

Center for Transitional and Post-Conflict Governance, IFES
Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP



Getting to the **CORE**



**A Global Survey on the Cost of
Registration and Elections**

Center for Transitional and Post-Conflict Governance, IFES
Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP



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Getting to the CORE



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IFES is a private, non-partisan, non-profit organization founded in 1987 and dedicated to supporting and strengthening free, fair, and transparent political processes in emerging and established democracies around the world. On October 1, 2004, IFES established the Center for Transitional and Post-Conflict Governance. The mission of the Center is to conduct programs that enhance political stability in fragile or failed states in order to advance democracy through a political process. The Center seeks to reduce the destabilizing effects on governance by national, regional and transnational threats involving terror, corruption, and crime that emerge from violent, conflictive, fraudulent, or disputed political processes; ineffective or non-existent civil societies; and inadequate systems of justice.

Introduction

Accurately measuring the costs of voter registration and elections can be a difficult endeavor. Although specific budgets for registration and elections are generally set by public appropriations to election management bodies (EMBs), total expenditures often vary widely because of other direct and indirect financial outlays that create a more complex cost structure than is evident through public accountancy alone. These additional cost factors might include subsidized services from partner agencies, international assistance programs and other forms of assistance.

The Cost of Registration and Elections (CORE) Project was initiated to assist governments and independent organizations in their efforts to identify and examine all forms of election-related costs and funding sources. The Project's primary objectives were to evaluate the methods by which election budgets are established, tracked and funded; to identify the cost-management practices that can be adopted by EMBs; and to establish a methodology for the comparative assessment of electoral costs. This study is intended to expand upon and complement research into election budgeting and financing issues that were discussed in *Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance*, published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Other electoral studies have examined EMB structure, legal framework and operational considerations. However, there has been no global research project exclusively devoted to EMB budget and cost—and it is difficult to effectively analyze the total costs of elections without a comprehensive comparison of the costs of electoral events in different countries with different conditions. The CORE Project aims to fill that void. Furthermore, its observations have practical and profound implications because elections are recurring events, and both marginal cost increases and cost reductions have cumulative impacts over time.

A recurring underlying point is that election administration process must compete for government funds with other vital and high-priority public goods and services, such as infrastructure development, health provision and national defense. This places additional pressure on EMBs to justify their budgets and be efficient while at the same time obtaining sufficient resources to conduct elections according to international standards and their political environments.

The CORE Project has four major features:

- CORE establishes working definitions of election costs and identifies cost variables such as voter registration, boundary delimitation and public financing for political parties or campaigns;

- CORE identifies the revenue sources for funding the administration of election processes. Revenues may include, for example, contributions of international and bilateral donors to cover election costs and assist civil society in enhancing the training or educational capacity of EMBs;
- CORE evaluates election budgets of EMBs in order to identify budgeting practices and techniques that influence cost control and transparency. These evaluations examine budget cycles, cash flow arrangements and the legal obligations on governments to fund electoral events; and
- CORE examines cost management practices, such as procurement arrangements for equipment, services and supplies.

The CORE Project uses two analytical tools to examine election costs: case studies and survey research. The case studies provide dynamic analysis of election finances, while the survey results report baselines and quantification. This report is structured so that the survey report is followed by individual case studies of 10 electoral processes, which were selected according to the profiles noted in the following chart.

Introduction Table 1. Case Study Matrix	
State/Size of Democracy	Country
Stable democracies	
Large- and medium-sized electorate	Australia, India, Spain
Small-sized electorate	Sweden
Transitional democracies	
Large- and medium-sized electorate	Mexico
Small-sized electorate	Guatemala
Conflict environments	
Large- and medium-sized electorate	Afghanistan (Annex III), Iraq
Small-sized electorate	Cambodia, Haiti

The surveys were completed by EMBs, and the case studies were written by election practitioners and academics familiar with the relevant countries. However, both types of report share some common features. For example, both the surveys and case studies examined internal budget and financial procedures; addressed issues related to election technology; recommended the development of new cost constructs and analytical indicators; and concluded that it is possible for election budgets to be reduced.

Information from the CORE Project is likely to prove particularly useful and interesting to members of five principal audiences:

-
1. EMBs and election and registration officials (at all levels);
 2. Senior government officials, government financial and budget officers and parliamentarians responsible for budget and fiscal affairs;
 3. Multilateral and bilateral development agencies that provide democratic development assistance;
 4. Intergovernmental, parliamentary, academic and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) providing assistance to, and monitoring of, EMBs; and
 5. Regional and international financial institutions.

CORE anticipates that a study dedicated to issues surrounding election cost will greatly assist election organizers and policy makers to identify ways to better manage financial resources, measure their relative costs of operations with other EMBs and reduce the cost of electoral events.

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June 2005



Part

1

Comparative Costs and Cost Management Case Studies Report

By: Rafael López-Pintor

I. Introduction

This section of the report contains the main findings and conclusions drawn from case studies on electoral costs in 10 countries. The case study approach is intended to highlight the main issues raised in the survey questionnaires from 34 countries, the results of which are included in a separate chapter of this report. The following countries were selected as illustrative of election management within different democracy environments—from stable to transitional to post-conflict. Some of the nations were chosen at least in part because they were also examined in a previous UNDP study published in 2000, thus making it easier to obtain directly comparable information. Other countries, meanwhile, were added based on geographic location and size of the electorate.

A standard case study methodology was followed. A panel of authors and election specialists was selected on-site.¹ Panel members were guided by a checklist template as well as documentary sources and individual informants for consultation. The case studies were researched in the field and written between September 2003 and January 2005.

The case study reports generally include an outline of the current structure of each nation's EMB, including appointment procedures, terms of office and scope of responsibility, followed by a description of the legal framework for elections—primarily concerning budgeting and funding provisions (i.e., reference to voter registration, polling operations, campaign expenses by political parties and candidates and financing of media access). The reports assess how the legal provisions regarding election funding are actually followed in practice. They also consider the main obstacles—political, financial, administrative or technical—to the application of the law in the proper management of the electoral budget.

The case studies describe the electoral budgets and procedures of EMBs in both non-election and election years. Voter registration costs, especially new registration operations in conflict environments, are considered separately. The cost of polling operations in the most recent general election is scrutinized by disaggregating budget figures by main items and comparing them to previous elections to discover the main reasons for change, if any. The cost of external voting operations is analyzed when it can be separated from the aggregate electoral budget. International funding of electoral budgets is categorized by area of application, i.e. whether awarded to the EMB or to other election-related actors, such as domestic and international observer missions.

A number of cutting-edge issues are examined whenever information is available. Among the questions directly addressed are the following:

¹ The authors are academics and practitioners with long experience in the field, most of them related to electoral authorities as senior staff or international consultants.

- Are costs related to political party finance for general operations and campaign funding part of the electoral budget, or considered separately?
- What are the costs of planning and introducing new technologies? And are they envisioned as cost-reducing strategies?
- Is civic education a cost in the budget of the EMB, a cost to political parties or cost to NGOs or other civil society entities? Does the EMB share civic education costs with other national or international actors?

Finally, the case studies offer an overall assessment of current and most recent practices in election budgeting, funding and cost handling, by describing election items that have proved either more susceptible or more resilient to cost-saving measures.

Documentary resources most often consulted in the preparation of the case studies included constitutions, electoral laws, laws on political parties, organization charts of the electoral authorities, election bylaws and electoral budget documents. Professional literature and Web sites were also consulted. And finally, informal and semi-structured personal interviews were conducted with electoral authorities and specially qualified informants, academics and practitioners.

II. Working definitions of election costs in a core-costing model

According to the current standard theory and practice of elections, the main expenses are incurred for the following activities: voter registration, boundary delimitation, the voting operation, counting and transmission of results, dispute adjudication, voter education and information, campaigning by political parties and candidates, and vigilance or oversight by party representatives and domestic or international observers (Goodwin-Gill 1994; López-Pintor 2000; OSCE 2001; EU 2002; IDEA 2002). Consequently, electoral costs include all the costs incurred in undertaking such activities, regardless of the kind of agency involved, whether national or local, public or private.

1. Types of costs

The first five of the eight activities listed above—up to dispute adjudication—are almost invariably conducted by various forms of EMBs (i.e., the executive branch of government, officials under the supervision of an electoral commission or an independent electoral commission). The sixth activity, providing voter education and information, may be shared by electoral authorities, political parties and civil society organizations, while the seventh (campaign activities) is exclusively conducted by political parties and candidates. The main variable for cost analysis may therefore be directly related to the specific organization or entity in charge of a given electoral activity—one or several organizations within the national government, local governments, judiciaries, private firms (e.g., quasi-public postal service and telecommunications), NGOs and political parties.

The electoral budget during an election year may cover one or several elections, and

in the latter case one should consider whether elections are held simultaneously or separately on different dates. These factors heavily influence the overall budget figures as well as their distribution by budget line item.

Number and time sequence of elections are variables that make it difficult to compare electoral costs among different countries. It is not always easy to split budgets and assign costs to different elections.

A distinction between **personnel costs** and **operational costs** is generally used as the main structuring criteria in an electoral budget.

Over time, there are **fixed costs** for the ordinary functioning of an electoral administration; these costs are incurred independently of the occurrence of elections in a given year. **Variable costs**, meanwhile, are those related to the actual conduct of elections. Almost the entire budget for a specific election consists of variable costs.

With the term **funding source**, three main distinctions can be made. One is between a) a separate electoral budget that is part of the consolidated budget of the nation and b) election-tied funds that form part of the budget of public agencies whose main responsibilities have little or nothing to do with elections (i.e. civil registries, police and postal services). Another distinction, between national and international funding of electoral budgets, is of utmost relevance in the case of post-conflict elections and even second-generation elections in emerging democracies. A third distinction, between public and private funding, is applicable primarily in regards to the funding of political parties and electoral campaigns.

Electoral-budget costs that can be readily identified on a budget document are called **direct costs**. There are also **diffuse costs**—those that may prove difficult or impossible to accurately assess even if properly identified. This category can be further divided by degrees of diffusiveness; for example, some costs for activities can be clearly identified, yet still cannot be disentangled from within the general budget of the agency involved (i.e. the contribution of civil registries in providing information to EMBs for the production of voter lists; or the production of voter lists by the national agency in charge of censuses and statistics). Obtaining specific information about such costs is frequently impossible because activity-focused cost audit are not often practiced by organizations responsible for a multiplicity of programs, such as those mentioned above. As noted above in the funding source category, other diffuse costs may include actual costs hiding beneath the ordinary operations of agencies that lend various forms of support to the electoral process (i.e., police force, postal services, school systems, local governments and public TV). While these are real costs, they are neither included in the electoral budget nor are they easy to assess in many cases.

An additional and very important distinction is between **integrity costs** and **core costs**. This distinction may be essential for an adequate understanding of the funding of elections, most notably in emerging and post-conflict democracies. It has much to do with conditions ensuring a safe, politically neutral environment and a level playing field.

The integrity of the voting operation is mainly a function of voter security and ballot security. Voter security includes ensuring the safety of individual voters and of voting

and counting facilities; removing threats and intimidation factors; and guaranteeing accessibility to polling stations. Security of the ballot implies arranging the voting and counting in such a way that the voter lists, ballot papers, tallies and other result records are tamper-proof. The main objectives are to preserve secrecy of the vote (disposition of the voting booth), to avoid double voting (a safe ballot box, use of indelible ink), and to eliminate undue manipulation of voting materials (printing control, storage and transport). The presence of party representatives and electoral observers—both domestic and international—may be required at the voting and counting locations.

In summary, **integrity costs** generally concern security arrangements for registration and polling places. They may include funding for international personnel serving as part of the electoral administration; tamper-resistant electoral materials necessitated by a low level of trust among contenders; long-term electoral observer missions; intensive voter education campaigns and election publicity; and assistance to political parties at national and local levels as part of a broader approach to capacity building.

Those costs routinely associated with carrying out elections are designated as **core costs**. They are incurred independently of the degree of uncertainty and security of the political environment and have to do with voter lists, voting materials, competence among polling officials, voter information, and organizational and logistical arrangements. Core costs are assumed to be fixed rather than variable; integrity costs are incurred when special and often unexpected expenses are required to ensure that the process works efficiently.

The relative proportion of overall election costs that can be attributed to integrity or core costs generally depends on how far removed the politics of a given country are

The cost of elections in peacekeeping environments tends to be \$10–\$30 per registered voter (López-Pintor, 2000). The overall post-conflict electoral budget ranges from hundreds of millions of dollars in larger, more complex operations (Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique) to tens of millions in environments with better communications and administrative infrastructure (Balkan states, Central America). The largest budget might approach the expenses of a presidential candidate in a US election. As could be expected in war-torn societies, integrity costs may amount to more than half the total electoral budget. The following figures result from a dummy exercise on the cost of a standard post-conflict election. This is an educated guess on core and integrity costs for a country with a small or mid-size electorate of between 2 million and 6 million. In this hypothetical example, the largest part of the budget is funded by the international community and paid in US dollars. A total of \$52 million would cover: 1) core electoral costs, including voter registration (\$30 million); 2) two international observer missions (\$2 million); 3) support to domestic NGOs monitoring the polling (\$1.5 million); 4) support to political parties and media development (\$1.5 million); 5) civic education (\$2 million); and 6) other integrity costs, such as security and international staff (\$15 million). The average cost per registered voter would be \$8.70–\$17.30. (López-Pintor, 2005).

from conflict and lack of security. In a recent assessment of post-conflict elections, the following dummy exercise offered a useful indication of how costs may be structured:

2. Developing a methodology for electoral cost assessment

A classification of electoral costs in the terms proposed above serves as the basis for developing cost-assessment methodologies. The following steps are required:

- A. Define the **political environment**—to be taken as a constant factor—a necessary consideration regardless of whether a democracy is stable, transitional or post-conflict.
- B. Consider whether the electoral budget of an election year is covering one or several elections; and in the latter case, whether elections are to be held **simultaneously or separately**.
- C. Separate fixed costs of the ordinary functioning of the EMB from variable costs as specific for a given election—and then distinguish between personnel and operational costs if relevant for the budget of a particular event.
- D. Identify the list of election-related activities, which may include voter registration, boundary delimitation, the voting operation, counting and transmission of results, dispute adjudication, voter education and information, and campaigning by political parties and candidates.
- E. Separate **core costs** and **integrity costs** in relation to each of the activities listed in D above.
- F. Consider separately the **direct** and **diffuse costs** incurred by different organizations involved in electoral activities as core and integrity costs. Quantify direct costs precisely, and estimate diffuse costs based on contextual figures or best-educated guesses.
- G. Identify the funding source for each cost category, whether national or external, public or private.
- H. Finally, make the necessary adjustments in comparing cost evolution over time (increase/decrease in the overall cost or in particular budget line items) for within a given country or among different countries, by including capital and equipment **investments** as well as **amortizations**. In both cases, indexing the currency in constant values for a given year may be necessary.

Table 1 shows the frequency and intensity with which different costs are incurred, depending on the democracy environment. Three trends are apparent when comparing electoral scenarios in stable, transitional and post-conflict democracies. First, integrity costs are relatively higher in transitional than in stable democracies, and still higher in post-conflict situations. This is primarily, although not exclusively, due to the requirement of police and military to handle security at every stage of the electoral process, frequently with the presence of an international force.

Second, diffuse core costs are particularly extensive in stable democracies where a large part of the actual electoral expense is covered by budgets from different state

administrations; in such environments, it is not always easy or feasible to quantify which part of their budgets are devoted to electoral activities. On the other hand, diffuse integrity costs are greater in transitional and post-conflict environments because of the need for funding from a peacekeeping budget, which are difficult to quantify. Diffuse costs attributable to political party finance are substantial and difficult to quantify in both stable and other democracies.

Third, the existence and amount of vigilance costs could be reduced to some core costs for party agents in stable democracies, but would expand to domestic and international observers in the other democracy environments, especially in post-conflict situations.

Part 1 - Table 1. Election Costs in Stable, Transitional and Post-Conflict Democracies

	Stable		Transitional		Post-conflict	
	Core Costs*	Integrity Costs*	Core Costs*	Integrity Costs*	Core Costs*	Integrity Costs*
Voter Registration	High	Not Relevant	High	Relevant	Relevant	High
Boundary Delimitation	Relevant	Not Relevant	Relevant	Not Relevant	Relevant	Relevant
Voting : Operation Materials, logistics training	Very High	High	Very High	Very High	Very High	Very High
Counting and Transmission of Results	High	Not Relevant	Relevant	High	Very High	Very High
Dispute Adjudication	Relevant	Not Relevant	High	Not Relevant	High	High
Voter Education & Information	High	Not Relevant	Very High	High	High	Very High
Campaigning by Political Parties	Very High	Not Relevant	High	Very High	Very High	Very High
Vigilance: Party Agents Domestic Monitors International Observers	High	Not Relevant	Very High	Very High	Very High	Very High

* Cost categories include direct and diffuse costs.

III. Election budgets and revenue sources for funding the administration of elections

1. Election funding: legal framework and practice; election budget processes and cycles

As a rule, electoral budgets tend to be part of the consolidated budget of the nation on an annual cycle. In a non-election year, the budget for the electoral authority—whatever shape it takes—is usually a line item of the national budget or is included within the budget of the larger agency of which the electoral administration is part (e.g., the Ministry of Interior). In an election year, the corresponding budget is funded from the national budget by following ordinary or extraordinary procedures, depending on whether the elections could be anticipated or were called unexpectedly. Flexibility is particularly necessary in parliamentary systems in which governments may collapse unexpectedly or a prime minister may call an election at any time within a given term of office.²

Almost invariably, electoral budgets are prepared by the electoral authority and processed through the finance ministries for approval in the legislature. Most finance ministries do not have the authority, at least formally, to curtail or amend an electoral budget prepared by electoral authorities. Some exchange and bargaining between a ministry and electoral officials may nonetheless ensue. In Australia, for example, the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) receives the major part of its funding through government appropriations, which are acts of Parliament that authorize expenditures and appropriate money from the Consolidated Revenue Fund to provide agreed levels of budget funds to government agencies. Budget levels are agreed for the budget year and three succeeding years, according to the stages of the election cycle. Adjustments to funding to cover changes in operational and legislative requirements occur through a formal process of New Policy Proposals involving ministers and the Expenditure Review Committee made up of senior cabinet ministers. Appropriations are made on an outcomes basis, and annual reporting is made in accordance with the outcomes and outputs framework, including performance indicators and targets against which performance can be assessed. Appropriations and all reporting occur on an accrual base, so non-cash expenses (such as depreciation) form part of annual funding levels.

Improved information technology (IT) platforms have helped limit increases in the costs of registration and elections in Australia over the past five years—operational costs in a non-election year have increased by approximately 0.8 percent, and in an election year by 1.3 percent. The Government and the Parliament place constant pressure on the AEC (along with other publicly funded agencies) to continually review its operational performance and to contain costs. The AEC will upgrade its IT capabilities in the next three years to take advantage of the scanning and optical character recognition technologies that can further enhance its roll management systems and its management of elections.

² A notable exception is Switzerland, where the electoral budget stays the same in election and non-election years. This is due to the fact that there are almost always three to four referenda at the national level in a non-election year and two to three referenda in an election year.

Such a budgetary practice is better established in countries where the state administration has achieved a certain degree of organizational maturity and the legal system is stable. More frequently than not, standard budgetary practices are formally followed at all levels of government (after influencing international financial and monetary agencies as a requirement for aid and trade agreements). Otherwise, the electoral budget for a fresh election after civil conflict, or elections in the midst of unstable times, is usually made on an *ad hoc* basis and defined with participation of international agencies (e.g., Haiti, Afghanistan). A kind of transitional situation might be that of Cambodia, where elections are funded through a special account at the National Treasury called the Trust Fund Account for Elections. Practically all contributions for elections—private and public, national and international—are deposited in this fund. Guatemala offers an interesting case where a fixed percentage of the national budget (0.5 percent) is allocated by law for the ordinary functioning of the electoral commission. In an election year, the commission follows standard budgetary procedures in defining and requesting the necessary funds for the election.

Afghanistan presents a recent example of how elections are organized in a post-conflict scenario. The October 2004 presidential poll bore many similarities to other electoral processes where the international community has been heavily involved in both the political process and the practicalities of organizing elections. Those processes are inclined to choose high-tech solutions, rather than low-tech alternatives, and a large central election administrative bureaucracy with a distinct international component—which together contribute to a staggering price tag for the electoral process. A unique feature of the Afghanistan election was how early and suddenly the responsibility for planning and implementing the election was handed to the government itself, at least on paper. This marked the first time that a national election authority with no previous experience in organizing elections was charged with implementing its first election—even though the United Nations had a staff of more than 100 people on the ground tasked to work on the electoral process and had the explicit mandate to conduct voter registration prior to polling. The early transfer of responsibility for organizing the elections from the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) to the national government became known as the ‘Afghanization’ of the electoral process.

2. Resource-sharing arrangements with other public agencies

A particularly common situation in stable democracies with highly developed state apparatuses at the national and sub-national levels is that a number of electoral costs are shared among the electoral administration and other public agencies. This is the case with the making and updating of voter lists and district boundary delimitation, voter information, the conduct of external and proxy voting, early transmission of results, dispute adjudication, and security of the polling operation. Sometimes such costs are easily identifiable within an electoral budget of the national EMB or of another public agency. Frequently, however, there are diffuse costs within the state and local administrations that cannot be sorted out as electoral costs since they are part of standard costs of functioning state apparatuses (i.e., local governments, police)

or of private organizations (i.e., private schools functioning as polling centers at no cost). Such costs cannot be properly assessed unless program-focused cost accounting is made by the implementing agency, which is not usually the case in most governmental agencies dealing with a variety of activities (e.g., local governments, census and statistical authorities or civil registries). A typical agency budget is normally structured by separating personnel and non-personnel services (materials and procurements), but it generally difficult to determine how much of each is devoted to a given election-related activity (i.e. security, arranging for polling stations, supplying information for voter lists) as part of the larger cost of operations of the entire organization.

For example, in Spain and Sweden, voter lists are compiled in a national office of statistics. Although the electoral authorities pay a fee for the lists, this does not cover the full cost of the operation simply because there are hidden costs that could only be ascertained by program-focused cost accounting. There are other hidden costs in both countries, as in many others, related to the conduct of the polling operation by provincial and local municipal administrations, the postal services, police and embassies abroad.

Such a wide range of hidden costs is less likely in countries with small state infrastructures, where almost any electoral cost incurred at any level of government can be easily spotted and referred to a general electoral budget for provision or refund by whatever authority implemented a given election-related activity. For example, in Cambodia and Guatemala, a local employee at the municipal level is exclusively in charge of helping with civil registry and voter lists. Although the municipality provides certain office support, both the main office and salary costs are covered in the national electoral budget.

A number of templates of electoral budgets are included as illustrative examples of budget structures in different democracy environments.

3. How much do elections cost?

One major finding regarding the overall cost of elections is the importance of the type of democracy environment (i.e. stable, transitional and post-conflict) in determining both the kind and amount of electoral expenses. The conclusions from previous research, as described below, have been validated in the current study:

A very significant factor in explaining cost variations is duration of previous experience with multi-party elections. Significant cost differences exist between routine elections in stable democracies, elections in transitional democracies, and elections during special peacekeeping operations. In countries with longer multi-party democratic experience, elections are consistently less costly than in countries where such elections constitute a new undertaking. This trend cuts across regions, levels of economic development, and even interruptions of electoral practice by military breakdowns. Low electoral costs, approximately \$1 to \$3 per elector, tend to manifest in countries with longer electoral experience: the United States and most Western European countries; Chile (\$1.2), Costa Rica (\$1.8), and Brazil (\$2.3) in Latin

America; Benin (\$1.6), Botswana (\$2.7), Ghana (\$0.7), and Senegal (\$1.2) in Africa; India (\$1) and Pakistan (\$0.5) in Asia; and Australia (\$3.2).

In most countries that have less multi-party electoral experience, costs tend to be higher, even taking into consideration elections that have taken place as part of peace-keeping operations, where the cost per elector is highest: Mexico (\$5.9), El Salvador (\$4.1) and Paraguay (\$3.7) can be mentioned in Latin America; Lesotho (\$6.9), Liberia (\$6.1) and Uganda (\$3.7) in Africa; and Russia (\$7.5) in Eastern Europe.

Thus, duration of electoral practice is in itself a cost-reducing mechanism, perhaps the most important during the stage of democratic consolidation. Since a longer-term perspective is by definition difficult when assessing election costs in new democracies, the above findings offer strong support for the claim that efforts at capacity building in electoral administrations are probably cost-effective in the longer term. These findings also support the idea that establishing and consolidating a permanent electoral administration as the repository for managerial capacity development with regard to elections—within both the political and the administrative systems—is a cost-effective practice.

As might well be expected, elections held as part of broader and longer-lasting peace-keeping operations are the costliest of all. Nicaragua in 1990 (\$11.8 per elector), Angola in 1992 (\$22), Cambodia in 1993 (\$45.5), Mozambique in 1994 (\$10.2), Palestinian Territories in 1996 (\$9), and Bosnia-Herzegovina under the Dayton Accords (\$8) are cases in point. This is not to say that a cost-effective approach cannot or should not be used for special operations, but that it would function to a much more limited extent than in simple transitional electoral politics or, indeed, in routine periodic elections. In the Cambodian case, in which donors subsidized both elections, it would be hard to demonstrate that the high-cost elections in 1993 (at \$45 per elector) were better organized or produced a more positive political outcome than did those of 1998, which were run at costs closer to the standard of the politics of democratization (\$5). Somewhat less dramatically, both Nicaragua and El Salvador also demonstrate that second elections after peacekeeping operations can be run significantly less expensively: costs dropped from \$11.8 in 1990 to \$7.5 in 1996 in Nicaragua, and from \$4.1 in 1994 to \$3.1 in 1997 in El Salvador. Consequently, elections as part of special peace-making and peacekeeping operations should be considered separately for both analytical and strategic policy purposes. (López-Pintor, 2000, 76-77).

According to the research conducted for the CORE Project, elections cost more than \$20 per elector in Afghanistan (2004), \$5 in Guatemala (2004), \$2 in Cambodia (2003), \$4 in Spain (2004), and \$2 in Sweden (2004). The projected per-elector cost for the 2005 election in Haiti is \$11. Costs in Guatemala and Cambodia are similar to those in Spain and Sweden, respectively, but these similarities should be considered in light of the fact that the former two countries are among the poorest in the world in terms of per capita income, while the latter two are among the richest. Thus the elections in Cambodia and Guatemala can be viewed as being much more costly.

A corollary to these findings is that the integrity costs of elections are reduced by

efforts and investments to improve peace, security and national reconstruction, such as disarmament, demobilization, integration to civilian life, inter-ethnic reconciliation, and infrastructure development. Other electoral costs may remain constant or even increase (e.g., personnel, high technology), but integrity costs will certainly decline with democratic progress. Within the realm of core costs, progress in building state apparatuses would normally imply that certain electoral costs may be reduced or shared within the ordinary budget of other public agencies different from the electoral administration (e.g., civil registries, postal services and police). As national security, transport and communication infrastructures are of paramount importance in determining integrity costs, so is state building with regard to core electoral costs.

A second major finding is that core costs as a whole—especially in the areas of personnel and advanced technology—tend to increase rather than decrease independently according to the degree of democratic consolidation. One main cause of this in emerging democracies is the sheer institutionalization of a permanent professional electoral administration, which in most countries is a bureaucratic organization in the form of an electoral commission independent of the executive branch. A second set of causes stems from the complexities of the political and party systems in countries with federal, state and regionalized electorates, all of which may run different types of elections under separate schedules; when high demands for voter information persist (i.e., use of different languages); and when elections require special voter assistance (i.e. external voting, proxy voting). A third cause is the increasing use of new technologies, which may include computerization of office work, establishment and update of permanent computerized voter lists, quick electronic transmission of results on election evening, and introduction of electronic voting. All of these activities are expensive.

In the specific scenario of emerging democracies, once peace is achieved and reconciliation fares well, dramatic cost decreases may be expected—though not under all circumstances (e.g., Ecuador, Kosovo and Nicaragua). The case of **Cambodia** illustrates the decreasing cost trend and the fact that after a given point, no further decrease can be expected. The substantial reduction of costs achieved by the National Election Committee (NEC) from 1998 to 2003 can be explained by a series of factors that are not all technical in nature. At the policy level and as a matter of pride, the Government of Cambodia does not want to rely heavily on international assistance for future elections. Eventually, the greater part of electoral costs will come from the government's coffers. This, in itself, is a strong incentive to reduce costs. Electoral assistance dropped substantially, from almost \$19 million in 1998 to \$10 million in 2002 to \$6 million in 2003.

The 2002 reform of the legal framework in Cambodia was undertaken with the double objective of improving and reducing the costs of the electoral machinery. For instance, a permanent voter registry was introduced, and voter registration was delegated to local administrations. In addition, expensive procedures were abandoned or replaced with cheaper alternatives. For example, the practice of issuing a new voter identity card (with photograph) for each election was replaced by the use of other

identification documents, such as a new national identity card. The NEC was forced to rationalize its internal practices and reduce the number of departments. The chairman of the NEC has said he believes that electoral costs in Cambodia should not vary widely in future elections; if anything, he said, the cost of materials and salaries are likely to increase slightly. Other possible contributing factors to larger electoral budgets in the future may include capital expenditures to replace aging vehicles, computers and other electoral items, and the necessity to provide for an ever-increasing voter population.

In **Guatemala**, an assessment of election budgeting, funding and cost management in recent years found that election costs have consistently increased overall and in almost every single area. First, the 2003 election budget was more than twice that of previous elections after including foreign aid, but still around the average for Latin America. A similar pattern observed in Guatemala at the time of these elections had been seen previously in elections in Nicaragua in 2001 and Ecuador in 2002. In all three cases these were third-generation elections which took place after acute social conflicts, and each poll turned out to be more expensive and more poorly organized than the previous national election. Given that a substantial part of Guatemala's electoral budget was funded through foreign aid, this finding should be taken as a warning to the international community to closely monitor election spending.

Second, the most expensive items in Guatemala were salaries and per diem given to temporarily hired staff and polling station workers, although this cost has remained relatively constant over the last five years at 125 quetzals (\$15) for polling station officers—an amount that many poll workers did not consider equitable. This expenditure was followed closely by the cost for voter list updates, although it should be noted that updating of voter lists and rearrangement of the polling stations accordingly was basically covered by external aid. Cost increases in the official national electoral budget basically involved larger expenses for voter education and an increase in the number of polling stations to 8,885. Over a five-year period, voter information and education had the largest real growth in costs, most of which stemmed from an effort to reach rural and indigenous populations in their own languages (half of the Guatemalan population is of Mayan descent and does not speak Spanish). There is no single item for which a cost decrease has been recorded.

4. Budget histories in the 1990s

As described above in Guatemala, electoral costs do not tend to decrease overall once civil conflict and severe political turmoil have been overcome, although some line items of expense may prove to be more sensitive than others to cost-cutting measures. In other words, stability is much less expensive than civil conflict, but it cannot be taken for granted that electoral costs will decrease once democracy is stabilized and a state administration continues to develop. There are no grounds to expect that such massive processes as voter registration and voting would not be subject to the same challenges and expectations as other undertakings by a modern state administration (i.e., tax collection, educational services, postal services and communications).

The remainder of this sub-section focuses on trends in cost evolution identified in survey and case study research.

There are more countries where electoral costs have increased during the last five years than those where costs have decreased. In about half of the countries, the budget was merely inflation-dependent and did not change in substance. The case of Switzerland, with a constant electoral budget over the last five years, illustrated this situation. In contrast, Canada, Spain and Sweden experienced high budget increases due largely to automation of voter lists and early transmission of results, expansion of postal voting, and intensive voter-information activities.

Although second- and third-generation elections following civil conflict tend to cost less than the first post-conflict elections, there are cases showing the opposite trend. In three Latin American countries (Nicaragua, 2001; Ecuador, 2002; Guatemala, 2003) later elections were more expensive than earlier ones. (See European Union Observer Mission reports for further information.)

Electoral expenses showing the largest growth tend to be for personnel and professional services. Sometimes this occurs following the establishment of an increasingly consolidated electoral administration, as in Cambodia and Guatemala; at other times, it stems from outsourced professional expertise in computer and telecommunication fields, as in Australia, Spain and Sweden. Voter information and postal voting are other expenses experiencing growth, especially in well-established democracies where sophisticated voter-information efforts offer individualized notification of date and place of the polling. For example, in **Switzerland**, voter information accounts for as much as 50 percent of the entire electoral budget. According to the survey response from the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), the areas of operation experiencing the greatest increase in costs related to upgrading the AEC Web site (developing the 'virtual tally room'), administering a 40 percent increase in the volume of postal voting, and also administering the increased volume of overseas voting together with attendant security issues.

Postal voting within country and abroad is becoming increasingly popular, yet is quite expensive. In **Spain**, for example, the cost per registered voter grew from \$2.1 in 1996 to \$4.1 in 2004. While reporting and accounting factors may explain a large part of the growth, there is still considerable room for actual cost increases, which can be explained by significant changes in the management of the electoral process. In any case, cost increases have been much larger than the 10 percent increase in the number of eligible voters from 31.4 million in 1996 to 34.5 million in 2004. Some of the discrepancy is related to the change in Spain's currency from the peseta to the euro as well as the fall in the US dollar's value against the euro over the past couple of years. These external factors are responsible for the estimate that at least 25 percent of the current cost per registered voter should be considered 'inflated' by mere accounting factors; taking this into consideration, the actual 2004 cost is \$3 per registered voter.

Other factors are also responsible for the higher costs in 2004 compared with 1996. The major significant changes in the management of elections in Spain over those eight years included:

- A dramatic increase in the number of registered voters abroad for whom electoral material was mailed and processed (1.1 million people), plus other mail services to normal voters. Moreover, information facilities to electors in and outside the country were improved (i.e., by providing online information). This explains why the largest single line item in the most recent election budget was postal and telecommunications expenses, which accounted for over 21 percent of the entire budget;
- The increasing volume of printing and mailing by the Office of the Voter Registry accounted for approximately 13 percent of the electoral budget, the largest growth item in the budget. This increase resulted from higher levels of external voting; and
- Rapid transmission of preliminary results on election night. This activity has been improving technologically over time and now accounts for almost 10 percent of the total budget.

In **Sweden**, the cost of technology and Web communications is fairly high due to the large investments that have been made. In addition, most of this work is done by consultants instead of permanent staff—yet another reason for the high cost. Voter-information efforts are mainly focused on the production of a magazine in 14 different languages (in addition to Swedish); placing information on the official Web site; producing brochures; and advertising on television and radio. Brochures and films in sign language and Braille are also produced. The cost for voter information is around 18 million kroner (\$2.3 million) for each general election; this number increased by 60 percent between 1998 and 2002. Before the election to the European Parliament in June 2004, the central EMB participated in the government's Democracy Campaign by organizing information seminars for representatives from municipalities, organizations, government agencies and schools. The authority focusing on schools included information brochures in its general dissemination plan. The central EMB is prepared to develop its information activities further before the general election in 2006; among the suggestions additions are the preparation of special information packages for schools and immigrants.

Special investments in new technology and Web-based communication have been made in recent years in Sweden. To fund them, a relatively high annual budget has been granted to the central EMB. The cost of IT support and technology in 2002, more than 20 million kroner, was almost double its usual cost. The new technology is mainly used to produce a voter register, assist in accurate boundary delimitation and in managing election results. In addition, election results are published electronically immediately after the close of polls on Election Day.

Some countries show dramatic reductions in electoral budgets. The case of **Cambodia** looks spectacular because the first elections were held as part of peacekeeping operation in 1993 and had an exceptionally high cost—nearly \$46 per registered voter. Subsequently, the cost dropped to \$5 in 1998 and to \$2 in 2003. Expense-line items undergoing the greatest reductions in recent years include staff savings (Canada), voter education (Australia) and voter registration after establishing a permanent registry (Cambodia).

In other countries such as **Spain**, however, no significant cost reduction was noted from one election to the next—although in the longer term a number of cost-reducing measures have been singled out. Spain's electoral authorities have gained experience over the past 20 years with a number of cost-effective measures:

- Considerable savings have come from the decentralized printing of ballot papers since the late 1980s (party lists are different in each of the 52 provinces), and by widening the bidding to a larger number of firms. Savings of 50 percent or more have been reported, moving the cost from 1.6 pesetas to 0.60 per ballot, a savings of around \$2 million per election;
- The cost of voter-information campaigns was reduced enormously in the early 1990s by limiting campaigning to the state-owned media where airtime is free. Expenditures were reduced from approximately \$13 million to around \$1 million;
- As indicated above, decentralizing the procedures for the preparation and application of the budget, and making each agency formally accountable for its own budget and accounting, appears to have been cost-effective; and
- The electoral authorities conducted a study on the feasibility of substituting disposable ballot boxes for the currently used hard plastic boxes. Savings on storage costs, as well as on some production costs, are expected as a result; currently, about 30 percent of all boxes are unrecoverable after an election regardless. This type of cost-effective measure has already been introduced in other countries like Australia.

The expenses that remain constant vary greatly among countries. Examples include fees to registration and polling officials in Canada or Guatemala; training in Australia; general voter-information campaign by the EMB (Spain); voter education (Cambodia); and every single budget line item (Switzerland).

5. Public funding of political parties

The source of funds for political parties varies around the world based on culture, precedent and legal standards. In most countries in continental Europe, political parties are at least partially funded from the national budget in the form of various types of allowances, including those for regular party operation, functioning of parliamentary groups of party representatives, and for campaign expenses in an election year.³ In the United Kingdom and the United States, private financing of parties represents the largest portion of campaign expenses. In emerging democracies, there are examples of the different legal models as well as of compliance in actual practice. A mixed model with public and private financing is frequently established with an obligation for disclosure by political parties and controlling authority held by the EMB. More often than not, a legal vacuum exists regarding sanctions for non-compliance or other enforcement mechanisms at the disposal of the implementing authorities.

In **Australia**, political parties and independent candidates receive public funding for campaigning, as per the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 (the Act). Under the Act, candidates or Senate groups are eligible for election funding if they receive a

³ Private funding in most of these countries is allowed, but it tends to be secondary in importance.

minimum of 4 percent of the formal first preference vote in the division (House of Representatives) or the state or territory (Senate) in which they stand for election. The amount payable is calculated by multiplying the number of eligible votes by the current election-funding rate, which is indexed to increases in the consumer price index every six months and was set at \$1.97⁴ per vote for the 2004 election. The total amount payable that election was \$42 million.

Following an election, key participants in the electoral process are required to lodge with the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) various returns disclosing certain campaign transactions. These transactions include donations received and electoral expenditures by candidates and Senate groups; details of electoral expenditures, donations received; donations made to candidates and others by third parties; electoral advertising by broadcasters; and published electoral advertisements.

Regarding political party financing, the disclosure provisions of the Act are intended to improve the integrity of the electoral process by allowing the electorate to be well informed about the major donors to political parties, groups and candidates as well as the levels of some kinds of expenditures by those involved in the electoral process. The AEC receives and processes the various returns required under the Act, makes them publicly available for inspection (on the AEC Web site), and conducts a program of compliance reviews of disclosures made by the political parties and associated entities. Even as the AEC's workload in administering these requirements and activities continues to grow, it is frequently criticized by parties and members of Parliament who are often interested in exposing the financial arrangements of their political opponents while seeking at the same time to limit the transparency of their own arrangements.

During the 2003–2004 period, some 184 annual returns were processed; 1,190 donor returns were processed; and 102 compliance reviews were conducted. According to the AEC Portfolio Budget Statements, the cost associated with funding and disclosure activities during 2004–2005 was estimated to be \$2.8 million.

In **Spain**, a mixed model applies, with public funding provided to political parties for ongoing and electoral operations. Public funding for campaigning is not directly a part of the electoral budget, and parties can also receive funds from private sources. Campaign subsidies are calculated in proportion to the number of votes and seats obtained. Political parties also receive funds from their membership, private donors, their own investment revenues, and bank loans. Access to state radio and television is free of charge and is managed by a special commission supervised by the electoral committees.

Sweden has a rather peculiar mixed model that is based largely on informal agreements among political parties. For one thing, any political party, candidate or organization can conduct an election campaign. Organizations other than political parties were involved in campaigning prior to the referendum in 2003 on replacing the Swedish currency, the kroner, with the euro. Any business was able to fund campaign organizations prior to this vote, and many did so.⁵ Regarding the financing of politi-

⁴ All references to Australian electoral costs are in Australian dollars.

cal parties, there is no system of regulation, although there is one law containing rules and moral guidelines for political parties. There are no provisions for disclosure of contributions to political parties; however, the political parties represented in parliament reached a mutual agreement in the 1960s to share information about sources of contributions with each other, but not with the general public. Political parties are also obligated to produce an annual report, which is also not made public.

There are four main sources of funding for Swedish political parties: direct public funding, indirect public funding, income from party membership, and lotteries conducted by parties or their affiliated organizations. The main source is direct public funding given to political parties during election periods and between elections, with the amount based on performance in the previous election and current representation in the legislature. Indirect party funding is typically provided through the party-affiliated press, which is publicly subsidized. Although membership in political parties has declined, income from membership still remains important, representing between 5-10 percent of the total budget of the two main parties in the early 1990s. Some political parties or their affiliated organizations receive income from lotteries; the Social Democrats are particularly successful in this respect. Although no law prohibits political parties from receiving funds from private businesses, party leaders agreed in the 1970s to refuse such contributions.

In **Guatemala**, public financing of political parties is established by the law. Parties are entitled to free postal and telecommunications services from the calling of an election until one month after its conclusion. Moreover, political parties receive public funding in proportion to the number of votes obtained in the first round of the presidential election, at a rate of 2 quetzals per vote, if and only if a party receives at least 4 percent of total valid votes. Disbursement is made under the control of the national electoral commission, *Tribunal Supremo Electoral* (TSE), in four annual installments between elections. Political parties may use public funds for either ordinary operations or campaign expenses. The TSE has the responsibility for audit and control of party finances and expenses. Before each annual disbursement, parties must submit a detailed report of expenses. In the event that a political party does not abide by its accounting and reporting obligations, the TSE may bring the party before the courts in an effort to force compliance. Private financing is neither contemplated nor prohibited, and no limit on campaign expenses is established in the law. It follows that it would be extremely difficult to estimate campaign expenses except for the public subsidies component, even if all parties complied with the obligation for disclosure after elections.

