

Analysis of Funds Collected and Expenditure Incurred by National Political Parties - Lok Sabha 2004, 2009 & 2014

**A REPORT BY
ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORMS
&
NATIONAL ELECTION WATCH**

Association for Democratic Reforms,
T- 95A, C.L. House, Gautam Nagar,
Near Gulmohar Commercial Complex,
New Delhi – 110049
Tel: 011 4165 4200

Executive Summary

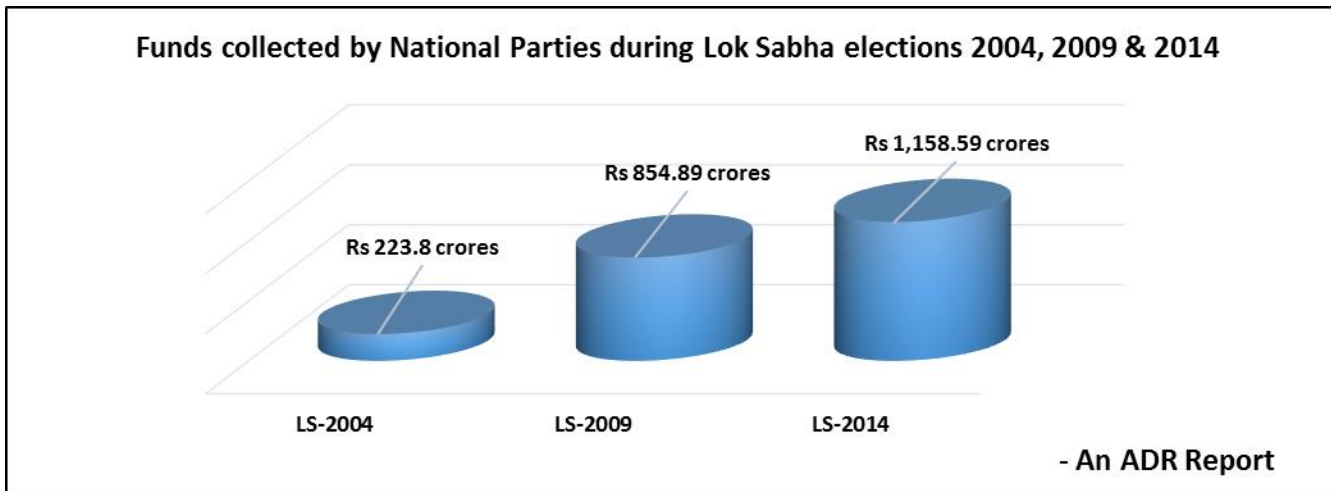
- Political parties are required to submit a statement of election expenditure to the Election Commission within 90 days of completion of General Elections.
- The expenditure statement contains details of the **total amount received as funds in the form of cash, cheques and demand drafts and the total amount spent under various heads.**
- The expenditure statement **contains information on the amount spent on the following heads** at the state, district and constituency levels by the party:
 - Publicity
 - Travel expenses
 - Other expenses
 - 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.
- The focus of this report is the expenditure of National Parties during Lok Sabha 2014 and analyses the funds received and expenditure incurred by National Political Parties, **during the election period of 75 days (05-03-2014 to 16-05-2014).**

Details provided in the Election Expenditure Statement

- **13th August, 2014 was the last date of filing of election expenditure statements of National Parties** which was 90 days from 16th May on which the election results were declared.
- Based on the information available on the website of the Election Commission of India, the ECI received the expenditure statements of **INC on 22nd Dec,'14, BJP on 12th Jan,'15, BSP on 8th Aug,'14, NCP on 22nd Aug,'14, CPI on 27th Oct,'14 and CPM's expenditure statements on 25th Aug,'14.**
- It is to be noted that while BJP, BSP, NCP, CPI and CPM submitted their expenditure statements with details of only **Lok Sabha elections, 2014**, the expenditure statement of **INC included details of elections to Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Odisha Assemblies.** As the details were not segregated by INC, the information is **taken as is submitted by the party.**
- Similarly, for **Lok Sabha elections, 2004**, the expenditure statements of **BSP, CPI and CPM** contained details of expenditure incurred during Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Odisha and Sikkim Assembly Elections. The complete information as submitted by the National Parties have been taken into consideration during the preparation of this report.

Funds collected by National Parties during the Lok Sabha elections:

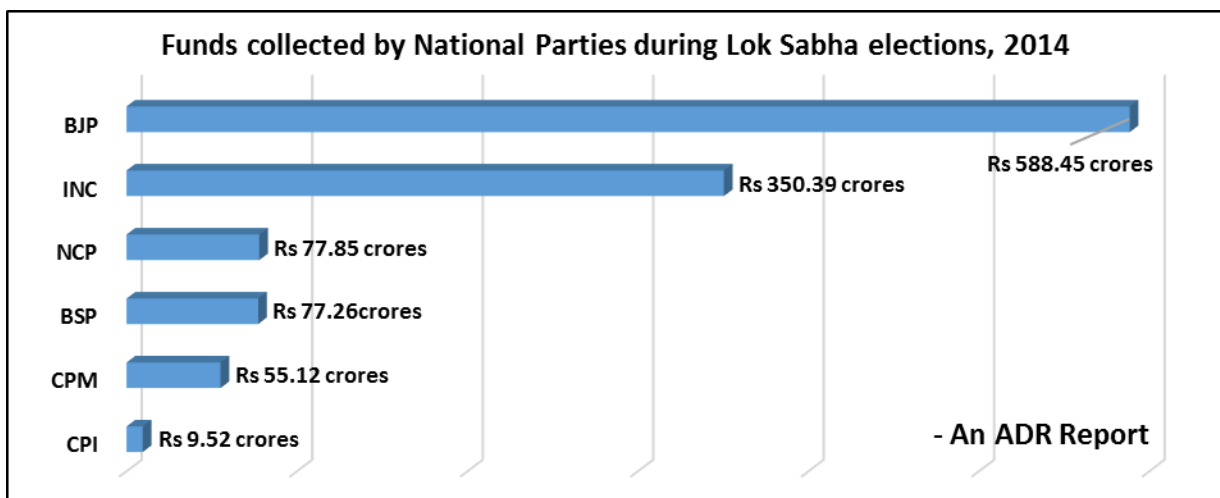
- The National parties considered for the report are BJP, INC, BSP, NCP, CPI, and CPM.
- Total funds collected by the National Parties, in cash, cheque/DD or in kind, during **Lok Sabha elections held in 2004** was Rs 223.80 crores while during Lok Sabha 2009 elections **increased by 282%, to Rs 854.89 crores.**
- The total funds collected by the National Parties during Lok Sabha 2014 elections **increased by 35.53%, to Rs 1158.59 crores** from Rs 854.89 crores during Lok Sabha 2009.
- **Over a period of 10 years, the funds collected by National Parties during Lok Sabha elections increased by 418%.**



Graph: Funds collected by National Political Parties during Lok Sabha elections held in 2004, 2009 and 2014

Funds collected by National Parties during the Lok Sabha elections, 2014:

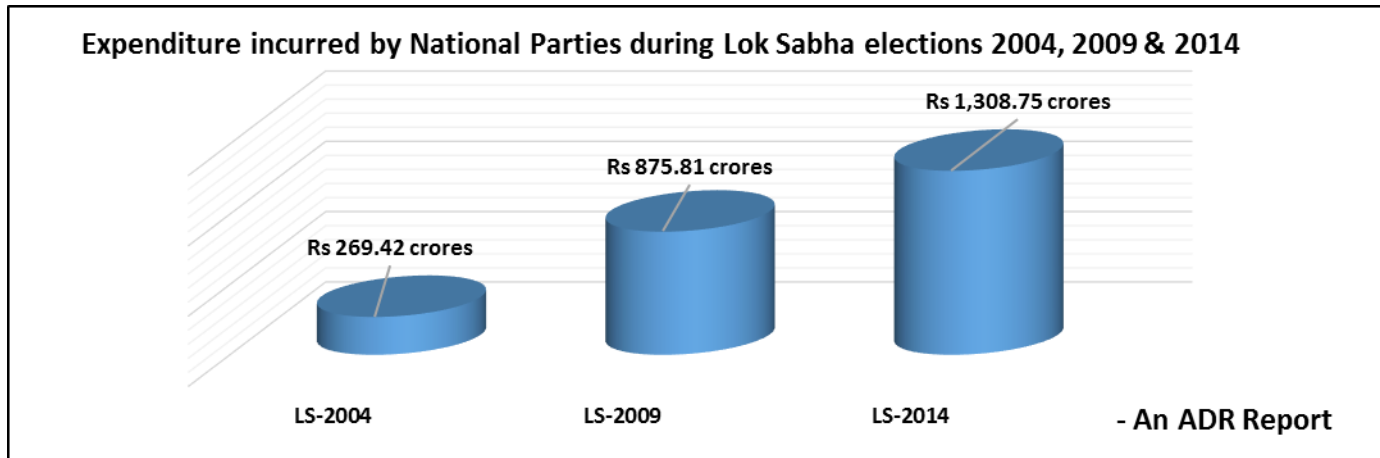
- **BJP** declared the highest amount of funds collected during Lok Sabha elections, 2014. The party declared collecting **Rs 588.45 crores over 75 days of election period.**
- **INC** declared the second highest amount of **Rs 350.39 crores** followed by **NCP** with **Rs 77.85 crores** and **BSP** with **Rs 77.26 crores.**
- **CPI** declared the least funds collected (Rs 9.52 crores) during the 75 days of election period.



Graph: Funds collected by National Political Parties during Lok Sabha elections 2014

Expenditure incurred by National Parties during the Lok Sabha elections:

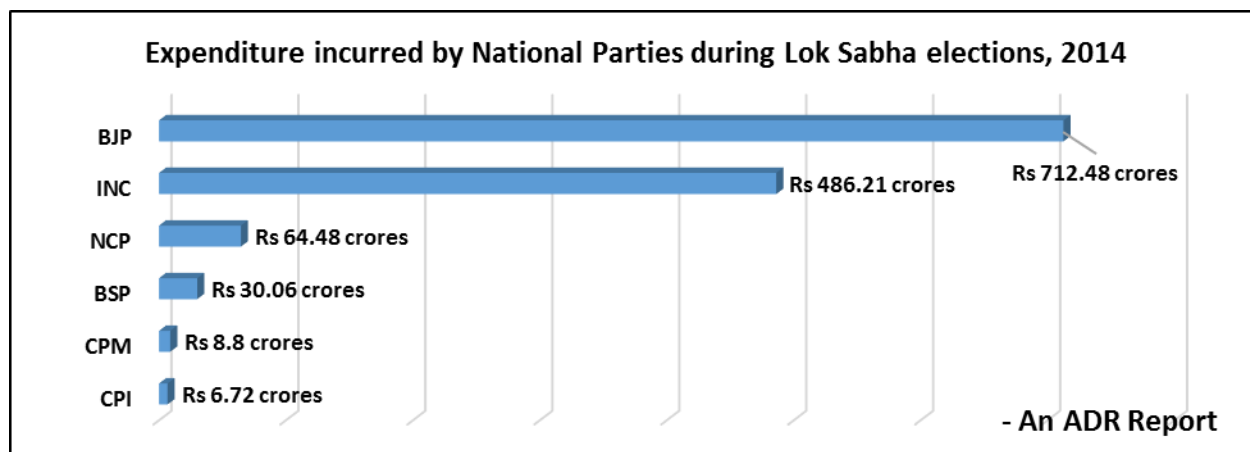
- Total expenditure incurred by the National Parties, in cash or cheque/DD, during **Lok Sabha** elections held in **2004** was Rs 269.42 crores while during Lok Sabha 2009 elections, it **increased by 225%**, to **Rs 875.81 crores.**
- The total expenditure of the National Parties during Lok Sabha 2014 elections **increased by 49.43%**, to **Rs 1308.75 crores** from Rs 875.81 crores during Lok Sabha 2009.
- **Over a period of 10 years, the expenditure incurred by National Parties during Lok Sabha elections increased by 386%.**



Graph: Expenditure incurred by National Political Parties during Lok Sabha elections held in 2004, 2009 and 2014

Expenditure incurred by National Parties during the Lok Sabha elections, 2014:

- **BJP** declared the highest amount of expenditure incurred during Lok Sabha elections, 2014. The party declared expenses of **Rs 712.48 crores over 75 days of election period.**
- **INC** declared the second highest amount of **Rs 486.21 crores** followed by **NCP** with **Rs 64.48 crores** and **BSP** with **Rs 30.06 crores.**
- **CPI** declared the least amount of election expenditure (Rs 6.72 crores) during the 75 days of election period.

