The Electoral Commission



UK general election 2010

Campaign spending report

Translations and other formats

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Contents

1	Introduction	1
	About the Electoral Commission	1
	Summary of the key rules affecting campaigners	1
	Our role as a regulator at the 2010 UK general election	4
2	Summary of trends in spending	7
	Political party spending	7
	Candidate spending	9
	Non-party campaigner spending	14
3	Issues for the regulatory regime	16
	Introduction	16
	Transparency	16
	Reporting donations	19
	Reporting expenditure	23
	Enforcement	29
	Appendices	
	Appendix A: Political parties and non-party campaigners at the 2010 UK general election	32
	Appendix B: Expenditure categories and links to data	37
	Appendix C: Campaign monitoring constituencies	38

1 Introduction

About the Electoral Commission

- 1.1 The Electoral Commission is an independent regulator established by the UK Parliament in 2000, following the *Fifth Report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life*. We want people to be confident that the law on party and election finance is followed and that those who break the law are dealt with proportionately and effectively. We also set standards by which elections and electoral registration are run and report against these, and we run referendums in accordance with the law.
- 1.2 The organisations that we regulate under the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000 (PPERA) include political parties, non-party campaigners at elections and referendums, and other political actors including individual members of political parties, holders of elective office, and associations of party members. We also have responsibilities relating to the compliance of individual candidates at elections under the Representation of the People Act 1983 (RPA).
- 1.3 Our statutory functions include:
- receiving, analysing and publishing information about party donations and campaign spending at elections and referendums
- advising those we regulate on how to comply with the law and what the rules mean for their campaigning plans
- monitoring compliance with the law
- dealing with possible breaches of the rules

Summary of the key rules affecting campaigners

Political parties

1.4 Under PPERA, political parties contesting a UK general election are subject to campaign spending rules during the 365 days that precede the poll (the 'regulated period'). The rules include a spending limit and reporting requirements for expenditure.

- 1.5 The spending limit during the regulated period for political parties contesting multiple seats at a UK general election is based on the number of constituencies the party is contesting in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. For a party contesting all the seats in the United Kingdom the applicable limits would total £19.5 million. The limits apply to certain types of spending which are defined in PPERA, including party political broadcast production costs, advertising, unsolicited mail, manifestos and party policy publications, market research, press conferences and services, transport, rallies and public meetings.
- 1.6 As the 2009 European Parliamentary election and the 2010 UK general election were held on 4 June 2009 and 6 May 2010 respectively, the regulated periods for these two elections overlapped. Therefore parties that contested both elections were subject to a combined expenditure limit that commenced on 5 February 2009 and ended on 6 May 2010. (For a European Parliamentary election, the regulated period is four months ending on the day of the poll.)
- 1.7 After the election all political parties (apart from those that have submitted an exemption declaration stating they do not intend to stand candidates at the election) are required to submit to the Commission a campaign expenditure return including documentation for each item of expenditure exceeding £200. At the 2010 UK general election, the deadline for submission was 5 August 2010 for parties that spent up to £250,000, and 5 November 2010 for those that spent more than £250,000. Returns for more than £250,000 must be accompanied by an independent auditor's certificate. The Commission must make copies of returns available to the public as soon as practicable after they are received.
- 1.8 Political parties must report to the Commission every three months the donations and loans they have accepted. Once the Queen has announced her intention to dissolve Parliament, an additional weekly reporting requirement applies to parties contesting the election. At the 2010 UK general election this applied between 6 April and 6 May 2010. During this period parties are required to submit weekly reports of donations (including public funds) and borrowing above £7,500 that the central party has received (but not necessarily accepted a party may receive a donation but subsequently refuse it if, for example, it does not come from a permissible donor). This information is published on our website.

¹ The spending limit for each party is the number of seats it contests multiplied by £30,000, or a total of £810,000 in England, £120,000 in Scotland, and £60,000 in Wales (whichever is higher). In the case of candidates standing on behalf of two parties, the multiplier for each party is halved (to £15,000).

Candidates

- 1.9 Separate rules apply to candidates at a UK general election during the regulated periods preceding the poll. The law sets expenditure limits for qualifying expenses and requirements for the treatment and reporting of donations to candidates during those periods.
- 1.10 At the 2010 UK general election new rules introduced a separate 'long' regulated period which ran from 1 January 2010 until the dissolution of Parliament on 12 April. During this 'long' period candidates had an expenditure limit of £25,000 plus either:
- 7p per elector for county constituencies (which are predominantly rural), or
- 5p per elector in borough (burgh in Scotland) constituencies (which are predominantly urban)

The resulting total limit was around £30,000, depending on the nature of each constituency and its electorate.

- 1.11 A second, separate regulated period applied to candidates for the 'short' period from dissolution until the poll on 6 May. The expenditure limit applying during this 'short' period was £7,150 plus either:
- 7p per elector for county constituencies, or
- 5p per elector in borough/burgh constituencies.

The resulting total limit was around £10,000 to £12,000.

1.12 Candidates' expenses are not included in the total provided by the parties as candidates are required to submit separate expenditure returns. These returns set out qualifying expenditure and include details of donations received over £50. The returns must be sent to the candidate's relevant (Acting) Returning Officer ((A)RO) (Chief Electoral Officer in Northern Ireland) within 35 days of the result being announced. The (A)RO must then make these returns available for public inspection and forward copies of returns to the Commission.

Non-party campaigners

1.13 The law also imposes limits on the spending of people and organisations that are not seeking election but are campaigning to influence the outcome of the election. There are two categories of these 'non-party campaigners': those campaigning for or against an individual candidate; and those campaigning for or against one or more registered political parties or a particular category of candidate (for example, those who hold or advocate a particular policy or opinion). Those who are only campaigning for or against an individual candidate are not required to register with the Commission but under the RPA are limited to expenditure of £500 towards campaign activity after Parliament is dissolved.

- 1.14 PPERA requires non-party campaigners at a UK general election that are campaigning on behalf of one or more registered political parties or a particular category of candidate, and intending to spend more than £10,000 in England (or more than £5,000 in any of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) at a UK general election, to register with the Commission as a 'recognised third party'.
- 1.15 Recognised third parties had to comply with campaign spending rules and donation rules during the 365-day period before the 2010 UK general election. As with political parties, separate spending limits apply in each part of the United Kingdom. For this UK general election, the limit in England was £793,500, in Scotland it was £108,000, in Wales £60,000 and in Northern Ireland £27,000.
- 1.16 Like political parties, recognised third parties must submit an expenditure return with documentation. At the 2010 UK general election the deadline for submission was 5 August 2010 for recognised third parties that spent up to £250,000 and 5 November 2010 for those that spent more than £250,000 (the latter also had to submit an independent auditor's certificate). This expenditure return must also include a statement of all relevant donations and loans. The Commission must make copies of returns available to the public as soon as practicable after they are received.

Our role as a regulator at the 2010 UK general election

- 1.17 We have a statutory duty to report on major electoral events. This is our report on campaign expenditure and related regulatory issues at the 2010 UK general election. It provides a summary of campaign expenditure by political parties, candidates and non-party campaigners. The report also highlights some regulatory issues arising from the UK general election.
- 1.18 The Commission's other publications about the 2010 UK general election include:
- Report on the administration of the 2010 UK general election (July 2010)²
- Expenditure returns for parties and non-party campaigners (also known as recognised third parties) spending £250,000 or less (September 2010)
- Expenditure returns for parties and non-party campaigners (also known as recognised third parties) spending over £250,000 (December 2010)
- Candidate returns data (December 2010)

² The report includes a chapter on campaigning and standing for election in 2010, which uses early provisional data which, in some cases, has changed slightly in this later publication.

