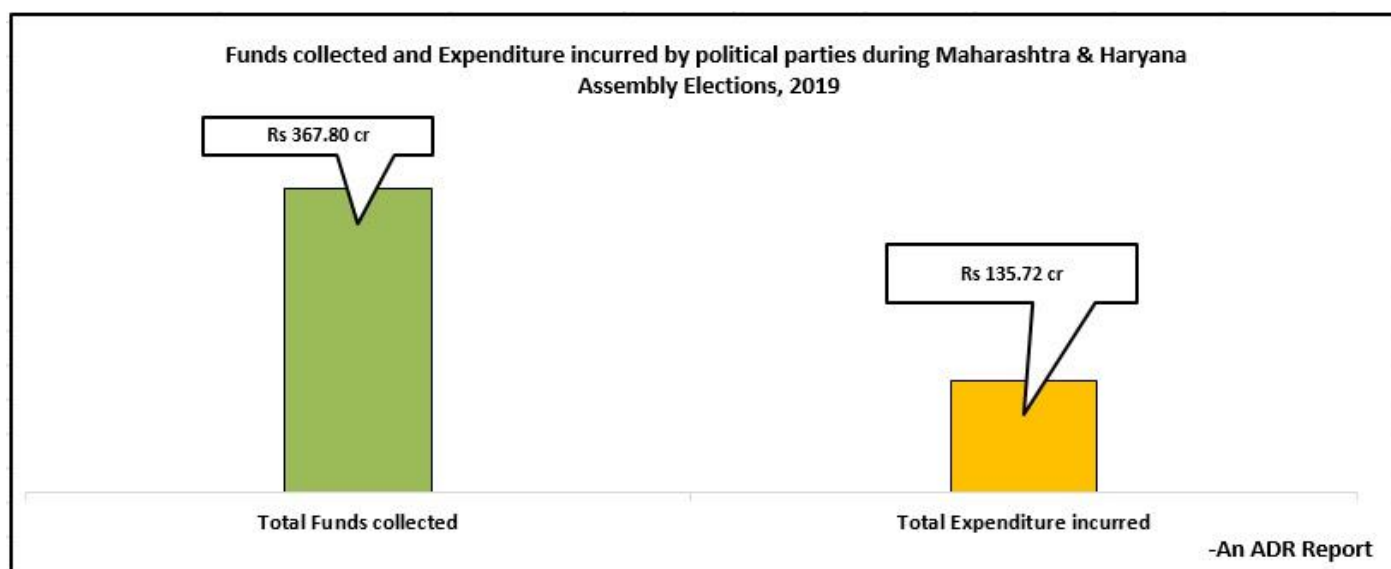
- Political parties are required to submit a statement of election expenditure to the Election Commission of India (ECI) within **75 days of completion of Assembly Elections**.
- The expenditure statement contains details of the **total amount received as funds in the form of cash, cheques and demand 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 and state levels** by the party:
 - Publicity
 - Travel expenses
 - Other expenses
 - Expenditure towards candidates
 - Publication of criminal antecedents of 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 elections to Maharashtra and Haryana**, held in the months of September (elections announced on 21-09-2019) and October (elections completed on 27-10-2019), 2019.
- 6 National Parties and 9 Regional Parties** have been considered in this report.
- Election expenditure statements of **INC, NCP and SHS** for Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly elections are unavailable on the website of the ECI. Election expenditure reports of **IUML and JDS** for Maharashtra and **INLD** for Haryana Assembly elections are not available on the ECI website.

Status of submission of expenditure statements by political parties during Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019					
Party	Date of submission	Central Headquarter	Maharashtra State Unit	Haryana State Unit	No. of days by which submission delayed
AIFB	27 November, 2019	Submitted	Submitted	Submitted	0 Day
CPI	17 December, 2019	Submitted	Submitted	Submitted	0 Day
SAD	28 December, 2019	Submitted	Did not contest	Submitted	0 Day
BJP	06 January, 2020	Submitted	Submitted	Submitted	0 Day
CPM	06 January, 2020	Submitted	Submitted	Submitted	0 Day
AIMIM	14 January, 2020	Submitted	Submitted	Did not contest	3 Days
MNS	17 January, 2020	Submitted	Submitted	Did not contest	6 Days
BSP	04 February, 2020	Submitted	Submitted	Submitted	24 Days
JDU	21 February, 2020	Submitted	Did not contest	Submitted	41 Days
SP	26 May, 2020	Submitted	Submitted	Submitted	136 Days
AAP	21 September, 2020	Submitted	Submitted	Did not submit	254 Days
INC	Unavailable on website of ECI				308 Days
NCP	Unavailable on website of ECI				308 Days
IUML	Unavailable on website of ECI			Did not contest	308 Days
JDS	Unavailable on website of ECI			Did not contest	308 Days
SHS	Unavailable on website of ECI				308 Days
INLD	Unavailable on website of ECI		Did not contest	Unavailable on ECI website	308 Days