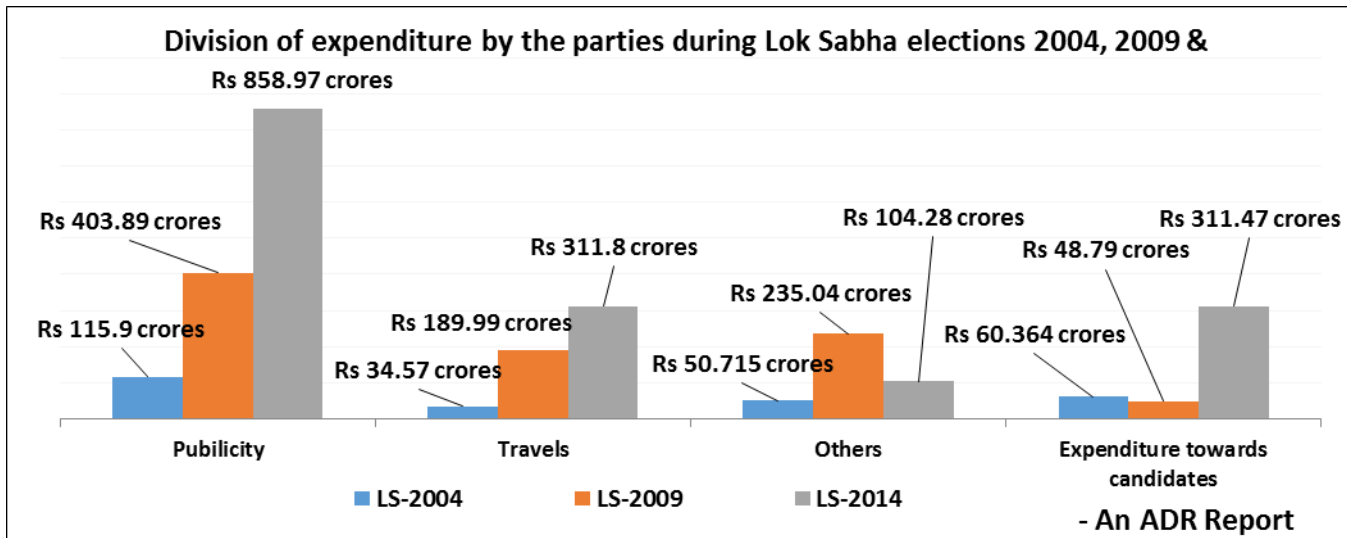


Graph: Expenditure incurred by National Political Parties during Lok Sabha elections 2014

Expenditure of Political Parties under various heads during Lok Sabha elections:

- The main heads under which political parties declare their expenses are **publicity, travel, other/ miscellaneous expenses and expenditure on candidates.**
- **During Lok Sabha elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014 together** National Parties spent **50.58%** of their total expenditure on **publicity, 19.68%** on **travel expenses** and **15.43%** on **candidates** and **14.31%** on **other expenses.**
- During Lok Sabha elections, 2004, National Parties spent **Rs 115.90 crores on publicity, Rs 34.57 crores on travels, Rs 50.715 crores on other expenses** and **Rs 60.364 crores on expenditure towards candidates.**

- During Lok Sabha elections, 2014, National Parties spent **Rs 858.97 crores on publicity**, **Rs 311.8 crores on travels**, **Rs 104.28 crores on other expenses** and **Rs 311.47 crores on expenditure towards candidates**.
- **In 10 years**, expenditure **on publicity increased by 641%** while expenditure **on travel increased by 802%** and the declared expenditure **on candidates increased by 416%**.

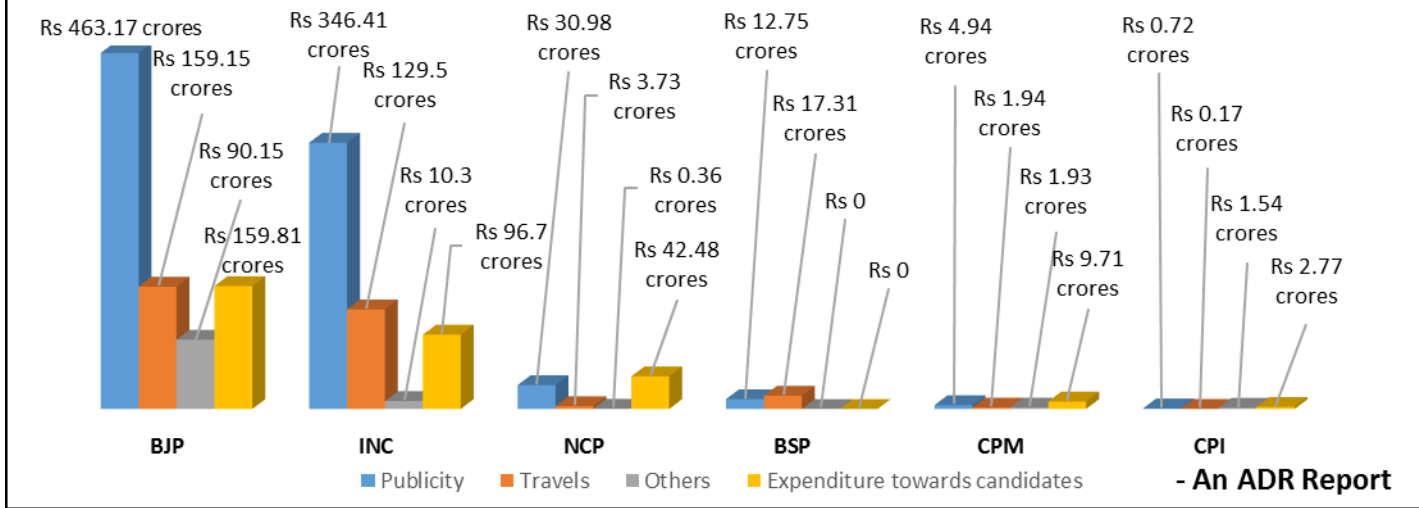


Graph: Expenditure of National Parties under various heads during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

Expenditure incurred under various heads during the Lok Sabha elections, 2014:

- During Lok Sabha elections in 2014, **BJP** declared spending **Rs 463.17 crores on publicity** while **INC** spent **Rs 346.41 crores**, **NCP** – Rs 30.98 crores, **BSP** – Rs 12.75 crores, **CPM** – Rs 4.94 crores and **CPI** – Rs 0.72 crores.
- **BJP's declared expenditure on travel** (for leaders, workers and star campaigners) was **Rs 159.15 crores** while **INC** spent **Rs 129.50 crores on travel**. **NCP** – Rs 3.73 crores, **BSP** – Rs 17.31 crores, **CPM** – Rs 1.94 crores and **CPI** – Rs 0.17 crores.
- **BJP** declared an equal amount of **expenditure on candidates** as that incurred on travel during Lok Sabha 2014 elections. The party spent **Rs 159.81 crores on its candidates** while **INC** spent **Rs 96.70 crores on its candidates**.

Expenditure of National Parties under various heads, Lok Sabha 2014

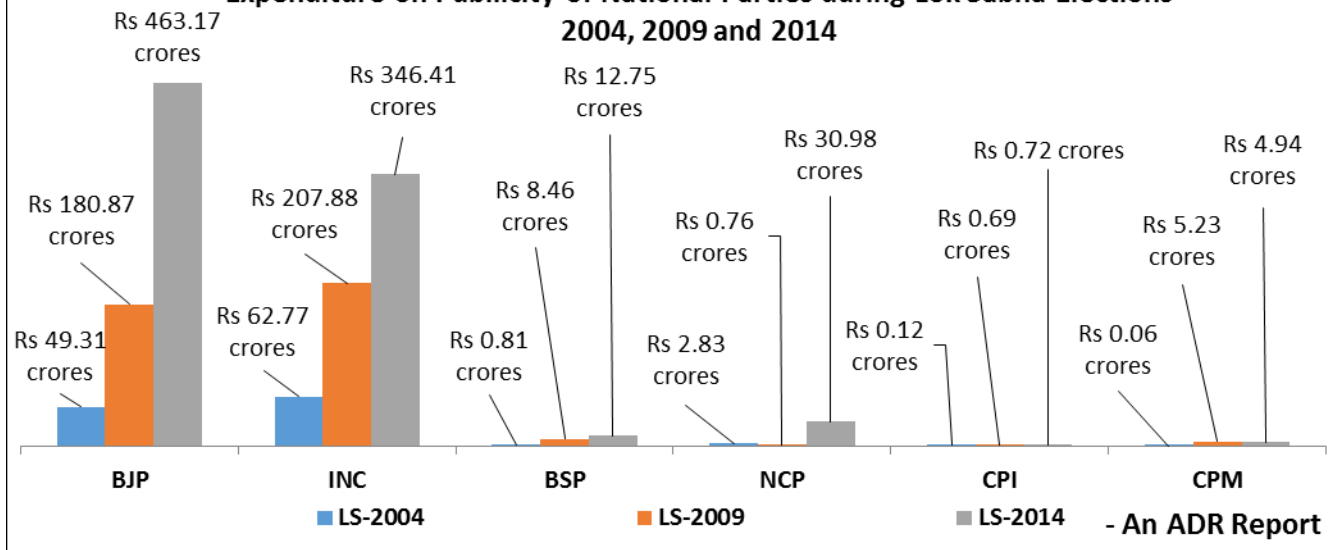


Graph: Expenditure of National Parties under various heads during Lok Sabha Elections, 2014

Expenditure of National Parties on Publicity during Lok Sabha elections:

- There are three main items listed under publicity expenditure: **expense on media advertisement** (print & electronic, bulk sms, cable, website, TV channels) **publicity material** (hoardings, posters, banners etc.), **expenses on public meetings** (processions, rallies etc.).
- Expenditure of **BJP on publicity increased from Rs 49.31 crores** during Lok Sabha 2004 to **Rs 180.87 crores** during Lok Sabha 2009 and **Rs 463.17 crores** during Lok Sabha 2014. The party declared an **overall increase of 839% in 10 years**.
- Expenditure of **INC on publicity increased from Rs 62.77 crores** during Lok Sabha 2004 to **Rs 207.88 crores** during Lok Sabha 2009 and **Rs 346.41 crores** during Lok Sabha 2014. The party declared an **overall increase of 452% in 10 years**.

