

Analysis of cases of alleged electoral fraud in the UK in 2015

Summary of data recorded by police forces

March 2016

1 Introduction and summary

1.1 The Electoral Commission's core principles for free elections that support a healthy democracy are that: people should be able to trust the way our elections and our political finance system work; it should be straightforward for people to participate in our elections and our political finance system, whether voting or campaigning, and people should be confident that their vote counts; and there should be no undue influence in the way our elections and our political finance system work.

1.2 These principles underpin the Commission's commitment to ensuring that electoral fraud is prevented, that any allegations are recorded and swiftly investigated by the police when necessary, and that in the relatively rare instances where fraud is committed it is detected and appropriately punished.

1.3 The Electoral Commission is the only body in the UK which collects and publishes data about the outcome of cases of alleged electoral fraud which have been reported to police forces each year, and we have published our analysis of the data each year since 2008.¹ We are not aware of any comparable comprehensive and publicly available database of cases of alleged electoral fraud having been established for other countries.

1.4 We have worked with the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC – formerly ACPO, the Association of Chief Police Officers) to collect data from police forces about cases of alleged electoral fraud and receive monthly returns from all 45 territorial police forces across England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Each year we have published an analysis of this data.

1.5 This paper summarises the data relating to elections held during 2015, and is based on data recorded by police forces during 2015 and updated in January 2016. We will also publish a spreadsheet detailing the nature and outcome of every case recorded in 2015.

1.6 We are grateful for the support and assistance of the NPCC and the Single Point of Contact officers (SPOCs) in each police force for their cooperation and commitment to providing the data which is summarised in this document.

Elections in 2015

1.7 On 7 May 2015 elections were held for the 650 members of the United Kingdom Parliament and for local councillors in all 36 metropolitan boroughs, 194 district authorities and 49 unitary authorities in England.

¹ Prior to 2008, there was no formal collection of data on cases of alleged electoral fraud.

1.8 On the same day there were elections for Mayors in six English local authorities², a council tax referendum in Bedfordshire, and neighbourhood planning referendums in Central Milton Keynes, Malpas & Overton (Cheshire West & Chester) and Wirksworth (Derbyshire Dales). It was also the first time that parish council elections in England were combined with a UK Parliamentary general election.

1.9 A UK Parliamentary by-election was held in Oldham West and Royton on 3 December 2015, following the death of the sitting MP.

1.10 Table 1 below shows the scale of participation at electoral events held during 2015.

Table 1: Participation at electoral events during 2015

Election	Number of seats contested	Electorate	Number of ballot papers included in the count	Turnout
UK Parliamentary general election	650	46 million	31 million	66%
Local elections (England)	9,100	30 million	20 million	64%
Directly-elected Mayoral elections (England)	6	692,000	413,324	60% (average)
UK Parliamentary by-election (Oldham West and Royton)	1	70,545	17,300	39%

Overview of key data from 2015

1.11 Police forces across the UK recorded a total of 481 cases of alleged electoral fraud during 2015.³ Police forces also recorded 184 other complaints about elections which did not relate to allegations of electoral fraud.⁴

1.12 At the time of publishing this analysis, court proceedings had been initiated in relation to four cases of alleged electoral fraud, including three separate cases in which candidates (or in one case the husband of a candidate) have been convicted of submitting fraudulently completed nomination forms.

² Bedford, Copeland, Leicester, Mansfield, Middlesbrough, and Torbay.

³ Defined as cases relating to offences under the Representation of the People Act (RPA) 1983.

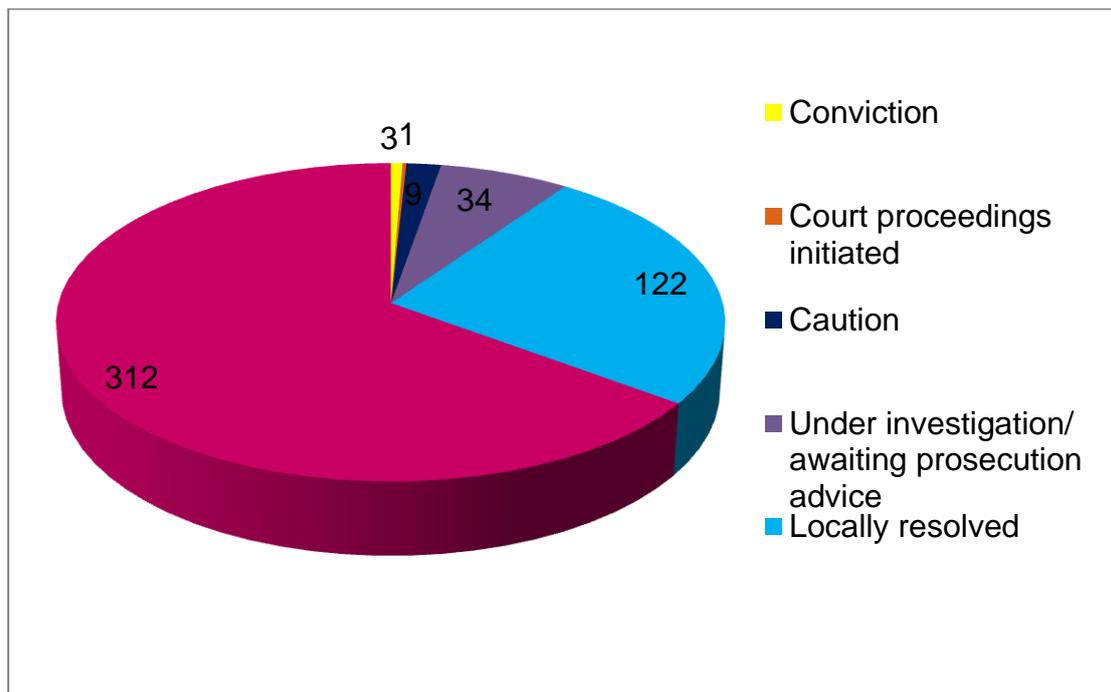
⁴ Including allegations of: theft or damage to property, election material or vehicles; stalking; trespassing; taunting; blocking a polling station car park; malicious communications, race comments; offensive tweets or letters; assault; intimidating canvassers; copyright infringement.