Details provided in the Election Expenditure Statement

Funds Collected and Expenditure incurred by political parties

- Total funds collected by **11** political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections held in 2019 was **Rs 367.80 cr** and total expenditure incurred was **Rs 135.72 cr**.
- Funds collected by the parties at the **Central Headquarters** was **Rs 266.706 cr** and expenditure was **Rs 31.318 cr**. **Maharashtra State Units** spent **Rs 82.652 cr** while the **Haryana state units** spent **Rs 21.75 cr**.
- **AIFB** is the only party that declared **no funds collected** either at the central or at the state unit level despite contesting elections.
- **AIFB** and **JDU** are the only parties that have incurred **no expenditure** either at the central or at the state unit level despite contesting elections.

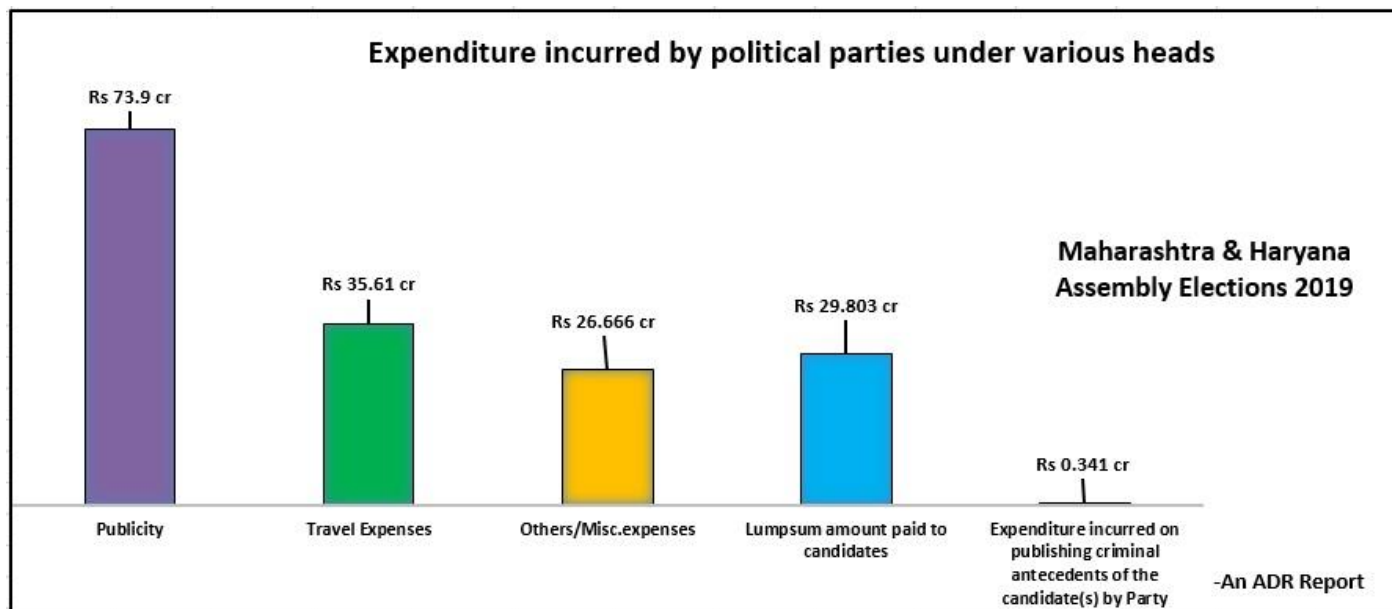


Expenditure incurred by political parties under various heads

- Political parties declare their expenditure under the heads of **Publicity, Travel Expenses, Other/ Miscellaneous expenses, Lumpsum amount paid to their contesting candidates** and **Publication of criminal antecedents of candidates**.
- Political Parties that contested in Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019, spent the highest,

Rs 73.90 cr on Publicity, followed by **Rs 35.61 cr on travel expenses**, **Rs 29.803 cr on Lumpsum amount paid to candidates**, **Rs 26.666 cr on Other/Miscellaneous expenses** and **Rs 0.341 cr on Expenditure incurred on publishing criminal antecedents of the candidate(s) by Party**.