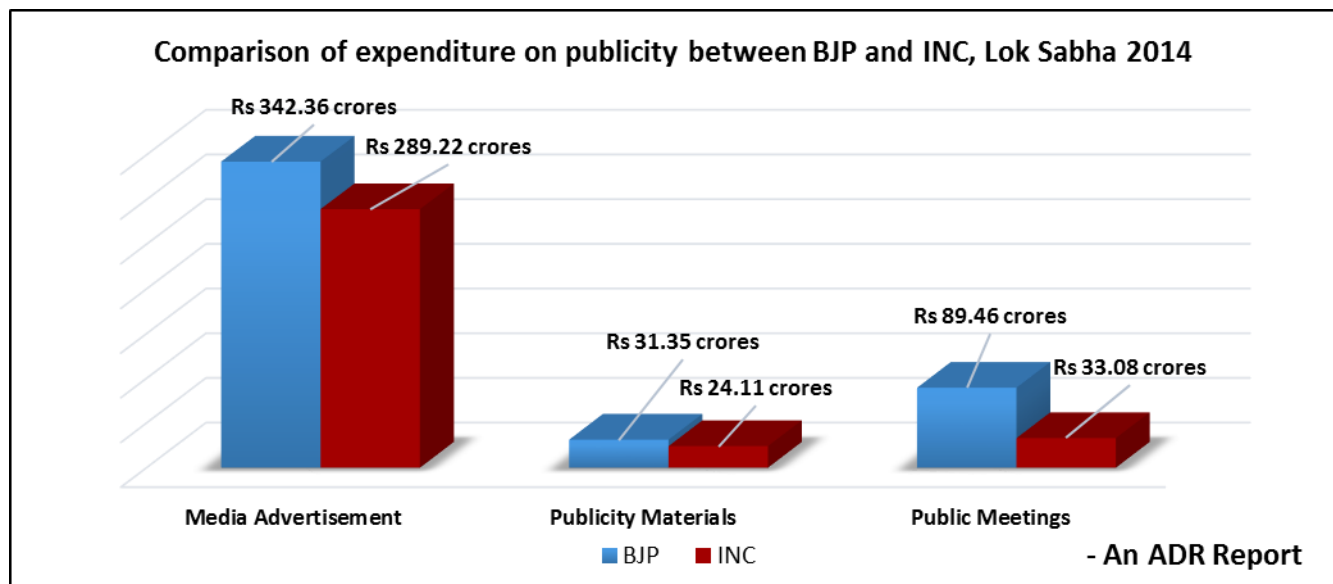
Expenditure on Publicity of National Parties during Lok Sabha Elections 2004, 2009 and 2014



Graph: Expenditure of political parties on publicity during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

Expenditure of National Parties on Publicity during Lok Sabha elections, 2014:

- National Parties collectively spent **Rs 661.26 crores** (or **76.98%**) on **media advertisement**, **Rs 126.94 crores** (or **14.78%**) on **public meetings** and **Rs 70.77 crores** (or **8.24%**) on **publicity materials** during **Lok Sabha Elections, 2014**.
- **BJP** spent the maximum amount of **Rs 342.36 crores** on **media advertisement** followed by **Rs 89.56 crores** on **public meetings** and **Rs 31.35 crores** on **publicity materials**.
- **INC** spent the maximum amount of **Rs 289.22 crores** on **media advertisement** followed by **Rs 33.08 crores** on **public meetings** and **Rs 24.11 crores** on **publicity materials**, while **BSP** spent **Rs 6.59 crores** on **publicity materials** and **Rs 3.90 crores** on **media advertisement**.

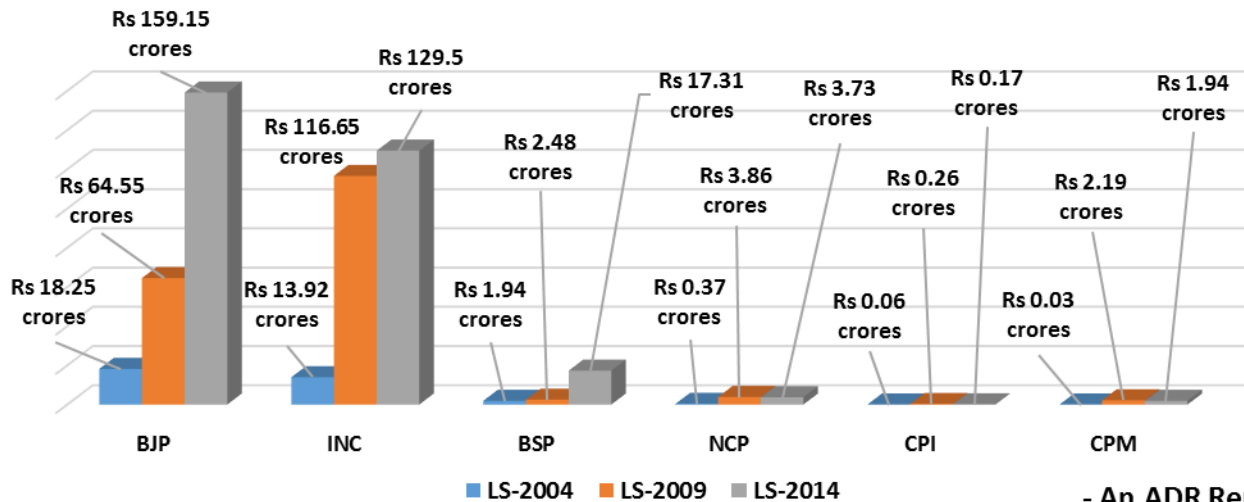


Graph: Comparison of expenditure on publicity between BJP and INC, Lok Sabha Elections 2014

Expenditure of National Parties on Travels during Lok Sabha elections:

- Expenditure of **BJP** on travel increased from **Rs 18.25 crores** during Lok Sabha 2004 to **Rs 64.55 crores** during Lok Sabha 2009 and **Rs 159.15 crores** during **Lok Sabha 2014**. The party declared an **overall increase of 772% in 10 years**.
- Expenditure of **INC** on travel increased from **Rs 13.92 crores** during Lok Sabha 2004 to **Rs 116.65 crores** during Lok Sabha 2009 and **Rs 129.50 crores** during **Lok Sabha 2014**. The party declared an **overall increase of 830% in 10 years**.

Expenditure on Travel by National parties during Lok Sabha Elections 2004, 2009 and 2014



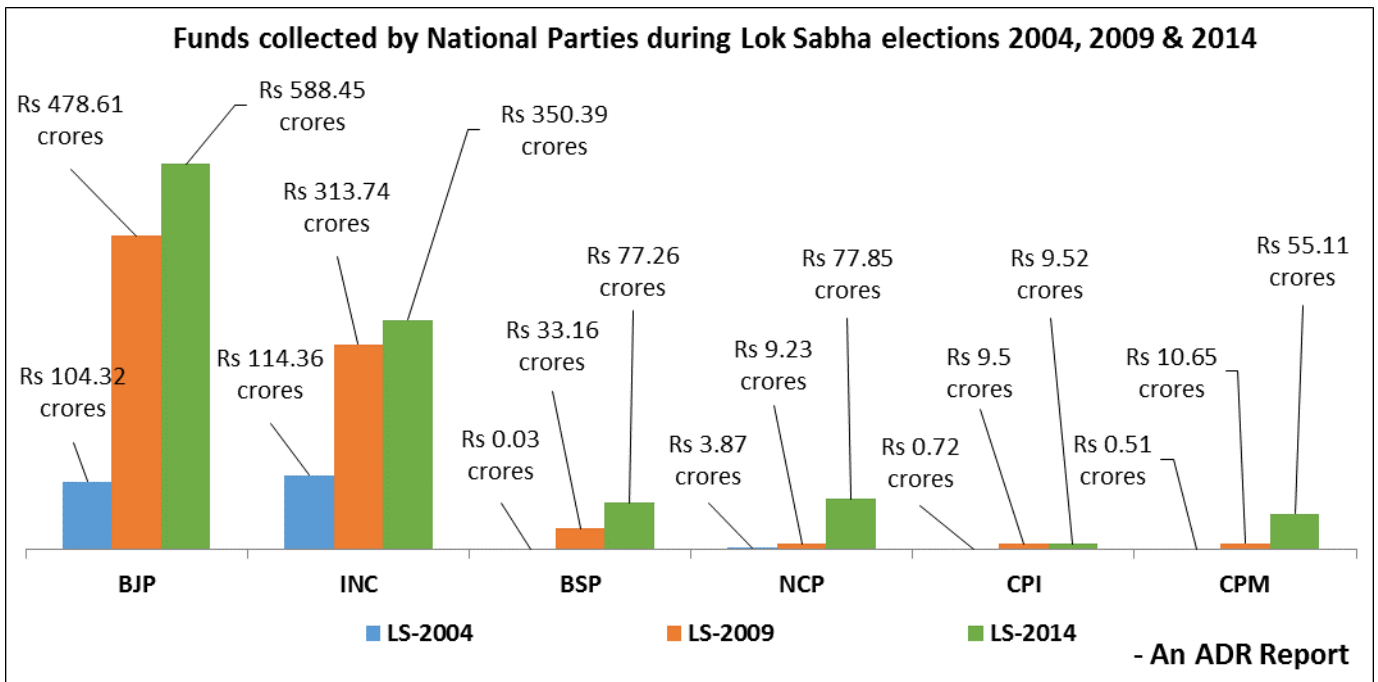
Graph: Expenditure of National Parties on travel during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

Detailed Report

Funds collected during Lok Sabha elections

- The funds declared as collected by political parties were **collected between the date of announcement of elections and the date of completion of elections: 75 days (05-03-2014 to 16-05-2014)**.
- The National parties considered for the report are BJP, INC, BSP, NCP, CPI, and CPM.
- Total funds collected by the National Parties, in cash, cheque/DD or in kind, during **Lok Sabha** elections held in **2004** was Rs 223.80 crores while during Lok Sabha 2009 elections **increased by 282%**, to **Rs 854.89 crores**.
- The total funds collected by the National Parties during Lok Sabha 2014 elections **increased by 35.53%**, to **Rs 1158.59 crores** from Rs 854.89 crores during Lok Sabha 2009.
- Over a period of 10 years, the funds collected by National Parties during Lok Sabha elections increased by 418%.**

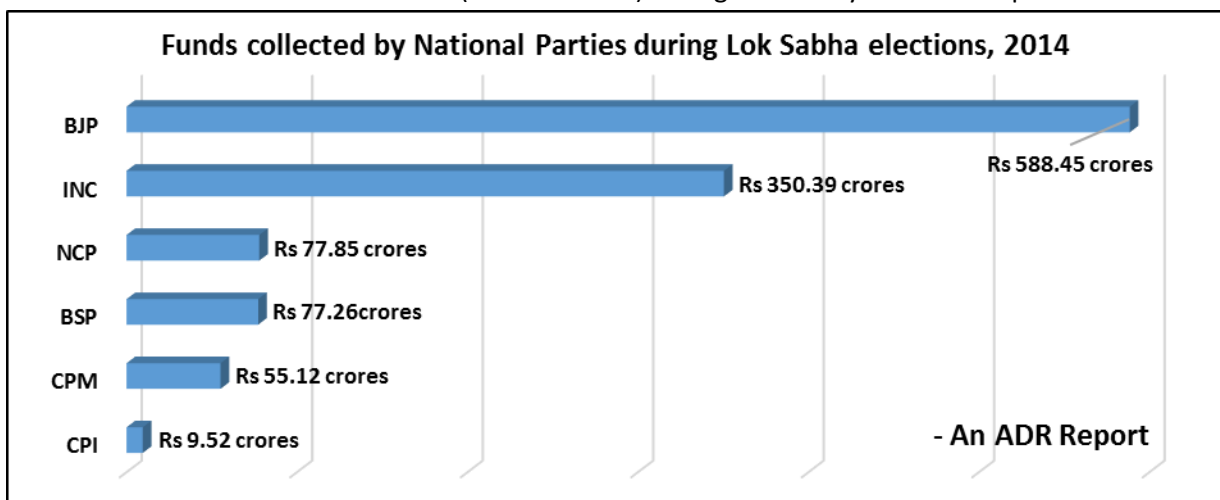
National Party	Lok Sabha elections - 2004	Lok Sabha elections - 2009	Lok Sabha elections - 2014	Total funds collected
BJP	104.32	478.61	588.45	Rs 1,171.38 crores
INC	114.36	313.74	350.39	Rs 778.49 crores
BSP	0.03	33.16	77.26	Rs 110.45 crores
NCP	3.87	9.23	77.85	Rs 90.95 crores
CPI	0.72	9.5	9.52	Rs 19.74 crores
CPM	0.5	10.65	55.12	Rs 66.27 crores
Grand Total	Rs 223.8 crores	Rs 854.89 crores	Rs 1158.59 crores	Rs 2237.28 crores



Graph: Funds collected by National Parties during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

Funds collected by National Parties during the Lok Sabha elections, 2014:

- **BJP** declared the highest amount of funds collected during Lok Sabha elections, 2014. The party declared collecting **Rs 588.45 crores over 75 days of election period.**
- **INC** declared the second highest amount of **Rs 350.39 crores** followed by **NCP** with **Rs 77.85 crores** and **BSP** with **Rs 77.26 crores.**
- **CPI** declared the least funds collected (Rs 9.52 crores) during the 75 days of election period.