In **Cambodia**, the Law on Political Parties states that parties should be funded through their members' contributions, from income generated by lawful business activities, from donations of private enterprises or individuals, and from the political party's own assets. Contributions from foreign firms, public or government institutions, and NGOs are forbidden. Regardless of their participation in the electoral process, all political parties are required to report annually to the Ministry of Interior their income

⁵ The vast majority of businesses supported replacing the kroner with the euro, thus greatly tilting the balance of funding in favor of the "yes" vote. Some analysts attribute voters' rejection of the euro at least in part to a backlash against the huge amount of money spent by euro supporters.

and expenditures, balance sheets, statements of bank accounts, and assets. These documents are not available to the public. Regarding campaigns, the same law establishes that the State shall provide funding for campaigning to political parties on an equal basis; to date, however, this provision has never been applied. Existing laws also require parties to report campaign expenditures and maintain a special account registry showing their sources of income and expenditures. The registry must remain available to the election commission for examination, if requested. The only actual government contribution to campaigns of political parties comes under the provision of free airtime on state radio and TV. The electoral authorities arrange free equal access to airtime for political party campaign messages during the 30-day campaign period. This, however, does not apply to local commune elections.

In **Haiti**, few provisions or policies had been determined regarding political party campaign activities by the time the electoral budget was drafted and international assistance was pledged for the 2005 elections. This oversight illustrates the uncertainties and challenges that are typical of post-conflict environments.

In **Afghanistan**, the picture is also rather bleak even though laws regarding political party contributions have been passed. The political entities registered to take part in an election must have a dedicated bank account where all campaign contributions are deposited, as stipulated in the Joint Electoral Management Body (JEMB) Regulation on Political Campaign Finances. Each Afghan citizen or organization may contribute up to 2 million Afghani (\$47,000) to a candidate per campaign period. Any contribution greater than 1,000 Afghani must be recorded and reported to the JEMB. The only kind of campaign contribution from a public source that can be accepted is in the form of security services. Thus, current circumstances hold that no public money is available to political parties, its candidates, or independent candidates running for office. Even though political entities are not allowed to accept funding from abroad, international NGOs have been offering courses and advice on how to organize a political party, develop a political program, and how best to run an election campaign in a democratic environment.

6. Funding from the international community

In emerging democracies, the funding of an electoral budget by the international community, totally or in part, is an important component of democracy assistance. The amount varies from practically funding an entire election in a post-conflict scenario to more limited support of a specific phase of the electoral process, such as voter registration, civic education, and the provision of some materials like ballot papers and indelible ink. In decreasing order of importance, the following are illustrative country examples.

In **Afghanistan**, as in Kosovo since 2000, elections in 2004 were financed completely by foreign donors, with an overall cost per registered voter of more than \$20. An additional peculiarity was the financial management of the election. Even though the JEMB was responsible for the election, it did not have complete authority over finances; that authority rested with UNDP and its Voter Registration and Elections Project. According to a conservative estimate by the unit responsible for the election

budget, more than \$190 million was spent to obtain 8,128,940 ballots, resulting in a cost of \$23 per vote. This figure excluded all costs related to the security operations conducted by 18,000 US troops and 8,000 ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) soldiers. Other costs not included were related to expansive civic education activities and logistic assistance provided by international NGOs but paid by individual donor countries; the total amount of such assistance may have amounted to more than \$30 million. More than 2,000 domestic electoral monitors were separately funded by USAID. Special election support teams from the European Union (\$2 million) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) were also separately funded by their respective organizations.

The estimated total cost for the direct polling operation inside the country was \$55 million. In addition, UNAMA spent almost \$21 million, and support to the Ministry of Interior for security cost a further \$10 million. The latter funds were primarily spent on salaries, new vehicles fitted with communication equipment, and other equipment (except weapons and ammunition) necessary for the national police to perform its duties. Not included in these totals was the \$23 million contract to Global Risk Strategies (GRS) to field 96 international staff to conduct security coordination and perform logistical planning for the EMB in the field. In fact, to a very large extent, GRS became the JEMB's field structure.

There was also the issue of funding external voting processes for Afghan citizens living elsewhere, particularly refugees in neighboring Iran and Pakistan. Significant resources were needed to set up and run, in fewer than 80 days, a registration and voting operation in those two countries for more than one million potential voters. In Pakistan an in-person registration exercise was conducted prior to Election Day (this was not feasible in Iran). On Election Day, both Pakistan and Iran offered in-person voting at a limited number of polling centers, primarily near locations with large Afghan refugee populations. The cost, excluding resources spent by host countries (in particular, for security arrangements), amounted to nearly \$30 million. This exercise resulted in 818,189 votes being cast.

It is not surprising that the 2004 elections in Afghanistan were so complicated to arrange and proved quite costly. The election authority charged with organizing the 2004 presidential poll was faced with an electorate that had not experienced an attempt to hold democratic elections in four decades. Instead, more than 25 years of violence had dominated the political landscape and colored the political climate of the country. A significant amount of money was therefore needed to recreate the election authorities' infrastructure, as well as on civic and voter education to facilitate the electorate's understanding of a democratic electoral process. The electoral administration had a huge pool of internationals teaching Afghans how to run elections via on-the-job-training, which affected the cost of the election. Security concerns also played a significant role. Preparing and organizing elections is more costly in a post-conflict society, as much of a country's physical infrastructure has been destroyed and large segments of the population have moved internally or become part of a diaspora. The late decision to allow eligible Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran to take part in the poll further increased the costs.

In **Haiti**, it is likely that a three-election event will be almost entirely financed internationally. As in Afghanistan and Iraq, the electoral budget in Haiti is illustrative of the exceptional electoral setting in post-conflict societies. First, there is the overall cost of approximately \$10.5 per registered voter, not including political party funding and international and domestic observer missions. The voter registration operation alone will cost around \$2.10 per registered voter. Typical of post-conflict situations, infrastructure and technical equipment costs (i.e. transport, office space rental, communications and computer facilities) will require approximately \$2.30 per registered voter. It should be noted that the electoral cost per registered voter in 2005 will be higher than it was ten years ago in 1995, when it reached \$4 (López-Pintor 2000, p. 74).

The total resource requirement for the period October 2004 to December 2005 amounts to \$48,893,180, which is expected to cover personnel and operational costs for municipal, congressional and presidential elections. The Haitian government will finance the cost of 82 headquarters electoral staff and also contribute \$2.9 million to the extraordinary electoral budget, to which three main international donors (Canada, the European Union and the United States) have committed \$41 million. International financial resources for operational items have been linked to objectives of quantitative output through a result-based framework created by the electoral commission. Of the \$41 million committed by donors, which will be administered by UNDP, \$9 million has been allocated for voter registration to be conducted by the Organization of American States (OAS). The international community has pledged additional funding for security services and civic education and election observation programs, including political party activities. The following countries and regional organizations have pledged or are considering technical assistance opportunities prior to the elections in Haiti: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, France, Japan, Mexico, Spain, Venezuela, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), and the Organization of French Speaking Countries (OIF). The United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) is also preparing to establish a Trust Fund aimed at mobilizing additional resources for the elections as may be required. The substantial contribution of the international community is the only hope to sustain the entire electoral operation, as the national contribution amounts to less than 10 percent of the total budget.

International financial assistance for **Cambodia** has consistently decreased every election since 1993. In 1998, international assistance funded almost 80 percent of the total cost of the election, but this percentage declined to around 60 percent for the 2002 commune elections and to less than 50 percent for the 2003 national election. The estimated cost per registered voter was \$45.50 in 1993, but dropped dramatically to \$4.40 in 1998, and continued to decrease to \$2.30 in 2002 and \$1.70 in 2003.

For the 2003 national election, the budget was funded at 24,344,723,000 riels (\$5.68 million) from a Trust Fund for Elections in the National Treasury and 24,931,681,000 riels from the international community. Seven billion riels were provided to the National Election Committee (NEC) from UNDP; six billion riels was provided by one donor country to the NEC through the Ministry of Finance; and only 536 million riels went from donors directly to the NEC. The donors' money covered, for the most part, the non-salary, non-contingency budget costs. UNDP signed funding

agreements with 12 donor countries and coordinated the earmarked funding to cover all the various phases of the process in agreement with each country. The Cambodian government's money was used almost exclusively for salaries.

The NEC accredited over 1,000 international observers, with two most important observation missions being conducted by the Asia Foundation (305 observers) and the European Union (some 120 observers). The approximate cost was \$1.5 million for the EU Election Observation Mission and \$240,000 for the Asia Foundation observation effort. These costs offer proof that international funding of civil society activities in election monitoring sometimes comes in relatively massive amounts. For example, in the 2003 Cambodian general election, external funding amounted to almost as much as the entire electoral budget of the NEC.

In **Guatemala**, the electoral budget was generously funded by international assistance up to \$9 million (not including international observation missions), with assistance provided mainly by Canada, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States. Of the \$9 million, \$3.5 million flowed through the Organization of American States (OAS) for technical assistance on voter lists, and the remaining \$5.5 million was provided directly to the national electoral agency. The distribution of this aid by item was approximately as follows: voter registration, \$2.5 million; voter education, \$2.5 million; purchasing of equipment, \$2 million; and training for poll workers, \$2 million. To a lesser extent, external aid was provided to civil society organizations monitoring the elections. All in all, electoral expenditures amounted to around \$23 million, which is equivalent to \$4.6 per register voter. There were also several large international observer missions, including particularly extensive ones from OAS and EU, with an average cost of around \$1 million each.

IV. Voter registration costs

The main issues regarding voter registration costs have to do with the **type of registration system** (permanent versus *ad hoc*, automatic versus show-up update); **institutional locus** responsible for voter registration (the EMB or a separate agency); and **degree of resilience** in cost assessment (easily identifiable versus diffuse costs). The following conceptual considerations, which are likely to be relevant to a correct assessment of voter registration costs, are excerpted from a UNDP assessment mission in Cambodia in August 2004.

1. General considerations on the purpose of voter lists in comparison with other registries of people

Voter lists are meant for the exclusive purpose of recording the enfranchisement of voters and facilitating the voting operation by which the citizens eligible to vote (with given age and legal conditions) exercise their right to suffrage on a periodic basis. Voter lists are the tangible proof of enfranchisement, and the quality of such lists is to be judged according to their capacity to serve that specific purpose.

Other registries of people exist and are meant to achieve different purposes: civil registries, lists of residents, and different personal identification documents (i.e., identity

cards, passports and driver licenses). The number of registries and the institutional locations of each registry vary from country to country, depending on historical and legal traditions.

Civil registries, which are usually based at local government levels, serve the purpose of recording and certifying births, deaths and marital status. Certification by civil registry is the main proof of citizenship, which in turn is generally based on nationality. Civil registries also offer proof of age—and both citizenship and age are the fundamental requirements for voter enfranchisement. Other lists are compiled to provide citizens or residents in a country with certain personal documents, such as national identity cards, passports or driver licenses. These activities are frequently undertaken by some branch of the security administration, normally the national police, and these documents exist for the purpose of personal individual identification. A third type of registry is a list of residents, which may be compiled, maintained and updated by local authorities in the districts of large cities, townships, communes or villages. These lists may serve different purposes normally related to the delivery of public services at the local level, and to provide information to higher levels of government for their respective action (i.e., correcting or updating other lists of citizens on which residence information is required, like the voter lists). Finally, another kind of documentary record is the population census, which is usually compiled every 10 years for the production of aggregate statistics of the population at different territorial levels of a country. Aggregate census information (but not data on individual persons) has many different uses, including the definition of electoral constituencies, which may be based on population, and the allocation of parliamentary or local council seats to constituencies according to population.

Voter lists should not be considered per se as registries of citizens or of residents. Voter lists are intended neither to help with the identification of citizens, nor (even less so) to serve as a resource for the quantification of the population of a given country. Voter lists essentially exist for the purpose of allowing individual voters to vote only within a given constituency and at a given polling station.

In the production and maintenance of voter lists, the kind of links to be expected between voter lists and other types of registries basically depends upon two factors. One is the legal administrative tradition of a given country. The other refers to the special circumstances under which voter registration is organized, most frequently in the case of emerging democracies and post-conflict situations. In the latter case, problems stemming from a deficit of population statistics, civil registries and citizen identification, as well as significant displaced populations, may strongly influence the procedures whereby voters are registered. In general, the main link between voter lists and civil registries is the requirement of a birth certificate as proof of citizenship (which is normally defined by nationality) and, at least in the first instance, a proof of residency (which would normally be required for the allocation of individual voters to constituencies, polling centers, and polling stations). Voter lists and personal identification documents are linked by the necessity for the voter to be identified at the ballot box. Finally, the link of voter lists with population censuses can be found in the facilitating role of census data for the organization of early voter registration, and the

disaggregating of voter lists into constituencies. Also, population statistics may be crosschecked with voter lists to assess the size or age of segments of the population that will be eligible for enfranchisement at the present time or in the future.

2. Voter registration systems in a global perspective

Voter registration can be conducted on an *ad hoc* basis only for a specific election or organized on a permanent basis either with periodic updating or with updating as a more continuous process. *Ad hoc* registration occurs least frequently, with the exception of post-conflict elections, which are often conducted with an *ad hoc* registry of voters. Nevertheless, there are exceptional cases even in well-established democracies where a permanent voter registry was instituted only recently (i.e., Canada in 1997).

In addition, voter registration may be compulsory or voluntary for citizens. A global survey of 124 countries by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) found that compulsory voter registration is quite common in Western Europe as well as in Central and Eastern Europe. In those nations, it is organized on a continuous basis whereby the voter is automatically registered on a voter list after turning 18 years of age, with no requirement to appear before any public authority. This system is based on individual citizenship and age information, provided from either civil registry records or residents' rolls compiled at local government levels. Compulsory registration is not widely practiced in Africa or North America. In South America, the two practices are evenly distributed. Again, much depends on the way civil registries and residence records are organized.

Permanent voter registers are updated either on a continuous basis or at specific time intervals, normally during the period immediately preceding an election. Continuous registration requires an appropriate infrastructure to maintain the register either at the electoral administration or at the civil register. This involves adding the names and other relevant information for those who satisfy eligibility requirements (attaining citizenship, satisfying residency requirements, and attaining voting age) and deleting the names of those who no longer meet the eligibility requirements (usually because of death and change of residency). Continuous registers are used more often than periodic registers in all regions of the world, despite the complex machinery and high cost incurred. It is important to note, however that voter registration through a periodic voter register is ultimately a more expensive operation than maintaining a continuous register (IDEA, 2002, p. 30).

3. Quality standards of voter lists

Democracy means rule by the people, and the purpose of a voter list is to register the people who are eligible to exercise the right to vote. The following **standards of democratic quality** are particularly relevant:

- Inclusion of all eligible voters. Any discrimination against individuals who are perceived to be political opponents should be avoided, and special sensitivity should be applied regarding certain sectors of the population that tend to be more vulnerable to disenfranchisement (e.g., women, rural residents, illiterate

individuals and ethnic minorities). Comprehensive and accurate voter registers should be considered a prerequisite for free and fair elections (IDEA 2002, p. 33).

- Facilitation of the voting operation. In structuring voter registries, the fundamental guiding principles are simplicity of procedures and convenience for the citizen. Because the exercise of a fundamental right is at stake, governmental and administrative authorities must not hinder the exercise of that right or obstruct election-related authorities. Simple administrative procedures must be put in place, and the process for registering must be made as convenient as possible, for example by reducing the need to travel long distances and eliminating payment of heavy fees on stamps and photographs or having to appear several times at registration centers (IDEA 2002, p. 25). This democracy standard requires that, independently of how the list of voters is produced (for only one election or as a permanent or continuous register), the voter lists must be publicly exposed for a given period of time for additions, corrections or deletions on the initiative of citizens.

There are also **standards of technical efficacy** such as the following:

- Accessibility to eligible voters (this should be considered a technical as much as a democracy standard);
- Ease of use on polling day. This refers to the way in which the voter rolls are disaggregated by polling center and the ability of voters to find their names on the appropriate voter list;
- Updated lists either periodically or on a continuous basis; and
- A clean registry, which should discourage double voting and help produce accurate electoral statistics. The main issues here are procedures for the deletion of the deceased, the inclusion of changes of residence so that voters are registered in the constituency where they live, and cross-checking to eliminate multiple registrations of the same individual.

Since the achievement of absolute perfection in almost any ongoing population record is unlikely, the main guiding principle for voter rolls, according to IDEA, is that enrollment procedures “need to strike the right balance between the need to be rigorous to ensure integrity of the rolls, and the need for flexibility to ensure that people’s rights to enroll and vote are protected.” (IDEA, 2002, p. 34).

4. Country experiences

In **Australia**, voter lists are automatically updated with civil registry information. The Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) divisional staff continually process enrollment information and enter it into the computerized Roll Management System (RMANS) in order to ensure an accurate and up-to-date electoral roll. This includes information about newly eligible persons, electors changing addresses, and deletions of electors who have left their enrolled addresses or died. The staff also process information received from Continuous Roll Update (CRU) activities and elections. Data matching programs undertaken in conjunction with other Commonwealth, state and territory authorities have also assisted the AEC in confirming enrollment details for

approximately 43 percent of occupied addresses that can be enrolled without the need for direct contact with residents. The AEC also provides roll products for joint roll partners (state and territory electoral bodies), senators and members of Parliament, registered political parties, medical researchers, government agencies and authorities, and the public. The costs associated with the roll administration activities in 2003–2004 amounted to \$58 million (a period leading up to the national election), and the estimate for the 2004–2005 financial year was \$46 million.

In **Sweden**, the voter register is compiled on the basis of the civil register, which is continuously updated by the National Tax Agency, the organization that since 1971 has been responsible for keeping a correct civil register. Before every election, the central EMB acquires from the agency a complete voter register, which is extracted from the database containing the civil register. The central EMB pays the agency a fee for this information; the amount for the euro referendum in 2003 totaled 500,000 kroner (\$64,000). The amount is calculated on the basis of the number of persons in the register, with the per-name being 2-5 öre (1 kroner = 100 öre). The central EMB receives the voter register in an electronic format and produces printed registers for each polling station. This is done with the use of statistics and maps provided by the Land Survey. The cost of dividing and printing the register by polling station is equivalent to 300,000 kroner. Additional costs (almost 13.5 million kroner) involve the printing and dissemination of voting cards to all eligible voters.

In **Spain**, lists of voters have a permanent automatic character. They are substantially produced and updated with information based on civil registries and lists of residents provided at the municipal level. Voter lists are handed to the provincial office of the Office of the Voter Registry and then compiled at a national level. Lists were updated on a yearly basis until 1998, when monthly updates were established. Lists of voters are distributed to the municipalities for a five-day revision period before every election. Following revision, the Office of the Voter Registry distributes voter lists organized by booth to each polling station. Also, voter lists are distributed to political parties, but not to the Ministry of Interior, which receives only aggregate figures of voters at different levels of government.

Costs related to the routine production and monthly update of voter lists are part of the ordinary budget of the National Institute of Statistics, which totaled 200 million euros in 2004. The costs are not officially quantified separately in the organization of the Institute's budget, but could be more than 15 percent. In its turn, the Ministry of Interior includes all costs related to the use of voter lists at election times (13 million euros in 2004). These costs cover reproducing the lists to be handed out to political parties; postal communication to voters informing them of the reviewing period before every election and of their specific polling locations; and the management of external voting. This extensive outreach effort explains why voter registration-related expenses have shown the largest actual growth over the last five years. The Ministry must reimburse the Office of the Voter Registry for these costs.

Spain allows external voting by mail, both within the national territory and abroad (the 2004 voter list consisted of 34,557,370 individuals, of whom 1.1 million were voters living abroad). Voters from abroad are included in a separate list of absentee voters that

is produced by the Office of the Voter Registry with information provided by Spanish consular offices. At election time, consular offices share management of the ballot abroad with the Office of the Voter Registry. Voters first apply for external voting at the consular office; then most of the ballots are mailed directly to the corresponding local electoral commission, and a smaller amount is handled directly by the consular office for remittance in Spain. All external ballots—including those from within the country—are supposed to be deposited at local electoral commissions within three days following Election Day since the official vote counting must take place on the third day. External voting operations have recently involved more than 600,000 people living in the country and 295,000 from abroad, amounting to 1.8 percent and 0.8 percent of the entire electorate, respectively. Voting abroad has continued to increase over time, while in-country mail voting tends to remain unchanged (Ramos Vadillo, 2003; Brugarolas Masllorens, 2003).

In **Guatemala**, voter registration costs amounted to 20 percent of the total electoral budget in 2003. The rising cost was due to a particularly complicated method of updating voter lists by which the voter lists and polling stations were split into two sections: updated and non-updated. The process of updating the voter register by allowing people to vote closer to their residence resulted in a split register—non-updated voters and updated voters. This made the entire operation not only costly, but also created much confusion among the electorate. A technical problem while processing updated voter information produced an unknown number of legally registered voters who could not be found on the updated register but were still on the non-updated list; the problem stemmed from the fact that the electoral law states that citizens must vote in the municipality where they are registered. The assessment by the European Union Observer Mission concluded that a main liability of the electoral process was the failure of organizing voter lists when allocating voters to polling stations in accordance with the identification records previously given to the almost two million voters who had updated their registration or registered for the first time.

This shortcoming was recognized as a major issue a few weeks prior to Election Day, but the problem could not be properly addressed by the national election commission. As a consequence, many voters were unable to exercise their right to vote even after the commission decided to allow for a tendered ballot in the first round for those duly-registered voters whose names did not appear on the voter list of the corresponding polling station (EU EOM Report, February 2004). Despite recent efforts to improve the rate of voter registration, accounts continue to be received of actual, if not legal, disenfranchisement of certain populations (primarily rural residents and indigenous people). (López-Pintor and Gratschew, 2002, 37).

In **Cambodia**, voter registration costs in 2002 were part of the commune election budget and were close to \$1.00 per registered voter. In 2003, the update of the list was also part of the electoral budget and amounted to \$0.50 per registered voter; the update of a permanent registry in 2004 was estimated at \$0.14. Therefore, this is a case where registration costs were lowered in comparison to the overall cost of elections, largely due to the establishment of permanent, automatically updated registries. The cost of voter registration operations for the commune elections included the produc-

tion of photographic identity cards for each voter. The total voter registration operation amounted to 20 billion riels (\$4.9 million), which was included in the electoral budget of the commune elections.

In 2003, Cambodia created a permanent voter registry based on the voter list used in 2002 for the commune elections. Registration operations were delegated to the commune administrations but were closely supervised by the National Election Committee (NEC). The operation was an update of the previous voter list: voters already on the list did not need to re-register. Only those who had reached voting age or who had moved from one commune to another were required to register. Under this new system, no voter card was issued. As a result, the total cost of voter registration amounted to 12 billion riels (\$2.9 million) and was incorporated in the 2003 electoral budget.

In 2004, as required by the Law on the Election of Members of the National Assembly (LEMNA), updating of the permanent registry entailed an annual voter registration and revision of the list even if there were no upcoming elections. Voter registration and list revision are conducted between October 1 and December 31 of each year. Therefore, a new valid voter registry is generated each year. For these operations in 2004, the NEC prepared a budget of 3.7 billion riels that was approved and provided entirely by the government. This amount was not part of any electoral budget. In future, this recurrent expenditure may either be granted on an ad hoc basis as happened in 2004 or eventually be integrated in the annual functioning budget of the NEC. The cost of voter registration will likely continue to decline as the procedure becomes part of usual commune administration operations. In 2004, savings had already been realized on training and direct assistance to commune clerks.

Since registration operations are no longer conducted directly by the NEC, part of the cost is now indirectly absorbed by the commune councils, which provide the personnel. Although the financial burden of voter registration seemed to be 'passed on' to the commune councils, the NEC is bound to provide "appropriate training, capacity building, facility, supplies and materials and budget to the commune and clerk to enable the implementation of these responsibilities." Regardless, these costs are already lower than those of a periodic registration. The NEC also provides salary supplement incentives to commune clerks for the additional administrative burden during the annual update period.

In Haiti, as in Guatemala recently, the voter registration operation for 2005 will be conducted with technical assistance from the Organization of American States (OAS). Of a total electoral budget of nearly \$49 million, some \$9 million will be allocated to the task of voter registration, which ideally will include the possibility of creating the basis for a civil register, still non-existent in the country. The overall voter registration process will be automated, and no manual registration will be made. All voters will receive a digital card that will gradually replace the national identification card. The OAS is planning to establish 615 offices for registration activities (400 registration centers, 185 automated registration offices, and 30 automated registration mobile units). The registration centers will be located in rural areas; the automated offices in urban areas; and the mobile units in the semi-urban areas. The number of automated

centers will be adjusted as required to reach a larger number of potential voters. It is estimated that the registration process will take four months (March–June 2005). The concept of operations also provides for the establishment of approximately 3,200 polling centers. All automated registration offices will also be considered as polling centers, and voters will be advised where to vote during the registration process. Haiti's provisional electoral council and the international donors have approved this project, and the OAS is already implementing it.

The government will directly fund operating costs for approximately 82 staff at the electoral council's central headquarters. Provision of \$2,017,167 under this heading reflects the need to hire voter registration officers. According to the electoral law of 1999, each voter registration office should comprise a staff of five: a president, vice president, secretary, and two voter registration officials. The monthly salary of voter registration officers is approximately \$111, while voter registration officials receive \$97 for a two-month period.

Voter registration in Afghanistan prior to the 2004 election was particularly complicated and even hazardous. The actual size of the electorate was unknown, and identity card ownership was very limited among the population. Therefore, a nationwide registration exercise was implemented, resulting in what was regarded as a largely successful registration drive. Due to the security situation, all registration centers were required to have communications (satellite phones in most cases) and to be well protected and mobile. Much money was spent on acquiring thousands of vehicles, in addition to setting up the entire registration organization to run a computerized register. With a \$74 million budget, the voter registration exercise was the single most expensive component of the entire electoral process. An additional \$7.4 million was spent on registering refugees in Pakistan the week before the poll. Unfortunately, the voter register was never used in the polling stations on Election Day because voters were allowed to cast their ballots in any polling station in the country. The EMB has yet to decide how to turn the current voter register into a continuous voter registration process.

V. Cost management practices

A few general considerations are pertinent in a discussion of cost management. First, expense processing and cost management are handled in very different ways in elections that are fully managed by international organizations (i.e., Cambodia in 1993, Kosovo from 2000 to 2002, and Afghanistan in 2004); elections administered by national authorities with substantial financial support from the international community (i.e., Angola in 1992, Guatemala in 2003, and Mozambique from 1994 to 2004); and elections fully handled by national electoral authorities (i.e., well-established democracies). In the first scenario, expense processing is handled directly by the international agency in charge of election finances—the OSCE in the Balkans and UNDP in other regions of the world. Budgeting, procurement and auditing procedures are followed in accordance with the rules of the relevant international organization. In financially sustainable, well-established democracies, expense management is conducted by the relevant department within the electoral administration in accordance

with domestic public management regulations, some of which might pertain specifically to election expense management. Finally, in situations where national electoral authorities are only partly subsidized by the international community, management of expenses charged to external funds tends to be totally or partly in the hands of international implementing agencies like UNDP and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), or a regional organization like the OAS.

Another issue concerns the management of political party and campaign finance by public agencies—an important and sensitive issue in both stable and emerging democracies. As noted previously, significant variations exist among countries in terms of public versus private funding, legal limits on campaign expenses, obligation for disclosure by political parties, and enforcement responsibilities of electoral authorities. Total or partial public financing of political parties is already common in most democracies, and in some countries such financing represents the fastest-growing electoral public expense over the last five years (i.e., Canada). A correct assessment of campaign costs and financing is of utmost relevance for reaching some sound conclusions about whether the playing field is level for all parties and participants. The fact that political finance reporting and control is methodologically complex and politically sensitive should not keep it from the forefront in both election management analysis and democratic quality assessment.

Regarding specific management practices, the following issues deserve attention: procurement procedures, inventory control, cash transactions, cost overruns, budget audit, high-technology investment and cost-effective measures. Each is described in detail below.

1. Procurement procedures

Procurement procedures for equipment, services and supplies are generally prescribed by government guidelines and practices, often complemented by EMB regulations and practices. The guidelines have become increasingly standardized around the world since the 1960s in response to regulations and pressure from international assistance and finance agencies like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and UNDP.

An interesting case of adapting general governmental prescriptions to the specificity of election expenses is that of **Spain**. The state administration's general procedures for expense management are applied with some modifications: a given expenditure requires financial clearance by the general expense-controlling agency within the executive branch of government. This is to ensure that expenses are handled according to budgetary and public contractual provisions. Until the mid-1980s, electoral expenses followed standard clearance procedures, which made management burdensome and dysfunctional due to the short timeline typical of the electoral process. (Making funds available for an after-expense justification was the procedure actually followed to make elections possible). Further legal reform introduced the modality of **permanent financial control**; in this system, prior clearance for every expense is not necessary, yet the controlling authority retains the right to examine electoral expenses at any given time in the process. Moreover, the Ministry of Interior must submit a detailed report on expenses to Parliament after the election. As for expense manage-

ment by the different agencies involved in the process, each agency may spend the anticipated allowance in the budget from its own funds, with the understanding that it will be reimbursed by the Ministry of Interior. Such expenditures might cover voter registration expenses other than the current maintenance of the voter list to external voting—and certainly polling operations at lower levels, which are managed by local authorities.

The situation in **Cambodia**, an entirely different political-administrative environment, illustrates the difficulties in obtaining disbursements of the budget. In practice, the difficulties concerning electoral funding stem from the Ministry of Finance's procedural and administrative practices, which are not geared for quick response in the context of election preparations. The standard finance procedures applicable to an ordinary government department are not capable of responding to the National Election Committee's exceptional time constraints in terms of procuring election-related materials and ensuring unavoidable cash-flow disbursements during the organization of elections. In addition, direct funding from international donors or through UNDP tends to be disbursed quite late in the process, sometimes even after the election, thus creating additional cash-flow problems. In some cases, excessive earmarking may hamper the timely utilization of funds and may require last-minute changes to funding agreements to fit the actual operational expenditures more flexibly.

2. Inventory control

As in the case of procurement, inventory of unused supplies is conducted according to general government regulations and varies substantially among countries. For example, in **Spain** an inventory of both used and unused supplies is made following an election. Local municipal authorities are in charge of making an inventory and storing electoral materials. They pass on this information to the national government's provincial and regional delegates who, in turn, consolidate the inventories at the provincial level and report to the Ministry of Interior. No special or unanticipated costs are incurred in this activity other than current operational costs of the different administrations involved. Supplies that can be reused are stored on municipal premises. Unused supplies, mostly paper products, are discarded or recycled at the local level.

Inventory control in **Australia** requires that arrangements for the storage of unused supplies be included in the contract when ballot paper is purchased. This is treated as Australian Electoral Commission inventory and is carried on the balance sheet at cost. It is all processed electronically. In **Canada**, electoral supplies and materials are tracked using the Supply Management System, which is an application developed in-house that uses a weighted monthly average cost to estimate the value of unused supplies. In **Sweden**, an inventory of unused supplies takes place after each election; unused material without text, such as voting envelopes, can be used in future elections. The central EMB always keeps in stock a certain amount of voting envelopes and paper used for printing ballots. This stock is regarded as a reserve. The local EMBs store materials used in polling stations, such as ballot boxes and polling booths. These are normally made of strong, long-lasting material and do not need to be replaced often, which is why they constitute a very low and rare cost in the budget of the EMB.

In **Guatemala**, sub-national electoral commissions conduct an inventory of used and unused supplies, focusing particularly on long-lasting materials such as screens and ballot boxes, which are stored for the next election. The national electoral authorities keep a record of all inventories. In **Cambodia**, all unused supplies are inventoried and stored in a central warehouse. Each year, a committee for inventory is established and performs its task for all departments of the National Election Committee. In addition, the department of operations receives monthly reports on the movement of supplies and materials in and out of the warehouse.

Developments in **Afghanistan** in 2004 illustrated some of the uncertainties and complications that can arise from the electoral system itself. The electoral formula for the presidency requires a run-off between the two top candidates if no single candidate receives 50 percent plus one vote in the first round. In planning for this possibility (which ultimately was not necessary because Hamid Karzai won more than 50 percent in the first round), the electoral Secretariat had to purchase significant quantities of polling day commodities such as tamper-evident bags, seals and indelible ink. These unused materials are now stored in a borrowed UNICEF warehouse in Kabul. Currently, the Joint Election Management Body (JEMB) and its Secretariat are trying to decide where and how to store ballot boxes and other polling material. The JEMB is fully reliant on the UN's inventory system and has not yet developed its own policies and procedures.

3. Cash transactions

Regarding payroll procedures and cash transactions, the rule is that salaries are seldom paid in cash.⁶ In general, cash transactions are limited to minor purchases and petty cash. In **Australia**, for example, the election commission handles very few cash transactions, and these are restricted to the use of petty cash (limited to \$100 per transaction) for which there are established controls and accounting procedures within the organization. Likewise, deposits for the nomination of candidates and fees for party registration can be paid in cash.

In **Spain**, small allowances such as *per diem* for poll workers are paid with checks and bank transfers, although there have been cases when cash payment has been facilitated by local authorities. Special allowances for security services provided by the National Police are included with salaries in the corresponding monthly payroll. (*Per diem* assigned to polling and security officers was most recently established at rates of about \$60 and \$98, respectively). In **Sweden**, the EMB handles no cash transaction except for small purchases of certain office supplies.

4. Cost overruns

In general, the survey indicated that election managers tend to keep expenses within limits anticipated under budgetary premises. Covering cost overruns does not seem to be a major problem regardless of the kind of democracy setting: stable, transitional or

⁶ There are some exceptions, including Cambodia. In that country, salaries are paid in cash but all other transactions are made through bank transfer or by check.

post-conflict. In the rare case of unanticipated expenses, electoral authorities have requested and obtained from the government some extra funds whose potential necessity was anticipated in electoral legislation (e.g., Canada, Guatemala, Spain), or the expenses were netted against surpluses within the agency's approved budget (most often in Canada).

5. Budget audit

Accounting procedures and audit practices in the surveyed countries generally follow widely shared international standards, at least formally. Electoral expenses are normally subject to some internal audit at the EMB, plus an external audit by the national accounting control agency. An annual audit cycle is the norm. Accounting generally applies to income and expenses organized by broad chapters or budget lines (i.e., personnel, procurement services) encompassing the entire electoral operation. Program-focused accounting is not usually applied (i.e., the overall cost of voter registration as part of activities by the different agencies involved). Some specific country examples and their variations are detailed below.

In Australia, the electoral budget requires approval by the Department of Finance on an annual audit cycle. In Canada, the Office of the Auditor General may decide to perform an audit or evaluation at any time. In Spain, all electoral expenses are audited by the national audit agency on an annual basis. This agency also audits the finances and expenses of political parties. An internal audit by the Finance Ministry's auditor general can be made at any time during the process. In Switzerland, the budget is audited by the Finance Committee and the Finance Delegation of the national parliament. In Guatemala, there is an internal audit at the election commission and an external audit by the National Controller General on an annual cycle. In Cambodia, the budget is internally audited by the Ministry of Economics and Finance on a yearly basis; donor funds, however, are audited by external agencies. A national accounting audit agency remains to be established in Cambodia.

6. High-technology investment

New technology is not only considered a pressing necessity for electoral modernization, but it has also become a status symbol for many organizations and countries. The question is not whether to employ new technology, but how much to use and at what cost. Examples below from countries at different levels of socioeconomic development examine this feature of electoral systems.

In **Australia**, the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) has proposed to upgrade its Roll Management System (RMANS) and the supporting IT capacity. This will be undertaken over a four-year period and will enable the RMANS to integrate with other Web-based systems, exploit image and optical character-recognition technologies, meet e-government standards, and more easily adapt to new technologies as they emerge. Pilot programs have been undertaken to test the use of optical scanning and character recognition to process applications for enrollment and other forms. An automated postal voting system is also envisaged. The trials have successfully collected

Continuous Roll Update (CRU) enrollment application data and transmitted the information to a RMANS test database. The results of these tests will be reported to government by June 2005. Over the next two to three years, the AEC will further enhance the security of its IT network with the rollout of additional network attached storage (NAS) servers to each division.

In **Sweden**, investments have been made in new technology and Web-based communication during the past few years. The cost of IT support and technology almost doubled in 2002, when it was a little more than 20 million kroner (\$2.6 million). In 1994, the Swedish central EMB was first in the world to publish preliminary and later final election results in real time on the Internet. Results for the parliamentary elections of that year were reported through a reporting receiver to the central EMB (then located at the National Tax Agency) directly from the polling stations. In the parliamentary elections of 1998, the final election results were reported in this way also. The central EMB was established as an independent authority in 2001, and one reason for the structural change was to facilitate the installation of new technology.

In **Canada**, all aspects of the administration of federal elections, except voting, have been computerized since the 1990s, and the systems are upgraded constantly. The National Register of Elections was established in 1997 as a permanent voter list to replace a door-to-door enumeration system, and this has resulted in considerable savings. Elections Canada also developed REVISE, a system used for the revision of the preliminary lists of electors during an election and to oversee the integration of changes into the Register. In 2003, Elections Canada developed REVISE-2, which allows changes of address across all electoral districts. Also, a Web site has been developed on which a range of training materials, handbooks, forms, election returns, election results and maps are made available.

In **Spain**, permanent voter lists are computerized and updated on a monthly basis. Early transmission of results is facilitated by high-tech communication. The electoral unit at the Ministry of Interior has developed a Web site with electoral information and results. The use of electronic voting is being tried on a pilot scale. At the national level, a branch of the National Police—a civil guard composed of 70,000 individuals—voted by Internet for its Staff Advisory Committee in 2002 and 2004. On a much smaller scale, a rehearsal with Internet and cellular telephone voting took place in four small municipalities during general elections in May 2004. Prime Minister Zapatero announced in August 2004 that electronic voting might be used in the referendum on the European Constitution early in 2005. Apparently, electronic voting is seen more as a way to encourage voter turnout than to reduce costs.

In other countries like **Guatemala**, office management and the voter registries are computerized. Furthermore, quick vote counting and transmission of preliminary results are subcontracted with a private firm. Nevertheless, there are no plans to introduce other new technologies like electronic voting.

In **Cambodia**, the electoral list is compiled in a centralized database. For the past three elections, lists for each polling station have been generated by computer. (A new com-

puter system costing \$220,000 was offered to Cambodia in 2001.) Efforts are ongoing to improve technical aspects related to the sorting of voter names and the cleansing of double registrations; the budget for this is around \$20,000. There are plans to change the software platform to one that is less expensive to maintain and to provide computer equipment to all provincial offices, including networking capacity; the prospective budget for these operations is \$103,000. Such initiatives are bound to improve the technical quality of the list while reducing the costs of technical maintenance. The production of the list on CD-ROM will enhance its accessibility and considerably reduce the cost for political parties to buy the list for their own use.

7. Cost-effective measures

Some final considerations regarding cost effectiveness in elections include the following:

- a) In the specific scenario of emerging democracies, dramatic cost decreases may be expected once peace is achieved and reconciliation fares well. All steps toward and investments in peace, security and national reconstruction—disarmament, demobilization, integration to civilian life, interethnic reconciliation and infrastructure development—lead to a reduction in the integrity costs of elections. Other electoral costs may remain constant or even increase (i.e., personnel and technology), but significant integrity costs will certainly be reduced with democratic progress. In addition, just as national security, transport and communication infrastructures are of paramount importance in determining integrity costs, state building is a key determination of core electoral costs.

Few would doubt that democracy is much less expensive than civil conflict, but decreasing electoral costs should not be assumed once democracy is stabilized and a state administration continues to develop well. There are no grounds to expect that such massive processes as voter registration and voting are not subject to the same challenges and expectations experienced by other undertakings by modern state administrations (i.e., tax collection, educational services, postal services and communications).

- b) Previous and current research indicates that duration of electoral practice is in itself a cost-reducing mechanism, perhaps the most important one during the stage of democratic consolidation. Since a longer-term perspective is by definition difficult when assessing election costs in new democracies, the research findings offer strong support for the claim that efforts at capacity building in electoral administrations are probably cost-effective in the longer term. These findings also support the idea that establishing and consolidating a permanent electoral administration as the repository for managerial capacity—within both the political and the administrative systems—is a cost-effective practice. (Cambodia was among the countries showing a dramatic reduction in the electoral budget. The first election within a peacekeeping operation in 1993 cost approximately \$46 per registered voter; subsequently, per-voter costs went down to \$5 in 1998 and \$2 in 2003.
- c) In well-established democracies, electoral costs tend to increase due to personnel

expenses, high-tech investment and maintenance, and special efforts to enfranchise certain populations (i.e., aging people and citizens abroad). For example, postal voting within country and abroad is growing and is rather expensive.