- Expenditure on publicity is **44.43%** of the overall expenditure declared under various heads.
- Expenditure on **other/miscellaneous** is **16.03%** of the overall expenditure declared under various heads.



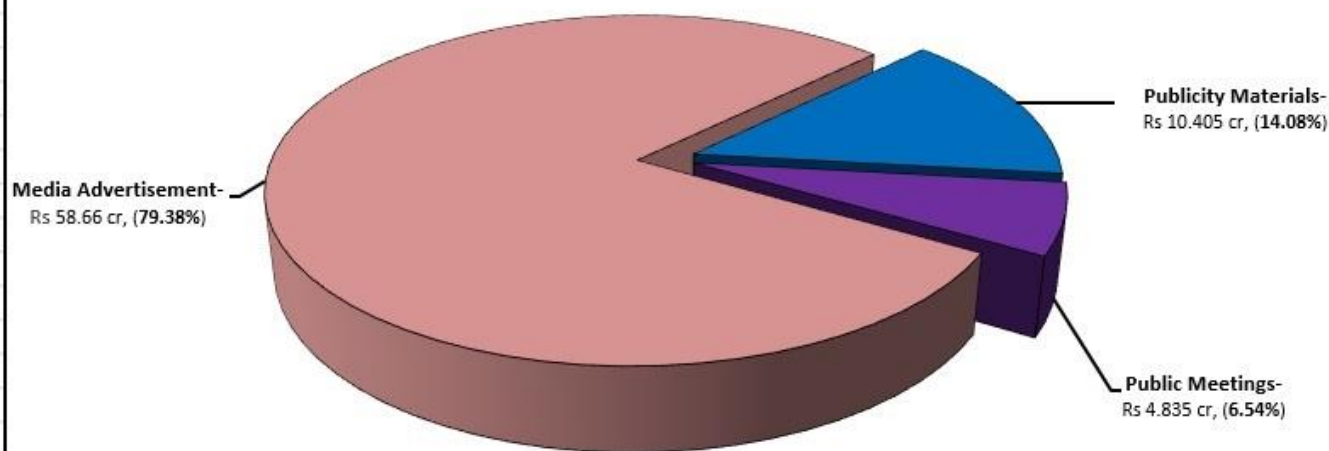
Expenditure on Publicity by political parties

- Political Parties are required to segregate their publicity expenses under three heads: **Media Advertisement**, **Publicity Materials** and **Public Meetings**.
- During Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly elections, political parties spent the maximum on **Media Advertisement (Rs 58.66 cr)**, followed by expenditure on Publicity Materials (**Rs 10.405 cr**) and Public Meetings (**Rs 4.835 cr**).
- Publicity expenditure from **Maharashtra State Units** are the highest, **Rs 60.804 cr** or **82.28%** of the total expenditure on publicity, followed by **Rs 8.086 cr** or **10.94%** from **Haryana State Units** and **Rs 5.01 cr** or **6.78%** from **Central Headquarters**.

Total expenditure on Publicity	Expenses on Publicity during Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019 (in Rs cr)			
	Central Headquarters	State Units		Total
		Maharashtra	Haryana	
Media Advertisement (Print & Electronic, Bulk SMS, Cable, Website, TV channels, etc.)	2.79	50.15	5.72	Rs 58.66 cr
Publicity Materials (Poster, Banners, Badges, stickers, Arches, Gates, Cut outs, Hoardings, flags, etc.)	1.99	7.295	1.12	Rs 10.405 cr
Public Meetings	0.23	3.359	1.246	Rs 4.835 cr
Total	Rs 5.01 cr	Rs 60.804 cr	Rs 8.086 cr	Rs 73.90 cr

Table: Expenditure incurred by political parties on publicity during Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019

Expenditure on Publicity during Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019