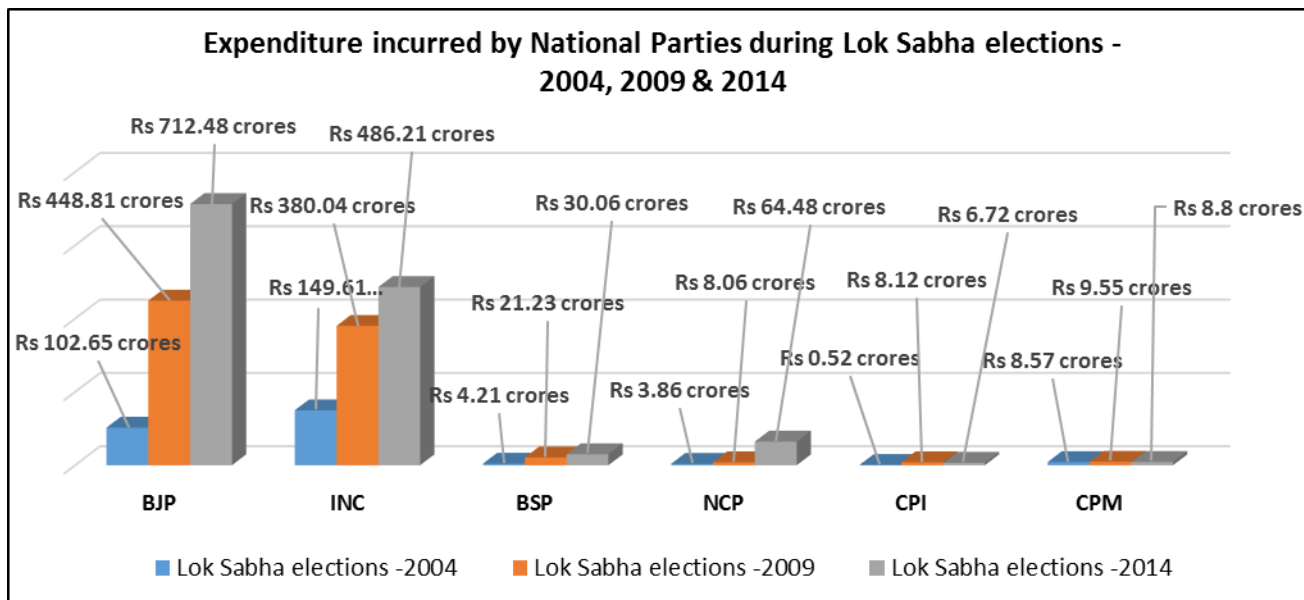


Graph: Funds collected by National Political Parties during Lok Sabha elections 2014

Expenditure incurred during Lok Sabha elections

- Total expenditure incurred by the National Parties, in cash or cheque/DD, during **Lok Sabha** elections held in **2004** was Rs 269.42 crores while during Lok Sabha 2009 elections **increased by 225%**, to Rs **875.81 crores**
- The total expenditure of the National Parties during Lok Sabha 2014 elections **increased by 49.43%**, to Rs **1308.75 crores** from Rs 875.81 crores during Lok Sabha 2009.
- **Over a period of 10 years, the expenditure incurred by National Parties during Lok Sabha elections increased by 386%.**

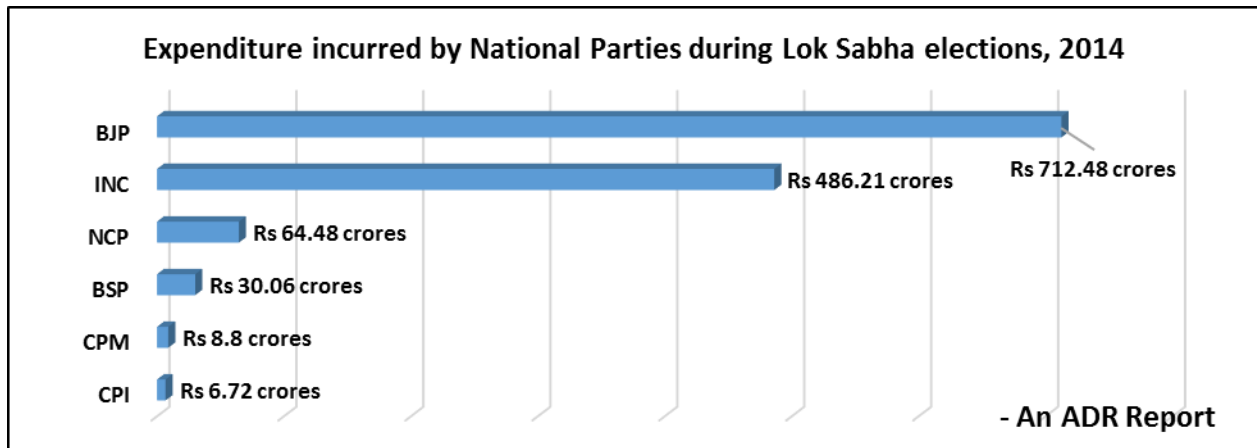
National Party	Lok Sabha elections - 2004	Lok Sabha elections - 2009	Lok Sabha elections - 2014	Total expenditure
BJP	102.65	448.81	712.48	Rs 1263.94 crores
INC	149.61	380.04	486.21	Rs 1015.86 crores
BSP	4.21	21.23	30.06	Rs 55.5 crores
NCP	3.86	8.06	64.48	Rs 76.4 crores
CPI	0.52	8.12	6.72	Rs 15.36 crores
CPM	8.57	9.55	8.8	Rs 26.92 crores
Grand Total	Rs 269.42 crores	Rs 875.81 crores	Rs 1308.75 crores	Rs 2453.98 crores



Graph: Expenditure incurred of National Parties during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

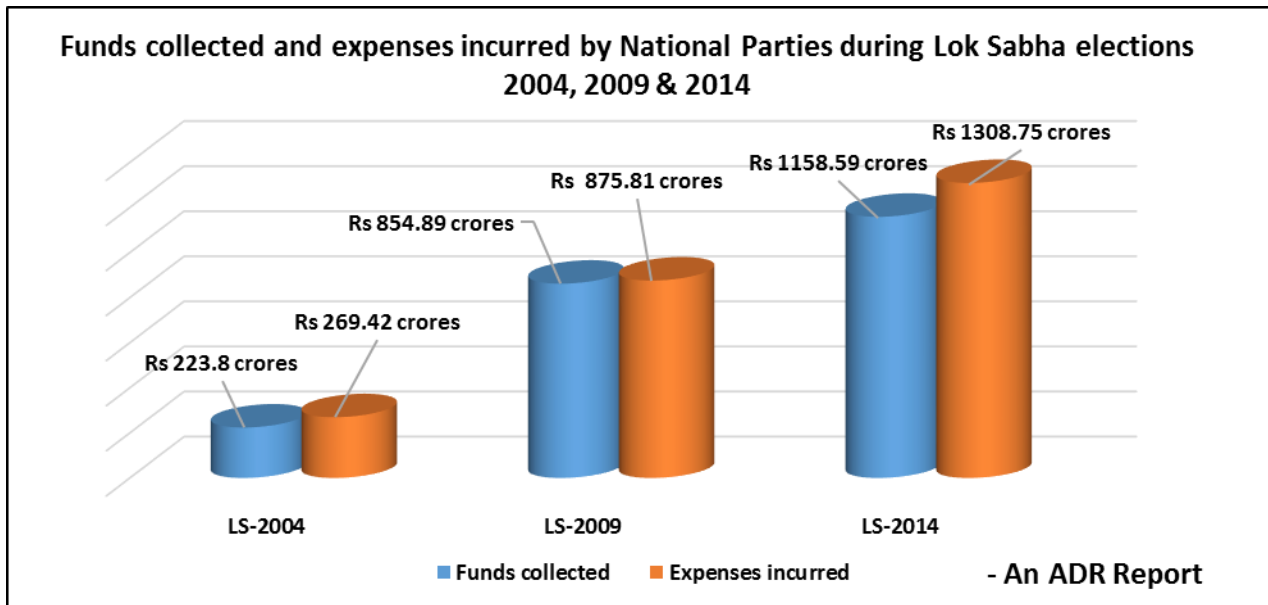
Expenditure incurred by National Parties during the Lok Sabha elections, 2014:

- **BJP** declared the highest amount of expenditure incurred during Lok Sabha elections, 2014. The party declared expenses of **Rs 712.48 crores over 75 days of election period.**
- **INC** declared the second highest amount of **Rs 486.21 crores** followed by **NCP** with **Rs 64.48 crores** and **BSP** with **Rs 30.06 crores.**
- **CPM** declared the least amount of election expenditure (Rs 8.8 crores) during the 75 days of election period.



Graph: Expenditure incurred by National Political Parties during Lok Sabha elections 2014

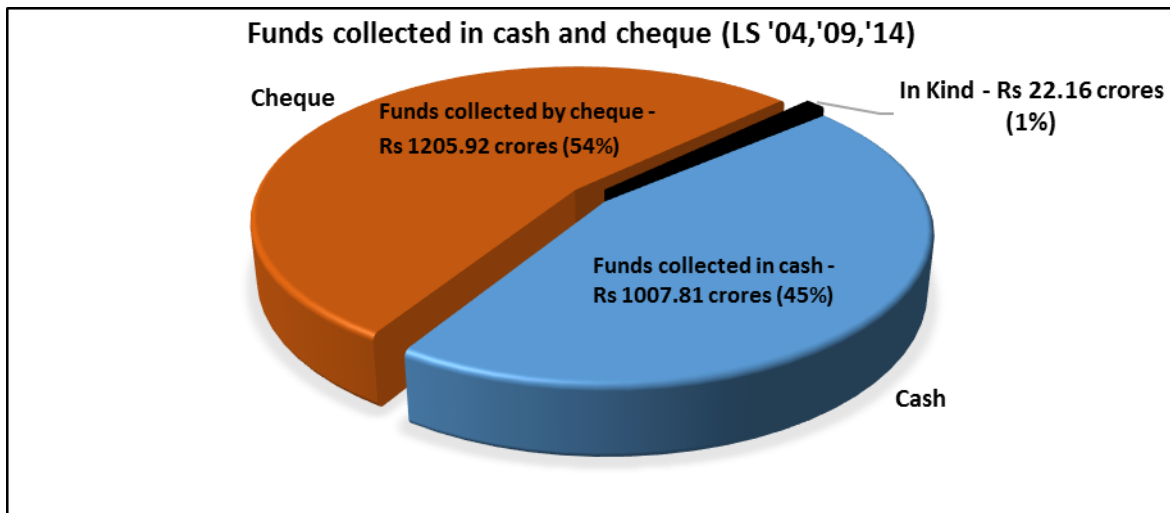
- It is to be noted that the total expenditure of National Parties during all the three Lok Sabha elections had exceeded the total funds collected by the parties during the election period.
- Total funds collected during Lok Sabha 2004 were Rs 223.80 crores but expenditure declared was Rs 269.42 crores. Similarly, funds collected during Lok Sabha 2009 were Rs 854.89 crores but expenditure was Rs 875.81 crores and during Lok Sabha 2014, funds collected were Rs 1158.59 crores and expenditure incurred was Rs 1308.75 crores.