- d) Concerning the cost of voter lists, a main lesson learned from previous research (and still relevant) is that permanent registries promote both transparency and cost-effectiveness, particularly when they are periodically updated with corrections, additions and deletions without obliging voters to re-register. Recent reforms in this direction have been implemented in a number of new as well as older democracies including Botswana, Cambodia, Canada and Chile. The single most important cost-cutting measure is probably continuous voter registration. Given the huge costs involved in undertaking voter registration operations for the first time, permanent registers that can be updated periodically will prove cost-effective in the long run (UNDP, 2000, pp. 126, 128).
- e) Regarding the use of voter cards, a lesson learned is that allowing citizens to vote with a variety of identification documents, such as a driver's license or passport, rather than requiring a voter card, should be considered good practice. The use of a voter card does not in itself add anything to democratization; furthermore, the high cost of producing them, in addition to the tasks involved in distribution, can deter voter turnout and otherwise delay or disrupt the electoral process. Moreover, the use of voter cards does not prevent multiple voting, which can be restricted by other means ranging from indelible ink to computerized systems (UNDP, 2000, p. 126).
- f) Expense line items undergoing the greatest reductions sometimes refer to staff savings (Canada), voter education (Australia), or voter registration after establishing a permanent registry (Cambodia, Canada). In contrast, in other countries like Spain, no significant cost reduction can be reported from one election to the next, while in the longer term a number of cost-reducing measures have been singled out. Spain's electoral authorities have developed experience during the last 20 years with a number of cost-effective measures.
- g) High-technology investment in itself should not be considered as a cost-effective measure unless it is related to products and processes leading to long-term cost reductions in the electoral operation. Such would be the case with permanent voter lists *vis-à-vis ad hoc* voter registration before every election. Indeed, electoral authorities may reasonably expect some cost savings by introducing new technologies.
- h) Political party finance and campaign expenses fall largely in a grey area concerning electoral costs. Some cost effectiveness can be expected in these areas by filling the legal vacuums prevailing in so many countries (on issues like expense limits, disclosure obligation, sanctioning and enforcement powers of public authorities). Political parties may receive public subsidies and international public aid, which are relatively easy to track and take into account; however, they may also receive funds from their membership, private donors, investment revenues and bank loans, all of which may be hard to quantify or

even estimate. Consequently, the issuance of legal provisions is a first step towards transparency and likely cost-reduction of campaign expenses. Recent research efforts in this domain have been undertaken by UNDP, IDEA, the Federal Electoral Institute of Mexico and IFES.

- i) In most well-established democracies and in an increasing number of the new ones, the electoral budget is prepared by the electoral authority and processed through the finance ministry for approval in parliament. The ministry does not have the authority, at least formally, to curtail or amend an electoral budget prepared by electoral authorities. Nevertheless, the government and the legislature may place constant pressure on electoral authorities—along with other publicly funded agencies—to continually review their operational performance and to contain costs. In fact, constant concern over the budget by governments and legislatures should be considered in itself as cost effective and as a tool for good management because it encourages strategic and operational planning by the electoral authority.

Part 1 - Attachment I. Budget templates of electoral costs by country

Budget Template 1. Template of the electoral budget for the 2004 general elections in Spain

Personnel

Extraordinary services
 Representatives of the state administration
 Security forces
 Electoral committees
 Polling station officers
 Arrangement of electoral premises
 Local municipal governments

Non-personnel services

Forms, ballot papers and envelopes
 Packing and distribution of forms, ballot papers and envelopes
 Purchase of screens and ballot boxes
 Setting, dismantling and transport of screens and ballot boxes
 Storage of electoral materials
 Paddle, pens, and other writing materials for polling stations
 Transport for voters
 Transport for polling station officers to courts of justice
 Office materials
 Telephone lines
 Office support to electoral committees as per Art.13 of Electoral Law
 Information on Election Day
 Preliminary counting and transmission of results
 Institutional voter information campaign
 Expenses for setting up the Center for Information Collection
 Coordination of meetings with other public administration agencies
 Center for National Information
 Incidentals

Payments to other state institutions

National Institute of Statistics INE (Office of Voter Registries)
 Post office and Telegraph Organization
 State Secretariat for Security (Police)

Total expenses

Part 1 - Attachment I. Budget templates of electoral costs by country
Budget Template 2. Sample budget for election-related activities at a standard municipality in Sweden

Salaries for polling station officials
 Training of polling station officials
 Production of materials
 Transportation of material, postal votes, and staff
 Renting of additional premises
 Information services at the entrance of larger polling stations

Part 1 - Attachment I. Budget templates of electoral costs by country
Budget Template 3. Sample budget for the 2003 general elections in Guatemala

Personnel services (wages, salaries, *per diem* and primes)
 Non-personnel services (electricity, telecommunications, rentals, transport, maintenance and repair, security and protocol.
 Materials and procurement (food, stationary, lubricants, ink)
 Office equipment and intangibles
 Ordinary transfers (indemnities, paid vacations)
 Unanticipated expenses (special expenses in the Central District)

Part 1 - Attachment I. Budget templates of electoral costs by country
Budget Template 4. Sample budget for the 2003 general elections in Cambodia

Salaries of commune election committees
 Salaries of polling station officials
 Salaries of provincial election committee members and officials
 Salaries of National Election Committee (NEC) members and officials
 Salaries of clerk assistants during registration
 Salaries of commune clerks during registration
 Salaries of officials counting ballots
 Salaries of computer operators at NEC
 Salaries of officials verifying ballots

Part 1 - Attachment I. Budget templates of electoral costs by country (continued)**Budget Template 4. Sample budget for the 2003 general elections in Cambodia**

Producing/printing training materials
 Printing ballots
 Transportation of polling materials
 Producing/printing polling materials
 Registration materials
 Administrative process of 24 provincial election committees
 Stationery
 Gasoline
 Administrative processes and other expenses at NEC
 Materials, repair and telecommunication service
 Public information
 Media Center of the NEC
 Transportation by air
 Transportation of registration materials
 Rental of loudspeakers for polling
 Rental of loudspeakers for registration
 Cost for battery re-chargers and acid refill
 Rental of offices and polling stations for commune election committees
 Training for commune clerks
 Training for staff of provincial election committees
 Training for staff of commune election committees
 Training of polling station officials
 Printing documents of legal service
 Computer and photocopier repair
 Purchase of five new photocopiers
 Work consolidation conferences of 24 provincial election committees
 Vehicles and materials maintenance
 Papers, ink, and materials at NEC
 Update computer programs at NEC
 Electricity fee at commune election committees
 Expense for mobile registration teams
 Posting station lists and voter lists
 Work consolidation conferences at NEC
 Freelance workers
 Donation of 45 motorbikes
 Donation of stationery
 Donation of ink
 Total expenses

Part 1 - Attachment I. Budget templates of electoral costs by country
Budget Template 5. Sample budget for the 2005 elections in Haiti*
Civilian personnel

National staff

Operational costs

Salaries for voter registration and polling officers

Civic education and public information

Official travel

Facilities and infrastructure

Ground transportation

Air transportation

Naval transportation

Communications

Information technology

Security

Other supplies, services and equipment

Total expenses

*As proposed by the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, MINUSTAH, and discussed with donors.

Part Two (Case studies) includes the full text of the country cases, including the names of the authors and their professional backgrounds. The country reports are organized into three sections as per the classification of democracy environments—stable, transitional and conflict—as a main determinant of the overall electoral cost.

Part 1 - Attachment II. Country reports by author	
Stable Democracies/ Large and Medium-sized Electorate	
Australia	Bill Gray, former chairman of the Australian Electoral Commission: billgray@austarmetro.com.au
India	T.S. Krishna Murthy, Chief Election Commissioner of the Indian Electoral Commission: cec@eci.gov.in Vijay Patidar, Officer of the Indian Electoral Commission
Spain	Rafael López Pintor: lpintor@bitmailer.net
Stable Democracies/ Small-sized Electorate	
Sweden	Maria Gratschew, International IDEA: M.Gratschew@idea.int
Transition Democracies/Large and Medium-sized Electorate	
Mexico	Carlos Navarro, Research Director, Federal Electoral Institute (IFE): cmnf99@ife.org.mx Alberto Alonso Coria, Executive Director of Registration, IFE alyco@ife.org.mx
Transition Democracies/Small-sized Electorate	
Guatemala	Rafael López-Pintor: lpintor@bitmailer.net
Conflict Environment/Large and Medium-sized Electorate	
Afghanistan	Staffan Darnolf: Staffan@darnolf.com
Iraq	Jarrett Blanc, Chief of Party, Iraq; IFES: jblanc@ifes.org
Conflict Environment/Small-sized Electorate	
Cambodia	Denis Truesdell, d.truesdell@undp.org
Haiti	Felix Ulloa, former magistrate at the EMB in El Salvador, current National Democratic Institute (NDI) project director in Haiti: fulloa@softhome.net, yaxpacsi@hotmail.com

Part 1 - Attachment III. Cost concepts, definitions and measures

Core costs are the costs for human and material resources that are fundamental to conducting a registration or electoral event.

Diffuse costs are the costs of services that are essential to the conduct of registration and elections, but which are budgeted with other public agencies or departments and not shown directly in the budget of the election management body.

Direct costs are the costs that are directly budgeted by the election management body (EMB) for registration and elections.

Election cost/profile variables are tools of financial analysis for EMBs that blend operational and financial data as performance measurements: 1) headquarters staff to registered voters, 2) poll workers to registered voters, 3) budget to registered voter and 4) capitalization indicator. Ratio 1 measures the relative size of the headquarters operation required to service the electorate; Ratio 2 measures the relative number of poll workers required to service a polling station; Ratio 3 compares the budget of the EMB to the size of the electorate (variations can include diffused costs); and Ratio 4 is an indicator of the level of capital investment required to operate an EMB.

Fixed costs are the process-driven costs associated with maintaining and electoral infrastructure whether elections are conducted or not.

Funding sources are the entities dispersing the funds or providing the services for the EMB's budget and activities.

Integrity costs are the extra and often un-trackable costs occurring in transitional and post-conflict electoral processes, which are required to ensure transparency, functionality and security.

Variable costs are the event-driven costs that occur as a result of registration for election activities.

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Goodwin-Gill G. (1994). *Free and Fair Elections. International Law and Practice*. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union.

International IDEA (2002). *International Electoral Standards. Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections*. Stockholm: IDEA.

López-Pintor R. (2005). *Post-Conflict Elections and Democratization. An Experience Review*. Washington DC: USAID.

López-Pintor R. (2000). *Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance*. New York: UNDP.

López-Pintor R. and Gratschew M. (2002). *Voter Turnout since 1945. A Global Report*. Stockholm: IDEA.

OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (2001). *Guidelines for Reviewing a Legal Framework for Elections*. Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR.



Part



2

**Case Studies:
Australia, India,
Spain, Sweden,
Mexico, Guatemala,
Iraq, Cambodia, Haiti**



**Case
Study 1**

Australia

By Bill Gray

Acknowledgements

The author would like to acknowledge the assistance provided by the staff of the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), and in particular Mr. Andrew Moyes, Assistant Commissioner, Enrollment and Parliamentary Services, and Mr. Brian Hallett, Assistant Commissioner, Public Awareness, Media and Research.

I. Summary of survey findings

Australia has a voting population of 13 million people, all of whom are compelled by law to register and vote in national elections. The EMB responsible for the registration of voters and the conduct of national elections and referendums is the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), which was first established by statute in 1984.

The estimated operating budget of the AEC in the most recent non-election fiscal year was A\$111 million (US\$87 million); its budget in the fiscal year (2004–2005) of the most recent election was A\$216 million, which included approximately A\$42 million in public funding of candidates and registered political parties. Overall costs have remained relatively constant over the past five years with budget increases in a non-election year in the order of 0.8 percent and in an election year around 1.3 percent. In Australia, the single largest line item in the election commission's election-year budget relates to costs associated with the employment of staff for the 7,000 polling places. The average cost of conducting the 2001 national election in Australia was A\$5.09 per elector (costs for the 2004 election are still to be calculated).

II. Structure of the EMB

The AEC is organized on a geographical basis with a Central Office in Canberra, the national capital; a Head Office in each of the state capitals and the Northern Territory; and a Divisional Office either located in or close to the 150 electoral divisions (constituencies). Each of the states and territories are divided into electoral divisions corresponding to the number of members in the House of Representatives.

Three people comprise the AEC:

- The chairperson (who must be a judge or retired judge of the Federal Court of Australia and is a part-time member);
- The electoral commissioner (who performs the function of the chief executive officer and is a full-time member); and
- One part-time non-judicial member (usually the Australian Statistician).

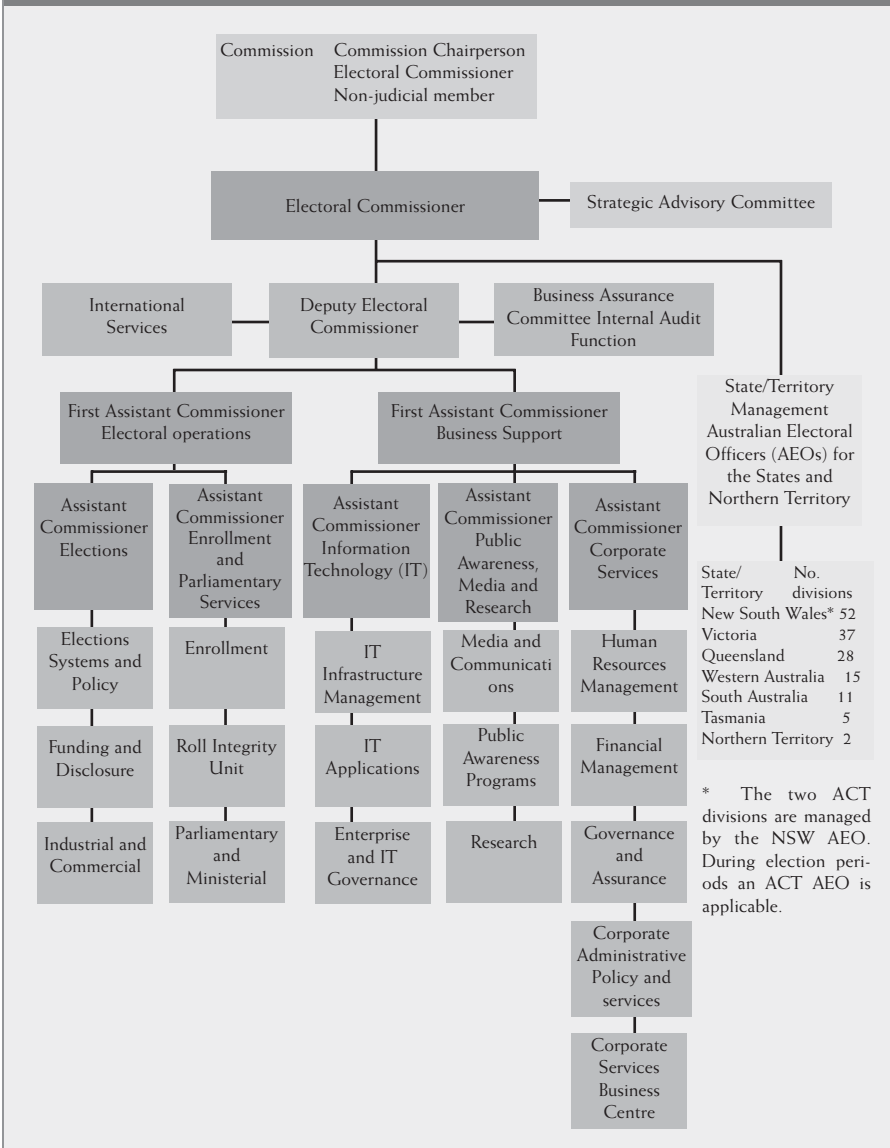
In addition to the Commission, there is a deputy electoral commissioner and an Australian electoral officer (AEO) for each state and the Northern Territory. AEOs are responsible for the management of national (and in some circumstances local) electoral activities within their state or territory and are subject to the direction of the electoral commissioner.

The members of the Commission, the deputy electoral commissioners and the AEOs are appointed by the Governor-General (the Head of State), on the recommendation of the government of the day.

Each of the 150 electoral divisions has a permanent divisional returning officer who is responsible for electoral administration in his or her division, in particular the maintenance of the electoral roll (register) and preparations for the next electoral event.

The AEC employs about 850 permanent staff, operating from 157 offices in 135 locations around Australia. At election time, the AEC employs an additional 65,000 people to administer the election processes.

Case Study 1 - Figure 1. AEC organizational chart



III. Legal framework

The basis for electoral administration in Australia is found in the Australian Constitution and the provisions of the Commonwealth Electoral Act (as amended) of 1918 (the Act). While the Constitution establishes the broad foundations for the parliamentary and electoral framework, the Act establishes the AEC as an independent statutory body, lists its functions and prescribes in considerable detail matters such as voter eligibility criteria, how the electoral rolls (voter registers) are to be maintained, the way voting is to be conducted and even the format of various documents used in an election, including the design of the ballot papers for both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Act also sets out the voting systems to be used for both houses of Parliament and details the process by which the boundaries of electorates are to be determined and redrawn from time to time.

The Act also regulates the funding of political parties, groups and candidates and imposes an obligation of reporting and disclosure in relation to such funding. The AEC receives and processes the various financial disclosure returns required under the Act, making them public and available for inspection at prescribed times. The Act also provides for public funding entitlements to candidates and parties on the basis of a set formula prescribed in the legislation. The Act authorizes the AEC to conduct compliance reviews and inspect the accounts of political parties. This element of the Commission's responsibilities has been the center of ongoing controversy for some time as various political parties and associated entities seek innovative ways to arrange their financial affairs to either reduce or avoid disclosure reporting under the Act.

Other Acts of Parliament relevant to the functions and operations of the AEC include:

- Representation Act (1983)
- Referendum (Machinery Provisions) Act (1984)
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act (1989)
- Workplace Relations Act (1996)

In a recent decision handed down by the High Court of Australia, the chief justice commented: "A notable feature of our system of representative and responsible government is how little of the detail of that system is to be found in the Constitution, and how much is left to be filled in by Parliament. . . . Leaving the Parliament, subject to certain fundamental requirements, to alter the electoral system in response to changing community standards of democracy is a democratic solution to the problem of reconciling the need for basic values with the requirement for flexibility." (Gleeson CJ in *Mulholland v AEC* [2004] HCA 41.)

IV. Electoral costs

a) AEC operating costs

Based on financial statements contained in the AEC Annual Report for 2003–2004, the AEC had operating costs of A\$109 million (US\$85 million), of which approxi-

mately A\$56 million consisted of wages paid to permanent employees. Other major costs included property leases (A\$21 million), IT leasing (A\$20 million), and the provision of a vehicle fleet (A\$252,000). While operating costs for the 2004 national elections are yet to be finalized, the survey response from the AEC suggests that the costs incurred by the AEC for that event year will be A\$216 million, an amount that includes A\$42 million in public funding for candidates and political parties.

b) Voter registration

AEC divisional staff continually process enrollment information and enter it into the computerized Roll Management System (RMANS) in order to ensure an accurate and up-to-date electoral roll. This includes information from newly eligible voters, from voters changing addresses, and deletions related to death or changing address. Staff also process information received from Continuous Roll Update (CRU) activities and elections. Data matching programs undertaken in conjunction with other Commonwealth, state and territory authorities has also assisted the AEC in confirming enrollment details at approximately 43 percent of occupied enrollable addresses without the need for direct contact with the residents.

The AEC also provides roll products to state and territory (provincial) electoral bodies that are joint roll partners, Senators and members of Parliament, registered political parties, medical researchers, government agencies and authorities, and the public.

The costs associated with the roll administration activities in 2003–2004 amounted to A\$58 million in the period leading up to the national election, and the estimate for fiscal year 2004–2005 is A\$46 million.

c) Boundary delimitation

To ensure that the electoral divisions (for the House of Representatives) remain equally representative (based on the principle of one vote, one value), the Act provides a comprehensive consultative process by which electoral boundaries can be amended or redrawn when population fluctuations occur within divisions. Under the legislation, redistribution is required when:

- the number of parliamentary representatives to which a state or territory is entitled (calculated on a population-based formula) has changed;
- the number of voters in more than one third of the divisions in a state deviates from the average divisional Enrollment by over 10 percent in three consecutive months; and
- a period of seven years has elapsed since the previous redistribution.

The three members of the Commission play a central role in determining the redrawing of the boundaries. Their decisions regarding the delimitation of boundaries are final and cannot be appealed.

In the 2003–2004 fiscal year, costs associated with support of redistribution activities amounted to A\$967,000 (US\$757,000).

d) Polling operations

The AEC conducts parliamentary elections in accordance with the requirements of the Act, which covers planning, management, evaluation and reporting of the conduct of national elections.

Candidates for the House of Representatives stand for single member-electoraltes and are elected using the majoritarian, full preferential voting system. Senators are elected using the single transferable vote' proportional representation system; candidates stand for a state or territory.

Costs associated with the conduct of elections are not available in disaggregated format for the most recent election (October 2004), but the major costs of the 2001 national election were as follows:

Case Study 1 - Table 1. National election costs for 2001

Cost Category	A\$	%
Staffing at divisional (electorate) level	\$28.4 million	44.5
Advertising	\$10.4 million	16.3
Election management	\$9.6 million	15
Enquiries service (call center)	\$3.6 million	5.6
Ballot paper production	\$2.5 million	3.9
Cardboard equipment production	\$2.0 million	3.1
Forms and equipment	\$1.7 million	2.7
Production and distribution of election leaflet	\$1.7 million	2.7
Training	\$1.0 million	1.6
Automated postal voting system	\$845,759	1.3
National tally room	\$615,270	1
Storage and distribution	\$587,776	0.9
Computer support services	\$485,003	0.8
Overseas postal voting	\$359,042	0.6

According to the survey response from the AEC, the areas of operation that have experienced the greatest increase in costs relate to upgrading the AEC Web site (developing the "virtual tally room"); operating the national call center; administering the 40 percent increase in the volume of postal voting; and the administration of increased volume in overseas voting, along with the attendant security issues.

e) External voting

In Australia, there are three forms of external voting—postal voting, pre-poll or early voting, and overseas voting.

The Act prescribes a set of criteria that a voter must meet before being eligible for a postal vote. These include living more than 20 kilometers from a polling place, illness, physical handicap, caring for a person who is ill or infirm, or inability to attend a polling place due to religious beliefs. When voters can meet one or more of these criteria, they may either apply for a postal vote—so that at election time they will automatically be sent postal ballot papers and a certificate envelope—or they can attend a polling place and lodge a vote prior to election day.

There are other categories of voters who may be eligible for non-standard voting. These include people without a fixed address, who may register as itinerant voters; people who have had their names and addresses removed from the electoral roll for security reasons (silent voters); and Australians working in Antarctica, who may also register as postal voters.

In relation to overseas voting, people already enrolled to vote at national elections and who are going overseas with the intention of returning to Australia within six years, may apply to register as an 'overseas elector.' This ensures that their names are not removed from the electoral roll and that they are able to vote while overseas. Recent legislative changes now permit Australian citizens to register to vote while overseas if they meet specific eligibility requirements. There were some 10,636 overseas enrollments for the 2001 national elections; the number of electors who voted while overseas during the 2004 election totaled 68,544.

The costs associated with the administration of these provisions for the 2003–2004 fiscal year totaled A\$1.13 million (US\$793,000).

f) Campaign finance

The Act provides for public funding of election campaigns. Election funding is paid following each federal election, with payments made in two stages. The first payment represents 95 percent of the amount due, based on the number of votes counted as of the 20th day after the election. The second payment is the remainder due, once vote counting is finalized and verified.

Candidates and Senate groups are eligible for election funding if they obtain a minimum of 4 percent of the formal first preference vote in the division (House of Representatives) or the state or territory (Senate) in which they stand for election.

Following an election, key participants in the electoral process are required to submit to the AEC various returns disclosing certain election campaign transactions. These transactions include donations received and electoral expenditures by candidates and Senate groups; details of electoral expenditures; donations received and donations made to candidates and others by third parties; electoral advertising by broadcasters; and electoral advertisements published by print media outlets.

The amount payable is calculated by multiplying the number of eligible votes by the current election-funding rate, which for the 2004 election was set at A\$1.94 (US\$1.52) per vote. The total amount payable for that election was almost A\$42 million. (The election-funding rate is indexed every six months to increases in the consumer price index.)

g) Political party finance

The disclosure provisions of the Act are intended to improve the integrity of the electoral process by allowing the electorate to be well informed about the major donors to political parties, groups and candidates along with the levels of some kinds of expenditures by those involved in the electoral process. The AEC receives and processes the various returns that are required under the Act, makes them publicly available for inspection (on the AEC Web site), and conducts a program of compliance reviews of disclosures made by the political parties and associated entities. The AEC's workload in administering these requirements and activities is growing and, as previously indicated, is often the subject of criticism by parties and members of Parliament who often seem interested in exposing the financial arrangements of their political opponents while seeking at the same time to limit the transparency of their own arrangements. It should be noted that in Australia there is no cap on political party or candidate expenditure.

During the 2003–2004 fiscal year, some 184 annual returns were processed; 1,190 donor returns were processed; and 102 compliance reviews were conducted.

According to the AEC Portfolio Budget Statements, costs associated with funding and disclosure activities during 2004–2005 were estimated at A\$2.8 million (US\$2 million).

h) Civic education

There are also three Electoral Education Centers (in Adelaide, Canberra and Melbourne) that offer presentations for the public and, more particularly, school groups. Participants are introduced to Australian democracy, work with interactive computers and displays, and conduct a mock election. Some sessions are designed to meet school curriculum requirements or the needs of particular groups. In addition, AEC officers visit schools and community groups to present electoral education and information sessions.

Although the primary responsibility for civic education rests with the state and territory governments, the AEC has developed a national strategy for the delivery of public awareness programs to target groups identified as youth, indigenous groups, the homeless, non-English speaking groups, and professional organizations.

During the 2003–2004 fiscal year, some 119,837 people were recorded as having participated in educational and information sessions conducted by AEC staff and a further 109,526 people visited the Electoral Education Centers. Costs associated with the development and provision of educational services totaled A\$4.2 million (US\$3.3 million) for 2003–2004 and are estimated to be A\$5.5 million for 2004–2005.

i) Cash transactions

The AEC handles very few cash transactions. They consist of petty cash disbursements—limited to A\$100 (US\$78) value per transaction—for which there are established controls and accounting procedures within the organization.

j) Inventory control

When ballot paper is purchased, arrangements are included in the contract for the storage of unused supplies. This is treated as AEC inventory and carried on the balance sheet at cost.

k) New election technologies

The AEC has reported that it proposes to upgrade its Roll Management System (RMANS) and the supporting IT capacity. This will be undertaken over a four-year period and will enable the RMANS to integrate with other Web-based systems, exploit image and optical character-recognition technologies, meet e-government standards, and more easily adapt to new technologies as they emerge.

Pilot programs have been undertaken to test the use of optical scanning and character recognition to process applications for enrollment and other forms. The trials have successfully collected Continuous Roll Update (CRU) enrollment application data and transmitted the information to a RMANS test database. The results of these tests will be reported to Government by June 2005.

Over the next two to three years, the AEC will further enhance the security of its IT network with the rollout of additional network attached storage (NAS) servers to each division.

l) International financial assistance

The AEC does not receive international financial assistance for the conduct of elections.

V. Overall assessment

The AEC is a modern and technologically advanced organization operating within a strong and transparent legal framework. It is accountable and open to the scrutiny of the Parliament and to ordinary citizens. It is an independent statutory body with permanent staff of 850 employees, plus an additional 65,000 part-time employees added during national elections.

The cost of operating the AEC in a non-election year is around A\$111 million (US\$87 million); the total costs in the most recent election year were double that, at A\$216 million. The accountability framework is based on regular external auditing by the Australian National Audit Office and ongoing detailed parliamentary examination of the AEC budget and its performance.

The AEC receives the major part of its funding through government appropriations, which are acts of Parliament that authorize expenditure and appropriate money from the Consolidated Revenue Fund to provide agreed levels of budget funds to govern-

ment agencies. Budget levels are agreed for the budget year and three forward years, according to the stages of the election cycle. Adjustments to funding to cover changes in operational and legislative requirements occur through a formal process of New Policy Proposals involving ministers and the Expenditure Review Committee made up of senior cabinet ministers.

Appropriations are made on an outcomes basis, and annual reporting is conducted in accordance with the outcomes and outputs framework—which includes performance indicators and targets against which performance can be assessed. Appropriations and all reporting occur on an accrual base, so non-cash expenses (such as depreciation) form part of annual funding levels.

The overall budget of the AEC has remained relatively constant over the past five years notwithstanding the installation of improved IT platforms, which have enhanced the operations of the AEC. Operational costs in a non-election year have increased by approximately 0.8 percent, and in an election year by 1.3 percent. The government and the Parliament place steady pressure on the AEC (along with other publicly funded agencies) to continually review operational performance and to contain costs. The AEC will move in the next three years to upgrade its IT capabilities and to exploit the scanning and optical character-recognition technologies to further enhance its roll management systems and its management of elections.

References

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Australian Electoral Commission Web site: <http://www.aec.gov.au>.

Portfolio Budget Statements: AEC 2004–2005 (available online at <http://www.finance.gov.au>).

Additional written material provided by Mr. Andrew Moyes, Assistant Commissioner, Enrollment and Parliamentary Services, AEC, Canberra.

About the author

Bill Gray, AM, is a former Australian Electoral Commissioner (1995–2000) and former Chairman of the Australian Electoral Council (1995–1999). Mr. Gray also represented Australia on the Council of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), which is headquartered in Sweden. He has observed elections for the Commonwealth Secretariat (London) in Lesotho, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago and Zimbabwe. On his retirement in 2000, Mr. Gray established a consulting company and has provided advice on a range of issues including the international networking of electoral management bodies and the establishment of an independent electoral commission in Australia's Northern Territory. He was awarded the Order of Australia in 1992.



**Case
Study | 2**

India

**By T.S. Krishna Murthy
and Vijay Patidar**

Acknowledgements

The source information in this case study was made available primarily by the Election Commission of India and the office of the chief electoral officer in the state of Madhya Pradesh. Additional information was obtained from the Web site of the Commission⁷ and from CD-ROMs produced by the Legislative Department within the Government of India's Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs. References regarding the working of the Constitution are based on various reports by the National Commission.⁸

I. Summary of findings

To date, there have been no authentic, overarching studies assessing the cost of elections in India. A few attempts have been made, but all have been piecemeal approaches. One undeniable factor is that the absence of serious enforcement of the legal provisions requiring political parties to maintain accounts and to have them audited with respect to election expenditures means there is a clear lack of transparency in this area. Undoubtedly, unaccounted money in the form of cash expenditures operates in a major way and distorts any sincere attempt at documenting expenses. Hence, election expenses described in this report should, at best, be regarded as educated guesses.

On the one hand, political parties and candidates in India spend much more money than in other countries of parallel economic development. Yet at the same time, the cost of holding elections in India per registered voter is quite low—about 28 rupees (\$0.62).⁹ The introduction of electronic voting machines in all 688,000 polling stations in India produced a saving of 8,800 metric tons of security papers for printing the ballots, as well as other substantive cost savings in transporting, storing and securing those ballots. In general, the amount of money required by the Election Commission to conduct each successive general election continues to increase, but the government has not hesitated to make available the necessary funds, including those required for introducing new technology. As noted above, the areas of political party finance and campaign finance are not transparent, leading to lack of good governance; to date, though, no major effort has been undertaken to reform the existing system.

II. Structure of the EMB

India is the world's most populous democracy, with more than 672 million registered voters, and holding an election is a mega-event. The Election Commission of India (hereinafter referred to as the Commission) is responsible for the oversight, direction and preparation of the electoral rolls as well as election-related interaction with Parliament, to state legislatures, and the offices of president and vice president. The Commission is highly independent of the government and is generally able to provide a level playing field for all political parties and candidates during an election. There

⁷ See Election Commission of India's Web site at <http://www.eci.gov.in/>.

⁸ See reports of The National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution, available online at <http://lawmin.nic.in/nrcwc/nrcwcreport.htm>.

⁹ The basis is the total expenditure of the Government of India at 13,000 million rupees, and 17 times the expenditure of state of Madhya Pradesh.

are three commissioners, one of whom is designated as the Chief Election Commissioner. The commissioners are appointed for a period of five years or until they attain the age of 65, whichever is earlier. The terms and conditions of such an appointment cannot be varied to one's disadvantage during the course of an appointment. What is noteworthy in India's case is the procedure for removal. Only the president of India can remove the Chief Election Commissioner, a step that requires the same procedure prescribed for the removal of a judge from the Supreme Court and High Courts, i.e., by a formal impeachment in the Parliament on account of proved misconduct or incapacity. Other election commissioners can be removed by the president only at the recommendation of the Chief Election Commissioner. Once appointed, they do not depend on the mercy of the ruling party or the government, thus enabling them to exercise powers independently, impartially and with an even hand.

India is a federal country; there are 28 provinces (called 'states' in India) of varying size and seven union territories. Each of the federal entities has a subordinate officer of the federal Election Commission, called the chief electoral officer (CEO), along with a few other officers. Although the CEOs and other key officials are drawn from the federal civil service posted in the respective state, their names are selected by the Commission from a list submitted by the state government. They cannot be transferred or removed without agreement from the Commission, which therefore has substantial control over these important officials. In the districts, there are electoral registration officers and district electoral officers who work under the supervision and control of the Commission. All officials, from top to bottom, are deemed to be directly responsible to the Election Commission of India during all election operations—an Indian innovation whereby the Commission retains a firm grip over all electoral staff and machinery as part of its mandate to ensure the impartial and neutral conduct of elections.

Authority to conduct elections to the first two levels of governing structures—the national Parliament and state legislatures—is vested in the National Election Commission. Local elections to urban and rural bodies, meanwhile, are conducted by various State Election Commissions set up by the respective states. This discussion of the cost of registration and elections will be confined to the first two levels of elections, which are popularly called 'general elections.'

III. Legal framework

Surprisingly, there are no direct legal provisions on the issue of election funding, or for that matter, on any other aspect of political party finance. The limited (but important) provision relating to control of election expenditure is laid down in the Representation of People Act (1951). There is no mention of how political parties are to raise money needed for election campaigns or for meeting their day-to-day expenses. It was only in 1996, through a decision of the Supreme Court,¹⁰ that certain guidelines were established: political parties are required to file tax returns (as per section 13A of the Indian Income Tax Act, 1961) in order for the contesting candidates of those parties to benefit from an exemption from the prescribed ceiling of the election

¹⁰ See the decision of the Supreme Court of India in *Common Cause, A Registered Society V/s Union of India*, Writ Petition (Civil) No. 24 of 1995, dated 4 April 1996.

expenditure. Another reference to political funding is contained in section 293A, which was introduced through an amendment in 1985, of the Indian Companies Act (1956) This section stipulates a limit of 5 percent of the average profit for the last three years can be paid by a company to a political party or to a person for political purposes. Another indirect reference is contained in the regulations of the Commission. where media prime time is made available free to various national and state political parties for election campaigning.

There are two important and relevant features of Indian bureaucracy that must be noted because they contribute greatly towards reducing the Commission's direct election costs. The first is the crucial office of the district magistrate (variously known as the district collector or the deputy commissioner of the district)—an institution established by the British during colonial rule. On average, one district is equal to a parliamentary constituency. The district magistrate is the leader of all district-level government officials and coordinates their work. Since the holder of this office is designated as the district election officer (often also as returning officer), the control by the Commission over the whole of the government machinery of the district is substantial.

The second feature is the tradition of the bureaucracy as neutral and impartial and the Commission's legal power to requisition the services of federal and various state government units, including a large reservoir of public sector employees, without having to pay for their services for the period of deployment to the Commission for electoral duties. Therefore, there are certain costs related to these government employees, whose services are taken over by the Commission as part of its requirement to find close to 4 million individuals to staff more than 688,000 polling stations, that go unnoticed. It also becomes difficult to calculate this hidden cost—a cost that might be apparent in other countries.

IV. Electoral costs

a) Election Commission's ordinary operations

According to the Government of India's Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs (Legislative Department), the official expenditures for the conduct of elections have been increasing steeply in each successive general election. Without adjusting for inflation, the estimated cost of the 2004 general election is 125 times greater than the cost of the first general election held in 1952.

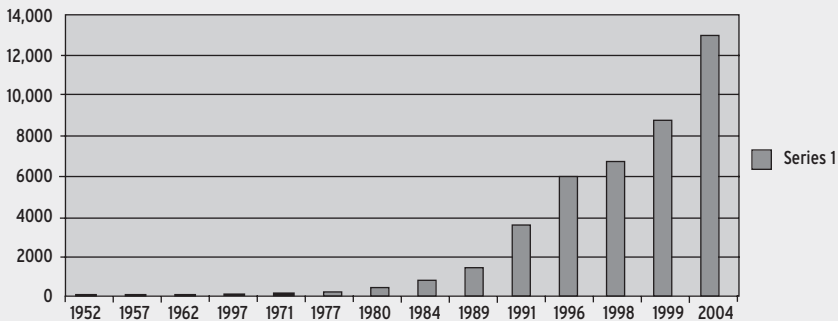
For the 14 general elections held in India to date (from 1952 to 2004), the official costs as computed by the government are listed in Table 1 next page.¹¹

¹¹ See the Web site of the Election Commission of India at http://www.eci.gov.in/MiscStats/misc_fs.htm

Case Study 2 - Table 1. Election costs between 1952-1977

Year of general election	Expenditure incurred (in million rupees)	% increase or decrease over the previous general election
1952	104.50 (\$2.4 million)	-
1957	59	(-) 43.54
1962	73.20	(+) 24.06
1967	107.97	(+) 47.5
1971	116.09	(+) 7.52
1977	230.37	(+) 98.44
1980	547.74	(+) 137.77
1984	815.13	(+) 48.82
1989	1,542.20	(+) 89.20
1991	3,591.02	(+) 132.85
1996	5,973.44	(+) 66.34
1998	6,662.22	(+) 11.53
1999	8,800	(+) 32.09
2004	13,000	(+) 47.73

Case Study 2 - Figure 1. Increase in the cost of general elections between 1952 and 2004



These figures refer to the amounts spent by the Government of India (including the Election Commission of India) and not the amounts spent by state governments, political parties and candidates, and other actors involved in the electoral process.

Another cost is for deploying observers who monitor the process of elections in each constituency by following various directions issued by the Commission. There are two types of election observers appointed by the Commission: general observers and expenditure observers. The Commission appoints senior civil servants who either have vast experience in election and general administration and who have worked as district election officers and returning officers, or who have intimate knowledge of taxation, audit and accounting matters. Because of this deployment, the cost of conducting an election increases, but the monitoring costs are considered money well spent. The observers act as the eyes and ears of the Commission in the field and keep the Commission abreast of what is going on in various constituencies.

b) Voter registration

Although the operation of updating the voter register is huge, most of the costs remain hidden. This work is carried out in a decentralized manner by electoral registration officers. Under the Representation of People Act (1950) and the Registration of Electors Rules (1960), there are *intensive revisions* and *summary revisions* of the electoral rolls (in addition, sometimes for special reasons, the Commission orders a *special revision* of the electoral rolls). On average, the number of voters grows by two percent each year, reflecting the rate of population growth in India. There is a need to update the rolls on a continuous basis as well. Between the two revisions of electoral rolls, therefore, continuous updating goes on by adding the names of persons who reach 18 years of age as of 1 January each year.

Of course, the cost goes up substantially when an intensive revision of voter rolls is undertaken (generally once every five years) in which enumerators visit households from door to door to register voters (active registration). In the summary revision (passive registration), updating of voter rolls occurs by calling on prospective voters and political parties to apply or to suggest additions and deletions in the roll during a specified period.

Linked with voter registration are the preparation of voter photo-ID cards and the computerization of rolls throughout the country for 672 million voters. There are 16 national languages in India, and computerization of electoral rolls must take into account the fact that in each constituency the voter roll will be printed in one of the prescribed 16 languages. Therefore, new language software has been developed. There is always ongoing work of replacing lost and mutilated voter photo-ID cards, and general maintenance work of updating information on computers and online. The cost of voter registration has varied over time; during the introduction of these new technological innovations, the cost was much greater. This cost was reduced in later years; however, in our calculation we have used an average cost, as photo-ID cards are still being issued in some states of India.

c) Boundary delimitation

The Constitution provides that upon completion of each census (undertaken every 10th year since 1921), the allocation to the states of seats in the House of the People and the division of each state into territorial constituencies shall be adjusted. For delimiting these constituency boundaries, there is a separate, three-member Commission (the Delimitation Commission) provided under the Delimitation Act (2002). This Commission is headed by a retired judge of the Supreme Court. One of the election commissioners is nominated as a member of the Delimitation Commission, and the state election commissioner of the state in question is (*ex officio*) the third rotating member. Secretarial support and institutional memory are provided by the Election Commission. Though there is a separate budget allocation for the Delimitation Commission, a substantial portion is also contributed by the Election Commission. Various costs involved include the cost of meetings and travel of the members of the Commission to various parts of the country to consult with political parties and government agencies; cartographic expenses; collecting and collating census information; developing computer-aided GIS facility; publicity and public relations; and publications.

Since the Election Commission and each of the 35 CEO offices provide support to the Delimitation Commission, they have earmarked funds for this important exercise. Hence, expenses of these other bodies should be taken into account in addition to direct costs for the Delimitation Commission.

d) Polling operations

Polling operations constitute the single largest component of election expenses, as the entire activity revolves around polling and the huge number of staff required. As in other democracies, the Election Commission undertakes routine polling operations; what is different, of course, is the gigantic scale on which these operations are carried out in India. Holding a simultaneous general election to central and state legislatures is the largest peacetime logistics operation carried out in the country (and perhaps in the world). To put the scale of this undertaking in perspective, consider the following data:

Case Study 2 - Table 2. Electoral operation estimates

Number of registered electors	about 672 million
Number of polling stations	more than 688,000
Number of electronic voting machines used for general election (2004)	10,25,000
Number of polling staff required (for single election at the rate of five officials per polling station along with a provision of 5% reserve polling staff)	about 3.62 million
Number of security personnel (paramilitary, police, home guards and village guards)	about 570,000

Case Study 2 - Table 2. Electoral operation estimates (continued)

Number of voter-registration staff required (for intensive revision of elector roll)	about 700,000
Number of central counting centers (which depends whether there are simultaneous state legislative elections in some states)	over 700
Number of staff required for counting ballots	about 275,000

The single most important reduction in the cost of election operations has been due to the introduction of electronic voting machines. Previously, for each constituency (for both the national and state legislatures), separate ballots were printed under tight security conditions and continuously supervised by a team of officials and security personnel. These ballots then had to be transported first to the district level and later to the polling station level. The introduction of electronic voting machines saved about 8,800 metric tons of security paper, in addition to savings on printing, transportation and security.

e) External voting costs

The Indian diaspora numbers some 20 million (non-resident Indians and persons of Indian origin) all over the globe, but they have not been offered citizenship or voting rights. Even members of the armed forces posted outside the territory of India are not provided the opportunity to vote by post or absentee ballot. Only members of the armed forces stationed within India, even if away from their places of registration, are given postal ballot facility. Recently, a proxy vote has also been introduced for voters in the armed forces.