-An ADR Report

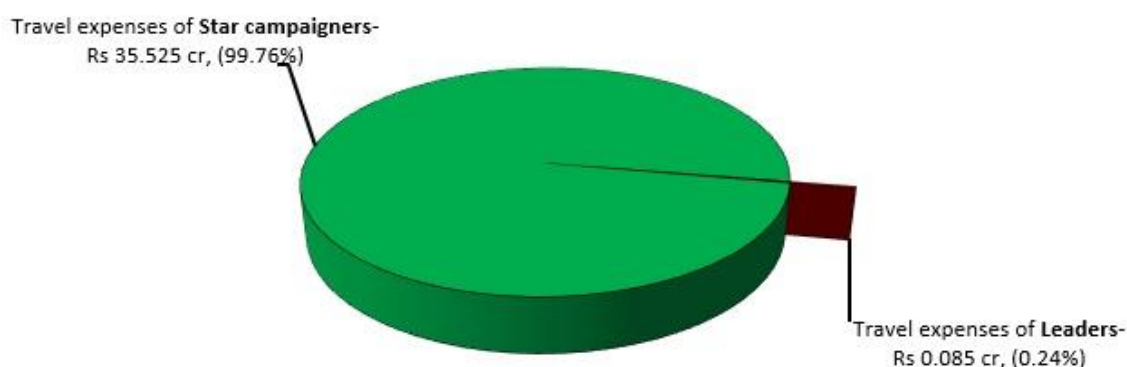
Expenditure on Travel by political parties

- The 'Travel' head is segregated into **travel expenses incurred specifically on star campaigners** and that of the **party leaders**.
- Political parties spent **99.76%** of their total travel expenses or **Rs 35.525 cr** on their star campaigners and the remaining **0.24%** or **Rs 8.50 lakhs** on travel of their party leaders.
- Travel expenses from **Maharashtra State Unit** by itself was **Rs 20.915 cr** or **58.73%**, which was higher than **Rs 10.815 cr** or **30.37%** spent from **Haryana state units** and **Rs 3.88 cr** spent from **Central Headquarters**.

Total expenditure on Travel	Expenses on Travel (Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly Elections 2019) (in Rs cr)			
	Central Headquarters	State Units		Total
		Maharashtra	Haryana	
Travel expenses of Star campaigners	3.88	20.855	10.79	Rs 35.525 cr
Travel expenses of Leaders	0	0.06	0.025	Rs 0.085 cr
Total	Rs 3.88 cr	Rs 20.915 cr	Rs 10.815 cr	Rs 35.61 cr

Table: Expenditure incurred on Travel by political parties during Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019

Expenditure on Travel during Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019



-An ADR Report

Observations of ADR

- The election expenditure statements of **INC, NCP, IUML, JDS, SHS** and **RLD** are not available in the public domain despite contesting elections, with a total **delay of more than 300 Days**. This is in violation of the Supreme Court judgment dated 4th April, '96 (Common Cause vs. Union of India), directing the Election Commission to create a format for the recognized parties to submit their statements.
- 3 Regional Parties **JDU, SP** and **AAP** delayed the submission of their election expenditure statements for Maharashtra and Haryana State Assembly Elections, 2019 by **41 days, 136 days** and **254 days** respectively.

Recommendations of ADR

- This year, 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 the 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

State-wise total funds collected

- The election expenditure reports of political parties contain information on the funds collected at the Central Headquarter of the party as well as at its state unit.
- Political parties collected a total of **Rs 266.706 cr** at the **Central level**, through cash, cheque/DD and in kind/bank interest. This constituted **72.51%** of the total funds collected by political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly elections, 2019.
- Among the state units**, the political parties collected the maximum amount of **Rs 98.72 cr** from **Maharashtra**, which formed **26.84%** of the total funds, collected at the state levels.
- The most preferred mode of collection was by **cheque/DD** where the parties collected **Rs 366.226 cr**, which formed **99.57%** of the total funds collected both at the state and central levels.
- Rs 1.576 cr** is collected by **Cash** at the **central headquarters** and **state units** by political parties.

Mode of funds collection	Funds collected by political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections 2019 (in Rs cr)			Total Funds
	Central Headquarter	State Units		
		Maharashtra	Haryana	
By cash	0.184	0.546	0.846	Rs 1.576 cr
By cheque/DD	266.522	98.174	1.53	Rs 366.226 cr
In kind/Bank Interest	0	0	0	Rs 0
Total	Rs 266.706 cr	Rs 98.72 cr	Rs 2.376 cr	Rs 367.80 cr

State-wise total funds collected in cash, cheque and in kind by political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019