Graph: Funds collected and expenditure incurred by National Parties during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

Modes of fund collection and expenditure by political parties during Lok Sabha Elections

- The **total funds collected** by National parties amounted to **Rs 2237.28 crores** during Lok Sabha 2004, 2009 and 2014 elections, of which 54% or **Rs 1205.92 crores** was collected by cheque, while 45% or **Rs 1007.81 crores** was collected by cash.
- There is provision for political parties to declare **funds collected in kind during election period**. The National Parties during the three Lok Sabha elections collected **funds in kind** amounting to a total of **Rs 22.16 crores** or 1% of the overall funds collected.



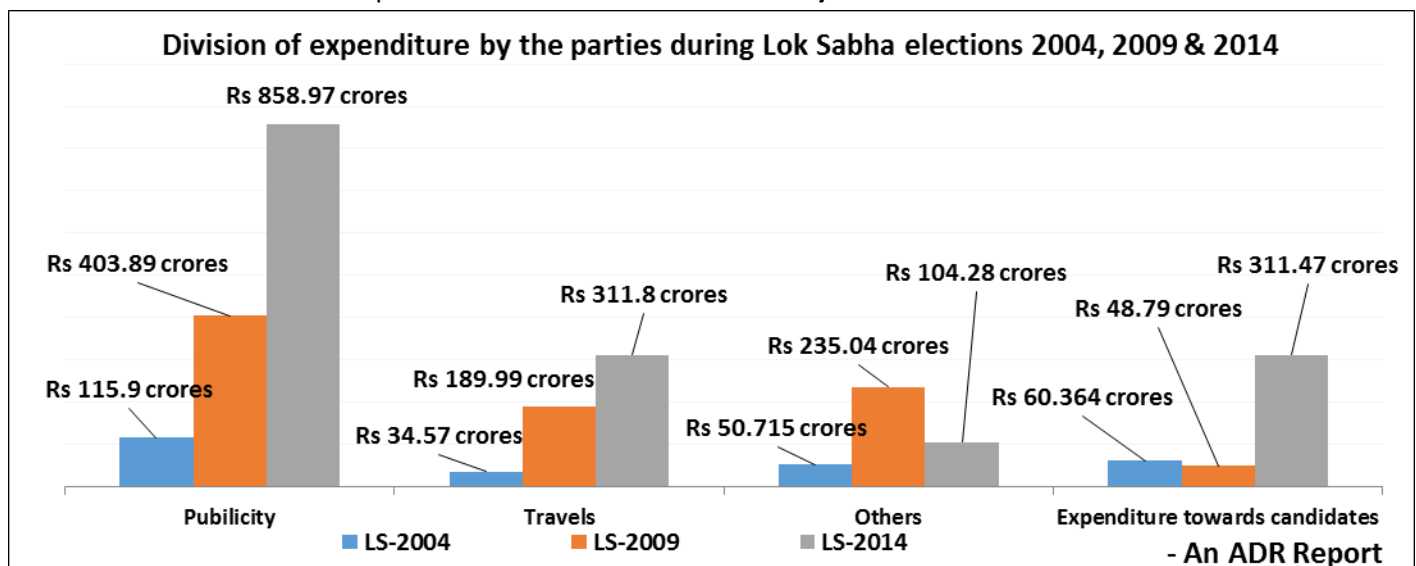
Graph: Funds collected in cash & cheque by National Parties during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

Funds collected by National Parties (Rs. in crores)						Total (Rs. in crores)
National Party	Lok Sabha Elections	Cash	Cheque	In kind	Undeclared Mode	
BJP	LS-2004	29.43	59.22	15.67	0	104.32
	LS-2009	239.73	232.99	5.89	0	478.61
	LS-2014	227.32	360.81	0.32	0	588.45
Total (Rs in crores)		496.48	653.02	21.88	0	Rs 1171.38 crores
INC	LS-2004	39.314	73.71	0	1.33	114.35
	LS-2009	237.36	76.38	0	0	313.74
	LS-2014	109.07	241.05	0.27	0	350.39
Total (Rs in crores)		385.744	391.14	0.27	1.33	Rs 778.48 crores
BSP	LS-2004	0	0.03	0	0	0.03
	LS-2009	33.16	0.0002	0	0	33.16
	LS-2014	0	77.26	0	0	77.26
Total (Rs in crores)		33.16	77.29	0	0	Rs 110.45 crores
NCP	LS-2004	1.18	2.63	0	0.06	3.87
	LS-2009	7.34	1.89	0	0	9.23
	LS-2014	32.874	44.98		0	77.85
Total (Rs in crores)		41.39	49.5	0	0.06	Rs 90.95 crores
CPI	LS-2004	0.36	0.36	0	0	0.72
	LS-2009	4.29	5.21	0	0	9.5
	LS-2014	2.38	7.14	0	0	9.52
Total (Rs in crores)		7.03	12.71	0	0	Rs 19.74 crores
CPM	LS-2004	0.0095	0.50	0	0	0.51
	LS-2009	6.88	3.77	0	0	10.65
	LS-2014	37.11	17.994	0.01	0	55.11
Total (Rs in crores)		44.00	22.26	0.01	0	Rs 66.27 crores
Grand Total (Rs in crores)		1007.81	1205.92	22.16	1.39	Rs 2237.28 crores

Table: Funds collected by National Parties during Lok Sabha elections, 2004, 2009 & 2014

Expenditure of Political Parties under various heads:

- The main heads under which political parties declare their expenses are **publicity, travel, other/ miscellaneous expenses and expenditure on candidates.**
- **During Lok Sabha elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014 together** National Parties spent **50.58%** of their total expenditure on **publicity**, **19.68%** on **travel expenses** and **15.43%** on **candidates** and **14.31%** on **other expenses.**
- During Lok Sabha elections, 2004, National Parties spent **Rs 115.90 crores on publicity**, **Rs 34.57 crores on travels**, **Rs 50.715 crores on other expenses** and **Rs 60.364 crores on expenditure towards candidates.**
- During Lok Sabha elections, 2014, National Parties spent **Rs 858.97 crores on publicity**, **Rs 311.8 crores on travels**, **Rs 104.28 crores on other expenses** and **Rs 311.47 crores on expenditure towards candidates.**
- **In 10 years, expenditure on publicity increased by 641%** while expenditure **on travel increased by 802%** and the declared expenditure **on candidates increased by 416%**



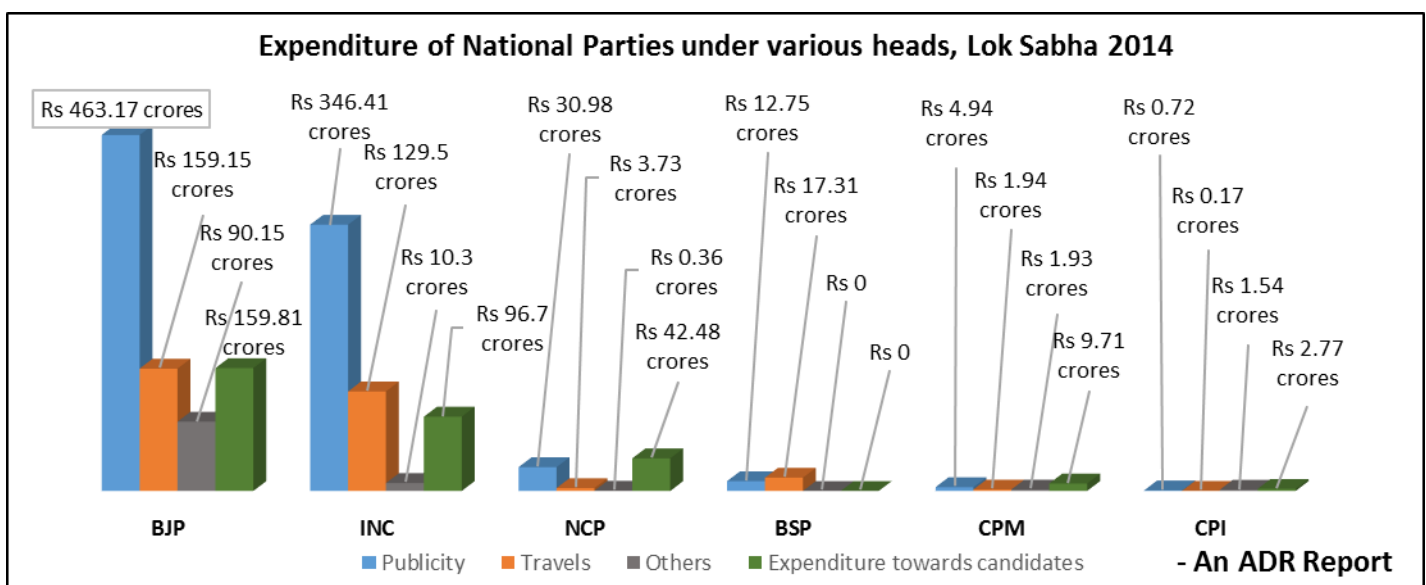
Graph: Expenditure of political parties under various heads during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

Expenditure incurred under various heads during the Lok Sabha elections, 2014:

- During Lok Sabha elections in 2014, **BJP** declared spending **Rs 463.17 crores on publicity** while **INC** spent **Rs 346.41 crores**, **NCP** – Rs 30.98 crores, **BSP** – Rs 12.75 crores, **CPM** – Rs 4.94 crores and **CPI** – Rs 0.72 crores.
- **BJP's declared expenditure on travel** (for leaders, workers and star campaigners) was **Rs 159.15 crores** while **INC** spent **Rs 129.50 crores on travel.** **NCP** – Rs 3.73 crores, **BSP** – Rs 17.31 crores, **CPM** – Rs 1.94 crores and **CPI** – Rs 0.17 crores.
- **BJP** declared an equal amount of **expenditure on candidates** as that incurred on travel during Lok Sabha 2014 elections. The party spent **Rs 159.81 crores on its candidates** while **INC** spent **Rs 96.70 crores on its candidates.**

National Party	Publicity	Travels	Others	Expenditure towards candidates	Total expenditure
BJP	463.17	159.15	90.15	159.81	Rs 872.28 crores
INC	346.41	129.5	10.3	96.7	Rs 582.91 crores
NCP	30.98	3.73	0.36	42.48	Rs 77.55 crores
BSP	12.75	17.31	0	0	Rs 30.06 crores
CPM	4.94	1.94	1.93	9.71	Rs 18.52 crores
CPI	0.72	0.17	1.54	2.77	Rs 5.2 crores
Total	Rs 858.97crores	Rs 311.8 crores	Rs 104.28 crores	Rs 311.47 crores	1586.52 crores

Table: Expenditure incurred by political parties under various heads during Lok Sabha elections, 2014