1.13 A quarter of all reported cases of alleged electoral fraud (a total of 122 cases) were locally resolved by police forces, with advice given either by the police or the Returning Officer. In nine cases suspects accepted police cautions in relation to allegations of electoral fraud. These included alleged personation offences where an individual cast a vote as someone else, either by post or by proxy; an alleged registration offence where someone registered in someone else's name; and emails sent which made a false statement of fact about the personal character of a candidate.

1.14 A further 34 cases are either still under investigation by police forces or awaiting prosecution advice.

1.15 In nearly two thirds of cases of alleged electoral fraud (a total of 312 cases) police forces took no further action following the conclusion of their investigations. This includes cases where the activity involved was not in fact an offence, where there was no evidence that an offence had been committed, or where there was insufficient evidence to identify a perpetrator. It also includes cases which, following investigation, were found not to have involved electoral fraud offences.

Chart 1: Outcome of cases of alleged electoral fraud reported in 2015



1.16 More than half of all reported cases of alleged electoral fraud (269 cases, representing 56% of the total) related to campaigning offences, which could include failure to include details about the printer, promoter and/or publisher on election material, making false statements of fact about the personal character or conduct of a candidate, or failure to submit a return of elections expenses.

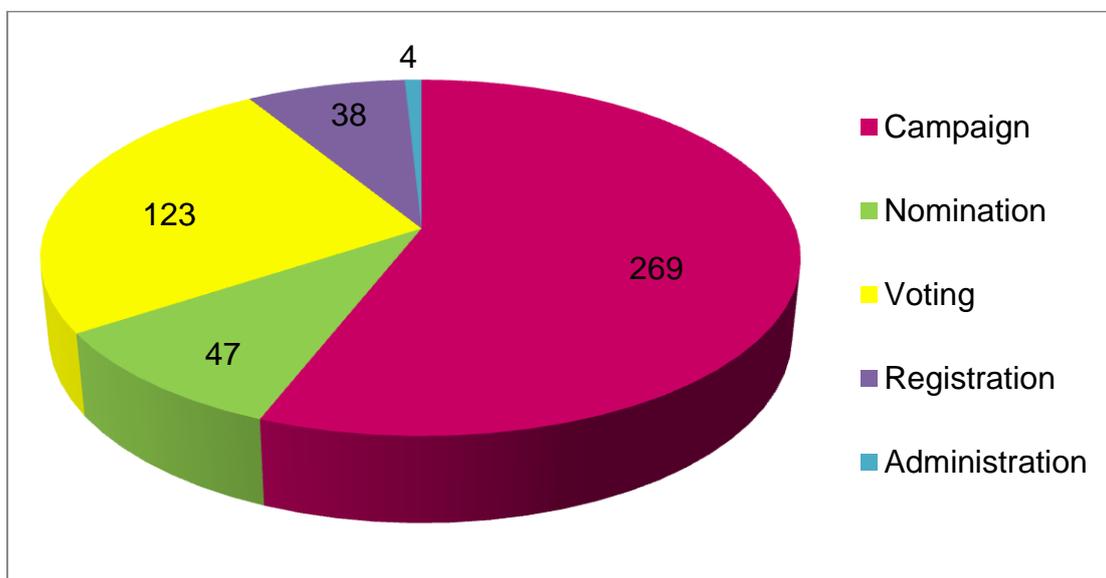
1.17 Just under a quarter of all reported cases (123 cases, representing 26% of the total) related to voting offences, which could include personation (voting

as someone else), breaches of the secrecy requirements, tampering with ballot papers, bribery or treating (providing food or drink to influence a voter) or undue influence.

1.18 Cases relating to nomination offences (which could include false statements made on nomination forms, including where candidates are ineligible or disqualified from standing for election, or where the signature of a candidate's supporter on the nomination paper has not been made by that person) accounted for 10% of the total (47 cases).