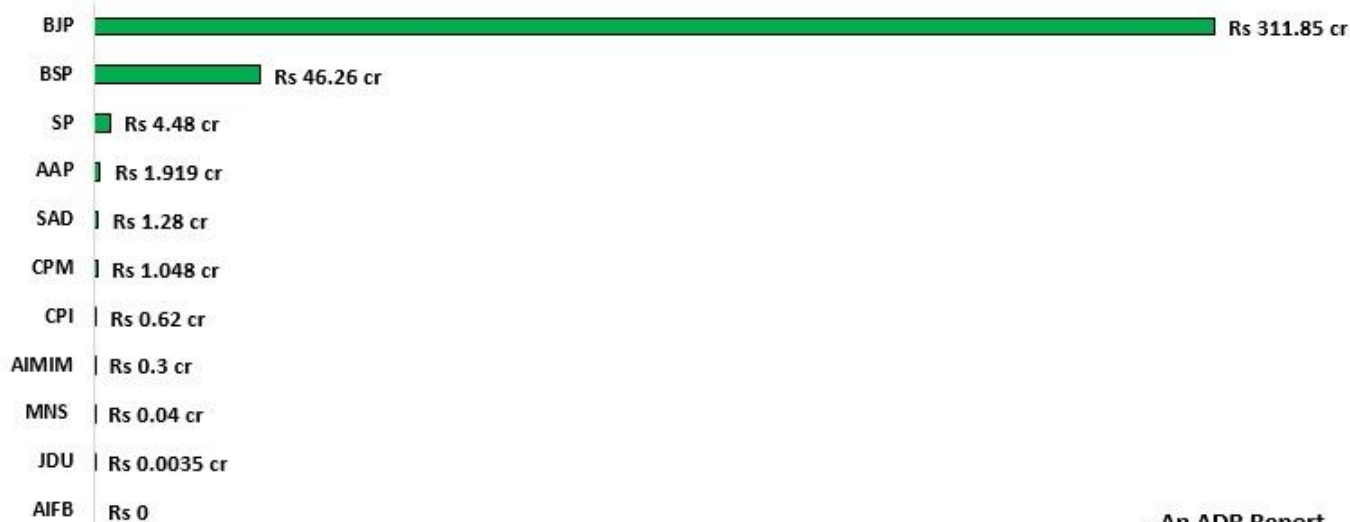
Party-wise total funds collected

- Among political parties, **BJP** collected the maximum funds of **Rs 311.85 cr**, **68.38%** or Rs 213.23 cr of which was collected at the party's Central Headquarter level.
- BSP**-Rs 46.26 cr, **SP**-Rs 4.48 cr and **AAP**-Rs 1.919 cr have collected funds from their Central Headquarters, and had not declared any amounts from state units.
- In case of **MNS** and **JDU** also, parties have collected funds from their Central Headquarters only.
- AIFB** has declared no funds at its Central Headquarter and state units.

Political Party	Funds collected by political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections 2019 (in Rs cr)			Total funds
	Central Headquarter	State Units		
		Maharashtra	Haryana	
BJP	213.23	97.8	0.82	Rs 311.85 cr
BSP	46.26	0	0	Rs 46.26 cr
SP	4.48	0	0	Rs 4.48 cr
AAP	1.919	0	Not Available on ECI website	Rs 1.919 cr
SAD	0	Did not contest	1.28	Rs 1.28 cr
CPM	0.13	0.656	0.262	Rs 1.048 cr
CPI	0.534	0.075	0.014	Rs 0.62 cr
AIMIM	0.11	0.19	Did not contest	Rs 0.30 cr
MNS	0.04	0	Did not contest	Rs 0.04 cr
JDU	0.0035	Did not contest	0	Rs 0.0035 cr
AIFB	0	0	0	Rs 0
Total	Rs 266.706 cr	Rs 98.72 cr	Rs 2.376 cr	Rs 367.80 cr

Table: Funds collected by political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019

Funds collected by political parties during Maharashtra and Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019



State-wise expenditure incurred

- The **Maharashtra State Units** of the political parties spent the maximum worth **Rs 82.652 cr**, followed by **Central Headquarters** which spent **Rs 31.318 cr**, and **Haryana State Unit**, which reported incurring an expenditure of **Rs 21.75 cr**.
- Out of total expenditure of **Rs 135.72 cr**, **96.79%** or **Rs 131.364 cr** was spent by cheque/DD by political parties, together.
- Rs 3.975 cr** is '**remaining unpaid**' which formed **2.93%** of the total expenditure reported by political parties.
- Expenditure in cash was **least preferred** by the political parties, as only **0.28%** or **Rs 0.381 cr** of the total expenditure was incurred in this mode.