4

- 1.19 In addition to compiling and publishing this information about the UK general election, our regulatory work in respect of the election included:
- Registering 82 new political parties between 1 January and the closure of the party register on 16 April (compared with 72 parties registered in the equivalent period in the run-up to the 2005 UK general election). We also registered 13 new non-party campaigners – many of which decided to register after we proactively contacted them to discuss their campaigning plans – and renewed the registration of five existing recognised third parties.
- Publishing written guidance for candidates and agents (including an explanation of the new 'long' regulated period) in December 2009 and updated guidance for political parties and non-party campaigners in January 2010.
- Providing training sessions for candidates and agents at party conferences in autumn 2009.
- Between 1 January and 6 May 2010, answering 1,739 requests from political parties, campaign organisations, candidates and agents for advice on routine issues and answering 221 requests for advice on novel or complex issues not covered in our written guidance.
- Between 7 May and 30 June 2010 answering 1,333 requests from political parties, campaign organisations, candidates and agents for advice on routine issues and answering 48 requests for advice on novel or complex issues not covered in our written guidance.

Campaign monitoring

• During certain elections the Commission is responsible for monitoring parties' and candidates' compliance with rules on donations and expenditure. For the 2010 UK general election, we used a risk-based approach to monitor campaign activity in certain electoral contests.³ This enabled us to identify potential incidents of non-compliance, allowing us to provide advice and guidance where necessary. It also provided us with an overview of the campaign and an evidence base to cross-reference with any enforcement cases involving candidate expenditure returns.

Regulatory-Activity-Dec2010.pdf.

³ Our 'Prioritising our regulatory activity' policy (December 2010) sets out our risk-based approach to campaign monitoring. It is available at: www.electoralcommission.org.uk/ data/assets/pdf_file/0006/107097/Prioritising-Our-

Campaign monitoring (cont.)

- We published a <u>briefing note</u> on our website before the UK general election outlining our campaign monitoring plans.
- In total, throughout the United Kingdom, we monitored 93⁴ target constituencies: 70 in England, eight in Scotland, eight in Wales and seven in Northern Ireland. These were chosen based on a number of criteria, including the marginality of the seat and the amount of money donated to parties' accounting units in that particular area, and taking into account local knowledge of the contest. We also monitored 10 extra constituencies in England that were expected to be safe seats. These were chosen at random as a control group. The constituencies we monitored are listed in Appendix C.
- The information we collated was compared against a selection of candidate expenditure returns. This allowed us to assess whether candidates had reported expenditure on campaigning activity we had recorded during our monitoring work. The information we gathered was cross-checked by our enforcement team when considering possible breaches of the spending rules.
- The checks indicated that the candidates we monitored complied with the spending limits.

⁴ In our July 2010 report on the administration of the election we cited 92 constituencies. One constituency in Northern Ireland was inadvertently omitted from the total.

6

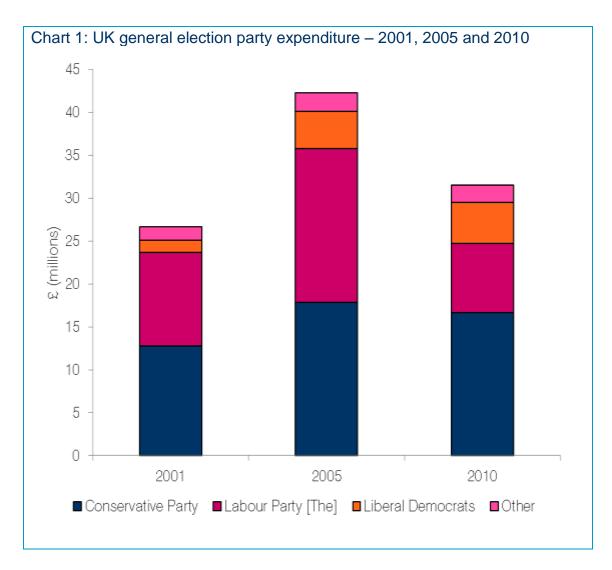
2 Summary of trends in spending

Political party spending

- 2.1 Controls on expenditure at elections by political parties are a relatively recent development, dating from the introduction of PPERA in 2000. Consequently, the Commission now has data on party spending at three UK general elections, in 2001, 2005 and 2010.
- 2.2 A total of 4,150 candidates, representing 138 registered political parties, contested the 2010 UK general election. This compares with 119 political parties and 3,554 candidates at the 2005 UK general election. Of the 138 parties who stood candidates, only 11 had candidates elected to the UK Parliament, one fewer than in 2005.⁵
- 2.3 Total reported national campaign expenditure by all political parties across the United Kingdom was £31.5 million (see Chart 1), around £10.8 million lower than in 2005, but £4.8 million above the amount spent in 2001.6 Almost all of the reduction since 2005 can be accounted for by a £9.9 million drop in the Labour Party's spending. The Conservative Party accounted for 53% of the entire amount spent by parties at national level during the campaign, with the Labour Party spending 25% of the total and the Liberal Democrats 15%. Therefore these three parties together accounted for 94% of all party expenditure at the election. Between them, these three parties accounted for 98% of the seats won in Great Britain.

⁵ In our report *Election 2005: campaign spending: The UK Parliamentary general election*, we said that candidates from 11 parties were elected. This did not take into account the Cooperative Party, which had candidates elected standing on joint descriptions with the Labour Party. The 2010 figure includes the Co-operative Party.

⁶ Party campaign expenditure in 2001 is not directly comparable with that at subsequent general elections as the reported expenditure accounts for a period of around five months, as opposed to the normal period of 365 days. This is because of transitional provisions included in the introduction of PPERA.



2.4 The geographical spread of party expenditure across Great Britain was broadly in proportion to the number of constituencies, with 82.2% of party expenditure incurred in England, 9.8% in Scotland and 6.9% in Wales. Spending by parties in Northern Ireland was proportionally lower, accounting for just over 1% of all party spending across the United Kingdom. A reduction in the amount of money spent by parties at elections in Northern Ireland has been a trend in recent years although proportionally more is spent by Northern Ireland candidates.

Table 1: Total reported party expenditure

Nation	Total expenditure (£000)	Total expenditure (%)	Seats (%)
England	25,895	82.2%	533 (82.0%)
Scotland	3,090	9.8%	59 (9.1%)
Wales	2,164	6.9%	40 (6.2%)
Northern Ireland	344	1.1%	18 (2.8%)
Total	31,492	100.0%	650 (100.0%)

2.5 In Northern Ireland the Ulster Unionist Party and the Conservative and Unionist Party stood under the registered joint description 'Ulster Conservatives and Unionists: New Force'. Together they spent a total of £127,000, of which £110,000 was spent by the Conservative and Unionist Party. They won no seats. Sinn Féin spent £64,000 and won five seats, while the Democratic Unionist Party spent £59,000 and won eight seats, one fewer than in 2005. The Social Democratic and Labour Party spent £52,000 and retained its three seats, while the Alliance Party spent almost £24,000 in winning a seat in the UK Parliament for the first time. Lady Sylvia Hermon, standing as an independent, won the other seat in Northern Ireland.

Candidate spending

- 2.6 Candidate spending at UK general elections is regulated under the Representation of the People Act 1983 (RPA). In Great Britain candidates must report expenditure to their local (Acting) Returning Officer ((A)RO) within 35 days of the result being declared. In Northern Ireland candidate returns are submitted to the Chief Electoral Officer. The returns must then be made available for inspection⁷ and a copy provided to the Commission as soon as reasonably practicable. The Commission collects and reviews the returns to monitor compliance with the rules on election finance. In December 2010 we published a summary of the expenses incurred by candidates on our website.
- 2.7 As of January 2011, the Commission had received copies of returns for 4,028 candidates out of the 4,150 who stood at the election. This is a return rate of 97%, down slightly from 99% in 2005. Despite this slight decrease, all returns from candidates who finished either first or second have been received. In Northern Ireland copies of returns were received from all candidates within the required 35-day period.
- 2.8 The Commission is currently considering how the compliance rate for returns can be improved at future elections, in a way that is proportionate and consistent with the scope of our regulatory powers. At the moment, the law gives us the responsibility to monitor and take appropriate steps to secure compliance with the rules on candidates' expenses; however, the only enforcement option to deal with non-submission of returns is to refer a suspected criminal offence to the relevant prosecutorial authority, as can any other interested party. Criminal investigation and prosecution can be a

⁷ Section 89(1), RPA.