1.19 Registration offences (which could include providing false information in a registration or absent vote application form) accounted for 8% of the total (38 cases). Four cases related to administration offences (breach of official duty by a Returning Officer).

Chart 2: Categories of cases of alleged electoral fraud reported in 2015



1.20 Because the number and nature of electoral events differs from year to year it is not possible to draw reliable conclusions from a comparison of the number of cases of alleged electoral fraud recorded by police forces. The number of cases has varied from year to year as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Complaints and cases of alleged electoral fraud reported 2010-15⁵

Year	Cases of alleged electoral fraud	Other complaints	Total
2010	262	25	287
2011	242	53	295
2012	362	45	407
2013	148	31	179
2014	129	44	275 (also includes 102 cases with incomplete data)
2015	481	184	665

1.21 The number of cases of alleged electoral fraud and complaints about elections recorded by police forces in 2015 was significantly higher than in previous years. At the time of publishing this analysis, however, the proportion of cases which have resulted in prosecution or a police caution remains small (less than 3% of the total number of cases).

1.22 Possible explanations for the increase in the number of cases of alleged electoral fraud and other complaints which were reported to police forces in 2015 compared with previous years include: the scale and prominence of the elections which took place in 2015; increased focus among campaigners and the public on electoral fraud and awareness of how to report concerns about fraud; greater visibility of police forces and confidence in their willingness to investigate complaints about elections.

1.23 Based on the data recorded by police forces to date, there have been no large-scale cases of proven electoral fraud relating to elections in 2015. We will continue to monitor the outcome of those cases which are still under investigation or awaiting prosecution advice, in order to identify any significant cases which might result in prosecution or a police caution.

The Electoral Commission's role in preventing and detecting electoral fraud

1.24 The Electoral Commission's role is to support and monitor those who are involved on the frontline in identifying, investigating and prosecuting cases of electoral fraud.

⁵ All data available on the Commission's website at <http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/electoral-fraud/data-and-analysis>

1.25 We work with Electoral Registration Officers (EROs), Returning Officers (ROs), political parties, Royal Mail, police forces and the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC), the Crown Prosecution Service, the Crown Office & Procurator Fiscal Service and the Public Prosecution Service in Northern Ireland to promote electoral integrity and to make sure that elections are safe and secure. It is for the police to investigate allegations of electoral fraud and to agree with the prosecuting authorities whether to initiate court proceedings.

Looking ahead to the 2016 polls

1.26 The Electoral Commission will continue to provide electoral integrity guidance and support to EROs, ROs and police forces across the UK in advance of the following elections scheduled for 5 May 2016:

- Scottish Parliament elections
- National Assembly for Wales elections
- Northern Ireland Assembly elections
- Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) elections in England (except London and Greater Manchester) and Wales
- Mayor of London and London Assembly elections
- Local government elections in England, including mayoral elections in Bristol, Salford and Liverpool.

1.27 We will also continue this activity in advance of the referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union which is to be held on 23 June 2016.

Supporting police forces, Electoral Registration Officers and Returning Officers

1.28 The UK's territorial police forces are responsible for investigating allegations of electoral fraud. Every police force in the UK has an identified Single Point of Contact Officer (or SPOC) for electoral fraud who provides specialist support and advice to investigators. The Electoral Commission works closely with the NPCC to provide guidance and support to police forces:

- We have developed [Authorised Professional Practice on policing elections](#) (in collaboration with the College of Policing) for police forces in England and Wales.
- We have also produced a Manual of Guidance in collaboration with Police Scotland, and with the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI).
- We produce and distribute a [pocket guide](#) that is issued to police officers on duty at election time to help them understand and enforce the law relating to elections.
- We work with the National Police Chiefs' Council to host an annual training seminar for police force Single Point of Contact (SPOC) officers on electoral fraud every spring, which is also attended by ROs, electoral administrators and officers from political parties.

1.29 Electoral Registration Officers and Returning Officers are responsible for planning and managing the delivery of electoral fraud prevention plans, working closely with police forces to assess and monitor electoral fraud risks in the areas for which they are responsible. We provide guidance and set performance standards which aim to ensure that EROs and ROs have thoroughly analysed the risk of electoral fraud locally and that their plans represent an effective response to tackle those risks.

1.30 We focus our support and monitoring work in areas where there has been a history of allegations of electoral fraud and where the risk of further allegations arising is higher.⁶ Police forces, EROs and ROs in these areas have significant experience of preventing and detecting electoral fraud, and they work harder to minimise the risk of allegations arising.

1.31 We scrutinise their plans and help to identify where they might be able to improve their approaches, including working with peers to implement new procedures and safeguards. We will also continue to share learning and experience from these areas with other ROs and EROs to help them plan to minimise the risk of electoral fraud.