Only members of the diplomatic community posted abroad have the right of absentee vote in a general election. This cost is quite insignificant compared to the total cost of an election.

f) Campaign funding costs

Campaign funding is not a part of the electoral budget; there is no direct state funding of election campaigning. Campaign funds are mostly supplied through private contributions, although some contributions from public companies are permitted (up to 5 percent of the profits of the company per the Indian Companies Act of 1956, as amended in 1985). Private contributions generally come from the business community, many members of which are thought to expect special attention if their candidate wins. There is absolutely no transparency in this area. The national commission appointed to review the working of the Constitution (hereinafter the Constitutional Commission) has, in its report,¹² stated the following:

[T]he problem of political funding is a complex one and there are no panaceas. Political parties need hefty contributions from companies and from other less desirable sources. The greater the contribution, the greater the risk of dependence, corruption and lack of probity in public life....In fact, while it is essential to strengthen regulation and the mechanisms and capabilities of supervision and controlling entities, all this addresses only a part of the problem. Quite often, funding commitments do not reach the parties, but rather go directly to the candidate and his/her inner circle of supporters....Senior leaders and party members may often not be aware of private contributions (many of them dubious in origin and in quite large sums).

Transparency is needed for both the contributions received by political parties and candidates, as well as in their expenditures. For a long time, there was a gaping hole in the form of Explanation 1 to section 77(1) of the Representation of People Act (1951), under which the amounts spent by persons other than the candidate and his election agent were not counted as election expenses. This meant that there could never be any violation of expenditure limits, however realistically they might be fixed. But following a 1996 Supreme Court judgment and the recommendation of the Constitutional Commission, this Explanation 1 was amended in 2003.¹³ Any money spent by a recognized political party on its 40 identified leaders during the period of an electoral campaign is exempt from inclusion in the ceiling of election expenditures of individual candidates set up by the parties. Such exemption extends to expenditures incurred for air travel (whether regular flights or chartered aircraft) by those 40 leaders of the party. Earlier, part of such expense on air travel of party leaders would have been presumed to have been incurred by the candidates and counted towards their prescribed ceiling on electoral expenditures. The number of leaders has been fixed at 20 for political parties other than those recognized (but registered) by the Election Commission of India.¹⁴ In our opinion, this step by the government has only confused the situation even more and made little headway toward increasing transparency.

To put this problem in perspective, it is apt to quote from the judgment of the Supreme Court:¹⁵

The General Elections—to decide who rules over 850 million Indians—are staged every five to six years since independence. It is an enormous exercise and a mammoth venture in terms of money spent. Hundreds and thousand of vehicles of various kinds are pressed on to the roads in the 543 parliamentary constituencies on behalf of thousands of aspirants to power, many days before the general elections are actually held. Millions of leaflets and many millions of posts are printed and distributed or pasted all over the country. Banners by the lakhs are hoisted. Flags go up, walls are painted, and hundreds of thousands of loudspeakers play out the loud exhortations and extravagant promises. VIPs and VVIPs come and go, some of them in helicopters and air taxis. The political parties in their quest

¹² Chapter 4 on 'Electoral Processes and Political Parties.' Constitutional Commission Report.

¹³ Substituted by section 4 of the Amendment Act 46 of 2003 for the explanation I to section 77 (1) in the Representation of People Act (1951).

¹⁴ Under the Allotment of Symbol Order 1968 of the Election Commission of India, political parties initially register, and later some of these registered parties, on fulfilling certain threshold requirements, are recognized both as national parties and as state parties. There were six national parties, 45 state parties, and 720 registered parties in India as of March 1, 2004 as per Election Commission of India notification number 56/2004/Judicial-III dated 3 September 2004.

¹⁵ See footnote number 9 above, paragraph 15.

for power spend more than one thousand crore¹⁶ of rupees on the General Election (Parliament alone), yet nobody accounts for the bulk of the money so spent and there is no accountability anywhere. Nobody discloses the source of the money. There are no proper accounts and no audit. From where this money comes, nobody knows. In a democracy where rule of law prevails this type of naked display of black money, by violating the mandatory provisions of law, cannot be permitted.

Furthermore, the judgment states:¹⁷

The General Elections bring into motion the democratic polity in the country. When the elections are fought with unaccounted money, the persons elected in the process can think of nothing except getting right by amassing black money. They retain power with the help of black money and while in office collect more and more to spend the same in the next election to retain the seat of power. Unless the statutory provisions meant to bring transparency in the functioning of the democracy are strictly enforced and the election-funding is made transparent, the vicious circle cannot be broken and the corruption cannot be eliminated from the country.

Political parties recognized as national parties and state parties are given free prime time slots on state-owned electronic media, according to a formula devised by the Election Commission. It is difficult to calculate this cost exactly, but a conservative estimate is offered in this report.

Based on policies in the United Kingdom and a number of other countries, until very recently in India no political advertising was permitted in the electronic media; this ban was effected as part of an effort to provide a level playing field to all participants in an electoral contest. But in 2003, again as a result of public interest litigation, the Supreme Court ruled that banning such political advertisement is against the fundamental right to free speech and expression was therefore in violation of the Constitution. Since then, large amounts of party funds have begun to flow toward political advertising in electronic media, but no estimates on the actual amounts are available yet. At best guess, the parties spent between 100 million and 150 million rupees (\$2.3 million to \$3.5 million) on such efforts prior to the 2004 general election. These costs are in addition to what the parties incurred in traditional advertising in print media, for which again the best guess is an expenditure of approximately 100 million rupees.

g) Political party finance

No state funding or budgetary support is provided to the political parties. The issue has been debated in India for a long time, and there have been a number of committees established to look into this question (the Goswami Committee, The Indrajit Gupta Committee on State Funding of Elections, the 128th Report of the Indian Law Commission etc.). However, no consensus has been reached on introducing state funding of political parties in view of the existing loopholes in the law.

Various political parties frequently are given office accommodations in prime locations at no or negligible cost. Also, at present, the government provides free airtime on state-owned TV. Although a law has been enacted providing for in-kind

¹⁶ A crore is a unit in a traditional number system, still widely used in India and Bangladesh. An Indian crore is equal to 10 million. (*Wikipedia*)

¹⁷ See footnote number 9 above, paragraph 17.

state assistance in other areas, as well as for making free time available on private TV channels through notification, no such notification has been made to date.

h) Civic education expenses

Although a majority of India's electorate is illiterate, most citizens are nonetheless quite aware of issues and parties when it comes to elections—a fact that testifies to a number of changes in the ruling parties' fortunes in forming a government. The EMBs (the Commission as well as the offices of the CEOs in the States) have an earmarked budget for civic education, which is spent on payments to electronic media, print media and NGOs. Part of this budget is also spent on directly educating the polling and counting agents of the political parties. In most states, apart from political parties, civil society organizations play a major role in voter education.

i) Cost of introducing new election technology

The Commission recently has taken certain steps to introduce new technology into the electoral process. Issuing photo-ID cards for voters was aimed at preventing fraudulent voting, and computerizing electoral rolls at the constituency level was undertaken with a view to cleaning the rolls and making it easy to add and delete names and maintain the rolls. Similarly, the introduction of electronic voting machines throughout the 688,000 polling stations was done to eliminate invalid votes and to bring greater accuracy and speed to the counting process. Given the cost of \$200 per electronic voting machine (and this was the concessional cost for the Commission because the machines are manufactured by a state-owned public sector company, Electronic Corporation of India), there was a huge expenditure for the Commission to acquiring them. The recurring cost could be set at 3 percent, which as also represents a large amount. In addition, the cost of computers for CEO offices and the district election officers combined with the IT maintenance cost for election support could be in the vicinity of 200 million rupees (\$4.6 million).

Certainly, introducing these technological innovations required sizeable funds. To the credit of the Commission, it was able to persuade, and at times even compel, the central and state governments to provide adequate funds for these initiatives. As these innovations have been introduced over the last 10 years, the cost of introducing new technology has been included and calculated in various other costs discussed above.

j) International financial assistance

India's laws do not permit political parties to receive direct foreign funding for their routine expenses or for campaign expenses. Even the Commission does not require any international financial assistance because its budget is covered completely by the government itself.

V. Overall assessment

By and large, the government has provided the necessary funds to the Commission to carry out its statutory functions without much ado (and there is little reason to believe that the Commission has not been using those funds responsibly). As has been made

clear, a major part of election expenses relating to the conduct of elections actually come from various state governments; funds from those sources have also been forthcoming readily. Sometimes, as in the introduction of new technology (for example, preparation of photo-ID cards or computers), a few states have resisted or delayed providing funds; however, in terms of the actual conduct of elections, no problem have been reported by the Election Commission. A major cost for the state governments is salaries and allowances for polling staff. But, since the government is obliged by constitutional provision¹⁸ to make available to the Commission necessary staff for the conduct of elections, these salaries are automatically paid by the government.

Case Study 2 - Attachment I. Election Operations Costs

Case Study 2 - Table 1. The Cost of various components of election operations in the state of Madhya Pradesh*

Point number in the CORE Survey Form	Major component	Cost for state (in million rupees)	% of total costs
5 (a) Cost of EMB's ordinary operations	Salaries and allowances	21.3	6.2%
	Other office expenses	6.97	2%
5 (b) Voter registration cost	Cost of staff for survey	47.89	14%
	Computerization of voter lists and publication of electoral rolls	29.91	8.7%
	Photo-ID cards	35.86	10.5%
5 (c) Boundary delimitation	Cost to the states	2.4	0.7%
5 (d) Polling operations cost	Normal polling operations	92.36	26.9%
	Electronic voting machines	17.50	5.1%
	Polling station kits	55	16%
	Cost of election observation and monitoring	15.1	4.4%
5 (e) External voting operations	Postal ballot papers, postage, and cost of staff time	1.18	0.3%
5 (f) Campaign funds by the EMB	Nil	-	Not provided by the Commission

¹⁸ See article 324 (6) of the Constitution of India.

Case Study 2 - Attachment I. Election Operations Costs**Case Study 2 - Table 1. The Cost of various components of election operations in the state of Madhya Pradesh* (continued)**

Point number in the CORE Survey Form	Major component	Cost for state (in million rupees)	% of total costs
5 (g) Political party finance	Only cost of free telecast and broadcast time on state-owned media for national parties and state Parties	16.18	4.7%
5 (h) Civic education	Through NGOs, newspapers, and TV	1.25	0.4%
5 (i) Cash transactions by the EMB	None for the parties except for the staff and office expenditure		Already included in various estimates above
5 (j) Inventory of unused supplies	Essentially it is only the electronic voting machines that are returned. The cost of other unused supplies is insignificant.		
5 (k) New technology	Cost for computerization of electoral rolls, Photo-ID cards, IT maintenance, and replacement and maintenance of electronic voting machines is already included in the respective categories of expenditure		
	Grand total of expenditure for the states (not including the cost for central EMB)		342.9 million rupees (\$7.9 million)

The best educated guesses for various electoral expenses of all the states and union territories in India can be found in Annexes I and II. There are many costs that cannot be calculated in the Indian context, such as the money spent by political parties and candidates; the cost of state resources used by various candidates of the party in power to facilitate their campaigns, especially forcibly using various vehicles to bring people and supporters to major political rallies; the cost of holding a by-election on vacating the second seat; and the cost of frivolous complaints and enquiries.

Election expenditure figures for all the 28 states and seven union territories are not available readily. However, figures from the state of Madhya Pradesh can be extrapolated to give an estimate of overall expenses. Both in terms of number of polling stations and number of Legislative Assembly seats, one can surmise that the overall expenses will be about 17 times the expense in Madhya Pradesh:

Case Study 2 - Attachment I.		
Case Study 2 - Table 2. Comparison of electoral figures for Madhya Pradesh and India		
Criteria for comparison	For the state of Madhya Pradesh	All India
Number of polling stations	42,285	688,000 (16.27 times)
Number of legislative assembly seats	230	4,120 (17.91 times)
Average size of All India vis-à-vis Madhya Pradesh		17.09 times

About the author

Mr. T. S. Krishna Murthy, Chief Election Commissioner of India, was in the Indian Civil Service in India for 37 years prior to joining the Election Commission of India in 2000. While in the Civil Service, he served in several capacities, including investigation of tax fraud, enforcement of company law, fiscal policy formulation (including expenditure control), negotiation of tax treaties for tax avoidance, and the training of revenue service officers. He oversaw the conduct of recent parliamentary elections in India in 2004—in which 670 million voters used electronic voting machines and there was no major incidence of violence



Spain

By Rafael López-Pintor

Acknowledgements

This report is based on legislation and a number of publications, internal reports and personal interviews with high-ranking electoral officers in Spain. Special recognition is due the following Ministry of Interior staff members: Under-Director General of Electoral Processes Cecilio Ortiz, former Under-Director General Felix Marin, and Ana Cristina López, the officer in charge of external cooperation.

I. Structure of the EMB

A detailed description of the structure and functioning of election authorities in Spain is available in a UNDP publication prepared by the author in 2000 (López-Pintor, 2000). In brief, the current structure was established provisionally by an interim decree in 1977 and then consolidated as a formal electoral law in 1985. Following the so-called French model, elections in Spain are managed primarily by the Ministry of the Interior and its 17 regional and 52 provincial delegates under the oversight of collective semi-judicial bodies: a national electoral commission, 52 provincial-level agencies, and 303 area-level agencies. (Note: Electoral commissions and agencies at all levels are known in Spanish as *juntas*, which is how they will be referred to in the remainder of the Spain case study.) There are also autonomous community *juntas* in each of the 17 autonomous regional governments of Spain with the same responsibilities as those of the central *juntas*, but their responsibilities are restricted to elections for regional authorities. Non-judicial members of the *juntas* are recruited from among academics and the legal professions after a list of candidates has been submitted by consensus between political parties (non-partisan but party-supported recruitment). Tens of thousands of postal employees and police officers also contribute to the electoral process.

Lists of voters are the responsibility of the Office of the Voter Registry within the National Institute of Statistics, an autonomous agency under the orbit of the Ministry of Finance. The Office oversees and updates voter lists from information provided by municipal authorities based on records from civil registries and lists of residents. It has national headquarters and provincial offices with a permanent staff of approximately 700. Municipal authorities also arrange for the polling stations and appoint polling officers who are selected by lot among registered voters from each polling area. Finally, regular courts of justice at the national and provincial levels can hear appeals of decisions by the different electoral *juntas*. There are three polling officials and their substitutes per polling station, one delegate of the Ministry of Interior, and at least one security agent for each of 56,920 polling stations.

The Ministry of Interior has the following elections-related responsibilities: a) election strategic and operational planning; b) preparation of the electoral budget; c) provision of all electoral materials; d) publication of polling station manuals; e) electoral coordination with regional and provincial delegates of the national government as well as with the other public agencies in charge of some electoral responsibility (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Office of the Voter Registry, Post Office, Police, State Radio and Television); f) management of all public funding to political parties, both

for current operations and for electoral and campaign expenses; g) maintaining the Public Registry of Political Parties; h) international electoral cooperation; and i) reporting on election management to the national electoral commission.

II. Legal framework

The 1978 Constitution contains the main provisions regarding the electoral system, including the issues related to voting from abroad and the state responsibility for facilitating external voting (article 68.5) and the necessity for electoral legislation to be approved by organic law with a special majority (article 81.1). No specific provisions are made on management and funding of elections.

The Election Law of 1985 regulates electoral administration (articles 8-24) and all other relevant aspects of elections; it does not, however, regulate funding and expense management, both of which are regulated by the general budget legislation. The electoral budget is a part of the consolidated budget of the nation in a section of the budget devoted to 'elections and political parties.' It includes all costs of the electoral operation, except some minor costs like the regular operation of the central junta, which is supported by the budget of the Chamber of Deputies where the junta is located.

The electoral budget is prepared by the Ministry of Interior and incorporated in the national budget for approval in Parliament following ordinary procedures. Election cost assessment and budgeting is the responsibility of the Ministry (through its Under-Director General of Electoral Processes), in coordination with other agencies involved in the management of elections (i.e. government delegates at sub-national levels, the Office of the Voter Registry, the Post Office and Ministry of Foreign Affairs). The budget is brought to the Parliamentary Committee through the Ministry of Finance in September, and must be approved by both houses of Parliament by the end of December of the year prior to the year in which the budget will apply.

Management of the electoral budget is regulated by the General Budgetary Law and implementing decrees (more importantly Royal Decrees 562/1993, 332/1999 and 605/1999). Additionally, detailed management instructions are issued by the Ministry of Interior before every election. The main organizing principle is that all election-related activities are included under a budget line of the Ministry of Interior no matter which public agency is involved (i.e. governmental delegates, other ministries and autonomous agencies). For the preparation of the budget, each agency submits estimates to the Ministry, which takes them into consideration. Decrees in 1991 and 1992 on the procedures and management of electoral activities introduced reforms by requesting that all agencies involved provide budget estimates prior to the election, with the corresponding credit assigned to them only afterwards. The estimates are sent to the Accounting Court for public audit purposes. This has led to better planning, as all the agencies involved are forced to anticipate how they will organize—which in itself tends to increase the confidence of the different agencies involved in the electoral process.

Regarding expense management, general procedures of the state administration are applied with some modifications: a given expense requires financial clearance by the

general expense-controlling agency within the executive branch of government. This is to ensure that expenses are according to budgetary and public contractual provisions. Until the mid-1980s, electoral expenses followed standard clearance procedures, which made management burdensome and dysfunctional due to the short timeline typical of the electoral process. (Making funds available for an after-expense justification was the procedure actually followed to make elections possible). Further legal reform introduced the modality of **permanent financial control**; in this system, prior clearance for every expense is not necessary, yet the controlling authority retains the right to examine electoral expenses at any given time in the process. Moreover, the Ministry of Interior must submit a detailed report on expenses to Parliament after the election. As for expense management by the different agencies involved in the process, each agency may spend the anticipated allowance in the budget from its own funds, with the understanding that it will be reimbursed by the Ministry of Interior. Such expenditures might cover voter registration expenses other than the current maintenance of the voter list to external voting—and certainly polling operations at lower levels, which are managed by local authorities.

No **cash transactions** are established in the handling of the budget. Small allowances such as *per diem* for poll workers are paid with checks and bank transfers, although there have been cases when cash payment has been facilitated by local authorities. Special allowances for security services provided by the National Police are included with salaries in the corresponding monthly payroll. (Per diem assigned to polling and security officers was most recently established at rates of about \$60 and \$98, respectively). Moreover, all polling officers are covered by special insurance on Election Day. Those polling station officers earning wages and salaries are also allowed up to five hours leave on the day following the elections.

After elections, an **inventory of both used and unused supplies** is made. Local municipal authorities are in charge of making an inventory and storing electoral materials. They pass on this information to the national government's provincial and regional delegates who, in turn, consolidate the inventories at the provincial level and report to the Ministry of Interior. No special or unanticipated costs are incurred in this activity other than current operational costs of the different administrations involved. Supplies that can be reused are stored on municipal premises. Unused supplies, mostly paper products, are discarded or recycled at the local level.

All electoral expenses are audited by the national audit agency on a yearly basis. This agency also audits the finances and expenses of political parties. (More detailed information on these audit activities can be found on the Web site of the agency, which is known in Spanish as *Tribunal de Cuentas*.)

Political party finance: Political parties in Spain receive public funding for current and electoral operations. Public funding for political party campaigning is not directly a part of the electoral budget, although it is handled by the Ministry of Interior. Parties can also receive funds from private sources as regulated by the law (Holgado, 2003). The Electoral Law contains some general provisions on the public funding of campaign activities and related expenses by political parties for different types of

elections—articles 121-134 on general elections, 192-193 for local elections, and 226-227 for elections to the European Parliament. The Law on Political Party Finance (1987) regulates public funding to political parties, both for ordinary operations and for electoral campaigns and other election-related expenses (which might include the mailing of specimen ballot papers by political parties, for which the cost can be reimbursed after certifying the expense). Campaign subsidies are calculated in proportion to the number of votes and seats obtained. More recent legislation on political parties (Organic Law of Political Parties, from 2002) did not alter earlier provisions on party finance. In the 2004 general elections, the total amount of public funds allowed for campaign expenses was 90 million euros (\$109 million), none of which was included in the electoral budget of 119.7 million euros.

Parties also receive public subsidies for current operations. Article 2 of the Law On Political Party Finance establishes that parties may receive funds from their membership, private donors and their own investment revenues. In practice, most of the funding of parties originates from public subsidies and the parties' own loans. In a non-election year, public subsidies for current operations may amount to 57 million euros.

Access to state radio and television is free of charge, according to law, and is managed by a special commission under the supervision of the different electoral committees.

III. Electoral costs

The overall cost of elections in Spain, as in many other countries following the French model of electoral administration, is the aggregate of the electoral budget proper and other election-related costs assigned to ordinary activities by different state apparatuses: the Office of the Voter Registry, public subsidies to political parties for campaign financing, state-owned radio and TV, the national electoral commission, the Under-General Direction of Electoral Processes at the Ministry of Interior, the National Police, Civil Registry, judiciaries, regional and provincial delegations of the national government, and local governments.

The cost of the **ordinary operation** of the office in charge of elections at the Ministry of Interior during non-election times is generally a part of current expenses of the Ministry. A yearly amount of 3 million euros (\$3.6 million) is estimated, not including salaries for a staff of 300. The same rule of 'diffused costs under current operations' would apply at provincial and local levels, where hundreds of civil servants may be doing some election-related activity during non-election times. However, the ordinary operation of the Office of the Voter Registry at the National Institute of Statistics is not included in the current budget of the Ministry of Interior. The Office's ordinary operation refers to all expenses related to a specific election at the time of that vote (i.e., costs of voter information and the management of external voting both from within the country and abroad). The ordinary budget of the Office of the Voter Registry is an unspecified amount of the total budget of the National Institute of Statistics (200 million euros in 2004), but is probably a sizable part of that agency's budget because of costs pertaining to the nationwide computer network (in 8,000 municipalities), which is necessary for the monthly update of voter lists. Finally, there

are also the cost of ordinary operations of the national electoral commission within the Congress of Deputies, which amounted to 500,000 euros in 2004, and some activities of the Civil Registry offices.

Regarding the **electoral budget proper**, following is a summary of the costs incurred related to the 2004 general elections (which cost a total of 119.7 million euros):

Case Study 3 - Table 1. Election-related costs as a percentage of total election budget	
Type of cost	% of total costs
Electoral operation (printing, supplies, transport)	56.6%
Mail services	21.20%
Voter registration (list update, reproduction and distribution)	13%
Use of IT for quick transmission of preliminary results	8.40%
Voter information campaign design (media transmission is free)	0.53%
Polling station manual publication	0.27%

Some of the main issues and trends regarding election cost structures are detailed below.

a) Election management changes

A dramatic growth of the overall electoral budget has taken place in the last eight years, with a 20.4 percent increase in the last five years alone. The cost per registered voter rose from \$2.1 in 1996 to \$4.1 in 2004. While reporting and accounting factors may explain a large part of the growth, there is still considerable room for actual cost increases, which can be explained due to some significant changes in the management of the electoral process. In any case, cost increases by percent have been much larger than the 10 percent increase in the number of eligible voters from 31.4 million in 1996 to 34.5 million in 2004.

Some of the discrepancy is related to the change in Spain's currency from the peseta to the euro as well as the fall in the US dollar's value against the euro over the past couple of years. These external factors are responsible for the estimate that at least 25 percent of the current cost per registered voter should be considered 'inflated' by mere accounting factors; taking this into consideration, the actual 2004 cost is \$3 per registered voter.

Independent of reporting and accounting factors, the most significant changes in the management of elections include a dramatic increase in the number of registered voters abroad for whom electoral material was mailed and processed (1.1 million people), plus other mail services to normal voters. Moreover, information facilities to voters in

and outside the country were improved (i.e., by providing online information). This explains why the largest single line item in the most recent election budget was postal and telecommunications expenses, which accounted for over 21 percent of the entire budget. The increasing volume of printing and mailing by the Office of the Voter Registry accounted for approximately 13 percent of the electoral budget, the largest growth item in the budget. This increase resulted from higher levels of external voting. Finally, rapid transmission of preliminary results on election night has been improving technologically over time and now accounts for almost 19 percent of the entire budget.

b) Cost-reduction factors

With regard to costs that have not changed or diminished, the voter information sector has remained unchanged over time. No significant cost reduction was noted from one election to the next—although in the longer term a number of cost-reducing measures have been singled out. Spain's electoral authorities have gained experience over the past 20 years with a number of cost-effective measures:

- Considerable savings have come from the decentralized printing of ballot papers since the late 1980s (party lists are different in each of the 52 provinces), and by widening the bidding to a larger number of firms. Savings of 50 percent or more have been reported, moving the cost from 1.6 pesetas to 0.60 per ballot, a savings of around \$2 million per election;
- The cost of voter-information campaigns was reduced enormously in the early 1990s by limiting campaigning to the state-owned media where airtime is free. Expenditures were reduced from approximately \$13 million to around \$1 million;
- As indicated above, decentralizing the procedures for the preparation and application of the budget, and making each agency formally accountable for its own budget and accounting, appears to have been cost-effective; and
- The electoral authorities conducted a study on the feasibility of substituting disposable ballot boxes for the currently used hard plastic boxes. Savings on storage costs, as well as on some production costs, are expected as a result; currently, about 30 percent of all boxes are unrecoverable after an election regardless. This type of cost-effective measure has already been introduced in other countries like Australia.

c) Voter registration costs

The generation of voter lists is an automatic process in Spain. They are substantially produced and updated on information provided at the municipal level based on civil registries and lists of residents. As stated above, voter lists are handed out to the provincial office of the Office of the Voter Registry and then compiled at the national level. Lists were updated on a yearly basis until 1998, when monthly updates were established. Lists of voters are distributed to the municipalities for a five-day revision period before every election. Following revision, the Office of the Voter Registry distributes voter lists organized by booth to each polling station. Voter lists are also

provided to political parties, but not to the Ministry, which receives only aggregate figures of voters at different levels.

Costs related to the routine production and monthly update of voter lists are part of the ordinary budget of the National Institute of Statistics, which totaled 200 million euros in 2004. The costs are not officially quantified separately in the organization of the Institute's budget, but could be more than 15 percent. In its turn, the Ministry of Interior includes all costs related to the use of voter lists at election times (13 million euros in 2004). These costs cover reproducing the lists to be handed out to political parties; postal communication to voters informing them of the reviewing period before every election and of their specific polling locations; and the management of external voting. This extensive outreach effort explains why voter registration-related expenses have shown the largest actual growth over the last five years. The Ministry must reimburse the Office of the Voter Registry for these costs.

Spain allows external voting by mail, both within the national territory and abroad (the 2004 voter list consisted of 34,557,370 individuals, of whom 1.1 million were voters living abroad). Voters from abroad are included in a separate list of absentee voters that is produced by the Office of the Voter Registry with information provided by Spanish consular offices. At election time, consular offices share management of the ballot abroad with the Office of the Voter Registry. Voters first apply for external voting at the consular office; then most of the ballots are mailed directly to the corresponding local electoral commission, and a smaller amount is handled directly by the consular office for remittance in Spain. All external ballots—including those from within the country—are supposed to be deposited at local electoral commissions within three days following Election Day since the official vote counting must take place on the third day. External voting operations have recently involved more than 600,000 people living in the country and 295,000 from abroad, amounting to 1.8 percent and 0.8 percent of the entire electorate, respectively. Voting abroad has continued to increase over time, while in-country mail voting tends to remain unchanged (Ramos Vadillo, 2003; Brugarolas Masllorens, 2003).

d) Boundary delimitation

There are no constituency boundary delimitation costs since electoral districts for general and municipal elections are established in the Constitution (provinces and municipalities), and these boundaries can only be modified by special law (article 141.1 of Constitution). Regarding regional elections, districts can be modified by ordinary law in the regional legislative assemblies, as contemporary Spain is a quasi-federal state. Until now, no significant issues on boundaries have been raised. In contrast, boundaries of the smallest territorial administrative units for elections (34,711 of them) can be modified by the Office of the Voter Registry after consulting with municipal authorities before elections. This is for the purpose of organizing the polling operation in such a way that the number of votes does not exceed a given number for each polling center and polling station. This has nothing to do with gerrymandering because the result of the election can never be affected given that the

results are aggregated to the entire constituency. These sections are the same as sections for the conduct of population censuses. Each electoral section comprises a few blocks in cities and a number of streets in towns and villages.

e) New election technologies

The use of electronic voting is being tried on a pilot scale. At the national level, a branch of the National Police—a civil guard composed of 70,000 individuals—voted by Internet for its Staff Advisory Committee in 2002 and 2004. On a much smaller scale, a rehearsal with Internet and cellular telephone voting took place in four small municipalities during general elections in May 2004. Prime Minister Zapatero announced in August 2004 that electronic voting might be used in the referendum on the European Constitution early in 2005. Apparently, electronic voting is seen more as a way to encourage voter turnout than to reduce costs.

IV. Overall assessment

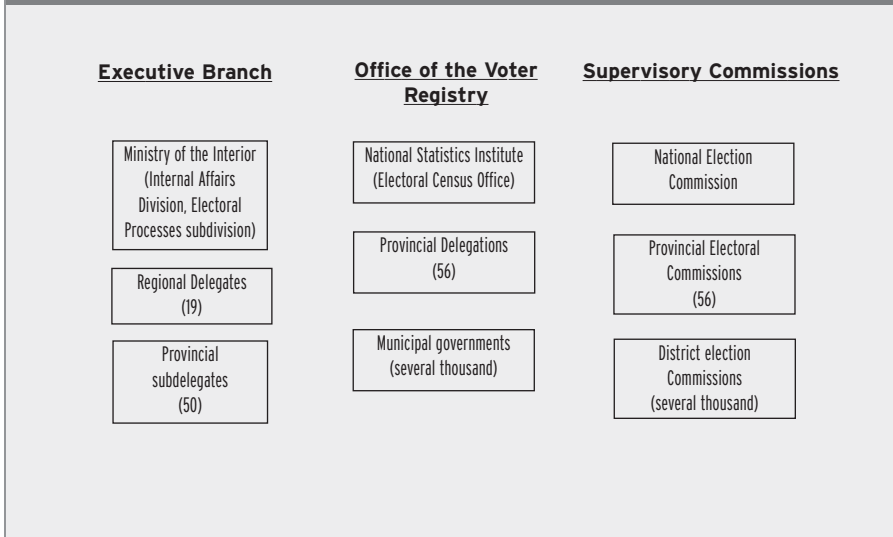
An assessment of current and most recent practices of election budgeting and cost and expense management indicates that overall, electoral costs have been consistently increasing and are not likely to decrease in the near future. Within the overall increase, decreases may be expected on specific items (i.e. ballot papers and other polling materials), as new practices are established (external voting) and new technologies (electronic voting) become more common.

More specifically on cost and expense management, and in spite of the organizational complexities of the Spanish electoral administration, the overall impression is that legal provisions on the funding of elections actually apply without any major political, financial or administrative obstacles. No significant complications regarding approval and disbursement of funds have been identified. Additionally, whenever administrative or technical difficulties in the proper management of the electoral budget are encountered, they seem to be handled properly by public officials at various levels. No official complaints about election-related budgetary issues have been brought before an adjudication agency since the restoration of democracy in the 1970s.

The successful functioning of the system can be attributed to a combination of the following factors: the tradition of a professional civil service at all levels of government; the supervisory role played by commissions made up of judges and academics or legal professionals who are acceptable to political parties (party consensus is needed before appointment); and the continuing presence of political party representatives at all levels throughout the process. Last but not least, the participation of common citizens, randomly selected, in the management of polling stations has given solid legitimacy to the overall management of the voting system.

Case Study 3 - Attachment I.	
Case Study 3 - Table 1. Template of the electoral budget of the 2004 general elections*	
Chapter I	37.97 million euros
Personnel: extraordinary services Representatives of the state administration Security forces Electoral commissions (<i>juntas</i>) Polling station officers Arrangement of electoral premises Local municipal governments	
Chapter II	32.67 million euros
Forms, ballot papers and envelopes Packing and distribution of forms, ballot papers and envelopes Purchase of screens and ballot boxes Setting, dismantling and transport of screens and ballot boxes Storage of electoral materials Paddle, pens and other writing materials for polling stations Transport for voters Transport for polling station officers to courts of justice Office materials Telephone lines Office support to electoral commissions (<i>juntas</i>) as per Art.13 of Electoral Law Information on Election Day Preliminary counting and transmission of results Institutional voter information campaign Expenses for setting up the Center for Information Collection Coordination meeting with other public administration agencies Center for National Information Incidentals	
Chapter III	49.10 million euros
National Institute of Statistics INE (Office of Voter Registries) Post Office and Telegraph Organization State Secretariat for Security (Police)	
Total expenses	119.74 million euros (\$144 million)
*Euro and dollar figures are rounded.	

Case Study 3 - Attachment II. Organization chart of Spain's electoral administration



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**Case
Study**

4

Sweden

By Maria Gratschew

Acknowledgements

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I. Introduction

Collecting information on the costs of elections has not been particularly difficult in Sweden, as most information is available to the general public. The difficulty has been to present the costs in a way that can be compared easily with the data from other countries. Some costs are built into the budgets of larger organizations that do not work only on issues related to elections. An example of this is the National Tax Agency. The amount that the central EMB pays to the Agency as compensation for obtaining data for a voter register is small; however, there are hidden costs to the Agency in terms of salaries and benefits to employees, renting premises and technical and legal services. These activities are related not only to elections, but also to the general maintenance and administration of the register. Another example is the board charged with managing and settling electoral disputes: it is appointed and financed by the Parliament (see also Legal Framework).

Case Study 4 - Table 1. Basic facts and statistics of the most recent election¹⁹

Number of eligible voters	6,950,000
Number of electoral districts	6,000
Number of regional EMBs	21
Number of local EMBs	290
Combined elections	Yes: local, regional and national

It is important to note that there are currently two committees, both appointed by the government, which are assessing electoral practices in Sweden—in particular the electoral law and the financing and disclosure requirements of political parties. The conclusions of the committees will be presented in the near future, and their recommendations may lead to major changes in the electoral law and practices. For the most part, however, the information presented in this case study describes existing practices.

¹⁹ The most recent election was in June 2004, for the European Parliament.

Declining voter turnout is often considered a negative, albeit common, phenomenon in modern democracies. The most recent election to the European Parliament in June 2004 showed a decline in turnout in Sweden, as in several other European member states. The decline in turnout contributed to lower-than-expected election costs for a variety of reasons, including that the option of voting in advance was not used as widely by the voters; the lower turnout meant that the vote-counting process was conducted more quickly; and some material that had already been obtained for the general election of 2002 and the euro referendum of 2003 could be used.

II. Structure of the EMB

The bodies that manage elections in Sweden are organized in a three-level system, with central, regional and local EMBs. This decentralized system corresponds not only to electoral management, but also to the structure of institutions of governance in Sweden in general. The central EMB is an independent authority; created in 2001, it is the newest independent EMB in Europe. Regional and local EMBs are overseen by county administrative boards and municipalities, respectively. The tasks carried out by the local and regional EMBs are not directed by the central EMB, but are stipulated in the same documents and laws that establish them as authorities—the Elections Act of 1997 and its regulations.

The staff of the central EMB can be divided into three main groups: technical staff, subject experts and support staff. There are established procedures for how the EMBs receive their funding, and their core staff members are employed on a permanent basis.

The central EMB works under the supervision of the Electoral Board, a five-member board whose composition should guarantee broad political and civil support. The Board is appointed by the government, and it leads and has decision-making authority over the work of the central EMB. The members of the Board receive a small, mostly symbolic stipend for their work.

The central EMB is a small organization with no more than 13 full-time employees and nine consultants. The consultants work mainly on technical and Web communication issues. There are 21 regional EMBs (one within each of the 21 county administrative boards) and 290 local EMBs (one within each of the 290 local municipalities).²⁰

²⁰ Each kind of EMB—central, regional and local—is responsible for specific tasks and has different responsibilities. Typically, their functions match the area and level for which they are set up. For example, the local EMB is responsible for recruiting and training polling station officials, for setting up and equipping polling stations, and for the first count of votes in the polling stations. The local EMBs are normally hosted under the organization of the municipalities. The regional EMB is responsible for the second and final count of votes from the whole region, which takes place at counting centers, and the appointment of elected members based on the election results. It is typically hosted by the county administrative boards. The central EMB is responsible for the registration of party denominations and names of candidates, the production and design of ballot papers, allocating parliamentary seats to electoral districts, as well as informing voters about the election, and how, when and where to vote. In addition to informing voters, it also develops training and information materials for local and regional EMBs. The central EMB also officially appoints members of Parliament and members of the European Parliament, on the basis of the election results that they continuously disseminate after polls close. The central EMB has developed and maintains the complex technological system that supports election administration. The indigenous people of Sweden (and Scandinavia), the Sami, elect members to their own regional parliament. These elections are managed by the same regional EMBs as for general elections, together with the central EMB and the staff of the Sami authority, as specified in the law governing the Sami Parliament. The Elections Act (Vallag) 1997:157, chapter 1, paragraphs 15, 16 and 17. Also used is the Elections Act (English), which includes changes up to and including SFS 2003:1058.

III. Legal framework

The central, local and regional EMBs are not mentioned in the Constitution. They are, however, mentioned in the Elections Act.²¹ The Swedish electoral law was changed in 2002, although much of its content dates from 1997. A committee also examined the need for further changes to the Electoral Law in 1994 and presented its recommendations in November of that year.

The Electoral Law specifies that there shall be a central EMB, regional EMBs and local EMBs.²² The Elections Act does not specify that there shall be an independent, central EMB, nor whether it should be affiliated with any other authority or institution—it simply stipulates that the government should decide which body should form the central EMB. The Parliament in 2001 voted to establish an independent EMB;²³ however, it should be noted that the Elections Act does not contain provisions requiring that the EMB be independent. (Prior to 2000, the central EMB was neither independent nor located within the National Tax Agency.) The central, local and regional EMBs face no immediate threats to their existence, especially as the local and regional EMBs are hosted within existing administrations.

The Constitution outlines general principles of equal and universal suffrage, of periodic elections, electoral districts, the Electoral Review Board and the electoral system. The Elections Act specifies the tasks of the local, regional and central EMBs, polling station staff, and the Electoral Board. It also specifies in detail the division of tasks among the EMBs.

Electoral disputes are managed by the Election Review Board, an eight-member board appointed by the Parliament immediately after the installment of new members of Parliament following a general election. New installments may also take place throughout the mandate period when MPs leave their positions for whatever reason. Decisions made by this Board may not be appealed.

IV. Electoral costs

a) Costs during non-election periods

In recent years, notably since 1998, more elections than usual have been held in Sweden. The main reason stems from Sweden's membership in the European Union; as a result, elections to the European Parliament and a referendum on introducing the euro as a currency have taken place.

All of this activity means that the central EMB's regular operations costs during a year without elections are rather difficult to measure, at least by using updated numbers.

²¹ The Elections Act (Vallag) 1997:157, chapter 1, paragraphs 15, 16 and 17. Also used is the Elections Act (English), which includes changes up to and including SFS 2003:1058.

²² The Elections Act (Vallag) 1997:157, paragraphs 15, 16 and 17.

²³ The central EMB was correctly established by a decision of Parliament. Since the inception of the central EMB, there has been a change in function and power relating to the establishment of new authorities. Today the government has the power to establish new authorities.

Case Study 4 - Table 2. Costs of the central EMB during a non-election year

Description of cost or activity	Amount (in kroner)²⁴
Permanent staff	7.1 million (\$910,000)
Office premises	1.2 million (\$154,000)
Financial costs (interest on loans)	40,000 (\$5,000)
Technology and Web communication	14 million (\$1.8 million)
Operating and other costs	1 million (\$128,000)
Depreciation and write-downs	5 million (\$641,000)
Total cost	28.34 million kroner (\$3.63 million)

An attempt to cite costs during a non-election year is shown in Table 2.

The cost of technology and Web communication is fairly high due to the large investments that have been made. The cost of maintaining a high technical standard and expertise within the organization is reflected in this annual budget report. In addition, it is primarily consultants who are working with these issues instead of permanent staff, which is yet another reason for these high costs.

The annual budget of the central EMB is based on a proposal to the government, which nearly always approves the requested amount.

b) Voter registration

The voter register is compiled on the basis of the civil register. The civil register is continuously updated by the National Tax Agency, which has held overall responsibility for the register since 1971.

Before every election, the central EMB acquires from the agency a complete voter register, which is extracted from the database containing the civil register. The central EMB pays the agency a fee for this information; the amount for the euro referendum in 2003 totaled 500,000 kroner (\$64,000). The amount is calculated on the basis of the number of persons in the register, with the per-name being 2-5 öre (1 kroner = 100 öre). The central EMB receives the voter register in an electronic format and produces printed registers for each polling station. This is done with the use of statistics and maps provided by the Land Survey. The cost of dividing and printing the register by polling station is equivalent to 300,000 kroner. Additional costs (almost 13.5 million kroner) involve the printing and dissemination of voting cards to all eligible voters.

c) Boundary delimitation

Similar to how the central EMB purchases services from the National Tax Agency, it also purchases services relating to boundary delimitation—but in this case from

²⁴ As reported in the annual report of the central EMB. (Available in Swedish only, titled: "Årsredovisning för VALMYNDIGHETEN avseende budgetåret 2003.")

another government agency, the Land Survey. The regional EMBs produce maps of electoral districts, and these are used by the Land Survey to produce registers of all real estate located in the approximately 6,000 electoral districts in Sweden. The Land Survey provides details of all real estate in the register and maps and codes for the real estate. In this process they use Geographic Information System (GIS) technology, which has proved to be useful in quickly finding all necessary data. For this service, the central EMB pays 200,000 kroner (\$26,000). In addition, the central EMB subscribes to a regular update of map services and real estate services, but at very low cost, and again, calculated on the basis of a few öre (1 kroner = 100 öre) per unit of real estate. The services of boundary delimitation from the Land Survey are bought in advance of every election.

d) Polling operations

Polling operations are managed by local EMBs, which are hosted within municipal organizations. The municipalities fund their activities, including election administration, from annual disbursements from the national government as well as tax revenues from their inhabitants. In addition to their annual, general budget, the local EMBs receive extra funding for specific electoral tasks, in particular voting operations at special institutions such as hospitals or prisons. Upon application, this funding is provided by the central EMB, and a financial accounting must be submitted to the central EMB

Case Study 4 - Table 3. Electoral budget of municipalities

Training of polling station officials
Salaries paid to polling station officials
Production of material
Transportation of material, postal votes and staff
The renting of additional premises
Information services at the entrance of larger polling stations
Amount per election :
9 million kroner (\$1.15 million) in Stockholm (460 polling stations)
2.2 million kroner (\$282,000) in Uppsala (104 polling stations)

once the election is over. Table 3 shows the cost of polling operations in two municipalities, Stockholm and Uppsala, for the European Parliament election of 2004.