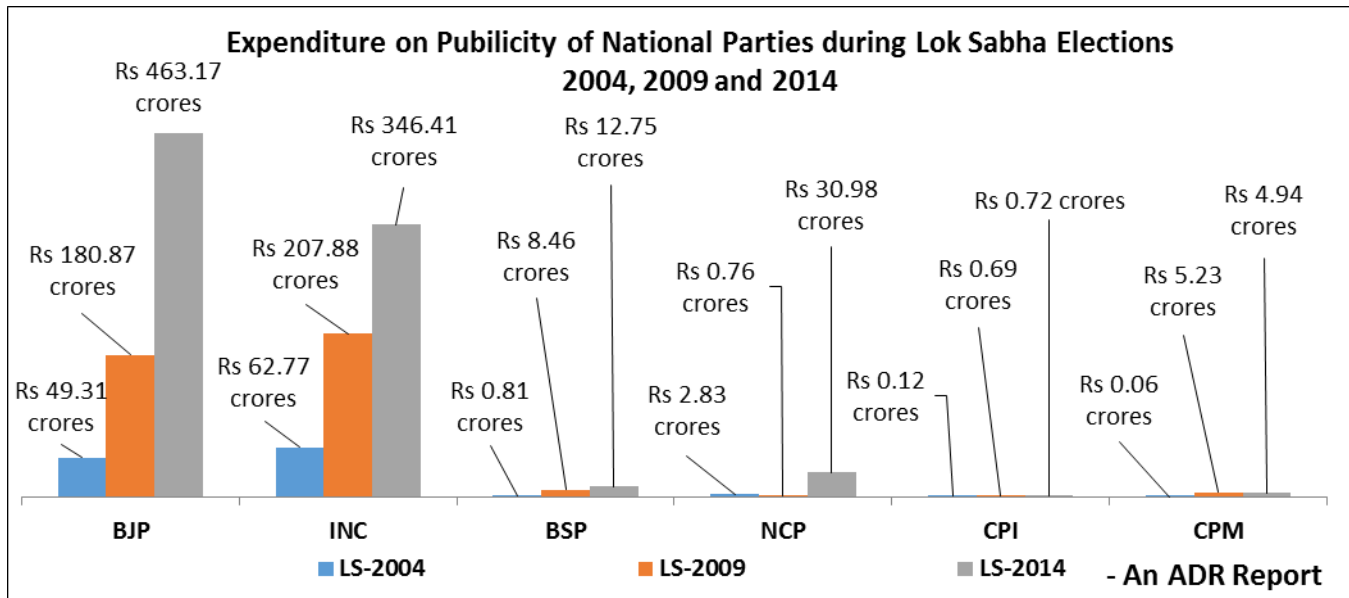


Graph: Total expenditure incurred by National Parties during Lok Sabha Elections, 2014

Expenditure of Political Parties on Publicity during Lok Sabha elections

- There are three main items listed under publicity expenditure: **expense on media advertisement** (print & electronic, bulk sms, cable, website, TV channels) **publicity material** (hoardings, posters, banners etc.), **expenses on public meetings** (processions, rallies etc.).
- Of the six National Parties, the expenditure on publicity of 5 parties was highest for the Lok Sabha elections in 2014 than the earlier elections while **expenditure of CPM decreased from Rs 5.23 crores in Lok Sabha 2009 to Rs 4.94 crores during Lok Sabha 2014 elections.**
- Expenditure of **BJP on publicity increased from Rs 49.31 crores during Lok Sabha 2004 to Rs 180.87 crores during Lok Sabha 2009 and Rs 463.17 crores during Lok Sabha 2014.** The party declared an **overall increase of 839% in 10 years.**
- Expenditure of **INC on publicity increased from Rs 62.77 crores during Lok Sabha 2004 to Rs 207.88 crores during Lok Sabha 2009 and Rs 346.41 crores during Lok Sabha 2014.** The party declared an **overall increase of 452% in 10 years.**

Expenditure of National Parties on Publicity (LS 2004, 2009 & 2014)						
Lok Sabha Elections	BJP	INC	BSP	NCP	CPI	CPM
LS-2004	49.31	62.77	0.81	2.83	0.12	0.06
LS-2009	180.87	207.88	8.46	0.76	0.69	5.23
LS-2014	463.17	346.41	12.75	30.98	0.72	4.94
Total Expenditure	Rs 693.35 crores	Rs 617.06 crores	Rs 22.02 crores	Rs 34.57 crores	Rs 1.53 crores	Rs 10.23 crores

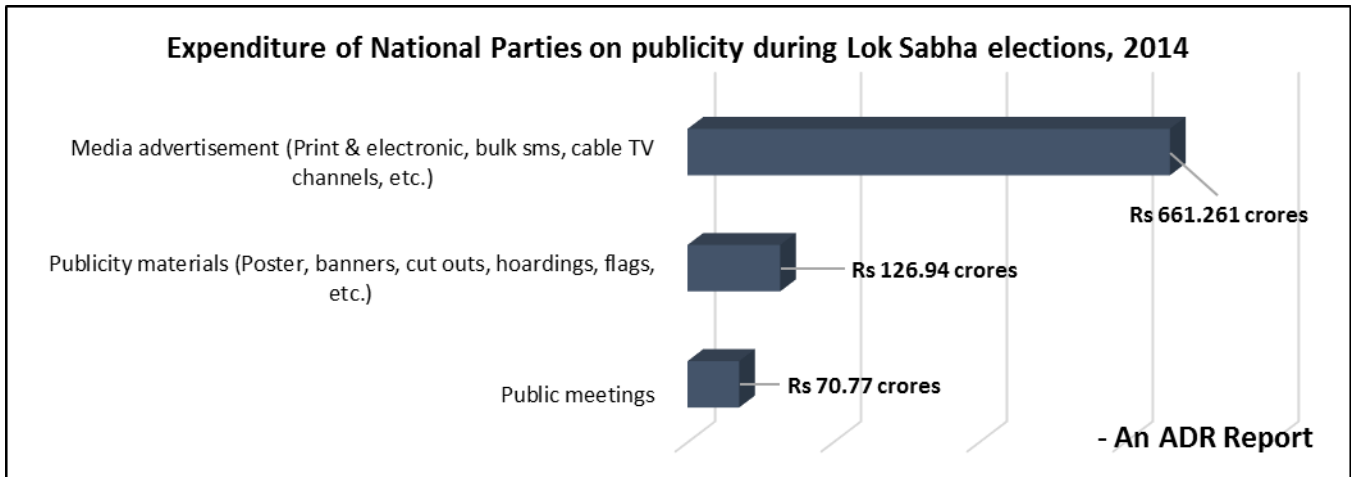


Graph: Total expenditure incurred by National Parties on publicity during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 & 2014

Expenditure of Political Parties on Publicity during Lok Sabha elections, 2014

- National Parties collectively spent **Rs 661.26 crores** (or **76.98%**) on **media advertisement**, **Rs 126.94 crores** (or **14.78%**) on **public meetings** and **Rs 70.77 crores** (or **8.24%**) on **publicity materials** during Lok Sabha Elections, 2014.
- **BJP** spent the maximum amount of **Rs 342.36 crores** on **media advertisement** followed by **Rs 89.56 crores** on **public meetings** and **Rs 31.35 crores** on **publicity materials**.
- **INC** spent the maximum amount of **Rs 289.22 crores** on **media advertisement** followed by **Rs 33.08 crores** on **public meetings** and **Rs 24.11 crores** on **publicity materials**, while **BSP** spent **Rs 6.59 crores** on **publicity materials** and **Rs 3.91 crores** on **media advertisement**.

National Party	Publicity			Total
	Media Advertisement	Publicity Materials	Public Meetings	
BJP	342.36	31.35	89.46	Rs 463.17 crores
INC	289.22	24.11	33.08	Rs 346.41 crores
NCP	24.85	5.47	0.66	Rs 30.98 crores
BSP	3.91	6.59	2.25	Rs 12.75 crores
CPI	0.001	0.57	0.15	Rs 0.721 crores
CPM	0.92	2.68	1.34	Rs 4.94 crores
Total	Rs 661.261 crores	Rs 70.77 crores	Rs 126.94 crores	Rs 858.971 crores



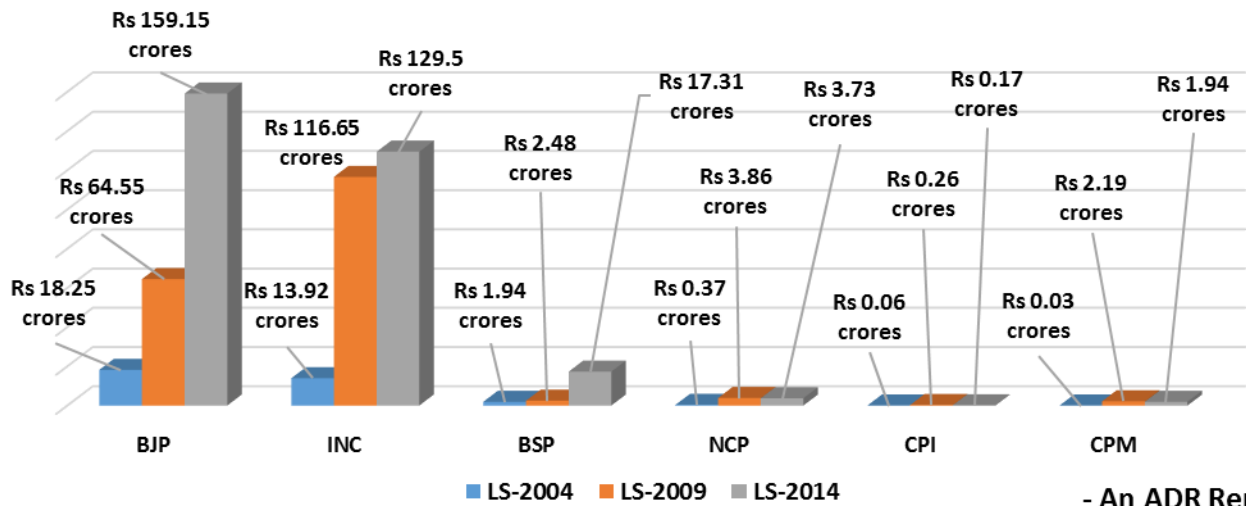
Graph: Expenditure of political parties on publicity during Lok Sabha Elections, 2014

Expenditure of National Parties on Travels during Lok Sabha elections:

- Expenditure of **BJP on travel increased from Rs 18.25 crores** during Lok Sabha 2004 to **Rs 64.55 crores** during Lok Sabha 2009 and **Rs 159.15 crores** during **Lok Sabha 2014**. The party declared an **overall increase of 772% in 10 years**.
- Expenditure of **INC on travel increased from Rs 13.92 crores** during Lok Sabha 2004 to **Rs 116.65 crores** during Lok Sabha 2009 and **Rs 129.50 crores** during **Lok Sabha 2014**. The party declared an **overall increase of 830% in 10 years**.