⁸ Under Section 145, PPERA, the Commission is responsible for monitoring and (from December 2010) taking steps to secure compliance with the RPA rules on candidate spending and donations. However, the only sanction available at present is a criminal offence.

⁹ The Electoral Commission, *Election 2005: campaign spending: The UK Parliamentary general election* (March 2006), page 31,

www.electoralcommission.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/47183/CampaignSpendingweb_2 0371-14985_E_N_S_W_.pdf.

disproportionate reaction to administrative non-compliance, particularly in cases that have a low impact on overall confidence in election finance controls.

- 2.9 2010 was the first election since the introduction of the additional 'long' regulated period for candidates, which ran from 1 January 2010 to the dissolution of Parliament on 12 April. The new regulated period was introduced in 2009 by the Political Parties and Elections Act (PPE Act). Its purpose was to control local spending in the period before the dissolution of Parliament, while dealing with the uncertainty created by the lack of a fixed timetable for general elections. Previous proposals to introduce a fixed four-month regulated period for this purpose were dropped during the passage of the Electoral Administration Bill in 2005-6. This was because of concerns raised in Parliament about the practical difficulty of complying with such a limit when the date of the election would not be known until a few weeks before polling day.
- 2.10 This new additional regulated period for candidates means that there is more information available about candidate expenditure than before. 10 During this new regulated period, candidates reported a total of £11.2 million in expenditure. For the period between the dissolution of Parliament and polling day, candidates reported expenditure totalling £14.0 million, down slightly from £14.2 million in 2005. As with national party spending, a large majority of the combined candidate expenditure was incurred in England (84.3%), followed by Scotland (8%), Wales (5.3%) and Northern Ireland (2.4%).
- 2.11 The trend in candidate spending broadly reflects changes at national level (see Table 2), with Labour Party¹¹ candidate spending down by almost £600,000 (-14%) and Liberal Democrat candidate spending increasing by £225,000 (+9%). In contrast to their party's slightly reduced national expenditure compared with 2005. Conservative candidates increased their aggregate spend by just over £247,000 (+5%). Other parties whose candidates increased their aggregate spending include Plaid Cymru, the Scottish National Party, the Green Party and the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). 12
- 2.12 As in 2005, most campaign spending in Northern Ireland was incurred by candidates rather than by their parties. In some cases aggregate spending by a party's candidates was over four times that of the total party spend. Northern Ireland also saw the greatest concentration of candidate spending in the period after the dissolution of Parliament, with 87% of reported expenditure incurred during this period. For the rest of the United Kingdom, on average candidates spent about 40% of their total costs before dissolution and 60% afterwards.

¹² This only includes the short campaign as the long campaign did not exist in 2005.

10

¹⁰ Prior to 2001, candidate spending controls were 'triggered' by candidacy; however, in practice it was rare for this to occur before the dissolution of Parliament.

¹¹ This includes expenditure by joint Labour and Co-operative Party candidates.

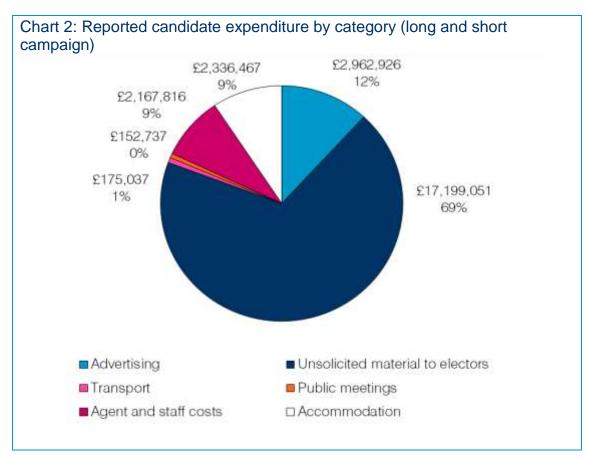
Table 2: Candidate and party expenditure, 2005 and 2010

Party	Party			Candidate					
		2005	Change from 2005 to 2010 (£000)	Change	long	2010 short (£000)	2005	Change from 2005 to 2010 (short) (£000)	Change from 2005 to 2010 (short)
Alliance – Alliance Party of Northern Ireland	24	21	3	13%	1	40	45	-6	<u>–</u> 13%
Conservative Party	16,683	17,852	-1,169	-7%	4,970	4,876	4,630	247	5%
Democratic Unionist Party – D.U.P.	59	107	-48	-45%	15	114	118	-4	-4%
Green Party	325	160	165	103%	110	202	188	14	7%
Labour Party [The]	8,016	17,946	-9,930	-55%	2,881	3,594	4,177	-583	-14%
Liberal Democrats	4,788	4,325	463	11%	2,345	2,704	2,480	225	9%
Plaid Cymru – Party of Wales [The]	145	39	106	273%	102	148	143	5	4%
Scottish National Party	316	194	122	63%	98	292	224	68	30%
SDLP (Social Democratic & Labour Party)	52	154	-102	-66%	11	89	88	1	1%
Sinn Féin	64	44	20	45%	36	68	92	-24	-26%
Other	1,021	1,482	-461	-31%	660	1,901	1,989	-88	-4%
Total	31,493	42,325	-10,832	-26 %	11,229	14,028	14,174	-146	-1%

Note: Parties listed in Tables 2 and 3 had candidates elected to the UK Parliament in 2010. Expenditure by joint Labour and Co-operative Party candidates has been included under 'The Labour Party'. Further data on other party and candidate expenditure is available on the Commission's website at <a href="https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/party-finance-party-fi

2.13 In Great Britain, the balance between reported national party spending and reported combined spending by party candidates (both before and after the dissolution of Parliament) was more varied. The Conservative Party spent more than the other parties both nationally and through candidates, but its national spending was significantly higher than its total candidate spending. The Labour Party also spent more at national level than through candidates, whereas Liberal Democrat candidates spent slightly more than their central party. Plaid Cymru and Scottish National Party candidates also spent more in total than their parties did nationally. British National Party candidates spent just over £220,000 while the party spent only around £29,000 at the national level, the latter being a notable reduction on the £112,000 national spend at the 2005 UK general election.

2.14 Over the 'long' and the 'short' regulated periods, the overwhelming majority of candidate expenditure was on unsolicited materials (e.g. leaflets) sent to electors. This is a higher proportion than the amount spent at the national level.¹³ After this, the next biggest areas of expenditure were on advertising, accommodation and staff costs (see Chart 2).



¹³ See Chart 9 for a breakdown of party spending. These numbers are not completely comparable as, unlike candidates, parties are not required to include expenditure on accommodation or staff costs in their return.

2.15 As noted in paragraph 2.9 above, this was the first election in which candidates had to report on expenditure incurred before the dissolution of Parliament, because of the introduction of the additional long regulated period. Initial analysis of the new regulated period suggests that, on average, 14 candidates spent well within the limit for the long campaign (see Table 3), and that those parties with candidates elected to Parliament were likely to spend a greater proportion of the limit than others.

Table 3: Average candidate spend as a percentage of the limit

Party	Average % of long limit	Average % of short limit	Average % of total regulated expenditure
Conservative Party	27	66	38
Labour Party [The]	16	50	25
Democratic Unionist Party – D.U.P.	3	63	20
Liberal Democrats	13	37	19
Scottish National Party	6	44	16
Plaid Cymru – Party of Wales [The]	9	34	16
Sinn Féin	7	35	15
SDLP (Social Democratic & Labour Party)	2	43	14
Alliance – Alliance Party of Northern Ireland	0	20	6
Green Party	1	6	2
For all parties	9	30	15

2.16 Overall, only 37 candidates, representing four parties¹⁵ in 36 constituencies, spent over 90% of the long limit. Similarly, 37 candidates from four parties in 35 constituencies spent over 90% of the combined long and short limit. However, during the short campaign, 378 candidates, representing 18 parties¹⁶ in 281 constituencies, spent over 90% of the limit. Over 90% of these candidates were standing for one of the largest three parties in Parliament.

13

¹⁴ This is the mean average. Note that some candidates submitted only one return, or a return that did not meet the new reporting requirements. Data for returns where we cannot identify the period in which the expenditure was incurred have been entered into the short campaign.