As can be seen, costs differ greatly between municipalities. The municipality of Stockholm has almost 610,000 eligible voters, which makes the cost of polling operations approximately 15 kroner per voter. However, there are several other costs within the electoral process and polling operations that are not taken into account, but possibly covered by other bodies, such as voting at post offices.

The cost of polling operations varies greatly between regions and municipalities. This depends on decisions made by the municipalities, for example whether to retain or merge small, remote polling stations, and how much to pay polling station officials, if anything. This is normally the single largest cost in the budget. The amount paid to polling stations officials varies widely in Sweden, and some municipalities do not pay polling stations officials at all. In the case of Stockholm, officials are paid comparatively high salaries, as follows:

- Chairperson of polling station: 2,500 kroner (\$320)
- Vice chairperson of polling station: 2,000 kroner (\$260)
- Other officials of polling station: 1,200 kroner (\$154)

This amount includes a small amount paid to chairpersons and vice chairpersons for participating in training before the election; all other officials are trained but without additional pay. Each polling station has six officials, and the municipality of Stockholm, for example, has almost 460 polling stations operating in an election, while Uppsala manages 104 polling stations.

Three tasks in polling operations not covered by the local EMBs/municipalities are the vote counting process, the production of ballot papers and envelopes, and advance voting at post offices. First, the initial count of votes is conducted at the polling station, and from there officials phone the results to the regional EMB. The regional EMB is also responsible for completing a second and final count of all votes. For this task, the central EMB compensated the regional EMBs a total of 23 million kroner for the 2004 European Parliament election. This equals a little more than 3 kroner per voter on average. Second, the production of material, specifically ballot papers (6 million kroner for purchasing paper and 9.2 million kroner for printing in the 2004 election), voting envelopes (3 million kroner), and the packing of voting cards for voters and material for the local and regional EMBs (3.2 million kroner) are all managed by the central EMB. The central EMB also pays compensation to the post offices for the work involved in advance voting at the polling stations. (See also paragraph e.)

e) External voting

There are three main types of external voting in Sweden:

- All voters may choose to cast ballots at post offices up to 18 days prior to Election Day. Most recently, about 30 percent of voters chose to vote in advance in this manner. The central EMB compensates the post offices for this additional task, which cost 110 million kroner (\$14.1 million) in the 2002 general election, or around 55 kroner per voter choosing this option. (The cost of advance voting at post offices was lower for the European Parliament election in 2004, totaling 63 million kroner.) To these costs must be added the cost of producing voting envelopes, voting cards, etc. (See also paragraph d.)
- Second, there is the possibility to vote from abroad, mainly at diplomatic missions. This practice is managed by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and its regular out-posted staff. Staff members are given a short briefing and information about the election by the central EMB when they are in Sweden. There is

almost no additional cost involved for this practice because the diplomatic missions use existing premises and staff, and votes are sent to Stockholm by regular couriers or as part of diplomatic mail. Voters may also vote by mail from abroad; special mailing vote material is produced by the central EMB and sent to all Swedes living abroad who have notified the Swedish Tax Board of their address and desire to be included in the civil register. The material is also sent to diplomatic missions and may be ordered free of charge from the central, regional and local EMBs as well.

- Third, voters have the option to vote by messenger and from special institutions, such as prisons, hospitals and other care institutions. The costs of voting from special institutions are covered by the central EMB, but the actual process is carried out by local EMBs. The costs for this type of vote, which totaled 6 million kroner in the most recent election, are simply reimbursed to the local EMBs after the election. The costs consist primarily of salaries paid to polling officials and transportation of staff and voting materials.

f) Campaign finance

Sweden has no legal framework regulating the financing of political campaigns. The electoral system is a list proportional system, and political parties, therefore, are the main campaign machines. However, since 1997 the party lists have been transparent, and this has opened up elections for individual campaigns by nominated candidates. Generally, the individual campaigns are small; approximately 80 percent of them are less than 25,000 kroner (\$3,200). Finances for individual campaigns are covered by a voluntary agreement between the political parties in Sweden; if asked to do so, parties are expected to publicly disclose their income.

Election campaigns can be conducted by any political party, individual, corporation or organization. Available funds within political parties may be used for this purpose (see paragraph g).

The 2003 referendum on the introduction of the euro revealed interesting features of campaign funding in Sweden. Public funds were distributed to both sides in the campaign, but organizations separate from political parties were also involved in the campaign. Businesses were heavily involved, with the vast majority supporting a 'yes' vote—thus making the 'yes' campaign much better funded overall. During the campaigning, it was debated whether this discrepancy marked the undermining of democracy—a consideration that was much less noteworthy after the 'no to euro' side had won with 56 percent of the vote.

g) Political party finance

Since direct public funding was introduced in the mid-1960s, political parties have relied heavily on this source of income. Presently, during a non-election year, an average of 70–80 percent of party income is provided by the public purse. The figure is slightly lower in election years. Public funds are distributed according to performance in the previous election and current representation in the legislature. Funds are divided into office support and general party support.

The second most important source of income is party-owned lotteries, which account for up to 15–20 percent of total income. Membership in political parties has declined sharply in the last 30 years, and membership fees now account for only 4–5 percent of party income. Once the most important source of income, member fees have become marginalized mainly by the introduction of public funding. Private donations, general fundraising and income from conferences and publications are additional sources of income; but since the conservative Moderate party decided to refuse donations from corporations, no national party accepts such donations.

In general, political party finance in Sweden has been based primarily on voluntary agreements like the one regarding corporate donations. There is virtually no legal framework concerning party finance. The Law on Public Funding of Political Parties (1972:625) regulates public funding but not other sources of income. Since the 1980s, the political parties have followed a voluntary agreement to disclose their income and expenditures, if asked to do so. There are no legal requirements for reporting or disclosing income or expenditures.

In 2004, a public investigation called Public Disclosure of the Incomes of Parties and Candidates' (SOU 2004:22) was conducted. The authors of the subsequent report, Lars-ke Ström and Gullan Gidlund, suggested a legal framework to require political parties to publicly account for all income, including all private donations of 20,000 kroner or more. These issues are currently being debated in Sweden.

h) Civic education

The electoral law²⁵ specifies the responsibility of the central EMB to inform voters about the electoral process. Explicitly, its task is to inform the general public about when, where and how to vote, and of other practices relevant to the election. The main focus of voter information efforts is on producing a pamphlet in 14 different languages (in addition to Swedish), providing information on the Web site, producing brochures with information, and advertising on television and radio. A variety of ethnic groups and immigrants reside in the country or are citizens of Sweden, and the languages of the 14 main groups were used for the European Parliament elections in 2004. These languages included including Arabic, Bosnian, Croatian, Farsi Finnish, Kurdish (both North and South), Russian, Serbian, Somali, Spanish, Turkish, and a few other European languages. Additional language versions are sometimes placed on the Web site; a decision is made before each election as to which languages to use. Brochures and films in sign language and printed information in Braille are also produced. The cost for voter information totaled about 17 million kroner for the 2002 general election, a 60 percent from 2002.

Before the elections to the European Parliament in June 2004, the central EMB participated in the government's democracy campaign by organizing information seminars for representatives from municipalities, organizations, government agencies and schools. The authority working with the development of schools included election information brochures in its general information dissemination plan.

²⁵ The Elections Act (Vallag) 1997:157, chapter 1, paragraph 15.

The central EMB is prepared to develop its information activities further before the general elections in 2006. Producing special information packages for schools and for immigrants is under discussion, but this has yet to be decided and depends on the annual budget granted to the central EMB.

i) Cash transactions at the EMB

The central EMB does not handle any cash transactions, except for small purchases of certain office supplies. The organization handles many of its transactions electronically. Typical electronic transactions are payments to the local or regional EMBs for their additional electoral costs, or payments to businesses that provide services or goods to the central EMB. The administrations that host the local and regional EMBs receive additional funding from the central EMB in order to carry out certain tasks, such as voting from institutions or the second and final count of votes. Payments made to local or regional EMBs are based first on application and secondly, on the submission of budget reports or simple invoices.

j) Inventory of unused supplies

In the most recent election, the central EMB was fortunately able to use material that had been procured for earlier elections. By doing so, some savings were realized. An inventory of unused supplies takes place after each election; unused material without text, such as voting envelopes, can be used in future elections. The central EMB always keeps in stock a certain amount of voting envelopes and paper used for printing ballots. This stock is regarded as a reserve. The local EMBs store materials used in polling stations, such as ballot boxes and polling booths. These are normally made of strong, long-lasting material and do not need to be replaced often, which is why they constitute a very low and rare cost in the budget of the EMB.

The central EMB produces millions of ballot papers for a general election, a number much greater than the number of eligible voters in Sweden. The reasons for this are (1) there should be enough ballot papers available to voters for all political parties and also versions of blank ballot papers, and (2) political parties that received at least 1 percent of the votes in an earlier election qualify to receive a certain amount of ballot papers for free (some are used at the polling station, and some are distributed by political parties). However, printing ballot papers involves a relatively low cost, once they are designed and ordered.

See also Table 2 above, which includes depreciation and write-downs as a cost of the central EMB.

k) New technologies

The central EMB has made investments in new technology and Web-based communication, particularly in recent years. The central EMB has applied for, and received, a relatively high annual budget, with support from the government. The cost of IT support and technology almost doubled in 2002, when it was a little more than 20 million kroner (\$2.6 million). The technology that has been obtained and devel-

oped is mainly used in the production of the voter register and boundary delimitation and in managing election results. Although the existing technology requires high maintenance, it has been acknowledged that the using a long-term, cost-efficient system has increased the central EMB's efficiency.

Election results are published electronically immediately after the close of polls on Election Day. The Swedish central EMB was first in the world to produce preliminary and later final election results in real time on the Internet in 1994. The results for the parliamentary elections of that year were reported through a reporting receiver to the central EMB directly from the polling stations. The final results of the parliamentary elections of 1998 also were reported in this way. The central EMB was established as an independent authority in 2001, and one reason for the structural change was to facilitate the installation of new technology.

1) International financial assistance to the EMB

The central EMB does not receive any international financial assistance. The organization has actively participated, however, in the development of international standards on electronic voting with the Council of Europe and the development of a European regional network of EMBs.

V. Overall assessment

A number of costs applicable to the electoral process in Sweden have not been covered in this report. The central EMB pays a small amount to the University of Gothenburg to obtain statistics about the electoral process in general, and voting behavior in particular. This cooperation has been in place for many years. Statistics Sweden, the central statistical office, is also a partner of the central EMB; it produces statistics on elections and publishes them in detail on its Web site and in its annual reports. Statistical services are also purchased by the central EMB for its internal work on planning, for example.

A committee to examine the financing political parties has recently been appointed by the government. Its initial press release suggested that rules of disclosure be created in Sweden, as no such laws require such reporting at present.

Another currently active committee is considering changes to the existing electoral law, and it presented its preliminary recommendations in November 2004. The committee's most significant recommendation is that municipalities take over advance voting, which has been conducted by the post offices, as a regular election task. This change would be quite costly, however, and it and other committee recommendations will be discussed in greater detail once the final report is released.

An attempt to summarize the cost of elections in Sweden is presented in Table 4. A number of different costs are specified; however, the total amount does not include all costs relating to elections in Sweden²⁶ as discussed above. Table 4 does give an indication of the average cost of certain activities or materials that can be used in comparison with other countries and practices.

Case Study 4 - Table 4. Budget of the central EMB and share per registered voter

Description of cost or activity	Amount in kroner
Cost of central EMB during non-election year	28.34 million
Voter registration	0.8 million
Boundary delimitation	0.2 million
Printing and distributing voting cards	13.5 million
Polling operations (in Stockholm, amount per registered voter)	15
Vote counting (in the form of compensation to regional EMBs)	23 million
Production of ballot papers	15.2 million
Packing and distribution of ballot papers and other material	3.2 million
Advance, external and voting at special institution	116 million
Civil education	18 million
Total (rounded)	218 million (USD \$28 million)
Number of registered voters	6,722,152
Total cost per registered voter	47.50 (USD \$6.07)

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About the author

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**Case
Study**

5

Mexico

By Carlos Navarro

I. Introduction

In Mexico, enormous efforts have been undertaken so that the electoral norms, institutions and procedures reflect certainty, reliability, impartiality and transparency. These efforts have been supported by substantial financial investment in the EMB and the strengthening of a competitive political party regime.

Mexico is a federation formed by 31 states and a federal district (Mexico City). The distribution of responsibilities regarding electoral processes has two main components. First, although there is a single set of constitutional provisions that apply to all elections, both the federation itself and the 32 separate entities that comprise it have their own electoral regulations, institutions and procedures. Second, from a normative and organizational perspective, electoral powers and responsibilities are clearly divided into those of strictly administrative nature (preparation, organization and conduction of elections) and jurisdictional ones (dispute resolution and enforcement of electoral justice). These two powers and responsibilities are conferred to specialized agencies.

At the federal level, i.e. for national elections (those related to the election of the president and of the members of both chambers of Congress), administrative powers are vested in the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE is the Spanish acronym), which is a public autonomous and independent body, while the Electoral Tribunal, a specialized body of the Federal Judicial Branch, holds jurisdictional powers. Each of the 32 separate entities has its own administrative and jurisdictional bodies.

The data and figures included in this paper are strictly related to electoral management at federal level—and more precisely, to the administrative functions and the funding of national political parties, which are a direct responsibility of the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), Mexico's EMB.

The IFE was created in 1990 as a public autonomous organization, independent in its decisions and administration. Among its main objectives are helping establish the conditions for the ongoing development of a more open democracy; strengthening the political party structure; ensuring equal suffrage for those legally entitled; and promoting the vote and democratic culture in general. The IFE is entrusted in a comprehensive and direct way with every activity related to the preparation, organization and conduct of federal elections in Mexico—including boundary delimitation; the design and implementation of civic education programs, including voter registration; training of polling officials; and ensuring accuracy and the speedy release of preliminary results.

II. Structure of the EMB

The main features that characterize the current electoral system in Mexico at the federal level are the result of a series of constitutional and legislative amendments passed between 1989 and 1996. These amendments addressed major issues, namely those related to the adoption of formulas for allocating seats in both chambers of Congress in a more proportional ratio; the strengthening of a system allowing for more competition between political parties; the transparency of electoral procedures; and the impartiality of electoral authorities.

As part of its efforts to effectively organize federal elections, the IFE has 332 offices throughout the country: one local office in the federal district and in the capitals of each of the 31 states and one district office in each of the electoral districts in which the country is divided for electoral purposes. The IFE is composed of three different types of bodies, all of which are represented at the central, local and district levels. The three are directive bodies (collegiate assemblies named councils), executive bodies (named boards) and surveillance bodies (named commissions), which are responsible for voter registration and boundary delimitation activities. All these bodies are represented at central, local and district levels. The IFE's permanent staff totals 13,600 people across the country. In addition, a special civil career service for the IFE, known as the profession electoral service, has been created to assist it in ensuring professional performance.

The IFE's main executive body is the General Council, which includes nine members (the president councilor and eight electoral councilors) with the right to speak and vote; they are chosen to serve seven-year terms if approved by two thirds of those voting in the Chamber of Deputies. Other members of the General Council have a voice but no vote, including the IFE executive secretary and one representative from each national political party and one from each parliamentary group. The nine members with and the right to vote must not have any party links.

The IFE's operational activities are divided among six specialized units (called executive directorships), including the Federal Registry of Voters, Electoral Organization, Prerogatives and Political Parties, Electoral Training and Civic Education, Professional Electoral Service and Administration.

III. Legal framework

The Constitution sets forth the fundamental provisions that determine the election of national authorities, the organization of federal elections and the juridical restrictions and requirements for political parties. These provisions are detailed in one single piece of electoral legislation, the Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures.

Mexico has a presidential system and a bicameral legislature comprising a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The president is elected to serve a six-year term and cannot run for a second term. The Senate is made up of 128 members, who are also each elected to serve a six-year term, and the Chamber of Deputies is made up of 500 members who are elected every three years. Neither the senators nor the deputies can be reelected for a second consecutive term. All federal elections are held on the same day, the first Sunday of July in election years.

The Mexican Constitution establishes the existence of political parties as entities of public interest. This means they are subject to public law, and that the State has the obligation to grant them the necessary conditions for their development. Accordingly, the electoral law provides eligible political parties with four basic rights: permanent and free access to radio and television; a special tax regime; postal and telegraph payment exemptions; and public funding. Parties must be legally registered and must obtain at least 2 percent of votes cast in a federal election in order to keep their legal status.

The electoral law regulates public and private funding of political parties and electoral campaigns and establishes three different types of public funding—for permanent ordinary activities, for campaign spending and for specific activities as entities of public interest. According to a constitutional provision, public funding must take precedence over private funding of parties and campaigns. Therefore, under no circumstance can private funding exceed the amount of public funding in terms of money raised and spent by political parties.

IV. Electoral costs

As a public autonomous institution, the IFE has the legal ability and requirement to prepare and present its own annual budget proposal. This proposal not only includes all programs and activities related to the planning, preparation, organization and conduction of elections (operational expenses), but also the public funding of political parties. The amounts of such funding and the criteria for distribution among political parties are clearly established by law.

The IFE is also responsible for calculating public funding for political parties. The calculated amounts are incorporated into its institutional annual budget and distributed by the IFE among the parties. Thus, the yearly budget proposal of the IFE includes both its operational expenses and public funding amounts approved for political parties. During electoral years there are significant increases both in the operational expenses (each unit within the IFE includes its ordinary expenses and those specifically related to the electoral process), and in the amount of public funding provided to political parties, since they also receive a special share to finance their campaign activities. More specifically, the spike in public funding for political parties only occurs every three years, which is the time elapsed between elections, whereas operational expenses increase only in two of those three years because the electoral year and the calendar year do not match.

The facts and figures provided in this paper are based on the IFE budgets of 2003 and 2004. The most recent federal elections were held in 2003—midterm elections for all 500 seats of the Chamber of Deputies—and 2004 was a typical non-election year from the administrative and budgetary points of view.

In 2003, the IFE's approved budget was 11.09 billion pesos (\$1.02 billion), of which almost 5.79 billion pesos were allocated for operating expenses and the remaining 5.3 billion pesos for public funding for political parties. When considering the operational costs of the different areas and programs of the IFE, it is not always easy to clearly distinguish ordinary expenses from those specifically related to the electoral process. Nevertheless, in general terms it can be estimated that about one third of the total (around 1.89 billion pesos) of operational expenses in 2003 was allocated solely for electoral expenses.

For the year 2004—a non-election year—the budget for the IFE was 5.47 billion pesos. Of that, 1.92 million pesos (about 35 percent of the total) were spent on public funding of parties and national political groups, and almost 3.55 billion pesos (65 percent of the total) were allocated for operational activities, including the

expenses of all IFE programs and offices at the national level.

The IFE has an Executive Administration Unit that is responsible for drafting the annual budget of the institution. This entity takes into account the proposals made by the different areas and offices of the IFE, both at central and decentralized levels, following the previously authorized programs. The budget draft has to be completed by August of each year; it is then reviewed and approved by the IFE's General Council before being submitted to the federal executive branch for inclusion in the federal expenditures budget. In September of each year, the executive branch must present the federal expenditures budget to the Chamber of Deputies, where it is examined, discussed and eventually approved. Therefore, the IFE's annual budget is subject to the approval of Congress as well as the executive branch; furthermore, it can only be modified by Congress.

Given that the IFE is directly in charge of all activities relative to the organization of federal elections—and that all of these activities correspond to the different units in the IFE's organizational structure—the institute's budget request must include all possible allocations for its units and programs.

Furthermore, the IFE's yearly budget request incorporates not only its operational expenses, but also the expenses related to the public funding of political parties. In electoral years, both the operational expenses (each area plans separately the expenses relative to the electoral process) and the total amount of public funding for the political parties are significantly higher than in non-election years.

The additional allocations for electoral expenses take place every three years, to correspond with general elections (president and congress) once every six years, and for intermediate elections (only deputies) once every three years. In 2003, the most recent electoral year (for intermediate elections), the IFE's approved budget was 11.1 billion pesos (about \$1 billion), of which 5.8 billion pesos were spent on the IFE's operating expenses, and the remaining 5.3 billion pesos went to funding for political parties. About one third of the operating expenses in 2003 were allocated to activities directly linked with the organization of the federal electoral process.

For the year 2004—a non-electoral year—the budget for the IFE was increased to 5.47 billion pesos, of which about 3.55 billion pesos went to overhead and 1.92 billion pesos were allocated to the financing of parties and national political groups

a) Voter registration

Improvements in the registry of voters most clearly reflects the efforts made in Mexico to solve the severe and longstanding problems of credibility that plagued the Mexican electoral system through the presidential elections of 1988. The electoral roll now comprises more than 70 million voters and is estimated to include up to 95 percent of the voting age population. The development and implementation of an accurate database for the current registry was one of the major challenges addressed by the IFE soon after it was created. Shortly before then, the political parties and the government had agreed to build a completely new registry in order to overcome all doubts and sus-

pictions regarding the existing electoral roll and to guarantee the highest accuracy possible in the new registry. By means of a door-to-door national census, the IFE created one of the world's largest databases in just eight months, between November 1990 and July 1991.

Voter Enrollment in Mexico is permanent and is established at the federal level. The IFE is responsible for the integration, revision and updating of the different instruments forming the registry of voters. The IFE performs all these activities through a specialized unit, the Executive Directorship of the Federal Registry of Voters, which has a wide network of permanent offices and mobile units all over the country. Citizens need to formally request to be enrolled in the voter registry and they must obtain a voting card in order to cast a ballot. This card is issued by the IFE at no cost. The voting card and the electoral rolls that the IFE compiles and updates are also used for state and local elections, not just for federal ones.

In order to enhance the credibility of the electoral process, since 1992 voting cards have included a photo of the voter as well as different security devices that are upgraded regularly so as to make it difficult to falsify or tamper with. Not surprisingly, the photo-ID voting card is now the most widely used document in Mexico for purposes of legal identification. Furthermore, since 1997 the voter lists that are used for elections also include the photo of electors. The IFE undertakes regular efforts to revise and update these lists to ensure accuracy and certitude.

The complicated and massive task of integrating and updating the voter registry means, unsurprisingly, that it requires the largest percentage of resources from the electoral budget. The amount allocated for these efforts in the most recent electoral year, 2003, was 2.01 billion pesos (\$186 million), equivalent to a little less than 35 percent of total operational spending). In 2004, a non-election year, a total of 1.49 billion pesos (equivalent to almost 40 percent of total operational spending) was allocated to the voter registry.

Among the IFE's main legal responsibilities is the maintenance of the Federal Electoral Registry (DERFE is the Spanish acronym) as well as the definition and regular assessment of the electoral districts. DERFE's total budget in 2004 was \$1.49 million pesos. In 1990, when IFE was established and DERFE became an executive office, the first voting card was issued and a continuous voting roll process was initiated. The new electoral roll was created by using door-to-door canvassing throughout Mexico, creating a historical database of 39.5 million citizens in the electoral roll and a voters' list of 36.5 million.

All Mexican nationals by birth or naturalization who are at least 18 years old have the right to vote. In order to exercise this right it is necessary for all citizens:

- to be listed in the electoral roll;
- to have a photo-ID voting card (first used in the 1994 federal election); and
- to be included in the photographic voting list (first used in the 1997 federal election).

The photo-ID voting card is free to all citizens. Over the past decade it has become accepted as a general proof of identify, at least in part because the IFE signed more than 80 cooperation agreements with various public and private institutions who agreed to accept it. The photo-ID voting card is now the most used document for purposes of legal identification in public and private institutions. Its popularity and wide range of uses are key reasons that coverage of the electoral roll reached 94.2 percent of the population over 18 years of age, according to data from 2003 (National Sample Check).

In order to maintain a comprehensive registration system the Federal Registry of Electors must:

- be efficient so as to include in the electoral roll all new Mexican citizens who complete the application process;
- guarantee individual citizen registration only once in the voter list;
- avoid any duplication by comparing electoral codes, faces or finger prints (\$31.3 million budgeted for 2005);
- exclude deceased citizens, those who have lost Mexican nationality or those whose citizen's rights have been suspended by judicial decision, on the basis of official documents issued by the authorities (\$3.8 million budgeted for 2004);
- record changes of address reported by citizens to the Federal Registry of Electors on the voter list;
- issue voter credentials promptly (free of charge) to listed citizens;
- display voter list for citizens' check (required by law) and delivery to the appropriate government agencies (\$250,000 budgeted for 2004). Any citizen who is improperly included in or excluded from the voter list can lodge a legal complaint;
- print a final photographic voter list to be use on Election Day (which cost \$11 million for the 2003 federal election);
- update electoral boundary limits in terms of setting the first stage or measure of polling areas (electoral sections) as well as to define the federal electoral districts according to the population demographics (\$33 million budgeted for 2004, not including changes in district offices);
- plan and carry out a comprehensive strategy for an intensive publicity campaign urging citizens to obtain their new photo-ID voting card or to update their new address (\$3.5 million budgeted in 2004; includes all but TV advertising);
- undertake regular technical audits and checks to the electoral roll and voter list (\$10 million budgeted for 2005);
- store and maintain physical and digital enrollee records (investment cost for electronic equipment totaled \$9.7 million in 2003); and
- print and distribute the photographic voting list to be used on Election Day (distribution costs totaled \$3 million in 2004).

All of these activities Federal Registry of Electors' activities are financed inside the normal electoral budget authorized by the Congress every year. Needless to say, voter registration, issuing photo-ID voting cards and production of the voter list are among the most costly expenditures made by the IFE as a whole in every federal election cycle (every three years).

The Federal Registry of Electors permanently keeps the electoral roll updated by mounting an intensive campaign (known by the Spanish acronym CAI) every year to encourage citizens to visit the Citizen Registration Offices to be included in the Registry and obtain their electoral identity card. (According to CAI 2004 Report, there were 733 offices as a whole: 402 regular or permanent offices; 98 semi-mobile units; and 233 mobile units with an operating cost of 61 million pesos from October to December.) During the every electoral campaign, citizens can also provide their new address, correct their data or request a replacement. Apart of this, DERFE runs a permanent updating campaign that continues year-round in the 332 local and district offices.

It is important to note that during the 2001 CAI, the Federal Registry of Electors started implementing its Technological Modernization Program to equip the Citizen Registration Offices with sophisticated infrastructure requiring investments in hardware, software, skilled support staff and additional expenses for the ongoing operation and maintenance of the system. The Citizen Registration Offices can have different configurations ranging from one to six workstations each, but they all have as minimum equipment a desktop computer, laser printer, signature pad, finger print pad, digital camera, and card scanner all connected in a LAN (local area network: minimum investment cost for such a module is \$177,000); for the regular offices, the server in each one has an online connection to the DERFE WAN (wide area network). The mobile units have a laptop computer instead of a desktop computer, and in most cases also have their own electrical generator.

Most of the costs associated with the registration are items used at the registration modules, which include office rental in the case of regular offices or trailer amortization in the case of semi-mobile units; pickups or vans for the mobile units; wages and expenses (allowance and traveling) for staff; stationary; other materials used in registration; office equipment; training for all staff; communications, etc. In 2004 the total operating budget of the Citizen Registration Offices was \$131 million.

One of the most significant costs in the electoral process is the cost of producing the photo-ID voting card (\$6.13 each). In order to generate the greatest possible confidence in this process, the card was designed to be impossible to falsify and unusable if tampered with, in accordance with proposals from the political parties. Therefore, the card has several control and security features. On the front it includes the citizen's data (full name, age, gender and address); a digital photograph surrounded with a micro-text (0.5mm) containing the citizen's name and application date; an IFE hologram; and the word 'IFE' and the citizen's name printed with UV ink over the photograph. On the back, the card has a bar code with the citizen's biometric information covered with an infrared-sensitive black strip, OCR code and micro-text line surrounding the signature space. Molecular heat fusing during lamination ensures that

tampering renders the credential unusable.

The second phase of the modernization program was centered on centralizing the 'back office,' reducing the 17 regional computer and document storage centers (or registry databases) to a single computer center and document storage facility. This phase required an initial investment cost of \$47.6 million between 2003 and 2004 for the central computers and storage. This also meant designing and constructing a new facility as well as designing, developing and implementing a new computer system. Due to the importance of the computer system, effective contingency plans were built in case of system failure, including a mirror computer center, generators, alternative networks and other back-up systems and round-the-clock support services (the computer center's operating cost in 2004 was \$31 million, plus maintenance and support services totaling \$8.8 million).

Finally, it is important to mention that a key reason for the high costs associated with the registry is the wide range of responsibilities included in the process. The sheer magnitude of the task of gathering current information of every single eligible voter in a country such as Mexico is daunting. The importance of developing comprehensive procedures and their impact on effective voter registration is critical to the legitimacy of the democratic electoral process. This goal highlights the importance of the voter registration task even more.

b) Boundary delimitation

The electoral system used in Mexico to renew the Chamber of Deputies makes it necessary, as established by law, to review and periodically adjust electoral districts. Of the Chamber's 500 members, 200 are elected by proportional representation in five multi-member districts, and 300 by majority in single-member districts. As a general rule, these 300 single-member districts are distributed among the 31 states and the federal district based on population. The law states that the redistribution of such districts is to be made according to the data of the last population census. The IFE is also responsible for making this revision and periodically adjusting it to guarantee that each deputy from single-member districts represents approximately the same number of citizens, which helps ensure the principle of equality of all votes.

The most recent process of revision and adjustment of the 300 districts was made between April 2004 and February 2005. The resources used for this task were included in the budget allocated to voter-registration issues because the specialized unit of the IFE responsible for the voter registry is also responsible for coordinating the work of redrawing electoral boundaries. Representatives of national political parties also play important roles in the subsequent decision-making process.

c) Logistics

The IFE has a specialized and permanent unit, the Executive Directorate of Electoral Organization, that is responsible for operational activities related to planning, organization and logistics of elections. This unit is also represented in the 332 decentralized IFE offices throughout the country, where it oversees the integration and functioning

of decentralized bodies and deals with all aspects related to documents, materials and electoral statistics.

Such logistical activities are quite extensive and complex. For the midterm elections of 2003, for example, more than 121,000 polling sites were installed throughout the country, 125,000 ballot boxes were distributed and some 68 million ballots were printed, transported and distributed.

The budgeted amount for such programs and activities for the 2003 electoral year was 1.1 billion pesos (\$102 million), which was equivalent to about 19 percent of the IFE's total operational spending. The amount budgeted in 2004, a non-election year, was about 235 million pesos, equivalent to approximately 6.7 percent of total operational spending.

d) Party and campaign funding

In 1986 the Constitution incorporated the right of national political parties to receive public funding. Since then, the electoral law has created and implemented a series of provisions designed to regulate public funding of political parties with clarity, precision and integrity.

Public funding for political parties is allocated according to three different provisions and criteria. First, for ordinary and permanent activities—the total amount of which is determined annually according to a formula established by law—30 percent of the total is allocated to all parties on equal terms and the other 70 percent is allocated according to the percentage of votes obtained in the previous election. Secondly, public funds reimburse up to 75 percent of the proven annual spending on activities including education and political training, social and economic research and printing. These two lines of funding are permanent.

The third line concerns funding for election campaigns and is only applicable during election years. The amount allocated for this endeavor is equal to that allocated for ordinary activities during an election year and is distributed according to the same formula. Each party therefore receives the same amount for election campaigns and for ordinary activities. It is important to reiterate that according to the constitutional mandate, public funding should take precedence over private funding. Since 1993 the law also regulates sources of private funding and imposes certain restrictions or prohibitions regarding its origin and amount.

As was previously indicated, the amount of public funding distributed to parties and national political groups in the 2003 election year was 5.3 billion pesos (\$490 million), while the corresponding amount in the non-election year of 2004 was nearly 1.92 billion pesos. Parties are supposed to have an internal body responsible for obtaining and managing their general resources as well as campaign funds; this body is also responsible for presenting annual and campaign reports on the origin, amount, use and application of income coming from all funding sources.

e) Civic education

The IFE has a specialized unit, the Executive Directorship of Electoral Training and Civic Education, which is responsible for the training of citizens who serve as poll workers on election day. This unit exists at both the central level and in all decentralized offices. It is also responsible for drafting and implementing permanent programs of civic education, with special emphasis on young adults and children.

In the election year of 2003 this unit received 860 million pesos (\$80 million), equivalent to a little less than 15 percent of the IFE's total operational spending. It was allocated 267 million pesos, equivalent to about 7.5 percent of total operational spending, in the 2004 non-election year.

f) Out of country voting

Proposals to allow out of country voting for Mexicans began gathering steam in 1996, but it was only in July of 2005 that Congress finally approved a law recognizing and regulating this right, starting with the 2006 presidential elections. The method established is postal voting; Mexicans living abroad can only vote this way if they have their photo-ID card, which can only be issued by the IFE within Mexico itself. It is estimated that some 4.2 million Mexicans living abroad have photo-ID cards and are therefore already eligible to vote in 2006. The budget estimated and requested by the IFE for out of country voting in the 2006 elections amounts to 1.25 billion pesos (\$116 million).

g) New technologies

Efficiently managing an EMB like the IFE in a country the size of Mexico—with 70 million voters spread over 2 million kilometers (1.24 million miles)—has required the development and implementation of new technologies in practically all substantive areas and programs of the institution.

The IFE has introduced several technological innovations both for internal administrative purposes and for the planning, preparation, organization and surveillance of federal electoral processes. Undoubtedly the most striking outcome to date centers on the Federal Registry of Voters' efforts in areas such as programs for integrating and updating the electoral registry and the issuing of photo-ID voting cards. Investments allocated to such efforts are included in the budget of the specialized unit of the electoral registry.

The casting and counting of votes in federal elections is done manually. A legal reform would be required to introduce automated systems for voting and the counting of ballots; such reform has not been proposed to date. However, in 1994 the IFE developed a highly sophisticated and efficient computerized system that tabulates ballots cast and then issues preliminary results soon after polling sites are closed. The integration and operation of this program is overseen by a specialized unit for services of computers and communications, which is also responsible for technical support and the development of new computer services for the IFE. The budget funds received by this unit in the 2003 election year totaled 165 million pesos (\$15 million), equivalent to less

than 3 percent of total operational spending. The corresponding amount in the non-election year of 2004 was 77 million pesos, about 2 percent of operational spending.

It is true that in many cases technological innovations have meant important reductions in both direct and indirect costs. As such, the main reason for adopting such changes generally has been the search for the highest possible efficiency, trust, certainty and security in the organization of elections and the delivery of electoral services.

In the case of Mexico, however, it is important to remember that the IFE does not receive any international financial assistance; instead, it is entirely financed by federal public funds. This limitation has not stopped the IFE from developing, since 1993, a systematic strategy of international linkages and cooperation that has allowed it to collaborate on diverse projects and initiatives of technical assistance and democratic strengthening in different regions of the world.

V. Final considerations

When figures more or less accurate and trustworthy are at hand regarding consolidated electoral spending, there is always the temptation of calculating the cost per voter or per vote, or even of making comparisons between countries. In reality, however, the lack of common parameters or points of reference at the international level makes such analysis risky and unadvisable since such calculations and comparisons can lead to biased or inappropriate comparisons or judgments.

In the Mexican case it is possible to obtain accurate figures on electoral spending, and this case study has provided specific, recent figures regarding the funding of political parties and the financing of the management body responsible for organizing federal elections in the country. However, this information and data are not directly comparable to situations and figures in other countries. In Mexico, for example, the following questions would undoubtedly arise during any analysis: On what basis should the cost per elector or per vote be calculated, by adding up the operational spending of the IFE during a complete electoral cycle or only the cycle geared explicitly to programs or activities related to the organization of a federal election? Furthermore, should calculations be included regarding the spending of the body responsible for solving electoral challenges and the amounts allocated for public funding of political parties and/or campaigns?

These simple examples offer clear proof that attempts to establish international comparisons pose serious additional complications having to do with the political organization of individual countries as well as the how electoral responsibilities are distributed among various levels of government. The different existing options for the integration of the voter registry, and the difficulties to define and add up the funding for this activity, should also be taken into account. Myriad other activities could be included under the category of electoral spending.

In conclusion, there have been substantial efforts to reform and modernize the Mexican electoral system in order to counteract and address the serious problems of trust and credibility that existed in the recent past. These efforts have also been direct-

ed to addressing the expectations of democratic change, impartiality and professionalism in the organization of the elections, with the goal of ensuring the cleanliness of electoral procedures and the equity of elections themselves. Among many other things, the steps taken so far have required substantial financial support that has been reflected in the total amount spent on election-related areas. To date, it seems, such outlays have proved to be a fruitful investment toward the development of an increasingly robust democracy.

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Carlos M. Navarro Fierro attained a B.A. in International Relations and is currently seeking a Master's degree in Latin American Studies from the Faculty of Political and Social Science at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). He became an official of the Federal Electoral Institute in 1993 and is currently Director of Electoral Studies and Political Affairs at the IFE's International Affairs Unit.

Mr. Navarro Fierro has been the IFE's representative in international electoral observation missions to a number of countries. He has also been speaker at diverse regional, continental and international forums organized by international associations of electoral authorities. He has authored the publications prepared by the IFE for the international community, as well as diverse international comparative studies on political and electoral issues, such as external voting; financing systems; oversight and equity conditions in the political-electoral contests; electoral systems for presidential and legislative elections; and the juridical regime of political parties, among others.



Guatemala

By Rafael López-Pintor

Acknowledgements

This case study is based on information from several publications, electoral observer reports, and personal interviews with staff of the national electoral commission of Guatemala. Special recognition is due to Director of Elections Julio Solórzano, who was always supportive of this researcher and generous with his time.

I. Structure of the EMB

The electoral authority of Guatemala (*Tribunal Supremo Electoral*, to be referred throughout this section as TSE) is an independent, permanent and all-powerful national commission. Besides polling operations, the TSE's responsibilities cover the civil registry, voter registration and last-instance adjudication authority over electoral complaints. This can be explained largely by the fact that the TSE was established in the midst of a constitutional crisis in 1983 and then enshrined in the special Electoral Law of 1985 after a new constitution had been approved earlier the same year. This was part of an effort to renew democracy after many years of civil conflict and human rights abuses. Other new institutions created during the same period were the Constitutional Court and the Human Rights Ombudsman. Up to this day, the TSE rates high in public prestige as a safeguard of popular suffrage. The more recent Peace Agreements of 1996 advocated for further electoral reform, which actually reinforced the role of the TSE, particularly in dealing with voter registries and decentralization of the polling operation in order to facilitate the votes of rural residents and indigenous communities.

The TSE is composed of magistrates (five in total, plus five in reserve) elected by Congress for a six-year period with the possibility of re-election. Election is secured with the support of two thirds of legislators; they select the magistrates from a list of 30 candidates, generally including members of the legal profession who were selected by a Nominating Committee formed of *ex officio* representatives of academic institutions and the legal profession. Membership in the TSE is non-partisan. The Civil Registry, a permanent administration, is included within the TSE. The TSE has 13 directors and several departments with experts who have been working for many years developing a good institutional memory. Lower-level electoral authorities (hereafter referred to in the Guatemala case study by their Spanish name, *juntas*) are temporary structures with three members appointed by the TSE who serve on a voluntary basis. These *juntas* begin to function three months prior to elections and remain formally constituted until after the swearing in of the newly elected authorities. There are also 8,885 polling stations across 1,245 polling centers. The national headquarters has a staff of 280; at the sub-national level, there are 375 permanent registrars, 42 of whom are at department offices or delegations, and the remaining 333 at 331 municipal sub-delegations around the country. On Election Day, a staff of around 50,000 is recruited, most of them on a voluntary basis. In addition to other temporary staff at *juntas* and polling stations, one coordinator is recruited for each polling center.

In the 2003 elections, international observers reported that polling station staff generally had a high education level, former experience and gender balance. A large

contrast in professionalism and resources was evident between urban and rural areas of the country. The pyramidal structure of responsibility of the electoral authorities allows for certain independence at the local level (e.g., selection of polling station staff, logistics and complaints resolution), which can sometimes lead to miscommunication but could be improved by enhancing the information flow from top to bottom. (EUEOM Report, February 2004)

II. Legal framework

According to article 223 of the Constitution of June 1985, "Everything related to the exercise of suffrage, political rights, political organizations, electoral authorities and electoral process shall be regulated by constitutional law." The Electoral Law of December 1985 established the TSE and also ruled on political parties. The main provisions on funding of elections are as follows:

- All funding-related provisions are included in the electoral law, which also covers the civil registry and political parties.
- The budget of ordinary operations in a non-election year represents only 0.5 percent of the national budget.

To fulfill the special needs of an election year, an electoral budget is prepared by the Finance Department of the TSE and submitted to the Parliamentary Committee. The budget is incorporated into the national consolidated budget (article 122 of the Electoral Law). In case approved funds are not enough to cover electoral operations, additional funds must be granted by the government, and the TSE is legally empowered to contract private loans or foreign aid subsidies (article 122 of Electoral Law). In general, funding and disbursement have not been problematic, and the TSE has never sought to seek funds from outside the government. (In 2003, for example, the TSE requested and received an additional 12 million quetzals (\$1.6 million) from the government to cover overruns for the second round of the presidential race.)

Management of the budget follows general procedures of the state administration and contracts, except for small expenses. Cash transactions are made for payment of *per diem* of polling station officers and related temporary staff. Moreover, some minor purchases are paid in cash as allowed by the Law on State Purchases and Contracts.