Expenditure of National Parties on Travel (LS 2004, 2009 & 2014)						
Lok Sabha Elections	BJP	INC	BSP	NCP	CPI	CPM
LS-2004	18.25	13.92	1.94	0.37	0.06	0.03
LS-2009	64.55	116.65	2.48	3.855	0.26	2.19
LS-2014	159.15	129.5	17.31	3.73	0.17	1.94
Total Expenditure	Rs 241.95 crores	Rs 260.07 crores	Rs 21.73 crores	Rs 7.96 crores	Rs 0.49 crores	Rs 4.16 crores

Expenditure on Travel by National parties during Lok Sabha Elections 2004, 2009 and 2014



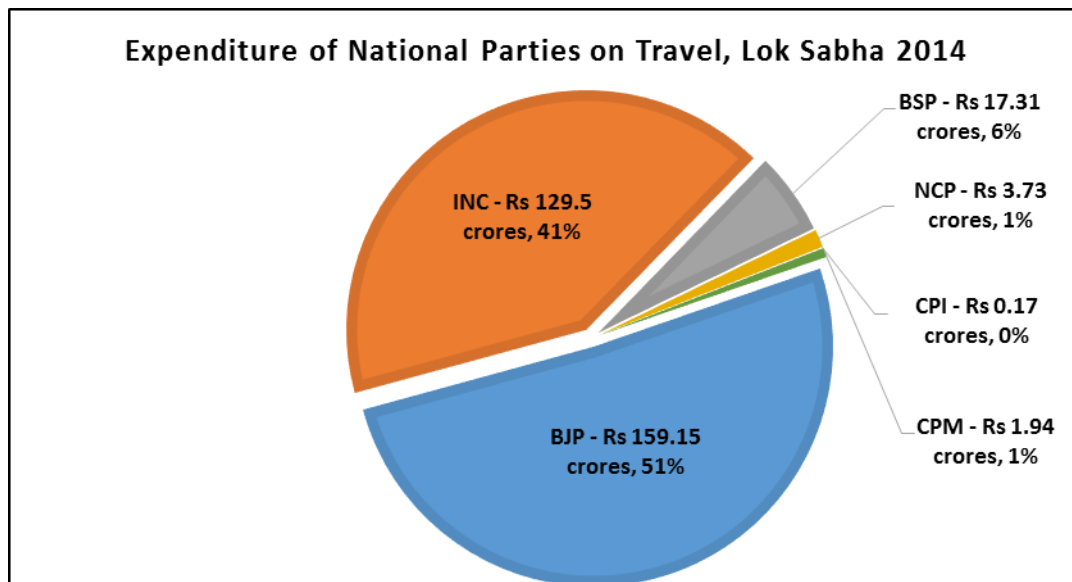
- An ADR Report

Graph: Expenditure of National Parties on travel during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

Expenditure of Political Parties on Travel during Lok Sabha elections, 2014

- **BJP** declared a **travel expenditure of Rs 159.15 crores** which is **51%** of the total travel expenditure of six National Parties.
- **INC** declared a total **travel expenditure of Rs 129.50 crores (41%** of total travel expenses of all National Parties).
- **CPI** declared **the least amount among National Parties under travel expenses**. The National Party declared a total of Rs 0.17 crores as expenditure on travel of leaders, workers and Star campaigners.

Expenditure of National Parties on Travel, Lok Sabha 2014

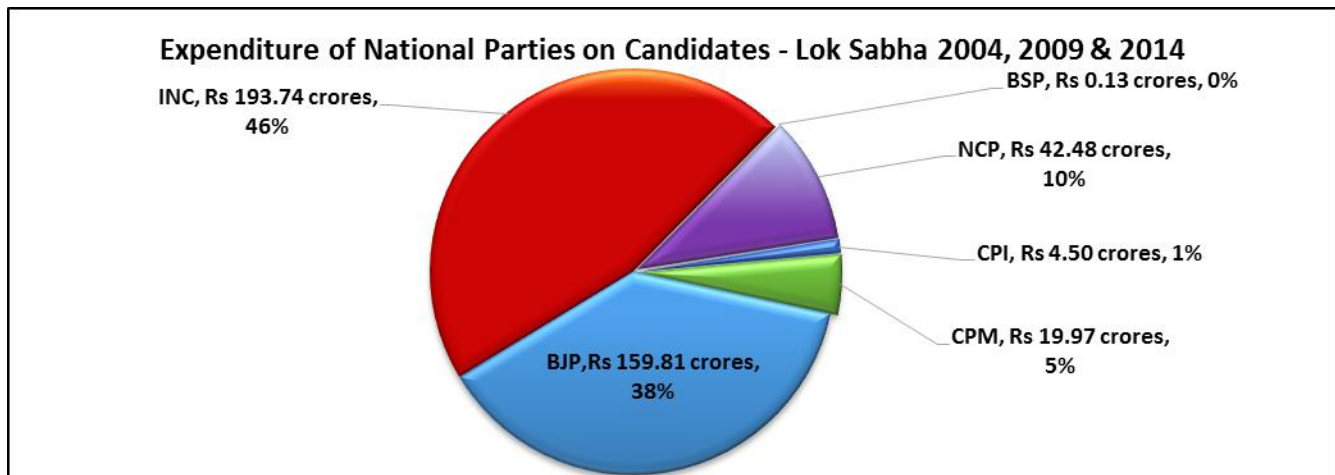


Graph: Total expenditure incurred by National Parties on travel during Lok Sabha Elections, 2014

Expenditure of National Parties on Candidates during Lok Sabha elections:

- In 10 years, during Lok Sabha 2004, 2009 and 2014 elections, INC declared spending **Rs 193.74 crores on candidates** (46% of total expenditure on candidates by National Parties).
- **BJP** declared that the party **incurred no expenditure on candidates** during Lok Sabha 2004 and 2009 elections and **spent Rs 159.81 crores** during **Lok Sabha elections 2014**.
- **BSP** declared that the party incurred no expenditure on candidates during Lok Sabha elections, 2009 and 2014 but declared a total of Rs 12.6 lakhs as expenditure towards candidates during Lok Sabha elections, 2004.

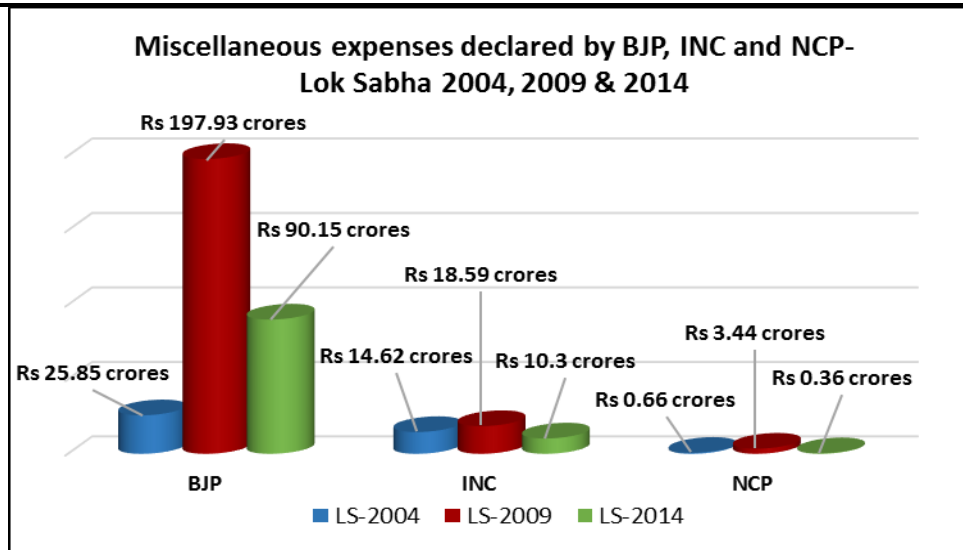
Expenditure of National Parties towards candidates (LS 2004, 2009 & 2014)						
Lok Sabha Elections	BJP	INC	BSP	NCP	CPI	CPM
LS-2004	0	60.13	0.126	0	0.108	0
LS-2009	0	36.91	0	0	1.62	10.26
LS-2014	159.81	96.7	0	42.48	2.77	9.71
Total Expenditure	Rs 159.81 crores	Rs 193.74 crores	Rs 0.13 crores	Rs 42.48 crores	Rs 4.50 crores	Rs 19.97 crores



Graph: Total expenditure incurred by National Parties on candidates during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 and 2014

Expenditure of National Parties on other/ miscellaneous expenses during Lok Sabha elections:

- In the format of expenditure statement circulated by the ECI, political parties are required to declare any other miscellaneous expenditure incurred by them during the election period which is not covered under other heads.
- **BJP** declared the **highest amount under miscellaneous expenses among all** the National Parties. The party declared **Rs 25.85 crores** during Lok Sabha 2004, **Rs 197.93 crores** during Lok Sabha 2009 and **Rs 90.15 crores** during Lok Sabha 2014. Thus **a total of Rs 313.93 crores** declared as **miscellaneous expenses**.
- **INC** declared **Rs 14.62 crores** during Lok Sabha 2004, **Rs 18.59 crores** during Lok Sabha 2009 and **Rs 10.30 crores** during Lok Sabha 2014.

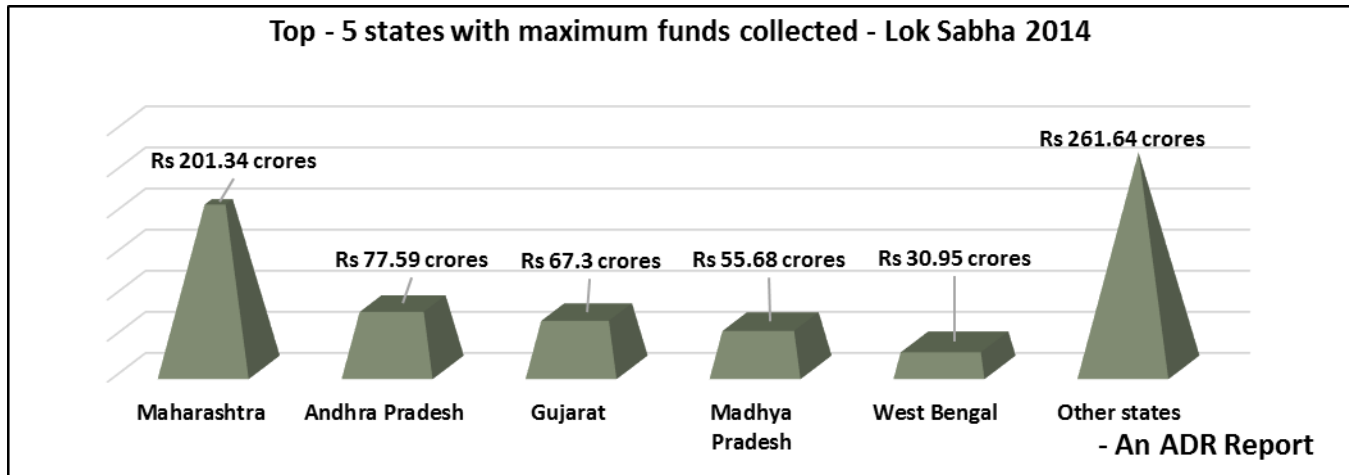


Graph: Total expenditure incurred by National Parties on miscellaneous expenses during Lok Sabha Elections, 2004, 2009 & 2014

Division of expenditure as provided in the statement submitted by the parties (Rs in crores)						
National Party	Lok Sabha Elections	Publicity	Travels	Others	Expenditure towards candidates	Total
BJP	LS-2004	49.31	18.25	25.85	0	93.41
	LS-2009	180.87	64.55	197.93	0	443.35
	LS-2014	463.17	159.15	90.15	159.81	872.28
Total		693.35	241.95	313.93	159.81	1409.04
INC	LS-2004	62.77	13.92	14.62	60.13	151.44
	LS-2009	207.88	116.655	18.59	36.91	380.04
	LS-2014	346.41	129.5	10.3	96.7	582.91
Total		617.06	260.08	43.51	193.74	1114.39
BSP	LS-2004	0.81	1.94	1.33	0.126	4.206
	LS-2009	8.46	2.48	10.29	0	21.23
	LS-2014	12.75	17.31	0	0	30.06
Total		22.02	21.73	11.62	0.126	55.496
NCP	LS-2004	2.83	0.37	0.66	0	3.86
	LS-2009	0.76	3.855	3.44	0	8.05
	LS-2014	30.98	3.73	0.36	42.48	77.55
Total		34.57	7.95	4.46	42.48	89.46
CPI	LS-2004	0.12	0.06	0.085	0.108	0.373
	LS-2009	0.69	0.26	1.68	1.62	4.25
	LS-2014	0.72	0.17	1.54	2.77	5.2
Total		1.53	0.49	3.305	4.498	9.823
CPM	LS-2004	0.06	0.03	8.17	0	8.26
	LS-2009	5.23	2.19	3.11	10.26	20.79
	LS-2014	4.94	1.94	1.93	9.71	18.52
Total		10.23	4.16	13.21	19.97	47.57
Grand Total (Rs in crores)		1378.76	536.36	390.04	420.62	2725.78