¹⁵ Joint Labour and Co-operative Party candidates are treated as Labour candidates for the purposes of calculating this number.

¹⁶ Joint Labour and Co-operative Party candidates are treated as Labour candidates for the purposes of calculating this number, and the Speaker is not included in the total.

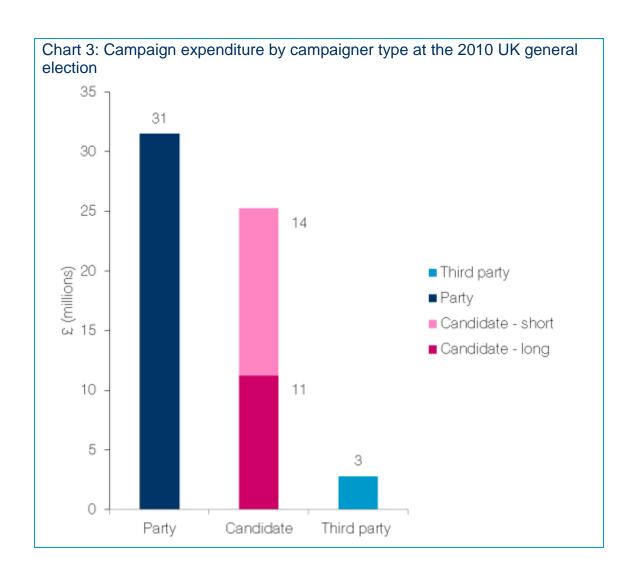
Non-party campaigner spending

- 2.17 Non-party campaigners who intend to spend significant amounts¹⁷ on campaigning to influence the outcome of an election are required to register with the Commission as a 'recognised third party'.¹⁸ There were 33 campaigners registered before the UK general election in 2010, compared with 25 at the 2005 UK general election. Thirteen of these campaigners registered for the first time, many after being contacted by us. After the election, 23 of these campaigners reported total expenditure of £2.8 million, more than £1 million more than that reported in 2005 and around 9% of the £31.5 million spent by political parties on national campaigning.¹⁹ As Chart 3 illustrates, non-party campaigning forms a relatively small proportion of overall campaign expenditure in the UK general election context.
- 2.18 A <u>breakdown of spending by recognised third parties</u> is on our website. Issues that attracted significant levels of spending by non-party registered campaigners included constitutional change, animal rights (including the ban on hunting with dogs), opposition to far-right parties and a number of union-supported campaigns such as opposition to post office closures.
- 2.19 As with both party and candidate expenditure, the overwhelming majority of third party expenditure was concentrated in England (91%), with the remaining 9% incurred in Scotland (4%), Wales (4%) and Northern Ireland (1%).

¹⁷ PPERA requires non-party campaigners intending to spend over £10,000 in England, £5,000 in Scotland, £5,000 in Wales and £5,000 in Northern Ireland at a UK general election to register with the Commission as a 'recognised third party'.

¹⁸ Campaigners focusing only on a particular candidate do not have to register with the Commission, but under the RPA they are limited to spending £500 on campaigning after the dissolution of Parliament.

¹⁹ Ten recognised third parties did not report any spending.



3 Issues for the regulatory regime

Introduction

3.1 The Commission's October 2010 submission²⁰ to the Committee on Standards in Public Life (CSPL) review of party funding discussed the key elements of any regulatory regime for party and election finance – transparency, controls on donations, controls on spending and enforcement. This section of the report considers these issues in the context of the 2010 UK general election.

Transparency

- 3.2 At the time of the UK general election there were 451 parties on our Great Britain and Northern Ireland registers, of which 138 stood candidates. At the time of the election, 256 parties in Great Britain and Northern Ireland were exempt from the weekly reporting requirements; the remainder did not apply for an exemption.
- 3.3 On average, 64% of the parties in Great Britain that were required to do so complied with the reporting requirements for weekly donation and loan returns. While this is a marked improvement from the 33% rate of compliance with weekly donation returns at the 2005 UK general election, it shows that around a third of parties failed to understand or comply fully with their statutory obligations, despite the Commission writing to remind them of their obligations on several occasions.
- 3.4 Of these, around 20% of the parties subject to weekly reporting requirements failed to submit any weekly donation or loan returns during the required period in the run-up to the election. None of these parties returned any MPs and none of those who stood candidates received over 1,000 votes. It seems appropriate to consider whether the current weekly reporting requirements for UK general elections should be revised to reduce unnecessary regulatory burdens.

16

²⁰ A copy of the submission is available on the Commission's website at www.electoralcommission.org.uk/ data/assets/pdf_file/0014/106142/Party-funding-The-Electoral-Commissions-submission-to-the-Committee-on-Standards-in-Public-Life.pdf.

Case study: weekly reporting in Great Britain

The current rules require parties to make weekly reports of donations and loans above £7,500 received in the final weeks before a UK general election, except where a party obtains an exemption by telling us in advance that it is not contesting the election. We publish these weekly reports on our website. The donations and loans are also captured in the next quarterly donations and loans report, which indicates which donations and loans have been accepted and which refused as impermissible. The purpose of the weekly reports is to provide transparency during heightened mid-campaign activity, as recommended in the *Fifth Report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life* in 1998.

At the 2010 UK general election, 225 parties on the Great Britain register obtained exemptions or were exempt, leaving 179 required to make weekly reports. Of these: (a) 10 parties reported receiving donations and loans totalling £14.1 million (one party reported credit facilities of £120,000); (b) 134 parties reported no donations or loans; and (c) 35 parties did not submit any weekly returns.

Compliance with the reporting rules was significantly better than the average compliance rate of 33% in 2005 because we took action to encourage parties to consider whether to apply for an exemption and to remind those that did not of the need to submit returns. This involved sending up to five letters to parties reminding them of the reporting obligations in the lead-up to the 2010 UK general election.

Our assessment of the parties in category (c) above is that their failure to comply is not a significant concern in terms of ensuring transparency, because the data in the Q2 party donation returns confirms that these are small parties which either have received no reportable donations or have been exempt from reporting donations due to four consecutive quarters of nil returns.

Meanwhile, the current rules place a significant burden on those small parties in category (b) above that do comply. They also have a cost to the taxpayer because we have to take steps to get parties to seek exemption or make reports.

A move to reporting donations received during the election campaign by **exception** (for instance, a donation or loan over £7,500 received by a central political party during the period starting with the announcement of the dissolution of Parliament would trigger a weekly reporting requirement) seems worth considering. This would maintain transparency over those parties in category (a) that receive significant levels of donations, while removing a compliance burden on parties in category (b), and ensuring that very small parties do not find themselves at risk of enforcement action by failing to seek an exemption.

- 3.5 The compliance rate of political parties with the requirement to submit a campaign expenditure return by 5 August for those spending up to £250,000, or by 5 November for parties spending over £250,000 (including an independent auditor's statement), improved considerably from 38% at the 2005 UK general election to 82% at the 2010 UK general election. Of the 18% of outstanding returns, all but 4% (five returns) had been received by February 2011. We continue to seek outstanding returns and will impose sanctions as appropriate, in line with our enforcement policy. Recognised third party compliance with reporting requirements also improved considerably, from 48% to 74%; the remaining outstanding returns were received late.
- 3.6 The proportion of candidates for whom we did not receive election expenditure and donation returns has increased slightly from 1% (50) in 2005 to 2.9% (122) in 2010, although, as noted above, returns have been provided by all candidates who came first or second in a constituency. We are considering how best to improve the submission of these returns at future general elections, working with (A)ROs to ensure that candidates and agents have access to clear guidance about their regulatory responsibilities. The slight downward trend in compliance is likely to be partially due to the increased number of independent candidates standing – 330 in 2010, up from 180 in 2005. While independents comprised only 8% of all candidates, they accounted for 39 (32%) of the 122 outstanding returns. Analysis of returns submitted by independent candidates showed a relatively small amount of spending. Independent candidates tend to lack both a central point of contact and the support and compliance structures that parties have. This makes it more difficult to provide them with advice and guidance on how to comply with the law. During the campaign the Commission's advice and guidance team explored new ways of engaging with independents, including a presentation to the Independent Network of candidates.