1.32 This focussed support with those in areas at a higher risk of further allegations arising is in addition to the risk-based performance monitoring that we undertake in relation to our performance standards for ROs and EROs, which focusses on ensuring that electoral registration and administration services are well run across the UK.⁷

Helping voters to report electoral fraud

1.33 Building on the success of our joint work in 2015, and in advance of the 5 May polls and the referendum on the UK's membership of the EU, we continue to work in partnership with [Crimestoppers](#), the national anonymous crime reporting charity, to support and promote the option for people to report evidence or concerns about electoral fraud without giving details which could identify them.

1.34 The public awareness campaign will ensure that the public are more receptive and aware of election issues, and can confidently report anything they think might be electoral fraud and help identify those involved in electoral fraud. The campaign will be delivered through social media channels (such as Facebook and Twitter) and supported with an offline media drive.

1.35 We have also produced information materials in a variety of languages, for police and local authorities to use to let voters know what electoral fraud is and how to report it. We also published this [guide for voters at election time](#) on our website.

⁶ These areas currently include: Birmingham; Blackburn with Darwen; Bradford; Bristol; Burnley; Calderdale; Coventry; Derby; Hyndburn; Kirklees; Luton; Oldham; Pendle; Peterborough; Slough; Tower Hamlets; Walsall; Woking.

⁷ <http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/performance-standards>

Ensuring campaigners behave appropriately

1.36 Evidence about cases of electoral fraud clearly shows that when fraud takes place it is committed by campaigners, including candidates or their family members, election agents or supporters.

1.37 In order to help discourage inappropriate behaviour that may fall below the level of fraud, and to allow the police to focus on allegations relating to breaches of the RPA 1983, the Commission has produced a [Code of Conduct for Campaigners](#) at election time. The Code provides a guide for campaigners, electoral administrators and police forces in Great Britain about what is, and is not, considered acceptable behaviour at polling stations and in the community during the lead-up to polling day. It also gives guidance for campaigning outside polling stations.

1.38 The Code has been agreed by political parties represented within the UK Parliament and details of all campaigners that have made a public commitment to follow the Code are published on our website at <http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/electoral-fraud/code-of-conduct-for-campaigners>

2 Analysis of cases of alleged electoral fraud reported in 2015

2.1 This chapter provides analysis of cases of alleged electoral fraud reported in 2015 as defined in the Representation of the People Act 1983 (RPA 1983). The RPA 1983 defines most offences for UK Parliamentary general elections, English local government elections and for electoral registration and postal voting issues across the UK. Details of these can be found on our [website](#).

2.2 Most offences under the RPA 1983 are classified as corrupt or illegal practices. Corrupt practices are indictable with a maximum penalty of imprisonment for one year and/or a fine, except for the offences of personation and making a false application to vote by post or proxy, where the maximum penalty is imprisonment for up to two years and/or a fine. Illegal practices are summary offences and the maximum penalty is a £5,000 fine.

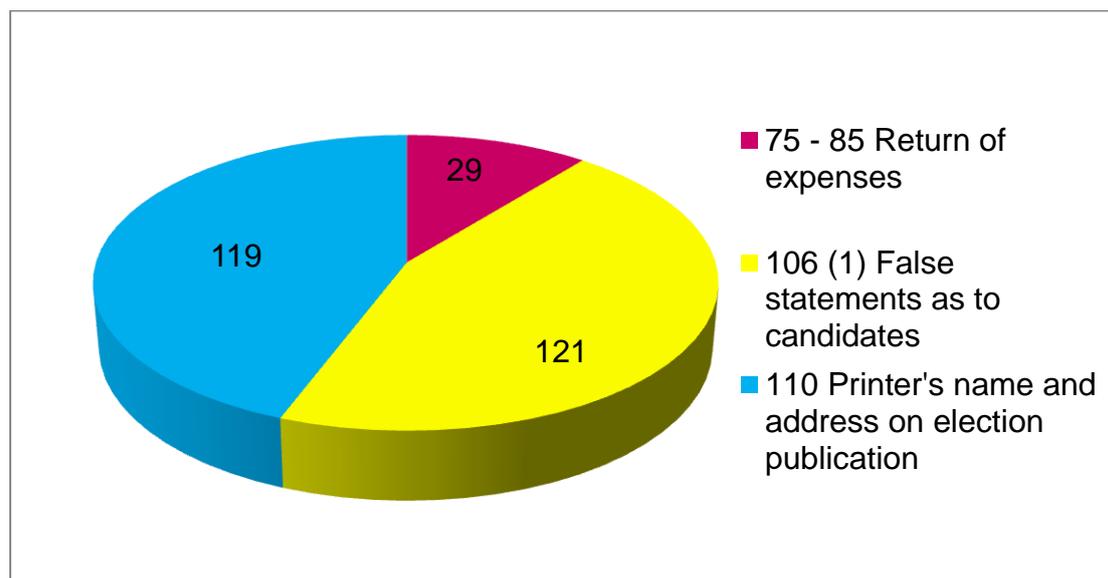
Campaign cases

2.3 More than half of all reported cases of alleged electoral fraud (269 cases, representing 56% of the total) related to campaigning offences.