An inventory of used and unused supplies is made after every election, focusing particularly on long-lasting materials such as screens and ballot boxes, which are stored for the next election. The national electoral authorities keep a record of all inventories, which are then stored at the municipal government premises.

The National General Accounts Comptroller is entrusted to control and oversee the budget of the TSE. This is in addition to the internal audit at the TSE, which also controls public funding and expenses of political parties (articles 149-150 of Electoral Law).

Public financing of political parties is established by the law. Parties are entitled to free postal and telecommunications services from the time an election is announced until one month after its conclusion. Moreover, political parties receive public funding in

proportion to the number of votes obtained in the first round of the presidential election, at a rate of 2 quetzals per vote, if and only if a party receives at least 4 percent of total valid votes. Disbursement is made under the control of the TSE in four annual installments between elections. Political parties may use public funds for either ordinary operations or campaign expenses. The TSE has the responsibility for audit and control of party finances and expenses. Before each annual disbursement, parties must submit a detailed report of expenses. In the event that a political party does not abide by its accounting and reporting obligations, the TSE may bring the party before the courts in an effort to force compliance. Private financing is neither contemplated nor prohibited, and no limit on campaign expenses is established in the law.

Regarding media access, political parties are entitled to free access to state-owned radio and TV for 30 minutes per week in order to voice their programs, in a manner that is regulated by the TSE bylaws (article 221 of the Electoral Law). As for private media, the rule is that political parties cannot be charged more than ordinary commercial rates (article 222). These legal provisions reflect international standards on media access. The actual practice is somewhat different, partly because publicly owned media are actually non-existent, and partly because the government sometimes has a strong hand over private media. This is how the European Union (EU) observer mission assessed the situation in 2004:

Although there is a legal framework protecting freedom of speech, a conjunction of factors keep preventing a truly free, independent and professional flow of ideas in Guatemala. Some of those factors appeared during the electoral campaign: endemic violence hurting the life and security of media professionals; the disturbing intervention of the executive branch in media matters, ranging from the unfair use of cadenas nacionales (free governmental simultaneous use of all broadcasts in passing a given message or program) to the irregular granting of radio and TV licenses; or the fact that some media companies had crossed the borderline of what is professionally acceptable when reflecting their political preferences. This was particularly obvious in the case of some print media. (EUEOM election final report, February 2004)

III. Electoral costs

In Guatemala all elections are held on the same day: presidential, legislative, local, municipal and Central American Parliament elections. Therefore, the election budget covers four different elections for which five different ballots are used (two different ballots are required for parliament, one for national lists and the other for provincial constituencies).

The cost of the TSE's **ordinary operations** during 2003 was 71 million quetzals (\$8.8 million). The cost of the **polling operations** in the 2003 elections was 113 million quetzals. This was the TSE official budget covered by the National General Budget. The actual, if not formal, budget was generously funded by international assistance up to \$9 million (not including international observation missions), with assistance provided mainly by Canada, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States. Of the \$9 million, \$3.5 million flowed through the Organization of American States (OAS) for technical assistance on voter lists, and the remaining \$5.5 million

was provided directly to the national electoral agency. The distribution of this aid by item was approximately as follows: voter registration, \$2.5 million; voter education, \$2.5 million; purchasing of equipment, \$2 million; and training for poll workers, \$2 million. To a lesser extent, external aid was provided to civil society organizations monitoring the elections. All in all, electoral expenditures amounted to around \$23 million, which is equivalent to \$4.6 per register voter. There were also several large international observer missions, including particularly extensive ones from OAS and EU, with an average cost of around \$1 million each.

More detailed information about electoral cost structures in Guatemala follow below.

Case Study 6 - Table 1. Summary of budget line items for the 2003 elections (gross estimates)

Salaries and per diem	30%
Election operation (printing, supplies, and transport)	28%
Voter registration	20%
Voter education (facilities, IT, communications)	10%
Training	10%
Other	2%

a) Foreign aid

The 2003 election budget was more than twice that of previous elections after including foreign aid, but still around the average for Latin America. A pattern observed in Guatemala at the time of these elections had been seen previously in elections in Nicaragua in 2001 and Ecuador in 2002. All three were third-generation elections, taking place after acute social conflicts, and each poll turned out to be more expensive and more poorly organized than the previous national election. Given that a substantial part of Guatemala's electoral budget was funded through foreign aid, this finding should be taken as a warning to the international community.

b) Salaries and per diem

Second, the most expensive items in Guatemala were salaries and per diem given to temporarily hired staff and polling station workers, although this cost has remained relatively constant over the last five years at 125 quetzals (\$15) for polling station officers—an amount that many poll workers did not consider equitable. This expenditure was followed closely by the cost for voter list updates, although it should be noted that updating of voter lists and rearrangement of the polling stations accordingly was basically covered by external aid. Cost increases in the official national electoral budget basically involved larger expenses for voter education and an increase in the

number of polling stations to 8,885. Over a five-year period, voter information and education had the largest real growth in costs, most of which stemmed from an effort to reach rural and indigenous populations in their own languages (half of the Guatemalan population is of Mayan descent and does not speak Spanish). There is no single item for which a cost decrease has been recorded.

c) Voter registration

Voter registration costs amounted to 20 percent of the total electoral budget in 2003. The rising cost was due to a particularly complicated method of updating voter lists by which the voter lists and polling stations were split into two sections: updated and non-updated. The process of updating the voter register by allowing people to vote closer to their residence resulted in a split register—non-updated voters and updated voters. This made the entire operation not only costly, but also created much confusion among the electorate. A technical problem while processing updated voter information produced an unknown number of legally registered voters who could not be found on the updated register but were still on the non-updated list; the problem stemmed from the fact that the electoral law states that citizens must vote in the municipality where they are registered. The assessment by the European Union Observer Mission concluded that a main liability of the electoral process was the failure of organizing voter lists when allocating voters to polling stations in accordance with the identification records previously given to the almost two million voters who had updated their registration or registered for the first time.

This shortcoming was recognized as a major issue a few weeks prior to Election Day, but the problem could not be properly addressed by the national election commission. As a consequence, many voters were unable to exercise their right to vote even after the commission decided to allow for a tendered ballot in the first round for those duly-registered voters whose names did not appear on the voter list of the corresponding polling station (EU EOM Report, February 2004). Despite recent efforts to improve the rate of voter registration, accounts continue to be received of actual, if not legal, disenfranchisement of certain populations (primarily rural residents and indigenous people). (López-Pintor and Gratschew, 2002, 37).

d) Civic education

Civic education is an important cost component of the electoral budget and is a primary responsibility of the TSE. But the entire cost of civic education is still higher than expressed in the TSE budget since this is a shared responsibility with other actors, mostly domestic NGOs, which tend to be internationally subsidized. International aid for civic education related to the 2003 elections was provided by USAID some European donors.

e) Training

Training of polling station staff also consumed a sizable part of the 2003 budget. Training was organized by the TSE and varied in quality and effectiveness from urban to rural areas; in indigenous parts of the country, sufficient attention was not paid to

training in local languages. Taking into account the difficult five-ballot election that November, better voter education and more assistance in indigenous languages should have been provided at polling stations. Despite fairly good attendance at training sessions by polling station staff, the first round of elections revealed that there was much room for improvement. The application of indelible ink, the secrecy of the vote and—above all—the general lack of information on where to vote deserved more attention. For the second round, the TSE training efforts concentrated on the management of the voter register (EU EOM Report 2004).

f) Free-of-charge services

Cost management by the TSE includes the use of services from other public and private agencies, sometimes free of charge and sometimes paid services. Free-of-charge services include the use of school facilities, both public and private, as polling stations; the civil registry, which is a part of the ordinary functioning of the TSE itself; and police services. The TSE pays for its permanent officials to use office space of the local government and the services of the Post Office and the Telecommunication TEL-GUA, both of which are private companies. Regarding the use of media, all radio and TV are private in Guatemala; therefore, the TSE must pay for their services, except for some public communications by national authorities which are, by law, free of charge.

g) Boundary delimitation and external voting

There are no costs associated with constituency boundary delimitation in Guatemala, nor is this considered a particularly problematic area. As in most of Latin America, electoral districts (departments and municipalities) have been determined by law since the 1880s. Moreover, although more than one million citizens are counted as living abroad, mostly as migrant labor in the United States, external voting is not allowed in Guatemala and therefore is not a cost.

h) Election technology

Office management and voter registries are computerized. In addition, quick vote counting and transmission of preliminary results are subcontracted with a private firm. There are no plans to introduce other new technologies in the electoral process.

IV. Overall assessment

An overall assessment of current and most recent practice at election budgeting, funding and cost handling indicates that election costs have consistently increased overall and for almost every single item. It is difficult to imagine significant decreases in the near future. Considering the management capacity of the TSE, an effort must be undertaken, with financial and technical assistance from the international community, to improve the quality of voter lists by removing deceased voters and double registers. Reforms should also be made to improve voting procedures by introducing the use of indelible ink and providing better training of polling station officers. Equally important are ongoing efforts to implement voter information programs in the different languages of Guatemala. It should be noted that despite some lack of organization

at the TSE's national level, well-prepared election technicians such as the director of elections and officials at the Secretariat have much experience and are part of the backbone of the institution. Until recently, the TSE was considered one of the most prestigious public institutions in the country. It has lost some voter confidence over the past few years, however, mostly because of ineffective communication with departmental electoral authorities, parties and citizens; the untimely arise and ineffective handling of problems with the voter lists; and the failure to distribute the lists to political parties, among other shortcomings (EU EOM Report 2004).

Case Study 6 - Attachment I. Summary budgets for the 2003 general elections

Case Study 6 - Table 1. Summary budget of income for the 2003 general elections

	Quetzals (rounded)
Ordinary transfers	96.6 million
Patrimonial increases	4.73 million
Total income	102.3 million (\$13.5 million)

Case Study 6 - Attachment I. Summary budgets for the 2003 general elections

Case Study 6 - Table 2. Summary budget of income for the 2003 general elections

	Quetzals (rounded)
Personnel Services (wages, salaries, per diem and primes)	37.8 million
Non Personnel Services (electricity, telecommunications, rentals, transport, maintenance and repair, security, protocol)	36.5 million
Materials and Procurement (food, stationery, lubricants, ink)	9 million
Office Equipment and Intangibles	9.8 million
Ordinary Transfers (indemnities, paid vacations)	905,750
Unanticipated Expenses (special expenses in Central District)	7.3 million
Total expenses	102.3 million (\$13.5 million)

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About the author

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**Case
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Iraq

By Jarrett Blanc

Introduction

This case study concerns the first post-war elections in Iraq, held on 30 January 2005. The figures in this paper are based on budget estimates and on partial expenditure reports collected during the implementation of the 30 January 2005 elections. As of the time of the final revisions to the study (March 2006), final expenditure figures are not yet available, both because the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI) has remained busy with a referendum and general election in 2005 and so has not completed its 2005 audits and because so many agencies contributed to the 2005 costs. The budget estimates are, however, reasonably accurate estimates of the incurred costs.

I. Background on the electoral process

The Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period (Transitional Administrative Law, TAL) called for five elections during the transitional period (defined as beginning with the formation of a fully sovereign Iraqi Interim Government on 28 June 2004 and ending with the formation of an elected government under the terms of a permanent constitution, as of the final revisions to this paper, the assembly elected on 15 December 2005 has not yet formed a government). All of the required elections were held according to the schedule set in the TAL, which was in itself a notable achievement:

- Elections to a Transitional National Assembly, Kurdistan National Assembly, were held on 30 January 2005;
- A referendum on a constitution drafted by the Transitional National Assembly was held on 15 October 2005; and
- A general election under the new constitution was held on 15 December 2005.

Through a consultative process facilitated by the United Nations, Iraqi political leaders decided to empower an independent electoral management body to conduct the elections during the transitional period. The Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq (IECI) was created by Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) Order no. 92, which describes the IECI as the "exclusive electoral authority throughout Iraq during the Transitional Period."

II. Structure of the EMB

The IECI is an "independent and autonomous, non-partisan, neutral and professional government office" empowered "to organize, oversee, conduct, and implement all elections set forth in the TAL." (CPA 92) The IECI has two major components: the Board of Commissioners regulates the electoral process and has ultimate responsibility for the planning and implementation of the elections; the Electoral Administration, headed by the Chief Electoral Officer (also a non-voting member of the Board), is responsible for carrying out the electoral process. The members of the Board of

²⁷ The poll did take place as originally schedule in January 2005. Comprehensive and verifiable election-cost data had not been compiled by the time this report went to press.

Commissioners were selected in June 2004 after an extensive process of public nominations; a panel of respected international election officials appointed by the United Nations (UN) proposed a slate of commissioners to the then-Governing Council, which accepted the panel's recommendations.

The Electoral Administration is divided into a National Electoral Office, 18 Governorate Electoral Offices, and 542 District Electoral Offices/Voter Registration Centres. In addition, there is a Kurdistan Regional Office and two sub-governorate offices in Baghdad, the largest governorate. Each District Electoral Office is responsible for, on average, 10 polling centres with up to 3,000 voters each.

The national office has divisions for Finance, Administration, Public Outreach (including services for electoral contestants and observers), Capacity Building, and Operations. In addition, a small planning and reporting cell assists the Chief Electoral Officer. After the first elections on 30 January 2005, legal and audit units were established in the national office reporting directly to the Board of Commissioners.

The national office has a staff of approximately 220 persons, the governorates a staff of 22 each, and the districts a staff of 10 each; most of these positions have been filled. In the governorates of al-Anbar and Ninewah, the security situation has precluded the regular operation of the District Electoral Offices/Voter Registration Centres.

III. Legal framework

CPA Order no. 92 grants the IECI broad authority over its finances:

The Iraqi government shall ensure that the Commission receives all of the resources necessary for administering elections throughout the Transitional Period. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Commission may seek to enlist the international community for appropriate assistance in this regard, including the direct provision of additional funds or resources. All Commission resources shall be solely managed and obligated by the Commission. The CEO shall be responsible for the accounting of these resources.

The IECI presented a budget for the 30 January 2005 elections to the Interim Government's Ministry of Finance in September 2004. While the budget did include some approximate costs for FY2005 to aid the government's financial planning, these figures were of course very general given the uncertainty surrounding the election calendar for 2005. The 30 January 2005 budget also contained several important unknowns which, in the end, proved to be substantial cost. One of these was secure logistics – the delivery and retrieval of 3.3 million kilograms of election material to more than 5,000 polling centres in the midst of severe ongoing conflict. These costs were eventually borne by UNOPS. In addition, the original budget did not provide for out-of-country voting. The IECI decided to conduct out-of-country voting in October, and contracted the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as its implementing partner. The costs for this operation (US\$92 million, of which some portion was unspent and returned) were provided by the Government of Iraq.

The IECI operates under the procurement, human resources, and accounting rules of the Government of Iraq.

IV. Electoral costs

a) Establishment of the IECI

As a new institution, the IECI required facilities, office furniture and equipment, communications and information technology, and other capital investments. These costs amounted to approximately \$28 million, of which approximately \$12.5 million was provided by the United Nations for office furniture and equipment and communications and information technology and \$3.5 million was provided from Iraqi budget funds by the CPA for the renovation of a headquarters facility.

b) Voter registration

The voter register for the 30 January 2005 elections was based on the existing Public Distribution System (PDS) database, used by the Ministry of Trade to manage a monthly rations program. To be used as a voter register, the database required a substantial period for corrections and additions. The costs of this period amount to approximately \$83 million. These costs were mainly for staff, printing, data entry, and secure logistics. The bulk of these costs was borne by the IECI through Iraqi budget funds, but the UN funded the data entry project, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funded printing of registration forms, procurement of other registration material, and public information.

c) Polling

Polling costs were approximately \$180 million. The largest line items were for polling staff, material procurement (including polling kits, ballots, and voters lists), and secure logistics. Again, the majority of costs were funded by the Iraqi budget, but the UN funded a large section of the secure logistics costs (approximately \$50 million) by contracting with a global logistics firm, which in turn, sub-contracted with security firms working in Iraq. USAID made several donations in kind, as did the Governments of Denmark and the Peoples' Republic of China. Other support has been provided by the Italian and Japanese governments for training of the election staff.

d) External voting

The IECI concluded a Memorandum of Understanding with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) for the implementation of an external registration and voting program in 14 countries. This program was implemented on very rigorous timelines, and the Memorandum allowed for costs as high as \$92 million. This total was reached by estimating up to \$50 per potential voter, based on recent external voting projects. In addition, \$3 million was budgeted for each country in security costs based on IECI experience with an external data entry centre. IOM returned \$20 to the IECI, so the final cost of the external registration and voting operation was \$72.

e) International assistance

The IECI received international technical assistance under the leadership of the UN. In

addition to the UN, IFES, the UK Department for International Development (DFID), and the European Commission provided staff to the international assistance team.

f) Security costs

The security environment in Iraq imposed a number of security costs. These included personal protection for the Board of Commissioners and international technical advisors, but also markedly higher than normal costs for the storage and transportation of election materials, which required a reliance on air movements and private security contractors. In addition, a number of projects, including data entry, took place abroad and at higher cost due to domestic security concerns.

g) Support from the Iraqi government

In addition to direct budget support, the Iraqi government provided office and warehouse space, especially through the Ministry of Trade, and support from the security services. The Ministry of Education provided most of the polling locations.

About the author

Jarrett Blanc has been the Chief-of-Party for IFES' Center for Transitional and Post-Conflict Governance in Iraq and in the Palestinian Authority. He advised the CPA and the Iraqi Governing Council on the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq and on the establishment of the electoral calendar and legal framework. He was a senior advisor to the IEI in the planning and implementation of the 30 January 2005 elections. In the Palestinian Authority, he advised the Central Elections Commission, Palestinian Legislative Council, and diplomatic community and coordinated IFES' technical assistance program. Blanc also has field experience in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Lebanon, and Nepal.



**Case
Study 8**

Cambodia

By Denis Truesdell

Acknowledgements

This case study would not have been possible without the valuable collaboration of the Chairman of the National Election Committee (NEC), Im Suosdey, and the Secretary General, Tep Nytha.

I. Summary of survey findings²⁸

In 2003, Cambodia held an election for members of the National Assembly, the third general election since the restoration of democracy. At that time, the population of Cambodia was estimated at 12,251,089, with 6,749,876 eligible voters.

A total of 6,341,834 voters (94 percent of those eligible) were actually registered on the voter list, of whom 54 percent were women, by Election Day. A total of 23 political parties registered to compete for the 123 seats of the National Assembly. The country is composed of 24 provinces, each forming a separate constituency. Cambodia uses the proportional system, and lists of candidates are introduced for each constituency. On Election Day, a total of 5,277,494 citizens cast their votes, a participation rate of 83.22 percent.

During the 2003 electoral period, the National Election Committee (NEC) established:

- 24 provincial election committees, with a total staff of 412;
- 1,621 commune election committees, with a total staff of 8,105;
- 12,826 polling stations of five members each, for a total staff of 64,130.

Case Study 8 - Table 1. Election costs between 1998 and 2003 (in millions of riels)

Description	Riels	US Dollars
Estimated budget for the 2003 election	49,276	12.48 million
Actual cost of the 2003 election (as of September 2003)	44,466	11.16 million
Actual cost of the 2002 commune council elections ²⁹	58,962	15.06 million
Actual cost of the 1998 national election	97,374	24.34 million

As noted in the table, election costs for the 2003 national election were 54 percent lower than in 1998.

²⁸ Source: National Election Committee Report on the Management and Conduct of the Election of Members of the National Assembly, 27 July 2003.

²⁹ First countrywide local elections held in 1,621 communes in 2002.

II. Structure of the EMB

The National Election Committee (NEC) was created in 1997 by the Law on the Election of the Members of the National Assembly (LEMNA). The NEC is a permanent institution bound by law to be independent and neutral.³⁰ With the amendment of the electoral law in 2002, the NEC's composition was reduced from 11 to 5 members selected on a non-partisan basis among Khmer dignitaries of experience and good reputation. The members are appointed by royal decree after approval by the National Assembly through a simple majority vote. The initial selection of candidates is made by the Ministry of Interior, which submits a draft list of names to the Council of Ministers. There is no obligation to conduct public consultation regarding the selection of candidates. The members are appointed for a non-fixed term of up to five years that can be renewed.

The General Secretariat of the NEC is in charge of election cost assessment and budgeting, as well as the Committee's annual operations budget. The electoral budget assessment is submitted to the Council of Ministers, which reviews, suggests changes to (if necessary) and ultimately approves the budget after consultation with the Ministry of Finance. The annual operations budget of the NEC is submitted to and negotiated with the Ministry of Finance and is eventually adopted by the National Assembly as part of the annual National Budget Law.

III. Legal framework³¹

The Constitution of Cambodia states that the "Kingdom of Cambodia adopts a policy of liberal democracy and pluralism" (art. 51 as amended). It further guarantees a citizen's right to vote and to stand as a candidate for elections that should be free, universal, equal, direct and held through a secret ballot³²—and that election procedures and process shall be determined by an electoral law.³³ In 1997, the National Assembly adopted the Law on the Election of the Members of the National Assembly (LEMNA), which was substantially amended in 2002. This is an organic law requiring a two-thirds vote of the legislature. The LEMNA created the NEC and set guidelines for how it would be funded. In 2001, the National Assembly adopted another electoral law specifically for the election of the members of the 1,621 commune councils.³⁴

The structure, function, and funding of political parties are treated in the Law on Political Parties (1997). There is no general law on the media, but there is a Law on the Press (1995), which does not affect the cost of elections because there are special provisions regarding access to the media in the LEMNA. (See section 4.F below.)

³⁰ Law on the Election of the Members of the National Assembly (LEMNA), art. 11 and 12. An unofficial English translation of the LEMNA is available at the NEC website at: <http://www.ncelect.org.kh>

³¹ An English translation of the Constitution and of the Law on Political Parties can be found at the Cambodian Council of Jurists at http://www.bigpond.com.kh/Council_of_Jurists/Constit/somcong.htm

³² Constitution of Cambodia, as amended in 1999, art. 34 and 76.

³³ *Ibid.*, art. 76.

³⁴ Law on the Elections of the Commune Councils, promulgated 24 January 2001.

The NEC is currently responsible for planning, organizing and managing two electoral events: national elections of the members of the National Assembly and commune council elections. The NEC receives the funds to conduct these elections from two main sources:

- The government, through a special Trust Fund Account for Elections established within the National Treasury;³⁵
- Direct contributions from donor countries or international organizations, especially through UNDP who mobilized and coordinated the donors' efforts through cost-sharing agreements without passing through the National Treasury. (See section 4.L below.)

In practice, the difficulties encountered in electoral funding relate to the procedural and administrative practices of the Ministry of Finance, which are not geared for quick response in the context of election preparations. The standard finance procedures of Cambodian government agencies currently are not capable of responding to NEC's exceptional time constraints related to the procurement of materials and cash-flow disbursement, both of which are unavoidable in the organization of elections. In addition, direct funding from international donor assistance (or through UNDP) tends to be disbursed quite late in the process, sometimes even after the elections, creating further cash-flow problems. In some cases, excessive earmarking may hamper the timely utilization of funding and require last-minute changes to funding agreements to fit the actual operational expenditures more flexibly.

IV. Electoral costs

a) Annual operating costs of the NEC

The costs of the NEC's ordinary operations can be established regardless of whether it is an election year because the Committee's budget is planned and approved separately from the budget of each election. The NEC provided the following figures for its annual operational budget with a regular full-time staff of 200. The reduction in the budget for 2004 is due to savings in cost of operations in a non-election year.

b) Voter registration costs

In 2002, the cost of voter registration operations for the commune elections included the production of voter cards with a photograph for each voter. The cost of the total voter registration operation amounted to 20 billion riels (\$4.9 million), which was included in the electoral budget of the commune elections.

³⁵ The Trust Fund is established pursuant to article 121 of the LEMNA and article 229 of the Law on the Election of the Commune Councils. LEMNA, art. 121: "Subject to the Law on Finance, a special account of the National Treasury, called the Trust Fund Account for Election, shall be established for the benefit of the National Election Committee in its electoral management. Electoral funds obtained from contributions from the Royal Government, foreign governments, international organizations, charitable individuals, non-governmental organizations, and any other legal revenue shall be included in the national budget to be credited to this special account. Some kinds of foreign financing for electoral purposes may be made without passing through the National Treasury."

Case Study 8 - Table 2. NEC annual budgets (2002-2005)

Year	Budget (in millions of riels, rounded)
2002	3,100 (\$775,000) ³⁶
2003	3,235 (\$808,750)
2004	2,380 (\$850,000)
2005	2,615 (\$653,750)

In 2003, Cambodia created a permanent voter registry based on the voter list used in 2002 for the commune elections. Registration operations were delegated to the commune administrations but were closely supervised by the NEC. The operation was an update of the previous voter list: voters already on the list did not need to re-register. Only those who had reached voting age or who had moved from one commune to another were required to register. Under this new system, no voter card was issued. As a result, the total cost of voter registration amounted to 12 billion riels and was incorporated in the 2003 electoral budget.

As of 2004, as required by the LEMNA, the maintenance of the permanent registry entails annual voter registration and revision of the list even if there are no upcoming elections. Voter registration and list revision are conducted between October 1 and December 31 of each year. A new valid voter registry, therefore, is generated each year. For these operations in 2004, the NEC prepared a budget of 3.7 billion riels, which was approved and entirely provided by the government (see Annex 1). This amount was not part of any electoral budget. In the future, this recurrent expenditure may either be granted on an ad hoc basis as happened in 2004 or eventually be integrated in the annual operational budget of the NEC. The costs of voter registration will continue to decline as the procedure becomes part of the usual commune administration operations. In 2004, savings had already been realized on training and direct assistance to commune clerks.

Since registration operations are no longer conducted directly by the NEC, part of the cost is now indirectly absorbed by the commune councils, which provide the personnel. Although the financial burden of voter registration seemed to be 'passed on' to the commune councils, the NEC is bound to provide "appropriate training, capacity building, facility, supplies and materials and budget to the commune and clerk to enable the implementation of these responsibilities."³⁷ Regardless, these costs are already lower than those of a periodic registration. The NEC also provides salary supplement incentives to commune clerks for the additional administrative burden during the annual update period.

³⁶ Between 2002 and 2004, the rate of conversion of the riel into US dollars was slightly more than \$1 = 4,000 riels.

³⁷ LEMNA, art. 53 *in fine*

c) Boundary delimitation

No boundary delimitation is performed by the NEC. At the commune level, the boundaries of communes are altered, when needed, by the Ministry of Interior.

d) Total cost of the polling operation

The budgetary costs of the 1998 and 2003 elections are extremely difficult to compare because the budget and financial reports of the events were in different formats. The explanation for the reduction of costs by more than 50 percent between 1998 and 2003 is not so much in the polling operations themselves, but in the one-time purchase of basic materials necessary for the earlier election.

When it was first created, the NEC had to be equipped from scratch with office furniture, stationery, etc. These were all one-time expenditures that were not repeated in 2002 or 2003. In addition, large sums were invested in training of electoral staff, education of political parties, party agents and local observers, as well as voter information and education. The 1998 report shows that the European Union alone contributed almost \$7 million for training/education and stationery. In 2003, the figure for equivalent items amounted to only \$661,000. The one-time costs in 1998 included:

- provision of ballot boxes: \$3 million;
- cars, trucks and motorcycles: \$1 million;
- radios and other communications equipment: \$1 million.

Although different in nature, the commune council elections of 2002 may provide some valid basis of comparison with the national election of 2003 (see Annexes 2 and 3). Most of the polling costs remained relatively stable between the two elections,

Case Study 8 - Table 3. Direct costs of polling operations for 2003

Cost Description	Riels (in millions, rounded)	US Dollars
Salaries of polling station officials	4,617	1.1 million
Salaries for verifying and counting ballots	490	122,500
Transportation of polling material	1,637	409,250
Rental of loudspeakers for polling	328	82,000
Rental of offices and polling stations for commune election committees	378	94,500
Training for polling station officials	96	24,000
Training material (for all election officials)	2,845	711,250
Polling material	1,596	399,000
Ballots	2,808	702,000
Value of donation of indelible ink	687	171,750

Case Study 8 - Table 4. Other costs relevant to polling operations

Cost Description	Riels (in millions, rounded)	US Dollars
Salaries of commune election committee officials	5,334	1.3 million
Salaries of provincial election committee officials	4,295	1.07 million
Training for commune election committee officials	413	103,250
Training for provincial election committee officials	270	675,000
Communications	917	229,250
Vehicles, gasoline, maintenance	1,895	473,750
Helicopter services	466	116,508

with only negligible procedural differences. However, one considerable disparity was found in the salaries of the commune election committees and their functioning expenditures. This item alone was \$2.5 million more in 2002 than in 2003, the reason being that the committees were put in place to participate in the voter registration operations seven months before Election Day. In 2003, the commune election committees were put in place only five weeks before Election Day because voter registration and list update were carried out by local administrations.

e) Cost of external voting operations

There are no external voting operations in Cambodia.

f) Campaign funding and political party finance

The Law on Political Parties states that parties should be funded through their members' contributions, from income generated by lawful business activities, from donations of private Cambodian enterprises or individuals, and from the political parties' own assets.³⁸ Any contributions from foreign firms, public or government institutions, and NGOs are forbidden.³⁹ Regardless of their participation in the electoral process, all political parties are required to report annually to the Ministry of Interior on their income and expenditures, balance sheets, statements of bank accounts and assets.⁴⁰ These documents are not made available to the public.

Regarding campaigns, the Law on Political Parties has a provision allowing the state to provide funding to political party electoral campaigns on an equal basis,⁴¹ to date,

³⁸ Law on Political Parties, art. 27. An unofficial English translation of this law is available at the NEC website at <http://www.necselect.org.kh>.

³⁹ Law on Political Parties, art. 29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, art. 31.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, art. 28.

however, this provision has never been applied. Each political party wishing to participate in a national election must deposit 15 million riels (\$3,750); the deposit is reimbursed if the party obtains at least 3 percent of the valid votes or if it wins at least one seat at the National Assembly.

The LEMNA further specifies that electoral campaign expenditures shall be borne by political parties. Each party participating in the elections must maintain a special account registry showing its sources of income and expenditures for the purpose of the electoral campaign.⁴² This registry should remain available to the NEC for examination, if requested.

The only actual government contribution to campaigns of political parties comes under the provision of free airtime on state radio and TV. State radio and television are bound by the LEMNA to offer free airtime to the NEC for voter education and electoral issues. It is also the duty of the NEC to publicize party campaign messages through the media.⁴³ The NEC arranges free equal access to airtime for political campaign messages both on radio and TV during the 30-day campaign period.⁴⁴ This, however, does not apply to commune elections.

h) Civic education

The electoral budget of the NEC in 2003 included a provision of approximately 2 billion riels (\$485,000) for voter and civic education. This was less than 5 percent of its total budget and did not include the value of a large amount of free airtime made available by the state media as well as a number of private media outlets to broadcast voter/civic education messages. Nevertheless, Cambodia has a very active civil society: numerous NGOs, both national and international, take a prominent role in civic education electoral activities.

Support to the NGO community in election-related activities was massive in 2003. It is estimated that the total amount provided to NGOs for their electoral activities was nearly equal to the NEC's overall electoral budget.⁴⁵ Initiatives such as televised candidate debates, printed information material destined for voters (including the campaign platform of all competing political parties), or training manuals destined for party agents or observers, posters, etc. are just a fraction of what was accomplished and funded outside the NEC's budget. Although a fair share of these programs related to local observation of the electoral process, a significant portion remained under the general category of civic education.

⁴² LEMNA, art. 81 and 82

⁴³ *Ibid.*, art. 74 and 75.

⁴⁴ For the 2003 elections, on both TV and radio, each political party had a slot of five minutes of free airtime each day during the special two-hour equal access broadcast for the duration of the electoral campaign (30 days). The program was repeated in the morning for a total of four hours of broadcast per day. Overall, the state TV provided 120 hours of free airtime during the electoral campaign. The two state radios stations provided the same. See the UNDP report "National Assembly Election in Cambodia – 27 July 2003", pp. 14-15 available at http://www.un.org.kh/undp/publications/election2003_main.pdf. Other innovative media access initiatives were also undertaken. See: Election reports, "Equity News" at <http://www.un.org.kh/undp/index.asp?page=publications.asp>

⁴⁵ UNDP report "National Assembly Election in Cambodia – 27 July 2003", p. 5.

i) Cash transaction of the NEC

The NEC performs all its transactions through banking operations or by check with the sole exception of staff salaries, which are paid in cash.

j) Inventory of unused supplies

All unused supplies are inventoried and stored in a central warehouse. Each year, a committee for inventory is established and performs its task for all NEC departments. In addition, the department of operations receives monthly reports on the movement of supplies and materials in and out of the warehouse.

k) Costs of new election technologies

The electoral list is compiled in a centralized database. For the past three elections, lists for each polling station have been generated by computer. (A new computer system costing \$220,000 was offered to Cambodia in 2001.) Efforts are ongoing to improve technical aspects related to the sorting of voter names and the cleansing of double registrations; the budget for this is around \$20,000. There are plans to change the software platform to one that is less expensive to maintain and to provide computer equipment to all provincial offices, including networking capacity; the prospective budget for these operations is \$103,000. Such initiatives are bound to improve the technical quality of the list while reducing the costs of technical maintenance. The production of the list on CD-ROM will enhance its accessibility and considerably reduce the cost for political parties to buy the list for their own use.

l) International financial assistance

In 1998, international assistance funded almost 80 percent of the total cost of the election. This percentage declined to around 60 percent for the 2002 commune elections and to about 50 percent for the 2003 national election.

Table 5 provides a breakdown of international assistance received by the NEC for the 2003 national election.⁴⁶ The donors' money largely covered the non-salary, non-contingency budget costs. UNDP signed funding agreements with 12 donor countries

Case Study 8 - Table 5. Breakdown of financial contributions to the NEC for the 2003 national election (in millions of riels, rounded)

Trust Fund for Elections (National Treasury)	24,345 (\$6 million)
International community	24,932 ⁴⁷ (\$6.2 million)
Total amount	49,276 (\$12.3) of which 4.81 billion riels (\$1.2 million) were not spent

⁴⁶ Source: National Election Committee Report on the Management and Conduct of the Election of Members of the National Assembly on 27 July 2003.

⁴⁷ Not included in this figure: UNDP provided advisory services and technical assistance to the NEC for a total of \$580,000 (2.3 billion riels).

Case Study 8 - Table 6. Breakdown of international donations by source
(in millions of riels, rounded)

International donations through UNDP	17,000 (\$4.2 million)
Donations through the Ministry of Finance	6,000 (\$1.5 million)
Direct contributions from donor countries	536 (\$134,000)

and coordinated the earmarked funding to cover all the different phases of the process in agreement with each country. Cambodian government money paid almost exclusively for salaries.

The NEC accredited more than 1,000 international observers. The two most important observation missions were conducted by Asia Foundation, with 305 observers, and by the European Union, with approximately 120 observers. The approximate cost was \$1.5 million for the EU Election Observation Mission and \$240,000 for the Asia Foundation observation effort.

V. Overall assessment

The substantial reduction in costs achieved by the NEC from 1998 to 2003 can be explained by a series of factors that are not all technical in nature. At the policy level and as a matter of pride, the Government of Cambodia does not want to rely heavily on international assistance for future elections. Eventually, the greater part of electoral costs will come from the government's coffers. This, in itself, is a strong incentive to reduce costs. Electoral assistance dropped substantially, from almost \$19 million in 1998 to \$10 million in 2002 to \$6 million in 2003. The reform of the legal framework in 2002 was undertaken with the double objective of improving and reducing the costs of the electoral machinery. For instance, a permanent voter registry was introduced, and voter registration was delegated to local administrations. In addition, expensive procedures were abandoned or replaced with cheaper alternatives. For example, the practice of issuing a new voter identity card (with photograph) for each election was replaced by the use of other identification documents, such as a new national identity card. The NEC was forced to rationalize its internal practices and reduce the number of departments. The chairman of the NEC has said he believes that electoral costs in Cambodia should not vary widely in future elections; if anything, he said, the cost of materials and salaries are likely to increase slightly. Other possible contributing factors to larger electoral budgets in the future may include capital expenditures to replace aging vehicles, computers and other electoral items, and the necessity to provide for an ever-increasing voter population.

Case Study 8 - Attachment I. Costs of the 2002 commune elections, in millions of riels (rounded).*

Cost Description	Cost (Riels)	Cost (US Dollars)
Salary of CEC	14,727,703,184.00	3,757,067.00
Printing of registration cards & other docs	6,632,791,918.00	1,696,366.00
Salary of Polling Station Officials	4,513,752,000.00	1,151,467.00
Salary of PEC members and officials	4,407,384,926.00	1,124,333.00
Purchase of film & cameras	3,564,494,046.00	911,635.00
Salary of registration officers	3,332,989,000.00	850,252.00
Salary of NEC members and officials	3,090,019,410.00	788,270.00
Administrative process & other costs	2,740,742,693.00	702,755.00
Transportation of materials	2,220,889,260.00	568,002.00
Supply of stationery	1,904,479,592.00	487,079.00
Other materials	1,862,620,000.00	476,373.00
Gasoline	1,460,096,075.00	373,426.00
Staff training	1,357,700,210.00	347,238.00
Lamination	1,059,331,600.00	270,929.00
Purchase of software	857,770,480.00	218,819.00
Preparation of registration and polling stations	785,313,000.00	200,847.00
Cost of batteries and battery rechargers	775,008,064.00	198,720.00
Rental of generators, loudspeakers & video	719,311,625.00	183,967.00
Salary of data entry operators	710,366,227.00	181,216.00
Maintenance & Repair	705,726,333.00	180,493.00
Purchase of ink for dipping finger	682,168,500.00	174,468.00
Cost for missions	659,259,670.00	169,041.00
3 trucks	124,800,000.00	32,000.00
Salary of freelance workers	67,705,000.00	17,316.00
TOTAL Expense	58,962,422,813.00	15,062,079.00
TOTAL Budget Received	63,702,954,897.00	16,274,257.00
TOTAL Remaining Budget	4,740,532,084.00	1,212,178.00

*Translated from the NEC's financial report, with riel and dollar amounts rounded. For these figures, \$1 = about 4,100 riels.

Case Study 8 - Attachment II. Costs of the 2003 national election, in millions of riels (rounded).*

Cost Description	Cost (Riels)	Cost (US Dollars)
Salary of CEC	5,334,193,490.00	1,333,548.37
Salary of Polling Station Officials	4,617,360,000.00	1,154,340.00
Salary of PEC members and officials	4,295,333,575.00	1,073,833.39
Salary of NEC members and officials	3,708,065,641.00	927,016.41
Salary of clerk assistants during registration	796,440,000.00	199,110.00
Salary of com. clerks during registration	519,672,000.00	129,918.00
Salary of officials counting ballots	345,672,000.00	86,418.00
Salary of computer operators at NEC	265,872,980.00	66,468.25
Salary of officials verifying ballots	144,450,000.00	36,112.50
Producing/printing training materials	2,845,232,280.00	718,493.00
Printing ballots	2,807,505,000.00	701,000.00
Transportation of polling materials	1,637,324,500.00	406,986.83
Producing/printing polling materials	1,596,347,280.00	403,118.00
Registration materials	1,595,396,484.00	405,437.48
Administrative process of 24 PECs	1,556,991,491.00	393,179.67
Stationery	1,547,890,660.00	390,881.48
Gasoline	1,464,999,995.00	371,827.12
Admin. process & other expenses at NEC	1,400,405,773.00	350,623.79
Materials, repair & telecomm. service	917,001,178.00	231,565.95
Public information	757,703,990.00	191,339.39
Media Center of the NEC	386,234,640.00	97,534.00
Transportation by air	466,032,000.00	116,800.00
Transportation of registration materials	334,158,100.00	84,920.00
Rental of loudspeakers for polling	327,720,000.00	82,757.58
Rental of loudspeakers for registration	191,115,900.00	48,568.21
Cost of battery rechargers and acid refill	100,930,680.00	25,487.55
Rental of CEC offices & polling stations	377,387,600.00	95,300.00
Training for commune clerks	294,949,500.00	74,955.00
Training for PEC	270,148,000.00	68,219.19
Training for CEC	413,354,500.00	104,382.44

Case Study 8 - Attachment II. Costs of the 2003 national election, in millions of riels (rounded).*

Cost Description	Cost (Riels)	Cost (US Dollars)
Training for PSO	96,120,000.00	24,272.73
Printing documents of legal service	283,575,442.00	71,609.96
Computers & photocopiers repair	315,481,320.00	79,667.00
Purchased 5 new photocopiers	126,000,000.00	31,500.00
Work consolidation conferences of 24 PECs	86,671,980.00	21,886.86
Vehicles & materials maintenance	430,616,412.00	108,741.52
Papers, ink & materials at NEC	295,143,200.00	74,531.11
Update computer programs at NEC	239,600,000.00	59,900.00
Electricity fee at CEC	97,260,000.00	24,560.00
Expense for mobile registration teams	77,785,400.00	19,767.57
Posting station lists and voter lists	50,274,900.00	12,776.13
Work consolidation conferences at NEC	52,611,040.00	13,285.62
Freelance workers	31,440,000.00	7,939.39
Donation of 45 motorbikes equivalent to	200,000,000.00	50,000.00
Donation of stationery equivalent to	80,000,000.00	20,000.00
Donation of ink for dipping finger equal to	687,600,000.00	171,900.00
TOTAL Expense	44,466,068,931.00	11,162,479.49
TOTAL Income	49,276,405,017.00	12,370,036.86
TOTAL Remaining Budget	4,810,336,086.00	1,207,557.37

*Translated from the NEC's financial report, with riel and dollar amounts rounded. For these figures, \$1 = about 4,100 riels.