Mode of expenditure incurred	Total Expenditure incurred by political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections 2019 (in Rs cr)			Total Expenditure
	Central Headquarter	State Units		
		Maharashtra	Haryana	
By cash	0.191	0.142	0.048	Rs 0.381 cr
By cheque/DD	30.12	82.362	18.882	Rs 131.364 cr
Remaining unpaid	1.007	0.148	2.82	Rs 3.975 cr
Total	Rs 31.318 cr	Rs 82.652 cr	Rs 21.75 cr	Rs 135.72 cr

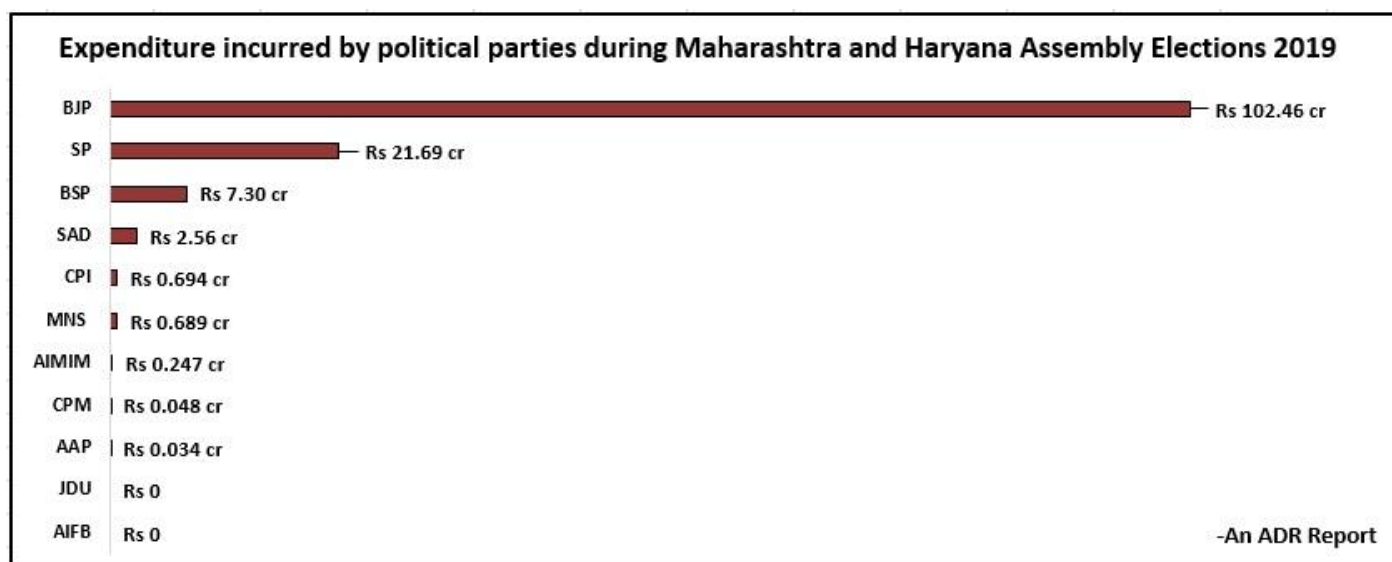
State-wise expenditure incurred by political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019

Party-wise expenditure incurred

- Out of total expenditure of **Rs 135.72 cr**, **BJP** incurred the maximum expenditure of **Rs 102.46 cr**, which forms **75.49%** of total expenditure.
- At the state level, **Maharashtra State Unit of parties** (Rs 82.652 cr) incurred **280%** higher expenditure than **Haryana Pradesh state unit** (Rs 21.75 cr).
- AIFB & JDU** are the only parties that have incurred **no expenditure** either at the central or at the state unit level despite contesting elections.