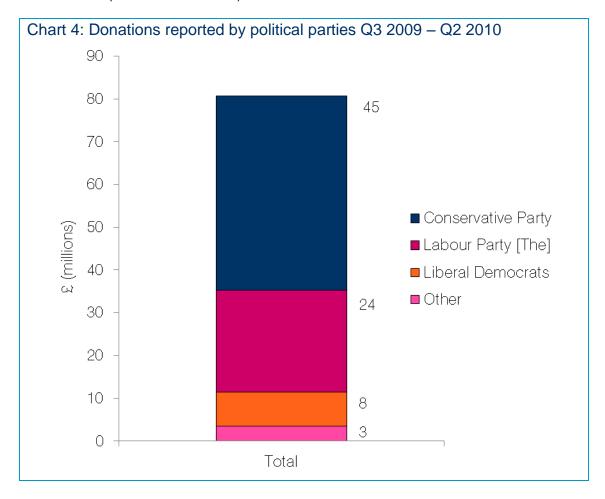
Conclusions

- Overall the current rules produced a high level of transparency on donations to and spending by candidates, parties and non-party campaigners at the 2010 UK general election.
- The new regulated period for candidate spending before the dissolution of Parliament has shed new light on the level of local spending in advance of general elections. We comment later in this report on the impact of the administrative requirements involved with the additional 'long' regulated period.
- There is scope to revise the weekly donation reporting requirement on political parties to maintain or improve transparency while reducing administrative burdens on campaigners.

Reporting donations

Political parties

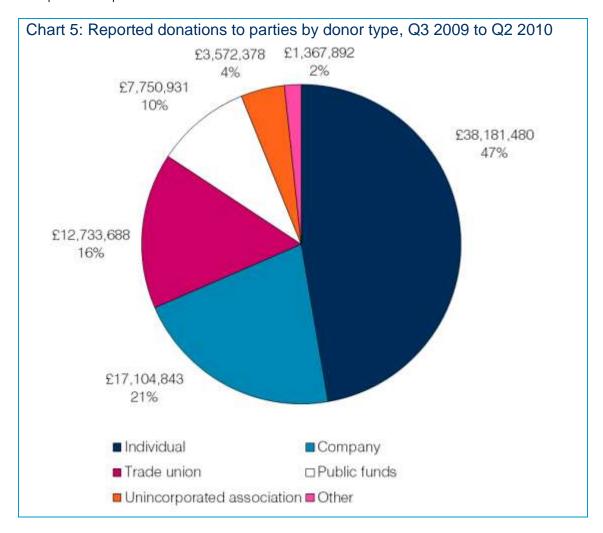
3.7 In the four quarters leading up to and including the election, parties reported a total of £80.7 million in donations.²¹ This is around £24 million more than the total amount reported over the same period of time in the run-up to the 2005 election. This rise in donations is particularly noteworthy considering that overall national party spending in 2010 was significantly lower than in 2005. Despite this, it is hard to draw meaningful conclusions about the relationship between donation income and campaign spending given the different circumstances of the various parties. Almost all of the reported donations (95.7%) were given to the Conservative Party, the Labour Party or the Liberal Democrats (see Chart 4 below).



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²¹ Data correct as of 18 January 2011.

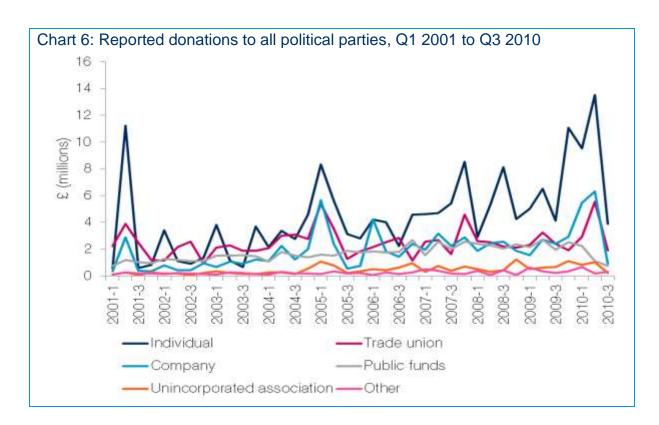
3.8 Although the reporting thresholds for donations increased by 50% at the start of 2010, following Parliament's agreement that this change would reduce the administrative burden on party volunteers,²² the run-up to the election saw a new record for quarterly donation returns.²³ Between 1 April and 30 June 2010, 17 parties reported a total of £27.6 million in donations.



3.9 The type of donors giving to parties just before the 2010 election was consistent with the trend since reporting was introduced in 2000. Almost 50% of the donations made between Q3 2009 and Q2 2010 were made by individuals (see Chart 5), with 21% made by companies and 16% by trade unions. Except in a few reporting periods, individuals have consistently been the biggest donors to parties since reporting began in 2001 (see Chart 6).

²² The reporting thresholds for donations were changed in 2009 by the Political Parties and Elections Act. They rose from £5,000 to £7,500 for donations to central parties, and from £1,000 to £1,500 for donations to accounting units. These figures include aggregated donations over £500. The Commission will assess the impact of the threshold changes on transparency later this year when parties' 2010 accounts become available.

²³ The next highest quarter was Q1 2005, just prior to the 2005 UK general election, when political parties reported receiving just under £20.6 million in donations.



- 3.10 Between 6 April and polling day, parties were also required to submit weekly reports to the Commission on donations they had received (and borrowing they had entered into) for publication on our website. These donations and borrowings were also recorded in the next quarterly returns, showing which donations (and loans) were accepted as permissible and which were returned as coming from impermissible sources. During the weekly reporting period, nine parties reported donations totalling over £14 million, 99% of which was given to the Conservative Party, the Labour Party or the Liberal Democrats.
- 3.11 The 2010 UK general election was the first general election at which loans and credit arrangements for parties were regulated, following the introduction of controls in the Electoral Administration Act (EAA).²⁴ The total value of borrowing agreements entered into by parties in the four quarters before the election was £10.6 million, of which the Conservative Party accounted for 49% and the Labour Party 39%. During the weekly reporting period in the run-up to the election there were only three new borrowing agreements, totalling £120,000. These were all reported by the Trust Party, which registered as a party in March 2010 and stood two candidates at the 2010 UK general election.
- 3.12 While donations, loans and expenditure reported under PPERA provide an indication of the parties' income during the election year, we will have a fuller picture of the parties' finances during the election period when the parties submit their 2010 accounts to us for publication in late summer 2011.

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21

²⁴ Part 4A, PPERA, as amended by Sections 60–63, EAA 2006.

Conclusions

- Despite the significant increase in donation reporting thresholds four months before the 2010 UK general election, the three largest political parties reported more income from donations during the preceding year than ever before.
- The impact of the donation reporting threshold increase will be clearer when parties submit their 2010 accounts in summer 2011, and we will review it at that time.

Candidates

- 3.13 Like political parties, candidates or their agents must check that all donations and loans are from a permissible source before accepting them, and must report them in their election expenditure return. The threshold for checking permissibility and for reporting donations is £50. Information that must be reported in the return includes the number of permissible and impermissible donations received, the dates of receipt and acceptance of donations, their value and the donors' identity. In order to check compliance with the rules, we undertook permissibility checks on a sample of reported donations. None of the donations we checked were found to be impermissible.
- 3.14 Over the 'long' and 'short' regulated periods, candidates reported a total of £24.4 million in donations, £11.2 million during the long campaign and £13.2 million in the short. This includes all donations received from others and, in some cases, the amount that candidates themselves contributed towards their own campaign. Candidates are not required under the law to declare the amount they contributed personally to a campaign. This is why the total value of donations reported by some candidates is lower than their expenditure (see the section on reporting candidate expenditure).