2.4 The most frequently reported types of campaign case related to the offence of making false statement of fact about the personal character or conduct of a candidate (121 cases), and a slightly smaller number of cases related to the offence of failing to include details about the printer, promoter and/or publisher on election material, referred to as an 'imprint' (119 cases).

2.5 The remaining 29 campaign cases related to candidate election expenses offences.

Chart 3: Breakdown of cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to campaign offences



2.6 In the majority of cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to campaigning offences (a total of 153 cases) police forces took no further action following the conclusion of their investigations. In 98 cases this was because it was clear that no offence had been committed, while in a further 12 cases the police identified that the alleged offence did not involve electoral fraud. In 37 cases the police found insufficient evidence to conclude their investigation, and in a further six cases it was not possible to identify a suspect.

2.7 A total of 97 cases relating to alleged campaign offences were locally resolved by police forces, with advice given either by the police or the Returning Officer. A further 17 cases are either under investigation or awaiting prosecution advice.

2.8 The remaining two cases relating to alleged campaign offences resulted in police cautions: one case involved allegations about a false statement made about the personal character or conduct of a candidate; the other involved allegations about candidate election expenses.

Voting cases

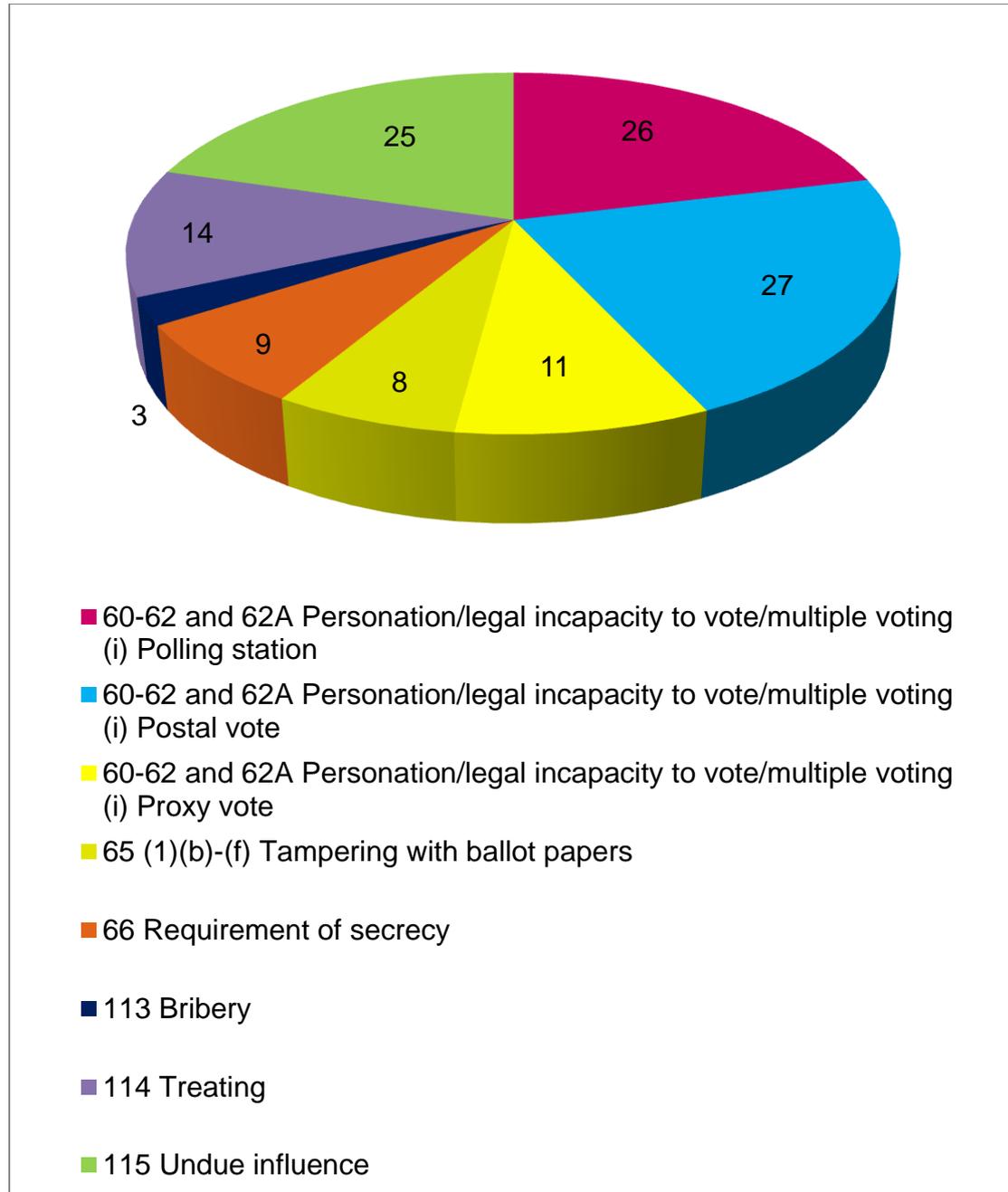
2.9 Just under a quarter of all reported cases of alleged electoral fraud (123 cases, representing 26% of the total) relate to alleged voting offences.