Political Parties	Expenditure incurred by political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections 2019 (in Rs cr)			Total expenses
	Central Headquarter	State Units		
		Maharashtra	Haryana	
BJP	0.92	82.4	19.14	Rs 102.46 cr
SP	21.69	0	0	Rs 21.69 cr
BSP	7.30	0	0	Rs 7.30 cr
SAD	0	Did not contest	2.56	Rs 2.56 cr
CPI	0.68	0.0048	0.0095	Rs 0.694 cr
MNS	0.689	0	Did not contest	Rs 0.689 cr
AIMIM	0	0.247	Did not contest	Rs 0.247 cr
CPM	0.0049	0.001	0.042	Rs 0.048 cr
AAP	0.034	0	Not Available on ECI website	Rs 0.034 cr
AIFB	0	0	0	Rs 0
JDU	0	Did not contest	0	Rs 0
Total	Rs 31.318 cr	Rs 82.652 cr	Rs 21.75 cr	Rs 135.72 cr

Table: Expenditure incurred by political parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019

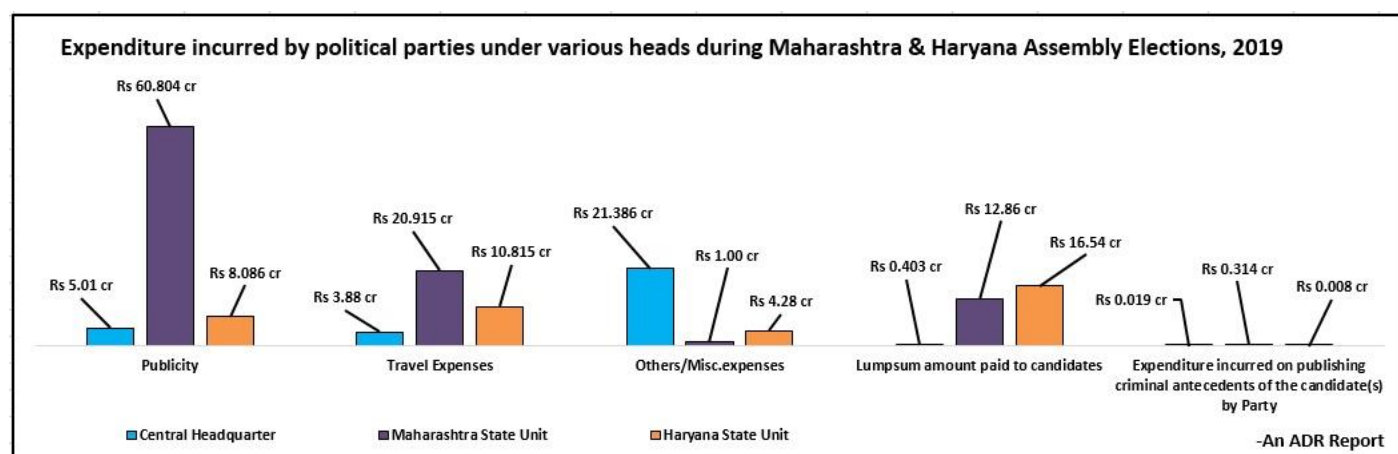


State-wise expenditure under various heads

- 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 166.32 cr** under various heads, political parties spent the maximum amount of **Rs 73.90 cr** on **Publicity** followed by **Travel Expenses** worth **Rs 35.61 cr**.
- Maharashtra, Haryana** state units and **Central Headquarter** have **spent** the maximum amount of **Rs 95.89 cr**, **Rs 39.73 cr** and **Rs 30.70 cr** respectively on **Publicity**.

Election Expenditure of Political Parties under various heads during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections (in Rs crores)				
Expenditure under various heads	Central Headquarter	State Units		Total
		Maharashtra	Haryana	
Publicity	5.01	60.804	8.086	Rs 73.90 cr
Travel Expenses	3.88	20.915	10.815	Rs 35.61 cr
Others/Misc. expenses	21.386	1.00	4.28	Rs 26.666 cr
Lumpsum amount paid to candidates	0.403	12.86	16.54	Rs 29.803 cr
Expenditure incurred on publishing criminal antecedents of the candidate(s) by Party	0.019	0.314	0.008	Rs 0.341 cr
Total	Rs 30.70 cr	Rs 95.89 cr	Rs 39.73 cr	Rs 166.32 cr

Table: State-wise expenditure incurred under various heads by Political Parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019