Case Study 8 - Attachment III. Estimated budget for updating electoral list in 2004*

N	Description	Unit	Quantity	Type	Unit Price	Total Price USD	Riel
I A. Kits for Update Electoral List in 1621 Communes							
1	List for registering new voters	package	540,400	1 package 28 papers	\$0.02	10,808	43,232,000
2	Registration form/ registration receipt	book	33,000	1 book 40 papers	\$0.96	31,680	126,720,000
3	Forms for voter list revision and	paper	2,571,650	15 types	\$0.02	51,433	205,732,000
4	Folders with string attached	folder	3,244		\$0.25	811	3,244,000
5	Pens	pen	27,900	red/blue pens	\$0.15	4,185	16,740,000
6	Rulers	ruler	1,630		\$0.20	326	1,304,000
7	Indelible markers	marker	1,621		\$0.50	810.50	3,242,000
8	Stations' signboard	board	1,621	printed plastic board	\$1.50	2,431.50	9,726,000
9	All types of printed envelopes	envelop	76,620	\$0.15	11,493	45,972,000	
10	Writing papers for Commune Clerks	paper	1,126	A4	\$3.00	3,378	13,512,000
11	Bags for registration materials	bag	25,330	5 types	\$0.50	12,665	50,660,000
12	Padlocks	lock	1,630	case for registration materials	\$0.30	489	1,956,000
Total A						130,510	522,040,000
B. Computer System & Materials for Producing Voter Lists							
13	Papers for producing voter lists and other forms	case	234	printing papers	\$30.00	7,020.00	28,080,000
14	Photocopying and printing ink	box	37			4,585.00	18,340,000
15	Materials used for packing voter lists			7 types		2,000.00	8,000,000
16	Repairing printers and photocopiers NECC	machine	6		\$500.00	3,000.00	12,000,000
17	Repairing printers and computers			for provincial operations		11,600.00	46,400,000
18	System maintenance	year	1	warranty		7,000.00	28,000,000
19	Computer system maintenance and repair	year	1	warranty		2,500.00	10,000,000
20	Salary for computer operators at Computer Center	person	150	170.5*2 months	\$170.50	51,150.00	204,600,000
Total B						88,855	355,420,000
C. Money Facilitating Electoral List Update at Communes							
21	Salary of commune clerks during voter registration	person	1,621	1620 * 30 days	\$2.00	97,260	389,040,000
22	Cost for posting location lists and voter lists	4,863		location list, last list & preliminary list	\$1.00	4,863	19,452,000
23	Expense for mobile registration teams	3,242		Expense on transportation	\$2.00	6,484	25,936,000
Total C						108,607	434,428,000
D. Training and Civic Education							
24	Manual on update of voter list	book	3,500		\$2.00	7,000	28,000,000

Case Study 8 - Attachment III. Estimated budget for updating electoral list in 2004* (cont.)

25	Expense for training of master trainers and PEC officials		304	2 days		3,024	12,096,000
26	Expense for training of CC, Clerks & Assistants		4,193	2 days		16,772	67,088,000
27	Transporting training materials	trip	24	1 province 1 trip	\$125.00	3,000	12,000,000 ²⁸
	Producing stereo cassettes	story	2		\$400.00	800	3,200,000
	2 stories 55 mn						
29	Copying stereo cassettes distributed at communes	cassette	50	\$2.00	100	400,000	
30	Producing video spots 2 stories 40 mn	story	2		\$1,100.00	2,200	8,800,000
31	Copying video cassettes distributed at provinces/cities	cassette	50		\$3.00	150	600,000
	Total D					33,046	132,184,000
	E. Public Information						
32	Information work & dissemination					2,000	8,000,000
	Total E					2,000	8,000,000
	F. Legal						
33	Documents ruling on complaints	book	6.000			2,000	8,000,000
34	Printing Form 1007-1202-1203	book		3 types		2,000	8,000,000
	Total F					4,000	16,000,000
	G. Logistics & Transportation						
35	Wages for freelance workers when packing & sending materials to each province	person	30	30* 10 days	\$3.00	900	3,600,000
36	Wages for freelance workers when collecting materials from each province to store in the warehouse of NEC	person	15	15* 10 days	\$3.00	450	1,800,000
37	Materials used for packing	type		8 types		2,000	8,000,000
38	Transporting materials from NEC to each province	province	24			11,000	44,000,000
39	Transporting materials from each province to each commune	commune	1.621	1 trip	\$10.00	16,210	64,840,000
40	Transporting materials from each commune to province	commune	1.621	1 trip	\$10.00	16,210	64,840,000
41	Transporting remaining materials from province to NEC	province	24			11,000	44,000,000
	Total G					57,770	231,080,000
	H. Telecommunication						
42	Cost on mobile-phone service for NEC	phone	30	30*\$30*3 months	\$30.00	2,700	10,800,000
43	Cost on desk-phone service for NEC & PEC	phone	24	24*\$80*3 months	\$80.00	5,760	23,040,000

Case Study 8 - Attachment III. Estimated budget for updating electoral list in 2004*(cont.)

Total H					8,460	33,840,000	
I. Stationary/Operation							
44	Office equipment for NEC & PEC				34,378	137,512,000	
45	Photocopier maintenance	machine	30	\$730	21,900	87,600,000	
46	Vehicle maintenance	vehicle	74	\$250	18,500	74,000,000	
47	Operation of NEC (missions, administrative expense ...)		1	3 months	\$5,000	15,000	60,000,000
48	Operation of PEC (missions, administrative expense ...)		24	3 months	\$600	43,200	172,800,000
49	Cost of water/electricity for PEC		24	24 provinces* 3 months	\$100	7,200	28,800,000
50	Gasoline for NEC	liter	3	3 months (EA,DO,MO)	\$6,000	18,000	72,000,000
51	Gasoline for PEC	liter	24	3 months (EA,DO,MO)	\$700	50,400	201,600,000
52	Office maintenance for PEC				4,500	18,000,000	
Total I					213,078	852,312,000	
J. Salary of Electoral Commissions (National & Provincial)							
53	Salary of NEC members & NEC officials	person	231	231*\$206*3 months	\$206	142,758,000	571,032,000
54	Salary of PEC officials	person	60	60*\$176*3 months	\$176	31,680,000	126,720,000
55	Salary of Assistants of PEC	person	84	84*\$170*3 months	\$170	42,840,000	171,360,000
56	Salary of registration officers at provincial level (trainers)	person	184	184*\$200*1 month	\$200	36,800,000	147,200,000
Total J					254,078	1,016,312,000	
Total A - J					900,404	3,601,616,000	
69	Unexpected Cost 2%				18,008	72,032,320,000	
TOTAL					918,412	3,673,648,320	

Case Study 8 - Attachment IV. 2005 NEC budget

Case Study 8 - Table 1. Table comparing the NEC's proposed budget plan with the adopted 2005 budget in a package of 2,615 million riels

N	Expense	NEC proposed	2005 adopted	Increase/decrease	Remarks
Chapter 10	Remuneration	1,607	1,610	3	Increase
	NEC Members	250	250	-	
	NEC Contracted Agents	1,357	1360	3	Increase
Chapter 11	Administrative Expense	1,006	1,000	(6)	Decrease
	Rent administrative office	117	117	-	
	Maintenance	20	20	-	
	Water	6	6	-	
	Electricity	180	304	124	Increase
	Phone and fax fees	110	110	-	
	Printing papers/stationery	80	50	(30)	Decrease
	Books and documents	10	10	-	
	Conferences and meetings	11	10	(1)	Decrease
	Vehicle maintenance	50	50	-	
	Gasoline	370	273	(97)	Decrease
	Receiving foreign guests	5	5	-	
	Receiving domestic guests	6	5	(1)	Decrease
	Cost on ceremonies			-	
	Cost on uniforms	8	8	-	
	Workshops and meetings	5	5	-	
	Separate expense by sectors (built provincial HQ)				
	Domestic missions	28	27	(1)	Decrease
Oversees missions			-		
Chapter 31	Social Affairs	2	5	3	Increase

Figures are in million riels (1 = 1 million riels)

Case Study 8 - Attachment V

1998 Election Budget

(Extracted from NEC's Report, 1998. Note: currency calculations based on a rate of about \$1 = 3,800 riels in 1998)

A-Budgetary Situation of the NEC:

A.1–Budget received by the NEC for electoral expenses in 1998 (figures are rounded, unless indicated otherwise):

1. Government funds: 19,530 million riels
2. EU agreed to provide 9.5 million ECU for electoral expenses. The EU spent 1.1 million ECU on electoral observation; 100,000 ECU on dissemination of information. Of this, 8.3 million ECU were transferred to the NEC.
3. The Japanese government provided to the NEC and distributed on expenses (via transferring from the Ministry of Economy and Finance) a total of 13.13 billion riels.
4. Australia assisted in preparing the Computer Center, total of 1 billion riels.
5. Trust Fund provided through UNDP to the NEC: total of 22.62 billion riels
 - directly provided to the NEC: 10.35 billion riels
 - Japan provided 12,500 ballot boxes equivalent to 11.55 billion riels
 - UNDP purchased ink equivalent to 722 million riels
6. People's Republic of China provided 27 Jeeps which cost 963 million riels

Total of budget received by the NEC: 92 billion riels

A.2–Budget spent by the NEC and donors:

1. Government funds 19.53 billion riels, spent on:
 - Salaries: 14.12 billion riels
 - Administrative processes (small repair): 4.94 billion riels
 - Expenses on intervention in the field of social affairs: 70 million riels
 - Expenses on construction and miscellaneous materials: 208 million riels
 - Other expenses: 197 million riels
2. EU budget provided to the NEC a total of 8.3 million ECU (about 34.83 billion riels)

*Of that, 8.93 billion riels were spent on:

- Salaries: 6.19 billion riels
- Training: 89 million riels

- Transportation: 525 million riels
 - Missions: 159 million riels
 - Kits: 2 million riels
 - Food: 1.05 billion riels
 - Gasoline: 199 million riels
 - Other expenses: 709 million riels
3. The Japanese government provided to the NEC and distributed on expenses (via transferring from the Ministry of Economy and Finance) a total of 13.13 billion riels, spent on the following targets:
- Kits: 279 million riels
 - Phone installation fees: 137 million riels
 - Computer equipment: 745 million riels
 - Air conditioners: 165 million riels
 - Photocopiers: 1.04 billion riels
 - Stationery: 405 million riels
 - Purchase of 14 PRADO vehicles: 1.38 billion riels
 - Administrative processes: 368 million riels
 - Purchase of HILUX vehicles: 2.39 billion riels
 - Purchase of communication radio: 5.6 billion riels
 - Purchase of trucks: 272 million riels
 - Other expenses: 395 million riels
4. Australian funds, which the donor directly spent on preparing the computer center and providing remuneration to four leading officials of the computer center: 1 billion riels
5. Trust Fund provided via UNDP totaled for 23 billion riels
- *Of that amount, 10.3 billion riels were spent on:
- Service of polling station staffs: 6.5 billion
 - Training for the polling time: 1.5 billion
 - Public information: 917 million
 - Missions during the poll: 16 million
 - Transportation during the poll: 1.3 billion
 - Other expenses during the poll: 172 million

*Japan provided 12,500 ballot boxes through the Trust Fund, a total of 11.6 billion riels

*Black ink ordered by UNDP using the Trust Fund totaled 723 million riels

6. People's Republic of China provided 27 Jeeps, which cost 963 million riels

7. Debts owed in 23 provinces/cities during the polling operations totaled 699 million riels

Total of budget spent by the NEC, rounded: 92,77 billion riels (\$24 million)

Precise numbers:

Budget received by the NEC 92,073,785,199 riels (≈ USD \$24,230,000)

Spent 92,771,639,269 riels (≈ USD \$24,414,000)

Indebted 697,854,070 riels (≈USD \$184,000)

About the author

Denis Truesdell is a Canadian lawyer and graduate from the London School of Economics. In 1992, he embarked on his first United Nations peacekeeping mission to Cambodia as civil administrator for UNTAC. After serving in several missions in the Balkans, he returned to Quebec as legal advisor to the Chief Electoral Officer of Quebec. Subsequently, he worked for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) as a consultant for the Peace-Building unit. In 2001 he returned to Cambodia to carry out a wide-ranging UNDP electoral assistance program to the Cambodian National Electoral Committee. He assisted in Cambodia's first commune council elections, followed by the reform of the legal framework for the 2003 national elections and continued post-electoral assistance until 2004.



Haiti

By Félix Ulloa

Acknowledgements

This case study is based on information from various publications and reports of international bodies, including the Organization of American States (OAS), UNDP and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), on the May 2000 elections in Haiti. Additional information was obtained through personal interviews with members of the Provisional Electoral Council, (*Conseil Electoral Provisoire*). The author would like to extend special recognition to the Chief of the Electoral Mission of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) and his staff, who provided the most accurate financial information for the elections to be held in 2005.

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I. Structure of the EMB

The *Conseil Electoral Permanent*, Haiti's permanent electoral authority, was established in the 1987 Constitution (articles 191 to 199). It was conceived as an independent council tasked with developing a voter register, organizing elections and serving as the tribunal for electoral disputes. However, although it was created by law, this permanent council has not been formed yet, because the Constitution calls for a full election cycle as prerequisite for establishing the council—a situation that has not occurred since the legal creation of the council. Therefore, since 1988 all elections have been organized by a provisional electoral authority (*Conseil Electoral Provisoire*, to be referred to henceforth in this section by the acronym 'CEP').

Since 30 April 2004, the CEP has been composed of a board of nine members: one appointed by the private sector; three by the Catholic, Episcopal and Lutheran churches; one by human rights organizations; one by the Supreme Court; and three by political parties.

The composition of the board was agreed following a political settlement in June 2002 and incorporated into the Resolution 822 of the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States (OAS) in September 2002. This board began to function after taking oath at the Supreme Court in May 2004, and it will continue functioning until the permanent electoral authority is set up under the constitutional procedures scheduled to begin after the newly elected president of Haiti takes office (article 134:1 Constitution).

After the resignation in December 2004 of the president of the CEP, the council continued working under the leadership of an interim president who will be confirmed as president of the council in August 2005. A *Comité d'Appui* to help the executive functions of the CEP was appointed as indicated in internal by-laws.

II. Structure of the CEP of 2005

The Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) is a hierarchical structure, with the nine board members acting as the highest level. The CEP has an electoral structure com-

posed of departmental electoral offices at the provincial level (the *Bureaux Electoraux Departementaux* - BED); communal electoral offices at the district level (the *Bureaux Electoraux Communaux* - BEC); and voting centres (CV), formed of voting bureaus (BV) at the polling station level on Election Day.

The CEP has 11 department electoral offices (BEDs), which follow the geographical division of Haiti in departments: Ouest, Sud-Est, Nord, Nord-Est, Artibonite, Centre, Sud, Grande-Anse, Nord-Ouest and Nippes. Each department has one BED, with the only exception of the department of Ouest—the largest one—which has two: BED Ouest I and BED Ouest II.

In the departments, the BEDs are divided into *Bureaux Electoraux Communaux* (BECs). The number of BECs within each department varies by the number of the communes. Although Haiti has 140 communes, the CEP has 142 BECs, because Port-au-Prince, the capital, has three BECs.

Each BEC has several voting centres (CV). For the elections of 2006, the CEP will establish 803 voting centres around the country, which in turn will have several voting bureaus (BVs). For the 2006 elections, the CEP has planned to establish 9,214 BVs throughout the country.

III. The BEDs and BECs

The role of the BEDs and the BECs is to organize, manage and monitor the electoral process and to solve procedural challenges presented by political parties in a timely manner in the administrative territories under their jurisdiction. Each office is headed by a president, vice president and secretary appointed by the CEP. These three officials are assisted by two legal advisors charged with resolving electoral disputes at the local level. The departmental electoral offices are present in the following cities: North (Cap Haitien), Nord-West (Port-de-Paix), Nord-East (Fort Liberte), Artibonite (Gonaives), Grande-Anse (Jeremie), Nippes (Miragoane) and South-East (Jacmel), Plateau Central (Hinche), South (Les Cayes), West I and West II (Port-au-Prince).

The role of the voting bureaus is to manage election day operations at the polling stations during the 2006 elections.

IV. The Voting Centers

Voting centres are accessible to the people living in the area and are designed to be easily accessed. They are situated by preference in schools, government buildings or other public facilities. Each voting centre has between 1 and 50 voting bureaus. Each voting bureau can receive a maximum 400 voters. The geographical identification of the voting centres and their physical description, the distance and travelling time from the BEC, accessibility, risk, etc., was conducted by MINUSTAH. All voting centres were approved by the CEP. A total of 9,214 voting centres have been established for 2006 elections.

V. The New Structure of CEP

In October 2005, the CEP will be transformed into a *Conseil d'administration* and will have a new mission, namely: to plan, organize and realize elections and take strategic decisions. In the meantime, a new Director General is in charge of all executive and operational aspects of the process. The general direction is divided into other components: electoral operations, administrative, legal, communication, security, etc.

VI. The Registration Process

The voter registration operation for 2005 will be conducted with technical assistance from the Organization of American States (OAS). Of a total electoral budget of nearly \$49 million, some \$9 million will be allocated to the task of voter registration, which ideally will include the possibility of creating the basis for a civil register, still non-existent in the country. The overall voter registration process will be automated, instead of the current manual registration. Registration period, originally scheduled to take place from 9 August to 25 April, has been extended until 9 October 2005 in order to reach all the country. Presidential and legislative elections will take place on 7 February 2006 for the first round and on 21 April 2006 for the second round. Local elections are scheduled to take place on 18 June 2006.

All voters will receive a digital card that will gradually replace the national identification card. The OAS has established 615 offices for registration activities (400 registration centres, 185 automated registration offices, and 30 automated registration mobile units). The registration centres have been located in rural areas, the automated offices in urban areas, and the mobile units in the semi-urban areas. The number of automated centres will be adjusted as required to reach a larger number of potential voters. The registration process will take six months (April-October 2005).

As part of the operations, 3,200 polling centres will be established. All automated registration offices will also be considered as polling centres. Voters will be advised about their voting locations during the registration process. The CEP and the international donors have approved this project to be implemented by the OAS. Some 3,535,025 identification cards are expected to be distributed by OAS to voters around all the country.

VII. Elections Constitutional Framework

From 1801 to 1987, Haiti had a total of three Fundamental Acts, 22 Constitutions (two of which were imperial), 14 amendments, and one accord. Regarding electoral provisions, there have been 25 electoral acts. The current electoral law, the 3 July 2005 Electoral Act, is regulated by the 29 March 1987 Constitution as well as by the Electoral Acts of August 1990 and February 1995. There is also the Political Party Functional Law, dated 31 July 1986.

The president is elected for a five-year term (consecutive terms are forbidden, although one can hold the office a second time after a five-year hiatus). Since the reintroduction of a bicameral Parliament in 1987, deputies are elected for a four-year term

and senators for a six-year term. One third of Senate seats are up for election every two years.

Under regulations for the 2006 elections, which will fill every elected seat in the country, the Senate will be composed as follows: winners by majority in the first round of the election will be elected for a six-year term. The second round will oppose the candidates who have the same quantity of votes for a four-year or a two-year term (articles 76 to 78 of the electoral decree). The main elements of the electoral system are presidential elections (articles 86 to 90), elections to Senate (articles 80 to 85), elections for Deputies (articles 74 to 79) and local elections (articles 91 to 111).

Winners at local elections are elected for a four-year term (articles 98, 102, 108). Local elections will take place after the second round. They are very important, because they will permit the establishment of the *Conseil Electoral Permanent* called for by the current Constitution of 1987.

VIII. Presidential Elections

After the introduction of the direct presidential election, a plurality system was established for the 1950 and 1957 elections. However, only one candidate campaigned in the 1950 election (Paul Eugene Magloire); in 1957 there were two candidates (Francois Duvalier and Louis Déjoie), so the system of decision was actually the majority system. No presidential elections were held during the two Duvalier governments (1957-1986). After the fall of the Duvaliers, there have been four presidential elections: 1988 (Leslie Manigat elected), 1990 (Jean-Bertrand Aristide elected), 1995 (Rene Preval elected), and 2000 (Aristide elected again). The president is elected via absolute majority. If no candidate achieves this majority in the first electoral round, a second round is held between the two candidates with the highest number of votes.

IX. Elections to the Senate

- The country is divided in 10 departments, 99 circumscriptions, 140 communes and 570 rural sections.
- Each of the 10 departments constitutes a three-member constituency. However, since one third of the Senate will be renewed at each election in the future, the country will be divided into single-member constituencies in each election.
- All 30 Senators are elected via a majority system.

X. Elections to the Chamber of Deputies

- The country has been divided according to population density into 99 single-member constituencies (electoral decree of 3 February 2005).
- The 99 deputies, one by circumscription, are elected through a majority system during the first round.
- If none of the candidate wins, a second round is necessary.

- Seats are allocated by a first-past-the-post system, in which the candidate who has secured the most votes (not necessarily an absolute majority of the votes) is the winner.

XI. Local Elections

Local elections will take place in 140 cities and 570 rural sections on 18 June 2006. Seats are distributed on a basis of who has more votes.

XII. Amendments to the Electoral System

The new electoral decree of February 2005 was modified many times. Appeal was made at the *Cour de Cassation* of the contentious decisions: requirement for candidates to the Senate, rules of majority for president, requirement process for financing parties and candidates.

Various decrees are expected to be enacted by the government in the second half of 2005 about various aspects of the electoral process like the electoral lists, financing of political parties, nationality of candidates, and identification card.

XIII. Electoral Assistance Section Support

The Chief Electoral Officer (CEO) joined MINUSTAH on 18 August 2004. This was the official starting point of Electoral Assistance Section (EAS) within MINUSTAH. The mission carried out many important tasks. It assisted the CEP in revising the electoral law by preparing working papers on the main issues involved in the drafting of the new legislation and internal by-laws. It also provided support to the CEP in formulating a chronogram of activities with sets of options. The main areas of support are: training sessions for members of CEP, political parties, civil society, voter registration plan proposal, assisting CEP staff, registration process, communication systems, budget management, establishing civic education programs, tabulation centre, electoral calendar, logistics plan, security system, procurement guidelines, procedures for the elections, establishing voting centres, legal aspects, and regional coordination.

One of the critical phases of electoral processes are the procedures around voting and counting, complaints and appeals processing, tabulation and announcement of the final results.

The greatest challenges were for the EAS to plan, work with a CEP, sometimes divided, execute complex electoral operations, solve budget problems, and participate in creating good environment to attain the objective of successful, peaceful, nationally and internationally accepted elections.

XIV. OAS Electoral Technical Assistance

The Organization of American States (OAS) voters plan provides for the establishment of approximately 615 offices for registration activities (400 registration centres, 185 automated registration mobile units). The registration will be located in the rural areas, the fixed automated in the urban area and the mobile in the semi-urban areas.

The overall voters' registration will be automated and voters will all receive a digital card (*Carte d'identification nationale*) that will gradually replace the "*numéro d'identification fiscal*" (NIF).

OAS provided support to the CEP in creating a reliable electoral registry for the elections, issuing a secure and adequate identification card to the voters, providing the operational framework for a plan of strengthening and modernizing the civil registry and contributing to the training of electoral technicians. A high-tech registration system has been conceived. The electoral partial list (LEP) and electoral general list (LEG) have been prepared and are available at the time of the writing of this document. The registration system is fundamental for the success of the vote and the future of a strong civil register.

XV. Structure and Concept of Operations

The concept of operations provides for establishment and operations of the BEDs and BECs, elaborate technical strategy for registration, staffing BEDs, logistical support, purchase and deployment of transport vehicles, communication facilities, security and coordination between the MINUSTAH Electoral Unit and other institutions.

XVI. MINUSTAH UNVs

Many UNVs participate in supervision of electoral process in assigned regions. They assist CEP technicians for registration of voters, identify sites for registration and voting centres, plan training sessions, and provide logistical support to BEDs and BECs. Each BED is headed by a District Coordinator who reports directly to the Chief Electoral Officer. The district coordinator supervises the electoral process down to the communal levels.

XVII. Civic Education

Only \$1,263,167 has been provided for civic education, despite the importance of this component of the electoral process. Under this heading comes the cost of consultants that the CEP plans to hire to conduct civic education programs over 13 months. The consultants are expected to conduct civic education programs prior to the registration process and through election day. Additional funds have been requested from donors for this line item of the budget. An intensive campaign is expected during the registration process, followed by a massive campaign to promote voter participation after political parties and candidates are registered. So far, there is nothing planned to support political party activities by either civic education NGOs or domestic monitoring groups.

As the voter registration process, public information on the electoral decree and the national identification card began in April 2005. Approximately 200,000 radio spots and 1,500 television spots have been launched. Civic education materials have been produced and distributed nationwide (500,000 posters, 1,000,000 pamphlets and 1,000 banners).

In June 2005, two important national registration days were conducted: one for women and another for civil society. It should be noted that women represent 52% of the Haitian population and this national day has significantly boosted the registration process.

XVIII. Training Sessions

In August 2005, a training of trainers' course will be conducted for 60 participants, who then in turn will have to train 550 civic education agents who are expected to then train up 3,500 civic education promoters from departmental level down to the communes.

According to the year 2003 census, 4.2 million Haitian citizens will have the right to vote in the 2006 elections. The municipal elections are expected to be held in June 2006, and the first round of the legislative and presidential elections scheduled to take place in February 2006. The second round for these elections will follow on 21 April 2006. In compliance with the Constitution, an elected legislative power will be installed in May after the second round, and the president will be sworn-in in May 2006.

The total resource requirement for the CEP, the provisional electoral council, for the period from 1 October 2004 to 31 December 2005 is planned to amount nearly \$49 million, covering personnel and operational costs. The Haitian government will cover the regular costs of the CEP's approximately 82 headquarters staff. It will also contribute \$2.9 million for the extraordinary electoral budget. Three main international donors (Canada, the European Union, and the United States) have committed to provide \$41 million. The financial resources for operational items have been linked to quantitative outputs.

This budget covers all elections (at least two, but possibly three) in 2006. Since the CEP is not a permanent institution and there are no other activities between election years such as updating the voting list or issuing IDs as do most permanent EMBs, there is no ordinary budget.

The substantial financial contribution of the international community, as described below, underpins the entire electoral operation in Haiti. Because of financial constraints, the national contribution is less than 10 percent of the total budget. Table 1 shows the structure of the required funds.

Case Study 9 - Table 1. Budget projection from the electoral division of MINUSTAH	
Category	US\$
Civilian personnel	
National staff	4,027,939
Subtotal	4,027,939
Operational costs	
Salaries for voter registration and polling officers	12,097,167
Civic education and public information	4,012,923
Official travel	96,660
Facilities and infrastructure	4,590,444
Ground transportation	2,078,571
Air transportation	169,444
Naval transportation	16,667
Communications	624,222
Information technology	6,200,000
Security	4,000,000
Other supplies, services and equipment	10,979,144
Reserve for contingency (5% CEP requirements)	2,009,635
Subtotal	45,993,180
Gross requirements	48,893,180
Government contribution (cash)	2,900,000
Net requirements	45,993,180
Voluntary contributions in kind (budgeted)	-
Total requirements	48,893,180
Note: This budget is a work-in-progress and may very well change as donor negotiations proceed.	

Some of the main issues and trends regarding election cost structures are detailed below.

a) Transportation

Given the precarious conditions for communications in Haiti, transport represents a major issue. Thus, the CEP will purchase approximately 200 vehicles and have three block coordinators based in Port-au-Prince to provide direct support to the electoral departmental offices in their area of responsibility. The three blocks coordinators are going to be divided in the following way: 1) South, comprising Jacmel, Les Cayes, Jeremie and Miragoane; 2) North, comprising Artibonite and Plateau Central; and

3) West, comprising Port-au-Prince. Each block coordinator will have one vehicle. The departments will be provided with three vehicles each while the communal office will receive one vehicle each. This will bring the total fleet to 191 vehicles; additional vehicles for transport of electoral equipment from seaports to storage facilities and communal sections can be rented locally. There are also ground fuel station companies that can be contracted locally. Air transport is also available in almost every commune for landing helicopters. Several seaports are available and provide facilities for unloading equipment, but storage facilities are rare. In most departments and communes, telephone facilities exist, both fixed lines and mobile services (except in Jeremie, which has no cellular phone service). There are community radio services and TV channels. Radio communication services will be placed in each department and commune to facilitate direct communication with Port-au-Prince and other departments.

b) Staffing and logistics

Local staff and logistical facilities will be provided. Office space will be provided by the government where possible, otherwise offices will be rented when it is not possible to secure government-owned premises. There will be requirements for the refurbishment of all office spaces and small construction services to ensure that the electoral infrastructures are viable. For local and temporary personnel, Table 2 outlines what is planned for electoral staff costs.

Case Study 9 - Table 2. Planning for electoral staff costs		
Category of personnel	Number of personnel	Duration
CEP	82*	5 months
Departmental electoral offices	165	15 months
Communal electoral offices	1,395	15 months
Polling officers	56,000	3 days training
Total	57,642	
* To be funded by Haitian government		

National staff salaries are estimated to cost \$4,027,939. Cost estimates are based on the phased recruitment and deployment of 165 staff for the departmental electoral offices and 1,395 staff for the communal electoral offices to be hired for 15 months. The cost estimate for salaries is based on \$3,526,250 for departmental electoral offices and \$501,689 for communal electoral offices, rates that are derived from the national salary scale rates for public servants. CEP central headquarters operating costs for approximately 82 staff will be directly funded by the government.

Voter registration officers' salaries are estimated to cost \$2,017,167. According to the electoral law of 1999, each voter registration office should comprise a staff of five: a president, vice president, secretary, and two voter registration officials. The monthly salary of voter registration officers is approximately \$111, while voter registration officials receive \$97 for a two-month period. A total of \$10,080,000 is provided for salaries of 56,000 polling officers for each of the three types of elections: municipal, legislative and presidential (first and second round). The cost estimate for polling officers' salaries is based on \$60 per officer for 56,000 officers covering approximately 14,000 polling stations (300 voters per station on average). In accordance with Haiti's electoral law, polling stations will be open from 6:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

c) International financial assistance

UN Security Council resolution 1542 (2004) gave MINUSTAH the mandate "to assist the Transitional Government of Haiti in its efforts to organize, monitor and carry out free and fair municipal, parliamentary and presidential elections...through the provision of technical, logistical and administrative assistance...."

OAS General Assembly resolution 2058 of June 8, 2004 calls on the OAS Special Mission for Strengthening Democracy in Haiti "...to assist the country's Provisional Electoral Council in preparing, organizing and overseeing the elections and the proclamation of the results, in cooperation with MINUSTAH."

Pursuant to these provisions, the OAS and MINUSTAH approved a Memorandum of Understanding to foster cooperation and outline and assign tasks to coordinate their efforts to achieve their stated objectives. The OAS is to be responsible for the registration of voters in the electoral process, which will create a civil register system, while MINUSTAH electoral mission will provide technical assistance to the CEP over the entire electoral process in all areas.

Of the \$41 million committed by donors, \$9 million has been allocated to the OAS through UNDP. The following countries and regional organizations have pledged or are considering technical assistance: Brazil, Chile, Colombia, France, Japan, Mexico, Spain, Venezuela, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), and the Organization of French Speaking Countries (OIF). The international community has pledged additional funding for civic education and election observation programs, including political party activities. MINUSTAH is also preparing to establish a Trust Fund aimed at mobilizing additional resources for the elections as may be required.

MINUSTAH is assisting CEP to build internal capacity and to make efficient use of international resources. At the same time, several key organizational issues that may affect CEP staffing, including *inter alia*, operational planning, technical assistance and logistical support, are currently being discussed at the CEP. This extraordinary budget provides for hiring and training of 57,642 nationals: 165 departmental electoral office staff, 1,395 communal electoral office staff and 56,000 polling station officers. The total resource requirements for 2004–2005 elections have been linked to CEP objectives through a result-based framework.

About the author

Dr. Félix Ulloa is NDI's senior resident director in Haiti, managing the Institute's programs there since 2000. Prior to joining NDI, Dr. Ulloa served as magistrate of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal in his native El Salvador from 1994 to 1999. He has taught at several universities of El Salvador, and has been invited to the Language School of Middlebury College in the United States. He also served as president of the Institute of Law of El Salvador, and has participated in elections programs for the United Nations, OAS, the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), the Center for Elections Assistance (CAPEL), and NDI, providing oversight for electoral bodies, political parties, and civic organizations.

Dr. Ulloa has published books, essays and articles in several countries, on topics such as democracy, elections and political parties. He earned a law degree from la Universidad Complutense, Madrid, and from la Universidad de El Salvador. He has also completed other post-graduate studies at the Institut International d'Administration Publique in Paris and at the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota in the United States.



Part 3

**Election Cost
Survey Results**

By: Jeff Fischer

I. Survey Results

From December 19, 2003 to October 1, 2004, the organizers of the Cost of Registration and Elections (CORE) Project distributed a survey research questionnaire to election management bodies (EMBs) in 178 countries. The 2004 calendar year should be considered as the baseline year for any subsequent financial comparisons. A copy of the survey document is attached as Annex I. Survey responses were received from countries listed in Annex II. Thirty-five percent of the respondent EMBs were from Europe; 15 percent came from Africa/Near East; 21 percent from Asia/Pacific; and the remaining 29 percent came from the Americas.

This Survey Results Report has been written based on these preliminary survey responses. The report follows the outline of the survey questionnaire.

Section 1 – Background on election management bodies (EMBs)

The objective of this section of the survey was to identify the profile of the respondent EMBs and ascertain if particular institutional characteristics have an impact on cost. These characteristics include permanence, relationship to government, centralization and mandate.

Eighty-seven percent of the responses received were from permanent EMBs. Of the remaining, four percent were semi-permanent and nine percent were non-permanent.

Three options were provided for the survey respondent to describe an EMB's relationship to the government. These definitions were framed in the predecessor study on EMBs conducted by Dr. Rafael López Pintor and published by UNDP, Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance (2000).

The three descriptive definitions of EMBs were:

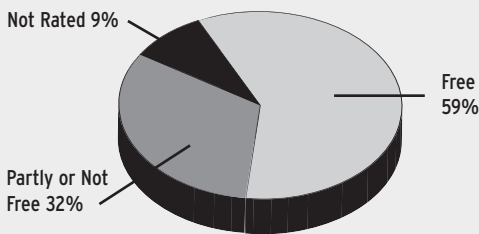
- Government administered: elections are managed entirely by the government;
- Government supervised: elections are managed by the government but also with the oversight of a collective body composed of judges and members of the legal profession, political party representatives or a mixture of both;
- Independent electoral commission: elections are managed by a commission that is independent of the executive and has full responsibility for the direction and management of elections.

The majority of the survey respondents were independent electoral commissions (71 percent). A close correlation was found between the permanence and the independence of the institution. All but two (Dominica and Iraq) of the responding independent electoral commissions were permanent in nature. The remaining responses were from government-supervised (9 percent), government-administered (6 percent) or other (15 percent) EMBs. Those EMBs listed as 'other' were exceptional because of autonomy, coordination role (Switzerland) or advisory mandate (United Kingdom). Fifty-three percent of the respondents were established in the last 20 years. Both emerging and established democracies were represented in the pool of respondents. One respondent

could be considered as representing a conflict or post-conflict electoral environment.

Fifty-nine percent of the respondents were from countries rated as free by Freedom House. Thirty-two percent of the respondents were rated as partly free or not free (Curacao and PNA are not included). The balance of the respondents was not rated. The 'free' rating coincided with the presence of independent and permanent electoral commissions in 65 percent of the cases. The balance of the 'free' cases was a mix of non-permanent and government-administered or supervised EMBs. However, it should also be noted that 82 percent of the countries in the 'partly free' or 'not free' categories reported having independent and permanent electoral commissions (Iraq does not have a permanent independent electoral commission, and Sri Lanka falls into the 'other' category).

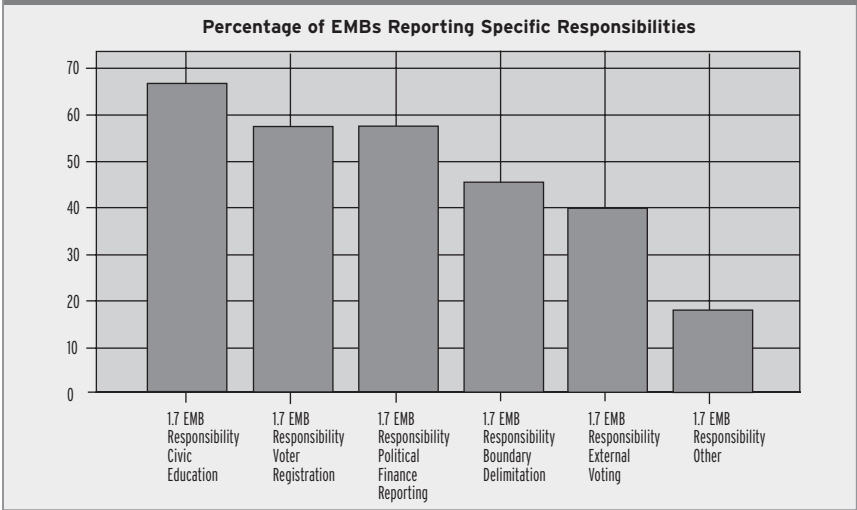
Part 3 - Figure 1. Political profile of sample countries



Permanent headquarters staffing ranged from 1 (Kyrgyzstan) to 810 persons, serving registered voting populations that ranged from 54,000 to 153 million (Indonesia). Although defined in part by other delimitation or geographical features, half of the respondents indicated that there was some decentralization of responsibilities to local offices (this number is based on respondents with an independent electoral commission and sub-national offices). In other cases, local governments assumed local electoral responsibilities. The survey examined the number of poll workers engaged on Election Day; the total number of poll workers varied with the kind of polling station committee configuration employed, with a range from 600 (St. Lucia and Curacao) to 5 million (Indonesia) poll workers required for an election.

The survey also sought to identify the mandate of the EMB by defining its core responsibilities in addition to election administration. The additional responsibilities included voter registration, boundary delimitation, political finance, external voting and civic education. Of the surveyed EMBs, 56 percent reported voter registration as a core responsibility; 56 percent were responsible for political finance reporting; 44 percent were responsible for boundary delimitation; 38 percent reported responsibility for external voting; and 65 percent reported responsibility for civic education programming. Forty-one percent of the respondents had responsibility for four or more of these areas in addition to election operations.

Part 3 - Figure 2. EMB responsibilities



Sections 2 (Budget), 3 (Procurement procedures) and 4 (General considerations)

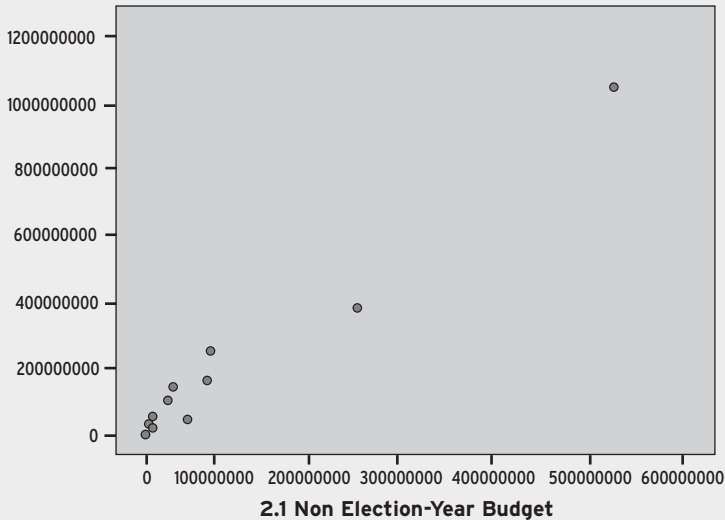
The budgets surveyed ranged from \$455,889 (Armenia) to \$1 billion (Mexico). The budgets can be organized into four ranges for analytical purposes: 1) under \$1 million; 2) \$1 to \$10 million; 3) \$10 million to \$99 million; and 4) \$100 million and above. Within these ranges, 18 percent of the respondents were in the first category; 18 percent in the second; 39 percent in the third; and 24 percent were over \$100 million.

Differences in election year costs versus annual operating costs were reported in 70 percent of the responses. Twelve percent of the responses reported no change in a non-election year; and in 18 percent of the cases, the data was not available. Non-election year budgets ranged from \$68,200 to \$485 million. In the survey results, three brackets of budget ranges have emerged: 1) under \$1 million; 2) \$1 to \$10 million; and 3) over \$10 million. Within these ranges, 33 percent were under \$1 million; 42 percent ranged from \$1 million to \$10 million; and 26 percent were over \$10 million.

The table on the next page indicates that no matter the difference between election-year and non-election year budgets, they tend to go up together, i.e. there is direct relationship between election-year and non-election year budgets.

In 41 percent of the cases, the respondents reported a budget increase in the last five years. These increases ranged from 12.5 percent to 54 percent. In 18 percent of the cases, the budget experienced a decrease ranging from 5 percent to 22 percent. The balance of the cases had no response, reported no change, thus indicating that it was inflation dependent or was on a multi-year budget cycle. Only Australia reported a multi-year cycle, while all other EMBs reported an annual budget cycle. Thirty-two

Part 3 - Figure 3. Relationship between Election -Year and Non-Election Year Budgets



percent of the respondents received either international or bilateral technical assistance in commodities, voter education and poll-worker training programs. Although the absolute amounts of the national election budgets appear large, in only one case (Honduras) was the election budget reported to be even 1 percent of the national budget for the government. In all other cases where both the national and election-year budget was reported, less than 1 percent of the national budget is devoted to elections.

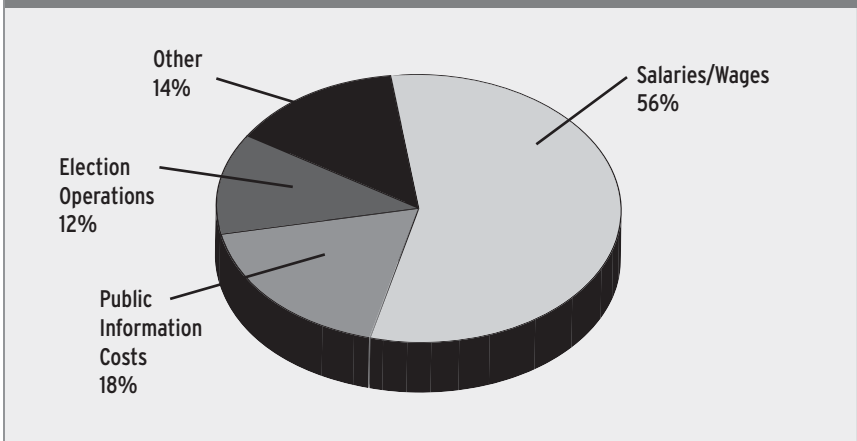
Each EMB reported that it was audited annually, bi-annually, after each election or on a random basis. In most cases, the audit function was performed by government audit agencies. In another case, an accounts court was the competent authority (Portugal). In 88 percent of the cases, the government prescribed financial reporting procedures. All of the respondents required parliamentary or legislative approval of their budgets. Most of the respondent organizations had finance departments that were involved with budget preparations. However, in one case, the policy and planning department drafted the budget; in still another, the director of elections drafted the budget. In 85 percent of the cases, the budget was generated from the headquarters office and not decentralized as a local office responsibility. In 53 percent of the cases, the EMB handled cash transitions. In 69 percent of the cases, respondents indicated that they were considering or in the process of introducing a new technology that could have a cost-reduction impact.