2.10 The most frequently reported types of voting case related to the offence of personation (voting as someone else) either at a polling station (26 cases) or using a postal vote (27 cases). A further 25 cases related to the offence of undue influence.

2.11 The remaining voting cases related to the offences of personation by proxy (11 cases), breaches of secrecy requirements (nine cases), attempts to tamper with ballot papers (eight cases), alleged bribery (three cases) and

treating – providing food or drink to influence a voter to vote in a particular way – (14 cases).

Chart 4: Breakdown of cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to voting offences



2.12 In the majority of cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to voting offences (a total of 92 cases) police forces took no further action following the conclusion of their investigations. In 45 cases this was because it was clear that no offence had been committed, while in one further case the police identified that the alleged offence did not involve electoral fraud. In 36 cases the police found insufficient evidence to conclude their investigation, and in a further 10 cases it was not possible to identify a suspect.

2.13 A total of 16 cases relating to alleged voting offences were locally resolved by police forces, with advice given either by the police or the Returning Officer. A further nine cases are either under investigation or awaiting prosecution advice.

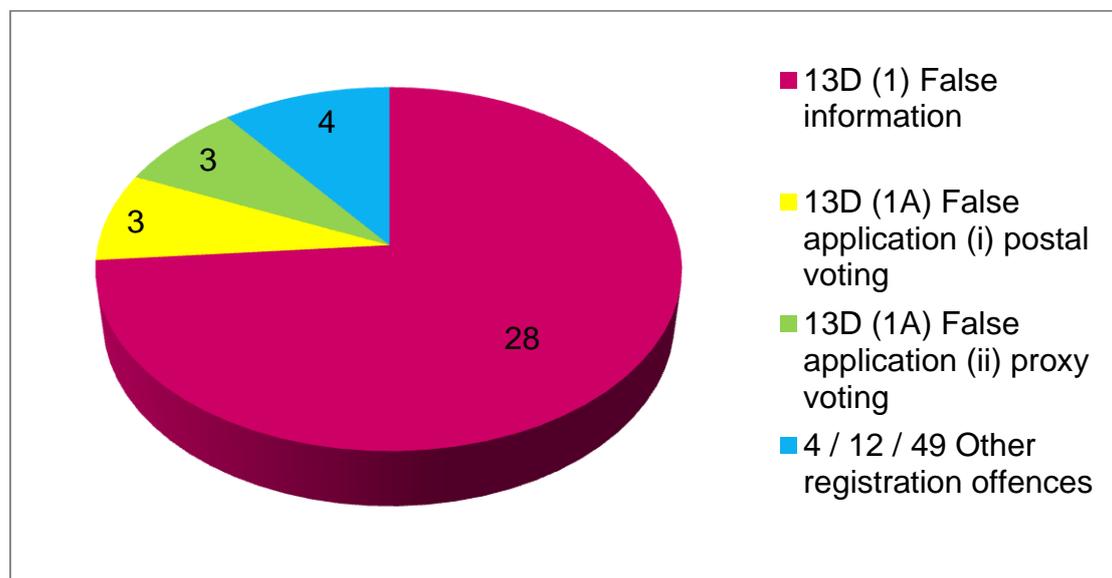
2.14 The remaining six cases relating to alleged voting offences resulted in police cautions: four cases involved allegations of personation relating to postal voting; two cases involved allegations of personation relating to proxy voting.

Electoral registration cases

2.15 Cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to electoral registration offences accounted for 8% of the total reported in 2015 (38 cases).

2.16 The most frequently reported type of registration case related to the offence of providing false information in an electoral registration application (28 cases). A further six cases were split equally between allegations relating to the offences of providing false information in a postal voting application and providing false information in a proxy voting application. The remaining four cases related to other electoral registration offences such as clerical errors.

Chart 5: Breakdown of cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to registration cases



2.17 In the majority of cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to electoral registration offences (a total of 27 cases) police forces took no further action following the conclusion of their investigations. In eight cases this was because it was clear that no offence had been committed. In nine cases the police found insufficient evidence to conclude their investigation, and in a further 10 cases it was not possible to identify a suspect.

2.18 A total of five cases relating to alleged electoral registration offences were locally resolved by police forces, with advice given either by the police or

the Returning Officer. A further five cases are either under investigation or awaiting prosecution advice.