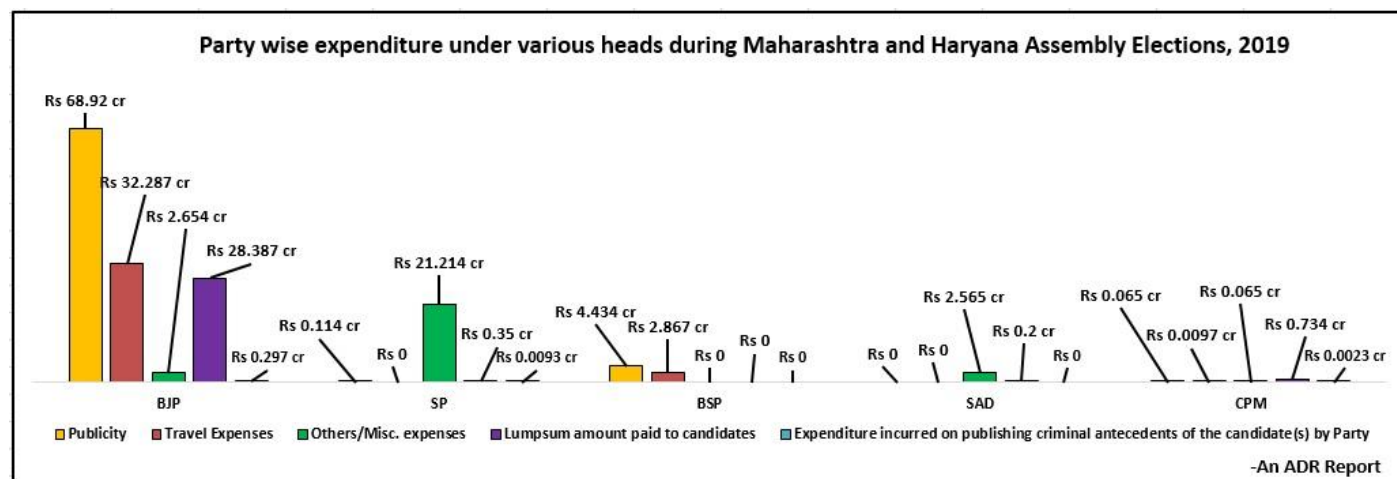
Party-wise expenditure under various heads

- The political parties spent a total of **Rs 166.32 cr** on publicity, travel, miscellaneous expenses, lumpsum amount to candidates and expenditure incurred on publishing criminal antecedents of the candidate(s) by Party.
- The parties spent the highest on **Publicity, Rs 73.90 cr** or 44.43% of the total followed by **Rs 35.61 cr** or 21.41% of total on **Travel expenses** and **Rs 29.803 cr** or 17.92% of total expenditure on **lumpsum amount to candidates**.
- The top 3 Parties which spent the highest are: **BJP** (Rs 132.545 cr) followed by **SP** (Rs 21.69 cr) and **BSP** (Rs 7.30 cr).
- BJP** has incurred the maximum, **Rs 68.92 cr** under **Publicity**, which forms **93.26%** of the total expenditure incurred by all political parties on **Publicity**.

Party wise expenditure under various heads (in Rs cr): Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections 2019						
Party	Publicity	Travel Expenses	Others/Misc. expenses	Lumpsum amount paid to candidates	Expenditure incurred on publishing criminal antecedents of the candidate(s) by Party	Total
BJP	68.92	32.287	2.654	28.387	0.297	Rs 132.545 cr
SP	0.114	0	21.214	0.35	0.0093	Rs 21,69 cr
BSP	4.434	2.867	0	0	0	Rs 7.30 cr
SAD	0	0	2.565	0.2	0	Rs 2.765 cr
CPM	0.065	0.0097	0.065	0.734	0.0023	Rs 0.876 cr
MNS	0.335	0.193	0.16	0	0	Rs 0.688 cr
AIMIM	0	0.247	0	0	0.023	Rs 0.27 cr
AAP	0.026	0.005	0.003	0.054	0.01	Rs 0.098 cr

Party wise expenditure under various heads (in Rs cr): Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections 2019						
Party	Publicity	Travel Expenses	Others/Misc. expenses	Lumpsum amount paid to candidates	Expenditure incurred on publishing criminal antecedents of the candidate(s) by Party	Total
CPI	0.0088	0.002	0.005	0.0786	0	Rs 0.09 cr
JDU	0	0	0	0	0	Rs 0
AIFB	0	0	0	0	0	Rs 0
Total	Rs 73.90 cr	Rs 35.61 cr	Rs 26.666 cr	Rs 29.803 cr	Rs 0.341 cr	Rs 166.32 cr

Table: Expenditure incurred under various heads by Political Parties during Maharashtra & Haryana Assembly Elections, 2019



Disclaimer

Source for the data used in this 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/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 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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