Conclusions

- The new 'long' regulated period for UK general elections has provided more transparency on donations to candidates in the period before the dissolution of Parliament. As discussed below (paragraphs 3.22–3.25), there is scope to simplify the reporting arrangements for candidates in the future while retaining transparency.
- To provide a fuller picture of the sources of candidate spending, it may be helpful – subject to the views of political parties – to amend the reporting requirements to show how gaps between reported spending and donations have been funded.

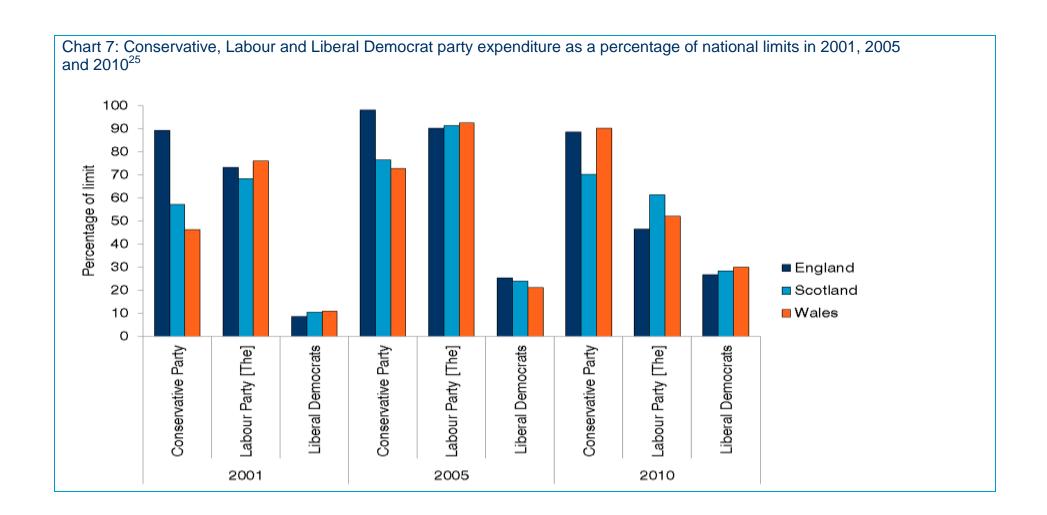
Non-party campaigners

3.15 Following an election, recognised third parties are required to submit a report on donations that they have accepted towards campaign spending. Donations received for activities undertaken before the 365-day regulated period and non-campaign fundraising are not reportable. In the year preceding the 2010 UK general election, recognised third parties reported accepting £1.16 million in donations; details are published on the Commission's website. Donations were made up of trade union funding to anti-fascist non-party campaigners along with donations to issues-based campaign groups from individuals, think tanks and companies.

Reporting expenditure

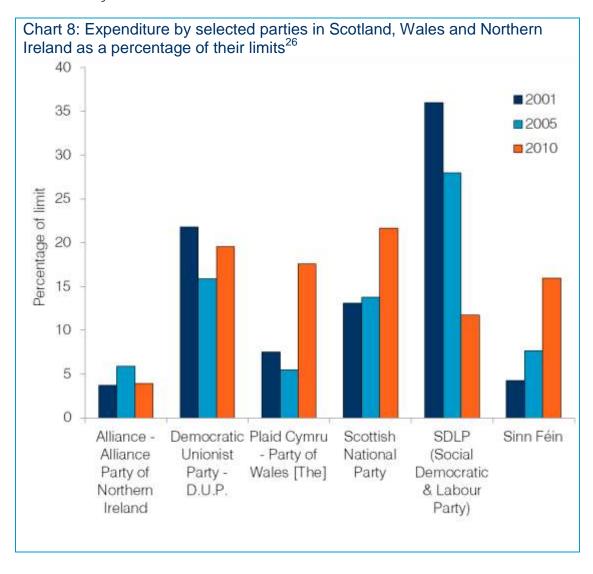
Political parties

- 3.16 It was generally anticipated that the 2010 UK general election would be a close electoral contest, with the possibility of the first hung Parliament since 1978. As noted above, the run-up to the election also saw record levels of reported donations. This might have been expected to lead to a high level of campaign spending by the largest parties and their candidates, although the factors that drive campaign funding and spending are complex and depend heavily on the context of each election and each party's prospects of success. In the event, overall aggregate party expenditure at a national level was significantly lower than in 2005. Total aggregate spending by candidates in the period after the dissolution of Parliament was also slightly lower than in 2005. Candidate expenditure for the three-and-a-half months before the dissolution of Parliament was regulated and recorded in 2010 but not in 2005.
- 3.17 None of the parties reported national campaign spending that exceeded the applicable spending limits. Chart 7 shows Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat party expenditure as a percentage of the national expenditure limits in Great Britain for last three general elections. The only one of these parties to spend a higher proportion of the limits in all parts of Great Britain in 2010 than in 2005 was the Liberal Democrats. The Labour Party spent less than in 2005 as a percentage of all the national limits. The Conservative Party spent a lower proportion of the limit in England and Scotland, while they increased their expenditure, relative to the limit, in Wales by almost 20%.



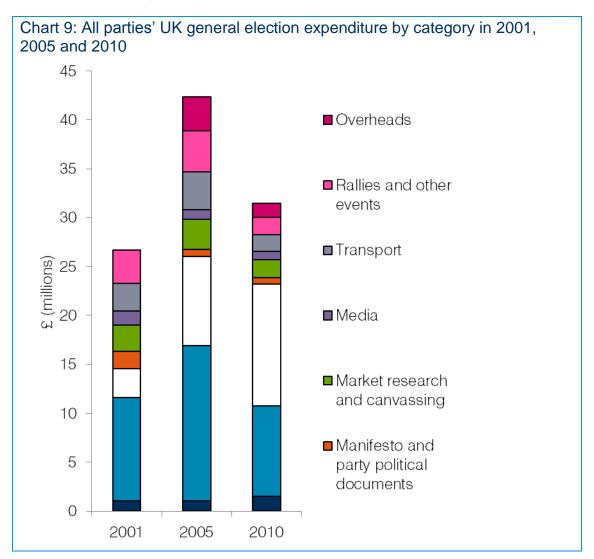
²⁵ Note: the spending limit was reduced to £24,000 per constituency contested in 2001 because of transitional arrangements following the introduction of PPERA.

3.18 As in previous UK general elections, none of the parties that contested seats only in Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland came close to spending their limit at the 2010 UK general election. In the past, these parties' candidates have tended to incur more campaign expenditure than the parties themselves. However, there was a noteworthy increase in party expenditure at the 2010 UK general election by Plaid Cymru, the Scottish National Party and Sinn Féin. In contrast, the Social Democratic and Labour Party's expenditure was substantially lower than in 2005.



²⁶ The parties included in this chart contested the UK general election in either Scotland or Wales or Northern Ireland and had at least one candidate elected.

3.19 Party spending is reported by category and there has been a shift in the use of campaign funds since the 2005 UK general election, with a noticeable increase in the use of unsolicited mail as opposed to advertising such as press and posters (see Chart 9). Reductions in other categories appear consistent with the overall drop in expenditure.



Conclusions

- The most striking feature of party spending at the 2010 UK general election was a considerable drop in total aggregate spending from 2005 levels, along with a slightly smaller overall reduction in spending by candidates in the 'short' period.
- The factors that drive campaign funding and spending are inherently complex and depend heavily on the context of each election and each party's prospects of success. In our evidence to the CSPL review of political funding we noted that the Committee may wish to give further consideration to the relationship between local and national expenditure as well as to categories of expenditure and limits.

Candidates

3.20 After UK general elections we obtain candidate expenses returns from (A)ROs in order to monitor compliance with the rules. We then publish headline data from the returns on our website to increase transparency by providing a single source of accessible information about candidate spending. We also use this information to examine how the regulatory system is working. As noted above, we received expenditure returns for 97% of the candidates who stood at the election, including all those who came first or second in each constituency. However, we have identified several issues with the current regulatory framework for candidate spending that need further consideration. Some relate to the additional 'long' regulated period, while others are general administrative issues.