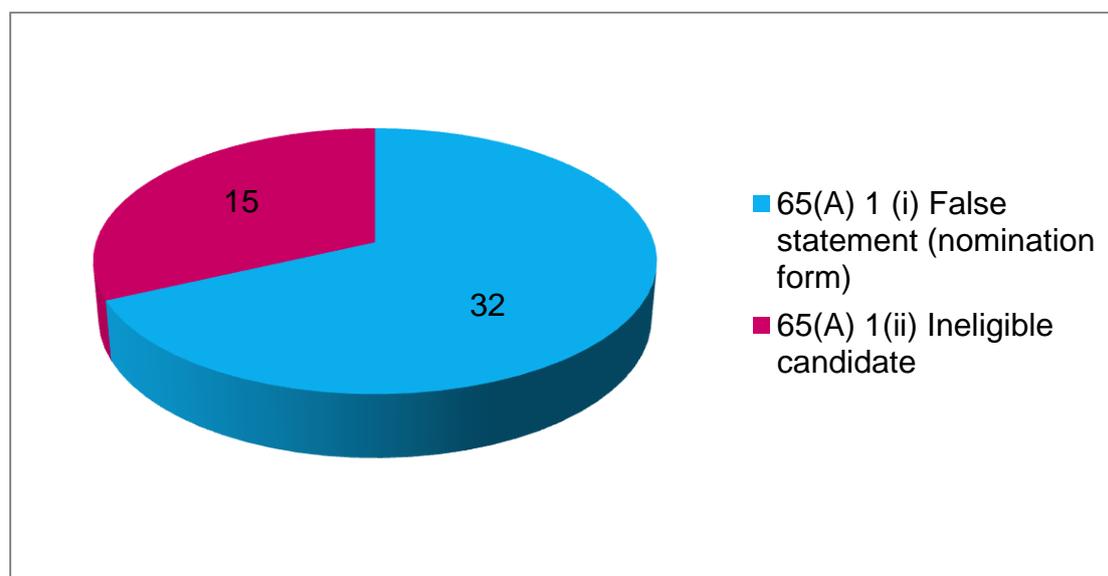
2.19 One case relating to an allegation of providing false information in a registration application resulted in a police caution.

Nomination cases

2.20 Cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to nomination offences accounted for 10% of the total reported in 2015 (47 cases).

2.21 The most frequently reported type of nomination case related to the offence of making a false statement in a nomination form (32 cases). A further 15 cases related to allegations that a candidate was ineligible or disqualified from standing for election.

Chart 6: Breakdown of cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to nomination cases



2.22 In the majority of cases of alleged electoral fraud relating to nomination offences (a total of 37 cases) police forces took no further action following the conclusion of their investigations. In 24 cases this was because it was clear that no offence had been committed. In 13 cases the police found insufficient evidence to conclude their investigation.

2.23 Three cases relating to alleged electoral registration offences were locally resolved by police forces, with advice given either by the police or the Returning Officer. A further three cases are either under investigation or awaiting prosecution advice.

2.24 At the time of publishing this analysis court proceedings had been initiated in one case involving alleged false statements on nomination papers. Three cases, all relating to allegations that false statements had been made

on nomination papers for local government elections, have so far resulted in convictions. Details of these cases are provided below.

Waverley Borough Council

A Liberal Democrat candidate standing in both the UK Parliament and local government elections pleaded guilty to forging eight signatures on his nomination form for the May 2015 local government elections to Waverley Borough Council in Surrey.

He was sentenced on 23 July to 16 weeks in prison, suspended for a year, and given a 200-hour Community Service Order.

Bassetlaw District Council

A UKIP candidate admitted forging 10 signatures on his nomination form for the May 2015 local government elections to Bassetlaw District Council in Nottinghamshire.

He was sentenced to 12 weeks in prison, suspended for a year, and given a 180-hour Community Service Order.

Brentwood Borough Council

The husband of a Liberal Democrat candidate pleaded guilty to forging three signatures on a nomination form submitted on behalf of his wife for the May 2015 local government elections to Brentwood Borough Council in Essex.

He was given a 160-hour Community Service Order and was fined £145.

Geographical distribution of cases of alleged electoral fraud

2.25 Table 2 below shows the number of cases of alleged fraud recorded by each force during 2015. This number does not include complaints made to the police which were not an RPA offence.

2.26 A detailed breakdown by police force (of the number of cases and allegations in 2015, with details of the RPA offence and their outcomes) will be published alongside this report on our website.

Table 3: Number of cases of alleged electoral fraud recorded by UK police forces in 2015

Police Force	Number of cases
Metropolitan Police Service	52
West Yorkshire Police	36

Police Force	Number of cases
Staffordshire Police	28
Devon and Cornwall Constabulary	24
Lincolnshire Constabulary	24
Nottinghamshire Police	23
West Midlands Police	21
Lancashire Constabulary	19
Leicestershire Constabulary	18
West Mercia Police	17
Humberside Police	15
Norfolk Constabulary	15
Avon and Somerset Constabulary	13
Cheshire Constabulary	12
Surrey Police	12
Derbyshire Constabulary	11
Northumbria Constabulary	10
Essex Police	10
Gloucestershire Constabulary	10
Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI)	9
Thames Valley Police	9
Dorset Police	8
Hampshire Constabulary	8
Kent Police	8
Northamptonshire Police	8
Cleveland Police	7
Police Scotland	7
Suffolk Constabulary	7
Greater Manchester Police	6
Hertfordshire Police	6
North Yorkshire Police	5
South Yorkshire Police	5
Cambridgeshire Police	4
Merseyside Police	4
Warwickshire Police	3
South Wales Police	2
Sussex Police	2
Bedfordshire Police	1
Cumbria Constabulary	1
Dyfed Powys Police	1