The respondents were asked to categorize their overall budget by percentage of expenditure devoted to voter registration, election operations, voter education, train-

ing and other. Of those reporting it as an expense, election operations consumed an average of 47.61 percent of budgets, with a range from 0 percent to 100 percent. Voter education consumed an average of 14.11 percent of the total budget with a range of 0 to 70 percent. Voter registration consumed an average of 15.7 percent of the budget with a range of 0 percent to 60 percent. Training was the smallest category, with an average of 4.98 percent of budget devoted to it. The range of training budget percentages was from 0 to 14 percent.

When asked to list the largest line item in their budget, 56 percent cited salaries, wages or professional services. The balance of the respondents cited postage, printing and public information campaigns as the largest line items (18 percent postage, printing and public info campaigns; 12 percent election operations, voter education, postal voting; 12 percent other; 6 percent not listed). In 33 percent of the responses, salaries, wages and professional services were also cited as the budget line items of greatest growth. The balance of the expense increases included election operations, political finance, voter education, public relations and postal voting. Operational expenses appeared to be stabilized in many jurisdictions, with 45 percent of respondents indicating that these kinds of costs (supplies, transport, office equipment and services) were constant. This was followed by training (9 percent) and other smaller expenses. Twenty-one percent of the respondents stated that there had been no cost reductions. Another 6 percent of respondents described reductions that occurred as a result of management actions such as reductions in staff or facility use (30 percent cited other: telecommunications, voter education, printing, polling stations, social insurance payments, capital goods and transportation). Covering costs overruns was not cited as a concern by any respondent.

Part 3 - Figure 4. Largest Budgets Items as a Percentage of Total Budget



The survey also sought to explore the contributions of other agencies to the overall funding of electoral events. These contributions include services for voter registration, security, communications, facilities and education. Supporting agency contributions and other partnerships are shown above.

Part 3. Figure 5. Percentage of EMBs Using a Support Agency or Service

Support agency or service	% EMBs using agency or partner
State agencies	
State radio and television	71%
Local government	68%
State post office	68%
Police	65%
State telecommunications	61%
Civil registry	56%
Education Ministry	42%
Military	32%
National Statistics Office	36%
Other partners	
Partnerships with civil society organizations	63%
Resource sharing with other EMBs	42%
No-cost public service announcements	41%
Private sector—in kind	10%

II. CORE diagnostic tools and analysis

Using this survey data, the CORE Project explored the development of financial diagnostic tools and methods of financial analysis of specific interest to EMBs. Such a package of indicators must have sufficient relevance for self-measurement, as well as for cross-regional, cross-profile and global comparisons.

Using this survey data, descriptive and numerical measures can be constructed to assess the cost quotients for EMBs. This methodology overlays EMB profile variables against a set of numerical indicators. The five profile variables are: 1) relationship to government, 2) permanence, 3) centralization, 4) mandate and 5) number of registered voters. The numerical indicators—or election cost/profile ratios—blend the profile variables with financial and operational data. The four election cost/profile ratios developed for this survey analysis are: 1) headquarters staff to registered voters; 2) poll workers to registered voters; 3) budget to registered voters; and 4) capitalization indicator.

In jurisdictions with one million voters or more, the ratio of registered voters to headquarters staff ranged from a low of 15,285 voters to 1 (Palestinian Territories) to a high of 1,056,996 voters to 1 (Finland). Although the average ratio was 260,742 to 1, this measure is not particularly meaningful. In general, the higher the ratio the fewer the number of headquarters staff required to service the registered voting population within the specific mandate given to them. This ratio assumes that the headquarters staff measured are considered permanent in nature. For purposes of analysis, the ratios can be classified into three categories: 1) under one million voters, 2) 1 million to 20 million voters and 3) over 20 million voters.

The first category is consistently among the lowest ratios (highest relative number of headquarters staff), with an average of 5,712 to 1. This may suggest that small, permanent election operations must maintain a certain threshold of ongoing capacity to perform responsibilities. Small jurisdictions may be examples of institutional permanence leading to higher relative costs. The one jurisdiction in this size category that is not a permanent body has a ratio of 15,000 to 1. For the second category of EMBs (1 million to 20 million voters), the ratio jumps to 336,019 to 1 on average (eliminating the highest and lowest brings the average to 277,022 to 1). Fifty-six percent of the respondents are included in this second category. The third category (20 million and above) includes 33 percent of the respondents, with an average of 267,301 to 1. The correlation of rising ratios to increased voting populations may be an indicator of the central economies of scale that can be achieved in larger jurisdictions. Comparing the headquarters ratios with the mandate, of the 42 percent of respondents with four or more of the core responsibilities (the United Kingdom was not included in this calculation because of its advisory nature), the average ratio is 93,203. However, for those EMBs with only two core responsibilities (with Poland and Portugal excluded from the calculation), the average drops to 338,006. These numbers may suggest that there is cost advantage in giving EMBs a full portfolio of electoral responsibilities.

The ratio of registered voters to poll workers is an indicator of the staff cost for Election Day voting operations. The higher the ratio, the lower the number of poll workers required to conduct the voting. However, the number of poll workers is affected by the station committee configuration required by law and the urban/rural mix of polling stations.

The EMBs surveyed range from 29 voters per worker as a low figure to 1,146 voters per worker as a high figure. Fifty-two percent of the respondents have a registered voter to poll worker ratio in the range of 100 to 200. These respondents represent registration bases ranging from 109,672 to 71.9 million voters. As a result, the size of the jurisdiction may not be a factor in relative staffing requirements. One respondent posted a ratio of over 1,100 voters per poll worker. This was the case of a developing democracy, and this high ratio may signal that the polling stations are understaffed. Of the lowest bracket (highest relative number of poll workers), the ratios range from 29 voters to 99 voters. These respondents represent registration bases from 54,000 to 153.3 million voters. Once again, the size of the jurisdiction does not appear to be a factor. However, of this final bracket, it is worthy to note the case of Peru for costs purposes. Its ratio is 51 voters per poll worker (the third lowest in the survey—highest relative poll worker presence). Poll workers are drawn from the voter registry of the polling stations and are unpaid. Peru's polling stations are among the most generously staffed in the survey, and there is no staffing cost associated with it. An examination of the committee configuration and procedures can also be a cost-reducing measure. If the EMB could organize the polling station to employ even one fewer worker, the result would be a beneficial financial multiplier.

The overall average ratio of election budgets to registered voters in the survey was \$5.08. However, in order to provide some comparative insight, the ratio should be classified into three cost categories: 1) under \$1 per registered voter; 2) \$1 to \$5 per registered voter; and 3) over \$5 per registered voter.

Ratios of under \$1 per registered voter must be examined as exceptional in nature. The average ratio in this category is \$0.44 per registered voter. These jurisdictions ranged in registration from 2.3 million to 71.9 million voters. Some respondents in this category reported receiving bilateral and international electoral assistance that is not reflected in the budget figure. In the other cases, the permanent and in most cases independent EMB did not have responsibility for voter registration and held no more than two of the additional core responsibilities surveyed. As a result, costs comparisons with EMBs having a broader mandate must be approached in a different fashion.

The mid-range and realistic target ratios come within the \$1 to \$5 category; 44 percent of the respondents were in this category. The registrations from this category ranged from 60,000 to 153.3 million. The ratios ranged from \$1.03 to \$4.71, with the overall average ratio for this category at \$2.43. However, if the average is adjusted by removing an advisory EMB from the calculation, the average ratio becomes \$2.53.

The third category of ratios involves those that exceed \$5 per registered voter. Thirty-four percent of the respondents fell under this category; the range survey was \$5.40 to \$26.79 per voter. Registration in these jurisdictions ranged from 54,000 to 64.7 million. As was the case with those ratios under \$1, ratios exceeding \$5 require examination.

The EMB operating costs drops dramatically in nearly every case when election year and non-election year budgets are compared. From the perspective of the budget/voter ratio, the average declines to \$1.11 per voter in non-election years (dropping exceptional cases that show the same budget figures for both election and non-election year and for one small jurisdiction with an unusually high ratio). In this survey group, the range was \$0.03 to \$8.02. Jurisdictions under one million voters experienced the highest non-election year ratios, but these ratios were still half the size of those from the election year budget.

The capitalization indicator is a quick financial assessment of institutional capacity based on investment in non-election year administration. This indicator is measured by the non-election year budget and is especially relevant for developing democracies and smaller jurisdictions. In the cases surveyed, 52 percent of the respondents to this question represent democracies established or re-established within the last 15 years. Among the EMBs in these nations, the average non-election budget per registered voter is \$1.02 for a voter registration range of 1.07 million to 153.3 million. By comparison, in established democracies in the sample, the number of registered voters ranges from 54,000 to 71.9 million voters, and the average non-election year budget per registered voter in these countries is \$2.42. This measurement can also take the form of an operational budget to registered voter ratio; if the ratios fall below a certain threshold, it may be indication of a capacity gap in operations and administration.

III. Comparative analysis of 2000 study

In 2000, UNDP published *Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance* by Dr. Rafael López Pintor. In his book, Dr. López Pintor presents a survey and analysis of election costs along with profiles of EMBs with different cost equations.

The 2000 study, involving EMBs from 52 countries, examined elections that had been held from 1993 through 1997. In the study, there are several points of analysis concerning what those cost figures reveal. The report concluded that previous experience in conducting multi-party elections tends to reduce costs. In addition, the critical cost-reduction factor is the permanence of the EMB, regardless of whether the EMB is independent or government supervised/administered. Consolidating a professional management body is a long-term cost-reducing management approach. In this category, the benchmark cost is \$3 per registered voter. However, the report points out the costs disparities among different kinds of electoral events—those that are routine as described above, those held in transitional democracies and those held as part of a peacekeeping operation. The results of the 2004 survey seem to confirm these assertions.

Nevertheless, a side-by-side comparison of the two surveys provokes questions in several specific cases.

Part 3. - Table 1. Electoral budget and registered voters in Australia in 1996 and 2004.

Australia	1996	2004
Budget	A\$37 million	A\$115 million
Number of registered voters	11.9 million	12.6 million
Cost per voter	A\$3.20	A\$9.30

Australia

In Australia, the EMB's reported budget increased between the 2000 study and the 2004 survey. From the 2004 figures, it is necessary to extract the net election costs for a comparable figure; that cost figure was A\$70 million (US\$52 million). In 2001, the net election cost was A\$67.3 million. The latter figure translates into an average cost per registered voter of US\$3.83.

Burkina Faso

In Burkina Faso, there is likely more than one reason for the reported budget increase between the 2000 study and the 2004 survey. A new electoral commission was established in 2001, and these costs may represent development and investment costs for the EMB. The election of 1997 may have also benefited from international and bilateral assistance that is not reflected in the budget figure. Moreover, voter registration figures have a history of oscillation in Burkina Faso. Reported registration figures since 1970 are shown below:

- 1978: 2.8 million
- 1992: 3.7 million
- 1997: 4.9 million
- 2004: 2.9 million

Part 3 - Table 2. Electoral budget and registered voters in Burkina Faso in 1997 and 2004.

Burkina Faso	1997	2004
Budget	\$4.8 million	\$12.4 million
Number of registered voters	4.9 million	2.9 million
Cost per voter	\$1	\$4.27

Palestinian Territories

Similarly, the reported budget increase between 1996 and 2004 for the Palestinian Central Election Commission is likely to have several reasons. These include:

- For 2004, the budget contained a number of costs that were the responsibility of other agencies in 1996, or had simply not been part of the process.
- The number of professional staff at the electoral commission headquarters was increased to enhance the commission's administrative capacity.
- The commission was compelled to rent space in a number of facilities, a cost that was covered by other Palestinian Authority agencies in 1996.
- The 2004 budget included an exhibition and challenge period for the voter registration process, which was absent from the 1996 process.

The voter-education campaign budget was also substantial in 2004. Furthermore, there was more international and bilateral technical assistance in 1996 than was reflected in the 2004 budget.

Part 3 - Table 1. Electoral budget and registered voters in Palestinian Territories in 1996 and 2004.

Palestinian Territories	1996	2004
Budget	\$9 million	\$15 million
Number of registered voters	1 million	1 million
Cost per voter	\$9	\$15

Spain

Spain's EMB also reported a budget increase from the 2000 study to the 2004 survey. The principal cause for the differences between the 1996 and 2004 election budgets is that the 1996 figure only included voting for the parliamentary election of that year, while the 2004 figures included two elections (Spanish Parliament in March and European Parliament in June). The reported election cost is the annual election cost for both events, 120 million euros (\$145 million). In order to obtain a comparable

budget example, the annual figure should be divided in half. Using this arithmetic, a single election cost about \$70 million, with the budget-to-registered voter ratio remaining at \$2.04.

Part 3. - Table 4. Electoral budget and registered voters in Spain in 1996 and 2004.

Spain	1996	2004
Budget	\$66 million	\$141 million
Number of registered voters	31.4 million	34.5 million
Cost per voter	\$2.10	\$4.08

Switzerland

In Switzerland, meanwhile, the EMB's budget was higher in the 2000 study than in the 2004 survey. The \$25.1 million figure for 1995 is assumed to have included campaign and political party expenses. The respondents report that the national budget for elections has remained constant for the last nine years at about 5 million Swiss francs (\$3.9 million).

Part 3. - Table 5. Electoral budget and registered voters in Switzerland in 1995 and 2004.

Switzerland	1995	2004
Budget	\$25.1 million	\$3.8 million
Number of registered voters	4.6 Million	4.8 Million
Cost per voter	\$5.40	\$0.81

Part 3 - Attachment I. Survey questionnaire

The image shows two pages of a survey questionnaire for the State of Maryland. The first page includes a header with the state seal and the text "State of Maryland - Election Cost Survey (ECS) Form". Below this is a section for "Respondent Information" with fields for Name, Address, City, State, and Zip. A second section is titled "Campaign Information" and includes questions about the candidate's name, office, and whether the respondent is the candidate or a campaign official. The second page contains questions 1 through 12, covering topics such as campaign financing, advertising, and other costs. Each question has a set of checkboxes for "Yes", "No", "Not Applicable", and "Other".

Part 3 - Attachment I. Survey questionnaire

The image shows two pages of a survey questionnaire for the State of Maryland, continuing from the previous pages. The first page contains questions 13 through 22, focusing on campaign financing, advertising, and other costs. The second page contains questions 23 through 28, covering topics such as campaign financing, advertising, and other costs. Each question has a set of checkboxes for "Yes", "No", "Not Applicable", and "Other".

Part 3. - Attachment II. Survey respondents		
Europe	Africa/Near East	Americas
Armenia - Central Election Commission	Burkina Faso - Independent Electoral Commission	Canada - Chief Electoral Officer
Austria - Ministry of Interior	Iraq - Independent Electoral Commission	Curacao - Chief Electoral Officer
Finland - Ministry of Justice	Kenya - Electoral Commission	Dominica - Chief Electoral Officer
Italy - Ministry of Interior	Lesotho - Independent Election Commission	Guatemala - Supreme Electoral Tribunal
Latvia - Central Election Committee	Sri Lanka - Department of Elections	Honduras - Supreme Electoral Tribunal
Lithuania - Central Electoral Committee	Palestinian Territories - Central Election Commission	Jamaica - Electoral Office
Poland - National Election Office	Asia	Mexico - Federal Electoral Institute
Portugal - National Elections Commission	Australia - Australian Electoral Commission	Peru - Jurado Nacional
Spain - Ministry of Interior	Cambodia - National Election Committee	Peru - ONPE
Switzerland - Federal Chancellery	Indonesia - National Election Commission	St. Lucia - Electoral Department
United Kingdom - Election Commission	Kyrgyzstan - Central Election Committee	United States Virgin Islands - Supervisor of Elections
	Pakistan - Election Commission	
	Philippines - Commission on Elections	
	Thailand - Election Commission	

Part 3 - Attachment III Survey data analysis**1.1 Type of EMB**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Permanent	28	82.4	87.5	87.5
	Semi-Permanent	1	2.9	3.1	90.6
	Not Permanent	2	5.9	6.3	96.9
	Other	1	2.9	3.1	100.0
	Total	32	94.1	100.0	
Missing	System	2	5.9		
Total		34	100.0		

1.2 Please describe your election management structure.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Government Administered	2	5.9	5.9	5.9
	Government Supervised	3	8.8	8.8	14.7
	Independent	24	70.6	70.6	85.3
	Other	5	14.7	14.7	100.0
	Total	34	100.0	100.0	

1.3 What is your total staffing: Headquarter staff?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	1	2.9	3.4	3.4
	4	2	5.9	6.9	10.3
	5	1	2.9	3.4	13.8
	8	1	2.9	3.4	17.2
	11	2	5.9	6.9	24.1
	14	1	2.9	3.4	27.6
	18	1	2.9	3.4	31.0
	26	1	2.9	3.4	34.5
	30	1	2.9	3.4	37.9
	38	1	2.9	3.4	41.4
	50	2	5.9	6.9	48.3
	70	1	2.9	3.4	51.7
	75	1	2.9	3.4	55.2
	76	1	2.9	3.4	58.6
	119	1	2.9	3.4	62.1
	125	1	2.9	3.4	65.5
	135	1	2.9	3.4	69.0
	170	1	2.9	3.4	72.4
	200	3	8.8	10.3	82.8
	280	1	2.9	3.4	86.2
	330	1	2.9	3.4	89.7
	496	1	2.9	3.4	93.1
	810	1	2.9	3.4	96.6
	1610	1	2.9	3.4	100.0
	Total	29	85.3	100.0	
Missing	System	5	14.7		
Total		34	100.0		

1.3 What is your total staffing: Local staff?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	3	8.8	15.0	15.0
	8	1	2.9	5.0	20.0
	12	1	2.9	5.0	25.0
	60	1	2.9	5.0	30.0
	151	1	2.9	5.0	35.0
	239	1	2.9	5.0	40.0
	250	1	2.9	5.0	45.0
	252	1	2.9	5.0	50.0
	301	1	2.9	5.0	55.0
	351	1	2.9	5.0	60.0
	464	1	2.9	5.0	65.0
	504	1	2.9	5.0	70.0
	800	1	2.9	5.0	75.0
	1314	1	2.9	5.0	80.0
	3160	1	2.9	5.0	85.0
	6000	1	2.9	5.0	90.0
	40000	1	2.9	5.0	95.0
	486474	1	2.9	5.0	100.0
	Total	20	58.8	100.0	
Missing	System	14	41.2		
Total		34	100.0		

1.3 What is your total staffing: Registrars?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	2	5.9	16.7	16.7
	11	1	2.9	8.3	25.0
	17	1	2.9	8.3	33.3
	22	1	2.9	8.3	41.7
	75	1	2.9	8.3	50.0
	129	1	2.9	8.3	58.3
	150	1	2.9	8.3	66.7
	162	1	2.9	8.3	75.0
	375	1	2.9	8.3	83.3
	3000	1	2.9	8.3	91.7
	6600	1	2.9	8.3	100.0
	Total	12	35.3	100.0	
Missing	System	22	64.7		
Total		34	100.0		

1.3 What is your total staffing: Pollworkers?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	1	2.9	4.2	4.2
	600	2	5.9	8.3	12.5
	700	1	2.9	4.2	16.7
	2200	1	2.9	4.2	20.8
	13000	1	2.9	4.2	25.0
	16965	1	2.9	4.2	29.2
	17500	1	2.9	4.2	33.3
	20000	1	2.9	4.2	37.5
	50000	1	2.9	4.2	41.7
	64130	1	2.9	4.2	45.8
	65000	1	2.9	4.2	50.0
	100000	1	2.9	4.2	54.2
	110000	1	2.9	4.2	58.3
	150000	2	5.9	8.3	66.7
	260000	2	5.9	8.3	75.0
	300000	1	2.9	4.2	79.2
	366000	1	2.9	4.2	83.3
	555036	1	2.9	4.2	87.5
	800000	1	2.9	4.2	91.7
	850000	1	2.9	4.2	95.8
	5221530	1	2.9	4.2	100.0
	Total	24	70.6	100.0	
Missing	System	10	29.4		
Total		34	100.0		

1.4 (In the case of existence of an Independent Electoral Commission) How many sub-national offices are there?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	5	14.7	21.7	21.7
	3	1	2.9	4.3	26.1
	16	1	2.9	4.3	30.4
	17	1	2.9	4.3	34.8
	22	1	2.9	4.3	39.1
	24	1	2.9	4.3	43.5
	56	1	2.9	4.3	47.8
	65	1	2.9	4.3	52.2
	71	1	2.9	4.3	56.5
	76	1	2.9	4.3	60.9
	157	1	2.9	4.3	65.2
	164	1	2.9	4.3	69.6
	300	1	2.9	4.3	73.9
	316	1	2.9	4.3	78.3
	353	1	2.9	4.3	82.6
	450	1	2.9	4.3	87.0
	469	1	2.9	4.3	91.3
	573	1	2.9	4.3	95.7
	2283	1	2.9	4.3	100.0
	Total	23	67.6	100.0	
Missing	System	11	32.4		
Total		34	100.0		

1.5 In which year was the current election administration structure established?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1848	1	2.9	3.2	3.2
	1920	2	5.9	6.5	9.7
	1940	1	2.9	3.2	12.9
	1946	1	2.9	3.2	16.1
	1948	1	2.9	3.2	19.4
	1955	1	2.9	3.2	22.6
	1963	1	2.9	3.2	25.8
	1973	1	2.9	3.2	29.0
	1975	1	2.9	3.2	32.3
	1977	1	2.9	3.2	35.5
	1978	1	2.9	3.2	38.7
	1979	1	2.9	3.2	41.9
	1984	1	2.9	3.2	45.2
	1985	1	2.9	3.2	48.4
	1990	1	2.9	3.2	51.6
	1991	1	2.9	3.2	54.8
	1992	2	5.9	6.5	61.3
	1997	2	5.9	6.5	67.7
	1998	1	2.9	3.2	71.0
	2000	1	2.9	3.2	74.2
	2001	2	5.9	6.5	80.6
	2002	3	8.8	9.7	90.3
	2003	1	2.9	3.2	93.5
2004	2	5.9	6.5	100.0	
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
	Total	34	100.0		

1.6 How many voters were registered in your country for the last election?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	54000	1	2.9	3.0	3.0
	60266	1	2.9	3.0	6.1
	109672	1	2.9	3.0	9.1
	119844	1	2.9	3.0	12.1
	1070000	1	2.9	3.0	15.2
	1400000	1	2.9	3.0	18.2
	2340744	1	2.9	3.0	21.2
	2521079	1	2.9	3.0	24.2
	2600000	1	2.9	3.0	27.3
	2935285	1	2.9	3.0	30.3
	3200000	1	2.9	3.0	33.3
	3437454	1	2.9	3.0	36.4
	4227987	1	2.9	3.0	39.4
	4781887	1	2.9	3.0	42.4
	5073290	1	2.9	3.0	45.5
	5912592	1	2.9	3.0	48.5
	6341834	1	2.9	3.0	51.5
	8902713	1	2.9	3.0	54.5
	10500000	1	2.9	3.0	57.6
	12626631	1	2.9	3.0	60.6
	12899032	1	2.9	3.0	63.6
	14000000	1	2.9	3.0	66.7
	15298237	1	2.9	3.0	69.7
	20452473	1	2.9	3.0	72.7
	29364455	1	2.9	3.0	75.8
	34557370	1	2.9	3.0	78.8
	42759001	1	2.9	3.0	81.8
	43500000	1	2.9	3.0	84.8
	44000000	1	2.9	3.0	87.9
	50000000	1	2.9	3.0	90.9
	64710596	1	2.9	3.0	93.9
	71905435	1	2.9	3.0	97.0
	153357307	1	2.9	3.0	100.0
Total		33	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.9		
Total		34	100.0		

1.7 Does your EMB have responsibility for the following activities: Voter registration?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	19	55.9	57.6	57.6
	No	14	41.2	42.4	100.0
	Total	33	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.9		
Total		34	100.0		

1.7 Does your EMB have responsibility for the following activities:
Boundary Delimitation?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	15	44.1	45.5	45.5
	No	18	52.9	54.5	100.0
	Total	33	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.9		
Total		34	100.0		

1.7 Does your EMB have responsibility for the following activities:
Political Finance Reporting?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	15	44.1	45.5	45.5
	No	18	52.9	54.5	100.0
	Total	33	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.9		
Total		34	100.0		

1.7 Does your EMB have responsibility for the following activities:
External Voting?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	13	38.2	39.4	39.4
	No	20	58.8	60.6	100.0
	Total	33	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.9		
Total		34	100.0		

EY Budget Year of Election

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2000	1	2.9	4.3	4.3
	2001	3	8.8	13.0	17.4
	2002	2	5.9	8.7	26.1
	2003	6	17.6	26.1	52.2
	2004	10	29.4	43.5	95.7
	2005	1	2.9	4.3	100.0
Total		23	67.6	100.0	
Missing	System	11	32.4		
Total		34	100.0		

1.7 Does your EMB have responsibility for the following activities:
Civic Education?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	22	64.7	66.7	66.7
	No	11	32.4	33.3	100.0
	Total	33	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.9		
Total		34	100.0		

1.7 Does your EMB have responsibility for the following activities: Other?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	6	17.6	18.2	18.2
	No	27	79.4	81.8	100.0
	Total	33	97.1	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.9		
Total		34	100.0		

2.1 What is your annual budget—in local currency—during an election year (please specify year) and during a year without an election: Election-Year Budget?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	61810	1	2.9	3.1	3.1
	68200	1	2.9	3.1	6.3
	439033	1	2.9	3.1	9.4
	508906	1	2.9	3.1	12.5
	683333	1	2.9	3.1	15.6
	900000	1	2.9	3.1	18.8
	1291490	1	2.9	3.1	21.9
	2795387	1	2.9	3.1	25.0
	3984381	1	2.9	3.1	28.1
	8389713	1	2.9	3.1	31.3
	8909600	1	2.9	3.1	34.4
	9525303	1	2.9	3.1	37.5
	10292795	1	2.9	3.1	40.6
	10397293	1	2.9	3.1	43.8
	14247600	1	2.9	3.1	46.9
	15000000	1	2.9	3.1	50.0
	18552151	1	2.9	3.1	53.1
	18552876	1	2.9	3.1	56.3
	19158435	1	2.9	3.1	59.4
	23870064	1	2.9	3.1	62.5
	35268160	1	2.9	3.1	65.6
	45500000	1	2.9	3.1	68.8
	58264725	1	2.9	3.1	71.9
	59116582	1	2.9	3.1	75.0
	104606635	1	2.9	3.1	78.1
	147733062	1	2.9	3.1	81.3
	165000000	1	2.9	3.1	84.4
	253903265	1	2.9	3.1	87.5
	367160000	1	2.9	3.1	90.6
	375000000	1	2.9	3.1	93.8
	388600000	1	2.9	3.1	96.9
	1053913374	1	2.9	3.1	100.0
	Total	32	94.1	100.0	
Missing	System	2	5.9		
Total		34	100.0		

2.1 What is your annual budget—in local currency—during an election year (please specify year) and during a year without an election: Non Election-Year Budget?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	2	5.9	6.9	6.9
	26535	1	2.9	3.4	10.3
	68200	1	2.9	3.4	13.8
	124768	1	2.9	3.4	17.2
	299402	1	2.9	3.4	20.7
	344465	1	2.9	3.4	24.1
	356190	1	2.9	3.4	27.6
	680518	1	2.9	3.4	31.0
	900000	1	2.9	3.4	34.5
	1291490	1	2.9	3.4	37.9
	1298091	1	2.9	3.4	41.4
	1693000	1	2.9	3.4	44.8
	2173550	1	2.9	3.4	48.3
	3238500	1	2.9	3.4	51.7
	3389378	1	2.9	3.4	55.2
	3984381	1	2.9	3.4	58.6
	5781358	1	2.9	3.4	62.1
	5838337	1	2.9	3.4	65.5
	7951232	1	2.9	3.4	69.0
	8470756	1	2.9	3.4	72.4
	9210731	1	2.9	3.4	75.9
	23634339	1	2.9	3.4	79.3
	32074496	1	2.9	3.4	82.8
	45500000	1	2.9	3.4	86.2
	68217800	1	2.9	3.4	89.7
	72420000	1	2.9	3.4	93.1
	232900000	1	2.9	3.4	96.6
	519404920	1	2.9	3.4	100.0
	Total	29	85.3	100.0	
Missing	System	5	14.7		
Total		34	100.0		

NEY Budget Year

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2001.00	2	5.9	11.1	11.1
	2002.00	3	8.8	16.7	27.8
	2003.00	7	20.6	38.9	66.7
	2004.00	5	14.7	27.8	94.4
	2005.00	1	2.9	5.6	100.0
	Total	18	52.9	100.0	
Missing	System	16	47.1		
Total		34	100.0		

2.2 What is the total national budget for the government?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	333400000	1	2.9	5.9	5.9
	1694000000	1	2.9	5.9	11.8
	1800000000	1	2.9	5.9	17.6
	3824955348	1	2.9	5.9	23.5
	3851466452	1	2.9	5.9	29.4
	4380633557	1	2.9	5.9	35.3
	5355857712	1	2.9	5.9	41.2
	13120598177	1	2.9	5.9	47.1
	16180765854	1	2.9	5.9	52.9
	22239057650	1	2.9	5.9	58.8
	39843812256	1	2.9	5.9	64.7
	41600000000	1	2.9	5.9	70.6
	119264000000	1	2.9	5.9	76.5
	137188000000	1	2.9	5.9	82.4
	144300000000	1	2.9	5.9	88.2
	266165000000	1	2.9	5.9	94.1
	796000000000	1	2.9	5.9	100.0
Total		17	50.0	100.0	
Missing	System	17	50.0		
Total		34	100.0		

2.5 Are your accounting procedures prescribed by government direction and guidelines?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	30	88.2	93.8	93.8
	No	2	5.9	6.3	100.0
	Total	32	94.1	100.0	
Missing	System	2	5.9		
Total		34	100.0		

2.6 Who develops the budget for sub-national offices?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Center	22	64.7	84.6	84.6
	Sub-National office	4	11.8	15.4	100.0
	Total	26	76.5	100.0	
Missing	System	8	23.5		
Total		34	100.0		

2.7 Who audits your budgets and how often: Budget Audit Period?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	2	5.9	8.0	8.0
	1	1	2.9	4.0	12.0
	1	20	58.8	80.0	92.0
	2	1	2.9	4.0	96.0
	5	1	2.9	4.0	100.0
	Total	25	73.5	100.0	
Missing	System	9	26.5		
	Total	34	100.0		

2.8 What percentage increases or decreases has your total budget experienced over the last 5 years? (Please refer to both the budget for current operations and for specific electoral operations)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	-22	1	2.9	5.0	5.0	
	-20	1	2.9	5.0	10.0	
	-5	2	5.9	10.0	20.0	
	0	3	8.8	15.0	35.0	
	13	2	5.9	10.0	45.0	
	13	1	2.9	5.0	50.0	
	20	1	2.9	5.0	55.0	
	25	3	8.8	15.0	70.0	
	30	2	5.9	10.0	80.0	
	40	1	2.9	5.0	85.0	
	42	1	2.9	5.0	90.0	
	44	1	2.9	5.0	95.0	
	54	1	2.9	5.0	100.0	
		Total	20	58.8	100.0	
	Missing	System	14	41.2		
	Total	34	100.0			

2.10 What percentage of the total election budget is taken by Voter Registration?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	1	2.9	5.3	5.3
	0	1	2.9	5.3	10.5
	5	3	8.8	15.8	26.3
	7	2	5.9	10.5	36.8
	10	1	2.9	5.3	42.1
	13	1	2.9	5.3	47.4
	13	1	2.9	5.3	52.6
	15	2	5.9	10.5	63.2
	16	1	2.9	5.3	68.4
	18	1	2.9	5.3	73.7
	20	2	5.9	10.5	84.2
	30	1	2.9	5.3	89.5
	40	1	2.9	5.3	94.7
	60	1	2.9	5.3	100.0
	Total	19	55.9	100.0	
Missing	System	15	44.1		
Total		34	100.0		

2.10 What percentage of the total election budget is taken by Election Operations?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	1	2.9	4.0	4.0
	10	1	2.9	4.0	8.0
	12	1	2.9	4.0	12.0
	18	1	2.9	4.0	16.0
	20	2	5.9	8.0	24.0
	21	1	2.9	4.0	28.0
	25	1	2.9	4.0	32.0
	28	1	2.9	4.0	36.0
	34	1	2.9	4.0	40.0
	40	2	5.9	8.0	48.0
	40	1	2.9	4.0	52.0
	50	1	2.9	4.0	56.0
	58	1	2.9	4.0	60.0
	60	1	2.9	4.0	64.0
	65	1	2.9	4.0	68.0
	70	2	5.9	8.0	76.0
	74	1	2.9	4.0	80.0
	80	1	2.9	4.0	84.0
	82	1	2.9	4.0	88.0
	82	1	2.9	4.0	92.0
	91	1	2.9	4.0	96.0
	100	1	2.9	4.0	100.0
	Total	25	73.5	100.0	
Missing	System	9	26.5		
Total		34	100.0		

2.10 What percentage of the total election budget is taken by Voter Education?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	1	2.9	4.5	4.5
	1	1	2.9	4.5	9.1
	1	1	2.9	4.5	13.6
	2	2	5.9	9.1	22.7
	3	1	2.9	4.5	27.3
	3	1	2.9	4.5	31.8
	4	2	5.9	9.1	40.9
	5	1	2.9	4.5	45.5
	8	1	2.9	4.5	50.0
	10	2	5.9	9.1	59.1
	11	1	2.9	4.5	63.6
	12	1	2.9	4.5	68.2
	15	3	8.8	13.6	81.8
	20	1	2.9	4.5	86.4
	50	2	5.9	9.1	95.5
	70	1	2.9	4.5	100.0
	Total	22	64.7	100.0	
Missing	System	12	35.3		
Total		34	100.0		

2.10 What percentage of the total election budget is taken by Training?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	3	8.8	15.0	15.0
	0	1	2.9	5.0	20.0
	0	1	2.9	5.0	25.0
	1	1	2.9	5.0	30.0
	2	1	2.9	5.0	35.0
	3	1	2.9	5.0	40.0
	4	1	2.9	5.0	45.0
	4	1	2.9	5.0	50.0
	5	1	2.9	5.0	55.0
	5	2	5.9	10.0	65.0
	6	1	2.9	5.0	70.0
	10	5	14.7	25.0	95.0
	14	1	2.9	5.0	100.0
	Total	20	58.8	100.0	
Missing	System	14	41.2		
Total		34	100.0		

2.11 What department within your EMB develops the budget?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Director	5	14.7	16.1	16.1
	Finance	17	50.0	54.8	71.0
	Other	8	23.5	25.8	96.8
	Director & Finance	1	2.9	3.2	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.16 Does your election budget receive additional funding from international or bilateral sources?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	32.4	34.4	34.4
	No	21	61.8	65.6	100.0
	Total	32	94.1	100.0	
Missing	System	2	5.9		
Total		34	100.0		

2.16 If so, what is the estimated amount of the additional resources for Commodities?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	6	17.6	46.2	46.2
	1	4	11.8	30.8	76.9
	700000	1	2.9	7.7	84.6
	21300000	1	2.9	7.7	92.3
	70000000	1	2.9	7.7	100.0
	Total	13	38.2	100.0	
Missing	System	21	61.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.16 If so, what is the estimated amount of the additional resources for Voter education?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	7	20.6	53.8	53.8
	1	3	8.8	23.1	76.9
	50000	1	2.9	7.7	84.6
	7500000	1	2.9	7.7	92.3
	18000000	1	2.9	7.7	100.0
	Total	13	38.2	100.0	
Missing	System	21	61.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.16 If so, what is the estimated amount of the additional resources for PW Training?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	6	17.6	46.2	46.2
	1	4	11.8	30.8	76.9
	200000	1	2.9	7.7	84.6
	3000000	1	2.9	7.7	92.3
	5500000	1	2.9	7.7	100.0
	Total	13	38.2	100.0	
Missing	System	21	61.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.16 If so, what is the estimated amount of the additional resources for General Support?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	7	20.8	53.8	53.8
	1	4	11.8	30.8	84.6
	50000	1	2.9	7.7	92.3
	5000000	1	2.9	7.7	100.0
	Total	13	38.2	100.0	
Missing	System	21	61.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: Civil Registry?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	14	41.2	43.8	43.8
	Yes	18	52.9	56.3	100.0
	Total	32	94.1	100.0	
Missing	System	2	5.9		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: Education Ministry?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	18	52.9	58.1	58.1
	Yes	13	38.2	41.9	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: Local Government?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	10	29.4	32.3	32.3
	Yes	21	61.8	67.7	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: Police?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	11	32.4	35.5	35.5
	Yes	20	58.8	64.5	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: Military?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	21	61.8	67.7	67.7
	Yes	10	29.4	32.3	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: National Statistical Office?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	20	58.8	64.5	64.5
	Yes	11	32.4	35.5	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: State of Public Post office?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	10	29.4	32.3	32.3
	Yes	21	61.8	67.7	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: State/Public Telecommunications Company?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	12	35.3	38.7	38.7
	Yes	19	55.9	61.3	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: State Radio or Television?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	9	28.5	29.0	29.0
	Yes	22	64.7	71.0	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.17 Does your EMB purchase or use services from other public agencies such as those cited below: Other?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not mentioned	25	73.5	80.6	80.6
	Yes	6	17.6	19.4	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.18 Does your electoral process receive any in-kind contribution from the private sector?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3	8.8	10.0	10.0
	No	27	79.4	90.0	100.0
	Total	30	88.2	100.0	
Missing	System	4	11.8		
Total		34	100.0		

2.19 Does the private news media provide public service announcement time for you to conduct voter education?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	14	41.2	48.3	48.3
	No	15	44.1	51.7	100.0
	Total	29	85.3	100.0	
Missing	System	5	14.7		
Total		34	100.0		

2.19 if so, what is a financial value to that broadcast time?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	16679	1	2.9	33.3	33.3
	900000	1	2.9	33.3	66.7
	1000000	1	2.9	33.3	100.0
	Total	3	8.8	100.0	
Missing	System	31	91.2		
Total		34	100.0		

3.1 Are the rules of procurement prescribed by the government practices and guidelines, or are they prescribed by your EMB?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Government	23	67.6	79.3	79.3
	EMB	6	17.6	20.7	100.0
	Total	29	85.3	100.0	
Missing	System	5	14.7		
Total		34	100.0		

4.1 Does your EMB participate in any resource sharing activities with other national EMBs?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	13	38.2	41.9	41.9
	No	18	52.9	58.1	100.0
	Total	31	91.2	100.0	
Missing	System	3	8.8		
Total		34	100.0		

4.2 Does your EMB handle any cash transaction?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	16	47.1	53.3	53.3
	No	14	41.2	46.7	100.0
	Total	30	88.2	100.0	
Missing	System	4	11.8		
Total		34	100.0		

4.3 Have you introduced or plan to introduce any new election technologies in a cost reduction effort?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	58.8	69.0	69.0
	No	9	26.5	31.0	100.0
	Total	29	85.3	100.0	
Missing	System	5	14.7		
Total		34	100.0		

4.4 Does your EMB have partnerships with civil society organizations to disseminate voter education programs?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	19	55.9	63.3	63.3
	No	11	32.4	36.7	100.0
	Total	30	88.2	100.0	
Missing	System	4	11.8		
Total		34	100.0		



Part 4

Annexes

ANNEX III

Biographical Information

Jeff Fischer is the director of the Center for Transitional and Post-Conflict Governance at IFES. Previously, Mr. Fischer acted as Senior Advisor for Elections and Governance at IFES. From 1993 to 1999, Mr. Fischer served as the organization's first Executive Vice President, where he directed the daily operations of all IFES departments and programs.

Mr. Fischer has held three internationally appointed posts in post-conflict transitions. In 1996, he was appointed by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to serve as Director General of Elections for the first post-conflict elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1999, Mr. Fischer was appointed by the UN as Chief Electoral Officer for the Popular Consultation for East Timor. And, in 2000, Mr. Fischer received a joint appointment from the UN and OSCE to head the Joint Registration Taskforce in Kosovo and served as the OSCE's Director of Election Operations in Kosovo. In 2001 and 2002, Mr. Fischer continued to support the Kosovo political process by serving as a Senior Advisor to the OSCE Mission to Kosovo.

Mr. Fischer has also directed IFES technical assistance projects in Haiti (1990-91) and Guyana (1991-92). He has worked on election assistance, observation or conference projects in more than 40 countries. In the United States, Mr. Fischer represented the MicroVote Corporation (1989-1992) and in this capacity consulted with local and state administrators on electronic voting. In 1985, Mr. Fischer was also appointed to a four-year term as Commissioner on the Kansas City Election Board and from 1990 to 1993 he served as a Commissioner for the Missouri Campaign Finance Review Board.

Rafael López-Pintor is a former tenured professor of sociology and political science at the Universidad Autónoma of Madrid and an international electoral consultant. He has a Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and a doctor in law degree from the Universidad Complutense of Madrid. He has worked as an international electoral consultant or as an electoral officer for the UN, EU, OSCE, IDEA, USAID, IFES, and NDI in over 25 countries. His recent publications include *Voter Turnout Since 1945: A Global Report*. Stockholm: International IDEA, 2002, and *Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance*. New York: UNDP, 2000.



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