Issues identified

Problems with some returns relating to the introduction of the new regulated period included:

- submission of only one expenditure return to cover both regulated periods
- the use of outdated return forms that did not reflect the current reporting requirements
- submission of duplicate returns for the two regulated periods

General administrative problems included:

- candidates using the wrong electorate figure or constituency type to calculate the expenses limit
- candidates/agents submitting returns directly to the Commission instead of to the (A)RO
- arithmetical errors in returns
- 3.21 Most of these problems seem to have arisen either because some candidates and agents found the use of two regulated periods confusing, or because of the complex arrangements for calculating the spending limit for each constituency, which is based on the size of the electorate on a specified date shortly before polling day.
- 3.22 These problems can be addressed for future UK general elections through a combination of administrative measures and changes to the rules. On the administrative side, we are considering what changes should be made to our future guidance and template forms for candidates and agents. For the 2010 UK general election we produced new written guidance and model expenditure return forms, including an interactive Excel version which was well received by some experienced agents.
- 3.23 We are contacting those electoral administrators who experienced particular problems in 2010 (such as failing to communicate accurate electorate numbers to candidates and agents, and providing out-of-date forms and

guidance) to ensure that we understand the reasons for problems and that action will be taken to prevent recurrences. We will also revise our guidance for administrators to help them avoid similar problems in future. We will take into account the role that administrators have in supporting candidates' and agents' compliance with the spending rules as part of a review of the performance standards framework for electoral administrators in 2011.

- 3.24 There is clearly scope to simplify the underlying rules to reduce the burden on candidates and agents, and help them comply with the spending limits and reporting requirements. In particular, the Government's proposals for the introduction of fixed-term Parliaments at Westminster may provide an opportunity for significant simplification, in terms of:
- moving from two regulated periods with separate spending limits and reporting requirements to a single candidate expenditure return and period, and
- simplifying the calculation of the spending limits for each constituency. The current arrangements require electoral administrators, candidates and agents to calculate the limits based on data that is only available shortly before the poll.
- 3.25 The existing arrangements where (A)ROs are responsible for receiving and making available candidate expenditure returns, and the supporting paperwork such as invoices, provide for local scrutiny. The alternative to these arrangements would be to centralise this function to a body such as the Electoral Commission. However, this would require considerable resources to review, redact and publish a significant volume of information. The Commission does not obtain or publish supporting invoices due to the considerable resources required.

Conclusions

- The new reporting requirements for candidates have meant that more information is available than before about candidates' campaign expenditure before the dissolution of Parliament.
- Although only 1% of candidates standing for election spent over 90% of the new 'long' expenditure limit, this still suggests that the new regulated period may have moderated spending in a small number of closely contested constituencies in the run-up to the dissolution of Parliament.
- With almost 10% of candidates spending over 90% of the 'short' limit, it appears that the limit is working to constrain spending in some constituencies in the period between the dissolution of Parliament and polling day.

Conclusions (cont.)

- Despite a high level of compliance with the candidate spending rules, providing transparency of spending and donations, some aspects of the current rules have caused confusion for candidates and agents.
- We are planning administrative changes to help address this problem.
- There is also scope to simplify the underlying rules, particularly in light of the proposed move to fixed-term Parliaments for Westminster.

Non-party campaigners

3.26 As described above, aggregate spending by registered non-party campaigners was significantly higher than at the 2005 UK general election, but remained a small proportion of total campaign spending at the election. PPERA regulates spending by non-party campaigners on 'election material' that is intended to promote the electoral success of particular parties or groups of candidates, or to enhance their standing with the electorate at future elections. Judgements on when activity counts as election material depend on the facts of each case, and can sometimes be complex. In the run-up to the 2010 UK general election we updated our guidance for campaigners to explain as clearly as possible when we regard activity as falling into the category of regulated spending.

Enforcement

3.27 Between the dissolution of Parliament on 12 April 2010 and the end of the year, the Commission dealt with 70 potential enforcement cases, of which 40 were related to the 2010 UK general election. Of these cases, 24 related to candidates and agents under the Representation of the People Act 1983 (RPA), 15 related to political parties or non-party campaigners under PPERA, and one was found to fall outside the Commission's remit. Of the 40 UK general election-related cases, 11 reached the case review stage. 27 Except for two cases which were received towards the end of the year, all UK general election-related cases had been closed by the end of 2010.

²⁷ A **case review** is where the Commission has assessed the information and considers that there may be a breach of PPERA or the RPA. In these cases we seek to determine whether there has been a breach by referring to information provided to us or which we become aware of as a result of enquiries. We will not at this stage use our formal powers of investigation and will not conduct interviews. We will commence an **investigation** where we need to use our statutory powers to obtain information and/or where we need to interview individuals in order to obtain information necessary to determine whether there has been a breach of PPERA or the RPA.

- 3.28 We are responsible under PPERA for monitoring and (from December 2010) taking steps to secure compliance with the RPA rules on candidate spending and donations. However, at present we have no sanctioning powers in respect of breaches of RPA rules, but we may refer a suspected breach for criminal investigation or seek prosecution, in the same way that any other interested organisation or individual may do. We concluded that none of the UK general election-related cases involving an alleged breach of the RPA warranted criminal prosecution. One of the factors we took into account in reaching our decisions on cases was the amount of any potential overspend. In some cases we took no action because inaccurate electorate numbers, and hence spending limits, had been provided to candidates by electoral administrators and this was considered to be an underlying cause of the potential overspends. In one case the police had commenced an investigation into the spending of a candidate (David Mundell MP) and it was decided in light of the police investigation to close our case. The police case was later closed without further action.
- 3.29 In December 2010 we were given access to a broader set of investigatory tools and new civil sanctions for our future regulatory work involving political parties and non-party campaigners. These powers and sanctions do not apply to cases involving candidates and agents under the RPA. Candidate controls pre-date those on parties and the existence of the Electoral Commission.
- 3.30 In 2011 we will consider carefully whether it would be appropriate to seek access to PPERA-type investigatory powers and civil sanctions in respect of alleged breaches of the RPA at certain elections, including UK general elections. This would allow us to take civil enforcement action in cases where candidates and agents fail to comply with the law, but which do not warrant criminal investigation. However, the benefits of such a change will need to be considered carefully in view of the relatively small number of breaches that have occurred, the high proportion of cases in which it is not considered in the public interest to refer them for criminal investigation, and the costs and burdens that would arise from a new enforcement regime for such cases.
- 3.31 Those enforcement cases that have been closed already have not raised any regulatory issues beyond those highlighted above. We will raise any other issues that may emerge from those cases still under review as and when they are concluded.

-

²⁸ See, for instance, the <u>case summary</u> involving expenditure by Zac Goldsmith in Richmond Park.

Conclusions

- Most of the enforcement casework arising from the election has related to candidates' and agents' compliance. We have limited ability to enforce the controls on candidates, as only criminal sanctions are available for such offences.
- The shape of the regulatory regime following the current CSPL review will be a significant factor in developing future policy in this area. If the existing regulatory structure remains in place, we may need to consider whether there is a case to be made for seeking regulatory powers for RPA offences along the lines of those recently introduced for breaches of PPERA, taking into account the costs and burdens associated with a new enforcement regime.