State-wise funds collected and expenditure incurred by the National Parties during Lok Sabha elections, 2014

- Political parties are required to submit details of funds collected and expenditure incurred at the state level.
- Based on the election expenditure declaration of National Parties for the Lok Sabha elections, 2014, maximum funds were collected from **Maharashtra** from which the state unit collected **Rs 201.34 crores** followed by **Andhra Pradesh** with **Rs 77.59 crores** and **Gujarat** with **Rs 67.30 crores**

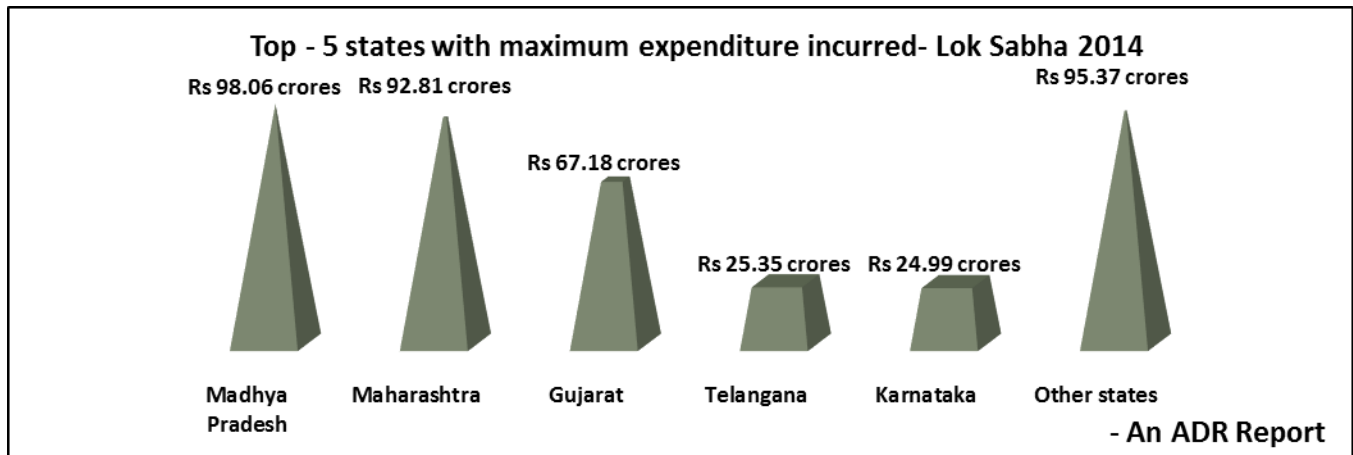


Graph: Top 5 states with maximum funds collected during Lok Sabha Elections, 2014

Funds Collected by National Parties from different states- LS-2014							
States	BJP	INC	BSP	NCP	CPI	CPM	Funds collected (Rs.)
Maharashtra	804,549,307	625,420,605	0	576,553,110	1,339,378	5,535,264	2,013,397,664
Andhra Pradesh	43,073,724	422,318,000	0	-	50,303,812	60,243,399	775,938,935
Gujarat	641,446,566	30,682,000	0	-	442,401	405,498	672,976,465
Madhya Pradesh	548,165,060	5,933,289	0	-	829,254	1,887,679	556,815,282
West Bengal	104,789,064	6,169,700	0	-	2,382,396	196,114,428	309,455,588
Odisha	252,583,430	32,028,077	0	2,500,000	1,019,149	8,178,625	296,309,281
Uttar Pradesh	283,441,470	8,832,447	0	-	717,674	1,227,845	294,219,436
Telangana	-	244,010,106	0	-	-	30,290,814	274,300,920
Kerala	119,798,005	18,287,139	0	-	6,145,300	112,679,295	256,909,739
Rajasthan	179,259,407	4,539,518	0	-	83,204	171,354	184,053,483
Karnataka	70,746,729	108,691,000	0	-	931,875	1,912,200	182,281,804
Chhattisgarh	135,041,528	8,350,000	0	-	210,000	496,719	144,098,247

Funds Collected by National Parties from different states- LS-2014							
States	BJP	INC	BSP	NCP	CPI	CPM	Funds collected (Rs.)
Haryana	73,499,253	45,187,253	0	-	276,100	5,458,828	124,421,434
Jharkhand	114,937,533	650,000	0	-	58,500	747,944	116,393,977
Bihar	107,716,568	4,311,720	0	-	2,586,578	939,582	115,554,448
Assam	700,000	106,707,704	0	-	109,740	1,070,035	108,587,479
Delhi	95,688,547	5,500,000	0	-	141,069	-	101,329,616
Tamilnadu	41,340,589	15,718,261	0	-	6,149,700	23,682,251	86,890,801
Goa	51,444,299	15,700,000	0	-	1,467,153	-	68,611,452
Punjab	30,422,927	14,111,001	0	-	1,101,900	4,516,395	50,152,223
Tripura	282,024	2,250,000	0	-	-	46,711,860	49,243,884
Meghalaya	4,186,300	24,020,527	0	-	-	-	28,206,827
Uttarakhand	6,529,321	20,072,000	0	-	5,000	276,902	26,883,223
Arunachal Pradesh	17,900,000	2,972,720	0	4,500,000	-	-	25,372,720
Lakshdweep	-	150,000	0	22,500,000	-	-	22,650,000
Manipur	450,422	705,000	0	15,500,000	932,000	-	17,587,422
Himachal Pradesh	12,222,788	2,500,000	0	-	-	2,807,844	17,530,632
Jammu & Kashmir	4,840,180	188,185	0	-	-	-	5,028,365
Chandigarh	4,538,000	0	0	-	-	-	4,538,000
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	3,408,000	1,000,000	0	-	-	-	4,408,000
A&N Island	1,700,000	50,000	0	1,500,000	-	344,994	3,594,994
Nagaland	-	2,550,000	0	-	-	-	2,550,000
Daman & Diu	1,065,467	1,390,000	0	-	-	-	2,455,467
Pondicherry	76,053	200,000	0	-	1,042,000	-	1,318,053
Sikkim	0	923,000	0	-	-	-	923,000
Mizoram	-	0	0	-	-	-	-
Total Funds Rs.	3,955,842,561	1,782,119,252		623,053,110	78,274,183	505,699,755	6,944,988,861

- Collectively, National Parties spent the maximum amount at the state level in **Madhya Pradesh** where the parties incurred a total expenditure of **Rs 98.06 crores** followed by **Maharashtra (Rs 92.81 crores)** and **Gujarat (Rs 67.18 crores)**.



Graph: Top 5 states with maximum expenditure incurred during Lok Sabha Elections, 2014

Election Expenditure incurred by National Parties from different states- LS-2014							
States	BJP	INC	BSP	NCP	CPI	CPM	Expenditure incurred (Rs)
Madhya Pradesh	974,322,597	4,233,114	0	-	735,940	1,325,706	980,617,357
Maharashtra	118,182,686	358,892,081	0	449,659,120	1,394,159	-	928,128,046
Gujarat	658,809,744	12,639,989	0	-	307,848	60,006	671,817,587
Telangana	-	250,245,533	0	-	-	3,241,205	253,486,738
Karnataka	83,512,575	164,839,357	0	-	1,463,371	91,996	249,907,299
Andhra Pradesh	13,030,195	133,086,877	0	-	30,238,290	4,306,382	180,661,744
Chhattisgarh	101,159,552	7,348,220	0	-	215,000	384,219	109,106,991
Assam	1,961,371	67,916,727	-	-	76,157	838,949	70,793,204
Kerala	40,479,300	7,734,111	0	-	7,010,252	9,346,625	64,570,288
Jharkhand	60,414,108	628,099	0	-	50,204	320,955	61,413,366
Rajasthan	56,203,239	2,501,081	0	-	132,944	25,200	58,862,464
Bihar	47,364,506	3,084,718	0	-	3,801,679	78,510	54,329,413
West Bengal	12,904,750	6,538,848	0	-	1,887,016	32,612,094	53,942,708
Odisha	15,965,537	32,813,732	0	2,283,400	708,095	652,957	52,423,721
Tamilnadu	9,760,261	15,718,261	0	-	-	19,599,653	45,078,175
Haryana	1,889,879	24,068,677	0	-	242,125	1,993,073	28,193,754

Election Expenditure incurred by National Parties from different states- LS-2014

States	BJP	INC	BSP	NCP	CPI	CPM	Expenditure incurred (Rs)
Meghalaya	4,768,850	20,189,395	-	-	-	-	24,958,245
Uttarakhand	1,711,838	19,849,197	0	-	312,136	138,250	22,011,421
Manipur	6,522,892	696,252	-	12,547,887	932,225	-	20,699,256
Punjab	5,921,584	8,937,216	0	-	120,219	3,619,027	18,598,046
Arunachal Pradesh	10,614,040	2,472,720	-	4,061,622	-	-	17,148,382
Lakshdweep	-	440,566	-	11,217,653	-	-	11,658,219
Himachal Pradesh	10,288,292	412,465	0	-	-	154,173	10,854,930
Uttar Pradesh	758,626	8,426,610	0	-	-	742,959	9,928,195
Tripura	788,619	1,781,283	-	-	-	6,722,529	9,292,431
A&N Island	7,500,000	0	0	1,255,816	-	264,589	9,020,405
Goa	3,990,556	1,454,632	-	-	-	-	5,445,188
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	2,423,826	1,388,988	0	-	-	-	3,812,814
Delhi	544,835	2,620,195	0	-	3,940	-	3,168,970
Nagaland	-	2,243,500	-	-	-	-	2,243,500
Jammu & Kashmir	1,672,487	363,489	0	-	-	-	2,035,976
Sikkim	481,172	889,603	-	-	-	-	1,370,775
Mizoram	-	855,330	-	-	-	-	855,330
Daman & Diu	96,449	520,904	0	-	-	-	617,353
Chandigarh	333,400	0	0	-	-	-	333,400
Pondicherry	0	224,000	0	-	0	-	224,000
Total Funds Rs.	2,254,377,766	1,166,055,770	0	481,025,498	49,631,600	86,519,057	4,037,609,691

Recommendations of ADR

- 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.
- 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**.

Contact Details:

Media and Journalist Helpline	Maj Gen Anil Verma (Retd) Head	Prof Jagdeep Chhokar IIM Ahmedabad (Retd)	Prof Trilochan Sastry IIM Bangalore
+91 80103 94248 Email: adr@adrindia.org	National Election Watch Association for Democratic Reforms +91 8826479910 anilverma@adrindia.org	Founder Member National Election Watch, Association for Democratic Reforms +919999620944 jchhokar@gmail.com	Founder Member, National Election Watch, Association for Democratic Reforms +919448353285, trilochans@iimb.ernet.in

Disclaimer

The information in this report was sourced from the election expenditure statements submitted by the National Parties to the Election Commission, as available on the website of the ECI. The same can be accessed from http://eci.nic.in/eci_main1/PolPar/political_parties_Expenditure_report_GE2014.aspx.

ADR/ NEW does not add or subtract any information, unless updated information is filed by the political parties themselves and uploaded on the ECI's website. While all efforts have been made to ensure that the information is in keeping with what is mentioned in the expenditure statements, in case of discrepancy between information in this report and that given in the expenditure statements, the information reported in the expenditure statements filed 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.