2.27 Five forces recorded no cases of alleged electoral fraud during 2015. These forces were:

- City of London Police
- Durham Constabulary
- Gwent Police
- North Wales Police
- Wiltshire Police

Election petitions in 2015

2.28 Six election petitions were submitted following the May 2015 elections. Three related to UK Parliamentary elections and three related to local government elections. At the time of publishing this analysis all but one of the petitions have been resolved.

May 2015 UK Parliamentary election for Woking constituency

The Petitioner (the Magna Carta Conservation Party GB candidate) alleged that the successful Conservative party candidate was not duly elected on the grounds that he was ineligible to stand for election.

The petitioner failed to pay the required money into Court and, as they had paid nothing by 25 June 2015, the Court ruled that there should be no further proceedings on this petition and it was not at issue.

May 2015 UK Parliamentary election for Mid Bedfordshire constituency

The Petitioner (an independent candidate) alleged that the successful Conservative party candidate had made several false statements of fact about the personal character or conduct of another candidate, and had also committed two offences of failing to include the correct imprint on election material.

On 30 July 2015, the First Respondent (the Conservative party candidate) successfully argued to strike the petition on the grounds that it was not properly served on her (i.e. within five days of submission of the petition). The petition was dismissed on the grounds that the Petitioner failed to make sufficient effort to comply with the requirements of service.

May 2015 UK Parliamentary election for Orkney and Shetland constituency

Four Petitioners (electors in the constituency) alleged that the successful Liberal Democrat candidate had committed an offence under section 106 of the RPA 1983 (which prohibits false statements of fact about the personal character or conduct of a candidate). The allegations related to statements made by the candidate that related to his own personal character, which the candidate admitted making during a televised news interview.

The petition judgement turned on whether the false statement could properly be characterised as a false statement of fact in relation to his personal character or conduct. The Court took the view that in this case the candidate had not made an express statement about his personal character or conduct and it was not persuaded that the false statement was in relation to anything other than his awareness or lack of awareness of “a political machination”.

Therefore the Court concluded that an essential element of the offence under section 106 had not been proved beyond reasonable doubt, or even to the lesser standard of proof on a balance of probabilities, and dismissed the petition on 9 December 2015.

May 2015 election for Washwood Heath ward of Birmingham City Council

The Petitioner (a Liberal Democrat candidate in the election) alleged that a successful Labour party candidate and/or his agents were guilty of a range of offences, including undue influence (particularly undue spiritual influence), making false statements of fact about the personal character or conduct of a candidate, and bribery. The petition was subsequently reduced in scope to include only allegations relating to undue spiritual influence.

The petition was resolved on 12 November 2015 when Election Commissioner Tim Straker QC determined that the Respondent had been duly elected. While the written judgment dismissing the petition is still to be published at the time of publishing this analysis, the Commissioner found there was no evidence that the Labour party candidate had been responsible for posting the messages which formed the basis of the petition.

May 2015 election for Kinson South ward of Bournemouth Borough Council

The Petitioner (a Labour party candidate) alleged that errors by the Returning Officer meant that the election had not been conducted in accordance with the law, and challenged the election of one UKIP candidate and two Conservative party candidates. It was alleged that the wrong ballot papers had been supplied to a polling station in Kinson South ward and had been issued to a number of voters before the error was noticed.

The petition was resolved on 30 October 2016. In their judgment Mr Justice Wilkie and Mr Justice Ray found that the number of erroneously issued ballot papers was large enough to mean that the petitioner could have overtaken the two candidates with the second and third highest number of votes at the election. The judgment ruled that the election of those two candidates was therefore void, and that by-elections should take place for those two seats.

However, the judgment also ruled that the number of erroneously issued ballot papers could not have affected the election of the UKIP candidate who had polled the most votes, and that his election should therefore stand.

May 2015 election for Winsford Town Council in Cheshire

This is the only unresolved petition relating to elections in 2015. The Petitioner (a Liberal Democrat candidate) alleges that three candidates (two Labour and one Conservative) who were elected were ineligible due to their nomination papers being signed by people who were not residents or electors in the area.

The petition trial is scheduled to take place on 17 and 18 March 2016.

Other complaints about elections

2.29 In addition to cases of alleged electoral fraud, police forces also recorded 184 other complaints about elections which did not relate to allegations of electoral fraud. These included allegations of: theft or damage to property, election material or vehicles; stalking; trespassing; taunting; blocking a polling station car park; malicious communications, race comments; offensive tweets or letters; assault; intimidating canvassers; copyright infringement. Chart 7 below shows the categories of other complaints reported to the police in 2015.

Chart 7: Breakdown of other complaints about elections