Appendix A

Political parties and non-party campaigners at the 2010 UK general election

5
Political parties
A Vote Against MP Expense Abuse
All The South Party
Alliance – Alliance Party of Northern Ireland
Alliance For Green Socialism
Alliance for Workers' Liberty
Animals Count
Anticapitalists – Workers Power
Apolitical Democrats
Best of a Bad Bunch
Better Britain Party [The]
Blue Environment Party
British National Party
Bromsgrove Independent Conservative
Bushra Irfan of Blackburn
Cambridge Socialists
Campaign for Independent Politicians
Christian Movement for Great Britain
Christian Party "Proclaiming Christ's Lordship"
Christian Peoples Alliance
Church of the Militant Elvis
Citizens for Undead Rights and Equality
City INDEPENDENTS
Clause 28, Children's Protection Christian Democrats
Common Good [The]
Common Sense Party
Communist League Election Campaign
Communist Party of Britain
Conservative And Unionist Party [The]
Conservative Party
Co-operative Party [The]
Cut The Deficit
Democratic Labour Party
Democratic Nationalists
Democratic Unionist Party – D.U.P.
Direct Democracy (Communist) Party
English Democrats Party

Delitical parties
Political parties
English Independence Party
Equal Parenting Alliance
Fancy Dress Party
Freedom and Responsibility
Get Snouts Out The Trough
Green Party
Green Party of Northern Ireland
Hugh Salmon for Battersea Party
Humanity
Impact Party
Independent Ealing Acton Communities Public Services
Independent Kidderminster Hospital and Health Concern
INDEPENDENT Leave-the-EU Alliance
Independent People Together
Independent Save Our Green Belt
Independent Voice for Halifax
Independents Federation UK
Independents to Save Queen Mary's Hospital
Integrity UK
Islam Zinda Baad Platform
Jannen will put Brent North First
Joy of Talk [The]
Justice & Anti-Corruption Party [The]
Justice Party
Labour Party [The]
Landless Peasant Party
Lewisham For People Not Profit
Liberal Democrats
Liberal Party [The]
Libertarian Party
Lincolnshire Independents Lincolnshire First
Local Liberals People Before Politics Party
Macclesfield Independent [The]
Magna Carta Party [The]
Mansfield Independent Forum
Matriarchal Party United Kingdom Great Britain
Mebyon Kernow – The Party for Cornwall
Medway Independent Party
Middle England Party
Money Reform Party
Movement for Active Democracy (M.A.D.)

Dollitical partice
Political parties
National Front
National Liberal Party, The Third Way
Nationwide Reform Party
Neath Port Talbot Independent Party
New Independent Conservative Chelsea and Fulham
New Millennium Bean Party
New Party [The]
No Candidate Deserves My Vote!
Nobody Party
Northampton – Save Our Public Services
Official Monster Raving Loony Party [The]
P.N.D.P. [The]
Peace Party – Non-violence, Justice, Environment [The]
People Before Profit Alliance
Peoples Party Essex
People's Voice
Pirate Party UK
Plaid Cymru – Party of Wales [The]
Radical Reform Group
Reduce Tax On Beer
Reform 2000 Party
Respect – The Unity Coalition
Restoration Party
Revolutionary Communist Party Britain (Marxist-Leninist)
Save King George Hospital
Science Party [The]
Scotland Against Crooked Lawyers
Scottish Green Party
Scottish Jacobite Party [The]
Scottish National Party
Scottish Socialist Party
Scrap Members Allowances
SDLP (Social Democratic & Labour Party)
Sinn Féin
Social Democratic Party
Socialist Alternative
Socialist Equality Party
Socialist Labour Party
Socialist Party of Great Britain [The]
Solidarity – Scotland's Socialist Movement
Solihull and Meriden Residents Association

Political parties
Staffordshire Independent Group
Tamsin Omond To The Commons
Tendring First
The Animal Protection Party
The Buckinghamshire Campaign for Democracy
The Cornish Democrats
Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition
Traditional Unionist Voice – TUV
True English (Poetry) Party [The]
Trust
UK Independence Party (UK I P)
Ulster Unionist Party
United Voice
Unity For Peace And Socialism
Virtue Currency Cognitive Appraisal Party
Wessex Regionalists
Workers Revolutionary Party
You Party
Your Right To Democracy Party Limited
Youth Party [The]

Non-party campaigners
38 Degrees
A Minority Pastime Limited
Campaign for an Independent Britain
Community
Confederation of English Business Limited
Evershed Patrick Mr
IFAW in Action
Independent Network Campaign Ltd
May Brian Harold Dr
Muslim Friends Of Labour
National Union of Teachers
Political Animal Lobby Limited
Public and Commercial Services Union
Searchlight Information Services Ltd
Sentinel Publications Limited
The Board of Deputies of British Jews Ltd
The Democratic Reform Company
The Educational Institute of Scotland
The League Against Cruel Sports
The Young Britons' Foundation
Third Way Publications Ltd
Uncaged Campaigns Ltd
Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians
Union of UEA Students
UNISON – The Public Service Union
Unite
Unite Against Fascism
USDAW
Vote Cruelty Free
Vote For A Change Ltd
Vote-OK
Wales TUC
Wight Robin Mr

Appendix B

Expenditure categories and links to data

Campaign expenditure by parties, recognised third parties and candidates has to be reported by type and by category. For spend by type they all need to report:

- unpaid claims
- disputed claims
- value of notional expenditure
- payments made

Parties have to report the following expenditure categories:

- party political broadcasts
- advertising
- unsolicited material to electors
- manifesto/party political documents
- market research/canvassing
- media
- transport
- rallies and other events
- overheads and general administration

Candidates have to report the following expenditure categories:

- advertising
- unsolicited material to electors
- transport
- public meetings
- agents and staff costs
- accommodation and administration

For more information on expenditure and donations at the general election, click on the links below:

- Parties' register of campaign expenditure
- Parties' register of donations
- Parties' register of borrowings
- <u>Candidates' expenses returns data (includes headline information on donations)</u>
- Third parties' register of controlled expenditure
- Third parties' register of donations

Appendix C

Campaign monitoring constituencies

Constituency	Nation
Barking	England
Barnsley East	England
Basingstoke	England
Bath	England
Birkenhead	England
Birmingham, Edgbaston	England
Birmingham, Hodge Hill	England
Blackburn	England
Blackley and Broughton	England
Bolsover	England
Bootle	England
Brentford and Isleworth	England
Brighton, Kemptown	England
Brighton, Pavilion	England
Bristol North West	England
Bristol West	England
Broxtowe	England
Buckingham	England
Burton	England
Bury North	England
Camborne and Redruth	England
Cambridge	England
Carshalton and Wallington	England
Cheltenham	England
Chesterfield	England
Chippenham	England
Colchester	England
Derby North	England
Ealing Central and Acton	England
East Hampshire	England
Eastleigh	England
Enfield North	England
Exeter	England
Finchley and Golders Green	England
Gosport	England
Great Yarmouth	England
Halton	England
Hammersmith	England
Hampstead and Kilburn	England
Hastings and Rye	England

Constituency	Nation
Hendon	England
Hereford and South Herefordshire	England
Holborn and St Pancras	England
Hornsey and Wood Green	England
Kenilworth and Southam	England
Kettering	England
Knowsley	England
Lewes	England
Ludlow	England
Luton North	England
Luton South	England
Meon Valley	England
Mid Dorset and North Poole	England
Milton Keynes North	England
Morley and Outwood	England
Newbury	England
Newcastle upon Tyne East	England
Norwich North	England
Nottingham South	England
Pendle	England
Poplar and Limehouse	England
Portsmouth South	England
Putney	England
Richmond Park	England
Salford and Eccles	England
Selby and Ainsty	England
South Derbyshire	England
Southampton, Itchen	England
Stevenage	England
Stoke-on-Trent Central	England
Streatham	England
Totnes	England
Twickenham	England
Watford	England
Wells	England
West Worcestershire	England
Westminster North	England
Westminster North Westmorland and Lonsdale	England
Wimbledon	England
Worcester	England
Antrim North	Northern Ireland
Antrim South	Northern Ireland
Belfast North	Northern Ireland
Belfast South	Northern Ireland
Fermanagh and South Tyrone	Northern Ireland
i cimanagii and South Tyrone	i voi inem meianu

Constituency	Nation
Strangford	Northern Ireland
Upper Bann	Northern Ireland
Aberdeen South	Scotland
Angus	Scotland
Dumfriesshire, Clydesdale and Tweeddale	Scotland
Dundee East	Scotland
Edinburgh South	Scotland
Edinburgh South West	Scotland
Ochil and Perthshire South	Scotland
Renfrewshire East	Scotland
Aberconwy	Wales
Blaenau Gwent	Wales
Cardiff North	Wales
Ceredigion	Wales
Llanelli	Wales
Swansea West	Wales
Vale of Glamorgan	Wales
Ynys Môn	Wales

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To contact our offices in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and the English regions, see inside back cover for details.

We are an independent body set up by the UK Parliament. Our aim is integrity and public confidence in the democratic process. We regulate party and election finance and set standards for well-run elections.

Democracy matters